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Preface

From the Ground Up: Growing Toronto’s Cultural Sector investigates the fundamental link between culture, economy and place in Toronto’s pursuit of long-term prosperity and competitiveness.

Culture is an essential part of Toronto’s internationally competitive economy that positively impacts:

- **Jobs:** The cultural workforce is a key economic sector in the city. In Toronto there are about 83,000 cultural workers that represent 6 per cent of the total workforce. In the Toronto region there are about 130,000 cultural workers that represent 5 per cent of the total workforce.

- **Businesses:** The creative industries grew at a rate of 2.9 per cent between 1991 and 2009. This growth exceeds growth in other key sectors such as financial services (2.4%), medical and biotechnology (1.7%), and the food and beverage industry (1.4%), and approaches leading sectors like business services (3.4%), and information and communication technologies (3.2%).

- **International Attraction:** Culture is an enabling sector that works in partnership and collaboration with other sectors, attracting talented people, tourists, businesses and attention from around the world.

- **Quality of Life:** The quality of life of all those who live in the city is enhanced through the ideas, innovations and amenities that flow from a vibrant cultural life and scenes.

A strong cultural sector feeds into a vibrant urban economy. With a new model for visualizing Toronto’s cultural economy, this report offers novel planning resources for maintaining Toronto’s strong growth in creative industries. It provides tools for leveraging that growth to support other industries and enhance Toronto’s competitive position on the world stage. It offers policy-makers and citizens a deeper understanding of where cultural work occurs and where it could be further cultivated.
Message from Project Partners

Supporting the development of people, jobs and businesses in Toronto’s cultural sector requires understanding what is there and where it is. Our goal was to build and develop different ways of mapping Toronto’s cultural sector to support the development of jobs and businesses in the city’s culture sector.

Despite a variety of different backgrounds and approaches, all eight project partners essentially reached the same conclusions.

1. The cultural economy of Toronto is important, impactful, and growing.

2. Jobs and businesses in Toronto’s culture sector are both highly clustered and widely spread. Therefore while there is significant activity in and around the core, cultural workers live and work across the entire city.

3. Cultural geography is fractal – the pattern repeats itself. The cultural sector is both widespread and clustered whether looking across Canada, Ontario, the Greater Toronto Area, Toronto, a neighbourhood, a single building, or even an individual. As you “zoom in” you see the same pattern that was revealed as you “zoom out”.

Growing Toronto’s cultural sector begins with identifying cultural locations from the ground up. Once identified, the impact of conditions, policies, and official plans can be evaluated to facilitate the growth of existing locations, establish new culturally fertile ground, and prevent losses to important cultural jobs and businesses.
Executive Summary

A vibrant cultural life does many things for a city. It provides forums for critical reflection and mutual understanding. It creates occasions for spontaneity, surprise, and celebration. It interprets and carries forward traditions. It experiments with new forms of expression, communication, and feeling. It forges a shared identity.

It also, now more than ever, creates jobs and wealth. The sector is rapidly growing. The cultural sector generates $9 billion of Toronto’s Gross Domestic Product and employs 83,000 people. Cultural amenities – whether high art or offbeat nightclubs – draw tourists. They are part of the “compensation package” that retains and attracts a talented workforce. Cultural scenes provide the informal focal points that gather and stimulate innovative persons from software designers to entrepreneurs to scientists to bankers. They make the city a more livable and enjoyable place for all.

What sustains cultural jobs and businesses? There is no simple answer. One piece of the puzzle, however, is place. Artists and cultural workers tend to cluster. They feed off one another’s energy; they offer critical yet supportive audiences; they provide collaborators and support networks for risky endeavors. They create “scenes” that become destinations and economic engines.

This report shows that jobs in the creative core of the cultural industry – independent artists, musicians, graphic designers, producers, directors, film-makers – are growing significantly faster than the overall workforce in the city. Large-scale reproduction and lower skilled technical support jobs – printing press operators, photographic film processors, drafting technicians, and publication clerks – are declining.

Cultural entrepreneurs are adapting to new technologies and changes in the global economy such as outsourcing and digitization. They are highly skilled and well educated. They work in all sectors. Graphic designers work in finance, insurance and real estate; industrial designers work in manufacturing; advertising executives work for car manufacturers and food distributors; video game producers work for health care firms; artists work in education. They work in businesses of all sizes, from sole-proprietorships, to high growth start-ups, to second stage companies, to state anchored businesses, to private national and international firms in film, architecture, and manufacturing.

Cultural entrepreneurs are place-based. They create local buzz and are connected globally. They are innovative themselves, are highly sophisticated and demanding consumers, driving local innovation and new business formation. Their work generates support networks that employ Toronto residents, pay taxes, and generate revenue. Because cultural entrepreneurs are also highly mobile, cities must invest in cultural amenities to attract and retain them.

Given the size, scale, and growth of the sector, as well as its importance to competitiveness and prosperity, Toronto should nurture and invest in its cultural sector. Given the crucial connection between culture, place, and economy, Toronto needs to understand where and how concentrations of cultural workers start and spread. But unlike other important components of our economy such as financial services, manufacturing, and bio-technology, we currently have very little empirical knowledge that pinpoints even where our arts and cultural communities are clustered. Compared to most manufacturing uses that occur in clearly visible industrial buildings, office buildings, and even retail strips, cultural work is hard to see. We lack a strong understanding of where this critical part of our economy is located.
From the Ground Up: Growing Toronto’s Cultural Sector fills this void. It provides new tools for identifying and visualizing geographic patterns of Toronto’s cultural resources. The report presents detailed maps of Toronto’s cultural jobs, businesses, and facilities. These provide hard data with which culture can be integrated into proactive city land-use strategies such as place building, preservation, and new business development. The maps reveal areas both of cultural concentration and of latent potential whose preservation and growth are crucial to Toronto’s prosperity. If we use this information intelligently, it can lead to a stronger cultural business sector, increased cultural employment, an enhanced creative workforce, increased property tax revenue, and higher general levels of prosperity. It will contribute to an enriched, energized, and enlivened Toronto.

To produce maps of Toronto’s cultural sector, the City of Toronto engaged seven project partners to undertake a deliberately multi-disciplinary process to leverage an already existing cultural facilities database, build on a history of cultural mapping, use recent Statistics Canada census data, develop new maps and new ways of seeing behind the maps, and integrate these separate streams of research into a coherent document. These partners were: Martin Prosperity Institute; University of Waterloo; University of Toronto at Scarborough; OCAD University; E.R.A Architects Inc., Wavelength/Music Gallery; and an Independent Designer. These partners brought a variety of complementary skill sets that might not have otherwise been applied to this field of study.

Working with staff from the City of Toronto and Toronto Arts Council, the project partners met over a period of two months to develop a common understanding of the project components. The partners then worked independently and in collaboration, and finally came back together to present their combined findings in this report.

This report presents the results of the process through three chapters:

1. Economic Analyses of Toronto’s Cultural Sector – The report begins with an economic analysis of the cultural sector in Toronto. The chapter demonstrates the substantial economic contribution culture makes to the city. It also documents the opportunities and challenges posed to the cultural sector by technological changes and globalization.

2. Cultural Location Index – The cultural sector is hard to see; it does not follow typical patterns of industrial location or zoning regulations. How can we find it? This chapter describes a new method for placing culture through “The Cultural Location Index.” The Cultural Location Index forms the backbone of our analysis. It captures three major aspects of the cultural economy: where cultural workers live, where they work, and where cultural facilities are located. The Cultural Location Index identifies census tracts high on all three measures.

3. The Economic Importance of Cultural Scenes – Cultural maps open a high altitude window onto Toronto’s cultural landscape. This chapter moves “beyond the maps” to examine some of the inner-workings of the cultural scenes they represent. It shows how various people and places interact to build and maintain cultural scenes, and analyzes the economic consequences of these interactions. Interviews with key members of scenes yield insight into how to leverage cultural clusters for urban prosperity.

From the Ground Up: Growing Toronto’s Cultural Sector presents a new model for visualizing local cultural resources through the Cultural Location Index and making objective comparisons about relative sizes of the cultural economy across all Toronto census tracts. This model can be used to develop new policies and plans, and to work more closely with other partners in supporting a
strong and vibrant cultural life for everyone by increasing Toronto’s global competitiveness, attracting a talented workforce, and growing the economy. The report provides a framework for other cities who want to visualize the cultural economy in their communities. Most importantly, the maps provide tools the City can use to ensure that the strong cultural growth it has experienced in recent decades is sustained and channelled in ways that contribute to Toronto’s overall prosperity and economy.

“Culture work is work.”

Critically acclaimed Manifesto Community Projects is a non-profit grassroots organization working across the city to unite, energize, support and celebrate Toronto’s vibrant and diverse music and arts community.

Photographer: Manifesto Documentation Team

Photo courtesy of Harbourfront Centre
Chapter 1: Economic Analyses of Toronto’s Cultural Sector

Toronto’s cultural economy is expanding by leaps and bounds, outpacing other sectors. This was the main news documented in the 2006 *Imagine a Toronto ... Strategies for a Creative City*, which proposed strategies for meeting the needs of Toronto’s creative economy, sustaining its growth, and extending the economic and social opportunities it opened.

At the time it was written, *Imagine a Toronto* constituted the most detailed analysis of Toronto’s cultural economy. Despite its evident strengths, which are many, the report had two limitations. First, *Imagine a Toronto* relied on a focused definition of culture jobs that highlights the individual creator, or ‘creative occupations’. The cultural economy is broader than this, however, and includes a range of organizations and industries beyond individual artists. Second, *Imagine a Toronto* did not connect Toronto’s cultural economy to the distinct places in which it thrives. If such places promote the ecologies that make the cultural economy work, then a development strategy for a creative city cannot ignore them.

This section builds on *Imagine a Toronto* in two ways. First it extends the analysis of individual creators to the most recently available data. Second, it extends the definition of the cultural economy to the sector as a whole, reporting trends in all 48 occupations classified under the 2004 *Canadian Framework for Culture Statistics*. A striking pattern emerges: individual cultural entrepreneurs, small-scale firms, and high-tech support services are increasing while jobs in large-scale reproduction and manufacturing of cultural goods are declining.
Imagine a Toronto: Individual Creative Occupations and Creative Industries

*Imag ine a Toronto ... Strategies for a Creative City* analyzed employment and revenue trends in 19 creative occupations and 11 creative industries from 1991-2004. These include graphic designers, directors, architects, musicians, broadcasters, writers and artists. (Appendix 1 summarizes these occupations and industries). More recent data permits this analysis to be extended further, to 2007 for creative occupations and 2009 for creative industries.

Employment in creative occupations continues to grow. According to the 2006 *Census of Population*, there were over 66,400 people working in creative occupations in the Toronto region, up from 60,000 in 2001. From 1991 to 2007, creative occupations grew at more than twice the rate of the total Toronto Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) labour force, at a compound annual growth rate of 5.4 per cent (Figure 1).

![Figure 1: Employment Growth in Creative Occupations vs. Total Labour Force, Toronto CMA, 1991-2007](image)

**Figure 1: Employment Growth in Creative Occupations vs. Total Labour Force, Toronto CMA, 1991-2007**

*Compound Annual Growth Rates (1991-2007)*
- Creative Occupations: 5.4%
- Toronto Labour Force: 2.2%

Imagine a Toronto also charted trends up to 2004 in growth and specialization among creative industries and occupations relative to other sectors. Figures 2 and 3 extend these results to 2009, illustrating three measures simultaneously:

1. The number of employees in creative industries within the region (indicated by the relative size of the ‘bubble’);
2. The average annual job growth rate for the sector (horizontal axis); and
3. The relative employment concentration – or location quotient (LQ) – of the sector (vertical axis).

An LQ greater than 1 indicates that the Toronto region is more specialized in that specific sector compared to the rest of Canada. Industries or sectors closest to the upper-right corner exhibit a high concentration of employment and a strong positive growth rate.

Figure 2 compares creative industries with other industry sectors in the Toronto region. Between 1991 and 2009, the creative industries grew at the same rate as tourism (at an average annual rate of 2.9%) and faster than financial services (2.4%), the medical and biotechnology industries (1.7%), and the food and beverage industry (1.4%). The creative industries were also catching up to leading sectors like business services (3.4%) and information and communication technology (3.2%). Creative industries also exhibit a high level of specialization, similar to other leading sectors.

Toronto’s creative industries continue to expand, though the pace has slowed. Figures in Imagine a Toronto showed that between 1991 and 2004 total employment in creative industries grew at an average annual rate of 3.1 per cent, compared to 2.3 per cent for Toronto’s total labour force. Figure
The creative industries grew at the same rate as tourism and faster than financial services, the medical and biotechnology industries and the food and beverage industry.

Figure 2: Growth & Specialization, Creative Industries vs. Other Regional Industries, 1991-2009

Compound Annual Growth Rates (1991-2009)
Creative Industries: 2.9%
Toronto Labour Force: 2.0%
Figure 3 breaks out specific creative industries. It shows that during this same period, with the exception of publishing, creative industries all grew at rates higher than the overall Toronto labour force (2%). Broadcasting grew at triple the rate of the overall labour force, while specialized design services and performing arts companies grew at twice the rate. Other areas showed strong growth as well, while the publishing industry experienced the weakest growth.

- Broadcasting (6%)
- Specialized design services (4.3%)
- Performing arts companies (4.3%)
- Motion picture, video and sound recording (3.7%)
- Agents, promoters and independent artists (3.2%)
- Advertising and related services (2.7%)
- Architecture and related services (2.1%)
- Publishing (0.9%)

**Figure 3: Growth & Specialization in Toronto’s Creative Industries, 1991-2009**

**Compound Annual Growth Rates (1991-2009)**

- Creative Industries: 2.9%
- Toronto Labour Force: 2.0%

Figure 3 further illustrates the extent to which Canada’s creative workers are concentrated in Toronto. Amongst Toronto’s creative industries, specialized design and performing arts are examples of Toronto’s greatest specialties. One in every three people employed in Canada’s design industry works in Toronto, while one in every four people employed in Canada’s performing arts industry works in Toronto.

Toronto Fashion Incubator at the annual Press & Buyers Breakfast. With 19 of the freshest new designers exhibiting their collections, Toronto’s press and buyers got their first look at some Canada’s latest ones-to-watch. Photographer: Katherine Holland

Lime Advertising Inc. is a small advertising agency that packs a big punch. It is located in the Lakeshore Village BIA. One in every three people employed in Canada’s design industry works in Toronto.
Imagine a Toronto focused attention primarily on the individual cultural entrepreneur and artist, whose work constitutes the core of any creative activity. However, the cultural economy includes many others. There are those who work in the broader art world to provide support in the process of cultural production; there are those whose custodial work provides stewardship for cultural products so that they may endure through time. The cultural economy is an interlocking network, and growth in its core is often connected with growth in its peripheral occupations such as set builders, lighting technicians, technical support, legal support, advertising, and management. Relying on definitions from the Canadian Framework for Culture Statistics (2004), From the Ground Up: Growing Toronto’s Cultural Sector therefore adds new analyses to capture this broader aspect of the cultural economy. This wider set of occupations includes all of the individual creators as well as the cultural support workers, such as audio and video recording technicians, film processors, patternmakers, and printing press operators. On this definition, the cultural workforce includes 48 occupations, further divided into two broad groups: cultural occupations (21 occupations) and cultural support occupations (27 occupations). See Appendix 1 for detailed summaries.
According to the 2006 Census of Population, 129,165 residents of the Toronto-region worked in the cultural labour force. 82,940 residents of the city of Toronto proper belong to the cultural workforce. This constitutes 6 per cent of Toronto’s overall workforce, a significantly higher rate than that of both Ontario and Canada as a whole.

Figure 4 illustrates the overall growth patterns of Toronto’s cultural workforce. Generally, this pattern is similar to that of Toronto’s total labour force, with the cultural workforce growing slightly less rapidly than the total labour force: between 1987 and 2007, the cultural workforce grew at an annual rate of 1.3 per cent, compared to 1.6 for Toronto’s overall labour force.

Figure 4: Employment Growth in Cultural Labour Force vs. Total Labour Force, Toronto CMA, 1987-2007

Compound Annual Growth Rates (1987-2007)
Cultural Workforce: 1.3%
Toronto Labour Force: 1.6%
Figure 5, however, isolates the source of this apparent sluggishness. The composition of the cultural workforce is significantly changing. While ‘cultural occupations’ have enjoyed an average annual growth rate of 2.2 per cent, the ‘cultural support occupations’ have had a growth rate of 0.2 per cent, showing a sharp decline around 2004. This difference can likely be attributed to the large and growing proportion of people working in creative and artistic production occupations (part of the cultural occupations group). Employment in technical and operational occupations has remained fairly constant. By contrast, employment has declined by almost 50 per cent in the cultural goods reproduction occupations such as printing press operators and film processors; both of these groups belong to the cultural support category. Large-scale cultural reproduction and standardized manufacturing are declining; individual, small-scale, and specialized producers are rising.

Figure 5: Employment Growth in Toronto’s Workforce, 1987-2007

Compound Annual Growth Rates (1987-2007)
Culture Occupations: 2.2%
Cultural Support Occupations: 0.2%
Cultural Workforce: 1.3%
Toronto Labour Force: 1.6%
With the exception of cultural support occupations, such as printing press operators (pictured above), culture occupations grew at rates higher than the overall Toronto labour force between 1987 and 2007.

Individual cultural entrepreneurs, small-scale firms, and high-tech support services are increasing while jobs in large-scale reproduction and manufacturing of cultural goods are declining.
This divergence in the cultural workforce emerges more clearly if the components of the measures are broken out. Figures 6 and 7 examine the relative concentration and performance of Toronto’s cultural occupations and cultural support occupations, respectively. Similar to charts presented earlier, these charts illustrate three measures simultaneously:

1. The number of employees in cultural and cultural support occupations within the region (indicated by the relative concentration of the ‘bubble’);
2. The average annual job growth rate for these occupations (horizontal axis); and
3. The relative employment concentration – or location quotient (LQ) – of the occupation (vertical axis).

An LQ greater than 1 indicates that the Toronto-region is more specialized in that specific occupation compared to the rest of Canada. Occupations closest to the upper-right corner exhibit a high concentration of employment and a strong positive growth rate.

Figure 6 shows that with the exceptions of librarians and artisans and craftspersons, all of the cultural occupations have grown between 1991 and 2006. Moreover, the Toronto region exhibits strong specialization in most cultural occupations, with the exceptions of archivists and artisans and craftspersons. Actors, producers, directors, choreographers, conductors, composers, and arrangers are among those groups most strongly concentrated in Toronto. The largest occupation is graphic designers and illustrating artists, followed by writers, musicians, singers, producers, directors and choreographers. The former group has grown substantially since the mid-1990s with demand for new media and value-added web-based applications, as demonstrated in the report *Designing the Economy: A Profile of Ontario’s Design Workforce* (2004). The latter groups represent occupations that are related to music, dance, film and other artistic endeavours, mostly in the performance arts or “experience economy”. These workers are also more likely to be self-employed and or work independently as shown in the report *The Place of Design: Exploring Ontario’s Design Economy, Ontario in the Creative Age Working Paper Series* (2009).
Figure 6: Employment growth and specialization in culture occupations, 1991-2006


Creative and artistic production
1 Graphic designers and illustrating artists
2 Producers, directors, choreographers
3 Musicians and singers
4 Writers
5 Editors
6 Interior designers
7 Architects
8 Painters, sculptors and other visual artists
9 Actors
10 Other designers
11 Photographers

Heritage collection and preservation
12 Journalists
13 Industrial designers
14 Artisans and craftpersons
15 Dancers
16 Other performers
17 Conductors, composers and arrangers
18 Landscape architects
19 Librarians
20 Conservators and curators
21 Archivists
While cultural occupations have grown between 1991 and 2006, Figure 7 reveals a different picture for cultural support occupations. Work in these occupations has undergone a radical transformation over the past decades with the introduction of new production techniques. For example, typesetting activities have been altered due to computerization, the introduction of desktop publishing, and the widespread adoption of the Internet. All of the cultural goods production occupations have been in decline during the 15 year period under study. (Data for printing press operators is excluded due to issues of data availability.) Many of the occupations in decline are related to film processing, printing and publishing. Other contracting areas include managers in publishing, motion pictures, broadcasting and performing arts; publication clerks; drafting technicians; and graphic arts technicians.

Nevertheless, there are many cultural support occupations that have exhibited high levels of growth. These reflect Toronto’s strengths in public relations and communications, audio and video recording, film and video, motion picture and broadcasting, museums and galleries, and architecture.
Figure 7: Employment growth and specialization in cultural support occupations, 1991-2006

Toronto’s strength as a centre for film, video and motion picture occupations is reflected in the 6 per cent growth the city’s broadcasting industry experienced since 1991. Photograph: Jerry Abramowicz

The settlement of modern Toronto began in 1793 when Lieutenant Governor John Graves Simcoe built a garrison on the present site of Fort York, now a national historic site. The Fort opened as a museum in 1934 and is home to Canada’s largest collection of original War of 1812 buildings: the bicentennial of that historic battle is being celebrated in 2012/13.
Chapter 2: Cultural Location Index

Overall, cultural activity accounts for a substantial proportion of employment in the Toronto region and outperforms other elements of the regional economy. The data presented in Chapter 1 show that Toronto has a large and growing cultural economy. Toronto’s economy is highly specialized in many different areas of cultural occupations and industries.

Still, the results suggest that Toronto’s cultural workforce faces significant challenges. The cultural sector is being transformed by digitization and off-shoring. The number of jobs in the large-scale reproduction of cultural goods and in lower-skilled technical support work are declining, while individual creators, value-added design work, high-tech services, and performance artists are expanding. The latter seem to be relatively insulated – even favoured – by recent technological and economic changes. They constitute one of Toronto’s crucial assets. We need to plan a city that includes them in its future.

Cultural mapping can help. Chapter 2 does so by joining economic analysis of the cultural economy with spatial analysis. It shows where Toronto’s cultural labour force lives and works, identifying places to grow and places to protect.

Cultural Location Index (CLI)

No single data set accurately provides a complete picture of the intersection of culture, economy and place in the city. A composite measure provides a fuller account. The Cultural Location Index thus measures Toronto’s cultural economy in three dimensions. It shows where members of Toronto’s cultural workforce live in high concentrations. It shows where Toronto’s cultural workers work in high concentrations. And it shows places with high numbers of cultural facilities, whether they are City-owned or independently/privately owned. The Cultural Location Index combines these three dimensions into a single number and ranks every census tract in Toronto along a common scale. By combining these data into a single metric, the Cultural Location Index identifies those places in Toronto where the central aspects of cultural production take place.

The Cultural Location Index focuses on the cultural economy. That is to say: culture work as an occupation, and cultural products as goods or services sold on the market. Areas that are higher on the Cultural Location Index show the cultural economy in that place is more developed; areas that are lower on the Cultural Location Index have a less developed cultural economy. The Cultural Location Index does not capture culture as a system of values or beliefs by a community, or the social networks and cultural activities that a community share unless some aspect of that activity interacts with the economy. A community could have a very active cultural life, and be lower on the Cultural Location Index.

Because of this, the Cultural Location Index is not a replacement for cultural resource mapping at the community level. In fact, in a large urban context, the Cultural Location Index may help point to where cultural resource mapping at the community level can bring more attention or understanding about the cultural life and economy in that community.

The Cultural Location Index builds on a rich tradition of cultural mapping undertaken or commissioned by the City of Toronto. This history includes facilities maps, psychogeographic maps, maps of the public realm, community resource maps, and artist cluster maps. See www.toronto.ca/culture/culturemaps.htm for more information.
The Cultural Location Index measures Toronto’s cultural economy in three dimensions: Live; Work; and Facilities.

One in every four people employed in Canada’s performing arts industry works in Toronto. The City on the Move performers pictured above participated in the month-long Festival of Young Artists in Transition program with Toronto Arts Services and the TTC.

The Cultural Location Index was developed to add to this knowledge base. Its specific contribution is to provide a quantifiable, reproducible, city-wide view of the overall geographic concentration of the cultural economy. Its broader contribution is to make the cultural sector visible and to show the impact of cultural development at the local level. It challenges assumptions about where culture takes place. It can help government, community and business understand their situation better.
Cultural Location Index: City Wide

Map 1 compares all of Toronto’s census tracts on their Cultural Location Index (CLI) scores. Lighter grey indicates lower scores, while lime green indicates the highest scores. The map is highly revealing. Though the cultural sector – places where cultural workers live, work, and where there are cultural facilities – is intensively concentrated downtown, it is also extensively dispersed across the city. North, south, east, and west, there are places with highly developed cultural economies. Every census tract in the city either had a cultural worker who lived and/or worked there or a cultural facility. The cultural economy is built into the fabric of the entire city.

Map 1 is the first of its kind to quantify the economic activity of the cultural sector at the neighbourhood level. Behind this map is a comprehensive data set that allows for further analysis of sub-occupations at the local level. Using Map 1 and the Cultural Location Index can make the case for no-net-loss policies by quantifying the impact of development on the local cultural sector such as calculating the number of cultural jobs gained or lost because of development or new cultural business attracted to the area.

Because it is based on census data, the Cultural Location Index can be reproduced each census, and can track the development of Toronto’s cultural sector over a long period of time.

Map 1: Cultural Location Index, Martin Prosperity Institute, OCADU, 2010

(Note: See the inside back cover for a larger copy of this map)
Cultural Location Index: Artists

The Cultural Location Index is a composite measure that provides an overall picture of Toronto’s cultural economy. Breaking down the Cultural Location Index into some of its components provides further details about where specific dimensions of the cultural economy are located. One crucial element of the cultural economy is artists. Where are Toronto’s artists located?

Map 2: Artists Place of Work vs. Artists Place of Residence; OCADU, 2010

(Note: See the inside back cover for a larger copy of this map)

Map 2 shows artists by place of work and place of residence. Each dot represents 12 artists who either live or work in the census tract. Blue dots indicate artist places of work; yellow indicate places of residence; and green indicate cases where the place of work and place of residence coincide. The operational definition of “artist,” drawn from Hill Strategies Research Inc., the Ontario Arts Council and the Department of Canadian Heritage, is included in Appendix 1.

Map 2 shows that artists by both place of work and place of residence are located across the city. As in the case of cultural workers, more artists live in Toronto than work in Toronto: the total number of artists in Toronto by place of work (18,130) is lower than artists in Toronto by place of residence (22,600).

Map 2 shows again that while there is a large concentration of artists downtown, they do not live and work only in the downtown core. Dots of all colors abound throughout Toronto. Some artists choose to both live and work amidst the bustle of the city centre. Others choose to live in the city, and work in the cultural sector, but do not live downtown. Yet artists typically live along public
transportation lines providing access to downtown cultural jobs and connections to new ideas, a larger market, and collaborative and critical networks. Others work in cultural anchors outside the core (such as CTV Television Inc. in Scarborough), in small local firms, or in neighbourhood home-workshops.

Artists are part of every Toronto community. Map 2 documents this fact with quantifiable evidence for the first time.

**Cultural Location Index: Cultural Workers**

The components of the Cultural Location Index can be broken down in different ways to highlight other aspects of Toronto’s cultural economy. Map 3 for instance shows the top four places of work and the top 14 places of residence for the cultural sector for the whole city.

**Map 3: Cultural Workers Top Places of Work and Places of Residence; OCADU, 2010**

(Note: See the inside back cover for a larger copy of this map)

**Map Legend:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of Work - Blue (Census Tract)</th>
<th>Place of Residence – Pink (Census Tract)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Liberty Village (7.02)</td>
<td>Parkdale Village (48 and 47.01)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment District (11)</td>
<td>West Queen West (44)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historic Queen Street (16)</td>
<td>College Promenade (42)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scarborough at 401 (378.02)</td>
<td>Little Italy (56 and 58)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bloor Annex (93 and 92)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Distillery (17)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Riverdale (69)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Danforth and Greektown (85 and 84)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Beach (24 and 21)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Place of Work

Between 1,000-8,000 people work in each of the four census tracts employing Toronto’s highest levels of cultural workers. This constitutes 20 per cent to 36 per cent of the entire workforce in those census tracts. These areas are (from West to East):

- Liberty Village
- Entertainment District
- Historic Queen Street
- Scarborough at 401

The tract with the most cultural jobs, the Entertainment District, contains roughly 4 times as many culture jobs as the next highest tract, Historic Queen Street, and roughly eight times as many as the following two, Scarborough at 401 and Liberty Village. The Entertainment District, once on the brink of becoming a post-industrial employment desert, is now a cultural jewel, re-industrialized to become one of Canada’s densest concentrations of cultural work. The scale, scope, and density of this reindustrialization of Toronto’s downtown core is clearly demonstrated in these maps.

“" All four cultural work districts contain large national or international for-profit cultural businesses.""
Map 3 also reveals some specific features of the business composition in Toronto’s centres of cultural employment. All four cultural work districts contain large national or international for-profit cultural businesses. Three out of the four contain a mix of small to mid-sized businesses that co-locate with these larger businesses. Liberty Village is home to JAZZ.FM91, Corus Entertainment and Artscape. The Entertainment District is home to the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), Roy Thomson Hall, Citytv, and 401 Richmond Street West, a historic warehouse where over 140 cultural producers and microenterprises operate. Historic Queen Street is home to Toronto Sun, Wellesley Sound Studio, Breakthrough Films and Television, Alumnae Theatre and Studio. Scarborough at 401 is home to CTV Television Inc., illustrating how a major cultural firm can anchor a cultural work district outside the core.

The map also shows important aspects of the occupational mix in the city’s leading cultural work districts that would be otherwise invisible or conjectural. Key cultural occupations are concentrated across all four cultural work districts. Yet each district specializes in one specific area. For instance, the top occupations in all four census tracts are producers, choreographers, directors; graphic designers; and cultural managers. At the same time, Liberty Village specializes in desktop publishing, the Entertainment District specializes in architecture, Historic Queen Street specializes in editors, and Scarborough at 401 specializes in audio recording and video recording. Toronto’s cultural economy offers both a broad base of employment across key occupations and at the same time spatially focused niche areas. Cultural workers benefit at once from intensified contact with specialized expertise and generalized skills applicable in many arenas.

**Place of Residence**

Turning attention to places of residence, Map 3 also shows the census tracts in which the most cultural workers live. These contain between 400-1,200 cultural workers each, or 16-21 per cent of the entire workforce who live in those census tracts. The top nine areas are (from West to East):

- Parkdale Village
- West Queen West
- College Promenade
- Little Italy
- Bloor Annex
- The Distillery
- Riverdale
- Danforth and Greektown
- The Beach

Perhaps the most interesting result of this analysis is that the places where the most cultural workers live are not the same as where the most cultural workers are employed. This of course does not mean that cultural workers do not work in the pink areas, or that cultural workers do not live in the blue areas. They do. But overall, the highest concentrations are not the same, even if they are all relatively close to one another.
The residential clustering of cultural workers points to an important aspect of the cultural economy. By clustering in critical masses in residential neighbourhoods, cultural workers create spillover effects for the communities in which they reside. When 20 per cent of the local residential population works in the arts and culture, neighbourhoods often become alive with performances, exhibitions, workshops, informal gatherings, cafés, and other amenities. These not only stimulate aesthetic innovation among cultural producers themselves, but such clusters also generate buzzing scenes that draw visitors and sustain local businesses. Chapter 3 pursues this aspect of the cultural economy in more detail.
Cultural Location Index: Cultural Facilities

Maps 4 and 5 illustrate the location of cultural facilities in Toronto. These maps show the relative concentrations of cultural facilities across the city.

Map 4: Cultural Facilities, City-Owned; Martin Prosperity Institute, 2010

Map 5: Cultural Facilities, Owned by Others (Non-City Owned); Martin Prosperity Institute, 2010
These two maps show just how strongly concentrated cultural facilities are in the downtown core. This in itself is not surprising, as higher densities lead most services and businesses to concentrate in the city centre. More revealing is the fact that privately owned cultural facilities are for the most part located downtown and along the subways. City-owned facilities by contrast are more evenly dispersed across the city. Without City-owned facilities, many neighbourhoods would likely lack local community access to cultural events and activities.

At least two important policy implications can be drawn from Maps 4 and 5. First, these maps can help the city to identify underserved areas where some correction for “market failure” may be warranted. They also suggest that City investment in public transportation would likely yield substantial gains in private sector cultural investment nearby.
Downtown Cultural Work District Case Study

This section looks at the Downtown Cultural Work District in more detail as a case study of how to apply the Cultural Location Index.

Part of the value of the Cultural Location Index is that it allows us to compare every census tract in Toronto with one another. This shows general patterns. It also reveals significant outliers. These are places that somehow stand out from the rest, such as the Entertainment District (identified in Map 3) with its over 8,000 cultural workers. Outliers are in many ways “deviant cases.” It is unreasonable to expect or desire every neighbourhood to develop on this model of the Downtown Cultural Work District, an area slightly larger than the Entertainment District. Yet outliers can often throw into sharp relief underlying causes – in this case of a highly developed cultural economy – that may be transferrable.

One basic element of the success of the area seems to be its capacity to sustain diverse styles of interactions and enterprises across a number of different types of diversity: historical diversity, occupational diversity, diversity of business-types (small and large, government-owned, national and international), diversity of markets (local and global), diversity of skills (from low to high), and temporal diversity (day and night). These multiple diversities have made this area into a district that supports an incredibly rich and varied economy, one that is adaptable to change, a magnet attracting new businesses, and a stimulant to evolving new types of work.

Located beside the Financial District, the Downtown Cultural Work District is the prime location for the retention and creation of cultural occupations in the City of Toronto. It is bounded by Queen Street West, Simcoe Street, Front Street and Bathurst Street, has the highest number of cultural workers (by place of work) in the City of Toronto, and the greatest mix of cultural workers in the City of Toronto. Of the 40,655 people who work in this census tract, 8,045 are cultural workers (roughly 20%). All 48 cultural work occupations are represented in this single census tract, including
artists, actors and musicians, fashion, film, design, broadcasting, publishing, sound, new media, and more. The Downtown Cultural Work District is one of the most dense and diverse cultural economic hubs in the city.

This census tract is also home to over 125 commercial, not-for-profit, and community businesses that attract cultural workers to the area. Examples of businesses in the census tract include:

- Roy Thomson Hall
- Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC)
- Princess of Wales Theatre
- Royal Alexandra Theatre
- CHUM FM
- Citytv
- National Film Board of Canada
- 401 Richmond
- TIFF Bell Lightbox
- The Globe and Mail
- Factory Theatre
- Toronto School of Art
- School of Professional Makeup
- Diamond and Schmitt Architecture
- Arts&Crafts Productions
- The Walrus Magazine
- The Second City
- Association of Canadian Publishers
- Ontario Association of Art Galleries
- Canadian Media Guild
- Association of Registered Graphic Designers of Ontario

The contemporary Downtown Cultural Work District builds on a legacy of diverse historical uses that are in many ways retained in its built environment. These historical dimensions of place are crucial to cultural work in the present. Heritage buildings and industrial buildings often provide the spaces that house artists and cultural organizations, where old workspaces are made anew. Local history is often a stimulant to contemporary innovation. Historical ties to the downtown core or the waterfront mark beaten paths for audiences, investors, and patrons. Using historical mapping techniques to capture these dimensions of place is vital.

“The Downtown Cultural Work District is one of the most dense and diverse cultural economic hubs in the city.”
Map 6, based on historical atlases of the Downtown Cultural Work District (outlined in dotted yellow), shows how including a time element to mapping (either past or future) can reveal trends at the street-level. These can inform decision-making that builds on a community’s past or projects a community’s dreams or goals in the future. This time-based mapping can happen at a number of geographical scales and time frames (years, decades, centuries).

Map 6: Historic Development of the Town of York, Including the highlighted Boundary of Census Tract 11; E.R.A. Architects Inc., 2010

Looking at Map 6, a number of patterns emerge. As part of the New Town of York, more than 200 years ago, the area was divided into lots and streets in the late 1790s. The traditional block pattern is small and diverse, allowing for numerous interconnecting streets and some surviving laneways. Many of the small and irregular lots remain, contributing a sense of surprise and uniqueness to the District’s built form. Some blocks have always been held as large parcels, such as the block with Roy Thomson Hall and Metro Hall, which now occupies the lot where the Lieutenant Governor’s House once stood. Initially a prestigious residential area, it evolved into railway and industrial uses for almost 100 years. When the railways started to recede almost 50 years ago, the area experienced a rebirth. While the area has historically been resiliently mixed use, much more varied uses began to occupy its empty warehouses in recent decades when the City established more liberalized zoning in the King-Spadina area. It has been born and reborn multiple times in its history; perhaps its most striking feature is its capacity to re-invent itself.

As Jane Jacobs said, “old ideas can sometimes use new buildings, [though] new ideas must use old buildings”.

Evolution of the Old & New Town
The historical diversity of the Downtown Cultural Work District is complemented by its business diversity. Map 7 captures this type of diversity. It maps most of the cultural businesses in the District by business function, using a broad concept of cultural business such as art galleries, design studios, media production, arts and media organizations, clubs and bars, retail and supplies, theatres, and cultural trade schools.

It was not possible to plot every cultural business in the census tract. A selection of 120 businesses was therefore chosen as a representative sample of the cultural businesses in the area. Data for the map were collected from various sources including the Internet, business directories and publication listings between 2009 and 2010.

Map 7: Cultural and Creative Businesses in Census Tract 11; Mary Traill, 2010

(Note: See the inside back cover for a larger copy of this map)

The District is home to major cultural anchors as well as a large number of small and medium creative companies, arts organizations and performance spaces. Within this one area of less than one square kilometre, no fewer than nine separate cultural business functions (art galleries, design studios, and media production, for example) are represented as outlined in Map 7. And they are well represented: the median number of cultural businesses per function in the District is 12. No cultural business function contains fewer than four representatives, and the one with the fewest, broadcast media, is populated by large firms such as CBC Radio Canada and The Globe and Mail. By contrast, the function with the most cultural businesses (31), media production, is populated mostly by small firms. Perhaps most striking is the fact that all nine cultural business functions are to be...
found within the only eight blocks bounded by Queen West on the North, Wellington on the South, John Street on the East, and Spadina Avenue on the West – that is, within a two minute walk of one another. There is no part of the area that contains only one cultural business function isolated from the rest, and nearly every block contains at least three or four in close proximity, often more. The Downtown Cultural Work District reproduces diversity at every level of aggregation.

In the Downtown Cultural Work District, diversity exists not only at the District or block level, but also within individual buildings. Diversity of uses and skills are present at every scale in the District, neighbourhood, building, even individual.

Map 8 shows the building-level diversity by business function within 401 Richmond Street West, a cultural/creative hub. Originally built in 1899, the historic building at 401 Richmond Street was primarily a site of industrial production. The building was owned and operated by two factories that produced lithography on tin ware until 1967. After falling into decline and facing demolition, the Zeidler family purchased the building in 1994 and began adapting it for reuse. Today the building is occupied by over 140 profit and non-profit micro-enterprises involved in cultural production. The cultural/creative hub supports a mix of tenants comprised of cultural businesses, art studios, health services and social research.

Drawing on public directory floor plans, Map 8 shows 146 studios operating in 401 Richmond Street. Categorizing studios by type of tenant reveals that 401 Richmond Street alone contains 10 creative clusters. These combine under one roof: art galleries, artist collectives, art studios, social innovation organizations, media production and design firms, and health and wellness organizations. Even individual floors contain diverse uses, with artist studios operating down the hall from media production companies and design firms. The diversity of the Downtown Cultural Work District is multi-scaler, operative from the bird’s eye to the fly-on-the-wall view.
Map 8: Cultural and Creative Businesses in 401 Richmond Street West; Mary Traill, 2010

(Note: See the inside back cover for a larger copy of this map)
Chapter 3

The Economic Importance Of Cultural Scenes
Chapter 3: The Economic Importance of Cultural Scenes

Culture work is work. But it is a special kind of work. It involves stimulation, critique, expression, encouragement, creativity, doubt, perseverance, vulnerability, spontaneity, daring, discipline, and much more. Such qualities are difficult to sustain alone. They can be enhanced by social contexts that welcome the inevitable risks and the precarious rewards endemic to cultural work. How can we identify places that possess these sorts of social contexts?

By comparing the employment and residential patterns of cultural workers to the total workforce, Maps 9-12 gives some indication of where social contexts supportive of cultural work might be found. Maps 9-10 show that the employment patterns of cultural workers are generally similar to those of the overall workforce. Both groups tend to work downtown and in a few key employment districts outside the city centre.

Where cultural workers strongly differ from the overall workforce is in their residential patterns (Maps 11-12). The general workforce tends to be spread out. By contrast, arts and cultural workers overwhelmingly live near one another, typically, but not exclusively, downtown. If there is one cultural worker who lives in a given neighbourhood, there are probably many others around the corner.

Cultural workers are surrounded by others engaged in cultural and creative work, subject to similar challenges, open to similar possibilities, willing to take similar risks, both aesthetic and economic. They live in cultural scenes.
Map 9 - Distribution of Total workforce across Toronto CMA (POW); Martin Prosperity Institute, 2010

Map 10 - Distribution of Cultural workforce across Toronto CMA (POW); Martin Prosperity Institute, 2010

Map 11 - Distribution of Total workforce across Toronto CMA (POR); Martin Prosperity Institute, 2010

Map 12 - Distribution of Cultural workforce across Toronto CMA (POR); Martin Prosperity Institute, 2010
Cultural Scenes

Chapter 3 moves beyond and behind the maps to the cultural scenes they represent. Maps are a means to an end – supporting the ongoing, day-to-day activities of artists and cultural participants: creation, expression, criticism, discussion, performance, appreciation and enjoyment. Places where these occur in sufficient density, depth, and intensity acquire special qualities. They become scenes. Vibrant scenes bring tremendous social and economic benefits to Toronto. They need to be preserved and grown. This chapter offers an analysis of scenes and interviews with individual creators who work and live in these scenes.

There is no single formula for a successful cultural scene, however key characteristics include:

- **An amenity-rich environment.** Cafes, restaurants, galleries, theatres, festivals, shops, music venues, bars, dance clubs and nightlife are the most obvious expressions of cultural vitality. But a healthy day life, including grocery stores, fruit stands, convenience stores, hardware stores, daycare centres, hairstylists and clothing shops are a crucial part of a scene’s infrastructure. Most artists who work in a scene are also residents in one, as the above maps show.

- **Committed supporters.** A scene is only as strong as the people who are a part of it. These may include artists, local businesses, audiences, community groups, residents’ associations and politicians.

- **Distinctive experiences.** Vital scenes give a sense of drama, authenticity, and ethical significance to a city’s streets and strips. A neighbourhood with a vibrant scene can be a theatrical place to see and be seen, an authentic place to explore and affirm local, ethnic, and national identity, an ethical place to debate common values, traditions, and ideals.
Sitting on the tree-lined patio of Ideal Coffee, it’s easy to forget you’re in the middle of one of the largest cities in North America. Though the CN Tower stands guard, there is a distinctly small-town feel as passing neighbours stop to say “Hi,” and coffee drinkers relax with a book. But this is the kind of urbanity that could only happen in Toronto — and especially in Kensington Market.

Ideal Coffee is the nexus of Nassau Street, keeping the local artistic community caffeinated and connected. Within a 50 metre radius of its artfully chaotic patio are three restaurants, a knitting store, a clothing shop, a print shop, a musical instrument store, a massage therapist and a bar. It’s here that you’re likely to run into neighbourhood fixtures like musician and studio owner James Anderson.

From instrument shops to rehearsal spaces, to cafés in which to network and bars in which to perform, Kensington Market has become a fully sustaining neighbourhood for musicians, yet it also supports a small theatre community and gallery scene. The entire artistic community has benefitted from actions such as P.S. Kensington, the monthly pedestrian event taking place on Sundays in the summer, and the annual Festival of Lights in the winter — both of which have been supported by the Kensington Market Action Committee, a residents’ association, and an active BIA.

Renowned for its diversity, Kensington Market began as an open-air market for the Jewish community during the early 20th century, and then made room for successive waves of newcomers — Portuguese, Caribbean, Chinese. During the early 1980s, the Market’s cheap rents and permissive lifestyle made it a haven for the punk rock scene. (Legend has it the members of one notorious band survived for years by dumpster-diving.) Though rents and house prices have risen in recent years, the Market has remarkably resisted development pressure and the infiltration of chain stores. Even the rumor of a Starbucks opening at the corner of Nassau and Augusta prompted a furor, and so far, it hasn’t happened. This is the neighbourhood that seemingly won’t gentrify.
Toronto is home to some of the world's most compelling scenes. They give a depth and richness of experience to the city that is rare and special. They endow places with a sense of uniqueness and distinctness. There is the diverse cosmopolitanism of Kensington Market, the offbeat edginess of West Queen West, the ethnic authenticity of Greektown or Chinatown, the local authenticity of Cabbagetown, and the shimmering glamour of Yorkville and King Street, among others. The term “scene” is also used to refer to the looser networks organized around arts disciplines, but even these types of scenes are rooted in such places. For example, the music scene has long called Kensington Market and Queen West home, while West Queen West and Parkdale’s gallery strip is a nexus of the visual arts community. The modern dance community, meanwhile, is clustered along Parliament Street, through Cabbagetown, Regent Park and the Distillery District — insiders refer to it as the “dance belt.”

Scenes like these are important in and of themselves. Without them, Toronto would be less vibrant, less interesting, and less critically self-reflective. Yet Toronto's scenes also have functional value for the city's economy. This occurs primarily through two related processes: first, by expanding local consumption, and second, by enhancing local production.

Vibrant scenes expand the local consumption base. Scenes give a unique buzz and energy to a place, offering consumers valuable experiences difficult to acquire elsewhere. This in turn creates local jobs, attracts and maintains skilled residents, and increases local spending. A number of factors are involved.

- **Import substitution.** Where there are distinctive scenes, consumers are more likely to spend their dollars locally rather than on imported CDs, DVDs, books, magazines, clothing, or other services. Significant local job growth can occur through import replacement.

- **Demand creation.** Vibrant scenes do not merely substitute for already imported goods and services. They can generate novel interest among a wider populace for new styles of music, fashion, dance, cuisine, drinks, and art. Jobs and revenue streams are created as local businesses meet these newly activated demands.

- **Use of local services.** Sustaining a strong scene is labour intensive. Restaurants, theatres, galleries, music venues, and the like utilize numerous local suppliers and rely on a local labour force. A high proportion of the services they consume flow immediately into local employment.
Scene producers are scene consumers. The people who make the scene are also a part of it. Musicians typically attend one another’s shows, as do artists and actors. Where scenes are dense and interconnected, every dollar spent at one performance will often circulate through many more, multiplying overall employment and expanding the available avenues for cultural consumption.

Talent attraction. Entrepreneurs who choose to locate in and near scenes bring their companies. In their efforts to lure talented employees and attract top university graduates, business recruiters often feature local theatres, museums, music performances, promenades, waterfronts, and arts and cultural periodicals. Strong scenes provide amenities and consumption opportunities that attract skilled workers, managers, and entrepreneurs.

Tourist and retiree attraction. Vibrant scenes can be important tourist destinations. They showcase the city itself as a kind of perpetually developing live theatre. Visitors are more likely to make repeated trips. Retirees who choose to live in downtown condominiums near bustling scenes bring their retirement incomes into the local economy.

Vibrant scenes can be important tourist destinations.”
Christina Zeidler: Visual artist, musician, community activist, and president of the Gladstone Hotel

“I’ve been living and working on Queen West since the late ’80s, early ’90s. My involvement in the art community started with OCAD and then continued through many institutions that deeply influenced me — Cinecycle, Symptom Hall, the Cameron House. You have these spaces that create energy and scenes, yet they were so casual. You make these wonderful kinds of connections.”

Though she’s been an active participant in multiple facets of Toronto’s arts community for 20 years, Christina Zeidler may be best known for leading the redevelopment of the Gladstone Hotel in 2003-05. Built in 1889, the Gladstone was a run-down hotel that housed many of the urban poor when her family purchased the property. The re-launched Gladstone was envisioned as more than just a hotel, but also “a social and cultural incubator facilitating sustainable and accessible ways of experiencing art, culture, community, and local cuisine.” The building currently offers four event spaces, plus studios, galleries and a café, in addition to 37 hotel rooms designed by local artists.

In an area which was until recently a sleepy neighbourhood where many artists simply happened to reside, the Gladstone has become a portal for a new type of cultural consumption — visitors from around the world and across the GTA now flock here to consume arts and culture that are mainly produced locally.

“The Gladstone has become a tourism destination and what we would like to offer is an authentically urban experience. Historically, Toronto has been hard to access culturally, if you’re not in the know. This city is so livable, so walkable, and there’s a real sense of camaraderie in the arts scene. What’s interesting about the Gladstone is that if you show up and you know nothing about art, the staff will tell you what’s going on. Or you can show up on a Harvest Wednesday and find out about the food scene and the connections between urban and rural communities. I would hope that tourists are coming to experience what’s great about the city, that they’re coming to connect, not just to party.”
A Day in the Life: James Anderson

“My day starts with me dropping my kids at Kensington Community School and Scadding Court daycare, then returning to my home studio to work for a few hours.” James Anderson and his wife Megan Ingram — who owns the store Lettuce Knit, which just moved into the location vacated by beloved bookstore This Ain’t the Rosedale Library — have lived in Kensington Market for seven years. The couple recently purchased their house on Nassau Street, meaning that both their respective businesses and their residence are now located on the same small street.

“Then I’ll go to 6 Nassau,” Anderson continues, “my main studio, to work on a session, and I’ll inevitably come to Ideal and get a coffee and then help my wife with something at her shop. I’ll pick up some groceries or have lunch at the new Indian place. Then I’ll probably drop by Paul’s Boutique to buy a cable or maybe a guitar or a keyboard. And at night, I’ll go to a show at Double Double Land.”

Kensington Market, at just a single square city block, is so densely packed with both daytime and nighttime amenities that an artist like Anderson could theoretically never have to leave his neighbourhood. “Why would I? Everything I need is here. I’ve only been to Queen Street once in the past year.” Anderson goes on to claim that for the sake of a doctor’s appointment, he recently ventured north of Bloor for the first time in two years.

“There is a mystique and a story that exists around the Market,” explains Anderson, when asked about its enduring appeal. “People that want to be a part of that work hard to make it real.”

Though an artist and entrepreneur like Anderson couldn’t create anything single-handedly, he is an important member of a cultural ecosystem that includes the artists and business owners that are his neighbours. Shops like Paul’s Boutique and Ideal Coffee not only make a positive economic impact, but also act as informal public spaces that create an overall benefit for the community.
Scenes do more than help Toronto to capture higher totals of local consumption dollars. They also add value to the city’s production of creative and cultural goods. They do so by creating special spaces of intense communication, creativity, interaction, and collaboration. The presence of such spaces improves the overall quality of the creative work produced in the city. This improvement may depend on a number of special dynamics that scenes mobilize.

- **Peer support.** Scene members appreciate and cheer on novel, risky ideas, even when they don’t work. In a scene, people are encouraged to try things they would not have done otherwise. They are often experimental spaces that are highly tolerant of untested expressive possibilities, creating a proving ground where new styles are developed before they are exported to a broader market.

- **Idea and technique sharing.** Scene participants typically share a common sensibility as to what is important. They want to learn from each other. Any new technique or style (of music, fashion, recording technique, programming technique) is shown off and quickly circulated and refined.

- **Collective success.** Most artists working in a scene earn relatively modest incomes through their artwork. A few bubble to the surface and enjoy commercial success. These are in effect the product of countless conversations and interactions with others artists, musicians, performers, critics, and the like. They depend on the atmosphere of the scene.

- **Place branding.** Work produced within a scene becomes invested with the particular character and aura of that scene. Music created in Toronto’s indie rock scene has a special value that similar-sounding music created elsewhere might not have. This creates a base of cultural industrial production that cannot easily be reproduced or outsourced elsewhere.
Jeffrey Remedios: Co-founder, Arts&Crafts Productions

Toronto’s music scene history can be divided into two eras: before 2003 and after 2003. It was in 2003 that this city’s independent music scene exploded onto the world stage, with the unexpected critical and commercial success of You Forgot It In People, the debut album by indie collective Broken Social Scene. This unwieldy group defined the Torontonian spirit of open collaboration and participation — there was no identified front person, band membership was fluid and sonically they jumped between styles with ease and enthusiasm.

Just as Broken Social Scene defied the odds artistically, they also gained a wider audience through an unconventional business strategy. Certified gold (50,000 copies) in Canada, You Forgot It In People was released by Arts&Crafts, a record label co-founded by BSS member Kevin Drew and his friend Jeffrey Remedios, who was then national publicity director for Virgin Canada. This combination of indie idealism and major label expertise led to the creation of a unique business model, where almost every aspect of record production and promotion is managed in-house.

“We’re an artist services company that works primarily with Canadian acts,” explains Remedios. “We work with all aspects of our artists’ careers, some more holistically, some more in specialization — we’re a record company, management company, publisher, merchandiser and ticket retailer. Our aim is to work with interesting, authentic music — and put the same care into the business that the artists put into their art.”

The Arts&Crafts catalogue includes some of Toronto’s biggest musical exports: the platinum selling Feist, as well as Stars, Constantines and The Hidden Cameras. Remedios is reluctant to define a particular Arts&Crafts sound, and refers instead to an aesthetic, one that he credits with developing in this city’s various scenes. “The Toronto music community has largely come of age, and that happened when it started looking internally for influence and validation. It was something birthed out of a 16 block radius in the downtown west end, an attitude that I found with all these musicians, artists, filmmakers - and that’s a sense of inclusiveness between all the arts disciplines.”
Potential in the Inner Suburbs:
Kingston-Galloway / Orton Park, Scarborough

At first glance, Lawrence Avenue East doesn’t look like the kind of place you’d find a culture scene. Six lanes of car traffic fill this massive concrete bridge, an imposing physical barrier that separates the islands of brown brick apartment buildings that line this strip of Scarborough. But look closer. Turquoise birds, trees and figures of people have been painted along the railing, bringing the dull gray slabs to life. And listen: festive sounds echo from below.

Beneath the bridge lies gorgeous Highland Creek Valley, location of the first annual Subtext Festival. Crews of young graffiti artists have transformed the bridge piers into canvases, and the sloping hillside makes for a natural, protected amphitheatre. Several hundred people have turned out on a Saturday afternoon in September to witness sets by local Scarborough hip-hop emcees and dance troupes, most under the age of 20 — and some of whom are performing live for the first time ever.

The Subtext Multi-Arts Festival was launched to celebrate the Bridging Project, the youth-created mural that spans the 260-metre length of the bridge, and it was the product of collaboration between several organizations, including Scarborough Arts Council, Mural Routes, East Scarborough Storefront, Jumblies Theatre and Evergreen. More significantly, Subtext may well put a new scene on the Toronto culture map: Kingston-Galloway / Orton Park. Once notorious for its gang activity, KGO was designated one of 13 priority neighbourhoods in 2003, and since then, many community members have turned to art as a way of reinventing the inner suburbs. Though this scene is just making the baby steps required to one day make it as vibrant as more established downtown scenes, there is plenty of potential here. Cedar Ridge Creative Centre, the City arts hub, is located within KGO’s borders, and Guildwood Village and the University of Toronto at Scarborough are not far away. More important than such potential resources though, are this community’s committed supporters.

“This scene is bubbling and emerging,” says Janet Fitzsimmons, a co-ordinator of East Scarborough Storefront, a community centre located in an old police station next to the bridge at Lawrence and Orton Park. “A lot of young artists have come up here and have only recently gotten the idea that art can be a career. They don’t need downtown and don’t have that model in their heads. With the model we’ve started to create, kids have started to say, ‘I could do this’.”
All told, Toronto’s dense, vibrant, and distinctive scenes improve local consumption and production. They make Toronto into a more desirable place to live, work, and visit. They expand the city’s local consumption base, creating local jobs that contribute to a more self-sustaining urban economy. They make the city itself into a research and development laboratory, enhancing the quality of its creative work and investing that work with a unique local character that cannot be easily outsourced.

Despite these benefits, Toronto’s cultural scenes are fragile and often not developed to their fullest potential. Successful scenes are highly vulnerable to fluctuations in the real estate market, and artists forced out by gentrification are a sadly familiar story. Emergent scenes outside the downtown core are often poorly integrated into the overall economy of the city, as these areas suffer from inadequate transit service and urban design that does not foster the sense of human-scale community in which scenes thrive. The people and organizations that make the scene therefore need to be integrated into local intensification and development plans and better served by transit and planning. There needs to be improved access to and information about scenes that may be less well known to locals and visitors. And most of all there needs to be a clear understanding of what a vital resource Toronto has in its thriving cultural scenes.
Conclusion

*From the Ground Up: Growing Toronto’s Cultural Sector* illustrates policy tools for linking Toronto’s cultural economy and its urban form. Culture is essential to Toronto’s economy. Jobs in cultural fields are rapidly growing, producing multiple forms of wealth for the city. Toronto has become the focal point of core aspects of Canada’s cultural economy, concentrating cultural producers in one place at some of the highest rates in the nation.

Toronto contains no cultural deserts. Cultural work is pervasive across the city.

Still, there are peaks and valleys. There are fertile zones and cultural fallows. Growth will not occur everywhere at the same time and at the same rate.

Intelligent planning requires some process for facilitating sustainable expansion of the cultural economy. Identifying growth areas is part of this process. These places may be already strong. Or they may have potential.

Connecting key nodes of the cultural economy is also essential. Building networks between Toronto’s existing cultural clusters and its areas of potential may enhance both.

In some cases, “hands off!” may be the best policy for letting a scene thrive. In others, protection of existing cultural clusters may be called for. In others, policy interventions may fuel the spark of an emerging scene. In all cases, knowing that a cluster or scene is present is vital.

The Cultural Location Index can play a vital role in contributing reliable information to this evaluation process. A city of 2.7 million people and 83,000 cultural workers exceeds the power of first-hand knowledge. To understand such a large urban system, policy-makers and citizens need some tools for grasping its contours and comparing its elements.

The Cultural Location Index provides a data-based resource for building information about spatial clusters of cultural work into Toronto’s land-use planning and economic development decisions.

The Cultural Location Index shows that the cultural economy thrives best where there are dense, diverse and accessible cultural facilities joined with a cultural workforce that mixes different skills and occupations – producers, architects, graphic designers, actors, and more. Many cultural clusters contain anchor tenants that are large employers and globally networked. They have a large impact
on the local community through interacting with local firms and independent artists. They are the pipelines that connect the buzz generated by Toronto’s local scenes to the world and vice versa.

Diverse cultural clusters that mix varieties of skills, rich histories, occupations, firm sizes, and firm linkages are highly resilient. As Toronto’s cultural economy becomes less dependent on large-scale reproduction of cultural goods and lower skilled technical support services and more focused on specialized value-added services, niche production, high-tech services, and local performance, these sorts of clusters are likely to become even more crucial. They facilitate collaboration among independent contractors, provide more project-based employment opportunities, and offer Toronto’s globally connected cultural firms a fund of local talent and content to distribute to the rest of the world.

The cultural economy does not conform to standard spatial patterns of work and residence. Cultural work happens in the zones between light manufacturing, residential, retail, entertainment, and mixed-use spaces. The demands of cultural economic policy therefore exceed existing planning tools. These are often legacies of industrial policies geared toward separating heavy and light manufacturing from residential and consumption areas. Cultural work blurs the lines between work, home, and consumption. Planning regimes that seek to keep these lines sharp may not be optimal for supporting the business of the cultural sector in the city.

Mapping projects based on the approach outlined in this report are needed to support the city’s Official Plan. The Plan already identifies specialized work districts that contribute to job and business growth, such as the Financial District. New official plans should use cultural mapping to identify cultural work districts and support policies to support and grow such districts. Cultural mapping can also support the Official Plan in implementing the the City’s no-net-loss of cultural space policy to facilitate intensification and development while maintaining and nurturing the cultural sector.
Toronto’s scenes are the heart and soul of its cultural economy. Toronto’s “scenescape” is rich, multiplex, and mobile. It is a living system and should not be put under glass. Policy need not focus on one scene in particular. But growing cultural industries and sustaining cultural work means maintaining the character of neighbourhoods and supporting key aspects of a vibrant urban scene, such as public art, good urban design, varieties of amenities, and an active public realm.

This report suggests seven specific recommendations. The City should:

1. Recognize the cultural sector, including design, fashion, and film, as a key driver of Toronto’s economic growth, prosperity and quality of life.
2. Use the Cultural Location Index as a planning indicator to inform Official Plan reviews, secondary plans, and community improvement plans.
3. Use the Cultural Location Index to identify opportunities to grow the cultural economy at the local level, and to inform Economic Development and Culture policies.
4. Recognize the Downtown Cultural Work District, the area bounded by Queen Street West, Simcoe Street, Front Street and Bathurst Street, as the most intense concentration of the city’s cultural sector workforce, the heart of the city’s cultural sector, and a primary hub that shapes the city’s cultural economy.
5. Support cultural scenes across the city as economic hubs by improving their connectivity and visibility through city programs and public-private partnerships.
6. Update the City’s cultural facilities database every five years or in the same year as Statistics Canada’s Census of Population.
7. Follow-up on economic data analysis showing that independent cultural workers are increasing in numbers and large-scale routine manufacturing is declining to better understand the scale and scope of the change.

The cultural economy is a relatively new area of strength for Toronto and many other cities. It calls for original policy ideas, tools, and data. Further work is needed. For instance, intensive analysis of places high on the Cultural Location Index may yield important knowledge about what makes these places work and what could help them to work better.

There is much we do not know about the cultural economy. But what we do know is important. We know cultural workers cluster. We know cultural firms cluster. We know that cultural clusters endow places with value. We know these clusters enrich the city. They create jobs. They increase tax revenue. From the Ground Up: Growing Toronto’s Cultural Sector shows us where this happens and where it could happen more. It provides a tool for identifying and leveraging the spatial concentrations and spatial pervasiveness of Toronto’s cultural economy.

“Culture is essential to Toronto’s economy.”
Appendix 1: Culture Sector Terms

**Creative Occupations**

‘Creative Occupations’ is a set of 19 National Occupational Classification (NOC) codes that were originally grouped in the report *Imagine a Toronto … Strategies for a Creative City* (2006).

- Actors and Comedians
- Announcers and Other Broadcasters
- Architects
- Artisans and Craftspersons
- Authors and Writers
- Conductors, Composers
- Dancers
- Editors
- Graphic Designers and Illustrators
- Industrial Designers
- Interior Designers
- Landscape Architects
- Musicians and Singers
- Other Performers
- Painters, Sculptors and Visual Artists
- Patternmakers, Textile, Leather and Fur Products
- Photographers
- Producers, Directors, Choreographers
- Theatre, Fashion, Exhibit, and Other Creative Designers (Other Designers)

**Creative Industries**

‘Creative Industries’ is a set of North American Industry Classification System (NAICS) codes that were originally grouped in the report *Imagine a Toronto … Strategies for a Creative City* (2006).

- Advertising Agencies
- Advertising Material Distribution Services
- Agents and Managers for Artists, Athletes, Entertainers and Other Public Figures
- Architectural Services
- Book Publishers
- Dance Companies
- Direct Mail Advertising
- Directory and Mailing List Publishers
- Display Advertising
- Graphic Design Services
- Independent Artists, Writers and Performers
- Industrial Design Services
- Integrated Record Production/Distribution
- Interior Design Services
- Landscape Architectural Services
- Media Buying Agencies
- Media Representatives
- Motion Picture and Video Distribution
Motion Picture and Video Exhibition
Motion Picture and Video Production
Music Publishers
Musical Groups and Artists
Newspaper Publishers
Other Performing Arts Companies
Other Publishers
Other Sound Recording Studios
Other Specialized Design Services
Pay and Specialty Television
Periodical Publishers
Post-Production and Other Motion Picture and Video Industries
Radio Broadcasting
Record Production
Software Publishers
Sound Recording Studios
Television Broadcasting
Theatre Companies and Dinner Theatres

Cultural Labour Force
‘Cultural Labour Force’, also referred to as cultural workforce or cultural sector, is a set 48 National Occupational Classification (NOC) codes defined by Statistics Canada in the Canadian Framework for Culture Statistics (2004), that includes 21 ‘Cultural Occupations’ and 27 ‘Cultural Support Occupations’.

Cultural Occupations
Actors and Comedians
Architects
Archivists
Artisans and Craftspersons
Authors and Writers
Conductors, Composers
Conservators and Curators
Dancers
Editors
Graphic Designers and Illustrators
Industrial Designers
Interior Designers
Journalists
Landscape Architects
Librarians
Musicians and Singers
Other Performers
Painters, Sculptors and Visual Artists
Photographers
Producers, Directors, Choreographers
Theatre, Fashion, Exhibit, and Other Creative Designers (Other Designers)
Cultural Support Occupations
Announcers and Other Broadcasters
Architectural Technologists
Audio and Video Recording Technicians
Binding and Finishing Machine Operators
Broadcast Technicians
Camera, Platemaking and Other Pre-Press
Correspondence, Publications and Related Clerks
Desktop Publishing Operators and Related Occupations (Typesetters)
Drafting Technologists
Film and Video Camera Operators
Graphic Art Technicians
Landscape and Horticultural Technicians
Library and Archive Technicians and Assistants
Library Clerks
Library, Archive, Museum and Art Gallery Managers
Managers in Publishing, Motion Pictures, Broadcasting and Performing Arts
Other Technical Occupations in Motion Pictures, Broadcasting and Performing Arts
Patternmakers, Textile, Leather and Fur Products
Photographic and Film Processors
Print Machine Operators
Printing Press Operators
Professional Occupations in Public Relations and Communications
Supervisors, Library, Correspondence and Related Information Clerks
Supervisors, Printing, and Related Occupations
Support Occupations in Motion Pictures, Broadcasting and Performing Arts
Technical Occupations Related to Museums
Translators, Terminologists and Interpreters

Artists
‘Artists’ is a set of 9 National Occupational Classification (NOC) codes that were originally grouped by the Canada Council for the Arts in 1999, and were reconfirmed in 2008 by Hill Strategies Research Inc, the Canada Council for the Arts, the Ontario Arts Council, and the Department of Canadian Heritage for the Statistical Insight on the Arts series by Hill Strategies Research Inc.

The nine occupations were selected as “artists” on the basis of two key criteria: 1) the artistic nature of the occupations based on occupation titles and descriptions; and 2) the most common types of professional artists who are eligible to apply to arts councils for funding.

Actors and Comedians
Artisans and Craftspersons
Authors and Writers
Conductors, Composers
Dancers
Musicians and Singers
Other Performers
Painters, Sculptors and Visual Artists
Producers, Directors, Choreographers
Appendix 2: Cultural Location Index Methodology

In order to measure the cultural economy, the Cultural Location Index focuses on the cultural worker, or on occupation based data. It employs three data sets: place of work (POW), place of residence (POR) and cultural facilities.

Work - Place of Work (POW)

Place of work data was obtained from Statistics Canada 2006 Census. Data included all places of work, even those with no fixed work address. The data refers to the labour market activity of the population 15 years of age and over who worked at some point between January 1, 2005 and Census Day (May 16, 2006), according to whether they worked at home, worked outside Canada, had no fixed workplace address, or worked at a specific address. The data usually relates to the individual's job held in the week prior to the Census. However, if the person did not work during that week but had worked at some time since January 1, 2005, the information relates to the job held longest during that period.

The place of work data show where all cultural occupations, irrespective of what industry sector they work in, are located. This means that a person who works as a graphic designer would be captured whether they work as a graphic designer in financial services, health, advertising or a museum. The Cultural Location Index does not capture the place of work of the many additional occupations that support the cultural economy such as accountants or lawyers who work in the film business, unless there is also someone who works in a cultural occupation in that location.

Live - Place of Residence (POR)

Place of residence data was obtained from Statistics Canada 2006 Census. Data included the total experienced labour force (not just full time). The data refers to the labour market activity of the population 15 years of age and over in the week (Sunday to Saturday) prior to Census Day (May 16, 2006). Respondents were classified as Employed, Unemployed, or Not in the labour force. The labour force includes the employed and unemployed.

The place of residence data show where all cultural workers live. The nature of cultural work makes this an important indicator of the cultural economy. People who work in culture may be self-employed, work outside of office hours at home, or have a home office or studio. In fact, cultural workers tend to live closer to one another than do those in other jobs. Place of residence (POR) may be important to the vitality of this sector, perhaps through providing a supportive social network.

Facilities – Cultural Facilities

A comprehensive list of cultural facilities, both city-owned and non-city owned was used from the City of Toronto cultural facilities database. The total number of facilities in the database as of 2010 was 809.
Scale

The Cultural Location Index uses a scale between 0.0 and 1.0. A result of 0.0 would mean that there are no cultural workers who live or work in the census tract and there are no cultural facilities. A result of 1.0 would mean that the census tract was the highest in terms of total cultural workers who live, work, and the total number of cultural facilities in the city. No census tract achieved either ranking. That is, every census tract in Toronto contains some cultural economic activity and no census tract stands head and shoulders above the rest.

Missing Data

Data is missing or suppressed for the following census tracts for place of residence (POR): 0003.00; 0006.00; 0009.00; 0033.00; 0061.00; 0376.00. Data is missing or suppressed for the following census tracts for place of work (POW): 003.00; 0006.00; 0061.00.

Definitions

The cultural occupations used in the Cultural Location Index are defined as 48 occupations in the Canadian Framework for Culture Statistics (2004).

Census Tracts

In total, information was used for 531 census tracts in the City of Toronto, including census tracts where data is missing or suppressed.
CLI combines three major data sources by census tract:

- Percent of Cultural Occupations by Place of Residence
- Number of Cultural Facilities
- Percent of Cultural Occupations by Place of Residence

Because no one data source can give a full picture, the CLI was developed to provide a quick overview of the overall concentration of the cultural workforce in the City of Toronto, and draw attention to areas that scored well on all aspects — Work, Live, Facilities. All data was weighted equally in the calculation of the Index.
The term "artist" is used in these tables to describe those Canadians 15 or older reporting employment or self-employment earnings in the nine occupation groups identified as artistic in discussions by arts sector representatives prior to the analysis of the 2001 census. In 2008, the nine occupation groups were reconﬁrmed as priority occupations for the Statistical Insights on the Arts series during discussions between Hill Strategies Research, the Canada Council for the Arts, the Ontario Arts Council and the Department of Canadian Heritage.

As noted in previous research by the Canada Council for the Arts (Artists in the Labour Force, 1999), the nine occupations were selected as "artists" on the basis of two key criteria:

1. The artistic nature of the occupation, based on occupation title and description
2. The most common type of professional artist who is eligible to apply to arts councils for funding

The nine occupation groups included in "artists" are:

- Actors and comedians
- Artisans and craftspersons
- Authors and writers
- Conductors, composers and arrangers
- Dancers
- Musicians and singers
- Other performers
- Painters, sculptors and other visual artists
- Producers, directors, choreographers and related occupations

This approach to gathering data on "artists" was refined and improved in the 2011 census to ensure that the data on artists is as accurate and comprehensive as possible.

The map shows the distribution of artists' place of residence and place of work in Toronto.
MAP 3: Cultural Workers Top Places of Work and Places of Residence; OCADU, 2010

This map shows the top 4 places of work and top 14 places of residence (census tracts) as well as comparisons to the total amount of workers and residences (non-cultural workers).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Work: Out of 4</th>
<th>Residence: Out of 14</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Rank 1**: Other Occupations
- **Rank 2**: Total Occupations
- **Rank 3**: Percent in Culture Occupations
- **Rank 4**: Other Occupations

**Map Legend**:
- Blue circles represent places of work for cultural workers.
- Pink circles represent places of residence for cultural workers.
- Gray circles represent other places of work and residence.

**Map Details**:
- TTC Subway
- Streetcar Station
- Ontario Highway
- Street
- Contact Track Stop

**Map Notes**:
- The map visually represents the distribution of cultural workers' top places of work and places of residence, comparing these to the total amount of workers and residences (non-cultural workers).
- The map includes a legend for easy identification of different categories and colors.
Map 7: Cultural and Creative Businesses in Census Tract 11; Mary Traill, 2010 (from page 38)
CREATIVE AND CULTURAL CLUSTERS

401 RICHMOND STREET WEST  2010

- ART COLLECTIVES/CO-OPS
  Facilities with specialized equipment accessible to a membership, studio rentals, and workshops.

- ART EDUCATION/STUDIOS
  Programs relating to art and media creation, workshop space, event and performance space.

- ART GALLERIES
  Artist-run, non-profit galleries and commercial galleries.

- ARTS + MEDIA ORGANIZATIONS
  Performing arts and theatre companies, film festivals, film distribution, visual arts and media resource centres.

- ART STUDIOS
  Visual artists, painters, printmakers, and photographers.

- DESIGN STUDIOS
  Graphic design, fashion and jewelry design, web design, landscape and architectural design.

- HEALTH + WELLNESS
  Services in psychotherapy, medicine, and alternative health therapies.

- SOCIAL INNOVATION ORGANIZATIONS
  Research initiatives in early childhood development, children’s art programs, worldwide literacy and poverty, environmental protection, conservation and sustainability.

- RETAIL + BUSINESS SERVICES
  Food services, marketing, business consulting, property management, fine art and design retail.

CREATIVE CLUSTERS BY FLOOR

CREATIVE CLUSTERS TOTAL
Stantec provides professional consulting services in planning, engineering, architecture, interior design, landscape architecture, surveying, environmental sciences, project management, and project economics for infrastructure and facilities projects. Their services are offered through approximately 10,500 employees operating out of more than 160 locations in North America, including the downtown Toronto location above. Photo courtesy of Stantec Architecture and Richard Johnson.