

Vancouver, the transit-oriented city? The correspondence (or not) of public transit accessibility and urban intensification through the lens of accessibility tools

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Abstract

Vancouver, Canada's third largest city, has often been held up as a best-practice example of transport and land use planning in a New World context. Accordingly, in the Network Analysis for Multimodal Urban Transport Systems (SNAMUTS) tool to assess cities in Australasia and North America, Vancouver scored top results on the majority of accessibility metrics for public transit. But how does a successful big-picture outcome translate into practice? How does it relate to historic factors that predate Vancouver's focus on sustainability-oriented urban form during the past quarter century? This paper will contrast the SNAMUTS result with a methodology for measuring public transit accessibility based on a time line spanning three decades of city history and the assessment of recent spatial priorities in land use and transport. It will show that despite high recent growth and intensification rates, much of Vancouver's transit-oriented urban form can be traced back to the city's light rail and streetcar investments of the 20th century, and that the spatial correlation of public transit service and land use intensification over the past 30 years has been anything but consistent. We will be assessing the contributions of both methodologies towards a comprehensive representation of public transit accessibility in Vancouver, and will evaluate the magnitude of the shortfalls in current policy and practice across other cities in the SNAMUTS sample across the New World.

Key words: public transit, accessibility measures, land use-transport integration, urban form planning.

## 1. Introduction

In the 1960s citizens of Vancouver protested against government plans for freeway construction in downtown Vancouver. They opposed the destructive impacts that freeway construction would have on city neighbourhoods, the modernist plans for post-freeway urban renewal, and the increase in congestion and pollution of more cars in the metropolitan core (Lash, 1976; Price, 2012). Organised opposition, together with a lack of government funding and mounting environmental concerns associated with automobile dependence, led to cancellation of the plans. A new government authority then recommended an extensive rail rapid transit system to provide a strong core and transit-oriented land development concentrated in the regional transit corridor (Price, 1976). In 1986 metropolitan Vancouver's first SkyTrain line began operations, and the land surrounding stations and an overall restructuring of urban form were well reflected in the SkyTrain line. The SkyTrain line was followed by an inter-city regional commuter rail line in 1995, a light rail line in 2002, and a light metro line in 2009. The policy transition saw a new transportation policy focussed on accommodating growth in urban movement on the existing road system and exploring alternatives to the automobile (Price, 2012). Despite some to-and-fro over both transit and land use policies between municipal and provincial governments, this compact policy transition was resilient over a forty-year period (Filion and Kramer, 2012; Stone, 2013).

Today a wide range of scholars describe Vancouver as an exemplar of effective strong sustainability overtones (Punter, 2003; Berelowitz, 2005; Schiller, Bruun & Legacy, 2012). These achievements relate to successes in metropolitan growth management on urban intensification, the integration of expanding public transport infrastructure fabric, people-friendly and environmentally adapted urban design outcomes, and an inclusive culture of decision making. The development of the public transport system and its consolidation in recent years, accompanied by an annual population growth rate of 1.5% in the Vancouver region, has seen public transport become a more prominent element of the city's infrastructure. Vancouver has seen 356 million passenger journeys in 2011, a rate of 154 per capita (Translink, 2012), considerably lower than in many European cities, but appears to have entered the ranks of Vancouver's larger Canadian counterparts Montreal and Toronto. It outperforms Australasian and US cities with the likely sole exception of New York City (Stone, 2013). The rate of increase of public transport usage has also outpaced population growth from 118 trips per capita in 1996 (Kenworthy and Laube, 2001) to 134 in 2006 (Stone, 2013).

The remarkable transformation of transportation and land use in Vancouver is widely recognized both locally and globally, but there has been little quantification of its impact. This paper is concerned with measuring two elements of the transformation. First, the spatial distribution and intensity of metropolitan Vancouver's overall transit supply and demand during which rail rapid transit was expanded. We query whether changes to transit service corresponded with expected spatial effects of rail rapid transit: in particular, the service immediately surrounding railway stations, coupled with declines in area transit lines. Further, we examine to what extent the actual locations of transit service areas identified as regional town centres in metropolitan land use plans. Second, we examine urban form and transport network and its influence on the evolution of spatial form and transport in the Vancouver region. Our interest is whether the city-region's urban form and transport integration can be regarded as a dominant factor in attracting ridership, or something exceptional about the configuration and service levels on the public transport system, whether and to what extent both influences work in unison. To assist this examination, we compare Vancouver to a sample of other New World cities experiencing urbanisation and transport decisions during the same era, consisting of the six largest Australasian cities and Vancouver's Pacific neighbours, Seattle and Portland.

## 2. Background: Vancouver's Transport Planning Legacy

In a comparison of Vancouver with his native Melbourne, Mees (2007) highlights how Vancouver bucked a nationwide trend of increasing urban travel times during the 1990s. In 2005, it was the only metropolitan area to record a three-minute drop in the average workplace commute against an average nine-minute increase across Canada. From the longest average commuting times among Canada's six largest metropolitan areas in 1995, Vancouver fell into third place behind Toronto and Montreal by 2005 (Statistics Canada, 2005). This position in the 2011 National Household Survey (NHS, Statistics Canada, 2012) was accompanied by a growing public transport mode share (19.7% of all journeys in 2011, *ibid*). It was achieved in the absence of major infrastructure projects to explain these two reasons Mees (2007), and later Stone (2013), likened it to the historically successful, simultaneous pursuit of greater self-containment and reduced car dependency.

Among the factors that, in Mees' (2007) view, contributed to this great success in Vancouver are the coordination of metropolitan-wide land use and transport planning, a culture informed by genuine participatory elements and analytical rigour, the use of a zoning system to facilitate residential intensification in desired locations, and the support of regional governments in the planning and operation of public transport.

planning and transport administration was consolidated at a metro-regional scale planning agency Greater Vancouver Regional District (GVRD) established in 1967. A strong focus to inward growth, partially enforced by the city's constrained mountain ranges and coastlines, partially by controls on outer suburban growth and planning approval regimes to facilitate urban intensification. The focus on land use-transport integration saw a rapid transit system (SkyTrain) reintroduced to Vancouver in the 1980s. It was conceptualised to rely on feeder bus services and land use intensification in order to build its patronage, rather than on patronage drawn from park-and-ride facilities (comparable New World cities). The SkyTrain system is integrated with buses and forms a grid-shaped network across the core city of Vancouver, and to some extent the surrounding region (GVRD, 2010).

Planning strategies developed a strong focus on land use-transport integration. GVRD coordinated the release of a metropolitan strategy (Livable Region Strategy, 1999) and a transport strategy (Transport 2021, GVRD, 1993) designed to reinforce land use-transport integration. Infrastructure priorities and transport management principles in the transport strategy are aligned with the objectives of urban containment. Transit orientation was spelled out in the strategy to the extent that the GVRD expressly rejected road projects proposed by the province that were incompatible with the strategy's goals. Both strategies are based on the results of a series of studies. There is detail on the roles and responsibilities of various stakeholders in the strategy and in the plans and proposals. There is an absence of attempts to avoid accountability by vague language or by planning objectives (which can be misinterpreted) or by obfuscating the associated costs.

An influx of one million additional residents during the three decades from 1990 to 2020. Housing these people was to be primarily through residential intensification. At the time this was a discretionary zoning system in which local governments have the final say on the form and character of high-density development. The role of dispute resolution through the courts was minimised. Consequently municipalities successfully use this lever to direct growth into commercial intensification into transit-accessible precincts while enforcing growth management outcomes, and prevent their leakage into locations with inadequate infrastructure.

Public transport in Greater Vancouver is the responsibility of a regional agency. The province has responsibility for road infrastructure. Unlike the experience of Australia (GVRD, 2012) this is an exceptional and well-resourced multi-modal integration of transport and land use service planning that has made a critical contribution to enabling the public to cope with population growth as well as the transit-oriented objectives of the region.

### 3. Methods

#### 3.1 Transit coverage over time

This study of Vancouver's public transit service coverage, measured in frequency per unit, was undertaken in three main stages. The first stage involved the acquisition of bus routes and timetables obtained in paper format for the years 1981, 1991 and 2001, and downloaded from the transit operator's website for the year 2011. The challenge of this approach allows for the comparison of change over time. If relatively large spatial units were used to quantify service change, expected small scale changes such as the replacement of bus routes in favour of a larger and faster train, would be missed. While Vancouver's ferry stations, route and timetable information are all now available in electronic form, and schedules existed only on paper, in the timetables or the paper archives of the transit operator, the time line was commenced in 1981 because there was a full set of timetables, it

a few years before the first rail rapid transit line began operations. In addition, data were compiled, so that there were 10 year intervals.

Representations of the catchment areas of identified service levels were drawn on a 1 km (0.625 km) grid covering the metropolitan area. A grid cell was allocated with a particular service level whenever it came into contact with the 300-metre linear buffer of the associated station, the 150-metre radius of the associated semi-rapid bus stop or 700-metre radius of the associated ferry terminal. Buffers and station/stop radii are based on Euclidean distance. Average frequency values were calculated for the three steps between the years 1981-1991, 1991-2001 and 2001-2011 using ArcView. These three figures were then added to produce a composite figure representing change over the 1981-2011 period.

### 3.2 Spatial accessibility

An accessibility instrument, Spatial Network Analysis for Multimodal Urban Transport (SNAMUTS), was utilised to assess the interplay of land use patterns and public transport services from a variety of angles. This instrument is used to measure a number of different

- the operational input provided for public transport services relative to population density,
- the ease of movement these generate between centres of activity,
- the reliance of the network on transfers,
- the percentage of residents and jobs with walking-distance to public transport,
- the standard,

- the ability of users to access metropolitan activities within a fixed travel time,
- the potential spatial flow of travel opportunities across the components of the network,
- the potential resilience of the network and its elements to absorb further changes,
- the flexibility of users to navigate themselves through the city on public transport,
- friction losses from excessive waits or poor legibility.

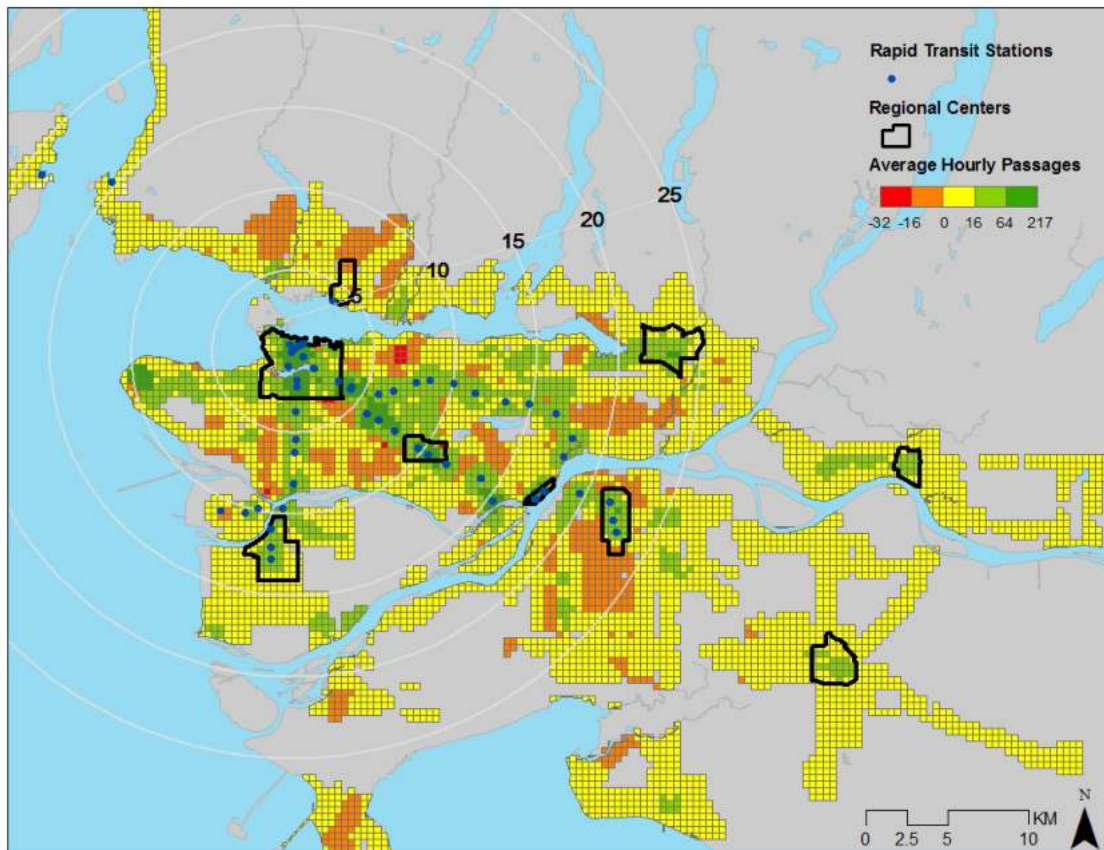
These factors are cast into a set of eight accessibility indicators. Space does not preclude a full description of each index including the formulas used for their calculation. For more information, find this in Curtis and Scheurer (2010), Curtis and Scheurer ([www.newworldcities.com](http://www.newworldcities.com)) and Curtis and Scheurer (2010). The analysis is applied to the public transport network as a whole and to a cohort of 100 activity centres across Greater Vancouver. The network and centres were developed by drawing on public transport timetables and a field visit to confirm activity centres. The results are compared to those gained from nine other New World cities in Quebec, the US, Australia and

## 4. Results: Changes in Transit Supply over Time

At a regional scale, transit service frequency increased substantially between 1981 and 2011. The most distinct nodes of extremely high increases in transit frequency increase stand out in the regional plans as well as the transit frequency maps. The eight designated regional town centres (Metrotown and New Westminster) appear to be the most significant nodes of transit frequency increase. In addition, there are an additional five nodes (UBC, Broadway-Commercial Drive station, Joyce Street Station, <sup>nd</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup> Street Station) that appear as significant nodes of transit frequency increase. The designated regional town centres do not appear. If the threshold for service frequency increase is lowered, two additional regional town centres (Coquitlam and Surrey) appear as significant nodes. At a lower level, municipal town centres identified in regional plan also appear as significant nodes. They have barely an increase over that found along some transit-rich corridors. The increases associated with rapid transit have not corresponded exactly with plans for activity centres or nodes or centres/sub-centres, corridors are an important spatial descriptor.

Measured in terms of service intensity, there were areas with gains and areas with losses in a year period. However, the magnitude of gains in intensity of service in a range of 1.9 to 3.6 passages per minute per hour (increases of between 1.9 and 3.6 passages per minute) were not matched by a decrease in any part of the metropolitan area. In other words, some places received service that was higher than any corresponding decline.

Map 1: Cumulative change in transit frequency, 1981-2011



The distribution of losses was distributed proportionately equally throughout the brackets based on CBD radii in multiples of 5 kilometres. The greatest gains were in the core (defined as an area within a 5 km radius of a central point in the CBD). The greatest declines were found adjacent to rail rapid transit in this metropolitan core: the decline in transit service was restructured following the introduction of rail rapid transit.

Transit service decreases occurred in some areas adjacent to areas of increase, but the introduction of rail rapid transit leads to consolidation. The higher level of public transit is concentrated in the core, or in one case semi-rapid buses and in another case semi-rapid bus routes. However, this is not true for all station locations. What made the difference was the presence of connecting bus routes and urban density (residences and/or jobs) in the core. This change. Interestingly, in such a scenario the pattern of sub-centre formation was different from that planned. It suggests a positive correlation of service increase in the CBD and with location relative to prior railway technology (trolleys and light rail). Vancouver's growth during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, game-changing gains

transit service levels were made, while in outlying areas which were developed relatively marginal increases are typical.

5. Results: Transit Accessibility in the Vancouver Region

5.1 Service intensity

The accessibility tool (SNAMUTS) sets a minimum standard for inclusion of public transport. It uses the weekday inter-peak public transport network and stipulates a minimum frequency on surface routes and a minimum 30-minute frequency on segregated rail services. The rationale for this is that this comes closest to serving the daily active commuter traveller who compares a public transport journey with one by car. The service intensity index (1) captures the number of public transport vehicles or train sets in simultaneous revenue service during the weekday inter-peak period, relative to metropolitan population. The figures shown are in relation to metropolitan population.

Table 1: Public transport service intensity in Vancouver and nine other New World cities. The index is the number of vehicles/train sets in simultaneous revenue service during the weekday inter-peak period, relative to metropolitan population, and relative to metropolitan population.

2011-12	Number of services	Services per 100,000
Vancouver	448	19.3
Adelaide	223	18.1
Sydney	654	14.9
Melbourne	536	13.4
Perth	218	12.6
Brisbane	233	11.6
Montreal	399	10.4
Portland	168	10.2
Seattle	271	10.2
Auckland	135	9.2

The index is influenced by the propensity of public agencies to put resources into public transport operation and offers a proxy for the priority with which public transport is funded relative to other public tasks. These figures also reflect an efficiency characteristic of public transport (a large number of small and/or slow-moving vehicles as part of the public transport network, such as buses running in traffic in congested conditions), service intensity figures are reduced. A significant number of services are offered through large and fast vehicles (such as light rail and rapid transit alignments) service intensity figures are reduced.

In Vancouver, there is a more pronounced role for buses and trolley buses in the public transport network. For example, in Montreal (which has only a handful of bus services entering the CBD) the index is significantly lower. The difference in service intensity results between the two Canadian cities is largely due to Vancouver's bus network expansion and average service frequencies are also significantly higher than in every other city in the comparison, including Adelaide which is only marginally above the minimum standard, but suffers from a far greater degree of bus congestion in the CBD.

5.2 Ease of movement (closeness centrality) and transfer reliance (degree centrality). The closeness centrality index (Table 2) comes closest to a traditional measure of accessibility since it only depicts the accessibility of the transport network; it does not take into account land use. The index measures travel impediment as experienced by users moving through the transport network. In addition to measuring travel time, it includes service frequency, which is important to public transport travellers. Cumulative impediment scores per journey are calculated as the average, non-weighted travel impediment (closeness centrality) between the reference node and other nodes in the network, selecting the route with the lowest cumulative impediment in each case. Lower values indicate greater ease of movement.

The degree centrality index (Table 2) measures the reliance of the network on transfer services on different routes to make journeys on the network. The figures refer to the average, non-weighted minimum number of transfers required between the reference node and all other nodes on the network. Lower values indicate lower transfer reliance.

Table 2: Average, lowest (best) and highest (poorest) SNAMUTS closeness centrality and degree centrality results in Vancouver and nine other New World cities.

2011 12	Closeness centrality (average)	Closeness centrality (lowest value)	Closeness centrality (highest value)	Degree centrality (average)
Vancouver	42.1	25.0	162.1	1.13
Montreal	47.1	28.1	130.1	1.38
Portland	57.4	34.6	171.5	0.79
Auckland	59.0	33.5	133.2	0.95
Perth	59.3	35.2	130.9	1.03
Adelaide	61.1	33.8	147.3	1.09
Melbourne	62.3	36.0	165.2	0.91
Brisbane	64.1	35.1	187.6	0.91
Seattle	64.3	36.4	149.6	1.07
Sydney	81.5	46.4	281.5	1.04

On the ease-of-movement index, Vancouver (alongside Montreal) significantly outperforms its New World peers. This measure is influenced by the spacing of the activity centres, urban compactness as well as average speeds and service frequencies of the services that link these centres. Missing links and a convoluted urban geography away from desire lines, in contrast, will negatively impact closeness results.

Vancouver's exceptional performance on this index can be associated with the operation of the SkyTrain system as the network's backbone: its high commercial speeds (and close separation) and high frequencies, generally of five minutes or better (facilitating efficient operation, which reduces the marginal cost of additional services), minimise transfer times on its routes. Map 2 shows how the best closeness values in Vancouver follow those of Montreal's metro system, though not driverless, shares similar characteristics. In contrast, the heavy rail systems of the Australasian cities and Portland's system have daytime service frequencies of fifteen minutes at best.

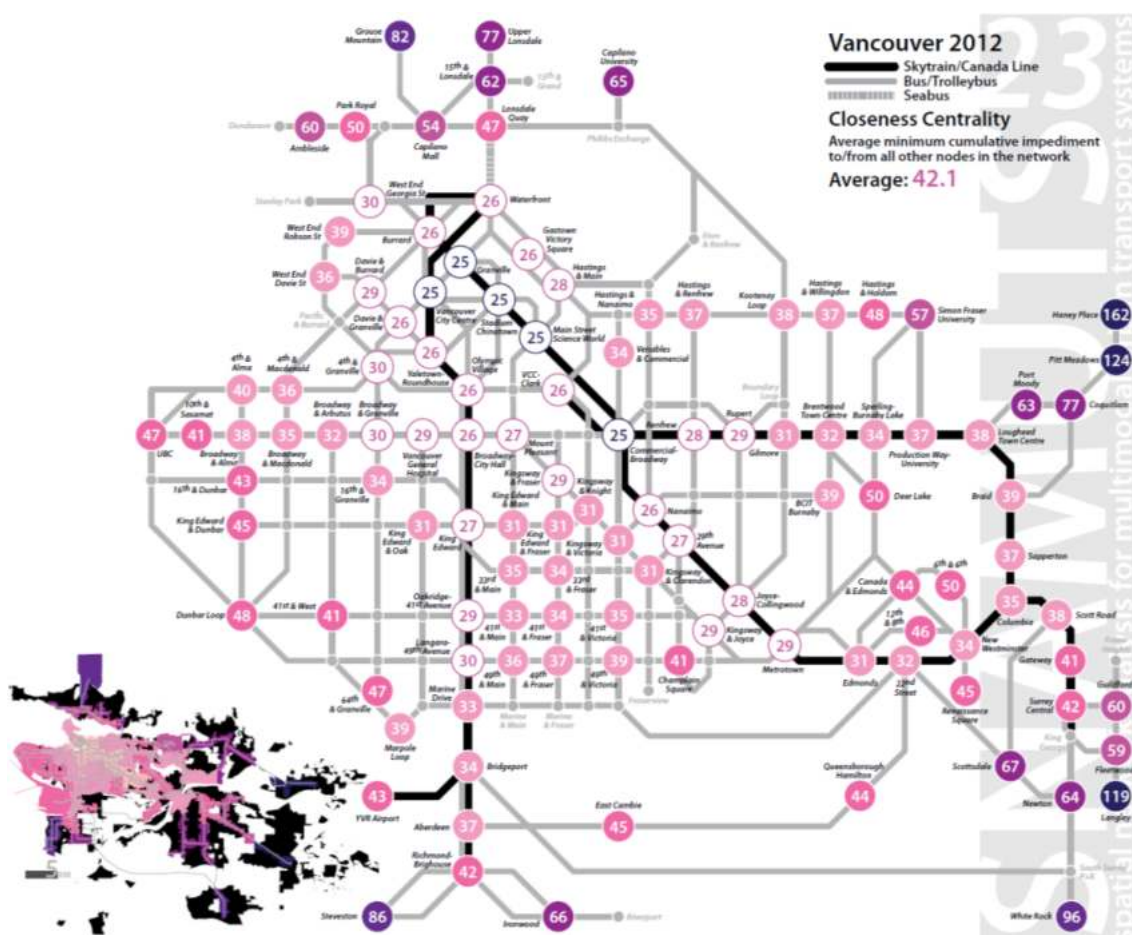
Another contributing factor for Vancouver's relative ease of movement on public transport is its grid-shaped surface network, made up of buses and trolley buses also operated by the same authority as the Skytrain. This can be seen in the relatively smooth decay in closeness centrality across most of the Burrard peninsula where the density of the surface network is high.

Vancouver's constrained geography appears to assist, rather than obstruct, the development of public transport, effectively containing a significant part of the urbanised area on a relatively narrow peninsula. In contrast to Sydney, Seattle and Auckland, where water bodies act as segregating factors, the public transport, as well as the road system, struggle to overcome the physical barriers.

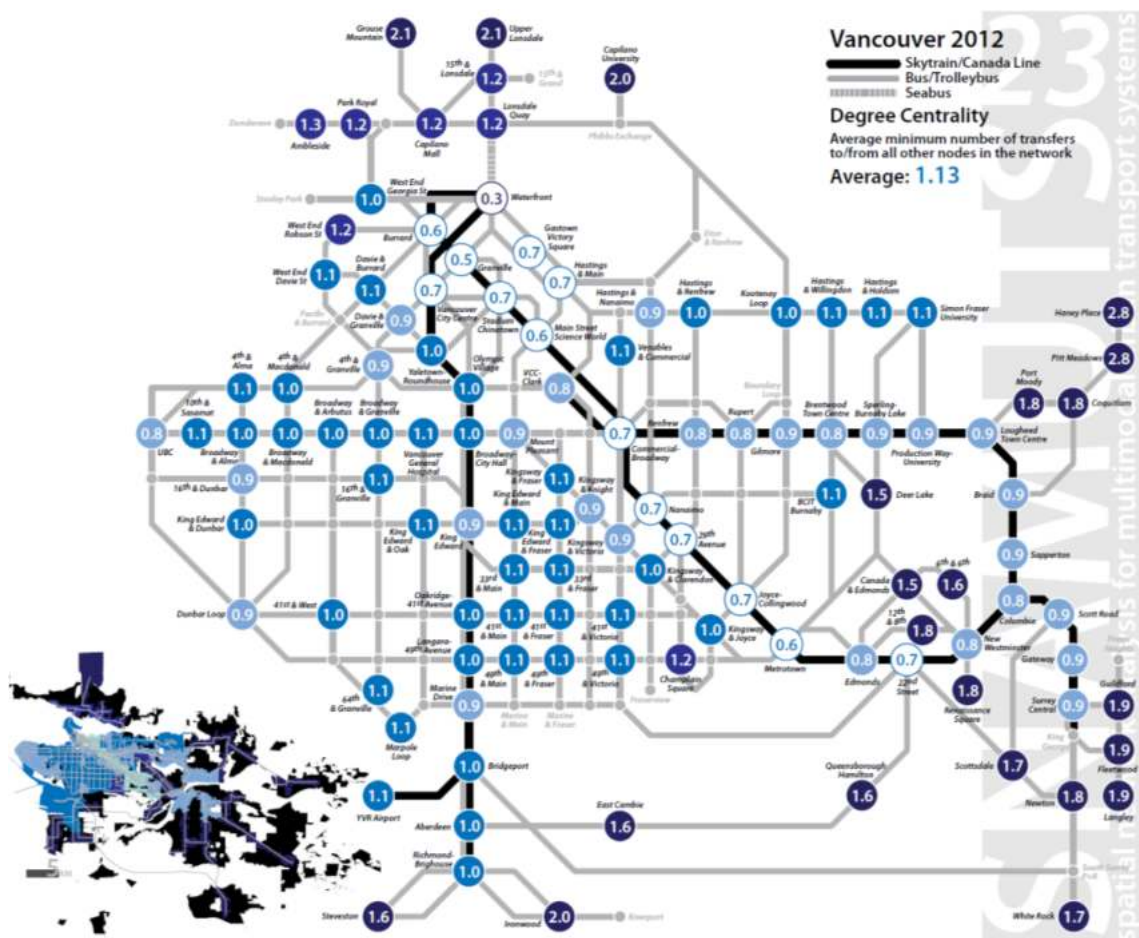
Vancouver and Montreal have the highest reliance on transfers in the New World cities. In both, there is a hierarchical network design which designates the (limited) rapid transit lines as backbone corridors and the (more widespread) bus networks as feeders and distributors. Vancouver, however, retains a greater role for surface modes in the city centre and thus has a higher number of transfer-free connections between CBD and suburban nodes than its Quebec counterpart (see Map 3). The most transfer-dependent nodes in the Vancouver region are located in the municipalities to the north, east and south where bus routes act more as classifiers than as connectors along corridors that extend across several local government areas.

Map 2: Closeness centrality in Vancouver's public transport network in 2012

Map 3: Degree centrality in Vancouver's public transport network in 2012







### 5.3 Network coverage and contour catchments

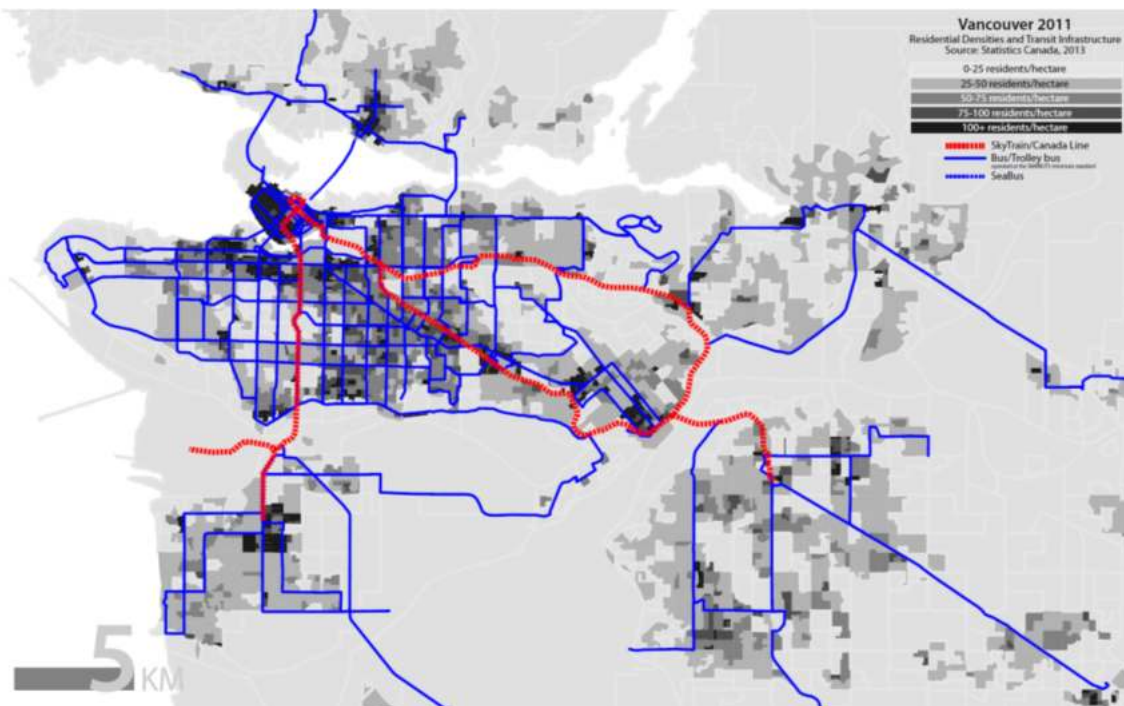
These two measures introduce a land use component to the transport assessment. Network coverage (Table 3) measures the percentage of metropolitan residents (walking distance (roughly 800 metres around rail stations and ferry terminals, bus and tram corridors) of public transport routes that meet the minimum service measure provides an answer to the question who gets access? It is an indicator of city as a whole is by public transport. The ideal result would be 100%. Contour catchment measures the percentage of metropolitan residents and jobs that can be reached from a node by way of a 30-minute public transport journey with a maximum of one transfer. Larger contours indicate larger catchments. This measure is more usefully considered for each central activity node used diagnostically to explore how well served are activity centres that draw in a large population (such as a university or main hospital).

Table 3: Network coverage and average 30-minute contour catchments in Vancouver and nine World cities.

2011-12	Network coverage (percentage of metropolitan residents and jobs)	Average 30 min contour (percentage of metropolitan residents and jobs)
Vancouver	61.4%	19.5%
Sydney	54.6%	8.3%
Montreal	49.3%	15.0%
Adelaide	48.8%	10.7%
Melbourne	46.8%	9.3%
Portland	41.7%	10.5%
Perth	41.4%	10.6%
Brisbane	37.5%	10.6%
Seattle	35.2%	8.4%
Auckland	32.8%	10.2%

Network coverage can be read as a proxy indicator for the willingness of public transit agencies to bring a good level of service to as large a share of the population as possible in competition with the deployment of operational resources on those corridors with the greatest potential for ridership growth (Walker, 2012). Hence, good results on this indicator are a reflection of a city's compact urban form which makes it easier to allocate limited resources to high-density residential and employment areas.

Map 4: Relationship between residential density and movement lines of public transport in Vancouver.

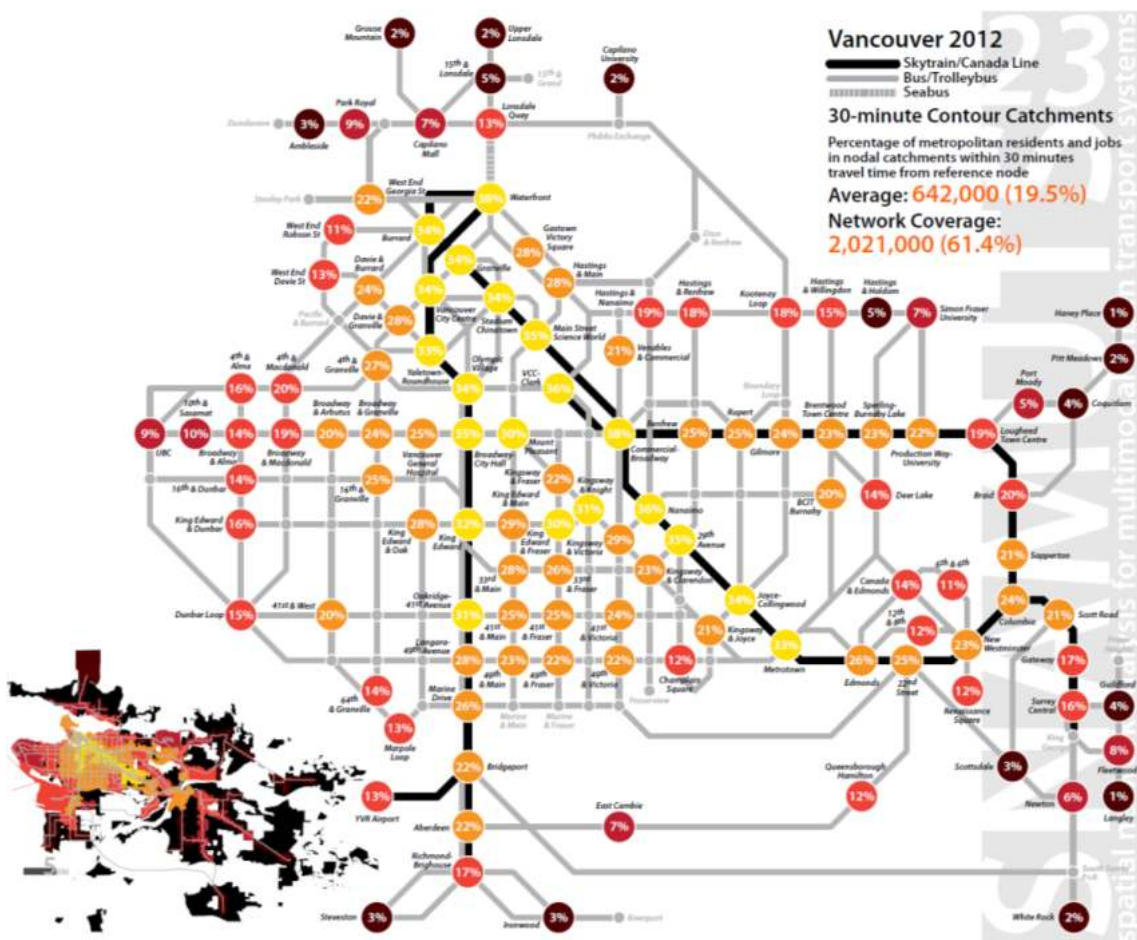


Vancouver's network coverage is greater than that of any other New World city, an achievement associated with the core city's dense surface network that covers within walking distance at the minimum standard. In suburban areas, public transport is corridor-based though, unlike in Montreal, these corridors serve all significant parts of the metropolitan area. While Greater Vancouver, like every other city in the New World, has a significant share of low-density, dispersed suburban development, the physical constraints of waterfronts, mountain ranges, an area of protected farmland and the Canadian-US border limit the spread of this urban form to the foothills in North and West Vancouver, forming the fringe of the metropolitan area.

Vancouver also leads the cohort of New World cities on the average 30-minute contour, a result associated with several factors that work in favour of successful land use patterns. The speed and frequency of the rail system in conjunction with the relatively rapid expansion of the bus and trolleybus system continues to exert an influence here. The geographical size of contour lines. In addition, it is likely that Vancouver's relatively effective policy to concentrate urban intensification programs into transit-oriented locations is succeeding by agglomerating urban growth around public transport, thus also increasing the density of origins and destinations along each contour line (Filion and Kramer, 2012; see also Map 4). Vancouver beats Montreal, a city which benefits from a larger heritage of older and traditionally denser urban form. Vancouver's Columbian counterpart, but arguably has a weaker policy to facilitate further growth around transit (Filion and Kramer, 2012).

Map 5 illustrates the importance of the SkyTrain corridors as well as the roads connecting them especially in the south-east of the core city (Main Street, Fraser River corridors) to maximise the expansion of contour catchments for a broad range of

Map 5: 30-minute contour catchments in Vancouver's public transport network in 2012



5.4 Spatial distribution of travel opportunities (betweenness centrality)  
 This index visualises how potential preferred travel paths (those that offer while also considering transfers and service frequencies) between any pair of weighted by catchment size and travel impediment, are distributed across the network which routes and nodes potentially attract the most through-put from travel opportunities the land use-transport system as a whole? Higher values indicate greater network

The concept of betweenness centrality has several sub-measures. Nodal betweenness describe the number of potential travel opportunities attracted to route segment (Map 6). Global betweenness (Table 4) is a measure adding the (number of activities connected divided by the travel impediment that separates nodes on the network, extracts the square root of this sum per node and then a proportion to the total number of metropolitan residents and jobs. It is used to level of presence of public transport movement opportunities for trip making typical path length measure (Table 4) is a proxy for the percentage of metropolitan located alongside a public transport journey of average length; it is influenced by land use activities around public transport nodes on the one hand (with higher the figures), and by the configuration of the network to facilitate travel along journey path (with greater encouragement for passengers to take detours in order higher-frequency services also inflating the figures).

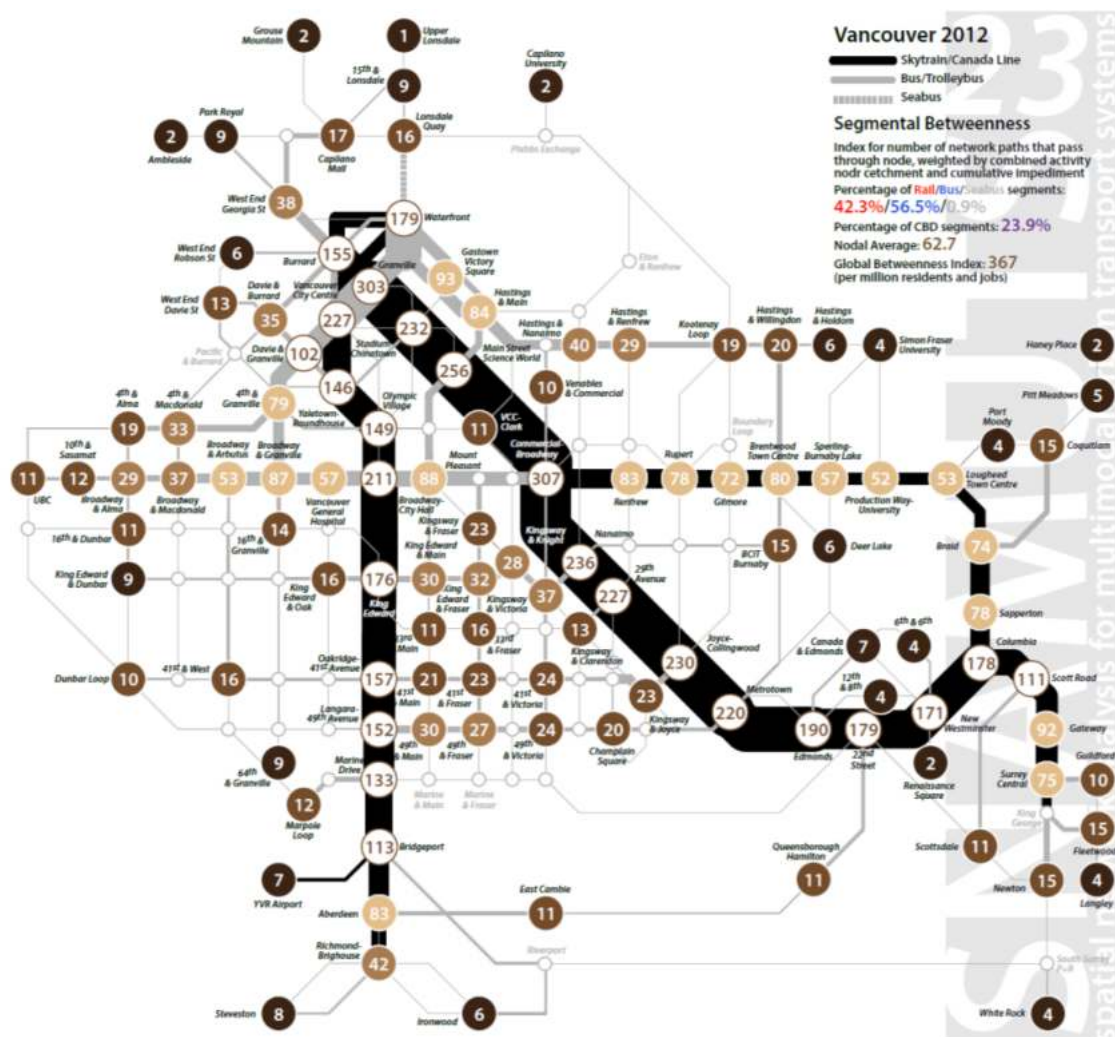
Table 4: Global and nodal betweenness centrality, and catchment of typical path length nine other New World cities.

2011 12	Relative global betweenness in	Average nodal betweenness	Catchment of typical path length
Vancouver	367	62.7	3.22%
Adelaide	289	24.4	2.36%
Montreal	274	77.6	2.51%
Perth	249	30.9	2.06%
Auckland	239	30.5	2.17%
Portland	230	35.3	2.67%
Brisbane	227	33.6	1.93%
Seattle	201	34.0	1.54%
Sydney	198	40.5	1.80%
Melbourne	175	33.1	1.55%

On the relative global betweenness measure, Vancouver significantly outperforms the New World sample, indicating a public transport system richer in travel opportunities. Ranked nodal betweenness figures, however, which place the British Columbian city (so Montreal) much higher compared to the relatively even field of the Australasian cities, point to some problems. They can primarily be attributed to the performance of the dominant modes operating in both cities – heavy rail and buses – which is not the case elsewhere due to the SkyTrain’s (and Montreal’s metro’s) high service frequencies and speeds. In combination with the easier legibility of both cities’ networks, these characteristics have the potential effect of attracting passengers to relatively direct geographical connections may be available on the bus network. Vancouver, for example, includes a big loop enclosing the core city’s south eastern suburban area neighbouring Burnaby. A number of bus routes cut through this area in relatively direct circuitous SkyTrain trip will get most passengers to their destination faster than the travel opportunities are then counted at every rail station along their geographical path and together drive up average nodal betweenness results. The same observation for the average catchment of typical path length measure, on which Vancouver also leads by a considerable margin. It responds to common geographical detours making average nodal betweenness and traversing a greater number of intermediate centres than strictly necessary. These effects may be of great disbenefit to the user per se, the potential concentration of a limited number of high-performance corridors away from their desired lines leading to congestion, as well as higher than necessary energy use per passenger. This is a concern to the public transport planner wary of the system’s overall efficiency.

Map 6 shows the extraordinary concentration of potential travel opportunities along the SkyTrain and Canada Line corridors, complemented by only a limited number of streetcar routes, chiefly along Broadway, Granville Street, Main Street and Hastings Street.

Map 6: Betweenness centrality in Vancouver’s public transport network in 2012



The segmental betweenness index can also be queried in terms of the percentage travel opportunities attracted to congestion-prone areas such as the CBD, and peak performers in terms of passenger capacity and competitiveness to the speed and amenity. Table 5 shows the rankings of the New World cities – the higher the greater the share of travel opportunities captured by rail modes or within the CBD.

Table 5: Percentage of metropolitan-wide segmental betweenness values on segregated modes, and in the CBD area, in Vancouver and nine other New World cities.

2011-12	Segmental betweenness (all rapid rail)	2011-12	Segmental betweenness (CBD area)
Sydney	57.9%	Vancouver	23.9%
Melbourne	52.2%	Portland	27.9%
Montreal	50.1%	Montreal	30.3%
Portland	49.9%	Brisbane	31.8%
Perth	46.5%	Sydney	32.2%

2011-12	Segmental between (all rapid rail)	2011-12	Segmental between (CBD area)
Vancouver	42.5%	Melbourne	32.7%
Brisbane	35.7%	Auckland	35.4%
Adelaide	21.3%	Perth	40.0%
Auckland	15.2%	Seattle	42.8%
Seattle	8.8%	Adelaide	62.0%

Despite the aforementioned potential sponge effect of high-performance rail of travel opportunities over the network, Vancouver's overall rail share on slightly below that of New World cities where heavy or light rail systems were the backbone of public transport in recent decades (Montreal, Portland and Vancouver's SkyTrain network arguably lacks the maturity of Montreal's metro 20 years earlier) or Perth's suburban rail system which, like Sydney's and Melbourne lines that have been continuously operated as commuter rail services for a century, extensions currently under way, such as the Evergreen Line extension to Port Moody (under construction) and the proposed Broadway corridor along the spine of the city should lift Vancouver's share of travel opportunities on rail modes, and thus provide time-competitive public transport for choice travellers, towards (or even beyond) the city.

Of all the ten New World SNAMUTS cities, Vancouver has the lowest concentration of travel opportunities in the CBD area, despite the city centre's relatively high density of transport routes. This measure, which one would usually expect to drop with growth, is regarded in the context of the relatively peripheral location of Vancouver's geographical heart of the regional settlement area, a circumstance that also applies to Melbourne. Moreover, it is indicative of a network configuration that succeeds in deflecting travel away from the CBD area by offering an array of strong orbital connections, and is more developed in Vancouver than in any of the other cities in the sample. The advantage is the ability of public transport to penetrate into markets other than classic CBD and thus provide viable travel alternatives to a larger share of everyday transport.

### 5.5 Network resilience

This index extracts a ratio between the betweenness index and the actual carrying capacity of each component of the network, determined by the service frequency and the mode (mode size). It is designed to assist in differentiating network elements by their resilience to increases in patronage derived from further urban growth or improvements in public transport share. The index follows a scale from a positive value of 30 to open-ended negative figures indicating greater potential stress or lower resilience. Individual results should invite closer scrutiny whether they constitute a cause for concern.

Table 6: Network resilience (segmental congestion index) in Vancouver and nine other World cities.

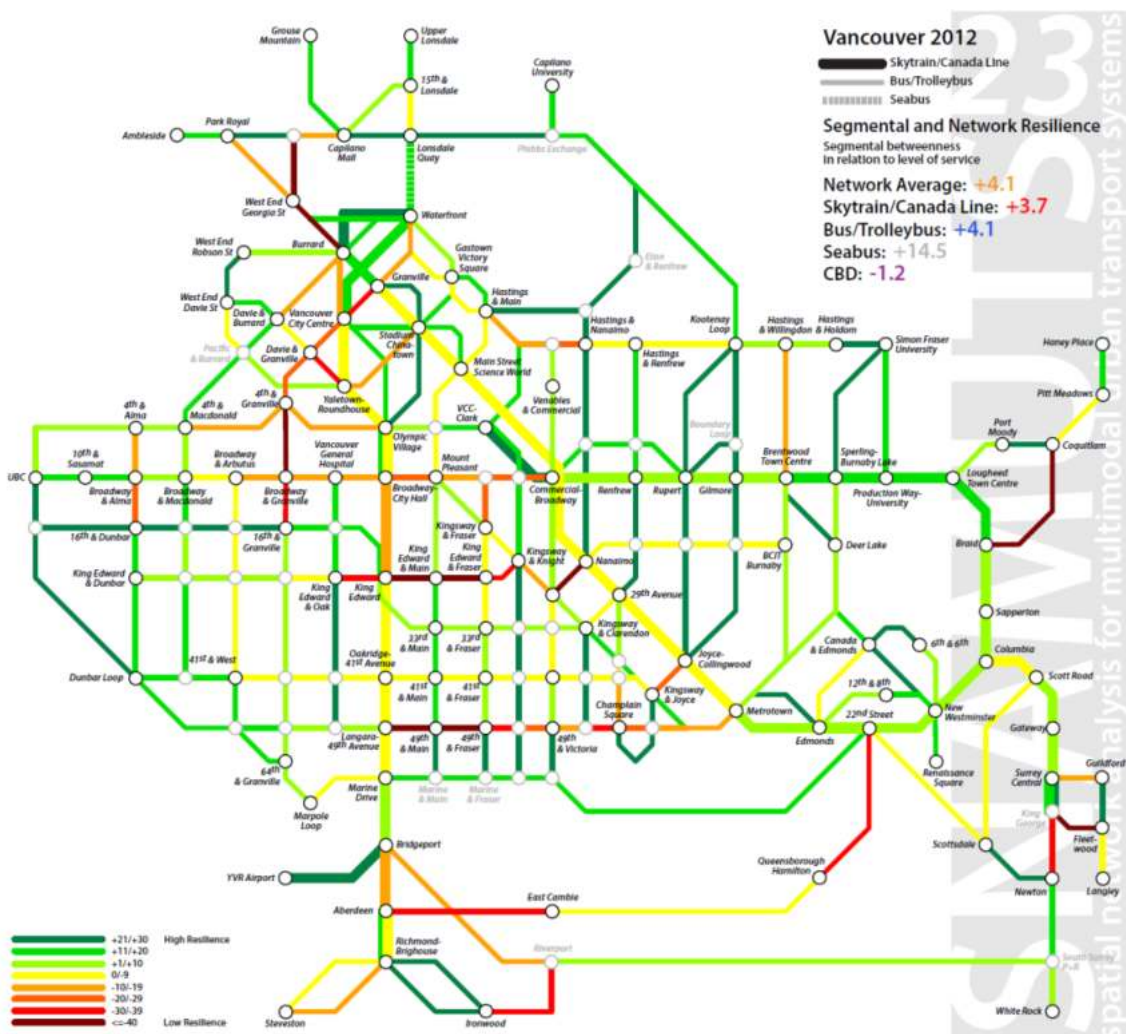
2011-12	Average network resilience
Perth	+11.4
Adelaide	+9.1
Melbourne	+7.6
Auckland	+6.2
Brisbane	+5.6
Portland	+5.6
Vancouver	+4.1
Sydney	+2.4
Seattle	+2.1
Montreal	0.9

Network resilience figures are influenced by the operational input provided (concentration of land uses around public transport relative to levels of service, network to offer several alternative routes for as many origin-destination pairs as possible helps distribute the transport task). In the real world, low resilience can turn into overcrowding of services or into a form of latent or suppressed demand for public transport.

Vancouver's average network resilience is lower than that of any Australasian city; it is also inferior to Portland; in turn, it is greater than that of Seattle and the performance of the Quebec and Washington metropolitan areas on this index can be attributed to their comparatively low level of service intensity (see above), the same is true for Montreal. Rather, stress appears to be mounting in three key areas (Map 7). First, there are corridors in outer suburbs such as Port Moody/Coquitlam and Surrey/Langley where SkyTrain extensions or light rail are under way or proposed. Second, there are trunk lines which experience pressures from the aforementioned sponge effect as well as their design for relatively short train and platform lengths. Third, bus corridors in the core city that may not currently meet the potential for movement opportunities that their position in the land use-transport system would suggest. Broadway corridor, this also seems to hold true for King Edward Avenue and 49th Street parallel to Broadway but further south and at a greater distance from the CBD. These resilience gaps can manifest as an inability of the public transport system to accommodate passenger growth of the magnitude experienced during the last decade, unless network expansion continue at a rapid pace.

Map 7: Network resilience in Vancouver's public transport network in 2012





### 5.6 Flexibility of movement (nodal connectivity)

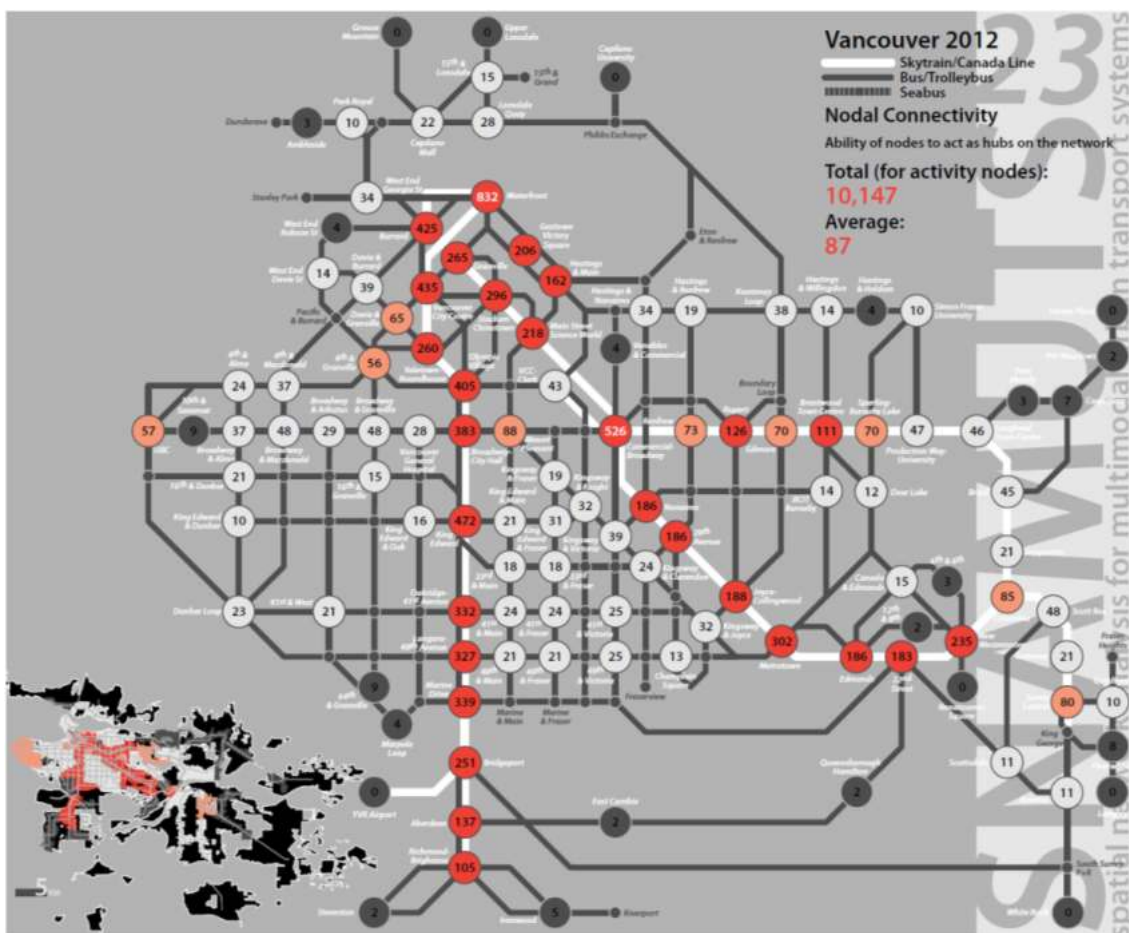
This measure captures the flexibility of users to incorporate particular locations without having to rely excessively on timetable consultation or other forms of information. It is composed of the number of links converging in each node as well as the average transport mode(s) provided on each link. It is thus designed to assess the suitability to enable go anytime, anywhere mobility across the urban structure. It can be used as an indicator of the suitability of particular locations for land use intensification. Better connectivity, and a node with a result in excess of 100 can generally be perceived as easy to reach on public transport by both trip makers and property owners.

Table 7: Nodal connectivity in Vancouver and nine other New World cities.

2011 12	Nodal connect (average)
Vancouver	87
Melbourne	82
Sydney	77
Montreal	52
Brisbane	42
Seattle	26
Portland	26
Perth	19
Auckland	13
Adelaide	12

Nodal connectivity results are influenced by the frequency and utilisation of public transport as well as the configuration of the network: the more multi-modal transport opportunities to travel in a range of directions there are, the higher the nodal connectivity index. Table 7 illustrates that all but two nodes with a count on this index higher than the rest of the sample are located along the SkyTrain network, highlighting the importance of this infrastructure for land use-transport integration in Vancouver. The very high scores along the Canada Line are supportive of the proactive plan for land use intensification along the corridor (Vancouver, 2011). Vancouver leads the sample on this index (Table 7), even though this score can be expected to drop with declining city size and hence, network complexity. This result underscores the relative success of transit-oriented development strategies in reducing unplanned passenger movement between a many centres along Vancouver's key urban corridors. In most other New World cities of Vancouver's population size or smaller, nodal connectivity scores (100 or above) are confined to the respective CBD areas.

Map 8: Nodal connectivity in Vancouver's public transport network in 2012



### 5.7 Composite accessibility index

The composite index is designed to provide a benchmark measure. It is derived from several individual indicators (closeness centrality, degree centrality, average catchment, nodal betweenness, nodal connectivity and resilience) weighed by a coefficient of the absolute presence of travel opportunities (global betweenness) in relation to population and employment, and network coverage in relation to network geographical congruity of the network. A high score in the composite index indicates that the integration of land use and public transport is strong, and a score in excess of 20 indicates a node in the highest (dark green) colour bracket on Map 9.

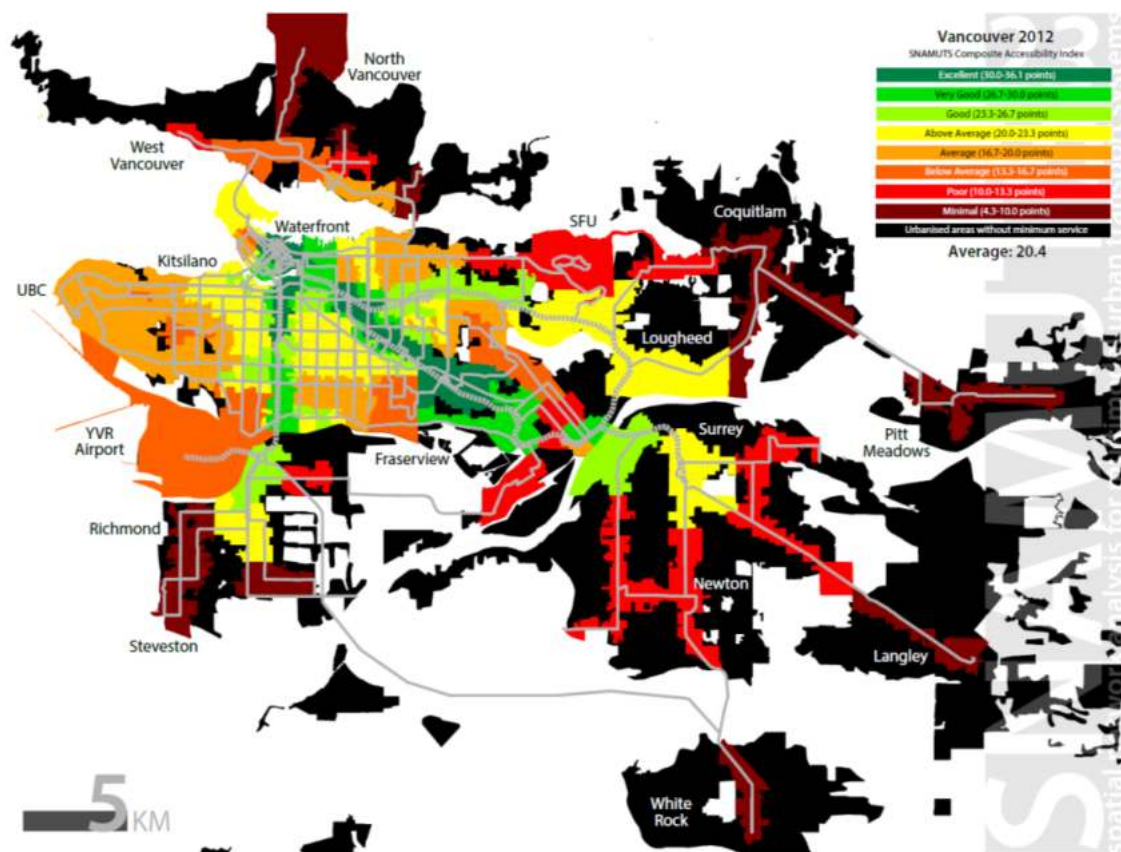
Table 8: SNAMUTS benchmark composite accessibility index in Vancouver and nine other cities.

2011 12	Benchmark composite accessibility index (average)
Vancouver	20.4
Montreal	17.1
Melbourne	14.9
Portland	14.5
Brisbane	13.7

2011-12	Benchmark composite (average)
Perth	13.5
Sydney	13.2
Adelaide	12.9
Auckland	12.4
Seattle	12.2

On the average result for this index, Vancouver leads its cohort of New World cities by a considerable margin. This is primarily the outcome of a comparatively widespread network facilitating relatively fast and frequent movement over an urbanised compactness is achieved by both topographical factors and a long-standing intensification around public transport nodes. This is most visible along the main corridor where almost all activity centres return composite scores above Vancouver's high average. Neighbourhoods of Kitsilano–West Broadway, Shaughnessy, Mount Pleasant–Riley Park, Cedar Cottage, South Hill–Sunset and Hastings–Sunrise are located away from the main corridor; their above-average accessibility results to the multi-directional grid formed by streetcar and trolleybus lines. In contrast, composite accessibility drops towards the periphery, including in the CBD fringe neighbourhood of the West End as well as in the UBC and Marpole. North and West Vancouver suffer in accessibility terms from their distance from the core city by way of the Burrard Inlet, while the outlying suburbs of Richmond, Coquitlam, Langley and White Rock are characterised by a public transport accessibility (familiar from other New World cities where corridors with reasonable bus service) alternate with sizeable patches of dispersed activity where public transport services fail to meet the SNAMUTS minimum standard (if the

Map 9: SNAMUTS Benchmarking Composite Index in Vancouver's metropolitan area in 2012



6. Conclusion

The SNAMUTS analysis characterises Vancouver’s public transport accessibility in a New World context, albeit with a mounting resilience problem that calls into question its ability to sustain its recent rate of growth in transit patronage without accelerating, the pace of network and service expansion. Of interest from an integration perspective, however, is the degree of consistency of these trends with the regional growth strategy. Did the infrastructure program of the past three decades provide transit supply in already transit-rich areas (see Walker’s thesis above) while neglecting other areas, so, this would contradict the finding for Vancouver having the best network coverage in North America and Asia.

Furthermore, did transit supply increases favour the metropolitan strategy or the regional strategy? The result of this appears mixed. Four categories are evident:

- 1. designated centres that grew strongly in transit supply (central Vancouver, Westminister)
- 2. designated centres that grew moderately in transit supply and/or infrastructure (Coquitlam)
- 3. designated centres that grew weakly in transit supply (Langley, Pitt Meadows, Vancouver)
- 4. and centres without a strategic designation that still grew strongly in transit supply (Broadway, 2<sup>nd</sup> Avenue/Joyce-Collingwood, Edmonds, and Steveston, Marine Drive, UBC)

Are these outcomes primarily a result of market forces or of planning regimes? How do accessibility play in this? Other than UBC, all examples of the fourth type are

excellent categories of the SNAMUTS composite index. This brings us back to the question: has Vancouver's investment program since the 1980s divided the city more into transit-poor components? Or is the situation more aptly described as a case of corridors of transit-richness into what was previously a uniformly transit-poor city? It is not possible to improve the situation in every neighbourhood simultaneously where major infrastructure is involved, but what is evident is that most of the SkyTrain and historic regional light rail lines that likely had a considerable impact on settlement in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and thus laid the groundwork for the urban intensification around major transit corridors was also more continuity with the surface transit system (and possibly, associated land use) in Vancouver than elsewhere due to the survival of the fixed infrastructure trolleybus system. In future research endeavours, we hope to explore how these transit corridors from an early 20<sup>th</sup> century orientation to a 21<sup>st</sup> century transit orientation in the same locations can be characterized and fit into evident transit supply and accessibility trends.

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