



# A Portrait of Creative Entrepreneurship and the Creative Economy in Canada

November 2020



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The Brookfield Institute for Innovation + Entrepreneurship (BII+E) is an independent and nonpartisan policy institute, housed within Ryerson University, that is dedicated to building a prosperous Canada where everyone has the opportunity to thrive due to an inclusive resilient economy. BII+E generates far-sighted insights and stimulates new thinking to advance actionable innovation policy in Canada.

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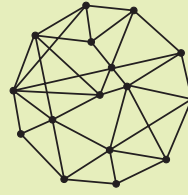
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The Women Entrepreneurship Knowledge Hub (WEKH) is a national network and accessible digital platform for sharing research, resources, and leading strategies. With ten regional hubs and a network of more than 250 organizations, WEKH is designed to address the needs of diverse women entrepreneurs across regions and across sectors. In response to COVID-19, WEKH adopted an agitator role connecting women entrepreneurs and support organizations across the country and led network calls and training sessions. WEKH's advanced technology platform, powered by Magnet, will enhance the capacity of women entrepreneurs and the organizations who serve them by linking them to resources and best practices from across the country.

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LETTER FROM THE  
AUTHORS: CREATIVE  
ENTREPRENEURSHIP  
IN THE TIME OF  
PHYSICAL DISTANCING



This literature review explores creative entrepreneurship in Canada, from freelance artists to large and internationally-competitive firms, and provides intersectional and gendered analysis on their work and businesses, and the role of creative entrepreneurship and creative labour in the innovation economy. It is the first in a series of reports by the Brookfield Institute for Innovation + Entrepreneurship (BII+E) examining creative entrepreneurship and creative work, building on our previous research on [tech workers](#)<sup>1</sup> and the [tech sector](#),<sup>2</sup> [women founders](#),<sup>3</sup> and [scaling firms](#),<sup>4</sup> and part of our research initiative on Women Entrepreneurs in partnership with the [Women Entrepreneurship Knowledge Hub](#).<sup>5</sup>

The Brookfield Institute launched this research project in Winter 2020, prior to the pandemic. As we write up our report in Spring 2020, the economic, cultural, and social landscape has changed dramatically, albeit potentially temporarily. Creative businesses and organizations have been hard and directly hit by the 2020 pandemic and public health rules forbidding public gatherings, events, and non-essential in-person work. Early statistics from the April 2020 Labour Force Survey reported the largest employment declines in industries that involve public-facing activities where physical contact is required, or limited ability to work from home. Employment

in the Information, Culture, and Recreation sector decreased by 23.8 percent between February and April, while overall hours worked fell by 37.5 percent including within performing arts and related industries, consistent with the cancellation of in-person events, and second only in sectoral decline to the Accommodation and Food Services sectors (-23.9 percent / -63.8 percent).<sup>6</sup> Many who are self-employed are experiencing deteriorating business conditions: across all sectors, 59.4 percent (1.2 million people) of solo self-employed people across all sectors reported working less than half their usual hours during the reference week, including 38.4 percent who did not work any hours.<sup>7</sup> Creative businesses and organizations with offices, studios, and storefronts are experiencing the same well-documented financial challenges as other commercial renters during a period of reduced or closed operations.<sup>8</sup> The impacts of the pandemic will likely be felt by the creative community for an extended period of time. As Music Canada reports, bookings for 2021 are far lower than usual for many music professionals, with many not expecting a return to the stage soon due to government restrictions or personal risk assessment of performing with the virus still present.<sup>9</sup> Physical distancing has also had an impact on collaboration and co-creation, with interactions between artists and creative spaces limited.<sup>10</sup>

Within this context, the pandemic has both exposed and exacerbated existing inequalities. Data on infection rates in the United States (US) by race demonstrates that Black, Latino, and Indigenous people are experiencing higher rates of infection and death due to a combination of lower health levels and higher exposure, particularly at work.<sup>11</sup> Public Health Ontario has identified “existing structural inequities [that] may contribute to increased risk from COVID-19 in Black, Latino and other ethnic minority and low-income populations [as well as] sex/gender, Indigenous identity, homelessness, incarceration, and migrant and refugees status.”<sup>12</sup> The Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives reports that, as of May 2020, two in five youth (aged 15-24) and half of workers making \$16 per hour or less lost their jobs or the majority of their hours, while many lower wage jobs such as grocery store workers, delivery and taxi drivers, and long-term care orderlies were deemed essential and continued to go to work at heightened personal risk.<sup>13</sup>

At the same time, consumption of virtual arts and culture is increasing and dissemination models are digitizing, including for-fee and free programming such as streaming services for television, movies, and music<sup>14</sup> and traditionally live performances now available on Instagram, Facebook, Youtube, Zoom, and Twitch.<sup>15</sup> Video game hardware, software, and accessory sales for the US for March 2020 were the highest they have been since 2008.<sup>16</sup> Many businesses have pivoted from in-person to online sales and delivery, or now offer curbside pick-ups, including bookstores and other retail outlets.<sup>17</sup> Dance studios have shifted online<sup>18</sup> along with performances, practice spaces, and classes of all genres<sup>19</sup> and new digital-first programming and educational opportunities have launched. For example, [CBC's Arts Uncontained](#) is commissioning original programming including digital originals, adaptations of plays that were disrupted by the pandemic, written and video diaries from artists, and museum and gallery exhibition tours. Taking advantage of the virtual medium to reach beyond local experts and participants, Ryerson's [Communities Create Initiative](#), supported by a consortium of Canadian media and arts organizations, hosts weekly creative workshops led

by Canadian artists and makers from a variety of disciplines.

There has also been a rise in the use of illustrated infographics, data visualizations, public art (including both unapproved city-sanctioned installations and [murals](#)) and other visual and art-based knowledge translation, dissemination, and declarations as a communication tool for public health, anti-racism education, and protest.<sup>20</sup> The Black Lives Matter protests response to the killings of George Floyd, Breanna Taylor, Regis Korchinski-Paquet, Elijah McClain, and others have used performance including [dance](#) and [music](#), photography, craft, and graffiti. Art has long been a tool for social change and connection, for communicating ideas and voicing dissent, and for participatory community engagement<sup>21 22</sup> and this remains true today.

New programming, mediums, and dissemination channels are making arts and culture more accessible to those with a fast internet connection and home devices, but it is not compensating for the full loss of income to individual artists, arts organizations, and creative businesses. ArtsPond reported an average income drop of \$25,189 and 36 gigs lost among 796 Canadian artist respondents<sup>23</sup> between March 30 and May 27, 2020. As of May 2020, the American Association for the Arts (AAA) was reporting a \$5.5 billion economic impact for U.S non-profit arts and culture organizations alone.<sup>24</sup> No comparative data is yet available for Canada where restrictions on event size, public gatherings, and business closures have been extended.<sup>25</sup> Ninety-five percent of the 11,000 artists who responded to a survey by the AAA reported that they had experienced a loss of income from their artistic practice due the pandemic, including cancellations, project delays, and illness, with an average annual estimated income decline of \$27,103. Sixty-eight percent reported that they had experienced unanticipated expenditures such as unplanned travel, new cleaning or disinfecting procedures, and new technology or marketing approach, and 80 percent said that they do not have a plan to get back on their feet, with more than half reporting that they had no savings. Sixty-six percent said they could not access the

resources they needed to continue their creative practice, including supplies, physical space, and social networks. Forty-nine percent of those who also worked in non-creative jobs said that they had been laid off or furloughed,<sup>26</sup> which may suggest higher numbers of hybrid employment in more precarious or predominantly in-person occupations.<sup>27</sup> In many countries, artists have the highest rates of holding second jobs, compared to other occupations, including high rates of combining employment and self-employment and using multiple job-holding as a transition stage to entrepreneurship, making them potentially more precarious in a recession.<sup>28</sup>

A survey by the Canadian Council for the Arts (CAC) reported that 61 percent of self-employed artists and smaller arts organizations and groups would need to rely on [emergency income support measures](#) in order to mitigate the financial impact of the pandemic, including the Canada Emergency Response Benefit (CERB), Canada Emergency Business Account (CEBA), and Canadian Emergency Wage Subsidy (CEWS).<sup>a,29</sup> However, access to these funds has remained elusive for many in the creative sector, with some applicants reporting that they are ineligible due to not earning enough income in 2019, earning too much self-employment income,<sup>30</sup> receiving royalties for past work, or having inconsistent income—all common realities in gig-based creative labour and micro-enterprises.<sup>31</sup> Many smaller arts organizations have also been affected, particularly those under a certain size, with budgets below \$500,000, and those whose workers are considered to be self-employed and thus deemed ineligible for payroll requirements for government wage subsidies through CEWS.<sup>32</sup> Such eligibility constraints have prompted some self-employed artists and cultural workers to reconsider gig or employment opportunities which would help keep them afloat during uncertain times.<sup>33</sup> In response, in April 2020 the federal government expanded the reach of CERB to include support for those still working but making less than \$1,000 a month and extending

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a The CAC survey did not account for those applicants who were eligible and reliant on Employment Insurance (EI) during the pandemic.

the program to unemployed seasonal workers who had exhausted their regular Employment Insurance (EI) benefits<sup>34</sup>.

Many in the creative and cultural industries have stressed the need for additional government assistance to address the challenges now facing their sector in the long term.<sup>35</sup> This advocacy includes, for example, an open letter<sup>b,36</sup> to the Canadian government, written in July 2020 by a group of independent artists, writers, technicians, and performers, alongside 34 arts organizations, guilds, and unions<sup>c,37</sup> asking for the “guarantee [of] basic income for those in need, regardless of their work status.”<sup>38</sup> As the group suggests, such a guarantee could be built on existing programs, such as CERB, which many artists already rely on for income while public gatherings and indoor venues are banned. Though self-employed people have been able to pay into and access EI as of 2010, uptake was historically low until CERB. As of May 2020, 40 percent of self-employed people reported applying to CERB, compared to 12 percent of private sector workers and five percent of public sector workers. An August 2020 announcement from the federal government confirmed that a parallel income support program, for those who do not qualify for EI, is forthcoming.<sup>39</sup>

The Canadian government has announced \$500 million in pandemic-related funding for arts, sports, and culture sectors, and the workers they employ. This includes funding aimed at “television production houses, publishers, community and local papers, music associations, and media organizations”, nonprofits that are “too small to qualify for bank credit or additional loans,” and

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b In the form of an open letter written by Zainub Verjee, Clayton Windatt, and Craig Berggold addressed to the Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, then-Deputy Minister Chrystia Freeland, then-Finance Minister Bill Morneau, and the Minister of Canadian Heritage Steven Guilbeault.

c Including the Writers’ Union of Canada, Playwrights Guild of Canada, the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees, the Canadian Federation of Musicians, and the Canadian Actors’ Equity Association, CARFAC Ontario, CARFAC Alberta, and others.

organizations such as [FACTOR](#)<sup>d</sup> and [Musication](#) that support Canadian music talent. Some provincial governments have committed additional funding, including \$250 million from the Government of Quebec to encourage creative professionals and artists to start producing again, announced just before recording studios and filming for TV and movies were allowed to reopen in the province.<sup>40</sup> Most major arts funders, including the [Canada Council for the Arts](#) (CAC), have decided not to claw back funding already spent on events or projects that were postponed or cancelled and are offering advances on funding for core-funded organizations<sup>41</sup> Several, including the Toronto Arts Council, have launched emergency funds.<sup>42</sup> The overall situation is one of challenging unknowns, precarity, and innovative resilience among Canadian artists and creative entrepreneurs.

Our aim with this paper is to paint a picture of creative entrepreneurship in Canada prior to 2020, identify areas for further research, and to help imagine a future for the arts and creative businesses. As of now, it is not yet certain what the medium or long-term impacts of the pandemic, physical distancing, and business closures will be on creative entrepreneurs, businesses, organizations, and workers. But it is clear that the sector remains culturally, socially, and economically vital, and that there is a need to understand the contributions and operations of creative labour and entrepreneurship and to creatively imagine a safe future for performance, collaboration, and convenings.

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d The Foundation Assisting Canadian Talent on Recording (FACTOR).



## INTRODUCTION: SETTING THE SCENE



### CREATIVE WORK AND FIRMS AS DRIVERS OF INNOVATION AND VALUE CREATION

Creative work, defined as “the work involved in the production of symbolic, artistic and innovative products within [...] creative industries,”<sup>43</sup> and the creative economy more broadly, is a significant sector in Canada and abroad and a major contributor to national gross domestic product and economic development.<sup>44</sup> It can spur innovation and knowledge transfer across all sectors of the economy, creating both commercial and cultural value and generating revenue through trade and intellectual property rights.<sup>45</sup> It can create experiences, contribute to vibrant nightlife or daytime culture, and provide entertainment, beauty, discomfort, and awe. At the individual level, arts and culture can encourage reflectiveness, empathy, understanding, health and well-being, civic engagement, and support education and learning.<sup>46</sup> As OCAD researchers Alia Weston, Sara Diamond, Rachna Kuamr, Royen Dion-Van, and Markus Gordon describe: cultural contexts, content, and activities can create a sense of identity, engagement, and relationships within and between communities, resulting in rich civic benefits and human bonds.<sup>47</sup>

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions notes that the cultural and creative industries are essential for inclusive economic growth, reducing inequalities, and achieving the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).<sup>48</sup> The 2018 United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) Creative Economy Outlook recognized that the sector is critical for fostering inclusive development and as an input into other small and medium-sized enterprises.<sup>49</sup>

Artists and creative workers and businesses are a significant driver of innovation in products, processes, services, and distribution,<sup>50</sup> both inside and outside creative firms and industries.<sup>51</sup> As Greg Hearn, Ruth Bridgstock, Ben Goldsmith, and Jess Rodgers describe in the introduction to their book *Creative Work Beyond the Creative Industries: Innovation, Employment and Education*, the dynamics of innovation in contemporary economies cannot be understood as deriving only from science and technology, but rather must include an understanding of the role played by those creative occupations that are engaged industrially.<sup>52</sup> *Creative Canada*, the federal

government's most recent major policy framework for the sector, notes that "the economies of the future will rely on creativity and innovation to create jobs and foster growth," and identifies creative content and industries as "an engine of economic growth and a competitive advantage."<sup>53</sup>

A 2008 study by Nesta on *Hidden Innovation in the Creative Sector* noted that much of this innovation is not visible or captured using traditional indicators including research and development (R+D) surveys and tax credit systems. This includes the development of new products, organizational forms, and business models; novel combinations of existing technologies and processes (e.g., repackaging and reselling media in different formats); on-the-job innovations (e.g., particular lines of code in video games); and taking advantage of new technological platforms for digitization and distribution for an increasingly sophisticated consumer and firm audience and clientele.<sup>54</sup> The United Kingdom's (UK) Arts and Humanities Research Council project on *Understanding the Value of Arts and Culture* noted that some of the most important contributions of arts and culture lie in the individual experience: "perhaps not economic impact but rather the capacity to be economically innovative and creative; perhaps not urban regeneration driven by large new cultural buildings but rather the way small-scale arts assets and activities might help communities and neighbourhoods."<sup>55</sup>

Digital endeavors are particularly important in both city-building and community projects, with successful cultural spaces and projects bridging the digital and physical, as well as promoting civic engagement.<sup>56</sup> While not all creative businesses belong within the "digital economy" or the "tech sector,"<sup>57</sup> some definitions include video game and software companies, digital design, virtual and augmented reality, and other fields that straddle the creative and the digital. Creative workers and firms are embedded in a range of industries including manufacturing, banking, and mining, as well as supply services to other businesses and the general public, such as architects, technical writers, UX designers, and illustrators.<sup>58</sup>

## THE SCALE OF CREATIVE ENTREPRENEURSHIP: FROM FREELANCERS TO INTERNATIONALLY-COMPETITIVE FIRMS

Creative entrepreneurship can take form in a range of firm scales and sizes, from zero-profit individual creative arts and craft practices to successful full-time freelancers to large firms, including Canadian branches of international firms and internationally competitive homegrown firms. However, a good portion of this creative work happens outside of formal employment relationships in forms of solo-entrepreneurship and project-based freelance work; what many researchers have described as "portfolio careers."<sup>59</sup> These patchwork contract-based employment situations reflect a need for individuals to be "entrepreneurial" in pursuit of their career and professional opportunities. According to Statistics Canada, workers whose main occupations were in *Arts, Entertainment and Recreation* were four times more likely to be gig workers than workers whose main occupations were in company or enterprise management.<sup>60</sup> As Alex Wong from *OCAD University's Centre for Emerging Artists and Designers (CEAD)* describes, the type of support needed by a freelancer or entrepreneur is very different from a scalable company, which should be considered in any policy framework or funding model concerned with this sector.<sup>61</sup>

*"Relative to other professional occupations, artists freelance at a much higher rate and have a greater share of workers switching into (and thus also out of) freelance in any given year. In short, artists disproportionately freelance and have a disproportionate churn through freelance status (which) may be related to labor market contractions."*

*—Joanna Woronkiewicz and Douglas S. Noonan, *Who Goes Freelance: The Determinants of Self-Employment*<sup>62</sup>*

## Defining gig workers

Statistics Canada defines gig workers as workers who “enter into various contracts with firms or individuals to complete a specific task or work for a period of time for which they are paid a negotiated sum.” This includes “unincorporated self-employed freelancers, day labourers, or on-demand or platform workers.”<sup>63</sup>

“Most creative workers [...] are contract labourers rather than permanent employees, are highly mobile in their place of employment, will typically experience ‘portfolio careers’ or multiple career pathways, and are less likely than in the past to be employed and trained through large, often public sector, agencies.” —Greg Hearn et al., *Creative Work Beyond the Creative Industries: Innovation, Employment, and Education*<sup>64</sup>

## GENDER AND INTERSECTIONAL DEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS

Many of these creative workers and entrepreneurs are women, non-binary people, and those of other marginalized genders who are not well captured in older national surveys. Looking specifically at artists,<sup>a</sup> Hill Strategies found that 52 percent were self-employed as of 2016 compared to 12 percent of all Canadian workers, and that the number of artists in Canada whose main occupation is their art (158,100) is greater than the labour force in either *Automotive Manufacturing* (146,200) or the

a Artists are defined in this study using the occupation codes for: musicians and singers; authors and writers; producers, directors, and choreographers; visual artists; artisans and craftspeople; actors and comedians; dancers; other performers; and conductors, composers, and arrangers (listed here in order of the number of workers in the occupation from largest to smallest).

*Utilities* (136,400) sectors.<sup>65</sup> As of 2014, women-owned businesses comprised 25.5 percent of all incorporated businesses in the *Arts, Entertainment, and Recreation* sector in Canada, and 20.9 percent of incorporated businesses in the *Information and Cultural Industries*. Also noteworthy is the industry-level high of 35 percent women-owned businesses in *Educational Services* and the industry low of seven percent in the *Construction* sector. Women comprise 44.4 percent of self-employed workers in the *Information, Culture, and Recreation* sector, up from 35.2 percent in 1987 and reflecting an upward trend across all sectors other than *Educational Services*, in which women’s share has decreased slightly over the same period.<sup>66</sup> As of 2016, women whose main occupations were in *Arts, Entertainment, and Recreation* had the second highest rates of “gig work” across sectors (17.7 percent proceeded only by *Other Services* (except *Public Administration*) at 20.1 percent and had higher rates than their male counterparts (15.6 percent). Women and men in *Information and Cultural Industries* had approximately the same rates of gig work: 10.2 percent and 10.3 percent, respectively.

According to the 2016 census, 5,000 artists identified as Indigenous (3.1 percent of total artists), and 23,300 identified as racialized artists (15 percent of total artists) in Canada. Income between racialized and non-racialized groups still varies widely—in 2016 Indigenous women artists had a median income of \$17,800, racialized women artists earned \$17,900, and immigrants earned \$20,800. This stands in comparison to an income of \$24,300 for non-Indigenous, non-racialized, and non-immigrant Canadian artists.<sup>67</sup> In other words, for every dollar made by non-indigenous, non-racialized, and non-immigrant Canadian artists, racialized artists make \$0.72, Indigenous artists earn \$0.68, Francophone artists earn \$1.15, and Anglophones in Quebec make \$0.85. Overall, women artists in Canada make \$0.82 of total income for every \$1 earned by their male counterparts.<sup>68</sup>

## The Brookfield Institute recognizes that:

- + People with different gender identities and expressions, including non-binary genders and trans people, experience different barriers, inequities, and underrepresentation in entrepreneurship and work, including in the creative sector and occupations. When reporting on statistics gathered from external sources, including Statistics Canada, our work reflects the terms used in and the data collected by the surveys and this can create limitations in our analysis. Our qualitative research on entrepreneurship, including interviews, focus groups, and surveys seeks to intentionally consider and account for these limitations.
- + As a lawyer and professor, Kimberlé Crenshaw has defined it: “Intersectionality is a lens through which you can see where power comes and collides, where it unlocks and intersects.”<sup>69</sup> Wherever possible, this literature review has sought to analyse and report information on characteristics other than gender—including ethnicity, immigration status, and income, and how power, experience, and outcomes are experienced by different individuals and communities.
- + We support and echo the conclusions of our colleagues at OCADU: that any future and programming that “looks at creative women entrepreneurs should also be oriented using an intersectional framework. This is essential to expand understanding of interconnected experiences of privilege and discrimination amongst creative entrepreneurs.” This includes a focus on “trans and non-binary people, Black, Indigenous, and people of colour, disabled and chronically ill people, people with diverse socio-economic experiences, members of the LGBTQIA2S+ community” and other underrepresented and underresearched entrepreneurs.”<sup>70</sup>

## CASE STUDY: VIDEO GAMES



In a 2010 study of the Canadian video game industry, Patrick Cohendet, David Grandadam, and Lauren Simon describe how the arrival of Ubisoft, a French-owned video game developer and editor, in Montreal’s Mile End neighbourhood in 1997, fostered the development of local creative clusters of smaller and medium-sized entrepreneurial game design ventures.<sup>71</sup> As Greig de Peuter has stated, “Canada’s game development sector is [now] home to many renowned SMEs, and micro-sized operations specializing in emerging platforms are proliferating.”<sup>72</sup> Ubisoft’s decision to set up shop in Montreal was prompted in part by the availability of substantial grants and tax credits from the government for the creation of new jobs.<sup>73</sup> The estimated cost to the province of Quebec for these incentives was \$100 million in 2010.<sup>74</sup> Quebec has been a model for other provinces, including Ontario, where Ubisoft opened a second studio in 2009, after the province promised \$260 million in incentives.<sup>75</sup>

In the following decade, Canada became a global leader in game design, digital animation, and visual effects (VFX), with over 596 active game development studios located in the country as of 2017.<sup>b,76</sup> The video game industry contributed \$3.2 billion to the Canadian economy in 2017, with 75 percent of revenue drawn from exports, primarily to the US (46 percent) and Europe (42 percent).<sup>77</sup> Within creative industries in Canada, video game design is classified under audio-visual (AV) and interactive media (IM), a sector that straddles two worlds: creative artistic activity and software, and contributes the highest amount to Canada's cultural GDP (\$17.9 billion/33.7 percent).<sup>78</sup> The vast majority of production processes involved in interactive game creation and production (e.g. animation, motion-capture photography, cinematography, art direction, etc.) are the same as those used in the film industry, while coding and software engineering production processes are shared with those in the software industry.<sup>79</sup> While most profits in the industry are made by AAA titles produced by large production houses such as Ubisoft (with more than 100 employees),<sup>c</sup> the overwhelming majority of IM companies in Canada are micro (38 percent/fewer than four employees) and small (40 percent/5-25 employees) enterprises.<sup>80</sup>

As of 2018, 64 percent of Canadians had played a video game in the previous week and 61 percent identified as gamers, including console, computer, VR, and mobile games—representing over 230 million people, evenly split 50-50 male and female.<sup>81</sup> However, women are significantly underrepresented in the industry itself, both in Canada and around the world. Providing a non-representative international snapshot of the industry, respondents to the 2019 International Game Developers Association's Developer Satisfaction Survey<sup>d,82</sup> were 71 percent male, 24

percent female, three percent non-binary, with two percent selecting “prefer to self-describe”. While 74 percent were employees, 26 percent were freelancers or self-employed.<sup>83</sup> Research by Johanna Westar and Marie-Josée Legault found that this gender gap persisted through postsecondary education and professional training through to career entry and progression and recognized that the field is well-known for a “dominant professional identity of long hours” and other workplace culture and professional narratives that can inhospitable to women<sup>84</sup>. Sexual violence, harassment, and other inappropriate professional behaviours have been reported among a number of high-profile male founders and industry leaders.<sup>85</sup>

b In 2017, 198 of video game companies were located in Quebec, 171 in Ontario, 152 in BC, and 75 in the rest of Canada.

c Such as Ubisoft (France), Rockstar (US), Bioware/EA (US), Behaviour Interactive (Canada), et al.

d 11 percent of respondents in the 2019 survey worked in Canada.

## WHAT'S IN A NAME? DEFINING 'CREATIVE' AND 'ENTREPRENEURSHIP'



The definitional boundaries and terminology used to describe this field are both variable and contested, with different terms used to include or exclude, highlight or hide, and to draw political, economic, and cultural attention to certain aspects and impacts on funding and support. This includes debates over which industries, sectors, occupations, and activities should be included and measured; what counts as 'entrepreneurship' in a field where solopreneurship, freelance work, and contract work are common and many firms are not-for-profit; and the use of terms such as 'creative and cultural industries (CCIs)' 'creative economy' and 'creative entrepreneurship' reflecting long-standing definitional tensions around the demarcation and linkage between the 'creative' and the 'cultural'.<sup>86</sup>

There is also overlap with newer terms such as 'digital' or 'innovation' economies, which can encompass part but not all of the creative economy. The digital or innovation economy can include video games, digital animation, digital design, virtual and augmented reality, streaming media content, and software and mobile apps. To add more complexity, many artists may not want to identify themselves as entrepreneurs, as the term carries the connotation of creating work for profit, as opposed to cultural or social value—which may exclude them from many opportunities and policies created for entrepreneurs.<sup>87</sup> Statistical organizations, culture and heritage departments, and arts funders have struggled "to account for the diverse manifestations of creative employment and

creative practices in other areas of the economy"<sup>88</sup> and to keep up with changing technology and mediums of creation and dissemination.<sup>89</sup>

These inclusions, exclusions, and definitional differences, along with data gaps such as tracking those with multiple jobs, or those engaging in hybrid entrepreneurship<sup>a</sup> can make it challenging to assess the health and growth of the sector as a whole, and can trickle down into programmatic and funding access. For example, researchers of the Canadian fashion industry have noted that the "varying and inconsistent definitions of the creative economy" and the "omission of fashion" impacts the development of funding initiatives for commercial fashion enterprises which are not eligible for traditional arts funding even when led by solo-practitioners.<sup>90</sup> Debates over the inclusion of software and video game companies have impacted estimates of economic contributions of the sector and international comparisons, as well as understandings of the links between more traditional creative work (e.g., illustration, design, animation, writing, and translation) and the tech sector. Measuring economic contribution and employment by firm (i.e., all workers in a creative firm, regardless of occupation) or by occupation (i.e., creative workers embedded in other types of firms or sectors) can produce widely different estimates.

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a Hybrid entrepreneurs hold waged employment while undertaking entrepreneurial activity.

## CULTURAL WORK/ERS AND INDUSTRIES

*“Culture can be very broadly defined and include for example, religious and spiritual practices and political ideologies and processes. However, these notions of culture are too broad for establishing boundaries when defining culture for statistical purposes. In Canada, culture is defined as ‘creative, artistic activity and the goods and services produced by it, and the preservation of heritage’” —Statistics Canada, [The Canadian Framework for Culture Statistics](#)<sup>91</sup>*

The Canadian Framework for Culture Statistics (CFCS), developed by Statistics Canada in 2011 in consultation with Canadian Heritage and culture stakeholders, defines culture as “creative, artistic activity and the goods and services produced by it, and the preservation of heritage.”<sup>92</sup> Within this definition, Statistics Canada accounts for activities and transactions along the ‘creative chain’: a “series of steps by which a culture good or service is created, developed, perhaps manufactured, and distributed or made available to end-users.” This framework recognizes that some steps in the process (e.g., dissemination), while not directly creative, add to the value of the product.<sup>93</sup> It is a statistical definition that provides flexibility as cultural goods, services, and the mediums they are made with change over time. However, creative occupations classified within the CFCS include both employees and the self-employed, making it difficult to determine individual statistics on creative entrepreneurs in Canada.<sup>94</sup>

## CULTURAL VS CREATIVE

Writing in 2012 in *Cultural Industries.ca: Making sense of Canadian media in the digital age*, editors Ira Wagman and Peter Urquhar describe the ‘cultural industries’ as “those sectors of the Canadian economy devoted to the production, distribution, and exhibition of various forms of popular culture, entertainment, news, and information” such as “video game producers, film

distributors, recording studios, bookstores, and cellular phone services, among others.”<sup>95</sup> They note that use of this term predates widespread internet use, home computers and smartphones, and the digitization of media, and thus there is a need to re-evaluate which industries, sectors, and activities are included.<sup>96</sup>

Beginning in the UK, a number of governments, and in particular cultural departments, economic development departments, and statistical agencies, replaced the term “cultural industries” or “arts and culture industries” with “creative industries”, a term initially developed and promoted by the UK Department for Digital, Culture, Media, and Sport (DCMS) in the late 1990s.<sup>97</sup>

*“The creative industries concept initially took root among governments anxious to counteract the economic effects of national manufacturing industries in decline in the wake of globalization. Official interest in creative industries turns on their market expediency, namely, to generate intellectual property, spur entrepreneurial behaviour, and fuel job creation.” —Greig de Peuter, [Cultural Industries.ca](#)<sup>98</sup>*

## DEFINITIONAL APPROACHES

Defining the activities and occupations that comprise these industries has remained a challenge for researchers and statistical agencies. This is particularly true as professional boundaries, activities, and fields of practice have shifted in response to sectoral and technological changes and different countries have taken different approaches. The Canada Council for the Arts’ 2019 report, *Artist Career Research Methods*, notes that there is no best practice for collecting and reporting data on artists in Canada across jurisdictions, which creates a “distinct gap in existing research.”<sup>99</sup> Whether a particular industry or product is considered within the creative/cultural domain can have a significant impact on the results of their measurement or their perceived value.<sup>100</sup> Some frameworks, such as the UK DCMS (which has been adopted by the European Commission and

other governments and entities), have focused on processes, including industries “which have their origin in individual creativity, skill, and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property.”<sup>101</sup> Others have focused on output, whether industry produces a symbolic product.<sup>102</sup> Peter Higgs and Stuart Cunningham’s Creative Trident Approach sought to refine strict occupational or sector-based definitions and capture:

1. *Specialists*: individuals working in creative occupations employed in creative industries.
2. *Support*: individuals employed in creative industries who are not working in creative occupations but who perform essential sales, management, secretarial, accounting, and administrative functions.
3. *Embedded*: individuals employed in creative occupations who are working outside of creative industries.

This three-dimensional approach shifts away from an emphasis on creative outputs and views creative occupations as inputs into the broader economy, and creative outputs as intermediate inputs into other sectors. It also draws links between creative activities and the innovation process.<sup>103</sup> Canada has taken a combinational and broad approach in its definition, including goods, services, and activities that are the result of creative artistic activity, the purpose of which is to transmit an intellectual or cultural concept, as well as subdomains that help disseminate creative outputs to facilitate consumption and experience of the products.<sup>104</sup>

Under the *Canadian Framework for Culture Statistics* (CFCS), cultural<sup>b</sup> production and activity are categorized into six core domains made up of goods, services, and activities that are the “result of creative artistic activity and whose purpose is to transmit an intellectual or cultural concept”<sup>105</sup>:

<sup>b</sup> Statistics Canada retains the term *cultural* to describe creative production and activities.

1. Heritage and Libraries
2. Live Performance
3. Visual and Applied Arts<sup>c,106</sup>
4. Written and Published Works
5. Audio-Visual and Interactive Media
6. Sound Recording<sup>107</sup>

Each core domain has several related subdomains, for example, Audio-Visual and Interactive Media’s subdomains include film, video, broadcasting and interactive media, while Visual and Applied Arts’ subdomains include visual art, art reproductions, photography, and craft.<sup>d,108</sup> Within CFCS, design and architecture are considered to be both a cultural product and activity under Visual and Applied Arts, and as ancillary products and activity, in the sense that they may be used to support manufacturing, construction, production, and/or dissemination and presentation of cultural products and activity.<sup>e,109</sup> Using the concept of the ‘creative chain’, the CFCS defines the steps by which a cultural good or service is created, developed, manufactured, and made available to end-users.<sup>110</sup> In the creative chain, activities translate into production of certain products within certain industries and sectors of the overall economy, for example, an author writing a manuscript on contract for a publisher, who contracts a graphic design firm for the cover.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>c</sup> Applied arts describes the “design or decoration of functional objects”.

<sup>d</sup> Ancillary cultural subdomains within the CRCS are those that produce goods and services through creative artistic activity, but whose primary purpose is not to transmit intellectual or cultural concepts, such as architectural plans and applicable design work.

<sup>e</sup> Nested subdomains are used to define industries and services which are not directly related to cultural production and expression but have supporting roles—such as training and education, funding, governance, trade and conventions, professional support, and mediating products which are not cultural products themselves but help users consume and experience culture (e.g., software, computers, smart TVs, and portable eBook readers,) including physical infrastructure (e.g., venues like concert halls, recording and film studios, etc.).

<sup>f</sup> Not all activities or products within creative chains are necessarily creative, including the wide range of equipment and tools used and produced by creative practices (e.g., ballet slippers, movie cameras, artist supplies, etc.)



## CASE STUDY: FASHION

A 2013 study by Taylor Brydges and Rhiannon Pugh found that the Canadian fashion industry is dominated by small, independent firms led by designers who struggle to access the capital needed to produce collections, to get media attention and into larger Canadian retailers, to access government support, and to balance the commercial and creative elements of running a business.<sup>111</sup> As of 2013, 85 percent of Canadian fashion and design firms operated as small businesses with fewer than four employees, with 95 percent employing nine people or less.<sup>112</sup> Of those interviewed for the study, the majority manufactured locally, either working with existing garment manufacturing factories, starting their own production studios, or, particularly in the early stages, handling all the manufacturing and sewing themselves. Canadian independent designers predominantly sell to customers in Canada, with only a small portion of international sales, usually through online shopping, however, interviewees reported that Canada seems to lack the pride in wearing local designers that is more common in Europe.

The majority of interviewees in the study were committed to running their own label in the long term, rather than working for someone else, despite recognizing the challenges and high failure rate, and they reported that they wished that their fashion education had better prepared them for the business and administrative work of running their company. A 2019 follow-up study of millennial designers led by Brydges and her co-author Briand Hrac's echoed this finding. Interviewees reflected "a deliberate desire to build businesses that are small, specialised, and sustainable...in order to retain control of their brand and ensure a 'hands-on' approach to all aspects of the business."

Brydges and Pugh note that there is a lack of government support for the industry despite significant government funding for other creative and cultural sectors (e.g., the Ontario Music



Fund, The Canadian Periodical Fund) and point to fashion's exclusion from both common economic definitions of creative industries and eligibility for arts council funding as a potential cause. From the perspective of the arts councils, fashion is viewed as a business activity, not the work of a professional artist, a "black and white distinction between art and commerce...that is not reflective of the on-the-ground realities facing designers, or the types of businesses they may run."

As of 2015, retail sales of clothing, footwear, and accessories had reached \$41.9 billion, rising steadily since 2004, with women's clothing and accessories recording almost double the sales of men's.<sup>113</sup> Brydges and Hrac note that although male designers dominate the highest positions in influential global fashion brands, women make up the majority of the labour force and fashion school students: "these entrepreneurs are often rendered invisible or unvalued within masculinised discourses of entrepreneurship which emphasise profits and growth and fail to recognise alternative motivations, networks, identities and business practices."<sup>114</sup>

Other frameworks in Canada, such as *le Système de classification des activités de la culture et des communications du Québec (SCACCQ)*,<sup>115</sup> have adopted a larger number of categories to define cultural products with more granularity, particularly those with symbolic value.<sup>116</sup> Definitions of cultural industries vary among cultural institutions in Canada. For example, while Statistics Canada’s framework includes cultural manufacturing,<sup>g,117</sup> technical support, cultural management, and creators (including core creative and artistic production occupations), the CAC and the Culture Human Resources Council (CHRC) exclude occupations and outputs related to manufacturing in order to avoid overstating the size and output of the cultural sector.<sup>118</sup>

While there is still no standard definition of the cultural labour force in Canada, and there is significant variation between global and domestic definitions, there is a colloquial sense of it as workers, jobs, organisations, and businesses directly related to culture.<sup>119</sup> According to Statistics Canada, “the core and ancillary culture subdomain occupations are the ones used most often to obtain information about education, skills, and training, labour market outcomes, job stability and quality, etc.”<sup>120</sup>

*“Creative occupations exist across the entire economy [...] Work practices, evolved through the traditions of the creative and performing arts, are now deployed to create new services and products across all sectors, to develop process innovations, and to change the distribution thereof.” —Greg Hearn et al., *Creative Work Beyond the Creative Industries: Innovation, Employment and Education*<sup>121</sup>*

<sup>g</sup> However, it excludes manufacturing equipment. As StatsCan states, “while we recognize these tools as enablers and drivers of the sector, their use is measured as an input into the creative chain, and the cost of this use is included in the relevant domain. As they are not themselves culture products, the production and manufacture of these inputs are not part of culture.”

## DEFINING “ENTREPRENEURSHIP”

What happens discursively when we shift from talking about (or studying or funding) cultural or creative industries to “creative entrepreneurship”? What is or is not captured by this umbrella term and what does it suggest to creative practitioners, businesses, and granting agencies about their role in the pursuit of profit or economically valuable innovation? Does the term encompass the micro-businesses of self-published zinesters, solo-production crafters, illustrators, muralists, tattoo artists, or fine artists teaching classes on the side? What about on the larger end of the spectrum: the internationally-competitive companies in video games, animation, film, VR, software, design, or the circus—or the nonprofit world of dance, theatre, and galleries?

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) defines entrepreneurial activity as “enterprising human action in pursuit of the generation of value, through the creation or expansion of economic activity, by identifying and exploiting new products, processes or markets.”<sup>122</sup> By this definition, entrepreneurship develops something new, but an enterprise does not necessarily need to be entrepreneurial.<sup>123</sup> Colloquially, entrepreneurship or entrepreneurial activities usually borrow the dictionary definition—taking on financial risks in the hope of profit—and apply it to both legal enterprises and individuals, regardless of whether they operate or think of themselves as businesses.

*“Entrepreneurs in other fields are often ‘pulled’ to becoming entrepreneurial, driven by the challenge of starting a new venture or developing a new product. By contrast, artists are often ‘pushed’ to entrepreneurship through necessity, and often have minimal natural inclination towards business ownership or commercial endeavours. Put simply, artists tend to want to make art and make a living from it—business entrepreneurs tend to want to run a successful enterprise.” —Ruth Bridgstock, *Not a Dirty Word: Arts Entrepreneurship and Higher Education*<sup>124</sup>*

Some researchers of creative business have kept the concept of ‘new’ or ‘novel’. Richard Swedberg defines cultural entrepreneurship as “the carrying out of a novel combination that results in something new and appreciated in the cultural sphere.”<sup>125</sup> Others, including Angela Tregear,<sup>126</sup> and Tobias Prett and Aviel Cogan,<sup>127</sup> have used the term ‘artisan entrepreneurs’ This can be defined as “individuals who produce and sell products or services which possess a distinct artistic value resulting from a high degree of manual input”<sup>128</sup> including those whose sales are supplemental household income and those who are full-time producers. In this case, creative entrepreneurship is in starting and developing the business, not necessarily an innovation in product or process, as long as it has artistic value. Ruth Bridgstock has defined enterprising in this context as related to the “identification or creation of artistic opportunities and exploitation of those opportunities in terms of applying or sharing artistic activity in order to add value of some kind.”<sup>129</sup> Here, the definition expands to include individual creative practitioners, inside and outside of for-profit enterprise. Sofia Lindstrom notes that arts entrepreneurship does not necessarily need to involve pursuit of profit or commercial gain.<sup>130</sup>

### Three Types of Arts Entrepreneurship

1. Arts entrepreneurship as new venture creation, in the traditional businesses sense;
2. Arts entrepreneurship as ‘being enterprising’, identifying and exploiting artistic opportunities, and developing entrepreneurial behaviour and resilience in pursuing artistic achievement; and
3. Arts entrepreneurship as employability and career self-management, reflecting the need for artists to self-manage their careers and continually obtain or create opportunities for paid work.  
–Ruth Bridgstock, *Not a Dirty Word: Arts Entrepreneurship and Higher Education*<sup>131</sup>

*“The concept of entrepreneurship today is rooted in traditional ideas of business, economics, and scalability. Even more so, recently entrepreneurship has become synonymous with tech start-ups. These narrow views of entrepreneurship [can] discredit the entrepreneurial nature of creatives. As a result of entrepreneurship’s traditional commerce background, some [in the creative industries do] not personally identify as entrepreneurs. [However], if creatives do not self-identify as entrepreneurs, [it can be difficult] to access resources that are targeted to entrepreneurs, such as funding and other business support opportunities.” —Alia Weston and Alexandra Hong, *The State of Creative Entrepreneurship: Critical Perspectives on Women’s Entrepreneurship, Forthcoming*<sup>132</sup>*

In domains within the creative economy with higher rates of self-employment, such as visual and applied arts, or writing and book publishing, workers often describe their practice as one which requires a need to multitask and develop business and technological skills, in addition to artistic and creative skills.<sup>133</sup> In such cases, the self-employed frequently take on a range of tasks needed to run a business beyond artistic production, including marketing and securing funding.<sup>134</sup>

*“Most of these irregular work arrangements have an important commonality: they require artists to do significant entrepreneurial labor to advance their careers and find exhibition, publication, and performance opportunities. Writers must continually pitch their work to editors and publishers; musicians actively seek out promoters and gigs; fashion designers continually look for new projects. In short, creative workers continually promote themselves and their work to sponsors and funders, to ancillary creative workers who function as gate-keepers (e.g. gallery owners, concert bookers, editors), and to audiences”. —Diana L. Miller, *Gender and the Artist Archetype: Understanding Gender Inequality in Artist Careers*<sup>135</sup>*

## GENDER AND INTERSECTIONAL DEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS

Despite rising rates of women founders, research has found that the traits that people associate with entrepreneurship are more likely to be coded male, which can impact perceptions of female success, including by key industry gatekeepers such as loan officers or investors<sup>136</sup> as well as founders' personal identification with the term. Ontario data from the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor survey found that although more women than men "believed there are good conditions to start a business in the next six months in their area" (58.3 percent to 55.6 percent), they were less likely to say they had the knowledge or skills to do so (47.2 percent to 61.6 percent), more likely to say that fear of failure would prevent them (43 percent to 34.2 percent), and more likely to be motivated into early-stage entrepreneurship by necessity rather than opportunity. As Diana Miller describes in a study on gender inequality in artists' careers, the demand for entrepreneurial labour in the arts, and archetypes of ideal artistic workers, tend to align with gender norms around masculinity, including risk-taking, self-promotion, asking for resources, seeking attention, and remaining available to work long hours unencumbered by childcare or other time constraints.<sup>137</sup>

## CANADIAN DATA GAPS

Estimates of levels of employment and economic contributions in the creative and cultural industries are often underreported, with many jobs being excluded due to their categorization as 'secondary' paid work.<sup>138</sup> Critics have noted that Statistics Canada's current frameworks do not show a complete picture of the cultural workforce, particularly given high rates of multiple job-holding and gig workers.<sup>139</sup> For example, artists who also teach in postsecondary, secondary, or elementary school would be classified as teachers or professors. In many creative industries, it is common to find some of the highest-earning artists in these occupations.<sup>140</sup>

In Canada, each creative activity and product is classified only once, even though spillover is common in creative practices, particularly among those that are highly interdisciplinary, such as film, television, and gaming.<sup>h,141</sup> Such classification can create statistical discrepancies about companies that produce products with different formats—as is the case with many interactive media companies.<sup>142</sup> Income reporting often excludes a breakdown into categories such as artistic creation, performance, other arts-related activities, and non-arts activities, meaning that net self-employment income may or may not account for all expenses related to an arts practice.<sup>143</sup> As well, volunteering and unpaid labour is relatively common in the sector as a tactic for career advancement into paid work, and these forms of labour are also not captured by our current national accounting systems,<sup>i,144</sup> nor those in many other countries.

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h The current framework does not recognize an interdisciplinary category, instead defining occupations by their primary activities.

i They are sometimes included in cultural participation statistics, but participants are not usually categorized as creative workers.

## CASE STUDY: DESIGN

*“Design—an inherently creative activity that sits at the intersection of art, business and technology—is a critical input into the production of goods and services in both emerging and traditional sectors.” —Tara Vinodrai, *The Place of Design: Exploring Ontario’s Design Economy*. The Martin Prosperity Institute*

A 2009 case study of the Ontario design sector, written by Tara Vinodrai for the Martin Prosperity Institute, noted that it had a “vibrant design ecology” including a number of design-related educational programs, industry and professional associations, design agencies and studios, and other actors, with a workforce that was growing cyclically and with volatility at almost four times the rate of the overall workforce. Vinodrai outlined five ways that designers and the design industry contribute to and enhance the economy:

1. Generating revenue and creating employment opportunities, through the project-based nature of design
2. Adding value and enhancing the quality and sustainability of products and services in other sectors
3. Acting as a source of new knowledge and innovation
4. Enhancing community engagement and identity
5. Contributing to the construction of quality of place and improving the aesthetic and quality of the build environment

Firms may use design to raise productivity and profitability, and to give them a competitive edge in the global marketplace, from consumer electronics, to furniture, textile, and apparel companies reinventing themselves to reach new markets.<sup>145</sup>



The study defined design through six NOC codes: architects; landscape architects; industrial designers; graphic designers; interior designers; and theatre, fashion, exhibit, and other creative designers. It was noted that though designers are often combined with artists in analysis of economic impacts, or excluded altogether, they play a unique role and often vary from artists in income (usually higher), geographic and sectoral distribution, work, practices, and level of professionalization. Within this, graphic designers comprise the largest proportion of the workforce, taking on design work such as corporate identity, branding, and logos; advertising, print production, signage, and web design.<sup>146</sup> As of 2019, Statistics Canada reports that there were nearly 10,000 graphic design services establishments, 78.7 percent of which were micro-businesses employing less than five employees and a large portion were solo-enterprises<sup>147</sup> or had informal contract employment relationships with their designers.<sup>148</sup>

The sector has fewer gender gaps in participation than other creative sectors: the Associated Designers of Canada reported that, as of 2015, its working membership (i.e., those that are filing contracts or available to work) was 43.8 percent women and that the Executive Director, the President, and the Head of the Recruiting Committee were all women.<sup>149</sup>

# THE ECONOMIC IMPACTS OF CREATIVE CONTENT, LABOUR, AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP



## CANADA

The overall economic impact of the arts and culture sector in Canada is significant and has experienced substantial growth over the past decade.<sup>150</sup> The direct economic impact of cultural industries was estimated by Statistics Canada to be \$53.1 billion in Canada in 2017—including visual arts, applied arts (e.g., architecture, advertising, and design), performing arts, literature and publishing, music, media arts and screen based industries.<sup>a,151</sup> Cultural products are worth \$1,454 per capita, and contribute 2.7 percent of the country’s direct gross domestic product (GDP).<sup>152</sup> Between 2013 and 2017, the cultural sector’s share of the GDP increased at an average annual rate of nearly one percent,<sup>153</sup> and as of 2017 it was estimated that Canada would see a 15 percent increase between 2017 and 2026, supporting an eight percent growth in employment.<sup>154</sup> These valuations do not include government-run cultural organizations such as the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) and National Film Board (NFB) (\$7.6 billion), cultural education and training (\$3.7 billions),<sup>155</sup> and cultural contributions to related industries such as tourism, service, and the information technology (IT) sector.<sup>156</sup>

a Architecture, advertising, and design (including graphic, interior, industrial, jewelry, fashion, website, and other design services and activities) are considered ancillary domains of the applied arts.

In 2017, there were a total of 715,400 jobs directly related to cultural industries, making up 3.8 percent of all jobs in Canada.<sup>157, b, 158</sup> The cultural industries’ contribution to GDP is considerably more than *Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing, and Hunting* (\$39 billion), *Accommodation and Food Services* (\$46 billion), and *Utilities* (\$46 billion), but less than that of *Transportation and Warehousing* (\$94 billion), *Educational Services* (\$108 billion), and *Construction* (\$153 billion).<sup>159</sup> The GDP of cultural industries in Canada is valued at eight times the economic impact of the sports industry (\$7.3 billion) despite often being measured together as the *Arts, Entertainment, and Recreation sector*.<sup>160</sup>

The most significant contribution to Canadian cultural GDP and employment is from audio-visual and interactive media, including video games, film, television, and video production (\$17.9 billion/33.7 percent),<sup>161</sup> which some attribute to easily accessible tax incentives for foreign producers, including combined federal and provincial tax credits ranging from 32 percent to 70 percent of all eligible in-country labour.<sup>162</sup> Other cultural industries such as visual and applied arts<sup>c, 163</sup> (\$10.2 billion/19.2 percent), written and published works

b The numbers from Statistics Canada exclude many cultural workers who operate independently or are self-employed, due to not meeting reporting criteria as establishments in Statistics Canada’s Business Register.

c Applied arts describes the “design or decoration of functional objects.”

(\$8.3 billion/22.4 percent), live performances (\$2.8 billion/5.3 percent), heritage and privately-owned libraries (\$0.7 billion/1.4 percent), and sound recordings (\$0.6 billion/1.2 percent) contribute much less to the overall cultural GDP.<sup>164</sup> Digital methods of production and dissemination have had a significant impact on the creative industries in Canada—online channels such as mobile apps, e-books, and audio have increased from 46.2 percent to 48 percent of the market share as of 2016.<sup>165</sup>

*“At their most basic level, platforms are intermediary organizations “that provide storage, navigation and delivery of the digital content of others”<sup>166</sup> [ranging] from everyday people to amateur and semi-professional creators to major media companies [...] The platforms generally provide a communication interface between worker and customer, host information about the worker’s business, and handle payment infrastructure. They [often] serve advertising or promoted content and maintain a larger brand for the platform marketplace itself [and] charge workers for these services based on sales percentages or regular fees” —Samatha Close, *The Political Economy of Creative Entrepreneurship on Digital Platforms: A Case Study of Etsy.com*.<sup>167</sup>*

In 2017, the audio-visual and interactive media industry also provided the most jobs in Canada, among both creative and non-creative jobs, contributing 159,329 positions (23.9 percent of all jobs), in comparison with visual and applied arts at 149,606 jobs (22.4 percent), written and published works at 111,301 jobs (16.7 percent), and broadcasting at 45,706 jobs (6.8 percent).<sup>168</sup> Overall, cultural products have seen an increase in value between 2010 and 2017, including privately-owned libraries and heritage (+47 percent), sound recordings (+33 percent), audio-visual and interactive media (+25 percent), and the visual arts (including design and applied arts) (+20 percent).<sup>169</sup>

In their 2018 mapping of the UK’s Creative industries, Nesta reported that “although creative businesses are more productive than

comparatively sized businesses in other sectors, they will not materially contribute towards solving the UK’s productivity problems unless they scale up significantly.”<sup>170</sup> Similarly, many of Canada’s creative industries operate as small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) or self-employed artists and groups, including cooperatives and collectives.<sup>d</sup> In 2017, there were 345,000 small businesses (with under 100 employees), in Canada’s *Information, Culture, and Information sector* (64.1 percent), in comparison to only 77,400 large businesses with over 500 employees (14.4 percent).<sup>171</sup> Although productivity growth is generally higher in creative businesses than in other sectors, the number of very small companies can exert a drag on productivity.<sup>172</sup>

*“It is an error to see publicly-funded and commercial arts and culture as separate worlds, one dependent on the taxpayer and the other on the market. They operate as part of a complex ecology of talent, finance, content and ideas. The non-profit cultural sector contributes research and development for commercial cultural providers, while public funding enables them to take risks with creative content and ideas. The flows between them, and indeed amateur arts and co-production as well, are underlined by the report.” —Geoffrey Crossick and Patrycja Kaszynska, *Understanding the Value of Arts and Culture: The AHRC Cultural Value Project*<sup>173</sup>*

## INTERNATIONAL COMPARISONS

Globally, creative entrepreneurship and creative sectors have significant economic weight. In the European Union (EU), for example, the Cultural and Creative Industries (CCI) contribute three percent of the GDP and five percent towards employment.<sup>174</sup> In a 2014 comparative study, the OECD found Canada to be somewhere in the middle with respect to our counterparts—Brazil (2.7 percent

<sup>d</sup> For more information on cooperatives and collectives, please see page 25.

GDP/1.7 percent employment in 2011) and Korea (2.4 percent GDP/2.6 percent employment in 2012) were at the lower end, and Austria (10.4 percent GDP/4.0 percent employment in 2010), Indonesia (7.3 percent GDP/8.2 percent employment in 2012), and the UK (5.2 percent GDP/8.5 percent employment, 2012) at the higher end of contribution.<sup>175</sup> However, a 2016 study by Nesta reported that Canada's creative and cultural economy is significantly larger than both the US and the UK: 12.9 percent employment in 2011 versus 9.5 percent (US) and 8.2 percent (UK).<sup>176</sup> Nesta's study took into account both employment in creative occupations and creative workers embedded in non-creative industries, resulting in a much higher estimation of GDP contribution and employment rates in all three countries.<sup>177</sup> The variance of the results of this study shows the impact of definitional categories and inclusion of certain activities within the category of creative industries.

According to UNCTAD, the overall size of the global market for creative goods increased by over \$300 billion CAD between 2002 and 2015, a growth rate in creation, production, and distribution of over seven percent.<sup>178</sup> Among developed economies,<sup>e,179</sup> design products (including fashion, jewelry and interior design) account for 54 percent of creative exports; visual arts (such as paintings, photography, etc.), and book, new media, and newspaper publishing were at 16 percent of total exports as of 2015. That same year, UNCTAD reported that European Union (EU)<sup>f,180</sup> was the world's largest exporter of creative goods (at \$171 billion), followed by the Association of Southeast Asia Nations (AECSEAN).<sup>181,182</sup> Canada, the United States, and Europe, are the three largest of

UNCTAD's developed economies,<sup>g,183</sup> with Canada's export value at \$6.2 million USD, import value at \$14.2 million USD in 2014, and the US creative industry exports valued at \$40.5 million USD. Exchange of creative goods with the US, Canada's primary trade partner, was valued at \$4.7/\$4.9 million USD (exports/imports) in 2014.<sup>184</sup>

## GENDER AND INTERSECTIONAL DEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS

Women comprise the largest portion of creative self-employed workers globally—among 69 percent of countries surveyed by UNESCO in 2017, there were more women who were self-employed in creative sectors than in non-creative sectors.<sup>185</sup> Both UNESCO and the OECD report that, worldwide, 10 percent of women in cultural jobs have more than one occupation, three percent higher than women working outside of the cultural sector. Eighty-five percent of countries report that women tend to hold more part-time cultural occupations than men, particularly in North America, Latin America, and Europe.<sup>186</sup> However, these statistics only capture those considered employees, not freelancers, and may exclude those working creative occupations beyond CCI. As well, the OECD has identified significant challenges with making international comparisons.<sup>187</sup>

e As defined by UNCTAD, the *developed economies group* includes 54 countries and territories.

f EU28: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czechia, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Cyprus, Czechia, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania.

g Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Cyprus, Czechia, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United States, United Kingdom, Bermuda, and the Faroe Islands.



## CASE STUDY: PERFORMING ARTS

*“These imbalances have a negative trickle down effect on the industry, making an impact on the variety of work produced, available employment opportunities (for women actors, designers, and directors), and audience experience” —Michelle MacArthur, *Achieving Equity in Canadian Theatre: A Report With Best Practice Recommendations**



Canada’s *Performing Arts* sector is defined by Statistics Canada as including theatre, dance, opera, musical theatre, orchestras, music groups and artists, circuses, puppetry, multidisciplinary festivals, promoters and presenters and the venues themselves.<sup>188</sup> As of 2018, the live performance sector consisted of 14,900 organizations and businesses, of which only 2,320 had employees. Annually, performing arts presenting organizations in Canada present more than 80,000 performances by professional artists and pay artist fees estimated at more than \$200 million<sup>189</sup>.

Within this sector, a 2016 study by Michelle MacArthur for the Equity in Theatre project found that the roughly 70-30 gender breakdown of men to women among artistic directors, directors, and playwrights has remained unchanged for the past 30 years despite women forming the majority of theatre school graduates, support workers, and audience members.<sup>190</sup> The dance sector in Canada is female-dominated, which alongside craft, is unique in the creative industries,<sup>191</sup> with 86 percent of dancers identifying themselves as women.<sup>192</sup> However, even when they are in major artistic roles, women in the performing arts earn less than men: 26 percent less for actors and comedians, 12 percent less as authors and writers, and 16 percent less as producers, directors, and choreographers, according to the 2011 National Household survey. In a 2014 survey, EKOS reports male dancers earn nearly double that of female dancers (\$12,778/\$5,617), they also report that male

dancers are generally employed for more hours (20.3/week) than female dancers (17.3/week) and tend to have longer careers (13.3 years as opposed to 11.4 years).<sup>193</sup> These statistics are echoed in Australia, the UK and the United States. The study, which surveyed 138 theatre companies, found that women form 50 percent of the Playwrights Guild of Canada’s membership, but do not account for even one quarter of the country’s produced playwrights, and numbers are even lower for women of colour. This indicates that women are writing plays, but they are not being professionally produced.<sup>194</sup>

*“Many artists have atypical work patterns, characterized by high self-employment rates, multiple job-holding, the predominance of short-term employment opportunities, relatively low incomes, low unionization rates, challenges regarding professional development and career advancement, and unusual work flows.” —Canada Council for the Arts, *Artist Career Research Methods*.<sup>195</sup>*

In Canada, women in cultural domains are predominantly employed in two areas: books and publishing (60 percent of overall workforce), education and training (55 percent of overall workforce).<sup>196</sup> A 2018 report by the Ontario Arts Council (OAC) investigating gender distribution in the nine cultural and creative occupational groupings listed in the National Household Survey<sup>h,197</sup> found considerable gender distribution among the different groups. Only musicians and singers presented an equal gender distribution (49-51 percent).<sup>i,198</sup> Visual artists, authors and writers, actors and comedians, as well as other performers all have relatively balanced distributions (ranging between +40 percent female and -60 percent male). Others have significant gender imbalance, including: artisans and craftspersons (61 percent female); dancers (86 percent female); producers, directors, and choreographers (33 percent female); and conductors, composers, and arrangers (35 percent female).<sup>199</sup> Gender differences are particularly evident in sectors that involve a lot of collective coordination of specialised skills during the production process, such as media arts, theatre, and music industries.<sup>200</sup>

h Nine key occupational groupings identified in the 2011 National Household Survey: actors and comedians; artisans and craftspersons; authors and writers; conductors, composers and arrangers; dancers; musicians and singers; other performers; producers, directors, choreographers and related occupations; and visual artists.

i Of note is Nordicity’s 2015 study of women in Ontario’s music industry showing the distribution of gender in the industry at large is very segmented, with almost 70 percent of women professionals concentrated in promotion and marketing (20 percent), event production (17 percent), artist management/agent (16 percent), and administration and professional service (15 percent).

A cross-sectoral analysis in 2018 by the Ontario Arts Council showed that women experience disadvantages across the creative industries in Canada, key indicators included recognition of artistic achievements, leadership, and creative works being less visible than those of men.<sup>201</sup> As David Hesmondhalgh and Sarah Baker report, “women working in creative industries are more likely to be assigned routine labour that requires “consensual and caring communication and coordination, as opposed to men who are more likely to occupy creative and prestigious positions such as director or producer.”<sup>202</sup>

As of 2018, women held four of the five director positions in the nonprofit sector in major visual arts galleries, and 70 percent of the director and curator positions in the 80 Canadian art galleries and art museums who receive core funding from the Canada Council.<sup>203</sup> A 2018 study by the Ontario Arts Council found that outside of the visual arts, women were well-represented in organizational leadership roles in publishing, theatre, and orchestras. Based on primary occupation as reported to Statistics Canada, 52 percent of Ontario artists and 51 percent of cultural workers in the province were female, slightly higher than the gender breakdown in the province, with a concentration of women in dance and among artisans and craftspersons.<sup>204</sup>

In 2016, women artists reported higher levels of education, with 51 percent having completed a bachelor’s degree or higher versus only 42 percent of male artists.<sup>205</sup> And while the same proportion of women and men artists were self-employed (52 percent), women artists had a median income of \$22,300 in comparison to \$27,100 from male artists, or 82 cents for every dollar.<sup>206</sup> Indigenous women artists reported a median income of \$17,800, while racialized women artists report \$17,900.<sup>207</sup> The median income for all Canadian workers that same year was \$43,500. At the household level, households with artists had a median income of \$57,800 compared to \$86,500 for all workers.<sup>208</sup> As creative entrepreneurs are dependent on personal and professional networks, as well as hiring practices of decision makers, income gaps can reflect a broader context of gender inequalities.<sup>209</sup>

These gender pay gaps persist even in professions requiring formal tertiary education for entry, such as architecture<sup>210</sup> and are well documented in a broad range of occupations including: actors and comedians; authors and writers; producers, directors, and choreographers<sup>211</sup> and many others.

*“A substantial number of female interviewees—and nearly as many men—[...] detected a ‘glass ceiling’ in architecture (15 or 47 percent female, 18 or 45 percent male), whilst some believed that female architects have to work harder to become respected (6 or 19 percent female, 5 or 13 percent male) It was particularly women who labelled promotion as a gender issue (17 or 53 percent female, 9 or 23 percent male). Male architects, having been recently converted to the case for gender equality, tended to think that it had been achieved, substituting an abstract universalism for the ‘specificity of practical logic’.<sup>212</sup> Women architects, especially, viewed gender equality as a more complex and problematic matter.” —Bridget Fowler and Fiona Wilson, *Women Architects and Their Discontents*<sup>213</sup>*

In 2016, Statistics Canada reported that artists from visible minorities<sup>214</sup> made up one-fifth of all artists in Canada (23,000), around the same as in the overall labour force (15 percent).<sup>215</sup> Many artists from visible minorities are immigrants (60 percent) compared to those from non-visible minorities (14 percent).<sup>216</sup> Of the 52 percent of artists who self-identified as women in the 2016 census, 3.1 percent self-identified as Indigenous, 15 percent as racialized, and 21 percent as immigrants.<sup>217</sup> Within their 2016 study of creatives who have immigrated to Montreal, Diane-Gabrielle Tremblay (Université du Québec/Université TELUQ) and

j *The Employment Equity Act* defines visible minorities as “persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour.” Statistics Canada defines visible minorities based on self-identification from census respondents of one or more of the following categories; White; South Asian; Chinese; Black; Filipino; Latin American’ Arab; Southeast Asian; Korean; Japanese; Other—Specify.

Ana Dalia Huesca Dehesa ([CDPDJ](#)) describe how “ethnicity adds its own weight to the life chances of those who are attempting to make a living in these fields [and they found that] immigrant artists consider their main difficulties to be the lack of social networks, access to various forms of support to compensate for financial risks, and difficulties in finding a job,”<sup>218</sup> as well as lower median incomes (72 cents for every dollar made by non-visible minorities).<sup>219</sup> As *TransPULSE* reports, the median income of the trans community in Ontario was \$15,000/year. This represents significant underemployment of this demographic, given that 44 percent of trans-identifying individuals reported having postsecondary and/or graduate degrees.<sup>220</sup> As such, many trans individuals rely on economic assistance from disability, social assistance, or employment insurance.<sup>221</sup>

In her 2018 study, *Young People Making a Living in the Creative Industries*, Miranda Campbell describes how gender and race, as structural categories, continue to impact the experiences of entry-level creative workers, particularly as inequality, sexism, and systemic racism persist in many creative industries.<sup>222</sup> Syrus Marcus Ware, writing in *Canadian Art* amidst a flurry of anti-racism solidarity statements from arts organizations in May and June of 2020, noted that there is a history in Canada of erasing and shutting out Black artists from both mainstream and alternative arts organizations, including a lack of representation and decision-making power in leadership roles:

*“There is a perception that all are accepted, that weirdness is encouraged, that misfits fit in, all of which completely erases how anti-Black racism materializes and is enforced [while] the legacy of anti-Blackness in the arts, galleries and museum sector remains. No email message with a trending hashtag will erase centuries of anti-Blackness.”<sup>223</sup>*

## CURRENT TRENDS AND CHALLENGES IN CREATIVE AND CULTURAL INDUSTRIES

According to a study from the Canada Council for the Arts, the Ontario Arts Council, and Canadian heritage, in 2016 there were 158,100 artists in Canada, representing almost one percent of the overall national labour force (0.87 percent), and indicating that one in every 116 Canadian workers is an artist.<sup>k,224</sup> The number of artists in Canada (158,100) is greater than the labour force in both the *Utilities* (136,400) and *Automotive Manufacturing* sectors (146,200).<sup>225</sup> As of 2016, 52 percent of all professional artists were self-employed, in comparison with only 12 percent of Canadian workers.<sup>226</sup> Such self-employed professional artists include those considered to be creative entrepreneurs, as well as individuals who freelance on the side, and self-employed individuals contracted by larger firms and companies.<sup>l,227</sup>

*“The proportion of self-employed creatives is increasing globally, largely due to the precarious nature of creative jobs, including a rise in contractual forms of work, multiple job holding, and non-institutional support.”*  
—OECD, *Cultural & Creative Industries (CCIs): Fulfilling the Potential.*<sup>228</sup>

In 2017, 35-40 percent of Canadian women in creative occupations were self-employed, compared to 10-15 percent of self-employed women outside of the creative industries.<sup>229</sup> Additionally, 20 percent of those employed in cultural occupations work part time, with 28 percent women compared to 18 percent men in part time cultural sector jobs.<sup>230</sup> The OECD has also reported higher rates of informal labour in creative employment, noting a rise in non-standard forms of work, such as contract labour and unusual work flows. This trend can be observed in many other industries as well, due both to structural economic changes in job availability and individual preference.<sup>231</sup>

These global labour trends can also be seen in Canadian creative industries. Self-employed creative workers generally see dramatic fluctuations in their income from year to year, as many operate on a project-by-project basis and depend on multiple funding streams.<sup>232</sup> They often possess high levels of education<sup>m,233</sup> with lower earnings.<sup>n,234</sup> Due to lower income<sup>235</sup> and/or informal employment relationships, many do not have access to the same social benefits shared by most other Canadian workers, including insurance and pension plans, parental and adoption leave, income maintenance such as sick leave, and paid vacation time.<sup>236</sup> Many employed in cultural occupations in Canada have described their work as “being largely short term, part time, or erratic [...] with no long-term financial security [...] meaning many need to complement or stabilize their income with other sources”.<sup>237</sup>

k Artists are defined as those who spent more time at their art than at any other occupation in May of 2016.

l According to the federal government (Self-Employed Persons), cultural activities and jobs are defined as: authors and writers; creative and performing artists; musicians; painters; sculptors and other visual artists; technical support and other jobs in motion pictures; creative designers; and craftspeople.

m Forty-three percent of cultural workers in Canada have a bachelor’s degree or higher, compared to 25 percent in the general labour force.

n UNESCO reports that people with cultural occupations tend to have higher levels of education than those in non-cultural occupations, and cultural workers have completed training to a tertiary level, including postsecondary education or advanced vocational or professional education.

## CASE STUDY: COLLECTIVES AND CO-OPS

*“We seem to be caught between the idea that work means being passionate and consumed, or that work is something alienating and exploitative. If we want [the creative] sector to be successful—economically or otherwise—then looking at work, and at ownership models is vital.” —Marisol Sandoval, *From passionate labour to compassionate work: Cultural co-ops, do what you love and social change*<sup>238</sup>*

**A**s an alternative to incorporated businesses (with employees), and solo-practitioner entrepreneurial models, co-operatives (co-ops) are businesses that are owned and run by a group of members on an equitable basis. In most cases, they bring together individual entrepreneurs through common goals and values, and allow for the sharing of resources (including time, labour, infrastructure, marketing, and public relations, etc.), collaboration, and a diversification of skill sets. Many collectives fall under the funding category of ‘ad hoc’, meaning that they often do not have legal or formalized structures and hierarchies, but are still operating by sharing resources and opportunities amongst themselves and the greater community. As Dave Boyle and Kate Oakley describe in their 2018 case study, entrepreneurial models have been heavily promoted by policy and higher education, but in the creative arts, co-operatives, and social enterprises have not received similar attention.<sup>239</sup> However, co-ops and collectives have the potential to allow creative entrepreneurs to have “greater control over the production and distribution of their creative products,” as well as tempering some of the competitiveness and individualism often found in entrepreneurial culture.<sup>240</sup> They exist across the creative sector, including performance, visual art, galleries, theatre, video games, software, and dance. Research in this area includes the work of art historian, Marsya Maharani, who is

exploring models of sharing within collectives and radical friendship as grounds for institutional structure, work culture, and labour practices and OCADU’s Centre for Emerging Artists and Designers case study on [Tea Base](#), a Toronto-based artist-run incubator for community activism, who provides “alternative practices of approaching and understanding entrepreneurship by [offering] programming guided by a visionary pursuit of community-based arts, activism, and education.”<sup>241</sup> More research is needed to understand the state of collaborative practices in Canada and the forms of support they need as creative entrepreneurs.

POLICIES,  
PROGRAMS, AND  
BUSINESS SUPPORTS



Support for creative entrepreneurship, businesses, and creative practitioners in Canada is provided through a network of government, private, postsecondary education, and philanthropic funds and programs, including both Innovation, Science, and Economic Development (ISED) and Canadian Heritage, related federal agencies and arms-length organisations, as well as provincial, territorial, and municipal governments. Within this network, much of the programs and funds are divided by field of practice, with freelancers, solo practitioners, and nonprofit organisations often treated differently and facing different eligibility constraints than commercial enterprises; contentions between Canadian and international firms; and variation across jurisdictions and fields in funding availability, distribution, and policy approach. For example, while fashion, jewelry, and accessory design is not recognized as a unique sector, in relations to funding these activities are often included within the category of hand-made crafts.<sup>242, 243</sup> Such nuances are further complicated by many practitioners' resistance to or discomfort with being defined as entrepreneurs or craft professionals, due

to negative connections to capitalism and financial gain over other goals, and/or exclusion from contemporary art and discourse.

*“It is apparent there is not a lack of arts or creative industry funding in Canada. However, there is a lack of funding if you are a fashion designer and excluded from existing funding programs and grants [...] Our analysis suggests one explanation could be attributed in part to widely varying and inconsistent definitions of the creative economy used across the country. This is particularly problematic given that the majority of the creative industry reports studied recognise the powerful impact of government—municipal, provincial and/or federal—investment in not only strengthening the sector, but in stimulating private sector funding in arts and culture actors and organisations.” —Taylor Brydges and Rhiannon Pugh, *An ‘Orphan’ Creative Industry: Exploring the Institutional Factors Constraining the Canadian Fashion Industry*<sup>244</sup>*

Governments at all levels in Canada have adopted a range of measures to oversee and equip the creative industries, including \$1.9 billion in new funding released through the 2017 *Creative Canada Policy Framework* (known as “Creative Canada”). The federal government has also long offered significant tax credits<sup>a</sup> for creative producers in film, video, software development, theatre, and orchestras, however, support for R&D, testing new concepts, and developing new talent and collaborations with other industrial sectors still remains elusive for many creative industries outside of tech.<sup>245</sup> The federal government’s suite of creative industry support programs includes: the [Canadian Cultural Spaces Fund](#), for “improving the physical conditions for arts, heritage, culture and creative innovation”;<sup>246</sup> the [Canada Media Fund](#), which supports the television and digital media industries; and [Creative Export Canada](#), for projects that generate export revenues and help Canadian creative industries. A range of related programs exist at the provincial and territorial levels, either replicating or filling gaps in the federal landscape. For example, [Ontario Creates](#) includes the Ontario Film Commission, which markets the film and television production industry and the Interactive Digital Media Fund.

In Canada, there are a range of arts-supporting institutions at various levels of government, including funding agencies; sector-specific art, writing, and design councils; and public broadcasters and media companies such as the [National Film Board](#) (NFB) and [Canadian Broadcasting Corporation](#) (CBC). These agencies and organisations, along with the Canada Council for the Arts (CAC) and other national institutions, as well as individual provincial and municipal arts councils, are a central stream of project-based and organisational-level funding for many

creatives.<sup>b247</sup> Through the CAC, funds are available to Canadian citizens and permanent residents, who have recognized training and a body of work in their field of practice, through grants to support the creation, production, and presentation of creative work as well as professional development, including travel and residencies.<sup>248</sup> For example, the CAC’s [Digital Strategy Fund](#), launched in 2017, “helps support Canadian artists, groups, and arts organisations in understanding the digital world, engaging with it, and responding to the cultural and social changes it produces.”<sup>249</sup> Between 2017 and 2021, the Canada Council has committed an \$88.5 million investment through this fund.

As artists and creative workers became more visible as a distinct entrepreneurial group, government and business support programs have launched additional research and programmatic initiatives to support their unique needs. This includes support for specialized professional development programs, such as planning, finance, marketing, networking, and social support services. [Creative Saskatchewan](#), a provincial funding agency, for example, provides support for creative workers in the province, as well as facilitating partnerships with creative businesses. The Business Innovation component of the [Canada Periodical Fund](#) (CPF), “provides financial support to eligible small and mid-sized printed magazine and digital periodical publishers [...] encouraging innovation to adapt to changing market conditions and contributes to the diversity of content sought by Canadian readers.”<sup>250</sup>

In most creative disciplines, particularly visual art, film, and writing,<sup>c</sup> unions and professional associations have long provided additional

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a Canadian Film or Video Production Tax Credit, Canadian Film or Video Production Services Tax Credit.

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b Federal financial support for the cultural industries is administered through a number of funds, including the Canada Arts Presentation Fund, Canada Arts Training Fund, Canada Book Fund, Canada Cultural Spaces Fund, Canada Cultural Investment Fund, Canada Music Fund, Canada Periodical Fund, export promotion funding, Museums Assistance Program, and TV5 funding.

c While visual art, film, and writing all have strong arts councils, most creative disciplines including design, dance, and interactive media, do not.

supports,<sup>d,251</sup> while artist residencies and informal workspace, including collective and co-operative organisations, and not-for-profits, have also served to fill in some of the gaps that more formalized institutions and government-sponsored organisations are not providing. [CARFAC](#),<sup>e</sup> for example, offers services such as health insurance coverage and worker benefits, and provides protections including legal consultation and standardized rates of commission.<sup>252</sup> Entrepreneurial incubator programs such as [Mitacs' Accelerate](#), or the [Creative Destruction Lab](#) provide project-based support for early-stage and pre-incorporated entrepreneurs with the means and credentials to participate, including a strong potential for quick scale-up.<sup>f,253</sup> In some cases, academic institutions may also provide significant support for creative entrepreneurs who are students, researchers, or have arranged partnerships with academics through R&D and project-based tri-council grants.

As Ann Markusen describes, since the 1990s there has also been a rise in regional philanthropists providing additional support to artists and creatives in the form of grants, awards, residencies, fellowships, and in some cases organisations providing artist services.<sup>254</sup> In Canada, such philanthropic supports include private donors, foundations, and organisations such as the [Toronto Friends of the Visual Arts](#), [Partners in Art](#), the [Metcalf Foundation](#), the [Magenta Foundation](#), etc.

d In Canada, social protection coverage is mostly union-based. A national survey by Hill Strategies reported that 68% of responding unions represented self-employed workers. ACTRA and Canadian Actors Equity Association, Writers Guild of Canada, and CARFAC are all examples of unions and organisations that extend some social benefits to self-employed artists.

e Known by its bilingual acronym, CARFAC stands for Canadian Artists Representation/Le font des artistes Canadiens.

f While creative entrepreneurial endeavours are welcome in these programs, they must have a tech focus or align with current program objectives, e.g., creative destruction's climate change stream. The Creative Destruction Lab offers a High School Girls Program, to provide young women opportunities to learn about technology-based entrepreneurship.

For example, the [Ontario Trillium Foundation](#), a provincially-funded arms-length agency, provides three types of support for creative entrepreneurs, from seed to capital grants, depending on the stage of the project's growth. However, to access the program, a company or organisation needs to have a minimum of three board members and consistently stable funding.

*“The largest subsidy for the arts comes not from governments, patrons or the private sector, but from artists themselves the form of unpaid or underpaid labour, [requiring] new thinking to revise labour and social protection frameworks that take into account the unique and atypical manner in which artists work, especially female artists.”*  
 —UNESCO, *Culture and Working Conditions for Artists*<sup>255</sup>

In many cases, creative entrepreneurs struggle to obtain enough funding to support their practice and living expenses.<sup>256</sup> Some may seek self-funding through other income streams, such as part-time or full-time employment in other industries (“hybrid employment”), or crowdsourcing through platforms such as [Kickstarter](#),<sup>g,257</sup> [Indiegogo](#),<sup>h,258</sup> or [Patreon](#).<sup>i,259</sup> While only 44 percent of projects meet their funding goals on Kickstarter, as of June 15, 2020, the platform has helped launch 488,367 projects globally, valued at \$5.04 billion.<sup>260</sup> Of these projects, 52,920 were video games (\$1.31 billion dollars), 50,166 were publishing projects (\$183.06 million), 41,446 were design projects (\$1.14 billion), 31,811 were fashion projects (\$188.50

g Kickstarter, established in 2009, is a funding platform for creative projects in the US, Canada, and UK, including film, games, music, art, design, and technology, etc.

h Indiegogo, launched in 2007, is a global platform designed to support entrepreneurs through crowdsourced funding and product shipping. While they support creative entrepreneurship, the platform's focus is more so on innovation and technology.

i Patreon enables subscription-style payment models for creative entrepreneurs. The company targets their marketing and features to specific creative industries, such as podcasters, video, musicians, visual art, writing and journalism, gaming.



million), and 16,256 were comics (\$115.03 million).<sup>261</sup> Indiegogo reported in 2013 that only 9.3 percent of their projects reach their funding goals (142,301 projects).<sup>j,262</sup> As UNESCO has described, to compound these piecemeal funding structures, much of the funding for creative work comes from artists themselves, in unpaid or underpaid labour.<sup>263</sup> Such conditions “demand a need for re-thinking current labour and social protection frameworks in order that they take into account the unique and atypical manner in which artists work, particularly for women.”<sup>264</sup>

## SUPPORT FOR CREATIVE ENTREPRENEURS IN CANADA

Across Canada, there are a number of programs specifically for creative entrepreneurs, such as [Business/Arts](#), a charitable organisation launched in 2005 that supports partnerships between businesses and arts organisations.<sup>265</sup> Business incubators, such as the Canada’s Music Incubator’s [Artist Entrepreneur Program](#), and SOCAN’s [Incubator for Creative Entrepreneurship](#) give emerging musical creators access to seed funding, mentorship, and entrepreneurial training, including management, marketing, promotion, and production/songwriting advice. As a creative hub, [Artscape Daniels Launchpad](#) in Toronto offers grants and subsidies, as well as studio space, socials, and courses in creative entrepreneurship for paying members.<sup>266</sup> Other programs focus on providing targeted micro-funding or credit, such as [CUE](#) and [SKETCH](#) in Ontario who support entrepreneurs from marginalized groups and youth, through funding programs such as micro-grants and mentorship. Membership programs, like Craft Ontario, are also beginning to offer entrepreneurial training to those practicing and identifying with craft.<sup>267</sup>

Many art and design postsecondary institutions offer support for student and alumni entrepreneurs through career development programs. [OCAD](#)

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j Those who don’t meet their funding goals are required to pay a nine percent fee to Indiegogo, as opposed to four percent from those who do meet their goals.

[University’s Centre for Emerging Artists and Designers \(CEAD\)](#), for example, provides early exposure to entrepreneurial thinking and experiential learning opportunities for students, alumni, and early-career creative entrepreneurs. In addition to collecting and disseminating data on best practices for cultural entrepreneurship, CEAD offers a range of curricular and extracurricular programs and services, including domain-specific programs and services designed to connect individuals to opportunities, such as facilitated learning experiences, communities of established practitioners, income generation, and skill-building resources. [The Shumka Centre for Creative Entrepreneurship](#) at Emily Carr University, plays a similar role for students and alumni. As with CEAD, many support programs for creative entrepreneurs focus on providing opportunities to network with other professionals in the industry. Reliance on social networks is essential to many creative entrepreneurs, particularly those starting out. As Angela McRobbie notes, much of the workforce consists of freelancers who need to connect to others in order to discover new opportunities,<sup>268</sup> as well as build multidisciplinary teams in order to execute projects. For example, putting on a play requires directors, producers, actors, theatre technicians, costume designers, graphic designers and printers to make the program, etc.

Within the creative entrepreneurship ecosystem of support, some programs focus specifically on women creative entrepreneurs, including a number that are genre or sector-specific and aimed at both entrepreneurs and employees. For example, the Canadian chapter of the Professional Association of Design (AIGA)’s [Women Lead Program](#), which promotes awareness of gender-related issues in design, and provides networking and educational opportunities. Community-based grassroots programs such as [Dames Making Games](#) (Toronto) or [Pixelles](#) (Montreal) offer training and workshops in game design for both freelancers and those employed in the industry, while others serve as resources and directories for women working in particular industries, including the [Feminist Photography Network](#), [Women Who Draw](#), and [Black Women Film](#). [The Transgender Media Portal](#), based in Ottawa, supports the production

and distribution of audiovisual work by trans, Two Spirit, nonbinary, intersex, and gender-nonconforming people by connecting communities of artists, activists, researchers, educators, festival programmers, and the public.

## ACCESS TO FUNDING

The Canada Council for the Arts (CAC) has made a commitment to equity and inclusion within its most recent [Strategic Plan](#) (2016-2021) including support for new and emerging artists.<sup>269</sup> In March 2019, the CAC expanded its eligibility criteria for early and new career artists, allowing them to apply for grants at the very outset of their careers through the [New and Early Career Artist](#) pilot project.<sup>270</sup> In 2018-2019 the CAC reported that 25 percent (\$137.5 million) in funding went to new recipients, or 1081 of the 2800 artists who received funding. In 2019, \$68,0202 in grants, prizes, and author payments went towards the CAC's [Explore and Create](#) stream, which supports the creation and dissemination of artistic \$10,218 more than the previous year (\$57,802/2018), \$68,745 went towards art organisations through the [Engage and Sustain](#) stream, and \$31,517 for general support of artistic practices.<sup>271</sup> With respect to applicant success rates, in 2019, 67 percent of applicants from Nunavut Territory were awarded grants from the CAC, in comparison to 47 percent in Alberta, 55 percent in Ontario, and 61 percent in Quebec.<sup>272</sup> The creative practices with the largest amount of funding from the CAC in 2019 were theatre (\$48.0 million) and music and sound (\$47.8 million), with digital arts (\$1.5 million) and circus arts (\$1.9 million) receiving the least. A 2018 study by the OAC noted that in Canada male artists are more likely to apply for and receive grants that provide more funding.<sup>273</sup> As the report states, "between 2006 and 2011, 110 female artists and 189 male artists applied for two-year grants of \$80,000 (\$40,000 per year) from the Canada Council. Of these applicants, the success rate for male artists was 28% compared to 22.7% for female artists."<sup>274</sup>

Recently, several Canadian arts groups have expressed concerns about funding not being distributed equitably across Canada, including

biases that have excluded applicants who are not white men.<sup>275</sup> For example, according to Statistics Canada, Ontario has nearly double the amount of artists as Quebec.<sup>k,276</sup> However in 2018-2019 both provinces received the same amount of funding from the CAC, around \$80 million. While BC has nearly the same proportion of artists (18 percent) as Quebec (21 percent), the province received almost half the funding in 2018-2019.<sup>277</sup> In addition to submissions to Parliament's Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage in June 2019 from the Canadian Association of Stand-up Comedians,<sup>278</sup> and several on-the-record interviews from art community members,<sup>279</sup> in March 2019 the Toronto Alliance for the Performing Arts (TAPA)'s wrote an open letter to the CAC with seven recommendations for greater equity and funding outcomes, including more transparent quotas and distributions of resources and more diverse assessment panels.<sup>280</sup> The CAC provided a letter in response,<sup>281</sup> reiterating their 2016-2021 Strategic Plan's high-level commitments and official [Equity Policy](#) in which they identify three priority equity-seeking groups: those deemed culturally diverse, those who are deaf or experiencing disability, and official language minorities who would benefit from targeted strategic funds. However, initiatives or targeted interventions for groups experiencing inequity due to gender and sexual identity are set for future development, with no firm dates.<sup>282</sup>

## CANADIAN CULTURAL POLICY

In Canada, as in many other countries, the creative and cultural industries are regulated by government activities that shape and impact their structure and performance.<sup>283</sup> Cultural policies affect the organizational forms of cultural industries, as well as the working conditions of cultural workers. Nation-building has long been the political foundation used to drive state subsidy and regulation of the cultural industries.<sup>284</sup> However, cultural industries have also been an ongoing site of contestation as policymakers

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k The 2011 Census reported 28,200 individuals who identified their main occupation as artists in Quebec, while Ontario had 58,100.

continue to question “whether culture is a commodity, a public good, or both.”<sup>285</sup> Micheal Dorland notes that, “despite the emergence of digital technologies and new modes of cultural production, cultural sovereignty, the maintenance of national cultural policies amid globalization, and tensions between commercial and non-commercial culture persist in all recent Canadian cultural policy,”<sup>286</sup> including the framing of new initiatives in the most recent national policy statement, *Creative Canada*. These tensions between industry and government have also meant that Canada has ended up with a sophisticated communications policy, with large publicly-funded institutions such as the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the National Film Board, but underdeveloped cultural industries overall.<sup>287</sup>

*“Should Canadian culture continue to be discussed in a framework of underdevelopment and cultural sovereignty, or as capitalist industries enjoying enormous profits and high profiles, often at the expense of the people who produce culture: workers, artists, and citizens?” —Ira Wagman and Peter Urquhart, Cultural Industries.ca<sup>288</sup>*

Although the production of Canadian culture is shaped by artistic impulse and nationalist policy, as Ira Wagman and Peter Urquhart describe, it is also “propelled by competitive, for-profit entities that compete on a global level.”<sup>289</sup> Previous frameworks in Canadian cultural policy have not begun with the recognition that many creative companies providing television, radio, software, games, etc., are often operating with a focus on profit generation.<sup>290</sup> Around the 1980s, Canadian cultural policy shifted in focus from long-standing protectionist models, designed to shield domestic industries through heavy taxation of foreign trade,<sup>291</sup> to neoliberalist frameworks and strategies, favoring global free markets (largely) controlled and run by for-profit, private companies rather than government regulation.<sup>292</sup> This shift brought about an increasing emphasis on a market-driven economy and individual innovation, closely tied to the development of digital and creative economies,<sup>293</sup> as well a de-centralization of cultural

policy that reduced and reoriented government intervention.<sup>294</sup> It also had a large impact on cultural activities that had been heavily associated with national identity, which now were considered market failures within the immaterial/[intangible] economy, rather than as symbolic goods, assessed on their cultural value.<sup>295</sup>

As Greig de Peuter describes, in recent years, “official interest in creative industries has focused on their market expediency, especially their ability to create intellectual property, generate entrepreneurial behaviour, and fuel job creation—all of which is closely linked to urban revitalization.”<sup>296</sup> To promote their growth in Canada, creative sectors such as film, television, and interactive design have seen large amounts of support from the government through tax subsidies on labour. These industries are seen as immensely profitable, and those benefiting most from subsidies are often massive multinational corporations who are deeply integrated in global economic capital, such as Ubisoft, Rockstar Games, Netflix, and other US-based film production companies.<sup>297</sup> This could be due to their ability to hire at large scales and afford up-front investment. As foreign ownership and cultural production increases in the cultural sector in Canada, the longstanding tensions between national sovereignty and economic benefit continue to grow, with questions posed as to whether we should return to models of increased national control over creative content and its distribution in order to protect Canadian creative industries at risk from takeover from large foreign companies, particularly global tech companies such as Apple, Amazon and Netflix.<sup>298</sup> Despite recent attempts to enforce sales tax and content quotas,<sup>299</sup> these international companies still largely remain outside of national regulatory scope and have had a serious impact on the Canadian creative industries through their domination of both creative production and dissemination platforms.<sup>300</sup>

## QUEBEC CULTURAL POLICY

The level of provincial intervention and oversight in cultural policy and production is much higher in Quebec than anywhere else in Canada, as well as other Western countries. While the Saskatchewan Arts Council (c.1949) was the first in Canada, Quebec was early to give cultural production a clear political identity and significance.<sup>301</sup> Quebec cultural policy places a strong focus on education, vocational training, and support of creative practices that promote francophone identity.<sup>302</sup> The main framework overseeing creative and cultural industries in Quebec is *Partout, La Culture 2018-2023*, which was updated for the first time since 1992. Its budget, at \$600.9 million over five years, far exceeds that of any other provincial or territorial cultural strategy. The framework focuses on the nurturing of environments “conducive to the creation and promotion of arts and culture,” in order to promote “individual and collective fulfillment through culture.”<sup>303</sup> Visibility and discoverability of Quebecois and francophone identity are emphasized, as is digital entrepreneurship.<sup>304</sup> Culture critics have noted that though anglophones and anglophone art and culture are recognized, there are limited details on allocation of financial support.<sup>305</sup> As part of *Partout, La Culture*, Quebec has also made an investment of \$14.3 million to ensure artists and cultural workers have access to professional training and continuing education.<sup>306</sup> Quebec’s 2017 *Digital Culture Plan/ Stratégie Numérique du Québec*<sup>307</sup> emphasizes the “consolidation of digital competences in the cultural sector, the appropriation of new technological practices and the creation and dissemination of digital content.”<sup>308</sup> As UNESCO has reported, other than in Quebec, Canada has very few political parties who have implemented a concrete digital culture plan that extends beyond initiatives to digitize or strengthen specific localized programs or locations.<sup>309</sup>

[SODEC](#),<sup>l</sup> the provincial equivalent to the CAC, promotes and supports private cultural businesses in Quebec and abroad, including

l Société de développement des entreprises culturelles (SODEC).

creative entrepreneurs and small-businesses. The [Conseil des arts et des lettres du Québec](#) (CALQ) provides support for individual artists and artistic organizations. SODEC is tasked with administering funding and financing, as well as tax credits, for film and television, books, crafts, art, music, variety, and heritage, particularly businesses tied to francophone identity. It also manages and promotes co-production activities in Quebec. In January 2020, SODEC reported that “\$166 million from tax credits for Québec film and television production and for film and television production services was dedicated to coproduction in Quebec, with Quebec producers contributed \$809 million out of a total of \$1.81 billion in co-production budgets.”<sup>310</sup> SODEC’s 2018-2022 strategic plan includes a focus on the growth and survival of creative entrepreneurs, through support for increased digital capacity, development of business models, and an inventory mapping of all existing entrepreneurial resources in Montreal.<sup>311</sup>

## RECENT POLICY RESPONSES AND REVISIONS

*“The digital environment has brought major changes to the way artists create and the way artistic works are made available to audiences, both domestically and globally. This has been further complicated by the rise and market concentration of large platforms as well as a monopoly on artificial intelligence (AI). Together this opens many new questions for the protection of artists rights and freedoms, the discoverability, recognition and fair remuneration, **especially for women.**” —UNESCO, *Culture & Working Conditions for Artists: Implementing the 1980 Recommendations Concerning the Status of the Artist*<sup>312</sup>*

Digital and online platforms have brought many benefits to the practices of creative entrepreneurs, including the ability to showcase portfolios online and broader reach through digital marketing. However, they can also pose challenges for creative entrepreneurs with respect to visibility,<sup>313</sup>

particularly for women, and many minority and marginalized groups. As Rianka Singh describes “there is a significant body of [research] that has established that digital platforms are not neutral media. Instead platforms are understood to be imbued with hierarchies of power wherein information is inequitably distributed with differential effects.”<sup>314</sup> At the 2019 *International Meeting on Diversity of Content in the Digital Age*, both Canadian Heritage and UNESCO made commitments to create, access, and make content from women, Indigenous, French-language, and rural perspectives more discoverable.<sup>315</sup> In an online context, being discoverable means that one’s content can easily be found using a search engine (either on a website or through an application).<sup>316</sup> Creator rights have also been stressed in the federal government’s recent review of the [Digital Charter](#), including increased support for small and mid-range content creators in order that they have access to large and global markets.<sup>317</sup>

Maintaining diversity in cultural expression is dependent on the protection of artistic and intellectual labour. Recent cultural policy has noted the challenges many creative entrepreneurs face in securing their intellectual property and proper remuneration through copyright. In some cases, creators have been able to leverage copyright to receive compensation for their work, however, as individuals they have little negotiating power with big tech firms or large cultural institutions.<sup>318</sup> To support companies, the federal government has created a Data Commissioner to oversee regulations for large digital companies, and provide better personal data protections and competition in the digital marketplace.<sup>319</sup>

“The current digital environment has disrupted traditional business models and has redistributed power, and accompanying profitability, among actors in the creative sector. We often hear of the difficulties content creators experience in obtaining a fair or sustainable remuneration associated with their work.” —Canadian Heritage & UNESCO, *International Meeting on Diversity of Content in the Digital Age*<sup>320</sup>

In response to these and other disruptions to traditional models of production and consumption brought about by developments in digital technology and foreign trade, Canadian Heritage and Innovation, Science, and Economic Development Canada (ISED) launched a statutory review of the *Copyright Act* and reform of the Copyright Board of Canada, as well as a modernization of the *Broadcasting and Telecommunications Act*, and *Digital Charter* in 2018. These revisions focused on access to digital media and infrastructure, support of the independent Canadian news sector, the protection and remuneration of independent content creators in the digital age, including intellectual property (IP), and content discoverability in consideration of artificial intelligence (AI) and algorithmic recommendation systems.<sup>321</sup>

At the time, the Honourable Melanie Joly (former Minister of Culture and now Minister of Economic Development and Official Languages) stated that these reviews were “aimed at supporting diverse content and information for Canadians, as well as affordability and access to telecommunications services,”<sup>322</sup> recognizing that, as content continues to move towards digital formats, many independent creators struggle to receive payment for use of their work, despite an increased demand for their work.<sup>323</sup> The [Statutory Review of the Copyright Act](#) in 2019 focused on whether the Canadian copyright regime was serving its purpose, and allowed Canadian content creators to leverage the value of their creative work.<sup>324</sup> ISED, through the *Intellectual Property Strategy*, has committed over \$83.5 million over five years to helping Canadian businesses, creators, and entrepreneurs understand and access intellectual property.<sup>325</sup> The final report from the [Broadcasting and Telecommunications Legislative Review Panel](#) in 2020, included 97 recommendations and called for major changes at the national broadcasting organizations, such as the CBC and Radio-Canada, as well as an expansion of internet services, in order to “reaffirm Canada’s sovereignty.”<sup>326</sup>

While there has been a growing interest from policymakers and industry regarding diversity and gender dynamics within the creative and

cultural industries, and much celebration from within and towards the sector focused on diversity and cultural originality,<sup>327</sup> there are many gaps in understanding about the current state for artists, creators, and business owners from minority or underrepresented groups.<sup>328</sup> Research has tended to focus on sector-specific experiences (e.g., dance or media arts) with less focus on gender, racial, or other dynamics within and across sectors.<sup>329</sup>

## CONCLUSION AND FURTHER RESEARCH QUESTIONS



Creative entrepreneurs, artists, businesses, arts organizations, and the ecosystem of creative industries and activity are a vital contribution to the Canadian economy, culture, and innovation. However, what counts as “creative” as “arts and culture” and as entrepreneurship has implications for how this contribution is assessed, valued, and supported. Through this initial literature review, we provide an overview of the Canadian ecosystem, from freelancers, solo-preneurs, and micro-enterprises, to large and internationally-competitive firms, and their role in the economy and in innovation in Canada. We highlight key sectors that offer exemplary or surprising models for creative enterprise, including some that are not well captured in economic statistics or well supported by existing programs.

This paper kicks off the first in a series of work by the Brookfield Institute on creative entrepreneurs, entrepreneurship, and the creative sector, as part of our research program on Women Entrepreneurs. While there has been significant research on creative entrepreneurs in Canada, including a number of sectoral case studies and deep dives, we see some potential gaps and further research questions. This could include qualitative or quantitative research on questions such as:

1. (How) do Canadian creative businesses fit into definitions of the innovation economy or the digital economy and what role do they play in innovation?
2. At what rate and at what stages of their careers do Canadian artists/creatives shift from paid employment to self-employment (and back)? What push/pull factors influence this and what are the demographic breakdowns of these trends?
3. What does the full spectrum of entrepreneurship look like for Canadian artists/creatives/businesses from micro-gigwork to internationally competitive firms and what are the demographic and characteristic breakdowns at each size or structure?
4. What does hybrid employment look like for Canadian artists/creatives (i.e., simultaneously holding paid employment and freelancing or other entrepreneurial activity)? What push/pull factors influence this and what are the demographic breakdowns of these trends?
5. What is the current state of collaborative entrepreneurial practices (e.g., art collectives, shared studio spaces, co-op run galleries, etc.) in Canada? How do they differ from individual or traditional business models, what barriers do they face, what supports and services are available for them, and (how) are they represented in Canadian arts and arts and culture policy?
6. What are the unique factors of creative entrepreneurship and creative businesses in Canada, compared to other sectors? What are the experiential differences for freelancers and founders?
7. What current gaps and barriers exist for racialized creative women entrepreneurs, and how can they be better supported both in funding and through policy frameworks in Canada?



APPENDIX + ENDNOTES





## NAICS AND NOCS

There are two NAICS (North American Industry Classification System) used to classify the creative industries in Canada: **Information and Cultural Industries** (51); and **Arts, Entertainment, Recreation** (71).

- 1. Information and Cultural Industries** (51) includes establishments that produce and distribute information and cultural products, and provide means to transmit or distribute products, access to equipment, and/or expertise for processing data.<sup>330</sup> The industries' main activities are: publishing; software publishing; motion picture and sound recording; broadcasting; telecommunications and related services (i.e. VoIP, cable, etc.); data processing industries; Internet publishing, broadcasting and web search portals. The majority of these products are protected under copyright laws.<sup>331</sup>
- 2. Arts, Entertainment, Recreation** (71) consists of establishments that are primarily engaged in "operating facilities or providing services to meet the cultural, entertainment and recreational interests of their patrons."<sup>332</sup>

The first level of National Occupational Classification (NOC) associated with the creative industries is **Occupations in Art, Culture, Recreation, and Sport** (5) which describes creative occupations as two categories: professional and technical.

- 1. Professional occupations in art and culture** (51) includes: Librarians, archivists, conservators and curators (511); Writing, translating, and related communications professionals (512); Creative and performing artists (513).
- 2. Technical occupations in art, culture, recreation, and sport** (52) includes: Technical occupations in libraries, public archives, museums, and art galleries (521); Photographers, graphic arts technicians, and technical and co-ordinating occupations in motion pictures, broadcasting, and performing arts (522); Announcers and other performers (523); Creative designers and craftspersons (524); and Athletes, coaches, referees, and related occupations (525).<sup>333</sup>

## KEY POLICY FRAMEWORKS

Over time, the Canadian government has established a robust system of measures to support the creative and cultural industries, including legislative frameworks,<sup>334</sup> policies and regulations,<sup>a,335</sup> national institutions,<sup>b,336</sup> and funding programs.<sup>c,337</sup> A selection of these is highlighted below.

### Creative Canada Policy Framework

The central policy framework for creative sectors is the 2017 *Creative Canada Policy Framework*, or *Creative Canada*, which is overseen by Canadian Heritage. Produced as an outcome of the [#DigiCanCon](#) consultations, *Creative Canada* outlines the federal government's response to opportunities and gaps in policy around digital disruption.<sup>338</sup> The framework presents a strategic plan of action around three themes: the investment in Canadian creators, cultural entrepreneurs, and their stories; the promotion of

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a Including the Broadcasting Act, the Copyright Act, the CRTC Act, the Advertising Services Provided by Foreign Publishers Act, the Income Tax Act, the Investment Canada Act, the Status of the Artist Act and the Telecommunications Act, the Radiocommunications Act.

b Such as various Canadian content rules for TV and radio, Creative Canada Policy Framework (CCPF), international agreements, Foreign Investment Policy in Book Publishing and Distribution, Foreign Investment Policy in the Periodical Publishing Sector, Foreign Investment Policy in Film Distribution, and Policy on Audiovisual Treaty Coproduction.

c Including the Canada Council for the Arts, Canadian Museums (History, Human Right, Immigration at Pier 21, Nature, Science and Technology), CBC/Radio-Canada, CRTC, Library and Archives Canada, National Arts Centre, National Film Board (NFB), National Gallery of Canada, and Telefilm Canada.

d Federal financial for the cultural industries is administered through a number of funds, including the Canada Arts Presentation Fund, Canada Arts Training Fund, Canada Book Fund, Canada Cultural Spaces Fund, Canada Cultural Investment Fund, Canada Music Fund, Canada Periodical Fund, export promotion funding, Museums Assistance Program, and TV5 funding.

discovery and distribution at home and globally;<sup>d</sup> and the strengthening of public broadcasting and support of local news.<sup>339</sup> Simultaneously, it explicitly states that “Canada’s success in the digital economy means fostering creativity and contributing to economic growth.”<sup>340</sup> As such, Canadian Heritage has committed \$1.9 billion over five years towards these initiatives,<sup>e,341</sup> making Canada the only country in the G7 to make such a significant investment in their cultural industries.<sup>342</sup> Included in these funds is a \$300 million investment towards the support of creative hubs intended to “nurture and incubate upcoming creative entrepreneurs and small business start-ups” by encouraging collaboration, creation, and development of entrepreneurial skills in a shared space.<sup>343</sup> Toronto’s [Artscape Daniels Launchpad](#), Montreal’s [Societe des arts technologique](#), and Vancouver’s [Centre for Social and Economic Innovation](#) are all funded as creative hubs through this initiative. Canadian Heritage will also fund the CAC’s support of outcome-based funding models that allow artists, groups and organizations to define their own projects and ambitions with more flexibility, innovation, and experimentation,<sup>344</sup> and a pledge to ensure Canada’s federal cultural institutions and funding programs have implemented concrete measures to increase opportunities for underrepresented groups, including women.<sup>f,345</sup>

While *Creative Canada* strives to “re-signify the meaning of culture by positioning creativity as the pillar of the immaterial economy,”<sup>346</sup> it has also come under criticism for not providing enough tangible support for creators as labour conditions continue to become more precarious. As Mariane Bourcheix-Laporte states, “considering the fact that artistic labour has historically been characterized by precarity and that, in the ‘new economy,’ artists have been positioned as post-Fordist workers *par excellence*, the normalization of precarity as a feature of participation in the creative economy has

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e See Creative Canada Export Strategy below.

f In 2020-2021, planned spending in the creative and cultural industries was set at \$466 million.

g Such as the Canadian Media Fund’s commitment of 50 percent of its funding directed to women-led projects.

significant biopolitical implications, which *Creative Canada* anchors as part of official governmental discourse.”<sup>347</sup>

### Creative Export Canada Strategy

In 2019-2020, one of Canadian Heritage’s key strategies was creating more pathways to market for Canadian creators and cultural/creative entrepreneurs.<sup>348</sup> The *Creative Export Canada Strategy*, nested within *Creative Canada*, focuses on strategic partnerships with international organizations, support for international events, the expansion of Canadian creative industries’ international reach, and the generation of export revenue through the funding of ‘export-ready’ projects through the bolstering of funds to existing programs.<sup>349</sup> These opportunities are particularly valuable for creative entrepreneurs, who could greatly benefit from international exposure and the opportunity to grow and expand their reach. As part of this strategy, the *Canadian Arts Presentation Fund* provides opportunities to artists and performers at international events, as well as funding to facilitate participation. Individuals and projects demonstrating gender and diversity are given enhanced consideration during the selection process. In 2020, funding opened up to non-incorporated organizations and ad-hoc groups from groups from racialized and Indigenous communities.<sup>350</sup>

### Status of the Artist Act (1992, c.33)

The government of Canada’s *Status of the Artist Act* (1992, c.33) allows for the certification of various creative trade unions and professional associations to regulate remuneration and labour conditions of creative workers, including entrepreneurs. Established in 1992, this act continues to have significant implications for labour, contract, and copyright law, and enables certain organizations, such as CARFAC and RAAV (in Quebec), the right to negotiate on behalf of self-employed artists on a number of issues, including contracts, wage rates, pensions, unemployment support, etc.<sup>351</sup>

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h Including the Canada Book Fund, Canada Music Fund, Canada Periodical Fund, Telefilm Canada, and the Canada Arts Presentation Fund.

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