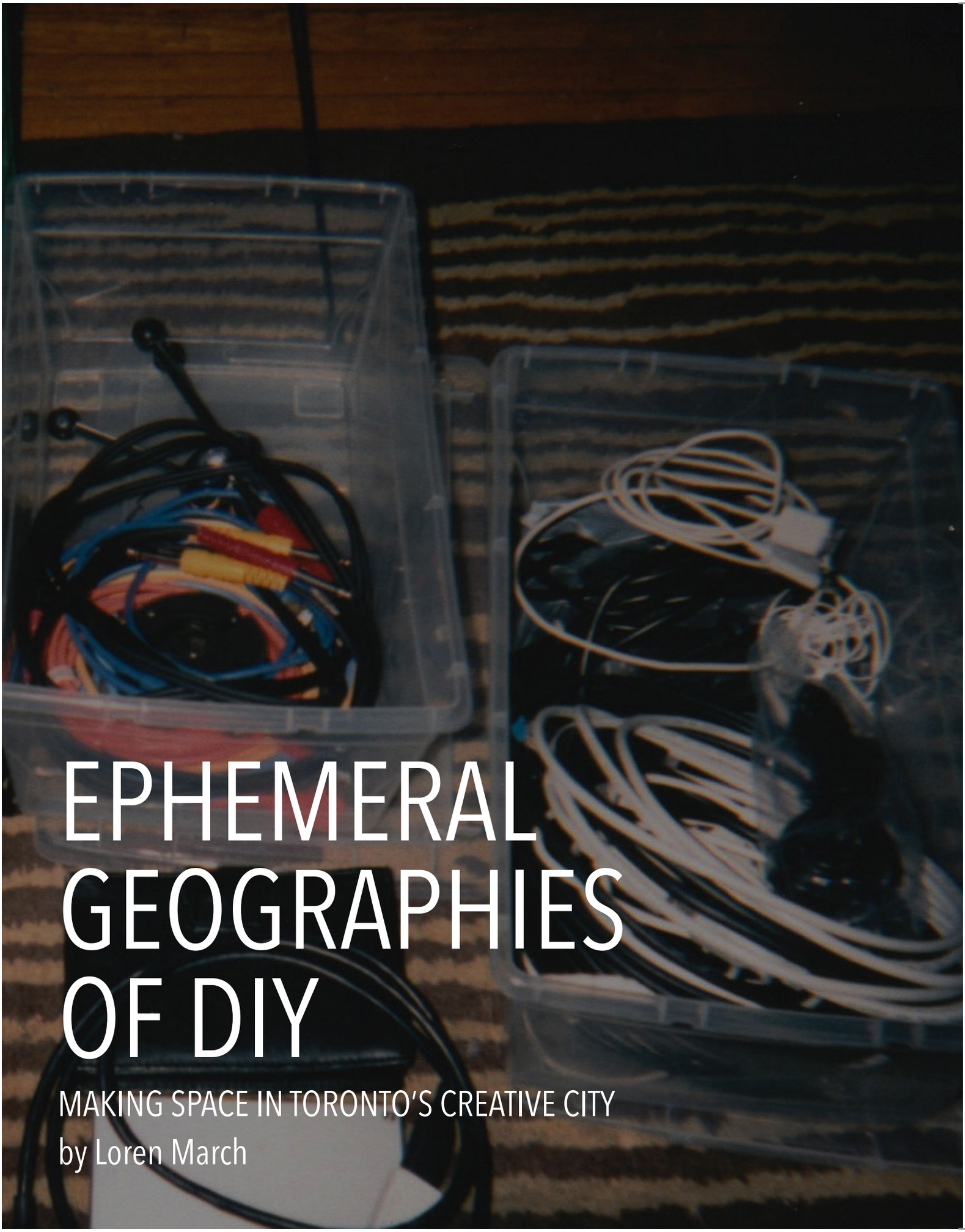

EPHEMERAL GEOGRAPHIES OF DIY

MAKING SPACE IN TORONTO'S CREATIVE CITY

by Loren March

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supervised by Ute Lehrer

A Major Paper submitted to the Faculty of Environmental Studies
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master in Environmental Studies
York University, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

July 31, 2018

Author's Signature: _____

Supervisor's Signature: _____

LAND ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to acknowledge that this work was conducted by me, a settler, in Toronto, or Tkaronto, a place located on land which is subject to the Dish With One Spoon Wampum Belt Covenant. The Dish With One Spoon is a treaty between the Anishinaabe, the Mississaugas of the New Credit, and the Haudenosaunee, through which they share and protect this territory and the living things within it. I am honoured to have the ability to do my work in this place, and I have an obligation to address the breaking of treaties, and the historical and ongoing violence against this land and its Indigenous peoples through colonization. I would also like to acknowledge the ongoing presence of Indigenous communities here, their long and diverse histories of creativity and culture, as well as the important creative work of contemporary First Nations practitioners.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are many people without whom this paper would not exist. I would first like to thank my supervisor, Ute Lehrer, for her direction and support throughout the making of this project. A student could not wish for a better mentor and collaborator. It has been such a pleasure to work together. I would like to also thank Alison Bain for the inspiration and guidance she has provided over the years of my undergraduate degree and Master's at York. I must also thank my other professors, teachers and informal mentors along the way, who have challenged me and encouraged me to dig deeper and ask difficult questions, without whom I would not be here today.

I would like to thank the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, who generously funded this work and enabled me to take on an extremely ambitious project.

I must also thank all of the participants who took part and made their spaces accessible to me, and were so generous with their time, so open about their lives, and so enthusiastic about the project.

I would like to thank my loves B and A, for allowing me to vent and freak out constantly, for all of their boundless support and cheerleeding, and for making sure I survived this degree in one piece.

Finally, this project is for my mum, whose art space I grew up in.

ABSTRACT

This paper discusses practices of "creative placemaking" in Toronto, the complex relationships that are formed between creative practitioners and the places they create, and the crucial role of more informal and do-it-yourself (DIY) workspaces in the broader creative community. As geographies and conditions of work have shifted, and affordable, accessible and appropriate creative workspace in the city has become increasingly rare, creative practitioners from across various fields are forced to find alternative ways to continue their practices. I examine the role of the DIY workspace as a crucial form of creative space in the city that offers the creative practitioner a level of spatial stability in the face of rapid and often arts-led gentrification, development and upscaling across the downtown. Using a mixed-methods approach that includes participant photography, I explore the imagery, production, materiality, and functions of these spaces; the ways in which they blur and require complex negotiations of boundaries; the ways in which they benefit, challenge and impact their makers and users; and their relationships with top-down Creative City policy frameworks and institutions. I argue that these kinds of spaces are often very different from dominant ideals of what an art space should be, are different from the at-home art spaces of the past, and are increasingly necessary for creative practitioners to continue their work in a changing city where they have fewer and fewer options, in spite of the deployment of Creative City discourse that might suggest otherwise. I also argue that dominant imagery and narratives distort our understandings of creativity and space in the city, but that real and imagined are mutually embedded, and that examinations of workspaces as perceived, lived and conceived can allow us to better understand them as places.

Keywords: placemaking, image, spatial production, DIY space, Creative City, cultural planning

CONTENTS

FOREWORD

This paper was born out of a need I developed over the course of this degree to bring my academic life and interest in critical theory and space together with my own experiences in creative scenes, my memories of growing up in an artist household, and my own existence as a creative practitioner. Something just didn't seem right to me: when creativity and art were discussed in planning, so many pieces seemed to be missing, so many assumptions were being made about so-called creatives, and about creative space in the city. Spaces of production were rarely discussed in practical planning in realistic ways, difference among spaces and practitioners did not seem to exist, and questions of precarity, both of spaces and workers, were not on the table. This paper emerged out of a need to reveal something about creative space that, for me, seemed to be lacking in the dominant planning narratives, and to reveal what I believe to be an important ongoing shift in the way creative space is produced and experienced in the city.

My area of concentration is "Critical Urban Theory and Planning." Within this, I have been interested in the city as a space of capitalism, and planning as a tool in its creation, but also in spaces of insurgency, liminality and in-betweenness. My understanding of DIY creative workspaces is that they exist at a point of overlap between these two areas: they are necessarily tied into the spectacular and consumption-oriented Creative City, yet they fit uncomfortably into formal planning frameworks, if they fit at all.

I have long been captivated by the work of theorists like Lefebvre, Debord, and Frankfurt scholars like Benjamin and Adorno, and I used their work as a starting point for this project. I wanted to use them as a springboard into thinking about contemporary space, art and capitalism. The project quickly snowballed. The result is a work which dabbles in a number of different intellectual fields, drawing together a diverse array of scholars, and many different themes. At its core is the question of the production of creative space, but this could not be discussed without also exploring creativity itself, the creative process, art, spatial production, current contexts of work, entrepreneurialism, creative scenes, DIY, the specific context of Toronto... It is still not enough. Like any creative work, it could just go on and on, but I had to make a choice to end it somewhere, and so here it is.

What I thought would be a simple and straightforward project ("exploring and documenting ephemerality in DIY workspaces in downtown Toronto") quickly became a massively complex engagement with people's personal struggles and emotional worlds, with a variety of historical threads, with questions of place, power, labour, and image. The image piece, which I had originally conceived of in a supporting role, wound up being central to this exploration, both thematically and methodologically. Through an examination of imagery, I began to see how the imaginary, the fictive, even the spectacular, are tied into the everyday in complicated ways, affecting the ways we live and see the world we live in. I also began to see how these worlds are shifting, rapidly and constantly, subjected to changing tempos in the property market, the changing nature of labour, interpersonal relationships, and the choices of individuals, among many other factors.

This paper is meant to reveal the unseen lived realities beyond the spectacular imagery of the Creative City. It is a critique of a planning culture which embraces culture and creativity, but does not ask important questions about their instrumentalization in the interest of neoliberal capitalism. It is a critique of prominent arts institutions who do not question these same things. Finally, it also demonstrates a need for practitoners themselves to have these conversations, as their everyday lives are impacted by and entangled in the Creative City in increasingly complex ways.

1 INTRODUCTION

Since the early 2000s, cities have been scrambling to develop creative-centered urban policies, following Richard Florida's (2002) theorization of a so-called "creative class." His work built upon and popularized the notion that cities should aim to attract and accommodate the lifestyles of a new entrepreneurial class of "talent", or a "creative elite" (Florida, 2011: 103), giving rise to a vast array of highly neoliberal and capitalist placemaking strategies and place-marketing schemes that attempt to foster growth, economic development, and cultural consumption in urban centres. In Toronto, we have seen this in the form of such policy directives as the 2003 *Culture Plan for the Creative City*, the 2008 *Creative City Planning Framework*, the 2011 *Creative Capital Gains Action Plan for Toronto*, and the 2016 *Toronto Music Strategy*.

While they generated a substantial amount of buzz and excitement among urban boosters, policy-makers, and developers, Florida's Creative City[1] theories have also been met with considerable doubt and criticism. They have been compared to "a series of well-crafted after-dinner speeches at various chamber of commerce dinners" (Marcuse, 2003: 40), and criticized for their "public validation" and celebration of "elite consumption," individuality and privilege (Peck, 2005: 764). His work has been used to justify and normalize flexible labour conditions, intra- and inter-urban competition over mobile capital, and practices of entrepreneurial capitalist urbanism (Peck, 2005). Pratt (2010) has critiqued the "simplistic" (13) manner in which creative communities and economic

1 Throughout this document you will find the words "creative city" both capitalized and uncapitalized. I have chosen to use capitalization when referencing Florida's theories and the policy frameworks built around them, and references to more bottom-up worlds are without capitalization. Other academics have employed the use of both, and direct citations reflect this.

development have been conceptualized and linked to each other, emphasizing the importance of local contexts and stressing the exclusive nature of Creative City theory. Creativity has become obscured.

Bolstering Florida's theories, some work has been done to show how creative communities and economies, and creative placemaking and branding initiatives can positively contribute to urban economic growth (Florida, 2002; Florida 2011), and that they can be effective neighbourhood revitalization strategies (Foster et al. 2016). The language of "creativity" has been absorbed deeply into market frameworks and rhetorics, now used to describe a variety of economic practices (Potts et al., 2008), and some have suggested it is possible to assess the monetary value of a cultural economy and cultural capital (Markusen, 2005, 2006). Some have attempted to link "creativity indicators" to urban "vitality" (Bianchini and Landry, 1994). A very simplified version of these ideas has been widely picked up in the media, and the relationship of artists with regeneration has become one of simple cause and effect in the public discourse.

A great deal of work has been done exploring the role of artists in processes of gentrification. Zukin (1998) points to the role of artists' social and cultural capital in the privatization of space and in the development of landscapes of consumption. Ley (2003) has linked the aestheticisation of neighbourhoods by artists to gentrification processes that dispossess and displace low-income residents from their homes. Cameron and Coaffee (2005) suggest that artist-led gentrification can lead to large-scale policy-led revitalization initiatives that intensify capital investment and change. Glow et al. (2014) have examined how strategic clustering of creative industries and the deployment of cultural policy initiatives create spaces of exclusion, and how the needs of artists do not necessarily align with the needs of the neighbourhoods they locate themselves in.

Much of the work linking artists to processes of gentrification and urban regeneration has failed to discuss artists as anything other than a monolithic and often privileged group, an approach which has missed the politics and complexities of arts communities and differences between creative practitioners themselves. While

Previous page centrefold: Participant Roxanne hangs a work in progress over her arm to reveal its scale and how it takes over her space, the busy floor of her workspace and bed in the background.Photograph taken by Roxanne.

it has been suggested that the digital world has uprooted many aspects of culture from place (Eichhorn, 2015), Darroch's (2015) analysis of artistic scenes in Detroit, Michigan and Windsor, Ontario revealed how they can also be detached from global art circuits and markets, and can be deeply rooted in local contexts, networks and practices, and also highly based in local resistance. The work of Rich and Tsitsos (2016), as well as Bain and Landau (2017) reveals that many of the assumptions made about creative practitioners in top-down Creative City initiatives are inaccurate and often unfounded, and that it is inappropriate to think of them as the same across different places. My own work builds off of these notions.

Developing a deeper understanding of creative communities and scenes, and their internal politics, also allows us to also see exclusivity, marginalization, inequality and injustice within them. Investigations into Toronto art scenes by McLean (2014, 2016) have examined the complicated double role of some artists as simultaneous colonizing gentrifiers and anti-gentrification activists, revealing ways in which some are complicit in creating spaces of depoliticization, heteronormativity and white privilege. Lee (2016a, 2016b) has pointed to deep-rooted white supremacy and racism in the representational politics of Canada's art communities, and to the overwhelming whiteness of knowledge production and criticism in the art world. Others have found that the Toronto art world fails to represent the cultural and racial diversity of the city, is exclusive of newcomers, and far from the "tolerant and open" milieu imagined in Florida's theories (Leslie & Catungal, 2012; Leslie et al., 2013). Ignoring the complex nature of creative scenes, and presenting them as somehow neutral, serves to obscure how systemic relationships of power and oppression are reproduced within them, and how these things play out spatially, socially, economically, and politically. Leslie and Catungal (2012) have also pointed out a need for further exploration of anti-racist, feminist and anti-capitalist forms of creative production, and of the lived and contested geographies of the Creative City.

Research has only begun to scratch the surface of how everyday life functions in creative scenes. Following Lefebvre's (1991) argument that space is socially produced, an examination of everyday life, social dynamics, and experiences might allow us to better understand urban processes and relationships between people and space. Research into internal, everyday politics in informal or alternative spatial practices such as squatting might offer some insight into how space is negotiated and produced in DIY creative scenes, and in order to understand how planning and policy give rise to or necessitate the creation of spaces and practices outside official parameters that challenge dominant frameworks and models (Lehrer & Winkler, 2006).

Scholars have also pointed to the importance of creative process in our analyses, and reversing our tendency to "read creativity backwards" (Hallam and Ingold, 2007), shifting away from end result, instead focusing on how creativity involves improvisation and adaptation, and how creative worlds bubble in "a constant state of becoming" (Hawkins, 2017: 47). Hallam and Ingold's (2007) work here draws on ideas from Deleuze and Guattari to place value on assemblages involved in formation and transformation. These approaches unsettle notions of the practitioner as a godlike creator figure, and allow us to better understand the relationships and interplay between makers,

materials and space.

The complexities of artistic identities and artists' relationships with space have been more deeply explored in the work of Bain, who posits strong links between space, practice and production. Contrary to suggestions that artists are naturally transient and choose to live life on the move, place, she argues, plays an important role in their survival, creative practice, networking, and identity construction (Bain, 2003, 2004, 2005), and many artists develop "strong emotional and physical ties" to it (Bain, 2004: 418). She has also problematized the analytical focus of Creative City theory on centrally located artistic communities, and how it has largely ignored and marginalized creative production in peripheral areas, mischaracterizing suburbs and the like as "cultural wastelands" (Bain, 2013: 4). Her work demands that we consider different spaces of creative production, such as the home, the periphery, and the spaces of everyday life.

Academics have begun to explore tensions between creative practitioners and the placemaking strategies implemented in their names, as well as how the institutionalization of some grassroots spaces and the elimination of others occurs. The social implications of efforts to cluster arts organizations in neighbourhoods, formally designate those neighbourhoods and brand them as arts districts, and subject them to intentional and policy-directed gentrification are becoming subject to academic interrogation (Rich and Tsitsos, 2016). Arts institutions initially created to solve the problem of the lack of space in Toronto now play powerful roles in both gentrification and in property development, as illustrated by the case of Artscape (Lehrer & Wieditz, 2009).

What becomes of grassroots spaces themselves during these processes has been rarely explored, much less the DIY spaces of creative production, which have been rendered invisible as space is increasingly consumption-oriented. Much remains unsaid about the processes that form such spaces in the first place, and how the rising trend of artistic-economic development partnership affects them. Many perspectives have failed to examine the micro-level, everyday life, how spaces are produced, and why. What might we see if we looked beyond the formally designated and entrepreneurial Creative City at the everyday landscape of apparent non-places where a great deal of creative work is being made, and where space itself is produced in very different ways? What follows is an exploration of the transitory worlds of DIY creative workspaces in Toronto, but also an examination of practitioners' lives and practices, and the ways in which these differ from the surface images we see. I suggest that DIY workspaces are increasingly necessary for practitioners to continue their work in a changing city where they have fewer and fewer options. They are complex temporary worlds, interiors that are externalized in unique ways, bound up with extremely private and extremely public aspects of the self. I also argue that dominant imagery and narratives distort our understandings of creativity and space in the city, but are bound up with them, and that examinations of workspaces as perceived, lived and conceived can help us to see the mutual embeddedness of the real and the imagined, of everyday and spectacular, and disentangle the two in order to see the conditions of the everyday.

GOALS AND ORGANIZATION OF PAPER

This paper shifts and moves between scales, between concrete and abstract, between various periods of history, various bodies of work, changing tone and pace as it goes. Think of it as a musical piece, involving overlapping instruments, various rhythms, melodies, basslines, harmonies, and dissonances. Each chapter builds upon the last, giving context and conceptual understanding as we descend into the present and into everyday life within the DIY creative workspace in Toronto.

My goal with this work is to explore what the significance and role of such workspaces might be. Where are they located? How do they function? Why are they important, and what is valued about them? What are the embodied experiences of such spaces? What materialities do we see? How is space negotiated and produced within them? What are impacts of top-down policy and formalized creative space upon them? And finally, what are the conditions of everyday life? This paper explores a constantly shifting geography of liminal spaces within the cultural landscape, as well as the microgeographical and everyday level of each individual space.

First, I will outline my methodology and in particular the use of analog photography as a unique way to explore, document and depict space. In this case, photography played an important role in uncovering the ways in which image is constructed, and revealed how the projected image of the creative studio can be vastly different from the lived, everyday reality of it, but that the two are deeply intertwined. Key to my understanding of space is the idea that it is socially produced (Lefebvre, 1991) in addition to being physically created. Lefebvre suggests "we should have to study not only the history of space, but also the history of representations, along with that of their relationships – with each other, with practice, and with ideology" (1991: 42). My study focuses on three main aspects of space as discussed by Lefebvre: space as it is perceived, conceived, and lived. These three reference points are complemented by explorations of other work that delves further into each. I also focus on the level of the everyday, posited by Lefebvre (2014) as the level of reality where we might not only see the seeds of broader social creativity, but also the simple but profound ways in which people live their lives.

The second chapter explores conceptualizations of creativity, discussing everyday creativity, artistic practice, artistic work, and the creative process itself, establishing a conceptual grounding and a social, cultural and historical context within which to situate this research. Here I will connect notions of vernacular creativity to more traditional ideas of artistic practice. I will explore the evolution of the figure of the artist in Western thinking, and of dominant understandings of their[2] role and the role of art in society. In connection to this, I will also explore spaces of artistic production, in particular the studio. I will then drop us into the reality of contemporary capitalism, and resituate the place of production, exploring ways in which workplaces have changed.

2 I intentionally employ "they" as a singular gender-neutral pronoun throughout this paper. The way we understand and explain the world around us is expressed in language, and I have intentionally chosen to apply gender-neutral language because I believe the binary to be an outdated ideological construct. While many style guides explicitly do not support the use of a third person singular pronoun, I find this position to be unacceptable and problematic. I employ a singular "they" where speaking about "the artist," "the creative practitioner," or other abstract characters, as well as where participants have expressed this to be their preference.

The following chapter explores the intersection of creativity and space, discussing dominant understandings of the studio as a place, the importance of place to work and identity, how studios are planned, and shifting geographies of creative work. It is here that we begin to see difference among creative workspaces and practitioners.

I then bring us, with these understandings of creativity, space, and practice, into Toronto, exploring the policy world that declares us as a city to be creative, or at least potentially so, and delving into the media discourse which serves to establish and influence dominant narratives about creativity in the city. I will outline some of the major stakeholders and players in the Creative City. I will discuss prominent forms of top-down or purposive provision of spaces for creative practice in Toronto. Within this chapter, I also detail the emergence and evolution of some of Toronto's prominent art scenes, the relationship between DIY spaces and institutions in the city, as well as struggles over space and representation in the cultural realm.

With these understandings of the multi-faceted tensions and struggles that exist within the context of Toronto as a Creative City, between and among practitioners and institutions, and within fields of production, in chapter five we once again shift between scales, entering the microgeographies of individual DIY workspaces. This is an in-depth exploration of the case studies I examined. For this analysis I have drawn upon literature around placemaking and emotional geographies in order to grasp the ways in which these spaces come together, the roles they play in individual lives and within the ecology of the creative city, and the importance of particular items within space and practice. This section is divided, like Lefebvre's concept of space, into three main areas: perceived space, conceived space, and lived space.

My goal is not to romanticize the small-scale in the face of institutionalization. To the contrary, some degree of institutional strength and broad cultural policy development is obviously needed to provide support to producers. However, current institutions and approaches seem to frustrate activities and limit practitioners at this level, and to necessitate alternative forms outside of its frameworks, which have broad implications for urban cultural production both in terms of the kinds spaces that are possible and the kinds of work that come out of such spaces. Public imaginaries about what should be and what is possible in creative space are tinged by and at the same time influence projected images of what the studio is. Many of us lack an understanding of the messy, real worlds that exist beyond these images. This is an exploration of what some of these worlds look like, and the challenges they present.

METHODOLOGY:
THE USE OF MIXED METHODS AND PHOTOGRAPHY

For this research, I employed mixed methods, combining participant photography, site visits, semi-structured interviews, secondary academic research, media and policy analysis. Mixed methods allowed me to draw upon input from participants, to experience spaces myself, and to build up a

strong context for the narratives and stories that emerged.

A policy analysis was conducted in order to assess the City's understandings of culture and creativity, and its approaches to cultural planning. Toronto's Creative City policies were reread with attention paid to how creativity and space are defined, how creative production is discussed, how space factors into policy, and what kinds of provisions are included for artists and creative spaces specifically. A media analysis was also undertaken in order to establish some of the dominant popular narratives of creativity and culture in the city. Media discourse plays an important role in reinforcing dominant understandings of what is possible in the city (Rodgers, 2013), in influencing public perception of artists and the role of the arts in the city, and in creating and reinforcing tastes and cultural consumption patterns. For this analysis, I conducted a search of online news archives (for Toronto and national newspapers), online archives of various pop culture publications such as *NOW Magazine*, *Vice* and *NOISEY*, *Torontoist*, *Toronto Life*, and *Exclaim!*, and numerous prominent art and music blogs online. I searched for articles and posts from the past decade pertaining to the Toronto arts scene; cultural institutions; cultural policy; artist production spaces, studios and live/work space; and local DIY practices. One hundred and fifty articles were analyzed in order to assess the discourse emerging around cultural policy, the arts scene, art production and its spatiality in the city.

In mid-December, I did a callout for participants on social media and by posting notices in public spaces frequented by creative practitioners (such as community arts centres, arts supply stores, local cafés, musical gear shops), and also put out word within my own social circles which are well-populated by artists and musicians in particular. Participants were sought out specifically from various creative scenes in downtown Toronto neighbourhoods where Creative City policy and arts districts are most embedded. Eligible participants were consenting adults, living in Toronto, who are creative practitioners working in DIY spaces in the city. For the purposes of this research, "creative practitioner" was used to describe individuals who were committed to one or more creative practices, possibly as a form of employment, and possibly not. I was careful to specify that a "DIY" space could range anywhere from a recording studio set up in a garage to a temporary workshop set up in a kitchen while kids are at school. Simply explained, it is a space they made themselves. I was particular about wanting to examine spaces of production rather than consumption, due to the invisibility of these spaces. Participants were selected based on their ability to speak to a variety of experiences in these kinds of spaces, and to different styles of making.

By January, I had selected sixteen participants from a variety of different fields: music, performance, visual art, graphic design, illustration, film and television media, sculpture, literature, textiles, tattoo art. This sample size is small, but does not seek to represent universally the experience of all DIY creative practitioners in the city. Participants ranged in age from twenty-three to forty-three years old, and represented fairly diverse cultural and economic backgrounds, although no one represented a high-income bracket. All participants but one were renters, all were working out of their own self-created workspaces, and all were paying for their space themselves out of pocket. They also all worked in more than one workspace, either within their own home, or within a broader network of

workspaces. Nearly all of them were also involved in more than one creative field, and were involved in numerous creative projects at the same time, whether individually or collaboratively.

While working with my participants, I rooted my thinking and approach within Lefebvre's notions of spatial production, adopting his main phenomenological reference points: perception, conception and life. I wanted to understand spatial practice through everyday life, representations of space (both in the public sphere, and personal representations of the workspaces themselves), and then spaces of representation (what the space signifies), in order to grasp the vital "residue" (Lefebvre, 2014: 86) that Lefebvre considers to be the essence of the everyday.

Photography was a key component of this methodological approach. All of my participants were provided with a disposable Fujifilm camera with 27 exposures, and were instructed to document important elements of the spaces they used for their creative practice. There were a number of reasons for choosing photography, and in particular the vernacular form of the disposable camera. My intention was very much to attempt to reconnect the image of the artist studio or workspace to its unspectacular reality, and to allow the creative practitioners themselves to portray this. The use of film photography here was important: I wanted the number of possible photos to be limited so that participants would be selective; I wanted participants to not be able to immediately see the photographs they had taken, or to edit them; I wanted the photos to be developed into individual, physical objects rather than digital files. Participants were asked to take photographs to document objects or details of significance in the space, its peculiarities, its value, and to depict their experiences, routines and activities within the space. We then met at a later date to discuss the developed photographs, their meanings and what the practitioners sought to depict and convey.

The use of visual methods is not new in social research, but the manner in which images have been employed and seen has changed over time (Winton, 2016). Photographs can act as illustrations, as data to be analyzed, as a means of preserving an impression or capturing a moment and storing it for later. They take inventory, they tell stories, and themselves constitute "artifacts" (Sontag, 1977), simultaneously acting, in some cases, as both artwork and mundane object. In this research paper, they act as representations of particular materialities and assemblages in a specific time and place. They reveal an ephemerality and impermanence, memorializing moments that will never happen again.

Participatory photography has been used in social research as a way to explore opinions, perspective and lived experience, to give a voice to research subjects, and as a way to potentially shift them into a more collaborative role in the research process. Participatory photography allows individuals to share their own experiences and stories, and also to interpret them (Castleden et al., 2008; Liebenberg, 2009; Murray, 2009; Winton, 2016). Many participation-oriented researchers consider this process to be inherently artistic, "creative" or "cool" (Winton, 2016) and therefore positive and beneficial. However, I must emphasize other aspects of photography, such as its historically tense relationship with the arts, its complicated and contested nature, and the different forms it can take. I will explore these here, detailing how this methodology may be challenging, but also why it has

been useful for this particular research.

ON PHOTOGRAPHY

Photographs are extremely complicated objects, and the practice of photography is wrought with contradictions and tensions. Art critic John Berger has attested to the complexity and important role of the "strange invention" of photography (1982: 83). In *On Photography*, Susan Sontag's (1977) in-depth exploration of the uses of photography and "the ethics of seeing" (3), she says: "Photographs are perhaps the most mysterious of all the objects that make up, and thicken, the environment we recognize as modern. Photographs really are experience captured, and the camera is the ideal arm of consciousness in its acquisitive mood" (Sontag, 1977: 63). For Sontag, photography constitutes a powerful practice with numerous uses, potentials, and consequences, and while she is highly critical, she also attests to its value.

Sontag places emphasis on the acquisitive character of taking a picture: "to photograph is to appropriate the thing photographed" (ibid.). It is an act of power. The photographer takes an "aggressive" (1977: 108) approach to the world, imposing their own standards on passive subjects. The photographer is not entirely unlike "an armed version" (1977: 50) of Benjamin's wandering flâneur, "gazing upon other people's reality with curiosity, with detachment" (ibid.). Sontag (1977) warns that photography can be linked to inaction and mere "aesthetic consumerism" (21). Photography as documentation has been connected not only to middle-class indifference, but also to consumption of the other, and to violence through exoticized slum documentation, "ruin porn," or war photography, for example (see Berger, 1980). Here, the pain and misery of others is the subject of interest for those who do not have to experience it, and seek to taste it conveniently and at a distance. Sontag warns that this form of image-consumption can serve to numb people to the conditions of real life, turning them to mere passive spectators who can look away whenever they choose. However, she also notes that photography can allow us to "participate in another thing's mortality" (1977: 14), making us helplessly aware of time and change.

Above: *Photographer Studio, 1983.* Photograph by A.H. Wheeler, in his studio in Berlin. The image, showing the photographer taking a picture of himself, is a satirical representation of photographic practice. Accessed through Wikimedia Commons.

Below: *L'Atelier de l'Artiste (The Artist's Studio)*, 1837, by Louis J.M. Daguerre. Considered to be the oldest preserved daguerreotype. Accessed at http://klfm.org/walter-benjamin-a-short-history-of-photography/.

Above: *Kids on Porch*, by anonymous photographer, from writer and collector Marc Boone Fitzerman's collection of vernacular photographs. Accessed at https://hyperallergic.com/126554/the-decisive-vernacular-photograph/.

Below: Photograph taken in 1839 by photography enthusiast, Robert Cornelius, of himself. The American Library of Congress has suggested that this can be considered the first "selfie" ever taken. On the backside of the photograph, Cornelius wrote: "The first light picture ever taken." Accessed at http://time.com/4825506/selfie-day-self-portrait-history/.

Since its emergence, photography has been increasingly democratized, it no longer requires much specialized equipment or skill, cameras are nearly everywhere since the proliferation of smartphones and the digital form. Now nearly everyone may take photos, and they certainly do. They have entered our everyday lives as a form of vernacular creativity, outside of high art institutions or commercial practices (Burgess, 2010). Sontag (1977) describes this kind of photography as a "social rite, a defense against anxiety" (Sontag: 7) offering individuals "an imaginary possession of a past that is unreal" (Sontag, 1977: 8) and a way to capture moments and chronicle their lives, to leave "ghostly traces" (ibid.) for the future. Taking a photo allows individuals to "take possession of a space in which they are insecure" (ibid.). Sontag (1977) suggests that we increasingly seek to document the world through photographs in order to "crisis-proof" (142) our experiences.

The photographer has ultimate power in this, deciding what to photograph, and just as importantly, what to leave out. They choose the framing, the exposure. Berger (2001) says that photographs "bear witness to a human choice being exercised in a given situation" (216). The camera is sensitive to its user's selectivity and attention, which is important to this research paper, which seeks to uncover participants' personal experiences. With the rise of digital photography, this "attention" has maybe diminished. The photographer can be less selective, can take hundreds of the same picture if they choose. However, selectivity has not totally vanished, but has shifted. With the rise of social media such as Facebook or Instagram, photographs document and affirm nearly all the moments of our lives, but they are highly curated by the individual. Rarely will personal photographs be made public that depict an unpleasant experience, or that reveal an unattractive side of the individual (Bryman et al., 2012). In addition to this, a photo's fidelity to reality has come increasingly into question with modern technologies and the popularity of digital forms and availability of filters, colour correctors, editing programs, and autocorrect functions, which allow the photographer to alter their representations of reality to their heart's content, to the point where Berger might argue that they have ceased to practice photography in its true sense at all. The use of the disposable film camera in this research prevents this

type of limitless and unselective image capture, as well as editing and correction.

In spite of our increasing ability to present reality in a particular light, photographs continue to present an "inventory of mortality" (Sontag, 1977: 63), which is something we remain unable to alter. Photographs act as a "reminder of death" (Sontag, 1977: 64), showing us "people being so irrefutably there and at a specific age in their lives... people and things which a moment later have already disbanded, changed, continued along the course of their independent destinies" (Sontag 1977: 63). Walter Benjamin, another critical theorist who wrote extensively on photography during its emergence, similarly suggested that the act of photographing something was an attempt to negate its ephemerality (in Sontag, 1977: 167). Photographs seem to acknowledge mortality and the fleeting nature of existence, the impermanence and eventual decay of all the things captured in their frozen fragments. However, Berger (1982) notes that the preservation offered by photographs is different from memory: "whereas remembered images are the residue of continuous experience, a photograph isolates the appearances of a disconnected instant" (89), and without this connection, there is potentially no meaning.

Sontag, Benjamin and others speak of photography as a practice of documentation and witnessing. Sontag (1977) suggests that the image has "virtually unlimited authority" (135), and that photographs are a compulsive way to confirm reality and experience. Experience, she says, becomes equated taking a photograph of that experience (1977: 21). We prove that something has happened by taking a picture of it. Benjamin, meanwhile, describes the camera's ability to intervene in situations and capture "fleeting and secret images" (Benjamin, 2008: 294) that are not unlike crime scenes. He suggests that a possible social duty of the photographer is to capture these moments: "Isn't every square inch of our cities a crime scene?... Isn't it the task of the photographer... to reveal guilt and to point out the guilty in his pictures?" (Benjamin, 2008: 294-295).

In terms of its social functions, photography can perform numerous tasks, walking a line between reaffirming society as it is, and insisting upon change. The camera can be a trickster or a revealer of truth. Sontag, for example, suggests that there is risk of the unified character of capitalist society being reinforced through photography's translation of contents into a diverse array of fragments that deny the world's interconnectedness, "always compatible... even when the realities they depict are not" (Sontag, 1977: 153). However, some forms of photography, such as the work of the Surrealists, might be said to suggest that existing reality is entirely unacceptable, and that another world should be brought about. Benjamin also speaks to the potential role of photography in the demystification of the world, in the identification of capitalist phantasmagoria and commodity fetish, and thus in presenting to us something of the world that we have previously been denied. He proposes that the photograph can help us to understand subjective realities and unconscious worlds (in Jennings, 2008). His own use of images in The Arcades Project was based in his understanding of images as the "concrete, 'small particular moments' in which the 'total historical event' was to be discovered, the perceptible Goethean ur-phenomenon in which the origins of the present could be found" (Buck-Morss, 1989: 71).

An important difference here lies in practice, and in the photographer's own positionality and intent. Is the photographer acting as an "eye" or as an "objective recorder" (Sontag, 1977: 154): one seeking beauty in anything, or seeking to document everything? The significance of this difference between aesthetic and instrumental purposes is echoed in the work of Byers (1964), Sekula (1975) and Schwartz (1989). Benjamin too notes that when photography is separated from political or scientific interest it can become problematically "creative" (Benjamin, 2008: 293), presenting everything in the world as beautiful in an image, and comprehending nothing about the world in which the image exists.

Interpretations and translations are just as important as the photographer's intentions. As viewers, our perceptions are filtered through stereotypes and beliefs, and we interpret symbols in our own ways. Our vision is structured and contextual to the point that two different people looking at the same image may see entirely different things (Collier & Collier, 1986). This is why it is so important for one who views and analyses a photograph to understand context, to confront their own assumptions and beliefs, and to account for their own views, to be aware of their own consumptive relation to a photo's contents, and to the object itself. If to take a photo is an acquisitive act, in viewing it we are granted a three-fold acquisitive experience through our "surrogate possession" (Sontag, 1977: 137) of the thing photographed, our relation to the photo's contents and our own experience of viewing them, and to the information furnished by these contents.

There are many ways a photo can be understood. Barthes (1964) characterizes photographs as "polysemic," or having many meanings. Scott (1990) suggests that photos must be analyzed beyond their initial appearance, with awareness of social context, of composition, of what is being left out, of the contrived nature of the photograph, of the photographer's numerous possible intentions. Attention must be paid to the structure and meaning of the image, to the difference between one's own personal connection to what is represented and the encoded message of the photographer, to the difference between the photograph itself and the object represented (Schwartz, 1989). Sutton (1992) suggests that the researcher's interpretation of a photograph must also always be open to critique. Also important are reactions to the photos, and the ways in which particular images are received, especially by the individuals who took them (Rose, 2004). These moments offer insight into the ways these items are seen, and into the emotional worlds that exist around them (ibid.; see also Barthes, 2010).

I have tried to explore further dimensions in order to move beyond a visual reading of the space as a container filled with objects, and have not sought to understand the photos as exact depictions of reality but rather as windows into how creative practitioners seek to produce and represent their spaces. I have hoped that they might be able to capture the "inexpressible and unanalysable but most valuable residue" (Schmid, 2008: 40) of lived space that "can be expressed only through artistic means" (ibid.). It was important to me that participants be able to offer their own representations of the spaces they had produced, and so the visual component offers unique personal framings of places as particular moments in time. The images used in this research are supported

by information collected from semi-structured interviews, wherein participants discussed the spaces they work in, with prompts from the photos that they had taken. Coding of these interviews focused on representations of processes of spatial production, rhythms, identity construction, emotional or affective responses, characterizations of space, challenges, needs, and mention of or relations with arts institutions, policies, and Toronto's arts ecology.

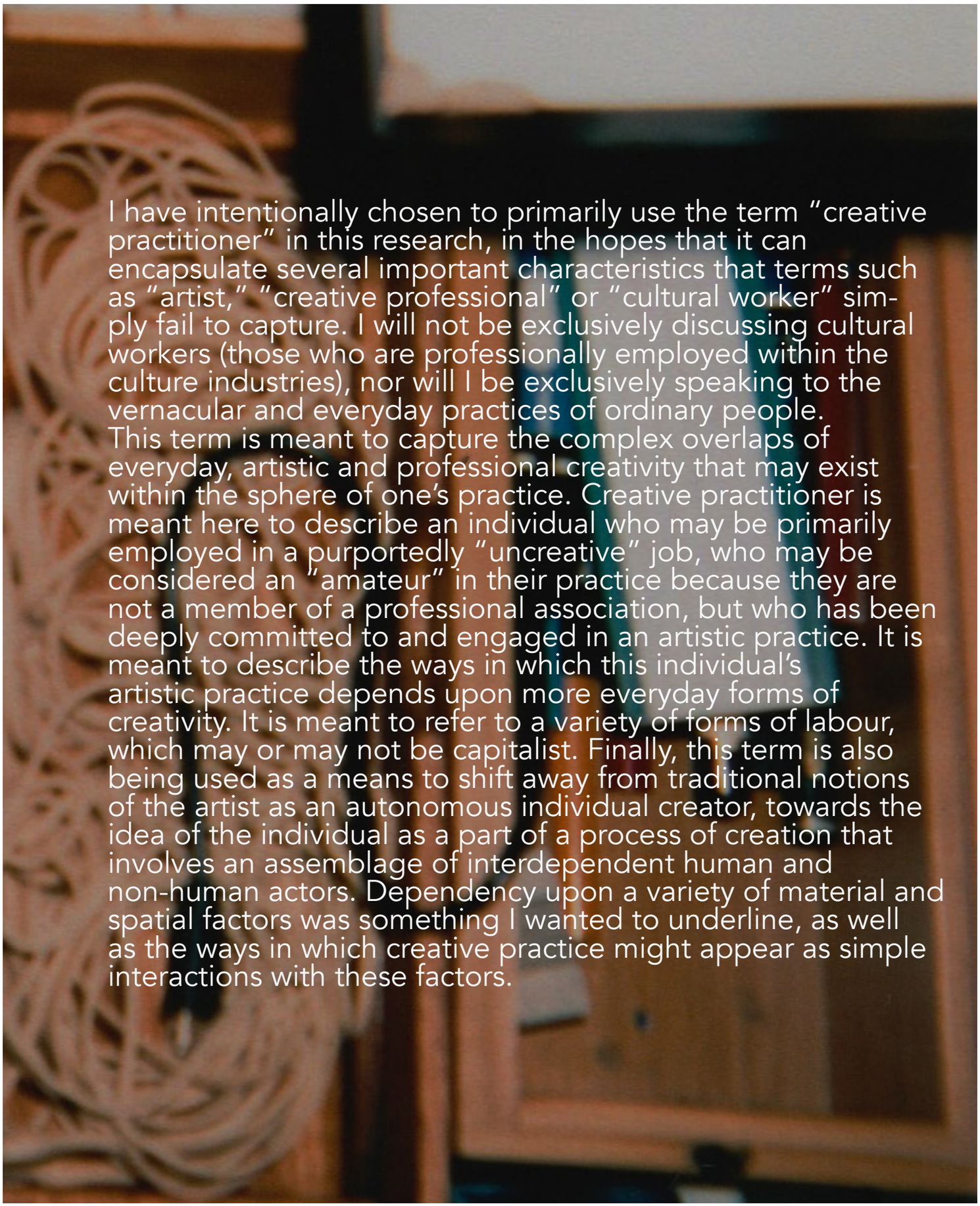
As prompts in interviews, the photos elicited extremely interesting reactions from the photographers themselves, often laughter or excitement, sometimes extreme disappointment. The unexpected nature of the outcomes allowed the final representations to be at times surprising. The process of going through them with participants added depth and detail to the interviews that would not otherwise have been there. It was moving, and revealed a great deal not only about how individuals interacted with their space, but about the relationships they had with them, with their materials, and how they thought about these things within their creative practices. Even the absence of a photo (as several in each roll were improperly lit and did not process in developing), and sometimes especially this, elicited a sense of extreme loss or failure in the participant, and disappointment about a particular object or part of the space that was tragically left out, a moment that was suddenly understood to be gone forever. We can understand this loss by reflecting back upon Benjamin's understanding of the photograph as a concrete trace, something that can be held onto within the transitory experience of passing time.

The photographs also led into many unexpected conversations about the nature of creative practice or process, and revealed a great deal about the centrality of space within these. Participants frequently noted that the process of documenting their space had made them more aware of details they wanted to change, or of seemingly insignificant objects or characteristics that were in fact crucial to their processes. Another key emergence from this process was an unexpected exploration of the role of space within the practitioner's construction of their own identity as a creator, in their understanding of their own practice, and in self-representation.

The photos themselves are, again, unspectacular. They are vastly different from the promotional photos that might present the very same creative workspaces to the practitioners' publics. They are often grainy in quality, and without explanation they seem to present a series of random scenes in dingy apartments, bedrooms and basements. The disposable camera produces very matter-of-fact images, there are no fancy gimmicks or added functions. The use of the flash in many photos removes any mood-lighting or ambiance that might make the space more inviting to experience, revealing a series of starkly lit objects in a space. Shots taken without a flash are more moody, dimly lit, shadowy and mysterious. The photos are somewhat strange in the attention they pay to minute and seemingly insignificant details. However, they tell a story of ordinary life in ordinary spaces, and of objects and priorities in the real lives of creative practitioners. By creating these intimate images, practitioners offer their own counter-narrative about everyday life in the creative city.

Following page centrefold: Inside of one of Drew's desk drawers, he has meticulously organized some of the supplies needed for his creative practice. He notes a preference for particular items, brands of pen or types of paper, and keeps a store of them.

2 CREATIVE PRACTICE



I have intentionally chosen to primarily use the term "creative practitioner" in this research, in the hopes that it can encapsulate several important characteristics that terms such as "artist," "creative professional" or "cultural worker" simply fail to capture. I will not be exclusively discussing cultural workers (those who are professionally employed within the culture industries), nor will I be exclusively speaking to the vernacular and everyday practices of ordinary people. This term is meant to capture the complex overlaps of everyday, artistic and professional creativity that may exist within the sphere of one's practice. Creative practitioner is meant here to describe an individual who may be primarily employed in a purportedly "uncreative" job, who may be considered an "amateur" in their practice because they are not a member of a professional association, but who has been deeply committed to and engaged in an artistic practice. It is meant to describe the ways in which this individual's artistic practice depends upon more everyday forms of creativity. It is meant to refer to a variety of forms of labour, which may or may not be capitalist. Finally, this term is also being used as a means to shift away from traditional notions of the artist as an autonomous individual creator, towards the idea of the individual as a part of a process of creation that involves an assemblage of interdependent human and non-human actors. Dependency upon a variety of material and spatial factors was something I wanted to underline, as well as the ways in which creative practice might appear as simple interactions with these factors.

VERNACULAR CREATIVITIES

The concept of "vernacular creativity" (Edensor et al., 2010) offers a useful starting point for thinking about creativity as everyday and opening up the possibilities of what might constitute creative practice. Raymond Williams' well-known 1958 assertion that "culture is ordinary" countered notions of culture as exclusive and accessible only to the privileged and highly educated few, noting the significance of creative works that circulate in our everyday environments, and the existence of culture in everyday processes and practices. A shift towards valuing more everyday or alternative forms of creativity not only moves us away from a focus on the potential role of creativity in urban placemaking, regeneration, economic development and growth, but also permits a more critical perspective on these roles (Edensor et al., 2010). David Crouch (2010) notes that when we begin to think about creativity as "a much more complex and nuanced process of living" (129), the perceived boundaries between creative practice and everyday life "dissolve" (140). Crouch emphasizes how thinking in this way distances creativity from now-popular conceptualizations that highlight aspects such as innovation or newness, focusing more upon how creative practices serve us in our ordinary lives. Harriet Hawkins (2017) similarly notes that when creativity is considered in this light, it becomes "indistinguishable from living" (50) and can be applied to a whole world of activities that often serve simply to move life along.

Everyday creativity can be interpreted as an often unconscious practice of improvisation that serves to get us from one day to the next. It is evidenced in improvised materiality, and the rise of a variety of small-scale, micro-spatial "do it yourself" (DIY) or "insurgent" urban practices (Iveson, 2013). Some suggest that these diverse practices, while often disconnected in their politics, allow individuals to lay claim to space and take control of the circumstances of their lives, albeit in limited ways (Hou, 2010; Iveson, 2013; Zardini, 2008). While in this research, many participants were quite reluctant to align themselves with the specific term "DIY", due to its very specific and contested meanings among creatives in Toronto (see Chapter 3), they all agreed that their practices and spaces technically fell very much under this term, more broadly defined. Yosef Jabareen (2014) links DIY modes of production with informality, suggesting that these emerge as an alternative or in response to more institutional and top-down planning approaches, to fill the gaps where these forms fail to meet people's everyday needs. From an economic perspective, informality often refers to activities that are "unrecorded, untaxed, and partially unregulated" (Staudt, 1998: 7), while from an urban development perspective, it tends to refer to the development of settlements outside of the state's legal and planning frameworks, and to the social and economic processes that shape or are shaped by these environments (Roy and AlSayyad, 2004). Writing on the Global South, Roy and AlSayyad (2004) suggest that urban informality is "an organizing urban logic which determines large spatial sections of metropolitan areas, cities, towns and villages in various countries and cultures" (5), and that "it is a process of structuration that constitutes the rules of the game, determining the nature of transactions between individuals and institutions and within institutions" (ibid.). Jabareen suggests

that informal spaces can be better understood through Henri Lefebvre's conceptualization of social space as perceived, conceived, and lived, which allows us to see how the level of bodily lived experience is a key level where space is produced and transformed, and how DIY is a socially produced space as well as an activity or mode of production. According to him, such informal spaces are highly organized. They are also "socially and culturally constructed and therefore have unique spatial and structural elements" (Jabareen, 2014: 426) which are sensitive to place-specific contexts.

Writing on the disinvested city of Detroit, Kimberley Kinder (2016) links DIY to the notion of self-provisioning, wherein people at individual and collective levels "make do" with what resources they have in order to get by in everyday life. As practice, it can refer to collective or activist efforts to improve living conditions, but can also include a variety of individual practices that provide "short-term fixes" (Kinder, 2016: 24) within a context of market-based governance where basic services are lacking. For Kinder, while the emergence of DIY reveals the strength and creativity of people, it also reveals a context wherein everyday life is increasingly precarious and people are increasingly vulnerable.

It is therefore important not to uncritically romanticize creative practice, a great deal of which emerges as a reaction to circumstances of difficulty or struggle. Some have suggested that the "real creative class… is the poor" (Wilson and Keil, 2008: 841), due to their "immense contribution to the contemporary urban economy, and their deft resourcefulness and ingenuity in a remarkably creative everyday round" (ibid.). Wilson and Keil (2008) point to the creativity demanded of neglected and marginalized communities as they attempt to navigate and survive an unpredictable terrain of "hostile police, struggling institutions, youth discord, and parasitic economic formations" (843), while somehow still contributing to a modern economy which relies upon their low-wage labour. While we can appreciate the creativity of the poor in the face of such an adversarial lived reality, we must also be critical of the circumstances that necessitate such creativity in the first place.

Creativity is "lived and felt" (Hallam and Ingold, 2007: 10) within life's everyday rhythms, and woven into space through activities and practices. Such a conceptualization of creativity might underlie the gestures or practices that emerge in Lefebvre's understanding of spatial production. Lefebvre (1991) offers us an understanding of space itself as the product of a tripartite process of creation, consisting of perceived, conceived and lived space, bringing together the concrete and abstract both at the level of the individual and of society. Schmid (2008) describes Lefebvre's dialectic as a "three-dimensional figure of social reality" (33), in which material social practice, knowledge, language, poetry and desire are distinct and necessarily interconnected moments that make up a process of becoming. Lefebvre's articulation of the city as an *oeuvre* is an apt illustration of how collective social and spatial practices produce space, and how dwelling is itself a productive and creative process. Lefebvre's conception of inhabiting space speaks to its "plasticity" (Lefebvre, 1996: 79) and its openness to being shaped and appropriated by ordinary people. In Lefebvre's work, the body itself is "generative" (Simonson, 2005: 2), an intrinsic part of the oeuvre, whose activities in everyday life constitute its art. His notion of "poetic dwelling" (*habiter*) (Lefebvre, 1991: 314) and his

constant concern with the "art of life" (Schmid, 2008: 33) emphasize the creative lived experience and bodily practice of the everyday. As he puts it in his *Critique of Everyday Life* (2014): "there is a cliché which with a certain degree of justification compares creative moments to the mountain tops and everyday time to the plain, or to the marshes. The image the reader will find in this book differs from this generally accepted metaphor. Here everyday life is compared to fertile soil" (87). Lefebvre, in fact, critiques the detachment of "elevated" activities (like "art for art's sake") from the everyday and praxis, suggesting that none of them can exist without it, and emphasizing a dialectical relationship between levels (in Goonewardena, 2008: 127-128).

Lefebvre, however, points to space being overtaken by "concrete abstractions" (representations which impose an image or meaning, and use), meaning that less and less of space is habitable, by his definition. Following the lead of Goonewardena (2008), I link this perspective in many ways to Guy Debord's (1995) insistence that everyday life has been taken over by spectacle – "the economic realm developing for itself – at once a faithful mirror held up to the production of things and a distorting objectification of the producers" (Debord, 1995: 16) – and his suggestion that no "real activity" (21) outside of the spectacle is any longer possible. I also link this to Benjamin's suggestions in *The Arcades Project* (1999) of a phantasmagoria, a collective dream state that blinds society to the real conditions of its existence. These notions present false consciousness as something that is actively produced, in spite of any desire to transcend it, linking back to Marx's theory of alienation. This critical thinking insists upon the revolutionary overcoming of such a status quo, making the question of everyday creativity an intensely political one.

CREATIVE PRACTICE AND ART

By bringing in notions of vernacular or everyday creativity, I do not want to take away from the fact that an art world, artistic labour and simple commodity production within the culture industries very much exist, or to suggest that these are mutually exclusive realms. Indeed, undertaking an intentional artistic creative practice that seeks to produce an aesthetic object or a product often involves unique engagements in vernacular creativity. Musician David Byrne, of Talking Heads fame, has suggested, for example, that an understanding of "creation in reverse" (Byrne, 2012: 15) – where external social and spatial conditions and contexts serve to shape both process and product – is necessary when discussing artistic practice, and music in particular in his case. Many of these processes are intertwined so that the distinction between purpose-driven artistic creativity and everyday vernacular forms can become convoluted. I believe it is useful to examine both realms in order to understand the very different kinds of activities and spaces that emerge within and around them, how these realms might interact in daily life, and how art might be a part of the everyday.

"What is art?" is a query that has elicited a wide range of responses through the ages. Giving this question the attention it deserves would likely take several lengthy volumes, and unfortunately will not be something I have the capacity for here. Adorno, in his *Aesthetic Theory*, suggests "for

the plurality of what are called 'the arts,' there does not even seem to exist a universal concept of art able to accommodate them all" (1984: 3). Laporte (1968) suggests that art is "both question and answer at one and the same time" (157), capable of both alienation and transcendence of alienation. According to Laporte, "at all times and in all places, the work of art is a very special object among all other kinds of objects… The meanings and functions with which the work of art reaches beyond itself into the totality of man's cultural existence are multi-layered and multi-textured; they also vary from period to period" (1968: 162).

For Eliot Deutsch (1996), art is both a universal and localized practice that is understood and viewed in socially and culturally specific ways depending on context. He defines it as culturally embedded, aesthetically forceful, inherently significant, meaningful, beautiful, and intended to be experienced (1996: 33). For Deutsch (1996) art is "that created object which, when realizing its own intentionality, is at once imitative and expressive and performs, for consciousness, its own aesthetic content" (33). The aesthetic force of a work, according to Deutsch, presents "an opportunity for one's intimate and transformative relationship with it" (1996: 31). LaRoque (1975), meanwhile, points out that for First Nations communities, art is not simply functional or aesthetic, but related to worldview. Jensen (1992) also emphasizes this, saying "in my language there was no word for Art. Not because we are devoid of Art but because Art is so powerfully integrated with all aspects of life, we are replete with it" (17).

Some argue that art is an open concept that cannot be defined using particular criteria (Weitz, 1989); others suggest that we require a specific checklist of qualities and that art can only be defined by institutional experts (see Deutsch, 1996). Artworks are products of a variety of kinds of creative labour, which draw upon both imagination and particular sets of skills, operating with and sometimes struggling against existing forms, traditions and styles (Becker et al., 2006). Becker et al. (2006) emphasize that this is not an individual product, but something created by an assemblage of actors beyond the artist, pointing out how artworks are very much part of the everyday world. The work itself offers a unique aesthetic experience, requiring a process of relation and interpretation, connecting real to imagined, exposing us to beauty or the abject, offering hope or transcendence. Its value is often linked to the price the original commands in the art market, and also to the copyright (Gerber and Childress, 2017).

For Berger (2008), art plays a key role in radical politics. Berger's conception, like many others, stands against the idea that art is valuable simply as a commodity. His project with *Ways of Seeing* was largely aimed at bringing art into the everyday. For Berger, art can reveal our own inherent ability to change the world. It is a social object, held as important by critical theorists for a variety of reasons, not least of which being its inherent insistence on the transformation of our reality. Other theorists, such as Benjamin or Adorno, also suggest in their work that art plays a role in social transformation. Works of art, for Benjamin, serve primarily magical or ritual functions, but also political ones (Benjamin, 2008). They contain both anxiety and desires about the future, while revealing the mounting "catastrophe" of history unfolding behind us in the wake of progress (Benjamin, 1968:

257). For Adorno, meanwhile, works of art represent the possible future society that individuals strive for, but also simultaneously the failure to achieve this. Works of art relate to their other, the "objective world from which they recoil" (Adorno, 1997: 6), and according to Adorno this "unsolved antagonism" (ibid.) is at the root of art's relation to society. Art is, as he puts it, its "antithesis" (1997: 8).

Very little attention has been paid to Lefebvre's own particular thinking around aesthetics (in English anyway), although art is integral to his revolutionary politics and his concept of the everyday. His *Contribution à l'Esthetique* (1953) emphasizes the relationship between art and pleasure, transcendence, consciousness and knowledge. His work also places focus on the real social, economic and historical conditions in which work is produced. Later, in his *Critique of Everyday Life*, Lefebvre criticizes the separation between many artistic practices and everyday life, and the isolation of artistic practice. For Lefebvre, art represents "a victory of the rhythmical over the linear" (in Aronowitz, 2015: 153), making it therefore a key part of an arsenal for a larger battle against capitalism. For him, the transformation of everyday life includes the end of art, through its own reintegration into everyday life (Lefebvre, 2014). For him, central to art's social role is disalienation. Through changes in our social and cultural life, we can change the everyday.

Art itself is considered to be a socio-cultural institution (Albrecht, 1968; Bürger, 1984; Gielen, 2010): both a "productive and distributive apparatus" and a body of "ideas about art at a given time" (Bürger, 1984: 22). Institutions at this level are often defined as large and complex "principal structures through which human activities are organized and established to serve basic human needs" (Albrecht, 1968: 383). They are characterized by specific behavioural patterns and norms, and serve many social functions, including as transmitters of cultural values, aesthetic forms, principles, technical systems, and functional assumptions (Albrecht, 1968). These elements are institutionalized, or "set down in a more or less rigid fashion" and "safeguarded" (Gielen, 2010: 280) within an organizational infrastructure. Therefore the art institution can refer both to the level of society, where it "sets the tone" (Gielen, 2010: 281) for culture, representing a particular history and set of standards, but also to particular organizations that exist within it, performing similar roles. Lefebvre characterizes this more abstract level of institutions and state authority as the "far order," functioning in relation to the "near order" of the everyday (Ronneberger, 2008).

Art is often fostered through targeted support to specific emerging or established concrete institutions (museums, galleries, cultural centres, concert halls, the ballet, etc.) via the state. Institutions not only serve as a kind of network for resources and services, but also as important legitimators for creative practice and work. Institutions are often the most visible and obvious spaces that dole out recognition and value. National institutions tend to form the "backbone" of cultural policy, often influencing the regional and local levels (Gielen, 2010: 293). Cultural institutions often play central instrumental roles as catalysts in urban redevelopment projects because of their established high-profile visibility, cultural identity, and image which can rub off on surrounding geographical areas (Dean et al., 2010; Grodach, 2010). Their presence gives an air of credibility and legitimacy to claims to space within development initiatives. Institutions can function as intermediaries who trans-

late "economic imaginaries" (O'Connor, 2015) into real political projects that impact place and everyday life. They are involved in the aestheticization of everyday life, the societalization of culture, and the definition of the societal role and function of artistic work (Bürger, 1984; O'Connor, 2015). O'Connor (2015) suggests that creative practitioners are "increasingly institution-based" (384) and thus tied into imaginaries that presume the economic role of creativity, and stresses that such relationships can limit the potential of culture as a transformative political project.

Arts institutions have been linked not only to bourgeois patronage and the maintenance of "elitist mainstream culture" (Blau et al., 1986: 564), but also to the proliferation of popular culture which reinforces class hegemony and hierarchies (Blau et al., 1986; see also Adorno, 1991; Horkheimer and Adorno, 1972). Berger (2008: 94) suggests they make ordinary people feel like "cultural paupers," both in terms of capital and comprehension. Far from being neutral, arts institutions have also been criticized extensively for reinforcing a baseline of whiteness in contemporary creative worlds and in art histories, for being inherently colonial, for perpetuating often intersecting racist and exclusionary practices, for constructing problematic racial discourse and engaging in erasure, as well as for failing to reflect the actual diversity or histories of people who engage in the production of creative work (Cahan, 2016; Fernandez-Sacco, 2001; Marriott, 2010; Shearn Coan, 2017). They have also been fair game for feminist critique which has pointed to their maintenance of gender inequalities (Pollock, 2003). Overall, prominent institutions are often guilty of upholding and reproducing the hegemonies and ideologies of dominant paradigms. Critical theorists interested in the role of art in shifting of such paradigms have found institutions, and in some cases the institution of art overall, to counteract this potential (Adorno, 1991; Bürger, 1984). Even as institutions attempt to foster diversity and inclusivity within themselves, such mandates often constitute mere public relations efforts, and such empty adoption of the language of diversity can serve to maintain privilege (Ahmed, 2012).

An understanding of the current everyday working and living conditions of creative practitioners, and of the kinds of spaces they might require, ought to be rooted somewhat in an understanding

Above: A protest by the activist organization Decolonize This Place in front of the American Museum of Natural History. The organization's central mission involves raising public awareness of the politics of cultural institutions, critiquing artwashing, and invigorating art's role in activism and radical politics. Image by MTL Collective, accessed at https://hyperallergic.com/350186/learning-from-decolonize-this-place/.

Below: The Art Gallery of Ontario held a public event in spring of 2018 at which white performers wore racist costumes in a piece that was apparently intended by the artist to be a play on stereotypes. The institution received extensive criticism online. Image from *CityNews*, accessed at https://toronto.citynews.ca/2018/04/21/ago-racism/

of the historical conditions from which our expectations and understandings of art and artists, as well as the real lived conditions of creative labour, have emerged. This involves digging more deeply into art as an institution and histories of artistic creative production, demystifying the figure of the artist, and delving into what the artistic practice and process actually involve.

The word "artist" has been interpreted and understood in so many different ways, and there is often great difficulty in discerning who actually qualifies as one (Bain, 2005). In many ways, dominant understandings of the artist in Western society, even among artists themselves, are still based largely in white, Eurocentric myth that has been constructed gradually over centuries, which imagines a world in which only the West was creative (ibid.). There is much to be said about decolonizing and decentering this narrative, and the Western art canon in general, and about foregrounding various non-Western and Indigenous perspectives and practices. There are efforts being undertaken to accomplish this in the settler colonial context of North America, within academic research, curatorial work, archiving, activist practice, and art itself (Ernst, 2016, Rangel, 2016). Indeed, within many of these initiatives we can note a strong alignment between art and activism (this connection is represented extremely well within the work of groups like Decolonize This Place, an American organization working around issues of Indigenous struggle, Black liberation, and the eradication of colonialism in cultural institutions). Art and culture can be ways to resist colonialism. Indeed, as Anishinaabe curator Wanda Nanibush points out, Indigenous creative work is inherently a form of resistance: "Our art forms are never separate from our political forms" (in Martineau and Ritskes, 2014: I). Western art, according to Kalkidan Assefa, is "egoistic, elitist, individualistic, and market driven" (2015: iv), while decolonized art implies community ownership and the foregrounding of marginalized communities of colour and Indigenous communities. The reclamation of historical narratives and the underlining of Indigenous cultural and art histories and worlds are fundamental pieces of a decolonial project that might unravel preconceived notions of the artist. For the purposes of this paper, however, I will be outlining some of the narrow dominant narrative that shapes many current and often incorrect or problematic assumptions about art, and about the role of art and the artist. Hesmondhalgh and Pratt (2005) note the importance of starting from a "long-term historical perspective" (2) when considering the reasons cultural policy has taken the form that it has, and why certain expectations are now made of creative practitioners.

Prior to the 15th century, in European society, artists would have been mainly anonymous, viewed much in the same way as today's tradespeople, as service providing labourers (Gerber and Childress, 2017; Haynes, 1997; O'Malley, 2005). Works of art were very ordinary, integrated and acting as part of the functional world (Laporte, 1968). In fact, many of today's creative practitioners have themselves returned to this view, portraying their own role in society as service providers in order to legitimize their occupations, practices and work (Gerber and Childress, 2017). Artists worked in guild workshops, which established standards and conditions of work, and served to guard the skills of the trade. They apprenticed under masters in order to develop their skills, and generally held a low social standing (Coleman, 1988).

The Renaissance, however, saw the emergence of the more mythical figure of the artist as they are often presently understood in the public imaginary, as a special kind of labourer, as an individual possessing unique skills and talents (Bilton, 2009). Part of this shift in understanding had to do with the alienation of works of art from their communal purposes as art was institutionalized. These objects became fetishized, endowed with special cult properties, and their makers came to be seen as master craftspeople: unique, individual, autonomous creators (Bell-Villada, 1986; Gerber and Childress, 2017). Autonomous art emerged alongside bourgeois society and the early capitalist economy, around the project of the Enlightenment, as activities within the cultural realm began to revolve around the treatment of intellectual artistic questions and problems, and the framing of the aesthetic experience by experts (Habermas, 1983). In this same period, professional European musicians found that their own role was changing as market forces shifted: music was performed more publicly, scores were able to be printed and played in far off places, and musicians became more autonomous and focused on individual achievement and entrepreneurialism as opportunities to perform and maintain respect outside a court or church setting expanded[1] (Carlton, 2006). Through this period, the musician also gained a new status that could be perceived as "autonomous marketer of his own music-making" (Carlton, 2006: 13). These shifts were a product of broader social changes, and were not linear or without contestations.

From the Romantic period, towards the end of the 18th century, the now common and glamourized image of the marginal Bohemian "starving artist" emerged. The artist came to be understood as a more "alienated and tempestuous figure" (Bain, 2005: 28) who was "guided no longer by reason or rules but by feeling and sentiment, intuition and imagination" (Kristeller, 1990: 250). During this period, the imagination was privileged as a "source of deeper truths" (Coleman, 1988: 78), and the creative practitioner was increasingly revered as a privileged figure, a genius or visionary who was uniquely qualified to pursue creative work. This romanticizing of "outsider" status, and the accompanying perception of creative practitioners as a kind of "labour aristocracy" (Hawkins, 2017: 53) obscures the fact that throughout this period, their actual social standing remained relatively low, in many ways due to the socioeconomic insecurity brought on by the end of guild systems.

Towards the end of the 19th century, during the rise of the Industrial Revolution, we see a break between historical art and contemporary art (especially with the emergence of Impressionism in painting, and of photography, which posed entirely new ways of representing the world). As Bürger notes, art's institutional frame and content collide at this time, and "at the moment it has shed all that is alien to it, art necessarily becomes problematic for itself" (1984: 27), leading to the emergence of self-critique through the avant-garde. This period also saw the call for *l'art pour l'art*, or "Art for Art's Sake," in reaction to the loss of a social function for artistic work and aesthetic experience (Bürger, 1984). "Art for Art's Sake" suggested that art serves its own purposes rather than any utilitarian function, and to some extent advocated for art's freedom from both capitalist production

1 The difference between classical and folk or popular music – and as an extension of that, between art and craft – becomes marked here as more than a question of genres or styles. Folk or pop musicians and crafters had long produced work within a community setting, outside of an institutional or academic context.

and "the tyranny of systems and rules" (Hugo, 1964; see also Bell-Villada, 1986), but also contradictorily underlined its specialization, alienation and separation from everyday life and society (Adorno, 1997; Bürger, 1984). Freed from many prior frameworks, guidelines and rules set by the state or institutions, artists began to produce their own political commentary within their work, and to represent their own individual takes on reality. Artists began to make work because they wanted to (Laporte, 1968). The artistic movements that would follow built more and more upon these trajectories. We can begin to trace paths towards the eventual dematerialization of art, and towards art that is blended more and more with rising consumerism.

These historical narratives tend to center white experiences, and ignore other cultural trajectories that foreground very different potential social roles for the creative practitioner. For example, in North America, the social role of music, art, and the creative practitioner is deeply and inextricably tied up with Black culture and aesthetics, and imbued with the histories and experiences of slavery, racism, cultural genocide, oppression, resistance and struggle. A wide variety of distinct artistic styles and forms emerged out of the development of Black culture within white supremacist North America. Creative movements such as the Black Arts Movement, or Afrofuturism have emerged to radically disrupt and shift historical narratives, creative aesthetics and arts institutions, positing a very different role for the creative practitioner and creative work (Baraka, 2011; Brown, 2011; Dery, 1994). This role can become one of resistance, militancy, defiance, liberation, reclamation, futuring and subversion. However, as forms of expression have mainstreamed, been drawn into the market, or become appropriated and absorbed by whites, these important roles become erased, obscured or complicated.

The rise of industrial capitalism and of mass production, and the role of each in changing artistic practice and art itself cannot be understated. Although art and creative practitioners are often thought to have a special relationship with capitalism, and to exist somehow outside of it, capitalism has drawn creative practice into itself through the gradual enclosure of resources and labour (López Cuenca, 2012). The commercialization of cultural production is tied to the rise of mass culture through the twentieth century (Horkheimer and Adorno, 1979). Alongside major shifts in production, we can note the development of a culture industry and of an impersonal art market, and distinct transformations in the nature of the work of art and its commodification. Benjamin (2008) argues that, as mechanical reproducibility emerges, art works cease to contain the important historical information, the "here and now" (21) of the original, which underpin their authenticity. The aura, the context of an object that connects it to history, tradition, and place, the labour that has gone into producing it, the "presence of that which is not present" (Adorno, 1991: 88), begins to "wither" (22) as its uniqueness is undermined. By Adorno's estimation, which points to some of the darkest characteristics of the culture industry and its negative impacts on everyday life, the mass production of culture serves not only to reinforce the existing dominant cultural hegemony but to blind society to any alternatives to the status quo. The entire purpose of art is changed as it shifts from its previous role, rooted in transcendence, ritual and tradition, to its new role as a construct with merely incidental aesthetic function, serving instead the political imperative of "train(ing) human beings in the ap-

perceptions and reactions needed to deal with a vast apparatus whose role in their lives is expanding almost daily" (Benjamin, 2008: 26): capitalism. This new art renounces any sense of magic and any "eternal value" (Benjamin, 2008: 28), becoming a mere object of mass consumption or entertainment.

Lefebvre and Debord, however, see the everyday, and not autonomous art, as a key piece in social transformation. This idea is followed by Debord's (1994) notion of the spectacle, wherein images replace relations between people, and we are alienated from ourselves and denied the possibility of authentic experience, unmediated by capitalism. The level of the everyday, and culture at this level, is where dramatic shifts must occur.

CREATIVE LABOUR

The 21st century has seen an enormous entrepreneurial turn in the perceived role and practice of the creative practitioner. Increasingly we see artists and entrepreneurs conceptually bundled together, and the rise of the idea of "creative entrepreneurship," in the media, in advertising, in scholarship. Most of this is due to the popularization of Florida's theory of the Creative Class in the early 2000s. Arts institutions, private organizations, non-profits, community centres and creative hubs, and even community arts initiatives are increasingly operating around this concept, seeking to provide professional development services, promoting careerism, seeking to make creative practitioners more business-savvy, and ultimately aiming for industry growth. While this may be useful to practitioners in helping them to navigate the current professional landscapes of various creative fields under neoliberal capitalism, it also can serve to cultivate and more deeply embed neoliberal values and an associated "pull yourself up by the bootstraps mentality" (Leslie and Hunt, 2013: 1172) among these practitioners. These cultural institutions themselves help to generate an ideal "creative," "no-collar" workforce: self-disciplined, flexible, mobile, individualistic, competitive (Florida, 2012). They also serve to generate entrepreneurial and corporate-oriented work, that is made, recognized, legitimized and appreciated primarily for its economic role (Caves, 2006; McLean, 2010; Mommaas, 2004).

Currently, we tend to use criteria such as education, profession, or the judgement of institutions, curators or critics to define who is a "real" artist, although this identity can be constructed or recognized in a multitude of ways (Bain, 2003, 2004, 2005). Artistic practice is increasingly professionalized (Gerber and Childress, 2017), as evidenced by the growing number of university and college graduates receiving degrees in creative fields (Statistics Canada, 2009). The definitions of institutions or professional associations, however, tend to ignore many emerging practitioners, as well as a variety who exist as "outsiders," who work in more DIY or alternative art scenes, or who tend to work in more collaborative or behind-the-scenes capacities. Many creative practitioners are not solely supported by their work, and some do not rely on their work for income at all. These practitioners are often characterized as being "amateurs," often in spite of having years or lifetimes of experience,

and can be excluded from conceptions of what constitutes a "real artist" by professionals (Bain, 2005).

The concept of scenes is perhaps useful to us here, revealing how membership in creative communities might be established and recognized within those communities themselves rather than from outside. Scenes capture a dynamism, fluidity, multiplicity and "slipperiness" (Straw, 2002: 249) that is not implied by terms like "community" or "movement," while designating a publicly visible "space of enlistment and convergence" (Straw, 2015: 478). They are "communities of taste" (Deveau, 2015: 330) wherein cultural phenomena circulate. Strongly connected to place, scenes are defined "not only by what is there but who is there" (Silver and Nichols Clark, 2015: 427, emphasis added) and require being "in the know" to navigate them. Within these spaces, recognition plays a large role in membership, often occurring horizontally between peers, rather than in a top-down, formal or hierarchical manner (Donegan, 1986). Questions of visibility, recognition and legitimation are increasingly important and complex as freelance and self-employment become more prevalent forms of work, as technology alters production, and as scenes are deterritorialized, connecting and collaborating more and more in online venues and communities (Cleeve, 2017; Eichhorn, 2015; Kou and Gray, 2017). Considering varying levels of visibility allows us to see how we often tend to only recognize and see privileged and entrepreneurial practitioners, and render invisible those who have charted a different path or been less successful at entering into exclusive scenes and networks. The lumping together of a number of "creative" practices under one banner also tends to equalize practitioners who engage in very different activities and exist in very different worlds.

What can we tell about creative practitioners from the statistics on the practice in the province? According to a report compiled in 2016, more than half the artists in Ontario are women, just under half of them are self-employed, 24% are first-generation immigrants, and 16% are from visible minority groups (Communications MDR, 2016). While only 2% are First Nation, Métis or Inuit, these groups actually report higher levels of engagement in creative activities than the rest of the population of the province (ibid.). Creative practitioners are a rapidly growing group in Ontario, having increased in numbers by 48% between 1989 and 2013 (ibid.), slightly less than the increase of 56% across Canada (Hill Strategies Research Inc., 2014). They earn

Statistics in Canada

$32,800
average annual artist income

$48,100
average annual employment income general labour force

$42,100
average annual cultural worker income

Practitioners with the lowest incomes include
dancers ($17,900)
performers ($20,900)
musicians ($22,800)
and artisans ($23,100).
The low-income cut-off for a person living in a community of 500,000 people or more is
$22,600.

Female artists earn, on average,
31%
less than their male counterparts (same as the general labour force).

The more arts education you have, the more underpaid you might be. University-educated artists earn an average
$30,300
per year. This is 55% less than other university-educated members of the general labour force.

(Hill Strategies Research, 2014)

approximately 30% less income than the average Ontario worker, on average earning $34,900 per year, with more than half earning $23,200 or less (ibid.). These earnings are also impacted by a gender-related income gap, where cis-gendered men hold more high-up positions and make more money. The report also notes that the majority of creative practitioners never retire, working well into their senior years.

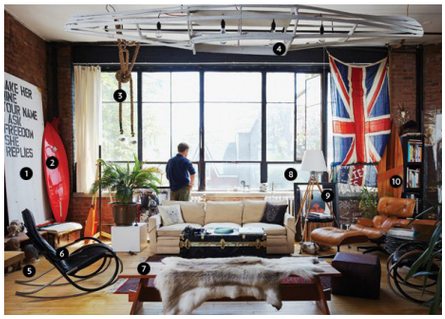
Throughout the twentieth century and into the twenty-first, as labour has been radically transformed and the jargon of the Creative City has become popularized and widespread, the work conditions of many creative practitioners have transformed significantly. The supposed democratization of culture and its increased focus on access and standardized consumption for all, and discourse that focuses broadly on cultural or creative industries has encouraged us to look away from the conditions of production and labour within the cultural fields. Instead there is a focus on the "functionalization" of culture as a force of regeneration, consumption and economic growth (Hesmondhalgh and Pratt, 2005; Zukin, 1998). Some question the implications of ignoring the conditions under which cultural production occur, as new terms of validation, aesthetic sensibilities, and notions of artistic excellence, transgression or subversion are emerging under structural change (Mommaas, 2004). While within the New Economy many contemporary creative practitioners have found comfortable niches and salaried jobs in institutional settings, gaining middle class status, many must work one or several low-paying and/or precarious jobs, often for low hourly wages (Bain, 2005; López Cuenca, 2012). Creative work is presented in popular discourse and the media as increasingly in-demand field which, while it might imply an improved job market, tends to mean that there is a great deal of competition for positions, and that work is paid at lower and lower rates, or given to amassing droves of unpaid interns. Features and demands of this type of work include long hours and inconsistent work patterns; low pay; the creation of an entire identity around one's labour; self-imposed entrepreneurialism; and "profound experiences of insecurity and anxiety around finding work, earning enough money, and 'keeping up' in rapidly changing fields" (Gill and Pratt, 2008; see also Banks, 2007; Caves, 2000, Gill, 2002; Ross, 2003).

ALL ARTISTS ARE ENTREPRENEURS

Whether you're an artist, designer, musician, photographer, writer or crafts person, all creative people start with a vision of something new and a determination and passion to see that vision made real.

Above: Image from Artscape Daniels Launchpad website defining art and the role of the artist, stating: "All Artists are Entrepreneurs. Whether you're an artist, designer, musician, photographer, writer or crafts person, all creative people start with a vision of something new and a determination and passion to see that vision made real. They create something from nothing more than an idea. So do entrepreneurs. Professor Howard Stevenson at the Harvard Business School defines entrepreneurship as, 'the pursuit of opportunity beyond resources controlled.' For entrepreneurs, trying to create something new with little resources; it's a risky business." Accessed at https://artscapedanielslaunchpad.com/news/all-artists-are-entrepreneurs/

Below: Toronto producer Dom Dias with artist and curator Just John, promoting their new single "Soundboi" on Instagram. Image from Just John's Instagram account, photo taken by journalist Drew Yorke, 2018.



Above: An image in a *Toronto Life* article about artist Alex Jowett's studio in the city. Items in the image are numbered, with sections of the article telling stories about each item and how it was obtained. The article renders the workspace spectacular and desirable, and contributes to the glamourization of artist lifestyles, describing the carefree and nomadic artist traveling the world and accidentally stumbling across a 1,500 square foot studio in Queen West (Baute, 2012). Photo by Michael Graydon, accessed at https://torontolife.com/style/home/great-spaces-lofty-ambitions/.

Below: NOISEY, Vice's prominent music channel and blog, produces videos such as *6ix Rising: Toronto's Rap Ascendance*, which promote the city as a "buzzworthy" creative city. Still from video, accessed at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xmEfBgESjKk.

As labour markets have been rendered increasingly flexible, further consequences can impact creative workers: unstable and inconsistent employment and income, lower pay, the clawing back of benefits, and the disintegration of collective representation (Avdikos and Kalogeresis, 2017; Lambert, 2008).

It is important to note that creative work has always been precarious. A number of fields, such as illustration or creative writing, have always seen high levels of individualization, and many creative employment positions have always been characterized by bad working conditions (Conor, 2013; Luckman, 2013). Policy interventions have been rare, often because of the perception that such labour constitutes "good work" and offers moral benefits or personal fulfillment to those who undertake it (Banks and Hesmondhalgh, 2009; Oakley, 2013). Creative practice often fits into the popular mantra of "doing what you love," becoming a kind of "aspirational" (Hawkins, 2017: 56) or "passionate" (ibid.; see also Postigo, 2009) labour. Supportive policies seem more geared towards promoting entry into creative industries than towards dealing with the often exploitative employment practices of those industries (Oakley, 2013). This turning of a blind eye towards employment practices is, of course, not solely characteristic of policymakers in regards to creative industries, but might be seen as one expression of a much broader exclusion of working conditions from mainstream political discourse (ibid.).

In order to succeed within the competitive New Economy, creative practitioners must self-market and become increasingly enterprising (Baines, 1999). Creative practice has come to include the constant maintenance and upkeep of a public and online image, or "digital body" (Hracs and Leslie, 2013; see also Hawkins, 2017). Practitioners are encouraged to exploit their own identity as a way to gain an audience, market their work, and display product authenticity (ibid.). The development of a public persona and personal brand is key to this practice, and practitioners are required to maintain and perform this identity on a regular basis, often through the ongoing production of online content, which is essentially a kind of "free" labour (Terranova, 2000). Creative practitioners in the city, and especially musicians, often rely on pop culture publications and popular online blogs in their own careers. A select few

are considered taste-makers, and receiving a nod or review in a magazine like *Exclaim!* or a blog like *The Fader* can mean the difference between a release or show being a hit or a flop. This same phenomenon takes place across social media, as Instagram, Facebook and Twitter have become increasingly important venues for self-promotion and communication. As the number of clicks or reposts on an article, video or tweet increasingly seem to represent at least part of its value, the promotion of specific artists or musicians can sometimes prove to be mutually beneficial both for the artist and the publication.

For many contemporary creative practitioners, in particular online vloggers, bloggers or media creators who produce for social media platforms such as Instagram or YouTube, this identity production, commodification and performance constitutes the majority of their practice. In addition to being important media taste-makers, they themselves are a product, and their commercial success depends upon directly engaging a following with this image (Cocker and Cronin, 2017). In this way, contemporary creative practice involves a great deal of additional emotional and affective labour, time, and energy (Hracs and Leslie, 2013; Warhurst and Nickson, 2001). Self-marketing tends to render much of one's private life public through social media, integrating one's private spaces and activities with the product being sold, and drawing them into the space of the market (Hawkins, 2017). It also renders practitioners dependent upon their online followings, whose interest and endorsement realize and give meaning to their produced content and simulacra (Cocker and Cronin, 2017). One's online image can be everything. Practitioners are encouraged to develop a brand and seek out popularity online, but to also painstakingly maintain a level of authenticity and to ensure that their brand does not appear too staged (Colliander and Marder, 2018). Trying too hard can potentially undermine the very authenticity creative practitioners seek to convey, as some posts are perceived to simply be clickbait (shamelessly seeking "likes"). Many creators also now receive sponsorship through private companies as these companies have begun to piggyback upon the success of some individuals' self-marketing efforts, leading to a questioning of whether practitioners' views, attitudes, tastes or lifestyles are their own (ibid.). There is also some question as to whether these efforts at self-marketing matter at all, with the rise in prevalence of recommendation systems and the increasing power of algorithms to determine and form tastes within online content websites (Karakayali et al., 2018).

THE CREATIVE PROCESS

Largely lost within conversations about the functions of culture and creativity at these broad social scales, the marketing of cultural products, or indeed largely within aesthetics-centered discourse in art criticism, is any nuanced conceptualization of the mystical black box of the creative or artistic process itself (Deutsch, 1996). Following Schopenhauer and Schiller, Deutsch (1996) describes the activation of the creative imagination as "an opening of the mind to reality… an act of appropriating experience and, through the appropriation, overcoming one's estrangement from it" (15). Through Deutsch, we can see the imagination as a realm of play, of "free creative activity" (ibid.), which takes

form through creative work as an intentional "synthetic unity of intuition and representation" (17). Deutsch notes that many recent understandings of creativity have moved away from this meaning, thereby losing "any sense of the struggle, the triumph, of the terrible or the joyful in creativity" (ibid.).

Others conceive of creative practice as a spiritual and enriching activity. Many of the practitioners involved in this research suggested as much. Many engaged in their work for a variety of reasons that included employment, but also emphasized a kind of calling, and described creativity as a natural and uncontrollable urge that brought them joy and personal fulfillment. This reflects Cajete's (1994) suggestion that art is "an expression of life" (154), Dutton's (2009) suggestion that artmaking is a natural and cross-cultural inclination (he calls it "instinct"), and Maslow's (1965) association of artistic creativity with the "peak experiences" he relates to a sense of wholeness and self-actualization in his hierarchy of needs. One participant stressed that she would be doing creative work whether it were paid or not, because it would be coming out of her regardless of this fact. Another joked that he sometimes wished he didn't have to make work to feel fulfilled, because his life would be easier.

While the drive to create might come from some kind of external pressure or monetary incentive, the desire or need to create is often seen to come from within. It can be a highly personal process of exploring one's own experiences and connections to the world, a complicated and intense process of self-reflection, release, and self-creation that results in some sort of aesthetic product. It is a process of becoming that is rooted in time and place, influenced by the outer world, shaped by affect, motivated by political imperatives, molded by the limitations of context, space, and materials, and by many actors (Becker et al., 2006). It has been called "a reflective conversation with the materials of a situation" (Schön, 1992), characterized by open-endedness, and based in progressively and gradually working through a problem or idea. This process involves intellectually engaging with conceptual themes, and creating meaning through materials with which one is physically engaged. Some of it is intentional, some of it is not.

This is by no means to suggest that the creative process is solely a positive and fulfilling emotional experience and exploration, quite to the contrary it is often fraught with negative aspects such as fatigue, blockage, frustration, fear of failure or inadequacy, anxiety, and shame (Blair, 2001; Gill, 2007; McRobbie, 2002). These processes are unique for each individual practitioner, and depend on many factors, not least of which are the immediate conditions of everyday life. Waking up at the wrong hour, not eating the right thing for breakfast, having a conversation too early or too late in the day, having the wrong conversation, having a conversation at all… all of these things could lead to the loss of an entire afternoon of productivity. It is also far from easy to participate in a field where work is constantly passed under the judgement of others and there is constant pressure to produce more and better work.

This process involves a variety of temporalities, rhythms and flows that are not unlike those of vernacular creativity, described earlier. These are different across varied practices. Many visual or conceptual artists will never "solve" the problems their art deals with, instead engaging in cycles of

problem reformulation where the process becomes one of "construction, deconstruction, and reconstitution" (Walker, 2004: 11). The process is often one of "knowing in action" (Schön, 1992; Walker, 2004), and of constant learning where the practitioner reflects upon their activities simultaneously while engaging in them, in a process that blends critical thinking and risk-taking, and is open to closure at any time, wherein the end result is unknown, and the work is perhaps never really finished (Menger, 2006). As Becker (2006) suggests, any work can "profitably be seen as a series of choices" (26). This flow is thought to occur differently in creative practices that are considered to be craft, the entire basis of which is rooted in the preconceived character of an end product (Dutton, 2009). The flows of collaborative work are also unique, bringing numerous processes together and placing practitioners into a relationship which depends on vulnerability, accountability, cooperation, and compromise, as well as a certain level of rapport and intimacy between members (Becker et al., 2006).

Not all artistic labour results or is intended to result in a product. Anyone who has ever attempted a creative project will know that a great deal of work is done to no avail. Ideas are tried out, explorations and experimentation are undertaken, mistakes are made, projects are abandoned prematurely, new ideas emerge. A lot of time might be spent simply "dilly-dallying" (Hawkins, 2017: 10). A lot of time is also spent honing one's craft, practicing and perfecting new or old skills, and keeping sharp (for musicians, this part of practice is an especially important factor). In the case of jazz music, a great deal of time is devoted simply to learning standards and other people's songs (Faulkner, 2006). In fact, the creative process often involves a considerable amount of artistic labour that might not be seen as creative at all, such as bookkeeping, invoicing, menial tasks such as the purchase or organization of materials, assembly, or installation, and cleaning (Gerber and Childress, 2017).

Materials and space play important roles in the creative process, outlining the circumstances, conditions, boundaries and possibilities of the work that is produced. Dutton (2009) suggests "to understand a work of art we must have some idea of the limitations, technical and conventional, within which the artist works – a

Above: Desk covered with the scattered supplies necessary for one practitioner's work. Photograph by research participant Drew, 2018.

Below: Paul's Boutique is a small shop in Toronto's Kensington Market that specializes in musical equipment and gear. Their staff is knowledgeable and made up of members of the local music scene. They also rent out a practice space for musicians. Image from their website, accessed at https://paulsboutique.ca/.

sense of the challenges an artist faces" (186). I would emphasize spatial limitations and conditions as well. These conditions can transform the kinds of work we see in groundbreaking ways – think of works of Impressionism, which might never have been created if not for portable-sized canvasses, tubed paint, small garrets which drove painters out into urban environment of Haussmann's Paris (Sutcliffe, 1995); think of the proliferation of bedroom recording artists in today's music industry, due to the ubiquity of laptop computers, recording software and online forums. Creative practice and the production of work, even when they occur in solitude, can be seen as depending upon an entire assemblage of conditions and actors, which include space, which include the work itself. The process of making involves a vast web of relations, dependencies, struggles, tensions and interactions, all of which produce the final work and contribute to its value. Just as the work requires critics, curators, media, and peers to acknowledge and recognize it as work, a piece might not exist without the often unacknowledged labour of the assistant at the hardware store who recommends a certain material, the storage facility where the piece "lives" when it is not on display, the hired installer who assembles the work in the gallery. An awareness of these relations and conditions reveals the essential involvement of many actors who are often deemed to be "uncreative," such as those working in manufacturing, service, or retail sectors (Pratt and Hesmondhalgh, 2005). The work itself is also an active member of this assemblage, playing an important role in its own making (Becker et al., 2006).

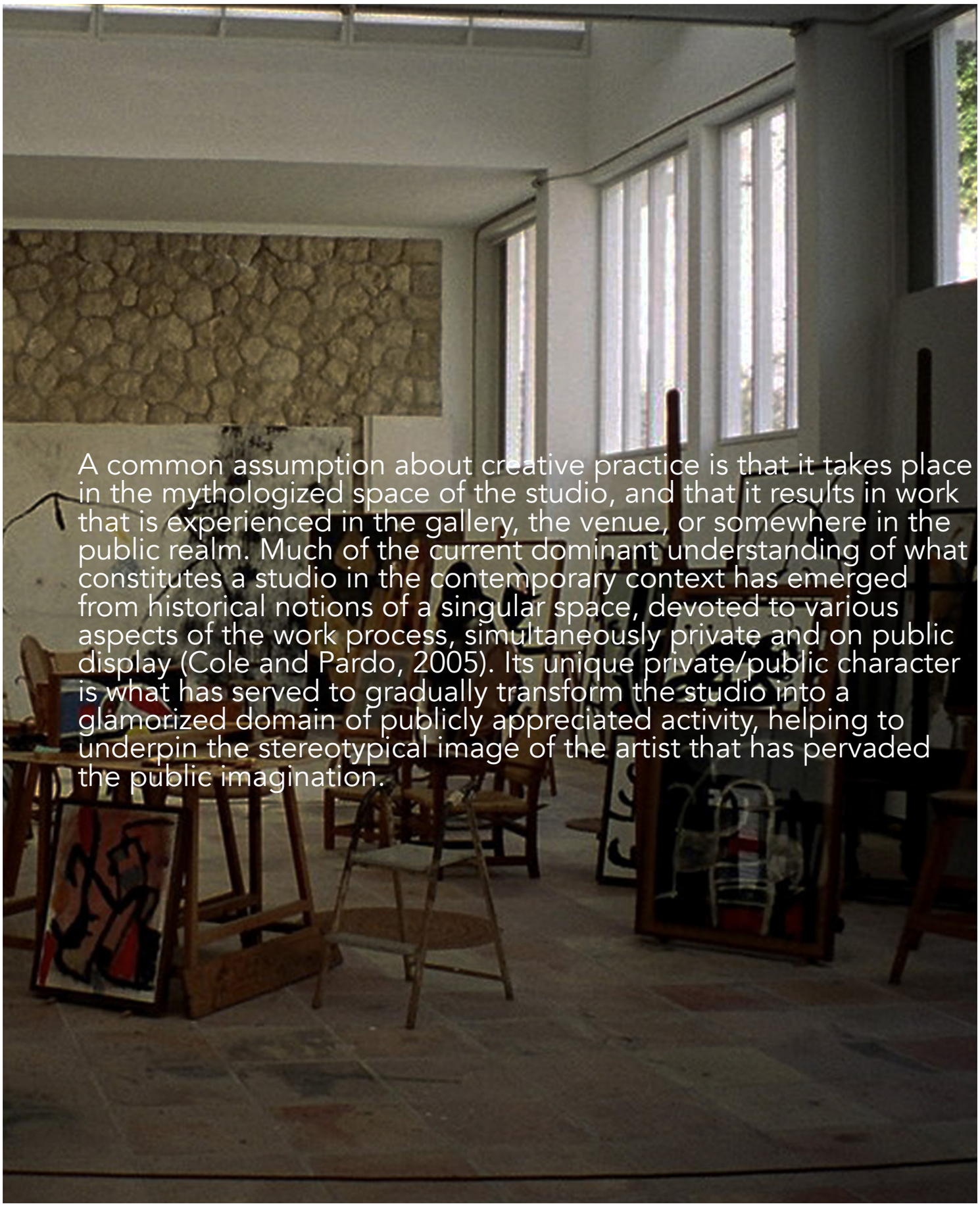
It is also important to note that creative practice is not without its stakes. The work of Pierre Bourdieu (1993) employs a relational approach to cultural production, allowing us to see how work, meaning and value are all produced by a variety of "agents" (261) in a field. Bourdieu's work points to hierarchies, power dynamics and struggles within fields of cultural production, as practitioners jostle for position and compete for cultural capital, which functions as a kind of social currency in an economy of symbolic goods. Artistic practice, seen in this way, does not simply involve the making of work, but also the longer game of trying to make one's mark or stand out, to be recognized, to be a part of a community, and to maintain one's position in a hierarchical world. The dangers of losing one's position not only include the potential loss of economic survival, but also the loss of cultural relevance.

Recognizing the differences across and struggles within fields of production is important. As previously mentioned, there is a tendency in much of the literature on creative practitioners (both literature that posits a creative class, and that which critiques it) to generalize them as a largely homogeneous group and to perceive them as "the apple of the policymaker's eye… recipients of the kind of lip service usually bestowed by national managers on high-tech engineers as generators of value" (Ross, 2008: 32; see also Markusen, 2006). This tendency towards generalization ignores many of the struggles, tensions, differences and inequalities that exist among and between practitioners, and the wide range of difficulty that characterizes their practice.

Following centrefold: The Spanish artist Joan Miró's first studio, at the Fundació Pilar i Joan Miró in Mallorca, Spain. Photograph by Alexandra Moss, accessed at https://www.artsy.net/article/artsy-editorial-9-famous-artists-studios-visit-jackson-pollock-barbara-hepworth.

Just as the work requires critics, curators, media, and peers to acknowledge and recognize it as work, a piece might not exist without the often unacknowledged labour of the assistant at the hardware store who recommends a certain material, the storage facility where the piece “lives” when it is not on display, the hired installer who assembles the work in the gallery.

3 CREATIVE SPACE



A common assumption about creative practice is that it takes place in the mythologized space of the studio, and that it results in work that is experienced in the gallery, the venue, or somewhere in the public realm. Much of the current dominant understanding of what constitutes a studio in the contemporary context has emerged from historical notions of a singular space, devoted to various aspects of the work process, simultaneously private and on public display (Cole and Pardo, 2005). Its unique private/public character is what has served to gradually transform the studio into a glamorized domain of publicly appreciated activity, helping to underpin the stereotypical image of the artist that has pervaded the public imagination.

THE STUDIO AS A PLACE

While the word "studio" as a designation for the artist's workplace only entered the English language in the 19th century, the studio, study or workshop has long been recognized as an important dimension of creative work (ibid.). However, it is through the Renaissance period that the understanding of these spaces shifted from their being viewed simply as locales of production to more prestigious places of intellectual work, contemplation, and study. This was due partly to the division of the workshop and study in Italian art history, where we see a gradual distinct separation of the studio and the bottega (or workshop), and a gradual shift towards the dominant use of the former, which was better suited for thinking of the artist as an intellectual, and which distanced practice from notions of manual production and trade. This suggests not only that different spaces were necessary for different parts of the creative process – some were better suited for working with materials, others for working with ideas – but also that some constructs of space were better suited for the image of the artist that needed to be conveyed.

Linda Bauer (2008) notes that during this shift, another word emerges in the language: *stanza* (which translates simply as "space" or "room") used to specifically designate space within the artist's household that was used for creative practice. She suggests that the notion of the stanza, which was used between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, allows us to understand how shifting conceptions of artists' workspaces do not simply represent a shift in artistic ambitions and identity, but also a "reconfiguration of the traditional social relations governing the artist's working space" (Bauer, 2008: 648). As the social distinction of the artist emerged, their workspaces were gradually transformed rhetorically and socially into a space of privilege and leisure that was more inviting and accessible to powerful and affluent patrons. Art spaces become associated with "cultural capital" (Bourdieu, 1993). Through the mid-twentieth century, and especially the period of Happenings through the 1950s and 1960s, we see access to artists' studios representing "a symbolic entrée into the upper class" (Zukin, 1989: 93), as cultural competency or coolness is marked through association with artists or scenes (Ley, 2003).

This access and blurring of publicness and privacy continues to characterize spaces of creative production through the twentieth century until today, as practice and workspace become essential elements of how a product is marketed (Hawkins, 2017). As products have increasingly been sold as experiences or elements of a particular lifestyle, the processes of their making and the spaces in which they are made have also been commodified, as they contribute to an item's perceived authenticity. The romanticized studio has captured the imagination as a space of specialized creative activity that itself takes on "a distinctly 'artistic' aura" (Zukin, 1989: 75). Understood as a "sort of microcosm, a contained sphere in which all and anything [can] be represented" (Cole and Pardo, 2005: 25), filled with artifacts, collections, and ordinary objects seen to express the inner furnishings of the practitioner's mind, the studio often represents both the inner and outer world. It is an archival space responsible for "soaking up… experiences and impressions, objects, references and narratives"

that have been collected by the artist, and acts as a "physical manifestation of their experience" (Sjöholm, 2014: 508-509). Professional creative practice now often involves maintaining a certain level of real or virtual consumer or patron access to this space, involving it in a process of self-marketing, and as a kind of stage for the performance of professionalism (Hawkins, 2017).

All of this might describe the process by which the studio has, through time, evolved, but also how it has been gradually constructed as a visible and symbolic place. But what is meant by "place"? Place is a physical, geographical location or environment, which is also socially constructed, and related to feelings about and unique personal relationships with particular spaces (Lehrer, 2006; Massey, 1995). Place is produced through social relations, not only within a particular space, but between that space and the rest of the world (Massey, 1995). As explained by geographer Doreen Massey (1995), places "can be understood as articulations of social relationships some of which will be to the beyond (the global), and these global relationships as much as the internal relationships of an area will influence its character, its 'identity'" (186). They can be seen not only as moments, but as ongoing processes that stretch through time, as products "of negotiation… between material, discursive, human and nonhuman; they are also points of intersection between contrasting temporalities and spatialities" (Massey, 2005: 356). Place is constantly "in formation" (Massey, 1995: 186), actively being produced and constructed. This makes it open to contestation, where competing interpretations of place-identity and histories exist, and certain characterizations are held through the exercise of power (Massey, 1995). Massey (1995) suggests that "the description, definition and identification of a place is thus always inevitably an intervention not only into geography but also, at least implicitly, into the (re)telling of the historical constitution of the present" (190). Place is thus a site of cultural tensions, politics and struggles over representation (Rose, 1994), or a "cultural artifact of social conflict and cohesion" that expresses mediations between "the demands of cultural identity, state power, and capital accumulation" (Zukin, 1991: 12). Through this understanding, we might also conceive of a kind of "placelessness" (Relph, 1976) or a "non-place" (Lehrer, 2006; Zukin, 1991) characterized by the "absence of a distinct meaning" (Lehrer, 2006: 440) and thus marked by a kind of irrelevance or invisibility, or a negative visibility that marks it as a "place of despair" (Lehrer, 2006).

For Yi Fu Tuan (1977), place is more tangible, "a special kind of object… in which one can dwell" (12). He emphasizes the experiential element of such a thing, the ways in which humans develop a sense of place through perceptual and emotional worlds. This is also discussed in the work of Gaston Bachelard (1994), whose explorations in *The Poetics of Space* posit space as a gateway to the imagination, and emphasize the ways in which our unconscious tends to "cover the world with drawings we have lived" (12). The embodied experience of a space takes on importance, as well as spatial skills and knowledge. Though the studio has become what Tuan (1977) might call a "mythical" (85) place – part of a geography constructed by the imagination – it is also a part of the ordinary built environment, an architectural space that has been constructed and modified in particular ways. It is also a space of experience, of both everyday mundane spatial practice and what Tuan calls "intimate experiences of place" (136): moments of vulnerability in which *space* seems to shape *us.*

The idea that place and identity are interlinked has been explored by a number of geographers, who have suggested that people gain a sense of self or belonging through attachment to particular locations (Bain, 2004; Buttimer, 1980; Conlon, 2004; Relph 1976; Tuan, 1977). Research on emotional geographies also reveals how intense relationships can form between individuals and places. The concepts of topophilia and topophobia – the love or fear of place – capture some of the strong and socio-culturally specific emotional connections that can be developed with particular environments (Tuan, 1990; see also Lehrer, 2006 and Muñoz González, 2005). A variety of studies also point to process of identity formation through interactions with and production of place (Bain, 2003, 2004; Conlon, 2004; Hetherington, 1996; Podmore, 1998). Of particular interest here is Bain's (2004) work on artistic studios, wherein she emphasizes the role of place in identity formation, and the importance of the studio as a form of personal validation for one's creative practice. As she puts it, such a space "establishes the individual's reputation as a serious artist and reaffirms allegiance to the artistic profession" (2004: 180), offering a sense of both credibility and grounding.

A studio is seen as being one of the basic requirements of creative practice, and an integral factor in the construction of the artistic identity (Bain, 2004). Dominant popular ideal images of what the "authentic" studio should be usually revolve around two dominant models: the nineteenth century Parisian *atelier*, and the mid-twentieth century New York factory loft (ibid.). Many interpretations of what constitutes a desirable or "real" studio are driven by prototype images of such spaces from art history, and the creative practitioner's desire to have one is often driven by concerns about professionalism, about being a "real" artist, and aligning with these images (ibid.).

This desire to be associated with these images has also carried over into middle-class patterns of consumption, as documented in the work of Sharon Zukin on the popularization of loft living in New York. Zukin (1989, 1998) traces the transformation of the creative studio from mere workspace to attractive public scene, and the integration of this space into cultural consumption and the real estate market. Her work details how middle-class tastes, con-

Across above: The practice space of the Sun Ra Arkestra. This house in Germantown, Philadelphia was inherited from one of the band members' fathers, and was turned into a commune where the group lived, practiced and recorded. It is worth noting that the histories and representations of musical practice spaces are less prominent in academic research than those of visual artists. Photograph by Luci Lux, 2014, accessed at http://www.electronicbeats.net/andre-vida-and-max-dax-talk-to-marshall-allen-of-the-sun-ra-arkestra/.

Across below: Andy Warhol's Factory, in New York, the summer of 1965. This studio enjoyed more fame than most artists ever do. Note his hung prints, the famous foil-covered walls. Warhol is visible in the back, centre-right. Photograph by Fred McDarrah, accessed at The National, https://www.thenational.ae/arts-culture/how-nyu-abu-dhabi-recreated-andy-warhol-s-the-factory-for-one-night-1.181660.


EXIT

sumption patterns, and increasingly standardized consumption landscapes have developed around the constructed and projected image of artistic lifestyle. Her work on lifestyle consumption in New York outlines how middle-class demand – aligned with investment capital and state interest in residential conversion and the potential of spaces of creative production – led to the development of the loft market. She traces a shift in the uses of the built landscape from production to consumption, and a process of legitimation, legalization and institutionalization that both physically converted and socially transformed old and disinvested manufacturing spaces into luxury commodities. The effects of this still pervade real estate today, as evidenced by the use of terms like "studio-loft," "open-concept," or "loft-style" to connote a certain kind of desirable and cultured lifestyle in the marketing of luxury condominiums. These strategies draw upon a place's perceived authenticity, a "look and feel" (Zukin, 2010: 220) that are connected to real spatial characteristics but are also connected to individual yearning for meaning, stability and connectivity (ibid.). These same tactics extend also to the practices of "place-marketing" and "place-branding" that expand marketing strategies to entire neighbourhoods and cities, commodifying their perceived sense of authenticity in the interest of positioning them strategically as desirable destinations in inter- and intra-urban competition.

In these processes of commodification and placemaking, the media plays an integral role, defining creative scenes, doling out visibility, shaping dominant narratives, and promoting particular desires or lifestyles in both serious headline news and lifestyle articles. Contemporary journalists and bloggers are often in a tension-filled position. Journalism, as a creative field in its own right, is often impacted by the political allegiances of individual owners, by the need to satisfy target markets, by competition, and by funding requirements (Bourdieu, 1993: 45). As a result, their discourse can be confusing, serving various motives and filled with contradictions. Also, as has been pointed out by Toronto cultural critic and art journalist Yaniya Lee (2016a, 2016b), the art world and a great deal of art writing privileges certain stories, often leaving out the experiences and creative work of marginalized and racialized groups. As a result, Toronto's media coverage of its creative scenes is somewhat inconsistent, caught between reinforcing and selling a "cool" lifestyle, and telling stories of political tensions and struggles in the city, often missing much of the picture. They play a two-faced role (for example one moment seeming to champion the cause of lower-income, displaced artists, and the next running a story that glorifies the aesthetics and styles of consumption that serve to displace those very artists), often ignoring a great deal of what is taking place on the ground, and reinforcing particular understandings of and narratives about creativity and the politics surrounding it.

A major role of the media in Toronto, while it may frequently be unintentional, is the establishment and re-enforcement of popular trends and the generation of "hype" or "buzz" through consumption-oriented lifestyle articles that promote particular places, things and activities as hip. As Zukin (1995) has pointed out, "styles that develop on the street are cycled through mass media… where, divorced from their social context, they become images of cool" (9). Pop culture publications are especially engaged in this, but even more serious newspapers frequently indulge, especially in their lifestyle or real estate sections. These types of articles contribute to cultural trends and process-

es of urban change in a variety of ways. Some articles explicitly posit specific products or activities as emerging fads, spotlighting cool neighbourhoods and places to be, and featuring often-sponsored articles promoting particular places or events. *NOW Magazine*, for example, are considered to be one of the foremost and definitive local arts and culture publications, featuring extensive event listings, "Best Of" series and top ten lists, and cultural entertainment reviews of all kinds. They also have their proverbial "finger on the pulse" of Toronto's underground and DIY arts scenes. Publications such as these serve as guides for up-and-coming trends, and extend a certain kind of legitimacy, visibility and "cool" factor to particular aspects of the city's cultural scene. At the same time, the cultural media can be seen as existing within a feedback chamber, where a privileged cultural elite are simply speaking to themselves, reinforcing an existing cultural hegemony. For example, the legitimacy and role of existing arts institutions is re-enforced in the media, and the power wielded by prominent organizations such as Artscape is consistently reaffirmed.

Meanwhile, more serious news articles tend to point to the harsher political realities of the creative city, but may also contribute to the identification and formation of popular trends. Many of these articles pick up on the challenges faced by artists in Toronto, noting displacement as a major problem, and pointing to tensions and struggles over space between artists, developers and the City. It seems taken as a given that artists are linked to neighbourhood regeneration, their presence being seen as an automatic stimulant for change. News articles can also speak to struggles within the arts community itself. The current political climate created by movements like #metoo and Black Lives Matter has influenced cultural production and the voices being prioritized and heard. This is evidenced by grassroots artists like Toronto's Lido Pimienta winning the Polaris Prize, and activist voices like Hooded Fang's April Aliermo, LAL's Rosina Kazi and Blank Canvas's John Samuels becoming prominent voices for Toronto's creative scenes. As heated public debates have been sparked about such things as exploitation, funding, cultural appropriation, white supremacy, colonialism, gentrification, sexual assault, and gender rights, the media have covered more nuanced and politicized aspects of the local art world. As a result, marginalization, gender discrimination, patriarchy, racism and white supremacy within Toronto's arts community have increasingly received more attention, as have the nu-

"Before Queen Street West gentrified with boutiques and condos, the strip was a hotbed for the city's art scene and MOCA... became a prime destination for gallery hoppers after it opened near Shaw Street in 2005. In August 2015, the gallery packed up shop with a plan to take over five floors of the 10-storey former auto factory in the Junction Triangle neighbourhood... The industrial area is fast becoming a desirable location for real estate developers. Last summer, the Drake Hotel opened its massive Commissary on Sterling, which has traditionally been home to artist and recording studios and DIY cultural spaces."

-article by Kevin Ritchie in NOW Magazine, January 31, 2018

merous grassroots groups and DIY spaces that have emerged to fill the gaps created by exclusions.

Media coverage of DIY as a practice, and of DIY spaces in particular, increased dramatically in the wake of the Ghost Ship venue fire in Oakland, California in December of 2016. Following this tragedy, a wave of DIY and commercial venue closures in Toronto received attention, leading to policy action for music venue protection in early 2017 via the Toronto Music Advisory Committee (TMAC). DIY spaces are predominantly understood by the public in Toronto to be underground or alternative venues, after-hours clubs, or party spaces, the locations where work is seen (this was confirmed in the many of my participant interviews). Media coverage of DIY has reinforced this singular understanding of it, paying little attention to how DIY comes into play in creative practice or within spaces of production. Spaces of production are actually mentioned very little in the media, except in pop articles, which position them in a context of trendsetting and lifestyle goals, as an aesthetic inspiration and stylistic choice.

PLANNING THE STUDIO

In terms of spaces of production, in twenty-first century planning we can note an increase in the formal planning of studios, and the emergence of a policy language that recognizes such things as "creative districts" and "live/work" spaces. As the perception of artists has shifted from "delinquents" (Silver, 2013: 249) and "deviant hedonists" (ibid.) to "useful labor" (ibid.) whose link to authenticity is a key factor in urban redevelopment processes, there has been an increasingly strategic approach to the provision of creative space in the city, and planners are increasingly involved in fields of cultural production (Mommaas, 2004). In Toronto, this is seen in strategic efforts to co-locate activities that are deemed to be creative or innovative, and to ensure the maintenance of an arts community in the downtown of the city through the provision of studios and live/work spaces. The creation of designated arts districts or zones, through naming or zoning, encourages the concentration of arts-related land uses, which include not only studios, galleries, and production houses, but also commercial or retail interests, and cafés.

This mode of provision of arts-related space very much follows a popular doctrine of clustering (Mommaas, 2004; Pratt, 2004, 2008; Pratt and Jeffcutt, 2009). This practice is rooted within more traditional ideas about agglomeration economies, and follows a logic presuming that the co-location of creative activities not only serves to incubate those activities, but also to generate growth or regeneration in the surrounding area (Pratt and Jeffcutt, 2009). Cluster strategies have generated a high degree of "hype" (Mommaas, 2004: 530) among planners and policymakers in major cities around the world. At the provincial level, we see this in use with Ontario's Entertainment Creative Cluster (a provincial economic initiative in which "cluster" refers to a geographic concentration of globally competitive creative industries within the province). At the city-scale clustering takes many forms, happening through both top-down and bottom-up tactics and involving both private and public financing. It often involves strategically concentrating a combination of cultural, entrepreneur-

ial and leisure activities in large building complexes or entire districts, and fostering horizontal and vertical collaboration between them (Mommaas, 2004).

Clusters can take a variety of forms, with different styles of programming, different development trajectories, different orientations towards production and consumption, different political orientations, and different objectives (ibid.). The idea is that by internally fostering flows of capital, consumption and production, these clusters become self-sustaining and generative entities with positive spillover effects. Prominent examples of the deployment of these ideas in Toronto might be the MaRS Discovery District, which acts as a hub for numerous creative industries and business start-ups, or 401 Richmond, which performs a similar function as a singular building[1]. Clusters are legitimized in policy-making due to their perceived role in revitalization, "spectacularisation" (Debord, 1994), and competitive placemaking, as well as their perceived ability to generate new cultural forms within the culture industries through place-specific advantages (Mommaas, 2004). They operate around an assumption that some places are preferable to others, offering more as a commodified landscape in terms of resources and competitive benefits (Noonan, 2015).

As multi-scalar networks, clusters and other purposive creative placemaking strategies involve marking out boundaries around creativity, separating distinct and identified "creative" spaces from purportedly ordinary ones, ignoring more rhizomatic, socially produced, or everyday geographies of creativity (Edensor et al., 2010: 15), or gradually shifting or absorbing them. This is a process of displacement by power that Zukin (1991) has termed "liminality" (28). For Zukin, within processes of economic restructuring and spatial reorganization that orient towards abstraction, internationalization and consumption, liminal zones become marked by ambiguity, as they "cross and combine the influence of major institutions: public and private, culture and economy, market and place" (269). Through liminality, market culture and consumption are spatially embedded but still potentially challenged by the vernacular, and cities become, as Zukin describes it, institutionally and ideologically "constrained" (54). In new geographies of creative practice, institutions become extensions of the marketplace. Certain spaces are privileged as important places by policymakers (who are largely aligned with the market and private interests) and within public discourse (which tends to reinforce dominant narratives and existing institutional frameworks), while others are not, resulting in a tension-filled, fragmented and shifting cultural landscape that is largely dominated by power.

SHIFTING GEOGRAPHIES OF CREATIVITY AND WORK

At the same time as these more formal creative spaces are strategically planned, and the image of the studio has been increasingly drawn into privileged, visible and public landscapes of consumption, the nature of labour is shifting, giving rise to new geographies and spaces of work and produc-

4 These two hubs reveal the ways in which clusters can differ from one another in often extreme ways, using different pathways and internal frameworks to achieve similar goals. MaRS might exemplify a more top-down model, featuring vast state support and a roster of big name members, while 401 Richmond is touted as a grassroots philanthropic success story born of the vision of a single individual.

tion (Neilson and Rossiter, 2005; Pratt, 1997; Schiller, 1999; Webster, 1996). A considerable amount of work is being done, as ever, in the space of the home. With the rise of the "brave new world of work" (Beck, 2000; Flores and Gray, 2000) labour markets have been made increasingly more flexible as the space of the factory has been "increasingly disseminated out into *society as a whole*" (Gill and Pratt, 2008: 6, emphasis in original). Shifts towards increased autonomy and individualization force us to rethink today's experience of alienated labour. Rather than shifting towards the form of radical self-management (*autogestion*) that Lefebvre once imagined capitalism to be moving towards, autonomy and creativity have instead been instrumentalized within it, fitting perfectly into neoliberal frameworks (Ronneberger, 2008). Increased digitization, the internet, and the emergence of digital and informational capitalism have played significant roles in facilitating workplace fragmentation and what many perceive to be the proliferation of precarious work (Baines, 1999; Gill and Pratt, 2008; Schiller, 1999). Precarity, according to Gill and Pratt (2008), "refers to all forms of insecure, contingent, flexible work – from illegalized, casualized and temporary employment, to homeworking, piecework and freelancing" (3). This condition has existed somewhat consistently throughout capitalism, with the exception of the Fordist period (Neilson and Rossiter, 2008). Some scholars suggest that "on a global scale and in its privatized and/or unpaid versions, precarity is and always has been the standard experience of work in capitalism" (Mitropoulous, 2005: 5).

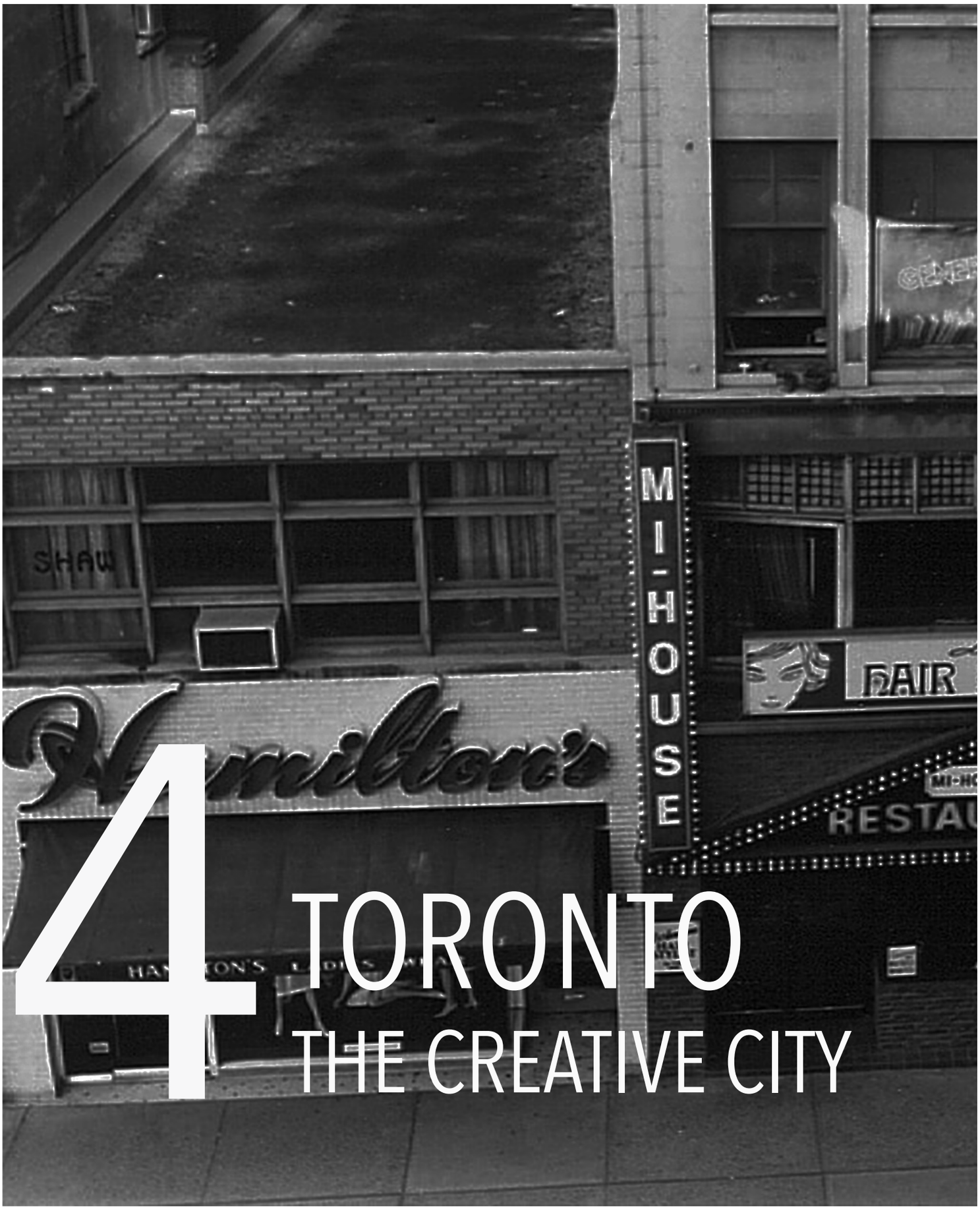
As business has been being restructured, and space reorganized accordingly, working conditions have been changing dramatically for many creative workers. Cultural and creative fields have seen a shift towards individualized work, with a considerable amount of formerly in-house creative work now being undertaken as self-employed or freelance work (Baines, 1999; Pratt, 1997). Of significance here has been the move towards the elimination of the formal centralized workplace itself, which could be seen as a shifting of costs onto employees, who must now work from home or find other accommodations (Towers et al., 2006), and as placing new responsibilities upon third spaces, such as cafés, libraries, or co-working spaces, which have subsequently emerged as important spaces of work (Di Marino and Lapintie, 2017). Teleworking or telecommuting are increasingly popular forms of work, facilitated by technologies which allow any space to function as a kind of satellite of the workplace (Brown and O'Hara, 2003). They are often framed as offering more autonomy and freedom to workers and reflecting workers' own demands for flexibility (Liegl, 2014; Neilson and Rossiter, 2006), and are often characterized as being privileged or ideal, owing much to Toffler's (1980) sci-fi utopian conceptualization of the "electronic cottage." Toffler's notion conjures an image of the worker, leisurely typing away at a computer in some picturesque locale. Similarly to how creative practice is often framed as "doing what you love," allowing employees to work from home or wherever they choose is often promoted as a way of turning any labour into personally fulfilling work, and ensuring worker happiness by offering more autonomy and freedom. There are, of course, other reasons why telework is increasingly popular and touted as the way of the future by business interests seeking further flexibility. Productivity is seen to significantly increase when people work from home, due to the elimination of pesky hindrances such as breaks or workplace socializing (Lister and Har-

nish, 2011; Loubier, 2017). Feminist critics warn not to be too quickly sold on the supposed conveniences offered by this new form of work, and remind of the many ways in which working from home can make workers more vulnerable to exploitative and underpaid forms of work, which has typically been the plight of women through history (Phizacklea and Wolkowitz, 1995).

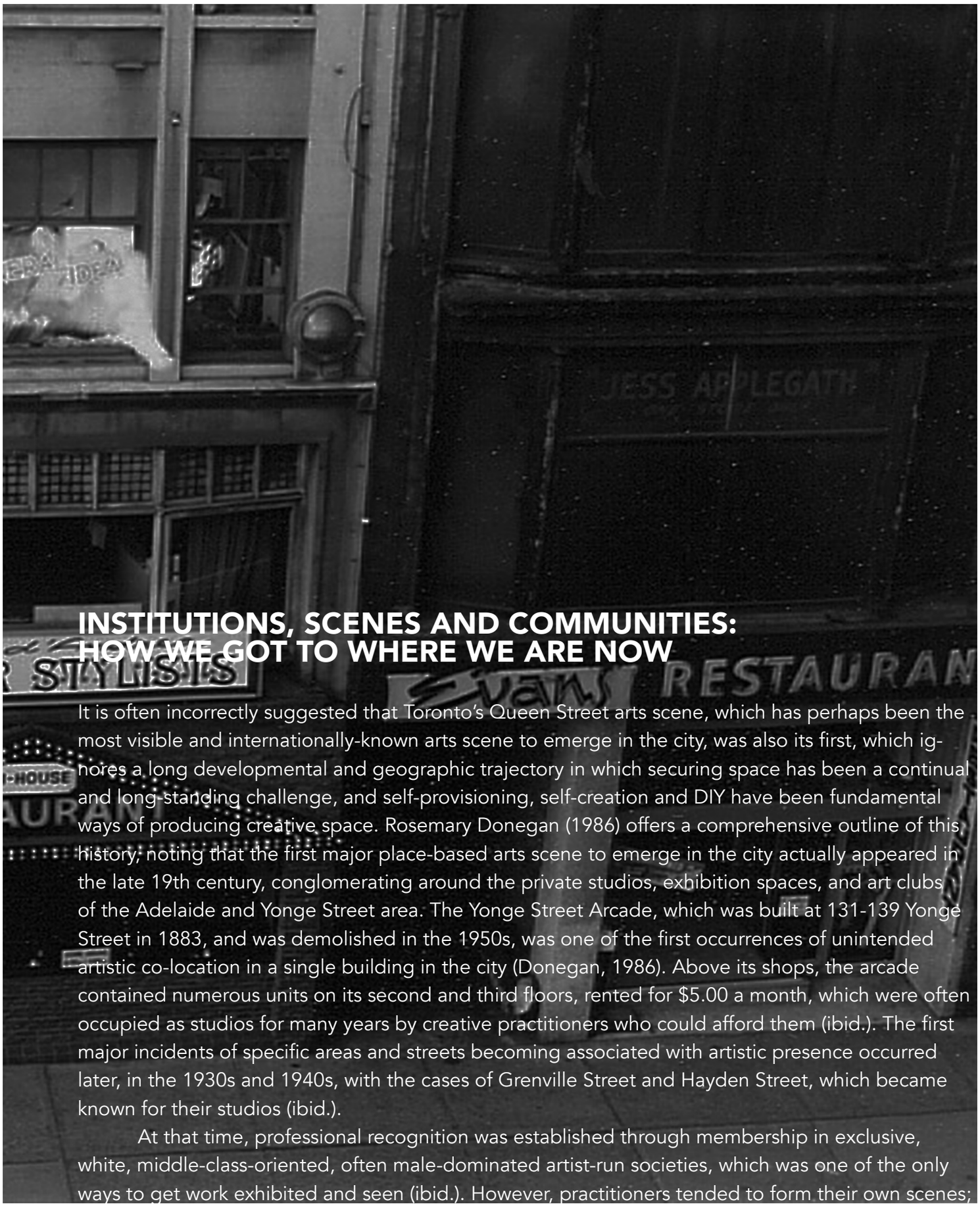
Through increased flexibilization and larger amounts of homework or telework, the potential space of work expands tremendously (Towers et al., 2006). With this expansion, experiences of space transform, and with the increasing spatial uncertainty faced by workers, the question of place is an increasingly important practical concern (Brown and O'Hara, 2003, Liegl, 2014). As suggested by Brown and O'Hara (2003), work now "reconfigures places both through the work being carried out there, and by the conscious altering of places to make them more amenable to work," leading them to suggest that work no longer simply "takes place" but also "makes place" by inscribing itself into space through social and spatial practices (1574). Capitalism increasingly "colonizes" everyday space through the practices of the workers themselves, as they alter the available spaces around them to accommodate the labour process (Brown and O'Hara, 2003: 1575).

This has important implications and consequences for supposedly public and private spaces. New geographies of production and work push hard against Karl Marx's suggestion in the 19th century that the worker "is at home when he is not working, and when he is working he is not at home" (Marx, 1978: 74), and align with the suggestions of numerous scholars that binary distinctions between public and private space fail to capture the complexities of the spaces we currently produce (Bondi and Domosh, 1998; Nissen, 2008; Smith and Low, 2006).

It is important to recognize that, as suggested earlier, the home has historically been a consistent location of creative practice. Hawkins (2017) suggests that "to assert the importance of the home as a site for creative production is… to participate in feminist challenges to the invisibility of women's domestic labour which long enabled home-based working to be dismissed as invalid and unimportant compared to work done outside of the home" (107). Bain's (2003) work on women artists and their workspaces follows the feminist argument that "women artists must work in pieces – pieces of time, pieces of money, pieces of material. Women have always had the leftovers from society with which to work" (Miller and Swenson, 1981: 20). Bain (2003) argues that women are "intensely involved in the planning, development and maintenance of workspaces" (190), although maintaining workspace is a challenge for creative practitioners whose parental responsibilities force them to operate out of their homes. Overlapping or "porous and permeable" (ibid.) spaces develop, which impact work, privacy, boundaries, and control over space. The blending of everyday life and practice can lead to confusion about roles and mental states (being in "work mode" or "life mode"), while the isolation from other artists offers little affirmation about one's practice (ibid.). Following the lead provided by this work, Hawkins (2017) further explores the challenges of making room for an intentional creative practice in the home. Her work extends Bain's analysis more generally beyond individuals navigating a balance between creative practice and parenthood to a broad range of creative practitioners across fields, genders and family structures.



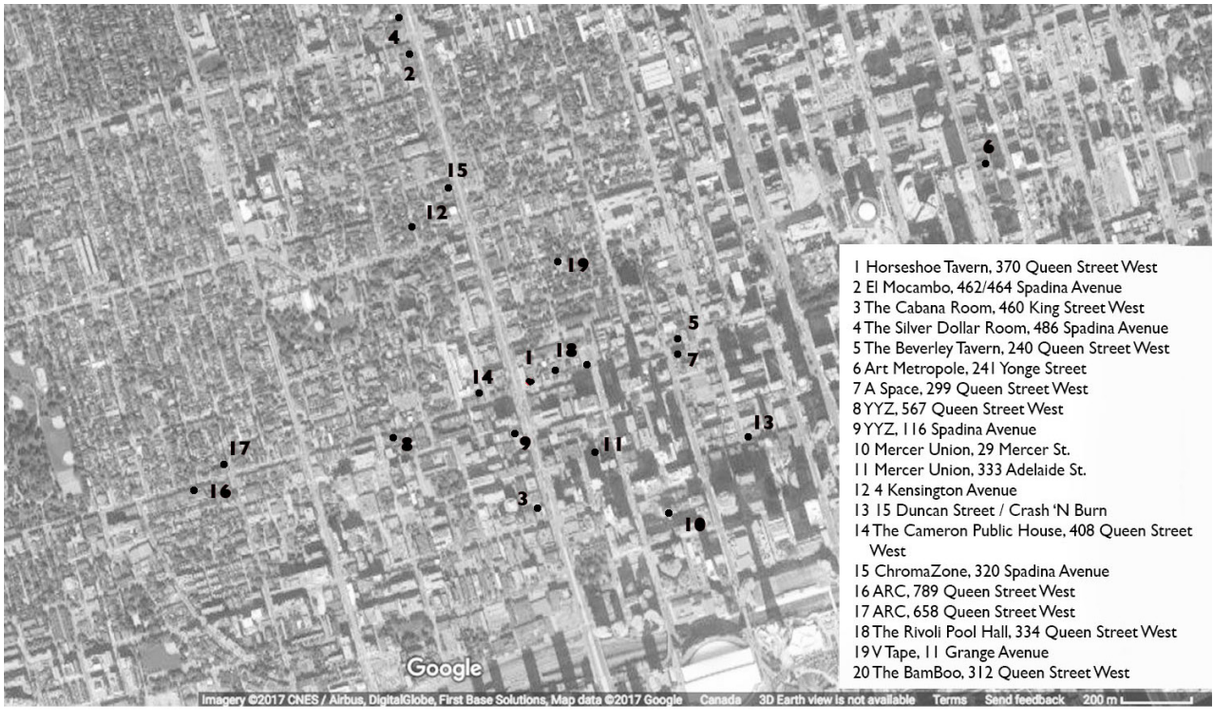
4 TORONTO
THE CREATIVE CITY



INSTITUTIONS, SCENES AND COMMUNITIES: HOW WE GOT TO WHERE WE ARE NOW

It is often incorrectly suggested that Toronto's Queen Street arts scene, which has perhaps been the most visible and internationally-known arts scene to emerge in the city, was also its first, which ignores a long developmental and geographic trajectory in which securing space has been a continual and long-standing challenge, and self-provisioning, self-creation and DIY have been fundamental ways of producing creative space. Rosemary Donegan (1986) offers a comprehensive outline of this history, noting that the first major place-based arts scene to emerge in the city actually appeared in the late 19th century, conglomerating around the private studios, exhibition spaces, and art clubs of the Adelaide and Yonge Street area. The Yonge Street Arcade, which was built at 131-139 Yonge Street in 1883, and was demolished in the 1950s, was one of the first occurrences of unintended artistic co-location in a single building in the city (Donegan, 1986). Above its shops, the arcade contained numerous units on its second and third floors, rented for $5.00 a month, which were often occupied as studios for many years by creative practitioners who could afford them (ibid.). The first major incidents of specific areas and streets becoming associated with artistic presence occurred later, in the 1930s and 1940s, with the cases of Grenville Street and Hayden Street, which became known for their studios (ibid.).

At that time, professional recognition was established through membership in exclusive, white, middle-class-oriented, often male-dominated artist-run societies, which was one of the only ways to get work exhibited and seen (ibid.). However, practitioners tended to form their own scenes;


1 Horseshoe Tavern, 370 Queen Street West
2 El Mocambo, 462/464 Spadina Avenue
3 The Cabana Room, 460 King Street West
4 The Silver Dollar Room, 486 Spadina Avenue
5 The Beverley Tavern, 240 Queen Street West
6 Art Metropole, 241 Yonge Street
7 A Space, 299 Queen Street West
8 YYZ, 567 Queen Street West
9 YYZ, 116 Spadina Avenue
10 Mercer Union, 29 Mercer St.
11 Mercer Union, 333 Adelaide St.
12 4 Kensington Avenue
13 15 Duncan Street / Crash 'N Burn
14 The Cameron Public House, 408 Queen Street West
15 ChromaZone, 320 Spadina Avenue
16 ARC, 789 Queen Street West
17 ARC, 658 Queen Street West
18 The Rivoli Pool Hall, 334 Queen Street West
19 V Tape, 11 Grange Avenue
20 The BamBoo, 312 Queen Street West
Google
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particularly those who were younger, could not afford their own studios, and were not full-time professionals – and artist-run clubs such as the Art Students League or the Graphic Arts Club emerged around this time (ibid.). As the 20th century progressed there was a shift away from the bourgeois club mentality of the previous generation, towards an "oppositional style" (Donegan, 1986: 20) that pushed against the upper classes and prominent cultural institutions.

Through the 1950s and 1960s, art and music scenes emerged around Gerrard Village and the Yorkville area. Gerrard Village, referred to as "the only real Bohemia Toronto had ever known" (Town, 1974 quoted in Donegan, 1986: 20) took root prior to the 1950s in the network of restaurants, bars, and craft studios in the working-class neighbourhood previously known as "The Ward." This scene was eventually displaced by mass evictions brought on by the construction of a parking lot for the Toronto General Hospital in the 1960s (Donegan, 1986). Yorkville Village, meanwhile, emerged as an important folk and countercultural scene around that time, as a combination of creative practitioners, students, political activists, queer community members, American draft dodgers and hippies located themselves in the neighbourhood, attracted to its underinvested and affordable spaces and its variety of public gathering places (Henderson, 2011). However, Yorkville quickly "became a cliché of itself" (Mathews, 2008: 2851), and the scene that developed was largely displaced by rapid gentrification, "boutiquing" (Zukin, 2009), place-marketing that positively spun and commodified the neighbourhood's perceived artistic identity (Mathews, 2008), and by the completion of the Bloor-Danforth subway line, which drove up property values significantly (Jordan, 1980; Henderson, 2011).

As Yorkville was overtaken by high-end shops, restaurants, and exclusive commercial galleries that catered to a more international art market, a new scene began to spatialize around the Queen Street area, in close proximity to the Ontario College of Art and Design (OCAD), the Art Gallery of Ontario, and the University of Toronto, making extensive use of the disinvested manufacturing infrastructure and the vast array of third spaces in the neighbourhood. An examination of this geography reveals how many of

Previous page centrefold: General Idea's headquarters above the Mi-House restaurant at 87 Yonge Street in the early 1970s. Detail from *Inside/Outside General Idea Headquarters* (1970) from Collection General Idea, accessed at https://www.aci-iac.ca/art-books/general-idea/biography.

Across top: TheYonge Street Arcade at Yonge Street and Victoria Street rented out space to "lawyers, artists, dentists, and everyone requiring decent office room," according to an ad in the Daily Mail in spring of 1884 (Bradburn, 2009). Photo circa 1885, by unknown photographer, from Toronto Public Library archives, B-12-44B).

Across bottom: Map of important cultural spaces, including informal tird spaces, used by the Queen Street West scene through the 1970s to 1990s (Bain and March, forthcoming). Image produced by Loren March, 2018.
Above: The Digger House in Yorkville was a hostel for the neighbourhood's hippies, run by journalist and activiist June Callwood. Image by Boris Spremo, 1969, from the Toronto Star archives, accessd at https://www.torontopubliclibrary.ca/detail.jsp?Entt=RDMDC-TSPA_0008406F&R=DC-TSPA_0008406F,.

Below: Sidewalk patio in front of The Penny Farthing, a popular café in Yorkville Village. Image by Harold Whyte, 1963, from the Toronto Star archives, accessed at https://static.torontopubliclibrary.ca/da/images/LC/ts-2-136-gt-373.jpg.

today's important cultural institutions emerged out of very particular contexts of DIY, self-provisioning and horizontal support and philanthropy that were established in the 1970s and 1980s (Bain and March, forthcoming).

The Queen Street West scene was a unique and complex social world within which economies of giving and co-creation, resource sharing, anti-capitalist/anti-state/anti-art market political imperatives, radical strategizing, and drives for self-governance were prevalent. It both countered the established institutions that it did not see as serving it, and created a "parallel universe" (Bronson, Interview 2014) for itself. At the political level, there was also a huge shift occurring. As Amerigo Marras, the *enfant terrible* behind Toronto's Centre for Experimental Art and Communication (CEAC) observed, artists had begun "rethinking the art structure" (Marras, 1977: 83) itself. Queen Street West rose up arguably in opposition to the "sentimentalism" (Monk, 2016: 11) of the previous generation of artists and to the more commercial art world that had established itself in its wake in Yorkville Village. A very specific relationship was developing in regards to state-funding, bureaucracy and political ideals, which situated art as a marginal social practice (Tuer, 1986). A scene began to emerge that questioned its position in relation to the bourgeois world of high art, that appropriated this world's language and spun it in processes of creative *détournement*, or that quite simply rejected it, outright critiquing artists' roles within capitalism and cultural imperialism. Many sought artist control over cultural activities. Punk had become a prominent form and lifestyle, and the city's music and art scenes became extremely intertwined at this time. Work and individual practices emerged around highly political subject matter, including sexuality, women's rights, and the AIDS crisis. Institutions formed around individuals – Monk suggests that the two even became "conflated" (Monk, 2016: 142) – and came to represent political "points of view" and "ideological positions" (ibid.).

The Queen Street West scene was not only heterogeneous, but often "fractured" (Monk, 2016: 21) and "in competition" (Monk, 2016: 12) internally. The well-known feud between the artist-run centre A Space and its more radical and revolutionary rival CEAC perhaps best exemplifies these tensions. A Space represented "old values" (Monk, 2016: 12), and constituted a "neutral space that could be filled in different ways" (ibid.), especially after an "old guard" takeover in 1978, whereas CEAC mounted an unrelenting social critique of art practice within capitalism, and a direct attack upon "the unweilding institutionalizing patronage of reactionary minds that make up the government agencies" (in Tuer, 1986: 30), and the cooptation of artists by the grant system and funding agencies who prioritized "safe, reactionary, institutionalized art" (ibid.). These types of relationships marked out what Monk calls the "political parameters of the downtown art scene: on the one hand, there was an art politics of palace coups; on the other hand, there was the *politics* of art" (Monk, 2016: 13, italics in original). Politics were enmeshed with practices across the scene as it formed and developed, even long after CEAC was defunded by the government for its controversial activities, and disbanded in the early 1980s. These politics appeared both in the work produced and in the forms of interaction, production, and sociality that developed among artists.

As Bronson observed (1987b: 164), artists in Toronto engaged in collaboration and co-cre-

ation: "working together, and working sometimes not together we labored to structure, or rather to untangle from the messy post-sixties spaghetti of our minds, artist-run galleries, artists' video, and artist-run magazines. And that allowed us to allow ourselves to see ourselves as an art scene. And we did." As Monk (2016: 20) puts it, also drawing heavily on Bronson, "there was no consensus as to what constituted a relevant art scene in the city… Toronto was realpolitik. It was a matter of the day-to-day construction of an art scene where there were no 'ready-made-pretexts for coming into existence.'" The Queen Street scene, then, built up its own support structures to gain visibility in the broader city, and doled out visibility and legitimacy within its own networks, its activities and narrative "aimed at an audience of other artists" (Bronson, 1987a: 12). Patronage or collecting in the traditional forms became virtual impossibilities in many cases, as the form of the work produced simply did not allow it, and was in many ways simply for other artists. New forms had to be created to fit the shape of the scene. This was a scene that constructed itself through self-creation, myth-making and performance, and was then "authenticated by its own reflection in the media" (Bronson, 1987b: 164).

That this scene developed in the Queen Street West area was determined in part by a "larger economic framework and by real estate values, core-suburb pressures, the role of civic government, the market factors affecting the creative-culture service industries, and the specific age and architecture of the neighbourhood" (Donegan, 1986: 12). Its success might be credited to the area's unique "inter-relationship of economics, ideas and physical-geographic location" (Donegan, 1986: 13). The area's architecture, its many 19th century storefronts and "unusual" (Donegan, 1986: 22) number of affordable apartments and houses; its numerous locally-owned cheap supply stores, bars and restaurants; its proximity to the AGO and OCAD; its obsolete stock of industrial warehouses and factories towards the waterfront; and the desolate feel of its countless parking lots: all of these things combined to make Queen Street West an ideal geographic location for an arts scene that relied overwhelmingly upon its own generative forces to survive and develop.

The creative practitioners of Queen Street West are well-

Above: The artist David Buchan's 1977 *Fashion Burn* event at CEAC's DIY venue Crash N' Burn. Described as an "unruly DIY experiment" (Monk, 2016: 197), and a "hole-in-the-wall-space with a bathtub for a fridge" (Tuer, 1986: 33), it nevertheless served as an important hub for emerging punk bands like The Dishes, The Viletones, The Diodes, The B-Girls, and the Dead Boys, among many others. At the time, there were only a handful of Toronto venues who would allow punk bands to play, and Crash 'N Burn has been hailed as the first venue to truly popularize punk in the city. Photo by Isobel Harry, from the CCCA Canadian Art Database.

Below: Staff and guests partying on the rooftop at The BamBoo Club. The BamBoo, located in Queen West, notably played a key role in the development of the Afro-Caribbean live music scene in Toronto. It used its ties and connections to local radio stations to promote Black and diasporic music in the city, sponsoring the Sounds of Africa radio show, acting as the official venue for Afrofest in the late 1980s, and bringing in numerous international Black performers and musicians to play live shows. An enormous music scene emerged around the venue, largely due to help of CKLN radio hosts Thad Ulzen and Sam Mensah, as well as co-owner Richard O'Brien's own curatorial decisions as the venue's booker. O'Brien is pictured on the left. Photos by Patti Habib, accessed at http://thenandnowtoronto.com/2014/12/then-now-bamboo/.

known for having developed their own network of cultural institutions and artist-run centres, which included publications and presses, gallery spaces, and studios. Practitioners also made extensive use of local restaurants, bars and hotels. Donegan (1986), Rantisi and Leslie (2010), Evans (2010) and Currid (2007) all note the importance of these kinds of "third spaces" to socialization and the development of work. Rantisi and Leslie (2010) suggest artists rely upon the flexibility, diversity and affordability of these spaces, using them as alternatives to formal institutional settings. They complement formal policies and frameworks by providing "indirect forms of support" (Rantisi and Leslie: 45) and an environment in which "risks and failures are acknowledged and even encouraged" (ibid.). This is similar to what Bain (2003) has called "improvisational space": space that allows artists "to explore, to look, to listen, and to shift the boundaries with which they experience the world" (Bain: 312). Evans (2010) has noted how community venues such as art centers or bars are "adapted and adopted" (Evans: 23) by users to meet their needs. Currid (2007) identifies clubs, venues and lounges as "great sites of creative exchange" (Currid: 104) that allow "digging beneath… formal institutions" (ibid.). They offer a scene a kind of "spatial stickiness" that is otherwise difficult to achieve (Bain and March, forthcoming).

Already in the mid-1980s, however, people spoke of the "death" of the Queen Street scene. The scene changed, punk became more drawn away from the artistic avant-garde and more centered around Kensington Market as it became a scene of its own, numerous artistic projects dissolved, and the scene also suffered the untimely losses of several artists to the AIDS crisis. Artists moved away, changed cities, started families. In addition to this, many of the artists, students, actors and musicians of the scene went on to open businesses or galleries, or to join the ranks of high-profile institutions, shifting their roles within the cultural field. Donegan (1986) notes the first signs of gentrification occurring in the downtown in the 1980s, followed by place-marketing attempts that sought to rebrand Queen Street West as Toronto's "SoHo." The neighbourhood has, since then, been subjected to several waves of gentrification that have changed the character of the area in dramatic ways. While it has in recent years been declared one of the "hippest" (Babad, 2014) places in the world, and now features an overlap of officially designated arts, entertainment and fashion districts, some suggest it has become a "brand name shopping mall" (Monk, 2007), where "economic and cultural privilege derives from a situation artists, who share in neither, have created" (ibid.).

Rampant condominium development, urban upscaling and the total overhaul of post-industrial areas have intensely transformed Queen West, and made it unaffordable not only to artists but even to the upscale galleries who emerged in the area during earlier waves of gentrification, not unlike what has been seen in Yorkville (Smith Cross, 2016). The underground, the avant-garde, or the self-invented scene, have largely been displaced. What remains are larger cultural institutions who can afford the rents required to hold their place, and even they move on in pursuit of "hipper" and more affordable neighbourhoods (now Dupont, Sterling, or Junction Triangle) as Queen West becomes more commercial.

Of course, not all of Queen West is "dead," per se. Some factions remain very much alive

and have become tightly intertwined with the overarching institutional cultural frameworks they once functioned outside of. Moreover, many of the organizations that were formed in the Queen Street West scene have grown into prominent cultural anchors. The support systems developed within the scene in the 1970s and 1980s allowed some groups to rise up as powerful institutions, and some individuals to become highly successful institutions in themselves. For example, artist-run centres like Art Metropole, A Space, YYZ, and Mercer Union are now listed among some of the City's most important cultural stakeholders, playing influential roles in policy and development decisions and helping to define what culture looks like in Toronto.

Since the 1980s and through the 1990s, both media coverage and Toronto Arts Council (TAC) reports emphasized a mounting spatial crisis for creative practitioners in Toronto that continues today with ongoing swelling of downtown real estate values and expanded property speculation (Bain and March, forthcoming; TAC, 1985, 1987). Lobbying on the part of the TAC resulted in the establishment of Toronto Artscape Inc. in 1986, whose mandate was to purposively provide much-needed creative workspaces in the city. While Toronto creative practitioners continue to organize themselves into collectives and strategically co-locate in some of the buildings in the city where this remains possible (such as NEST Collective, Studio 835, or the Coffin Factory – which is currently slated for redevelopment into condos) and devising ways to establish a kind of spatial stickiness, opportunities for the emergence of the kinds of organically-formed artist hubs that allowed scenes like Queen Street West to emerge, and which grip the imaginations of policymakers, are slim, largely due to a lack of affordable space and a lack of suitable disinvested industrial infrastructure. As I see it, those groupings that do appear tend to be caught in a dilemma, where visibility sets off chain processes of gentrification and displacement (usually including their own) or institutionalization (which usually leads to the former, or to shifts in politics), and where invisibility involves the continued obscurity of the conditions in which many must live and work, ongoing struggle for sustainability, and eventual displacement.

Several prominent models with overlapping tactics emerge when we look at the current purposive provision of creative space in Toronto: the dispersed, networked and expansion-oriented model best exemplified by Artscape; designated place-bound arts districts which exist on certain streets or in specific neighbourhoods; creative hubs, studio collectives, co-working spaces; and, finally, short-term rental spaces which usually occupy one or more buildings and are run under a variety of management structures.

The most prominent institution when it comes to creative space in Toronto is Artscape, an arm's-length non-profit urban development organization established by the TAC in the 1980s. Artscape is best known for filling old buildings with new uses, very much *à la* Jane Jacobs, acquiring warehouses and converting them into full-on "community cultural hubs" (Artscape Weston Common, Artscape Wychwood Barns, Daniels Spectrum, or Artscape Youngplace) or "entrepreneurship hubs" (Artscape Daniels Launchpad) that offer extensive cultural programming and membership-based access to resources. This approach has largely depended upon a low-cost supply of disinvested

buildings – often with heritage preservation potential – which are increasingly rare in the city. Artscape is also more recently engaged in new-build projects (largely in partnership with development corporations) meant to provide affordable live/work space and studio space to professional artists[1] in larger market condominium buildings, the most recent of which, Artscape Daniels Launchpad, is a high profile collaborative effort with the developer, Daniels Corporation. The enormous expansion of their operations has occurred with the aid of multi-level government funding and support, as well as through strategic planning mechanisms such as special zoning designations and arts district formation (Ilyniak, 2017). Currently operating fifteen projects in Toronto, Artscape has grown into a highly successful property developer, now constituting perhaps "the most pronounced voice advocating for the creative city" (Lehrer and Wieditz, 2009: 143), bringing its increasingly popular doctrine of creative placemaking to the global scale and now operating in numerous urban centres.

The space offered by Artscape comes in a variety of forms[2]: long-term rentals, ownership, short-term studio rentals, short-term sublets, studio-shares, and residencies. The cost of a space with Artscape depends largely on its type and size. At Artscape Youngplace, for example, their large classroom-sized spaces go for $23.85 per square foot, with studios running from around $3,250 - $3555 per month. Short-term residencies at its Artscape Gibraltar location on the Toronto Islands, cost $425-$450 a week, or less if you stay longer (about $950 a month, although such a lengthy stay is not possible in summer months when spaces are in high demand). Ownership prices are calculated at below-market levels, and some select rental spaces are available at rent-geared-to-income (RGI) prices. In many Artscape-run buildings, below-market rents are possible due to the buildings having been provided at nominal-sum lease rates, or with mortgages that were supported by the City, the Ministry of Housing and the Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Sport.

The competitive application process for units through Arts-

Across above: Artscape Wychwood Barns, a community cultural hub in Toronto's Wychwood Park neighbourhood. Image from Artscape DIY Creative Placemaking website, accessed at http://artscapediy.org/Case-Studies.aspx.

Across below: Arts District Queen West. The renovated Drake Hotel is visible on the left. Photograph from the West Queen West Business Imrpovement Association, accessed at http://westqueenwest.ca/.

1 Applicants for units with Artscape must qualify as professional artists under the criteria of the Draft Canadian Artist Code.

2 Affordable live/work space through takes a variety of forms depending on the building, from rent-geared-to-income in some cases, to market-rate. Affordability is achieved in a variety of ways, depending on the project. For more information on each project and its affordability model, visit Artscape's DIY website (http://www.artscapediy.org/Case-Studies.aspx).


ARTSCAPE WYCHWOOD BARNS

cape is not entirely dissimilar from the process of applying for a government arts grant. It involves a unique blend of self-marketing and proving need. Applicants are required to attend information sessions, and to provide Artscape with a statement of interest and proposal (stating the value they will contribute to the hub), an artist CV, proof of citizenship or residency, and three years' tax assessment information (Toronto Artscape Inc., 2018).

A number of organizations have emerged in the wake of Artscape's success, mimicking a similar model, and striving to co-locate and concentrate artists and entrepreneurs into hubs. Toronto-based arts non-profit organization Akin Collective, for example, aims to provide affordable studio space and arts-based programming throughout the city. They run eight separate projects in different neighbourhoods, offering two-tiered membership, and a variety of studios with differing rental prices, ranging from $160 per month (for 25 square feet) to $655 per month (for 150 square feet).

Arts districts such as Queen Street West or the Oakwood Avenue Arts District have also been designated within the downtown. While Queen West seems primarily to be labelled an arts district for consumption purposes and due to its historical role as such, spaces of production are largely unaffordable and now hard to come by in the area. As it has been upscaled through boutiquing, many artists and arts institutions who helped to initially spur the area's gentrification have moved out of the area (Whyte, 2016). Meanwhile, in the case of the Oakwood Avenue Arts District, located on a section of Oakwood Avenue between Vaughan Road and Rogers Road, the *Official Plan* has been amended to support the clustering of "low-impact" (City of Toronto, 2008c) arts-related uses such as art schools, art centres, commercial galleries, cafés, restaurants, bars, venues, and live/work spaces. While this site-specific policy has permitted the construction of a number of purpose-built live/work spaces along Oakwood Avenue, the Arts District designation in this case has been intertwined with the targeted revitalization of the area, and, by my estimation, seems more oriented towards an overall goal of transitioning and upscaling the area than towards the provision of affordable workspaces. Similar conclusions have emerged around designated arts and culture districts in other cities (see Rich and Tsitsos, 2016 for case studies in Baltimore). While benefits for practitioners are offered beyond the mere branding effort, these are often implemented in such a way as to more broadly promote place-based consumption.

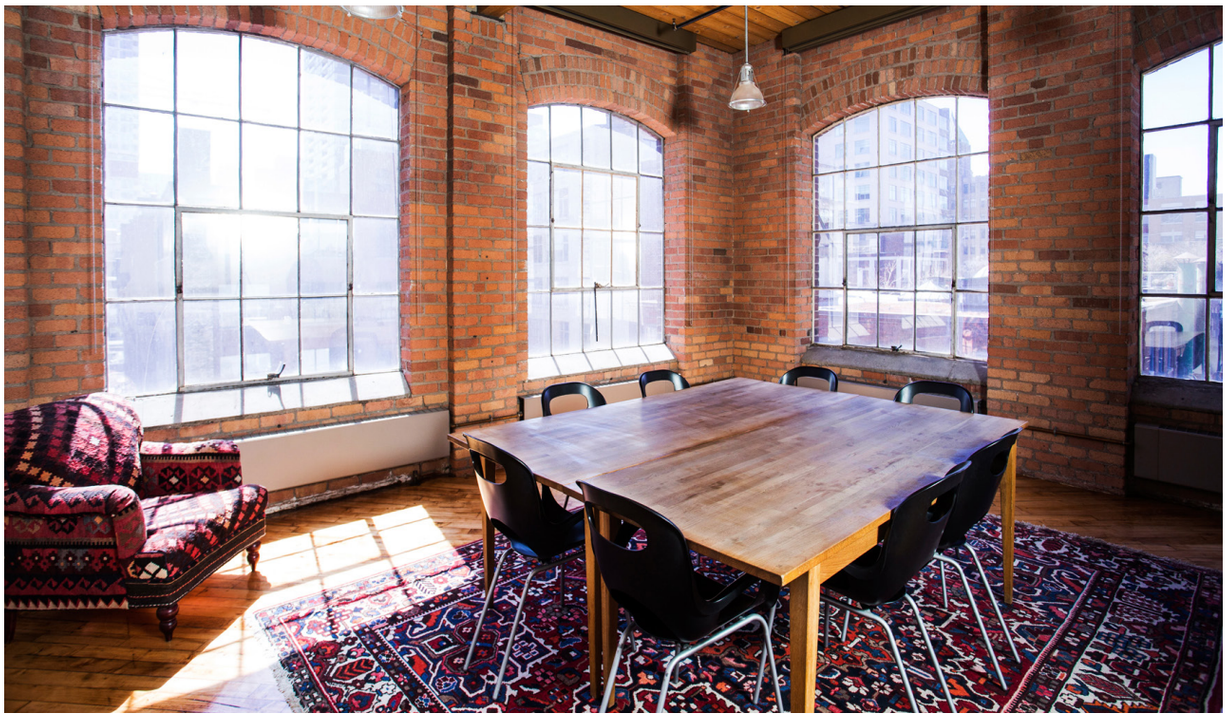
The arts hub model is also increasingly popular as a way to concentrate and co-locate creative practitioners and entrepreneurs. 401 Richmond is perhaps the city's best-known example, but since its inception in the 1990s a number of attempts have been made to replicate it. 401 Richmond might represent both a sort of last stand and an anchor in a rapidly densifying downtown, as a philanthropic intervention that seeks to preserve idealized notions of neighbourhood, heritage and authentic creativity within a single building. The privately managed hub was founded and continues to be directed by the vision of prominent Toronto philanthropist-developer Margie Zeidler, and offers affordable space to artists, entrepreneurs and commercial tenants. Spaces are in high demand, tenant turnover is low, and the waiting list for available studios in the building is long (Bain and March, forthcoming).

Creative Blueprint also constitutes a "hub," but one operating at a higher scale. As an "artist-run hybrid social enterprise" (Creative Blueprint, 2018) with locations in Toronto, Seattle and Vancouver, their mission is to "inspire and empower creatively" and "nourish the entrepreneurial spirit" (ibid.). As an organization, Creative Blueprint is an advocate for artists in areas of affordable housing and healthcare, and seeks to protect the rights of self-employed or freelance workers. In Toronto they operate a community hub and co-working space in the Foundery Buildings at 376 Bathurst Street, where they also rent out individual studio spaces. Membership ranges from a $25 day pass, to $190 per month part-time membership to $290 per month for full-time membership. A designated workspace costs $440 per month, while a private office space costs $890 per month. Other "hubs" offering shared workspace at a cost have emerged across the downtown, including Graven Feather, Paperhouse Studios, Walnut Studios, and the White House Studio Project.

Co-working spaces have been another increasingly popular form of workspace provision, which aim to provide a kind of space that is somewhere between the structure of a more traditional workspace and a coffee shop (Botsman and Rogers, 2011: 169). A variety of sub-models have emerged under this category with a variety of different self-applied names: "urban office," "community work space," "unoffice," "federated work space," (Di Marino and Lapintie, 2017; Spinuzzi, 2012). These often each have their own distinct definitions of their *raison d'être*, but the general idea is that through the provision of a seemingly collective, collaborative, community-based and peer-supportive work environment, the productivity of independent workers is fostered (Brown, 2017; Spinuzzi, 2012). Individuals usually pay for membership which gives them access to resources and space, which is expected to be interactive to varying degrees. In Toronto, a number of these have emerged across the city, including at the Centre for Social Innovation (CSI), Verkspace, Foundery, IQ Office Suites, Fold, Workplace One, Brightlane, Shecosystem, District 28, The Fueling Station, the Riverdale Hub, Makeworks, The Village Hive, Northspace, Workspace One, The East Room, Workhaus, LabTO, and Acme Works.

For musicians in the city, there are fewer organizations providing studio space long-term. The Rehearsal Factory is a facility that rents equipped rehearsal spaces and production studios to musicians mostly by the hour. Prices range between $15 and $37.50 an hour (with a two-hour minimum), or upwards of $250 for monthly rentals. Six locations operate across the Greater Toronto Area. Another option in this similar vein is Cherry Jam Rehearsal, who operate under a similar mandate, providing equipped space for $22 an hour at two different locations in the Portlands and in New Toronto.

While many of these organizations have emerged in response to the lack of suitable workspaces in the downtown, seeking to provide a much-needed resource to creative practitioners, some are simply run as businesses, while others still have become deeply intertwined with urban development initiatives. What is perhaps most important to understand about all of these forms of institutionalized space is that they have all been connected to downtown development through processes of commodification and re-commodification, gentrification and upscaling in the city (Bereitschaft,




Regina

2014; Catungal et al., 2009; Mathews, 2010; Vivant, 2013; Zukin, 1989; Zukin and Braslow, 2011). In some cases, this connection is the very reason for the widespread use of the model they provide, as artistic space becomes a key accoutrement in redevelopment schemes, acting as a "seedbed" (Atkinson and Easthope, 2009 in Mathews, 2010: 672) for planned gentrification, and serving to distract from processes of accumulation by dispossession (what some have termed "artwashing") (Mould, 2018; Sheldon, 2015). Support for Artscape, and the organization's involvement in numerous planning initiatives, has largely been due to their perceived capacity as a "driver for capitalization" (Ilyniak, 2017: 21), who can provide a form of low-cost urban revitalization through "municipally-managed gentrification" (Slater, 2004). Artscape plays a major role in place-marketing strategies throughout Toronto that serve to attract investment and raise property values, and acts as a "facilitator in the intensification, and by implication gentrification" (Lehrer and Wieditz, 2009: 149) of the city. While its developments are directly implicated in regeneration initiatives, the organization's activities have been framed in the media as positive, even as contributing to an "anti-SoHo effect" (Lewington, 2013). Artscape itself deploys a discourse suggesting that gentrification can have positive outcomes, and is therefore a "moral conundrum" (Ilyniak, 2017: 30) that is overly sensationalized in the media, thereby trivializing residents' experiences of displacement and obscuring the active production of these processes (Ilyniak, 2017; Slater, 2006). In other cases, such as with 401 Richmond, the connection is not so straightforward but is nonetheless there, as well-meaning interventions seeking to preserve a perceived authenticity which originally allowed creative practitioners to claim space contradictorily contribute to the very processes which then risk displacing those creative practitioners (Bain and March, forthcoming). Creative or social innovation hubs tend to be fairly directly connected to redevelopment and the property market, while co-working spaces and studio shares tend to serve the same agendas by generating interest in places. Even at the level of the practitioners themselves, their role in aesthetically appropriating and transforming place "from junk to art and then on to commodity" (Ley, 2003: 2528) makes them inextricably involved in such processes, even if this is

Across above: Advertised fourth floor meeting space at 401 Richmond. Image from 401 Richmond website, accessed at http://www.401richmond.com/about/the-building/architecture/.

Across below: Toronto co-working space The East Room, accessible through individual membership. Image from their website, accessed at http://eastroom.ca/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/Photos-Desktop-1.jpg.

not their intention. As Ley (2003) points out, the relationship between practitioners and processes of gentrification is "not inevitable, but it is frequent" (2003: 2540), tied to practitioners' high levels of cultural capital, and the strong desire of others who seek such capital to be in both geographical and political proximity to them (2003: 2541).

As with the Italian stanza, or with the loft, many of these designated creative spaces connote a certain exclusive accessibility to privileged individuals. Cultural infrastructure such as art museums and galleries, for example have been criticized for prioritizing a particular target audience, and maintaining exclusionary environments that cater to an in-the-know elite with a high level of so-called "cultural competence" (Becker, 1982; Davidson and Sibley, 2011; Dean et al., 2010). Efforts to democratize such cultural spaces have proven a challenge. Even as galleries have attempted to make themselves more accessible to a wider range of visitors, through outreach and public engagement, they largely continue to reinforce normative frameworks and reproduce spaces of privilege (Booth, 2014; Dean et al., 2010). Toronto's art world and institutions have been found to lack representation of the city's cultural diversity (Leslie and Catungal, 2012; Leslie et al., 2013), and First Nations or immigrant artists are often exoticized or ghettoized (Leslie and Catungal, 2012). Do creative workspaces face similar problems? The answer to this question remains unclear from previous research.

In terms of co-working spaces, very few studies of this new model have been done, but what evidence does exist thus far reveals a work environment that is not as social as it claims to be (in fact being potentially *anti*-social) (Bernstein and Turban, 2018), and which requires a great deal of curation, both of members and social interactions (Brown, 2017; Spinuzzi, 2012). Such community curation risks exclusivity, as those who manage co-working spaces select new members based on how they will "fit" (Brown, 2017: 120) into the already-existing community, often seeking like-minded and entrepreneurial candidates from a similar background to their own (Brown, 2017; Spinuzzi, 2012). This practice can reproduce existing inequalities, and limit access to important social networks and resources (ibid.). The costs of membership to such spaces in Toronto are also prohibitive for a variety of people, and as these spaces all come at a cost, they might be seen as representing a commodification of the workplace itself. While co-working spaces may present themselves as being inexpensive and convenient, we cannot forget that it is not so long ago that workers did not pay a fee to go to the office.

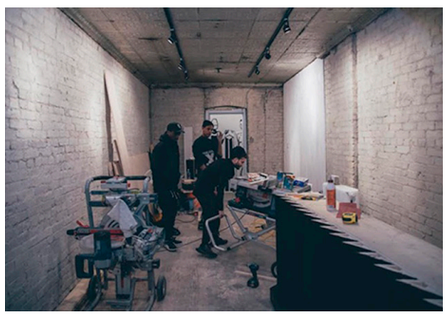
The fields of organizational studies and built environment studies also offer interesting perspectives on workplace aesthetics, suggesting that the workplace is not a neutral, empty container but is designed in particular ways that can provide freedom and empowerment to workers, but can also contradictorily serve to enforce relationships of control or exclusion (Cairns, 2002). Flexible and open workspaces oriented towards self-management and individual freedom are filled with tensions, conflicting meanings and lack of clarity that must be navigated by the users of such spaces (ibid.). This is especially important to consider given the pronounced sensitivity of many creative practitioners to their surrounding aesthetic environments (Liegl, 2014).

"DIY" or "indie" have emerged as approaches and *ethe* and scenes within themselves, in

response to shifts in production (especially in music) or lack of institutional support and space, filling gaps or offering alternatives to dominant institutions and exclusionary forms of cultural production and consumption (Finch, 2014). These have long been in use within Toronto's creative communities, whether defined under that terminology or not, and can be noted as dominant styles for production, placemaking and scene-building within a number of different creative communities (ibid.). DIY is seen as being a valuable way of producing much-needed accessible, safe, and alternative space and programming for People of Colour, the LGBTQ2SIA+ community, the QTBIPOC community, youth, people with disabilities, low-income people, and other marginalized members of Toronto's creative communities (CBC Arts, 2017). An extensive DIY infrastructure has been developed from the bottom up in Toronto, including venue spaces, labels, collectives, co-ops and online networks (Boles, 2017; CBC Arts, 2017; Straw, 2004). Spaces such as Unit 2 or Blank Canvas (which closed its gallery this spring) have been important gathering points for communities and practitioners who have lacked recognition and representation in the city. DIY has been an increasingly visible form of space, rising into the spotlight in Toronto after a wave of high-profile venue closures in 2017, which brought many DIY promoters, musicians and venue owners to City Hall to argue for the protection of venues in the city. Such spaces, many argued at several Toronto Music Advisory Council meetings, provide important safe cultural space for marginalized communities, young people, and people in recovery, outside of normative and capitalist frameworks that allow "the whims of the market to dictate where music is happening" (Jonathan Bunce, February 13, 2017; see Toronto Music Advisory Council, 2017). While protections have yet to be seen for DIY spaces and venues, through this struggle they have gained a high level of visibility in the city as these community spaces have become a political rallying point for a number of creative scenes. The same cannot, however, be said for DIY spaces of production. What remains largely unseen and unacknowledged within the discourse are the increasingly prevalent self-created workspaces of creative practitioners who have managed to gain small footholds in a rapidly shifting downtown, and are making do with the resources they have.

Above: Blank Canvas Gallery's original location on Bloor Street West, shut down in spring of 2018 due to noise complaints. Photograph by John Samuels/Omit Limitation, accessed at https://torontoguardian.com/2016/04/john-just-john-samuels/

Below: Unit 2 , a DIY space is located in this building at 163 Sterling Road in the rapidly deindustrializing and gentrifying Sterling/Junction area of Toronto. Image from Metropolitan Commercial Realty, accessed at https://www.metcomrealty.com/property/163-sterling-avenue-2.



Politically, DIY also offers alternative and competing imaginaries of what the creative city might be in Toronto, which, rather than being formalized in an official plan, are "projected by and encompassed within the scene's very existence" (Finch, 2014: 302). Even "indie" or "DIY" practitioners who are not particularly opposed to them tend to differentiate themselves and express a "sense of disconnect" (Finch, 2014: 314) from dominant institutions and frameworks. Nevertheless, while DIY spaces have often taken an oppositional stance to the institution, they can also be faced with a difficult task of maintaining this stance, as they become successful or drawn into the mainstream themselves (Finch, 2014). In addition to this, much-needed political discussions tend to be costly, as increased visibility also draws attention to the ways in which DIY venues tend to operate outside of existing legal frameworks (Rancic, 2016), often subjecting them to scrutiny, oversight, and potential closure. The line between visibility and invisibility becomes a difficult tension to navigate.

PLANNING FOR THE CREATIVE CITY

Policy's "cultural turn" (Bain, 2013: 11) in Toronto, and the city's spending on the arts, began in the 1970s, which saw the establishment of the TAC, well-known anchor institutions such as Artscape, and large events like the Toronto International Film Festival (TIFF). This period also saw the rise from the grassroots of many of the city's now-prominent artist-run centres, such as A Space, Art Metropole and Mercer Union. The TAC and Artscape in particular initially played important advocacy roles for artists in the city, identifying the absence of affordable space for artists as a key problem, and pointing to living conditions in artistic production with reports such as *Cultural Capital: The Care and Feeding of Toronto's Artistic Assets* (1985), *No Vacancy: A Cultural Facilities Policy for the City of Toronto* (1987) or *Housing and Work Space Needs of Toronto's Artists and Artisans* (1990). As previously noted, Artscape was created by the TAC in order to help solve the problem posed by the city's apparent lack of space (especially live/work space) for its arts community.

City policy discussing a creative agenda in Toronto did not begin to emerge until around the turn of the 21st century. Many of the city's major cultural events have their roots in this period, largely between 2000 and 2010. Around this same time, the work of scholars such as Landry, Bianchini and Florida on the Creative City and the so-called "creative class" was being groomed for its potential application to urban policy at the global scale. The narrative of inter-urban competition, increased innovation and commercialization, and vision of flexible mobile labour that was found within this work fit well within an existing framework of global neoliberal capitalism and align with recognizable growth coalition logics (Leslie and Catungal, 2012). As a form of "fast," "vehicular" or "portable" policy (Peck, 2005, 2011; Oakley, 2009) it has since been taken up enthusiastically by policymakers worldwide, and Toronto has been no exception.

Many scholars have questioned who the intended beneficiaries of these strategies might be. Zukin and Braslow (2011) note that more "aspirational" (131) policy frameworks might serve to enhance the right to the city, but more "industrial" (ibid.) ones tend to reinforce urban class differences.

They point to important class differences among creative workers themselves, and to the potential incompatibility of the different needs of various members of a creative class. In terms of working conditions, these policy frameworks tend to promote neoliberal ideals of mobile and constantly available labour with few protections or benefits (Leslie and Catungal, 2012). Leslie and Catungal (2012) also emphasize gender and race inequalities that are both strengthened by these policies and ignored by policymakers. Finally, spatially speaking, rather than serving creative workers, many of these policy frameworks tend to focus on the spatial scale of the district or neighbourhood, serving to create the "neighbourhood in the artist's image" (Zukin and Braslow, 2011: 133), thus "preparing the ground for private sector real estate developers" (ibid.). They often focus on "public" space, promoting elite, exclusionary and often securitized "landscapes of consumption" (Zukin, 1982, 1998), where perceived "non-creatives" (Leslie and Catungal, 2012: 118) are unwelcome.

A number of different plans, strategies and reports make up Toronto's Creative City policy framework. At the center are: *The Creative City: A Workprint* (2001); the *Culture Plan for the Creative City* (2003); *Imagine a Toronto… Strategies for a Creative City* (2006); *The Creative City Planning Framework* (2008) and the *Agenda for Prosperity* (2008); the *Creative Capital Gains Report* (2011); the *Toronto Official Plan* (2015); and *The Toronto Music Strategy* (2016). A number of supporting reports and documents by organizations such as the Martin Prosperity Institute and Artscape bolster this framework and reinforce the ideas put forward in it.

The consistent goal across all of these documents is the creation of a new image and economic identity for Toronto, and the strategic positioning of the city as a unique international cultural capital and competitive leader in the new global economy. The main guiding principles are outlined clearly in the Creative City Planning Framework (2008) as: internationalization, business proactivity, productivity and economic opportunity. The logical ties between the Creative City and Toronto's economic development agenda are perhaps most clearly demonstrated by the planning framework being a "supporting document" for the *Agenda for*

Above: Main documents that make up the Toronto Creative City policy framework.

Prosperity. A link is drawn between cultural activity, creativity and economic growth, wherein a variety of designated "creative" sectors are seen as driving the economy. Culture and art are seen as having the power to draw in tourists as well as revitalize neighbourhoods, and thus become important city-building tools. Increased and heightened innovation and entrepreneurship are also seen as important elements to be fostered and capitalized upon within city-building processes.

But what exactly is "creativity" in this context? The *Creative City Planning Framework* defines it as the generation of something "new" (City of Toronto, 2008b), but it is defined quite broadly throughout the policy documents. Toronto's Creative City framework draws together the cultural and creative economies in ways which can serve to conflate and convolute these things. This aligns with a common trend to use terms such as "creative industries," "cultural industries," or "creative economy" and "cultural economy" somewhat interchangeably in policy (O'Connor, 2015; Pratt, 2005), leading to some difficulty in determining a definition, and thus what is being referred to. Equally

"Success in attracting and retaining a global and mobile class of workers and entrepreneurs is now a critical factor in determining which cities flourish while others languish. One of the central paradoxes of our global age is that place matters - it has become more, not less, important."

-The Creative City Planning Framework (City of Toronto, 2008b: 21)

concerning within this confusion is the question of who or what is not being referred to, and being excluded from the benefits of such frameworks.

Culture itself is discussed in terms of diversity, multiculturalism, the arts, leisure, heritage and history, all of which are understood to contribute greatly to the city's economy and to a shared sense of identity and values. Creativity underpins these areas, but is also detached from its more traditional associations and meanings to be increasingly applied to economic activities within new knowledge-based economies. The creative economy deals in ideas and is linked to political agendas for development (Vivant, 2013). It is made up of industries where innovation is central, meaning that many sectors – from film and television, to software development, tech, health, and beyond – have been labelled "creative." Entrepreneurial start-ups have also been categorized in this way, leading to many contemporary business ventures, such as AirBnB or Über, being characterized as "creative," and blurring distinctions between capitalist enterprise and artistic practice.

In Toronto's Creative City framework, the role of creativity is as an economic tool. It is both a magnetic and generative force, drawing tourists and talent into the city, while simultaneously bringing forth change, innovation and productivity from within. It is positioned ideologically in opposition to utilitarianism, which is focused more upon cost-effectiveness, cost-reduction, efficiency and immediacy. Creativity, on the other hand, is associated with risk-taking and experimentation. It is a source of novelty, of trends and ideas that have yet to be commodified. Toronto's approach follows the Floridian doctrine ("be creative or die"), but emphasizes that creativity "cannot be legislated or regulated into existence, nor can it be anticipated. Creativity requires an open environment, which places a high value on originality and on new ways of both looking at and doing things" (City of Toronto, 2008b: 18). It connotes adaptability, and the creation of conditions on the ground that, aligning with current economic modes, promote and enable entrepreneurialism, speculation, efficiency and change. However, while Toronto's Creative City framework may *seem* to shun utilitarianism – characterizing it as passé, closed-minded and bad for business in a freewheeling economic climate – specific forms of it are nonetheless deeply engrained in its logic. There is an enormous focus on the socio-economic utility of the arts in particular. Any openness or freedom that may be suggested within these documents is directed towards creating new economic potential, generating new kinds of investment, and opening up new markets. In many ways, these policies serve simply to apply more creative principles to the market, and market-oriented principles to creativity.

The City interprets its role as channeling funding into the right areas, distributing legitimacy and inspiring public support, mapping assets, creating industry incentives, and supporting the development of creative or cultural space in the city through targeted investment. Meanwhile at the provincial level, the Ontario government has taken a "cluster-based approach" (Ontario, 2018) to creative industries, which involves focusing on selected industries as a "creative ecosystem" (ibid.), strategically co-locating them, and targeting investment and programming towards these areas. Both levels are focused on maintaining a competitive edge and staying on top of industry trends.

Space is presented as a key element of creativity: a spectacular and stimulating landscape is seen as being requisite. Spatially, creativity and culture are seen as emerging from the neighbourhood scale, where "clusters" of creative practitioners gather to develop and share new ideas. The "grassroots" is identified as an important source for new creative ideas and work, which can be harnessed and commercialized. This scale is not only identified as the scale of artistic production, but also the scale at which a "sense of place" (Creative Cities Leadership Team, 2006: 6) can be developed, and at which revitalization is made possible through leveraging strategic cultural assets. This follows the policy logic of intentional placemaking and "place-marketing" through which spatial meaning is strategically shaped in processes of urban renewal, gentrification and redevelopment in order to create "landscapes of desire" (Lehrer, 2006). We can also see the types of spatial interventions that lead to liminality and tensions between power and the vernacular (Zukin, 1991). Both the *Creative City Planning Framework* and the *Creative Capital Gains Report* emphasize the importance of developing cultural infrastructure at the scale of the neighbourhood, in the form of interconnect-

ed industry clusters or designated creative districts, in order to support these spaces becoming "innovation hubs and economic engines" (City of Toronto, 2008b: 14).

It is important to note that cultural and creative space in this context does not seem to include the multitude of private spaces involved in production. Creativity is framed as existing in very public places. Cultural participation is seen as being a predominantly public practice, involving participation in the economy, in consumption, and in spectacle. It happens in galleries and museums, in theatres and venues, in community centres, at festivals, in designated facilities, in the street. The *Official Plan* notes the importance of studio spaces several times, but only provides specific policies for City-owned facilities, while the *Imagine a Toronto… Strategies for a Creative City* report emphasizes the creation of affordable workspace through partners such as Artscape, urbanspace Property Group and the CSI. The framework does not acknowledge a variety of other spaces that may play key roles in cultural production in the city, including self-created spaces or the domestic realm, which are key sites within today's geographies of creative work.

Equally important to where creativity is happening, is the question of *who* is "creative" within these parameters. While policy's opened-up definitions of creativity may at first seem to be more inclusive than those that might have previously privileged the figure of the artist, this is not necessarily the case. Specific groups are identified as key players. Creative practitioners, of course, play an important role within the processes outlined in these policies, as entrepreneurs, as wizards of aestheticization and authentication, as a sort of collective force of urban regeneration, and also as an enormous tourist draw. However, the most important creative forces are spoken of in terms of creative industries and sectors, and a particular hierarchy and scaling emerges.

Stakeholders within these frameworks include prominent institutions, individuals, and spaces. In terms of being creative, large existing institutions, of course, get the most attention, such as the popular National Ballet, the Toronto Symphony Orchestra, or the Art Gallery of Ontario. At the level of workers, a number of particular professional fields are included. The list includes the fields of visual art, writing, performance, sound engineering and recording,

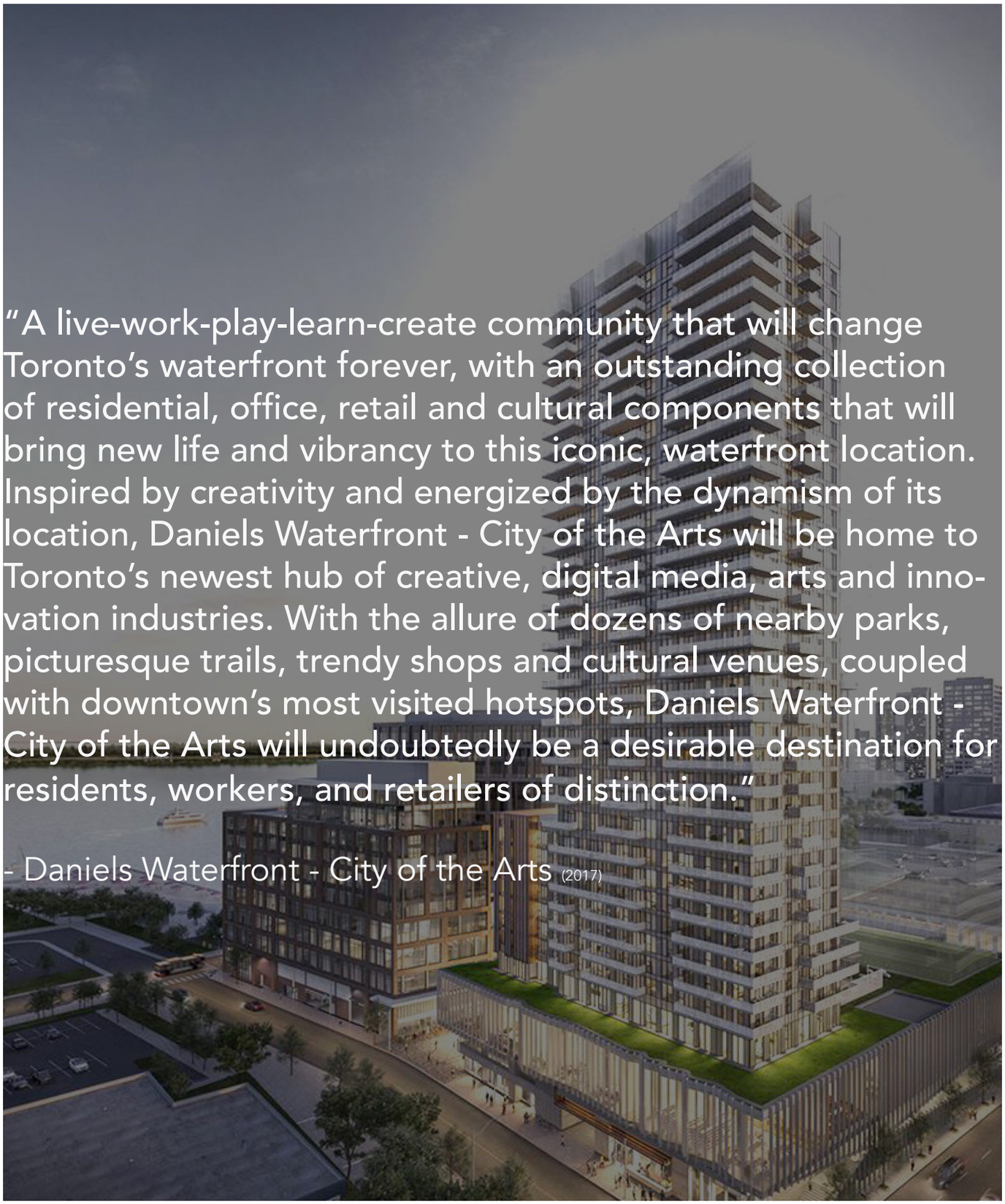
Above: Design for a studio space at the new Artscape Daniels Waterfront - City of the Arts, including its imagined residents. Rendering by Norm Li, accessed at https://www.artscape.ca/portfolio-item/artscape-daniels-launchpad/.

Below: The entrance of the Art Gallery of Ontario, a prominent Toronto institution. Image by Owen Byrne, accessed through Wikimedia Commons at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Art_Gallery_of_Ontario_entrance.jpg.

Across: UNESCO Creative City stakeholders map, depicting major players in Toronto's Creative City. Accessed at http://www.torontocreativecity.ca/stakeholders/.

film or video production, radio, television, architecture, design, advertising, media, and software development (all of which are included in Statistics Canada's definition of cultural practices) (Statistics Canada, 2011). However, it is noted that fields such as management, business, finance, law, health, and high-end sales might also be included. Within these respective fields, creative and cultural workers seem to be examined as a sort of blanket case, where all conditions of labour are presumed to be about the same, and all practices within a field are presented as essentially interchangeable.

In terms of provisions for creative practitioners, the framework aims to create more jobs, to increase government funding for arts and culture grants at all levels, and to support more arts programming in the city, which will also create more opportunities for workers. Many practitioners rely heavily upon these grants, and devote significant amounts of energy to the competitive application process. It is important to note that this framework offers little in terms of basic social services funding, affordable housing or space, or in terms of employment guidelines. Rantisi and Leslie (2010) suggest that there is generally a lack of basic social policy within Creative City planning frameworks, which can be seen in Toronto's version. The 2017/2018 *Toronto Vital Signs Report* (Toronto Foundation, 2018) notes that while there is significant investment in arts and culture in the city, working conditions are relatively unaffected, and artists continue to "face many challenges when compared to other professions" (19), such as lack of job security and low pay. Grodach (2013) suggests that while Toronto's Creative City planning framework is used in the interest of development and the upscaling of the downtown, its flexibility allows it to also be used to support and assist artists and cultural



"A live-work-play-learn-create community that will change Toronto's waterfront forever, with an outstanding collection of residential, office, retail and cultural components that will bring new life and vibrancy to this iconic, waterfront location. Inspired by creativity and energized by the dynamism of its location, Daniels Waterfront - City of the Arts will be home to Toronto's newest hub of creative, digital media, arts and innovation industries. With the allure of dozens of nearby parks, picturesque trails, trendy shops and cultural venues, coupled with downtown's most visited hotspots, Daniels Waterfront - City of the Arts will undoubtedly be a desirable destination for residents, workers, and retailers of distinction."

- Daniels Waterfront - City of the Arts (2017)

workers in the city. However, because within this framework the City, and other powerful agencies or stakeholders, are able to pick and choose which sectors or practices constitute valued cultural activities, the benefits are not distributed evenly.

The ways in which policymakers are most visibly and directly involved in impacting the activities of some creative practitioners and institutions in the areas of industry regulation, licensing, and funding (Pratt and Gornostaeva, 2009). Through these avenues, policymakers are able to influence and define what is produced, who produces it, and, to some extent, how that takes place. Therefore funding bodies, regulators and licensing bodies also play a very large role in doling out legitimacy and controlling access to resources. Arts-funding through the granting system is meant to provide creative practitioners with ways to undertake individual projects and establish their practices, often with the goal of eventual self-sufficiency, and is extremely competitive at all levels, between practitioners or organizations, at municipal, provincial and national scales. Funding access has shifted considerably over the years, with increased grant opportunities designated for marginalized groups, diasporic artists, and First Nations artists, and with racial equity policies being implemented within the policy framework at the national level (Charlton et al., 2013). Funding has also seen a different kind of shift since the 1980s, as corporate elites and prominent philanthropic donors have been increasingly relied upon for support as the neoliberal agenda has withered welfare budgets and decreased government size and spending (Schuyt, 2010). While private patronage has always played an important role in culture, the rise of "modern philanthropy" (ibid.) allows individuals and organizations to leverage their resources, acting upon their personal assumptions and beliefs to have impact in areas of personal concern (Frumkin, 2008). Cultural philanthropists play an increasingly important and sometimes problematic role in shaping an uneven cultural landscape, lending legitimacy or spatial stability to arts scenes in limited and varying degrees, and sometimes creating new dependencies and insecurities for artists (Bain and March, forthcoming).

A considerable amount of policy is targeted at youth all over the city, and connecting them to arts programming and spaces. They are deemed to be "the artists and audiences of the future" (City of Toronto, 2003: 14). This access to arts programming is also deemed to help build common values and identity across the city, and support the development of a new generation of potentially creative workers and entrepreneurs. The *Creative Capital Gains Report* underlines the increasing number of graduates from the city's universities with degrees and diplomas in "creative" fields. There is also an emphasis on increased access to programming for youth in neighbourhoods outside the city centre, particularly in stigmatized Neighbourhood Improvement Areas. Again, here top-down planning perspectives view art as a force of regeneration, to be tied in with targeted urban redevelopment and revitalization initiatives, and often fail to see that talent, creativity and scenes might already exist within these geographical areas, and that long-term services, accessible and affordable spaces, and sustained funding are what is often desired and needed (Charlton et al., 2013). In revitalization strategies, practitioners become tied in with arts institutions, organizations and specific programs, as well as with Business Improvement Associations and economic growth imperatives through the use of

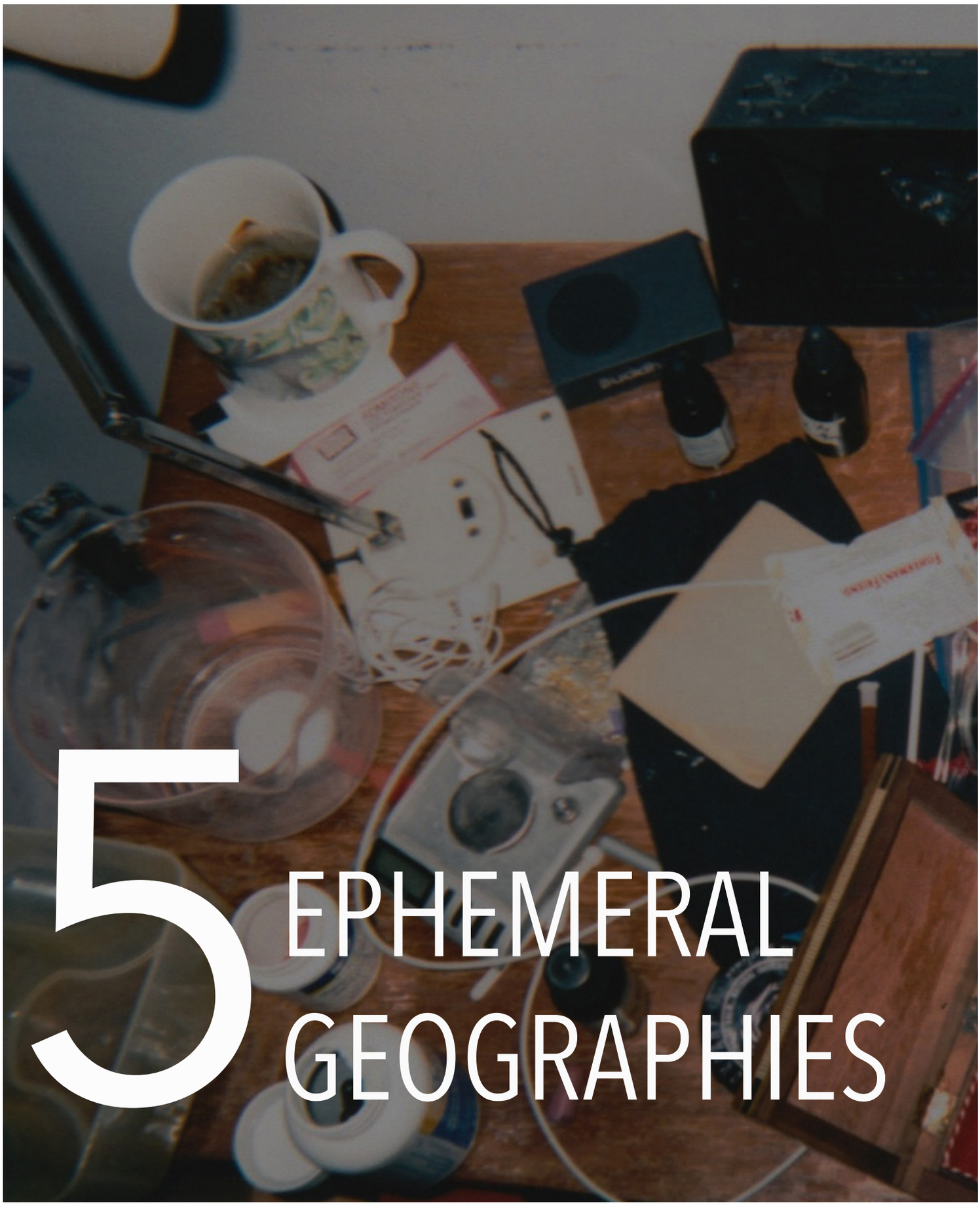
private-public partnerships. Many of these programs focus on ways that culture and the arts are beneficial to health, sustainability and self-actualization (Charlton et al., 2013). In terms of individual and collective engagement with art, there *are* numerous benefits to engagement in creative activity and art-making, and policy discourse repeatedly emphasizes the ways in which art enriches lives and carries emancipatory potential (O'Connor, 2015). However, there is little critical discussion on the policy-making side about why this might be, about the nature of art itself, about the transcendent potential or purpose of the aesthetic experience. While discussions around these topics still exist within the academy, discussion around the value of culture or art and aesthetics, and how judgements are made, are largely unseen in planning or policy discourse. Culture here is often largely depoliticized. There are, of course, exceptions to this, seen in unique initiatives such as Toronto's VIBE Arts project, which explicitly links community art to social justice (VIBE Arts website, 2018). Explicit politicization seems largely organization-based, and not characteristic of policy overall. The desire at the policy level often remains to tap art's potential for neighbourhood regeneration rather than its potential for radical systemic change (Ilyniak, 2017). Based in "neoliberal therapeutic rationalities" (Grundy and Boudreau, 2008: 355) these programs can even serve to spread the neoliberal capitalist values and message of the Creative City to young people: "be creative or die" (Leslie and Hunt, 2013). They can impose cultural participation as a kind of "moral duty of active citizenship" (Grundy and Boudreau, 2008: 348) under neoliberalism, wherein risk-taking and enterprise are celebrated and a part of everyday life. In this, they act as a low-cost investment in generating and enforcing neoliberal value systems.

The policy vision assembled here is not unlike many others of a similar variety. Rantisi and Leslie (2010) also point out that a prescriptive top-down policy approach tends to push an overly commercial agenda, can enforce hierarchies, and tends to legitimize already institutionally recognized forms of work. This is exemplary of the ways in which Creative City policies often tend to simply apply a new veneer to the same old entrepreneurial urban policy approaches (Peck, 2011). Miles (2010) notes how these policies play a role in hegemonic reinforcement, and points out a link between Creative City policy and the market, suggesting "the state does not intervene in aesthetics but inevitably influences the policy direction of institutions" (46).

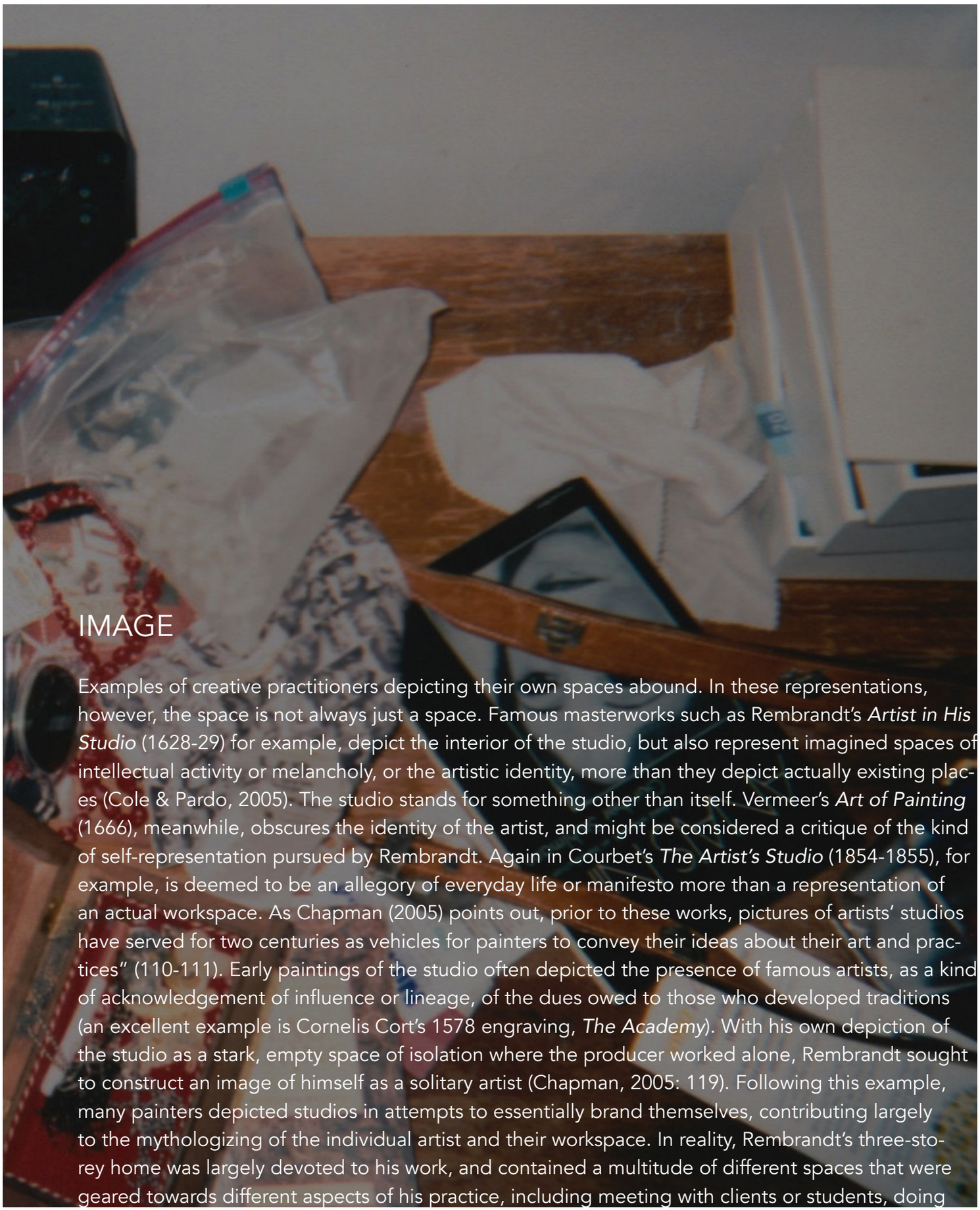
Miles (2010) suggests that the reductionist "bird's eye view" (48) of policymaking and planning in these areas fails to see how the city of creative practitioners is deeply complex and layered, actually comprising "many overlaid cities" (ibid.). Many policy frameworks attempt to narrow creative practice down to a set of specific industries, to the exclusion of others (Pratt and Jeffcutt, 2009), producing divisions between creative practices that are not entirely unlike old divisions between "high" and "low" forms of art. They often fail to grasp the complex dynamics and forms of creative practice (Rantisi and Leslie, 2010). It has been noted that the concerns of policymakers are often incredibly different from the everyday concerns and needs of creative practitioners themselves (Frith et al., 2009; Ross, 2017), which include stable and safe working conditions, or affordable rent. In spite of investigations into the status of artists in Ontario which began in the early 1990s and revealed

that they had low incomes, were spatially insecure, and that more than half of artists in the province had to work outside of their creative field to support themselves, little action has been seen on the part of the provincial government to produce any coherent policy that might improve their daily lives (Neil, 2010). In addition to this, some activities that might foster a globally competitive cultural industry are not necessarily the same activities that might support or establish a local scene, and in fact might actually be detrimental to one (the music industry and scene are an excellent example of this in Toronto). Many policies that focus on the global competitive and strategic positioning of a city tend to presume that local scenes are made up of the same players and function in the same way as global industry (Frith et al., 2009). This points to a misconception and misrepresentation of how creative scenes work, and a misunderstanding of what might foster creative practice, if indeed that is the goal. Many note how top-down regulation tends to actually stifle creativity by weighting it down with commercial objectives, dictating the nature of production and creating limited criteria for the legitimate and the possible (Rantisi and Leslie, 2010). Critics of Creative City strategies question whether they have interests of cultural advancement in mind, or whether they simply seek to functionalize culture within regeneration schemes, and to create a desirable image for the city.

In the media, the discussion about Toronto's more top-down Creative City policies and what they do or should entail similarly revolves around the notion of culture as an "economic catalyst" and a "magic business engine" (Knelman, 2011). Expectations of cultural policy are that it should turn Toronto into a global tourist destination, draw investment and talent from outside, and make the city more competitive. The media play a large role in reinforcing the idea that culture is an asset, a commodity, and an important part of the economy. However, this view is undermined in some articles, by perspectives that challenge these largely uncritical conceptualizations of culture. Recent years' coverage of the music scene, for instance, reveals deep dissatisfaction among musicians with policy frameworks and initiatives. This dissatisfaction is also present in art scenes. Prominent curator and art critic Philip Monk is quoted in one article, stating: "I think there's a lie in the creative city. It's a serious situation. I don't like the bullshit quotient of the rhetoric. It's not about artists who live here, who make their work in this context. It's about marketing, and creating culture for tourists. We're transforming our city for it and we're the ones footing the bill. It's so offensive. And the last people that benefit are the artists" (in Toronto Star, 2007). This article stands out from many others in its acknowledgement of the ordinary and unspectacular world of cultural production in the city, which receives little attention in the dominant discourse. It also speaks to the ways in which the encouragement of the consumption of cultural products and cultural tourism in the city does very little to serve the everyday needs of many of its creative producers.



5 EPHEMERAL GEOGRAPHIES



IMAGE

Examples of creative practitioners depicting their own spaces abound. In these representations, however, the space is not always just a space. Famous masterworks such as Rembrandt's *Artist in His Studio* (1628-29) for example, depict the interior of the studio, but also represent imagined spaces of intellectual activity or melancholy, or the artistic identity, more than they depict actually existing places (Cole & Pardo, 2005). The studio stands for something other than itself. Vermeer's *Art of Painting* (1666), meanwhile, obscures the identity of the artist, and might be considered a critique of the kind of self-representation pursued by Rembrandt. Again in Courbet's *The Artist's Studio* (1854-1855), for example, is deemed to be an allegory of everyday life or manifesto more than a representation of an actual workspace. As Chapman (2005) points out, prior to these works, pictures of artists' studios have served for two centuries as vehicles for painters to convey their ideas about their art and practices" (110-111). Early paintings of the studio often depicted the presence of famous artists, as a kind of acknowledgement of influence or lineage, of the dues owed to those who developed traditions (an excellent example is Cornelis Cort's 1578 engraving, *The Academy*). With his own depiction of the studio as a stark, empty space of isolation where the producer worked alone, Rembrandt sought to construct an image of himself as a solitary artist (Chapman, 2005: 119). Following this example, many painters depicted studios in attempts to essentially brand themselves, contributing largely to the mythologizing of the individual artist and their workspace. In reality, Rembrandt's three-storey home was largely devoted to his work, and contained a multitude of different spaces that were geared towards different aspects of his practice, including meeting with clients or students, doing

life drawings, or storing his collections (Chapman, 2005). Contrasting the represented studio with the real thing reveals how creative practitioners have long strategically constructed an image of their workspace to say something about themselves.

In music too, references to space tend to say more about the practitioners than about the spaces. Think, for example, of the countless songs that reference New York's famous Chelsea Hotel, which was both home and workspace to a wide array of countercultural artists and musicians through the 1960s. The multitude of references to it in creative works assemble an array of happenings into a portrait of everyday life which constructs it as a place within the public memory and imaginary. Association with this place grants social capital and legitimacy to individuals.

The example of Warhol's Factory reveals how space is integral to the artist's "brand," how it played a role in his process of "worlding" which referenced and commented on the incursion of capitalism and consumer practice into everyday life (Hewer et al., 2013). Warhol's works and brand were not only produced in this space, but it was also often used as a set in numerous videos and films, and became a key social "ecosystem" (Hewer et al., 2013: 188) for Warhol's scene. The physical and social space of The Factory become essential pieces of the strategic image of Warhol himself.

Current depictions of studios on social media platforms such as Instagram are similarly staged and sanitized. Images of the workspace are regularly produced and provided as content for online followings. They often contain the artist, work in progress, and the workspace, are high quality, and are often well-thought out and organized, in spite of seeming off the cuff and spontaneous, like a snapshot. These images are intended to market a product or gain a following rather than depict a candid reality, yet are often posed and interpreted as representations of everyday life.

This research process required participants to depict the reality that lies beyond this image, to document the ordinary objects and occurrences that make up their space and life within it. The photographs resulting from this process were very different from highly staged promotional materials. Here, the images are unedited and candid, selective but often producing unexpected results.

Previous page centrefold: Tabletop in Zain's studio.

Above: Rembrandt's *The Artist in his Studio* (1628-29), Museum of Fine Arts Boston, accessed at https://mfas3.s3.amazonaws.com/objects/SC239459.jpg.

Below: Partial image of Courbet's *The Artist's Studio* (1854-55), Musée d'Orsay, accessed at http://www.musee-orsay.fr/en/collections/index-of-works/resultat-collection.html

THE CASE STUDIES

David (Dave), 43, is a vocalist and performer working as a full-time support worker during the week, and also frequently working as door security for various after-hours venues around the city. His creative workspace is located in the downtown apartment he shares with his husband, and also often shares with his two children. The rented apartment is located on a busy street in the downtown Garden District, on the second floor of a two-storey mixed used building with a restaurant on the first floor. The workspace, which doubles as his workspace for his day job, is located in a corner of the room that also doubles as his children's bedroom when they stay with him.

Drew, 30, is an illustrator, comic artist, musician and vocalist who works full-time as a freelance illustrator. His creative workspace is located in his bedroom in a basement rental apartment in a three-storey home on a quiet residential street in the Trinity-Bellwoods neighbourhood, which is shared with one roommate, Mike. Mike, 31, is an illustrator, videographer and musician in several bands who also does lighting and visuals at live music events, and runs a recording studio out of his workspace, which has essentially taken over his bedroom space in the apartment. He also works full-time during the week as an illustrator in an office downtown.

Vlad, 27, is an actor, comedian, musician and DJ who described his whole life as being "DIY". At the time of this research, he was homeless after having been evicted from his last apartment, and was couch-surfing with a friend, but had set up a temporary workspace in the small Kensington Market apartment where he was staying. The apartment is on the second floor of a mixed-use building, above a restaurant, and he was working mainly out of the living room, but had taken to occupying various cafés and public spaces throughout the neighbourhood as his practice was disruptive to his roommate.

Kate, 24, is a tattoo artist, who operates out of a room in her shared apartment on the second floor of a residential home on a quiet street in Little Italy. Her studio and "parlour," where she sees clients and does her own work, is set up in a bedroom formerly occupied by a roommate. The rented apartment is shared with her partner. At the time of this research, she was in the process of lining up funding for a new studio outside of her home in a more formalized shared studio building in the summer, which would require her to legalize her practice over the coming months.

Cheldon, 41, is a musician, sound artist, turntablist, and music teacher, whose studio is set up in the common room in his one-bedroom open-concept basement rental apartment, and is shared with his partner, who is also a DJ and recording artist. The shared nature of this studio space, and its central location within the broader shared living space makes it a complex and layered location, held together by firmly embedded everyday rhythms which are sometimes disrupted by sudden onslaughts of commissioned or collaborative projects and outside work.

Aaron and Jonny, both 44, run the office of Wavelength, a prominent Toronto artist-run music non-profit, out of Jonny's first-floor apartment on a quiet street in Trinity-Bellwoods. The dwelling

had primarily been Jonny's residence for a number of years before being taken over mostly by the Wavelength office during the fall of 2017 due to the city's lack of suitable, affordable spaces, and Jonny essentially started staying at his girlfriend's apartment a few blocks away. Both Aaron and Jonny are also musicians, but the space is rarely used for musical endeavors, it is mostly employed as an office, for event organizing, and also sometimes as a space for Jonny to work on a book he has been writing about the Toronto music scene.

Marko, 23, is a musician who also works in the service industry to support his creative practice. His shared workspace and studio is in the main common area of the rented two-bedroom apartment he shares with his roommate and bandmate, Sam. Sam, 24, is a musician who also works as an actor. Their apartment is one of several on the second floor of a mixed-use building at a busy intersection in Bloordale Village, above a bar, with which they had developed a rather "symbiotic" relationship due to their mutual interests in making noise.

Kirsten, 34, is an illustrator, mural artist, visual artist, and founder of Papirmasse, an independent art subscription business. She was the only practitioner in this project operating primarily out of a space that was separate from her home, although she also works out of her house. Both spaces are periodically shared with her husband, who is also an artist running his own risograph print business. The secondary studio was largely possible due to the commercial success of her business and her mural commissions. Due to the precariousness of her housing situation, and concerns about similar precariousness with her secondary studio, many elements of Kirsten's practice hang in an uncertain limbo between spaces.

Zain, 34, is a filmmaker, videographer and film world jack-of-all-trades who, at the time of this research, had recently begun a full-time job as the creative director for a marijuana-oriented media company, a development that had made his living situation more stable. His main creative workspace is in his room in a shared three-bedroom house on a quiet residential street in Bloordale Village, but Zain's workspace is mostly mobile, and therefore he appropriates common spaces throughout his house and in the neighbourhood for the purposes of doing work.

Roxanne, 34, is a multi-talented "maker" whose practice is broad and difficult to define and therefore often misunderstood by the professionalized art world. She is a textile artist, an illustrator, a painter, a sculptor, an installation artist, a set designer, a costume designer, a clothing designer, a comic artist… Her workspace is in her bedroom in a second-floor two-bedroom apartment in a semi-detached house in Bloordale Village, which is shared with a roommate. Her roommate also has their own office in their bedroom in the apartment.

Brandon, 33, is employed as a music teacher and music therapist, in addition to being a musician involved in several bands and solo projects. His personal studio is located in the third floor of a two-storey shared rental apartment. His bands and collaborative projects primarily use the basement of the music school where he works as their central practice space, where they can make a considerable amount more noise. This music space is located in the basement of the Toronto Institute for the Enjoyment of Music on Queen Street, in the Queen Street West neighbourhood.

Paul, 29, is a musician who plays in several bands (including one project with Brandon) and also as a solo musician. His personal studio space is set up in the basement of the first-floor one-bedroom rental apartment that he shares with his partner, a comedian who also uses the apartment as a workspace. Their apartment is in a two-unit house on a busy street in Bickford Park. The basement is also a shared storage space used by the landlords.

Hannah, 34, is a filmmaker, actor, director, and screenwriter whose practice frequently involves her operating between cities, mainly Toronto and Los Angeles. Because of its inherent requirements of mobility and portability, her practice revolves mainly around her laptop computer. Her main workspace is a purpose-built live-work space purchased through Artscape, where she lives alone in West Queen West, but she also works out of numerous third spaces around the downtown depending on proximity to collaborators and particular places she needs to be, and sometimes uses co-working spaces, studio shares or colleague's studios for project-specific work. She is often required by gigs to leave Toronto for long durations of time, and rents out her apartment during these periods. This has led to a situation where she frequently rents and operates out of numerous spaces, even while in the city where she owns her own space, and it is highly beneficial to have a mobile set-up.

PERCEIVED SPACE

The research process itself played a very interesting role in exploring perceived space. Practitioners noted that the process of taking photos had made them more attuned to particular aspects of the space, and made them more aware of certain items and of the space itself. Kirsten admitted that this was the first time she had ever attempted to honestly represent her studio, as she was more accustomed to staging photographs for self-promotional material, Instagram, or other media purposes. She noted that these photographs were potentially going to be the only means she had of remembering this point in her working life "as it really was." The photos are nevertheless selective about what they represent, revealing choice on the part of the participant, and an effort to depict particular elements.

Each of the examined creative workspaces is aesthetically unique, varying considerably, depending on what individual creative processes required, and adhering to no particular archetype. Most of the spaces are smaller than would be ideal, and, in all but one case, are centered within the practitioner's dwelling. Materialities emerged that largely revolved around creative practice, but also overlapped with other functions so that spaces took on a mutant character: a kitchen becomes part music space; a living room becomes a recording studio; a bed becomes an office. The spaces themselves are not purpose-built creative studios, and have required work to convert them into production spaces. This "conversion" involves surprisingly little structural change, and is more often and easily accomplished simply by filling space with specific items, tools and furniture. In this way, the studio might be considered a strategic collection of objects. Particular objects of significance emerge from the environment through the photos, revealing important relationships with specific

Previous page:

Top left: Roxanne's workspace and bedroom blend seamlessly into each other, one seeming inseparable from the other.

Bottom left: A keyboard occupies the dining table in Dave's kitchen. Dave noted in the interview that his family no longer eat at the table together and simply use it as a creative space.

Top right: Like Roxanne's, Mike's workspace and bedroom appear as a completely blended space. In his case, it is possible to set the bed up as a sofa, and the air of a bedroom vanishes more easily.

Bottom right: Zain's bed frequently acts as a workspace. He said: "I work a lot in bed. It's probably another issue with working domestically, there's no separation between work and regular life spaces. You're just always sort of working haphazardly and there aren't strict work hours" (Interview, April 15, 2018),

Across top: Cords are a fundamental element linking disparate tools of creative practice together into a functional whole. This photograph reveals only a small portion of the mass of cords that exist in Brandon's workspace.

Across bottom: Like cords, power bars are essential for making a space useful. Residential spaces are not often built with enough outlets to accommodate creative practice that involves a large amount of electronic components, and power bars offer a quick way to solve this problem. Hannah displays one of the power bars in the shared workspace she sometimes uses, dangling over the divider between her workspace and that of another practitioner, due to the main outlet being located outside of her designated personal space.

items and tools that only the practitioner could know about.

Many practitioners have decorated their spaces in ways that express their own individual styles. Space in that way becomes a visual representation of self. In the case of Roxanne, the space is completely overwhelmed with her work or her personal items, which all maintain a very whimsical overall aesthetic, making it appear as through the entire room, and indeed the entire apartment (aside from her roommate's bedroom, which was not seen), are one enormous artistic project.

Through the photographs, specific items emerge as necessities. Laptop computers are a fairly ubiquitous tool. Wires, cables and power bars become repetitively appearing characters, enabling space's functionality and holding together a variety of other tools into a collective working assemblage. Several practitioners emphasized the consistent and somewhat daunting presence of vast, gnarled and tangled landscapes of cords in their lives, suggesting that there are never enough outlets, and that there are always more things to plug in.

Some objects, which normally seemed to have purely functional significance, such as a table or desk, become central in the space's organization. This can be noted in Kirsten, Jonny and Aaron's photos, where large tables are found in the actual physical center of the space, and are the locale of important meetings or collaborative work. This centrality of furniture can be noted in the spaces of all practitioners who weren't strictly musicians, whereas with bands there tends to be an emphasis on clearing as much space as possible. A tabletop is often a functional necessity. In this way, the photos reveal the fundamental importance of usually banal items and pieces of furniture to creative practice. Other objects, meanwhile, have more mysterious or symbolic value. This appears in the items used to decorate spaces or express individuality. Other objects take on familial characteristics, sometimes described in terms of "love" – collections, knick-knackery, gear, even obsolete equipment. Cheldon, for example, holds onto an old piece of musical equipment, an Akai MPC1000 sampler even though he doesn't use it in his set-up anymore. He connects it to his development as a musician, and a particular period during which he was transitioning from a DJ to a performing artist and from a member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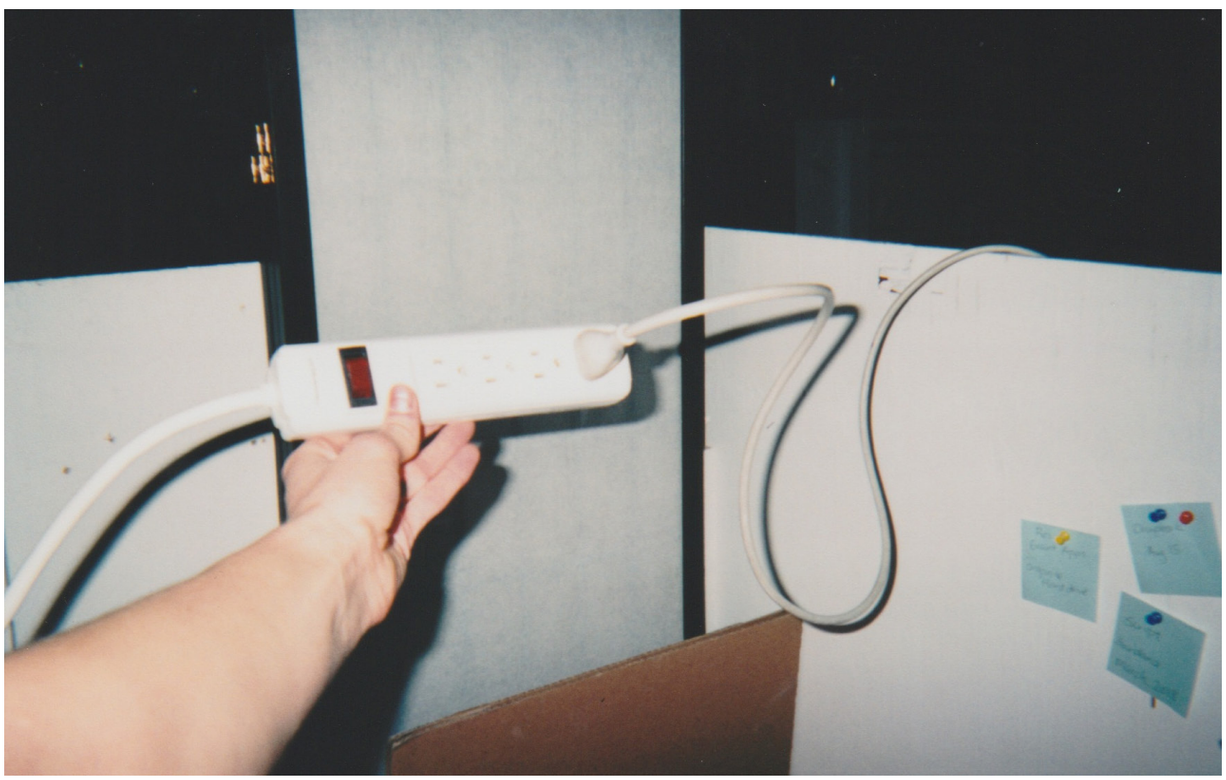

Across top: Plants and gifts from tattoo clients fill the window of Kate's workspace.

Across bottom: One of the two small windows in Cheldon's underground workspace contains plants. On the image, Cheldon commented: "This one, this is just a little peace and serenity for a second, you know, a little green, a little life, a little plant... You know, it's a little bit of peace. A little green. Being in the basement there's not much of that, I definitely want to try to find things or ways to have more green life hanging out down here, and still have some sunlight coming through in those windows" (Interview, March 1, 2018).

of a performing group to a solo artist. For him, the equipment represents this progression. He had considered selling it a couple of times in order to make room for new gear, but never did. When asked what made him keep it, he responded: "Sentimental reasons. I was just like 'I can't do it, I've got to keep it.' I was like 'no, no, what am I doing?' My old friend. We've been through a lot of shows and stuff, so I ended up keeping it, and I think that was a good choice" (Interview, March 1, 2018).

Other elements within the space are not simply anthropomorphized, but actually alive. Several practitioners have cats, who appear in photographs, and share the space with them. Drew's cat Ripley often lays across his desk and interferes with his work, in typical cat fashion. Plants also emerge fairly consistently as a way to enliven a space by filling it with actual living beings, to make it feel homey or cozy and pleasant to be in. In the case of Kate, whose artistic practice also revolves noticeably around botanical imagery, plants were described as her children, something she is proud of, and are the dominant factor in her creative space.

None of the practitioners seemed to particularly dislike any of the things they keep in their spaces, but there was repetitive mention of some items having the power to disrupt creative work. These are usually items that remind them of domestic responsibilities, such as dishes or laundry, which cause distraction or procrastination. These items have a tendency to creep into the work environment. As Hannah described it: "Everything gets a layer on it, like you'll be eating as you're working, you're living as you're working. It's not separated" (Interview, April 6, 2018). While I had initially expected more practitioners to note more leisure-oriented items around their homes as possible detractors from work, these seemed to present far less of a problem. In Cheldon's case, he actually found he was often working, doing research, or note-taking while doing such things as watching movies or perusing the internet, and that these activities were frequently helpful to him.

The storage of supplies, tools and work is a constant, ongoing process being navigated in everyone's practice and space. This was discussed by a number of participants in terms of specific objects or work needing a "place to live." This might mean a whole project requiring a home of its own while in progress, be-


SINGER


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M-AUDIO

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Top left: One of several meticulously organized drawers in Drew's workspace. On the way his things were arranged, Drew said: "it's so important for me to be organized and to make sure that things have their place so that when I go get them they're there. It's funny, I probably use like twenty per cent of everything you're looking at, but it needs to go somewhere and I need to keep it. You know, like either for archiving purposes or if I feel like playing around with my materials one day" (Interview, February 6, 2018).

Bottom left: Roxanne's work table is engulfed by projects and supplies. In the top left corner, we see a special envelope: "that's where I keep all my receipts. I keep them in an envelope just on the poster board, it says 'dream' on it, that's my bag of receipts. It's to keep track of all of the work" (Interview, February 3, 2018).

Top right: Brandon's band kept a fund of cash stashed in his workspace in a series of hidden paper envelopes. Musicians are frequently paid for gigs in cash, but participants also noted practices of invoicing when dealing with more professionalized organizations.

Bottom right: Instruments and cases litter the floor of Brandon's studio.

Opposite:

Top: Stuffed animals are a prominent feature of Dave's workspace, which is shared with his children. "It's funny because, like, this is not something I would normally have in a creative space of mine," he said (Interview, February 6, 2018).

Bottom: This photo of the kitchenette shelf in Kirsten's studio elicited laughter from her. She explained: "So it was actually really nice to take photos for once and not be worried about showing them to other people to look impressive and actually be like 'let's capture what's really going on here.' Like, I wish I had this attitude towards photos all the time, like it makes the things I'm looking at feel so much more interesting. It's funny. Like, looking at this I was like 'this is a shelf above our kitchen where we store tea, olive oil, sugar, supplements, and spray adhesives, with like a bunch of like bulldog clips and a box of paper.'" It seemed as though she had not previously considered the possible strangeness of storing these items together.

cause of it being too overwhelming for the main studio, or simply certain important objects requiring a stable home within the studio itself, where they can be safely stored long-term. Storage containers, Tupperware bins, boxes, and filing cabinets emerge as prominent subject matter in the photographs. Folders, envelopes, receipt-books, labels, and a wide array of other office supplies which facilitate the meticulous organization of administrative paperwork hint at multiple contracts, shifting regiments of work, and flows of income and expenditures moving through the space. The practitioners whose work is done for economic gain all have a designated place to keep receipts and paperwork for tax season. In the case of Brandon, his band is frequently paid in cash, which is stashed in his home practice space as a kind of "band fund." Most practitioners depicted their various methods of storage, suggesting in conversation that this is a major concern and constant challenge, especially when space is in such short supply and has to be economized as much as possible. This is especially difficult for practitioners whose work results in an ever-growing mass of objects which have to be kept somewhere. Brandon noted that for musicians managing storage is a constant nuisance, as for every instrument owned there is an equally large container that must be stored somewhere. In the case of Roxanne, many of her installation projects are extremely large-scale, and progressively grow beyond the capacity of her studio space as she works on them. They are stored wherever possible throughout her apartment, often taking over full sections of a room. Numerous photos of her space document the creation of a large knit installation piece and its ad-hoc storage throughout its growth. Roxanne noted that in order to deal with having very limited storage accommodation, and to enable herself to make very large projects within such a small space, she frequently makes work that can be disassembled and reassembled.

In the photos, space tends to blur and be disorienting. In many images, objects seem out of place, or the sense of what room we are in or what we are looking at becomes unclear. Spatial boundaries that one might expect to see are extremely permeable or not there at all. We see stuffed animals or children's toys in a room that is used as a recording studio. We see a shelf of cooking supplies mixed in with aerosol adhesives and spray paints.


greens+

The photos reveal ways in which processes or projects can expand and contract in everyday space for periods of time, depending on the rhythms and demands of work, and how space changes day to day, if not hour to hour. Zain's space has been set up to be "modular" (Interview, April 15, 2018) in order to expand and contract based on project-specific needs. In many cases the space also needs to be extremely portable. Musicians are required to transport many if not all of the major elements of their creative workspaces to shows whenever they perform live. Other practitioners sometimes need a change of scenery to be able to produce. Hannah brings her laptop with her on the road so that her practice can be undertaken in different cities. Zain's set up moves all over his house depending on the needs of the day's work. Drew likes to take his drawing tablet to other peoples' houses to work on things.

Beyond the visual realm, other senses speak to the general everyday atmosphere of each place, and importantly impact creative practice for participants in many cases. Smells are important. For example, the apartment where Vlad was couch-surfing reeked strongly of cigarettes and stale alcohol, which made it an uninviting place to be as an outsider. It did, however, give a strong impression of what regularly took place in the space, activities which are actually a large part of Vlad's creative process and perhaps in many ways fit with the intense, brooding music he creates. The interview with Dave also revealed how being able to smoke in his space had once contributed to his creative process, and how his work had changed since making family and health-related shifts in his lifestyle: "The space was probably partly feeding it (his creative process) because I used to be able to, like… there was a window right beside my computer, I could smoke right next to the window and blow it out and be just sort of like 'oh yeah, oh yeah," being stoned and listening to crazy shit and everything. Now my space is in my kids' room and I would never smoke inside there, so the space has definitely changed how I approach work" (Interview, February 6, 2018).

In other spaces, incense and aromatherapy are popular ways of neutralizing basement smells, creating the right mood, eliminating anxiety, and creating an ideal environment for the creative process. A calm, clear headspace can also be achieved with a hot shower. Several practitioners mentioned their shower as an important part of the geography of their creative workspaces, and a place where they got their best ideas. Recent neuroscientific research has suggested that creativity actually requires unconscious thought processes that are best facilitated by an "incubation" period (Ritter and Dijksterhuis, 2014), and that "A-ha" moments of insight actually require distinct and relaxed brain states and mental preparation (Kounios et al., 2006; 2008). Unsurprisingly, then, many practitioners have devised a variety of ways to foster such a state of mind.

The seasons, temperature, and intolerable levels of heat or cold were mentioned as factors that can sometimes make space completely unusable for creative purposes. In the case of Marko and Sam, their apartment skylights, which offer them much appreciated natural light in the winter months, turn their apartment into an unbearable oven in the summer. During the hot months, the necessary use of fans and air conditioners in the space make recording impossible due to the background noise. On the other hand, some practitioners have spaces that they can only use in the

summertime, which in some cases means that certain aspects of their work go into a kind of hibernation over the winter. This is a major concern for musicians with bands, who often use garages as jam spaces, and are forced to rent through the Rehearsal Factory in the colder months. These kinds of short-term rental spaces offer a temporary fix, but are not conducive to certain parts of the creative process, like songwriting.

Light and dark, and access to sunlight are factors which impact each space differently. Zain had actually built a rolling work table in his space in order to follow a patch of sun around his apartment over the course of the day, "like a cat" (Interview, April 15, 2018). For him, the lack of sunlight in his workspace combined with working in constant solitude can contribute to bouts of depression, and he takes these measures to combat this. Basement spaces contradictorily offer very little in terms of natural light, and a very limited sense of the outside world, but also sometimes make up for this with good indoor lighting which can be used at any time of day. Mike works around this lack of natural light with well-placed mirrors that reflect windows, making it seem brighter and more open in his small, underground space.

A sense of the rest of the world can be important to some practitioners. For Marko and Sam, who live together and work together in the same space in an apartment at a very busy intersection, this plays a complicated role in their practice. The intense nature of their often lengthy engagements in creative exploration can entirely remove them from socially accepted time frameworks, schedules, and tend to overwhelm any sense of a world outside of their workspace. As Marko put it: "It's nice to be able to see the sky and to get some semblance of what time of day it is… I think that's a reason we sometimes gravitate towards working in the bedrooms, because it is nice to be able to see people outside and stay connected to that world, because when we're working we get into this pretty weird zone where we get sucked into it pretty hard" (Interview, February 22, 2018). Both emphasized the importance of staying in touch with the rhythms, and general existence of the outside world, through windows and skylights, which give an idea of how light it is outside and an awareness of people on the street. Sam described having a kind of long-distance relationship with the outside world through his windows: "Sometimes actually I'll be writing in my bedroom and I'll get paranoid that people in the street are like listening to the loop and hating on it. But then the other night I was writing something and singing along to it and then I heard some guy across the street, probably at Coffee Time, go 'whoo!' I was like 'yes! He approves!'" (Interview, February 22, 2018).

However, this awareness of the outside world can sometimes lead to paranoia and constant concern about one's practice impeding on the lives of others, such as neighbours. This mostly has to do with noise and sound. Hearing someone in the hall might simply be background ambiance that reassures a practitioner about life going on, but can also spark worry about complaints. For many musicians, this leads to the use of objects, such as sound foam, curtains, and blankets stuffed into cracks under doors, in attempts to minimize problematic impacts on neighbours. With others, it means altering their creative practice to fit within acceptable parameters. In the cases of most musicians it means having constant consideration for the lives of others, and scheduling their creative

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Top left: One of Roxanne's projects spreads beyond her workspace and into the shared living room of her apartment.

Bottom left: The mobile workspace that Zain rigged up by attaching wheels to a small second-hand desk.

Top right: Zain's shower, where many of his creative ideas emerge.

Bottom right: The skylight in Sam and Marko's workspace, which was both a positive way of connecting to the outside world, and an oppressive source of heat that could make their workspace unusable in the summertime.

Opposite:

Top: Marko and Sam put up curtains in their space to muffle sound and minimize their impacts on their neighbours.

Bottom: Similarly to curtains, foam was used throughout their workspace to absorb sound.

practice around that – for some this entails not jamming too late at night, for others, it meant only jamming late at night. For some visual artists this means limiting the use of more noxious chemicals in their work, the odours of which can pass into adjacent spaces.

Overall, examining the realm of the senses reveals the ways in which these environments are subject to constant spillover, both of their own contents into surrounding spaces, and of outside factors inward. There are constant negotiations of flux, and constant efforts to manage shifts and overflow. There is a fairly uncontrollable bleed across boundaries. Walls, for example, are often unable to hold sound in or keep it out. Therefore in many cases, these problems have to be negotiated socially, in the realm of everyday lived space.

LIVED SPACE

There was no real indication that any spaces had been set up to emulate any particular notion of what a studio should look like. Set ups tend to be organized around the space itself, with mostly minor alterations made where absolutely necessary – a shelf put up here, an outlet added there. Objects mostly tend to be arranged in such a way as to ensure multi-functionality, and objects are often carefully ordered to ensure instant usability and efficiency. This enables easy and immediate engagement for intensive and time-sensitive projects, as well as for never-ending dilly-dallying, ongoing personal work, and creative play. Marko and Sam, for example, described their space as incredibly oriented towards efficiency and productivity, but in a manner where such efficiency was not necessarily product-oriented but process-oriented, facilitating cyclical rhythms. "It's both efficient and circuitous. We set everything up so its efficient and then we take the ship on these big journeys," suggested Sam (Interview, February 20, 2018). Marko agreed: "It's like we want to better allow ourselves to meander forever" (Interview, February 20, 2018). For many practitioners, there is a fixation on increasing efficiency that can border on obsession. The idea is to make the space work as well as it possibly can, in order to be used indefinitely, for long periods of time, over and over again, in the meandering and indeterminate creative process.

Inspiration can potentially strike at any time, and practitioners want to be able to pursue those moments. Being able to jump into action at the first spark of inspiration is something most practitioners want in a space, but they contradictorily also desire some distance from it. On immediacy, Dave described the benefits of being able to work whenever he wanted in his previous space: "It was crazy. But now in this space it's different. I guess it's good and bad. Like, I had a DIY space and at that time it was perfect because all my creative juices could just flow instantly, like I'd be up at two in the morning, and do a video, recording, writing session and write really interesting shit, and it was just right there, it was right there, it was so immediate" (Interview, February 6, 2018). However, the convenience of proximity was described as a "double-edged sword" by a number of practitioners, who felt like having all their supplies or gear nearby enables them to work, but that its constant presence can sometimes render it invisible or make it difficult to get motivated.

The creative process was described by several practitioners as neverending, and therefore practice is not limited to the workspace, but instead travels with the individual throughout the day, making other spaces potentially creative workspaces as well. This inability to "turn off" their imagination also makes it difficult for some practitioners to ever separate themselves from their work. Cheldon described the creative process' constant influence on everyday rhythms as "like riding waves," and suggested that there was a perpetual negotiation of a "split" between regular life and ongoing creative work (Interview, March 1, 2018). Daily life involves a constant "hustle," a process of research, "checking things" (Instragram, Facebook, personal websites and content-sharing/streaming sites), note-making, learning and honing one's craft that is sometimes intentional, but sometimes simply a background activity (ibid.). The creative process, and the many administrative activities that come along with it, are essentially constantly in effect. There is also often an effort to separate administrative or entrepreneurial activities from creative exploration. In some cases, such as with Kate or Kirsten, making enough time to do the work they want to do for themselves takes a lot of effort and intention because contracts or jobs are always more immediately pressing. The rhythms of the space can therefore be cyclical, influenced by the non-linear time of the creative process, but also often cut through or even overwhelmed by the progress- and product-oriented time of the market.

Spaces are simultaneously subject to the rhythms of work and practice, but also to those of domestic life. Many of them are influenced by the rhythms and flows of the professionalized or institutional world through studio visits, through practitioners' outside interactions, or as contracted projects were taken on for specific periods of time. Some practitioners rely upon funding from this world, and these spaces are therefore subject to periodic grant application crunches. In most of the spaces, however, rent is paid with income through artist fees or wages, either through creative work, or a day job. For more professionalized practitioners, the space is intentionally used for creative practice predominantly during their working hours, for others, this use is structured around the schedule of a day job. Drew's freelance schedule, for example, is tailored to fit the working days of his clients, so just as most of them work nine to five, so his bedroom becomes a full-on, devoted design studio during those hours. In the case of Brandon, his band's jam space is in the basement of the music school

Above: Mike's guitars hang on the wall of his workspace, one of them still plugged in. He explained: "It's so convenient, I can just put it on the wall and when I'm doing another part I just take it off. It's ready to go" (Interview, February 24, 2018).

where he teaches lessons, and their practice schedule must operate around its hours of operation, and therefore also around Brandon's professional work schedule. Cheldon's nighttime creative rhythms allow him to work his teaching job during the day, and accommodate the schedule of his partner, who uses the shared workspace in the daytime. For others, space is influenced by the rhythms of work outside of the creative variety: a number of practitioners schedule their use of the creative space around day jobs. For example, Paul works as a professional electrician in the day (a job he also considers to be highly creative), and his musical practice is scheduled around this. His day job requires him to start at 6 am, making him largely at odds with the rest of the music scene, who often start and stay up late at night. His solution to this disjuncture is napping.

> It's really hard a lot of the time because I always feel like I'm waking up about a million years earlier than every single person I know, I wake up at 5:30 in the morning. Usually by 9:30 when everyone's getting ready to do something, including playing music, I'm ready to fall on my face I'm so tired… Creativity is a bit trickier if over fifty per cent of the time you're sitting at home and you don't want to do it because you're exhausted. But it's all about accountability. You have to be accountable to your bandmates, and you have to be accountable to what energy you bring. You can't go to band practice and not be feeling it. You have to put yourself in a position where you can bring as much energy to the band as possible. (Paul, Interview, February 20, 2018).

Previous page:

Top left: MIke's multi-functional desk allows for him to engage in various different creative practices in one space. Describing how it is to work in the space, Mike said: "Usually I'll just leave things as they are... I've been finding usually that the way I work is in cycles. It's like a weird triangle where I'll be obsessed with making music, and then I become obsessed with making videos, and then I become obsessed with making art, and it's this weird loop. It's good that I can do all of that in one space" (Interview, February 24, 2018).

Bottom left: Dishes accumulate beside the sink in Kirsten's bathroom. "I think about it all the time," she said. "I wash my paintbrushes in that sink. There's definite moments where I'm like, I'm sketchy. I wash paint off brushes in the same sink that I wash my dishes in, like 'oh well.' It is what it is. When I was sharing this space with JP I made this very strict rule, I was like 'we have to always do the dishes before we leave.' But now that I'm on my own I don't care" (Interview, March 27, 2018).

Top right: Paul, playing music in his living room. Playing acoustic guitar allows him to make noise without amplification, and without really disturbing neighbours or his partner.

Bottom right: The view from the microphone in Dave's workspace is of his son's bed. Dave explained: "That's what it looks like when I'm standing there. As you can see from these pictures, like, it's clearly not a dedicated artspace. It is like… such an overlapping… Actually taking these pictures really sort of brought that to light for me..." (Interview, February 6, 2018).

Opposite:

Top: Pamenar, one of the third spaces where Vlad was working. Nearly all of Vlad's photographs were of public or semi-public locations, as he spent very little time at the apartment where he was crashing.

Bottom: Hannah's photo reveals many other workers who, like her, utilize the space of a café.

The demands of domestic life constitute a persistent background noise for many practitioners while they do work. Having a space at home is a tricky and difficult thing to manage, and, as mentioned previously, means that there are always distractions from work. There is constantly something that needs doing around the house. This works the other way as well. The boundary between work and life was something mentioned by most practitioners as a constant struggle to negotiate, whether it is the persistent and often visible nagging presence of the workspace while they try to take distance from it, or the obligations of daily life waiting to sidetrack them when they look up from a project. Cheldon described his studio and personal space merging or bleeding. Describing one photo, he said: "It's the whole thing of the studio and personal space starting to collide together, all of my bills, papers and stuff on top of the speaker… I wanted to show everything. You've got the studio, the other parts of life in there. You've still gotta pay the bills, you've still gotta do all this stuff that everyone does. It reminds me, because it lingers around… I wanted to show studio life versus life, how the bleed happens, you know, the blending of the spaces. All the stuff I do, all the work, all those awards, all the collaboration, this is where that happens, all in this mess. You never know that. People think that where you're making music, like a studio, they imagine it like you see in the movies or something, you know? It's this giant space, it's all perfect with all this gear, and it's like, nope. I live here" (Interview, March 1, 2018).

In many cases, distraction, background noise, and inconvenience lead to practitioners utilizing a variety of spaces outside of their primary workspace. Alternative spaces, such as friends' studios, or places in the public realm such as parks or cafés, come in handy when the primary workspace becomes difficult to work in. This might happen for a variety of reasons. Sometimes the space just does not feel conducive to the creative flow, sometimes it is in use by someone else, sometimes the practitioner simply needs a change of scenery. In these cases, those whose creative practice is more "portable" (in terms of supplies or equipment) tend to capitalize on their mobility.

The difficulty of focus and balance led many to suggest that a designated workspace away from home could be helpful and


PASS
CAFE

might be preferable. Zain, who had been able to rent a studio in other cities but can no longer afford this in Toronto, discussed the benefits of a separate space in his interview: "Objects in your house communicate constantly. So the fact that I can see an object of mine that is covered in dust while I'm working communicates to me something like 'you haven't dusted in awhile, you should have dusted. You could be doing laundry.' There's something about working in a domestic space where there are too many variables. Having a separate space, you can't do the other stuff. It cuts the noise of the space in your brain so your brain go further into what you're doing, spend more time with things" (Interview, April 15, 2018).

Most practitioners noted working around the schedules and lives of roommates, partners, family and neighbours. In this regard, all of the workspaces that were explored for this research involve an element of sharing and compromise. In spite of the seeming lack thereof, boundaries emerge as a key element of how space and life are organized. Boundary-making and negotiation is how space is managed, in terms of creative work/life divides, establishing rules of conduct, and navigating interpersonal relationships. This is a constant process of negotiation that requires a level of perceptiveness and variety of social skills. Because of the highly personal nature of much of the work being done, space often relies upon relationships and negotiations characterized by trust, accountability and some level of vulnerability.

Below: The view from behind the laptop as Cheldon tries to relax on his couch. The workspace is visible right in front of him, constantly beckoning.

Practitioners felt differently about working in solitude versus working in group or shared environments. Several practitioners noted that they often did not want to be around others while they worked, due to the need for privacy, or due to wariness about other creatives who weren't close and trusted friends. They expressed anxiety about exposing themselves and engaging in activities they considered to be highly personal, discussing sensitive information around strangers, or having to become a member of a particular artistic community. In the case of Paul, a constructed idea about professional artists or musicians triggered an enormous sense of intimidation or inferiority: "I'm terrified of artists, like for real. And other musicians. I'm really scared. I don't collaborate well with people, to be honest with you. I do if I'm super intimately close with them on levels that transcend music, like, if we're really good friends and I know them really well, I trust them, then that's cool. But if I'm just going in with artists, no fucking way, I get super weirded out about it. Whether I get in my own head or, you know… it's just a complex or something. I feel very intimidated by other people I guess" (Interview, February 20, 2018). For Kirsten, even conducting her practice around people very close to her is difficult. Sharing her studio with her husband, who was also an artist, had led to them spending too much time confined in the same space, and they had started working in separate studios for the sake of the health of their relationship. For her, sharing space is difficult due to the needs of her creative process: "I actually really like not being around people when I work. I can work with other people there, but when it comes to getting into the zone, I can't do it when other people are around. There's this level of getting totally engrossed in what you're doing and being a bit blind to the world, and just being on your own track. When there's too much of an awareness of other people I can't do it. Sometimes I think I should share this space, because it's big… but if someone else was around my work would suffer so, so much" (Interview, March 27, 2018).

In the case of the Wavelength space, there is a unique tension created by the need to have many people working within the same space, but also needing privacy for certain kinds of work in that space. Discussing bookings, budget issues or other Wavelength matters simply isn't appropriate in some cases, because the space is too open, and it can be sometimes difficult to have one-on-one conversations between organization members. This had also been a challenge for them while using co-working spaces and studios in shared institutional settings. In most cases, this is now managed in their current space somewhat informally through scheduling, by Jonny and Aaron starting work in the space an hour or two earlier than hired staff, and having more executive-level conversations then.

Often the environment produced in co-working spaces or shared jam studios like the Rehearsal Factory were described as inhospitable to individual practice, making having one's own space infinitely preferable. The creative practice in many cases involves an organization of one's process so that as little time as possible will be spent in the shared space, especially time generating ideas or using one's imagination. Too much noise or pressure to produce on command can be hindrances to the creative process for some. The model of having a set amount of time to work, where the clock is ticking, is frequently seen as being unconducive to producing work. Marko observed: "It's really difficult, especially when you're working on electronic music, and you want to be able to shape tones.

You can't just sit down and be like 'I'm going to write this,' you have to sit down and be like 'I'm going to explore this.' It's like opening a toy box and playing with the toys and you end up coming up with a story or something, you know, it's very childlike and you have to tinker with it" (Interview, February 22, 2018). Paul emphasized the need for a particular comfortable atmosphere for creative flow, that is easier when one has their own space: "There's less pressure… and you can take your time. It's actually just really important as a band to just have some time where you're just chatting and shooting the shit with your bandmates and getting really comfortable, because in about two minutes you're going to be very vulnerable and it's going to be very intimate. You need to get cozy with them before the moment when it happens. If you just run into it, nothing good happens, you're just sort of smashing together. When you are writing music with people, it's super intimate. Not to sound cheesy, but it is what it is. Everyone's bringing their own ideas to the table and working with each other, so in order to get to that point you've got to do some preliminary work" (Interview, February 20, 2018).

However, in one case sharing space in a more purposive artist-run space was part of what drove the creative process. For Hannah, whose creative energy draws on a lively atmosphere, the presence of other like-minded practitioners is helpful when it can be negotiated properly. It also helps her overcome the feeling of loneliness that, as a writer who frequently works on projects alone, she often has. While for some practitioners, the environments of shared studio spaces – such as those provided by arts hubs or artistic co-working buildings – present a challenge (pressure to be a part of a particular community, not feeling inspired by others' work, negotiating boundaries and relationships with other practitioners, etc.), for Hannah, being surrounded by other people's work is inspiring. "It makes me feel like I'm in the right space, like I'm doing the right things, I'm surrounding myself with the kinds of people I need to be surrounded by" (Interview, April 6, 2018). She described her experiences of public and shared spaces as positive, but again involving careful navigation of social situations.

A frequent occurrence in some shared spaces, both organically formed artist studio buildings, and in contemporary purpose-built shared spaces, seems to be practitioners who secretly use their individual workspace as a residence. Two practitioners mentioned this in interviews, both noting their concern for the sustainability of those individuals' precarious dwelling situations, and also the challenges that it presented to them getting work done in tightly shared quarters (mainly feeling as though they were intruding on someone else's private time and space when they were there to create). These were situations that caused tension for the practitioners who had to navigate them, and often led to them not asking questions, and doing nothing about boundaries that might be overstepped. Several practitioners seemed to be concerned about "outing" other practitioners, getting others into trouble, or creating tension within their own scene. The mutual needs for space that draw practitioners together into the same space often outweigh the need to discuss boundaries, and practitioners seem to be reluctant to rock the boat and disrupt existing arrangements due to the perceived lack of alternatives.

While describing his experience at his previous jamspace, Paul articulated the ways in which negative experiences navigating boundaries and relationships influence individual attitudes towards sharing, and can impact the entire creative process and one's work. His previous space had been shared with other musicians who had mainly used the space for partying and had lacked respect for others.

> It was only supposed to be like two bands, but then those bands and the people in those bands had no boundaries whatsoever and didn't give a fuck about anyone else other than themselves. They'd bring all their friends over and they'd have huge practices at like 3 am because they don't give a shit about anyone else. So that would piss off the neighbours and reflect poorly on us (his band). That was hard, because that kept falling on us because it was technically our space, but we weren't the ones doing it, and we didn't even know who was coming in and using the spot. Eventually there wasn't even a negotiation, we just said everyone has to go, because we'd go in there sometimes and there'd be like ten people I didn't even know using our gear… Musicians, man. Musicians. I would say that most musicians suck. I would say that on the record. I don't know what it is! There's a vibe about musicians, like this cool person persona or something, where there's this attitude that what they're doing is the shit, and so they don't work well with others and they don't share spaces well with others. If you're sharing an artistic space with someone, you have to be over-the-top accommodating. It's like the rules you learn in kindergarten: when you're done with the space, leave it the way it was. These were grown adults, and we'd go in there and there'd be food on the floor or stale beer spilled everywhere in the corner. It was just wrong, it just became this hangout spot. I don't just hang out there. It's not a thing for any of my projects, the boozing and party jam scene, because I have little time and the people I make music with are really on point. I don't want to be in a space that doesn't reflect that. It was annoying, it's annoying sharing spaces with musicians because that's typically the musician attitude. (Paul, Interview, February 20, 2018).

Relations of power influence life in the space. Not owning a space means a relationship of dependency with a landlord, which in some cases is not an issue, but in others is a situation of tension that sometimes involves feelings of fear, helplessness, or paranoia. This relationship can make or break a creative space. In Kirsten's case, her landlord's bending of zoning bylaws and perception that theirs might be a relationship of mutual benefit is what allowed her to have a studio in the first place. In other cases, the landlord's bending of rules for a tenant is framed as a favour, becoming a factor that gives them more power in the relationship. For some practitioners, like Kate, the landlord is kept at arm's length. Her landlord is kept under the impression that she is an illustrator, and is unaware of that a business is being run out of the residence (more on this later). For Zain, on the other hand, living next to his landlord, who is set on evicting him to raise the rent, has caused enough strain that

his two previous roommates, both also creative practitioners, recently moved out due to the anxiety of the situation. Zain remains. A sense of desperation around the lack of options for workspace in the city has the potential to keep some practitioners locked into relationships where they feel taken advantage of, manipulated, directly threatened, or feel as though trust has been violated by individuals who have clear power over them. Such relationships push against boundaries established by practitioners, often creating conditions in which creative work can be almost impossible. The lack of security and fears about overstepping landlords' own sometimes unclear or inappropriate boundaries can impact what is possible and what is undertaken within a space. In that way landlords indirectly influence the production of creative work. Paul described how the deteriorating and complicated relationship with the landlord in his previous jam space had led to an increasingly precarious and uncertain situation which had impacted his band and creative practice as she infringed more and more on personal and spatial boundaries:

> For the last year in that space, or probably longer, it was actually causing me anxiety just to be there. Not only because of the landlord but because of the people we were sharing it with. It became a space we couldn't even really use anymore because of the landlord's reign over it, especially because she had technically started to live in the space… Obviously we ran into problems when she was trying to live in our jam space. We tried to make it work, but it just didn't work, obviously things came to a head. (Creative) things just didn't happen, there was just such a drought. There was a period of time when just nothing was happening, I'd say for a whole year. We'd meet up and like music wasn't happening, there was no click, whether it was things personally going on with people in the band, or the landlord situation, and constantly being threatened about being kicked out and having to find a new place, and then eventually being kicked out and having to find a new place. (Paul, Interview, February 20, 2018).

Conversely, more secure space and better navigated relationships can support creative work. For Paul, moving into a new creative workspace without "toxic" relationships signified a new beginning for his band, and led to renewed energy in the creative project. "Somehow when we exited that space and went down into the basement we started writing all of this beautiful music, so it very quickly became a very magical place. It didn't take much, I guess, because it just all of a sudden had this shine to it because of what we were creating… we weren't distracted by all that other bullshit" (Interview, February 20, 2018). Security, however, remains contingent on external factors. Even if a space seems secure and is conductive to work, practitioners often live with an underlying sense of worry about the eventual loss of it, due to unaffordability, eviction, or other factors.

Practitioners often try to remain "under the radar" to keep their spaces, in spite of desiring and requiring a degree of visibility. They tend to be either unclear on what kinds of regulations or by-laws might exist around their space, or are willfully bending the rules. This is most notable in the case of Kate, whose tattoo practice legally requires her to undergo yearly health inspections in the space,

to pay for licensing, and to have a business permit. She follows none of these guidelines, largely due to costs, but nevertheless maintains a constant stream of clients who are aware of these factors. Most other practitioners in this research did not think any licensing or regulations applied to them, but did not want to find out the hard way, and therefore do not push boundaries too noticeably. For the musicians, there is a constant effort to avoid noise complaints – "volume, volume, volume" (Brandon, Interview, February 17, 2018) is always the central issue. Musicians attempt to work around Toronto's municipal *Noise* by-laws, which generally aim to forbid "noise or vibration, at any time, which is likely to disturb the peace, rest, enjoyment, comfort of convenience of the inhabitants of the City," and specifically prohibit loud music between 11 p.m. and 7 or 9 a.m. (City of Toronto, 2009). Musicians do not tend to deal with the City on these matters, but rather express concern about developing bad relationships with neighbours. Overall, practitioners lean towards maintaining a low profile and prefer to not draw a lot of attention to themselves within their actual situated geography, despite often featuring extensive photographs and documentation of their space as a place in online worlds.

Another overarching rhythm that influences the spaces, and contributes to the desire to maintain a level of invisibility, is that of the real estate market. Spaces felt temporary, fleeting. Most practitioners had experienced displacement, and feel some level of inevitability about moving. There is a sense of this being a constant pressure, where practitioners are always imagining or securing back-up plans. Whether it is landlords selling a building or evicting them to raise the rent, space feels subject to the desires of landlords and the heat of the market. Kirsten called her studio a "cruel mistress, because there is always an element of 'oh my god when is it going to be taken away from me?' I totally live in fear and have ongoing paranoia with the space" (Interview, March 27, 2018). She, like several other practitioners, described having to move spaces every couple of years. This seems even more precarious when the space is separate from one's home (as in her case), often due to the lack of rent control on commercial spaces that many practitioners use as workspaces. The process of moving has strong impact: "Each time it happened I feel like I lost months out of my life and out of my practice. No wonder I feel like I haven't spent time in my studio, we're just moving all the time" (ibid.). This rhythm and its potentially detrimental effects are also extremely evident in the case of Vlad, who had become homeless after being evicted by a landlord. Vlad described constantly moving, and devising temporary, short-term housing solutions that would last a month or two at a time, and how this made his creative practice incredibly sporadic and difficult:

> Honestly at this point my real fucking workplace is the street… Sometimes I find moments when I'm on the streetcar, or I find a quiet space or a restaurant where I can actually write and come up with a song, or experiment with some new ideas or feelings… not having space, everything gets built up inside, and then you just lose your shit and you feel like you need to yell at the sky. It's a need, like you need to come, you need to go for a swim, you need to go down that mountain once a year. It's very difficult for me, for myself. (Vlad, Interview, February 20, 2018).


MAPLE LEAF
L924


ORGANICS ONLY
(NO YARD WASTE)

CONCEIVED SPACE

For some practitioners, the effort to represent their space within the research process changed how they perceived and thought about it. Because of their isolation from the broader art scene, their invisibility, and the ways in which they can be overwhelmed by everyday life, it is easy for these spaces to seem like they are not "real" or "legitimate" spaces. For several practitioners, the process of participating in research gave them a sense of legitimacy about their workspace because of their perception of a kind of institutional recognition (through the university). For some, the process of photo-documenting the space felt legitimizing, reminding them of the sheer quantity of work constantly taking place there.

How practitioners think about and define their space varies. Several do not refer to it as a "studio." In Dave's case, where his personal and family life tended to prevail over the workspace, the space is not defined in professional or artistic terms at all: "I just call it my apartment" (Interview, February 6, 2018). For other practitioners, some tend to frame their space in more professional terms. In the case of Roxanne, she said: "I refer to it as my home studio, because otherwise it sounds like I'm a very sad person, like I just work in my bedroom" (Interview, February 3, 2018). Everyone has their own way of referring to their space: "home studio," "studio," "jam space," "practice space," "music room," "home office." This has much to do with how individual practitioners think of their own creative practice, the role the space plays in the performance of professionalism, and how their practice fits into the broader scene and institutional world.

The legitimacy of the space is an important factor. This often comes into play more obviously for those whose practices require them to have other people come into their space. For Drew, employing interns and having them come to his space to work seemed inappropriate now that his studio was in his bedroom, and he now often takes meetings in separate third spaces. It seems less possible to do these things without a "real" space. Johnny and Aaron noted a similar difficulty, suggesting that it had been helpful to reorganize the space into a more formal looking office and removing furniture that connoted "home" from the environment. Be-

Across top:
Boxes remain in Kirsten's studio from her last move. Explaining why she still has not unpacked them, she said: "I still have this problem where I feel precarious here. I wanted to show this weird state of limbo and non-commitment... I mean, we talked to the landlord and she says she has no intention of selling, but I think being evicted from a space makes you really scared." (Interview, March 27, 2018).

Across bottom:
One of Kirsten's photos of old work thrown away in her recycling bin acts as a reminder of the constant process of purging materials and downsizing to make room for more work, but also the waste that is a part of the production process.

Across top:
Hannah's designated personal space at her shared co-working space. She brings her things with her when she arrives, and takes it all when she leaves so it can be used by someone else.

Across bottom:
The office of Wavelength is also the living room of Jonny's apartment. The acquisition of a large table helped them turn the room into a more functional workspace, allowing organization members to work in the same room, and meetings to take place in the space. The open space can be "challenging" though, as Jonny points out. "It's not for everybody. You have to navigate tight corners and there's no privacy" (Interview, April 18, 2018).

ing able to mask the existence of the bedroom was beneficial, and simply having people enter the apartment through the back door and keeping doors to the "home" part of the apartment closed had served to accomplish this. Aaron noted the effectiveness of this door tactic long before they had reorganized the set-up of the space, suggesting their previous volunteers hadn't been aware of the bedroom, and had thought that Johnny was a "Fox Mulder" type who just worked and had no life.

In many cases, a space's legitimacy is actually constructed around having other people there: the presence of collaborative activity and the use of the space by other members of the creative community make it seem more "real." The physical presence of peers and the recognition of other practitioners are factors that can grant a sense of validation by implying membership within a scene. Hannah, who works alone, enjoys periodically working out of artist centres partly because it grants her this opportunity to be around others: "In an artist space I'm surrounded by people who are diligently working at their craft. It raises the level at which I believe I should be working and what I need to be accomplishing. It's good to have people around you who are doing something similar to you and are taking their craft seriously. It's easier for an entrepreneur or someone who's running their own business, it's easy for them to say that's their *work*, that's how they make money. It's different for me. To be surrounded by people who are taking their practice very seriously allows me to take it seriously" (Interview, April 6, 2018).

The notion of legitimacy is also connected to the institutional world. Several practitioners noted that the recognition of their space as a professional workplace through grants or through tax write-offs gave them a sense of its being "real." Some practitioners suggested that further institutional recognition through forms of subsidization or tax incentives could also be beneficial, giving space a kind of formality that would in turn deliver a kind of "extra push" (Sam, Interview, February 22, 2018) to their creativity and work. Such recognition is also complicated, as it might also expose spaces to institutional scrutiny and criteria, reveal ways in which they do not fit within existing legal frameworks, and also cause them to stop being DIY, thereby forfeiting a kind of legitimacy


WAVELENGTH
THIRTEEN

within the DIY scene. For example, as Wavelength has been enduringly and increasingly recognized through grants and sponsorships, they are less frequently recognized as the DIY institution they had once been, and are sometimes criticized for this. Jonny, however, felt that it was not constructive to debate who was DIY and who was not, suggesting that, in his view, people in the arts at various levels are technically still doing it themselves, and saying: "I think the line between profit and non-profit is maybe more valuable. We have values written into the very being of our organization beyond simply making money. I think that's a better way to draw the line" (Interview, April 18, 2018).

Ways of thinking about one's own space and one's own practice are also impacted by the images projected by more visible and formalized spaces. For many practitioners, the bar is often set by Artscape or 401 Richmond. A prevailing narrative of artistic entrepreneurialism and success being determined by membership in such communities affects individuals' ideas about themselves, their sense of legitimacy as practitioners, and the ways they define their own space and work. In many ways, the exclusions and inaccessibility of space, both physical and social, within the institutional and commercial art worlds contribute to a sense of self-doubt and self-judgement for some practitioners, even when their own practice might be inherently incompatible with the models or frameworks provided there. As Mike observed: "If space is not really recognized by the government or society, if you're not in a studio that's in a giant building or a loft space, you kind of don't consider yourself on par with the people who are doing that" (Interview, February 24, 2018).

In some cases, practitioners thought of their space and practice as existing outside of the institutional world, sometimes speaking of these as in opposition to that world, but they also expressed a longing for institutional inclusion or recognition that could bestow a sense of legitimacy upon them. In some cases, more formal studio spaces seem like an eventual destination point, a goal on the horizon for the practitioner that entails the eventual dissolution of their currently existing workplace. This is the case for Kate, who had recently applied for funding that would allow her to expand her entrepreneurial practice. For other practitioners, however, there is a disinterest in being involved in the institutional world, an expressed sense of frustration with it, and some sense that there is a lack of compatibility, that the institutional world has failed to understand them, their needs, or their practice.

The majority of practitioners attested to a lack of real connection between themselves and the so-called Creative City. When asked about the impacts of cultural policy upon their practices, the place of their space within the Creative City, and whether they were affected by policy frameworks, responses were largely negative, indifferent, or under-informed:

> "What? What's the City's cultural policy?"
> "That's a thing? (laughter) What is it though? I've never heard of that kind of bullshit."
> "Maybe you could tell me."
> "Cultural policy is a funny thing. I don't know much about that."
> "It feels a bit like we're on an island away from that stuff."

In terms of specific policies, there is a general sense that certain strategies are misdirected or working against the scene. Kirsten, for example, noted that the City's proposed tax exemptions and cuts for cultural spaces are limited and only target prominent and physically large cultural spaces that are already part of the visible geography of the Creative City, rather than smaller, DIY ones who might benefit from such an imperative. In other ways, the City and its policies are viewed as a threat. Musicians in particular are frustrated by the *Toronto Music City* narrative and the *Music Strategy*, which focus too much on liquor sales, tourism, and big venues, and fail to address relevant issues such as the noise by-laws or access to spaces for practicing. They are also displeased at the tendency to close DIY spaces rather than helping to bring them up to code, creatively finding ways to help them fit into existing frameworks, or making them more sustainable. Marko suggested:

> It's very cute. It's very cute that they're down to identify as that ("Music City"). But even with that alone you would expect like some kind of a brochure about, for example, cultural policy benefits that come from something like that. It wasn't anything other than a label. If Music City was a real thing I would expect the sort of situation where you could apply as a DIY space and get some sort of benefits from that. Like, certain noise or policy changes, you could receive a break or something… Toronto Music City, they don't understand that you can't think of it as a top-down thing. It involves doing things that they are very bad at, which includes turning a blind eye to warehouse parties or DIY spaces and noise complaints and just allowing these things to exist. (Marko, Interview, February 22, 2018)

In some areas, however, the institutional realm offers real benefits to practitioners. Jonny and Aaron noted that over the years there has been increasing institutional support for Wavelength, which has allowed them to do more, and become an increasingly important institution in and of themselves. Kate also noted that institutional funding is helping her to progress with her practice, and that the City has done a lot for her as an artist. Without the City's extensive funding of public art, which provides decent pay for contracted visual artists, Kirsten would not have been able to afford her own studio in the city. Furthermore, Cheldon suggested that overarching frameworks and institutions are slowly changing in positive ways. During the research process he won an award for classical composition from a prominent classical music institution. He takes the fact that he had, as a Black electronic musician, won this award usually given to white, male classical composers, as a sign that institutions are trying to update themselves and shift into a new paradigm. There might be room for

"I don't know about any of the City's policies. I really don't. But do they impact me? Yes. Only insofar as some of the venues I've performed in have been closed or shut down."

- Dave (Interview, February 6, 2018)

"The age of the creative entrepreneur is now. It's time to shed the tired cliché of starving and suffering for your art."

- Artscape Daniels Launchpad
(https://artscapedanielslaunchpad.com/)

new institutions to emerge within such a context.

A great deal of practitioners' frustration with the institutional world has to do with the emphasis on commercial success and fitting into a specific model. Increasing entrepreneurialism in creative practice and the framing of practitioners as "creative entrepreneurs" marks divides between more professionalized workers and those who might be deemed amateurs within these frameworks. These divides produce emotional strain and a variety of anxieties among practitioners who do not fit into the entrepreneur category, who have not achieved commercial success, or to not seem to be recognized within new understandings of creativity. Several practitioners expressed a considerable amount of self-doubt and concern about whether their practice is legitimate. Creative practice outside of more formal settings and professional or institutional frameworks seems to involve a fairly constant emotional struggle around one's status or position as a creator.

This is especially the case with Roxanne, who is not particularly interested in the extensive self-promotion, marketing and entrepreneurial drive now required by her practice, and is discouraged by the ways in which the social and institutional perception of the value of one's work are based primarily upon its commercial viability. She prefers to work outside of these frameworks in terms of both her practice and her space, but she nevertheless has to emotionally wrestle with them constantly. She discussed the negative repercussions of her own struggle to exist within the capitalist art world:

> It's like a force of will to free yourself from that horrible, limiting and unproductive framework. It's a true force of will. It's something I've struggled with since I first graduated school and it was something I never struggled with as a kid when I was always making stuff. It was never an issue. And even when I was in university, like when I was very young and in a very concept-oriented program, the only concern was 'what are the ideas behind your work?' And there was never even an acknowledgement of the real world and how you would make a living. And then when I graduated I was just like 'what is my value in this society?' I don't know if I have one. You know? Like what is the reason for making all these things? And that was the first time in my life that I didn't know, I just stopped making stuff, and I was really, really depressed. Because there's just no reason to keep going like that. It's just like, you're always asking what's the point? Why? Why? And what turned me around is understanding I just make stuff because I have to, and that's okay. That's a point that I am continuously returning to. (Roxanne, Interview, February 3, 2018).

Paul described a similar turmoil about framing success in entrepreneurial terms:

> It's just like, it was just so exhausting, so I had to change the way I viewed successes as a musician and now everything is an accomplishment. A show is a fantastic memory and an accomplishment, a song written and recorded and released is an accomplishment. Otherwise you get stuck in a tailspin of constantly trying to feel… like are you ultimately only going to be successful if you get commercial recognition? Is that really what it's going to come down to? That seems really impossible. And sad. (Paul, Interview, February 20, 2018)

In addition to this, institutional funding through the state seems to reinforce particular identities and types of work. Mike expressed a concern about the granting system and the limiting ways in which it demands that artists fit into a particular ideal in order to qualify:

> I know from applying to grants and stuff for musicians, with like the Ontario Arts Council, a lot of the requirements or questions they ask you when you're applying for grants, and in terms of music or art or whatever, it's all very based in this "Ontario" art culture. Like you should be doing something Canadian, like Canadiana or something like that, and I find that's really boring… I feel like that forces people, who need the money who are working in Ontario in spaces like their bedroom, to have to create ingenuine art because they're pandering to this thing… They ask these questions like "what does your art say about you being from Ontario" or "what does it say about the Canadian culture" and then you're just trying to make something up. You are pandering. The art and music that's the most successful has nothing to do with anything like that usually. Usually I think the best art comes from resisting exactly that they want us to make for them, you know? The best art comes from resisting the government and normative society and culture. So it's funny that they should be asking for that. (Mike, Interview, February 24, 2018)

Space itself absorbs and expresses many of the tensions emerging from this personal struggle between one's own work and professional success. Necessity often overrides desire, and what one feels like one has to do often overtakes what one wants to do. Therefore, many of the spaces are filled with an extreme sense of loss or longing. With this understanding, some photos offer a moving glimpse into the conflicts between desire and obligation. A dusty microphone lost among children's toys or a glimpse of an old personal project buried within a mess of more professional paid work reveal lost opportunities for personal fulfillment overwhelmed by professional concerns and necessity for economic survival.

The overlapping and multi-functional nature of space make it so that different frames of mind are required to accommodate different modes of being within the same space. This is truer the more the workspace is integrated into the everyday space of the home. Cheldon, whose space is in the middle of his living room, suggested "there is sometimes a struggle having your studio in your living space. You know, when is it work and when is it not, when are you relaxing and when is it work?

Switching mindsets is a bit tough" (Interview, March 1, 2018). In this sense, the studio really becomes a state of mind and a way of thinking about space. Several participants mentioned the use of mental tricks and personal rituals that help them to switch modes, often involving leaving the space for a period of time and returning to it in order to gain fresh perspective, to become inspired, or to assert a change into or out of creative work mode. However, achieving the switch is a difficult task for most, leading to a frequent blurring of states. For example, Drew, whose workspace is in his bedroom, routinely leaves his apartment for coffee in the morning to trigger a "work-mode" mental state which is difficult to achieve by staying in. Zain described a similar pattern. Both described wishing they had a separate studio because of the constant difficulty in asserting the divide between states. Drew said:

> It's hard to wake up and then, you know, immediately go to work and put your mind in that kind of headspace. It's easier if you have a place to go where work exists just there. You know, that's where you do it, and you separate your home and your work life. At the end of the day here, it's still my house. I go to work and at the end of the day, it's like, where do I go? How do you do that? I don't really know, I'm still figuring it out. It's not like I'm in any particular mode, sometimes it's not even conducive to work itself, because I'm still sort of in home mode, or I'm in home mode and vice versa. There's never really a clear-cut indication of either, so I don't even really know what mode I'm in most of the time. (Drew, Interview, February 6, 2018).

Dave described his creative space as being deeply connected to his inner self and mind, and being representative of his own internal mental state, suggesting there it was difficult, if not impossible, to separate the two.

> It's within my living space, and that's my inner sanctum. I can't divorce or separate these things. Like I said, there's no outside space where I can go clear out my head and say 'I'm going to do this work now. '

Across top:
Drew's bed, just behind his desk. The seemingly inappropriate presence of the bed makes his space unprofessional, so that he cannot have meetings or interns in his workspace.

Across bottom:
The computer in Dave's workspace is shared by his children while they stay with him, meaning he often cannot use it while they are home. The space itself is in a large part produced by them. He describes the equipment, and his microphone as being "lost" within his children's things: "It's like the microphone is an afterthought, in the space, like the kids don't even notice it anymore. .. they never touch it, it's like it's invisible to them now. Which is kind of what the picture looks like, it's invisible. It's kind of invisible to me a lot of the time too, you know" (Interview, February 6, 2018).

Next page:

Top: Kirsten's studio, as represented on the Papirmasse Instagram. Carefully framed, the photo shows her desk, old Papirmasse back issues, an edge of the work table in the foreground. Items are placed with care, as if the space is in use. The contrast is extremely hgih, making the image appear crisp and clean, making colours pop against the white of the wall. It presents the dream office, the ideal.

Bottom: Kirsten's studio in the photos for this research. There is not an enormous difference in the contents of the photo, but the placement is not strategic, the image is not intended to be aesthetically pleasing. Signs of life litter the environment, such as a water bottle, a used plate, a backpack. The blue chair at the desk is replaced by the ugly office chair that was found on the street. This is the studio as it is lived day to day.

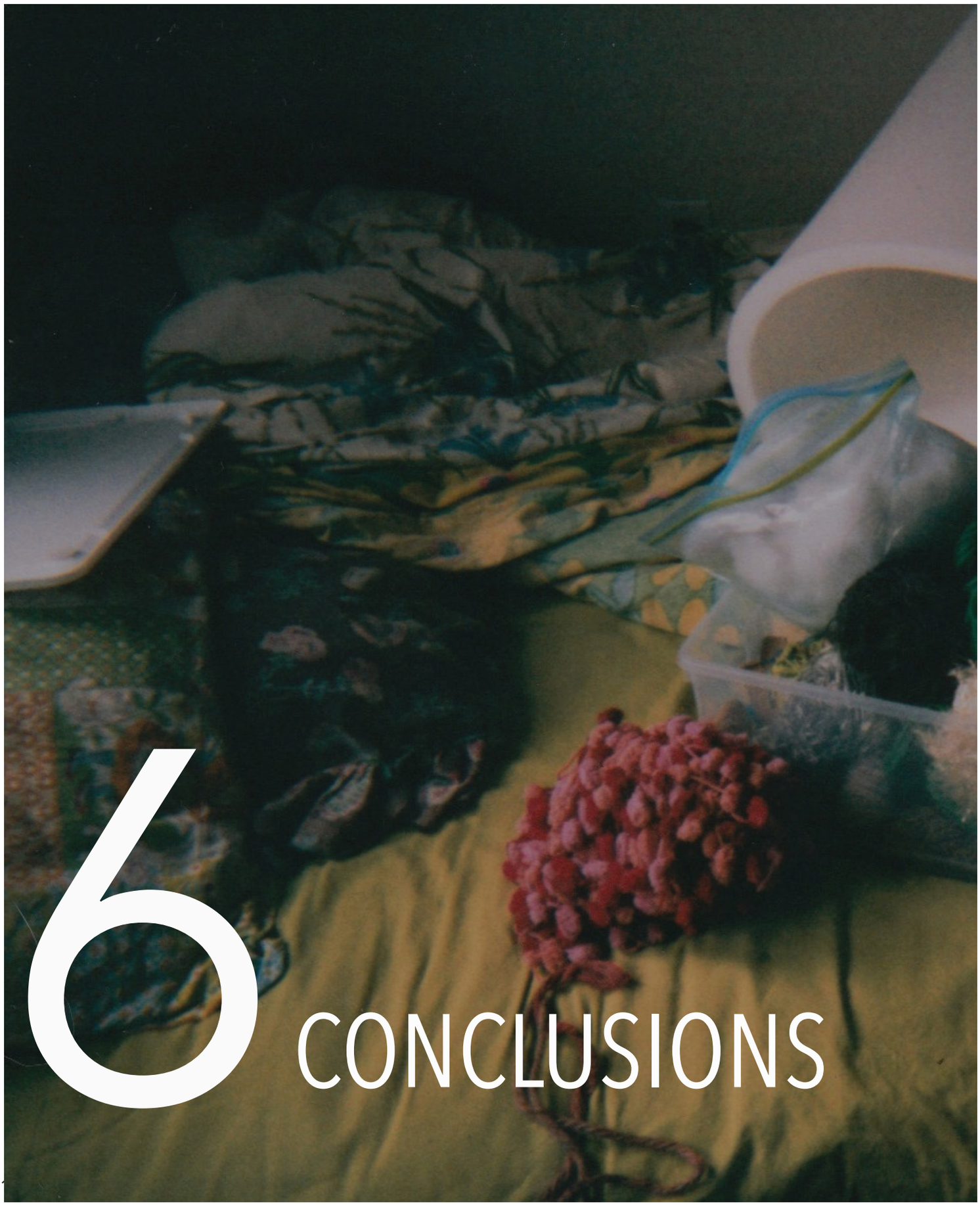
> It's all mushed together. It's the good, the bad, and the ugly, and they're all together. Like me and my art are on the same spaceship and we're going in the same direction no matter what. (Dave, Interview, February 6, 2018).

For Dave, the overlapping nature of his space not only makes it difficult for him to define it as a designated workspace, but the lack of definition and specificity impact his creative practice. In his case, the lack of formality causes the space to frequently be lost within the noise of the everyday, and overtaken by family and his day job.

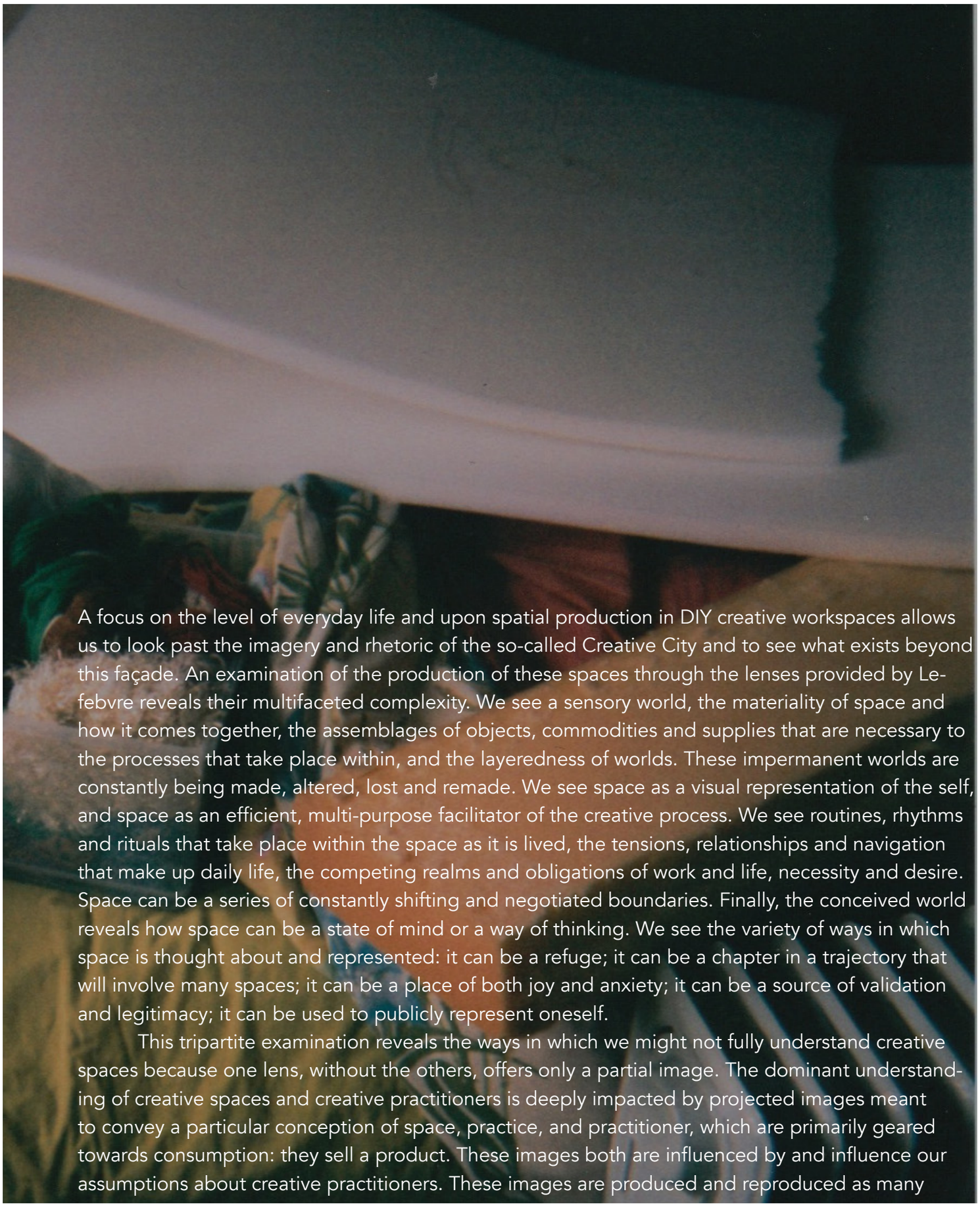
> The problem, the part I don't like is it's becoming invisible, like, because life can overtake me. I don't have any sort of symbolic trick where I leave my space, my life junk and, like, transform myself into a focused sort of artist and go to a space that represents that, and go to that space to do creative work. So, I think because of that, because of that bleed over because it is my living space and so many other things, I think my artistry gets lost. I think my own space and my own DIY approach is getting lost because it's also my living space. There are risks and rewards to doing it yourself. (Dave, Interview, February 6, 2018).

Dave's comments speak to a difficulty in prioritizing different elements of one's life. In these kinds of creative workspaces, individual needs and desires related to practice become wrapped up in work, which is wrapped up in the everyday. These things are all folded into each other and made interdependent in ways that make them difficult to untangle, differentiate and navigate. Space reveals how one's passions can literally be buried by other responsibilities and demands, how the need for self-fulfillment is often trumped by the need for economic survival, and how one's sense of self or legitimacy depend upon the studio.

Finally, for several practitioners, it was noted that the research process of photo-documentation was different from the usual ways in which they created images of the space. In self-promotion and social media representations, the space is usually cleaned and prepared, the subject matter staged, the photos clean, digital, and edited. Space is a means of representing oneself as a product, and, as such, becomes deeply entwined with the market and professionalized art world. However, the images created for this research reveal some of the relations, production and process that exist behind the scenes. The projected image dissolves to reveal complex negotiations, routines, and spatial practices that constitute the everyday lives of practitioners. The same space can be conceived in vastly different ways by the same practitioner and through a similar practice of photography: in a promotional photo, the space is a polished, exciting and colourful space, a means to construct and project creative professionalism and productivity, meant to sell an idea; in the research snapshot, it is more of a mess: a complex, challenging, personal, and deeply ordinary and unglamourous world in which the practitioner dwells. The prevalence of constructed images in our society contributes to the normalization of a certain inaccurate understanding and imagining of place. Practitioners therefore often participate in obscuring the conditions of their own lives in the interest of commercial success.



6 CONCLUSIONS



A focus on the level of everyday life and upon spatial production in DIY creative workspaces allows us to look past the imagery and rhetoric of the so-called Creative City and to see what exists beyond this façade. An examination of the production of these spaces through the lenses provided by Lefebvre reveals their multifaceted complexity. We see a sensory world, the materiality of space and how it comes together, the assemblages of objects, commodities and supplies that are necessary to the processes that take place within, and the layeredness of worlds. These impermanent worlds are constantly being made, altered, lost and remade. We see space as a visual representation of the self, and space as an efficient, multi-purpose facilitator of the creative process. We see routines, rhythms and rituals that take place within the space as it is lived, the tensions, relationships and navigation that make up daily life, the competing realms and obligations of work and life, necessity and desire. Space can be a series of constantly shifting and negotiated boundaries. Finally, the conceived world reveals how space can be a state of mind or a way of thinking. We see the variety of ways in which space is thought about and represented: it can be a refuge; it can be a chapter in a trajectory that will involve many spaces; it can be a place of both joy and anxiety; it can be a source of validation and legitimacy; it can be used to publicly represent oneself.

This tripartite examination reveals the ways in which we might not fully understand creative spaces because one lens, without the others, offers only a partial image. The dominant understanding of creative spaces and creative practitioners is deeply impacted by projected images meant to convey a particular conception of space, practice, and practitioner, which are primarily geared towards consumption: they sell a product. These images both are influenced by and influence our assumptions about creative practitioners. These images are produced and reproduced as many

practitioners strive to render themselves and their work legitimate, to gain success within current commercial or institutional contexts, and to maintain relevance and visibility as creators. For many outsiders, a relationship with creative space starts and ends with these images, and their social reality is repressed. Omitted from much of this imagery is the important substance that makes up the real worlds of creative workspaces: the mess of space as it is lived, which does not fit into this consumer-oriented construction. What is important to note here, however, is that these constructed images of the imaginary or dreamed Creative City do not simply mask some underlying truth, but are in fact *deeply intertwined* with social reality and everyday life. What we might understand as fact and fiction are mutually embedded, the boundaries between them are perforated. The fictive seeps into the everyday, influencing practitioners, complicating how we must see space and lived reality.

The use of photography in the research allows us to grasp at some of this unspectacular "residue" of everyday life, the photos containing some combination of everydayness and aura. They capture a moment in the space within the constant flow of ephemerality, giving the practitioner something to grasp onto even while as it is fleeting. In this way they are a kind of artifact that might be looked back upon later, their significance revealed with the passing of time, with loss. As Berger (1980) points out, the photograph is "a memento from a life being lived" (1980: 56). It is no surprise, then, that some of the participants wished to hang onto the photos after the research was finished, as personal keepsakes. They themselves become tangible objects, or traces, that represent something fleeting which is important and unique to practitioners' lives. The images themselves act as vehicles, allowing us intimate access to information we might not otherwise perceive, spurring memories and holding particular meanings, offering us a glimpse into the reality that underlies the spectacular imagery and vision of the Creative City. Whereas this curated imagery reveals what Benjamin would have probably recognized as a kind of collective dream, the imagery of the personal photographs serves to awaken us from that dream.

Berger (1980) points to a difference between private and public photographs. The latter contribute to the collective memory of what he calls "an unknowable and total stranger" (56), lacking personal connection, and systematically used in the interests of capitalism. The "deadness" of the photograph when it is removed from context allows it to be instrumentalized in this way. Berger suggests that the personal photograph, meanwhile, remains immersed in the world of meaning in which it is taken, and is able to translate certain appearances into meaning because of this immediate connection. It is the intimate knowledge of the practitioner and their relationship to this world of meaning that translates the blurred photograph of a stack of cassette tapes into a complex story about boundary-making and the challenges of navigating daily life. The current blurring of public/private divides even within photography, however, by online platforms such as Facebook or Instagram, and the careful public curation of supposedly private images, has significantly complicated our present relationships to personal photographs. The contemporary personal photograph's real world of meaning is often quite disconnected from that which is conveyed, what it documents is often not intended to be reality, it is often targeted at a particular public, for the purposes of self-promotion. That is

why the photographs taken for this research are quite unique: they remain somehow candid, the unspectacular lived realities that they depict undermining the contrived vision of the Creative City.

In urban gentrification and redevelopment strategies, the creation of an image is an integral part of reaching objectives (Madureira, 2015; Rousseau, 2009). This is not unlike branding, where "selective storytelling" (Jensen, 2007; Sandercock, 2003; Vanolo, 2008, 2015) is employed to present the city as a desirable, vibrant place. The attractive image is projected both inward, to residents of the city who must somehow connect to it, and outward, to a global audience where these kinds of images are in wide circulation. This imaging process does not only take place at the level of policy, with the City or Province acting as sole curator, it is instead a collectively undertaken activity where groups and individuals contribute in their own ways and for their own reasons. Important cultural stakeholders, institutions, and businesses all take part in the production of the understanding of creativity and the image of the Creative City. Importantly, so do grassroots organizations and practitioners themselves. So even do consumers, as they take selfies in art spaces or unwittingly provide and spread what often amounts to essentially free advertising on their social media platforms. Public discourse and imagery serve to level unique spaces into a geography of spectacular and consumption-oriented creative space. Through the repetition and reproduction of these representations, creative space takes on the appearance of something like a 3-D architectural rendering, an empty container filled with stock photo people. Each individual space becomes one of a handful of standardized options that could be anywhere. These images present us a specific version of creativity and the imagined city, whereas the photographs of practitioners reveal the lived reality that is distorted by them. The use of the disposable film camera does not permit the same creative process of touching up, editing and streamlining, does not necessarily deliver the image exactly as planned, offers less control over it. There is less potential for the "capitulation to fashion" in creative photography that Benjamin warns about (2008: 293).

This research reveals unique ways in which capitalism has infiltrated everyday life, playing a role in how space and identity are

Previous pages centrefold: Supplies spread out across Roxanne's bed as she works on a project.

Above: Representation of "The Yard," one of the amenities provided at the new Daniels Waterfront "City of the Arts." Image from their website, accessed at https://danielswaterfront.com/.

Below: Image of the *Monument to the Century of Revolutions* installation at Toronto Nuit Blanche, 2017, posted to the Nuit Blanche Instagram account. Photograph by @umbereene, accessed at https://www.instagram.com/p/BZswke5Dj1I/?taken-by=nuitblancheto.

produced, and how everyday life thus in turn reproduces capitalism. The push for entrepreneurialism that is promoted within Creative City rhetoric and policy, as well as within institutional frameworks, is also internalized and produced by many practitioners themselves, so that DIY or alternative spaces can be drawn into the market, and practitioners who are less commercially viable can come to see themselves as less legitimate. Creative production remains an urge or drive that many seem unable to stop, and the DIY creative workspace seemingly allows the practitioner more freedom to engage with their practice on their own terms, yet the pressures of the institutional creative world remain. Even practitioners who do not seek commercial success must wrestle with these frameworks, struggling to maintain a sense of self-worth and value as they continue to engage in making work for their own reasons.

These workspaces represent a unique situation where both vernacular and artistic forms of creativity play important roles in everyday life. This examination reveals tension, contradiction, and difficulty in those individual spaces where art is deeply embedded. While presenting itself publicly as leisure, spectacle and aesthetic enjoyment, art itself is also an exercise in labour and exploitation involving complex negotiations of space, boundaries and relations, often in the domestic realm. With this complexity in mind, we see that art's place in the everyday is not necessarily in the important radical, social role imagined for it by many critical theorists. David Roberts (2012) has suggested that the "new spirit of art" is also the new spirit of capitalism, that bohemia has ceased to exist counter to liberal-bourgeois society. He draws upon the work of Bell (1998) and Boltanski and Chiapello (2005) to draw comparison and recognize connections between culture and capitalism, suggesting that in the creative economy, the antagonism between these realms has been eroded: "Artistic inspiration and the unique artwork turn into a collective creation and the collaborative project, the avant-garde into institutionalized innovation. The aesthetic sphere disappears in the aestheticization of everyday life. This process of generalization, a reflection of the conjoined working of democracy and capitalism, effects a *secularization* of modern art and culture" (Roberts, 2012: 92, emphasis his). This return of art to everyday life seems far off from Lefebvre's aspirations for it. While he holds that art represents resistance to the linearity of capitalism, the current situation begs the question of whether the rhythmic nature of art has been at least been partly subsumed by this linearity. Art seems largely co-opted and instrumentalized by capitalism, taking the form of what Roberts terms the "neo-culture industry" (2012: 94). With new technologies and approaches to culture, we are changing our notions of culture and art. Roberts quotes Andy Warhol to clarify his point: "Business is the step that comes after Art… After I did a thing called 'art'… I went into business art… Being good in business is the most fascinating kind of art… good business is good art" (in Roberts, 2012: 95).

DIY creative workspaces can foster unique neoliberal subjectivities, drawing private space into the market and blending work into the everyday in complicated ways, but they can also represent important individual efforts to exist outside of dominant and capitalist frameworks. Their connections with the institutional world and market vary, depending on practitioners' individual aspirations, values, politics, and goals. In some cases, the space represents a determined attempt to survive on

the margins, and thus contains the everyday personal struggle that this entails. In other cases, the space is a stepping stone to grander things, a way to survive in the meantime before an anticipated eventual commercial success. In other cases, space is symbolic of that success, has been obtained through it, is a sign of arrival representing a kind of professional legitimacy that is projected both outwardly and inwardly.

Art practice seems to essentially force practitioners, whether they like it or not, to engage with capitalism, building it into their space and building their space within it, in order to engage with the production of work, but not all of them engage with or think about this in the same way. The practitioners who participated in this research did not collectively constitute a kind of avant-garde who sought to radically change art or its role in society. Many did not engage in DIY for political reasons, but instead because of a lack of affordable alternatives. Most were far from politically motivated,

"Business is the step that comes after Art… After I did a thing called 'art'… I went into business art… Being good in business is the most fascinating kind of art… good business is good art."

-Andy Warhol (in Roberts, 2012: 95)

united, or engaged in much self-critique or coherent radical critique of the institution. This should not take away from the existence of numerous highly politicized, subversive and outspoken artists and arts communities in Toronto, and indeed this research project seemed to spark interest in some of the participants to meet the other participants and collectively discuss or organize around the issue of space. It is worth noting that they were highly critical of the status quo in Toronto, of living and working conditions, power structures, affordability, of local and national arts institutions and funding bodies, and of the social place of creativity. There was a general sense that the demands of work, the pressure towards entrepreneurialism, and the anxieties of the rental and property markets in Toronto prevented many of them from engaging with their creative practices in ideal ways, and that existing institutions or arts infrastructure limited the kinds of work they were able to produce and upheld dominant norms. Most seemed to be interested in more stable living conditions and better options for inclusion within currently existing frameworks. When asked what their dream workspaces would look like, many did not drift far into the imaginary or even into the unconventional, simply

wishing for more room, more division between life and work, more windows and light, more nature, better sound quality or equipment. No one demanded any change to the systems their space existed in; the bar for the ideal was not set tremendously high and was not unrealistic.

Self-created workspaces allow practitioners a space to conduct their practice within existing systems on their own terms. Due to affordability and the lack of suitable spaces throughout the city, these spaces are mainly found in practitioners' homes. While this has been true of studios throughout history, the current expectation for "real" artists to have a more "professional" workspace, and the unique challenges of working at home, puts pressure on many practitioners to eventually shift out of this model as they progress. In the cases where the practitioner is not particularly entrepreneurial or "growth"-oriented, the challenge is to maintain a functional balance between life and work in their home over the long-term. Practitioners each have unique ways of negotiating this in their everyday lives. Space itself has a significant impact on creative work processes and products, as do institutional and market frameworks which encourage certain kinds of production and a particular developmental trajectory. Unique pressures are put on practitioners as they navigate the social and spatial boundaries and limitations of their workspaces. Relations with neighbours, landlords and roommates seem to shape and sometimes limit the activities that go on in a space. The landlord-tenant relationship in particular is one where power imbalances are especially evident. The need for creative space tends to lead to compromise on the part of practitioners, who often view simply having a space as a higher priority than having ideal conditions within it.

Self-created spaces are deeply connected to both professional identity and personal practice. These are important places of privacy and vulnerability for practitioners, connected to emotional and spiritual worlds. Insider knowledge is required in order to fully understand each space, how it functions, and the significance or symbolic value of the seemingly random things within them. They might therefore seem unremarkable to the untrained eye. Even as "DIY" has been increasingly associated with cultural capital, garnering attention in hip milieus, with DIY community spaces becoming elements of mainstream consumption landscapes, it seems difficult to imagine these kinds of home studios becoming drawn into such landscapes in the same way. Within the broader, more spectacular geography of the Creative City, these spaces hardly exist at all, they are isolated or invisible, presumably private. However, unique forms of access breach the private/public divide, as these spaces are rendered at least partially public through practices related to creative work, such as self-promotion, collaboration or visitation. These spaces are drawn into consumption landscapes via social media, allowing them to maintain a level of invisibility on the ground, while still playing an important role in the market as practitioners render their spaces public online.

Visibility and invisibility are key themes that emerged around these spaces. The photographic methodology inclined participants to discuss how image was constructed, not only in regards to space but to themselves, and how these two elements are intertwined. The research revealed a deeper ordinary and private reality woven into the constructed public image of the creative practitioner and creative space. This is not simply a difference between public and private realms. The

research revealed how such spaces are produced as a kind of hybrid made up of real, imagined and online worlds. The practitioner, their clients, the public, the state, and even researchers all relate to, recognize and share in these worlds differently. Space is at once a deeply personal, intimate place connected to work, reproduction and practice, made up of immediate relationships and boundaries that are carefully constructed, and connected to the outside world through the threads of personal, economic, and legal ties with landlords, neighbours, collaborators, clients, funding bodies, and government structures. Space is also produced in our imagination, reinforced and influenced by both myths of the past and a constant stream of imagery and media discourse in the present. The space also exists in a constructed and curated form online, where a particular understanding and experience of access is developed for a potentially global following. Projected images can differ enormously from lived realities. Comparing and contrasting the projected image with the everyday reveals, at least partly, why we might hold certain assumptions about creative practitioners and their spaces, and foregrounded the role of the image in the construction of imaginaries around place and identity.

What does all of this have to do with planning? First of all, planners are influenced by these images, are guilty of reproducing them, and our assumptions and practices in planning clearly have real impact on creative practice. The push to democratize culture has advanced a policy agenda positing increased access to and consumption of creative work and positing that everyone is creative. While this is a lovely thought, this focus on the inclusion of "everyone" can trivialize and obscure the lived experiences of those who labour or make their livelihoods producing the work which the consumption-oriented angle of these very policies relies upon. Clearly Creative City policy needs to take a turn away from spectacle, towards the provision of better social services and towards protecting the affordability of space and life. Meanwhile, the neoliberal and entrepreneurial language of the Creative City also has an enormous impact on how practitioners engage with their work, how they think of themselves, and what takes place within creative space. Planners need to think about the ways in which the proliferation of this discourse has potentially had real effects and repercussions in everyday life. Planners must consider how these discourses reinforce and promote neoliberal capitalism, marginalize certain groups, and undermine art's potential role in social change.

This examination reveals how creative practitioners and planners concerned with cultural planning are often engaged in very different kinds of placemaking. Planners and policymakers have considerable influence in shaping and upholding dominant or formal notions of place, which in the case of the Creative City tend towards public consumption landscapes and landscapes of power rather than the domestic or reproductive realm. DIY workspaces fall into the cracks. In many ways, this may be because these kinds of spaces remain largely invisible to planners, because liminality and fluidity are difficult concepts for planning to accommodate, or because only certain images are visible, and perhaps a better knowledge of the landscape and its lived conditions might help planners in their work. However, a simple lack of awareness is not the only problem. There are incongruencies between many of the concerns, interests, priorities and desires of practitioners and planners. In some

cases, as practitioners pointed out, it may be that turning a blind eye is sometimes necessary. There is a need for planners to gain a better understanding of creative practice, and of the complicated and broad range of meanings, processes and needs that exist within it. Current understandings which seek to instrumentalize creative practice in the interests of revitalization or economic growth fail to understand the diverse reasons why creative work might be valuable or engaged in. The ideas we have about how art should be used in planning can reveal some of how creative practitioners are meant to fit into our society overall. In practical planning, there is a lack of discussion about art, and perhaps a need to shift our assumptions about creativity and space, to gain a better understanding of art and its purpose. This is especially important in a context where change is happening rapidly, where we hastily pursue new models in the name of innovation, and we might be missing a unique opportunity to potentially shift, radicalize and decolonize our institutions and frameworks, to not simply render them more inclusive but to create a multitude of new ones that better represent and fulfill desires and needs. While the geography of workspaces is constantly shifting, so too is the landscape of institutions. Planners must be aware of the changing nature of scenes. Even as this paper is being submitted, the city's DIY music scene is embroiled in a debate about power dynamics, exploitation, white patriarchal hierarchies, the appropriate lifespan of cultural institutions, and institutional funding in Toronto. These conversations, however, are mainly held on social media platforms that, as has been outlined here, tend to offer only partial or distorted images, and, importantly, they for the most part do not question or counter capitalist structures that underlie many of these questions, instead primarily arguing over who gets the biggest piece of the pie. As long as these structures are held in place, we will still see competition between practitioners, opportunism and further neoliberal expansion, and thus the continued marginalization of certain individuals and groups who do not adhere to the dominant ideal.

These matters seem to go largely undiscussed in the realm of planning overall, yet it seems to be largely through planning that culture, its role in the New Economy, and the status quo are reinforced. While DIY workspaces may not offer an ideal image of how planners could build purposive creative spaces in the future, they do offer important insight into how creative practitioners must live and work within the frameworks we produce and reproduce, and act as an example of how ordinary workers survive and navigate life day to day within our city. Intimate imagery of the everyday lives of practitioners reveals the ways in which creativity and its politics exist outside the parameters of planning, policy and the market. They demand that we reconsider assumptions about who we consider to be a "real" artist, who is producing work (as well as how, where and why), questions of which institutions we prop up and reinforce, and how we intentionally or unintentionally foster or limit creative production as planners. As art and creativity are increasingly used as tools in the interest of neoliberal capitalist expansion, and as our understandings and experiences of these things are rapidly changing, there are urgent inter- and transdisciplinary conversations to be had about the implications of such instrumentalization, and importantly, the effects on people's everyday lives.

Next Page: Kate's tattoo studio, which by summer of 2018 will no longer exist in this space or form, and will be relocated in an arts hub.

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Next Page: Stacks of old issues of Papirmasse in Kirsten's studio. Old paperwork, documents and files take up considerable amounts of space in studios.


ADDENDA

SAMPLE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

• What is your name, age, and creative practice?
• When and how did you come across this space?
• What is the space used for? How do you define it? (Studio? Workshop? Jam-space? Etc)
• Do you own or rent? Other arrangement?
• What other activities take place within this space that are not related to your creative practice?
• Is this space shared, and if so, how is that organized?
• Can you describe your first experience here?
• Why did you decide to settle on this space? What were determining factors in that decision?
• Was doing things yourself a decision you made, or did you have no other choice?
• What did it look like when you first came here, and how have you changed the space to suit your needs? What specific alterations have you made?
• Why have you set things up in this manner?
• What does this space offer to you? What makes this it unique or special?
• What is your favourite thing about this space? What is the thing you hate the most?
• Can you describe the average day in this space?
• How much does this space cost? (Rent/Cost of making/Maintenance/Supplies etc)
• What kinds of institutional creative spaces have you been a part of and how is this different?
• Are there specific conditions that have led to you using this kind of space?
• What kinds of support networks and resources does this space rely on?
• What kinds of cultural funding/grants/resources do you make use of in your practice?
• What kinds of laws, permits and policies affect or govern this space?
• What, if any, gray areas does this space occupy in terms of legalities or formalities? What are the consequences of this?
• What kinds of laws or policies do you think should govern DIY spaces?
• What kinds of funding or protections might be beneficial to DIY spaces?
• Do you know about the City's cultural policies, and how do these impact you as a creative producer?
• How do these policies impact your networks? What are their effects?
• Are there other cultural spaces or production spaces in this neighbourhood? How does the presence of other cultural activities affect this space?
• What would your ideal space look like?
• How long do you expect to have/use this space? Is it a permanent set-up?
• What would you like to change about this space?
• What kinds of physical problems are there in the space?
• What kinds of social challenges do you run into on a daily basis within the space? How do you overcome them?
• What is your relationship to your landlord? Are they aware of the activities in the space and how do they feel about this?

• What is your relationship to your neighbours? Are they aware of the activities in the space and how do they feel about this?
• What kinds of tensions exist between the space and the outside world? (Noise complaints? Complaints about people coming in and out? Complaints about hours of work? Etc)
• If you face challenges with working here, what tactics have been used to limit or control your activities here (by landlords, inspectors, or authorities)?
• Conversely, what tactics have you used to deflect authorities?
• What are the pros and cons of operating a DIY space like this?

Interview Questions re: photos
• When is the photo taken? What is this photo of? What is happening here?
• Where in the room is this?
• Why did you take this photograph?
• What is the significance of this subject? What does it tell us about the space?
• What is the intended message this photo should convey?

SAMPLE INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Date:
Study Name: Ephemeral geographies of DIY: Making space in Toronto's Creative City
Researcher name: Loren March, Masters of Environmental Studies, York University (principal investigator) lorenmackenziemarch@gmail.com
647 461 0491

Purpose of the Research:

This research seeks to understand DIY place-making practices in the City of Toronto, and the impacts of formal Creative City policy and planning initiatives on DIY spaces. I am conducting interviews with cultural practitioners, artists and musicians about the spaces they carve out for themselves in the city, and researching the role of these spaces within the broader community. Participant photography will also be employed as a way to explore and represent these spaces and enrich the research. The photographs and information collected will be included in my Major Research Paper.

What You Will Be Asked to Do in the Research:

You will be asked to participate in two activities:
• Participant-photography: You will be given a disposable camera and asked to take photos within the space over the course of a week, of important elements within the space, or goings on throughout the day/night. I hope to document everyday life and how space is produced. What you photograph is up to you. I will collect the camera at the end of this period, and develop the film myself.
• A semi-structured interview: After the photographs are developed, we will meet at your convenience to discuss them, and to discuss the space itself. The interview should not take longer than one hour to complete. Ideally, this interview will take place within the space. Questions will be asked pertaining to the photographs, and to the space, its creation and design, its uses, how it fits into everyday life, the space's role in your creative practice, etc.

Risks and Discomforts:

Participation in this research process involve no foreseeable risk or discomfort. However, if you uncomfortable answering any questions that are asked, you are not required to answer them. You may also request to remain anonymous, or to have personal information, such as the address of the space, kept private. If you wish to withdraw your participation at any time for any reason, you may do so.

Benefits of the Research and Benefits to You:

No incentives are offered for participation in this research. However, the research findings may lead to long-term benefits for participants. The purpose of this research is to understand the importance of DIY creative spaces within Toronto, and to explore how they are created and how they fit into

people's lives. A better understanding of these worlds and the circumstances that necessitate them will help us to better understand the needs of creative practitioners in the city. This will also hopefully help planners and policy-makers to formulate more appropriate policies, provide more affordable space, and learn how to better accommodate the spaces that already exist.

Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal:

Your participation in the study is completely voluntary and you may choose to stop participating at any time. Your decision not to volunteer, to stop participating, or to refuse to answer particular questions will not influence the nature of the ongoing relationship you may have with the researchers or study staff, or the nature of your relationship with York University either now, or in the future. In the event you withdraw from the study, all associated data collected will be immediately destroyed wherever possible. Should you wish to withdraw after the study, you will have the option to also withdraw your data up until the analysis is complete.

Confidentiality:

Interviews will be recorded into a voice recorder, and stored on SD card with no information identifying the participant, until they are uploaded into a hard drive used specifically for this project. Film will be developed professionally at Annex Photo. The recordings, developed photos, and processed film will be stored in a secure filing cabinet in my private office during the research process. I will be the only person who has access to this data. It will be securely stored for two years. Electronic recordings of the interviews will then be trashed. The photos will be used in my Major Research Paper, and hard copies may be returned to the participant in September, 2018. If the participant does not wish to have these returned, they may be kept by me for use (in an anonymized form) in future research exploring similar lines of inquiry. Such projects will also undergo ethics review, and you will be notified by me and asked for consent if this occurs. The data will be treated with the same degree of confidentiality as in this research project.

Questions About the Research?

If you have questions about the research in general or about your role in the study, please feel free to contact me at lorenmackenziemarch@gmail.com, or my supervisor Doctor Ute Lehrer at lehrer@gmail.com. You may also contact the Graduate Program in the Faculty of Environmental Studies through our Program Director at fesgpd@yorku.ca. This research has received ethics review and approval by the Delegated Ethics Review Committee, which is delegated authority to review research ethics protocols by the Human Participants Review Sub-Committee, York University's Ethics Review Board, and conforms to the standards of the Canadian Tri-Council Research Ethics guidelines. If you have any questions about this process, or about your rights as a participant in the study, please contact the Sr. Manager & Policy Advisor for the Office of Research Ethics, 5th Floor, Kaneff Tower, York University (telephone 416-736-5914 or e-mail ore@yorku.ca).

Legal Rights and Signatures:

I _____ consent to participate in "Ephemeral geographies of DIY: Disintegration, institutionalization and making space in Toronto's Creative City" conducted by primary investigator Loren March. I have understood the nature of this project and wish to participate. I am not waiving any of my legal rights by signing this form. My signature below indicates my consent.
Signature Date: Participant: _____
Signature Date: Principal Investigator: _____

Additional consent (where applicable):
1. Audio recording
I _____ consent to the audio-recording of my interview(s).
2. Use of photographs
I _____ consent to the use of images of me, my environment, and property in the following ways (please check all that apply):
In academic articles [ ] Yes [ ] No
In print, digital and slide form [ ] Yes [ ] No
In academic presentations [ ] Yes [ ] No
In media [ ] Yes [ ] No
In Major Research materials [ ] Yes [ ] No
Signature: Date:
_____ _____ Participant: (name)
Consent to waive anonymity
I, _____ <<insert participants name>>, consent to the use of my name in the publications arising from this research.
Signature:
_____ Date:_____


MICRO SYNTH
SF1
Bass Synthesizer
SYS-1
BOSS