

Heritage Districts and the Creative Economy

Development Pathways and Pressures

Dr Tom Hutton

Centre for Human Settlements
School of Community & Regional Planning
University of British Columbia - Vancouver
thutton@exchange.ubc.ca

www.chs.ubc

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Project origins, purpose, methods

Inquiry into processes (and outcomes) of urban redevelopment: 'regeneration and dislocation' in the postindustrial terrains of the metropolis, following the collapse of traditional manufacturing and allied industries and labour, c. 1960s-1990s

Initiated in San Francisco's South of Market Area (SOMA) in 1993 (taking in industrial decline, "cultural makeover" of SOMA, rise and fall of the dot.coms); and in London's inner city and Vancouver; inclusion of Singapore in 1999; other reference cases in (e.g.) Toronto, New York, Seattle, Florence, Milan, Venice, Shanghai, Hanoi

Methods include (1) theoretical interrogation (post-industrialism and post-Fordism); (2) intensive field studies (interviews, mapping, photography); (3) documentary analysis

Project Outputs: Space, Built Form and Creativity

2000. 'Reconstructed Production Landscapes in the Postmodern City', *Urban Geography* **21**: 285-317

2006. 'Spatiality, Built Form and Creative Industry Development in the Inner City', *Environment and Planning A* **38**: 1819-1841

2008. *The New Economy of the Inner City*. London and New York: Routledge

2009. 'Trajectories of the New Economy: Regeneration and Dislocation in the Inner City', special theme issue of *Urban Studies* **46**: Issues 5 & 6

2009 Trevor Barnes and Tom Hutton. 'Situating the New Economy: Contingencies of Regeneration and Dislocation in Vancouver's Inner City', *Urban Studies* 1249-1271

2011 *Canadian Urban Regions: Trajectories of Growth and Change*
Larry Bourne, Tom Hutton, Richard Shearmur and Jim Simmons, eds
Oxford University Press

The Urban-Regional Economy: a Historical Perspective

The role of the city as ‘regional central place’: from antiquity to the present (administration, markets and distribution, arts and artisanal production)

The emergence of the industrial city: late 18th century in England to its high point in the ‘west’ *circa* mid-20th century; manufacturing and ancillary industries and labour a major engine of growth and change in Asia

The ‘post-industrial’ (or post-Fordist) city economy: 1970s-1990s (a) contraction of basic manufacturing capacity and labour; (b) new division of labour favouring services; (c) expansion of the corporate office complex and suburban employment centres; (d) rise of a ‘new middle class’ of elite service professionals and managers as the dominant urban-regional social cohort

‘Episodic’ Restructuring Since the 1990s?

1. ‘Sunrise industries’ and rise of the U.S. Sunbelt
2. Technology-driven ‘New Economy’ circa 1990-2000: rise of the dot.coms and subsequent crash
3. Emergence of a ‘new cultural economy’ shaped by mix of technology, creativity, policy, and ‘attributes of place’
4. Potential of the ‘green economy’ associated with urban-regional sustainability imperatives (industrial ecology, green buildings, fiscal and regulation to conserve environmental stocks, including energy)
5. Recasting the ‘global’ or ‘world city’ concept: new models include cultural, social, quality-of-life and environmental factors as well as financial/corporate ‘power projection’ capacity.

Or . . . extended development of the cultural economy?

1. Historic role of cities as centres of arts, design and culture
(especially – but not exclusively – primate cities)
2. Industrial revolution and the rise of the Industrial City
Saliency of industrial design and manufacturing (1851
London Great Exhibition on arts and manufactures)
3. Collapse of Fordism and industrial decline from the 1960s;
artists ‘recolonise’ urban industrial districts and working
class neighbourhoods (Ruth Glass ‘gentrification’ 1964;
Sharon Zukin ‘loft living’ 1982)
4. Culture and the ‘postindustrial society’ (Bell 1973)
5. Rising demand for ‘cultural products’ on the part of the
new middle class (Ley 1996, Hamnett 2003)
6. Technological inflection of cultural production from the
1990s; and global diffusion of urban cultural economies

Features of the Urban-Regional Cultural Economy

1. Includes elements of *production, consumption and spectacle*
2. 'Traditional' cultural economy includes fine arts (performance as well as visual arts, film, etc.), 'set-pieces' such as galleries, museums, studios, symphonic halls and opera houses, and arguably stadia of various kinds
3. 'New Cultural Economy' – started with 'multimedia' in the late 20th century, now 'new media'; emphasis on open-source technologies, includes firms as well as more informal and temporary 'project ecologies'
4. Widely acknowledged as an urban-regional growth sector, not only in 'western' and 'advanced' cities and urban regions (NY, Chicago, London, Milan, Singapore etc.), but also in 'transitional' societies, notably in China)

What drives the cultural economy of the metropolis and city-region?

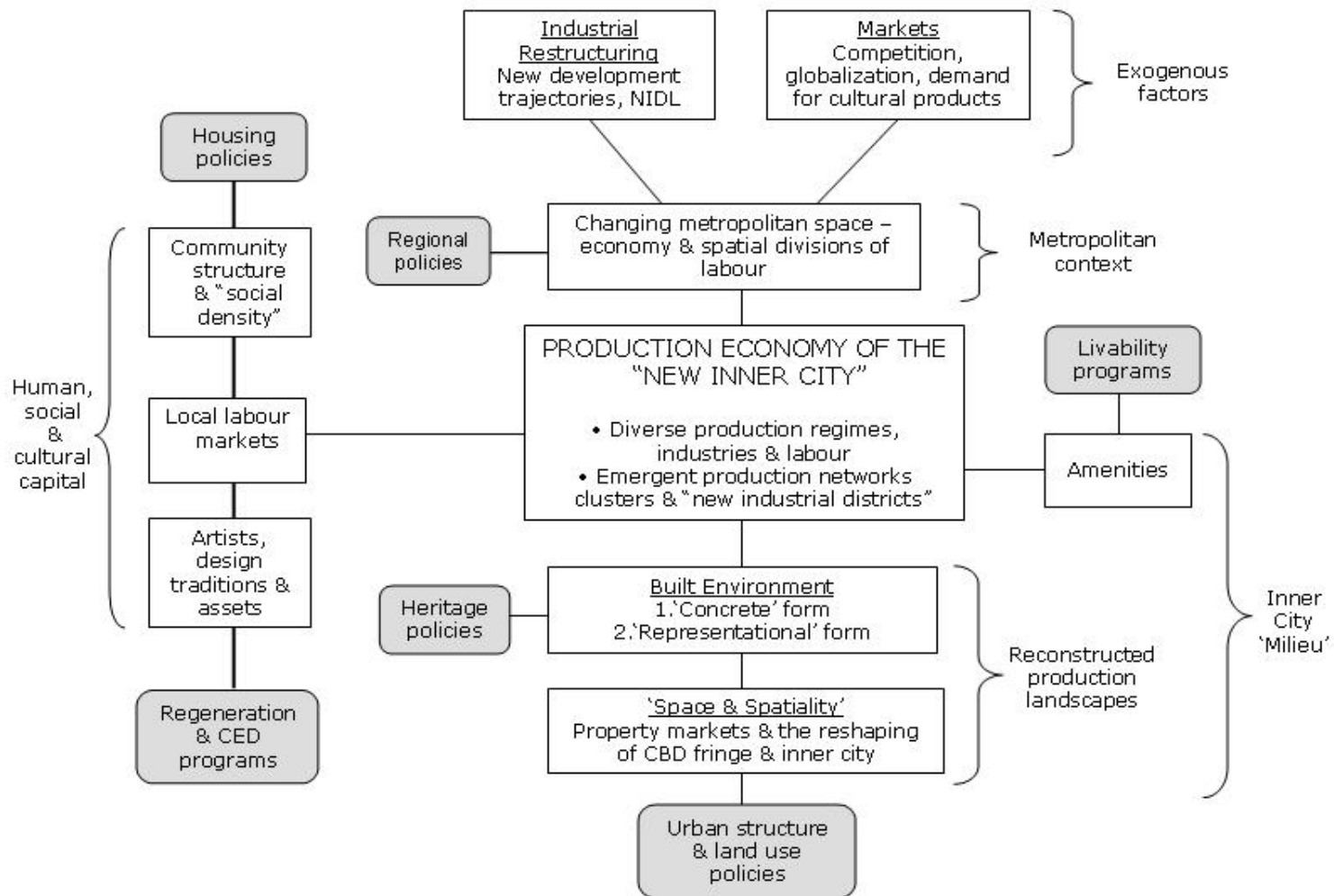
The factors which shape the growth and development of the cultural economy have emerged as major debating points among academics, policy makers, civic officials, and community groups

While there are numerous perspectives and viewpoints, for our purposes we can identify influential and oppositional factions:

1. Positivist (some would say 'boosterish') position, articulated by Richard Florida and colleagues including Kevin Stolarick, Edward Glaeser, Elizabeth Currid;
2. 'Critical' scholars and policy specialists, notably Allen Scott and Michael Storper, (UCLA), Jamie Peck (UBC), Roger Keil (York), Graeme Evans (London); and
3. 'Third Way independent scholars (Ann Markusen, Trevor Barnes, and others)

Bases of the Cultural Economy: Points of Contestation

1. Richard Florida and acolytes: saliency of the 'three Ts': talent, technology and tolerance
2. Allen Scott et al: pervasive importance of (a) agglomeration economies, (b) local-regional traditions of cultural production practices and systems, (c) capital;
= need to acknowledge dislocation effects and costs
3. Ann Markusen: acknowledges features of each, but also accords great importance to regional cultures (1980s work on the Third Italy and 'sticky labour markets') and to local artists, entrepreneurs and community institutions and organization
4. All agree on the importance of policy and institutions: but what kinds of policies and institutions?



Factors shaping the production economy of the city.

Landscape and Site in Creativity and Innovation

Interdependencies of sites, space and landscape in industrial innovation and development: Soja's acknowledgement of the 'industry-shaping power of spatiality' (*Postmetropolis* 2000: 166), as well as power of industry to shape space

'Space' in this context entails acknowledgement of 'texture' or fabric of urban landscapes: 'the look and feel of an urban landscape can play a role in knowledge production processes' Ilse Helbrecht: 2003: 9

Aesthetics of urban space, landscapes and sites deployed as inputs to creative processes in the cultural economy (Molotch 1996; Scott 1997; Indergaard 2004; Landry 2006)

Creativity, Innovation and the Built Environment

Buildings, innovation, production and social relations

“The design of the built environment is an important element of the productive forces of society, not just a reflection of them”

*Paul Knox, ‘The Social production of the Built Environment’,
Progress in Human Geography 11 (1987):356*

“There is no other class of object which through the production of material forms purposefully organises space, and people in space”

*Thomas Markus, Buildings and Power: Freedom and Control in
the Origin of Modern Building Types (Routledge 1993: 27)*

Creativity, Innovation and the Built Environment

Evolution of Buildings for Industrial Activity

Buildings as 'shells' for organising segmented labour for basic production and routine task in early industrial era: semi-penal control and discipline, deprivation

Buildings for production in the late-industrial period: organized for Taylorian labour in the Fordist era; specialised tasks, high salaries, security and benefits of unionisation

Buildings for the office economy in the modernist era: more engineered space for segmented service workforce of executives, managers, sales, clerical, and technical staff

Creativity, Innovation and the Built Environment

Built Form : the Knowledge-based Cultural Economy

Buildings as adjustable/adaptable “machines” for creativity, innovation and advanced production

Introduction of enhancing features: technology, amenity, mix of private and common spaces, for:

- *collaboration and cooperation: social organization of space for interaction, exchange, stimulus*
- *creativity: enhanced aesthetics of interior space for encouraging artistic expression, design*
- *innovation: ‘purposeful space’ for innovation, extracting higher value-added output, new forms of production*

Creativity, Innovation and the Built Environment

Markus's typology of buildings

Value of building types associated with both representational/
semiotic and concrete/physical attributes

Markus's building typology ("Origins of Modern Building Types") links historical purpose with modern adaptation and innovation

Earliest examples: pre-industrial

"Formation": buildings for schools and higher education

"Reformation": buildings for incarceration, to house "the sad, the mad, and the bad"

"Recreation": the 18th century coffee house as social institution and space of dialogue and interaction

Creativity, Innovation and the Built Environment

18th-19th century building innovations: –

Buildings and knowledge

“Visible knowledge”: libraries, museums, galleries

“Ephemeral knowledge”: dioramas and exhibition space

“Invisible knowledge”: universities, institutions, learned societies

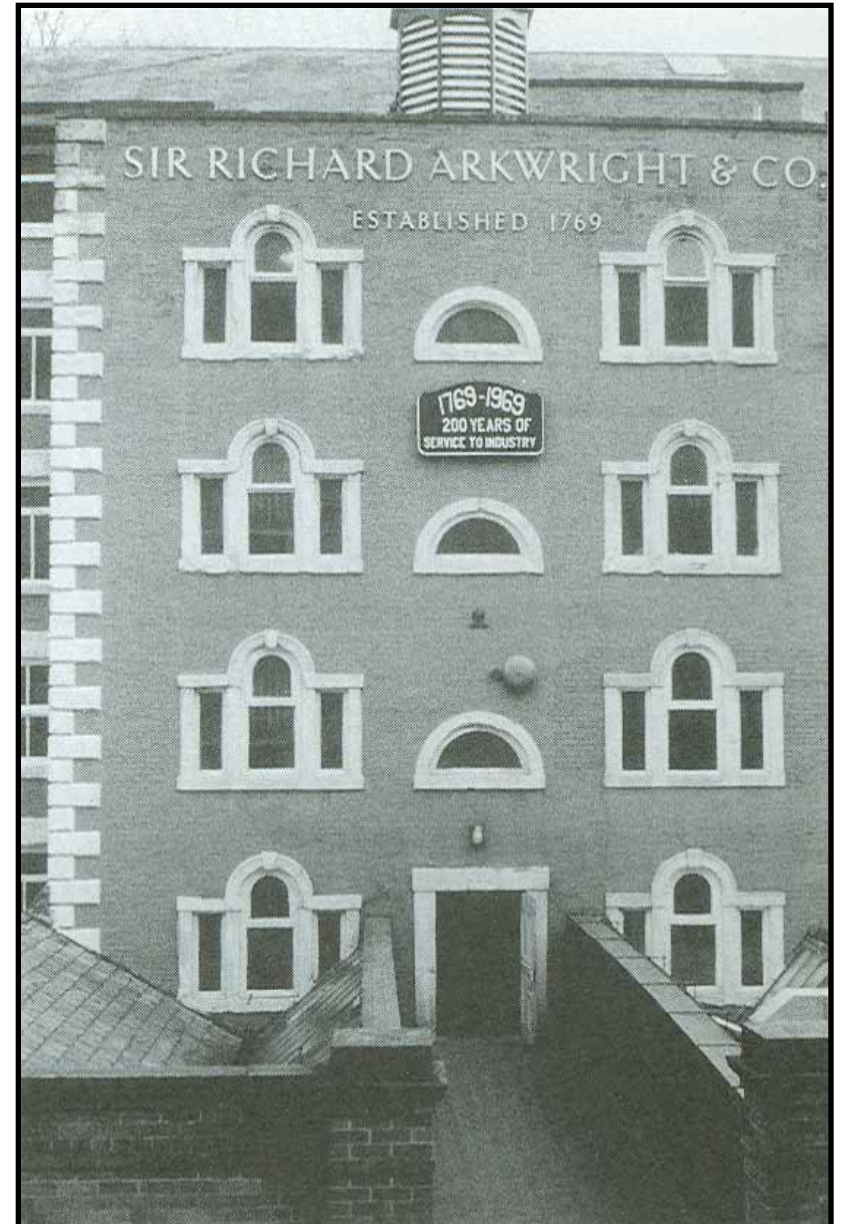
Buildings and things

“Production”: infrastructure for the industrial city: factories, warehouses, industrial housing estates

“Exchange”: markets – financial, retail, spectacle

Figure 10.18
Arkwright's use of
Palladian motifs at the
Masson mill, Cromford,
Derbyshire (1783)

"Production"



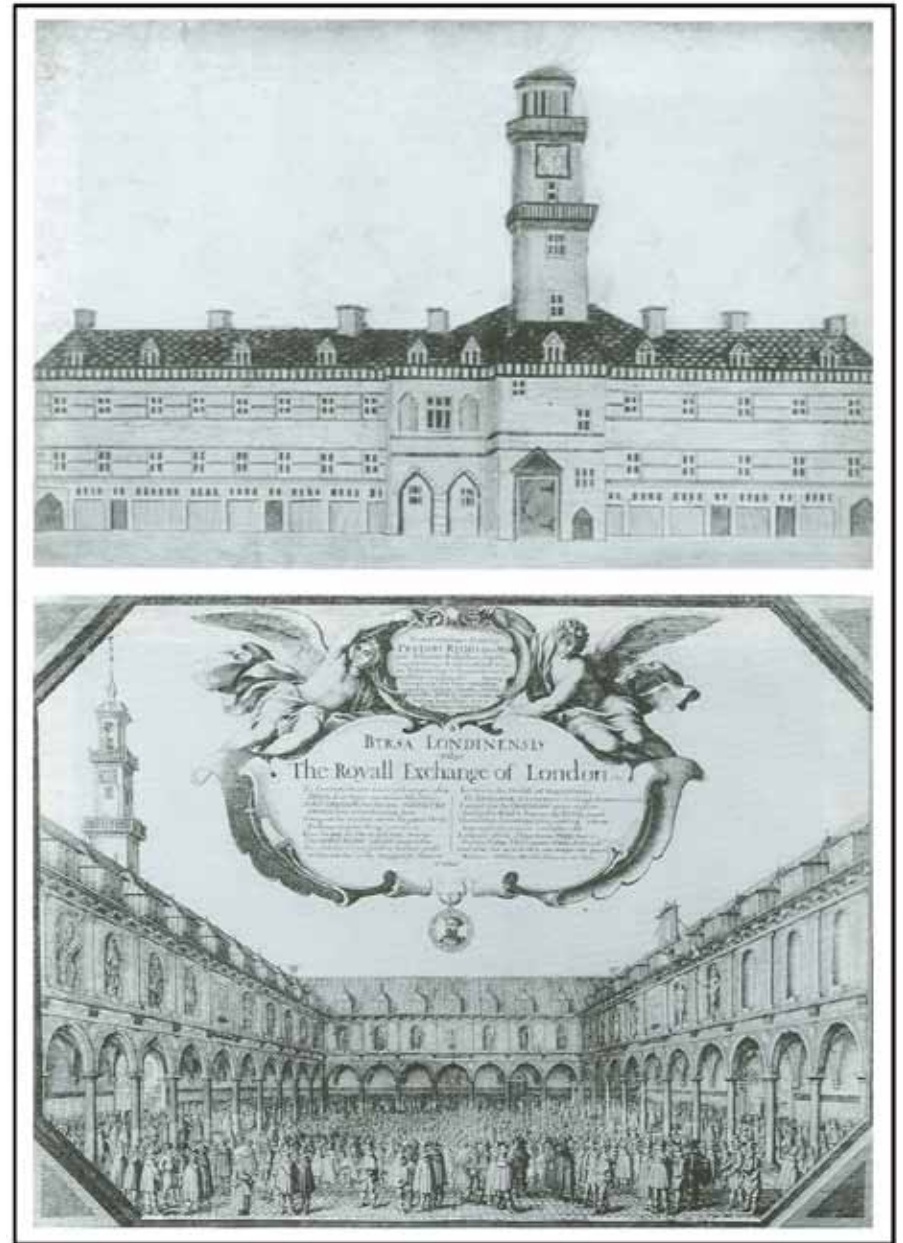
Source: *Buildings & Power*, Thomas A. Markus, 1993. Author's transparency.

Figure 11.18

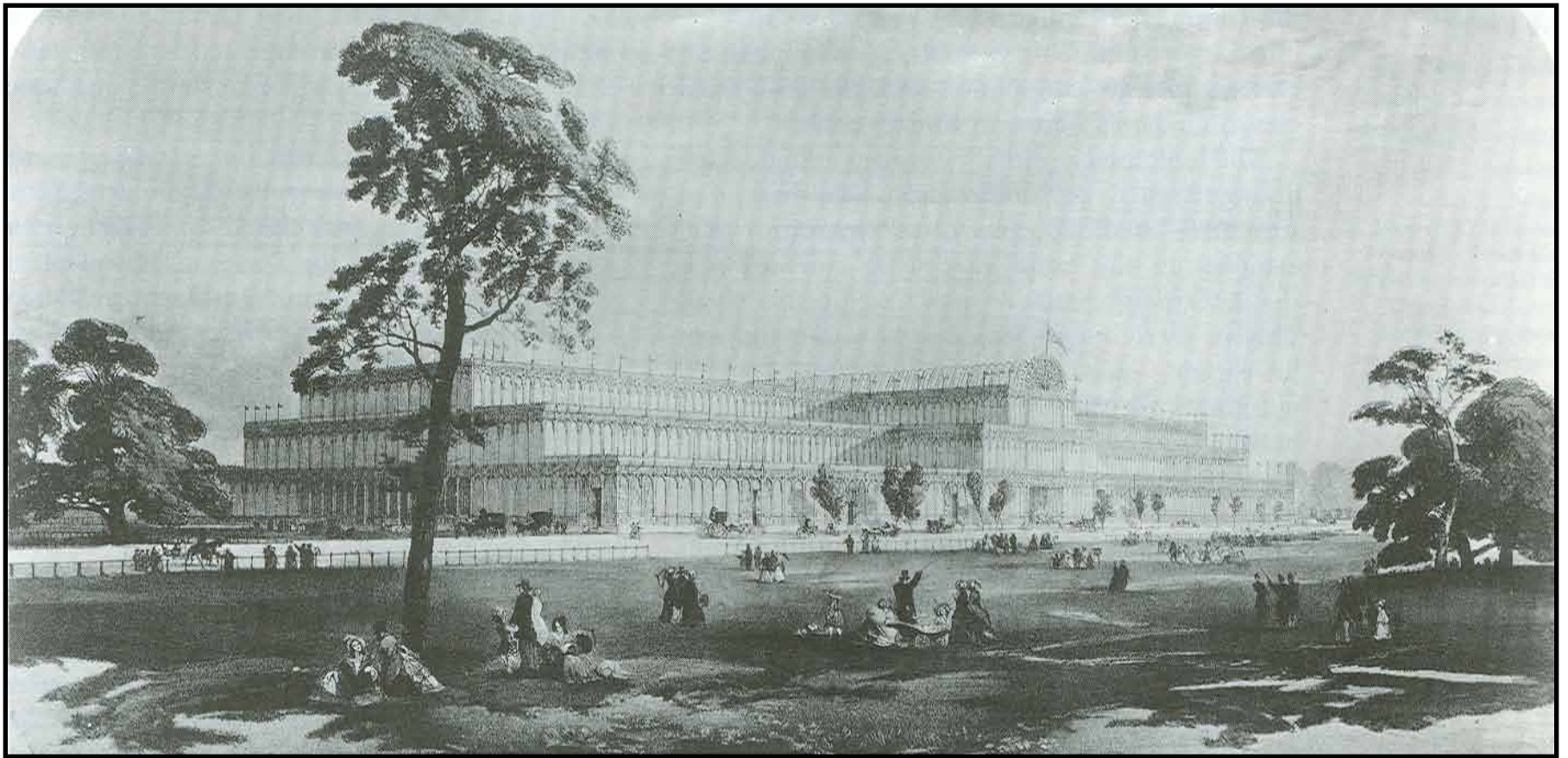
London's first Royal Exchange: exterior, from a wood inlay, and Hollar's view of the courtyard

Source: *Guardian Royal Exchange (UK) Limited (exterior)*; *Guildhall Library, Corporation of London (courtyard)*

"Exchange"



Source: *Buildings & Power*, Thomas A. Markus, 1993



Source: *Buildings & Power*, Thomas A. Markus, 1993

Figure 8.8

The Crystal Palace (1851)

Source: *Victoria and Albert Museum*, courtesy of the Board of Trustees of the V & A

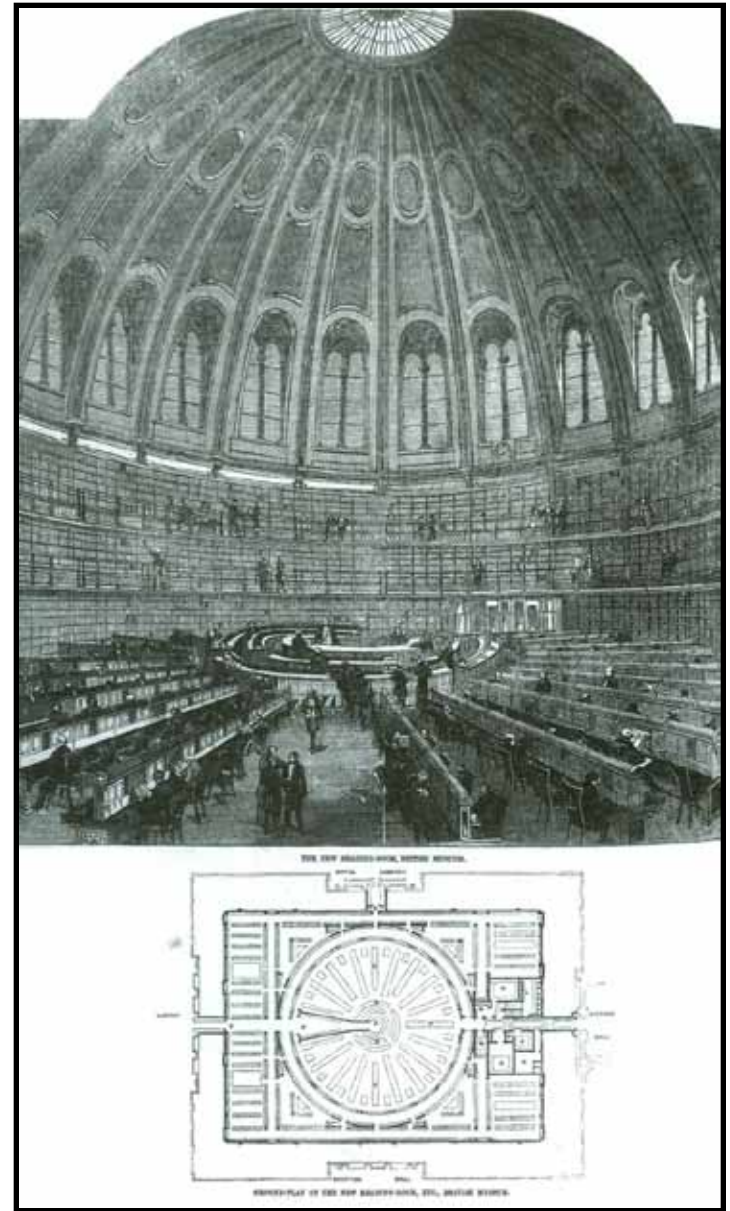
"Ephemeral Knowledge"

Figure 7.9

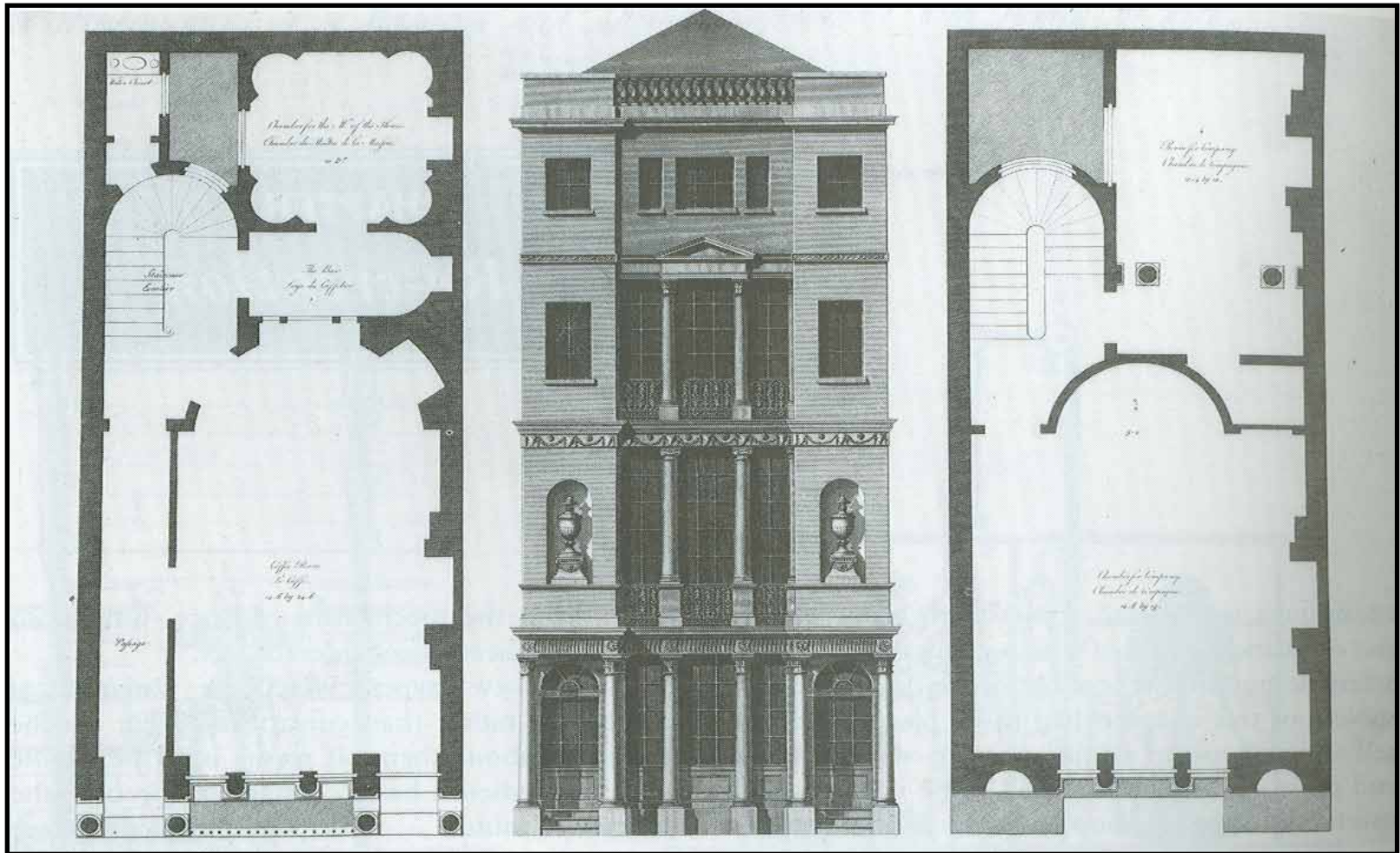
Smirk's design for the
British Museum Reading
Room (1852), interior
view and plan

Source: *Illustrated London News* (1857)
9 May, *British Museum*

"Visible Knowledge"



Source: *Buildings & Power*, Thomas A. Markus, 1993



Source: *Buildings & Power*, Thomas A. Markus, 1993

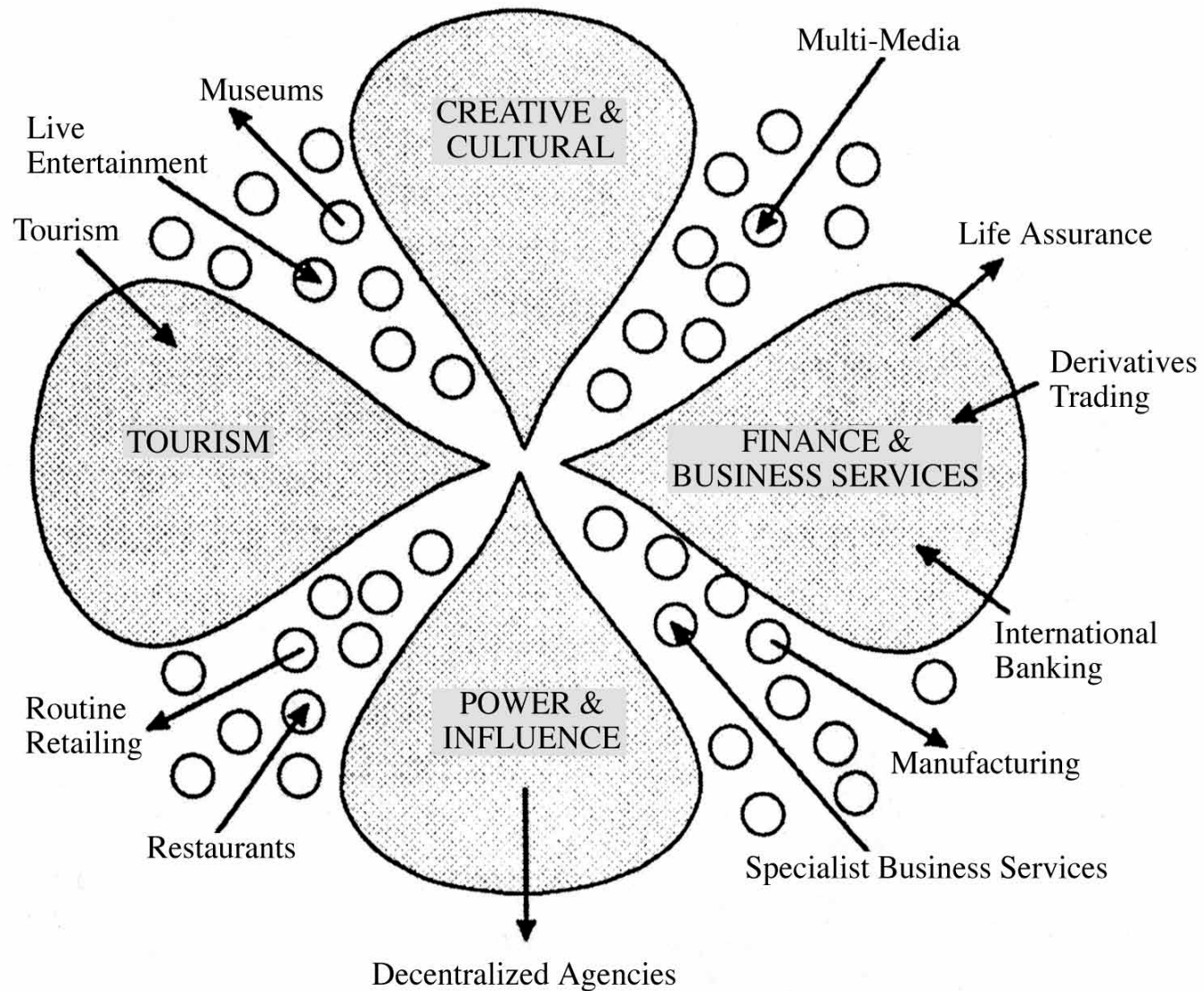
Figure 6.1

Robert Adam's design for the New British Coffee House, Cockspur Street, London (1770)

Source: *The works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam vol. 2 (1779 and 1786)*, facsimile V, plate iv, British Architecture Library: "[Recreation](#)"

Place: the revival of inner city industrial districts as 'cultural quarters'

- § Evolution of the inner city industrial district: pre-industrial artisanal, arts and crafts production; site of 19th century industrialization; collapse of Fordist industries and the subsequent reassertion of production
- § Hanoi: evolution of the 'Ancient Quarter' – from artisanal production (Sarah Turner) to 'Internet Landscapes' (Bjoern Surborg)
- § The 'Three industrial narratives' of Manhattan: continuities and volatility
 - a) Garment district: densest production site in U.S. (Norma Rantisi)
 - b) Corporate complex: Sassen, Abu-Lughod
 - c) 'Silicon Alley' New Economy phase: Michael Indergaard
- § Peter Hall's conceptualization of the place of culture and creativity in the global city



Major service clusters in the polycentric global city.

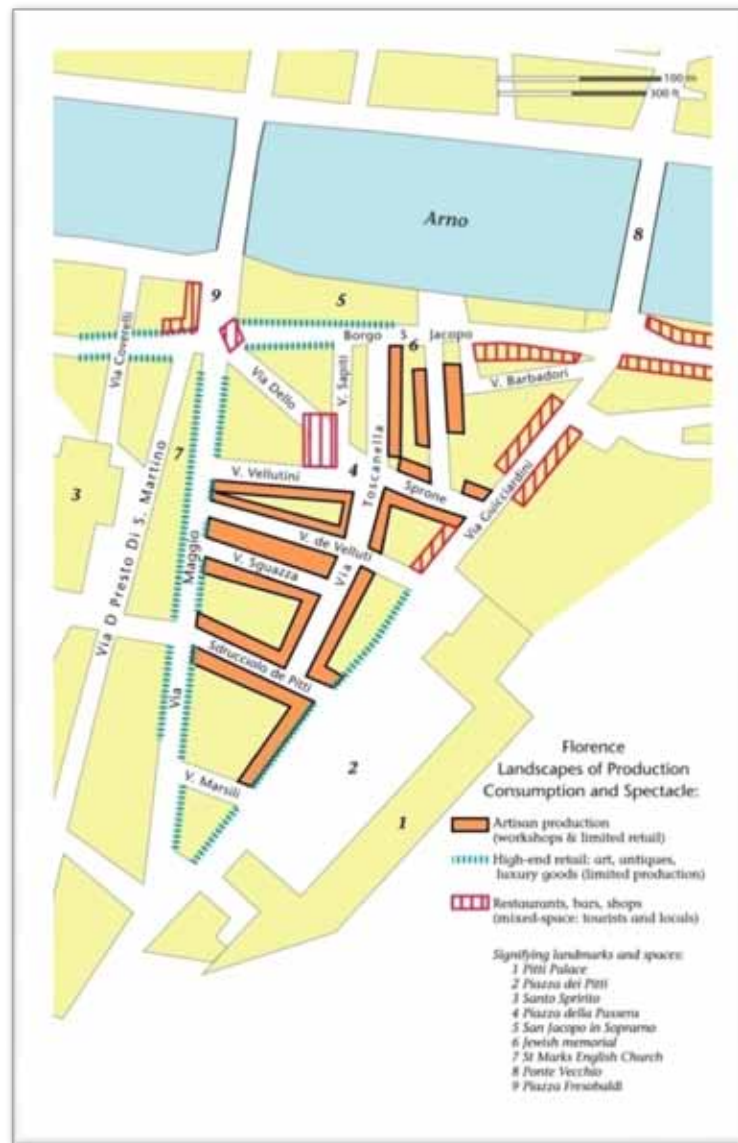
Source: Hall (2006)



Streetscape, via di Fontebranda, Siena.

Fortunes of the Oltrarno Artisanal District: Firenze

- § Four centuries of arts, design and craft production south of the Arno
- § Evidence of continuing robustness: lively landscapes and scenes of artisans and craftsmen along the *via Toscanella*
- § Rich amenity landscapes as complements to production
- § Adjacency to housing
- § Artisans: from input providers to 'primary cultural producers'
- § Signs of change: Oltrarno now on the 'tourist circuit', mixed users of consumption, foreign apprentices, use of the Internet for sales and marketing



Oltrarno Artisanal District, Santo Spirito, Florence.

Milan – Redevelopment of Pirelli Site

Redevelopment of old Pirelli Tire manufacturing district in north Milan

Project includes major cultural component and higher education, fostering of innovation, as well as residential development and public realm enhancements

Elena D'Allegnese ('Milan the unloved', University of Milan – Bicocca) acknowledges positive features but regrets shortcomings in equity and environmental outcomes owing in large part to governance/process deficiencies

Pier Luigi Sacco (Milan) and Giorgio Tavano Blessi (IUAV Venice) criticize lack of community-based cultural regeneration element



Pirelli Tire Factory, Milan

Major urban redevelopment/regeneration site in north Milan



Viale Piero e Alberto PIRELLI

Milan – Bicocca Redevelopment / regeneration site



Viale dell'INNOVAZIONE – Milan Bicocca

'Proclamation of intent' in the Bicocca regeneration site



Residential development

Milan - Biccoca



Residential development

Milan - Bicocca



Public realm enhancements

Milan - Bicocca



Università' degli Studi di Milano Bicocca

Milan - Bicocca



Teatro degli Arcimboldi

Milan - Bicocca



Teatro degli Arcimboldi

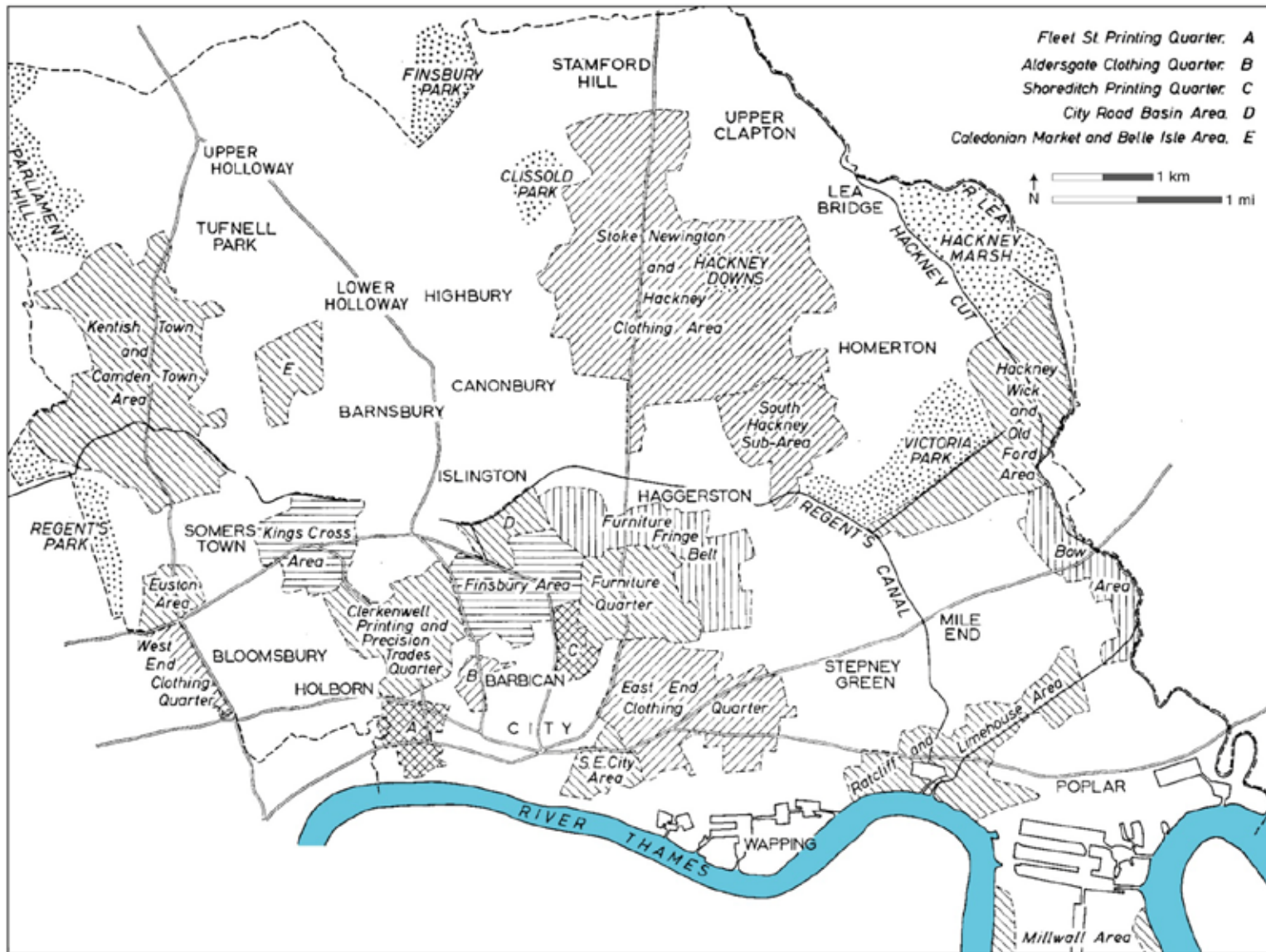
Milan - Bicocca

Rise of the 'New Cultural Economy' in the Global Metropolis:

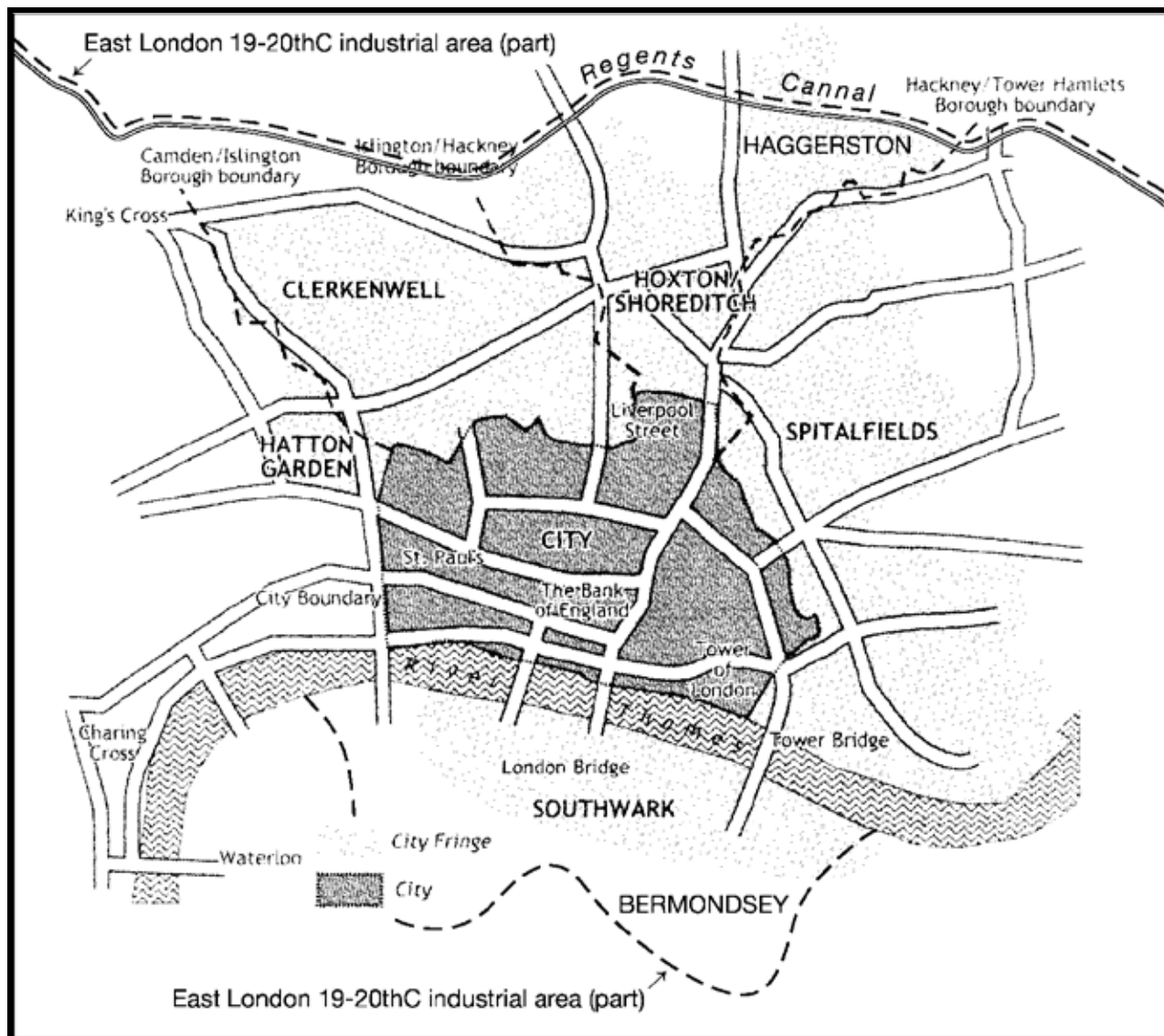
Some International Examples

LONDON

- § Growth of a new cultural economy from the 1970s : sequence of artists, designers, professionals; important institutional supports – contribution to revival of London
- § Location of creative industries in specialized clusters (e.g. Soho for film and special effects, heritage districts e.g. Shoreditch, Clerkenwell, Bermondsey)



Industrial areas within the Inner North-East London Industrial District.



The 'City Fringe', selected local areas, and London's traditional inner city industrial district.

London's Inner City in the New Economy

- § Spatial congruence of new production spaces of culture, creativity and design in the London 'City Fringe' with traditional East London industrial districts: Shoreditch, Hackney, Clerkenwell, Bermondsey
- § C. 40,000 in the City Fringe cultural economy (of a total of about 125,000 workers)
- § Cultural trajectory in inner London: also other new economic spaces: Canary Wharf and Docklands, new financial-business centres (Broadgate, Paddington Basin); 2012 Olympics
- § Complexity of industrial production in the Fringe: co-existence of diverse industrial production regimes
- § Implications of London property market: how secure is the City Fringe?

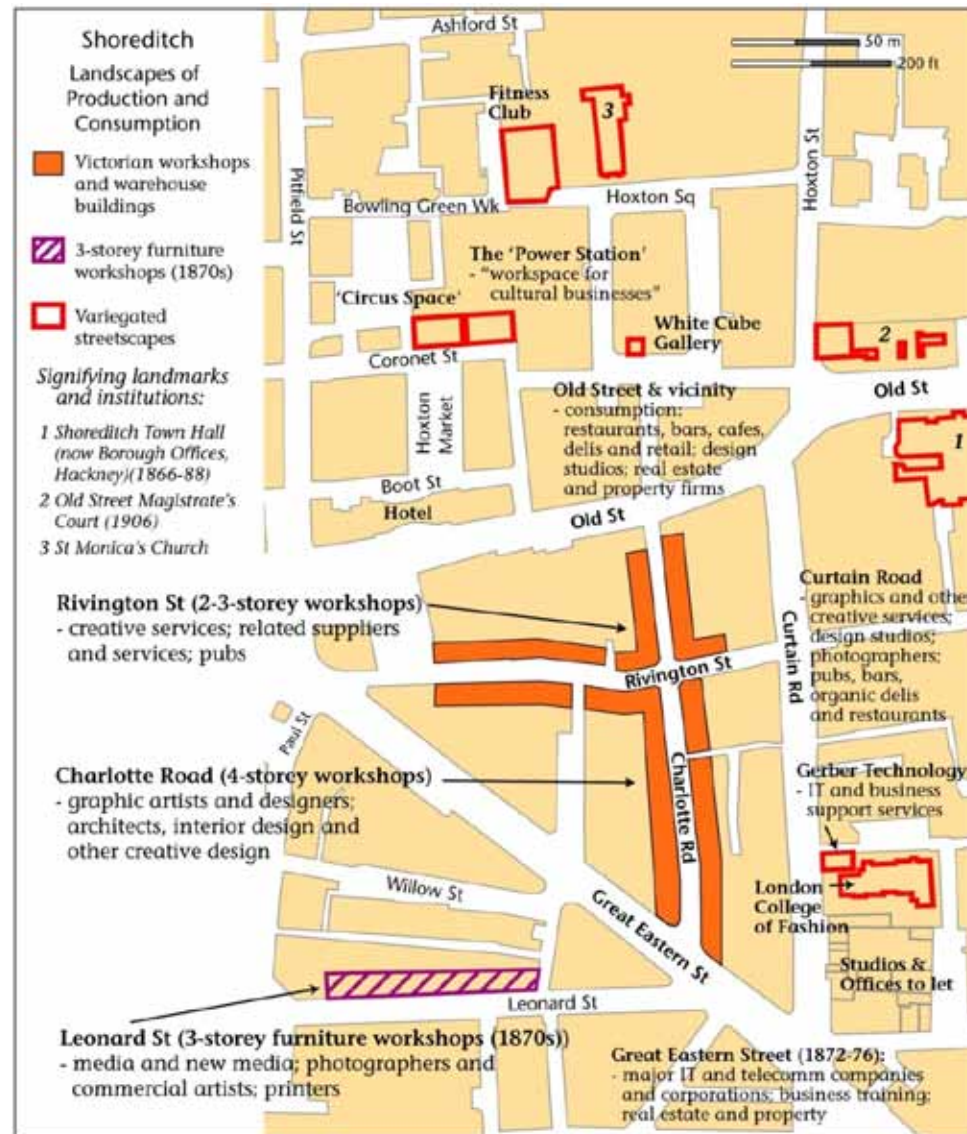
| I <u>Pre-Fordist Industries</u> | II <u>Fordist Industries</u> | III <u>Post-Fordist Industries</u> | |
|--|---|---|--|
| | | A Intermediate service industries | B Cultural / New economy industries |
| (1) Skilled artisans, artists, apprentices | (1) Operatives: skilled, semi-skilled labour, managers and supervisors | (1) Segmented labour: executives, managers, professionals, technical, sales and clerical | (1) Specialized neo-artisanal labour, design professionals, scientific and IT staff, artists, sales, managers |
| (2) Workshops, shops, residential space | (2) Factories and plants | (2) Office buildings | (2) Studios, workshops, live-works, work-lives, offices |
| (3) Artists Bespoke tailors Bookbinders Jewellers Milliners Model-builders Musical instrument makers Perfume and scent makers Precision instrument makers Silver plate engravers | (3) Food & beverage production • bakeries • breweries • food-processors Garment production (long-run, mass market) • factories and plants • sweatshops Printing and publishing • mass-market integrated Fordist production | (3) Corporate control: head and regional offices Intermediate banking and finance • merchant banking • fund managers • stock exchange • insurance Producer services • legal firms • accountants • marketing • management consultants Property • development companies • property manager • estate agents • research and market intelligence | (3) New media/multi media Internet services and web-design Computer graphics and imaging Software design Digital arts Graphic Design and arts Digital publishing and printing Film production and post production Video game production Music studios Galleries: curatorial services Specialized food and beverages • organic food • specialty bakeries • specialty coffee roasting • ethnic foods and beverages |
| Note: | | | |
| (1) labour | | | |
| (2) infrastructure | | | |
| (3) representative industries | | | |

Production regimes, building types and representative industries for London's inner city.

Hoxton - Shoreditch

London Borough of Hackney

- § Former specialization in furniture production, garments and tailoring
- § Major site of artists in aftermath of industrial collapse: studios and galleries
- § ‘world-class’ artists district (Andy Pratt)
- § Insertion of creative industries in the ‘micro-spaces’ of this iconic district
- § Growth of professional design and mainstream commercial business in the 1990s : displacement effects (proximity to the City, Liverpool St Station)
- § Increasing role of property market and ‘new gentrifiers’
- § Hoxton’s cultural role increasingly under pressure



Hoxton and the Shoreditch Triangle, London Borough of Hackney.



Spitalfields Market, London.



Graphic designers, Charlotte Road, Shoreditch, London.

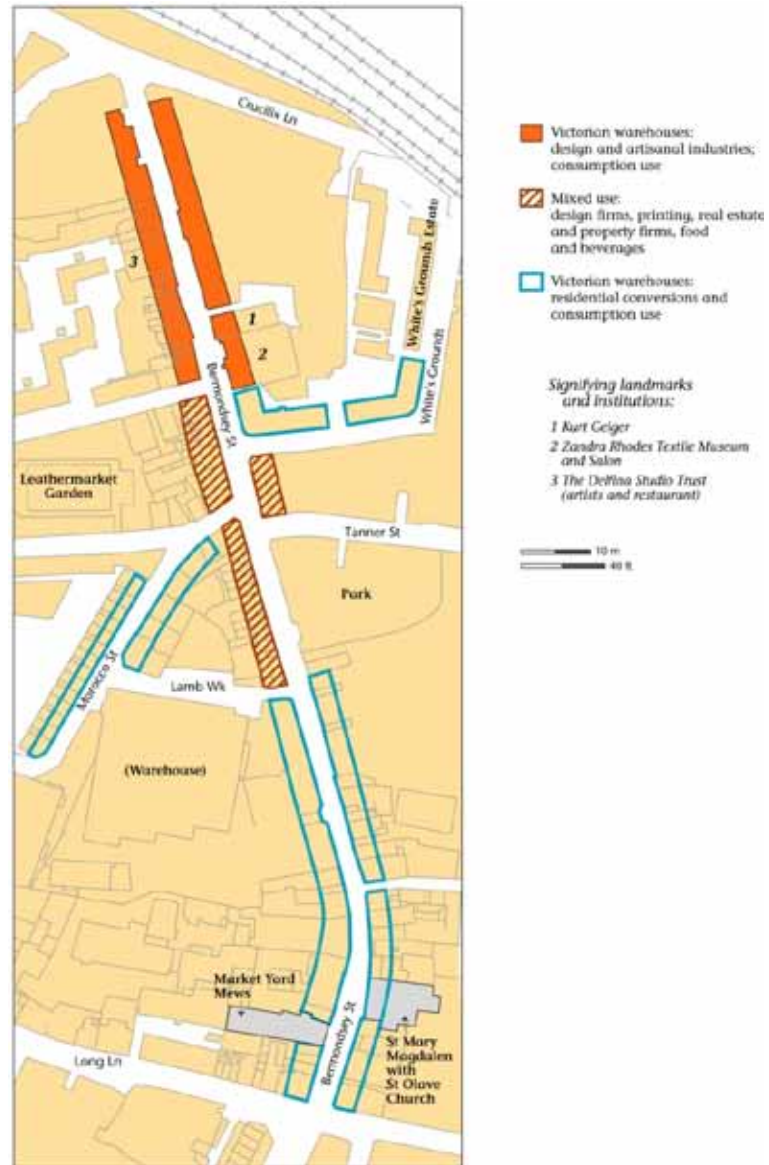
Bermondsey Street Conservation Area

London Borough of Southwark

- § Traditional role in warehousing, spices and leatherworks
- § Located just to the south of cultural 'global spectacle' in Bankside (Tate Gallery of Modern Art)
- § Heritage conservation attracted growing community of artists, designers, cultural workers
- § Major sites: Zandra Rhodes, Kurt Geiger, Delfina Trust
- § Latest site visits (2006-8) show increasing evidence of residential conversions along Bermondsey Street – squeezing artists and designers



Tate Gallery of Modern Art, Bankside, London.



Bermondsey Street, London borough of Southwark: structural elements.



Creative industries and loft conversions, Bermondsey Street Conservation Area, London.



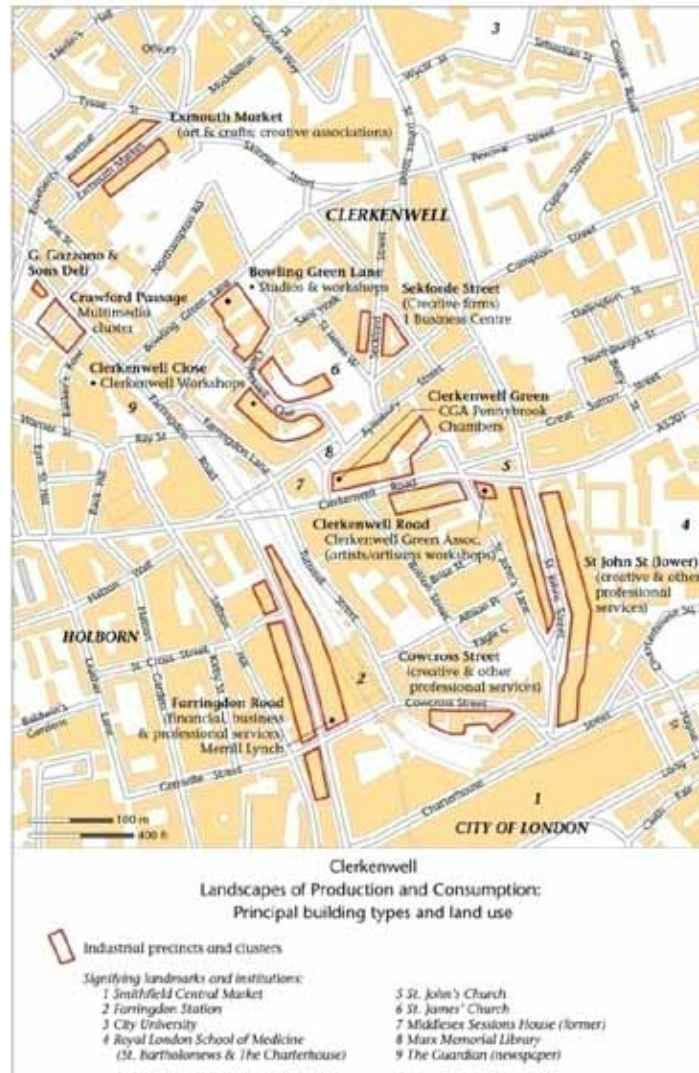
Zandra Rhodes Textile Museum and Salon, Bermondsey Street, London.



Loft conversions in Victorian warehouse district, Bermondsey Street, London.

Clerkenwell: artisanal production versus the London 'property machine'

- § Historic site of precision trades
- § Historical resonance: Marx, Lenin, Dickens
- § Efforts to promote traditional artisanal production: role of Clerkenwell Green Association, Clerkenwell Workshops, Mike Franks and other leaders
- § New trajectory of elite artists and designers (film makers, star architects, ne media, music producers) displacing craft workers: 'industrial gentrification'
- § Parallel trajectory of insistent social upgrading
- § Incursion of commercial firms – proximity to the City of London, redevelopment of Kings Cross



Specialized production zones and sites in Clerkenwell, London Borough of Islington.



Convivial consumption, Clerkenwell, London.



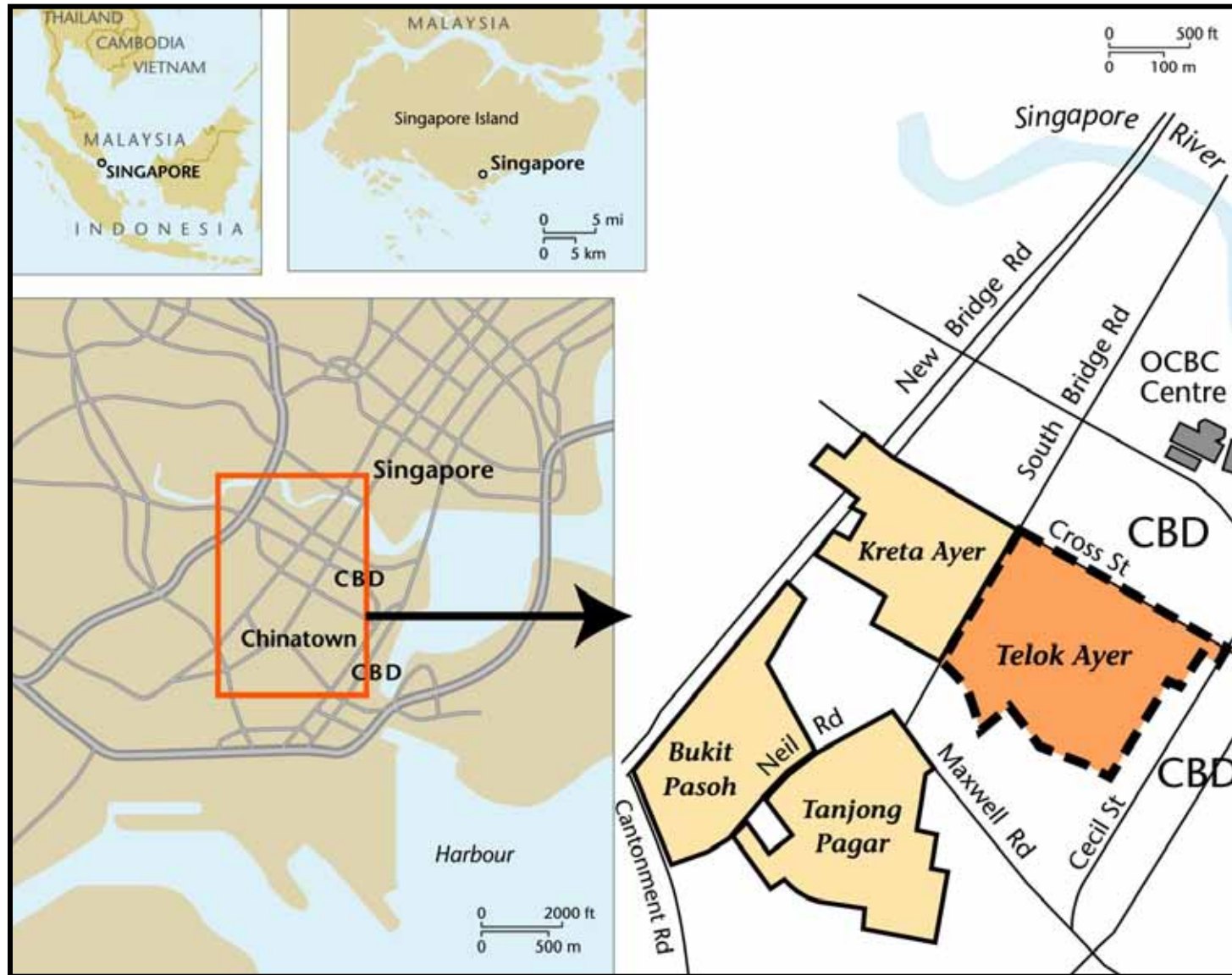
Clerkenwell Workshops, London (formerly London School Warehouse 1895-97).

SINGAPORE

- decline of Chinatown (4 districts west of the Singapore Central Business District) over the 1970s
- incursion of artists in the 1980s
- rise of dot.coms followed by tech-crash of 2000
[parallels with South of Market, SF; Lower Manhattan in NY, Yaletown in Vancouver]
- current trajectory: new media, culture, amenity and lifestyle-consumption orientation

Inscriptions of Restructuring in Telok Ayer, Singapore

- § Singapore as the exemplary 'developmental city-state'
- § Decline and heritage in the inner city (Chinatown)
- § 'spontaneous' imprints of innovation and restructuring in Telok Ayer, one of 4 heritage districts in Chinatown
- § Emergence as site of arts and design in the 1980s
- § Abbreviated 'New Economy' phase in last 1990s: landscapes of dot.coms
- § Tech-crash in 2000, but rapid recovery as site of cultural activity
- § Recasting of Telok Ayer as 'global village: media, culture and amenity' in the early 21st century



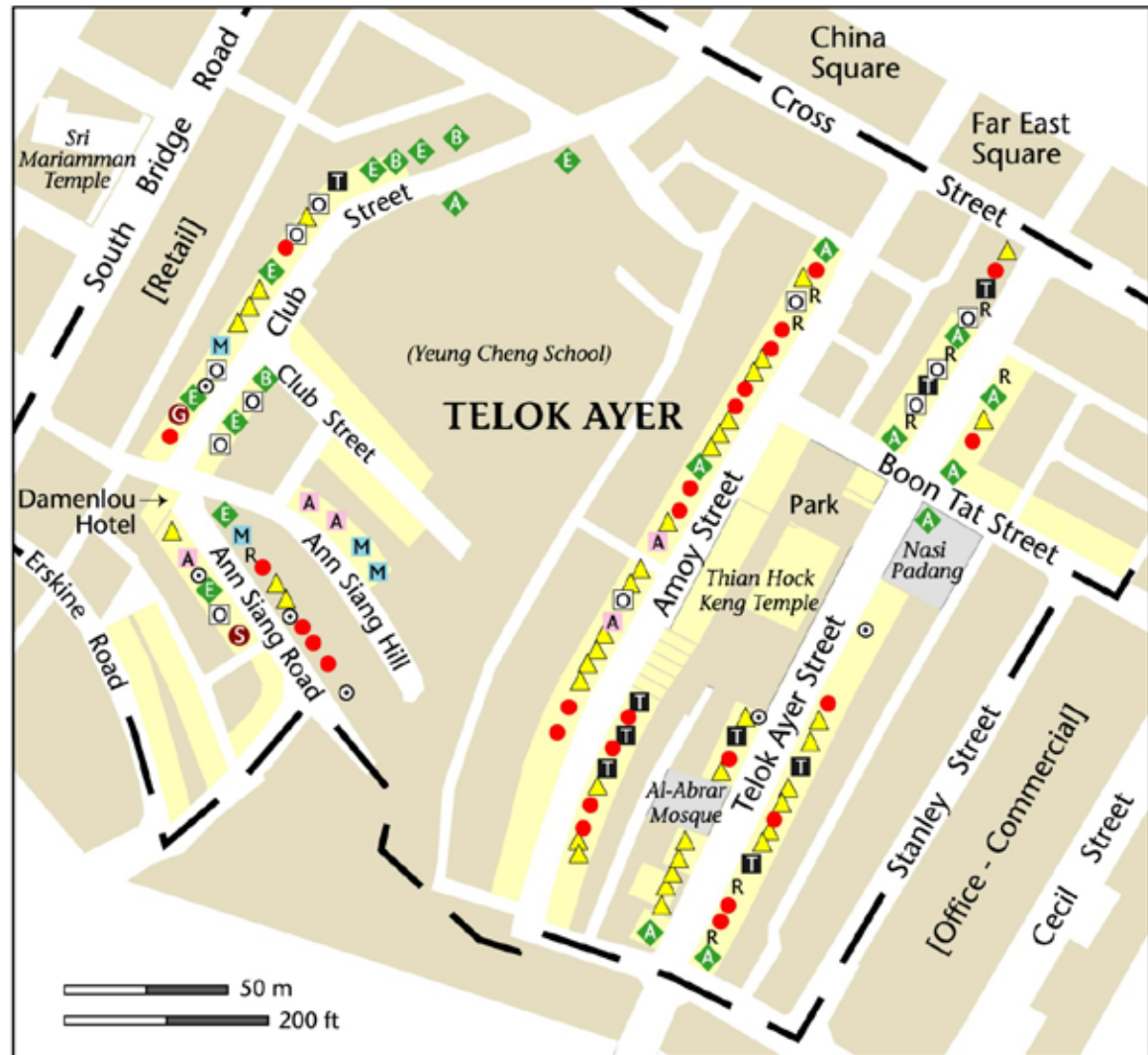
Telok Ayer in its local and regional settings.



Shophouse landscape (1840s) Telok Ayer, Singapore.

Distribution of Firms

- 'New Economy' firms: Internet, web design, multi-media and dot coms
- M Media, publishing
- A Architects
- Other design firms
- ▲ Business and professional services
- T Trading companies
- ◆ Traditional restaurant (East & South-east Asian)
- ◆ European restaurant
- ◆ Bar
- R Retail/personal services
- S Sports facilities and gyms
- G Galleries
- ⊙ Chinese clan association



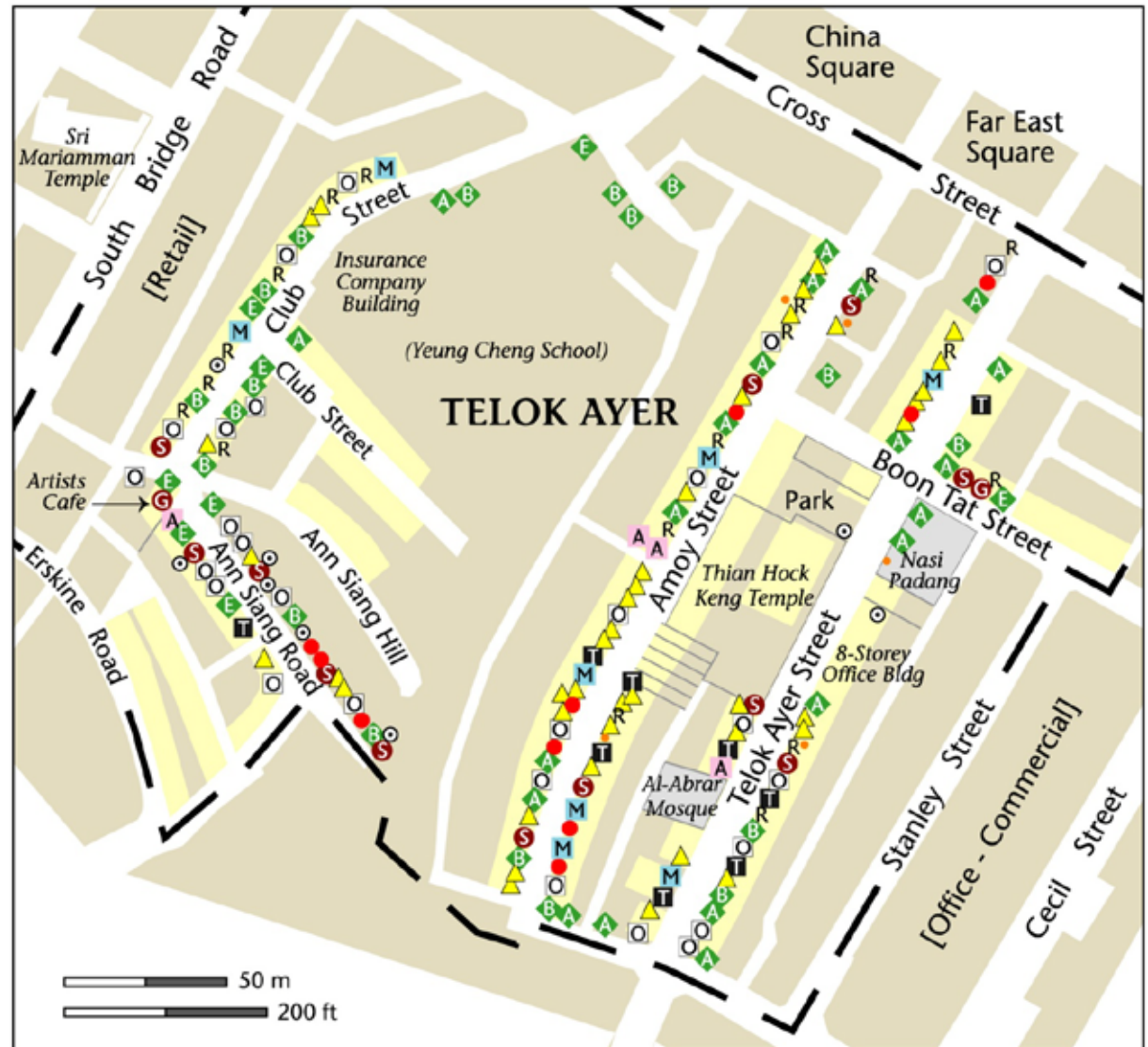
Telok Ayer as New Economy site 2000.



Telok Ayer in the New Economy, c.2000.

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- ◆ Bar
- R Retail/personal services
- Ⓢ Sports facilities, gyms and spas
- Ⓒ Galleries
- ⊙ Chinese clan association
- Coffee shop



Telok Ayer as 'global village': media, culture and amenity, 2006.



Artist's studio, Ann Siang Road, Telok Ayer.



Consumption landscape, Telok Ayer.



Vancouver in the 'Cascadia' Regional Context

Vancouver: new industry formation and the reconstruction of the metropolitan core

- § Structure of the central city at mid-century: CBD, inner city industry and resource processing, low-rise residential neighbourhoods
- § Collapse of industry: market forces + 'postindustrial policy values'
- § Seminal influence of the Central Area Plan (1991): reordering space in the central city
- § Privileging of housing in the Plan: consolidation of the CBD, new allocations of space for housing
- § Coincident emergence of new production spaces in the CBD fringe and inner city districts: generation of a new 'space-economy' of specialized production in the urban core

Post-staples Vancouver



Downtown Vancouver and False Creek,
2007

Post-corporate Vancouver

- US resource corporations leave Vancouver from the late 1970s.
- MacMillan Bloedel head office reduced from 11 floors to 1 by 1999.
- Vancouver loses 30% of head office jobs between 1999-2005.
- Conversion of head offices into condominiums.



"The Qube" formerly known as "The Westcoast Transmission Building," W. Georgia Street, Vancouver

Transnationalism: Asia Vancouver

- Vancouver historically connected to Asia even before the beginning.
- 2006 18.2% of Metro Vancouver's population is ethnic Chinese (3/4 born outside Canada), 9.9% S. Asian (2/3 born outside Canada).
- Business Immigration Programme: “a source of capital but also as pioneers of high technology and value-added production for export” (David Ley, 2003)



Punjabi market,
Main and 49th,
Vancouver



Chinatown, Main
and Georgia,
Vancouver



Distribution of firms for selected industries, for Vancouver's central area, C.2004.

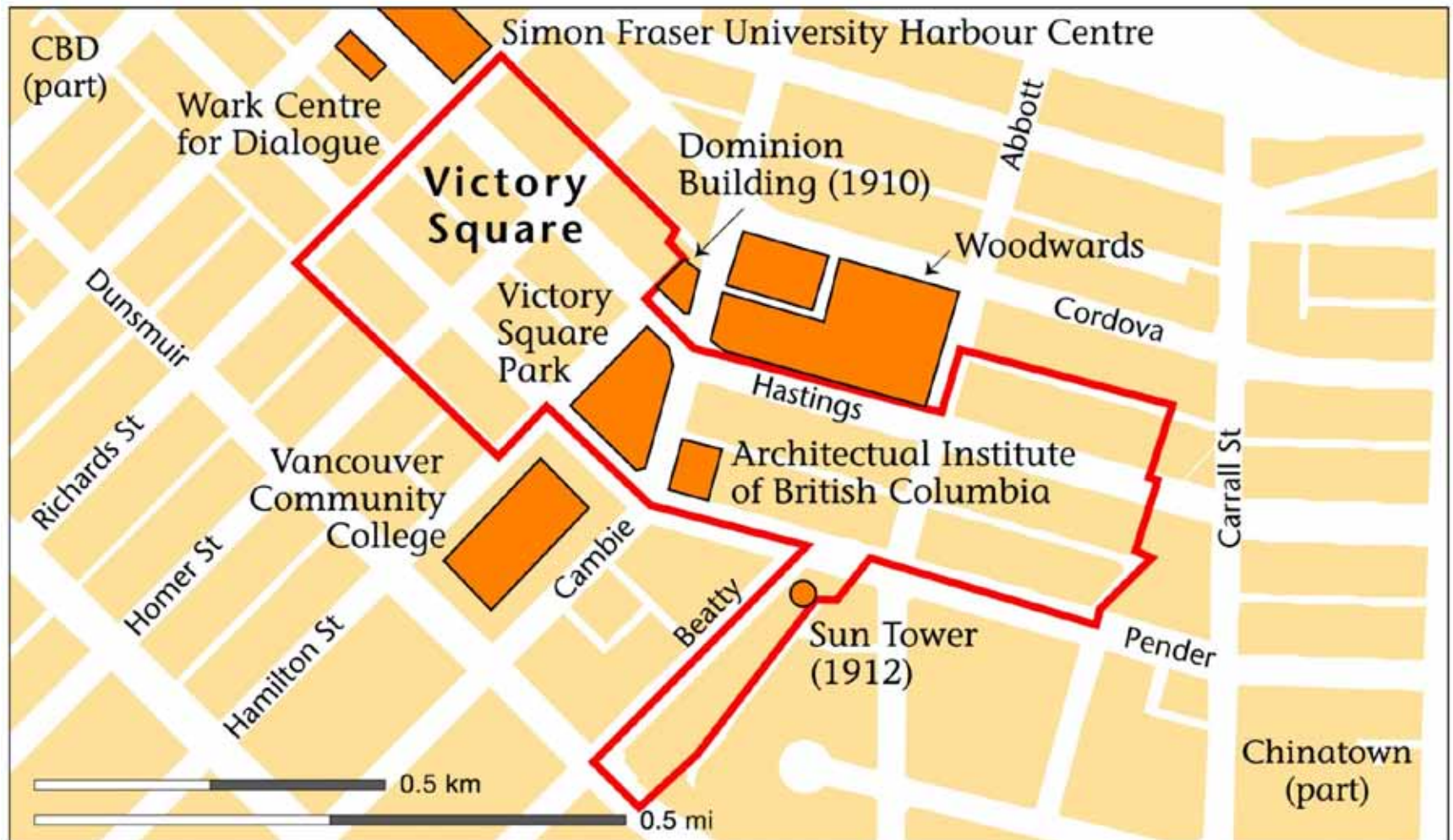


Distribution of artist's studios and galleries, Strathcona and Grandview-Woodland.

Source: Sacco 2007

Victory Square

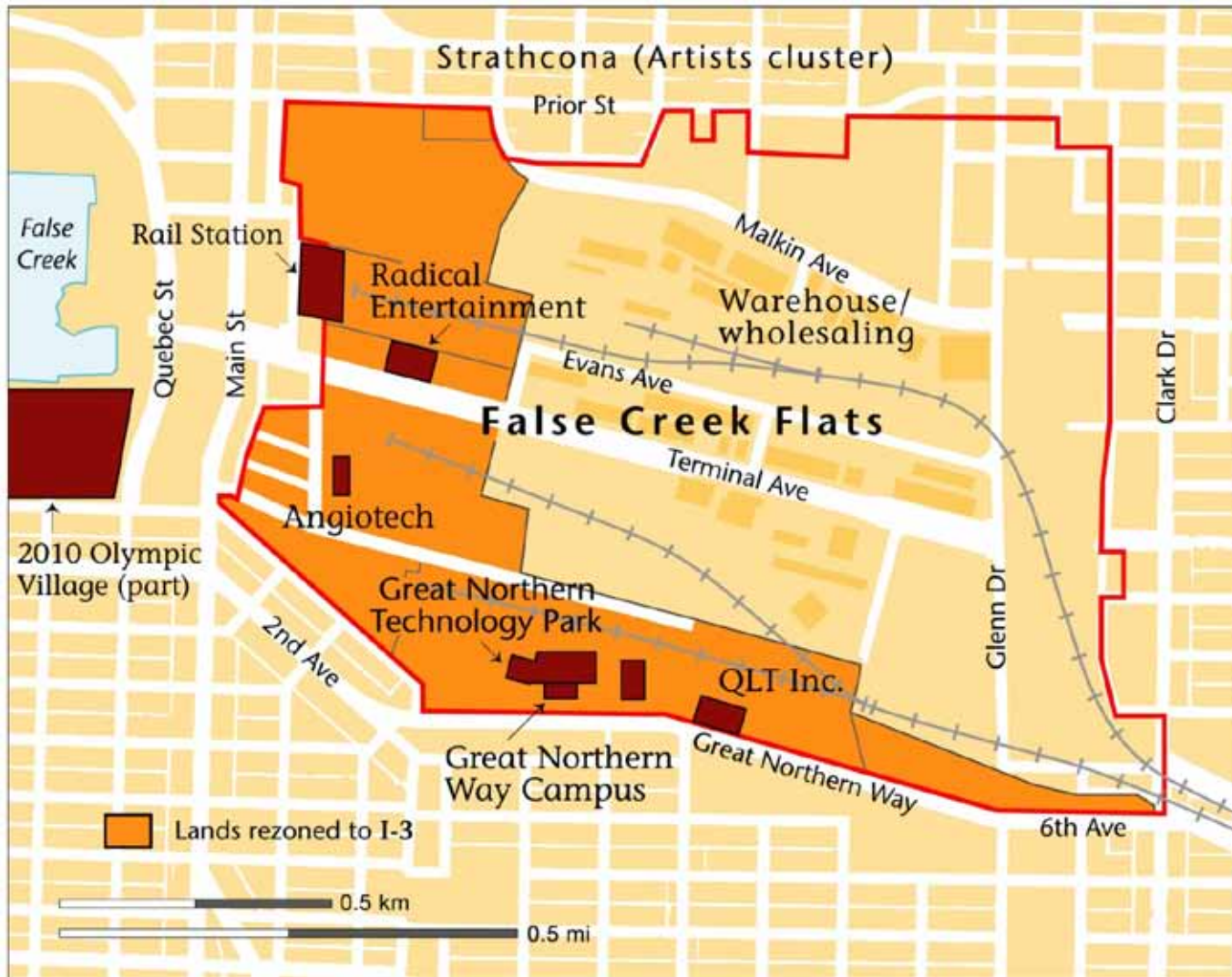
- § Historic banking, commercial and retail core of the original Vancouver townsite
- § Decline from the 1970s as the city centre shifts westwards
- § Insertion of artists in older housing
- § Change in the social morphology, growth in crime and disorder in the Downtown Eastside
- § Growth of new institutions for arts and design
- § Impact of the Woodward's project: 500 housing units (market and social), SFU Centre for Contemporary Arts, new retail spaces
- § Acceleration of transition and change in this historic district



Victory Square heritage area and creative industry site.

False Creek Flats : fortunes of a New Economy site

- § Historic role as site of industrial production, warehousing and distribution
- § Decline in the 1970s/80s:
- § designated as 'High Tech Zone' in City plans of 1999: problems with the process
- § Collapse of Tech Economy in 2000 compromised plans for a New Economy site
- § 'Incremental' development over last 5 years: Radical Entertainment (major video game publisher, owned by Vivendi; example of 'extensive production networks' as opposed to 'clustering' model), biotech firms, Great Northern Way Campus (degrees in digital design)
- § Effectively extends the new production zones of the inner city



False Creek flats 'New Economy' site, Vancouver metropolitan core.

Radical Entertainment:

False Creek Flats,
Vancouver

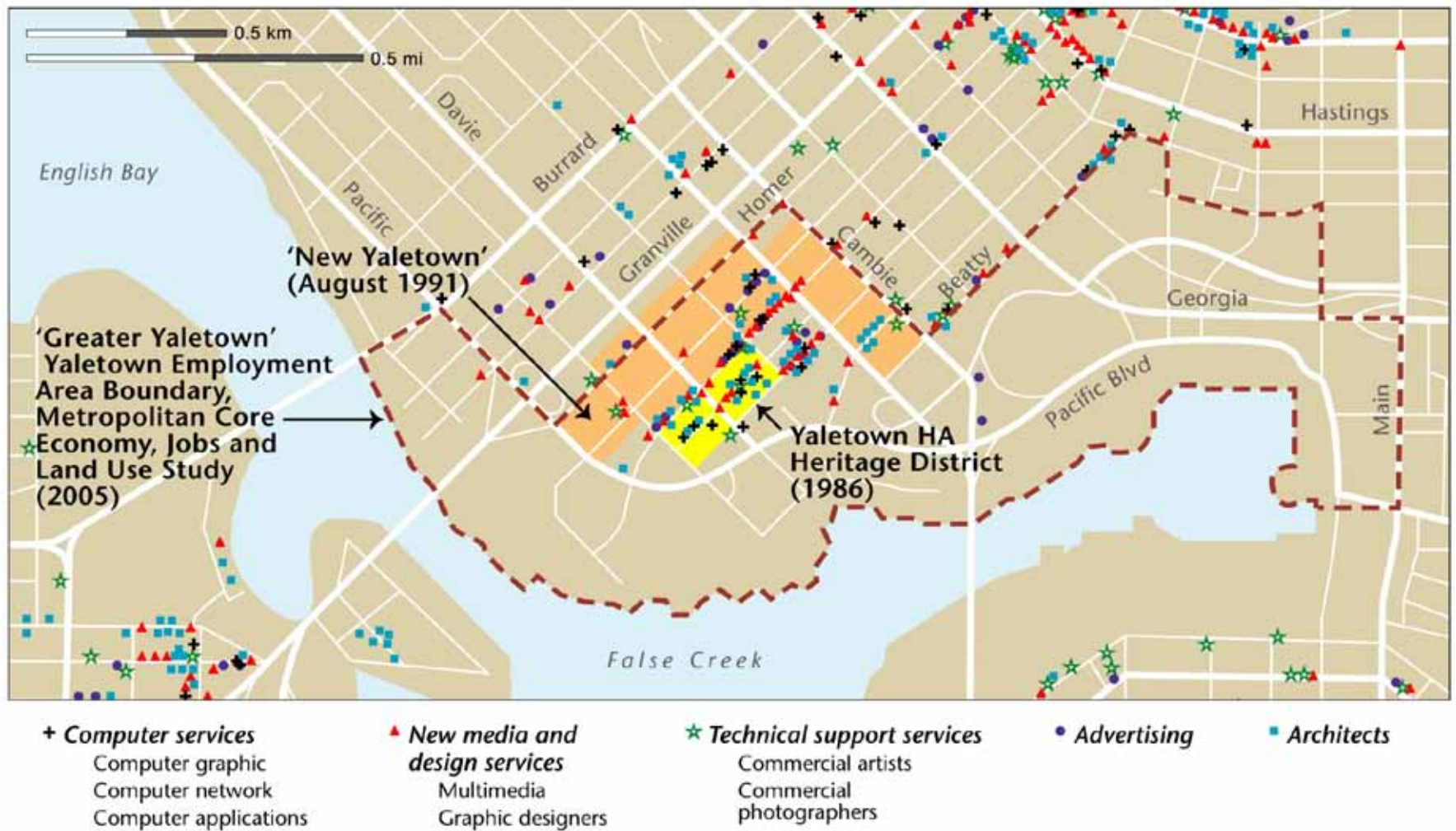




The Radical log cabin: “You have to live that world before you create it.”

Yaletown: Vancouver's New Economy 'epicentre'

- § Origins as major rail terminus and warehouse district
- § Decline in the postwar period
- § Stages of transition and succession in the 1980s and 1990s: loft housing, artists, New Economy phase in the late 1990s
- § District of high-end housing, and also zone of intensive industrial innovation, as well as high aesthetics, rich consumption amenities
- § = peak land values and rents in the Vancouver central
- § Cachet of Yaletown: new imageries and reterritorialization of space in the metropolis: Yaletown – New Yaletown – Greater Yaletown : formerly 6 square blocks, now 1/6th of downtown area



Distribution of firms, selected industries and 'reterritorialization', for Yaletown (2004)



Yaletown New Economy site (foreground) and Downtown South condominium district (background), Vancouver.

Real Estate

REAL ESTATE EDITOR: D'ARCY McGOVERN

DEVELOPMENT

Relentlessly residential

The housing boom is threatening to erase the last vestiges of Vancouver's industrial past

KERRY GOLD

The last remaining working dairy in Vancouver is packing up and selling off the farm after more than 100 years at its location.

Business is still going strong for Avalon Dairy, which is concentrating its entire operation in a state-of-the-art Burnaby facility. The dairy run by the Crowley family continues to produce milk in glass bottles as it has done since 1906. But operating the old bottling plant on 1.26 acres of prime residential property in the middle of Canada's most expensive city for real estate simply doesn't make sense.

The property is zoned RS-1 residential, comprised of two parcels of land at 2505 E. 43rd and 5805 Wales St. Colliers International recently listed the parcels without a price, inviting offers instead. The bids are in, and Avalon stops operation at its Wales Street location June 1, and will review the offers on June 3.

"It is valuable property in a residential area," says Avalon chief executive officer Gay Hahn. "The Crowleys were all born there and raised there, so the family does have some emotional ties there, and that's why we try to keep [the sale] as low key as we can, because it is upsetting to the family. But we have to look at it in a business sense."

Without a doubt, the historic dairy farm will be converted to housing.

"I think it was the last remaining piece of farmland in the city other than Southlands," Heritage Vancouver's Don Luxton says of Avalon. "The problem is, what do you do when the use becomes redundant?"

Meanwhile, over on the west side of the city, the historic Hollywood Theatre closes its doors soon, and a well-known condo developer is rumoured to be the purchaser. Some would argue that such losses destroy the fabric of the city. There is the worry we will become a city of condos and few jobs, a resort town filled with wine bars and spas. But who can afford to take over a lit-



Residential development is eroding the last signs of Vancouver's industrial past. Above and below, the West Fraser lands in its industrial heyday of the 1930s and 40s. Below right, the Avalon Dairy, which is closing its Vancouver location after more than 100 years in operation. CITY OF VANCOUVER ARCHIVES

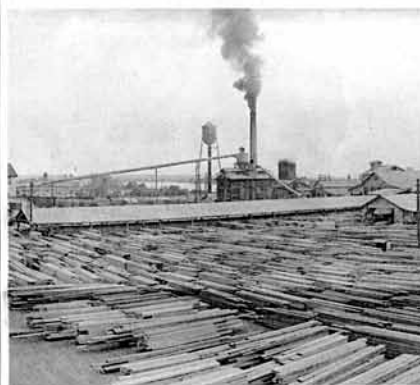


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Implications and issues

- § Cultural economy major element of urban-regional economies (3rd largest sector in London and NY, after banking and finance and business services)
- § Saliency of 'heritage' in the new cultural economy: attraction of initially shaped in large part by low rents, but increasingly a product of the affinity between artists and creatives heritage buildings and landscapes: includes the centrality of both 'representational' (= symbolic) and 'concrete or physical attributes of the built environment
- § Role of the inner city as signifier of larger urban change
- § Inner city sites now zones of intense experimentation, innovation, restructuring, rather than 'durable ensembles of industrial production' in the old industrial city: 'churn' of enterprises rather than stability
- § Prospects for theoretical synthesis: industrial firms *versus* the social reconstruction of the urban core (London, Toronto, Vancouver, San Francisco, and other cities): the Chicago School meets 'industrial urbanism'?

Problems and Pressures in the Cultural Economy

§‘exogenous’ pressures, including pressures of competition associated with global processes – ‘mimics’ producing cultural product knock-offs

§ demand issues arising from financial crisis (but note that evidence suggests that sales/exports in cultural products and services have held up pretty well since the financial crash of 2008 and the ongoing crisis)

§‘local’ pressures, including in some cases weak institutional supports, but in other cases including ‘industrial gentrification’ (high-margin design firms displacing start-ups and lower-margin firms), and - in places like NY, London, Vancouver, Tokyo and Shanghai, the pressures of the property market are critical factors

§low wages, creative labour market instabilities, exploitation of artists – need for a new ‘factory act’ (ACP)?