CREATIVE SERVICES IN VANCOUVER:
A CASE STUDY OF YALETOWN AND VICTORY SQUARE

by

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the role of creative service firms in the functioning of the economic, social and physical fabric of Vancouver's urban core and specifically in the spatially distinctive design areas of Yaletown and Victory Square.

The creative service sector is comprised of businesses that provide design services to both the public and private sectors. Creative services are relatively understudied. This thesis thus provides fresh insight regarding the creative service sector as a subsector of producer services (the fastest growing sector of employment in urban areas) and specifically discusses their role within the City of Vancouver.

To this end, a literature review of related urban planning and geography theory is combined with a review of Vancouver's recent development as a centre catering to advanced services, and an empirical study of creative services in downtown Vancouver. The issues addressed include urban economic restructuring, the role of producer services in urban economies, the role of creative services as a type of producer service, the land use and location patterns illustrative of creative services, and the importance of land use planning that successfully integrates a diversity of urban functions, including creative services, within the urban core. The potential impacts of major downtown land redevelopment on design neighbourhoods in Vancouver is also discussed.

Research methodology included mapwork showing the locations of creative service firms within Vancouver's central area and in-depth interviewing and detailed analysis of twenty six Architectural, Graphic and Interior Design firms in the neighbourhoods of Yaletown and Victory Square. Yaletown as an established design district and Victory Square as an emerging design district, provided the basis for a comparative neighbourhood level study.
The findings support the hypothesis that creative services are integral to the City of Vancouver in the sense that they help support the downtown corporate complex. In addition, they are instrumental in the upgrading of dilapidated buildings and neighbourhoods. Firms are characterized by their tendency to agglomerate in inner city neighbourhoods, relative youth, and small size. Linkages with both corporate and creative services suppliers are highly localized in the downtown, while client locations tend to be more dispersed.

Understanding the role of creative services as a subsector of producer services, as a support service to business services in downtown Vancouver, and as generators of urban economic growth; in addition to the importance of inner city neighbourhoods as locations for creative service firms, are important factors to consider during the current phase of land use restructuring in downtown Vancouver.
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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1. Purpose and Objective

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the role of creative service firms in the functioning of the economic, social and physical fabric of Vancouver's urban core and specifically in the spatially distinctive design areas of Yaletown and Victory Square.

Creative services are an emerging and significant subject of study for policymakers and planners in relation to their role in economic, social, and environmental systems. From an economic standpoint, creative services add to the local economy in the sense that they create value and are a value added activity, and that gains in creative services and design productivity enable further income gains to accrue to interrelated sectors. Furthermore, creative services provide jobs in urban areas, and as creative services grow in importance, so too does the number of jobs provided within the sector. Creative services are notable from a social perspective because of the impact which they have on neighbouring communities, the ability of design areas to positively affect the social character of urban areas and the consequences which design districts have on neighbouring land uses. Finally, creative services are of environmental importance because good design should lead to more responsible use of resources, and potentially to a decrease in the use of scarce resources.

This study is topical in terms of its general present day policy relevance and specifically in relation to planning initiatives currently underway in Vancouver. Major restructuring of land uses in Vancouver's central area will have a profound impact on creative services firms, and the neighbourhoods in which they are located. Proposed land use and zoning changes on the downtown peninsula, subsequent social changes in the demographics and population of the inner city as a result of an increase in the number and type of residences downtown, and
economic development programs being considered for various areas in the downtown core will all impact the location and functioning of Vancouver's creative service sector.

2. Definition
The creative service sector is comprised of businesses that provide design services such as graphic design to both the public and private sectors. Design services and applied design are some other terms used to describe creative services. All three terms are used interchangeably in this thesis.

Creative services are a subsector of producer services, the fastest growing sector of the economy in the past few decades. Producer services are services that cater to intermediate, rather than to final demand. Architectural design and apparel design are examples of creative services. In this thesis, a distinction is made between corporate producer services (e.g. legal services) and creative producer services on the basis that while both are subsectors of producer services that serve an intermediary function in the economy, they are differentiated by their locational needs, values and structures.

3. Background
Three previous studies of the creative service sector in Vancouver have been carried out. These include Mary Shaughnessy's 1988 SFU Honours Essay entitled "Vancouver by Design: A Profile of the Applied Design Sector in Vancouver's Central Business District", Andrew Young's 1989 SFU Honours Essay "The Impact of Education and Training in the Applied Design Sector of Vancouver: A Geographical Assessment", and Design Vancouver's "B.C. Design Service Sector: 1990 Survey." Each study has in turn called on the need for more research to further the understanding of the role that creative services play in Vancouver's economy and ways in which to enhance that role.
Creative services have been identified as an increasingly important influence in the economic development of British Columbia's Lower Mainland. Furthermore, creative services also have a notable impact on the social and cultural milieu of the city.

In spite of previous and ongoing work, the creative service sector remains relatively understudied. This can be partially explained by the fact that creative services do not fall neatly into any one economic sector, but rather are viewed as a mix between the 'hard' services in the corporate complex and the 'soft' services on the fringes of the urban economy such as the arts. This thesis thus provides fresh insight regarding the creative service sector as a subsector of producer services and specifically discusses its role within the City of Vancouver.

4. Locational Context

Creative services are typical of producer service firms in that they tend to agglomerate in central city locations. However, whereas some types of producer services have been decentralizing to suburban office parks, the creative service sector, in general, does not appear to be following this trend. Creative services tend to locate in areas with a strong sense of character, history and distinctiveness; a special milieu or ambience.

Previous studies have shown that the majority of creative service firms in British Columbia are located in the Lower Mainland, and that within the Lower Mainland, a central Vancouver location close to the Central Business District (CBD) is the most common (Design Vancouver, 1990). For these reasons, this study focuses on design services located within the City of Vancouver, and more specifically, in Vancouver's central area. The definition of Vancouver's central area, as used in this study, is taken from the City of Vancouver's Central
Area Plan.

A case study of design firms in Yaletown and Victory Square was carried out to develop an understanding of the locational context, interfirm linkage patterns, neighbourhood milieu, employment characteristics and future prospects for design firms in Vancouver. The case study also compares and contrasts the two different neighbourhoods, using Yaletown as an example of an established design district and Victory Square as an example of an emerging design district.

5. Significance
While there are a number of studies about the effects of urban economic restructuring on employment levels in urban areas, creative services have been largely ignored by researchers. This thesis attempts to broaden the range of research on individual subsectors of producer services, and presents an original look at creative services in the context of specific design districts in downtown Vancouver.

6. Scope and Limitations
Using mapwork to identify agglomerations of design firms in the city, it was determined that the majority of design firms were located within the central city. Furthermore, Yaletown and Victory Square were chosen as two distinct study areas, reflective of established and emerging design districts respectively.

The findings are specific to the City of Vancouver in light of it being the sole arena of primary research, although the study may be a useful starting point for other North American cities with significant agglomerations of creative services firms in inner city areas.
7. Method
This thesis combines a theoretical literature review with an empirical study of creative services in the City of Vancouver. As there is very little literature specifically on the creative services sector, the literature review centres around where creative services fit into the established theoretical framework dealing with urban economic restructuring, the growth of the service sector and producer services, and urban land use.

The empirical study is the major component of the thesis and affords a unique contribution to the existing literature. The firm sample was developed using the Yellow Pages as a directory to design services. Preliminary mapwork of creative services was carried out to determine the major locations of design firms in the central city. Yaletown and Victory Square were chosen as established and emerging design areas respectively and design firms in these locales were mapped out. Three types of creative service firms: Architecture, Graphic Design and Interior Design were chosen for further detailed study. Lists of firms were compiled using the Yellow Pages accompanied by follow up phone calls to develop listings of creative services firms in the two neighbourhoods. Following an introductory letter to 69 firms, 26 interviews were set up and carried out. Both quantitative and qualitative data was obtained and analyzed as a result of the interviews.

Information and data collected from all sources was reviewed and analyzed in order to arrive at the conclusions in this thesis.

8. Organization
The thesis is organized into five chapters. Chapter 1 provides an introduction to the creative services sector in general terms, and establishes the purpose, scope and significance of the study.
Chapter 1: Introduction

The theoretical foundations upon which the research is based are developed in Chapter 2. A literature review of related subjects includes discussion of urban economic restructuring, service economies and producer services, and inner city land use. The relationship of each subject to an improved understanding of creative services is then discussed.

Chapter 3 discusses the development of Vancouver as an international service centre, and the importance of producer services to Vancouver's economic success. Creative services, as a subsector of producer services, are elaborated upon and studies related to creative services in Vancouver are highlighted. The manner in which the City has planned to accommodate design firms in the central city is also discussed. Furthermore, the case study is introduced by means of mapwork of creative services in downtown Vancouver, a brief history of the two study areas, and a discussion of current land use issues affecting the development of the two design districts under study.

Chapter 4 presents the empirical results of the study. A survey of 26 creative service firms in these two neighbourhoods provides insight into the creative service sector in Vancouver. The findings are presented based on the similarities and difference of each of the two neighbourhoods and also based on the findings of the three different creative service firm categories surveyed.

Chapter 5 concludes the thesis by summarizing the findings of the research, and discusses planning and policy implications associated with the creative services sector.
CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

1. Introduction

a. Purpose

The purpose of this chapter is to review the literature related to creative services in an attempt to define the role that creative services play in the economic and physical development of the modern city. Most of the literature review, however, relates to creative services in a peripheral manner, as this is a relatively recent and understudied topic.

b. Relationship to Creative Services

This review provides the framework from which an understanding of creative services, as a service sector, can be developed and better understood. At the end of the chapter a number of ideas are extrapolated from the literature and applied to the creative service sector. Part of the purpose of this chapter is to narrow the scope of the study, by starting out with the broad issue of urban economic restructuring, and moving sequentially down to the specific issue under study: creative services as a type of producer service in the central city.

Some salient features of creative services should be noted prior to engaging in this literature review. Creative service industries are predominantly located in the central city. The reasons for this concentration include both dependence on agglomeration economies and personal lifestyle choices of designers. A strong appreciation for older buildings and diversity of character seems to exist among designers. Furthermore, design firms require proximity to suppliers as a means of enhancing their ability to provide specialized services on flexible production schedules. Typically, this is the type of atmosphere that is found in older, central portions of traditional cities.
c. Theoretical Issues to be Discussed

The literature review centres around defining how the established literature relates to the creative service sector. The topics of urban economic restructuring, service economies and producer services, and inner city land use are discussed in subsequent sections.

2. Urban Economic Restructuring

a. Definition and Description

Urban economic restructuring is a term used to refer to changes in the economic activities occurring in urban centres and the restructuring of the spatial distribution of employment activity in metropolitan areas. The use of the term stems from noted widespread employment change indicating a decrease in the number of manufacturing jobs coupled with an increase in service sector employment. Other impacts associated with urban economic restructuring include changes in the social, environmental, spatial and cultural functions of cities affected by restructuring.

In general, economic restructuring has occurred as a direct result of the restructuring of the relationship between capital and labour (Castells, 1985, 20). Whereas capital was historically closely tied to the city, region or country in which it originated, it is no longer restricted in such a manner. The advent of improved and more efficient methods of transportation and communication, in addition to international deregulation policies, have made capital more mobile. The increased mobility of capital has become manifest in the movement of industry from developed to developing countries, where the costs of production are lower. Not only can growing transnational corporations take advantage of cheaper production costs in developing countries, but also they are able to gain access to populous markets in previously unexploited regions (Soja et al, 1983, 13-24).
One explanation for the restructuring process is the shift from Fordist to post-Fordist production techniques. Fordism is a set of practices that are associated with workplace innovations put in place by Henry Ford in the 1920s. Fordism is characterized by four main elements:

1) Mass production, assembly line techniques, and economies of scale that led to cheaper products and mass consumption;

2) Highly articulated division of labour;

3) High wages that commensurated with enhanced productivity as a result of assembly line work; and

4) A reduction of the work day to eight hours, which Ford thought would create an efficient workforce with stable family units and incomes large enough to buy the products that were being produced (Filion and Mock, 1991, 407).

From the 1920s to the late 1960s, the Fordist regime of accumulation was the dominant industrial and economic structure in the developed world. However, the Fordist system reached a point of crisis by the 1970s which developed as a direct result of Fordist achievements involving mass production and mass consumption abilities. The move to post-Fordism ensued.

Post-Fordism is characterized by:

1) The movement of industrial production activity to developing nations where unionization is not a factor and labour is cheaper;

2) A greater reliance on interfirm relations which takes the form of subcontracting and outside purchases of goods and services that used to be produced in-house;

3) Vertical disintegration in the form of divestment; and
4) Greater use of new technologies such as computers and telecommunications (Dicken and Lloyd, 1990, 393-4).

Post-Fordism is especially characterized by its flexibility and decrease in standardization in comparison to Fordism.

The city's changing function from that of a goods-producing centre to that of a service-producing centre is a direct result of the economic restructuring which has taken place on a worldwide scale. Economic restructuring is not a cyclical change, but is rather a process of permanent transformation (Kunin and Knauf, 1992).

An understanding of the restructuring process and its impacts on urban areas is prerequisite to ascertaining the continually changing role of various economic sectors, including that of the creative service sector, in a restructured urban economy. Among other things, economic restructuring has dramatically affected the levels, types and locations of employment, the use and value of urban land, and the role of the city in a regional, national and international sense.

**b. Impacts of Restructuring on Employment Trends**

Following World War II and up until the late 1960s, manufacturing employment grew steadily in the developed world. However, during the 1970s and 1980s, industrial employment rates registered devastating declines. For example, of 35 millions jobs lost in the United States between 1969 and 1976, half were in the industrial heartland; and 2 million factory jobs were lost in Britain between 1971 and 1981 (Hall, 1988, 344). In Canada, manufacturing related employment, as a proportion of total Canadian employment, declined from 24.5 percent in 1951 to 16.8 percent in 1986 (Filion and Mock, 1991, 408).

As a result of economic restructuring, employment growth has shifted away from
manufacturing and towards service activities. While both the absolute and relative numbers of industrial employment have declined, the preeminence of the service sector in developed economies has increased throughout the past three decades. The service sector has replaced the industrial sector as the major source of employment in the industrialized world (Davis and Hutton, 1992, 11). In a recent study of twelve metropolitan areas, it was discovered that three of every four jobs in each city were service sector jobs (Daniels, O'Connor and Hutton, 1991, 3).

Economic restructuring has created the opportunity for small, specialized businesses, often in labour intensive fields, to enter into subcontracting relationships with large firms (Law and Wolch, 1993, 179). As a result, new job creation is occurring in small, niche services that are dependent on contract and subcontract work for their survival.

c. Impacts of Restructuring on Urban Centres

Certainly, cities have been differentiated during this period of post-industrialization, according to their ability to adapt to structural economic change. Vacated inner city industrial areas have enabled some cities to redevelop lands to their benefit, while others have struggled to attract new business. Some cities which initially developed as industrial centres, have been rendered obsolete by the globalization of production (Logan and Swanson, 1990, 8). At the same time, a new hierarchy of urban centres has emerged, favouring those cities that have large, highly skilled populations, and a strong basis in innovative service activities.

In many respects, the role of the central city as an anchor of economic activity has been lessened as a result of restructuring. Along with changes associated with the move from Fordist to post-Fordist production techniques came a shift of many industries and businesses away from central city locations. The spatial relocation of business was characterized by
suburbanization in the 1970s, exurbanization in the 1980s and an increasing sense of spacelessness in the 1990s. Yet, at the same time as location appears to have become less important for business interaction, some observers have noted that "the growth of service production in general has tended to reconcentrate industry in the larger centres that have been least affected by manufacturing job loss" (Allen, 1988, 133). According to Dennis Hay (1990, 52), the older, more traditional cities are serving an increasingly important role for office, financial and knowledge based services, rather than as a place of production.

An understanding of the processes leading to the restructuring of the economy, and the types of changes that they are resulting in, are essential in maintaining and increasing the vitality of land uses in the city. Adaptation and change in response to the restructuring processes underway are essential components of ensuring that the city remains a viable location within a metropolitan area and within the global hierarchy of urban centres.

3. Service Economies and Producer Services
   
   a. The Diverse Service Sector
   
   In light of the fact that services are the most important source of employment and have been identified as an integral component of urban economic growth, it is important to review the dynamics of the service sector and especially the producer services: a subsector of services that has been identified as the greatest service sector employment producer.

   While there has been very little study or writing directly related to creative services, theoretical foundations and empirical research discussing the growth and change of the service sector in general is quite well developed. Initially, research on the growth of services centred around the switch from an industrial to a service based economy. Now that economies of the developed world have been in this post-industrial phase for over two
decades, the literature has begun to distinguish between different types of service activities.

The service sector is not homogeneous, but rather can be divided into a variety of heterogeneous parts. One such categorization, as used by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), divides the service sector according to employment in six different categories (see Table 2.1).

**Table 2.1: OECD Classification of the Service Sector**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service Type</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Producer Services</td>
<td>*F.I.R.E., Legal, Creative Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Services</td>
<td>Aesthetic Services, Housekeeping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Administration</td>
<td>Government, Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health and Welfare Services</td>
<td>Medical Care, Social Counseling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail</td>
<td>Grocery, Clothing, Appliances</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation, Utilities, Communications</td>
<td>Trucking, Electricity, Cable</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*F.I.R.E. = Finance, Insurance and Real Estate

This division is not mutually exclusive: there are producer services that are also personal services, and there may be instances of overlap between public administration and health and welfare services. Nevertheless, the division acts as a starting ground whereby the characteristics of the service types can be differentiated.

**b. The Geography of Services**

The service sector is not only diverse in the types of functions it serves, but also in the variety of labour geographies exhibited by service firms. Concomitant with the shifts from Fordist to post-Fordist production techniques came a lesser importance being placed on the centrality of production location. As a result of urban economic restructuring, and an increasing reliance on new technologies including computers and telecommunications
improvements, noticeable shifts in office location ensued.

Greater freedom to locate offices in increasingly dispersed areas was one result of the restructuring process. Headquarters of large companies initially remained in large urban centres due in part to the need for personal interaction and the prestige associated with a Central Business District (CBD) location; however, back office functions such as clerical and administrative workers who did not require face to face interaction to carry out their jobs were moved to less expensive and often more convenient suburban locations and office parks. Over time, head offices, typically located in the prestigious CBD, began to decentralize as well. Improved communications technology lessened the importance and necessity of face to face meetings, and inner city congestion, parking, and travelling times reduced the efficiency of central city office locations. Today, office location is by no means restricted to the CBD, but rather is dispersed throughout the metropolis, and to some extent multinucleated in regional centres. Dennis Hay notes that "the predominant character of urban development has now changed from suburbanization to decentralization to deurbanization" (Hay, 1990, 40).

Despite the spatial reorganization of office location and suburban growth of office buildings, the central city remains an important physical and economic anchor for the service sector. Indeed, according to John Allen, the service sector is increasingly moving towards spatial reconcentration in the city. Furthermore, notes Allen (1988, 32), "the centre is the major site of production, a working hub rather than simply a site of financial or strategic control."

A hierarchy of metropolitan centres has developed and is identified by a few 'world cities' (e.g. London, Hong Kong, New York) followed by second (e.g. Toronto, Montreal) and third tier (e.g. Vancouver) metropolitan areas. Each of these centres is characterized by a strong component of service based employment, especially headquarters of multinational
companies, in the urban cores.

Studies of the service sector indicate that different types of services show various location propensities. For example, personal services tend to locate near the populations they serve and may follow residential development. Headquarters of large firms tend to locate in the CBDs of the largest metropolises where face to face interaction is a prerequisite for doing business and where prestigious office tower locations often outweigh the disadvantages of high rents and congestion. Other services that tend to agglomerate in urban centres are producer services.

c. **Producer Services**

Producer services are services from businesses to other businesses that serve as inputs into the production of goods or other services and enhance the value of the final product. For example, engineering firms are a type of producer service that provide an intermediary service in the development of a final product (e.g. bridge design). Producer service firms usually sell to the producer rather than the consumer.

With post-Fordist production methods resulting in both lateral and vertical divestment of previously in-house activities such as accounting, engineering, advertising, and so forth, the growth of producer services as independent businesses resulted. Producer services have become an important source of employment growth and service exports in urban areas. The export of services is now recognized as an active generator of local income and employment, whereas in the past, the role of services was thought to be passive, and solely in support of export oriented manufacturing activities (Davis and Hutton, 1991).

Peter Daniels best sums up the role and reasons for growth in producer services in the following way:
Growth in demand for producer services can be traced to several, and sometimes interrelated factors. Assuming that business enterprises are anxious to sustain any given level of output at an acceptable cost it may be necessary to establish whether any of the inputs can be obtained at a lower cost from outside the firm. This is especially relevant for the assembly of specialized inputs which may be only required very infrequently, but are important when the demand does arise. In these circumstances it will very likely not be cost effective to maintain in house labour to occasionally provide the input when, because several firms may require the same input at different times, an external organization can be engaged full time in providing it. This will lower the unit cost for the external organization of providing the input as well as to the use. It is also likely that it can also be supplied more efficiently and exactly at the time required (Daniels, 1988, 111).

Thus, the growth of producer services is explained in terms of large corporations divestment of previously in-house activities, as a result of the increasing subcontracting of complex tasks, and by new types of specialty services being subcontracted rather than developed in-house by the firms that require these services on an intermittent basis.

The growth rates of producer service activities are exemplified by the following statistics: between 1970 and 1990 the number of lawyers in Washington, D.C. increased by two hundred percent, and the number of people employed as architects in the entire United States increased by nearly one hundred percent (Knox, 1993a, 25). In fact, a recent study of 12 metropolitan areas found that since 1970, producer services consistently emerged with the highest average annual employment growth rates (Daniels, O'Connor and Hutton, 1991).

Central city locations are becoming less important for many types of businesses as technological advances have enabled people to do work from a variety of dispersed locations. Yet, despite decentralizing trends, producer services still exhibit strong tendencies to locate in large urban areas. This may be related, in part, to the existence of headquarter offices in these cities which tend to encourage the existence of locally supplied producer services.
A study of producer service locations in Edmonton found that firm location was closely related to the type of service offered by the firm. For instance, engineering and computing firms that exported their services outside of the metropolitan area preferred locations in suburban office parks. Conversely, legal, employment and management services which required frequent face to face contact, were heavily concentrated in inner city areas (Michalek and Fairbairn, 1993).

Small, relatively young producer services likely benefit from urbanization economies - being close to a variety of other types of services where constant interaction and contact is facilitated and helps to establish vital business contacts. Furthermore, incubator areas may be preferable for new, small firms and are typically found in the central city (Chu, 1991).

It appears that different types of producer services prefer a variety of locations depending on the nature of their work. Export based producer services that locate in suburban office parks or residential areas are in a sense 'footloose', whereas corporate types of producer services that serve head office business functions locate in the prestigious offices of the CBD due to accessibility, face to face contacts, amenities, centrality, and prestige. Creative services tend to be urban based, but prefer older buildings with accessibility to the core and regional centrality. Since they largely cannot afford and/or would generally not choose CBD locations, they tend to locate in fringe areas surrounding the city and in other inner city neighbourhoods including former industrial zones.
4. Inner City Land Use

\textit{a. Land Use in the Urban Core}

In their 1926 concentric zone model of economic land uses in urban areas, social ecologists Park and Burgess identified three major types of land uses in urban cores. The Central Business District (CBD) housed corporate, retail and entertainment facilities in the heart of the city, a fringe surrounding the CBD contained wholesalers, and the zone in transition contained factories and industrial sites being forced out of the city due to increasing rents (Yeates and Garner, 1980, 198). Burgess posited that as the CBD expanded, land uses in the zone in transition would be deleted by new development. As more businesses could afford to pay higher rents to be at the centre of the city, it was believed that the zone in transition would be amalgamated with the CBD (Catalano, 1983, 73).

However, costs associated with the friction of distance declined more considerably than expected, and land development leapfrogged over the zone in transition rather than taking it over as expected. These fringe areas remained distinctive from the neighbouring CBD and external residential areas long after the urban area had expanded outwards (Whitehand, 1987, 83). The zone in transition has continued to be an area with dilapidated buildings surrounding the prestigious CBDs of many cities for decades (Catalano, 1983, 83).

\textit{b. From Urban Renewal to Heritage Preservation}

Attempts to deal with decaying fringe zones were exercised through notoriously unsuccessful urban renewal programs beginning in the 1930s and reaching a climax in the 1960s. In both the United States, and to a lesser extent in Canada, large scale clearance of decayed urban areas was promoted as a means of improving both the urban economy and the quality of life for low income urban residents. "It was a symptom-oriented program aimed at physical rehabilitation without a comprehensive understanding of the social, economic and physical dimensions of the problem" (Goldberg and Seelig, 1975, 10). Quite simply, urban renewal
was neither efficient nor effective in improving residential life in inner city areas, nor in revitalizing business areas.

Perhaps one of the positive outcomes of the urban renewal program was the interest it generated in inner city areas. Ironically, following the abandonment of urban renewal schemes in the 1960s, some inner city zones underwent revitalization as a result of increased community coherence and recognition of the value of preserving historic buildings and neighbourhoods. Paul Knox refers to revitalized inner city areas as 'reclaimed landscapes'. The term refers to "the reclamation of older fragments of central city areas through preservation and conservation" and is a direct result of the failure of urban redevelopment schemes (Knox, 1993b, 227). According to Knox, historic preservation "not only reclaims buildings from the ravages of physical decay but, much more significantly, reclaims them from the ignominy of social decline" (Knox, 1993b, 228). Rather than destroying the past, "legitimacy was gained by looking to the past and the restoration of place" (Reid, 1991b, 12).

Instead of knocking down entire neighborhoods and starting from scratch, neighbourhood preservation using existing infrastructure became the norm in the 1970s and 1980s. Design services facilitate the 'recycling' of inner city areas by using former industrial or warehouse buildings for new types of producer service, office-based functions (Hutton, 1994b, 16). Not only are buildings recycled in this manner but entire neighbourhoods can also be preserved or upgraded in physical terms as a result of increased activity in formerly vacant areas.

c. Gentrification

As a direct result of the restructuring process, and concomitant with the shift towards heritage preservation, came pressure to reorganize the interior space of the city (Harvey, 1989, 264). The development of the service sector as a growth industry, and the
manifestation of power in tall office towers in the urban core led to a revitalization and emphasis on the central city's vitality. Renewed interest in urban lifestyles and urban living led to shifting priorities for urban land users.

The growth of the service sector means that an increased number of professionals are employed downtown, and combined with preservation initiatives in historic neighbourhoods, the desire to reside in urban areas appeared to increase in many cities. The success of historic preservation is credited by some for fostering the spread of gentrification (Knox, 1993b, 230).

The British term 'gentrification' was coined to describe the process of renovation or revitalization of older buildings and neighbourhoods previously inhabited by lower income groups by middle class urban professionals (Ley, 1991b, 330). Barton Reid refers to the middle class urban dwellers as the 'new middle class'. According to Reid (1991a, 12), a transition occurred whereby the "arts oriented sub-culture facilitated the emergence and spread of a distinctive new middle class real estate market in the inner city." Reid says that the inner city was seen as the 'promised land', and as its bohemian culture lost its marginality and was integrated into mainstream culture, inner city real estate became more lucrative. Inner city spaces are being transformed from economically marginal uses into high scale residential and commercial areas by the new middle class and urban professionals will continue to redevelop inner city fringe areas into privileged spaces in the future (Reid, 1991a, 27).

Case studies of gentrified areas have shown that gentrification proceeds in cycles of residents. In the beginning, students and professionals in arts and media may begin to restore decaying urban areas. Members of soft professions including design and teaching, are followed by lawyers, doctors and businesspeople in successive stages of gentrification (Ley,
David Ley has observed that one of the most important influences behind gentrification is the nature of the urban economy. He notes that "an urban economy oriented towards advanced services and a white collar employment structure, with a disproportionate concentration of jobs in downtown cores produces a middle class market interested in inner city living" (Ley, 1991a, 183). Further, cities with high levels of cultural and environmental amenities are more likely to experience gentrification. Although the act of gentrification within a city may be expected based on the existence of a number of criteria, the spatial effects of gentrification are chaotic rather than predictable in pattern.

As inner city land is redeveloped in growing urban areas, low rent activities that occupy inner city fringe areas can become displaced by residential and upscale office uses. Although these fringe areas may have been leapfrogged over in the first instance, development pressures associated with the successful transition to a service based economy increase the desirability and necessity of urban land (re)development in the inner city.

5. Relationship of Literature Review to Creative Services

The growth of creative services firms has occurred as a result of restructuring processes and the shift from Fordist to post-Fordist production techniques. Whereas design was previously carried out in-house by large corporations, the vertical divestment of service activities such as accounting, advertising, and graphic design resulted with the shift to post-Fordism and was manifest by the desire for businesses to become more flexible and competitive.

Creative services are clearly a subsector of producer services, and exhibit similarities with the producer services sector. For instance, creative services such as interior design are
required intermittently by large firms and are thus more cost effective if supplied externally. Creative services also tend to be specialized and customized, and are provided more efficiently by experts who specialize in providing only a specific type of creative service, catering to a niche market. Creative service firms thus enter into subcontracting relationships with corporate companies, supplying customized products on a flexible and competitive subcontracting basis, and contributing to the value, quality and competitiveness of the end product. The relationship between producer services and creative services is further elaborated on in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

In addition to the growth of creative services firms attributed to economic restructuring and shifts in production methods, creative services have also grown as a result of increased importance being placed on design and pop culture in the post-industrial and post-modern eras. The growth of creative services is spatially represented by their impact on modern urban landscapes. Creative services and other pop culture industries "rent or build settings appropriate to their own corporate image and to the aesthetic preferences of key employees" (Knox, 1993a, 27). Distinctive images and environments are developed by design based services through the recycling of low rise buildings and neighbourhoods on the fringes of the corporate city.

The establishment of creative services districts on the fringes of urban areas has become a feature common not only to world cities, but also to second and third order cities that are increasingly oriented towards service exports as a means of generating economic growth. Not only do design services perform functions for businesses which are exported globally, but also architecture, planning and design services are increasingly marketed on a global scale (King, 1993, 101-102).

With gentrification of inner city areas, design services may in fact be the first to move in, but
as areas become more successful, recognized and desirable, lower rent occupants are forced to move out through increased rents and further development pressures. Creative services firms form a component of occupants that cannot afford significant rental increases, and are thus displaced through successive phases of gentrification. With urban growth and change, there comes a danger that creative services, in addition to other business services that support the vitality of the CBD, will not be adequately provided for in terms of land and building space in growing urban centres. There remains a distinct possibility that if these services (which are crucial to the effective functioning of the corporate office complex) are displaced, that negative implications will be felt throughout the city's economy.

Similar to the importance of producer services in propelling the latest round of 'world' cities to global status, perhaps it will be business support services such as creative services that will have propulsive impacts for urban economic growth in the next phases of urban economic restructuring. Without an adequate understanding and inventory of the role which these services play, it will not be possible at the least integrative level to plan for the needs of the creative services sector, and at a broader level, to determine their impact on the functioning of the entire urban system.
CHAPTER 3: VANCOUVER AND THE CREATIVE SERVICES SECTOR

1. Vancouver's Development as an International Service Centre

a. Historical Development of Vancouver

In 1886, the Canadian Pacific Railway reached an agreement with what is now the City of Vancouver to move the railway terminus from Port Moody to Vancouver in return for 6,458 acres of land. The decision to locate the western terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) in Vancouver was the single most important factor in the city's growth in the late 1800s and early 1900s. A study by Robert MacDonald "demonstrated that Vancouver's economic growth from its founding in 1886 to the end of its first expansion phase in 1893 was mainly the result of CPR activities" (Eagle, 1989, 215). Between 1901 and 1911, Vancouver went from being the 10th largest to the 4th largest Canadian city. It emerged as the third largest Canadian city in the 1931 Census and has remained in that position in the Canadian urban hierarchy ever since (Artibise, 1979, 146). It is presently the fastest growing Canadian metropolis (Hutton, 1994, 19).

The railway company's domination over large parcels of land shaped the growth of the city, especially the downtown. Vancouver's initial business district was located at Water and Cordova Streets (Wood, 1976, 69). However, when the CPR built their first train station at the foot of Granville Street in 1887, businesses began to relocate to this area, and Vancouver's commercial district developed adjacent to the new business district along West Hastings (Kalman, 1974, 63). To this day, the development of former railway lands continues to reshape downtown Vancouver's landscape and skyline (Hall, 1994, B1; Bell, 1994, B4).

Vancouver's development as a railway and port terminal had an important influence on the city's early expansion. Although it is a transshipment point, the city never developed
as a major manufacturing centre. Industrial development in Vancouver was uncharacteristic of industrializing cities because there were few external markets which it could capture, and the small size of the local market did not generate significant demand. The region's isolation from other large centres of population meant that there was little reason to manufacture goods here which could easily be manufactured closer to their point of consumption. As well, half of British Columbia's population resided, and continues to reside, in the Vancouver region. This left the remaining 99% of the province's land sparsely populated (Magnusson, 1990, 175). For the most part, the industrial base that did develop in Vancouver served either local markets or the predominant resource extraction sector of the province's interior. The shift from an industrial to a post-industrial economy was relatively painless for Vancouver. This is largely due to the fact that Vancouver "lacked traditional Fordist industries and never developed into a classic industrial city" (Barnes et al, 1992, 180).

b. Vancouver's Role as a Service Centre

Vancouver has always had a strong component of service based employment as it served as the headquarters of provincial activity. Its roles were those of distribution and control of the peripheral, resource rich areas in the provincial hinterland (Barnes et al, 1992, 180). Vancouver's role as the provincial centre of service activity and administration is evidenced by the fact that almost every large corporation based in British Columbia, and most major or international firms active in the province have their regional offices in Vancouver. Four-fifths of the Vancouver labour force is classified as being in the service sector (Ley and Hutton, 1987, 129).

In 1961, most services in Vancouver were personal services that catered to private households. By the late 1980s, the number of personal services offered had grown, but the proportion of the workforce employed in personal services declined. Conversely,
"marketed producer services, which produced and exchanged information and depended upon electronic communications networks, had risen to prominence and were heavily concentrated downtown" (North and Hardwick, 1992, 219).

Vancouver has changed from a regional financial control centre to an internationally important business location. Vancouver's role as a regional service centre in the 1950s and 1960s has evolved to that of a cosmopolitan centre "with a global role and reach in the 1970s and 1980s" (Barnes et al, 1992, 173). This evolution is in large part attributed to two interrelated factors: the growth of producer services, and a transition from focusing exports on staples to exporting both staples and services.

It is in the field of service exports that Vancouver has attained significance as an international centre. In the early 1970s, most services exported from Vancouver were predominantly exported to other areas of the province. The Port of Vancouver and Vancouver International Airport have facilitated Vancouver's reorientation towards international markets. With the growth of the service sector, and especially of producer services including consulting, engineering, and computer technology firms, exports to the United States and Asia form an increasingly significant destination for the export of Vancouver's services (Davis and Hutton, 1992, 21). The relative proportion of services exported from Vancouver to the rest of the province declined at the same time as the importance of exports to external markets increased.

c. Growth and Importance of Producer Services

Producer services, as defined in Chapter 2 of this thesis, are services that cater to intermediate rather than final demand. Common examples include financial, legal, engineering, consulting and design services. Producer services tend to locate disproportionately in central areas with large concentrations of population, established
business headquarters and high quality amenities (Daniels, 1988). In Vancouver, the growth of producer services has had an impact on both the city's employment structure and its built environment.

Producer services have become a significant source of employment in the Vancouver region. This is illustrated by the fact that in 1961 the 'services to business' labour force was one-seventh as large as the manufacturing labour force, while in 1991 it was nearly equal to the manufacturing labour force for the entire municipality (Hutton, 1994b, 20). Producer services are an especially important feature of the City of Vancouver. A 1987 study by Hutton and Ley found that producer service firms and associated employment are "disproportionately located in the urban core, the downtown and its fringe areas, which received four-fifths of new positions in the city and a quarter of new metropolitan jobs in the 1971-1981 period" (Hutton and Ley, 1987, 129). Between 1971 and 1980 the number of firms classified as engaged in business and professional services within the downtown area grew from 1,800 to 3,500. This increase represents a near doubling of firms in a ten year time period. Employment in business services in the metropolitan area quadrupled during the same time period (Davis and Hutton, 1992, 16). Of all the producer services located in the Greater Vancouver region, over 70 percent are concentrated in the City of Vancouver (Barnes et al, 1992, 187).

Producer services in Vancouver have grown as a result of what Hutton and Ley term the 'downtown corporate complex'. The corporate complex is the set of mutually interdependent, highly specialized service activities which tend to locate in the central business district of large metropolises. It is comprised of both head offices and producer services which provide business services to corporate headquarters (Hutton and Ley, 1987). A stratified random sample of 88 producer services firms in downtown Vancouver showed that firms were characterized by their small size. Forty percent of
firms had less than five employees and fewer than 15% had over 50 employees (Hutton and Ley, 1987, 130). Firms surveyed indicated that downtown locations were advantageous primarily due to their proximity to other business contacts, and also because of accessibility to customers and convenient access to other business services. Firms that placed a high degree of importance on face to face meetings also placed the highest degree of importance on downtown locations. Firms which indicated that they would consider moving outside of the downtown said they would move either because of high downtown rents or congestion and traffic problems (Hutton and Ley, 1987, 132).

The Hutton and Ley study concluded that the network of service inputs to both head offices and producer services are geographically localized, and that this contributes to a multiplier effect which spurs regional growth (1987, 134). This multiplier effect is further amplified by the fact that very few corporations retain producer services firms located outside of Vancouver. Thus, the downtown corporate complex of producer service firms and head offices is both mutually interdependent and mutually reinforcing.

The combination of producer services growth and concentration of office space in downtown Vancouver has had an impact on downtown Vancouver's skyline and also on the distribution of office space in the region. Most high rise office towers in downtown Vancouver were built in the past twenty five years, and office space on the downtown peninsula has tripled in that time (City of Vancouver Planning Department, 1993a). Despite decentralization attempts and the Greater Vancouver Regional District's (GVRD) policy of encouraging multinucleated regional centres throughout the region, downtown Vancouver remains the primary office location in Greater Vancouver. In 1990, the downtown contained 56% of all office space in the GVRD, and the City of Vancouver contained 80% of total office space in the GVRD (North and Hardwick, 1992, 218). While this growth has in many respects vaulted Vancouver into the position of an
international city with significant business linkages internally and externally, the
displacement of other types of land uses in the city's core is a direct result of substantial
office growth.

It is increasingly recognized that while producer service firms initially established and
grew in response to the needs of local head offices, their specialized services are
exportable to other urban markets. Vancouver's economic focus has shifted from the
export of raw goods to service exports. This shift is exemplified by the fact that "most of
the goods and resources now exported from Vancouver are mined, harvested, produced or
manufactured elsewhere, but, the services exported from Vancouver usually originate in
Vancouver itself" (Vancouver Economic Advisory Commission, 1983, 1).

The profitability of service exports on an international basis, especially producer services,
is a major growth field. Vancouver's location on the Pacific Rim is serving as an
excellent base for the location of export based producer services. A shift in the market
orientation of Vancouver's producer services is evidenced by studies which indicate that
national and international markets have become significantly more important service
export destinations relative to local, provincial and national markets (Davis and Hutton,
1991, 9). While most producer service activity remains geared toward local markets, the
export of services has expanded and the market orientation of exports has shifted. At the
international level, the Asian market is taking precedence over traditional European
export markets. Producer service firms surveyed recently indicated that Asian countries
are expected to comprise the bulk of producer service export growth in the upcoming
decade (Davis and Hutton, 1991, 12).

Davis and Hutton (1991) note that there are differences between various producer
services with respect to exportability and intersector linkages. These differences are
especially evident when comparing commercially oriented producer services such as financial services with distributive producer services (e.g. transportation). Commercially oriented producer services exhibit a greater propensity for export growth than distributive producer services (Davis and Hutton, 1991, 15). Creative services fall into the former category of producer services with a propensity towards increased export growth and strong linkage networks in the urban core.

2. Creative Services

a. Creative Services as a Subsector of Producer Services

Creative services are a unique subsector of producer services. Within the realm of the corporate producer service sector, creative service firms exhibit both similarities and differences in comparison to more mainstream corporate producer services firms, as displayed in Table 3.1.

Creative services are characterized by a number of features, many of which are common to producer services in general. They tend to locate in central areas, and clustering of design firms are common, especially within the inner city. Design firms have grown in response to the vertical disintegration of corporate firms, and provide an intermediate product, similar to other types of producer services. Patterns of backward and forward linkages between suppliers and clients dictate locational centrality, especially in the case of suppliers. Design firms tend to agglomerate in central locations to benefit from proximity to clients and suppliers. Recent evidence indicates that proximity to suppliers may take precedence in the firm's decision to locate in the core (Hutton, 1994b, 16). Furthermore, design service exports are comprising a growing component of creative service firm's sales (Hutton, 1994b, 14).
Table 3.1: Comparison of Corporate and Creative Service Firms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attributes</th>
<th>Corporate Support Services</th>
<th>Creative Services</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>1) CBD</td>
<td>CBD fringe and inner city</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2) Major suburban nodes and edge cities</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infrastructure</td>
<td>High rise office towers</td>
<td>1) Converted industrial structures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2) Low rise offices and studios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milieu</td>
<td>Corporate and modernist; Emphasis on projection of</td>
<td>More explicit cultural context; Ambience of social interaction and consumption</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>corporate power</td>
<td>within the design community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working</td>
<td>Formalistic; Emphasis on efficiency values and</td>
<td>Creative workstyle to complement aesthetic lifestyle; Expression of high design</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environment</td>
<td>expression of corporate identity</td>
<td>values as organizational identity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizational</td>
<td>Traditionally hierarchical; some evidence of more</td>
<td>Relatively 'flat' firm structures, facilitating team work and individual creativity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structure</td>
<td>collective approaches in progressive firms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupational</td>
<td>Typically stratified</td>
<td>Often fluid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structure</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Hutton, 1994b, Figure 4.

A major distinction between creative services and corporate services is the significance which each places on milieu (Hutton, 1994b, 15). Applied design services place a premium on the milieu or social atmosphere in which they are located. A location and building which enable the designer to exhibit and nurture their sense of style and type of design work is crucial to the creative process. At the same time, creative services employees should not be relegated to the stereotype of 'starving artists'. Hutton, (1994b, 19 - citing Knox) notes that the "increasing demands of competitive markets has led to the emergence of more 'business minded' principals, where creative and artistic roles are necessarily subordinated to management and entrepreneurial functions." On the whole, creative service firms tend to exhibit flat firm structures that depend on creative
cooperation as compared to the hierarchical structures of most other types of producer service firms.

Applied design firms can be categorized in a number of ways. Spatially, firms can be differentiated by their tendency towards central versus suburban locations. Agglomeration economies and milieu are important for both creative professional services and industrial or technological firms. However, each exhibits different linkage and locational patterns. The former tend to be situated in fringe locations in the urban core, whereas the latter gravitate towards inner suburban locations and are less dependent on external inputs and agglomeration economies than are creative professional service firms (Hutton, 1994b, 25).

Creative services can also be differentiated according to the type of service being provided. Hutton (1994b, 2) divides design oriented services into three categories as follows:

*Creative design services:*
  e.g.: architecture, landscape architecture, graphic artists, interior design, fashion design

*Creative production services:*
  e.g.: computer aided design services, model display and rendering, video production, postproduction services, commercial photographers

*Industrial and technological design services:*
  e.g.: automotive, aerospace, naval/technological maritime, and environmental systems design, software design.

The focus of this study is on creative professional design services that are involved in intermediate production processes and that tend towards inner city/urban core locations. Such firms are strongly linked to other producer services firms in the urban core due to their necessity for frequent face to face contact. Consequently, they are tied into the
dense pattern of interfirm linkages that characterize the producer services sector as a whole.

**b. Creative Services in the Canadian Context**

For the most part, design has played a minimal role in Canada's economic development. Canada's design industry did not become established until after World War II, at which time industrial design became a profession and educational and industry links were established (Cohen, 1993, 64).

Traditionally, design advocates have had difficulty in effectively communicating the potential impact of design on Canada's economy and culture (Cohen, 1993, 65). However, recent recognition of the value of design and the opportunity for specialized markets and services within the field of design, as well as the benefits which design provides to the overall Canadian economy as a value added activity, is increasingly becoming manifest in economic development planning that places greater emphasis on the value of developing Canada's design subsector.

In an attempt to improve the linkages between designers and business, design centres are being developed in Canada's three largest cities: Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver. Toronto's Design Exchange, opening in the former Toronto Stock Exchange building on Queen Street in mid 1994, will focus on "increasing the economic value of design to business and industry" (Cohen, 1993, 65). In Montreal, the Montreal Institute of Design serves as a liaison between design professionals and users of design in the province, and provides grants for design based research with local application (Guest, personal communication). In Vancouver, Design British Columbia was established as a design advocacy group in 1988. Its mandate is to "promote an understanding of the value of design" (Design British Columbia, 1993, 1). Design British Columbia has proposed that
a design centre be established in Vancouver. At present, Design British Columbia has an office in a heritage building in downtown Vancouver, co-sponsors a biannual design week event to promote the value of design, and partakes in other educational, research and business projects related to the provincial design industry (Design British Columbia, 1993).

Very little study has been conducted on the geographical linkages and business aspects of Canadian design services. The federal government is in the process of undertaking a country wide study of design professionals, which when complete, will help serve as a database on the status of design firms across the country (Guest, personal communication). Though some authors refer to the design sector as an important influence on urban form in the postmodern city, designers have largely been classified as bohemian artists entering mainstream culture (e.g. Reid, 1991a), rather than as business people selling creative products as production inputs.

In profiling the City of Vancouver, Hutton (1994a) briefly discusses the emergence of design services on Vancouver's landscape. In the context of Vancouver's creative service sector, Hutton notes that:

Within the downtown fringe and inner city, creative or 'applied design' districts have emerged as significant specialised service clusters. To some extent, these design districts -- which contain interactive and complementary firms specialising in (for example) architecture, interior design, graphics, fashion and industrial design -- are clearly a subdivision of the producer services, as many cater at least in part to the business sector. But the emergence of these creative industries and applied design districts transcend narrowly defined economic significance, as they also embody features of considerable socio-cultural and historical interest. In Vancouver, as in cities such as Toronto, Seattle and San Francisco, the design services tend to inhabit older industrial structures ... effectively underlining the fundamental processes of conversion at work in the inner city (Hutton, 1994a, 12).

One area in which the potential for design activity has expanded in Vancouver is the
garment and fashion industry. The growth of this sector is an indication of the significance attributed to Canada's design services, and of the potential for growth with increasing specialization and development of niche markets.

In a recent study on industrial activity in the City of Vancouver, it was found that the garment industry gained prominence as the second largest employer in the city's manufacturing sector in 1991 (City of Vancouver, 1993b, 61). Medium and high end quality clothing are manufactured in Vancouver. Niche markets in upscale clothing are not as susceptible to competition from less developed countries with lower labour costs. This sector is seen as a stable force for growth in the city that is spawning the development of a diversified garment industry. Medium and high end clothing manufacturing requires a greater component of design input than would the manufacturing of low end clothing (Greater London Council, 1985, 124) and this design input can be supplied by local designers. Thus, the growth of garment manufacturing in Vancouver has implications for the growth of local apparel design firms.

Recognition is also being given to the fact that the development of creative services entails a cultural component, in addition to the impact that applied design firms have on the economic and physical context of the city (Hutton, 1994a, 12). In Vancouver, design districts where firms cluster, such as Gastown and Yaletown, tend to attract a broader milieu of cultural services including coffee shops, galleries and bookstores.

c. The Value of Design

Design is often misconceived as being a luxury item or an optional extra. In order to compete in the restructured urban economies of the 1990s, design firms depend on word of mouth references, and thus high levels of service are of primary importance (Bortollotto, 1993).
One of the most difficult roles that designers have in carving their futures, is educating people about the value of design. Good design can help a firm make or save money.

Design British Columbia heralds the importance of design to business as follows:

In a business sense, good use of design can win competitive advantage by improving business performance, cutting manufacturing costs and communicating value to the intended customers. Design will become the most visible element of the differentiation of a product in the marketplace (Design British Columbia, 1993, 2).

For example, a well designed logo that attracts the attention of customers provides an image for a firm that increases their visibility, customers and profits.

The design sector in Canada not only encourages the development of ancillary support services such as printing services and custom photofinishing, but also education and information support systems. Design schools supply the sector with new graduates and entrepreneurs. Design related magazines are a direct spin off of the creative services subsector. Several design based magazines are published in Canada (e.g. Applied Design, Award, Azure) and cater specifically to designers in a variety of fields. Design magazines and journals raise the visibility of design as an occupation, provide a forum for information dispersal on design related technology, and showcase design talent across the country. A further unifying force within the design industry is the presence of industrial and professional associations such as the Architectural Institute of British Columbia, Graphic Designers of Canada, Interior Designers Institute of British Columbia, and the Western Canadian Designers and Fashion Association.

**d. Benefits of Creative Service Firms Agglomerations**

Creative service firms are supported by and are also supportive of other locally based industries and services in the sense that they create local jobs, develop backward and
forward linkages with other Vancouver-based firms, and participate in the cycle of circular and cumulative causation in terms of value added activity and dollars spent interacting with other local businesses.

The street atmosphere created by an agglomeration of design firms in the city is one which encourages interaction between design firms, draws potential customers to the area, and provides an element of security within the area in terms of being people/pedestrian friendly. The Jane Jacobs argument that there "must be eyes upon the street" (Jacobs, 1961, 37) in order to make an area safe and lively is one that is played out in design districts and is directly related to the character of the industry.

This character acts as a drawing card for ancillary services to locate in the same districts; services such as restaurants, galleries, cafes, bookstores and other forms of cultural entertainment. Not only then are design areas in use during normal office hours, but also during evenings and weekends. This feature sets them apart from the typical sanitary milieu surrounding the corporate producer services in the CBD and suburban office parks. Design areas/districts are then further enhanced by their active day and night lives, and this brings in more people, including tourists. Examples of design areas that have generated this type of lively, economically viable activity include SoHo in New York, Queen Street in Toronto, South of Market Avenue in San Francisco, and Yaletown in Vancouver.

While creative services firms tend to flourish in areas that are in close proximity to the urban core, they cannot compete with corporate producer services for office space because most firms cannot afford CBD-type rents, and the most desirable producer services business locations tend to be less acceptable for doing business within the design subsector. Design firms engaged in creative processes tend to prefer older, low rise
buildings, in fringe areas of the urban core. These buildings are desirable on the basis of their central locations, character, features such as windows that open, flexible office spaces, and the designer's ability to reflect a personal sense of style by taking advantage of physical features such as exposed brick walls, ceiling beams, and high ceilings.

As the CBD expands, however, design firms get pushed out to further areas, and in turn, can constrict the space available for other urbanites, especially low income inner-city residents. Finding an acceptable mix between a thriving, design area and maintaining social equity amongst inner city residents is not an easy task. Nevertheless, land use transitions are a normal component of urban life that must be managed.

3. Creative Services in Vancouver

a. Previous Studies

Three studies have been conducted on various aspects of the creative services sector in Vancouver. Mary Shaughnessy's 1988 SFU Honours Geography Essay entitled "Vancouver By Design: A Profile of the Applied Design Sector in Vancouver's Central Business District" provides an overview of the creative service sector in Vancouver. Shaughnessy conducted a survey of 37 design firms in eight industry categories with locations in downtown Vancouver. Twenty nine of the 37 firms interviewed were located on the downtown peninsula. The firm sample was chosen from approximately 1500 to 2000 firms listed within Contacts Influential and divided into subgroups. Shaughnessy derived information on the general features of the creative services sector, the importance of a downtown location, the network of linkages between design firms and other firm types, and policy considerations specific to the creative service sector.

Shaughnessy defined creative service firms as firms whose "product or service was the
end result of a creative process requiring the use of imagination and originality" (1988, 9). The study sample included firms that produced intermediate products (e.g. architects) as well as firms such as art galleries that are retail oriented and tend to sell to the end user. Shaughnessy found that for every service provided by a firm, "four service inputs were contracted out to specialized firms, the majority (56%) of which were located in the core area" (Shaughnessy, 1988, 20). This finding particularly exemplifies the degree to which creative service firms rely upon other firms for inputs, and accentuates the rich level of interaction and business that results from creative services activity.

Shaughnessy's main finding corroborated her initial hypothesis that creative services were unique among producer services in the sense that design and creativity played a crucial role in their service production. At the same time, creative services were found to share many similarities with corporate types of producer services in the CBD such as the importance placed on a central location, the associated clustering of firms in distinctive firm-specific areas, the relative youth and small size of firms, the need for face to face interaction on a regular basis, proximity to suppliers, and the predominantly local destination of products (Shaughnessy, 1988, 31).

In 1989, Andrew Young prepared his SFU Honours Geography Essay on "The Impact of Education and Training in the Applied Design Sector of Vancouver: a Geographical Assessment." Although the study essentially focused on the role and importance of education for employment and innovation in the design sector, Young reviewed the importance of design firm location.

The firm sample was first divided into four classes based on the level of education required for entry to employment with the firm. A total of 37 firms in more than 13 industry categories, and 8 agencies and educational institutions were interviewed during
the course of the study. Of the 37 design firms interviewed, all were located within the City of Vancouver, and 14 were located on the downtown peninsula.

Young's survey sample included a wide variety of creative service firms studied such as graphic designers, architects, photofinishers, consulting engineers, sailmakers, jewellers, video and film producers, sound studios, and apparel designers. The findings are presented in aggregate and distinctions between the different firm types and their locational preferences are not made. Young's main findings were that firms felt a design related education was an important employee asset, it would be beneficial to have educational programs in closer proximity to design firms, the numbers of employees in design firms have increased since 1980, and the numbers of young people employed in design have increased since 1980 (Young, 1989, 83-85).

With respect to design firm location, Young discovered that most firms were located in or near downtown Vancouver, that proximity to clients, firms and markets was an important factor in location decisions, and that choosing to be close to clients entails added business expenses for creative service firms (Young, 1989, 73). Sixty two percent of firms surveyed indicated that their location was important to their success (Young, 1989, 59). The two most common locational disadvantages cited by firms in the study were cost, availability and convenience of parking (Young, 1989, 73), and rental costs (Young, 1989, 83). Although useful as a background study, Young's agglomeration of such a diversity of creative service firms makes it difficult to compare his findings to those of the present study which looks specifically at three types of creative services that share several commonalities.

In 1990, Design Vancouver, who subsequently changed their name to Design British Columbia, undertook a postal survey of the province's design service sector. It was the
first province-wide study of design service firms in Canada. The study was undertaken in part as a strategy to increase the level of knowledge "about the design service sector in order to promote its activities better and to increase its contribution to the economic well being of the province" and also to "encourage more government support for the design service sector" (Design Vancouver, 1990, 4). The survey results were used to distill information regarding the sector's locational attributes, linkage structures and future prospects.

Of a universe of 1834 provincial design firms, 60% were located in the Lower Mainland and the remainder were located elsewhere in the province. Twenty three percent of firms (416) responded to the survey, and of those, 72% were located in the Lower Mainland. Amongst the firms located in the Lower Mainland, the most popular locations were centrally based, such as Yaletown, the CBD and False Creek. Thirteen Lower Mainland firms were interviewed following the mail survey, and all but one were located either in or adjacent to downtown Vancouver. Central locations were viewed as advantageous in that offices located in close proximity to the city's core were easily accessible to clients who often wanted to view the firm's workplace as an indication of its own design work (Design Vancouver, 1990, 20). The prestige of central locations was an important consideration in firm location, as were character, low rise buildings, reasonable rents, and the opportunity to create unique spaces within existing buildings (Design Vancouver, 1990, 21).

As a component of producer services, design firms were found to be characterized by dense linkage relationships, and linkages with other design firms were more likely to be in the form of suppliers rather than clients (Design Vancouver, 1990, 33-34). Firms indicated that local and provincial markets were viewed as the major markets for future growth (Design Vancouver, 1990, 41-42).
Each of the three studies has in turn called on the need for more research to further the understanding of the role the creative service sector plays in Vancouver's economy and ways in which to enhance that role. There have not been any further Vancouver based creative services studies since the 1990 B.C. Design Service Sector study.

b. The Central Area Plan

In December 1991, Vancouver City Council adopted the Central Area Plan. The purpose of the plan was to present a policy framework and "act as a guide for area and project planning in the central area" (City of Vancouver, 1991, 1). Although the City of Vancouver is presently developing a city wide plan, the Central Area Plan was intended to provide general policy guidelines which would then be applied to upcoming individual area studies, and also be folded into the city wide planning process currently underway.

The Central Area, as envisaged in the plan, is defined geographically as encompassing the downtown peninsula, heritage areas east of downtown including Chinatown, Victory Square, and Gastown, both sides of False Creek and up to the central Broadway corridor from Main Street to approximately Arbutus Street (see Figure 3.1).

In this plan, the City of Vancouver recognizes that creative or design services are a type of business support service. Other types of business support services include service bureaus, printing, office supply services and incubator activities. The City's Planning Department has given recognition to business support services as activities that are very important to the "economic functioning of the more prestigious office core" (City of Vancouver, 1991, 6) as well as an "integral part of the downtown" (City of Vancouver, 1991, 16). Research conducted in other cities has shown that support activities are linked with major offices and are essential to their health. Thus the Central Area Plan seeks to
protect the viability of support services in downtown Vancouver partially in an attempt to generate and support the economic functions carried out in the CBD.

The specific policy objective for support services in the central area is "to ensure adequate and compatible locations for support activities that service the CBD" (City of Vancouver, 1991, 16). The distinction between business support activities that service the CBD and those that provide services to non-CBD locations is thus made. The business support services policies in the Central Area Plan are specifically targeted to support services that service the CBD corporate complex.

The Central Area Plan identifies a number of issues related to provision for support services office space. It is noted that support services usually locate in spaces that are in close proximity yet somewhat different in character from the CBD. These locations and buildings tend to be more affordable, provide flexibility in terms of their spatial layouts and have a distinctive image as compared with office space in the CBD.

With respect to land use opportunities for business support services, the Central Area Plan proposes that some central area locations be available for support services. However, it is recognized that with new development and proposed rezonings, some support services will be displaced. In recognition of the fact that support services are seen as being crucial to the operation of the city's economic core, and that with urban growth, land for peripheral uses becomes constricted, the Central Area Plan identifies the importance of assuring some central locations for support services in Vancouver. Proposed locations for support services agglomerations include the Mount Pleasant industrial area bordered by Cambie, Main, 2nd and Broadway, and also Yaletown, Gastown, Downtown South, and South of Granville Island (see Figure 3.1), where office uses are mixed with commercial and residential uses (City of Vancouver, 1991, 6).
Figure 3.1: Selected Districts Within Vancouver's Central Area
Many downtown areas formerly characterized as transition or fringe areas with dilapidated, vacant buildings or obsolete industrial spaces are now being targeted for redevelopment in Vancouver. These areas also happen to be desirable locations for support services due to their proximity to the core business district and affordable levels of rent. As land uses in parts of the downtown shift from transitional fringe uses to upscale residential and commercial uses, the amount of space available for support services is becoming scarcer.

The Central Area Plan recognizes that while not all support services locations can be preserved in order to serve the best interests of the city's development, some areas should be preserved in order to maintain the efficiency and economic significance that business support services provide to CBD activities. For example, spaces occupied by support services in parts of Downtown South, the CBD and central Broadway, will likely be displaced by new housing and office development. However, one way of encouraging space for support services is to target their development in heritage areas. In addition to being desirable locations for support services that can ultimately develop into thriving districts, another benefit of heritage designation is that some of the historic urban fabric is preserved.

Yaletown, Victory Square and Granville Street between Smithe and Pacific are designated as Heritage Character areas in the Central Area Plan. Buildings in these neighbourhoods, according to the plan (1991, 8) will be of mixed uses that are compatible with the existing character in order to "preserve and revitalize these areas." Areas designated as appropriate for continuing support services uses include both Yaletown and Victory Square.
c. Locational Analysis of Creative Services in Vancouver's Core

Using the neighbourhood boundaries identified in Vancouver's Central Area Plan, a series of maps were prepared that identified the locations of creative services firms within the central area. Eight types of design firms which were felt to be a reflection of producer service type creative services were chosen for mapping. Using the 1993 Vancouver Yellow Pages, the following types of firms located within the central area were mapped: Apparel Designers, Architects, Furniture Designers, Interior Designers, Graphic Designers, Industrial Designers, Interior Designers, Jewellery Designers, and Landscape Architects. The mapping exercise showed that of the firms listed in the Yellow Pages, the majority of creative service firms had central area locations (see Figure 3.2).

Clusters of firms are apparent from the mapwork, especially when reviewing the locations of creative service firms in aggregate (Figure 3.2), and individual industry types with numerous firms (Figures 3.3 and 3.3a). The largest numbers of firms were in the categories of architecture, graphic design and interior design, each of which show strong clusters of firms around the CBD. Furniture and industrial design firms do not exhibit strong agglomerations with other creative professional design services in the core. These firms are more closely associated with manufacturing than business services and tend to be concentrated in the inner sububrs. Another exception are jewellery designers, the majority of which are clustered in a few buildings on one block of Granville Street in the CBD. This is in part due to their need for secure premises (Hutton, 1994b, 26). It should be noted that each of the neighbourhoods identified as being support services locations in the Central Area Plan are highlighted with visible concentrations of creative service firms in Figure 3.2.
Figure 3.2: Agglomerations of Creative Service Firms in Vancouver's Central Area
Figure 3.3: Disaggregated Clusters of Creative Service Firms

(Apparel, Furniture and Interior Designers, and Landscape Architects)
Figure 3.3a: Disaggregated Clusters of Creative Service Firms

(Architects, Graphic, Industrial and Jewellery Designers)
4. Detailed Study of Yaletown and Victory Square Neighbourhoods

To focus on the dynamic aspects of the neighbourhoods inhabited by creative services firms, two distinct urban neighbourhoods were chosen for further study. While studies using interviews with creative service firms in Vancouver to form the basis of analysis exist (Shaughnessy, 1988; Young, 1989; Design Vancouver, 1990), this study presents an original view of creative services in the sense that it specifically identifies the neighbourhood location, rather than the general urban location as a crucial defining element. It also focuses on three specific intermediate service professional design services rather than a combination of potentially dissimilar design services.

a. History

Today, Yaletown and Victory Square are two very different looking areas, both with rich histories. Yaletown is vibrant and upscale as witnessed by the phenomenal amount of development and renovation occurring within the neighbourhood. Victory Square is losing its traditional economic base and attraction to business as the loss of retailers from the area continues. However, the two neighbourhoods also have commonalities; they are both home to low and medium rise heritage buildings, are both on the periphery of major developments that promise to reshape Vancouver's skyline, and both are home to creative services firms.

Yaletown was a run down area for decades in the late 1900s, a zone in transition that never transformed. It is now a bustling, exciting and trendy area. Victory Square was the heart of the city's retail core in the early 1900s, and parts of it are now entirely vacant and desolate. The successful transformation of Yaletown presents a glimmer of hope for renewal efforts in Victory Square, and perhaps the existence of creative service firms in the area will help lead to its revitalization. An in depth study of the two areas was carried out not only to determine the significance of location for the creative services sector, but
also the role of the creative service sector in creating successful urban neighbourhoods.

**b. Design Firm Locations in Yaletown and Victory Square**

Figures 3.4 and 3.5 show the locations of creative services firms in Yaletown and Victory Square respectively. Yaletown, as an established design district, has dense concentrations of design firms on all five blocks which comprise the neighbourhood. Victory Square, as an emerging design district, has lesser concentrations of design firms, and some of the fifteen blocks that make up the neighbourhood have no design firms at all. Nevertheless, both neighbourhoods exemplify the degree to which design firms cluster, both within individual firm types and amongst different types of creative services firms.

**c. Land Use Pressures and Neighbourhood Transition**

Concomitant with changes in Vancouver's economic role and concurrent rapid population and service growth has come pressure for changing land uses in the downtown (Edgington and Goldberg, 1990, 48). Yaletown and Victory Square are no exception, and each neighbourhood is being affected not only by physical land use change but also by social and economic changes associated with new development on the downtown.

Both Yaletown and Victory Square are bordered by the former Expo '86 site, which has been sold to developer Li Ka-Shing and is now being developed under the name of Concord Pacific. It is the largest urban redevelopment project in North America at present, and when complete will be the equivalent of 50 city blocks. A total of 8,500 residences, 3.5 million square feet of commercial and retail space, and two 400 room hotels are planned for the 82.5 hectare site along the waterfront of the downtown peninsula facing False Creek (Bell, 1994, A1).
Figure 3.4: Location of Creative Service Firms in Yaletown
Figure 3.5: Location of Creative Service Firms in Victory Square

- Graphic Designers
- Interior Designers
- Architects
Concord Pacific buildings surrounding Yaletown are being developed under the first phase of the redevelopment project, and several have now been completed and are occupied. The development has decreased the amount of parking available for Yaletown businesses, and some businesspeople fear that the densities in the area will ultimately push out low rent tenants, many of whom are designers.

Several buildings within the Yaletown area are being renovated or rebuilt into loft style residences, restaurants, and offices. Heights and other distinctive features of Yaletown buildings cannot be altered as they are protected under heritage legislation. Nevertheless, the impact of development surrounding and within Yaletown can have the effect of increasing the rents in existing Yaletown buildings as the area becomes more populous and popular.

Concord Pacific's International Village development is located adjacent to Victory Square, at Pender and Beatty Streets. There is concern that the condominium development will in turn "displace many of the area's predominantly low income residents" (Lee, 1993). The development has also led to the continual presence of construction equipment and noise in the area, and also to a decrease in the availability of parking and views for area tenants, especially along Beatty Street.

Within Victory Square, pressure for preservation of heritage buildings and low income housing compete with development interests. The city is presently working on a plan to "preserve the area while encouraging redevelopment" (Lee, 1993). Though there are 48 buildings protected under municipal and provincial heritage legislation in the area, there are a number of other significant buildings which are unprotected. It is possible
that pressure from developers and property owners to rezone parts of Victory Square for
denser, taller buildings will mean the destruction of some of the area's heritage buildings
(Lee, 1993). Redevelopment in Victory Square could have negative impacts on the
existence of both design firms in low rent buildings and low income residents.

There is substantial concern in both Yaletown and Victory Square regarding the impact
that development will have on the design firms in these areas. Unanswered questions
remain, such as: Will Yaletown and Victory Square be able to maintain their allure to
designers while at the same time remaining affordable, in the face of massive
development nearby? Despite the fact that redevelopment is seen as encouraging for
Vancouver in some respects, the impacts of redevelopment on existing residents and
tenants is an issue which must be considered before permanent land use and landscape
alterations occur.

To some extent, planning initiatives can manage change in unstable neighbourhoods
through the use of, for example, restrictive zoning and incentives for either preservation
or redevelopment. However, urban change is typically initiated by more than decisions
made in the city's planning department. Urban land values and trends; economic, social
and political shifts; and future activity forecasts for urban areas, all act to influence and
encourage or discourage change. The city's role in the midst of rapid change with
unknown consequences is not clearly established, but rather is dependent upon the
circumstances surrounding the change. A proactive political and planning stance which
facilitates transitions, accommodates expected difficulties, and leads the city towards its
desired goals is the most acceptable in the long term, although in the short term may
cause friction between competing interests and especially within groups which perceive a
loss as a result of urban change.
Chapter 3: Vancouver and the Creative Services Sector

*d. Other Related Issues*

Large tracts of inner city land in Vancouver are being redeveloped in the first half of the 1990s. Not only is it important to consider the impacts of high density office development and upscale residential condominiums on the downtown, but the needs of existing residents and businesses affected by land use transitions must also be considered. The reconstruction of urban landscapes is no more socially acceptable than the urban renewal projects of the 1960s if it simply ejects people out of longstanding communities. The redevelopment of the downtown also has environmental implications in terms of air quality related to traffic congestion and transportation management. Urban land use and development is not merely an economic issue, implications for social and environmental change are inherent and cannot be ignored. In light of the potential impacts of continually changing economic foci on a global basis, however, and the associated negative impacts of delayed transition, the city must act progressively with regard to the future in order to maintain its present attractiveness and amenity.
CHAPTER 4: YALETOWN AND VICTORY SQUARE DESIGN FIRMS STUDY

1. Design Area Study

A survey of design firms in Vancouver was carried out during February and March 1994, in order to develop an empirical base from which to analyze the neighbourhood orientation of creative service firms. Following preliminary mapwork of all design firms with listings in the Yellow Pages in eight different design categories, three types of creative services with strong agglomerations in the central city were chosen for further detailed study. In addition, from the nine different design neighbourhoods as outlined in the city's Central Area Plan and highlighted as a result of the preliminary mapwork, two neighbourhoods were selected for more detailed study: Yaletown and Victory Square.

Yaletown and Victory Square have very different histories in terms of the roles that they played in Vancouver's early development, and also in terms of their present day uses. Chapter three of this thesis provided a brief background of the two neighbourhoods, as well as an overview of the present land development and land use issues affecting Yaletown and Victory Square.

In looking at the two areas today, Yaletown can be viewed as an established design district, whereas Victory Square is an emerging design district or neighbourhood.

2. Method

In order to carry out the proposed study in Yaletown and Victory Square, a comprehensive list of architects, graphic designers and interior designers was compiled

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1The eight types of design firms that mapwork was completed for were: Apparel Design, Architects, Furniture Design, Graphic Design, Industrial Design, Interior Design, Jewellery Design and Landscape Architecture
using the 1993 Vancouver Yellow Pages based on those types of firms that had offices within the city defined boundaries of Yaletown and Victory Square (see Appendix 1). While the list was being compiled, a questionnaire was designed that was intended to elicit information on the importance of location, interfirm linkages, neighbourhood milieu, employment types, and future prospects for design firms in the study areas. Copies of the questionnaire and cover letter are located in Appendix 2 of this thesis.

Using an address map, the Yellow Pages, and the City of Vancouver boundaries for Yaletown and Victory Square, a list was prepared that included each firm within the designated boundaries and that had advertisements in the Yellow Pages. Telephone calls were made to ascertain the principal of each firm. A letter was prepared and mailed out to the principal of each firm on the list found in Appendix 1, which was then followed up with another telephone call to set up interviews.

Initially, a total of 57 design firms were identified in Yaletown. However, following a series of phone calls to each firm, that number declined to 45. The decline in the number of Yaletown firms was due to the fact that six firms had moved outside of Yaletown (one architect, two interior designers and three graphic designers), four firms went out of business (one interior designer, three graphic designers), one firm listed as a graphic design firm did not do graphic design work, and one location was a drop off spot for a graphic designer whose office was located at his suburban residence.

From the original list of 28 creative service firms in Victory Square, 24 remained following telephone calls to each firm. Of the firms that were no longer located in Victory Square, two moved to other locations (one architect and one interior designer) and two went out of business (two graphic designers).
In all, a total of sixty nine creative service firms with advertisements in the Yellow Pages were located in the two neighbourhoods during the time of the study. Interviews were set up with all firms that were successfully contacted and that agreed to participate in the study within the time frame of the interview period. Twenty six interviews (fifteen in Yaletown and eleven in Victory Square) were carried out between February 2 and March 8, 1994. The list of firms interviewed is in Appendix 3.

Table 4.1 shows the numbers of firms that were listed in the Yellow Pages and subsequently interviewed in each neighbourhood according to firm type.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Victory Square</th>
<th>Yaletown</th>
<th>Total (all firms)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td># Listed</td>
<td># Interviewed</td>
<td># Listed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architects</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graphic Designers</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interior Designers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The responses to the questionnaire were coded using a spreadsheet program, and the results are presented in upcoming sections of this chapter. The data generated from the survey is presented based on the similarities and differences of each of the two neighbourhoods, and based on the disaggregated findings of the three different creative service firm categories surveyed.
3. Results by Neighbourhood

a. Neighbourhood Characteristics

The area comprising Yaletown is considerably smaller than that of Victory Square, yet it contains nearly twice as many design firms as Victory Square. This is in part a reflection of the fact that Yaletown is established as a design area, and has been a prime location for design firms for many years. Victory Square, as an emerging design district, has an equal number of graphic designers as Yaletown, but only one fifth the number of interior designers, and approximately half the number of architects (see Table 4.1).

In terms of accessibility, the two neighbourhoods boast very different locations within the downtown core of Vancouver. Yaletown is on the northern edge of the downtown peninsula, and is easily accessible from the Cambie, Granville and Burrard Street bridges. It is, however, several blocks away from the CBD. No public transit routes traverse Yaletown, and bus stops are located on the periphery of the area as is the nearest Skytrain station. Victory Square is further south and further east, and is not as easily accessible by car from a regional perspective as Yaletown. However, it is in close proximity to the CBD and is served directly by public transit, including Skytrain.

b. Date of Firm Establishment

In both Yaletown and Victory Square, the largest proportion of firms were established between 1985 and 1989. In Yaletown, 12 of 15 (80%) firms had been in their present location for two years or more, and 33% of all firms had been in the same location for more than five years. In Victory Square, 6 of 11 (55%) firms had been in their present location for two years or more, and 5 of 11 firms moved into their present offices within the past year. Thus, while the date of establishment of firms in Yaletown and Victory
Square was similar, the mobility and tenure of the firms were quite different, with firms in Victory Square having a greater propensity to have moved within the past year.

The mobility of Victory Square firms in relation to Yaletown firms may also be a reflection of the neighbourhoods' different rates of transition, as 73% of Yaletown firms are considering moving in contrast to 45% of Victory Square firms. The most common reason cited by Yaletown firms for moving was rent increases. There were in fact several Yaletown firms surveyed that indicated they would be moving to a new location within the next six months. In Victory Square, firms said they would relocate if the parking situation worsened, or if they could afford to locate in a more prestigious area.

c. Locational Attributes

In both neighbourhoods, the majority of firms had previously been located elsewhere (91% of Victory Square firms and 73% of Yaletown firms). For Yaletown, the most common (73%) previous location was inside the City of Vancouver but outside of the downtown core (e.g. False Creek, Granville Island, Burrard Slopes). In contrast, seventy percent of Victory Square firms with previous locations had previously been located within Victory Square as well.

When asked why they chose their current location, the most common responses from firms in both neighbourhoods were levels of rent, accessibility of their location to other firms and clients, and proximity to other types of creative service firms. The character of the area was an important consideration for Yaletown firms (22%), and was less commonly cited by firms located in Victory Square (6%).

The most common explanation given by Yaletown firms for choosing their present location over other locations being considered at moving time was rent. Firms in Victory
Square were less homogeneous in their responses to this question, and were evenly spread out amongst rent, space, parking and being used to their present neighbourhood as their reason for not locating elsewhere. While none of the Yaletown firms mentioned an attachment to the Yaletown area as their reason for choosing to locate there, twenty percent of Victory Square firms relocated in the same neighbourhood when they moved because they were familiar with the area. This may indicate that firms in Victory Square feel a stronger sense of attachment to the neighbourhood than do firms located in Yaletown.

*d. Locational Advantages and Disadvantages*

Firms were asked to identify the advantages and disadvantages of their locations based on a number of choices. Table 4.2 shows the percentage of responses to each of the advantages and disadvantages as perceived by firms in each neighbourhood.

**Table 4.2: Advantages and Disadvantages by Neighbourhood**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yaletown</th>
<th></th>
<th>Victory Square</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>advantage</td>
<td>disadvantage</td>
<td>advantage</td>
<td>disadvantage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>similar firms</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>access to clients</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>access to suppliers</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rents</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quality of space</td>
<td>93%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amenities</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ambience/character</td>
<td>93%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parking</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>93%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Percentages reflect the number of responses within each horizontal category.*

In Yaletown, the predominant neighbourhood advantages were quality of space and
Chapter 4: Yaletown and Victory Square Design Firms Study

character, followed by access to suppliers, rents and presence of similar firms. In Victory Square, rents, access to clients, quality of space, presence of similar firms, amenities, and parking were cited as advantages by more than half of all firms. Victory Square and Yaletown firms rated locational advantages quite differently, thus illustrating the different attributes of the two neighbourhoods. For example, 73% of Victory Square firms and 33% of Yaletown firms noted that access to clients was an advantage. Conversely 87% of Yaletown firms and 46% of Victory Square firms concurred that access to suppliers was an advantage associated with their location.

While parking was the most serious disadvantage in both Yaletown and Victory Square, the problem was more commonly cited as a disadvantage in Yaletown. Several Victory Square firms indicated that parking availability seemed to be worsening in the area, and that it was likely going to become a serious disadvantage in the near future. In Yaletown, 13% of firms responded that access to clients was a disadvantage. Interestingly, not one Victory Square firm cited this as a disadvantage of their location. The issue of safety was considered a disadvantage only in Victory Square.

e. Face to Face Interaction

Face to face meetings were either somewhat important or very important for every firm interviewed in both neighbourhoods. These meetings were largely held in multiple locations, including the designer's office, the CBD, elsewhere in the City of Vancouver, and elsewhere in the Lower Mainland depending on the client's location. The number of personal meetings was relatively constant for firms located in both neighbourhoods. In Victory Square, all 11 firms said they had at least one personal meeting per week, if not more.

Several Yaletown firms said that their location was appreciated by corporate
businesspeople with offices in the CBD because of the more relaxed atmosphere and distinctive character in Yaletown. Another point mentioned by Yaletown firms about their offices was that clients expected them to have interesting spaces that reflected the type of work the firm engaged in. Generally, these spaces/atmospheres could not be recreated in newer, high rise buildings in the CBD.

f. Neighbourhood Milieu

When asked if there were services missing from the neighbourhoods that would improve their businesses, one third of Yaletown firms said that banking facilities would be an asset to the neighbourhood, in addition to other types of services such as computer dealers, restaurants, printing, and retail. In Victory Square, 18% of firms noted that banking, other creative services, and restaurants would improve their businesses. Significantly, one third of Yaletown firms and nearly one half of Victory Square firms said that there were no services missing from their neighbourhoods. Despite the fact that Yaletown is more established as a design district, the firms' perception of service levels in the two neighbourhoods indicates that the provision of services is more favourable in Victory Square.

Although the literature on creative services pays particular attention to the importance of street access for design firms, the survey largely discredited this notion. More than 80% of firms in both neighbourhoods said that street access was not important to the success of their businesses. Only one firm said that street access was very important to their business. This finding may be specific to the types of creative service firms that were interviewed, and perhaps retail oriented creative services, as opposed to producer service oriented creative services, rely more on street level access. The findings indicate that as a subsector of producer services, creative service firms might require different types of neighbourhoods or locations than the typical CBD office core, but that street level contact
and direct access is unimportant as clients are not obtained in that manner for creative service firms serving intermediary clients and functions.

The concept of being located in a neighbourhood was important to the majority of firms in both Yaletown and Victory Square. For firms in Yaletown, the most important aspect of being located in a neighbourhood was the fact that the neighbourhood acted as a reflection of the firm's work. Nearly all firms in Yaletown said that the neighbourhood was not crucial to their success however. In Victory Square, the concept of neighbourhood was important to firms for personal reasons, and because it gave people an opportunity to meet their neighbours. In Victory Square, 64% of firms surveyed said that the neighbourhood was not crucial to their success. One-third of the firms in Yaletown and one-fifth of the firms in Victory Square said that the concept of being located in a neighbourhood was unimportant.

\textit{g. Location of Suppliers and Clients}

An attempt was made to determine the location of firms' suppliers and clients and the level of interaction between creative service firms and corporate service firms. Interviewees were provided with a list of different types of creative and corporate services, and asked to identify the location of the firms that they did business with using a map of the Central Area as outlined in the Central Area Plan (see Figure 3.1 in Chapter 3). Three locational divisions of the city were identified on the map and classified as follows:

1) Yaletown/Downtown South/Victory Square/Gastown
2) Other Core (elsewhere on the map)
3) External (off the map)

The findings of the survey suggest that the location of suppliers to creative services (and especially suppliers of creative services) is linked to the location of the creative service
districts under study (see Figure 4.1).

The majority of creative service suppliers to other creative services located in Yaletown and Victory Square are located within the urban core, and nearly half are located in four design areas (Yaletown, Downtown South, Victory Square and Gastown). Despite the fact that access to suppliers was not cited as an advantage by an equal number of firms in Victory Square as in Yaletown (see Table 4.2), it would appear that Victory Square firms benefit from similar proximate access to suppliers as do Yaletown design firms. The percentage of creative services suppliers for Yaletown and Victory Square firms decreases steadily as distance from the creative service firms increases. A distance decay relationship appears to exist within the design service sector, in the sense that there is a lesser propensity to obtain services from firms that are not located in the central area.

Corporate services are most likely to be supplied to design firms from locations elsewhere in the urban core, and are equally likely to be supplied from design areas and external areas. This supports the theory that there are different requirements for creative services and corporate services locations, but that creative services benefit by being agglomerated in close proximity to corporate services due to the potential for supply relationships with nearby producer service firms and also because of the strong patterns of linkages between design firms. Figure 4.1 displays the aggregate findings of supplier location from both neighbourhoods.
The results for client location are difficult to assess. Many design firms indicated that their clients' location was not an important factor in their location or daily business needs because if their work was highly valued, clients would come to them from many different areas. Overall, it appeared that clients were varied in terms of both function (e.g. corporate producer service, non profit, government, personal) and in terms of locations, which were for the most part spread out over the Lower Mainland.

h. Employment Characteristics

Marked differences in employment levels of firms existed amongst the two neighbourhoods. A total of 72 people were employed by the Yaletown firms, and 43 by the Victory Square firms in the study, for a total of 115 people in both neighbourhoods. In Yaletown, eight of fifteen firms employed five or more people, while in Victory Square eight of eleven firms employed three people or fewer. On average, Yaletown firms employed 5 people per firm, while Victory Square firms employed an average of 4 people. However, the Victory Square results were skewed by one large firm (the largest
firm in the study) that employed 20 persons. Excluding this firm, the average number of employees per firm in Victory Square is reduced to 2.3 persons.

Over 70% of employees in Victory Square were classified as professional and less than 10% were classified as technical. In Yaletown, half the employees were classified as professional and a further 31% were classified as technical. Secretarial staff comprised 8% of staff in Yaletown and 12% in Victory Square. This small difference may be due to a type of scale economy, in that firms with higher numbers of employees in professional fields require a lesser proportion of support staff relative to smaller firms. In both neighbourhoods, over 87% of positions were full time.

i. Role of Technology
Interestingly, firms in the two neighbourhoods differed on whether or not they were technology intensive. In Yaletown, 73% of firms surveyed responded that they were technology intensive and in Victory Square, 82% of firms surveyed indicated that they were not technology intensive. In spite of this difference, however, all but 2 firms located in Victory Square used computers in their work. Perhaps this discrepancy is related not to whether or not firms are computerized, but rather to the designer's impression of the role of computers in their work.

j. Importance of Neighbourhood in Future
When asked about the importance of their location for their business in the future, 40% of Yaletown firms said that location was not important, 40% said that location was somewhat important, and 20% said that location was very important to their future capacity to do business. In Victory Square, 27% of firms responded that location was not important, 46% said that location was somewhat important, and 27% said that location was very important. Thus the firms in Victory Square attributed a somewhat stronger
importance to the role of the neighbourhood in their capacity to do business than did firms in Yaletown.

**k. Summary**

A total of 26 design firms were surveyed in Yaletown and Victory Square in the fields of architecture, graphic design and interior design. While most firms were established between 1985 and 1989, firms located in Victory Square were more likely to have been located in their present offices for less time than Yaletown firms. Firms in both neighbourhoods said that parking problems or rent increases would lead them to move to new locations.

Present locations were desirable because of rents, accessibility to other firms and clients and proximity to suppliers. For Yaletown firms, the prestige and character of the area was also important. All firms surveyed indicated that face to face meetings were either somewhat or very important. The types of services believed missing from the neighbourhoods included banking, retail and restaurants. One third of Yaletown firms and almost half of Victory Square firms felt that there were no services missing from their neighbourhood. Although the neighbourhood was generally seen as important, it was not crucial to the success of firms in either neighbourhood. Firms located in Victory Square attributed a stronger importance to the role of the neighbourhood in their capacity to do business than did firms in Yaletown.

Creative service suppliers to design firms were most likely to be located within one of four downtown design oriented neighbourhoods. Corporate services were most likely to be supplied from areas within the downtown core, but outside of the design districts. On average, approximately 25% of all services were obtained from areas outside of the central area. Thus interfirm linkages for creative service firms in downtown design areas
are highly localized.

Yaletown firms tended to employ more people than Victory Square firms, which employed an average of 4 people per firm. Most positions in both neighbourhoods were both professional and full time. Yaletown firms indicated that they were technology intensive, whereas Victory Square firms indicated that they were not technology intensive. This difference is not so much based on different levels of computerization but rather on attribution of importance to computers.

4. Neighbourhood Based Observations

a. Yaletown

Yaletown is a compact neighbourhood consisting officially of five square city blocks according to the city's zoning bylaw. The boundary between Yaletown and Downtown South is not clearly delimited to the east as building heights are similar. However, the areas do appear to be set apart in terms of building uses as the Downtown South area contains visible concentrations of personal and consumer blue and pink collar services whereas Yaletown contains more professional and business services.

Recent and upcoming condominium and commercial developments on the outskirts of Yaletown and along Pacific Street are clearly set apart from Yaletown in terms of heights and styles. One interviewee indicated that the development surrounding Yaletown was desirable from a neighbourhood point of view in the sense that it provided a frame surrounding Yaletown and visually delimited the area's boundaries using height and building design contrasts. However, others said that the new buildings were unattractive and created shadows over the area. Concern was expressed regarding the issue of offshore ownership of nearby residences and whether or not this would mean that the
new buildings would be largely uninhabited thus defeating the purpose of increasing the
number of residences on the downtown peninsula as a means of providing housing for
more residents.

While Yaletown's renewal as a vibrant, bustling neighbourhood in daytime and at
nighttime is touted as a success, the costs of success present a danger to the existing
design community that helped to establish the neighbourhood's presence. A large
number of Yaletown firms indicated that when their leases came due, they expected rents
to increase beyond their ability to pay, and would thus be forced to move.

Parking spaces in Yaletown are limited and are provided largely at on-street meters with
one hour time limits. An interior designer noted that when meetings are held in her
Yaletown office an attempt is made to schedule meetings at off peak times so that clients
can find parking relatively easily. In addition, the meetings are kept to under an hour to
permit the client to return to the car before receiving a parking ticket. Apparently, the
parking meters in Yaletown are watched scrupulously, and tickets are frequently issued
for parking meter infractions.

Yaletown's success has acted as a drawing card for a number of new services such as
trendy coffee shops, bars and pool halls. However, there are some services locating in
the area that seem to detract from its character, such as a new franchised fast food
restaurant. Designers in the area expressed concern that both building and parking space
is taken away from existing businesses when uses that do not appear compatible with the
area's focus are permitted to locate there. It seemed that upscale furniture retailers and
interior designers with storefronts were especially affected by this and several had plans
to move to new locations outside of the downtown peninsula.
b. Victory Square

The future of Victory Square appears somewhat uncertain. The planning area for Victory Square straddles the boundary between what is presently economically viable and economically defunct. The area is bounded by one of the poorest and most problematic neighbourhoods in the city, along Hastings Street. From Richards to Hamilton Streets along West Pender and West Hastings, Victory Square contains agglomerations of design firms. The Victory Square park separates the area in half, and on the eastern side of the park, Hastings and Pender Streets contain mainly vacant storefronts. Along Hastings and Pender Streets between Cambie and Cordova, the number of vacant storefronts is daunting, led by the enormous and vacant Woodward's Department Store. Beatty Street is somewhat of an anomaly in an otherwise depressed area, but its success could be threatened by the development of International Village which is directly adjacent.

The impact of International Village residences on the vacant eastern portions of Victory Square remains to be seen. However, creative service firms on Beatty Street with once spectacular views of False Creek and beyond, now look out their windows to bricks and cement, and pending high rise buildings which will completely block their views. The noise of construction also has an impact on people's ability to do work in neighbouring buildings. As well, the quantity of construction and equipment has an impact on the availability of parking in the area.

Several firms in Victory Square seemed to have a personal attachment to the area, and cited personal relationships in the area and recognition of neighbours as important factors. Although the street character of Victory Square includes a number of homeless people, this was not cited as a disadvantage by everyone. In fact, some designers said that they liked the diversity of the people on the street in Victory Square, while others said it made them feel uncomfortable.
One issue that could be problematic in Victory Square's development is people's perception of the area's safety, especially after dark. For creative service employees, the workday is generally not the typical nine to five, but rather extends to evenings and weekends. If the area is not perceived as being safe for all employees, then the type and number of firms that will ultimately locate there will be limited. One graphic designer mentioned that he always walks his visitors to their cars in the evening, for safety purposes. Another safety related issue concerns drug trafficking in Victory Square. The presence of drug dealers and drug addicts detracts from both people's ability to do work and the overall image of the neighbourhood as a business environment.

Victory Square's emergence as a design district has become marked within the past year, with nearly half of all firms interviewed having moved into new locations in the neighbourhood during that time period. Its proximity to the successful design areas in Gastown, and corporate office towers in the CBD, can potentially outweigh the negative impacts of safety and construction which are not necessarily permanent features of the neighbourhood. Clearly the western portion of Victory Square is more vibrant than the eastern portion, and perhaps some spread of services towards the east will occur over time.

5. Results by Firm Type

a. Differentiation by Firm Type

A total of 37 architectural firms, 20 graphic design firms and 12 interior design firms comprised the universe of the survey. The total numbers of firms listed and the numbers and percentages of firms interviewed in each firm category is represented in Table 4.3. Table 4.4 portrays the numbers and percentages of firms in each neighbourhood by
Table 4.3: Proportion of Firms Listed and Interviewed by Type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Firm Type</th>
<th># Listed and % of total</th>
<th># and % Interviewed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Architectural</td>
<td>37 (54%)</td>
<td>12 (32%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graphic Design</td>
<td>20 (29%)</td>
<td>8 (40%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interior Design</td>
<td>12 (17%)</td>
<td>6 (50%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>total</strong></td>
<td><strong>69</strong></td>
<td><strong>26 (38%)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.4: Yaletown and Victory Square Firms Listed and Interviewed by Type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Firm Type</th>
<th># and % by neighbourhood</th>
<th>% of total (all 69 firms)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Yaletown</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architectural</td>
<td>25 (56%)</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graphic Design</td>
<td>10 (22%)</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interior Design</td>
<td>10 (22%)</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Victory Square</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architectural</td>
<td>12 (50%)</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graphic Design</td>
<td>10 (42%)</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interior Design</td>
<td>2 (8%)</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Architectural firms comprised the greatest number of design firms in both neighbourhoods, although their presence in Yaletown was more significant as a proportion of total firms than in Victory Square. Proportionate to the total number of design firms in each category per neighbourhood, there were more graphic designers and architects than interior designers in Victory Square. Though there were an equal number of graphic designers in both Yaletown and Victory Square, architectural and interior design firms were more strongly represented in Yaletown.

b. Date of Establishment

While 58% of architectural firms and 33% of interior design firms were established
before 1985, no graphic design firms were established before this date. This gives an indication of the recent growth of graphic design as a creative service. Seventeen percent of architectural firms, 50% of interior design firms, and 75% of graphic design firms surveyed were established between 1985 and 1989. Twenty five percent of both architectural and graphic design firms and 17% of interior design firms were established in the past four years. Most firms were thus established prior to 1990, although new firm growth in the past few years comprises a significant percentage of all firms.

Seventy five percent of both architectural firms and graphic design firms surveyed have been in their present location for four years or less, while 50% of interior design firms have been in their present location for five years or more. Thus, architectural and graphic design firms were more likely to have moved within the past five years, whereas interior design firms were more likely to have been in the same location as they were five years ago. The majority of firms in each category had been located elsewhere prior to their present location. For architects with previous locations, 44% had previously been located in the same neighbourhood and an equal number had previously been located elsewhere in the City of Vancouver. For graphic designers with previous locations, 57% had previously been located in the same neighbourhood and 28% had been in other locations in the City of Vancouver. Of interior design firms, 20% had been previously located in the same neighbourhood and also outside of the City but within the GVRD, and 60% had previously been located elsewhere in the City of Vancouver.

c. Locational Attributes, Advantages and Disadvantages

Table 4.5 illustrates the advantages associated with location for each firm type. The most common reasons given by architects for choosing their current locations were rents, quality of space, neighbourhood and building character, accessibility to clients and proximity to similar firms. For architects in Yaletown, proximity to Vancouver City Hall
was commonly cited as an advantage. For graphic design firms, rents, accessibility to other creative services, suppliers and clients, and amenities and character were the most important advantages of their present locations. Interior designers rated ambience, access to suppliers and clients, and rents as significant reasons for choosing their present locations. The most significant disadvantage was the lack of parking in the two neighbourhoods, and this was most marked as a disadvantage by architects and interior designers.

Table 4.5: Locational Advantages by Firm Type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Advantage</th>
<th>Architectural</th>
<th>Graphic Design</th>
<th>Interior Design</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>similar firms</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>access to clients</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>access to suppliers</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rents</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quality of space</td>
<td>92%</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amenities</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ambience/character</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parking</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percentages reflect the number of responses within each horizontal category.

More architectural and interior design firms said that they were considering (or planning) to move (67%), than graphic design firms (50%). Rent increases were the most common reason cited by all firms for considering moving, and almost equal in importance for architects and interior designers were parking problems. Three architectural firms and one interior design firm said that they would relocate in Yaletown, while no firms considering moving said that they would relocate in Victory Square. Most architectural and graphic design firms would relocate elsewhere in the central area, while interior design firms indicated that a number of dispersed locations would be favoured.
d. Face to Face Interaction

Face to face meetings were rated as most important for architects and interior designers and somewhat less important for graphic designers. Interior designers had client meetings least frequently and graphic designers had client meetings most frequently of all the firm types. It is interesting that graphic designers rated face to face meetings as less important than architects and interior designers and yet had personal meetings most frequently.

When asked whether or not their location was conducive to face to face meetings, 75% of architects, 88% of graphic designers and 67% of interior designers answered affirmatively. One architectural and one interior design firm said that this issue did not concern them, as the only people who came to their offices were suppliers, and location was therefore not an issue.

e. Neighbourhood Milieu

While half of all architectural and graphic design firms indicated that there were no services missing in their neighbourhoods, no interior design firms felt this way. Of the services believed lacking, banking was the most prominent. Other types of services desired were printing, restaurants, retail and service bureaus that provided clerical and computer assistance.

The majority of firms in each category said that street interaction and access were not important. The concept of being located in a neighbourhood was more important for graphic and interior designers than for architects. Forty two percent of architectural firms indicated that the concept of a neighbourhood was unimportant to them and an equal number said that it was somewhat important. For graphic designers, 63% and 25%
respectively said that the concept of being located in a neighbourhood was very and somewhat important. Eighty three percent of interior design firms felt that the concept of a neighbourhood was either somewhat or very important to their firm.

When asked why the concept of a neighbourhood was important, the most common response from architects and interior designers was that the neighbourhood acted as a reflection of the firm's work. Graphic designers indicated that the concept of neighbourhood was most important for personal, lifestyle reasons and also because it enabled them to become acquainted with their neighbours. Eleven of twelve architectural firms and five of six interior design firms said that the neighbourhood was not crucial to their work. Three of eight graphic design firms (38%) said that the neighbourhood was crucial to their work. On average for all firm types, however, the neighbourhood was not seen as crucial to the firm's ability to do work.

f. Employment Characteristics and Firm Size

Architectural firms were the largest firms in terms of numbers of employees, with a majority of firms having 5 or more employees (58%). Six of eight graphic design firms (75%) and four of six interior design firms (67%) had three or fewer employees.

In this study, it seems that the smaller the average firm size, the larger the proportion of professionals to other types of employees within the firm. This is illustrated by the fact that while graphic design firms had an average of approximately 3 persons per firm, the proportion of professionals to others employed at those firms was 61%. Conversely, architectural firms had an average of 6 persons per firm, and 54% of the employees were classified as professionals. The difference between the proportion of professionals and non-professionals employed by design firms is largely comprised of technical staff. In architectural firms, technical staff are a more significant proportion of total employment
than in graphic and interior design firms.

All employees in interior design firms worked on a full time basis. In graphic design, temporary and part time work was more common, with 17% of the workforce comprised of each of these types of work respectively. Four percent of employees in architectural firms were employed on a temporary or part time basis, with the remaining 96% employed full time.

g. Role of Technology
The least technology intensive firms were architectural firms, 67% of whom said that their work was not dependent on technology. Conversely, 75% of graphic designers and 50% of interior designers said that they were technology intensive. Nevertheless, only two firms (one architect and one graphic designer) did not use computers in their work.

h. Future Role of Neighbourhood
Sixty seven percent of architectural firms, 88% of graphic designers and 33% of interior designers believed that their location would have an important influence on their business in the future. Interior designers appeared least tied to their neighbourhoods, while graphic designers seemed to indicate a very strong bond with the actual neighbourhood of location and placed greater emphasis on the role of the neighbourhood in their work.

i. Summary
Architectural firms were the most numerous in the sample, while interior design firms were the least numerous in both neighbourhoods. Graphic design firms were the most recently established type of creative services, and no graphic design firms surveyed had been established prior to 1985.
Architecture and graphic design firms were more likely to have moved within the past five years than interior design firms. Interior designers were more likely to have moved to their present locations from a different neighbourhood than were architects or graphic designers. Graphic design firms were most likely to remain in the same neighbourhood when moving to a new office location. They were also least likely to consider moving at the time of the survey. Access to suppliers and clients, rents, amenities and character were cited as important locational attributes by all firm types, though in varying degrees of importance.

Face to face meetings were equally important for architecture and graphic design firms, and somewhat less significant for interior design firms. Architecture and graphic design firms were also more satisfied with the level of services in their neighbourhoods than were interior design firms. Architecture and interior design firms relied on their neighbourhoods and offices as reflections of their work, while graphic design firms felt that their neighbourhoods were important for personal reasons. Graphic design firms attributed the highest degree of importance of all firm types to the role of the neighbourhood in their future work.

Architecture firms were the largest in terms of employees, with an average of 5 or more employees per firm. The majority of graphic and interior design firms had three or fewer employees. Graphic design firms had more part time and temporary workers than did architecture and interior design firms. The majority of employees in all firms were professionals. Architectural firms indicated that they were the least dependent on technology, followed by interior designers and then graphic designers.
6. Creative Services Milieu in Yaletown and Victory Square

a. Comparison of Yaletown and Victory Square

Whereas Yaletown's desirability from a design service location point of view seems to stem from status characteristics such as trendiness, prestige and image, Victory Square firms tended to cite more personal reasons for locating there such as neighbourhood familiarity, and a lifestyle choice to be centrally located. This difference is perhaps explained by the fact that Yaletown is already established as a design district. It is likely that before Yaletown emerged as the premier design locale in Vancouver, firms were locating there for personal rather than for purely business reasons. Many firms expressed the sentiment that designers were expected to be located in upcoming urban districts. Once they have an established clientele and reputation, several Yaletown firms indicated that they could be located in any number of locations in the Lower Mainland, though perhaps not in Surrey.

Interestingly, none of the Yaletown firms indicated that they would move to Victory Square. Given the area's emerging and less prestigious character than Yaletown, this would likely seem a step down from a Yaletown location. Victory Square's importance as a design area should not be diminished by the fact that Yaletown firms would not consider relocating there however. Rather, Victory Square is desirable to newly established firms or firms with a strong desire to be in a downtown location with proximity to the downtown core. Whereas Victory Square appeals to firms that want to be downtown but cannot afford high rents, Yaletown has an appeal to firms who want prestige and also want access to Vancouver locations across the Cambie, Burrard and Granville Street bridges.

b. Building and Neighbourhood Features

A commonly cited sentiment was that corporations expected designers to be
neighbourhood pioneers that identified and located in upcoming urban areas. However, many designers indicated that when looking for a suitable location, it was the building type rather than the type of neighbourhood that drew them to their locations. While a neighbourhood is necessarily comprised of the buildings within it, it is possible to have many different types of buildings in the same neighbourhood or on the same block. Recognizing that building type or character is perhaps equal or sometimes even greater in importance to neighbourhood character, means that individual design districts may be less important to a flourishing design sector than individual designer-oriented buildings. On a broader scale however, it is desirable to have some type of uniformity in building appearance. Additionally, design firms tend to cluster together, thus encouraging the maintenance or development of designer-oriented buildings within a neighbourhood. This may then lead to a neighbourhood becoming a design district, as an expression of the collective needs of individual designers or design firms.

Specific building features that were desirable included windows that opened, low rise walk-up buildings, flexible office spaces and layouts, exposed wooden beams, pillars and brick walls, and older buildings with distinctive architectural features. These types of building features are not typically found in the CBD. Other types of desirable features, peripheral to the building but related to the type of neighbourhood, included restaurants, service bureaus, banking and financial services and retail. These types of services are more commonly found in the CBD and in other office cores, but tend to be lacking in Vancouver's design neighbourhoods.

c. Firm Mobility/Neighbourhood Stability

In general, design firms appeared to be very mobile, and relatively unattached to their neighbourhoods insofar as substantial rent increases or changes in the availability of parking would lead them to move to other locations. The majority of firms had moved
within the past five years, and a number of firms indicated that they would be moving in the near future, especially from Yaletown locations. Many firms and individual designers indicated that once they were established and had a stable client base and good reputation, they could be located anywhere in Vancouver. There appeared to be a trend for established firms to ultimately plan to relocate outside of the downtown peninsula. This brings up an interesting issue: although Yaletown is now being described as an important, established design district, it will not remain a design district if rent increases lead to significant numbers of designers moving out of the neighbourhood. Thus, Yaletown's existence as a design area is potentially a transitional use for the neighbourhood rather than a permanent use. If true, this has implications for the networks of firms that have established there, and also for the types of services that have located in the area to serve the design firms.

Most of the designers interviewed worked for locally based companies, and only a handful of designers did work outside of the province or the country. This would indicate that the firms in Yaletown and Victory Square truly are supporting businesses in the downtown core (perhaps moreso in Victory Square than in Yaletown) and that the preservation of these neighbourhoods can thus be justified on the grounds that the businesses located there service the corporate complex of the CBD.

d. Business Environment

A common feature of offices in the two neighbourhoods was the sharing of office spaces by a number of different design firms. Office space sharing has a number of benefits: it decreases rental, office equipment, and support staff costs, provides interaction for single person firms, leads to subcontracting relationships between designers sharing spaces, permits flexibility in terms of leases and enables large spaces to be utilized without reconstructing them to suit individual firms.
Design work is carried out as a symbol of the image of the firm being represented. Designers are businesspeople who use their creativity, imagination and energy to develop and sell products to clients for the purpose of earning income. Design has the potential to increase profits and income potentials of clients. The best designers are those that research the needs of their clients, have an understanding of the materials that will be utilized for the designs, and an appreciation for the environments in which the designs will be used.
CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY, PLANNING AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

1. Overview

This thesis addresses a number of interrelated issues including the impacts of economic restructuring on the central city, the role of the creative services sector as a subsector of producer services, and the distinctive attributes of creative services firms in Vancouver.

Given that creative services comprise an emerging and relatively understudied field, this thesis provides an introductory view of creative services from a Canadian urban perspective, and draws upon related literature and recent scholarly discussion of creative services in the Vancouver context (Shaughnessy, 1988; Young, 1989; Hutton, 1994b). An overview of design firm agglomerations in the City of Vancouver, and a focused survey of creative service firms in Yaletown and Victory Square are the primary contributions of this research.

This concluding chapter summarizes the major findings of the thesis and presents some planning and policy implications associated with the development of the creative service sector in the City of Vancouver.

2. Summary

a. Impacts of Economic Restructuring on the Urban Core

As a result of urban economic restructuring, the service sector has succeeded the manufacturing sector in terms of overall employment in urban areas. Services are now also recognized as being capable of generating export income, and thus have a significant multiplier effect on urban economic growth. Increases in service sector employment and the concomitant decreases in manufacturing employment have dramatically reshaped land use and activity in central cities. Services, and more specifically producer services, are the fastest growing sector of employment in urban areas. Despite trends towards the decentralization of
services to suburban and exurban areas, cities and downtowns remain the economic and social hearts of our metropolitan areas in Canada, although the U.S. experience is significantly different.

Producer services prosper where they are able to maximize on their ability to provide specialized services with quick production times, flexible schedules and access to suppliers and clients. They tend to agglomerate in urban centres where they are in close proximity to business contacts. Together, the network of linkages among the headquarters of corporate firms and specialized producer services comprise the downtown corporate complex.

As a result of the growth in producer services firms, and service sector employment in high rise office towers in the downtown core, renewed pressure is being exerted on urban land resources. Cities with high levels of amenities and an orientation towards advanced services have experienced significant gentrification of inner city housing, and increased interest in downtown land redevelopment. The displacement of former industrial areas and lower income residents is a direct result of the increase in value attributed to downtown urban land. Also at risk of displacement are services which support the downtown corporate complex that tend to locate on the fringes of the downtown core.

Creative services are an example of a subsector of producer services that support the downtown corporate complex. Their inner city office spaces are threatened by increasing development pressure on urban land, and by the demolition of low rise buildings on the central city fringe to make room for high rise structures. Creative services are a dynamic producer services subsector whose role in the preservation and recycling of inner city landscapes has a significant impact on the form of the city.
b. Creative Services as a Subsector of Producer Services

Creative services comprise a unique subsector of producer services, especially in comparison with corporate producer service firms. Similar to corporate producer services, creative services are characterized by their small firm size, tendency to agglomerate in central locations, the importance they place on frequent face to face contact, and development of highly localized patterns of backward and forward linkages. Unlike corporate producer services, however, creative services locate on the fringes of the central city in low rise, older buildings, place a high degree of importance on neighbourhood character and culture, and are characterized by occupational structures that deemphasize hierarchical relationships.

Design is increasingly recognized as playing an important role in product development and enhancement, and as a value added activity that increases the economic value of goods and services. The establishment of specialized design centres across Canada is being augmented by government, business and academic interest in different aspects of design and creative services. Together, these developments are leading to increased awareness and understanding of the needs of creative services firms and applied design as a vital activity on a variety of fronts.

The City of Vancouver’s Central Area Plan recognizes that design services located in the central area support the downtown corporate complex and that further study of their land use and linkage patterns is required. Previous studies of creative services in Vancouver have elaborated on the relationship between creative services and location, linkage patterns, and employment trends. However, none have focused on the neighbourhood aspect of design firm location within the downtown peninsula, nor have previous studies differentiated between design firms that tend to be largely producer service oriented and those that are retail or consumer oriented.
c. Creative Services Firms in Vancouver

Mapwork of creative services firms in Vancouver shows the high level of firm agglomerations in central area neighbourhoods, especially for architects, graphic designers and interior designers. More detailed study of these three types of design firms in Yaletown and Victory Square serves to compare and contrast established and emerging design districts respectively, and also differentiates creative service firms by firm type.

Firms surveyed were characterized by their small size, relative youth, and by their high proportion of employees in professional positions. Present locations were desirable because of low rents, character, quality of space, accessibility to suppliers and clients, and proximity to similar firms. Linkages with both corporate and creative service suppliers were highly localized in the immediate area of the downtown, whereas client location was more diffuse.

Yaletown firms had been in their present locations for longer than Victory Square firms, and firms were slightly larger in terms of employment. Yaletown firms commonly cited the prestige of the area as a locational advantage, while Victory Square firms emphasized the sense of neighbourhood in their decision to locate there.

Similar to previous Vancouver based studies on both producer services and creative services, the most common locational complaints related to parking problems and rent increases. These drawbacks to central locations were more marked in Yaletown than in Victory Square. Especially with respect to rent, firms indicated a significant non-elasticity between rent increases and location. Most firms indicated that rent levels were more important in the location decision than was distance from the city centre.

Architectural firms comprised the largest number of firms in the sample, followed by graphic designers and then interior designers. Architectural firms were twice as large in terms of
average numbers of employees than were graphic or interior design firms. Graphic design firms were the most recently established of all firms, whereas architectural firms had been established for the longest period of time. Graphic design and architectural firms placed a stronger importance on the role of the neighbourhood in their ability to do business than did interior design firms.

Yaletown's vibrant renewal from an obsolete industrial area to a bustling design district gives hope to the potential redevelopment of Victory Square as a design district that is proximate to both the CBD and desirable to upcoming design firms from a neighbourhood perspective. However, intensive land redevelopment surrounding both neighbourhoods potentially threatens the further development of these areas as design districts.

3. Planning and Policy Implications

Policies which both address the needs of the creative service sector as a subsector of producer services and recognize their distinctive land use needs are required in order to encourage their development and the special sense of character which creative service firms can contribute to the corporate city.

The Central Area Plan recognizes that creative services are an integral component of Vancouver's urban economy by classifying them as business support services upon which CBD corporations are dependent. However, it is not practical or reasonable from a planning point of view to restrict office availability for design services in the core only to those businesses that have linkages with businesses in the CBD. This may result in any event, as firms without strong linkages to the central city may independently choose to relocate to areas where parking is available and rental costs are less. This is already happening to some extent in Yaletown where interior designers with large showrooms are moving away from the
downtown to be closer to clients and in areas with more parking. It is also possible that creative services oriented towards exporting their services will tend to locate in suburban areas, similar to other export oriented producer services. However, there is a strong tendency for designers to choose central city locations for personal reasons. Though some creative service firms may not locate in the inner city to serve the CBD initially, firms that do locate in the city will develop contacts with other nearby firms, and this will likely result in the firm's acting as a business support service to some extent.

Policies that address rapid change in urban areas must recognize not only what is needed for today but also for tomorrow. This is crucial as restructuring has shown that variety and diversity are important for urban health and that innovation in planning policy and land use may be just as crucial as innovation in business. While the transformation of land uses in urban areas is natural and preceded throughout history, the outright exclusion of uses can be detrimental to the health of the city. Hutton notes that:

> The significance of urban culture and landscape may also provide a clue to the future development of design services. Cities appear to possess certain unique advantages for the production of applied design and creative services, which may suggest the durability of applied design as a comparative advantage of urban areas against a backdrop of the relentless decentralization of more standardized commodity and services production (1994b, 29).

Thus, the maintenance of urban neighbourhoods amenable to creative services firms may have long term benefits for urban land use that outweigh the short term costs associated with preservation of those areas.

While mixed land uses may be desirable, it is important to ensure that the uses are compatible. For example, one woman expressed concern over a fast food sandwich shop going in down the street in Yaletown. She said that the people buying $3.50 sandwiches would be taking up parking spots from people who may be purchasing a $10,000 sofa or
other type of design service. Furthermore, shifting land uses lead to turnover in clients. When the status of a neighbourhood increases to a level where the rents are no longer affordable by the majority of tenants, the character of the neighbourhood will shift. This is happening to some extent in Yaletown, and it will be interesting to review this trend in the next five years to determine the impact that raised rents have had on the success of Yaletown as an established design district. Likewise, the development of Victory Square as a design area could have negative implications for many of the area's low income residents if they are pushed out. While Victory Square could potentially be redeveloped as a vibrant design area, it would be politically unacceptable to do so at the expense of longtime residents.

Another issue that must be examined is that of traffic congestion and parking levels. As Vancouver grows, businesses must come to accept the lack and cost of parking and increased congestion that come with that growth. In addition, it is unlikely that public transit will become the preferred mode of transportation for designers or their clients due to the frequency of meetings and time and convenience required to travel to clients who are dispersed across the Lower Mainland. However, understanding the highly localized patterns of backward and forward linkages between creative services and their suppliers within the urban core means that trips are shorter, and could potentially be carried out without a vehicle. This is yet another reason to encourage the agglomeration of creative services in close proximity to the activities they serve.

4. Conclusion
This thesis has addressed a number of interrelated issues including: urban economic restructuring, the role of producer services in urban economies, the role of creative services as a type of producer service, the land use and location patterns illustrative of creative services and the importance of land use planning that successfully integrates a diversity of
urban functions, including creative services, within the urban core.

Creative services firms have a positive impact on urban economies as business support services, as exporters of design services, and as value added activities that generate local income and employment. Furthermore, they contribute to the recycling and revitalization of inner city districts. The growth and success of creative services firms in the inner city is dependent upon land use policies and plans which effectively consider the role of creative services in the overall development of central cities, or at least upon those which do not undermine their access to locations, clients and suppliers.
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APPENDIX 1: LIST OF CREATIVE SERVICE FIRMS IN YALETOWN AND VICTORY SQUARE

This list includes all Architects, Graphic Designers and Interior Designers listed in The Yellow Pages with locations in either Yaletown or Victory Square.

YALETOWN

Architects:

Linda Baker Architect
405-1168 Hamilton
Vancouver, B.C.
V6B 2S2

Boak Alexander Architects Inc.
404-1080 Mainland
Vancouver, B.C.
V6B 2T4

Herbert Challier
1152 Mainland
Vancouver, B.C.
V6B 4X2

The Colborne Architectural Group
390-1090 Homer St.
Vancouver, B.C.
V6B 2S2

John Currie
308-1168 Hamilton
Vancouver, B.C.
V6B 2S2

Edward de Grey Architects
202-1260 Hamilton
Vancouver, B.C.
V6B 2S8

Dirassar James Jorgenson
301-1132 Hamilton
Vancouver, B.C.
V6B 2S2

Downs-Archambault
200-1014 Hamilton
Vancouver, B.C.
V6B 2R9

James Fensom Architecture
1052 Homer
Vancouver, B.C.
V6B 2W9

Formwerks Architecture
101-1290 Homer
Vancouver, B.C.
V6B 2Y5

Dalla-Lana Griffin
400-1080 Mainland
Vancouver, B.C.
V6B 2T4

Terrance Harrison Design
003-1290 Homer
Vancouver, B.C.
V6B 2Y5

Hewitt Tan Kwasnicky Architects Inc.
201-1120 Hamilton
Vancouver, B.C.
V6B 2S2

Stuart Howard Architects
401-1040 Hamilton
Vancouver, B.C.
V6B 2R9
### Appendix 1: List of Creative Service Firms in Yaletown and Victory Square

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Creative Service Firms</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Phone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Isaac Renton Architects</td>
<td>201-1226 Homer, Vancouver, B.C.</td>
<td>V6B 2Y5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bob Maki Design</td>
<td>1226 Homer, Vancouver, B.C.</td>
<td>V6B 2X6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Lee Architects</td>
<td>201-1226 Homer, Vancouver, B.C.</td>
<td>V6B 2Y5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dave Mason &amp; Associates Inc.</td>
<td>406-1040 Hamilton, Vancouver, B.C.</td>
<td>V6B 2Y5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hywel Jones</td>
<td>165-1020 Mainland, Vancouver, B.C.</td>
<td>V6B 2T4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On Design</td>
<td>303-1110 Hamilton, Vancouver, B.C.</td>
<td>V6B 2S2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graphic Designers:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esjay Creative Communications</td>
<td>406-1040 Hamilton, Vancouver, B.C.</td>
<td>V6B 2R9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parallel Strategies Inc.</td>
<td>300-1260 Hamilton, Vancouver, B.C.</td>
<td>V6B 2S8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jim Skipp Design</td>
<td>406-1040 Hamilton, Vancouver, B.C.</td>
<td>V6B 2R9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Tedman &amp; Associates</td>
<td>302-1107 Homer, Vancouver, B.C.</td>
<td>V6B 2Y1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interior Designers:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ken Koo Creative Group</td>
<td>200-1152 Mainland, Vancouver, B.C.</td>
<td>V6B 4X2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allan &amp; Shimizu Design</td>
<td>154-1020 Mainland, Vancouver, B.C.</td>
<td>V6B 2T4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kent Allan Design Group</td>
<td>1286 Homer, Vancouver, B.C.</td>
<td>V6B 2Y5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerr &amp; Company Marketing Designs</td>
<td>201-1102 Mainland, Vancouver, B.C.</td>
<td>V6B 2X6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bekke Design Associates</td>
<td>210-1080 Mainland, Vancouver, B.C.</td>
<td>V6B 2T4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Company Name</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Address 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concept West Planning Consultants Ltd.</td>
<td>Andrew Cheung</td>
<td>1052 Homer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cynthia Miles Interior Design</td>
<td>Martin R. Cruise</td>
<td>303-1226 Homer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter J. Gazeley Marketing and Design</td>
<td>Eszter Csutkai</td>
<td>003-1290 Homer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia Taylor Interior Design Ltd.</td>
<td>Alan Davies</td>
<td>413-1080 Mainland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roche Bobois</td>
<td>Francl Lamoureuse Architects Inc.</td>
<td>1010 Mainland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Salter Interiors Ltd.</td>
<td>Wolfgang Geisier</td>
<td>1038 Hamilton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kathryn Turchak Interiors</td>
<td>Henriquez and Partners</td>
<td>303-1126 Homer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VICTORY SQUARE</td>
<td>Kenneth E King Architects and Planners</td>
<td>303-1290 Homer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architects:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VICTORY SQUARE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architects:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 1: List of Creative Service Firms in Yaletown and Victory Square

Patkau Architects
100-560 Beatty
Vancouver, B.C.
V6B 2L3

Moore Davies Graphics
1113-207 W. Hastings
Vancouver, B.C.
V6B 1H6

Edward Ratsoy
568 Beatty
Vancouver, B.C.
V6B 2L3

P O Tato & Buds Ltd.
211-416 W. Pender
Vancouver, B.C.
V6B 1T5

Thaddeus Yeung
207 W. Hastings
Vancouver, B.C.
V6B 1H6

Ray Mah Design Inc.
326 W. Pender
Vancouver, B.C.
V6B 1T3

Graphic Designers:

Ad Infinitum Graphics
205-518 Beatty
Vancouver, B.C.
V6B 2L3

Rep Art
200-416 W. Pender
Vancouver, B.C.
V6B 1T5

S J Best Printing Services Ltd.
424 Homer
V6B 2V5

Think Ink Graphic Design and Printing Inc.
201-416 W. Pender
Vancouver, B.C.
V6B 1T5

David Bircham Design
604-518 Beatty
Vancouver, B.C.
V6B 2L3

Interior Designers:

Hodgson & Hass
211-402 W. Pender
Vancouver, B.C.
V6B 1T6

Patricia Gray Inc.
110-560 Beatty
Vancouver, B.C.
V6B 2L3

Lnotinext
552 Beatty
Vancouver, B.C.
V6B 2L3

Situ Design
509-402 W. Pender
Vancouver, B.C.
V6B 1T6
APPENDIX 2: INTRODUCTORY LETTER AND QUESTIONNAIRE
ADMINISTERED TO DESIGN FIRMS

The following letter was mailed to all of the design firms located in Yaletown and Victory Square with advertisements in the Vancouver Yellow Pages.

Dear (name),

We are conducting a study of the creative service sector in the City of Vancouver and would like to conduct a short interview with you or a representative of your firm in the next few weeks.

The purpose of the study is to determine the role that creative service sector firms, such as (type of firm), play in the economic, social and physical fabric of Vancouver's urban core and specifically in distinctive design areas.

The results of the interviews will be used for two purposes: as part of a Master's thesis and also for a paper being prepared by Professor Tom Hutton. We will be happy to make the results of the study available to you either prior to or upon completion of these manuscripts, as you prefer.

The interview will take approximately twenty five minutes to complete. It will be based on qualitative rather than quantitative data, and confidentiality of your responses is assured.

Some examples of question topics include the following: firm location, neighbourhood milieu, employment trends, and expected future prospects for design firms in the city.

We will be contacting you in the next few days to set up an interview and look forward to meeting with you soon.

Thank you in advance for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Dr. Tom Hutton
Associate Professor
School of Community and Regional Planning

Ms. Shauna Brail
Second Year M.A.(Planning) Candidate
School of Community and Regional Planning
The following questionnaire was administered to 26 design firms, 11 in Victory Square and 15 in Yaletown, during February and March 1994.

A. General
1. Name of firm:
2. Address:
3. Type of firm:
4. Date of establishment:
5. Other locations:

5a. If yes, where was the firm previously located?

   a. Same neighbourhood
   b. Downtown Vancouver
   c. City of Vancouver
   d. GVRD
   e. Other __________

B. Location
1. Why did your firm choose this location?

1a. If any other locations were considered, why were they rejected?

2. What are the advantages and disadvantages of this location?

   a. access to similar firms
   b. access to clients (outputs)
   c. access to suppliers (inputs)
   d. rents
   e. quality of space
   f. proximity to amenities
   g. ambience/neighbourhood character
   h. parking
   i. other __________

3. Are face to face meetings important to the success of your business?

   a. not important
   b. somewhat important
   c. very important
Appendix 2: Introductory Letter and Questionnaire Administered to Design Firms

3a. Where are these meetings generally held?
   a. This office [ ]
   b. Yaletown/Downtown South [ ]
   c. Victory Square/Gastown [ ]
   d. CBD [ ]
   e. Other Downtown location [ ]
   f. City of Vancouver [ ]
   g. GVRD [ ]
   h. Other __________ [ ]

4. Do you have face to face client meetings?
   a. Several times daily [ ]
   b. Daily [ ]
   c. Several times weekly [ ]
   d. Weekly [ ]
   e. Rarely [ ]
   f. Other __________ [ ]

5. What proportion of your business with clients is conducted by means other than face to face meetings? (i.e. fax, telephone, mail)
   a. Fax [ ]
   b. Telephone [ ]
   c. Mail [ ]
   d. Computer networks [ ]
   e. Other __________ [ ]

6. Is your location conducive to face to face meetings? How or why?

7. Have you considered moving to another location? If so, what would lead you to do that? Where would you locate?
### C. Interfirm Linkages

1. Inputs (Suppliers)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Creative Services</th>
<th>Yaletown/D. South Victory Sq./Gastown</th>
<th>Other Core</th>
<th>External</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Architectural</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
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<td>[ ]</td>
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<tr>
<td>b. Architectural Rendering &amp; Design</td>
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<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Landscape Architecture</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Interior Design</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
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<tr>
<td>e. Planning Consultants</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
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<tr>
<td>f. Industrial Design</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
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<tr>
<td>g. Fashion Design</td>
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<tr>
<td>h. Textile Design</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
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<tr>
<td>i. Jewellery Design</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
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<tr>
<td>j. Graphic Design</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
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<tr>
<td>k. Commercial Artist</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
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<tr>
<td>l. Custom Photofinishing</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
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<tr>
<td>m. Display Designers/builders</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
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<td>[ ]</td>
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<tr>
<td>n. Video Production</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
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<tr>
<td>o. Film Post Production</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
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<td>[ ]</td>
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<tr>
<td>p. Printers</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
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<td>[ ]</td>
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<tr>
<td>q. Desktop Publishing</td>
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<th>Corporate Services</th>
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<th>Other Core</th>
<th>External</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Legal Services</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Accounting</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Management Consulting</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
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<td>d. Consulting Engineers</td>
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<td>e. Marketing</td>
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<td>h. Banking and Finance</td>
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<td>i. Insurance</td>
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<td>n. Caterers</td>
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2. Outputs (Customers)

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<tr>
<th>Creative Services</th>
<th>Yaletown/D.South Victory Sq./Gastown</th>
<th>Other Core</th>
<th>External</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Architectural</td>
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<tr>
<td>b. Architectural Rendering &amp; Design</td>
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<tr>
<td>c. Landscape Architecture</td>
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<tr>
<td>d. Interior Design</td>
<td>☐</td>
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<tr>
<td>e. Planning Consultants</td>
<td>☐</td>
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<tr>
<td>f. Industrial Design</td>
<td>☐</td>
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<tr>
<td>g. Fashion Design</td>
<td>☐</td>
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<tr>
<td>h. Textile Design</td>
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<tr>
<td>i. Jewellery Design</td>
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<tr>
<td>j. Graphic Design</td>
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<tr>
<td>k. Commercial Artist</td>
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<tr>
<td>l. Custom Photofinishing</td>
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<td>m. Display Designers/builders</td>
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<tr>
<td>n. Video Production</td>
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<tr>
<td>o. Film Post Production</td>
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<tr>
<td>p. Printers</td>
<td>☐</td>
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<tr>
<td>q. Desktop Publishing</td>
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<th>External</th>
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<td>b. Accounting</td>
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<tr>
<td>c. Management Consulting</td>
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<td>d. Consulting Engineers</td>
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Appendix 2: Introductory Letter and Questionnaire Administered to Design Firms

3. If your clients were not on the above list, who are they and where are they located?

D. Neighbourhood Milieu

1. Are there any services missing from your neighbourhood that would improve your business? If yes, which ones?

2. How important is it for your firm to be able to interact or draw attention to street level consumers, passers by who may be potential clients?

3. Is the concept of being located in a 'neighbourhood' important to your firm? Why?

4. Is the neighbourhood in which you are located crucial to your firm's success?

E. Employment

1. How many people are employed by your firm?

1a. Of these, how many are:

   a. Managerial
   b. Professional
   c. Technical
   d. Secretarial

2. How many employees are:

   a. Temporary
   b. Part time
   c. Full time
3. Have there been staff changes in the past year?
   a. Yes [ ]
   b. No [ ]

4. Where do your employees do their work from?
   a. Office [ ]
   b. Home [ ]
   c. Other [ ]

5. Is your firm technology intensive?
   a. Yes [ ]
   b. No [ ]

6. If so, what types of technology do you use to conduct business?
   a. CAD [ ]
   b. IBM Computer [ ]
   c. MAC Computer [ ]
   d. GIS [ ]
   e. Other [ ]

F. Future Prospects

1. What do you foresee as important issues to be dealt with in the future by design firms?

2. Will your firm's location be an important influence on your business in the future?
APPENDIX 3: LIST OF PERSONS AND FIRMS INTERVIEWED

YALETOWN

Architects:

Stephen Quigley  
The Colborne Architectural Group  
390-1090 Homer St.  
Vancouver, B.C  
V6B 2S2

John Currie  
308-1168 Hamilton  
Vancouver, B.C  
V6B 2S2  
669-2172

Howard Airey  
Formwerks Architecture  
101-1290 Homer  
Vancouver, B.C  
V6B 2Y5

Dave Hewitt  
Hewitt Tan Kwasnicky Architects Inc.  
201-1120 Hamilton  
Vancouver, B.C.  
V6B 2S2

Stuart Howard  
Stuart Howard Architects  
401-1040 Hamilton  
Vancouver, B.C.  
V6B 2R9

Hywel Jones  
165-1020 Mainland  
Vancouver, B.C.  
V6B 2T4

Thomas Zimmerman  
303-1226 Homer  
Vancouver, B.C.  
V6B 2Y5

Interior Designers

Laurie Allan  
Allan & Shimuzu Design  
154-1020 Mainland  
Vancouver, B.C.  
V6B 2T4

Harry Bekke  
Bekke Design Associates  
210-1080 Mainland  
Vancouver, B.C.  
V6B 2T4

Sharon Bortolotto  
BBA Design Consultants Inc.  
202-1168 Hamilton  
Vancouver, B.C.  
V6B 2S2

Diane Salter  
Richard Salter Interiors Ltd.  
1038 Hamilton  
Vancouver, B.C.  
V6B 2R9

Graphic Designers

Steve Jolly  
Esjay Creative Communications  
406-1040 Hamilton  
Vancouver, B.C.  
V6B 2R9
Appendix 3: List of Persons and Firms Interviewed

Jim Skipp
Jim Skipp Design
406-1040 Hamilton
Vancouver, B.C.
V6B 2R9

David Kerr
Kerr & Company Marketing Designs
201-1102 Mainland
Vancouver, B.C.
V6B 2X6

Warren Oneschuk
On Design
303-1110 Hamilton
Vancouver, B.C.
V6B 2S2

VICTORY SQUARE

Architects

Martin R. Cruise
2207-402 W. Pender
Vancouver, B.C.
V6B 1T6

Alan Davies
2808-402 W. Pender
Vancouver, B.C.
V6B 1T6

Walter Francl
Franci Lamoureux Architects Inc.
207-119 W. Pender
Vancouver, B.C.
V6B 1S5

Gregory Henriquez
Henriquez and Partners
402 W. Pender
Vancouver, B.C.
V6B 1T6

Edward Ratsoy
568 Beatty
Vancouver, B.C.
V6B 2L3

Interior Designers

Patricia Gray
Patricia Gray Inc.
110-560 Beatty
Vancouver, B.C.
V6B 2L3

David Hepworth
Situ Design
509-402 W. Pender
Vancouver, B.C.
V6B 1T6

Graphic Designers

Tony Bosley
Ad Infinitum Graphics
205-518 Beatty
V6B 2L3
681-1442

David Bircham
David Bircham Design
604-518 Beatty
Vancouver, B.C.
V6B 2L3

Betsy Jones
Rep Art
200-416 W. Pender
Vancouver, B.C.
V6B 1T5

Paul Kovach
Think Ink Graphic Design and Printing
201-416 W. Pender
Vancouver, B.C.
V6B 1T5
APPENDIX 4: PERSONAL REFLECTIONS ON FIELD WORK EXPERIENCE

Preparing to do fieldwork requires a good deal of planning and organization. After I developed a list of firms from the Yellow Pages and drafted the survey questionnaire, I decided it would be in my best interests to send out an introductory letter rather than simply making 'cold' calls. I proceeded by telephoning each firm to request a contact name, and then sent an introductory letter to the principal of each firm. During the preliminary research stages, several firms were removed from the initial list, either because they had gone out of business or had moved to a new location outside of the study area boundaries.

Although I had hoped to conduct thirty interviews in all, my survey research consisted of twenty six interviews, for a total response rate of 38 percent. Setting up the interviews was not very difficult once I got in touch with the designers, however I played telephone tag with a number of people whom I never ended up getting in touch with. Fewer than five firms said they did not have time or were not interested in participating in the study. Most people that I contacted were both interested and helpful.

Twenty four of the interviews were carried out at the firms' offices, and two were conducted in nearby coffee shops at the request of the interviewees. It was somewhat stressful entering unknown people's offices, especially when the firm consisted of only one person. Meeting in people's offices however, gave me an indication of the type of work the firm did and also of their personal sense of style and design.

The length of the interviews varied from twenty minutes to an hour, and this time discrepancy was largely guided by how much the interviewee spoke, their level of interest in the subject, and whether or not I had an interview scheduled directly afterwards. Some people that I interviewed wanted to go through the questions first and then proceeded to talk
about the general topic of creative services after the formal interview was complete. The degree of formality during the interviews depended on the person being interviewed and ranged from a formal boardroom type of meeting to a man who had his stocking feet up on his desk the entire time.

I found that people expressed the concern that their responses might not be useful or 'right'. I tried to reassure the respondents that there was no such thing as a wrong answer, and that all answers were useful, regardless of whether or not they supported my research hypotheses.

Of all the interviews, only one was very uncomfortable. After the first few questions, the interviewee said she was disappointed by the questions being asked, and that she thought the survey was on a different topic that would be of more use to her as a professional. I explained that the introductory letter described the types of questions to be asked and I gave her the opportunity to discontinue the interview. Although she agreed to complete the questionnaire, she was obviously disinterested and irritated. I conducted the rest of the survey as quickly as possible. Immediately following the interview I felt badly and questioned the validity of my research, but felt more positively later that day when the remainder of the interviews went well. I concluded that it was a good learning experience to have someone react in that way, and happy that it was not the norm.

The questionnaire designed to help carry out the interviews was, for the most part, a useful tool which elicited targeted responses. There were a few problems however, in terms of both questions missing and question clarity. Early in the interview process, I realized that there should have been a question determining the length of time in years that the respondent had been at the present location. I added this question to each interview, despite its not being listed. Section C, Interfirm Linkages, was the most confusing section of the questionnaire. It was mainly confusing in terms of the areas identified (especially when linkages were
identified in more than 1 neighbourhood). The second half of Section C, dealing with location of clients, was largely inapplicable because firms' clients tended not to be listed. Section C was also the most difficult to code using the spreadsheet program. There was also some confusion as to what the difference was between inputs and outputs for linkage relationships.

At the conclusion of the interviews, I asked the interviewees if they were interested in receiving copies of the results. Twenty of twenty six interviewees expressed an interest in receiving the final results.

Overall, I really enjoyed the field work. I found it exciting to be able to corroborate theoretical ideas with empirical evidence and it provided me with insight into the business world of creative services. Especially rewarding were the opportunities to meet with people who were passionate about their work and their willingness to share some of their experience with me. I hope that I have been able to capture some of the interviewees' inspirational flair in the context of this thesis. Furthermore, I look forward to the opportunity to conduct field research in the future.