

Art Factories & cre8ery: A Case Study of Cultural Producers in
Winnipeg's Exchange District

By

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Abstract

The creative class, creative economy and creative cities are all heralds of current North American planning directions. My research seeks to understand how the Art Factory, a multi-tenant and multi-purpose artist space, contributes to the lives of artists and the general creative potential of a city. This research is a case study of cre8ery, an art factory located in Winnipeg's Exchange District, the gentrifying cultural quarter of the city. I interviewed ten artists, exploring how cre8ery affected their social, professional and economic lives. cre8ery serves as a gateway into the art world for emerging artists by providing stability and opportunities to them. In general, Art Factories are centres of cultural entrepreneurship, an activity essential to the health of artists and the city. I also explore the shift of the artist populations in Winnipeg due to gentrification, offering several policy initiatives that would either stem or support this shift.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

In the summer of 2008, federal funding cuts to arts and culture programs by the minority Conservative government in Canada led to a furor of protest by the arts community. The Prime Minister's press secretary was quoted in the national news media as saying that "the [funding] choices made were inappropriate... because they were ideological in some cases, or the money was going to fringe arts groups that, in many cases, would be at best, unrepresentative, and at worst offensive" (CBC News, 2008). This represents the ideological divide that this research explores: the role of independent and fringe forms of cultural production against commercialized and main-stream culture. The contributions that 'fringe' art make to our society are immeasurable in a literal and figurative sense.

My research explores the support infrastructure for *autonomous* cultural producers, part of the 'fringe art groups' that the federal budget cuts affect. This is done by examining the role of a multi-tenant and multi-function artists centre, the *Art Factory* in the Canadian context. The term *Art Factory* is a rough translation of *Broedplaatsen*,¹ a policy developed in Amsterdam, Netherlands to provide affordable artist spaces. The case study is of *cre8ery*, an *Art Factory* in Winnipeg, Manitoba in the first year of its existence at the time this research started.

Three main questions driving this study are:

1. How do *Art Factories* affect the social, economic and professional lives of the artists who use them?
2. What role do *Art Factories* play in supporting the cultural capital and production of a city?

¹ *Broedplaatsen* is "generally translated to mean 'incubation spaces'" (Arnoldus, 2004, p. 205).

3. How can planners and other policy makers support the development of successful *Art Factories* and enhance cultural entrepreneurship?

This research aims to understand the role of cultural producers and entrepreneurs better so that planners can direct policy and infrastructure to encourage their growth. More specifically, how do policy and the built form support artists? How do *art factories* ‘incubate’ culture? And as planners, how do we foster these spaces without formalizing the spaces and potentially causing their rejection (on the part of the artists)? These objectives focus on fulfilling the needs of artists who use these buildings, rather than on the economic regeneration themes found in most of the current literature about culture-led regeneration urban strategies.

If culture is important to the health of the city, then improving the experiences of visual artists is a means to ameliorate the city as a whole. Richard Florida found that “the Creative Centres tend to be the economic winners of our age” (Florida, 2002, p.218) and a recent study of successful downtowns in mid-sized North American cities showed that cultural activities were among the most significant factors for their rise (Filion, et al., p. 2004). Artists are producers of culture, but they also act as the catalysts for neighbourhood change and renewal. They make neighbourhoods and cities desirable places to live; “creativity has always been the lifeblood of the city” (Landry and Bianchini, 1995, p. 11). Unfortunately, artists are often displaced through gentrification, because they are rarely accounted for in traditional urban policies. Artists are wary of creative economies and cities rhetoric (Anderson, 2008, p. 18; Sherlock, 2008). These

cultural producers have a wealth of knowledge, but it is informal and spontaneous, whereas planning conventionally contemplates formality, order and regulations.

While cultural plans have emerged with prominence in recent years, many of these plans have focused on cultural economies and cultural consumption, thus marginalizing the roles and needs of cultural producers. Furthermore, many cultural producers are part of a sub-culture of artists who prefer to exist on the periphery of formal systems. Planners must develop novel approaches to foster their development.

Cultural production for visual artists has traditionally occupied the fields of art and craft. The differences between arts and craft—artists and crafters, is an important distinction in this research. Broadly speaking, the traditional field of art encompass media such as painting, printmaking and sculpture, which are primarily concerned with aesthetics. Craft, on the other hand is considered to encompass objects with utilitarian value that focus on the materials and processes. These tend to be media like ceramics, textiles and woodworking (Markowitz, 1994). These categories cross over, however, leading into such topics as fine craft and *readymades*. The nature of art has long since exceeded these traditions—especially with the emergence of fine craft in Canada during the 1960s (Alfoldy, 2005, p.17) and the rise of modern art in the late 19th Century, but delving into the ontology of art and craft is worthy of its own separate discussion. The terms artists and crafters are used in my research as a convenient way to distinguish between the different groups based on their professional aspirations. No value judgement is passed about the value or validity of their media in this study. Art and craft, however, carry connotations of “high” and “low” art in relation to consumption. I address these themes in Chapter 4.

My research uses the terms artists and cultural producers in the following context: visual artists are the main focus of this research study and are referred to simply as artists for brevity's sake. Artists are a subset of cultural producers. Cultural producers encompass visual artists, dancers, musicians or performers, among others.

Sub-cultural artistic production and mainstream artistic consumption emerge as opposing forces through the writings of Pierre Bourdieu (1983). This is discussed more thoroughly in Chapter 4. Consumption is not necessarily negative, but consumption-first policies have affected producers negatively. The mass consumption of artistic neighbourhoods lead to their loss and commoditization—a sacrilege for many cultural producers. Consumption in this sense is seen as usurpation, not as the benign act of consuming art through its viewing, purchase or participation. Consumption-first policies lead to the appropriation of bohemia, not the balance of production and consumption.

This initial chapter sets the broad context for the research, its significance and defines the terms used in the research. The second chapter covers the research methodology used. The research involves in-depth interviews with artists in the Exchange District who use the case study, *cre8ery*. To preserve anonymity, a 'fictionalized' narrative is used by amalgamating the characters in order to represent the findings of the sample without revealing them.

The third chapter features the case study and provides a broad context for the function and form of *cre8ery*. The clustering of arts organization and artists plays a critical role in the importance of *cre8ery*.

The theoretical framework discussed in Chapter 4 draws heavily on the writings of Pierre Bourdieu, Sharon Zukin and Hans Abbing. Bourdieu provides insight into class

distinction and modes of cultural production. The differences between the habits of sub-cultural artists and mainstream society form the theoretical basis for this research. Zukin explores the underpinnings of artist-led gentrification primarily through the history of New York's SOHO District. Her work also explores the commoditization of landscapes and the perceived artist life-style. Abbing focuses on the artist class and the characteristics that make them unique and exceptional. In particular, why artists tend to be more inclined to risk-taking and poverty.

The literature review in Chapter 5 primarily draws from online journals and to a lesser extent, topical books, news media and artist publications. The impetus towards creative cities in the past decade has led to a wealth of recent literature on the topic. This chapter explores several topics: environmental behaviour, cultural production/consumption, cultural planning, cultural districts and clustering, gentrification and artist and community-led regeneration strategies.

Chapter 6 focuses on an analysis of ten in-depth interviews I conducted with the users and administrators of *cre8ery*. The respondents had a tremendous amount of knowledge to share. To maintain confidentiality, the respondents were amalgamated into a few key figures to create a fictionalized narrative. A number of themes coalesced around emerging and mid-career artists, art and craft, formal and informal cultural production spaces, and the production and consumption of cultural goods. A significant portion of the research also delves into how gentrification of the Exchange District is affecting Winnipeg's artist community. The findings are presented using framing oppositions (e.g., producer/consumer) to illustrate how particular policies can favour one group over another even though the distinctions between these apparent oppositions are

often blurred. The use of these paired concepts should not be seen as exclusionary and dichotomous, but rather as a means to explore the tensions between them in their most extreme forms.

The concluding chapter summarizes the research and actively returns to the research questions. The analysis looks at the state of the arts in Winnipeg amid the gentrifying cultural district and poses what will happen if the city's cultural cluster shifts. Implications and recommendations for the professional planning profession emerge from my research findings while proposing future paths that research on this topic could explore.

Chapter 2: Research Methods

My research was a single and exploratory case study of a unique *Art Factory, cre8ery*.

Case study research is a preferable method for responding to “how” *cre8ery* functions and “why” it functions in that way. This method was chosen because it is ideal for studying “a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context” (Yin, 1994, p. 1).

The primary research method used was unstructured, qualitative and in-depth interviews. Interviews are ideal for researching a specific sub-culture of artists and their interaction with each other and their environment. The research was based on an inductivist model in order to develop possible theories and themes currently not identified by the literature. The interviews were unstructured to allow for the discovery and exploration of potential new themes. Topic guides were developed to help focus the interviews on the research questions. This research also took a dyadic approach to studying environmental behaviour. With this approach, the interactions among policymakers, the physical environment of the *Art Factories* and the artist tenants that are explored (Sonnenfeld, 1972, p. 267).

The approach to the research took a form similar to Ryan Moore’s (2007) study of San Diego’s sub-cultural punk music scene. Both projects began out of personal interest and familiarity with the subject and required an immersion in the subculture.

Knowledge of the visual arts community in Winnipeg stemmed from my post-secondary study of Fine Arts and my employment and volunteer work in the field. My introduction to *cre8ery* began on a casual basis when I started attending drop-in drawing nights there in the Fall of 2007. The motivation for my attendance was to continue my art

practice and maintain my life-drawing skills. After using the facility for several months, I approached its administrators with the prospect of making it the subject of this study.

Ten participants were interviewed between March and April 2008. The sample was made up of the case study's administrators, current tenants and casual users. Due to the small number of the case study's tenants, the sample was chosen through a combination of purposive and convenience sampling in order to ensure that it was large enough, but still varied according to several key characteristics. The sample was homogenous in the sense that all participants were cultural producers, but participants were purposefully chosen based on their gender, age, length of tenure, length of career and usage of the space. This procedure was similar to the method used in a case study of 401 Richmond, an *Art Factory* in Toronto, Ontario (Cohnstaedt, et al., 2003, p. 10).

Potential research participants were initially identified with the help of the case study's administrators and then they were approached to participate in the study. In some cases, a snow-ball method was used to help identify additional participants. Respondents were asked if they knew of anyone else who would want to participate in the study, or the subject would suggest someone who had insight on a particular subject (e.g., "*You might want to talk to [this person] because he's the prototypical starving artist.*").

Of the ten respondents, two were administrators, three were tenants and five were casual users of the space. Casual users of the space were those that either used the rental gallery or attended one of the drop-in activities that took place in the case study's multi-purpose classroom. There were six men and four women interviewed between the ages of 25-55. All participants were visual artists except for one actor who rented space on a casual basis. Nine of the respondents would be considered emerging artists and the

remaining one as a mid-career artist. Established artists were not encountered in this research, thus they are not significantly represented in the findings. The definitions of emerging, mid-career and established artists used are those established by the Canada Council for the Arts:

Emerging Artist

An artist who has specialized training in his or her field (not necessarily gained in an academic institution), who is at an early stage in his or her career, and who has created a modest independent body of work.

Mid-career Artist

An artist who has created an independent body of work over a number of years and who has received regional or national recognition through publication or public presentation of his or her work.

Established Artist

An artist who is at a mature stage in his or her career and who has created an extensive body of independent work. An established artist has reached an advanced level of achievement by sustaining a nationally or internationally recognized contribution to the discipline (Canada Council, 2005).

The individual interviews took place at mutually agreed upon locations, although participants were asked if they would like to hold the interviews in their studios or in the Exchange District. Five interviews took place in the case study (four in the studios and one in the classroom), three were held in the Exchange District, one took place in a restaurant near the subject's workplace and another was held in a subject's home. The preference was to hold the interviews in a subject's studio which has been shown to make them feel more comfortable (Bain, 2004, p. 172), or to hold it in the Exchange District to aid the respondents in speaking about the spaces that they inhabit. This was done to establish a colloquial and contextual rapport of trust between the researcher and subject that is necessary for in-depth interviews (Wengraf, 2001, p. 43-44).

The interviews generally lasted between one to one and a half hours and were recorded with supplemental note-taking. The interviews were initially designed as post-occupancy evaluations of the case study which evaluate a building's effectiveness at meeting the needs of its occupants. After the first few interviews, however, it was determined that there was a much greater wealth of knowledge on the general condition of artists in Winnipeg and the remaining interviews shifted towards spending more time on that topic.

A topic guide was developed to aid with interviewing the users of the case study (see Appendix A). A similar topic guide was created for the administrators of the case study (see Appendix B), but the topics were modified to include a focus on the operation of the building and their broader observations of artists' needs. The research sought to understand the spatial and social needs of artists by exploring their current circumstances through open-ended questions that addressed their studio and housing history and their observations of Winnipeg's Exchange District.

In addition to the interviews, my current employment in the arts industry and almost daily interaction with artists contributed to a collection of informal anecdotal evidence. This took the form of unsolicited opinions on the current state of artists in Winnipeg or commentary on recent developments in Winnipeg's cultural community. While these are not formally reported in the results, they provided topical discussion for the interviews and contributed to the knowledge base which contextualized this research.

Data analysis took place after the completion of all the interviews. All participants provided or were assigned pseudonyms which were used to make participation in the research anonymous. During the transcription, real names were replaced with

pseudonyms and any comments that participants requested be omitted were removed. Ensuring anonymity for the research participants was difficult considering the small and interlinked nature of Winnipeg's Arts community. Since many of the research respondents were identified with the aid of the case study, their participation was even more identifiable to the case study's administrators. All participants were made aware of the risks orally and in writing on the consent forms. Many of them expressed that they were not concerned about the anonymity of their participation, but their anonymity was still preserved.

In order to preserve anonymity, the respondents were amalgamated into a smaller number of characters. Each character became a representation of a particular artist group identified through the thematic analysis. Six fictional characters are used to represent the ten respondents. The narrative is fictionalized, but the experiences are genuine. The methodology of 'fictionalizing' identities and the amalgamation of characters is often used in sports research where the communities are generally very small and close-knit, such as the visual arts community featured in this research. This method is well suited to maintaining the anonymity of the participants and reporting 'subjective' knowledge (McDonald and Hallinan, 2005, p. 191). As Christopher Grenfell and Robert Rinehard (2003) write:

We have used fiction in our reporting in order to get at some of the 'understandings' implicit within skaters' worlds while still retaining the 'knowledges' of those worlds... So too, in using fiction as a reporting too, we attempt to viscerally capture the worlds of the youth skaters so that the reader may come closer to 'understanding' while gaining the 'knowledges' of the worlds themselves (p. 81).

One consequence of using of a fictionalized narrative is that it must be placed within the context of the narrator's perspective. While primarily based on the interviews

and anecdotal evidence, this method is akin to storytelling and carries an autobiographical component of the narrator (Sparkes, 1997, p. 34).

Minimizing bias is a concern in case-study research, especially when participant-observation is used. My participation and use of *cre8ery* prior to my study of it and my inclusion in the sub-culture of artists allowed access to potential participants and helped establish initial trust relationships. One significant drawback of participant-observation is its potential for bias (Yin, 1994, p. 87-88). Thus, while every effort has been made to minimize bias, the narratives and their analysis will naturally contain collusions of my own experiences in the arts community.

The structure of reporting the findings was loosely inspired by Alan Jamieson's (2002) study of church leavers in New Zealand. Jamieson divided his research participants into several distinctive groups in order to establish a narrative of each group's characteristics. The interviews for this research were analyzed thematically to look for commonality among the artists' perceptions. Thematic elements were identified through a combination of field notes and an initial quick review of the transcripts. From there, a conceptual framework was developed in order to create an index. Interviews were indexed according to theme after the transcription process. When the themes were established, different artists' groups emerged based on similarities in their responses. These groups of artists became the basis for presenting the findings of the research.

This research would have undoubtedly benefitted from multiple case studies or longitudinal interviews over a greater period of time, but that was beyond the scope and resources of this project. Since participation in the study was voluntary and there was a limited pool to draw the respondents from, finding the necessary number of tenants

willing to be interviewed was initially problematic. The result was that the sample was smaller than desired for this research and it weighed more heavily towards casual users than full-time tenants. Demographic information on the area is used cautiously as the artist population in the Exchange District is inherently a 'hidden population' and do not necessarily reflect in the census data.

Chapter 3: Case Study

This research is a case study of *creδery* in Winnipeg, Manitoba. *creδery* is an *art factory* founded in 2006 by two local visual artists. *creδery* rents the second floor of a warehouse in Winnipeg's historic downtown Exchange District. What makes *creδery* unique is that it is a personal and artist-initiated venture of remarkable scale. The establishment of *creδery* was entirely self-funded through personal savings. Its operational expenses come from self-generated revenues, through the rental of studio and gallery space to artists and commission on artwork sold through them.

Art Factories are common throughout the world. Art Central in Calgary and Artspace in Winnipeg represent two Canadian examples while 401 Richmond in Toronto, Ontario and the Custard Factory in Birmingham, United Kingdom represent some of the largest and leading models in the world. Art Central, 401 Richmond and Custard Factory are all multi-million dollar developments created by arts-minded and for-profit property management groups. Artspace is a non-profit artist-run centre created with government funding and managed by a board of directors. Like many non-profit artist-run centres in Canada, Artspace receive government funding to support their operations. See Table #1 for a summary of these *Art Factories*.

Geographically, the Exchange District is centrally located in Winnipeg and occupies .32 square kilometres, approximately .1% of the total city land area (see Illustration #1). *creδery* abuts the eastern National Historic Site boundary of Winnipeg's Exchange District as defined by Parks Canada (Exchange District BIZ, 2005) but for this research, it is considered part of that neighbourhood.

Table #1: Art Factory Profiles

Building	Square Footage	Purchase Cost / Development	Number of Tenants	Governance
cre8ery	8,000	\$20,000 self-funded renovation costs	15+	Privately managed by two artists on a non-profit basis.
401 Richmond²	200,000	\$1.5 Million building cost + conversion costs	100+ Galleries, organizations, creative industries and studios.	Philosophically aligned property management group, for profit.
Art Central³	37,500	\$5 Million +	40+ Galleries, boutiques, studios, and a community art centre.	Philosophically aligned property management group, for profit.
Artspace⁴	55,000	Government Financed (all three levels)	20+ Galleries, organizations, designers/publishers, and studios.	Non-profit arts board. Government-owned building.
Custard Factory⁵	200,000 total (on a 5 acre site)	First phase: £2.4 million (£800,000 publicly funded)	500+ Galleries, organizations, creative industries, studios, cafés, nightclubs, live/work studios, and a hotel.	Philosophically aligned property management group. Mix of for-profit/non-profit philosophies and activities.

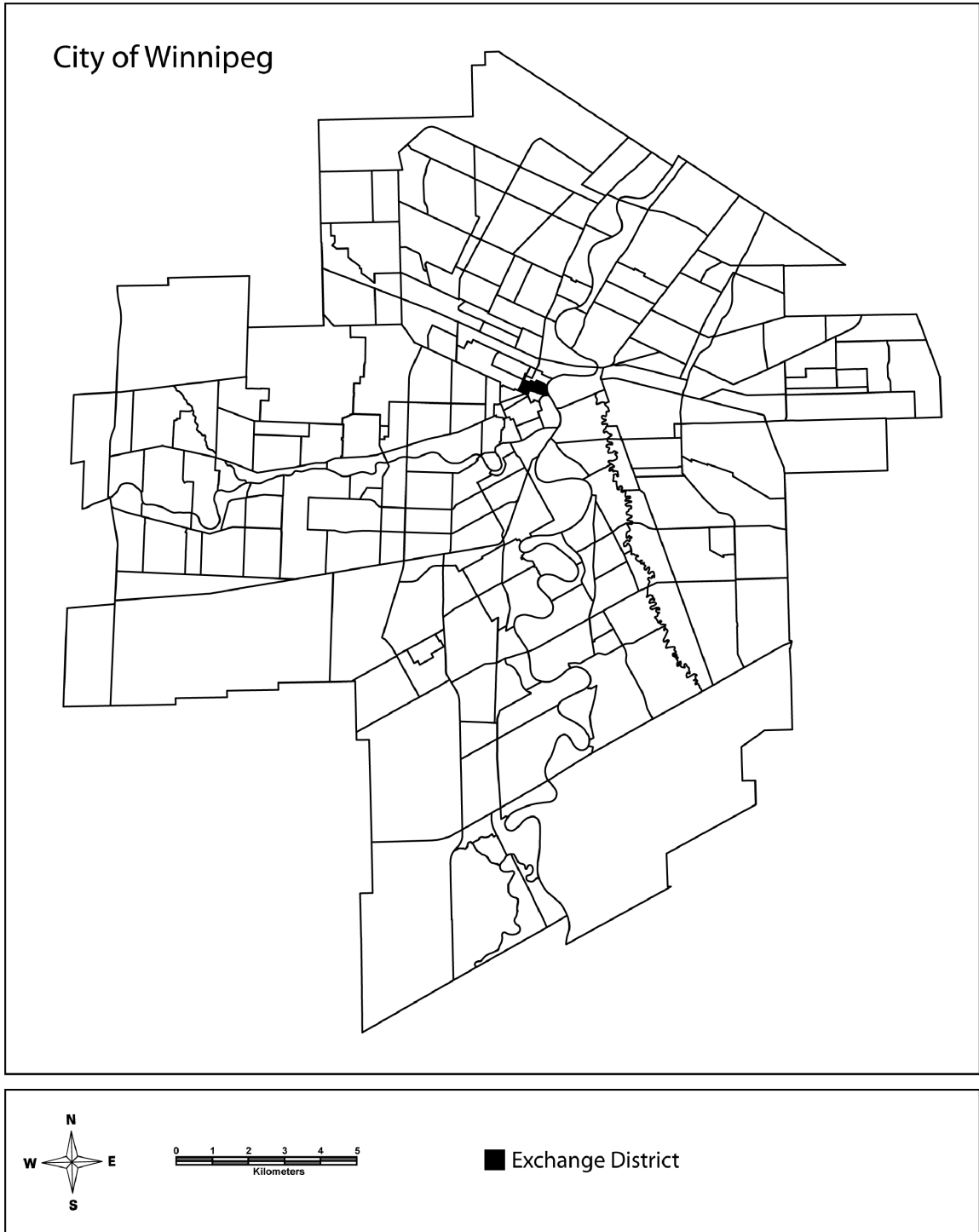
² Cohnstaetd, et al., 2002, p.6-7

³ Sinclair, 2005a

⁴ Cohnstaetd, et al., 2002, p.26-27

⁵ Sinclair, 2005b

Illustration #1: Exchange District Context Map



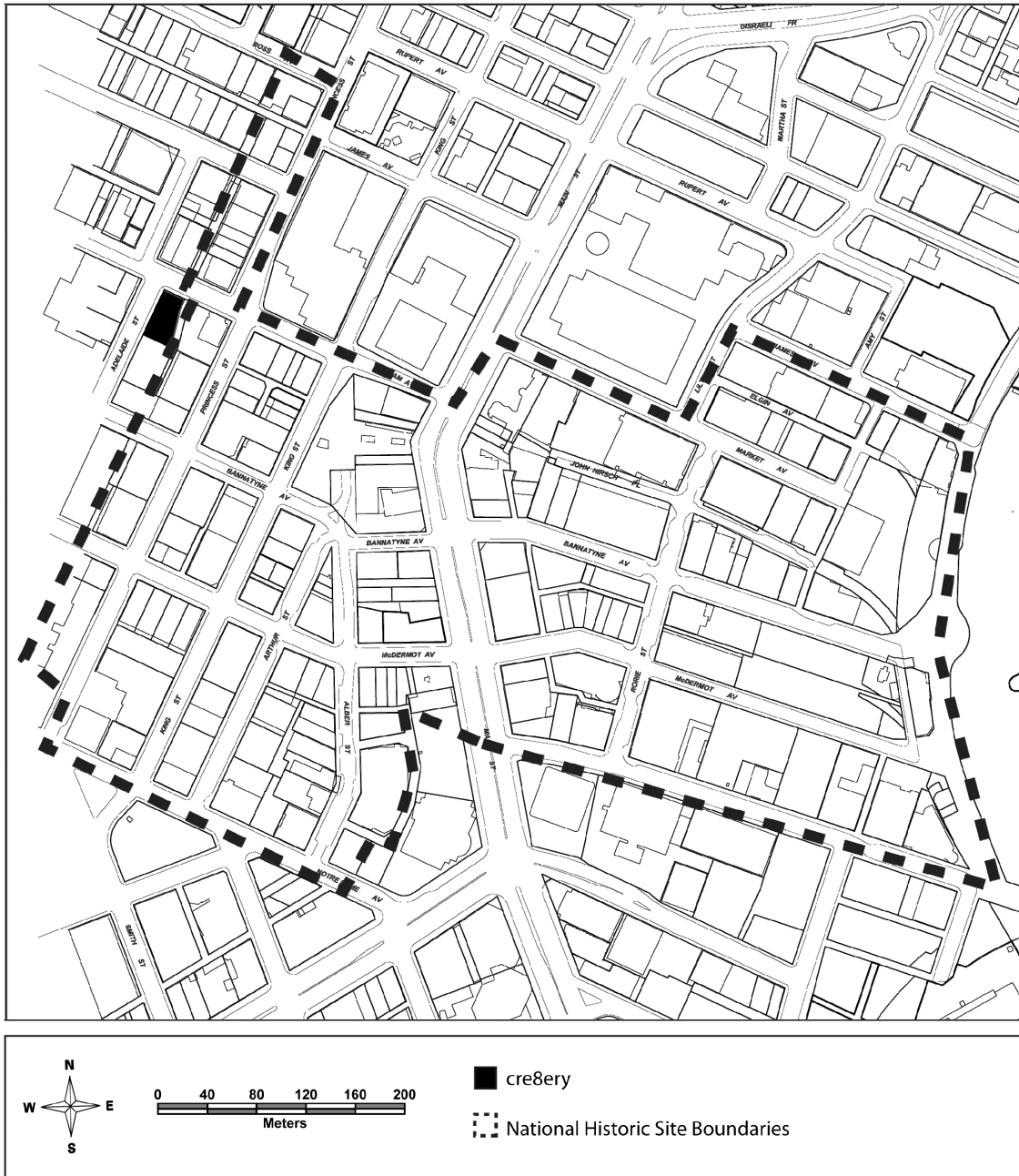
Map based on data provided by Planning, Property & Development, City of Winnipeg, 2005.

The Exchange District is bounded to the North by Chinatown and the neighbourhood of South Point Douglas, to the east by the Red River, to the south by downtown and to the west by the Centennial neighbourhood (see Illustration #2). The Exchange District is widely considered the city's arts district with dozens of arts organizations of every scale within close proximity to each other (see Illustration #3). The unique cultural character of the Exchange District was recognized and subjected to cultural renewal plans as early as the 1960s (Co-ordinating Architects and Planners, 1969), but they never came to fruition. The building that *cre8ery* resides in is part of the "Character Sector" encompassed by the City of Winnipeg's Downtown Zoning by-law. This sector is larger than the National Historic Site Boundary and permits a wide variety of uses including residential, commercial and light industrial, artist studios, galleries and live work units (City of Winnipeg, 2004a, p. 33-36).

Data provided by the City of Winnipeg indicates that the assessed values of properties in the Exchange District increased \$82.1 million (142%) between 1998 and 2006. There are 82 buildings in the District on the City of Winnipeg's Historical Conservation List accounting for 36% of all historical conservation properties in Winnipeg. There are an additional 40 buildings in the District on the Historical Inventory list.

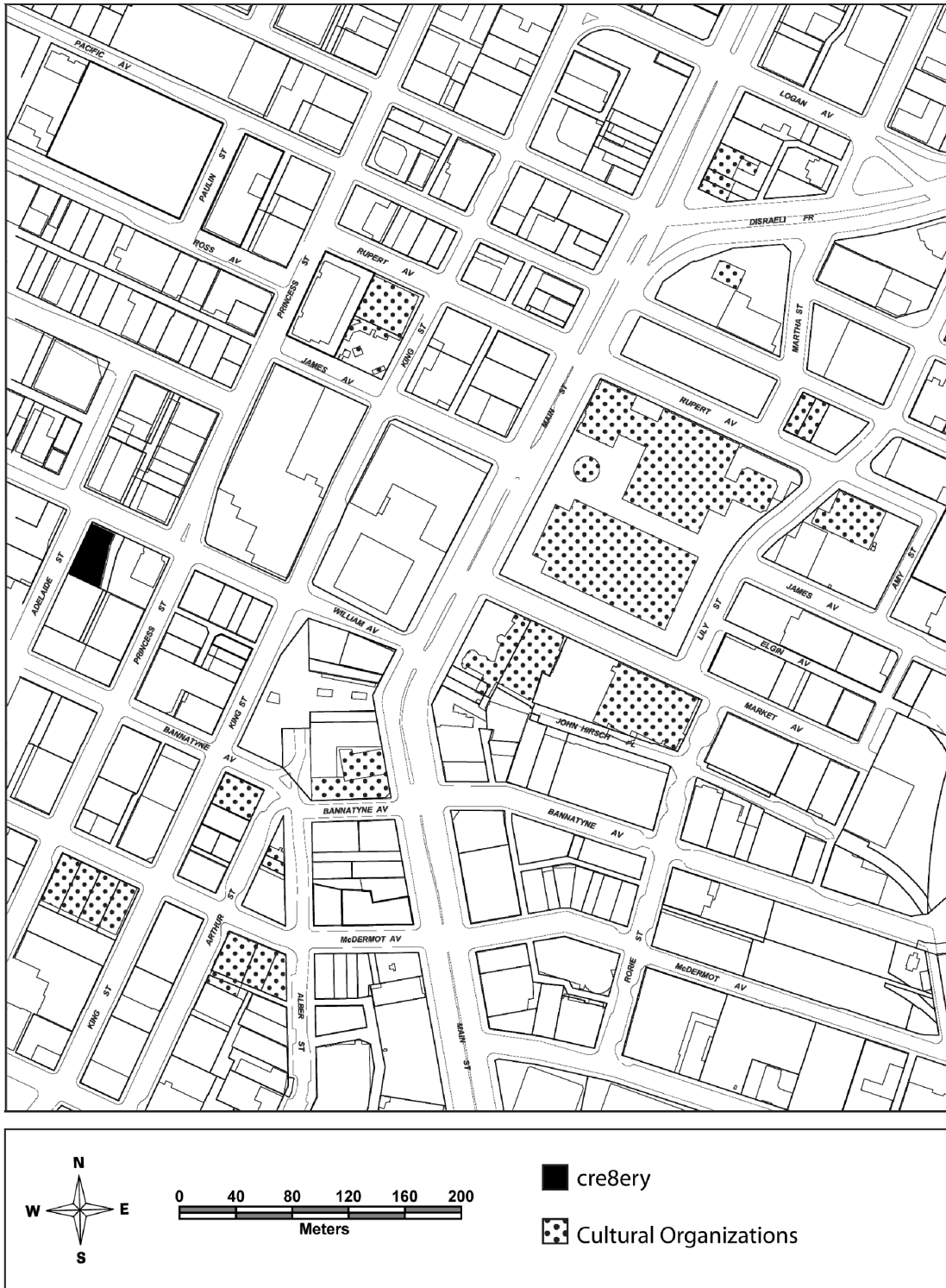
The 2001 census data for the Exchange District shows the area to be a growing home for single, well educated and self-employed individuals. From 1986 to 2001, the population in the neighbourhood grew over 280% from 110 to 345 compared to 4.2% growth for the city of Winnipeg. Over 67% of the residents are single and the number of

Illustration #2: Exchange District Boundaries



Map based on data provided by Planning, Property & Development, City of Winnipeg, 2007

Illustration #3: Cultural Clustering in Winnipeg's Exchange District



Map based on data provided by Planning, Property & Development, City of Winnipeg, 2007

children living in the area is negligible. City-wide, approximately 31% of all households are single person and over 25% of the population is under the age of 20.

Nearly 40% of Exchange District residents have a university degree, whereas the figure is under 20% for the city. Self-employment is high in the Exchange District at over 25.5% and the average household income is nearly \$60,000. In comparison, the city has a self-employment rate of 5.7 percent and an average household income of just under \$39,000 (City of Winnipeg, 2004b).

In the neighbourhoods directly south of the Exchange District, there are dense artist populations that are more than twice the provincial (0.7%) and national (0.8%) averages (Hill Strategies, 2005a, p. 1). Across the Canadian prairies, artists' incomes still lag considerably behind their respective city's averages. In Winnipeg, there are nearly 3,000 artists representing 0.9% of the labour force. Between 1991 and 2001, the number of artists in Winnipeg grew nearly eight times faster than the overall labour force. The average income of artists in Winnipeg is \$19,700, a 33% gap from the city average (Hill Strategies, 2006). Artists as a percentage of the labour force sits between 0.8 to 1% across Winnipeg, Regina, Saskatoon, Edmonton and Calgary. The income gap in those cities range from a low of 33% in Winnipeg to a high of 43% in Calgary (Hill Strategies, 2006).

My research revealed that *cre8ery* was founded with an open studio concept where visitors could visit artists in their studio environments in the hopes that it would help connect consumers and producers of art. In order to realize this, *cre8ery* has a full-time administrator, set hours and a gallery to hopefully attract more foot traffic and to allow for studio visits. The entrance of *cre8ery* is located on a side street at the periphery

of the Exchange District. On the same block are a specialty retail store and two parking lots. The north side of the building faces onto Red River College. *cre8ery* is approximately three to four blocks away from the majority of galleries and arts organizations in the area.

cre8ery rents over 8,000 square feet on the entire second floor of a converted warehouse. The building owners operate a business out of the main floor of the building while the third floor remains vacant. The space consists of six private studios, a designated shared studio, an office which doubles as a studio for the administrators, a multi-purpose classroom, the main gallery, the installation gallery and an auxiliary gallery along the hallways. The private studios are approximately 300-400 square feet and range in cost from \$260-\$425 depending on size and access to natural light. The shared studio can accommodate up to seven artists who pay \$95 for 110 square feet in an undivided room. At the time of the research, there were approximately ten tenants, including visual artists, a writer and a luthier. Since *cre8ery* first opened its doors, all of their studio spaces have been filled and there is currently a waiting list. The main gallery can be rented for \$250 per week and was booked over a year in advance. *cre8ery* also provides administrative and marketing support to all of its tenants and offers a range of programming and classes through its space.

cre8ery opened in April 2007 and the research for this study took place approximately one year after its doors opened. My research looks at the early formation and operation of an *Art Factory*. The decision to start *cre8ery* was based on the belief that there was a need for more studio spaces in the Exchange District and that its presence

could help stem the gentrification of the area by “quietly” becoming another anchor tenant.

The Exchange District is Winnipeg’s primary cultural cluster, but the area is also rapidly gentrifying. Perceptions of neighbourhood change and how *cre8ery* affects this change by its users informs this study. Current redevelopment in Winnipeg’s Exchange District has increased rents, resulting in the relocation or planned relocation of many cultural organizations and artists. Artists living and working illegally in historic warehouse buildings are being displaced through new condominium developments. Not all of Winnipeg’s artists live in the Exchange District, but the highest concentrations of them live in close proximity to the area. Winnipeg has a strong arts scene, which can be attributed, in part, to the relatively low cost of housing that attracts artists and other necessary sub-cultures (Straw 2004; Cameron & Coaffee, 2005; Kennedy, 1997). However, these scenes are also subject to disruption, displacement and potential loss through gentrifying redevelopment and increasing housing costs (Arnoldus 2004; Anderson 1996; Ley 2003). The case study of *cre8ery* will look towards the needs of cultural producers in the face of gentrifying forces.

This research is highly relevant to the Canadian context, especially for medium-sized metropolises, such as Winnipeg, Edmonton, Saskatoon, Regina and Hamilton. As a mid-sized city, Winnipeg fits the general observation Adam Piore states in Arnoldus (2004), that “middle-sized cities may become the new centres of innovation and renewal in the longer run” (p. 205). Mid-sized cities, such as Winnipeg, emerge as cultural centres, because metropolises such as Toronto, New York and Paris no longer have the

affordable housing that artists require (Arnoldus 2004, p. 205; Ley, 2003, p. 2533; Anderson, 1996, p. 55; Schamess, 1996, p.16).

Cre8ery is a unique *art factory* in Canada. It epitomizes the entrepreneurial spirit of the art world while forgoing the organizational structure that most artist-run centres in Canada adhere to. Winnipeg is nationally renowned for its vibrant arts community and the Exchange District, the city's "cultural quarter." These two characteristics, along with affordable housing are some of the key factors that allow cultural producers to flourish. Despite the strengths of Winnipeg's art's community, the economic position of the city's artists is still precarious; artists are a profession of self-imposed poverty. In the next chapter, I explore the theoretical foundations of the artist lifestyle.

Chapter 4: Theoretical Framework

My research focuses on the visual artist sub-culture and the spaces visual artists inhabit as a means for fostering and furthering the cultural *vie* of a city. I define “culture” using the *embodied cultural capital* model, where culture embodies a community’s particular values, tastes and customs. This definition is based the works of Pierre Bourdieu (1993) who wrote extensively about cultural capital and production.

As explained by Gary Bridge (2006), Bourdieu defined three types of cultural capital. Culture can take the form of physical assets, institutional learning, or embodied cultural capital. It is the latter where culture is defined as *habitus*, the embodiment of a group’s dispositions (p. 720), and this research will examine the *habitus* of artists as cultural producers.

Bourdieu (1993) examines cultural production as a collection of *fields* that either attempt autonomy from or exert dominance on one another. For example, the *field* of artists is encompassed by the *field* of power, the economic forces that value monetary wealth and profit. The *field* of artists attempts autonomy from the *field* of power, eschewing monetary wealth for *symbolic capital*. In turn, the *field* of power exerts domination on the *field* of artists by attempting to make the artists’ values correspond to their own. *Symbolic capital* is the “degree of accumulated prestige, celebrity, consecration or honour...” (Johnson, 1993, p. 7) that artists have among their peers.

In Bourdieu’s (1993) *field* of artists, the traditional economy is reversed because their *habitus* has different values than the dominate *field* of power. *Symbolic capital* is valued more than economic capital within the *field*. In order for artists to build *symbolic*

capital they must be autonomous from mainstream culture which attempts to assimilate them. Bourdieu states that:

The more autonomous a field becomes, the more favourable their symbolic power balance is to the most autonomous producers and the more clear-cut is the division between the field of restrictive production, in which the producers produce for other producers, and the field of large-scale production [*la grande production*], which is *symbolically* excluded and discredited... (p. 39).

Restrictive production and large-scale production are exclusive of each other.

Ryan Moore (2007) summarized these as *autonomous* and *heteronomous*. *Heteronomous* production is mainstream, commercial and consumption-based. *Autonomous* production is the focus of this study. These are the cultural entrepreneurs and experimental artists who place more value on the ‘symbolic capital’ of peer approval than economic capital of commercial success (p. 440-441). They produce and reinforce the *habitus* desirable to a culturally vibrant community.

Hans Abbing briefly explored the *habitus-field* relationship of art producers in his book *Why Are Artists Poor? The Exceptional Economy of the Arts* (2002). The *field* of artists is occupied by ‘high’ and ‘low’ artists. In relation to the *field* of power, the ‘high’ artists tend to be more autonomous and the ‘low’ artists tend to be more dominated (the values of ‘high’ and ‘low’ art are discussed later in this chapter). Abbing writes:

By occupying different, i.e., higher and lower positions within a field, groups necessarily relate to one another. Their *habitus* simultaneously differs and corresponds. Dominance and submission depend on one’s position in a particular field. The existing order is reproduced via the *habitus*. In a simplified version, the *habitus* among the low arts ‘allows’ an artist to operate commercially; while the *habitus* among the high arts ‘forces’ the artist to forget commerce. But these positions are interconnected because the *habitus* of either field inclines the artist to view high art as superior to low art. (p. 92)

Abbing's book is a significant contribution to understanding the *habitus* and *field* of cultural producers while also explaining their ability to survive despite their low economic position. In his concluding chapters, he summarizes his findings in twenty-two key points. Some of the key characteristics that help define the artist class include:

- The large majority of artists earn less than other professionals do. Hourly income is low or even negative. In the modern welfare state, this is truly exceptional.
- Despite these low incomes, an unusually high number of youngsters still want to become artists. The arts are extremely attractive.
- Beginning artists face far more uncertainty than the average beginning professionals.
- Artists are (more than others) inclined to taking risks.
- Artists are usually ill-informed.
- Poverty is built into the arts. Measures to relieve poverty do not work or are counterproductive.
- Unlike other professions, the arts do not have a protected body of certified knowledge. Anybody can access it.
- ...Anybody can pursue an arts career regardless of their qualifications. (Abbing, 2002, p. 282-283)

The works of Bourdieu and Abbing are the basis for understanding the artist sub-culture, but integrating that knowledge into the planning field comes through cultural planning models that emerged in the mid-twentieth century. These models shifted from consumption to production to regeneration priorities (Bayliss, 2004). Much of the modern planning literature on cultural planning has been pioneered by John Montgomery (1990; 1995; 2003; 2004). Cultural planning, as explained by Montgomery (1990), requires a balance between the roles of consumption/production, mainstream/*avant garde* and city centres/suburbia even while maintaining each as separate, but essential elements of the system. Unfortunately, many cultural plans are unbalanced and focus more on economic and consumption strategies which leads to *heteronomous* cultural production and gentrification.

Gentrification represents a cycle of displacement almost inseparable from the phenomenon of artist clusters. This theme emerged strongly in the 1980s through the development of artists' lofts in New York City that caused rents to skyrocket and forced artists to move (Zukin, 1982; Deutsche & Ryan, 1984; Cole, 1987). The settlement of artists into an area is now considered a predictable and advancing arm of gentrification.

Sharon Zukin's two books, *Loft Living: Culture and Capital in Urban Change* (1982) and *Landscapes of Power: from Detroit to Disney World* (1991) are some of the most influential texts on the intersection of culture and gentrification. In *Loft Living* (1982) Zukin identified two changes in the 1960s that led to the popularity of loft living a decade later. The first was the increased availability of loft spaces, as industries migrated away from downtown cores. Secondly, the consumption patterns of the middle class shifted as they became more acculturated. The aesthetic and sentimental value of reusing former industrial spaces in the United States did not emerge until the 1960s when development plans called for the demolition of these spaces for new construction. Opposition to this development resulted in the preservation of these 'landmark' buildings and spaces (p. 58, 76-77). The middle class' desire to preserve artists' spaces instead lead to their appropriation of them. "No longer a mere place to work, the artist's studio had indeed become 'the scene'... eventually, the consumption of art in the artist's studio developed into a consumption of the studio too" (p. 80).

Zukin's *Landscapes of Power* (1991) explored the cultural consumption and commoditization of manufactured landscapes. The landscape is the embodied collection of the geography, "social practices and their symbolic representation" (p. 16); it is the local history and vernacular of a particular place. The dichotomy to the local vernacular

is the institution, the herald of imperialism. Zukin's thoughts on the vernacular and imperialism parallel with some of Bourdieu's theories on culture. Zukin refers to vernacular cultures as a general way of life and an "inalienable product of place" (p. 28). This is similar to similar to Bourdieu's *habitus*. When culture is a commodity and "marketable sign of distinction" (p. 28), it is a product of imperialism where one culture dominates and attempts to assimilate the other. In Bourdieu's *field* theory, the *field* of power constantly attempts to dominate the *field* of artists. This represents a dichotomy of the "genuine" bohemia versus the appropriation and commoditization of bohemia.

Finally, this research touches upon the values of 'high' and 'low' art. Richard Peterson (1997) explored this in his article *The Rise and Fall of Highbrow Snobbery as a Status Marker*. In the context of cultural consumption, 'high' and 'low' art are symbols of status and social structure manufactured by the upper class over a century ago to exclude others. At the time, 'high' art meant things such as German-language operas and performances of Shakespeare's plays which required a considerable amount of education and cost to consume. 'Low' art embodied popular culture such as vaudeville theatres and jazz.

'High' versus 'low' shares the same connotations as 'art' versus 'craft.' In the context of cultural production, it is the difference between theoretical art and art that is produced with commercial (selling) intent or an utilitarian nature. This is a distinction that has softened with the emergence of post-modernist art theory. The discourse of craft theory emerged in Canada in the 1980s and 1990s, challenging the traditional hierarchy of artistic canon (Alfoldy, 2005, p. 218). Still, there is a self-affirming and social consensus as to what quantifies 'high' and 'low' art, even though individual tastes may

differ (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 37; Abbing, 2002, p. 21-22). This distinction between the two may be necessary in order to create value for cultural goods (Abbing, 2002, p. 303-304). The question of what determines ‘high’ and ‘low’ art may be unanswerable, but the discussion surrounding it helps define general cultural tastes and consumption habits⁶.

Susan Sontag noted in Peterson (1997) that the distinctions of ‘high’ and ‘low’ art softened by the 1960s and it was actually the ‘low’ and ‘fringe’ forms of art that the intellectual class was now interested in. For young artists, it “[reflected] a new, more open way of looking at the world...” (p.86). This stemmed from The Great Depression in the 1930s and the Second World War which popularized working-class culture to the intellectual class (p. 85-86). The changes to cultural consumer were not just aesthetic, but societal. As the art world shifted in North America during the 1960s, it paralleled with what Zukin identified as the rise of bohemian consumption in the United States.

In Canada, the 1960s marked a decade of significant cultural change. The Canada Council for the Arts, the arms-length arts funding agency of the federal government, was established in 1957. Prior to the establishment of the Canada Council, the 1951 Massey Report found that there were very few dedicated cultural facilities in Canada and that they predominantly served a well-educated, wealth and white class (Heninghan, 1996, p. 9).

The creation of the Canada Council also led to the emergence of many provincial arts boards during the same time period, and many of Canada’s cultural institutions and infrastructure were built as a direct result of federal programs celebrating Canada’s centennial in 1967 (Gordon, 1999), These were established under the leadership of then Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau and the Liberal government in order to strengthen

⁶ For further reading on this topic, see Cohen (1993; 1999) and Markowitz (1994).

nationalism and counter the sovereignty movement in Québec (Paterson, 2001, p. 15-16). Much of today's cultural *tastes* and consumption can be traced back to the societal and cultural shifts forty to fifty years ago.

The underlying theory to my research is briefly summarized in Table #1. The table is organized using Bourdieu's definitions of *autonomous* and *heteronomous* cultural production and produces a set of ideological pairs: peer audience/mass market, theoretical art/commercial art, symbolic value/economic value, dominated/dominating power relationships, artist-led regeneration/economic regeneration using culture as a tool and inherited/manufactured landscapes. These pairings are not necessarily exclusive of each other, but are used to show how cultural plans from the past two decades have often favoured *heteronomous* policies over *autonomous* ones. The literature review in Chapter 5 shows how (*autonomous*) cultural producers are often marginalized by gentrifying (*heteronomous*) forces.

Table #2: Characteristics of *Autonomous* and *Heteronomous* Cultural Producers

Type	Focus	Audience	Artistic Focus	Value	Power Position	Planning Strategies	Built Environment / Landscape
<i>Autonomous</i>	Production	Peers / Other cultural producers	Theoretical	Symbolic	Dominated	Bottom up / Artist-led	Inherited Vernacular
<i>Heteronomous</i>	Consumption	Mass Market	Commercial / Sellable	Economic	Dominating	Top down / Economic and tourism focuses	Manufactured / Commoditized

Chapter 5: Literature Review

Art Factories are centres for cultural entrepreneurs and innovators. They provide spaces within cities for cultural producers who would otherwise have difficulty finding these spaces on their own (Arnoldus, 2004, p. 205). Justin O'Connor's study (1998) of cultural entrepreneurs found that they produce culture on a small autonomous scale. Cultural entrepreneurs, however, are inherently a difficult population to research, thus they are not readily addressed in the literature. For O'Connor, cultural entrepreneurs are the "the real source of a locally vibrant culture" (p. 225).

Recent development plans and 'rejuvenation' in Edmonton (Dean & Granzow, 2007) and Toronto (Blackwell, 2006) have met with harsh criticism from artists and cultural writers. These plans were seen more as agents of gentrification than community development. David Ley (2003) revealed that many live/work unit developments are marketed towards the middle class as 'artists' lofts' and therefore are rejected by the artistic milieu because they are unaffordable and too mainstream.

A recent study by Ryerson University and Toronto Artscape (Sharpe & Jones, 2004) examined the social and economic impacts of several artist live/work spaces in Canada. The study found the impacts of live/work spaces to be positive, but it did not examine these spaces through the viewpoint of individual cultural producers. A significant amount of the literature on artist spaces explores the aesthetics of those spaces, documents the development of the projects, or discusses the requirements for creating such a space, but few sources explore the subject through the viewpoint of artists themselves. One report that looked at the social and cultural capital created specifically by an *art factory* involves a case study of Toronto-based 401 Richmond in the Queen

Street West neighbourhood (Cohnstaetd, et al., 2002). The report highlights many of the same themes as this research; the scale of 401 Richmond, however, is significantly larger than *cre8ery* with over a hundred tenants and it houses many arts organizations, in addition to private studios.

This study focuses on the relationships that artists have with their studios and each other in the concentrated environment created by *Art Factories* along with their perceptions of neighbourhood change and gentrification. The literature is explored according to several dominant themes: environmental behaviour, cultural production/consumption, cultural planning, cultural districts and clustering, gentrification and artist-led regeneration.

Environmental Behaviour

My research takes a dyadic approach to studying environmental behaviour. In this approach, the interactions and relationships that exist among policy makers, the physical environment of the *Art Factories* and the artists' perceptions inform and affect each other. Social interaction and positive change occur when policy-makers become aware and sensitive to the needs of artists (Sonnerfeld, 1972, p. 274). Only then are positive interaction and growth in the environment for everyone possible. As the literature shows, cultural plans and policy have often ignored these needs and led to gentrification. Artists' studios are at the heart of cultural production and these spaces have often been the unfortunate recipients of displacement. For artists, "to lose the studio is to lose a substantial component of their professional selves" (Bain, 2004, p. 174).

The relationship between cultural producers and their environments is explored extensively through the work of Allison Bain (2003; 2004; 2005) whose studied group and spatial identities created by the clustering of artists in the city of Toronto. Her work sought to answer the questions of why artists settle where they do and what is the nature of their attachment to a particular space. She found that the studio is a reflection of an artist's identity and reinforces a commitment to their profession. With their identity and profession so closely linked to a physical space that they invest tremendous amounts of sweat equity into, artists are incredibly vulnerable without security of tenure.

The ideal studio space can have any number of physical requirements, but the social requirements are more consistent. Socially, studios need to be stable, secure, uninterrupted, private and personal (Bain, 2004). Physically, artists generally need large rooms, large doors, high ceilings, natural lighting, wide hallways, large elevators and robust ventilation systems (Kennedy, 1997, p. 42). This is why artists prefer under-utilized older warehouse/industrial buildings; these areas have not been commoditized, rents are often cheap and there is plenty of space. When spaces that meet these requirements are lost, it becomes a difficult plight for artists to find new suitable spaces. In one recent case in Toronto, artists living and working in an industrial warehouse for many years were evicted to make room for a new parking lot (Jacob, 2001).

Living and working illegally in industrial warehouses does not afford artists the rights they would have as tenants living in property zoned for that use. The control that artists have over their spaces and how such control affects their careers is one of the themes my research explores. One study of a women's low-income housing co-operative (Wasylishyn & Johnson, 1998) found that its tenants gained substantially more control

over their lives once they began living there. The co-operative provided a safe environment and affordable rents which meant that less energy and resources was spent on housing security. Having more resources available to them resulted in the women feeling more control over their lives (p. 979).

My research also examines how the physical and social structure of *Art Factories* influences the skill development of its tenants. This is a theme that emerged through a recent study of artists' centres. These centres provided for "breadth" and "depth" experiences which were found to improve "the quality of artists' work and enable more of them to make a living at it" (Markusen & Johnson, 2006, p. 18).

Cultural Production/Consumption

Pierre Bourdieu's theories (1993) on cultural production suggested that in order for art to be *symbolically* successful, it cannot have mass appeal. The consequence for artists is that they are perpetually in a self-imposed poverty, but would have high symbolic (peer) recognition. Bourdieu wrote that "works of art exist as symbolic objects only if they are known and recognized, that is, socially instituted as works of art and received by spectators capable of knowing, and recognizing them as such..." (p. 37). For cultural producers to benefit and grow their work, it is reasonable to assume that the cultural consumers will need to grow also. David Throsby (1994) identified two theories on cultivating *taste* for the arts: *new consumer theory* and the *household production model*.

New consumer theory suggests that cultural products are addictive. The consumption of cultural products simply leads to more consumption (Throsby, 1994,

p.3). In order to for consumers to develop a *taste* for symbolic art, the work of *autonomous* cultural producers, they need to be exposed to it. The more exposure someone has to symbolic art, the greater their desire to consume it. Unlike *heteronomous* (mass-produced) cultural goods, there are no price tags on symbolic art declaring its value.

The *household production model* proposes that consumption will increase because the shadow price of the arts lowers over time and exposure (Throsby, 1994, p. 3). In cultural consumption, the shadow price is the cost required to consume each subsequent work of art. Symbolic art requires a particular, but learnable literacy in order to be consumed. When someone consumes a work of symbolic art, the *shadow price* or effort needed to appreciate the value of the artwork lessens. It is like someone learning to play chess. The first time they play, they must learn the rules of the game and consequentially, their first match will be slow and difficult. With each game of chess they play, their grasp on the rules and strategies of the game increase allowing them to play the game more easily and proficiently. Consuming symbolic artwork functions in the same manner. The more someone consumes symbolic art, the easier it becomes to identify and appreciate the value of each subsequent work of art they view.

Cultural consumption may not be the only necessary component for the survival of cultural producers. As Abbing (2002) discussed, artists are inclined to forsake monetary reward in favour of non-monetary rewards, such as self-satisfaction and peer recognition (p. 37-40). Despite their low wages, the arts were among the fastest-growing and highest educated occupations in Canada a few years ago (CBC News Online Staff, 2004). Equally important to consumption, is a high degree of cultural literacy and *taste*

that allows for a diversity of cultural choices. Thus, built environments and communities that accommodate *autonomous* cultural production are highly desirable for artists.

Richard Florida's book, *The Rise of the Creative Class... and how it's transforming work, leisure, community, & everyday life* (2002) explores creative workers, economies and cities. His theories aligned more closely with *heteronomous* cultural production than *autonomous* cultural production. The core creative class that Florida identified includes professions such as professors, scientists, engineers, writers, musicians and artists (p. 69). Like Pierre Bourdieu, Florida distinguished this class through economic factors. They were the "people who add economic value through their creativity" (p. 68). Bourdieu, however, distinguished artists as a group that rejects adding economic value. Artists operate "on a systematic inversion of the fundamental principles of all ordinary economies" (1993, p. 39).

The creative class and creative economy theories of Richard Florida face criticism from artists because of their inherent *heteronomous* nature. Florida (2002) wrote "I define the highest order of creative work as producing new forms or designs that are readily transferable and widely useful—such as designing a product that can be widely made, sold and used" (p. 69). Florida's theories are at odds with the positions of Pierre Bourdieu (1993) and Hans Abbing (2002) that artists reject popular success and mass production. For the *autonomous* cultural producer, mass popularity would be an indication of failure, not success.

Florida (2002) merged artists together with other professions into his "The Big Morph" (p. 191-211) of culture. He challenged the sanctity of 'high' and 'low' art, arguing that the mass consumption of particular cultural product does not lessen its

symbolic value. This “Big Morph” is a dispersion of barriers and brings distinct and fragile cultural *fields* “into one another, in more intimate and more powerful combinations than ever” (p. 201).

“The Big Morph” is at the heart of the challenge that artists face: gentrification. Michael Erard contended in Arnoldus (2004) that cultural producers do not necessarily want to be part of this formal creative economy or pan-cultural commodity where everything is part of the same system (p. 205). Additionally, artists have an “antipathy towards commerce and conventions” (Ley, 2003, p. 2540), ‘rebel’ against established norms (Bain, 2005, p. 30) and form sub-cultures outside of the Creative Class and Economy rhetoric. Sub-cultures can be broadly defined as smaller and diverse pockets of individuals united by values that differ from the larger national culture (Yinger 1960, p. 625-627).

The importance of sub-cultures was identified by Alaka Wali, et al. (2001) through exploring the roles of informal cultural practices. For Wali et al., there was a healthy balance between formal and informal cultural spaces. Formal spaces include art galleries, theatres and sport venues attended with the expectation of a cultural experience. Informal spaces take the guise of coffee shops, park benches, living rooms, and so on where the space may be ‘appropriated’ and used for cultural production by sub-cultures. These informal spaces and sub-cultures are critical to culturally vibrant communities.

Florida’s thesis of creative classes and creative economies involve forms of cultural appropriation, consumption and gentrification, whereas the need is actually for a sub-culture of cultural production. The sub-culture of artists and individuals (separate from the formal economy) is essential to the creative city (Straw 2004, Christafis, 2006).

Sub-cultures are important to the arts because they are unconventional; they break existing rules and establish new ones; and they establish new dialogues and discourses on the symbolism of art. Abbing (2002) writes:

Borders give artists the framework to transgress and trespass and ultimately change the rules. To be original, the existing borders must be breached, and others must be able to notice it. Because people expect art to be creative and original, and because artists want their products to notice between other products, borders are bound to remain important in the arts. (p. 304)

Cultural choice—why we chose to consume certain cultural products is explored by Michal Relish (1997) in his study of attitudes towards ‘elite’ and ‘popular’ musical genres. Bourdieu would classify these as *autonomous* and *heteronomous* cultural goods. Relish found that geographic mobility and memberships in organizations (one’s social network) are positively related to a broader taste in multiple musical genres, but that education is most likely the factor between ‘elite’ and ‘popular’ consumption. The more highly educated respondents tended towards more ‘elite’ musical genres, but there were still significant crossover tastes in ‘popular’ genres.

Sub-cultural music scenes provide insight to the working conditions of artists. They both share an independent ‘do-it-yourself’ ethos such as the one found in the underground punk music scene on the West coast of the United States. This ethos allowed anyone to participate and create music, regardless of ability. Such an ethos also encouraged more cultural entrepreneurship and risk-taking, as it carried lower financial risk and promoted independence for young musicians. Many musicians who entered into contracts with mainstream recording studios actually found these arrangements frustrated their creativity and innovation (Moore, 2007, p. 448-450). Similarly, many visual artists

who have become successful did so by finding and making their own opportunities rather than passively waiting to “be recognized” (Shier, 1998, 23).

Artist-run centres (ARCs) in Canada share many parallels with the punk music scene. ARCs generally start as a volunteer effort by an individual or small group to create a small cultural space or association and exemplify the ‘do-it-yourself’ ethos. ARCs serve artists as forums for production and exhibition of new artwork. As ARCs mature, they can grow in size and scope and become more formal, and less flexible. The institutionalization of the ‘artist-run’ has led to criticism or perceptions that ARCs have become too bureaucratized (Barber, 2008, p. 22; Millan and Dempsey, 2008, p. 82) or that they polarized the needs of the artist against the needs of the centre (Shier, 1998, p. 21; Black, 1994).

ARCs are also one of the few venues available for exhibiting artists’ work, a need expressed by artist Paul Wong. “There is always a need to make space for fresher, more diverse, more radical forms or artist-run initiatives... we need different models of artists’ collectives that continue to push for freedom of creative expression in all forms (2008, p. 263). Through their very existence, ARCs can also create competition among artists for these exhibition spaces and “determine, artist by artist, whose work... has the chance to enter the canon [of art history]” (Black, 1994, p. 46). The selection of artists to exhibit in these limited spaces can meet with criticism from the artist community. Criticism emerges from the processes that artists are selected for exhibitions (Shier, 1998, p. 21) and from the funding structures for ARCs and artists (Robertson, 1999, p. 40-43; 2005; 2008).

Since the establishment of the Canada Council for the Arts, public funding to the arts has become a major mechanism for the existence of artists and ARCs in Canada. A 2005 report from Hill Strategies (2005b) found that there were over 13,700 non-profit arts and culture organizations in Canada. Approximately 28% of their revenues came from government sources—considerably less than the 50% average for all Canadian non-profit organizations. Arts and culture non-profits also reported a combined volunteer contribution to their organizations of nearly 200 million hours (p. 2).

Recent data from Statistics Canada (2006) revealed how important public funding is to artists in Canada in order for them to pursue their profession. The average employment income in Canada for *Painters, Sculptors and Other Visual Artists* was just under \$14,000 in 2005. Their median employment income was less than \$8,000. In Winnipeg, artists' employment incomes were even lower with an average of just under \$12,000 and a median under \$5,000. Despite their lack of economic resources, artists are still able to function and produce art. Chris Lloyd writes that artists are “incredibly able at finding whatever abandoned warehouse or storefront to present short-term happenings and events” (2008, p. 165).

Artists can function with little resources and be highly adaptable, but it is when they establish more permanent homes such as ARCs that they can have difficulty integrating with mainstream society and its rules and regulations. ARCs generally have a physical presence (e.g., a gallery or office) and they require the resources to pay for the upkeep of that space. The financial requirements stemming from building codes and zoning regulations forced the closure of the Pouch Cove Foundation, an ARC in Newfoundland. The Pouch Cove Foundation operated a residency program and

exhibition galleries in a former school building attracting artists from around the world. After several years of existence, the Pouch Cove Foundation closed in 2006 unable to afford the building and zoning requirements mandated by the municipal and provincial governments. (CBC Arts, 2006)

Cultural Planning

Darrin Bayliss (2004) identified three distinct phases that cultural planning has evolved through since the 1950s. First, cultural planning sought to democratise culture by making it more available. The next phase was the model of ‘cultural democracy’, which was a voice for identity and expression. The third phase used culture as an instrument for urban development. All three phases co-exist today to some degree, but it is the third phase which is currently the most prominent in cultural planning literature.

In the 1950s and 1960s, the goal of cultural policies was democratisation. By making culture more available and accessible to those who could previously not access it, they would become ‘enlightened’ (Bayliss, 2004; Mennell 1979). This strategy was criticized because it was effectively cultural imperialism with one class trying to impose its cultural ideology onto another. Studies also showed that the effect of free access to cultural institutions such as museums and galleries had little effect on increasing the attendance of people in lower social and economic positions. Free attendance primarily increased participation in cultural activities to those already participating in them (Moore, 1998; Martin, 2002).

The model of ‘cultural democracy’ emerged in the 1970s and was used as a voice to empower subcultures and minority groups. Culture became a vehicle for identity,

expression and advocacy; culture was an act of active participation, not passive consumption (Bayliss, 2004). One example of this model came during the United States Government's federal housing initiative HOPE IV. In the late 1990s, a large number of public housing tenants in Pico Aliso, California faced unilateral eviction in order to make room for a new middle-income housing development. Unable to garner support from institutions and agencies in the area, local artists came to the aid of residents and delayed their eviction for over two years through cultural projects and protest. Activists were able to obtain numerous concessions from the federal government for the local residents (Leavitt, 2005).

Cultural plans focused on economic factors are becoming increasingly popular in planning literature and development plans. John Montgomery (2003) found that the 1980s were when "culturally led urban development began to appear as a concept in the urban planning literature" (p.294). Bayliss (2004) identified tourism and urban renewal as the specific areas where cultural plans emerged. Previously abandoned downtowns and waterfronts, such as Winnipeg's Exchange District and Toronto's Distillery District became areas where culture was used as an instrument for renewal and redevelopment. Cultural plans at a large enough scale to affect downtowns or waterfronts are generally a top-down process, only benefiting middle-class gentrifiers and only focusing on *heteronomous* cultural production. Inversely, grass-roots development is generally more supportive of cultural producers and *autonomous* production (Mommass 2004, 516).

However, cultural regeneration can use an artist-first approach. In this approach, these plans are more accurately described as culture-led regeneration, in which culture takes a leadership role in redevelopment rather than simply being a tool. During the

1990s, Peekskill, New York turned to artists' housing to rejuvenate its commercial downtown, which had declined because of expanding retail in suburbia and shopping malls. The reasoning behind this artist-first strategy "was a need for a new function downtown, one that was not necessarily its original function" (Schamess, 1996, 16). Once there, the artists contributed successfully and significantly to local social and economic organizations (Schamess, 1996, 17).

Cultural Districts and Clustering

In Winnipeg, many ARCs and cultural organizations are located in the Exchange District, thus forming a cultural cluster. Cultural clusters represent a collection of creative organizations and industries connected to each other through physical proximity (Mommass, 2004). They also exhibit characteristics of what Schoales (2006) refers to as 'Alpha Clusters.' These feature high degrees of innovation and uniqueness (p. 162,167). Another requirement of cultural clusters is that they must be "flexible, highly adaptive and embrace change..." (Montgomery, 2003, p. 302) or they will disappear. These traits were found in the do-it-yourself ethos discussed by Moore (2007), which resulted in the strengthening of social and professional bonds. The "backbone of any such [artist] subculture is the ability to perform and interact on a face-to-face level... [through] democratic methods of production and a populist ethos" (p. 452).

Schoales' study of 'Alpha Clusters' (2006) found that they often resulted in higher incomes for the people who work in them, including cultural producers. This is of particular importance when attempting to support the economic position of artists. Higher wages were also evident in clusters regardless of population density (p. 171-172). Artists'

incomes, however, still lag far behind the labour force average. Thus, cultural entrepreneurship is not necessarily fueled by economic ability, but by cultural opportunity.

Montgomery (2003) identified three key characteristics (aside from healthy cultural activity) required in order for a cultural cluster to be successful. These characteristics are activity, form and meaning. The types of activities required include diversity in land use and cultural facilities, strong evening economies and independent businesses. In general, cultural clusters benefit more from small to medium-scale venues and businesses. The built form of a cultural cluster is required in order to serve the activities of the cluster. The public realm should be plentiful and of high quality allowing a portion of the cluster's activities to take place outside. The built form should also have a varied and adaptable building stock. The final characteristic, meaning, should reflect the identity and memory of the area. Inhabitants of a cultural cluster will have a strong knowledge and collected history of the area creating an attachment to the space.

Clustering and successful cultural production are inseparable from each other. Clustering can be on the neighbourhood scale or localized to a single building (i.e., the *Art Factory*). Kelowna, BC was named the Cultural Capital of Canada in 2003, in part, due to the success of its designated cultural district. The cultural district emerged out of three key factors. Municipal leadership, in particular the drive by the mayor in 1989, was the catalyst for the creation of the district. This was followed by a strong planning phase which integrated design and arts policies with civic land use visions. The final element was strong implementation of city plans, which included the hiring a fulltime arts

development officer (Curry, 2004). The creation of the cultural district contributed significantly to the renewal of downtown Kelowna.

At the building scale, 401 Richmond features an extensive mix of non-profit and for-profit creative organizations, individual artist studios and informal community spaces concentrated in a four-storey building in Toronto's Queen Street West neighbourhood. In a few short years from its inception in 1994, it quickly became an artistic and creative hub for the city. The success of 401 Richmond came from its ability to foster a strong sense of community among the tenants, while encouraging significant social and professional interactions. Several key factors enabled 401 Richmond to have that success: infrastructure, management, "building" philosophy, location and affordability, reputation, and tenant stability (Cohnstaedt, et al., 2003).

A cluster which combines the building and area scale is Custard Factory in Birmingham, United Kingdom. Custard Factory occupies over 200,000 square feet of built space on a 5 acre site. There are over 500+ tenants including 70 live/work studios, a theatre, cafés, boutiques, arts organizations, dance studios and night clubs. The former industrial site began its transformation in 1990 after nearly of decade abandonment. Custard Factory started when the site's owner began offering artists the free use of space, not knowing what else to do with the buildings. Eventually, the economics of offering free space to artists became unfeasible due to maintenance and utility costs and the redevelopment of the site began. The effect of offering the space free to artists was that Custard Factory quickly established 'credibility' among the arts community (Gray, 2002).

The lack of a cultural cluster and greater arts community is a scenario experienced by artists in the Waterloo region of Ontario (Miller 2004). Artists in Waterloo reported a

sense of isolation living and working in the region despite their significant numbers. Instead, artists traveled to Toronto to fulfill their need for an “arts scene”. Minimal participation in the public real and an insufficient number of diverse gathering spaces contributed to lack of an “arts scene”. Several symposia and a conference brought together cultural producers, academics, policy-makers and planners in order to find potential strategies to build an “arts scene”. Their findings included the need for better public recognition of artists’ contributions to society, stronger networking opportunities among artists, employment for artists in art-related fields, simplification of grant procedures, the creation of live-work space and stronger partnerships with the local university.

Gentrification

Clustering also applies to the clustering or concentration of individual artist settlement, not just organizations and industries. Significant amounts of literature on the settlement patterns of artists, their effect on neighbourhood gentrification, and their live/work studios has emerged in the past decade. Most of this literature, however, only addresses the policy and creation of these buildings, or their effect on the revitalization and gentrification of their surrounding neighbourhoods (Schamess 1996; Anderson 1996; Kennedy 1997; Arnoldus 2004; Blackwell, 2006).

High concentrations of artist residents are directly linked to culturally vibrant neighbourhoods. Sharon Zukin identified a report from the National Endowment of the Arts which drew a direct relationship between high concentrations of artists and high levels of gentrification (1991, p. 195). The neighbourhoods directly adjacent to

Winnipeg's Exchange District have concentrations of artist populations over twice the national average (Hill Strategies, 2005a). Winnipeg's Exchange District has been home to artists for over eighty years and a 1998 report sought to develop more live/work spaces for artists in the area, identifying the low-cost of real estate as one of the main opportunities for development (Schroeder, 1998). However, the rapidly rising costs of real estate and construction put further settlement of artists in the Exchange District at risk.

Art Factories, such as *cre8ery*, support the artist sub-culture by creating affordable and inspirational spaces for them to inhabit, albeit in neighbourhoods that are in the process of gentrifying or have already gentrified. Socially, many artists prefer to live in areas that rebuke commerce and convention. Artists form sub-cultures of *autonomous* cultural production. There can be public expectations that artists exist in a sub-culture at the periphery of mainstream culture (Pruijt, 2004, 704).

Winnipeg's Exchange District's ongoing gentrification and commoditization jeopardizes the area's opportunities for cultural production. This phenomenon was apparent in Toronto's Queen Street West, a Toronto neighbourhood well known for its established arts scene (Bain, 2003, p. 309). The rising rent costs and neighbourhood change have displaced the artists (who rejuvenated the area) to much furor and resistance, but at the same time new apartments and condominiums were built, new shops and storefronts are appearing and the population of the area has greatly increased ("Pimping out the 'hood", 2006). Is this necessarily something to complain about, considering that the nexus for the area, the Drake Hotel was described as "part flop-house and part crack house" (Blackwell, 2006, p. 28) but a short time ago?

If the established Queen Street West art scene is gentrified, then where are the artists moving? Alison Bain (2003) identified a “burgeoning” arts community developing in Toronto’s Queen Street East to the point that a “rivalry” is developing between the East and West sides (p. 309). There is also evidence to suggest that cultural producers are moving to the suburbs where the spaces are more affordable and practical (Bula, 2008). Recent market research in the United States found that the cost of suburban housing is significantly less than its urban counterpart. The trend of “New Urbanism” and denser, walkable neighbourhoods is leading to “an over supply of depreciating suburban housing” (Farrar, 2008).

The literature shows gentrification to involve a cycle. The settlement of artists leads to gentrification and the displacement of artists. Once displaced, the artists find a new area to settle and the cycle continues. Prior to the first wave of gentrification, a neighbourhood is initially settled by cultural entrepreneurs. Artists move into “working class inner city neighbourhoods” (Cameron & Coaffee 2005), which in turn makes the area trendy. As cultural producers they contribute to the horizontal growth (Straw 2005; Mommass 2004) and ‘disorganized capital’ of a local small-scale economy necessary for a healthy cultural community, as described by Montgomery (1990; 2003) and Bunting and Mitchell (2001).

This is followed by the first of three waves of gentrification with the “small-scale, autonomous... movement of individual middle-class households into old, working-class inner city neighbourhoods” (Cameron & Coaffee, 2005, p. 41). The second wave follows after the artists have made the area a ‘trendy’ place to live. This is characterized by the movement of upper middle-class residents moving into the area seeking ‘loft-living’ who

displace the artists and working-class inhabitants. Zukin classes these as “Bohemian Usurpers” (2991, p. 207). This represents a commoditization of the area.

Second stage gentrification can be seen as a transition from *autonomous* cultural production to *heteronomous* cultural consumption. Other residents begin moving into areas during the second stage, generally leading to urban development at the expense of the artists who have been living there. New development is not meant for the indigenous population; instead it caters to the wealthier middle-class rapidly moving in. In the United Kingdom, attempts at mixed-income and varied housing developments in a large urban renewal project failed to cater to the local population. Instead, the properties were purchased by new middle-class residents and speculators who resold the properties at prices not affordable for the displaced population (Cameron & Coaffee, 2005).

Available land and adaptable buildings become scarcer during gentrification, forcing rents to go higher. Over a two-year period in the 1980s, the influx of the artistic class in the Lower East Side of New York City led to an explosion in rent of nearly 900% (Deutsche & Ryan, 1984, p. 103). Living in lofts became trendy and attracted a mix of empty nesters, baby boomers, middle class and young professionals seeking an urban lifestyle closer to work and entertainment because long commutes have “soured the suburban dream” (Gause, et al., 1996, p. 48).

The popularity of housing conversions in old urban commercial and industrial buildings is high with strong interest in many major cities including Washington, DC, Dallas, Detroit, Philadelphia, Winnipeg, Vancouver, Toronto, Montreal and Halifax. Their appeal is strong, and the dream of urban loft living is highly successful despite

conversion costs to develop condominiums that can be 33% higher than a “typical garden apartment” (Mattson-Teig, 2003, 75).

One exception to second-stage gentrification occurred in the community of Red Hook, New York. It was a community showing all of the signs of transitioning from the first to second wave of gentrification. The artist community was slowly being replaced by young, middle-class families and the streets were lined with a diverse range of locally owned restaurants and stores. The community expected that this trend of gentrification would continue, but instead it regressed. Part of the blame for this was placed with land owners or landlords demanding sale prices or rents that exceeded the capacity of potential entrepreneurs and investors. Consequentially, the gentrification of Red Hook stopped and regressed. (Sternbergh, 2007) This leads to a provocative question. Is it possible that the only way to ‘preserve’ an artists’ quarter is to deny external funding and investment? In *The Death and Live of Great American Cities*, Jane Jacobs writes:

Well-subsidized opera and art museums often go into new buildings. But the unformalized feeders of the arts—studios, galleries, stores for musical instruments and art supplies, backrooms where the low earning power of a seat and a table can absorb uneconomic discussions—these go into old buildings, but are inexorably slain by the high overhead of new construction (1961, p.245).

The need to limit, or carefully manage new construction in old neighbourhoods is essential to maintaining their diversity. Unmanaged growth eventually leads to the third phase of gentrification.

The third and final phase of gentrification is state-sponsored, where large amounts of public funding flow into an area for the development of arts and culture (Cameron & Coaffee, 2005). This can also be seen as the final transitioning of the area from cultural producers to one of cultural consumers. Third stage gentrification typically involves

large-scale government involvement and investment in the form of mega projects like galleries and museums. Unfortunately for cultural producers, government-led initiatives generally focus on consumption-first strategies—often at the expense, exclusion and displacement of the producers.

Artist and Community-led Regeneration Strategies

One of the most significant initiatives to keep artists in the city comes from Amsterdam's *Broedplaatsen* policy (Arnoldus, 2004). This policy emerged as a solution to stem the loss of the city's artists, due to the unavailability of affordable and suitable studio spaces in the city's centre. The annual budget (2000-2006) of 2.8 million Euros went towards the goal of creating 1400-2000 studio and live/work studios. Rather than developing the spaces themselves, *Broedplaatsen* subsidizes rents and provides an initial capital payment through agreements with the land owners. This succeeded in securing approximately 1000 studio units by 2004, but unfortunately the goal of live/work studios was hampered by "conflicts with local zoning plans, administrative barriers and lack of cooperation from the city districts" (p. 206).

In Long Beach, California, artists were used to rejuvenate declining property values in the city's downtown (Vossman, 2002). To encourage the creation of artist live/work studios, the municipality took several measures to ensure its success. First, live/work studios was recognized as a cornerstone of their revitalization plans.

Approximately 25% of the under-utilized space in downtown Longbeach was earmarked for live/work conversion. Second, the city adjusted its building code and permit system to more easily facilitate the creation of live/work studios. Next, the city allocated 20% of its

tax revenue from the area towards the development of affordable housing. Finally, the city made available low-interest loans that covered the entire cost of the live/work conversions for property owners. Smaller, forgivable loans were also made available to artists to help them improve their properties.

At first, the initiatives were successful in meeting the needs of the artists and the goals of urban renewal. Demand for the live/work studios was high (despite their relatively high costs for artists). The neighbourhood benefited aesthetically, pedestrian traffic increased, and there was a decrease in drug and prostitution crimes (although property crime increased). Government-sponsored initiatives led to new private investment in the area, such as new residential developments and a hotel. But as more investment flowed into the community, the less the municipality became involved with providing live/work studios. Rents for residential and commercial properties faced continual upward pressure and often displaced their tenants who were unable to afford the increases. New social services to the area now required Council approval. It became obvious that the population of the area prior to the renewal was no longer desired by the new gentrifiers. Artists had been used as a tool for urban renewal, but after renewal had been achieved, no long-term plans were put in place to keep artists in the area. A local arts advocate felt that the area would eventually become “an artsy kind of place... where most artists cannot afford to live” (Vossman, 2002, p. 23).

If there is a lack of space formally provided by a city, then sometimes artists have taken matters into their own hands through the informal nature of squatting. Some squatted buildings were paramount sites for cultural creativity, production and entrepreneurship in Amsterdam. It was the planned redevelopment of these sites and the

eviction of their artist residents that led to *Broedplaatsen* policy (Arnoldus, 2004, p. 207-210).

Squats in New York City during the 1980s and 1990s were bastions of anarchistic communities. Despite the efforts of the municipal government to evict their residents, many of the squats were sustained through incredible perseverance, sweat-equity, resourcefulness and resilience. Squatters repaired the buildings, albeit not to code, because they needed to make them livable. Eventually, some of these squatted buildings were turned over to the residents after much conflict and they became housing cooperatives; the squatters became homesteaders (Newirt, 2002).

Homesteading enjoyed resurgence in the United States during the 1970s as a means to counter the loss of urban populations. Homesteading programs reemerged in Baltimore, New York, Philadelphia and Delaware (Schames, 2006, 40). Through one such program in Baltimore, homes were sold for one dollar and low-interest construction loans were provided to the homesteaders, on the condition that they repaired their buildings in a timely manner. After eighteen months of residency, the city turned over the deeds of the homes to their occupants. A subsequent program by Baltimore in 1982 also sold the homes for a nominal amount, but left the responsibility of securing financing and loans to the homesteaders. In this case, less than 25% of the homesteaders were able to secure private financing. On the city-scale, homesteading only affected only a few hundred homes compared to the forty thousand public housing units in Baltimore, but one of its strongest contributions was how it “helped rekindle the city’s pioneering spirit” (Hinds, 1986).

Business incubators are another strategy by which commercial spaces are renewed, in a similar fashion to how homesteading revived residential areas. They provide space at minimal cost, training and access to low-interest financing to entrepreneurs interested in starting a new business, when they may not have the necessary experience or resources to do it themselves (Wichert, 2007). In Winnipeg, attempts to secure the necessary financing to invest in the Exchange District and surrounding area have faced resistance from banks and credit unions who consider the investments too risky. This has led to criticism by the head of the City of Winnipeg's downtown development agency and several entrepreneurs that the banks are 'stifling' the 'rebirth' of the area (McNeill, 2007).

There is a wealth of literature on the lives of artists and the value of culture. From a professional planning focus, the literature weighs heavily towards culture as an effective tool for urban renewal strategies. From the perspectives of artists, these same urban renewal strategies are often causes of gentrification. The Creative Class and Creative Economy theories of Richard Florida are at odds with the habitus of artists who operate independently of mainstream society. Artists settle in neighbourhoods and revitalize them, forming cultural clusters. Multiple policies have been used, such as direct rent subsidies, providing low-interest financing, and homesteading in order to encourage cultural development. The gap in these policies has been the lack of long-term commitment or strategies. Artists are a fragile population subject to displacement from economic forces. In the following chapter, I interview artists at an art factory in Winnipeg's cultural cluster in the hopes of developing strategies to improve the working conditions of artists as a whole.

Chapter 6: Results

My research explores the working conditions of artists, the relationships that develop between artists and the physical environment and *cre8ery*. While the research centres on a specific case study, the findings led to broader reflections on artists' living and working conditions in Winnipeg than expected.

This chapter explores the following themes: 1) the living and working conditions of artists 2) professional development and networking opportunities for artists 3) the differing needs of emerging artists vs. mid-career artists 4) the importance of rental galleries in the careers of artists 5) artists' perceptions of Winnipeg's Exchange District as the city's "cultural quarters" 6) issues around safety, security, stability and trust 7) *cre8ery's* expectations and functions 8) the activities and roles surrounding informal and formal cultural facilities 9) improving the working condition of artists in Winnipeg. Each theme is explored through the perspectives of the synthesized artist profiles identified by the research.

The artists who use *cre8ery* fit into two broad groups: emerging-artists and mid-career artists. From the emerging artists, three types of characters were identified: the art school theorist, the craft-seller and the mid-life shifter. Mid-career artists are divided into two groups—veteran art gardeners and the institutionalized art reinforcers. These groups should not be taken as definitive archetypes representing all artists, but they do offer valuable context for *cre8ery's* use.

The majority of the case study's users are emerging artists. The art school theorists are artists who have recently completed university or college level art studies. They are considerably more concerned with the advancement of art practice and theory

over selling the art that they produce. Craft-sellers spend their time producing craft work which, is generally more geared for sale (e.g., pottery or jewelry). The mid-life shifters are also all craft-sellers, but they chose to become an artist after previous careers in other fields.

For the mid-career artists, the veteran art gardeners were the only group to use *cre8ery's* facilities. They have pursued a career in the arts for a significant period of time and they are primarily concerned with tending to their own art practice. No institutionalized reinforcers were interviewed, but anecdotal evidence gathered through the research supports their existence. They exist primarily within cultural institutions and their art practice or occupation is primarily devoted to reinforcing the role and function of institutions.

Artist Profiles

Tom is an art school theorist. He completed his Bachelor of Fine Arts (Honours) from the University of Manitoba three years ago. He has aspirations of attending graduate school for fine art, and his art practice is geared accordingly. Tom lives alone, but he keeps a studio in his two-bedroom apartment. Prior to his current live/work circumstance, he shared studio space in the Exchange District with other artists. Tom works a full time job in order to support himself.

Shelly is a single twenty-something year old craft-seller. Born in Winnipeg, she attended an art college in another province, but returned home after completing her degree. She rents in the shared studio at *cre8ery* primarily so that she has a quiet place to work and

she has an upcoming solo show there. Prior to renting at *cre8ery* she shared studio space with a number of different artists throughout the Exchange District. Like Tom, Shelly works full in order to provide for herself.

Grace is a mid-life shifter and also a craft-seller. After twenty years in another profession she decided to change her career and become an artist. She has strong commercial expectations of herself and hopes to support her career shift through the sale of her work. Her children are now grown and have moved out of the house which allows her some financial leeway to pursue a career in the arts now that she no longer has to provide for them. She has plenty of room at home for her art practice, but she rents from the shared studio at *cre8ery* as a means to sell and market her work and so that she can become more familiar with the local art community. She lives in a quiet residential neighbourhood with quick and easy transit access to the Exchange District.

Ed is a veteran art gardener. He is a mid-career artist who has practiced extensively throughout Canada over the past 20 years. He keeps his own private studio, but attends the weekly drawing night. His work is primarily theoretical and grant-driven. His income comes from grants, the sale of his artwork and casual art-related employment, such as teaching. His spouse is a teaching professional with a stable income and they own a home together in a neighbourhood adjacent to the Exchange District.

Andrew is a recently transplanted emerging artist from Toronto. Originally born in Winnipeg, he returned home after nearly 15 years away due to the rising and

unaffordable costs of living in a major metropolis. He rents a solo studio from *cre8ery* and sees it as being a strong way for him to pursue his art practice and reintegrate himself into the local art community. He works a variety of jobs in order to support himself and his art practice. He is single and keeps a one-bedroom apartment in a residential neighbourhood close to the Exchange District.

Jill is the founder of *cre8ery* and an emerging artist. She maintains a private studio in the building which doubles as *cre8ery's* administrative office. She brings many years of experience from participating in and running other artist organizations.

Studio and Housing Circumstances

Universal across all of the respondents is the need for a separate and dedicated studio space. Whether it is a separate room in their home or a dedicated studio space in another building, all respondents identify it as being critical for their practice. The difficulties and frustrations of finding suitable studio space are of paramount concern. Many of the respondents also felt that mixing living and working spaces was not ideal.

Working from home was not ideal for Tom; there was not enough space to meet his needs. As a consequence, he was producing smaller art work. He identified this as a trend with several of his friends, who were also art school theorists. The space dictates his art practice rather than his creative process—not an ideal situation. Tom also works a full-time job in another industry in order to support himself. He desires a private studio separate from his home but can't afford one, nor does he currently devote enough time to his art practice to justify the expense.

Prior to working from home, Tom shared studio space at two different locations in downtown Winnipeg with other artists. He lost his first space in the Exchange District when the landlord decided to renovate the floor into office space and he lost his second space when the building was sold. With the former, he did not feel that his landlord considered artists as desirable tenants. The precariousness of tenure prevented Tom from any long-term investment into the spaces he's occupied.

This sentiment was also expressed by Andrew with his studio experiences while living in Toronto. He was hesitant to make improvements or invest 'sweat equity' into spaces he occupied for fear of losing the space or in the case that the space was not suitable in the long run. *"At times I would hold back from doing what I needed to do [to make the space functional] because I thought maybe this wasn't the best environment."*

Over the past two decades, Andrew has occupied a large variety of spaces, ranging from his bedroom to a closet in another artist's studio that was barely large enough to fit his desk. Often, he has been unable to afford a separate studio and estimates that 80% of his past studios have been in his home. Currently he rents a one-bedroom apartment and keeps a studio at *cre8ery*. Financially, he is in a better position than when he lived in Toronto. His income is lower in Winnipeg, but that is more than offset by the lower cost of housing and studio space that he pays now.

Andrew has shifted between separate and combined live/work environments for much of his life. A benefit of the live/work situation for Andrew was that he did not need to worry about the added cost or convenience of transportation. This theme was also raised by Ed who noted that he could not afford a personal vehicle, and hauling supplies or work over distances between home and studio was burdensome. A home studio meant

that he would not have any parking or transit expenses each month. While Ed saw that as a potential benefit, he personally requires a separation of his home and studio for his art practice.

Ed is currently in his third studio in the Exchange District since 1991, when he returned from a decade spent practicing art in Montreal and Vancouver. In his youth, Ed spent time in various live/work units, but he now needs the separation for professional and safety reasons. He needs a solo space where he can close the door and concentrate without interruption. The presence of other artists can be positive in providing feedback, but they can also become too disruptive for him in a shared studio setting. His current studio is in a building a short distance from *cre8ery* that has approximately a dozen studios intermingled throughout the various office spaces. His studio is private and quiet. *“I don’t see anybody there... that’s the kind of space I like.”*

The separation of home and studio is essential for Ed because he is primarily an oil painter and his work environment is very toxic. *“Pretty soon you find cups that’ve got ink on it. Your plates have got paint on it, you find brushes in the bathroom... it spreads and ... it’s just too dangerous.”* Tom makes the same observation, but identifies future family plans as his main reason for the separation. Because he plans on raising a family, he does not want his children to be exposed to toxic materials from his art practice. Shelly sees the separation of home and studio as more of a social need. *“I think a lot of people end up working out of a spare room at home and not leaving the house for days on end,”* she speculates.

Shelly needs a balance between her retail day job, her home life and her art practice. She is a successful ceramic artist who is able to sell enough of the work that she

produces to support her studio practice. However, she cannot support herself solely through her artistic production, nor does she have any current desire to. *“I find making art can be a solitary process, so I really enjoy having different [activities in my life].”* Her space in *cre8ery* is her third shared studio setting in the past two years. Shared studios are ideal for Shelly. At one third to one quarter of the cost of a private studio, they are more affordable for her and they provide a more social atmosphere. However, the primary function of the studio space for her is for production. This differs from Grace who saw a communal studio space as *“the first step to becoming part of the art community.”*

Grace spent nearly two decades in another profession before deciding that she wanted to be an artist and made the switch with very little knowledge of the local art community. She felt renting space in a shared studio would be the best way for her to integrate into the community. Travelling to the studio after her day job is a bit tiring for her; but if she worked at home, she feels that she would miss out on the interaction with other like-minded creative people.

Navigating the social environment of shared art studios was a negative experience for many of *cre8ery*'s users. Looking back upon his communal experiences in retrospect, Ed felt that most young artists have a *“pack mentality”* to go rent and share a studio space immediately out of school. Often, this takes the form of a collective rather than a studio space that is just being rented and shared. An artists' collective can be defined as a group with common goals that shares responsibility and decision-making. A collective can share a physical space and/or an ideology. The negative experiences arose from differing goals and unbalanced responsibility. Ed felt that he was too old to benefit from

or want a collective environment, because he's done all of that in the past and wants to solely focus on his art practice now. *"When you're renting a workspace, you're renting a job. I don't want to rent another volunteer committee."*

This was the exact same circumstance that Shelly experienced immediately after art school. In one of her previous collective experiences, *"there were twelve different people coming together with different ideas of what they wanted to make this place be...there's so much conflict... I could only go so far. You get worn out."* The conflicts in the shared space resulted in an unhealthy social environment. There were expectations of cleaning, attending opening receptions, and other administrative duties that not all members executed to the same degree. Her reason for renting a studio at *cre8ery* was to find a stable workspace without extra commitments or conflict.

Even just sharing studio spaces can lead to conflict, however. Tom shared 800 square feet with eight other artists immediately after finishing university. That experience *"redefined friendships"* for him. Not everyone could pay rents on time and the studio was too small for more than two or three people to work in it at once, which discouraged him from actually using the space. The crowdedness and constant interruptions from studio visits encroached on his creative process and made it hard for him to be productive. In addition, there was always concern that his personal property in the space may be disturbed, shifted or damaged by other users. He feels he is much more productive now that his art practice takes place in a private environment.

When effective, communal environments were some of Andrew's, Ed's and Shelly's best living and working experiences. Andrew found that the community was incredibly beneficial to his creative and professional practices. Ed credited the time he

has spent living and working with dozens of other artists in the same building as the deciding moment for becoming an artist. For Shelly: *“I’ve made numerous, like, very close friendships with people there and lots of acquaintances. I really enjoy their company and I learnt so much from the other artists and people working in different mediums [sic].”*

Professional Development and Networking

Almost all of the respondents felt that breadth learning was the greatest in a communal space. This was achieved through the presence and interaction with a diverse group of artists. For example, Ed entertained the possibility of experimenting with video technologies after meeting a video artist at a life drawing session and going to see some of her work. Depth learning was something that the respondents universally felt they would not get from a communal environment like *cre8ery*. For Grace, depth learning for her medium would only come from formal classes and self-study. For Tom and Shelly, depth comes from having their own private space to develop their work—which could be in an environment like *cre8ery*.

While the respondents feel that depth learning is a solo activity, they spoke highly of the networking opportunities that inform their art practice. Andrew feels that the benefit comes from *“being enamoured by what each other does.”* The dialogue among artists is essential for feedback. Jill feels that peer feedback and the ability to engage people who view your work is a priceless opportunity. A communal environment may not directly affect depth learning, but there is evidence to suggest that it strengthens and supports it.

Emerging / Mid-career Artists

The needs of artists differ depending on the phase of their career and the nature of their practice. For mid-career artists or emerging artists who have spent significant amounts of time in shared studio environments, the camaraderie is not critical, but still important in moderation. For them, the function of the studio is primarily for production and the social aspects are secondary or an interruption. They simply wanted a quiet place to work where they would be uninterrupted. For younger artists, the need for a community may be more important to build those initial networks and to become established in the arts community.

As an emerging artist, Tom sees the value in dedicated spaces for emerging artists. They allow for risk-taking and opportunities for failure. They provide fresh insight through the connection of peers and they are financially accessible to the ‘starving artist.’ He wishes that larger institutions with significant financial resources did more to help emerging artists. *“Facilities [like cre8ery] are really important for trial and error processes.”* Emerging artists have a tendency to gravitate towards artist-run centres according to Ed. *“They still need that support system [they had in university]. They want to have some sort of familiarity.”*

Rental Galleries

The role of rental galleries was a major theme that surfaced in relation to the needs emerging artists. Rental galleries are art galleries that can be hired by any party for an exhibition. The rental gallery in *cre8ery* is booked over a year in advance and primarily by emerging artists. Comparatively, established artist-run galleries in Winnipeg

generally have extensive programming schedules planned years in advance, exhibit the work of mid-career or established artists and pay artists' fees for the exhibition of work.

Over the last few years, a number of notable artist-run or rental galleries in Winnipeg have closed, including SITE, Adelaide-McDermot and Label Gallery for Artists. Ed thinks the decline in venues will affect emerging artists the most. Rental galleries are of the greatest benefit to emerging artists, as they represent an intermediary step for them to develop experience. The lack of galleries *“makes it harder for people to have that first exhibition... to have those... opportunities, it's really crucial... for presenting recent work. To document for other opportunities.”* In her role as an arts administrator for several years, Jill has seen how important *curriculum vitae* building is for artists; it establishes a track record and credibility critical for future funding opportunities.

Shelly plans to have a solo show at *cre8ery* in a year in order to exhibit some more exploratory work. She recently rented a commercial gallery for the purpose of selling her work, but a show at *cre8ery* would have a *“number of pieces that I wouldn't expect to sell... that would be more for my own exploration.”* Tom has participated in a number of group exhibitions, but he identifies rental galleries as being the next logical step. *“I guess to have a solo show, you'd have to pay.”* Emerging artists need rental galleries to develop their art practice; exhibiting work is the expected progression of professional development.

Many comparisons were raised between *cre8ery* and SITE gallery. SITE was an artist-run, membership-based selling-oriented gallery, which operated from 1995-2005. It ultimately closed due to financial reasons. Its membership was primarily made up of local

mid-career and established artists. There was a large membership fee which Ed believes made the gallery a bit of an “*exclusive club*,” but its closure was still a huge loss for Winnipeg’s art community. Grace viewed the closure of SITE as a poor reflection of the local art market, if it cannot even support some of the most “*prominent, critically respected Winnipeg artists*.”

Both Ed and Jill believe that the artists who rent *cre8ery*’s gallery are primarily emerging and mid-career; a step down the so-called artistic hierarchy of SITE. The membership of SITE could be considered the “*old guard*” of Winnipeg’s artists who would not typically rent gallery space at *cre8ery*. Jill felt that local commercial galleries probably benefited more financially from the closure of SITE than any of the remaining rental galleries.

The Exchange District and Gentrification

Winnipeg’s Exchange District is widely considered the city’s artistic centre and a source of pride, yet there was a general sense of lament over how the area has gentrified over the past few years. Most of the respondents were familiar with the historic displacement of artists in similar circumstances and felt that their production spaces were being threatened. There was some cautious optimism, though, that the changes would have an overall positive effect on the neighbourhood even if artists were being displaced.

The Exchange District has been Winnipeg’s arts district as far back as the memory of the respondents could go. It was identified as being central, convenient and as a hub of artistic activity. Artist peers for feedback and conversation were essential and described as having “*sympathetic ears*.” This is a cluster that developed because the rents

were historically cheap, a requirement for artists who often have very marginal incomes. The strong community of artists in Winnipeg is something that several respondents noted was unique, compared to their experiences in other Canadian cities, such as Toronto or Vancouver.

There is a certain level of romanticism that attaches itself to the Exchange District and historic warehouse quarters in general across North America. Grace enjoys the raw, unfinished quality that the spaces provide. A raw space is unfinished and filled with possibilities. There is an informal quality to it that speaks to the starving artist idiom. “...you just feel like [you’re] totally hacking it”.

Tom kept a studio space in the Exchange District while still in university because “I think it was honestly the romance idea of it,” but, by own admission he did not use it much. Unused studios emerged quite often as a theme. Andrew left one of his studio spaces in Toronto because he rarely saw any artists using the space and, as a result, there was no sense of community. Shelly had also shared communal studios with tenants, whom she rarely observed producing any art. Grace notes that there are some artists who never seem to use the space in the communal studio that she rents in *cre8ery*, but she acknowledges that because of her work schedule she keeps odd studio hours and may not see them. She speculates that there are very few artists in Canada who have the financial success to practice their art “full-time” and it could be that that many of the artists in *cre8ery* work different jobs and keep different hours. Another possibility raised by Tom is that these may be vanity spaces/studios. He finds that a studio is “something that [gives people] credibility as an artist,” whether or not they use it.

Ed, who has rented a studio in the Exchange District for the past 15 years, feels that the area has improved, but there has been a large loss of working studio spaces. *“I think that... the artists will still go down there, they just won't live there anymore.”* The area has improved for art-related businesses like coffee shops and boutiques, but rents have become too expensive for most artists. Established art institutions and centres can still afford to stay in the Exchange District, because they have stable government funding. The *ad hoc* network of artists is slowly disappearing and the informal hives of studios and artists living in the Exchange District is lower than when he moved back to Winnipeg in 1991. Eventually, he sees the area becoming more *“trendy commercial”* which he finds *“a little irritating... I don't want to pay three bucks for a cappuccino; I just want a cup of coffee, a donut.”* The group that will suffer the most will be the emerging artists because they will not be able to afford their first private studio.

The perceptions of Shelly, an emerging artist, are very similar to Ed's. She feels that large institutions or commercial galleries will be able to afford to stay, but smaller or newer artist-run centres will be displaced. Gentrification is a large concern with Shelly, Tom, Jill and Grace who all view it as a negative development for the artist community. The loss of studio space was brought up many times, whether it was personal or anecdotal. Jill believes that gentrification *“will erode the essence of the Exchange... or what we endear the Exchange to be.”*

Condominium development in the Exchange District was brought up as the main cause of displacement and it prompted mixed opinions from the respondents. Most felt that the development would improve the area and make it safer, but that it would erode their lifestyles. Living in the Exchange District was not something that many of the

respondents were likely to do. Many of them liked where they were already living and moving to the Exchange District would have a negative effect on their quality of life. Since many of them live in close proximity to the Exchange District, the commute times are minimal. Shelly was concerned about the lack of grocery stores and Grace cited the lack of day care centres. Almost all felt that the current residential development was unaffordable and not suitable for them. Even the possibility of below-market live/work units was not appealing to the group in general. Most had families or established communities and enjoyed their neighbourhoods. The exception was Andrew because he craved that type of environment and because he was relatively young and single. Despite the lack of interest in live/work among the participants involved in my research, many of them felt that live/work studios would be well suited in the Exchange District and popular among their artist colleagues.

Some positive opinions emerged concerning the changes to the Exchange District, though. More people in the area for Shelly meant that she would feel safer. *“I think it’ll mean I’m not afraid to go to the bus stop at ten o’clock at night.”* Grace recalls that the area *“went through a period of time where it was a very desolate area.”* The creation of a Red River College campus in the Exchange District was an example cited by many as being a major positive change to the area. Ed and Tom felt that change was a natural process and unavoidable. Tom believes that artists need to leave to travel and inform their art. His graduate school aspirations may force him to move, as there are no Masters of Fine Art programs in Manitoba. This need for other experiences was the impetus behind Ed and Andrew’s time spent away from Winnipeg. Ed believes *“gentrification happens*

all over. Artists go to places, people think it's cool... it's just the way things are. It's just the way things move."

If the artists are displaced, where will they move? Even though Tom now works at home, the thought of having his own separate and private studio space again is on his mind. The difficulty has been finding a suitable space within his budget. If he could find a space that met his spatial requirements, the location would be immaterial. For him, a studio in the Exchange would be *"lovely, but if I could find... any place in the city... for a reasonable amount of money, I would take it."* Ed shares this sentiment. If he were to lose his current studio in the Exchange, he is very doubtful that he could find another like it for that price. *"I think that spaces are becoming less accessible. There are fewer spaces and you can still rent space, but the landlords aren't as anxious to break up space any more."* Ed pays less than half of what the tenants at *cre8ery* do for a comparable space. He feels that his landlord offers below-market rents to the artists in his building out of a sense of duty and need in order to keep the Exchange District's so-called "bohemian character."

Ed does not want to be caught unprepared if he loses his space. Rather than continue to rent in the Exchange District, he is considering purchasing a home in the inner city and converting it to a studio for him and partner, who is also an artist. His inspiration came from a colleague of his who recently purchased a suburban home and converted the main level into a studio while keeping the second floor for living. *"You start putting [financial] numbers together and the accessibility and the security, you have this asset thing... you don't have to worry about getting a three-month notice saying you have to move out."*

From her perspective as a landlord, Jill experiences the shortage of studio space from a wider perspective. *“But for people who are starting up – emerging, I don’t think there is space available. Just from the amount of calls and e-mails that I get, I think people are looking for spaces that are cheap and they just can’t find them and they’re checking everywhere.”* On existing artist spaces in the Exchange, she continues: *“I’m getting more and more rumblings of that kind. People who are being squeezed out, have lost studio spaces and are relocating.”*

Safety, Security, Stability and Trust

Safety of person and belongings is a theme that emerged constantly. Perception of personal safety in the Exchange District was mixed and no trend was found among men or women. Jill felt very safe in the area, having spent the last half decade renting studios there. Despite some reservations before moving into studio space at *cre8ery*, Grace has never felt in fear for her safety and she would often enter and leave her studio at all hours of the night due to a busy work schedule. However, Shelly often had concerns about her personal safety in Exchange District studios when working at night. At one of her communal studios, Shelly was constantly on guard whenever the door opened and she would interrupt her work to see who had just come in. She’s also had several negative experiences when waiting for the bus downtown in the evening. Ed would prefer to spend the night on the couch in his studio if he worked too late, rather than walk the ten minutes home.

None of the respondents recounted any incident where their personal safety was severely threatened in Winnipeg, but Andrew had some significant negative accounts of

his personal safety from his time spent in Toronto. For a short period of time Andrew lived in one of his studios and slept with a pipe beside his bed for protection. His studio was located in a high-crime area, but it was what he could afford and it was better than being homeless. Equally important for Andrew was the safety of his artist materials. They were his livelihood. Tom expressed the same safety concerns. He would not leave any valuables or supplies in his previous studios for fear of break-in and theft. Other than theft, another major concern for property was disaster. Many of the buildings in the Exchange District are old and flood, fire or water damage are of high concern. Jill noted that insurance can cover artist supplies, but will not cover artwork.

A safe and secure environment is necessary to develop trust among the artists, their space and the landlord, something that *cre8ery* excelled at providing. The tenants and users felt secure leaving their supplies and personal belongings in the building, albeit behind a locked door, and there was a high level of trust among the tenants, especially in the shared studio. During opening receptions for exhibitions, the door to the shared studio would remain open, inviting visitors to tour the space. If one of the shared studio users was not able to attend a reception, the other artists in the space would keep a watchful eye on the absentee's area or help to answer questions about their work.

Security of tenure and the responsiveness of the administration were other positive areas expressed by *cre8ery's* users. They felt that their needs were met more than in other spaces that they've occupied before, because the landlord was a fellow artist. The tenants were also more at ease and felt more productive knowing that the likelihood of losing their studio space to redevelopment was minimal and very unlikely. When they compared their past studio experiences with their present circumstances, they

were all very positive about how having space in *cre8ery* alleviated most of their concerns. Trust also extended to groups using the classroom space and gallery. They were given keys to the building, so that they could access the space or install exhibitions on their own schedule. *cre8ery*'s five-year lease allowed them enough stability to make the necessary investments to the space. In turn, the tenants of the space were also afforded that stability. The five-year period was seen by the two founders of *cre8ery* as the least amount of time they would need to realize their vision for the space.

***cre8ery*'s Expectations and Functions**

Jill founded *cre8ery* with the intention of addressing some of the past difficulties she has experienced. These difficulties include the instability and group conflict of studio spaces that Andrew, Tom, Ed and Shelly have all experienced in their past. The financial strain that a shared environment can cause among renters is something *cre8ery* avoids by managing all of the studios. If someone leaves a studio, *cre8ery* takes on the task of finding a new tenant, rather than leaving the responsibility with the previous renter. In the shared studio, each renter pays individually, so that the whole group is not responsible if one member cannot pay their rent on time or if a portion of the room is vacant.

Another of *cre8ery*'s goals is to create stronger connections between artists and consumers. This is done through the establishment of consistent business hours, the availability of staff to promote and sell artwork to clients visiting the space and an internet presence. *cre8ery* was founded with the first and foremost intent of being a production space, while also creating a marketable space that could be used to help sell artists' work. It is a space that provides "*self-directed artists' growth*" while providing

support through the administration and from fellow tenants. This is a conflict in the expectations of how *creδery* should function by some of the different groups that use it.

The mid-career and theoretical artists see *creδery* as being a quiet and serious production space while the craft-sellers want the space to be more commercial and function like a “*retail mall*.” Grace would like to see *creδery* operate more on a commercial level as a venue to sell and market her work to a broad audience. Grace expects or wants the sale of her artwork to support her rental of the studio and feels retail should be a strong function of the space. She felt that many artists were not able to sell enough of their work here and in the long run that could affect her stay at *creδery*. She may leave *creδery* and work from home if she cannot sell enough work. “*If I could start selling from here, I would stay here... if I could find other places to sell... then [this] would be ok as a production place.*” Grace’s perceptions contrasted greatly with the experiences of Jill who felt that relative to the other artist spaces that she’s been part of, a lot of art work is selling from *creδery*.

The division between arts and craft is a theoretical “white elephant” in the canons of art history. In a contemporary and post-modern world the barriers that divide the two are disappearing, but the popular perceptions of the two create a stark difference in the perception and usage of *creδery*. Distinguishing between art and craft illustrates the needs of both groups.

Ed recognizes that there is a professional distinction between people making commercial work and people making theoretical grant-oriented work. An issue he describes as serious or non-serious art work. Some people “*are just happy to making art,*” whereas others consider larger theoretical issues and themes.

Grace is very happy to be making art and sees its primary purpose as making the world beautiful and more enjoyable. Art is a commodity and “... *if you’re not selling, you’re going to leave here [cre8ery] right? Or you, well, you just can’t afford this place then.*” Shelly also agrees. “*I like to sell and I’ll compromise my artistic integrity to sell.*” This viewpoint stands in stark contrast to Tom’s. He does not expect to sell his work at all. For artists more concerned with theoretical, political and social contexts, Ed’s experience is that very little of it sells. “*Only in Canada do you get validated by not selling your work... the sense you’ve really made it if you can live off Canada Council [for the Arts] grants...*”

The perception of the space is also viewed differently between the artists and the crafters. Grace, whose network now includes the Manitoba Crafts Council felt that those members viewed *cre8ery* as “*a bit more on the rustic side*” when they hosted a show there, whereas Ed, speaking from the perspective of the mid-career artists felt that the space was a bit too refined; it wasn’t *raw* enough for his tastes.

Another disconnect for Grace is the lack of camaraderie that she experiences. She wants *cre8ery* to be a gateway into the art world where she and her fellow tenants relate to each other like a close-knit family and “*sort of work like a team, where artists share their knowledge.*” The space does not live up to her expectations which borrow from some romanticized ideal of the art world, but she realizes that her expectations are “*not exactly firm either... I guess [cre8ery] satisfies my expectations enough, so that I’m not at all unhappy, I’m very happy here.*” Grace suggests that the uncommon hours kept by *cre8ery*’s studio renters (including herself) contribute to the lack of camaraderie that she

feel. Andrew shares this sentiment, but to a lesser degree. There are still enough people using the space to satisfy his needs and it is quiet enough that he can be productive in it.

The dialogue and motivation from communal artist spaces like *art factories* is something that was a pivotal moment in the early professional lives of artists like Ed, Andrew, Tom and Jill. “*These kinds of centres [like cre8ery] give people that glimmer of hope [that they can be an artist],*” Tom remarked, but they also all felt that they had moved past that and on to a different phase of their professional development. Where there was a lack of peer-interconnect at *cre8ery*, the professional networking opportunities exceeded the expectations of Andrew and Shelly.

The professional networking potential emerges as one of the strengths of an *art factory* like *cre8ery*. Much of this came through unintended consequences of a concentrated artists’ environment. Andrew was recently included in a major group exhibition at the Winnipeg Art Gallery as a direct result of having his work in *cre8ery*’s rental gallery. A curator visiting the space for another purpose saw his work on the wall and that led to its inclusion. Andrew’s work at the WAG then led to an opportunity with a major commercial gallery. Shelly was invited to participate in a group exhibition because another artist in her shared space had a curator visiting her. The curator liked the work on Shelly’s desk which led to her inclusion in a group show. What benefits one artist in *cre8ery* (such as a curator visit) can actually benefit a group of artists. Grace embarked upon a new career in the arts not knowing many other artists in the community, but soon after, she began to notice that people would refer to her as being that textile artist from *cre8ery* even though they didn’t know her name.

Formal / Informal

There are varying degrees of institutionalization throughout art spaces in Winnipeg.

Among the most institutionalized are the exhibition-focused spaces like the Winnipeg Art Gallery (WAG) and Plug In. At the other end are the individual artists with studios.

Inbetween are the artist-run centres like the Manitoba Printmakers' Association, Mentoring Artists for Women's Art, Platform and Video Pool, all of which combine a mix of exhibition space and production support to artists.

When it comes to the arts, Ed feels that *“not everything has to be groomed and organized.”* He is critical of the “art leeches”, individuals or organizations in the arts who take away from artists and producers. “Art leeches” are the result of administration overtaking arts production. He cites this as a significant problem because there is a dwindling supply of spaces affordable to artists. If an arts organization with stable operating funding moves into an established *art factory*, it takes away from the available space for artists and artistic production.

The founders of *cre8ery* are consciously anti-institutional, which is why Ed approves of it. *“You go in, sit down... have a beer. That's what it's supposed to be.”* Ed feels that some members of the arts community have become over-institutionalized and can no longer function outside of the grant-driven framework anymore; they have become too dependent on public funding of the arts, and these are the institutionalized art reinforcers. Tom wishes that art institutions would do more to support emerging artists like him, rather than focusing the majority of their efforts on established artists.

Several respondents compared the drop-in drawing nights at *creδery* to the Winnipeg Art Gallery and they echoed exactly the differences between a formal/informal setting and an institutionalized/non-institutionalized space. Andrew found *creδery* to be “*more open, more warm*” than the WAG and that the users of *creδery* tended to be practicing artists, whereas the WAG was mainly used by students. “*I like the creδery in some ways more than the Art Gallery just because it has a bit more freedom to... feel more at ease... instead of having some other... some authority with rules all over the place.*” Ed also found the WAG too formal. He just wants to draw and not be told what to do, which was the impression that came across from the WAG.

Informal can also encompass adaptable and multi-purpose space. *creδery* has been approached by a wide variety of arts groups, including musicians, actors and dancers looking for affordable rehearsal space. *creδery* has been able to serve most of them through a flexible approach, a need to serve the cultural community art and the desire to generate revenue.

Improving the Working Conditions of Artists in Winnipeg

An important focus of the interviews in relation to the gentrification of the Exchange District was the future direction of Winnipeg’s arts community. Respondents offered their opinions on the future health of the art community, how to improve it and its potential geographic shift. Answers ranged from individual action to government policy. Generally the responses called for direct action. If individuals have a strong enough desire to make something happen, Tom believes they can. *creδery* is an example of two individuals with enough knowledge and will to make something happen. Others, like

Grace, believe that leadership is needed, especially at the municipal and provincial levels in order to make culture a priority for funding and infrastructure decisions.

Despite the number of setbacks to artists, such as recent cuts to Winnipeg Arts Council's public art budget and the gentrification of the Exchange District, Grace believes that there is "*a persistence and resilience around artists and arts organizations that continues and persists.*" Jill is constantly approached by different cultural groups and there is a huge demand for affordable, emerging artist spaces, whether they are for studios, exhibition or rehearsal. There is potential within all of these different disciplines for smaller groups to come together and create, occupy or share a multi-purpose space. Jill sees that as a future function *cre8ery* can fulfill.

For some artists, gentrification is inevitable and they are bracing themselves to move away from the area, despite their connection to it. Ed and Tom feel that artists will probably move north towards the neighbourhoods of Point Douglas or Selkirk Ave where suitable property is available and the cost of space is still low. These areas are all located within a few kilometers North of the Exchange District. There are already a few artists' organizations in Point Douglas along with the studios and homes of many artists. It was thought, however, that the then current construction of a Winnipeg Regional Health Authority office on north Main Street would potentially bring about development unfavourable to the growth of artists in the area. The number of vacant storefronts on Selkirk Ave was identified as an opportunity for artists to invest sweat-equity into the area. With a combination of tenure security and low interest loans, Ed could see live/work studios flourishing in the area. If that happened, it is something he would

definitely take advantage of, if he were still in his youth and had the energy for that kind of investment.

I think if I was an investing man, if they could clean up Selkirk Ave., I would see the artists moving down there. They're moving down to Main Street where MAWA is. They're trying to move in there, now the Regional Authority is going to build their big building there. Well that's just going to totally negate the whole possibility... now the speculators are going to go [into the area]. If [artists] could get further on Point Douglas or down on Selkirk Avenue... If I was 20 years old, this is what I would do. I would come down here and just rent this storefront... I'll rent to own it. Live in the back... and use the storefront [as a studio].

As much potential as there is in other areas of the city, Shelly feels that there is still so much potential in the Exchange District. Many buildings are sitting empty pending “redevelopment” when they could be thriving with artists and activity. Artists could convert the space to their use easily. This pales to the obstacles Jill encountered developing *cre8ery*. The difficulties were mostly financial such as the cost of construction and meeting building code requirements. In order to make the project financially feasible, the two founders of *cre8ery* completed all of the capital construction themselves and developed the floor studio by studio, as tenants came on board. This was a six-month process. Jill feels that if she were able to create live/work units in the space, they would have filled up many times over; the landlord, however, would not approve that use and the cost of residential development was just too high for Jill to even contemplate.

My research found that *cre8ery* is an *art factory* that primarily serves the needs of emerging artists. *cre8ery* serves as an intermediary in two fashions for young and/or emerging artists. First, *cre8ery's* studio spaces serve as an entry way into the studio culture of the Exchange District. Available studio spaces in the Exchange District are becoming scarcer and *cre8ery's* makes it easier for young and/or emerging artists to have their first studio space. Secondly, the rental gallery in *cre8ery* is valuable for artists allowing them to develop their professional practice by exhibiting their work. *cre8ery's* gallery is one of the few rental galleries remaining in Winnipeg. Several rental galleries in Winnipeg have recently closed, jeopardizing the development of emerging artists.

The Exchange District was found to be a critical part of the visual arts community in Winnipeg. Its history as being Winnipeg's "artists' district" made it desirable among all artist types as being the place where they wanted to have their studios. The gentrification of the area was a significant concern among the artists interviewed. Some evidence suggested that the artist population in the Exchange District may shift to another neighbourhood if the gentrification continues, but the desire from artists was to stay in the area.

In the final chapter, I start with a discussion of *cre8ery* and how the space responds to my initial research questions. Then I explore the conditions that would allow artists to remain in the Exchange District, or for them to shift the "artists' district" to another part of the city.

Chapter 7: Conclusions

There are a number of dichotomies that this research has negotiated: *autonomous* and *heteronomous*, production and consumption, formal and informal, art and craft, communal and private, and the gentrifiers and the gentrified. It is not the matter of which is better than the other, but of understanding the tensions between those dichotomies.

This research ultimately raised more questions than answers, which is appropriate given that the art field is constantly in flux and transition. The differing needs of emerging and mid-career artists became a major theme of this research—a difference that most of the literature did not distinguish. Emerging artists require the most support and are critical for any culturally healthy community to grow. Mid-career and established artists could not exist without first having been nurtured in the emerging phase of their careers.

My research initially focused on the social and professional development of artists in a single *art factory*, but evolved to include a survey on the needs of different artist groups in Winnipeg. The results look at a specific group of artists who all intersect at a particular place. The respondents only represent a small sample of reactions to the gentrification of Winnipeg's Exchange District. This chapter will begin by answering the initial research questions, then expand into a discussion of the “state of artists” in Winnipeg.

Revisiting the Research Questions

How do *Art Factories* affect the social, economic and professional lives of the artists who use them?

In general, *art factories* are some of the most beneficial spaces for artists. They have the most impact in the early and formative years of an artist's professional development. They nurture new artists providing them with the social and economic support necessary before they have established networks and support structures of their own. *cre8ery* addresses some of the characteristics of the arts profession that Abbing (2002) identified, such as:

- Providing production and exhibition space appropriate to the economic position of artists,
- Accommodating the risk-taking nature of artists by providing temporary space on an individual-project basis,
- Providing tenure stability and support to emerging artists and
- Allowing opportunity and access to the arts as a profession.

There are a large number of myths surrounding the art profession according to Abbing (2002). Some of these include high wages, incredible non-monetary self-fulfillment and that success in the arts is inevitable, given enough hard work. Grace quickly learned that the incomes for artists are very low and her romanticized notions of the art profession were tempered. A number of mid-life shifters with no formal arts training, such as Grace, have become tenants in *cre8ery*. This shows that *art factories* can be an easily identifiable gateway into the art world for people wanting to make that transition.

cre8ery exists as part of the greater social network of the arts community in the Exchange District. Its proximity to like-minded organizations and individuals provides for an exchange of people, ideas and information, contributing to and benefiting from the cultural cluster. Past communal studio experiences was the common factor that brought many of *cre8ery*'s tenants to the space. They either sought more of the same collegial atmospheres, or to avoid the conflicts of a shared space. The internal social networks in *cre8ery*, however, differ from those of other *art factories* and the instances of tenant interaction or camaraderie were significantly lower than in spaces like 401 Richmond or the previous experiences identified. Several theories emerge as to the difference in the social network:

- 1) *cre8ery* is mostly filled by people who are not full-time artists. They have full- or part-time work in another field to support their art practice, so they are physically not in the space enough to develop those relationships. Of the nearly fifteen artists in the space, Andrew only knows four of the other artists. *"You just see people sort of fleeting in and out..."*
- 2) Some of the spaces may be vanity studios. To have a studio in the Exchange District affirms their status as an artist. The fact that available studio spaces are diminishing makes them an even more valuable commodity as opposed to a means of livelihood.
- 3) With only seven private studios and one communal studio, *cre8ery* may lack the critical mass of tenants to develop that collegial atmosphere.
- 4) The cost of renting a private studio in *cre8ery* is higher than the traditional cost of space in the Exchange District (although the gap is rapidly closing). The space

may be unaffordable for full-time artists who are pursuing art as a career. Even though the supply of cheap Exchange District studios is dwindling, some artists have spaces with rents that are half the cost that *cre8ery* charges.

- 5) The space may be too formal as it was built and marketed as an artists' production space. Artists like "raw" space to make their own. *"You don't want it to be too groomed."*
- 6) There is limited availability for studios with ventilation for toxic media, such as oil painting, and there is a lack of natural light in several of the studios. The studio spaces are also smaller than desired for some media and that may limit the type of artists who use the space. Artists who can work in a smaller scale such as crafters may find it more successful than painters, who need lots of ventilation, light and space. *"The artists I know wouldn't be able to work in those tiny spaces."*
"[Painters], they're looking for something super cheap, junkie, good ventilation..."
- 7) *cre8ery* has no established history as an *art factory* and may lack the embodied reputation, history or ideological impetus that artists value and gravitate towards—the 'meaning' of place (Montgomery, 2003). Emerging artists, in particular, seek out established *art factories*. *cre8ery* may also carry a stigma because it operates solely on generated revenue. Some artists feel that the "legitimacy" of art centres is dependent on eschewing all commercial activity (including revenue generation).
- 8) Due to its higher marketing profile, mid-career artists may see *cre8ery* as being more of a commercial selling space than an artist production building.

The most important strength of *creδery* for many of the artists is its stability. Rental costs are not as low as some other spaces in the Exchange District, but there is cost certainty through the stability of tenure. The tenants know that their rents are stable, so they can budget accordingly. *creδery* also ensures that its artist tenants will not be displaced due to gentrifying development, which is historically linked to artist settlement. The safety of materials and supplies also emerged as a theme that contributed to economic stability. There is not enough data to gauge how effective *creδery* is in increasing the sale of artwork and the responses were conflicting. The structure of *creδery* provides more opportunities for artwork to be sold, but more time would be needed to evaluate its effectiveness.

Professionally, the benefits of *creδery* were enormous for some of the tenants. *creδery* provided opportunities for its tenants to have informal meetings with curators who were visiting the facility on other matters. These chance meetings with curators directly led to more opportunities for *creδery*'s tenants to publicly exhibit their work. Breadth learning opportunities were experienced significantly more than depth learning. The structure of an *art factory* facilitates that by bringing disciplines together in a single space. The role of the rental gallery is also essential to the development of artists and it adds a positive dynamic to *creδery* while filling an essential need for the artist community.

A conflict exists between the desires of Jill to make *creδery* a place where artists can concentrate on their professional practice and the craft-sellers who want a busier retail atmosphere. So far, there has been a strong attraction of craft renters to *creδery* more than artists. For the tenants who were looking for a quiet production space with no

other commitments, *creδery* fills their needs. It is too early to tell ultimately what kind of cultural producers will settle in *creδery*, but as expectations meet realities, more theoretical artist types may move in. *creδery* seems to function as a convergence and balance of the many different artist groups and forces.

The purpose of *creδery* is a production studio space, yet there are aspirations for an open studio concept where the public can visit. They seem diametric of each other. As the literature shows, an artist's studio can be a personal, private and sacred space. However, the foot traffic in *Creδery* has not yet emerged to the point where it functions to bring consumers and producers together as planned. This is beneficial for the artists renting the space, but not the crafters who want to sell high volumes of their work. The rental gallery has been the most successful aspect of *creδery*, with bookings extending well into 2009. The gallery appeals to both the artists and crafters.

creδery functions as a convergence or transitory space for the informal and the formal. *creδery* may be anti-institutional, and informal in its operation, but by virtue of its conspicuous presence and longevity, it has a degree of being a formal arts space. For the informal sub-culture of artists *creδery* is a temporary space that they can use. They can rent the gallery or studio space, attending opening receptions, drop in on classes, visit other artists in the space or have their work on the wall.

What role do *Art Factories* play in supporting the cultural capital and production of a city?

Art Factories are the experimentation grounds; an amalgamation of art and craft, and the “high” and “low.” Their value is in the opportunities that they provide for artists to

succeed and fail. From this convergence, artist and art practices emerge, adding to the cultural capital and fueling the cultural production in a city. The need to protect these spaces lies in recognizing that the value we assign to art comes in retrospect. As Abbing (2002) writes:

...I'm convinced that twenty-five years from now, the art rules and borders of the 1990s will be obvious to almost everybody. (It is only now that we can actually distinguish 1970s visual art because it's only now that we have learned to discern the rules and borders those artists respected or played with (p. 305).

Incubation spaces, a literal translation of the term *Broedplaatsen* is more fitting for facilities like *creδery* than *art factories*. It is in these *incubation spaces* that new modes of cultural capital, such as values, tastes and customs are born; this is *autonomous* cultural production. The value of *incubation spaces* is immeasurable, but not necessarily tangible.

Another benefit of an *art factory* like *creδery* is the stability it adds to the gentrifying Exchange District. As more artists lose their studios and homes to redevelopment, *creδery* serves as an anchor that is not in danger of being displaced or commoditized. Part of *creδery*'s stability comes from its balance of cultural production and consumption. The cultural plans outlined by Montgomery need this balance to be effective.

creδery fills the critical need of emerging artists by having a rental gallery space. This need is exacerbated by the recent closure of several other rental galleries in Winnipeg that left a void for *creδery* to fill. If established ARC galleries suffer from lack of accessibility or criticisms of elitism, then rental galleries are essential to providing exhibition spaces for artwork.

Art Factories do not need to be massive multi-million dollar facilities, but benefit from being informal and flexible. The arts, as an informal sub-culture is organic which responds to needs as they arise. The personally funded nature of *cre8ery* allows it to maintain that informality and flexibility because it is not restricted by funding agreements or institutionalized bureaucracy. Flexibility and adaptability are key requirements for the long-term survival of cultural clusters (Montgomery, 2003) and apply equally to *art factories* like *cre8ery*. This is not the case of one being better than the other, but of different scales and types of *art factories* for different types of people.

How can planners and other policy makers support the development of successful *Art Factories* and cultural entrepreneurship?

The individuals who decided to start *cre8ery* made an enormous financial and personal investment into an area they were passionate about. It represents the risk-taking that the artist class is prone to. Sweat equity is the value that artists can bring to revitalize an area, yet revitalization and gentrifying forces make artists cautious of making that investment. The following recommendations for planners and policy makers emerge from this research to support the development of *art factories* and entrepreneurship:

1. Balance the needs of cultural consumers and producers.

This is the distinction between top-down and bottom-up regeneration strategies (Mommass 2004). If culture is to be a tool for renewal, then it must be artist-led. The gentrification of the Exchange District is a typical example of the artist bohemia being turned into a commodity to market the area. The difficulty is finding the balance between

the two. The type of cultural production must also be balanced between *autonomous* and *heteronomous*. *Autonomous* cultural producers are the heart of bohemia, but they are the most fragile and need the most support.

Affordable production spaces for artists are in high demand in many major cities throughout North America and Europe. These spaces tend to be less visible than consumption spaces like theatres and galleries, so it is important to account for them. Ensuring that affordable artist spaces were provided for in cultural plans, such as the case in Longbeach, California, would be an effective component for urban renewal strategies.

2. Distinguish between the needs of emerging and mid-career artists.

Emerging and mid-career artists need different levels of support. Emerging artists especially need spaces to develop their initial networks, to further their depth learning and to exhibit their work. Exhibiting their work is essential to artists' professional development. The need for emerging artist spaces across all disciplines and media is enormous.

3. Create conditions where cultural entrepreneurship can flourish.

Grants, low-interest loans, homesteading and subsidized space may all act as catalysts for spurring artists to settle an area, or these strategies could lead to state-sponsored gentrification. More funding for the arts is the simple answer, but it needs to be focused in order to be the most effective at improving the lives of cultural producers. Policy changes, such as at the zoning-level could also be made to provide the maximum benefit to artists.

The needs of artists are simple and universal: large quantities of affordable space. Historically in North America, these were found in the abandoned warehouses in the downtowns and waterfronts of urban centres. With the supply of these spaces dwindling, opportunities exist to preserve the artist population in these areas or to look towards seeding the *next* areas of artist settlement.

If the desire is to preserve an artists' quarter, then it requires significant financial investment. The forces of gentrification reduce the supply of suitable studio spaces and increase their cost. Building ownership like with 401 Richmond allows for artists and ARCs to remain in an area with stability. The private sector could be encouraged to provide space for artists through tax or development incentives similar to how the City of Vancouver offers Floor Area Ratio (density) bonuses for social or cultural amenities.

Artists are prone to investing a tremendous amount of sweat equity in an area. Homesteading or low-interest improvement loan strategies would give them a tremendous advantage settling in a new community. These strategies were initially beneficial in Baltimore and Longbeach, but they lost effectiveness because the municipalities had no long-term plans to sustain them. Direct financial support is an effective catalyst to start an urban renewal plan, but changes to policy may sustain the renewal over the long-term.

A relaxation of building codes or zoning for certain types of developments would benefit *art factories* and artists alike. Safety is paramount, but many code requirements were a financial obstacle in the establishment of *cre8ery* and zoning by-laws ultimately closed the Peggy Cove Foundation in Newfoundland. Cities should look towards by-laws that accommodate rather than restrict so that artists can ameliorate underused buildings.

Montgomery's defines a key characteristic of cultural clusters as being "flexible, highly adaptive and [embracing of] change..." (2003, p. 302). Municipal policy should ideally reflect those characteristics as well.

Zoning is a necessity for *art factories*. For *autonomous* artists, zoning may not be a factor as artists settle where the conditions are agreeable, not where the zoning tells them to. What policy can help do is protect the population of artists in an area. There's no anecdotal evidence of artist squatters in Winnipeg, but the success of squatters in cities like New York and Amsterdam reflect the possibilities of artists being more in control of their living and working conditions. Zoning and building codes could adapt to the function of a space rather than dictating its assigned function. Form-based zoning could encourage the permeable streetscapes that artists cherish. Municipalities could also reduce the financial burden of permits for artists looking to redevelop a space.

Live/work studios are highly represented in the literature as a means for cultural and economic revival in cities, but the apparent lack of interest in them found by my research is puzzling. Although most of the respondent supported the concept, many would not use them. This may be because the majority of the sample was either mid-life shifters or mid-career artists with pre-existing networks, such as families or neighbourhoods, and living arrangements. The need for concentrated networks like *art factories* or live/work units was greater for younger and emerging artists, so a survey of them may provide more insight into the potential of live/work space in the city for artists.

State of Artists in Winnipeg

For the past half century, the tradition of public funding to the arts in Canada has come primarily through arts councils. A survey of the Canada Council's visual art grant programs⁷ show that most of the funding is directed towards programming, operational, project and travel grants—not infrastructure. There are also a number of formal criteria that exclude any potential funding being directed towards any new entrepreneurial activities. For example, the funding requirements for “Assistance to Artist Run Centres” requires that the ARC be an incorporated non-profit with at least three continuous years of programming before they will be eligible to be considered for funding. For grants to individuals, there is a generally a requirement for artists to have a history of publicly exhibiting their work. Even if the criteria are met, there is limited funding available and a large pool of applicants.

For artists to thrive, they need the space to produce their work. Programming and operational grants are useless unless there is the physical infrastructure to support them. Cities are taking an increasing interest and role in creative infrastructure as evidenced by the number of cultural renewal plans surfacing. In Winnipeg, there is a strong presence of formal cultural infrastructure in the Exchange District, such as theatres and museums. Smaller spaces, such as galleries, ARCs and the informal infrastructure of studio spaces in the Exchange District are threatened by new construction and redevelopment. There are no financial incentives for building owners to rent to culturally minded organizations in the spirit of *Broedplaatsen*. Ultimately, the economic bottom line and redevelopment dominate much of the displacement of artists in the Exchange District. The preservation

⁷ See <http://canadacouncil.ca/visualarts/>

of the artist population in the area stems mostly from patrons who own buildings and see the value of keeping artists in the area.

There are individuals and groups already leaving the Exchange District and potentially founding the precursors to the next “artists’ quarter.” Anecdotal evidence suggests many artists have left the area and are moving to more affordable neighbourhoods such as South Point Douglas or working from their homes. The prominent artist-run gallery Plug In is actively looking to relocate out of the Exchange District towards the University of Winnipeg. If there is no longer a cheap-oversupply of warehouse buildings downtown, cheap residential neighbourhoods may become the next avenue for artists to settle. The literature suggests this may be happening in Toronto, and my research found anecdotal evidence to suggest this is happening in Winnipeg as well.

A new cluster should emerge as the cycle dictates, but will there be a void/gap as the established cluster wanes and the new one establishes itself? This would result in the segregation of production and exhibition space, weakening the benefits of clusters. Artists are drawn to downtown cores, and the character of the Exchange District exudes a magical appeal to artist. Any new cultural cluster in Winnipeg that establishes itself will most likely not have that characteristic.

A number of initiatives have been used to spur cultural and non-cultural development in urban centres. Some of these could be attempted in Winnipeg. In addition to homesteading, business incubators or low-interest improvement loans, there is *Broedplaatsen* policy from Amsterdam, Netherlands, which has directed millions of Euros towards subsidizing rents for artists. Arts-minded property management groups or developers are successful in other Canadian cities such as Calgary and Toronto, and

could fill a greater role for the private sector in developing Winnipeg's cultural infrastructure. Artspace Projects Inc. based in Minneapolis, which converts warehouses across the United States for artists' use could serve as a model for the creation of live/work studios in Winnipeg.

Homesteading may be a viable option if there are plans to seed a new artists' district (even if the arts district remains in the Exchange District). The social and professional benefits of artists in the Exchange District are phenomenal, but if the area is not longer economically feasible for them, the district ultimately becomes a centre of consumption. Cultural producers will move elsewhere and so-called arts districts do not necessarily need to be cultural production centres.

Artists settle in neighbourhoods that are cheap and affordable. They operate informally and will create networks when the conditions are appropriate. These conditions are low cost, ample space, a raw quality and a strong sense of independence. Creating a space with an assigned function, such as cultural production space, through a top-down process and expecting that activity to happen and develop there comes with a high degree of uncertainty; some artists just want to find their own way. Create the conditions and the greater possibility is that artists will thrive and invest in the area organically.

Another possibility is the potential loss of the arts district and artist population in Winnipeg. The former is unlikely given the presence of large cultural institutions like Manitoba Theatre Centre, the Manitoba Museum, the Centennial Concert Hall and the Artspace building. But if Winnipeg loses the presence of its cultural district, then it has the potential affect the entire downtown region negatively. It may not matter, however, if

the nature of the cultural district is *heteronomous* or *autonomous*, it only matters that culture is there. If the Exchange District transforms into a commoditized cultural district it would be a great loss to the city's cultural producers; it would still, however, still potentially aid the renewal/gentrification of the area and the city as a whole. The long-term question is whether Winnipeg will be able to sustain its large population of cultural producers and artists.

Richard Florida's proposition of the "Big Morph" (2002) embraces the gentrifying transformation Winnipeg's Exchange District is currently facing. Winnipeg's artists, however, align more closely with Pierre Bourdieu's theories on *habitus* and *field* (1993). For a mid-career artist like Ed, or an emerging artist who has been around for many years like Andrew, being separate from mainstream society and the formal economy is desirable. The informal hives of artist studios and live/work studios were some of the most influential experiences in their lives and careers. The loss of these spaces is a disturbing trend. If these physical spaces were turning points for their careers, will the loss of them result in fewer artists? If artists have no spaces for self-study to pursue their in-depth learning, will this result in more mediocre artists? If artists leave Winnipeg due to the lack of affordable housing and studio spaces, then the city could have a lot of cultural facilities, but suffer from a lack of identity and 'heart.' This is the predicament posed to the City of Calgary in a recent national newspaper article (Menzies, 2008). If artists move to the suburbs because they are the only cheap spaces left and abandon the Exchange District, then Winnipeg could become a city with a lot of artists and no "arts scene," a scenario the Waterloo Region of Ontario faced (Miller, 2004).

Future Research Avenues

Three further avenues of research emerge from my case study of *cre8ery*. The first would be a study into the specific needs of new and emerging artists. The second would look at gentrifying neighbourhoods like the Exchange District and determining what strategies would be available to preserve the artist population of the area. The final avenue would look at shifting artist populations in a city in order to determine what if any planning strategies could encourage the type of urban development that artists desire.

A study of new and emerging artists in Winnipeg would examine many of the same topics as my research, but with a specific focus on their needs. These needs include studio spaces, live/work spaces, exhibition spaces, support infrastructure, networks and income from the arts, among others. Emerging artists are exceptionally risk-prone and face a high degree of uncertainty (Abbing, 2002), so how best can their needs be met through infrastructure and programming? Live/work studios were not a significant current desire for the artists in my research due to their personal circumstances. Live/work studios, however, were a significant *raison d'être* in many of the artists' past experiences. Live/work may emerge as an important theme for new and emerging artists.

Research on maintaining artists in a gentrifying neighbourhood would need to focus on preserving affordable artist-occupied spaces, such as studios, galleries and organizations. Another component would be the creation of new artist spaces. *cre8ery* is an example of a new artist space in a gentrifying neighbourhood. Cultural entrepreneurship factors heavily into this research avenue when it looks towards creating new spaces for artists in increasingly unaffordable neighbourhoods.

Cultural entrepreneurship would be the basis of examining shifting cultural clusters in a city. The shift is in its infancy in Winnipeg and there is already a shift of artists identified between the neighbourhoods of Queen Street West and Queen Street East in Toronto (Bain 2003). A map tracking the location of artist settlement in Winnipeg over the past few decades may be useful for predicting future cultural clusters. The largest risk and uncertainty for artists is often financial. Funding, taxation and policy strategies would all factor into the potential research questions. Montgomery's research into the characteristics of cultural clusters (2003; 2004) would allow for municipalities to make predictions on the areas most likely to be settled by artists next.

The *Art Factory* encourages cultural entrepreneurship and risk-taking. Entrepreneurship can take several forms: through artistic content, by producing avant-garde work; economically, by investing in new spaces for cultural production; and through the support of audiences who consume/purchase local cultural goods. All three of these are required for the success of an *art factory*. An *art factory* like *cre8ery* is essential to the health of a city's artists and it contributes significantly to Winnipeg's cultural cluster, the Exchange District.

The Exchange District is in a state of transition and there appears to be a mix of spaces like *cre8ery* (that seek to preserve the production focus of the area) and the artists and organizations (that are proactively seeking to leave the area). If gentrification is a historically-proven inevitability, does a space like *cre8ery* simply try to slow down the inevitable tide of gentrification, or does it take a stand against it? Studios are an integral part of an artist's identity or integral to the identity of being an artist. The Exchange

District currently functions like a giant *art factory*—like a giant communal studio, with so many different disciplines, organizations and artists concentrated in a small area. If the area gentrifies, it may remain the city's cultural district, but not the artists' district. The artists who are displaced will lose a key part of their identity and the benefits of such a concentrated community that makes Winnipeg renowned across the country for its cultural scene.

Appendix A: Topic Guide for Residents

Multi-tenant and multi-purpose artists' centres and their effect on the artists who use them

Objectives

- to explore living and working conditions of artists
- to determine what makes multi-tenant and multi-purpose artists' centres effective
- to explore the relationships that develop between the tenants, each other and the physical environment

Introduction

- Introduce self, purpose of research, confidentiality, nature of interview, timing

Major Topics

Present Circumstances

- Age
 - Length of time as artist
 - Place in career
- Family
 - Managing family/career
- Education
- Employment
 - Income sources/secondary income
- Art
 - Type of work / media
 - Themes

Housing and Studio History

- Mobility
 - frequency
 - Ease/difficulty
- What kind of spaces preferred
- Live, work or live and work (priority)
- Proximity and clustering
- Neighbourhood character and change
- Benefits of Cre8ery
 - Usage of space
 - Tenancy and length
- Ideal studio situation
 - Sense ownership/ 'sweat equity'
- Surrounding area

- Gentrification, clustering
- ARCs and other artists serving organizations
- Self
 - Security (physical, housing)
 - Related stress or concerns?
- Governance
 - Impressions of landlord (strategies, plans, effectiveness)
 - Relationship with landlord (e.g. responsiveness, flexibility)
 - Services provided – marketing support.

Social

- Neighbours
 - Meeting spaces
 - Formal / informal spaces; Internal / External
- Friendships
 - Relationship with tenants prior to moving in/after
 - Where friends live (distinguish artist friends)
- Inspiration (environment and peers)

Economic

- Changes to economic position/stability
- Changes to primary/secondary employment
 - Time spent on secondary economic activities
- How does this affect “struggling artist” stereotype.
- Cost of living
- Opportunities
- *Control* – effect of economic position over control of one’s life

Professional

- Growth of work (compared to other places lived)
 - Learning new skills: Breadth and Depth Experiences
- Effect on professional development
- Quantity and quality of exhibitions
- Awareness of / attendance to more events
- Opportunities to meet and network
 - Peers
- Opportunities for professional development
- Time devoted between art and other activities
- Class Distinction, *habitus* and subculture subsets (i.e., how artists self-identify themselves).

Appendix B: Topic Guide for Administration and Policy Makers

Multi-tenant and multi-purpose artists' centres and their effect on the artists who live in them

Objectives

- to explore living and working conditions of artists
- to determine what makes multi-tenant and multi-purpose artists' centres effective
- to explore the relationships that develop among the tenants, each other and the physical environment (*administration responsible for physical environment*)

Introduction

- Introduce self, purpose of research, confidentiality, nature of interview, timing

Major Topics

Operation

- History of buildings/units
 - Personally/administratively
- Governance/Organizational structure
- Funding
 - Public/private
 - Income from rents as proportion
- Other programs/foci/strategies

Relationship with Tenants/Landlord

- Decision-making processes
- Feedback mechanisms
 - Formal/informal
- Incidents/disputes
- Lease agreement
- Space requirements/allocation

Relationship with Neighbours

- Government and other non-profits
- Neighbours
 - Changing attitudes
 - Physical change
 - Attitude change
- Desired Neighbours

Policy

- Vision
 - Policy documents/long-term plans
 - Class distinctions
- Buy-in from (lobbying)
 - Financial Supporters (government, NGOs, ARCs)
 - Policy makers (e.g., planners, politicians)
 - Public (media, society-at-large)

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