A TALE OF TWO TOWNS:
CONFLATIONS OF GLOBAL AND LOCAL IN THE NEW MEDIA SPACES OF
BELLTOWN AND YALETOWN

by

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Abstract

Focusing on the new media districts of Belltown in Seattle, WA and Yaletown in Vancouver, BC, this 'tale of two towns' investigates the presence and patterns of the creative high-tech sector in the inner city. The research question asks how employee demographics, intra and inter-firm milieu, socio-cultural aspects of firm location, and economic and socio-cultural global/local linkages in conjunction with planning and public policy implications inform the importance of place and identity in these new media spaces.

These two inner city areas have been transformed from old industrial areas on the fringe of the Central Business District to centres of art, creative design, idea innovation and most recently, specialized high-tech services. Through survey work these areas emerge as distinct digital districts, dependent on the local specificities of 'place' and milieu. These areas are changing rapidly, and in different ways. Belltown has experienced partial displacement of the arts community, and Yaletown has witnessed a cultural 're-colonization' of industrial lands.

The methodology is based on both quantitative and qualitative information, gathered through primary survey work, a series of interviews, as well as spatial mapping techniques. Lists of all the media firms in each area were compiled, and a random selection of 25 firms were interviewed on topics covering the (1) locational aspects of the firms, (2) firm size, (3) employee demographics, (4) the socio-cultural aspects of their location, (5) attributes of their location, (6) their global and local connectivity, and (7) the goods and service input/outputs for each firm.

Planning implications for these areas include increasing levels of social polarization, a need to foster spaces of creativity in the city, increasing generational components, and a growing role for local alliances in light of increasing global pressures. Accelerated rates of change in these two areas are marked by convergence exemplified by: the new technologies used by these firms, the global/local economic and socio-cultural linkages, and the arrival of new cohorts with a distinct corporate culture that challenges and reinforces the evolving specificities of 'place' in these areas.
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is about acceleration and convergence in 'place'. A heightened pace of local change and the imposition of global trends on inner city areas is creating much transformation on the urban stage. This study was conducted during a crucial time in the high-tech sector. After several years of unprecedented growth, the high-tech services witnessed a dramatic downturn in demand and service inputs, leading to crumbling stock prices. The economic roller coaster for the high-tech sector will undoubtedly have cascading ramifications on both global and local levels within the next five to ten years: in the physical structure of the city, in new divisions of labour, and in social class reformation. Focusing on the new media districts of Belltown in Seattle, WA and Yaletown in Vancouver, BC, this 'tale of two towns' investigates the presence and patterns of the creative high-tech sector in the inner city. The research question asks how employee demographics, intra and inter-firm milieu, socio-cultural aspects of firm location, and economic and socio-cultural global/local linkages in conjunction with planning and public policy implications inform the importance of place and identity in these new media spaces. This study aims to capture, as an 'academic snapshot', the economic and social pace of the new media firms in Belltown and Yaletown during this volatile time. It will be crucial to see how the economic changes of the last year will navigate the future for these developing and highly dynamic areas over the next ten years.

PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVES

The purpose of this thesis is to examine and attempt to understand the multimedia service sector, its attributes, global and local connectivity, and locational choices focusing specifically on the distinctive inner city 'digital districts' of Belltown in Seattle and Yaletown in Vancouver.

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Multimedia services in the high-tech sector are an industry that has grown exponentially in the last decade and which remains a central industry within the consolidating sphere of the high-tech world. A nexus of art and technology, the multimedia industry has emerged as a significant area of study for planners and policy makers in relation to its economic and cultural impacts and contributions at both the global and local scales.

The defining planning issue of this thesis is expressed by Knight: that cities are currently at a crossroads; they can either participate in shaping the global society or they can react to global forces and be shaped by them (Knight, 1989). Through scholarly investigation and the resulting link to current policy issues, this thesis attempts to inform the mediation of the global and the local in this rapidly changing area of the metropolitan core.

This thesis is propelled by the following questions: What is the impact of the new economy on cities? Where are new technology firms locating in the city? Why do high-tech firms follow the creative service areas of the inner city? What type of work and production are these firms engaging in? What is their relationship to the creative services in the area? Why do they appear to locate in similar areas of the city as the creative services? How do these firms emerge, where do they come from, who are their employees, who do they serve, who supplies them and how do they relate to each other? How does investigating these questions add to previous research on the dynamics of the inner city and the downtown in terms of generational issues, infrastructure requirements and what are the resulting policy implications?
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DEFINITION

In this thesis the study of globalization is centred on the conflations and linkages between the economic and cultural aspects of the global and local, and how they are woven into the multimedia industry in each neighbourhood.

For this study, the economic aspect of globalization is realized through the study of multimedia firms as examples of the high-tech service sector. The sector is comprised of firms ranging from software design, high-tech graphics design, networking, internet service providers, to the manufacturing of hardware, just to name a few. This thesis is concerned with the multimedia aspect of high-tech firms, which includes software designers, high-tech artists, games designers and marketing firms who have embraced multimedia in their Internet business outputs. Multimedia is an industry with several segments, including those firms that only produce multimedia and those that use multimedia as a component of their services. For research purpose, the City of San Francisco Planning Department defines multimedia as an “emerging industry that facilitates access to and distribution of information through new communication tools and processes” (City of San Francisco Planning Department, 1997:1). In defining multimedia (‘new media’), it’s inherent nature of being continually “in the making” (Pratt, 1999) lends much characterization to the term.

For the purposes of this study, corporate services (for example: legal services, accounting, management consulting) are differentiated from high-tech producer services on the premise that while they both serve an intermediary function in the economy, they embrace different locational choices and corporate cultures, as well as other differentiating attributes, as disclosed in this study.
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BACKGROUND

While there has been much research on urban economies and locational choice, the recent discourse on the new economy includes frequent reference to its lack of attachment to place; that the exchange and flows among firms in the production networks take place without regard to location. This has been critically re-examined, revealing that indeed, 'places' and clusters, along with associated networks and distinct inter/intra-firm protocols, are an underestimated issue (Gertler, 2000). In this light, the notion and application of 'postmodern urbanism' (Dear and Flusty, 1998), which presents the structure of the urban landscape as comprised of incongruent components, will require a critical re-examination in light of the significance of new emerging cultural production clusters and districts being revealed in the new economy. As Hutton (forthcoming) indicates, inner city areas have felt these waves of economic and technological change in a spatially distinct pattern, evidenced first by design-based creative and cultural services (Hutton, 2000), and more recently, by technology-based initiatives such as new media and web technology services (Pratt, 2001).

Like the industry itself, the study of multimedia firms is a relatively new and emerging area of research. In 1995, the Centre for Image and Sound Research conducted research on the multimedia industry in BC. Studies have been conducted in other parts of Canada such as Shauna Brail's examination of Toronto's multimedia industry in her 1998 PhD dissertation "The Paradox of Technological Change: 'New' Media in 'Old' Urban Spaces". In the United States, various studies have been conducted in New York and San Francisco, cities that are identifiably centres of the multimedia industry.
Students examining the creative services in Vancouver have conducted much original research on the service sector in Yaletown. Although this thesis examines the high-tech service sector, previous research on creative services provides great insight into the locational choices of the high-tech firms. 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 Shauna Brail's 1994 study "Creative Services in Vancouver: A Study of Yaletown and Victory Square".

This thesis attempts to provide an update on the service sector activities found in Vancouver, and to offer an enlarged perspective through a comparison with Belltown in Seattle. Building on previous research, this thesis will investigate the local and global aspects of the high-tech activities in each neighbourhood and profile the economic and cultural connectivity of each neighbourhood.

High-tech services have been identified by academic scholarship, the professional associations and the media as an immensely important area of the economy for development in both the state of Washington and the Province of British Columbia. The volatility of the high-tech market and potential for both exponential growth and decline reinforces the need for more research into the dynamics of the firms participating in this area of the economy.

Locational Context

This investigation looks at two inner city neighbourhoods in west coast cities in different countries: Belltown in Seattle, Washington, USA and Yaletown in Vancouver, BC, Canada. Both neighbourhoods are located within the inner city areas of each city, just outside the central
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business district (CBD) and contain a stock of old brick warehouse buildings no longer used for industry. In the last decade, these neighbourhoods have experienced significant changes with the influx and establishment of creative services and the blossoming of amenities such as restaurants and coffeehouses, fashion boutiques, and high-tech service firms. These neighbourhoods could also be described as a "zone of assimilation" as posited by Ford (1995: 84), a "place for dazzling urbanites".

When considering the behaviour high-tech service firms, location is a critical issue. The expansive and 'globally connected' nature of the high-tech sector has continually promoted the freedom of the business to be without locational restrictions – due to the time-space compression of the technology. Communications technology 'loosens the glue' of centrality. It is a feature of high-tech firms to be able to connect via online technology within minutes to anyone anywhere. Location in this view should not be a factor. Nonetheless, both research and the landscape reveal that the agglomerative clustering of high-tech firms, whether it be in the central city or in the suburban office park locations, adds to the functionality of the industry. The presence of high-tech service firms in the central city both contributes to and results from the presence of distinctive design and digital areas such as Belltown and Yaletown.

SIGNIFICANCE

There has been a growing interest, both in the media and in academic literature, concerning the impacts of the new economy. While there is considerable discussion and debate, the impact of the new economy on the metropolitan arena requires further elaboration. As the information age accelerates rates of interaction, change and activity, urban landscapes will change significantly. This study attempts to provide some understanding of these changes, and offer
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Insight into the policy implications associated with the convergence of these new players on the urban scene.

Scope and Limitations

This thesis presents a specific investigation within the broad context of the new land use for the new economy. The thesis begins by examining the broader realm of globalization, the new economy, and the change that is taking place in the inner city. Within this encompassing perspective is a specific investigation of high-tech multimedia firms in the inner city. While the focus is on Seattle and Vancouver, the observations relating to high-tech in the inner city may be relevant to understanding the changes occurring in other cities, particularly in North America.

A limitation of this thesis includes the incipient nature of the underpinning theory that is emerging on cultural industries, the margins of the survey work, and the lag time between the research and industry activity.

Method

This thesis combines a theoretical literature review with qualitative and quantitative research into the high-tech creative services in the City of Seattle and the City of Vancouver. The literature review attempts to contextualize the high-tech services, from the broad scope of causal aspects of globalization to the dynamic changes of the inner city landscape.

The core research of the thesis is a survey of multimedia firms. Discussions with key informants in the field and spatial map analysis pointed to the inner city areas of Belltown and Yaletown as particular nodes of high-tech activity in the central city separate from neighbouring
municipalities that harbour high-tech office park clustering -- such as Burnaby, BC and Redmond, Washington.

Several types of multimedia firms were identified, and four were selected for study: high-tech graphic design for marketing, and software design, games design and internet service firms other than internet access. These types of firms exhibit a fusion of the creative services associated with the arts and high-tech services. Using the yellow pages, a list was prepared of such firms in Yaletown, and a parallel list was prepared for Belltown from both yellow pages and a business index. Next, over 160 phone calls were made to narrow the lists specifically to the intermediate producer services of the high-tech sector rather than the physical networking, Internet service providers, retail, and physical installation services of the high-tech realm. Introductory letters were sent to 64 firms in Yaletown and Belltown, and 25 interview-based surveys were coordinated. The survey interviews, which all followed a prepared question format, were conducted in person which allowed the researcher to engage in observational work as well, both before and during each interview. This thesis is the result of the compilation and analysis of this research work, informed by both the emerging theory and the local specificities of place that define these new culturally based economic sectors.

Organization

In this study, the common theme of convergence carries throughout the research: the convergence of technologies to create multimedia, the convergence of the local and global, and the convergence of creative services and high-tech firms in the inner city.

This thesis is organized into six chapters. This introductory chapter provides the immediate context through the presentation of the purpose and objective, definition, concepts and
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terminology, background, locational context, significance, scope and limitations, method and organization.

Chapter Two investigates the theoretical foundations of the service economy, urban economic restructuring, and inner city development found in the recent literature on globalization. The role of the high-tech services and how these various areas of literature relate to the high-tech service sector, specifically multimedia, will be extrapolated within the context of the conflations of global and local.

Chapter Three examines the nature of the creative high-tech industry. Through the hybridized lens of culture and economy this chapter investigates the relationship between high-tech and creative services, the character and role of multimedia firms within the service sector, the specificities of varying types of multimedia services, the character of the multimedia industry and software development workplace. This is followed by an examination of the social and locational aspects of the industry.

Chapter Four introduces the Seattle and Vancouver case studies by presenting the historical context and socio-economic global position of high-tech services in each urban area. This is followed by a summary the local neighbourhood histories of Belltown and Yaletown, along with a series of contextual maps that locate the multimedia firms in the central city and their contextual positions in the cities of Seattle and Vancouver.

Chapter Five presents the results of the fieldwork. A profile of the study design area, initial observations and impressions is given to explain the nature of each neighbourhood. A full report of the methods and research design utilized is presented, along with the progression of the research.
This is followed by an analysis and breakdown of the results of the survey work. The results are presented through comparing and contrasting the two neighbourhoods, and analyzed by considering how employee demographics, intra and inter-firm milieu, socio-cultural aspects of firm location, and economic and socio-cultural global/local linkages in conjunction with planning/policy implications inform the importance of place and identity in these new media spaces.

Chapter Six summarizes and concludes the study by looking at planning and policy implications and suggests avenues for further research. In a sense the research suggests we are in a planning ‘paradigm crises’. Traditional ideas for planning the industrial city need to be reworked for planning the information city (Downey and McGuigan, 1999). Issues include new planning tools for divided neighbourhoods, social planning issues, housing, land use, heritage, the importance of art, innovation and education; and the conflations of global and local that facilitate municipal and regional approaches to the high-tech sectors in the city.

Scott (2000) anticipates that as markets expand and demarcate the social division of labour, the presence of global media spaces is likely to be associated with a concurrent focus on local economic development and the growing influence of the cultural characteristics of place. For Belltown and Yaletown, this prediction has rung true. Local economic development and the specificities of place in each neighbourhood have become more defined. At the same time, the new media firms in each area are seeking global markets, and social polarization has become more prominent, presenting a particularistic set of conceptual and normative issues.
Chapter Two - Theoretical Foundations

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to review the contextual literature related to high-tech services in an attempt to define the position that high-tech services play in the postmodern city. Like the subject of this thesis, this chapter will open with an introduction to globalization and conclude with a look at one of many urban spaces where globalization has 'touched down' - the inner city.

This review provides a framework within which high-tech services may be contextualized and will attempt to portray the expansion of globalization and its relationship to the local, the emergence of the service sector and the spatial dimension of urban economic restructuring in light of this notion of convergence. Specificity of this broad overview is achieved when examining the particular nature of certain high-tech industries within the service sector and the location of this emergent phenomenon in the inner city.

Some particular characteristics of high-tech services should be noted before engaging in this literature review. High-tech services are located in two main areas of the city: (1) the suburban office park locations, and (2) within the central city. Scale is an important determinant, with the larger, more established firms locating in the exurban locations, and the smaller, and medium sized firms typically clustered in the inner city areas. Many of the smaller firms seek creative spaces within inner city locations. The ability to network and connect with other and similar firms and the benefits of these associations is an attraction to concentrate in particular areas represents the economic and urban agglomeration of these industries. Lifestyle choices are also a critical factor,
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with close proximity to amenities and residential spaces preferred. All of these attributes are typically found in the older, previously industrial portions of the inner city.

The most direct impact of the high-tech sector on urban spatial structure concerns the emergence of new spaces of production as a consequence of two processes: first, high technology activities become the engine of new growth and play a major role in the rise (and decline) of regions, and second, the integration of new technologies in all kinds of economic activities allows the spatial transformation of their locational behaviour (Castells, 1985).

Globalization

In order to grasp the breadth and expansiveness of scale that the high-tech services operates within, globalization as a phenomenon must first be addressed. As a process and set of forces, globalization is often associated with an acceleration and overall increase in intensity of operations (Soja, 2000: 191). Expanding the network of geographical nodes, it concomitantly condenses time and space and accelerates sets of activities and processes. The high-tech services sector is both a driving force behind globalization, and it is also spatially affected by its scope and scale of influence.

As a process, globalization was initiated prior to 1914 through the direct international investment of industrial corporations and the establishment of production operations beyond national borders (Knight, 1989). Severely disrupted by the world wars and the Great Depression, this phase of globalization did not become significant until after the Second World War. It is essentially a post-colonial, post-Second World War phenomenon, and rapidly gained momentum in the last decades of the 20th Century.
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Clement has outlined four successive dimensions of change within the scope of globalization and global processes that related directly to the dimension of this thesis. They are "(1) moving from technological change, (2) to the effects on economic structures, (3) which in turn affect the changing spatial distribution of industry (high tech multimedia in particular this case) and (4) changing government structures and functions" (Clement, 1995: 134).

In conjunction with technology, economic processes fuel much of the globalization process and become a driving force unto itself. Castells identifies the global economy as a set of strategically dominant activities that function as a unit in real or potentially real time (Castells, 1997). Both Castells and Sassen articulate the global economy in spatially determinant terms around inter-city systems (Sassen, 1994, Castells, 1989). In these urban linkages the economies of global markets operate as a propellant force, linking up communication networks that facilitate the bridging of traditional geographical and conceptual boundaries, subsequently unifying global interests (Knight, 1989).

Defining and characterizing this new economy is it's inherently dual nature. As Castells observes, it is simultaneously inclusive and exclusive, while concomitantly placing priority on anything that has or is valued on the international stage (Castells, 1997). Usually defined through competitiveness, the new informational global economy is more accurately understood not through the reduction of overall expense inputs, but rather through an increase in production (Brotchie et al., 1995; Castells, 1997).

In balancing competitive pressures, Knight indicates how companies are finding that through serving large markets they are able to spread research, development and distribution costs. In traditional systems, firms were able to use their original location from which to develop...
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and expand their markets. In recent years, product lifecycles have become abruptly shortened making it imperative that new products be marketed immediately on the global stage; in order to stay afloat large, well-established companies must have a presence on all major continents (Knight, 1989). Although seemingly boundless, there are limits to globalization. Along with a close attention to these highly competitive and continually expanding markets, agglomerated production systems remain the crucial core of value-adding activity in production and of manoeuvring competitive advantages in global trading systems (Storper, 1992).

In addition to its effects on the economy, Knight stresses how globalization has promoted a new open society – one that is characterized by multiplicity in cultures and powers, and that is self-governing, and competitive. In order for cities to play a role in this global society, they must be fully aware of the forces, principles and processes that govern the global society, as well as the connections to local development (Knight, 1989). As global forces continue to gain momentum, the local will be the space where these global forces ‘touch down’, with escalating costs and benefits. This composite approach to the global and local interplay is a central point in itself, bringing a seemingly intangible force directly to one’s front doorstep.

The Global-Local Nexus

In this thesis, the interplay between the global and the local comprises a principle dimension. From the broad aspect of high-tech services as a borderless industry, to the precise spatial distribution of firms, the global-local element is concomitantly expansive and specific in its influence and effect.

The composite term globalization, coined by Eric Swyngedouw in 1992, infuses the local into the global (and vice versa). As the term indicates, the linguistic imagery presents the parallel
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views of global perspectives shaping to suit local preferences and the rising position of the local to transcend and thus redefine the breadth of the global (Soja, 2000). Immediately this reorients the widespread thinking of the local and global as diametrically opposed forces. According to this concept every locality in the world is globalized; although we continually and unconsciously act and think locally, we are also simultaneously embedded within the broader spheres of our region and nation (Soja, 2000).

In addressing the issue of scope in globalization and its relation to the scales of governance, Knight reinforces how global forces are being addressed at the national level and policies are being changed in order to maintain national competitiveness in the global economy. These policies deal with mainly health, industry, science, migration and the like, they do not deal with their impact on human settlement patterns and acknowledge the city’s pivotal role in globalization (Knight, 1989). As Knight explains, with the rise of the global economy, nation building is becoming more and more synonymous with city building. Underpinning the role of the urban metropolitan area, cities now serve as the spatial nexus of the global society.

Also drawing a strong link of the global to the local, Coffey sums up well the multi-faceted and dynamic crux of the global-local interplay through local urban economic and cultural connections:

The trends are modifying both the internal economic geography of metropolitan areas and the way that they are linked to the broader global economy. Forces at a global rather than at a national scale are increasingly shaping individual economic landscapes. At the same time however, the particular forms of urban economies that are emerging are also being shaped by the historically, specific circumstances of individual cities set within their specific regional/local and economic/cultural contexts.

(Coffey, 1994: 5)
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As quoted in Knight, expressed by Ford in Cities, Buildings and Skyscrapers, and revealed by Lewis Mumford points out in the Culture of Cities, the story of every city can be read through a succession of forms and development phases. In this context, globalization is the latest participant in the long string of dynamics that have shaped and been shaped by cities (Knight, 1989).

**Urban Economic Restructuring**

**Definition and Description**

Urban economic restructuring specifically refers to fundamental economic change and subsequent experiences of spatial restructuring, all taking place within the urban metropolitan area. The most defining feature of this restructuring is a decrease in traditional manufacturing jobs with a concurrent increase in service sector employment.

Urban areas, particularly in larger metropolitan centres, are focal points of the restructuring process itself. Numerous studies over the years have been conducted on the shifting role of the downtown core. The principle urban phases have been identified as shifting from the "industrial" metropolis to the "modernist" centre to the "post-modern city". The "industrial" city emerged in the late half of the eighteenth century and was typified by the emergence of Fordist production systems, and competitive capitalism. After the Second World War, the "modern" metropolitan centre emerged (Coffey, 1994).

The shift to new production processes is accompanied by much technological innovation and the rise of "novel production ensembles" (Scott, 1988:12). Urban economic restructuring saw an increasing proportion of both the population and manufacturing and retailing activities relocating to the suburban areas, as the central city assumed an increasing role as a primary office centre.
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(Coffey, 1994). As this shift has occurred, a range of spatial responses has been observed, from "selective internal recolonization of the industrial regions formed in earlier regimes of accumulation to the external reconstruction of the industrial city in new areas" (Scott, 1988:12)

The depth of change between the "industrial" and "post-modern" city as outlined by Coffey is also amplified by the changes between Fordist and post-Fordist production techniques, which is also a root cause of the restructuring process of urban areas. Fordism is a set of practices associated with workplace innovations outlined by Henry Ford in the 1920's. Essentially, Fordism is characterized by four main components:

1. Mass production forms of industry based on search for massive internal economies of scale based on process flow and assembly line methods, technical divisions of labour, and standardization of outputs;
2. Highly structured division of labour;
3. High wages that commensurate 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)

The Fordist regime of accumulation was the dominant industrial and economic structure in the developed world from the 1920's to the 1960's. However, by the 1970's the Fordist system reached a point of crisis that developed as a direct result of the Fordist achievements involving mass production and mass consumption abilities. This saw a new regime of accumulation and mode of social regulation, and search for external economies of scale (Scott, 1988). As a result, the move to post-Fordism and flexible specialization gained momentum.
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Post-Fordism is most notably characterized by its shift to flexibility and decrease in standardization. Piore & Sable (1984) believe that we are on the cusp of something new, as they indicate through the title of their book The Second Industrial Divide, Possibilities for Prosperity.

Major productivity gains offered through flexible specialization depend essentially on three factors: connectivity, innovation and flexibility (Brotchie et al., 1995; Castells, 1997). Spatially, modern flexible production activities remain firmly anchored in regionally resilient clusters of labour and capital (Scott, 2000). The anchoring of these new production systems is evidenced on the urban landscape, and this has become increasingly apparent in the inner city.

The location of these new production activities in the city has been the topic of increasing study. The restructuring resulting from these changes has lead to the positing of the "post-modern city" to describe these resulting changes in urban metropolitan areas. The following can be identified as elements of the "post-modern" city as outlined by Coffey:

- The displacement to newly industrializing countries of mass-production industries (and in some cases standard back office function), followed by reindustrialization based on service activities, on the adoption of both new flexible methods of production and advanced technologies and on a new social division of labour between large and small firms;
- The transformation of urban cultural and leisure activities from pastimes into economic activities;
- The rediscovery of the quality of the built environment and of "sense of place", and their role in corporate investment and location decisions;
- The emerging role of information and communication technologies in supporting processes of organization restructuring associated with the globalization of production and distribution;
- The commodification of information and the increasing "informationalization" of the urban economy; and
- A new wave of suburbanization consisting of high-order office functions.  
(Coffey, 1994: 3)
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We are currently observing the appearance of a distinctly post-Fordist cultural economy in the advanced capitalist societies (Crane, 1992; Lash and Urry, 1994). This does not signify that mass production has no value in today's cultural economy, but it does reaffirm the idea that niche markets and specific cultural products industries are increasing in demand and are expanding in value (Scott, 2000). In a similar vein, the notion of the postmodern city also provides a theoretical reference point that, as suggested by Hutton (forthcoming, Urban Studies) intrinsically reinforces diversity, pluralism, re-assertion of the historical and concurrent complexity in urban form as expressed both through the built environment and in new land use patterns. This is coupled with a assertive rejection of the regimented modernist approaches that adhere to the formal and hegemonic oriented policy applications.

Service Economies

The service sector is the most important source of employment in the central city. An integral component of urban growth, this area of employment has radically changed the metropolitan landscape, and the amount of study centred on this sector reflects it's growing importance. The theoretical foundations and empirical research discussing the emergence and development of the service sector has been supported through numerous studies in recent years that illustrate the geography of the production networks (Daniels et al., 1993). Ley and Hutton have explored these topics in Canadian cities in which service industries have expanded dramatically (Daniels, 1991). This research initially centred upon the transition from an industrial to service based economy. The context of the post-industrial society has witnessed a 'shift from manufacturing to services'; 'the centrality of the new science-based industries'; and 'the rise of new technical elites and the advent of a new principle of stratification' (Bell, 1973). Now that the
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economies of developed countries have been engaging in the post-industrial phase for nearly three decades, the literature has expanded and distinguishes between varying types and interlinkages of service activities.

PRODUCER SERVICES

The interdependence between goods and services is underscored by the rapid growth of the 'producer services' (Coffey, 1994). 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. These types of services perform an intermediate function by selling to the producer rather than directly to the consumer.

While it has been said that there exists no absolute definition of 'producer services', and while some include transportation, communications and public utilities, it is more conventional to restrict the set of producer services to a more narrowly defined group of high-order office activities (Coffey, 1994). Most notably within producer services is the division between business services and the FIRE industries (finance, insurance, real estate activities) (Martinelli, 1991a), and the differentiation between more routine and more advanced producer services. New types of technology, organization and management consulting are considered as advanced producer services.

Originating as administrative functions in the 1950s, producer services have been more recently expanded to include a broader role relating to information, innovation and control (Coffey, 1994). With flexible specialization resulting in both lateral and vertical divestment of traditionally in-house activities (advertising, marketing, and accounting) has resulted in the growth of producer services as a booming independent business. As technology increases the ability of firms to

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disperse, the central city has become less important for many types of businesses. Yet, despite
decentralizing trends, producer services still reveal strong tendencies to locate in metropolitan
areas. This may be related, in part, to the demand for locally supplied producer services by the
deeply rooted headquarters in these cities (Daniels, 1988).

Martinelli (1991a, 1991b) has outlined five elements of producer services and their growth:
(1) the increasing technical division of labour, (2) the progressive concentration of capital, (3) the
expansion of markets, (4) the development of new information technologies, and (5) changes in the
institutional environment (legal regulations, competitive conditions, structures managements, etc).

Whereas in the past, the role of services was thought to be passive, and solely in support of
export oriented manufacturing activities, producer services have become a crucial source of
employment growth and service exports in urban areas. The export of services is now
acknowledged as a propulsive force in creating local income and employment (Davis and Hutton,

Producer services have an increased role in two new areas. These are of relevance to the
question of new industrial spaces in contemporary capitalism and they may be identified for the
purpose of this thesis as (a) revitalized craft and design production for intermediary use and (b)
various kinds of high-technology industries (Scott, 1988: 11).

The identification of these two new production areas contributes to an investigation of cultural-
product industries. These types of enterprises are characterized by five main technological-
organizational elements identified by Allen Scott:
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1. The importance and need for direct human involvement complemented by advanced computer technologies.

2. The use of densely networked and highly inter-dependent small and medium sized establishments for production, along with the occasional participation of large firms (Hollywood film studios).

3. Through aggregation for these firms, a high demand for specialized skill in labour leading to recurrent job search and recruitment.

4. Through agglomeration, the multi-stimuli of related firms, mutual learning, and synergies give rise to the creativity, rather than the lonely ruminations of the cultural worker.

5. The convergence of these firms in one place facilitates the emergence of institutional infrastructures that eases the functioning of the local economy by providing (a) critical overhead services, (b) facilitating flows of information, (c) promoting trust and cooperation among interlinked producers, and (d) ensuring effective strategic planning and so on. (Scott, 2000: 11-12)

These five points emphasize the collective character of localized cultural economic systems and the composite order of these insights means that that local economic development policies play an increasing role. Considering the above five points outlined by Scott, these policies would need to focus heavily on such agglomeration-specific tasks as the provision of technological research services, the training of labour, the social governance of inter-industrial networks, and institution-building generally in the interests of coordinated and synergistic regional development (Scott, 1993).

These characteristics of specialized and niche-oriented firms must utilize highly competitive marketing strategies to sell and promote their products and services (Scott, 2000). Similarly, consumer demands tend to be inconsistent and subject to the latest trends (Crewe and Forster, 1993; Hirsch, 1972; Peterson and Berger, 1975 in Scott, 2000). Operating in this context
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demands that firms output through flexible specialization, so that they may continually produce small batches for a specific and constantly fluctuating market segment (Piore and Sable, 1984; Shapiro et al., 1992; Storper and Christopherson, 1987, in Scott, 2000). Spatially, firms linked into this type of productive/competitive scenario tend to agglomerate into transaction intensive clusters (Scott, 2000).

Relating this move to flexible specialization production back to the urban global-local interplay is the role of multinationals. Scott illustrates how urban areas that have most actively participated in developing flexible industrialization (i.e. new media), are now finding themselves tightly linked into global networks of interdependence, with multinational firms playing a pivotal role in mediating between the global and the local (Scott, 2000).

The developmental logic of producer services points in two main directions. The first is the tendency of production networks to become information intensive and process of locational agglomeration to become more important. The second involves a series and technological and organizational transformations that make it possible for the producer service sector to become increasingly globalized in its operation – another example of the ties between globalization and localization (Moulaert, Scott, and Farcey, 1997).

The Geography of Services

Through transition to flexible specialization, and contrary to initial predictions, spatial centrality became more important in some forms of service production location. As a result of urban economic restructuring and an increasing reliance on new technologies including computer and telecommunications shifts in office locations have been documented. New technologies enabled many firms a wide range of locational choices. Through advances in telecommunications,
firms were able to relocate back office functions that were not dependent on daily face-to-face interactions to exurban locations. Even with this new freedom of location, headquarters initially remained in large urban centres for personal interaction and prestige associated with the Central Business District (CBD). Eventually, head office functions began to decentralize as improvements in communications technology lessened necessity of daily meetings, and the inner city congestion, parking, and commute times reduced the convenience and efficiency of central city locations.

Although there has been a strong movement of spatial decentralization of office locations and increasing suburban growth of office buildings, the central city remains a crucial physical and economic platform for the service sector. Some the elements of service sector are increasingly moving towards a spatial reconcentration within the central city.

The rise of the services sector in the central city is not by any means limited to the random metropolis that cultivates the right economic conditions. Within the global hierarchy of urban centres 1st echelon cities (London, Tokyo, New York) the second (Toronto, Montreal) and third tier (Vancouver, Seattle) metropolitan areas all exhibit examples of strong service sector components in their urban economies.

At a conceptual level, Castells offers as a contribution to the geography of the service-based economy the term ‘space of flows’. He re-orients the organizations so with the space between these entities are those of flows and associations rather than geography. This does not imply placelessness, but how it is among different organizational units that the most significant space for the functioning, the performance, and ultimately the very existence of the organization may be found (Castells, 1989:168).
A Space with Services: The Dynamic Inner City

From the overreaching realm of globalization through urban economic restructuring, and the evolution of service economies, we now touch down in the inner city. Characterized as an area of dynamic change, the inner city has remained an elusive aspect of the downtown core of North American cities (Bunting and Filion, 1988). Situated between the CBD and the outer residential zones, the inner city often defies a geographically concrete definition for policy makers and city officials (Ley, 1991).

E. W. Burgess defined the inner city in his 1926 concentric zone model. As the Zone of Transition into the CBD, the inner city was characterized through wholesale and light manufacturing. This area remained a desolate and solely functional area of city until a renewed interest in the inner city during the 1960s. Urban planning departments regarded these areas as blights on the urban landscape and attempted to 'clean the palette' through various urban renewals schemes. Bulldozers and new plans called for this area to be completely demolished and subsequently rebuilt, to rid the areas of their perceived inherent social and physical deficiencies. Many of these urban renewal projects razed downtown districts across North America, but many were also halted in the ensuing grassroots actions.

As a reaction to the dramatic changes wrought through urban renewal, the 1970s saw swift citizen action movements directed toward the preservation of built environment, urban neighbourhoods and historic preservation. Through the identification of historic value and neighbourhood solidity and community, inner city areas were protected and a new light was shed on these formerly misinterpreted areas.
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Just as soon as these areas became the subject of preservation efforts, gentrification ensued. A term coined by Ruth Glass in London in 1964, gentrification refers to the movement of the "gentry" into low-income areas, soon followed by intense renovation and upgrading. Artists and students often initiate interest in these areas of the inner city, attracted by cheap rents and its characteristic urban edginess.

In recent years, the inner city has seen an influx of new uses. Design services and high-tech recycle former industrial and warehouse buildings (Hutton, 1994b:16). Along with the artists, creative services advanced into these downtown areas, bringing with them a penchant for the offbeat, the cutting edge and the more unusual. The antithesis of the polished office towers of the downtown, these inner city areas provide the creative, and now high-tech, services with older character buildings, close proximity to artists, and affordability for small businesses.

Resonating with urban succession in the downtown, the inner city has metamorphosed from an industrial district with immigrants, residents and labourers, to a site of culture, consumption and innovation. With this transformation, also come the tensions and issues associated with displaced tenants through rising rents, dual neighbourhood identities, and a new dominant class emerging into the neighbourhood. Ley aptly expresses these changes in the inner city to that of "a consumption cornucopia" ruled by the "power of the pleasure principle" (Ley, 1991 in Bunting and Filion: 340).

These changes in the inner city are associated with the greater urban economic restructuring processes taking place in urban metropolitan areas. The reorganization of the central city has underscored what David Ley calls the embourgeoisement of the inner city in his seminal 1996 book "The New Middle Class and the Remaking of the Central City".
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In fusing gentrification to the global-local dialectic, Ley outlines the three dominant literatures linked to gentrification in the central city: the post-Industrial thesis, the post-Fordist thesis and the post-modern thesis. Each of these, he states, is linked to globalization in how similar experiences are observable in a number of nations, although the consequences are always shaped by local conditions (Ley, 1996:12). This is a case of converging spheres. The inner city is experiencing profound changes through new activities, new spaces, diversification, and a new cultural cohort in the inner city. Through the globalization and fusion of culture and economy, both the form and the function of the inner city are changing rapidly. High technology services, workers, professional, entrepreneurs are actors, the plot is directed by global cultural and economic convergence, and the local inner city is the stage.
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CHAPTER THREE
NEW MEDIA: THE NATURE, CONVERGENCE AND CULTURE OF THE INDUSTRY

INTRODUCTION

This chapter outlines the position of the high technology sector within the convergence of culture and economy. Multimedia, as a type of high-tech service, is investigated to reveal its nature, the 'organization' of the firm, the economics of multimedia, and the culture of multimedia. The chapter closes with a look into the creative city: aspects innovation and synergy found within these new services and their new spaces in the city.

A CONVERGENCE OF CULTURE AND ECONOMY

There has, in the last several years, been "a very marked convergence between the spheres of cultural and economic development" (Scott, 1997b:323). In the academy it has been the subject of emerging literature in economic, cultural and human geography for the last several years. This section of the chapter will introduce the interpretations of this cultural and economic fusion, its extension into the global stage, and the flow of this phenomenon into the realm of media.

In examining this convergence of culture and economy, it is obvious that we can identify several interpretations. These include the ideas of culture as something that is place specific, and culture as a globally mobile set of standardized interpretations and projections (Appadurai, 1990; Morely and Robins, 1995; Peet 1986; Webber, 1964; cited in Scott, 2000). Despite the efficiency and speed of communication in the spread of globally present cultures, Scott reiterates how the specificities of place remain the central core of local beliefs and customs (Scott, 2000). Adjunct to this is the notion that particular places are also 'cultural hearths' from which cultural imagery is
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disseminated via media throughout the world. This impact on local cultures reinforces how the geography of culture, like the geography of economic activity, is determined by local and global relationships (Featherstone, 1995; Robertson, 1992; cited in Scott, 2000).

Another perspective in this merging of economy and culture is how the economic system becomes a more or less independent source of cultural meanings. Adam Arvidsson explains how this involves issues about the advertising industry and the interconnections between advertising and media. He illustrates how it shapes cultural identities, the associations of science and technology with the "culture industry", new forms of media, the Internet and so on. This also includes the cultural implications of management policies, how firms encourage particular identities to motivate employees, and how the "cultures" of professional realm filter to the interpersonal. Embedded in the economy this culture greatly influences the productivity level of firms in the high-tech sector. It is apparent that the breadth and depth of the various meanings of economy, culture and their emerging interdependence is quite complex, and a subject that far exceeds this thesis. For now, what is important is to recognize the convergence of the economic side of the high-tech, rooted in technology, and the artistic side, rooted in culture. In the formation of cultural products, each has overlapping roles defined within the broader scope of economics and culture.

**THE HIGH-TECH INDUSTRY**

High technology has permeated many aspects of our lives. The extreme fluctuations in both innovation and acceptance have made the high-tech industry a very hot topic for professionals, the media and academics alike. If likened to a roller coaster ride the high-tech industry is propped up by the structures of our economy, culture, and ultimately, society.

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With respect to growth the high-tech realm, it has been stated that the Internet alone is growing at 10% per month (Emmott, 1995:6), and it may be inferred from this number is only increasing even with the high-tech ‘fall-out’. Despite volatile markets and unsettled regimes, the high-tech industry is the global economic ‘golden child’. What is quite unique about the high-tech industry is that unlike other industries, it is based on human creativity (human capital, ideas, arts, culture), and therefore has few tangible assets to offer lenders. Similarly, the internal structure and external position of the high-tech firms set it apart from other industries. Scott introduces this characteristic in emergent sectors through the more expansive concept of the firm as an organization and the organization of firms (Scott, 1988). Interestingly, the vertical fracturing within the firm, the disintegration of production, and tightly integrated changes within local markets, refocus the organization towards locational agglomeration (Scott, 1988). As outlined in Chapter Two, all these aspects are inherent to flexible production systems.

Culturally, the high-tech industry is the subject of reflection in both the culture it creates and in the culture it disseminates through its niche-oriented products and services. This acutely contrasts with the cultural content of previous eras, such as consumer output of Fordist industry, which was determined by product functionality and aggressive expense reductions -- honing efficiency in production systems (Sack, 1992; Scott, 2000).

 Relationships of the High-Tech Services to Creative Services

An interesting dynamic when looking at the emergence of high-tech services in a geographic area already established in graphic, architecture and interior design firms, is the link between the creative services and the high-tech services.
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Within the high-tech sector, multimedia or new media, is definitively a highly creative area of the industry. Unlike other areas of the high-tech sector where the creativity is focused on devising new coding strings in programming and the like, the multimedia services are directly fed creative content from artists, graphic designers and other arts based professions. Multimedia would directly benefit from locating near original sources of artistic content, such as the stimulating environments found within distinct and developing design districts within close proximity of local arts, design, and film schools.

MULTIMEDIA AND NEW MEDIA

Multimedia, as a part of the high-tech industry, inherently accentuates the convergence of culture and economy. The multimedia/new media industry embodies economic and cultural convergence through computing (computers, software, services), communications (cable, satellite, wireless) and content (arts, entertainment, publishing, information providers).

This interactive multimedia industry is narrowly defined as 10% of the U.S. GDP (Tapscott, 1996). By the end of 1996, this industry was almost a $1 trillion industry – 44% computing, 28% communications and 28% content. By 2005, this industry will have grown to $1.47 trillion (Tapscott, 1996). It is a relatively small industry that is constantly redefining and changing its products and services, thereby increasing the complexity of inputs and outputs. As such, it is characterized by its fluid boundaries and dependence on a highly skilled and flexible labour pool.

Technically, new media and multimedia evolved through digitalization – how analogue information is translated into digital signals. This digital form can be manipulated in multiple ways through multiple formats, becoming one streamlined deliverable (Pratt, 1999). This includes word processors, non-linear digital video editing systems, database managers, web applications, web
server software, and interactive programs - that produce new commodities rather than consume (Lunenfeld, 2000).

New media has been described as always 'in the making' (Pratt, 1999). What makes new media new? New media implies the process as paramount rather than the product. Another term – interactive media – (Feldman 1997, in Pratt, 1999) suggests an essential difference between old media and new media in that it is the end of one-way flows. As a streamed two-way flow this interactivity is targeted – not for the broadcasted public but rather as a narrow-casted relationship to the individual (Sabbah, 1985).

The origins of new media can be traced to the mixed media of the 60s and 70s (Pratt, 1999). The modernized approaches in abstractions cut up objects and pop arts merged with consumer technologies such as new film types. This new media was highly applicable to the professional world; the technology was used not only in multimedia presentations or events, but also as a product - mainly teaching materials. Thus, formally multi-media referred to events or products, and presentations that used more than one medium.

In production, the multimedia services currently encompass everything from the initial artistic design and idea, to the final software or streaming product. In 1997 the research and strategy group SECOR, hired by the Department of Canadian Heritage, established what it calls the multimedia chain of production. In examining the economic characteristics and components of multimedia it is crucial to first understand the internal structure of the production and distributions system. The multimedia chain of production includes five distinct groups of people: (1) creators, (2) developers, (3) publishers, (4) distributors, and (5) manufacturers of hardware and software (SECOR, 1997).
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The creators include graphic artists, composers, directors, film and television producers, and authors. The developers of multimedia include developers of interactive games, educational, training and reference applications and other interactive productions, including software developers for the production of multimedia material: web applications tools, 2D and 3D animation tools, and post-production software.

The main task of multimedia publishers is to market the multimedia productions. Although publishers sometimes develop their own applications internally, they usually work in tandem with external developers. The publisher is thus often involved in the general definition of the content and in the funding of various projects.

The distributors of multimedia are of two types: “physical” distributors and “electronic” networks. The first group is composed primarily of distributors of tangible physical products (CD-ROMS), while networks that make it possible to broadcast on-line multimedia content dominate the second group.

Manufacturers of multimedia hardware and software are for the most part directly dealing with the user. This group encompasses the manufacturers of multimedia computers, media applications, web application software and the developers of browsers and other tools related to online access and the manipulation of high-tech content.

THE ECONOMICS OF MULTIMEDIA

The new media services are characterized by a complex set of relationships, as demonstrated in the production chain of multimedia. By its nature multimedia is diffuse, with a
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number of varied supplier and clients. The multimedia industry also combines the attributes of two economies known for their high level of risk and their search for economies of scale and scope:

1. the culture and entertainment industry—production costs, with no idea of how much will be consumed which is difficult for smaller players to absorb, and
2. the computer industry—learning costs, to develop and master tools – setting up and running production team

(SECOR, 1997:5)

A 1997 study of the multimedia industry in San Francisco, by Miriam Chion in the San Francisco Planning Department, distinguished three levels of multimedia business activity: (1) core multimedia activities, (2) multimedia tools and applications, and (3) support services.

The core multimedia activities involve digital design, Internet services, virtual communities, and film post-production. Within these core activities two groups have been defined: content providers and service providers. Content providers are those who create concepts and designs, while service providers are those who execute the concepts or designs. The distinction between the content and service provider is important when examining the variety of staffing, skills, legal support and investment types. However, these two functions are not isolated from each other.

The second category outlined in this study, multimedia tools and applications, includes printing, lithography, graphic design, photographic services, copy shops, and film and video production. These are often services from industries that existed before multimedia. The third category, support services, includes computer services, traditional non-digital film and business services. What they also delineated in this study was that the typically non-core multimedia business types often evolved into core multimedia activities.
Market Segments

Another defining aspect of the multimedia industry is that of various market segmentation. These include consumer markets, educational markets (distance education, computer-assisted education, use of databanks) and the corporate segments (SECOR, 1997). The acceptance and use of multimedia technologies is most advanced in the corporate sector. The following graph illustrates the main multimedia applications planned in the corporate sector of the United States, is based on revenue forecasts:


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Application</th>
<th>Revenue Forecast</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interactive training</td>
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<tr>
<td>Integrated telephony</td>
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<td>Collaborative work</td>
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<td>Access to information</td>
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<tr>
<td>Distance education</td>
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<td>Working at home</td>
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<td>Videoconferencing</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mobile units</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business television</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchandise flow management</td>
<td>0, 100, 200, 300, 400, 500, 600, 700, 800</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Structure of the Firm

As a human capital based industry, the development and growth of a multimedia firm is most dependent on labour. Multimedia has a specialized set of needs that is provided through the acute combination of skill and flexibility in staff. Along with these specific human resource needs, the small size of the multimedia firms makes them more vulnerable to market volatility.

Spatially, by locating one central area, the sharing of resource (human, technical, etc.) allows each multimedia firm to become more specialized and niche oriented. Face-to-face
contact allows the communications of labour needs by firms to travel by word of mouth, creating a set of horizontal networks that have proven invaluable to the success of small multimedia firms. These parallel relationships exist not only with small firms but also with larger companies, where they monitor the development of a product from start to finish, often having this company as their only client.

This 'on project' work schedule forces the multimedia firm to be highly dependent on other, larger content and technology companies for their own success. Often these firms must secure external funding in order to ensure their survival. In Canada the most widely used sources of funding in establishing and maintaining multimedia firms are (expressed through 'rate of use') by a multimedia company: banks (71%), personal funds (61%), and public funds (42%) (DJC Research, 1995 in SECOR, 1997).

It has been said that multimedia and these new industries are a perfect union of information, creativity, technology, and empowerment (Emmott, 1995). Closing time-space barriers in communication allows those people around the world, who have access to technology, to network anytime anywhere via multimedia applications streaming (Emmott, 1995). This interaction in itself is the ideal mix to cultivate the diffusion and creation of various cultures and subcultures.

**THE CULTURE OF MULTIMEDIA**

The culture of the multimedia workplace is much like the structure of the firm. 'Normal' is not a word that comes to mind when describing the world of new media (Lash and Urry, 1994, cited in Pratt, 2000). It is therefore not surprising that we find the same casualization, self-employment, chronic job insecurity, and self-exploitation that are common to the media and cultural industries more generally (Ross, 1997; Zukin et al, 1999 cited in Pratt, 2000). In a world of contented
freelancers and contractors, convincing workers to sacrifice their independence and work for a company demands a parade of company 'extras'. Common to the high-tech world in general, firms must offer perks, such as free lunches, stock options, paid vacations and value-added décor all in a relaxed and funky setting. These necessary components are even more in demand in this workplace that is characterized also by its youthful nature with its own cultural expectations (Sefton-Green, 1998).

Andy Pratt has referred to this structure as the "firm as zoo". Compared to 'zoo' radio format that emerged in the 1980's (Garner, 2000, in Pratt, 2000) this structure involves the presenter and the team, all contributing in an unstructured sequence. The concept of the firm as zoo captures the extreme informality and the mixing of different skills and expertise to develop the project (Pratt, 2000). This accentuates the notion that this group has bonded through their diverse tools and applications. As a result, they are keenly more attached to the process of producing than the actual end product (Lunenfeld, 2000).

This embodies the emerging "commodity camaraderie". New artistic communities and emergent technocultures that are more dispersed geographically have attracted attention, not just as novelties, and nor because they have become major economic players, but for their high rates of cultural production – although within them the usual boundaries of music, art, entertainment and information dissemination tends to lose their defining boundaries as cultural products (Lunenfeld, 2000).

These are important insights into the multimedia community. In an anthropological perspective, this tightly woven group has been defined as the "new media tribe" (Pratt, 2000:432). This implies the 'group bonding' that also cements these cutting-edge players such as lifestyle,

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music, clothing, décor, aspects of personal taste and style. Culminating these elements and applying them to the generators of cultural-tech based production is the term “TechnoVolkgeist – the communal sensibility that develops as individuals struggle to form groups with others with whom they share a deep culture” (Lunenfeld, 2000:8). From this shared outlook comes much innovation and synergy, through the continuous support and stimulation of like-minded individuals.

SPACES OF INNOVATION AND SYNERGY

These new media/multimedia communities become generators of innovation in the application of multimedia tools and content. The daily interaction and stimulation of concurring individuals creates a seeding ground for new ideas and new concepts. Spatially, the close proximity of these individuals to one another is key in creating spaces of multimedia innovation. It is not the tools that enact the changes, but rather the social context and setting of the technology (Pratt, 2000). New sub-cultures, such as the new media/multimedia cohort, create these creative spaces within cities, consequently and concurrently reinforcing the synergy and innovative milieu of the neighbourhood and its creative intensity (Castells & Hall, 1994). These areas have been known to feed into the now deconstructed innovative synergy to assess what makes these ‘hot areas hot’.

Paul Hebrig, author of The Innovation Matrix: Culture and Structure Prerequisites to Innovation outlines thirteen elements that factor into the creation of an innovation ‘hotspot’:

1. Each hotspot relied on a leading entrepreneur
2. Educational infrastructure
3. Physical infrastructure – airports, facilities, hospitals, access to markets, fibre optic cables, etc
4. Initial low development costs.
5. Attitude towards entrepreneurs (admiration, to go for it, not trying is the failure).
6. Attitude towards risk.

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7. Pro-business attitude.
8. Venture capital.
9. Government funds, resources, support and encouragement – as a catalyst
10. Strong local culture and school systems – human resources
12. Time.
13. Physical climate and environment – mild climate, ocean, woods, no need for raw materials - quality of life

(Hebrig, 1994:237-240)

The concept of clustering has also been attributed as a factor in the evolution of ‘innovation centres’ within the metropolis. Research by Scott (1996, 1997, 1998, 1999) draws upon fieldwork in a range of cultural industries, and he argues that the spatial clustering of producers facilitates finely tuned face-to-face contact, and that the process is enmeshed in the emotive content of the products. Following this, Pratt hypothesizes that in the field of new media a clustering of producers will occur where new communications technologies are insufficient to capture the full range of human expression (Pratt, 2000). It becomes apparent that the need for physical interaction in multimedia learning, innovation, contracting employment, eating, talking, and feeling the ‘pulse of the city’, cannot be underestimated.

Michael Porter, at the Harvard Business School, has published a series of articles on cluster development. He isolates economic clusters such as these as concentrations of interconnected companies, specialized suppliers, service providers, firms in related industries, and associated institutions, such as universities and trade associations that compete but also cooperate.

The concept of multimedia firms and their clustering has been the subject of study by Storper, Pratt, and Gertler. Analyses of clusters, or co-located firms, have highlighted what are termed "untraded dependencies". Untraded dependencies may reinforce economic factors of transaction costs. Storper (1997) identifies these pluralistic needs as labour markets, public institutions,
locally/nationally derived rules of action, as well as integrated forms of customs. Pratt sources these reciprocal individualisms as the 'understanding and values' necessary to undertake inter-firm transactions and relations (Pratt, 2000). Gertler and Wolfe (2002) emphasize the need for social learning in the institutional context for innovation in particular clusters.

Especially with the globalization of high-tech production, clustering will likely take on an even more significant role. In terms of culture, economy, and idiosyncrasies of the multimedia world, it is apparent that location and place are highly determinant factors. The success of this industry is dependent on its ability to employ local and place-bound sources of innovative energies, and establish geographically specific nodes of production (Scott, 2000).

The notion of 'the milieu' and its effect within clusters has also played a defining role. As Storper illustrates, it is a territorial version of what the American economic sociologist Mark Granovetter has labeled the 'embeddedness' of social and economic processes. It is described as a system of regional institutions, rules, and practices that lead to innovation. The term 'network' is used by many milieu theorists to describe the processes and linkages of the organizations/institutions of both agencies and actors in a defined area (Storper, 1997). Pratt has used the 'actor network theory' in his research, finding the local embeddedness of these associations. This is derived from the processes by which scientific disputes become closed, ideas accepted, tools and methods adopted, essentially, how decisions are made about what is known.

The following chapter presents the form of these concepts by introducing the urban contexts of Seattle, Washington and Vancouver, British Columbia. The purpose is to present the metropolitan arenas for the case studies, the locational stage of the high-tech in each city, and introduce Belltown and Yaletown as the specific study areas.
Chapter Four – The Urban Context

Introduction

Grounding thought and theory, this chapter introduces Seattle and Vancouver within the context of the high-tech service sector, and highlights the history and characteristics of each city in order to contextualize the case study areas of Belltown and Yaletown. Additionally, this chapter attempts to draw links between the global and the local for each area by concisely covering the main global influences on each city through labour profiles, trade, and the position of their high-tech sectors. The chapter concludes with the locally defining history and characteristics for Belltown and Yaletown.

Seattle and Vancouver have long been contrasted and compared within a multitude of economic, physical, and political geographic contexts. Both were settled in the mid-nineteenth century, were dependent on their lumber industry and became firmly established with the completion of the trans-continental railroads in the 1880s. They experienced parallel boom and bust cycles in the first decade of the twentieth century and each did not become a recognized leader in their respective region until massive changes between 1939-1945 when they proceeded along more divergent, yet niche oriented, paths (MacDonald, 1987).

During their development and establishment, both Seattle and Vancouver have been distanced from the centre of national power both geographically and in psychological mindset. Although both have been settled for more than a century, they are still seen as young and vital communities, with a style quite different from that of eastern cities in both the United States and Canada.
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As both cities came of age on the global stage, they served as gateways: for immigrants, migrants, manufactured and traded goods, and for crime. Highway and air transport infrastructure emerged with the development of interstates and freeway systems, creating a new urban physical structure that encouraged suburban growth and development.

Seattle

Seattle is the largest city in the state of Washington, with a population of 563,374 at the turn of the century. It is located in King County (population approximately 2.5 million) and forms the central core of the Puget Sound Basin, where nearly two thirds of the state’s population resides (Cohn and Smith, 1995; cited in Kresl:263).

The Greater Seattle region continues to receive recognition for its quality of life and global competitiveness, including "Best City in the West" (Money, 1998) and "Best City for Work and Family" (Fortune, 1996). Among the reasons cited are the region’s strategic geographic location, "propulsive" scale corporations, manufacturing capability and infrastructure, a critical mass of advanced technology, diverse economic sectors such as agriculture, services and international trade, superior educational and health care, well-educated work force, and quality of life (City of Seattle, 2001).

Historical Context

Seattle’s history is a colourful one, extending from roots as a single-man’s mining town, to the economic booms in resource extraction (and shipments of timber and gold), the aeronautical engineering of Boeing, and finally the high-tech boom spearheaded by Microsoft.
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In 1851 white settlers came to the area now known as Seattle with grand intentions to create another New York, establishing a town site at what is now the historic Pioneer Square district (Nelson, 1977). The primary economic focus of this new town was Henry Yesler's lumber mill at the foot of Mill Street (now Yesler Way). Much of the mill's production was exported to the booming city of San Francisco, but the mill also supplied the new towns sprouting throughout the Puget Sound region. During the 1860s and 1870s, a flourishing trade in lumber and salmon fuelled the growth of the developing village (City of Seattle Archives Guide, 2001). So established was the new position that when the Territorial legislature incorporated Seattle in 1869, there were more than 2,000 residents (City of Seattle Archives Guide, 2001).

An impressive downtown grew from these resource-based beginnings in present-day Pioneer Square burned to the ground within hours on June 6, 1889 (Crowley, 1998). Through this circumstance, Seattleites were able to rebuild and correct a drainage and sewage problem that the town had suffered during its original development. The city was quickly reconstructed with stone, brick and iron instead of wood, centring on today's Pioneer Square neighbourhood.

Originally isolated from the rest of the country, the completion of the railroad in 1893 and the telegraph 29 years earlier reinforced Seattle's position as a resource and trading hub (Nelson, 1977). Overnight, the surrounding towns of Bellingham and Tacoma were eliminated from competition, and Seattle's function became much more than just the supply of timber to San Francisco.

In the 1950s and 1960s a number of transportation construction projects had heavy and permanent impacts on downtown. Built in 1950s, the Alaskan Way Viaduct still separates
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downtown from its waterfront. The new Interstate 5 freeway, constructed in 1963, severed the
downtown from its Capitol Hill and First Hill neighbourhoods (Crowley, 1998) and encouraged the
growth of Seattle away from the downtown.

As in other North American cities, the threat of "urban renewal" spurred citizens to save
historic areas. Through these efforts, Pioneer Square and the Pike Place Market were saved from
redevelopment early in the 1970s. In the 1980s, construction in downtown Seattle escalated. Due
to this boom in development, voters passed the Citizens' Alternative Plan (CAP) Initiative in 1989,
which limited the height of downtown buildings to 30 stories.

In addition to commercial development, several major cultural institutions have built
downtown, including the Seattle Art Museum at 1st Avenue and University Street, and the Seattle
Symphony's Benaroya Hall at 3rd Avenue and University Street. Several downtown theatres have
been revitalized during the 1990s. Following this trend, vacancy rates in 1999 decreased by 5.9%
for the central business district.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MARKET</th>
<th>SUBMARKET</th>
<th>VACANCY RATE</th>
<th>12/31/95</th>
<th>12/31/99</th>
<th>CHANGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SEATTLE</td>
<td>CBD</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
<td>-5.9%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Vacancy rates in Seattle's Central Business District, From 4th Quarter, '99. (Kotkin, 1999:3)

During the 1990s, residential development grew rapidly, creating new condo and
apartment units in downtown and in Belltown. This resulted partly from the city policy, under Mayor
Norm Rice, of centring residential space near the employment base and amenities. Critics of this
increased housing have complained that the number of affordable or low-income residential units
has declined because the new buildings are, generally, more expensive. This, combined with
public concerns about the City's approach towards the homeless, has generated controversy over

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a residential and high-tier services development boom in the downtown. These issues will be discussed more thoroughly in Chapter Six.

Today, high technology firms, notably Microsoft, which maintains the backbone of Seattle's booming economy, are writing the latest chapter in Seattle's history. With the recent floundering of the high-tech sector, and Boeing's announcement in 2001 that it was relocating its headquarters to Chicago, it will be most interesting to watch the volatile high-tech shifting and employment base movement in the coming years.

Labour Profiles

Before the high-tech boom and the emergence of advanced high-tech services, Seattle was predominantly a manufacturing and military based town. As the following data indicate, non-manufacturing, and more specifically services, has taken a leading role in the economic development of the region.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>No. Employed</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-Manufacturing</td>
<td>1,439,930</td>
<td>85.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>493,700</td>
<td>29.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesale/retail trade</td>
<td>396,490</td>
<td>23.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>257,500</td>
<td>15.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance, insurance, real estate</td>
<td>99,250</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>95,500</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation/public utilities</td>
<td>94,920</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Employment</td>
<td>1,680,030</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: "Employment by Economic Sector, Non-agricultural wage and salary workers employed in the greater Seattle area (King, Kitsap, Pierce and Snohomish counties) in 1999", Central Puget Sound Economic Development District.
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In terms of labour pool linkages, some of the largest employers of the Seattle-Puget Sound area are important contributors to the global economic focus of the region. The Boeing Company, for example, is the largest aircraft manufacturer in the world, providing over half of the manufacturing jobs in the Seattle area. Microsoft, the largest personal computer software company in the world is the second largest employer in the region, along with the US Defense Department (Cohn and Smith, 1995; cited in Kresl). With roots in industrial manufacturing, the economic drivers in Seattle have become firmly rooted in the services sector for high-tech industries and software products and services. In the last year the service sector in the region has increased, despite the fall-out in the high-tech sector.

<table>
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<tr>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>797.2</td>
<td>799.4</td>
<td>802.2</td>
<td>804.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: CES State & Area Information, Bureau of Labour Statistics, WA.

With respect to advanced technology, the greater Seattle area is a leading centre for aerospace, computer software, biotechnology, telemedicine, electronics, medical equipment, and environmental engineering (Seattle Office for Economic Development, 2001).

The global context of Seattle has been influenced by such events as the Asia Pacific Cities Summit in 2001 and the 1999 World Trade Organization’s third Ministerial. Seattle also hosted the Quadrilateral Trade Ministerial in 1996, the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Ministerial and Leader’s Meeting in 1993, the first US meeting on the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the 1990 Goodwill Games.

The Seattle Office of Economic Development also indicates that with a 4% annual growth rate, international trade has been the most dynamic sector in the state’s economy and now
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accounts for one out of every three jobs. Service exports in the State of Washington were worth $7 billion alone, and other exports originating in the state were valued at $40.2 billion in 1999. Total two-way trade surpassed $104 billion in 1998 and provided 32% of total state employment, or 736,549 jobs. Washington ports handle 5% of all US exports and receive a 6% share of US imports (Seattle Office of Economic Development, 2001).

Vancouver

Vancouver is the third largest city in Canada with a population of 545,671 (Statistics Canada, 2001). It is located within the regional area of Greater Vancouver, which has an estimated population of 1.9 million (Statistics Canada, 2001). Vancouver's historical development has continually been driven by diversity, global influences, and a recent economic shift from the BC resource industry to strong economic and cultural ties with the Asia-Pacific.

For three years, from 1999 to 2001, Vancouver has been voted the world's most liveable city by the William M. Mercer Institute, a British consulting firm that bases its decisions on 39 quality-of-life criteria (Trainer, 2001). Since the 1986 World Exposition Vancouver has seen rapid internationalization and a transformation into what David Ley has termed the 'convivial city'. Over the last several decades, it has evolved from a post-industrial city to a post-modern landscape (Hutton, 1994).

Historical Context

Vancouver's downtown sprouted as a collection of buildings at what is now known as Gastown, on the waterfront near Hastings Street. Three years before Seattle city fire, the few structures that comprised Vancouver's urban structure burned within minutes in 1886 (City of
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Vancouver, 2001). In this same year, Gastown and surrounding lands were incorporated as the City of Vancouver. During the city's boom years, these areas (including Yaletown) attracted wholesalers and warehouses to its location near the wharves and railroad tracks. Over the decade, a building boom began to shift the central business district from Water and Cordova Streets up to Georgia and Granville Streets. By 1890 streetcar service was initiated, connecting the waterfront to Granville, Pender and Cordova Streets (City of Vancouver, 2001).

At the turn of the century Granville Street was the centre point of the downtown, accelerated by a local real estate boom that escalated property values. Over the next few decades, a core office and retail area was well developed, surrounded by established residential neighbourhoods. Like Seattle and other North American cities, the period after World War One witnessed another economic rush and an increase in downtown development projects. As in other cities, the 1929 stock market crash ended the boom, and began a thirty-five year downturn in area development.

Sprawl and Suburbs

After the Depression, the suburban growth in Vancouver expanded the city's boundaries and reinforced the downtown as a core office and retail centre. The post World War Two boom included expansion at the Vancouver airport, which included new flights across the Pacific (Davis, 1997).

The late 1960s and 70s saw concentrated residential development in the form of new apartments in the Downtown, specifically in the West End. Boosted by growth in the 1950s, Vancouver solidified its position as an international financial and business centre, and white-collar
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jobs in the city core multiplied. Other investments, such as the Pacific Centre Mall and Robson Square civic centre (1977), were developed and the downtown was transformed into arts and amenities. Rapid changes to the skyline, combined with urban renewal proposals for Gastown and a freeway through Chinatown lead to outrage and protests from local residents. In contrast to Seattle's case, citizen involvement successfully defeated the freeway proposals, and in 1971 the provincial government designated Gastown and Chinatown as historic districts.

In terms of residential development that had years before its realization, the industrial land surrounding False Creek was rezoned for comprehensive redevelopment into residential neighbourhoods. Economic ties with the Asia-Pacific were strengthened through the opening of Delta's Roberts Bank Coal Terminal. Other infrastructure projects included the Stanley Park Seawall and the Georgia/Dunsmuir viaduct.

By 1981 two-thirds of Vancouver's population lived outside the central city (Davis, 1997). In 1986 the north shore of False Creek was the venue for the World Exposition, which introduced this medium sized resource-based city to the world. The Canada Place Trade and Convention Centre were constructed on Burrard Inlet as Canada's pavilion to the fair. The first phase of SkyTrain, linking Downtown to New Westminster, was also built to provide ease of transportation for the 1986 Exposition.

The City of Vancouver posits several key development points: that at the end of the 1980s it become evident that the downtown had transformed from a financial district to a series of neighbourhoods bordering a strong retail and office district. Council adoption of the Central Area Plan in late 1991 confirmed this direction by establishing comprehensive goals and a land use policy for the Downtown. The massive sale of the former Expo lands to Hong Kong developer Li

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Ka-shing launched the development of intense residential development along with public waterfront space. This Concord Pacific development, bordering the edge of Yaletown, has become a keystone in the revitalization of former industrial lands in the downtown area.

Labour Profiles

Vancouver exemplifies the case of urban economic restructuring that is a defining characteristic of highly tertiarized metropolitan areas, specifically, the rapid growth in the service industries, employment, and exports. During the 1980s Vancouver saw a strong growth in the business services. Between 1981 and 1991 there was a change from 216,700 to 386,500 jobs in community, business and personal services (Statistics Canada, 1981, 1991). From 1991 to 2001, employment in the service industry increased by 29.8% (Vancouver Economic Development, 2001). The 2001 census has revealed that the tertiary service sector employs 84.3% of the region’s work force.

Major local industries that cater to Vancouver and its global connections also continue to support the services base (Vancouver Economic Development, 2001). These include lumber and paper products, shipbuilding, food processing, petroleum refining, fish processing, and metal product manufacturing.

Other global linkages include the tourist industry, with strong connections to the Asia-Pacific region. As a major tourist destination Vancouver benefits both economically and culturally from international exposure, with many service jobs being created to cater to this industry. In 1999, there were 106,800 people working in British Columbia’s tourism sector (Hallin, 2001).
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Vancouver also serves various gateway functions (trade, finances and investment, immigration, travel and tourism, and communications) for the Asia-Pacific (Hutton, 1998). Growing apart from its dependence on the BC interior, Vancouver has become more of a Pacific Rim city, linkages to Singapore, Hong Kong, Shanghai, Seoul, Taipei, and Tokyo (Delany, 1994).

In examining these labour profiles and trade linkages, parallels between Vancouver and Seattle become apparent. Both are located in the Asia-Pacific region, and similar resource based industrial bases dependent on local resources and imported labour. Despite these similarities, each city has developed a very distinctive character unique to its place and evolving global connections and local loyalties. From 1986 – 1990 Seattle and Vancouver both grew at the same rate, and the growth rate of the two cities ranked fourth in North America’s metropolitan areas (Delany, 1994). Both cities are an integral part of the Cascadia region, which if a city-state, would rank as 10th largest in world (Seattle Economic Department, 2001) and as North America’s fastest growing city outside the Sunbelt.

HIGH-TECH CONTEXT OF THE CITY

This section discusses aspects of the new high-tech economy in Seattle and Vancouver, the relevant associations and developments in the industry, and how each high-tech service sector resides within inner city areas – thus feeding into the creation of the high-tech downtown cultures for innovation and creativity based clustering of new media services.

High-tech in Seattle

The high-tech sector in Seattle is most commonly associated with the global position and prominence of the Microsoft Company, which is located in Redmond, Washington. Microsoft, the world’s leading personal computer software company, is one of 2,500 software development firms

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in the state of Washington that cumulatively employ 30,000 people (Seattle Economic Development, 2001). Even with its outlying location, Microsoft is associated globally with Seattle. Downtown locations for high-tech have gravitated to Belltown, South Lake Union and Fremont. For several years the City of Seattle has proposed policies and plans to encourage the redevelopment of South Lake Union as a creative high-tech area. These remained shelved until the spring of 2001 when the City went forward on these initiatives to encourage the locational patterns of these firms, in conjunction with urban design and land use plans.

Delineating the spatial distribution of high-tech firms in Seattle, a study by Sommers and Carlson (2000) investigates the location decisions of high-tech companies in metropolitan Seattle. What they found is applicable to most cities. The high-tech firms either preferred the horizontal layout and large space of suburban office parks, with easy automobile use and a park like atmosphere, or, they preferred the edgy and hip downtown locations that offer entertainment and cultural amenities, with vertical high-rise living and a diversity of restaurants and services.

A vibrantly competitive telecommunications sector, with extensive fibre optic corridors serving numerous commercial areas, has encouraged the growth of the technology sector in both urban and suburban locations in Seattle (Seattle Economic Development, 2001).

In terms of high-tech labour, Seattle saw a gain 6,000 new positions from 1995 to 1998, and the region increased by 27,000. Most of this growth occurred in the software/computer services/internet service cluster, which nearly doubled inside the city of Seattle.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High-tech jobs*</td>
<td>72,000</td>
<td>99,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total jobs</td>
<td>1,404,730</td>
<td>1,573,660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High-tech as %</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Not including aerospace

Table 5: A three-year span of high-tech jobs in Seattle, WA.
Puget Sound Regional Council, 1999 Central Puget Regional Economics Report.
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According to the Technology Alliance, a non-profit organization that tracks the economic impact of high-tech businesses, a technology-based industry is defined as having at least 10 percent of all employees involved in research and development. Based on a study for the Alliance directed by Dr. William Beyers, technology-based industries are responsible for over 35 percent of all jobs in Washington, the highest percentage of any state in the United States. Seattle's Office of Economic Development, identifies several key factors in facilitating high-tech growth: Seattle's skilled work force, manufacturing capability, education and research, quality transportation and infrastructure, access to international and domestic markets, and government accessibility. Other important fundamental factors include cultural diversity, an international perspective, and high quality of life.

High-Tech in Vancouver

The "Guide to the BC Economy" by Lillian Hallin has loosely defined the "new economy" as the tourism, high-tech and film industries. While this is too broad a definition for this investigation on the new media firms in Yaletown, it reveals how the "new economy", including the high-tech new media sectors are categorized on a local level. Each of these industries - tourism, high-tech and the film industry - are tightly linked into cultural industries and spaces of cultural production. In Vancouver high-tech industry comprises no small portion of the BC economy. It comprises a share nearly 60% as big as the tourism industry (BC Stats, 2001).

High-tech industries in Vancouver have clustered in two main areas: in office parks in Burnaby, and in the downtown inner city area of Yaletown, on the edge of the CBD. As of 1993, high-tech companies in BC were estimated to number 3,000, employing 37,000 workers and
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producing $4 billion in revenues. Information companies were dominant with 1,876 companies, 23,246 workers and sales of $2.8 billion (Wilson in Davis, 1997:514).

The high technology sector, as classified by BC Stats, includes a variety of manufacturing industries, such as electronics, telecommunications equipment and pharmaceutical industries, as well as services such as those provided by engineering and computer service firms. This sector employed 52,060 people in British Columbia in 1999, with 78 percent providing high tech services and the remainder working in manufacturing. In 1998, the real gross domestic product of the sector grew by 6.2 percent to $2.6 billion or 3 percent of the provincial economy. Comparatively, real growth for the economy as a whole was 0.3% (BC Stats, 2001).

Despite these growth statistics, however, with the software companies averaging 12 dozen workers in each firm, the overall amount of firms is quite small, and as Mark Wilson indicates, the software development sector has always been characterized by its both positive and negative economic and employment volatility (Wilson in Davis, 1997).

In terms of broad international, financially based linkages, forty percent of the high technology commodities produced by this sector in 1999 were destined for global markets, mainly in the United States. This was the same share as in 1998, but higher than the 36 percent registered in 1997 (BC Stats & Statistics Canada, 2001).

According to BC Stats (2001), the high tech sector's contribution to BC's total GDP was $2.6 billion in 1998. The sector's share of total GDP has increased from 1.7% to 3.0% between 1984 and 1998. The share of high-tech's total employment jumped from 2.2% to 3.5% between 1984 and 1999.
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With nearly a third of the workforce, computer services are the largest employer within the BC high-tech sector. Engineering (29%) and technical (13%) services also account for a significant part of total employment in the sector. Of the remaining 25% of jobs, 6% are in medical and health labs and 19% are in various manufacturing industries (BC Stats and Statistics Canada, 2001).

Locations of High-Tech in the City

A study by Sommers and Carlson (2000) was based on interviews with the key real estate developers and brokers, and senior managers of high tech companies, which reveal distinct preferences in each sector. They found that high tech manufactures seek suburban locations, such Redmond near Seattle or Burnaby near Vancouver, due to cost factors, and difficulty assembling land for future expansion. Biotechnology firms locate near research institutions and hospitals for research and development functions, and manufacturing in suburban office parks. New telecommunications and Internet content and e-commerce firms tended to prefer downtown locations. Software entrepreneurs were located all over the urban area, but generally were located adjacent to the downtown in attractive developed quarters. These patterns are fairly consistent and reveal that the shift into the downtown is due to the preference of certain types of firms for the inner city area.

THE CASE STUDIES

After pinpointing the existence of the creative high-tech service in the inner city areas of Seattle and Vancouver, this section attempts to present the local ‘texture’ and dynamics of each area. As the creative high-tech industries give the global
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context through trade and employment linkages, the more detailed characteristics of "place" give meaning and depth to the development and evolution of these rapidly changing neighbourhoods.

Introduction to Belltown

Belltown has not always been the creative high-tech hub it is become today. Located on the north edge of Seattle's central business district, this area has undergone many dramatic transformations, including engineering feats to level the area, years of abandonment and decay, the rise of the bohemian arts and the grunge music scene, and now the development of creative high-tech services and the parallel amenities of gourmet cuisine restaurants, hair salons, upscale art galleries and fashion boutiques.

Figure 1: Looking south on 1st Avenue, Belltown.

Belltown is defined by the City of Seattle Planning Department as the area north of the central business district from Stewart Street to Mercer Street. The area is also referred to as the

Figure 2 Contextual map of Belltown in Seattle, WA., USA.
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Denny Regrade, acknowledging the complete levelling of the area by city engineers early in the twentieth century. These boundaries incorporate the older Belltown district, originally west of 2nd Avenue, but today the area is more broadly defined by its multiplicity of stakeholders: artists, high-tech new media firms, low-income housing groups, fashion retail, day-labour workers, up-scale gourmet restaurants, and developers.

The area today combines artist lofts and hangouts with new high-rises where condos and apartments are provide high-density housing. Following the new, mostly affluent residents, a number of high-level cuisine restaurants and clubs have established a bustling trade in the area. The result, at least for the time being, is a combination of the bohemian and the trendy, supplemented with a significant nightlife.

Historical Context

The history of Belltown and its consequent local characteristics revolve almost completely around the levelling of the landscape and the emergence of a vibrant arts scene nearly eighty years later. Always a part of the leading edge in the grunge and arts innovation scene, Belltown’s beginnings stem from the grandiose plans and visions of local developers and civic engineers. In 1876 William Bell voted with the majority for Seattle’s first public works ordinance, to level Front Street from mill to Pike Streets (Dorpat, 1984). The flat terrain of today’s Belltown was originally a steep mound named Denny Hill. The most motivating force to level the hill was Reginald Heber Thomson (1856-1949), who became Seattle’s city engineer in 1892 (Dorpat, 1984).

One of Thomson’s fixations with the Denny Hill was his firm belief that it hindered the development and expansion of the downtown northward. Well aware of the power of hydraulic
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mining in California, he was challenged by the ambition of Arthur Denny (1822-1899) to lure the territorial legislature to his own vision of "Capitol Hill" in what is now known as the Belltown area (Crowley, 1998).

Denny Hill was marked by a steep incline north of Pine Street between 2nd and 5th avenues and its slow slope to the north across the land claim of William Bell. The area was defined on the west with a bluff that dropped from 2nd Avenue to the edge of Elliott Bay. This confined "Belltown" to 1st and Western Avenues and isolated it from the downtown core area to the south.

Thomson set about his mission and immediately began plowing into Denny Hill. It took five years to eliminate the massive mound west of 5th Avenue, but the rest of the eastern slope was regraded in 1929 and 1930, making the project long and arduous with many obstacles, the most pervasive being the local residents. When property owners refused to sell, engineers carved around the lots, leaving houses stranded a hundred feet in air atop "spite mounds." These man-made buttes were levelled by 1911, bestowing Seattle a clean palette upon which to sketch its urban visions.

Figure 3: 'Spite Mounds' marked reluctant property owners. Courtesy of the Museum of History and Industry, Seattle.
Belltown's first formal plan for land use structure was drawn by Virgil Bogue (1846-1916), a protégé of the Olmstead brothers. The Municipal Plans Commission hired Bogue in 1910, and he produced a comprehensive plan the following year. With a vision that paralleled that of the City Beautiful Movement, the Bogue plan proposed to restructure Seattle in the image of the "Civic Idea ... a consciousness demanding the recognition of organic unity and intelligent system." (Crowley, 1998).

Figure 4: Virgil Bogue's 1910 vision of a Civic Centre in the Regrade, 1910 Plan of Seattle.

After the Bogue Plan had been rejected due to escalating costs, Crowley (1998) indicates the importance of two developments that impeded the development of Thomason's newly level area. First, the automobile facilitated suburban expansion and nullified the original intent for the Regrade to serve horse-drawn vehicles stalled by Seattle's steep hills. Secondly, the introduction new skyscraper technology in Seattle increased the density of the central business district and raised property values within the existing downtown.
Since the regrading and proposed civic visions, Belltown grew with the local establishment of warehouses, hotels, car dealerships and dry cleaning establishments slowly filling the vacant lots with highly functional and unremarkable low-rise buildings. The more affordable real estate attracted light industrial and more marginal business that served the downtown core.

Like Thomson and Bogue, future planners articulated visions of improved futures for the Denny Regrade. The next initiative was taken in the mid-1970s when the City approved new zoning to encourage construction of a high-rise residential district. In the '70s, developers took the opportunity to buy the cheap land to build office buildings and apartments. During this shift in focus, a neighbourhood association decided that the name Denny Regrade was not attractive enough, so the area was renamed Belltown in honour of its founder. Despite the construction and new façade, the neighbourhood did not emerge as a key player in Seattle's downtown precinct.

Soon young artists, musicians, and entrepreneurs seized the area's low rents and established a blossoming mini-Soho outpost of studios, galleries, cafes, and clubs (Crowley, 1998). A fellow planning student, Holly Pearson, frequently visited Belltown between 1995 and 2001 and reports that Belltown in this post-Grunge and pre-Dot-com era exhibited "an interesting combination between a 'real neighborhood feeling' and a 'very hip district' feeling".

Introduction to Yaletown

Yaletown has seen much change in the past few decades. Originating as an industrial area serving the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) rail yards, this neighbourhood is now a hub for

Figure 5: The 'Jewel of Yaletown' at Helmcken and Hamilton Streets.
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the creative high-tech service in Vancouver's inner city areas. Neighbouring areas include what is known as the "Downtown South", the new Concord Pacific Development on the North Shore of False Creek, the Library Square/Robson area, and the Granville Entertainment District.

Historical Context

In 1886, a bylaw was passed by Vancouver city council (a 20-year exemption from local taxes if it built its rail yards and repair facilities on False Creek's north shore), enabling the CPR to develop the area now known as Yaletown. The CPR established Yaletown as a distinct industrially oriented precinct, constructing the roundhouse and other facilities for maintaining and repairing steam locomotives. Named after the town of Yale in BC's Fraser Canyon area, where the CPR had other engine shops, this area was comprised, much like Belltown, of shacks for married men, "Bachelor Hall" (a barge moored on the river for single men), and large stacks of wood for shipment (Nicol, 1978:97). In 1884 the Yaletown Sentinel boasted that the area had more saloons per acre than any place in the world (Kluckner, 1984; Dubowski, 2001). Built in 1890, the Yale Hotel is one of the last remnants of the area's lively nightlife. Initially separated from Vancouver by wilderness,
Yaletown soon became integrated with the city as the downtown expanded towards False Creek (Nicol, 1978:97). Over the next 20 years, the north shore of False Creek was dominated by several heavy industries: cement works, a shingle mill, and a cooperage.

At the turn of the 19th century the City zoned a new eight-block warehouse district near the original Yaletown. Defining this new area were Nelson, Homer, Drake and Pacific Streets, and the city designated this new Yaletown area for solely functional uses. All of the buildings in this area were constructed between 1909 and 1913, and were occupied by warehousing companies, truck and transfer firms and small manufacturers (City of Vancouver, 2000; Jurock, 2001).

Vancouver commissioned its first city plan in the late 1920s. Certain that Vancouver would establish itself as a resource shipment community, city officials zoned the area adjacent to the downtown as the industrial district. In 1929, the City passed a series of zoning by-laws based on this vision of industry in the downtown, and Yaletown itself was officially zoned for commercial and light industrial uses (City of Vancouver, 2000).

But contrary to planning prediction, industries chose to locate not in Yaletown, but rather to take advantage of the more affordable properties along highways and newly developed road infrastructure in the 1950s. As trucking and trailer transportation overtook the rails for shipments, Yaletown’s role as the shipping connection came to an end (City of Vancouver, 2000). Also adding to the abandonment of the area, local homeowners began selling their properties at the threat of factories in the new industrial zone (City of Vancouver, 2000).

In contrast to this initial displacement of residential spaces downtown, the 1960s witnessed a series of new high-rise developments in the West End of Vancouver, directly adjacent to the core
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financial area. Yaletown and neighbouring areas served these new downtown developments by providing low-cost parking for commuting office workers. Many of the original working class homes were demolished in order to provide room for these small surface parking lots that today, are being turned into upscale high-rise residential towers.

Figure 7: New condominiums on Pacific Avenue, Yaletown.

In the last few decades, Yaletown has undergone dramatic changes. In the mid-80s the area was zoned HA-3 (Yaletown Historic Area), which encouraged conversion and renovation of existing warehouse buildings and the construction of compatible new buildings. New cohorts of young urban professionals are finding Yaletown's old warehouses convenient to downtown for proximity to employment, amenities and services. The initially inexpensive and architecturally flexible warehouse buildings have seen a boom in popularity across North America.

Figure 8: Loading docks and warehouse structures in Yaletown.

Other cities such as San Francisco and New York have renovated and recycled their warehouse districts, and that process has been underway for several years in Yaletown. Zoning the area as a historic district, the city has allowed for these new warehouse conversions, and has maintained the original urban form of the area. Key architectural features (such as the metallic
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Awnings, loading docks and open space warehouse structures) have been identified for their heritage significance, and have been recognized by City Council as particular areas to preserve and utilize. Urban design elements, including the facilitation of pedestrian traffic, outside seating from patios and cafes, and other active uses are in process (City of Vancouver, 2001).

Figure 9: Building footprints in Yaletown (area), map generated by VanMap, City of Vancouver.

Concord Pacific has recently developed the former Expo Lands into a vibrant mixed-use community on the north shore of False Creek. This new development borders the eastern edge of Yaletown, which has been transformed last few years from parking lots to high-rise residential towers. Due to this dramatic increase in the residential population the area now identifies with upscale restaurants, cafes, fashion boutiques, interior design firms architectural firms, and galleries, and most recently high-tech services, specifically new media and online content web design and software companies. Paradoxically, Yaletown’s recent development into a residential neighbourhood now mirrors its original residential intentions when workers moved here to be close

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to their place of employment. The area now has one of the lowest vacancy rates in the city
(Jurock, 2001), and has become a very trendy hotspot. Yaletown now is a place to ‘see and be
seen’ (Dube, 1999). Along with the dramatic changes in the area has come the recognition that
Yaletown serves as a distinct community known for its identity and image as a hub for design and
innovation based creative services, and most recently, high-tech new media services. As Larry
Beasley, co-director of planning for the City of Vancouver states, “places like Yaletown are
springing up, where the ‘inventors of culture’ gather” (Davis, 1997:513). As Brail (1994) illustrates,
Yaletown is an established district for the creative services in Vancouver.

Figure 10: Yaletown brick and Concord Pacific glass.

In both Belltown and Yaletown, the recent developments have founded a fertile platform of high-tech services development. The emergence and establishment of small online content and new media firms in these areas has added to the identity and image of each neighbourhood. The new media industry in Belltown is under development and the sector in Yaletown quite distinct.
CHAPTER FIVE – BELLTOWN AND YALETOWN NEIGHBOURHOOD
SURVEY RESULTS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the survey work conducted during May and June of 2001 in Belltown and Yaletown. This chapter will outline the study area, methods employed in the survey work, the quantitative and qualitative results in both tabular and first person narrative form, and analysis of the results. This is followed by a discussion of the acute positive and negative issues felt in each neighbourhood that derive from the presence and spill over effects of the new media firms in each Belltown and Yaletown. The chapter concludes with a summary of the ‘sense of place’ of each neighbourhood, insights into their milieu, the role of the neighbourhood, and image and identity of these highly dynamic urban spaces.

STUDY AREAS

The boundaries of this study reflect those outlined by the City planning department in each city. The Belltown boundary area, covering 216 acres, is notably larger than Yaletown.

Belltown Survey Area Definition

For planning purposes, Belltown is defined as the Denny Regrade: bounded by Denny Way to the north, 6th avenue to Bell Street, and 5th Avenue to Stewart on the East side, the water on the west side, and Stewart Street on the south side.
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Figure 11: The Denny Regrade/Belltown, as defined by the City of Seattle Planning Department, Seattle.iMAP.

The actual 'heart of Belltown' is a rectangular block centred on 1st Street. Most of the shops and services associated with Belltown's character and identity are located in this contracted area.

Figure 12: The 'core-area' of Belltown, Seattle, WA. iMAP.
Yaletown Survey Area Definition

New Yaletown broadly covers approximately 32 city blocks, from Homer and Helmcken, along Mainland to Davie Street, and from Davie and Hamilton up to Drake Street.

Figure 13: Yaletown 'proper' as defined by the City of Vancouver Planning Department, Vancouver. VanMap.

Figure 14: A combination of the "New Yaletown" boundaries as defined by the City of Vancouver Planning Department and the Yaletown Business Improvement Association. VanMap.
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For each area, the ‘new territory’ boundaries were utilized for the study area. This allowed the new areas of each neighbourhood, areas likely subject to future change, to be included in the study. For Belltown, the Denny Regrade boundaries were used, and in Yaletown, the new boundaries delineating the ‘New Yaletown’ (as defined by the extended boundaries indicated by the City of Vancouver Planning Department and a local ‘Yaletown Info’ website, where the neighbourhood defined its own boundaries) were used.

METHOD

The core research of the thesis is the survey of the multimedia services based firms in each neighbourhood. Initial discussions with those in the field and map work isolated the inner city areas of Belltown and Yaletown as particular nodes of high-tech activity in the central city separate from neighbouring municipalities that harbour high-tech office park clustering -- such as Burnaby, BC and Redmond, Washington.

Several types of multimedia firms were identified: high-tech graphic design, software design, games design and internet service firms other than internet access were isolated for study. These types of firms exhibit a fusion of the creative services associated with the arts and high-tech services.

To isolate the potential firms in Belltown, lists of firms were drawn up using the Seattle business index and the City of Seattle Yellow Pages. In each source, terms such as multimedia, new media, advertising and high-tech graphic design were used to gather firms names and contact information. For the Vancouver interview process, fellow student Aaron Bergbusch, through a work-study position for the future research of Dr. Thomas Hutton, drew lists of firms using the yellow pages for Yaletown.

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This compilation was further narrowed by a series of over 160 follow-up calls to narrow the lists specifically to the producer services of the high-tech sector rather than the physical networking, internet service providers, retail, and physical installation services of the high-tech realm. Introductory letters were sent to 64 firms in Yaletown and Belltown, and in the week following the mail out calls to each firm, established a set of 30 firms. The number of firms declined from 64 to 31 due to reasons such as family vacations; deaths in the family, firm relocation, and a several wrong addresses and returned letters, as well as several firms stating a 'no survey participation' policy.

In total 25 face-to-face interviews were conducted. These interviews involved not only the completion of the outlined questions but much observational work as well, both before and during each interview. For each firm interview I asked to speak with their Director of Operations. This person was most likely to be well aware of the firm's linkages, employee base, and input/outputs. Depending on the size of the firm, this person was usually identified by the firm as the CEO (chief executive officer). In several cases if this person was not available, I interviewed the person in charge of the 'content operation'.

Survey questions asked about current locational details, employee demographics, socio-cultural aspects of location, the disadvantages and advantages of the current location, economics and socio-cultural global/local linkages, and the input/outputs for each firm. As an interesting note regarding the choice of words in the original questionnaire, one of the options was to rate the importance of the 'image and identity' of the area. This question received negative reactions in because of negative connotations associated with the word 'image'. After several interviews with
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the same reaction, this phrase was dropped from the questionnaire, and it was replaced with the phrase 'character of the area'.

As this thesis is based in both quantitative and qualitative investigations, the results are presented in a two-part format in order to reveal my own personal perceptions as well as the more formal results from the survey interviews. The inclusion of this type of narrative in addition to the survey is purposeful and I believe valuable in capturing both the breadth and specificity in the neighbourhood analysis. After the presentation of the design study area, the results are outlined in the order that they were received, namely, that the initial impressions and visual/verbal observations are presented, followed by the quantitative results of the interview survey work.

SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF FIRMS

The agglomeration of firms in each area is centred on the original 'heart' of each neighbourhood. This is the central core area that, in both cases, is a rectangular block around the main street of retail, restaurants and other creative design services.
Belltown

The Belltown firms were concentrated around 1st Avenue and Blanchard Street, with several outlying firms as far out as Elliott Avenue and Broad Street. The built environment of the area is most dense around the clustering of new media firms, along 1st Avenue. This area is recognized with the neighbourhood as the core area of Belltown. It contains the greatest number of original structures in the area that are now being converted into pubs, cafes and loft-style condominium.

Figure 15: Spatial distribution of the new media firms interviewed in Belltown, Seattle.
Orthophoto overlay generated through iMAP, King County GIS Department, Seattle.
Yaletown

The new media firms in Yaletown were clustered around the ‘core area’ of Homer and Hamilton Street, although new media firms were also present in areas of ‘New Yaletown’ at Smithe and Homer Streets. Like Belltown, this is the more dense area of Yaletown’s built environment.

Figure 16: Spatial distribution of the new media firms interviewed in Yaletown, Vancouver. Orthophoto overlay generated by VanMap, City of Vancouver GIS.
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QUALITATIVE RESULTS

Initial Impressions of the Neighbourhood

These personal 'snapshots' have been included in order to offer insight through the lens of the researcher. Presented in first-person narrative, it is hoped that these qualitative descriptions contribute to the overall picture of the study areas under investigation.

Belltown

My first impressions of Belltown described it as edgy eclectic, hip, happening. After I had spent some time there, conducting interviews, talking with the local coffee shop and boutique owners, the words 'tension', and 'anticipation' came to mind. Social diversity through ethnic polarization was apparent. Construction cranes dotted the skyline as new condos blossomed, filling rapidly with wealthy empty nesters and single men now buying in to the downtown lifestyle (Tom Graff, President, Ewing & Clark Real Estate). Social services for the homeless, labour workers and women's shelters filled the spaces between the new shops, upscale restaurants and concrete condominiums.

Yaleston

I can remember my first impressions of Yaletown several years ago in 1999. What struck me the most was the fusion of old and new, the old building stock of brick warehouses and rail loading docks along with design elements – lights, doors, and fixtures – the cutting edge of mainstream modern and funky. It felt very upbeat, optimistic, on the leading edge, where the hip and beautiful would play and sample tasty morsels, it had an established feel, design oriented with the hi-tech financing behind it. During the noon hour lunch, when conducting the interviews, the area bustled with workers from the area, and clients who were visiting the neighbourhood on business. Outdoor patios were the place to see and be seen at lunch, there exists certainly an outdoor ambience in the neighbourhood.

Expensive cars line the streets, upscale designer boutiques retail on the storefront, and, upon glancing upwards, rows of computer monitors line the windows on the second story and above. Gadgets surround these monitors, and innocent white boards expose the new ideas for online content or a new product, in 'code' of course. The old brick is finally appreciated, much like a grandmother's fine linens, cherished once its inheritors realize its true inherent historic and textural value. In the daytime, people clad in black polished leather go about their business purposefully, from the office buildings/warehouses, to the nearby café or local brewery. Come evening, the elegantly dressed step out of well-powered motorcars for valet parking. The occasional garbage scavengers move from shadow to shadow.

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Initial Impressions of the Firms

Both areas had firms that ranged from the more established and smooth offices of high-tech graphic designers with brightly coloured leather chairs, to start up multimedia firms that are ideas based, displaying surfboards on the wall, using the freight elevator for office access, and fostering an 'alternative' atmosphere to spark creative ideas.

Belltown

Initially my impressions of the firms in Belltown were how similar they felt to the Yaletown firms I had interviewed to that date. Exposed brick, a casual feel, interviewees had a sense of humour yet were serious about their work, overall they exuded an edginess and a sense that they were 'pioneers on the edge of civilization'. Some had a grittiness and eclecticism not observed to such as extent in the Yaletown firms.

Yaletown

The firms in Yaletown were polished. The business sense was very serious although they too had a purposefully casual feel. There was an established protocol amongst the employees and they appeared to be organized in a more vertically oriented social hierarchy than the Belltown firms, who appeared more horizontally organized. The office spaces in the Yaletown firms appeared more formally allocated.

Firm Profiles and Practices

In order to 'breath life' into the quantitative data, I have felt it necessary to offer some vignettes of my interviewing experiences and observations. What follows are outlines of several firms in each Belltown and Yaletown that are both the norm and the exception in the survey.

Belltown

One interview was conducted at the newly renovated Lux Coffee Shop on 1st Avenue with a new media free-lance artist who works out of his home office. He has decided to stay in Belltown as it is near The Seattle Art Institute, he has decent rent, and he will stay here until he can afford a house. He noted the high proximity to suppliers and clients, the presence of increasing night noise, vandalism and drugs, and that the area is becoming more globally oriented than locally oriented. Staying true to the associated imagery of Seattle, he mentioned coffee as a specific input for his creative work. He has many new ideas and is expecting much work on the horizon. He is seeking his own niche market through the development of online puzzles, working with marketing and advertising. Much of his background work is grounded in animation, but he is now more engineering oriented -- fused the concepts with creative design. A freelancer with many ideas, he is inspired by Escher, and goes between his 3D computer modeling and his scale models while working. He had attended the local Belltown Business Improvement Association's meeting on 'Branding Belltown' and is keenly interested in the local issues of the area.
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In another firm I interviewed their program coding developer, who has background in sociology. Clad in grittier black fashion and sporting short spiked hair, he described how the business started in a garage and then moved up to the dining room table, where they would have to clear off the table to do their work. He noted that they are attracted to Belltown for the local ambience, with the close proximity to Pikes Place Market. The firm is thinking about moving to Fremont, where they would have more office space as they are soon expanding. Currently they produce 3D rendering and modeling, integrated high-tech graphic services, web applications, db interfaces, creative services, and electronic publishing, essentially application arts. Their employees are integrated into Belltown culture, of which the interviewee has been a part for some time. He stated a first wave of gentrification into Belltown of 'intelligencia literati', who were associated with the original Cyclops restaurant. The second and third waves of gentrification made Belltown less safe, and corporate pressures moving in (Starbucks), yet he clearly and colourfully stated the dire need for a grocery store in the area. This particular firm hosts a “Beer and Culture” group to develop ‘sexy and intriguing ideas’.

Yaletown

In the Yaletown survey one particular firm that was interviewed was initially located in Gastown. All of its employees were under the age 30. They felt that the built environment of Yaletown was the most deciding factor in their location, along with image and identity. They serve global markets, and many services to California. Their employees gather at Seattle’s Best Coffee for meetings and breaks. The interviewee felt that the restaurants in Yaletown were “more attitude than quality”, that Yaletown was “in the middle of everything without being too busy”, and that the location is “great by the water”. In their office there was an original utopian mural of Yaletown, depicting the area with organic produce, cyclists in the streets, and the sun shining brightly overhead. He recognized how other firms in the area had reinforced the identity of Yaletown as a new media hotspot, that the nearby firm Blastradius gave Yaletown international status. He stated that “a lot of people work for less money here for the lifestyle”, and that the Burnaby employees make 30% less than those based in Seattle. He was well aware of Belltown, and had stayed at the Ace Hotel, commenting that Belltown is “a very cool, neat area”.

Formerly working out of a downtown office, one firm rated a high priority on area character and amenities, along the “idea of being in a dot com area”. They found the access to other technical firms an advantage, and that Yaletown was a “great location, neighbourhood, especially being so close to the water, ample to do, but parking is a negative factor”. This company, whose CEO held dual degrees in Fine Art and Computer Science, utilizes cultural products (pictures, art, museum) and places them online.

Another firm, initially and concurrently located in Tokyo, ranked the built environment as their highest priority. They meet in-office, local cafes, and restaurants in the area. The CEO thought that the area has the “cool factor that creative businesses look for, not as much the geography as the architecture, a certain architectural fabric creates a focus, people want something different, we don’t want the high-rise office building with acoustic ceilings”. They would also look at the Cambie and Main Street area in terms of location, as well as downtown, but not a corporate office. They are looking for “cool, cheap, space... artists, and creative people on the leading edge”.

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One firm, which necessitates an internal interior description in order to capture the complexities of their corporate (or lack thereof) culture, was originally a start-up in their college residence rooms. Their Yaletown office space was originally a garment warehouse. Oriented on innovation and inspiration for new ideas, they have beanbag chairs lined up against the window to look down on “stylin’ people below for creative ideas”. Consequently, they specifically hire a “left brain guy to handle the business side of things”. They have been able to maintain a low rent, as they occupy ‘substandard’ space, low ceilings with an unfinished interior. Rice paper lanterns are scattered throughout the office, the desktops are suspended from ceilings with chains and industrial wires. They mainly service the young extreme sports market, and the film industry. They are aware that “in two years [they] won’t be able to afford to be here”. Their networking includes visits to Los Angeles, San Francisco, and New York. Additionally, they are well aware of the new media hotbed in South Park, San Francisco, which has been identified as a parallel new media hotspot by Dr. Thomas Hutton. In terms of local inter-firm networking, their employees also socialize with Blastradius, where several of their former employees have moved to this larger and more established multimedia firm.

Another company was led by a sole executive under the age of 30. He began the business by freelancing on own, noting attraction of the fibre optic wired buildings in Yaletown. His current employees are from England and Shanghai. The business currently services local enterprises yet his business preference is to be completely global. He has found that “clients want to come to our office, [that] there is a perception that this is a fun area”. This office was quite polished. Outfitted with leather furniture and halogen lighting, it felt very established but also very young, very savvy, and very business oriented. After the interview was complete and I was leaving the building and proceeding down the block, a Rolls Royce driven by an elderly gentleman pulled up to the curb in front of the offices, and my interviewee stepped inside and they drove away.

**Quantitative Results – Survey of Firms in Belltown and Yaletown**

Present and Previous Location, Date of Establishment

The length of time at present address was quite similar for both Belltown and Yaletown firms. In Belltown, it ranged from 2 months to 12 years, averaging 5.1 years. The Yaletown firms ranged from 1 year to 9 years, with an average time span of 4.8 years at their present location.

Locations of previous addresses proved interesting. In Belltown this varied from an employee’s dining room table and in the garage in Redmond to areas closer to the downtown. The firms in Yaletown also varied, from one person’s college residence room and Kitsilano apartments.
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to previous locations in suburban and overseas locales, Discovery Park in Burnaby and the business district of Shibuya in Tokyo.

Two firms in Belltown and Yaletown had noted that they were previously located in areas that are now proving to also draw high-tech and design start-up firms. In Seattle this is the South Lake Union area north of Belltown, which is currently under review by the City of Seattle, with plans for new redevelopment underway. In Vancouver, Gastown is also attracting hi-tech and design service firms, albeit to a lesser extant than Yaletown. One firm currently located in Yaletown had moved from its initial location in Yaletown, to Gastown and then returned to Yaletown, as it evolved into an established high-tech and digital design area. Several other firms (four) had also moved within Yaletown, securing space in the central area of Yaletown, moving closer to the 'centre of it all' in the 'jewel of Yaletown' as it were, as space became available.

Length of firm establishment In Belltown ranged from 4 years to 10 years, with an average of 7.1 years. The firms in Yaletown ranged from 3 years to 16 years, with an average of 7.2 years.

Firm size and location

The number of people employed by each firm ranged from 1 to 20 in Belltown, with an average of 10.6 employees (median = 9.8) and from 2 to 35 in Yaletown, an average of 15.1 employees (median = 14.6). In Belltown, most of these people worked from the main location with the exception of three firms that hired subcontractors for media buying and design work. One firm also had an office in San Diego; where there were nearly triple the number of employees of the Belltown operation. Additionally, one firm also noted the use of their employees' home offices. In
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Yaletown, one firm had five of 25 employees that worked in various US cities, one had an office on Davie Street as well, and one also used a home office in addition to their Yaletown office.

Employee Demographics

The survey asked each firm to indicate the position held by employees in their firm, and the general age category of each employee. This information was gathered to illustrate the internal generational elements, the subsequent cultural milieu of the firms, and the spin-off dynamics of the intra-firm relations.

Table 6: Male Employees, Belltown firms
No. of firms = 12
Total no. of male employees: 73

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position in Firm</th>
<th>No. of firms with position</th>
<th>No. of positions in firm</th>
<th>17-24</th>
<th>25-30</th>
<th>31-40</th>
<th>40+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Executives</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1-3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3-8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artists</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1-6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: Male Employees, Yaletown firms.
No. of firms = 13
Total no. of male employees: 70

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>No. of firms with position</th>
<th>No. of positions in firm</th>
<th>17-24</th>
<th>25-30</th>
<th>31-40</th>
<th>40+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Executives</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2-7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1-5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artists</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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In this survey, the Yaletown firms employ a greater number of sole managerial, sales, professionals, and fewer technical staff than the Belltown firms. Demographically, it appears that the Belltown employees are slightly younger in age than the Yaletown employees, with the notable exception of the sole male managerial staff. This group was better represented in the Yaletown firms than in the Belltown firms.
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Employee Residence Location

Six Belltown firms listed the majority of their employees residing the Greater Seattle area. Two firms indicated the downtown, and four identified neighbouring areas (Queen Anne, Capital Hill etc). In contrast, five of the 13 Yaletown firms listed the majority of their employees as living downtown. Six firms listed neighbouring areas such as Kitsilano and Fairview Slopes, and only two firms indicated the Greater Vancouver area.

Socio-cultural aspects of Location

In determining the relative importance among factors in choosing their present location, five of the Belltown firms identified the proximity to suppliers, clients and related firms as the primary locational factor. The second most influential attribute was a tie between cost considerations and the amenities offered by the neighbourhood, each with three firms indicating those options as their first choice. The least chosen primary options for the Belltown firms were the image/identity/character of Belltown and places for meetings. Although the image/identity/character of the neighbourhood was only chosen as a primary influence by one of the firms, it was chosen as the most favoured second choice, and the built environment was selected most often as the third choice amongst the firms surveyed.

In marked contrast, six of the Yaletown firms chose the built environment as the primary factor for their location. The second most popular first choice was the image/identity/character of the area, chosen as the primary factor in relative importance by four of the thirteen firms. Cost considerations and amenities were third, each selected by three firms. The least chosen options for the Yaletown firms were places for meetings and proximity to suppliers, clients and related firms.
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Table 10: Relative Importance in firm location
Descending order of most important factor.
The number of first choices each factor received is listed in brackets.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Belltown</th>
<th>Yaletown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n = 12</td>
<td>n = 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proximity to suppliers, clients and related firms. (5 firms)</td>
<td>Built environment (i.e. the heritage buildings, the character and design of your building). (6 firms)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost considerations. (Rental space, property tax, and other overhead costs). (3 firms)</td>
<td>Image and identity/Character of Yaletown/Belltown. (4 firms)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amenities (i.e. the proximity of coffee houses, restaurants, and specialty retail). (3 firms)</td>
<td>Amenities (i.e. the proximity of coffee houses, restaurants, and specialty retail). (3 firms)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Built environment (i.e. the heritage buildings, the character and design of your building). (2 firms)</td>
<td>Cost considerations. (Rental space, property tax, and other overhead costs). (3 firms)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Image and identity, Character of Yaletown/Belltown. (1 firm)</td>
<td>Proximity to suppliers, clients and related firms. (2 firms)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Places for meetings, the exchange of information, and the sharing of ideas. (1 firm)</td>
<td>Places for meetings, the exchange of information, and the sharing of ideas. (2 firms)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Advantages and disadvantages of Current Location

In listing the advantages and disadvantages of their location, the Belltown firms as a survey group assigned the highest ratings to access to clients, proximity to amenities and character of the neighbourhood. Eleven of the twelve firms assigned this as a locational advantage. The Belltown firms found the ambience of the neighbourhood to be an advantage for nine out of the thirteen firms, although two firms found it to be a disadvantage due to "questionable characters" in the area.

For access to other clients, suppliers and related firms, both firms found these aspects of their location to be more advantageous than otherwise. Two firms in Yaletown specifically noted how they consciously located in the area, as "clients want to come to our office, there is a perception that this is a fun area" and how "Yaletown is known as a hotbed of design,"
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communication and high-tech service business activity. Being located here affirms the company as a player in our sector).

Rent was both a locational advantage and disadvantage in this list. In each neighbourhood there were firms that were able to find and maintain low rent. For example, two firms in Yaletown: one was able to lock their rent into the standard of living index, therefore protecting them from steep rent increases. The other accepted substandard space with low ceilings with a maintained rent cost at $11 per square foot. This particular firm did not expect to be in that same space in the next two years, due to anticipated future rent increases. It should also be noted that within each area, there are 'pockets of prestige' which reveal distinct variations in rent and cost. Location to the 'heart of the area' as well as the building structure and condition, high-speed wiring and parking are all contributing factors to the cost of the space.

Several firms, which had been in the area for over 5 years, witnessed a dramatic increase in rents. Several firms in Belltown had experienced rent increases from $16 per square foot three years ago to the current rate of $25 per square foot. In each area there are pockets of prestige property relative to other buildings. Usually the prime office space is located along the main corridor, in Belltown this is 1st Ave and in Yaletown it is known as the "Jewel of Yaletown" at the intersection of Hamilton St. and Helmcken St.

In terms of the quality of the space, the Yaletown firms unanimously found this to be a locational advantage. In Belltown, ten of the twelve firms found it to be an advantage while two firms identified it as a disadvantage. During the interviews, one Yaletown firm stressed the importance of the fibre optic wiring in the building that ultimately decided their locational choice.

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Another firm was looking for a large space with an industrial feel, and the older warehouse style building in Yaletown fit their requirements perfectly.

One firm in Belltown was able to find a larger space, with the same 'alternative feel' they were looking for. They wanted this larger space specifically to have a more open office area, which they felt would enhance their communication, flow of ideas and ultimately their innovation and brainstorming.

Figure 17: “Graphic Zoo”. The fusion of the creative -high tech and an old urban fabric, Yaletown.

Both neighbourhoods listed parking as a disadvantage for all responses, except for two firms in each neighbourhood that had dedicated parking and found the street level parking accessible for clients.
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Table 11: Number of firms listing advantages and disadvantages of their location.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locational Attributes</th>
<th>Advantage</th>
<th>Disadvantage</th>
<th>Both</th>
<th>N/A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Belltown - access to similar firms</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yaletown - access to similar firms</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belltown - access to clients (outputs)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yaletown - access to clients (outputs)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belltown - access to suppliers (inputs)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yaletown - access to suppliers (inputs)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belltown - rent</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yaletown - rent</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belltown - quality of space</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yaletown - quality of space</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belltown - proximity to amenities</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yaletown - proximity to amenities</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belltown - ambience/neighbourhood</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yaletown - ambience/neighbourhood</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belltown - character</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yaletown - character</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belltown - parking</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yaletown - parking</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Global and Local Linkages

Both neighbourhoods ranked tuning into new tech trends and sources of creative content as their most globally oriented linkages. The most local linkages for Belltown and Yaletown were found in employee recruitment; although two firms in each neighbourhood hired on the global scene, most of the hiring was conducted locally. During the interviews it was noted that although...
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more firms would like to hire on the global markets, it was just more feasible and less risky to hire locally. An interesting element is the amount of global and local linkages in markets. Both neighbourhoods are characterized by similar market orientation, based on the survey data, as more global than local.

Table 12: Belltown Economic and Socio-Cultural Linkages. 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Global/local Linkage</th>
<th>Global</th>
<th>Local</th>
<th>Both</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employee recruitment</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Markets</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sources of inspiration/innovation</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inter-firm communication</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuning in to new tech trends</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sources of Creative Content</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services/Products Rendered</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13: Yaletown Economic and Socio-Cultural Linkages. 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Global/local Linkage</th>
<th>Global</th>
<th>Local</th>
<th>Both</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employee recruitment</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Markets</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sources of inspiration/innovation</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inter-firm communication</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuning in to new tech trends</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sources of Creative Content</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services/Products Rendered</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the linkages indicated by the firms revealed that both neighbourhoods were more attuned to global markets rather than the local markets, the geographical destination of their outputs suggests that they are indeed more globally oriented, albeit in very different ways. It appears that the Belltown firms supply to domestic multinationals (Microsoft, Disney, Nickelodeon).
that are based in US and that provide online creative content and software technology to a global
market. In marked contrast, besides supplying to Hollywood for the film industry, Yaletown firms
tended to provide services to the immediate local and direct global markets. The supply was not to
US based multinationals, but to smaller businesses in Canada, the US and in the Asia Pacific. The
firms in Yaletown would predominantly supply multimedia directly to the local markets in BC, as
well as to specific overseas markets with direct linkages to areas such as the business district of
Shibuya in Tokyo.

Meeting Formality

The level of formality and informality was gauged by location (café vs. boardroom, level of
scheduling, adherence to a set meeting agenda). The informal meetings were characterized by a
more casual protocol, and the formal meetings were conducted within much more rigid constraints
and expectations. Half of the Belltown firms listed informal meetings as more important than formal
meetings for their company to conduct business. The levels of informality of these meetings were
varying degrees of “highly casual” to “serious casual”. Three of the twelve firms noted how the
formal meetings were important to land a contract, but that the informal meetings would routinely
take place during project development.

Like the Belltown firms, half of the Yaletown firms declared the high importance of informal
meetings. The other half indicated an even split between the informal and formal meetings, and
one firm conducted only formal meetings – complete with agenda and minutes for every exchange
of information. Like the Belltown result, those firms that found an even split in their need for formal
and informal meetings usually began a contract with formal meeting, which was then followed by
the informal meetings. One firm noted how the informal meetings were consciously to build

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relationship with the client, and another firms noted the necessity of the initial formal meeting to convey their commitment and professionalism.

**Meeting Location**

The firms interviewed met for business functions in both internal and external settings. Internally they used a boardroom, or more commonly, a general open space in the centre of the workroom. Contrary to the results in listing the relative importance of various factors to firm location (which ranked places for meetings very low), nearly all of the firms indicated in this particular question that they used local amenities such as coffeehouses and restaurants for meetings, as that was one of the initial attractions of the area. Several firms were 'regulars' at particular establishments, while others catered to dining choices of clients visiting the area as part of their business destination.

In addition to the business exchanges at meetings, another aspect of the workplace is a new temporal dimension in these firms. The usual nine to five workday is not the dominant work schedule. Increased flexibility for work hours is evident, as employees can choose their own hours.

**Firm Inputs and Outputs**

The firms in the survey indicated a very broad range of services provided and subscribed. One firm even stated that they would not refuse any job, indicating their flexible specialization in the business. Most of the firms attempted to keep as much of the service provision as in-house as possible, in order to save money and increase revenues. Through various software and new graphics programs, they are able to accommodate and adapt to the changing demands of the marketplace.
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Inputs for the Yaletown firms included: project management, design, communications, programming with subcontractors, blank CD’s, ISP, digital outputs, printers, legal services, accounting, banking, sound mixing, PR services, graphic supplies, computer hardware and software, film output services, graphic support, colour output, “information technology”, "experiences and presentations", film industry production, direct sales, and interactive online content.

Outputs for the Yaletown firms included: websites, site hosting/maintenance, database management, integrated communication, and graphic design.

Inputs for the Belltown firms included: computers, legal services, banking, cable (through sub contracting), computer parts, database functionality, writing, creative ideas, routers, switches, software, contract programmers for development, Flash & Director (Macromedia), recording services, computer networks, copywriting, all post-production materials, radio and TV edits, radio and TV content, website programs, digital output, industrial supply, coffee.

Outputs for the Belltown firms included: experience music project (rock and roll museum), executive briefing centre for Microsoft, product image management, electronic product shots, digital asset management, packaging comps, design services, online content and image branding, media services, strategic planning, web design and implementation, graphic design, animated digital display, online puzzles/small purchase.

The firms are engaged in a wide variety of integrated services production within local, integrated networks. Inputs range from the hardware and basic office supplier, to corporate services (legal services, accounting, banking) to software and high-tech services such as digital
output. Also included are the content services such as contract writers and artists for the digital content (although it appeared from many of the firms that this was mainly conducted in-house, and the creative aspect was to be an aspect of their employees, who also executed the necessary outputs).

The outputs ranged due to the different terminology used by each firm to describe the types of services they provide. All digitally based, the content both was a final product online, and sometimes was also produced in print, CD, and in software formats (depending the client product needs). Most of the outputs for the new media firms were a combination of strategic planning for online content, product launching and final website design implementation, maintenance and upgrading. The Belltown firms exhibited a much wider range of outputs than the Yaletown firms.

**Summary of Results and Analysis:**

**Locational Form and Function**

The survey results reveal some interesting complexities contrasted between the new media firms in Belltown and Yaletown. Both areas attract “sophisticated consumers of place” (Kotkin, 1999: 23). Through these findings, it appears that the new media firms in Belltown are drawn to the area’s more functional locational characteristics, whereas the firms in Yaletown are more attracted to the image and identity of the area. Additionally, the Yaletown firms identified the socio-cultural characteristics of place (identity, image, amenities) as the main locational attraction, whereas the Belltown firms reported a greater association with the functional attributes of the place (proximity to clients, suppliers and related firms).

Belltown reveals itself as primarily ‘function oriented’: locating close to the downtown core, city housing strategies as the priority, employees more likely to commute, not as likely to take
advantage of local services, exhibit a smaller firm size (average 10 employees per firm), first
locational factor was proximity to clients, suppliers and related firms, second was a tie between
cost considerations and amenities. Interestingly, the firms that had been established for a longer
period of time were more attracted to the artistic community, whereas the more recent arrivals saw
the functional benefits of the area. It appears that many of the high-tech firms were initially
attracted to the area for its alternative arts atmosphere. Once several firms had established their
business in the area other firms clearly saw the functional benefits of locating in the
neighbourhood, such as low-cost space and close proximity to a growing number of related firms.

By contrast Yaletown, being more 'form oriented' (through the city facilitated heritage
planning and designations, urban design initiatives, city housing strategies as the current priority):
employees live nearby; the firms employ a greater number of managers, professionals, sales, less
technical staff in each firm, local amenities are a top priority, and the firms are slightly larger in size
(average 15 employees per firm). In these cases, the first locational factor was the built
environment, the second being image/identity and character of the area. In complete contrast to
the Belltown survey responses, the least influential factor for the Yaletown firms was 'proximity to
suppliers, clients'. In congruence with the Belltown firms, the Yaletown firms also ranked 'places
for meetings' as a 'least influential factor' of firm location. Through the specific question on
meeting location it appears the firms in both areas do consider places for meetings as a feature in
determining firm location, yet it is not a deciding factor.

Do these firms accelerate the transformation of function-oriented areas to districts
increasingly identified and recognized for its social and physical form? The Yaletown firms had
been located at their present address for a slightly shorter length of time than the Belltown firms. In
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both areas several of the firms had been formerly located in areas that are now recognized as new 'start-up areas' (Gastown in Vancouver and South Lake Union in Vancouver), and who had decided to move into the Belltown/Yaletown areas for their centrality and to 'affirm their place' in the emerging new media circuit. In both areas the firms shared the same amount of time in firm establishment (~ 7 years), although this does not necessarily mean they were located in each area for the entire length of establishment.

Employee Demographics and Internal Milieu

In terms of labour the Yaletown firms had, on average, five more employees per firm than the Belltown example. The Belltown firms averaged 10 employees per firm, the Yaletown firms averaged 15 employees per firm. This number is an increase from a 1997 survey of the Canadian multimedia industry, conducted by Canada Heritage that revealed most of the multimedia firms averaged 5-10 employees. From this study it was found that the firm employment averages remained fragmented, with fewer than 10 full-time employees.

In both areas, firms acknowledged the integral use of their home office. The Yaletown firms have twice as many male managers between the ages of 25-30 as the Belltown firms, and all of these were sole managers. Through the survey, it was found that the Yaletown firms employed many more "professionals" (three to four times as many). In terms of technical staff, the Belltown firms reported double the number of male technical employees. Both areas revealed fewer female technical staff (3-5). In both areas, for both male and female employees, the majority of the technical staff was between the ages of 25-30.
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In sales, the Yaletown firms had significantly more male sales staff (1-4 employees as opposed to 1 employee) than the Belltown firms. The firms in both Belltown and Yaletown employed eight to nine female salespeople. In both areas the female salespeople were slightly older than the other positions in the firms. For clerical positions, both areas employed between three and four male clerical staff people, the majority of which were between the ages of 25-30. The female clerical staff were on the same counts in each area, with the Yaletown employees slightly older (25-30) than the Belltown employees. In terms of direct creative content, both areas hired between 5 and 10 male and female artists, all between the ages of 25-30. One Yaletown firm noted that it only hired classically trained artists. In the male “other” category, one Yaletown firm listed their “left brain guy” who worked out the business strategy of the firm while the rest of the firm focused solely on creative content software development. This category was also used to report the male and female employees responsible for accounting. Indicative of the youthful milieu and generational aspects of the new media industry, one firm in Yaletown identified their entire staff as being between the ages of 25 and 30.

For employee residence location, six of twelve of the Belltown firms listed the majority of their employees in the Greater Seattle area. Two firms indicated the downtown, and four identified neighbouring areas (Queen Anne, Capital Hill etc). In contrast, five of the 13 Yaletown firms listed the majority of their employees as living downtown. Six firms listed neighbouring areas such as Kitsilano and Fairview Slopes, and only two firms indicated the Greater Vancouver area. The Yaletown firms appear to have more employees living in the downtown areas and downtown neighbouring than the Belltown firms.
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These results reinforce my initial observations that the Yaletown firms are more polished, professional, and sales oriented. The Belltown firms rely more on a youthful employee base. Yaletown is more 'downtown oriented' as its new media employees were more likely to live in the local neighbourhood than the Belltown new media employees.

Locational Attributes of the New Media Firms

In determining the relative importance among factors in choosing their present location, five of the Belltown firms identified the proximity to suppliers, clients and related firms as the primary locational factor. The second most influencing attribute was a tie between cost considerations and the amenities offered by the neighbourhood, each with three firms indicating those options as their first choice. The least chosen primary options for the Belltown firms were the image/identity/character of Belltown and places for meetings. The image/identity/character of the neighbourhood was only chosen as a primary influence by one of the firms. The built environment was selected most often as the third choice amongst the firms surveyed. In marked contrast, six of the Yaletown firms chose the built environment as the primary factor for their location. The second most popular first choice was the image/identity/character of the area, chosen as the primary factor in relative importance by four of the thirteen firms. Cost considerations and amenities were third, each selected by three firms. The least chosen options for the Yaletown firms were places for meetings and proximity to suppliers, clients and related firms.

Economic and Socio-Cultural Global/Local Linkages

In revealing the economic and socio-cultural global/local linkages, both neighbourhoods ranked 'tuning into new tech trends' and 'sources of creative content' as their most globally
oriented linkages. The most local linkages for Belltown and Yaletown were found in employee
recruitment.

Although the linkages indicated by the firms revealed that both neighbourhoods were more
attuned to global markets rather than the local markets, the geographical listing of their outputs
suggests that they are indeed more globally oriented, albeit in very different ways. It appears that
the Belltown firms supply to domestic multinationals (Microsoft, Disney, Nickelodeon) that are
based in the US and that provide culture and technology to a global market. In marked contrast,
besides supplying Hollywood multimedia content for post-production film editing, the Yaletown
firms tended to provide services to the immediate local and direct global markets. The supply was
not to US based multinationals, but to the smaller businesses both in Canada, the US and in the
Asia Pacific. The firms in Yaletown would predominantly supply multimedia directly to the local
markets in BC, as well as to specific overseas markets with direct linkages to areas such as the
business district of Shibuya in Tokyo.
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SUMMARY

A Sense of Place

Just as one firm painted the utopian mural of Yaletown on one wall, another hung historic photographs of Yaletown throughout the office. Reinforcing this sense of place and identity, the CEO of one firm was quite proud his office space and knowledgeable about Yaletown.

Walking me, the interviewer, through the pictures of Yaletown in the office, he would enthusiastically point out the nearby window to indicate the present-day spatial context.

Figure 18: Utopian mural of the neighbourhood in a web design office, Yaletown.

From the survey results, which revealed the most influential locational factor for the Belltown firms as more functionally oriented and less 'character of the area' oriented, a primary concern in the planning of Belltown is the potential lesser attachment to place of the new media firms in the area. This contrasts sharply with the original arts community, where the 'sense of place' and synergy of the area was a cornerstone of the arts network. The firms did identify the character of the area as ranking second, so it is in relative terms to the artist community that is the crux of the issue. As a planning implication, this is discussed in greater detail in the concluding chapter.

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A Cultural and Economic Hub

In addition to this strong sense of local identity fused with global technology and culture, both Belltown and Yaletown have local gathering places for the high-tech new media wizards to congregate and exchange, present ideas and reinforce their milieu. These cultural 'hearth's are exemplified by (1) the Speakeasy Café in Belltown, and (2) weekly high-tech idea generating events coordinated at the Yaletown Brewery.

Figure 19: The Speakeasy after the May 18th, 2001 fire. Photograph courtesy of Clark Humphrey.

A cultural hub in Belltown for the new media and online content community was the Speakeasy Café/Network, situated at 2nd Avenue and Bell Street. Opening in 1995 as a 'pioneer outpost' on the Internet for those without computers, the Speakeasy also housed a bar, an art gallery, and a small, experimental performance space, which hosted plays, comedy troops, films, poetry readings, and music sets (Tu, 2001). The Speakeasy, long known as the Internet café where high school dropouts were earning six figure salaries, was destroyed by fire on May 18, 2001. It is currently operating successfully with increased networking and production functionality.

In Yaletown there are a variety of online services that caters to the culture of the high-tech in the area. Website organizations, such as “ideasonTap”, host weekly high-tech gathering at the Yaletown Brewery to facilitate networking and discussion of new ideas to encourage innovation. Similarly other organizations such as New Media BC and the Business Improvement Association's
"Yaletown Info" online, also facilitate the exchange of industry information. The Yaletown BIA organizes social networking sessions for other businesses (retail, restaurants) in the area; a new retail business is the host each week. Other organizations that link the industry to local universities include the ASI, a non-profit BC society that focuses on growing technology companies.

The Milieu

As much of the activity and focus of attention for these areas of the inner city revolves around how they attract new cohorts, the urban milieu in each area has defined in new ways. The synergy found through the association of like-minded people in a particular area at a particular time continually fosters spaces of innovation. As expressed by Storper (1997), milieu suggests something interesting; that there is "something in the air", that it allows this innovative culture to flourish in some areas and not others.

Through the survey, a network of the new media firms and players became apparent. Employees from one firm were hired in a neighbouring firm, socialized together, and even traveled as a group to other new media hotspots such as South Park in San Francisco. This type of network was more evident in the survey of Yaletown than Belltown.

From the firm profiles, and quantitative data, the local milieu and culture became quite self-evident in these new media innovation hubs. As outlined in many of the interviews, the new media culture in the workplace is about working in the alternative sector. As clearly indicated by the survey results, the amenities and services, in addition to the inherent character of the area, were attractive to employees of the new media firms. This was also revealed in an interview conducted by Canada Computes columnist Stephan Dubowski with several businesses in
Yaletown, including Orbital Technologies, a software development company, who arrived in the area in 1997. Orbital's President, Ayman Rajan, stated that did not want to be located in a 'non-descript skyscraper', and that as part of the growing wave of the high-tech in Yaletown he sees no problems with the business moving more upscale. On the other hand, in an earlier interview also conducted by Dubowski, George Hunter, executive director of the British Columbia Technology Industries Association (BCTIA), indicates how the original shops in the area were being pressured by the rising rents.

The Role of the Neighbourhood

One business that was able to reap the benefits of change in the area is "Living Space", an upscale furnishing shop that has since moved to Kingsway Street for more square footage. In Dubowski's interview, this business indicated that it had become a 'destination' with a solid client base, and that even with a fall in the high-tech sector, the business would flourish. This appears to be true for the high-tech sector as well. As revealed in the survey, several firms stated that being located in Yaletown affirms their place as a player in the sector. According to Colin Scarlett, a high-tech specialist with Colliers International, a commercial real estate firm, Yaletown's digital diversity offers a solid base for growth (Dubowski, 2001). Since the high-tech fall out, companies in Yaletown have been able to pick up some of the business lost by their American based counterparts.

Rajan said Pivotal Corporation, a big B.C. software company, could not find the space it needed in the trendy area. When it comes to expansion, "you have to make provisions for it," Rajan said. "These are heritage buildings. You can't knock a building down and put in a high-rise." (Dubowski, 2001a).
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It is this heritage structure and urban fabric, along with the unique milieu of old and new juxtapositions, that gives both Belltown and Yaletown their characteristic flair, and subsequent plethora of planning issues. These stem from the displacement and arrival of new cohorts and the services that cater to them.

IDENTITY AND IMAGE IN BELLTOWN AND YALETOWN

It appears that Belltown is an area with contested identities, and that Yaletown has a solid image of upscale, edgy-based trendiness. The contested identities in Belltown include two main groups of stakeholders: the original artistic community and the wealthier urban professionals and high-tech service employees who also occupy the recent condominium developments. The area has long been recognized for its strong and well-established arts and music scene.

The survey results show that the new media firms have located in this particular area for slightly more functional reasons; the character of the area ranking as a secondary, yet integral nonetheless, attraction. Due to this dichotomy in purpose between the old artistic community and the
new high-tech media groups, who bring with them new services, come tensions and new cohorts with their own expectations.

Aiming to mediate these diverse stakeholders and processes, the issues in each area are addressed by the planning departments. The next chapter will conclude this thesis with highlights from the various sections of recent planning documents: housing provision, land use, transportation and the facilitation for the survival of these highly dynamic and ever fluctuating spaces in the city.
CHAPTER SIX – PLANNING IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSION

INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces the planning implications of the new media firms occupying the old industrial areas of the city. Issues addressed are the infrastructure of the areas, housing, land use, transportation, and heritage and character. Metaphorically, Belltown may be easily likened to an adolescent with growing pains, while Yaletown resembles a more confident young adult. Belltown is experiencing tensions associated with image and the pressure of various diverse groups. On the other hand, Yaletown, as a more mature or more rapidly developed new media community, has established itself with a more resilient sense of ‘self’. The neighbourhood has become a destination within the city, and external agencies and actors in the industry identify it as the hub of the creative high-tech sector. Both areas have evolved into what Scott has termed the “new production spaces” through their adoption of flexible production techniques and global, local and inter-firm networks and connectivity. Within these new spaces of high-tech cultural production, a crucial point of the discussions suggests that analytical and policy debates should focus more squarely on how these effects can be altered or shaped by policy initiatives.

It has become evident that Yaletown a more distinctive new media district, and Belltown is a developing district. These differences are the result of various elements such as the arrival of new economic and social groups within differing policy contexts. Yaletown grew and flourished during the global high-tech boom. Coupled with immediate planning initiatives that engaged the vision of the neighbourhood on a broad scale, the area has emerged with a specific form and function. On the other hand, as a new media hotspot, Belltown has not been able to mediate between the needs of people who have been in the neighbourhood a while, and those recently
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arrived. The area already had a well-established artistic community. When the new media firms entered the area, it became neighbourhood of contested identities. Key lessons to inform the planning of these two areas may be learned from the case of South Park in San Francisco, a new media hub in the South of Market (SOMA) area also known as the 'Multimedia Gulch'.

Weathering the high-tech slowdown shows how planning initiatives must accelerate to keep pace with changes and use an economic boom to benefit the neighbourhood. In San Francisco's South Park, city officials and multimedia leaders were far more concerned in improving the business structures than the physical ones (King, 2001). Despite the amount of economic growth in the area, the local infrastructure shows little trace of the high-tech boom. What planning initiatives did take place were piecemeal, and did not acknowledge the vision of the neighbourhood. As South Park is naturally more socially diffuse in identity than either Belltown or Yaletown, the area did not have a unified local neighbourhood alliance; only short-term project work took place, improving park benches and other site-specific amenities. Between 1995 and 2000, the use of a geographic information system (GIS) to create a "living neighbourhood map" effectively presented a "sophisticated and unified" voice for a neighbourhood divided on issues and expectations. As a planning tool, the process enable parcel politics; the "politics of space at the smallest and most complex level"...which holds that a vibrant neighbourhood is composed of a diversity of places and spaces, and that is able to "accommodate a variety of interdependent users" (Parker and Pascual, 2001:55). The process proved to be successful, and convinced the City of San Francisco Planning Department to re-zone the industrial lands for a mixed-use plan in order reduce the more painful displacement effects of gentrification. It is hoped that new planning tools, such as the innovative application of this GIS, will enable communities to find a vision amongst the diverse expectations of neighbourhood interests. In order for these new applications to succeed,
planning departments must be willing to engage in new processes of discussion and debate, and facilitate adequate research in order to keep abreast of these global changes that 'touch down' on the urban landscape.

Recent research has shown that the new media firms in San Francisco's South Park have receded, and that the design and creative based services that had originally pioneered the first economic wave into the area have 'reclaimed their territory', as it were (Hutton, forthcoming). One may ask: Is this a continuing trend that will be evidence in other cities where the high-tech boom had an effect? How can cities accelerate their planning process and incorporate the appropriate use and fostering of technology in order to mediate these changes taking place on the urban landscape? What other planning issues are emerging and how are the positive and negative effects approached in a policy context?

PLANNING IMPLICATIONS

The main planning implications for Belltown and Yaletown are to mediate the social tensions in the area, maintain the existing local identity while allowing new identities to also flourish, and as learned from the South Park example, retain an adequate amount of industrial lands for commercial use, technical support, and quasi-industrial activities. Although the creative high-tech sector has been re-creating inner city areas, the prospects for low-income residents are not necessarily brightened by the evolution of the "knowledge-value" economy. This has led some, such as historian/sociologist Manuel Castells, to define the post-industrial metropolis as by nature a "dual city," which suffers a kind of "urban schizophrenia" divided between a concurrently devastated and blossoming economy (Kotkin, 1999). In Belltown the social issues are paramount, whereas in Yaletown the ability to retain the identity of the area as the innovation hotspot,
increasing the demographic age range of residents in the area, and the acknowledgment of the
current ‘temporal dysfunction’ as termed by City of Vancouver planner Michael Gordon – whereby
the area must make the usual business in the area more flexible to recognize the alternative work
schedules of the new media and high-tech employees -- takes a leading role.

Although downtowns have seen resurgence in recent years, Belltown and Yaletown’s
demographic transformation lies in the attraction of upwardly mobile professionals. Today, notes
demographer Morrill, the once family-oriented Seattle neighbourhoods that neighbour Belltown,
such as Fremont, Queen Anne, and Capitol Hill have become areas for the ‘dual income-no kids’
couple, with the percentages of five to seventeen year olds as low as 5 percent (Kotkin, 1999).

The Social Issues

Diversity and eclecticism sum up Belltown, and consequently the stakeholders span a wide
spectrum of cultures, incomes and neighbourhood expectations. From welfare recipients to million
dollar condominium purchasers, the polarized income gap is clear. One distinct group in particular
has become subject to controversy in Belltown, the day-labourers of CASA Latina. Since 1999 the
non-profit CASA Latina has offered regulated work schedules for the labourers, most of whom
cannot speak English. Operating from a vacant lot owned by Seattle City Light, CASA plans to
establish a four- to five-story housing and educational facility designed specifically to serve the
Spanish-speaking day labour force, in conjunction with non-profit developer Plymouth Housing
Group (PHG). Neighbourhood groups such as the Belltown Business Association (BBA) and
Belltown Community Council (BCC) have opposed the project, citing concerns over the loss of rare
green space and the obstructed view from First Avenue. Through support from the City of Seattle,
the project continues.
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In Yaletown a persisting social planning issue is how to maintain diversity and increase the demographic age range of the area. Yaletown is evolving to be increasingly homogenous in demographic composition. Colin Scarlett, high-tech specialist with Colliers International, a commercial real estate firm, said Yaletown now offers "a certain exclusivity" with its narrow streets, boutique imports and upscale pubs (Dubowski, 2001b). Nearby mega-projects, such as the Concord Pacific development, are being regulated to develop a mixed use land use plan, which would serve the needs for residents of all ages from young families with school children to empty nesters. Displacement is still an issue though, felt acutely by local groups such as the original occupants of the live-work warehouse studios and the male prostitutes who work in the area. Creating the nickname of 'Boystown' for parts of Yaletown, they moved from the corner of Davie and Drake Streets to the corner of Richards and Davie in 1998. This occurred through pressure from area residents and inconveniences of short-term local construction (Kirkby, 1998). For the new media and high-tech firms, even the smaller start-ups are being displaced by larger and more well established 'anchor' high-tech firms in the area. Real Networks recently occupied a large warehouse, which originally housed a series of smaller high-tech service firms and the Quicksilver clothing company.

Land use, Infrastructure, and Heritage

In terms of land use and infrastructure both areas have taken steps to encourage new uses, accommodate the wiring needs for the high-tech firms, facilitate pedestrian activity and protect the historic structures in the built environment.

The Belltown Neighbourhood Plan proposes an extension of the street level uses, to expand along the secondary streets. This would encourage urban design that is pedestrian
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oriented, which would further enhance the safety of the area as well. The neighbourhood has a wide variety of building types from one- and two-story retail/office buildings, to three- and four-story older, brick residential structures, to new mid- and high-rise mixed-use buildings. Key recommendations from the neighbourhood plan for preserving and enhancing Belltown's urban structure include: (1) expand the City's Design Review process to include all construction, (2) designate the Regrade a Conservation District with specific design guidelines, and identify historic that will be subject to design review, (3) amend Design Guidelines to encourage that uses "turn the corner" at the alleys so that windows, balconies, and entryways face the alley as well as the street, and (4) prohibit new billboards and reduce the number of existing billboards through attrition in the Belltown residential neighbourhood. This prohibition is not intended to prohibit murals that are painted on building walls. Other infrastructure plans that will enhance the bustling character of the area include increased funding for street narrowing. This was supported by the new cruise industry in the port, which saw the opportunity for travelers to explore the area.

The main land use initiative in Yaletown was the HA-3 zoning in the mid 1980s. This encouraged conversion and renovation of existing warehouse buildings and the construction of compatible new buildings. In the development and conversion of the warehouse buildings, the "hard-wiring" for fibre-optic cable has become a crucial issue in encouraging and maintaining high-tech occupancy in the area. Additionally, these Class B buildings-and particularly converted warehouses-also provides greater flexibility in their layouts,

Figure 22: Street narrowing in Belltown.

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tending to have more open, flexible space that fits the more flexible employment structures of the new media firms (Kotkin, 1999). Dot-coms and media groups need two kinds of space in this respect: the open plan where they can meet around the de-rigueur white boards for the creative brainstorming idea exchange, and highly individualized technical space for independent software development.

Housing

In both areas, housing remains a primary planning issue. Increasing affordable housing, and broadening housing types (such as live/work studios in Yaletown) to boost the density of the area are the main goals in each planning initiative.

The vision for Belltown in terms of housing is to make a broad range of housing available to a variety of people with greatly varying incomes. The area is part of the City of Seattle Planning Department Urban Centre Village designation, which is intended to be the densest areas in the city. Covering 216 acres, Belltown is the second largest urban village in this plan. Through the following statistics provided by the Department of Neighbourhoods, it is apparent that housing is a controversial and crucial issue. In 1994 there were 3,492 households (population 22,699) in the area, with a housing density of 16.2 – substantially higher than any other urban village centre (International District, Pioneer Square, Downtown Core, and Denny Triangle). The Comprehensive Plan predicts an estimated additional 6,500 households (population 27,200) to be constructed in Belltown by the year 2014. This would increase the density to 46.3 households per acre, the most densely populated neighbourhood in Seattle.

The neighbourhood is made up of mainly single and small non-family households, residing in housing stock built either before 1940 or after 1989. Including the additional units built after
1989, the City of Seattle statistics indicate that 26% of the housing stock is pre-1940 and 46% are built after 1989. Of these units most are quite small, as 82% are SRO’s, studios and one-bedrooms (although these can range greatly in quality and price). In the rest of Seattle, the opposite is true, 67% of the suites and two bedrooms or more. Again in contrast, in Belltown 98% of the buildings are multi-family. The majority of the units developed since 1989, as well as the units in the planning phases (1200 to 1500 units), are set at market rate rental prices. Unlike the recent ‘condo frenzy’ in greater Yaletown, vacancy is not a problem in Belltown, but neither is overcrowding.

In terms of affordability, the Belltown Neighbourhood Plan (1998) calculates that the older and smaller units were affordable for those making 50-60% of the median income. In 1998, the new studio units being constructed were still affordable for those earning less than 80% of the median income, whereas for two bedroom units, one would have to earn between 80-120% of the median income.

Forty-seven percent (47%) of the rental housing in 1998 (2,097 units) was subsidized through local, state and federal contracts for households with income less than 80% of the median (as compared to neighbouring areas: 69% in the CBD/Pikes Market, and 74% in the Denny Triangle) (Belltown Neighbourhood Plan, 1998).

Figure 23: New condominium developments in Belltown.
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All of the new strategies outlined in the 1998 Belltown Neighbourhood Plan call for the preservation of existing affordable housing. From these initiatives, there appears to be minimal allowances for the construction of more affordable units in order to balance the new upscale developments (this would be allocated through the use of funds form the neighbourhoods bonds issue).

For the last 20 years the City has used federal funds to maintain an initiative where building owners are eligible for a low interest loan (up to $6,000 per unit) and matching funds for building rehabilitation, provide the rents are capped for seven years (Belltown Neighbourhood Plan, 1998).

Through land use initiative, the City is making live/work spaces eligible for street level use, designating live/work as a commercial use, and strategically increasing the amount of required street level commercial uses in the area. The designation of the area as a Conservation District and the development of design guidelines will enhance the character of the area.

Recommendations have also been made for the City to initiate a land-banking program to take over mid-block sites before the property values escalate. When for profit housing developers were interviewed by the City of Seattle Planning Department about the development options, they revealed that they would develop sites on the eastern edge of the neighbourhood or in Denny Triangle, rather than the mid-block sites on 1st, 2nd or 3rd Streets (unless they were assembled with corner lots). The non-profit sectors would be interested in developing these sites, but the property values are too high for their limited finances. To ameliorate this problem, the 1998 Plan recommends that the City initiate a land banking program, where lots purchased by the City could be leased to non-profits, who would in turn develop the sites for affordable housing projects.
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Additionally, it has been proposed that the area increase affordable housing, including the construction of new housing using funds from the neighbourhood bonds issue.

Mike Scott, a principal in Dupre + Scott Apartment Advisors, (a Seattle company that monitors the regional market) indicated that in the year 2001 saw 668 new apartments in Belltown, 21 percent of the total number of new rentals built in all of King County (Leff, 2001). Since 1996, average rents for unsubsidized, market-rate Belltown apartments have risen 58 percent to $1,063 per month one-third (Martin, 2000a).

Table 14: Belltown Construction Statistics
*predicted, ** under construction or pre-sold,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Apartments</th>
<th>Condos</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>668</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>1023*</td>
<td>524**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A condominium development company who was completing a high-rise project at Wall and First St., revealed their understanding of local target markets, advertising directly to the "creative neighbourhood" that is "ever expanding, growing, changing".

In Yaletown, city hall's plan calls for well over 600 new dwelling units in the "New Yaletown" by the year 2021. The residential spaces are increasing rapidly, and commercial rents are being raised. The presence of Yaletown House, locally subsidized group care home, adds to the demographic diversity of the area.

In Seattle, the trend for high-tech to locate downtown has been eagerly supported by public officials, who aim to concentrate jobs and housing, and to link these two essential functions...
of cities to mass transit. Vancouver, on the other hand, has initiated residential policies to boost
the density of the downtown areas. The lack of employment base, however, is a growing concern.
It is be believed, that by increasing the density, the urban mixture and diversity will contribute to the
synergy of the area, further enhancing spaces of creativity, vibrancy, and innovation. This
translates into an increased need for labour and educational institutions to service these areas,
creating and maintaining a skilled employment pool.

Art, Innovation and Education

In the development of particular inner city areas, such as Yaletown and Belltown, a key
factor is the cultivation of the arts community. Carolyn Geise, who has been heavily involved with
the local planning of Belltown, strongly indicates that one of Belltown’s greatest losses would be
the displacement of the artist community, and that it is currently losing many of its original artists.
Legendary Beat artist Robert Lavigne resided in Belltown for ten years before moving to the Pike
Market in 1991 (Martin, 2000). As a knowledgeable historian when it comes to the displacement of
the original arts community, his fear is that Seattle is well into a process that displaced the
bohemian art communities in New York City and San Francisco. Reinforced by Charles Landry
and Franco Bianchini, creativity, and the fostering of creative spaces within cities, is a key factor in
the resilience and future of urban life and development.

An initiative to combine the housing options and encouragement of the art community in
Belltown, ArtSpace formed in 1992 to advocate live/work spaces specifically for artists. Other local
ventures, such as GlobalArt, showcase local art projects, and provide space for low-income artists
to work. In Yaletown, much of the local art scene has moved into the local nightclubs, where
businesses such as the DV8, acts as a gallery for artists to showcase their work during peak hours.
A Tale of Two Towns:

CONFLATIONS OF GLOBAL AND LOCAL IN THE NEW MEDIA SPACES OF BELLTOWN AND YALETOWN

Rooted in the creative services, these areas feed off of the pioneer artists in the area, as well as the emergent design schools. In Yaletown this includes the Vancouver Film School and Emily Carr Institute of Art and Design on nearby Granville Island. A variety of small and independent ‘English as a Second Language’ schools operate in the area, adding international vibrancy and importing globally derived design styles. In Belltown the central location of the Art Institute of Seattle is a player amongst new media firms in the area. Additionally, the location of these areas to distinct entertainment and cultural precincts offers a hub of activity, mutually reinforcing the vibrancy, innovation and milieu of the neighbourhood. As indicated by Sommers (2000), the company leaders of these new media firms hope that these areas, which are known for their avant-garde, will trigger new ideas and new innovations in multimedia and Internet companies. Nurturing these new ideas is a pillar of their coveted competitive edge, which is heavily dependent on the creativity of their products and services.

THE GLOBAL AND LOCAL DYNAMICS

It is apparent that the local milieu found in each Belltown and Yaletown is intertwined culturally, socially and technologically to the global innovation based creative culture of the new media firms. This ranges from employment listings in other areas (such as South Park) to the new ideas emerging in other international new media centres.

The other crux of the issue is the dynamic between local and national institutions in a globalizing society. The interplay, especially in the planning world, between regulations at the local, regional and national levels is a constant source of debate. As Castells contends, the more centralized a state becomes, the more difficult it is for it to positive alliances between global systems and the various cultures and territories that make the nation. As such, local and

N. Pope University of British Columbia
regional governments are emerging all over as more flexible bodies, nurturing their identities (Castells, 1997). At this heightened local level, for Belltown and Yaletown, various policies and actions form areas with greater or lesser competitive advantages and social consequences.

Scott's research (1998) has outlined the formal structures of local regulation: (1) provision of new technology and design services, (2) worker education and training, (3) collaborative networks – firms can then specialize in a set of core activities confident in the ‘durability’ and consistency in the relations with their suppliers and purchasers, (4) regional marketing services (business improvement associations), and (5) temporal steering of regional economies (Scott, 1998:111).

Through these, local public action, such as promoting entrepreneurship, encouraging technological excellence, and honing useful labour pools, creates and supports local competitive advantages. Michael Porter (1997), at the Harvard School of Business, outlines three essential ways that clusters affect competition in this regard: (1) through the increase in productivity of associated firms, (2) by fuelling innovation; and (3) by encouraging the business initiative of new firms in the area. All of these reinforce the need for the milieu and networks to facilitate the evolution of locally based ideas and innovations. Without these agglomerations the capacity of the industry as a whole to produce viable content is reduced dramatically, as are the beneficial effects of the inherent synergy to ‘push the boundaries’. In this same point however, is a move to a more ‘Schumpeterian’ economy, whereby the process of “creative destruction” eliminates established industries and fosters new ones through innovation. How to respond in regulatory terms to these shifts requires broader thinking, and the previous rules governing manufacturing economies will need to be re-tailored to accommodate the increasing acceleration and convergence of agencies and actors in these competitive networks.
A Tale of Two Towns: 
CONFLATIONS OF GLOBAL AND LOCAL IN THE NEW MEDIA SPACES OF BELLTOWN AND YALETOWN 

Quite often in these associations of firms, local councils, policy makers, and planners often portrayed as little more than peripheral interferences in the groundbreaking transformation of society through technology (Downey and McGuigan, 1999). Directly reinforcing this notion, recent newbreaks have revealed the intentions of the World Trade Organization to override the power of Canadian municipalities in zoning, store hours and other local bylaws. This would be executed through the terms of the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) (Peters, 2002). An unprecedented move, this would be the most direct tether between the global and local policy. 

In terms of past policy strategies, in 1997 the provincial BC government was encouraging the high-tech sector to remain in the province by developing the necessary infrastructure such as high-speed wiring, retrofitting older buildings, and promoting the formation of alliances and networks. This has been bolstered through partnerships with the private sector, the showcasing of local companies at international tradeshows, increasing support for Research and Development, and directing education to meet the needs of the industry (Wilson in Davis, 1997). It can be predicted that given the current political stage, the private sector involvement will increase, and that services to mediate the positive and negative effects of the industry will be reduced. All things considered, there is a mounting awareness of the need to fortify local authorities and regional levels of government as a counterbalance to the continuing centralization of national and international levels (Knight, 1989). 

CONCLUSION 

This survey work reinforces the elements of a cultural economy through industry agglomeration as outlined by Scott (2000): that direct human involvement in conjunction with
technology; densely networked and highly inter-dependent small and medium sized
establishments for production, a high demand for specialized skill in labour leading to continuous
job recruitment, and the resulting synergy of mutual learning fosters the creativity, rather than the
lonely ponderings of the cultural worker. The convergence of these firms in one place facilitates
the emergence of institutional infrastructures that eases the functioning of the local economy by
providing (a) critical overhead services, (b) facilitating flows of information, (c) promoting trust
and cooperation among interlinked producers, and (d) ensuring effective strategic planning
(Scott, 2000, 11-12).

From the theoretical foundations and the survey, several key insights and
recommendations may be made for these new media hotspots. Firstly, the importance of the 'local'
plays a most crucial role in this highly globalized urban context. By strengthening neighbourhood
alliances and unifying the community voice, these new digital districts will have enough clout to
guide the heavyweight high-tech developments. Additionally, the formation of local business
improvement associations will also represent the new interests in the area. Secondly, the
formation of public/private partnerships that involve all levels of government will enable the area to
be firmly rooted in their regional context. Thirdly, altering local regulations to acknowledge new
temporal dimensions of these areas would allow businesses to mirror the non- 'nine-to-five' hours
that the new media employees follow -- to increase the interaction of this milieu and foster the
'buzz' and spontaneity associated with these urban lifestyles. Fourthly, in terms of planning tools
and initiatives, the ability of local planning departments to keep pace with the accelerated rate of
change in these areas will largely determine their level of effective involvement. In the San
Francisco case, the planning department did not react in time to protect the areas from landslide
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gentrification. In Belltown, the Neighbourhood planning department's last plan was issued in 1998, and slowly observers note the decreasing "local authenticity" of the area (Pearson, 2002). For Yaletown, the City of Vancouver planning department has boosted the residential development in the area, nearly to the detriment of the downtown employment base. Socially, these areas require immense sensitivity to their diversity of incomes, cultures and individual expectations. This is largely apparent in the dual artist/high-tech identities found in Belltown, and in Yaletown's locational context with neighbouring Chinatown, Victory Square, Gastown and the Downtown Eastside. Increasing social polarization has become apparent, more Belltown than Yaletown, but the gap in both areas continues to widen at an accelerating rate. Concurrently, the important role of these areas to foster spaces of innovation and creativity in the city, while mediating the negative impacts of these new cluster developments on neighbouring areas, remains a cornerstone issue.

In response to the premises of 'postmodern urbanism' (Dear and Flusty, 1998) and the lack of locational requirements of these creative high-tech industries, these results inform a body of literature that illustrates how spatial patterns continue exist and 'place' does matter. The locational positioning of these areas to regional growth corridors (forthcoming dissertation by Kathrine Richardson on the Seattle-Vancouver high-tech corridor) as well as global financial, information and cultural networks play a crucial role, more so than access to resources or consumer markets (Hutton, 1998).

One of the most compelling results of this research is that as the investigation unfolded, it became apparent that local dynamics of place, internal firm linkages, built environment, and the municipal structures of each neighbourhood have immense impact on these new media districts. Given the proviso that global trends have different manifestations different places, the cascading
A Tale of Two Towns:

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effects are dependent on the specific political, social and economic conditions in each context, consequently, an increased emphasis on local agency and actors (Downey and McGuigan, 1999). In these two areas, the local has grounded the new media convergence of global culture and technology. The identity and image of each area played a key role in defining its success, shortcomings, and challenges. So areas like Belltown and Yaletown, as they step into the global economy, "must also integrate and structure their local societies. Without a solid base in the citizens, city governments will not have the strength that is needed to navigate those global circuits. In this sense the local and global are complimentary rather than antagonistic" (Castells, 1997:14).

This 'tale of these two towns' reveals the establishment of new media cohorts in each area, as evidenced by the employee demographics, new identities, images of place, networks and linkages are revealed through the interplay of global forces and local initiatives. It is also an account of many business and community interests both unified and divided. Areas such as Belltown and Yaletown are able to 'hold down the global' (Amin and Thrift, 1994:10) through their local associations and community vision. The convergence of this multiplicity of new agencies and actors on the urban fabric challenges traditional notions of planning for the industrial city, and the reinforces the need to accelerate planning for the information city – in order to keep pace with these globally derived changes taking place on the ground.
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APPENDICES
A Tale of Two Towns:
CONFLATIONS OF GLOBAL AND LOCAL IN THE NEW MEDIA SPACES OF BELLTOWN AND YALETOWN

APPENDIX A:

INTRODUCTORY LETTER MAILED TO THE FIRMS IN THE SURVEY.

< Letterhead>

<Date>

To whom it may concern,

Through the School of Community and Regional Planning at the University of British Columbia, we are conducting a study of the multimedia/new media services sector in the City of Seattle <Vancouver> and would like to conduct a short interview with you or a representative of your firm in the next few weeks.

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

Some examples of question topics include: firm location, employee demographics, firm inputs/outputs, locational choices, linkages to the creative services sector, and neighbourhood milieu.

The purpose of the study is to determine the role that technology firms of the new economy play in the local fabric in the inner city areas of Yaletown in Vancouver and Belltown in Seattle.

The results of the interviews will be used for two purposes: as part of a Master’s thesis and also as part of larger research project being conducted by Professor Thomas Hutton. We will be happy to make the precis of the study available to you either prior to or upon completion of these manuscripts, as you prefer.

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. Thomas Hutton
Associate Professor
School of Community and Regional Planning

Ms. Naomi Pope
Second Year M.A. Planning Candidate
School of Community and Regional Planning
A Tale of Two Towns:
CONFLATIONS OF GLOBAL AND LOCAL IN THE NEW MEDIA SPACES OF BELLTOWN AND YALETOWN

APPENDIX B:
SURVEY QUESTIONS
A Tale of Two Towns:  
CONFLATIONS OF GLOBAL AND LOCAL IN THE NEW MEDIA SPACES OF BELLTOWN AND YALETOWN

This survey contributes to ongoing research at the School of Community and Regional Planning at the University of British Columbia. The information you provide helps us understand the planning implications of the new economy of the postmodern inner city. Please direct inquiries regarding this survey to Naomi Pope, npope@interchange.ubc.ca or Tom Hutton, thutton@interchange.ubc.ca.

Location Data:
1. Name of Firm  
2. Address  
3. How long at present address?  
4. How long established?  
5. Previous address  

Employment Information:
6. Number of people employed by your firm?  
7. Number of people employed by your firm and working from this location?  
8. Please complete the following table. Employees may be counted under more than one category.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POSITION</th>
<th>AGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>executive</td>
<td>17-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manager:</td>
<td>17-24</td>
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<tr>
<td>professional:</td>
<td>17-24</td>
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<tr>
<td>technical pros:</td>
<td>17-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sales staff:</td>
<td>17-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clerical staff:</td>
<td>17-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>artists:</td>
<td>17-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other:</td>
<td>17-24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9. Please complete the following table. Employees may be counted under more than one category.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POSITION</th>
<th>AGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>executives:</td>
<td>17-24</td>
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<tr>
<td>managers</td>
<td>17-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>professionals:</td>
<td>17-24</td>
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<tr>
<td>technical pros:</td>
<td>17-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sales staff:</td>
<td>17-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clerical staff:</td>
<td>17-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>artists:</td>
<td>17-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other:</td>
<td>17-24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10. Where do the majority of your employees live?
   a. Downtown ( )
   b. Neighbouring areas (Kitsilano, Fairview, etc.) ( )
   c. Greater Vancouver Area ( )
   d. Other? (SPECIFY)
A Tale of Two Towns:  
**CONFLATIONS OF GLOBAL AND LOCAL IN THE NEW MEDIA SPACES OF BELLTOWN AND YALETOWN**

**Socio-cultural aspects of location:**

11. Why did your firm choose this location? (Please rank from 1 – 5 according to their relative importance in locating your company, 1 being the most important factor.)

   a. ___ **Built environment.** (i.e. the heritage buildings, the character and design of your building.)
   
   b. ___ **Character of the area.** (Yaletown, Belltown)
   
   c. ___ **Amenities.** (i.e. the proximity of coffee houses, restaurants, and specialty retail).
   
   d. ___ **Places for meetings.** (the exchange of information, and the sharing of ideas).
   
   e. ___ **Cost consideration.** (rental space, property tax, and other overhead costs).
   
   f. ___ **Proximity to suppliers, clients and related firms.**
   
   g. ___ **Other:** (PLEASE SPECIFY)

12. What are the **advantages** and **disadvantages** of this location?

   a. access to similar firms                      advantage      disadvantage
   
   b. access to clients (outputs)                 ( )           ( )
   
   c. access to suppliers (inputs)                ( )           ( )
   
   d. rent(s)                                     ( )           ( )
   
   e. quality of space                            ( )           ( )
   
   f. proximity to amenities                      ( )           ( )
   
   g. ambience//neighbourhood                    ( )           ( )
   
   h. character                                   ( )           ( )
   
   i. parking                                     ( )           ( )
   
   j. other (PLEASE SPECIFY)                      ( )           ( )

**Linkages**

13. Please indicate whether your firm is oriented **more globally** or **more locally** for the following:

   a. Employee recruitment                        Globally     Locally
   
   b. Markets                                     ( )         ( )
   
   c. Sources of inspiration/innovation           ( )         ( )
   
   d. Inter-firm communication                    ( )         ( )
   
   e. Tuning in to new tech trends                ( )         ( )
   
   f. Sources of Creative Content                 ( )         ( )
   
   g. Services/Products Rendered                  ( )         ( )
   
   h. Other (PLEASE SPECIFY)                      ( )         ( )

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### Inter-firm Linkages – Input/Output Relations:

14. (A) Who are your main **suppliers (inputs)**, (B) what do they supply, and (C) where are they located?  
(For your convenience, please refer to the attached list of related services)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A - WHO</th>
<th>B - WHAT</th>
<th>C - WHERE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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</tbody>
</table>

15. (A) Who are your main **customers (outputs)**, (B) what do they purchase, and (C) where are they located?  
(For your convenience, please refer to the attached list of related services)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A - WHO</th>
<th>B - WHAT</th>
<th>C - WHERE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16. How important are ‘formal’ meetings versus ‘informal’ meetings to how your company does business?  
17. Where are these meetings generally held?  
18. Please add anything you would like to share, any other comments, questions...
A Tale of Two Towns:

CONFLATIONS OF GLOBAL AND LOCAL IN THE NEW MEDIA SPACES OF BELLTOWN AND YALETOWN

Appended List of Services:
Choose from the following to indicate suppliers and clients of your firm.

High-Tech Services:
- Communicative consultants
- Graphics services
- Commercial artist
- Desktop publishing
- Film Post Production
- Computer software and services
- Internet services other than access
- Recording services sound and video
- Computer graphics and imaging
- Advertising displays
- Multimedia services
- Video production
- Advertising – fax, Internet, multimedia agencies
- Audiovisual production
- Computer networking
- Computer system designers and consultants
- Music arrangers and composes
- Data systems consultants and designers
- Other (PLEASE SPECIFY)

Corporate Services:
- Legal services
- Accounting
- Management consulting
- Consulting engineers
- Marketing
- Advertising
- Public relations
- Banking and finance
- Insurance
- Real Estate
- Clerical Services
- Personnel Agencies
- Travel Agencies
- Caterers
- Other (PLEASE SPECIFY)

Thank you for completing this survey/interview.

N. Pope
University of British Columbia
A Tale of Two Towns:
CONFLATIONS OF GLOBAL AND LOCAL IN THE NEW MEDIA SPACES OF BELLTOWN AND YALETOWN

APPENDIX C

VANCOUVER CENTRAL AREA GROWTH STATISTICAL INDICATORS

(1996-2021)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>City Gate</td>
<td>1,030</td>
<td>440</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>654</td>
<td>2,750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Business District</td>
<td>1,220</td>
<td>860</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>726</td>
<td>1,586</td>
<td>4,975</td>
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<tr>
<td>Coal Harbour</td>
<td>5,090</td>
<td>3,030</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>641</td>
<td>3,671</td>
<td>6,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downtown Eastside (West of Main)</td>
<td>4,080</td>
<td>3,575</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>692</td>
<td>4,267</td>
<td>7,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downtown South</td>
<td>6,305</td>
<td>4,405</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>2,718</td>
<td>7,123</td>
<td>4,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Granville Slopes</td>
<td>1,530</td>
<td>870</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>938</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>False Creek Northeast</td>
<td>1,665</td>
<td>685</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2,431</td>
<td>3,116</td>
<td>8,250</td>
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<tr>
<td>Triangle West</td>
<td>1,885</td>
<td>1,035</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>2,144</td>
<td>3,179</td>
<td>1,200</td>
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<tr>
<td>West End</td>
<td>40,940</td>
<td>21,790</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>22,194</td>
<td>1,700</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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# A Tale of Two Towns:
CONFLATIONS OF GLOBAL AND LOCAL IN THE NEW MEDIA SPACES OF BELLTOWN AND YALETOWN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>1996 Population</th>
<th>2000 Dwelling</th>
<th>2021 Projection</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yaletown</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Area Totals</td>
<td>63,820</td>
<td>36,795</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burrard Slopes + Fairview Slopes</td>
<td>10,025</td>
<td>5,425</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>False Creek South + Southeast</td>
<td>3,575</td>
<td>1,845</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>False Creek</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTES:** 1996 Population & dwelling data obtained from Statistics Canada 1996 Census. It should be noted that the 1996 Census data has a ~4% undercount. 1996 – 2000 dwelling built data, 2000 dwelling counts and 2021 projection data obtained from the Planning Department, City of Vancouver. 1996-2000 Dwelling Built numbers do not include buildings that are currently under construction as of January 2001. Dwelling conversions and demolitions are taken into consideration and only NET counts are used. Boundaries correspond to Central Area Planning Study Areas, derived from Statistics Canada 1996 Census. Downtown Eastside data includes parts of Gastown, Chinatown, Victory Square.

Source: City of Vancouver, Central Area Planning.
A Tale of Two Towns:
CONFLATIONS OF GLOBAL AND LOCAL IN THE NEW MEDIA SPACES OF BELLTOWN AND YALETOWN

APPENDIX D

NEW CENTRAL AREA LAND USE PLAN: VANCOUVER

A Tale of Two Towns: Conflations of Global and Local in the New Media Spaces of Belltown and Yaletown

Appendix E

Map of Yaletown Landmarks

1. Roundhouse Community Centre
2. Yaletown Docks
3. Bill Curtis Plaza
4. Yaletown Building
5. Percival Building
6. Former Westinghouse Warehouse
7. Sebring Auto "The Automotive"
8. Former Front, Darling and company Building
9. Yaletown Terrace
10. Canadian Linen Supply Building
11. 1021 Richards Street
12. Brookland Court
13. Hotel Row
15. Former Golden Gate Hotel
16. Yale Hotel

Source: City of Vancouver (1998) Yaletown: A Walking Tour Through History, City of Vancouver Planning Department.
A Tale of Two Towns: Conflations of Global and Local in the New Media Spaces of Belltown and Yaletown

Appendix F

Yaletown: Acceleration of Change Timeline

Figure 2. Evolution of Yaletown: contours of accelerated transition, succession, and reterritorialisation, 1886-2001

A Tale of Two Towns:  
CONFLATIONS OF GLOBAL AND LOCAL IN THE NEW MEDIA SPACES OF BELLTOWN AND YALETOWN

APPENDIX G

BELLTOWN: ACCELERATION OF CHANGE TIMELINE

1. heart of visionary ideals for civic centre
2. leveling of the Denny Hill
3. Area largely abandoned from initial expectations, land use comprised of hotel, apartments, warehouses, and car dealerships
4. planners envision the area for high-rise residential construction, which is unsuccessful at this time
5. Introduction of pioneering artistic community and new digital media firms, residential construction

---|---|---|---|---|---
1
2
3
4
5

1990 | 1995 | 2002
---|---|---
1
2
3
4
5

1. embeddedness of artistic community
2. identification with the 'grunge rock' music scene
3. introduction of graphic services and advertising firms
4. "gritty urban exotic", upscale restaurants, fashion boutiques, cafes
5. intense high-rise condominium construction
6. arrival of new media and high-tech services
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CONFLATIONS OF GLOBAL AND LOCAL IN THE NEW MEDIA SPACES OF BELLTOWN AND YALETOWN  

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