PERFORMING YOUNG ENTERPRISE

the youth arts landscape, Toronto, Canada

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The youth arts sector in Toronto is at a crossroads. Thousands of young artists have been cultivated across the city in hundreds of programs in some of the cities most challenging neighborhoods. These young people are dedicated to using art to address inequity and racism. They not only bring talent to the stage but also innovative, collective and collaborative approaches to community and city building.

These young people and the youth arts organizations many have founded are now facing a modification in state priorities and are being encouraged toward entrepreneurialism and to foster small businesses. As funding priorities shift, these young people offer the possibility for rethinking how we artistically and socially collaborate with one another and develop alternative economies of support. There are hopeful possibilities for collective innovation between these organizations and other stakeholders including the City of Toronto and those in the cultural industries.

This report is the result of forty-one semi-structured interviews with a cross-section of the sector: younger artists, older artists, youth arts workers, youth arts organizations, City of Toronto Staff, urban planners, and social service and community organizations.

I believe these youth, their organizations, the City of Toronto and mainstream cultural organizations have an opportunity to collaborate to coax the creative industries toward fulfilling its progressive promise. Through social economic practices and an accounting that considers more than money, the youth can provide a template for a social movement based on equity and collaboration. Complex and creative alliances are nascent; they must be vigorously promoted.

1/ INTRODUCTION

This report examines the youth arts landscape in Toronto, Canada, identifying the state of the sector at this moment. It considers the social and governmental context within which most organizations are situated, and asks two primary questions. 1. What are the objectives/rationales behind the youth arts organizations? 2. How do these youth arts organizations (YAO) accomplish these objectives?

Creativity, culture and art have been a strong focus of civic policy throughout the last decade. The most prominent proponent is Richard Florida, whose creative cities thesis claims that the current knowledge-based economy demands the presence of a 'creative class:' a cohort of well-educated professionals attracted to cities (Florida, 2003). However, this particular deployment of the concept of creativity is one amongst many. Within Toronto's youth arts landscape, the theme emphasized is that of inclusion, with most City-funded art programs focused on young people identified as marginalized. However, this targeting of marginal youth is not promoted for its intrinsic value but, rather, as diversion from crime and the violence that continues to haunt some of Toronto's lower income neighborhoods and to promote entrepreneurial economic participation. In Toronto, then, with respect to the cultural inclusion of young people in creativity, arts and culture there is a desire to divert young people from violence and crime realized through encouraging neoliberal entrepreneurial subjectivities: young business people, engaging in the business of art (Leslie and Hunt, in revision).

Almost all of the Toronto's most prominent YAO have come into existence since 2005, and are not yet ten years old. An initial burst of funding and activity appears to now be settling into comprehensively conceived initiatives that are attempting to provide young people access to employment within the cultural industries. This objective is very much in line with government policy, including the Toronto Culture Plan (2003) and the more recent Creative Capital Gains Report (2011). These policies place a high value on youth entrepreneurialism and an up-by-your-own-bootstraps approach that shifts responsibility for a healthy social sphere from the state onto the individual (Leslie and Hunt, in revision). Research for this report suggests that the sector appears to be at a crossroads, the City's predominant interest in diversion from violence and encouragement of entrepreneurialism having been at times energetically - and often consciously - commandeered by the young people themselves. Their plans are more in line with community development, a strong commitment to both social and economic fortification and high quality professional participation in the cultural industries. In the writing of this report, then, I have recalibrated my question from an examination of what is out there, to also include a search for evidence within the interviews to support the thesis that, while policy directives focus on a neoliberal deployment of the arts to foster entrepreneurial subjectivities, there are other things happening which, instead, foster collective efforts of mutual support and contain elements of a more socially focused economy.

The report concludes with recommendations for strengthening the youth arts sector with a particular emphasis on fostering a more collective, social approach.

2/ THE LITERATURE AND THE TORONTO CONTEXT

2.1 THE CREATIVE CITY

The scholarly literature focusing on the role of creativity and culture within the city is abundant, with some authors tracing the focus to Schumpeter's concepts of creative destruction and entrepreneurialism (Currid-Halkett and Stolarick, 2012). The more recent proliferation of interest in the notion of the 'creative city' is most commonly attributed to Landry (2000), who is credited with popularizing, if not coining, the term itself. Landry points to cities as globalization's hub of wealth creation, increasingly seen as more important than that of nation states. The value that creativity adds is not in raising production volumes, but in innovation with attention paid toward creating an environment conducive to creativity, through city planning.

Richard Florida (2003) is most commonly credited with bringing the issue from the wings of policy and academia and onto the center stage of popular political discourse. Florida upped the ante with respect to empirical research, running statistical models on a number of indicators, making the claim that economic success was no longer a matter of attracting firms to a region, but attracting a creative class of individual who would, in turn, attract and create business.

Critical responses to Florida have highlighted the vagueness of his concepts (Markusen, 2006) and the tendency for the related policies to privilege development imperatives over social-welfare. Jamie Peck's Struggling with the Creative Class (2005) is an oft-cited exemplar of this line of reasoning. Peck points out that creative city strategies "work quietly with the grain of extant 'neoliberal'

development agendas, framed around interurban competition, gentrification, middle class consumption and marketing…" In addition they leave no room for other "forms of politics, like unions or class-aligned political parties, all of which are breezily dismissed" (p. 746). Atkinson (2009), however, claims that causal links between a creative city agenda and the displacement of welfare and other agendas is not particularly solid. While links may not be causal, Florida's recent research shows that there is a correlation between social inequity and the creative class (Florida, 2013).

Pratt (2010) stresses that there are many objectives surrounding culture and creativity and sound arguments for the instrumental deployment of the concepts. He points to five general themes, some of which are complementary and some contradictory. Firstly, he identifies the general notion that individual creativity is often considered a universal positive aspiration and a key economic characteristic. This would be the line of reasoning most clearly exemplified by Landry. His second and third themes, both found in Florida, are the central role that creativity plays in the knowledge economy, not however, for its intrinsic worth, but rather as in a supportive or facilitating role, as a factor of attraction for foreign firms. His fourth theme - and the one most resonant with the topic of this report - is the idea that the creative and cultural are "more inclusive: usually in the sense of a representation of non-capitalistic values, or as a humanist counter balance to economic accumulation" (p.14). The final strand, which is, if anything, under-emphasized in policy concerns, runs the opposite of the fourth and focuses on excellence of creative output in terms of artistic quality. Pratt identifies these themes as comprising a "fractured and loose web of justifying rationales for the creative city"

(p.14). These, in turn, yield common varieties of policy-making aimed at instrumentalizing culture: the defence of high culture and heritage, economic development through place making and competition, and social inclusion through small-scale neighborhood projects. Pratt's objective is to acknowledge and offer a corrective to neo-liberal celebrations of particular manifestations of creativity, as well as shift focus away from consumption-based notions and onto ones that are production-based (2011).

Pratt's focus on production is shared with those writing more recently on the topic, and could be characterized as the second wave of critical considerations of the creative city. The first wave focused on finding flaws with the thesis' neoliberal engine, questioning the coherence of the concept of the creative class itself, the viability of attempting to attract this class of people as an economic growth strategy and the dominance of notions of consumption. The second wave seems to have reached something of a detente with Florida, acknowledging his contribution to the widespread understanding of the importance of creative work (Donald et al 2013, Pratt 2010). Concessions are made to Florida in so far as he is able to accurately point toward a number of aspects of the contemporary creative city, but concern lingers that he is unable to identify what it takes to get people employed in the city. This is where the discussion moves into the second wave and the question of production.

> Any city that lacks a system of employment able to provide these individuals with appropriate and durable means of earning a living is scarcely in a position to induce significant numbers of them to take up permanent residence there, no matter what other encouragements policy makers may offer (Scott, 2006).

The most current issue (2013) of the *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society* is dedicated to the growing role of creative work in the world's advanced economies, with the editors noting that a long-term structural transition is underway. Work in the creative sectors is not only growing considerably faster than the overall economy, but creative work appears to be more resistant to economic fluctuations than lower-order service and manufacturing occupations. Writers focusing on how the sector has weathered the recent 2008 recession show that in the US (Gabe et al 2013), the UK (De Propis, 2013) and Europe (Pratt 2012, 2009), there is truth to this claim, with some caveats around the size of city – the bigger, the more likely to demonstrate gains in the sector, while smaller cities do not.

As mentioned above, Pratt (2011) sees the opportunity to make creative cities "a truly progressive field of policy

and practice," claiming that the "major prize" is "the exploration of diversity" away from "mono-culturally, economically," or "socially reductionist approaches." Leslie and Cantugal (2012) note that much of the creative class theory and its application in policy tend to reproduce and exacerbate racial and gender inequality. They call for scholars of creative cities to engage more rigorously with the realities of the creative industries and to bring attention to "explicitly anti-racist, feminist and anti-capitalist forms of creative production"(p.120).

Dovetailing with these concerns is Bain and McLean's (2013) contribution to the current volume of the *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society,* which focuses on collectivist approaches to survival that artists have traditionally deployed. This, in part, might account for the resiliency of the industry and its ability to weather the recession (Donald et al 2013). These collectivist approaches, however, are dependent on strong networks and connections to more stable aspects of the industry, something that newer immigrant or racialized individuals tend to lack (Grant and Buckwold, 2013; Leslie and Cartungal, 2012).

Even if we manage to facilitate equitable access to the cultural industries, concerns can still be raised about what exactly are the people – particularly young people – being brought into. Leslie and Hunt (in revision) argue that youth arts programs are a form of Foucauldian governance, creating particular subjectivities and notions of citizenship based on the idea of the entrepreneurial subject who is left to fend for her/himself. Current trends around Schumpterian entrepreneurialism are a product of the American Reagan-era new urban politics which was increasingly identified with the promotion and, indeed, in many cases, the celebration of the entrepreneur (Ribera-Fumaz, 2011). Harvey (1989) defined entrepreneurialism in a manner that is resonant with common criticisms about the creative city itself:

> A public-private partnership focusing on investment and economic development with the speculative construction of place rather than amelioration of conditions within a particular territory as its immediate (though by no means exclusive) political and economic goal (Harvey, 1989).

The cultural entrepreneurial turn in the arts and, in particular, the youth arts should be regarded with caution. Engagement of this sort carries with it a large degree of government control as participating organizations are instrumentalized toward policies that do not necessarily emanate from the local community (Taylor, 2007):

> Rather than allow communities to forge their own direction, the various mechanisms by

which they are engaged and empowered often encourage alignment with institutional and government objectives and a demarcation of local interests not driven by communities themselves, and thereby such means act as a mode of subjection and means of regulating conduct (Pollack, 2012, p.3066).

Harvey notes the responsibility that neoliberalism places on the individual, with the state withdrawing from welfare provision and forcing more and more people into poverty. He argues,

> The social safety net is reduced to a bare minimum in favour of a system that emphasizes personal responsibility. Personal failure is generally attributed to personal failings, and the victim is all too often to blame (Harvey, 2005, p77).

Boren and Young (2012), however, emphasize the importance of getting beyond "conceptualizing 'neoliberalism' and/or 'entrepreneurialism' as homogenous and hegemonic entities stalking the globe" (p.5). They point out, "the planning agenda can engage state agency in a complex and hybrid manner that is neither predetermined by any neoliberalist prescription nor unequivocally neoliberalist" (p.5). They suggest the same applies to the creative city policy, as it can result in locally contingent variants that are not focused on attracting migrants with high cultural capital, but, rather, are focused on the development and sustainability of local culture. Attention should also be paid toward existing efforts to deploy the idea of creativity "in different ways and for different purposes than the marketing and rhetoric of city-scale policy would suggest, which may be happening at the level of subgovernment where 'culture' and 'creativity' is being used in the areas of education, sustainability, social cohesion and equality and personal development." (Boren and Young, 2012, p.7).

Boren and Young's view and Pratt's optimism and his call for a nuanced approach to the creative industries forms the foundation of this report. These industries have become - if not too big to fail, then too big and too important to ignore. The literature suggests that we are entering an era where an initial and very passionate response from all corners to Florida's intervention has settled. Shortcomings and blind alleys have been identified. However, the importance of these industries is no longer questioned. Hauling the creative city out of a neoliberal remit and into the promise of community building might now be considered the task at hand. This will have to be done with full awareness of the contours of the industry, particularly focusing on those who have been traditionally left out. Allen J. Scott points out, in a strong passage worth quoting in its entirety that,

This is not simply a question of income distribution, although more equitable economic conditions for all must surely figure prominently on any agenda of reform. It also involves basic issues of citizenship and democracy, and the full incorporation of all social strata into the active life of the city, not just for its own sake but also as a means of giving free rein to the creative powers of the citizenry at large. In the last analysis, any push to achieve urban creativity in the absence of a wider concern for conviviality and camaraderie (which need to be distinguished from the mechanical conception of "diversity") in the urban community as a whole is doomed to remain radically unfinished" (p.15).

2.2 THE TORONTO CONTEXT

In Toronto, the narrative surrounding youth arts has a prologue or, indeed, a first chapter that stretches back to1992 when Toronto youth responded to the Rodney King verdict with an evening of rioting along Yonge Street. The then-premier Bob Rae stated the riot "served to remind everyone that there were systemic problems that were not being addressed" (Black, 2011). The youth arts program, Fresh Arts was one of the governments' responses, a first attempt to address social inequity through neighborhood arts programming. Fresh Arts was developed as a recommendation of a Stephen Lewis report that pointed toward racism and inequity as the root causes of violence. The report recommended providing youth with opportunities to develop skills in their artistic discipline of choice (Carter, 2011). After five years of producing some of Canada's most talented musicians, including rappers Kardinal Offishall and Saukrates, Fresh Arts was predictably shuttered by then-premiere Mike Harris and his Common Sense Revolution. Flash-forward roughly ten years later in 2005 and the systemic problems are only getting worse (Hulchanski, 2010).

The 2005 "Year (or sometimes called the Summer) of the Gun" is the moment at which the current youth arts narrative often starts. Youth arts professionals often cite a run of gun violence — a record for the city at 52 — as triggering a flood of funding, some of which made its way to the arts.

The David Hulchanski-led report *Three Cities Within Toronto* divides Toronto's neighborhoods into three "cities" based on changes in income from 1970 to 2005. The report shows the higher income area slightly increasing in size, the middle-income area shrinking and the low-income are increasing substantially. Another significant trend is the very large increase of visible minorities in the low-income areas accompanied by little change in race representation in the wealthy ones. Hulchanski's employment data shows that there has been an increase in employment in the arts, with wealthier people increasing their participation in the sector by 233% from 3% to 10%, the middle class really stepping up to the microphone with a 500% increase from 1% participation growing to 6%. The poor, however, only doubled their participation moving from a small 1% to 2%. This statistic paint a picture of a rapidly growing sector – the employment changes for both the upper and middle income being the largest sectoral employment change in the City – but it is middle class white people who have overwhelmingly been cast as the cultural face of the city.

Considering this data, the 2005 Summer of the Gun logically follows the 1992 riot. It responds to over ten years of increasing racism and inequity, leading to anger and the potential for conflict. The Province's response to the more recent spate of shootings echoes its introduction of the Fresh Arts initiative. In 2005, A partnership was created with the United Way and a $46.6 million investment dubbed the Youth Challenge Fund (YCF) was "created as a pilot project to develop and incubate a new approach to funding and facilitating youth development – one that puts young people in the driver's seat" (Youth Challenge Fund, 2013). The YCF website (2013) itemizes the challenges facing many African Diasporic youth living in the city's most under-serviced communities: poverty, precarious employment, limited access to a number of amenities: education, affordable housing, safe space within the community, and relevant engaging community programs." The YCF states that it has "implement(ed) and practice(ed) a youth-led, collaborative, community-based approach, (and) committed $42.5 million to 111 youth-led initiatives across Toronto's 13 priority neighbourhoods." In addition to the Youth Challenge Fund, a number of other funding sources were created in the period, including ArtReach, a funder for racialized and other young people to seed projects and a shift in Laidlaw Foundation's priorities to a focus on youth led initiatives, and the McConnell Foundation, which continues to fund Artreach.

In addition to understanding these initiatives as part of a strategy of neoliberal governance, these initiatives and the programs that were triggered can all be understood as a part of the social economy; "a broad range of activities which have the potential to provide opportunities for local people and communities to engage in all stages of the process of local economic regeneration and job creation" (Molloy et al, 1999:11). Considering YAO as part of a social economy does not, however, make matters particularly clear, as the concept itself and its implementation have many contradictory components. In some instances, the social economy has the potential to "inculcate an ideology of self-motivation and self-provision, helping to return individuals as free market agents" (Amin et al, 2002). But other motivations also drive the social economy with links to the politics of grass-root empowerment, the ethics of direct democracy as well as utopian visions of a "counter-culture of survival or transformation on the margins of capitalism" (Amin et al, 2002, p.8). Thus there are a number of contradictory desires at play, and the YAO and other actors I studied often hold these contradictory views. Most of the organizations were keen to connect the youth people with the cultural industries and contribute to building entrepreneurial skills, while maintaining the politics of grass roots empowerment. An ethos of 'counter-culture' survival presented itself more as communities of care, with some individuals engaging with the young people in holistic ways, taking into consideration much more than simply their artistic or career aspirations.

3/ METHODS

3.1 MOTIVATIONS

This report is intended to provide a snapshot of the various trends in Toronto's youth arts sector and an understanding of the context within which key organizations operate, particularly in their attempts to 'professionalize' young people and include them in the cultural industries.

3.2 INTERVIEWS

This report utilizes 41 semi-structured interviews with workers within the youth arts sector, community and social service organizations, government officials, art council staff, employees of the Toronto District School Board, individual artists, administrators within both the commercial and nonprofit arts sector and young people who have participated in youth arts programs (See Appendix 1.). In many cases an individual may represent more than one identity and area of expertise.

My initial question, focused generally on the current state of the Toronto youth arts sector, was best answered through interviews of key informants, since this beginning research question, while certain of the target of study, was still relatively vague. With attempting to formulate a basic, introductory understanding of the youth arts landscape, the semi-structured interview provided a way to start more generally and adjust emphasis and direction of the research as a result of issues that arose during the interviews. Interviewing is often necessary for establishing motivations and preferences, but is also effective at establishing structural causes (Rathburn, 2008).

Other approaches toward studying the youth arts sector are difficult. The empirical data measuring the effects of youth arts tends to focus on establishing the veracity of claims that art yields psychological and social improvements (Roeper 2009), and does not consider youth arts in relations to the cultural industries. Secondly, and more generally, the creative industries are heavily context dependent (Pratt 2010), with insights from one region difficult to apply to others, thus other forms of research that consider other locales are unlikely to be applicable to the local Toronto context.

Interviews were conducted between September 2012 and January 2013, and ranged from forty-five to ninety minutes. Most were digitally recorded. Each was reviewed at least once, with transcription occurring for some sections, while some were more loosely noted. The quotations used are all from transcriptions. Two informants declined the recording and two interviews were not recorded due to limited access through cell phone.

4/ FINDINGS

I have divided the findings into five sections. The first deals with the effect the Youth Challenge Fund, Priority Neighborhood designation and other related initiatives has had on YAO. There has been a large influx of funding since 2005 and, as this cycle winds down and the government now adopts a new strategy [1], the older initiatives are dealing with a new, challenging climate. In the second section, I examine the YAO's objectives and itemize the predominate rationales behind mixing art, culture and young people. Generally, the unifying aspect of most of the organization's objectives is the desire to facilitate more economic power for the youth and build the young people as individual entrepreneurial subjects. The YAO are operating in line with a neoliberal agenda focused on fostering the individualist spirit of enterprise. In contrast, the third section presents characteristics possesses by the YAO that are in line with a social economy, one that intertwines for-profit activities with meeting social needs. While the organizations generally share a desire to address economic attainment, the wider tactics deployed often reveal a concern with the youth's other social needs and enact this concern through approaches that share traits with a more social economy. In the fourth section, the role the government plays is discussed, particularly with respect to their actions that are not neoliberal. In the case of youth arts in Toronto, the local government is attempting to take a guiding role, acting as a convener and triggering important initiatives. Finally, the fifth section concludes my findings with an enumeration of key challenges facing the sector, again with an emphasis on challenges that are inhibiting coordination and cooperation between the YAO.

4.1 THE INSTABILITIES OF INVESTING IN INDIVIDUALS

The large scale of the investments of the mid 2000s shifted the thinking of many young people targeted by the funds. According to a youth arts worker,

It opened up this new stream of thinking: I can now get money to pursue these various things. That translated into these arts organizations being created (Interview, youth arts organization, 2012).

However, this interviewee and others raised concerns about the sustainability of this funding, the level of constraint accompanying the money and the pressures that it put on the young people.

A lot of us got caught in what I call the nonprofit industrial complex and in a funding model that is not sustainable. It's very constraining and that really shapes and determines what your planning, goals and focus looks like - what your energy is put towards. A lot of us haven't been trained in any of this stuff, so we're sort of creating it as we go along. A lot of the organizations that were created after 2005 don't exist. A lot of individuals got burned out and left the sector (Ibid).

1 Ontario's Youth Action Plan (2012) remains focused on attempting to abate youth violence, with a more direct focus on employment than in the previous cycle, of which the Youth Challenge Fund was the centerpiece.

This interviewee raises a number of parallel concerns that speak to the effects of sudden generous funding as a mixed blessing and one that does not lead to sustained, deep change. The funding imposed a way of working that was limiting and it put a difficult onus on the youth to perform administrative tasks that were unfamiliar. The nature of these kinds of blasts of funding, guided as they are by constantly shifting political priorities, creates instability. The current funding levels have been reduced with the end of the Youth Challenge Fund, the scaling back of youth funder ArtReach and a shift of political priorities with a wider focus across the province and a narrowing of remit much more specifically on employment. The problem lies in the short-term, high-impact design of the funding and the need for a model that can account for longer time spans. The short and intense blasts of funding tend to, in the longer run, yield panic. A young person working at a service organization reported the intense stress in the sector,

> A lot of people are panicking because funding is drying up. People were given huge budgets. Now is totally different. I've seen a lot of people who are lost and confused in the sector, in this ambiguous weird state (Interview, youth service organization, 2012).

A funder reported the drastic situations he was witnessing in response to the rapid arrival and subsequent departure of the funding, "We're now seeing these young people who were receiving a million dollars, $500,000 dollars or even $100,000 seeing it sort of decrease and a lot of the support that came with it" (Interview, funder and artists, 2012)

It's important to place these figures in the context of general arts funding. As a young person starting out in the publically funded arts sector - through organizations like the Toronto Arts Council and Ontario Arts Council - there would be scant opportunity to access much over $10,000. By the standards of a typical artist starting to access public funding in Canada, the kinds of resources that were available during this brief period were quite substantial.

Adding to the instability that shifting political priorities create is the fact that through the funding and other supports, there was a focus on individuals and individual accomplishment. This characterizes the arts in general but has a particular salience with hip-hop and its surrounding forms, with its focus on artist as individual entrepreneurial (Muhammad 1999, Basu and Werbner 2001). This was raised as both an asset and liability by a youth arts worker, who pointed out that,

> Generation hip-hop believes that you can build something out of nothing. There's a

belief in never-ending possibility. But it is individualistic funding criteria that are shaping that, but not helping people with community or collectivization skills (Interview, youth arts organization, 2012).

This concern with individualism was echoed by other interviewees as another challenging and ill-conceived aspect to the style of funding. An interviewee from the social service sector who observed the distribution of funds from a distance reported that,

> They were giving it to individuals but it should have been given it to groups. That's faulty. There are individuals, who can lead organizations, but there are tons of people who work best in a group and it leads to a better society. It makes use of complementary strengths (Interview, Director, community service organization, 2012).

A youth arts administrator expressed concerns that the programs that have shown the greatest immediate results have "emphasized the more entrepreneurial 'art stars' and focus on the individual and the individual benefits of being successful in that field, instead of emphasizing how a community may be able to grow and find support for each other (Interview, community arts managing director, 2012). In communities that have plenty of role models and success stories, the 'star system' may sustain or exacerbate inequity. However, in communities that are not well represented in high profile positions, a few art stars might be necessary to demonstrate that success is possible. Those youth arts programs that do look to foster a high level of artistic ability tend to be very selective about who joins their program.

The current state of youth arts in Toronto can be characterized as one in which a concern over violence yielded a burst of funding that fostered many groups but has spawned a sense of fear and confusion as the government, just as quickly, shifts priorities elsewhere. Exacerbating the situation is the manner in which, particularly within the arts programs focused on hip-hop, with their focus on individual stardom and entrepreneurialism. In this light, the maneuver has a strong neoliberal rationale with the seeding of a multitude of projects, only very few of which could be expected to survive, given the short-term focus on the funding. Yet, what is produced is a cohort of more individual entrepreneurs. Examining the objectives of the YAO provides a clearer breakdown of how young entrepreneurs are being fostered, as most objectives and goals are in clear alignment with economic outcomes.

4.2 YOUTH ARTS ORGANIZATION OBJECTIVES

I focus now on the YAO themselves, examining their objectives and goals. The first thing to note is that all the organizations share, as their primary objective, the desire to make the world of the youth - in many cases, the world itself - a better place through addressing racism and inequity. That's the base line upon which all organizations are operating. This is perhaps due to the fact that arts programming in schools has been reduced, and the state funding comes with instrumentalized expectations. Making the world is better place is likely the default tendency to meet instrumentalized expectations. What makes each YAO unique in relation to one another, then, is their orientation toward a secondary objective: how it is they go about making the world of the youth they work with a better place.

The YAO in Toronto present roughly two secondary, distinguishing goals: education and entrance in the professional realm through training, showcasing and product development. Professional training, showcasing and product development represent the means through which this professionalizing is accomplished, fostering an entrepreneurial comportment. There is a strong focus on the arts and culture industries, often with the intention to connect young people directly to work opportunities and a career. Even considering education as a different objective, the goals of the organizations do not appear to consider the deployment of the arts outside of an instrumentalized use toward other outcomes, whether that's career or education, both resting on the idea of building a foundation for an economic future. That art-for-art-sake does not figure in these primary and secondary calculations might be more a symptom that the idea of art-for-art-sake itself is a form of instrumentalization, utilized in situations where art only matters as art and not as signifiers of social relations. This would be in a sterile homogenous environment, with diversity swept out of sight. The instrumentalized deployment of art toward education, professional training, showcasing and product development are all utilized as means to carve a piece of the action for the youth, allowing them to participate as visible representatives of their community, but more importantly, as representatives of the community at large, and to reap some economic reward for these efforts.

4.2.1 EDUCATION

The approach to education starts from the recognition that the public school system is unable to accommodate all styles of learning and many young people struggle with formulating a basic interest in the curriculum (Interview, teacher with the Toronto District School Board, 2012). Classes focusing on artistic forms have been drastically reduced across Canada, the US and the UK, with parents stepping in to fundraise for arts enrichment (People for Education, 2008). As a result of cutback in public education, other organizations have had to step in to provide arts programming to youth.

Within the Toronto youth arts scene, there are a number of organizations dedicated to education. Consistently referenced by many of the interviewees was Lost Lyrics, which bills itself as a "mobile and innovative learning community that empowers young people to create a bridge of knowledge between the streets and the classroom" (Lost Lyrics, 2013). Lost Lyrics, formed in 2006, works with young people in the Jane/Finch and Malvern neighborhoods and have developed an after-school program, sessions for artistic development and an internship program and received funding from the Youth Challenge Fund. Lost Lyrics delivers a complex set of programs, developing curriculum in collaboration with the teenaged participants. Art - in particular hip-hop - is used as a tool for developing other types of knowledge, concerning the history of Afrikville, 'hood politics, shadism and other issues. Lost Lyrics' commitment to the youth is long-term, providing programming that spans years, developing a familial relationship with the young people and their families (Interview, youth arts organization, 2012).

JustBGraphics, founded in 2008, and based in Jane/Finch partners with the TDSB, marketing a mix of different 'packages' of activities to schools including dance assemblies to attend to bullying culture, dance routines taught monthly to students and staff, and a number of different sized programs focused on dance, with bullying being a key target of the intervention. They also deliver programs that are directed at creating understanding across the student-teacher divide. Unity Charity was founded in 2004 as a student club at York University and is another organization that partners with the TDSB, using the arts to allow young people to find creative ways to "express their stress and develop skills for success" (Unity Charity, 2013). Unity is also primarily a dance program and offers

assemblies, performances and workshops on the various elements of hip-hop.

While not a youth arts organization as such, the Oasis Skateboard Factory[2] (OSF) was founded in 2009 and grew as an offshoot of the Oasis Alternative School, and works with young people who have not been successful in a regular school. The program gives the youth the opportunity to earn credits by participating in the research, design, build, marketing, sales and promotion of skateboards within the professional skateboard community. An ethic of social justice is embedded in the teaching, with the object of a skateboard acting as a canvass on which to project and study a complex multitude of social relations (Interview, TDSB teacher, 2012). OSF is a rare initiative that does not use the allure of music and targets a demographic different than the majority of youth arts programming, managing to snag some of the white youth who are falling through the cracks. It boasts a remarkable 95%-100% course achievement rate (Interview, TDSB teacher, 2012).

On the TDSB website, the Oasis Skateboard Factory is promoted as being focused on "entrepreneurial design and the business marketing of a unique product" (TDSB, 2013) and can accurately be described as facilitating a form of neoliberal governance with the developing of enterprising subjectivities, a claim that is most often leveled at the program by those in academia (Interview, TDSB teacher, 2012). However, there is a strong dedication to developing a critique of the program's activities with a teacher stating that

> (they) don't want to be your employee, (they) want to do stuff (their) way; but at the same time, they have a social conscience. I think that's the best combo. Kids who are thinking for themselves but also care about the community (Interview, TDSB teacher, 2012).

Engagement with education appears to present itself in a number of different ways within the Toronto youth arts scene. There are those organizations that use the arts and, in particular, dancing, to attend to other issues, like bullying and self-confidence. They offer their programs to the administrators of schools and often partnering with the TDSB. Another strain focuses on the content of what is taught, in the case of Lost Lyrics and the Oasis Skateboard Factory, communicating an alternative curriculum. Arguably these organizations are filling a gap where the public curriculum has failed to deliver, focused as it is on reading, writing,

mathematics and businesses course. Interestingly, it took an alternative school to make the point that, considering the continued growth of the culture industries, there is a good business case for a focus on the arts.

The remainder of the YAO's objectives are focused more strictly on eventually generating economic outcomes with professional training, showcasing and creating marketable products. Driving this focus is the imperative to produce cultural entrepreneurs, young business people able to turn their passion for the arts into a viable career.

4.2.2 PROFESSIONAL TRAINING

In this context, professional training can be defined as education and skills building that are focused on fostering a livelihood in the arts. While many of the programs may not offer professional training in the strict sense of providing accreditation or certification there is a deliberate focus on developing skills that will be applicable in the cultural industries. Many of the young people participating in these programs have limited access to extracurricular training and challenges to their participation in a post-secondary setting. Therefore, for many of the youth, these after-school arts programs are the beginning and end of their arts training, with the organizations hoping to connect the young people with all the professional network they will need.

Professional training comes in a variety of forms, with some organizations like the Remix Project, Scarborough Art's EAST, the TDSB's Oasis Skateboard Factory, and Arts for Children and Youth (AFCY) creating formal structures that involve an application process and specific curriculum. Most of the organizations are deliberately exposing young people to professionals and a professional milieu, with the intention to act as a bridge into the various industries. Others, like the Art Gallery of York University, which maintains casual ties to young people in the nearby Jane-Finch community, operate in a more ad hoc way, engaging individual young people on a project-to-project basis. Boss

Magazine, a well-designed and high quality glossy fashion magazine coming out of the Jane-Finch community stands-out as an effective balance between training and product, where the underlying social goal is to rehabilitate the image of the neighborhood, showcasing the talent, intelligence and beauty that resides there.

In a number of cases the young people are not necessarily trained for a particular art form or, for that matter, any art form at all. The approach to training often utilizes a very deliberate instrumentalization of the lure of the arts in order to attract the youth and, once their attention has been riveted, a range of other skills are shared or taught. More than one interviewee referred to Remix Project's philosophy of "the microphone as a Trojan horse." The strategy is to use the allure of performing and stardom to attract them to the program and get them in the door. Some organizations will bring in pop stars to perform for the youth and attract them to the programming on offer. One interviewee spoke very bluntly about the brain science behind their organizations' very deliberate triggering of teen endorphins.

> We hook them by bringing in the stars. The artists come in and the endorphins go through the roof and they come back the next day. Then we introduce them to all of the people behind the scene (Interview, youth arts organization, 2012).

The arts are sustained and driven in bulk by the variety of tasks and vocations that exist well out of the spotlight, but without which the show could not go on. These organizations understand that the young people are looking to be a part of something exciting and that, once attracted to the industry's most public activities - the rapper on the microphone, for example - there are plenty of other ways to connect to the industry and possibilities for employment.

A City of Toronto government division director characterized this technique as using the power of "the scene,"

> (The youth) all love this scene; how then do we translate this passion into something that (they) can make a pay cheque out of? How then can you translate this thing into other career possibilities? It's about getting them in, using music as a hook, exposing them to all of these other things and then customizing a plan that's going to professionalize (Interview, City of Toronto staff, 2012).

This works well with youth who know what they want, but as one interviewee pointed out, it's not so strong with those who are still shopping around for inspiration (Interview,

youth arts organization, 2012). The Manifesto Festival, the other major player in the youth arts sector, keeps it more casual, with participants describing a process of drifting in and taking part in the organization's public events. Again, it remains the lure of the scene.

The YAO in Toronto are very much concentrated on professional possibilities for the participating youth and are keen to exploit the allure of the industry's most public roles, like the MC, for example. Attempts are then made to connect young people with other aspects of the various industries that interest them, including the youth arts industry itself, the first place that many of these youth access employment by leading workshops for other younger people. The entrepreneurial focus of this training is evidence of a bootstrap capitalism, something that has characterized the American version of the hip-hop industry, in particular. Music and performing remain one of the few ways that groups who are facing deprivation and few prior capital and symbolic resources can build and develop individual entrepreneurial success (Basu and Werbner, 2001).

4.2.3 SHOWCASING AND CREATING PRODUCTS

Within the arts, and particularly the performing arts, showcasing, creating and distributing artistic products plays a central role on the route to professionalization. A showcase provides participants an opportunity to demonstrate their prowess in a situation that is pre-professional, with lower expectations and creating, packaging and market product provides a first step toward monetizing artistic efforts. Many performance training programs at the university and college levels will dedicate the final year of the program to different projects intended to showcase the young performers to the wider community.

Toronto's youth arts scene features a number of organizations that are strictly dedicated to showcasing with Manifesto, a festival dedicated to urban arts, being most prominent. Other organizations' youth often end up on their stage or otherwise participating at their events. Manifesto was developed through a series of meetings at City Hall in 2007 in response to a need to showcase the abundance of urban art production that did not have access to more traditional venues (Interview, youth arts organization, 2012).

It has grown from a showcase festival at Nathan Phillips Square to a weekend-long urban arts intensive festival. The 2012 September weekend featured *Doin' It In the Park*, a visual art and award ceremony focused on breakdancing at Regent Park on Friday, September 21. This was followed the next day by *Fresh Arts 20 x Manifesto Summit*, a daylong conference-style summit at Ryerson University on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of Fresh Arts, the original youth arts program from the early 1990s.

The summit focused on the power and business of art, the ongoing vilification of black youth and the grassroots effects of hip hop on local communities. Sunday included the *Walk for Youth Arts*, which was, for all intents and purposes, a political demonstration demanding recognition for the importance of youth arts. The weekend culminated in the festival itself, all day Sunday into the evening, which provided a forum for music, dance, fashion and food. The event filled Nathan Phillips Square with young people displaying and their goods both onstage as performers and at the accompanying pop-up market.

106 & York, a sister organization to Manifesto, presents a festival in the northwestern area of the city to address the needs of young people in the neighborhoods of Jane/Finch, Rexdale and Weston Mount-Dennis. 106 & York emphasizes the need for a positive outlet for the youth living in their catchment neighborhoods. The event is focused on much more than simply a showcase for young people's talent, but was created specifically to respond to the paucity of local opportunities in areas other than downtown. The event celebrates the youth and responds to the widespread negative stigmatization of these communities (106 & York, 2013).

With respect toward artistic product for sale, this an area of growing concern for YAO as they begin to develop other models of raising funds. Aspects of social enterprise come into play, as there is some hope of generating revenue from these activities to support the various programs. At this point, products produced by the youth include stage shows featuring music and dance, music CDs, magazines, clothing, skateboards, videos, screen-printing as well as some consultation and speaking engagements for founders of the more successful organizations. Focus on quality of products is strong, but not as a commercial necessity - though that certainly is a factor - but it is also understood as a means to trigger a change in how the youth perceive themselves and are perceived by others.

While both Manifesto and 106 & York provide the youth an opportunity to showcase their skills and sell their products, they also demonstrate a complex and very conscious mix of entrepreneurial spirit and collective community building. For these organizations, showcasing and developing products are located at the center of a wider experience that additionally focuses on social questions related to inequity and racism. While connecting the arts to social justice is not unique, these festivals stress both social justice and the entrepreneurial. This is a contradictory mix that presents individual performers and artists as entrepreneurial subjectivities, but also strongly emphasizes community fortification and empowerment. This mix characterizes the general tone of YAO and their orientation toward professional economic success while still maintaining a dedication to a better world for the youth.

Economic equality and access is what is driving these organizations, with the hopes of fostering sustenance for the individual youth, and for the organizations themselves. The economies that are being developed, however, have many aspects that are indicative of a social economy, with attempts to create relationships of value production that provide more than economic gain, but contribute to the formation of communities of support.

4.3 CRACKS WHERE THE LIGHT COMES IN

Attempting to gain access to economic opportunities is one way in which these organizations are attempting to make the youth's world a better place. However, within their institutional approach there are quotidian manifestations of other ways in which the organization are entering and affecting the lives of the young people. These could be considered cracks within a more purely economic objective that aims to simply foster entrepreneurial subjectivities, but, instead, can be understood as part of a social economy that considers value in places beyond money, creating subjectivities that are more collectively oriented. These cracks, in fact, at times reveal the progressive drive at the heart of many of these initiatives. It's important to note that, to a person, the interviewees directly involved with the youth, funders, government and the youth themselves, state they are committed to deep and widespread social change. I heard relatively well-placed people call themselves Marxists; others state that Malcolm X's 'by any means necessary' is currently the philosophy they were applying as they fostered entrepreneurial subjectivities and admitted

a great deal of ambiguity and misgivings toward this directive; and I found self-described anarchists working as youth-arts-administrators-by-day. There was a critically practical approach with a nimble ideological flexibility - a leg-span able to stand astride contradictory political positions without discomfort. Two words sum it up: long haul.

I now turn to four key aspects within the YAO that demonstrate an approach to economic integration that contains elements of a social economy, where social amelioration and fortification are the key objectives. I first examine leadership and, secondly, mentorship, focusing on the recent proliferation of youth led initiatives that put young people in the driver's seat. Thirdly, I examine the YAO orientation to succession and the various ways in which they are building systems to incorporate young people into their core operations. Finally, the YAO are examined with respect to their orientation to the creative industries, in an evaluation of their potential for providing a pathway toward professionalization for the young people.

Leadership, mentorship, succession and orientation toward the creative industries can serve as a framework for understanding how the organizations maneuver the terrain toward the professionalizing of the young participants and to what degree that professionalizing carries values associated with an up-by-your-bootstrap ethic or one that recognizes the necessity for more collective approaches.

Leadership is, quite simply, leadership and it central role is obvious. Mentorship speaks to orientation toward the youth with respect to depth of commitment, which is taken even further and deeper with the concept of succession. Therefore leadership, mentorship and succession all speak to the manner in which an organization deals with power and how it is shared amongst participants. Finally, attitude and orientation toward the economic world of the professional cultural industries requires analysis in so far as the industries form the target of many of the initiatives. The cultural industries are one of the key realms that the YAO turn toward to sustain their power and to generate more; economic but also other forms related to the power of social ties and networks.

These four aspects can be considered an important foundation with respect to both fostering entrepreneurial subjectivities and developing an economy rooted in social imperatives - they all are involved in both tendencies.

4.3.1 LEADERSHIP AND MENTORSHIP

While the sector has a mix of both youth-led and adult-led initiatives, the funding since 2005 has focused largely on the former. A number of the organizations are strongly youth-led, including Lost Lyrics, Manifesto, 106 & York, Unity Charity, and Boss Magazine, all with founders still in their twenties.

Putting power directly into the hands of young people appears, at first glance, to be progressive; building youth capacity and creating on-the-ground organizations that are very responsive to their needs. On the other hand, it still can be considered within a self-help agenda, as the young people are expected to solve problems for themselves, without much external support. Combined with a model that is focused primarily on project-based funding, and the situation can be seen as a rigorous training ground for other sectors. The realities of a project-based funding model meaning that,

> people are trained, they learn stuff but to support themselves they have to leave the sector. They head into the public sector. They go and work for the City of Toronto (Interview, youth arts organization, 2012).

While there's no suggestion of a deliberate strategy, this insight points to a structural shortcoming that favours the City and other organizations that stand to benefit from the hard work it takes to run a YAO, by scooping up young people once they have got enough experience under their belt. This puts the young organizations in the position of being the de facto training ground, where financial hardship serves to force the youth to develop innovative strategies that are then captured and utilized by the state. [3]

This serves the function of inhibiting the accumulation of institutional knowledge, with people regularly leaving the sector. In addition, the emphasis on youth-led initiatives also interferes with particular cultures' learning styles that look toward older generations for knowledge.

> Funders are all very much interested in youth arts, youth this, youth that, but most of us come

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3   I have seen a young producer of colour intentionally head-hunted by the Canada Council, lured away from a grass roots arts organization by a lucrative and long-term employment opportunity. There is certainly a need for more diversity at the Canada Council and the need for these young people to have stable employment, but the better approach would be to ensure that the positions in the arts organizations were stronger. In this case, I am of the opinion that her talents and skills have been wasted, particularly since her advancement up the ranks at the Canada Council was very slow.

from cultural communities that are much more invested in intergenerational learning. We've really alienated ourselves by labelling ourselves 'youth arts' or 'youth organizations.' It's really necessary for us to stop this and to learn from the lessons of other generations (Interview, youth arts organization, 2012).

Focusing on youth through the concept of "youth-led," cleaves older community members away and disqualifies older models of caring and helping for each other more characteristic of the welfare state. This is likely particularly challenging in the case of communities with an abundance of older immigrant adults faced with a perplexing new culture and a younger generation encouraged to - in fact, funded to - exclude them. When combined with the fact that funders favour programs that prepare the youth for the job market through individual professionalization, a picture emerges of a break between generations with young people losing connection with their parents' socioeconomic forms.

Another repercussion of a youth-led remit is a romanticization of the creativity and innovation of youth, allowing some older and more experienced individuals to avoid responsibility. One interviewee noted that,

When I was new, my co-worker was in the sector for 12 years. He was reluctant to tell me what to do. He was insisting that I was young and that I have all the energy and innovative ideas. I wanted mentorship from him, but he didn't give it to me. He was all "you take it, you take it" (Interview, youth service organization, 2012).

Youth-led as an organizing concept needs careful consideration and implementation, holding, as it does, possibilities for youth abandonment, the shirking of responsibilities, denying of experience and a youth divided from older knowledge, experience and individuals within their communities. A cynical - but not completely unrealistic - reading of the situation frames the state as dividing communities, and inculcating youth through a professionalization process that emphasizes individualistic forms of organization. In turn, the intense workload as a result of short-term project grants, produces innovative and dynamic young workers who, once they have had enough of the challenges of the not-for-profit landscape, are snapped up by government and higher level not-for-profits.

There's evidence that there is recognition of the need for more external support for the participants and for the younger organizations themselves. Significantly, almost all of the YAO studied are in the very early stages of developing complex mentorship models. These are multi-year plans

that also feature the young people mentoring following cohorts. The near unison adoption of complex multi-year mentorships models across the entire sector speaks to the recognition that support is needed and that, additionally, through supporting others a personal mastery is generated. This support comes from both the cultural industries themselves, with artistic mentorship, but, as well, internal to the YAO as one cohort of youth is scheduled to mentor a following cohort.

Four general approaches to mentorship exist. Oftentimes professionals established in the cultural industries are brought into teach workshops in short-term engagements. Young people are also brought into an organization, in a form resembling apprenticeship, which tends to focus on the administrative, rather than creative aspects of the organization. Peer to peer mentorship also exists – for example, Manifesto's Each One Teach One, referenced by a number of interviewees. This features those youth who have gone through a program, now turning toward younger people and sharing their skills. Finally, there are casual mentorships with artists and others that occur through the activities of the organization.

Mentorships provide a means for fortifying the idea of collectivity, particularly when the mentorship is understood as being a two-way street. One interviewee, who manages a multi-purpose community space, spoke of 'shared learning,' particularly in the context of a youth led organization.

Am I just a mentor? That's very traditional. If we have young people in the driver's seat we want to pair them with adult allies. The training wasn't just for the young people but for the adult allies as well (Interview, Manager of community programming space, 2012).

Chavez and Soep (2005) refer to the concept of 'collegiality,' where the activities undertaken and the work produced affect the professional standing and reputation of the mentors as much as - if not more - than the youth. This is much more a characteristic of the younger organizations that have developed since 2005, with younger staff much more inclined to view and treat the youth as colleagues, sharing objectives and destinies.

The consideration of collegiality also raises the question of the manner in which professional networks are being shared. A range of strategies is utilized, depending on the needs of the youth, the degree to which the relationship is between relative equals and the youth's level of vulnerability. With youth-led organizations and organizations with a very clear objective to facilitate the youth's entrance into the industry, this aspect is strong.

However, a transitional space between the programs and the industry is not as developed as it could be, with one interviewee stating that,

There's a gap between what we can train and what you need to make a go of it professionally. It would be good for people to be out of their comfort zone by working with other organizations - as a bridge between the youth arts world and the professional world. I'd like to see us swapping these people around like baseball players (Interview, youth artist organization, 2012).

An organization's orientation toward time spent socializing with participants is also important to consider and is a central component of mentorship for organizations including Remix, Manifesto, Unity Charity and Boss Magazine. Within a number of the recently formed organizations there appears to be a near familial dedication to the collective, with many of the organizers speaking of 'family' and acknowledging a familiarity with the youth's parents. One organizer described their organization, pointing to the names of the staff on the annual report, enumerating the longevity of the relationship,

This guy is from my crew, this person started as an artist 7 years ago. I've known this guy since I was 13; he was part of my crew (Interview, youth arts organization, 2012).

The interviewee went on to describe the extensive relationship sustained with the young people who get involved with the organization,

We are often hooking people up with Internet, phone and helping them get their stuff together and helping them to write an email professionally. Trying to give them a home so they have time to tap their passion (Interview, youth arts organization, 2012).

Another interviewee described the feelings between the organizers and the youth,

There is so much love; I'm more of an older sister. We're invited to weddings and baptisms. It's family. I'm an older aunty. (Interview, youth arts organization, 2012).

And yet another spoke in much the same way

It's a family community in the space. People get to know each other through potlucks. There's always something going on - hanging out at a film festival. The interns are always invited (Interview, youth arts organization, 2012).

In the turn toward entrepreneurialism, these more porous and caring relationships might function as an impediment to the threat of individualism that has been raised by a number of the interviewees.

As a base for community development and activism, friendship acts as a principle toward a re-embedding of the economic in the social (Polanyi, 2001; Abensour, 2001), allowing for more than simply monetary goals, but more complex bottom-lines. Many of the YAO use a friendship based mentorship both as way of developing grass-root empowerment and professional connections to an industry where social capital plays a large role. Thus the orientation to the industries themselves and the role that the YAO play to facilitate their young participants' entrance is another important aspect showing a multivalent orientation toward the development of entrepreneurial subjectivities, which will be discussed later in this report.

4.3.2 SUCCESSION

Succession is a concept that is being considered by many of the YAO, particularly those who are mandated to be youth-led, as they face a core team that is aging. Thus succession is on the mind of many of the YAO, as the current generation of youth-leaders move into their thirties and the participants drift out of their teen years and become positioned to begin to design and run programs themselves. When an organization is mandated to be youth-led, succession becomes an unavoidable reality.

When we started everyone was in their mid-twenties, and now we're all hitting our thirties. Our objectives are youth focused but we're not a youth led organization, anymore. In 2013 we're going to start to work with a lot of younger kids. (Interview, youth arts organization, 2012).

As mentioned above, this is a challenge that needs to be managed carefully, as it threatens to deprive the organization of hard-won knowledge and intelligence.

The style of succession being considered is often focused on direct succession within the organization with former youth participants moving in to roles of greater responsibility. Succession, in this manner, can be considered something of a challenge to neoliberal directives and a nod toward a more social economy. A conscious long-term

dedication to an ethical evolution of young people, who start from a position of client or consumer of services and then, transit into the core of the organization, allows them the opportunity to accrue some of the value the organization is generating.

Succession occurs in a number of ways, the most common form featuring the youth being hired as staff, with many of the nascent mentorship models designed to facilitate this process. Another strategy is to create offshoots that are either completely new entities or remain under the auspices of the organization. A representative from an arts service organization wanted to see more of this but with the maintenance of an "umbilical" relationship, so that the younger organizations were not let go completely, remaining close enough to avail themselves of resources and infrastructural support (Interview, community arts umbrella agency, 2012).

Absolute succession, with new young people tagged to assume control of the organization, only exists as a desired ideal located somewhere in an indeterminate future. Significantly, however, more than one person interviewed characterized this as the ultimate dream and that "it doesn't make any sense if there's no succession - in order to work within what we're doing and continue the advocacy of what we stand for" (YOA Organizer). A director of a larger organization that administers a large facility stated "Succession is the plan. There's a running joke that they are going to move into my position and take my job. That's music to my ears" (Interview, community venue director, 2012). This very affirmative attitude toward absolute succession presents the picture of a very unique social service organization, viewing, as it does, their marginalized and at-risk clients as the individuals who - if all goes well - will be running the organization eventually. Considering that the clients are young people - very often children, at the beginning of their relationship with the YAO - suggests an absolute social and community embeddedness, that considers the entire lifecycle of a community.

4.3.3 ORIENTATION TOWARD THE CREATIVE INDUSTRIES

The YAO's relationship to the creative industries is an important part of their function in the lives of the young people in these programs. There are generally two orientations that loosely divide the organizations into those that were founded by adults before 2005 and those founded by young people themselves in the years following 2005. Those YAO that existed before 2005 conceive of their practice as 'community arts,' quite distinct from contemporary or the urban arts and often feel marginalized within the arts community (Leslie and Hunt, in revision).

> Community arts and contemporary arts are separated. I'd like to find a spot for what we're doing in the contemporary scene. To get an arts program started somewhere is hard, but to push it to the next level in terms of more abstract conceptually is trickier (Interview, youth arts organization, 2012).

This view, however, is not shared by those in younger organizations who work with artistic forms - almost exclusively hip-hop - invented by young people themselves. The absolute dominance of hip-hop within the urban youth arts sector cannot be explained solely with reference to a particular culture; it's not a black expression, per se. Hip-hop is the youth genre of the moment, and a very complex and comprehensive one, perhaps the first to unify almost all artistic forms under one banner, and inventing a few along the way: breakdancing, beat-boxing, graffiti, MCing and DJing. Unlike other artistic forms, hip-hop also values a very entrepreneurial ethic as a part of the form itself. However, contradictorily, there is also a value placed on community and community building. This contradiction is very much a part of the landscape of many of the contemporary YAO in Toronto. A product of this contradiction is the fact that the facilitation of the youth in their transition from youth programs to professional participation is the intention of many of the programs. There is both an individualist up-by-your-own bootstraps fashion but, as well, a collective and coordinated effort to take care of young, newer participants.

> We pay them the crappy nonprofit salary and help them get crappy art gigs. The idea of putting together two crappy salaries and making a decent one takes away the pressure to raise big dollars. We've got a beat boxer learning how to do speaking engagements. We haven't fully figured it out. But that's the idea (Interview, youth arts organization, 2012).

Youth arts festivals like Manifesto and 106 & York in which the younger, more recently founded YAO, participate, also feature performances by seasoned professionals side-by-side with youth from programs around the city. An equivalent cannot be found in other genres; the professional contemporary visual arts, performance art, or literary arts scenes do not possess prominent public showcase events that feature pros and up-and-comers sharing the same stage to the degree seen at these festivals. Nor do these industries look to particular youth or community arts programs as feeder programs to the industry itself. This appears to be a trait exclusively possessed by urban art forms.

In this section I have focused on four key areas of concern within the internal functioning of the youth arts organization. The four areas of leadership, mentorship, succession and orientation to the cultural industries all speak to how a given organization is performatively enacting and materializing their objective to make the youths' world a better place. Through the application of these four aspects, many of the YAO are playing multiple roles in the youths' lives, ranging from the role of the government social service intervention, to the role of the friend, to the role of professional colleague within a business milieu. These roles all function at varying degrees of prominence, at times in conflict, and produce a landscape characterized by blurred distinctions between the social and the economic.

YAO are a uniquely positioned entity. Because their main clients are young people - oftentimes children - they can be very clearly identified as serving a social function in society. However, the most recent wave of YAO that were formed in Toronto since 2005, often possess traits that are decidedly economic. These programs are training young people for the various industries, with the promise - and not such a hard one to make - that, if they like, they, too, can participate as professionals in these industries in due time, to some degree. Yet, because these are not yet adults, a high degree of attention must be paid to their needs and their vulnerability. They must be fed, provided transportation, negotiations must occur with parents and schools, etc. Therefore they are not individual economic actors - not mini businesspeople. But they have also been tagged, through their participation in these programs, as potential recruits within the organization and within the industries. This blur between the social the economic may be seen at the economic infiltrating the social - which would be considered a neoliberal strategy. On the other hand, it also can be understood, even if it is at a smaller degree, to be the social infiltrating the economic. Particularly when succession - in a very familial form - is so much on the minds of these organizations.

4.4 ROLE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The City of Toronto itself plays multiple roles with multiple agendas emanating from different divisions. Their role is, at times, very much focused on the economic development of a young entrepreneurial cohort of youth but at very close proximity and with an abundance of participation. In particular, the City of Toronto government, Economic and Culture; and Community Development, Finance and Administration divisions are involved with YAO. Their participation in collaboration with the Province of Ontario and the United Way through the Youth Challenge Fund in addition to the Priority Neighborhoods designation and the Strong Neighbourhoods task force, occurs in partnerships that throw a bit of a wrench into the descriptor 'neoliberal.' Neoliberalism is commonly defined "as a reduction of the social safety net to a bare minimum in favour of a system that emphasizes personal responsibility. Personal failure is generally attributed to personal failings, and the victim often to blame" (Harvey, 2005, p77). In the case of YAO, however, there is a widespread acknowledgement of systemic factors pointing to both poverty and racism in a number of reports including Poverty by Postal Code, Roots of Violence and Hulchanski's the Three Cities Within Toronto report. Through the Economic and Culture and Community Development, Finance and Administration divisions, Toronto directly participates in neighborhood fortification in a number of ways, including developing the Neighborhood Action Plan, and convening Neighborhood Action Panels, with local business, social service and citizen representatives working together to strengthen the priority neighborhoods. In addition, the City has been involved with the YAO quite directly, through the organizing of meetings across the city in an effort to design and coordinate collaborative efforts. At times, City staff are rolling up their sleeves and getting directly involved with small youth arts businesses, and shouldering a significant amount of labour. This approach deviates from the neoliberal script and is indicative that the City and the YAO are forming temporary assemblages to accomplish things otherwise impossible.

Assemblages are a Deleuzian concept that affirms the ontological reality of gatherings of different actors and agendas, including nonsocial participants like space, inanimate objects and the built-form as well as social

conceptions like events, sign and utterances (Bryant, 2009). Delanda (2006) emphasizes that two key traits of an assemblage are that the different components within an assemblage exist outside of their relationships within the assemblage and that, therefore, an assemblage is not a totality. Assemblage theory can be contrasted with theories of political economy, of which the concept of neoliberal is a prominent member. Rather than looking for causation in political economic terms, "assemblage thinking requires that we resist the temptation to draw the explanatory conclusion before we have entered into the difficulty of things." Farias contrasts the 'critique' of political economy with the 'inquiry' of assemblage theory, stating that

> Assemblage thinking is indeed at odds with an understanding of critique based on a notion of power as a resource a ruling class possesses and of knowledge as an ideological construct that needs to be unveiled (Farias, 2011).

Within the realm of the YAO and the City of Toronto, there is evidence that individuals are stepping outside their mandated roles to join forces with the youth to form units of purpose that defy easy classification and could be described as assemblages. Even within the mandated bounds of their responsibility, the City and other related third sector service providers are working together in a variety of ways to provide support for the YAO, including the building of physical infrastructure, with the West Side Arts Hub, the planned Artscape facility in Weston Mount Dennis, the new facilities at Regent Park and the Spot in Malvern. These supports appear to take into account the intrinsic value of youth participating in art and culture as well as an the economically instrumentalized value. Adding to the assemblage view of how the YAO and the government interact is that, in the case of Toronto, the move that YAO make toward professionalization are all done within the context of a state-funded artistic community and, oftentimes, in collaboration with these organizations. Support, planning and co-ordination at the City exists, with guidance and support also coming from service organizations and funders like the Neighborhood Arts Network, Artreach and the Trillium Foundation as well as other professional arts organizations, most of which are state funded. These different organizations form assemblages that bring together the YAO with a variety of other agendas including diversion from crime, but also, not insubstantially, meaningful efforts to improve the arts as a place of welcome for racialized and marginalized youth. Of course, efforts also exist to generate entrepreneurial subjectivities, but sometimes these efforts are being made by actors who are very much concerned with the idea of a community of care and the social aspects of the economy.

Within the specific City divisions, there is the claim of applying an equity and access lens as a given, not as an add-on (Interview, City of Toronto staff, 2012). This fits within the portion of the creative cities script that promises inclusion and brands the city as such. Behind the scenes, however, in activities that would not be included in any branding exercise, the staff at the Economic and Culture Division have spearheaded a series of asset based community development meetings amongst the YAO. These meetings allow people to share opinions on what is working well within the sector, what is working not so well, what people have, what they need and what challenges are proving difficult. The Division's current objectives are focused on helping the YAO strengthen their administrative structures, profiling individuals and organizations, facilitating different forms of mentorship, with a hope to move organizations toward business pre-incubation and incubation. They also work with staff from YAO and mentor them within the Division itself. They believe strongly in cooperation and make efforts to reduce competition between organizations, stating, "partnership is the only way" (Interview, City of Toronto staff, 2012). As an example of a possible initiative, an interviewee offered the possibility of merging Just BGraphic and This sort of strategic, centrally planned thinking is, again, evidence that the state takes a very active role in the sector. Others feel that the Division is doing good work, a funder who is also a practicing artist stating that,

> Staff at city are doing an amazing job, across the board. The city hall initiatives are designed very well to serve the arts community. They create good relationships between stakeholders in the cultural sector and stakeholders in the financial sector" (Interview, public funding agency officer, 2012).

At City Hall the Social Development, Finance and Administrative Division is a part of the Neighbourhood Action Network, facilitating Neighborhood Action Teams, which contain representatives from across city divisions and other agencies. While their remit is much wider than arts and culture, they take a strong position of advocacy with arts organizations, and were key players in developing the Remix project (Interview, City of Toronto staff, 2012).

Throughout the course of this research, I found that many organizations look to the Remix Project for inspiration, but tend to focus on the three young men who led the project: Kendeh Bah, Drex Jancar and Gavin Sheppard, with Sheppard in particular, appearing as the main spokesperson. The Remix Project's history is documented elsewhere (Freire, 2009), but the anecdotal narrative surrounding its inception absolutely downplays the role of the city. Founding member Sheppard could do better with

sharing this fact, with many online interviews neglecting it entirely. His own account on the Huffington Post site under the headline Turning At-Risk Youth Into Entrepreneurs, zips past the City's majors investments:

> And then 2005 happened, the Summer of the Gun. A record number of young people decided to kill each other. So finally the political will was there: "We have to do something, but what?" And we had an opportunity to fill that void and we did (Sheppard, 2012).

While noting the City's involvement is important for an accurate account of history, more important to note is the tendency for younger or less successful organizations to negatively contrast their much more modest efforts, without understanding the indispensable leadership role that the Division and others, like then-mayor David Miller, played. Without major resource backing from the City there would be no Remix Project. While Remix does fit the neoliberal bill with their turning of at-risk youth into entrepreneurs, it's important to recall that Remix itself was not the product of a bootstrap capitalism, but came about as a multi-partner initiative. The Remix Project can be seen as what emerged from an assemblage of local grass roots youth, the Social Development, Finance and Administration Division, the Mayors office, and the Mayor's Panel on Youth Violence.

The lesson for YAO organizations is that the City can play a complex and varied role, with a City staff person encouraging contact with the local City Councillor,

> If there is a youth group or art group with some strong ideas and could bring that to a local councillor, even if there's nothing on the radar. If there's an opportunity, then it's easier. If a donor shows up with some money, there needs to be something there immediately to nurture their interests (Interview, City of Toronto, staff, 2012).

The local government plays a complex role with respect to the YAO due, in part, to the dual role that youth arts plays in the city as both a social intervention and as a means to inculcate entrepreneurial subjectivities. The City facilitates these roles primarily through two divisions, one focused on social and one focused on economic. However, both divisions participate in the YAO in both ways, with Social Development, Finance and Administrative also placing focus on the economic health of arts and culture initiative and Economic and Culture utilizing techniques of a more social economy, like asset based community development. This overlap or redundancy of concerns speaks to the multiple agendas that are at play and evidence of a desire to keep an eye on an ethic of communal support, while still aiding in the construction of individual entrepreneurials. As an

additional factor, the staff at many of the YAO also hold an ethic of communal support and are able to apply this even to the more individualist initiatives. While the City sends out mixed messaged and mixed intentions, generally the YAO are only tuned to the one frequency focused on community fortification, the other not managing to interfere with this intention.

4.5 CHALLENGES FACING THE SECTOR

The final section of this report's findings focuses on a list-like enumeration of the most acute challenges facing the youth arts sector. These challenges can all be framed in terms of resources: the cycles of funding distribution, the question of what institutional forms to adopt to best access resources, and inter-organization competition for funding and other resources. As a final brief coda, and succinctly representing the question of limited resources, is the fact that, surprisingly, most of the organizations have a weak and spotty Internet presence.

4.5.1 FUNDING CYCLES

Many interviewees brought up the problem of funding cycles with the consistent complaint that they are too short to develop a stable structure. Even the largest of foundation grants may not be enough; particularly when these organizations are youth led and people don't necessarily have the skills and connections to quickly develop the administrative structure. Many interviewees spoke with frustration about the current funding models, with either small grants for discrete projects or, if the funding was a larger foundation grant, multi-year strategic interventions meant to develop aspects of the organization toward self-sustainability. Smaller foundations and corporate sponsors are clear they have no interest in funding core operations. In the case of larger organizations, led by experienced administrators, the reluctance to fund core salaries makes a little more sense, as funders are keen to trigger specific

activities that they can attach their name to and reluctant to get involved with less visible infrastructural support. In the case of YAO, however, particularly those that are led by marginalized, racialized young people, it seems unfair to expect them to sustain themselves without more serious core support. There's no doubt these youth are innovative with their strategies of resource access, but the initial recognition of systemic lack that accompanies initiatives like the Youth Challenge Fund must be continued. Blasts of brief funding make no sense. Other funding models need to be investigated. For example, within the YAO that are managing to generate measurable outcomes in terms of employment, there might be the possibility to apply something like a social impact bond. Social impact bonds are a financial instrument that allows the private sector to assume the financial risk for a program. It requires programs that have very clear measurable outcomes, like rate of employment within the recent alumni of a given program, for example. Social impact bond raise a number of other concerns, but they provide an example of a funding option that is not locked into electoral cycles, with the social impact bonds lasting much longer.

4.5.2 USE OF THE CONCEPT OF SOCIAL ENTERPRISE AND THE RIGHT TO MAKE MONEY

Many YAO use the term social enterprise to describe their organization and activities, however this is a misnomer. The social enterprise model generally applies to either an organization focused on social goals that produces profits that are then reinvested in the company or a social service organization that provides commercial services, the profits of which, again, are reinvested (Manwaring et al, 2011). Not-for-profit arts organizations, on the other hand, operate in this manner without needing the special designation. The organization is free to generate revenue, as long as long as the money flows back into the operation through salaries, capital equipment, marketing and publicity, and project fees. In the case of arts organizations, then, the concept of 'social enterprise' does not represent a novel form. It appears to be misunderstood as widening the range of opportunities and activities an arts organization can do to raise funds, but this is not the case. Creating products is one of the things they

are free to do. It's what they are *supposed* to do. A number of organizations are attempting to offer ancillary services, like consultancy, speaking, or corporate facilitation to increase their revenues, but, again, as long as the services provided have some connection to the artistic work of the company, there is no risk of jeopardizing charitable status, which is the worst-case scenario.

The final point related to social enterprise and the Toronto youth arts sector is that, of the many interviewees, there was only one who spoke in terms of the social enterprise movement and demonstrated an awareness of the ideological aspect of the concept and possessed international ties to other organizations.

4.5.3 COMPETITION FOR RESOURCES

Another challenge is the industry-wide competition for resources that is particularly troublesome in the youth arts sector and does go a ways to inhibit the development of a more social economy. As well, sector-wide competition in the social services exists, exacerbated by the priority neighbourhood designation, leaving those outside the areas feeling neglected. Some organizations will not collaborate with those in the priority neighborhoods because they feel their innovative ideas are at risk of being poached (Interview, director, social service agency, 2012). Even within a given neighborhood, competition has been identified as an issue:

> The relationship between YAOs is very competitive. It is a business. Everybody is going to the same places for funding. 10 guys are from Jane/Finch. It's extremely competitive (Interview, youth arts organization).

Nor are physical resources being shared, as much as that might be easier to do than financial.

> People are not talking to each other about physical resources. I think that that needs to happen a lot more. I think people are missing out on opportunities and not identifying where there are gaps and where other organizations can step in and say 'hey, maybe we can do a partnered set of programming where we work downtown and they work in the inner suburbs

(Interview, freelance urban planner, 2012).

The challenge with sharing even extends to the youth themselves with competition for their time and resources. Their participation is tied to deliverables demanded by funders, so any external demands on their time, through collaborations with other organizations, for example, need to be carefully managed. YAO are often called upon by organizations that do not regularly work with youth to provide connections. It's a difficult paradox: there is the desire to connect the youth up with as many activities as possible, but if that means that participant numbers drop, that's a problem. [4]

Geographic-based resource differentials are also a problem, with performance venues being clustered downtown. In an interview with a prominent independent hip hop record label, the director could only name one venue that was not south of College Street, and that was only at Kipling and Dundas, not near any of the priority neighborhoods.

4.5.4 INTERNET PRESENCE

Finally it is not uncommon for YAO themselves or the projects that they create to have outdated websites, dead links and missing content. Considering the degree to which so much of this sector relies on the Internet, the widespread prevalence of this problem is surprising, even amongst those organizations with resources. However, the organizations have to be careful: an ironic problem for some is a negative response from funders for web content that is too slick. One interviewee stated he was told that his organization looked like they were doing fine, since he has invested a good deal of his personal, formidable design talents into his website (Interview, youth arts organization, 2012). The perverse irony of encouraging entrepreneurialism, yet punishing those who do present a professional facade is only exceeded by the fact that what this means is that the funders want their clients to look poor.

The youth arts landscape offers a view of the state, third sector organizations, the arts industries and the youth themselves involved in the two primary objectives of social amelioration - particularly in response to youth violence

- and, in turn, the incorporation of the youth into the arts industries. Violence that is the result of inequity and racism will likely only be affected to the degree that inequity and racism are mitigated. Attempting to break the cycle at the scale of the youth themselves admittedly does miss a good deal; the everyday racism encountered by racialized youth is not something that a cool hip hop program can address. The efforts of the YAO and their allies will only succeed to the degree that many of the other mechanisms, systems and relationships in these young peoples lives can also be changed.

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4   Other issues include, in my company Mammalian Diving Reflex's case, being asked to provide youth for projects that we might have ethical issues with. Requests for Tibetan youth to play gang members, for example, tend to be ignored.

5/
RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR YOUTH ARTS ORGANIZATIONS

- Youth arts organizations should get to know their city councillor, regardless of current need. Opportunities for space, donations and other resources are often simply a matter of fortuitous timing.

- Youth arts organizations should think toward collaboration through sharing of youth and an overlap or piggybacking of programming.[5]

- Those organizations with infrastructure should support others. For example, by occasionally share desk space, to provide a younger artist some companionship and a work environment. This could act as mini residencies.

- Youth arts organizations should coordinate the allocation of youth. There are organizations with youth pounding down their doors and there are others – often more neighbourhood-based - that sometimes find it difficult to attract youth to their programs. The organizations that have high demands on their services and cannot accommodate everyone - particularly Remix, Manifesto, 106 & York and Unity Charity, all of which provide services well above the neighbourhood scale - could connect the youth who don't quite fit their remit to other place-based organizations that may not have the same strict criteria for

involvement. This could be coordinated at the level of government.

- For interns or other short-term contract staff the YAO could develop an external placement in other organizations. When a young person is doing a placement in an organization, they could be seconded to another organization for the last month of their position. This would help build their resume with more variety, and build familiarity and connections between organizations.

- Youth Arts organizations should devise a comprehensive Internet and social media strategy, again shifting resources and priorities, if need be. The internet should be conceived as a venue for performance and avenues of distribution. The Internet is cheap and under utilized. Focus efforts on content and keep it up to date. This focus will attract other youth to the arts, ensure connections between live events and events and activities in cyberspace.

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5   For example, Mammalian Diving Reflex is working with our youth collective to make small documentaries about other youth arts organizations. Our youth acquire skills, while other organizations' youth gain exposure and, together, both sets of youth begin to build networks.

5.2 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR GOVERNMENT

- Provide more long term funding, with a particular focus on developing the core administrative infrastructure of the YAO.

- There should be more coordinated efforts between the Social Development, Finance and Administrative and Economic and Culture Divisions to reduce overlapping efforts and explore new areas to expand activities.

- The City should reproduce Remix in as many forms as possible, in small pilot forms. Sports are in the planning stages (Interview, City of Toronto staff, 2012) but possibilities could also include fashion, food, graphic design, and furniture design. If there's a way to make it cool, there's a chance the Trojan Horse approach will work. These should be developed with organizations that are already exploring the forms.

- Collaborate with the TDSB to utilize automotive programs to focus on design: Pimp My Ride with cars; or food in kitchens in schools to focus on unique brandable products. Design curricula around these efforts so that all the curriculum requirements are channeled through these activities. If it can be done with skateboards, it can be done with many other things.

- Explore alternative funding models like the social impact bond, which have the potential to provide longer term funding.

- Invite artist and youth into city offices to observe/dialogue in the process of policy making.

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE CULTURE INDUSTRIES

- More mainstream organizations should make efforts to get to know the talent in the suburbs and develop collaborative relationships.

- More mainstream organizations should not tolerate idle office or desk space. If there's room for another body, young artists should be provided with free space.

- More mainstream artists can take the lead on fostering private venues and clubs to perform music in the priority neighborhoods.

- Older, established artists should ridicule and shame their colleagues who don't engage with local youth, particularly youth of colour from the inner suburbs. Downtown arts events populated by predominantly white people should be vocally critiqued and even boycotted.

- More mainstream arts organizations need to dissolve the division between "community" and "legitimate" art. The visual arts has produced a respected form of community aesthetic engagement, sometimes called "social practice" or "relational aesthetics." Theatre, dance, media arts and the literary arts need to adapt and adopt these practices.

6/ CONCLUSION

This report has examined the current youth arts landscape in Toronto, with particular, but not exclusive, attention paid to the initiatives that followed the 2005 'Summer of the Gun' and the Youth Challenge Fund investment that was triggered as well as a number of other City and Province efforts.

Thousands of young artists have been cultivated across the city in dozens of programs in some of the city's most challenging neighborhoods. These young people are dedicated to using art to challenge inequity and racism. They not only bring incredible talent to the stage, but also innovative, collective and collaborative approaches to community and city building.

These young people and the youth arts organizations they have founded are now facing a modification in state priorities and are being encouraged toward entrepreneurialism and small business development. As funding priorities shift, these young people offer the possibility for rethinking how we relate to and collaborate with one another, and developing alternative economies of support. There are hopeful possibilities for collective innovation amongst these organizations and other stakeholders, including the City of Toronto and those in the cultural industries.

A good deal of my analysis was in dialogue with Leslie, D and Hunt, M, and their (in revision) *Securing the Neoliberal City: Discourses of Creativity and Priority Neighborhoods in Toronto, Canada.* I accepted their premise that there has been a convergence between the creative city and priority neighborhoods discourse and that the City and other stakeholders are fostering creative and entrepreneurial subjectivities within the youth. However, I tried to look for countervailing trends and identified aspects that can be understood as a part of the social economy; "a

broad range of activities which have the potential to provide opportunities for local people and communities to engage in all stages of the process of local economic regeneration and job creation" (Molloy et al, 1999:11). Grassroots empowerment is at the core of many of the YAO, as they attempt to make the youths' world a better place through individual fortification as well as fostering employable skills. There are nascent relationships between a variety of stakeholder that have the possibility for the creative city to fulfill some of its progressive promise. There is a cohort of very intelligent young people who have been raised in politicized cultural programs and who are determined to change the world. To whatever degree they begin to assume places of power and influence in the city – and they are - I believe they hold great promise. Fostering and building on this promise requires more effort on the part of the City and other stakeholders to provide long-term core support and aid in the coordination of a sharing of resources.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1:
LIST OF INTERVIEWS

- Seven youth involved with youth arts programming.
- Nine youth arts organization workers
- Three community artists
- Three staff at the City of Toronto, Community Development, Finance and Administrative Division
- Two directors of social service organizations
- One teacher from the Toronto District School Board
- One grants officer from the City of Toronto
- One grants officer from the Ontario Arts Council
- One grants officer from Art Reach
- One freelance urban planner
- One employee from the Neighborhood Arts Network
- One staff at the City of Toronto, Economic and Culture Division
- One director of hip hop recording label
- One director of community center
- One Director of neighborhood BIA
- One Director of neighborhood arts organization
- One Private fundraise
- One education officer from a university art gallery
- One staff at youth umbrella agency
- One youth arts producer, UK.
- One youth arts director, UK
- One youth arts director, Australia

APPENDIX 2:
SCHEDULE OF QUESTIONS

Questions for Youth Art Organization

- What is your organization and what does it do?
- What is your role?
- What is your professional background/interests/frame of reference.
- What are some of the current initiatives of your organization?
- How do you work with young people?
- How often does the organization work with young people?
- Do you work with arts groups? Who? How?
- How do you find more young people to work with?
- How do you: encouraging them to explore career possibilities in arts and culture
- What are your long term, medium term and short terms goals.
- What resources are in place for implementation.
- As I understand you're youth driven, I also wonder how you work with "old" people?
- Are their advanced professional cultural networks for you to tap?
- If so, how do you tap them?
- What kind of mentorship opportunities to collaborate with professional artists are there?
- Do you connect the youth with people in your professional networks? If so, in what setting?
- Do you connect the youth to your social networks?
- What kinds of social opportunities to spend time with professionals in an informal environment are there?
- What are your views on professionalization of young people in the culture industries?
- Thoughts on economic feasibility?
- Thoughts on social feasibly?
- Thoughts, if any, on the youth arts enterprise model?

Questions for City

- What is your title and role?
- Which sections of ED&C are you involved with?
- What is Arts Services?
- What are your responsibilities?
- What is the Arts Lab?
- What is youth arts enterprise? What does it look like? Examples?
- How are youth arts organizations working to train, build and support youth arts enterprise?
- Examples of organizations that are doing it well.
- How is it a valuable and sustainable investment in our city's future?
- Are organizations attempting to create enterprise that employs the youth they work with?
- What are your views on the economic viability of youth arts enterprise for the young people?
- Does economic viability matter?
- What supports does The City offer?
- What relationship does Economic Development and Culture have with Social Development, Finance and Admin
- Are you aware of any organization that has been working in the youth arts sector that now has core staff that grew up through the ranks?
- Are you aware of any strong professional mentorship programs?
- Are you aware of mentorship programs in which sharing of professional networks place an important role?
- What role does social capital and/or friendship play in efforts to enterprise young people?
- What aspect of the industry needs strengthening?
- What is the hope/dream/goals of you and your department with respect to this initiative?
- Are the goals phased and, if so, what are the phases?
- Who else would you suggest I talk to?
- What role has art and culture played in community revitalization?
- What role do you see youth arts engagement playing in community development?
- What role has art and culture played in youth employment?
- What have been the most effective use of youth arts engagement? What does youth arts engagement do well? What does youth arts engagement do badly?
- As far as you know, do youth arts organization make an effort to bring the youth into the core arts/admin duties of the company?
- What relationship does Social Development, Finance and Admin have with Economic Development and Culture?
- Are you award of ED&C's youth arts enterprise focus?
- Are you involved with that?
- What are some orgs that are leaders in youth arts engagement?
- What gaps are there?
- In your opinion, are youth arts workers offering the youth access to professional artistic networks?
- If so, how is that done?
- Since the Neighbourhood Action Partnerships, do you know of any orgs that have hired the people they were serving?
- Any of those people in leadership roles?
- You've been engaged in community building since you were 16. how did that come about? Any decisive moments, inspiring mentors, key shifts you experienced that could be replicated

APPENDIX 3:
ADDITIONAL
RECOMMENDATIONS

Recommendations for Academia through Further Research

- Youth should be acknowledged as producers of value. The readjustment in understanding the economic role of the household labour (Ciscel et al, 1998) needs to extend to those the housewife is minding: the kids. Young people produce value and, with the centrality of the Internet, this is becoming more and more so.

- Analyze the "market form" as Anglo-Euro culture. Many of us who are investigating the market as a possible way to generate value for our labour come from cultures that, until very recently, did not utilize the market form. We are learning a foreign language.

- Focus needs to be more on reparative analysis (Sedgewick Kosofsky) providing hope, rather than paranoid analysis that positions itself as ripping the veil off the eyes of a duped public (Sedwick Kosofsky). Acknowledge that 'the people' are not bamboozled and wandering around with false consciousness (Domhoff, 2005). It takes more brain power to look for positive potential than it does to smugly deconstruct power and slap awake ones more deluded comrades. Be kind and repair the social fabric. Don't startle people with trenchant analysis.

Recommendations for the Toronto District School Board

- Accept the fact that the Creative and Cultural Industries are becoming "Too Big To Fail" (Pratt, 2012), that culture and creativity are central to the economy and reintroduce them into the curriculum. Competent people who are not intimated by practicing artists must teach these courses. In turn, the artists must be humble and respectful of teachers.

- The Oasis Skateboard School model can be applied to all the auto shops across high-schools.. The same applies to with kitchens. Full curriculum can be taught through different objects and services. Particular forms do not have to be approached as separate courses but can be the receptacle for core curriculum.

- There is room for partnerships with artists to collaborate with the students on projects that can have curriculum outcomes.

- Artists require cheap space to work; giving free space to artists to rehearse could be reciprocated with an exchange for internships and mentorships.