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Vancouverism and Its Cultural Amenities: The View from Here

by Peter Dickinson

In this essay, I want to begin thinking through some of the very basic material (as in, bricks and mortar) links between real estate and the performing arts. What, I am asking, is the relationship between the lifestyle and design amenities we seek out as desirable selling features in high-priced urban condominium towers and the cultural amenities we all too easily overlook or take for granted in our cities? Let's start by talking about chandeliers.

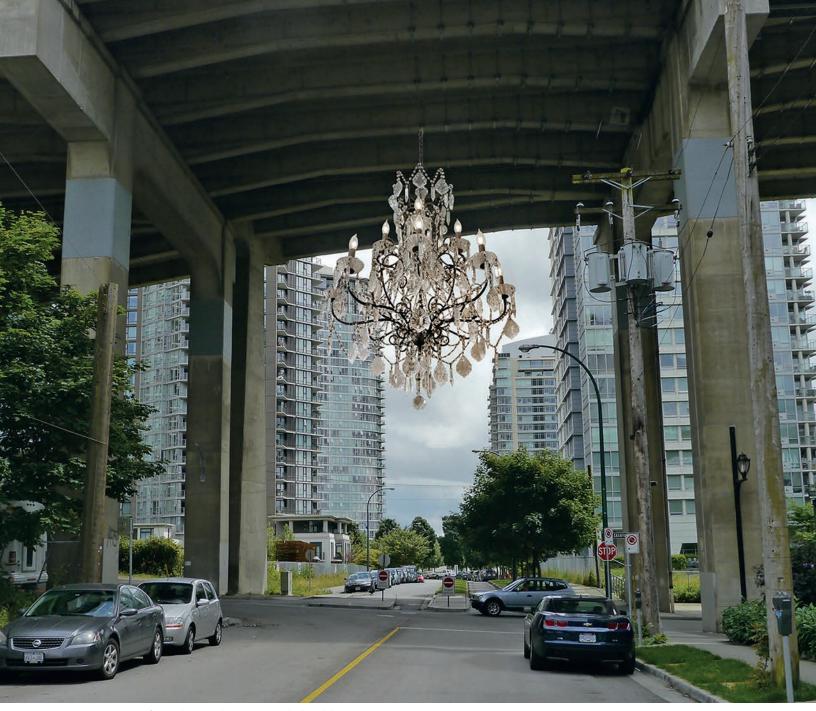
And not just any chandeliers. The one I have in mind is a giant 4 metre by 6 metre faux-crystal candelabra designed by celebrated Vancouver artist Rodney Graham, which is to be installed as a public work of art underneath the Granville Street Bridge, just over Beach Avenue. The chandelier is meant to dangle halfway between the underside of the bridge's northern viaduct and the street, gently rotating as it slowly ascends over the course of the day; then, at an appointed hour each day, the chandelier will suddenly release, spinning rapidly as it descends to its starting point. Concept drawings for the artwork went on display as part of the Gesamtkunstwerk: Life as a Total Work of Art exhibition and public salon series that opened in March 2014 and ran until the end of May 2014. The exhibition was curated by local architectural critic Trevor Boddy and underwritten by Ian Gillespie's Westbank Projects development corporation. According to Gillespie, in describing the evolution of his company's building practices, the exhibition was meant to explore the intersection of art, architecture, interior design, and urbanism through the philosophy of "the total work of art" as applied to "enlightened city-building"—one in which complex, mixed-use developments, for example, place "an emphasis on the integration of public art" (Gillespie).

But the Gesamtkunstwerk show also doubled as a soft launch of Westbank's sales campaign for its latest and most ambitious residential building project in the city, Vancouver House, a \$200 million-dollar, 52-story, curving glass tower designed by Danish architect Bjarke Ingels that will be erected near the Granville Street Bridge, adjacent to the intersection of Beach Avenue and

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Howe Street, and marketed by the company as a "living sculpture" ("Vancouver House"). Graham's *Torqued Chandelier* is similarly described by Westbank in its press promotion as a work of "kinetic sculpture," the public "centerpiece of multiple artworks set to transform the underbelly of the Granville bridge," leaving an "indelible" mark on "Vancouver's civic landscape" ("Rodney Graham"). But there is also a way in which this highly visual symbol of gilded interior domesticity annexes the bridge as an extended private portico for the residents of Vancouver House. Thus, in addition to taking in Graham's drawings for the chandelier and listening to a series of talks by local academics and urban planners, visitors to the *Gesamtkunstwerk* show could also get a sneak peek at the architectural specs for the condo units in Ingels's tower—which were released for sale in July 2014.

In opening with this confluence of art and real estate, I do not wish to indict Graham, nor Boddy, as curator, for being at the vanguard of the gentrifying creative class. Rather, accepting Gillespie at his word in wanting to align density with artistry in creating "opportunities to shape the entire build-out of the city" (Gillespie), I am merely issuing a caution against the reification of a



Concept image for Rodney Graham's Torqued Chandelier. Photo courtesy Westbank Projects Corp.

new kind of facadism in the ongoing performance of the model of urban planning that has come to be known as Vancouverism. The tall, slim glass towers separated by low-rise buildings that maintain view corridors in the city's downtown, and that are surrounded by accessible public walkways and plenty of green space, have become synonymous globally with an architectural signature that approaches "performance art"—to quote one *Guardian* critic on an earlier exhibition of Vancouver urban design curated by Boddy (see Boddy). However, in this essay, I am more concerned with the knock-on effects (quite literally) that the granting of development

rights for such buildings have on the interior outfitting and finishing of new creative spaces for different performing arts organizations in the city. And, apropos of Graham's chandelier, who pays to keep the lights on in these spaces?

My specific focus is the City of Vancouver's Community Amenities Contributions (CAC) program. First introduced in 1989 in connection with the City's aggressive post-Expo residential development of the neighbourhoods of North False Creek and Coal Harbour, the program is similar to the "density-forbenefit agreements" (DBAs) negotiated by Toronto's municipal

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government under Section 37 of the Ontario Planning Act: inkind or cash contributions are provided by developers in exchange for different building project rezonings or exemptions (usually with respect to height). However, unlike the more systematic approach undertaken by many other large municipal jurisdictions in North America, Vancouver and Toronto "negotiate the amount of density and value of benefits secured on a case-by-case basis" (Moore 5). Moreover, whereas many cities trade density bonusing solely to create more affordable housing units (typically in the same building), Vancouver and Toronto apply the benefits secured from developers to a far wider array of civic services, including, in Vancouver's case, the creation, expansion, or upgrade of park space, library and childcare facilities, community centres and neighbourhood houses, and various transportation services.² CACs have also, through the City of Vancouver's Public Art Committee, led to various important temporary and permanent public art commissions, of which the collaboration between Graham and Westbank is exemplary.³ Finally, CACs have helped to expand the number and range of available cultural facilities in the city, leading, for example, to successful new permanent spaces for the Contemporary Art Gallery, the Vancouver International Film Festival, and the Vancouver Symphony's School of Music.

At the same time, the most recent Cultural Facilities Priority Plan, adopted by the City of Vancouver in June 2008, recognizes that, in addition to a need for more small-to-midsize performance spaces in the city, as well as more artist live-work spaces, the development of "co-location facilities that integrate multiple organizational functions in one location (e.g. rehearsal/ production/ administration activity)" should be maximized (City of Vancouver 4). Such tenancy partnerships are increasingly sought after by local arts organizations, and these shared spaces will theoretically lead to exciting creative exchanges among companies working across disciplines. However, they can also bring with them additional baggage: competition between organizations for space; unforeseen capital campaigns; criticism that developers merely transfer costs associated with CACs onto the market pricing of residential units, contributing to Vancouver's affordable housing crisis (see Bula); and potential ethical quagmires when an arts organization is the beneficiary of a CAC from a developer whose building project is at odds with the local community. These and other place-based issues related to cultural and urban sustainability in Vancouver form the backdrop to the two case studies I examine in what follows; that said, I am mostly interested in contrasting two different models for the awarding of CACs to cultural organizations in Vancouver, drawing on the recent insights and lessons learned by artist-producers and arts administrators to argue that the costs of inhabiting a subsidized city-owned property might in fact be greater than speculating on finding a shingle of one's own.

South False Creek: The Arts Club and Bard on the Beach

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In 2006, when the dream of a thriving post-Olympics residential community in South False Creek was still a gleam in both the Vancouver City Council's and developers' eyes, the former approved the designation of a two-storey, 44,000-square foot complex to be built into the base of two condo towers at 162 West

1st Avenue as a production and administrative hub, as well as a second stage, for the Vancouver Playhouse Theatre Company. The deal was initiated by a \$7.6 million in-kind community amenity contribution from the condo's developer, Wall Financial Corporation, which has helped to restore several other theatres in the city, including the Stanley on Granville Street and the recently opened York on Commercial Drive (Lee). However, the deal very nearly came to naught when, first, Wall Financial proposed to turn the buildings into rental properties following the 2008 global financial downturn and then, again, when the Playhouse Theatre Company folded in early 2012. The demise of the Playhouse was hastened in part by Olympics-related cuts to arts funding initiated by the province in 2009, but the company's finances had long been imperilled by its complicated tenancy requirements at the civic theatre on Hamilton Street that bore its name, a situation that was only exacerbated by the apparently extortionate benchmarks the City was suggesting to the Playhouse vis-à-vis operating and maintenance costs per square foot at the West 1st Avenue location. During the summer of 2012, the City launched an open call to arts organizations to tenant the vacant space. The call attracted the interest of several companies, including Ballet BC and the Goh Ballet Academy. But the nod eventually went to the Arts Club Theatre Company and Bard on the Beach, in part because their application proposed to make use of the entire space and, just as crucially, because they were seen as capable of assuming the space's significant operating costs (see Heatherington).

Under the terms of the agreement, the theatre companies have been given separate 60-year leases at a nominal rent of \$10/ year. The City also approved additional capital funding of up to \$7 million to help outfit the interior space, which includes four rehearsal halls, costume and prop shops, administrative offices, and a new 250-seat theatre that replaces the Arts Club's Revue Stage on Granville Island (see Lee). However, the companies were themselves required to launch their own capital campaigns in order to leverage an additional \$5.5 million from the provincial and federal governments, as well as corporate donors. This included \$2.5 million from Canadian Heritage's Cultural Spaces Fund; \$1 million from BC's Ministry of Community, Sport and Cultural Development; \$1.5 million from BMO Financial Group for naming rights to the building (which officially opened in December 2015); and \$500,000 from Goldcorp, a mining company headquartered in Vancouver, for the lighting and sound systems in the venue's main performance space ("Media Release").4 As former Arts Club Executive Director Howard Jang indicated to me prior to the announcement of this funding, the companies would still likely face an overall shortfall in terms of initial overrun and operational costs, which he indicated would be covered by private donations and an interim financing agreement between the two companies that would amount to a co-mortgage on a building neither of them owns (see Jang). I am less interested in hazarding what this shortfall might immediately portend for both companies' bottom lines than in emphasizing that it was city councillors' faith in the long-term stability and robustness of those bottom lines that ensured they got the nod in the first place, with artistic currency translated through the overriding logic of financialization into economic profitability and thus reduced risk-sharing.



Construction on the Goldcorp Stage at the BMO Theatre Centre in South False Creek. Photo by Mark Halliday

Telling, in this regard, are separate comments made, upon the announcement of the agreement in November 2013, by Councillors Elizabeth Ball and Heather Deal, who represent the rival Non-Partisan Association and Vision Vancouver parties respectively, and who are rarely in accord ideologically. Ball commented, "Although we're sorry that the Playhouse of course is no longer with us, it is wonderful to see the Arts Club and Bard on the Beach being able to be the beneficiary, and therefore the whole city the beneficiary." Going on to note that the amount of revenue generated by the two companies was "truly remarkable," she added, "I think that the Arts Club and Bard on the Beach are unique in Canada, in that they are both commercial and artistic successes in many ways" (Cole, "Vancouver City Council" 2013). For her part, Deal thanked both organizations "for being the ones that could step to the plate and provide us with that certainty and stability that means that we can ensure that this will be an amenity that not only will allow your organizations to save money and thrive, but in fact to provide a huge service for theatre across the city and in fact the region" (Cole, "Vancouver City Council" 2013). And, indeed, the benefits to the broader performing arts community should not be underestimated, especially in terms of the increased opportunities for community programming and engagement, and the availability of the space's theatre and rehearsal halls for rental

by other arts organizations. Yet the fact that, as Ball herself notes, these opportunities afforded by the Arts Club and Bard are built upon the ruins of another company—the Playhouse—is significant in a province where former Minister of Tourism, Culture and the Arts Kevin Krueger once openly questioned the necessity of not-for-profit arts organizations (Smith). To this end, one of the bits consistently left out of this story of phoenix-like theatrical resurrection from the ashes of the Playhouse's collapse is that the tiny non-profit Pacific Theatre was originally to have been a partner with the Arts Club and Bard in tenanting the space. However, as the company's Production and Business Manager Frank Nickel put it to me in an email,

After working with the two other companies for seven months, and after receiving our fundraising feasibility studies back, [the] Pacific Theatre board, management and key stakeholders decided it was best for [us] to withdraw from the proposal. We left on very good terms with Bard and Arts Club. At the time the costs were just too significant and the fundraising feasibility study came back with not so flattering numbers. (Nickel)

And so Pacific Theatre will continue to occupy for the foreseeable future its current cramped quarters in a church basement on West 10th Avenue.

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The BMO Theatre Centre lobby during its official November 2015 opening.

Photo by Mark Halliday

In other words, every theatre company's dream of having its own space is a decidedly mixed blessing if, in exchange for a long-term, virtually rent-free lease, the exterior address one inherits masks an interior ruin and if, additionally, one must assume the capital costs of upgrading and renovating said ruin on top of keeping the lights on once it's finished. I have no doubt that Ball and Deal are right; if there are two companies that can make a go of this model, it's definitely the Arts Club and Bard, with their more commercial and populist programming, their built-in audience and donor bases, and their combined fundraising muscle (which, in the case of Bard, received an additional residual boost from the Playhouse's demise when they were chosen to succeed it as the charitable beneficiary of the Vancouver International Wine Festival). But, as Jang put it to me, the fundraising feasibility studies that caused Pacific Theatre to walk away from the project also

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very nearly killed the deal for Bard and the Arts Club; without the City's commitment of \$7 million toward their capital costs, the companies would not have proceeded, especially as each only really needed 12,000 square feet of space and the Arts Club was not initially looking to manage another theatre. And while Jang noted that the \$7/square foot in operating costs that the companies negotiated with the City is an extremely good deal (especially in Vancouver's inflated real estate market), one wonders if the facility model for cultural amenities is ever really a fair trade. To this end, let us re-examine some of the numbers previously listed in connection with this particular CAC. Wall Financial's in-kind contribution was \$7.6 million; however, the combined cost of the City's and the arts organizations' estimated capital financing comes to \$12.8 million. In such a scenario, the development company is actually recouping its costs and then some.⁵

This is even more the case if the developer makes a cash contribution for a space that never gets built. Legendary in this respect is the Coal Harbour Civic Arts Centre, consisting of a 1,500-seat performance hall and 250-seat studio theatre, that was to have been built as a result of the initial \$20 million CAC provided by Marathon Developments (the real estate arm of the Canadian Pacific Railway) in exchange for the rezoning of its massive condominium project on the 32-hectare waterfront site between the foot of Burrard Street and Stanley Park. However, when plans for a new convention centre started taking shape in advance of the 2010 Olympics, the arts centre was shelved, and the money put toward it has yet to be spent on any other cultural infrastructure in the city. As Lance Berelowitz writes in Dream City: Vancouver and the Global Imagination, Coal Harbour's "radical reinvention of Vancouver's urban waterfront from working port to masterplanned waterfront community" has been-alongside Concord Pacific's parallel development of North False Creek-"a significant contributor to Vancouver's emerging lifestyle myth," with the carefully planned view corridors and scalloped design of the adjacent waterfront walkway/bikeway "entrenching the ever-present impulse to look out at the setting rather than in towards the city" (106, 102). And it's the insides—the guts—of civic art-making and cultural production that I'm most concerned with here, both in terms of the spaces that give shape to it and the communities who sustain it.

Mount Pleasant: The Centre for Arts Innovation

In the fall of 2013, an open call was issued by the City of Vancouver for submissions from local non-profit arts and cultural organizations for innovative capital development projects in the Mount

Pleasant area. A total of \$4.5 million in funding was available as a result of a CAC provided by Rize Alliance Properties, whose controversial mixed residential and commercial tower development on East Broadway between Main Street and Kingsway had been given zoning approval despite the often strenuous objections of local area residents, many of them working artists. Unlike Wall Financial's CAC, Rize's did not come in the form of an in-kind contribution of space within its own complex; instead, cash would be distributed directly to organizations to retain, enhance, or expand existing cultural spaces, on the one hand, or to secure and develop new space for artistic production, on the other hand. In the end, the money was split between four groups: Arts Factory (\$300,000); grunt gallery (\$400,000); the Western Front (\$1.5) million); and the Centre for Arts Innovation (\$2.3 million) (see Cole, "Vancouver City Council" 2014). Significantly, with the exception of Arts Factory, a service-based organization that manages and rents studio space to mostly visual artists at below-market prices, all the organizations awarded funding were interested in securing title to their own property. The grunt, which purchased its space on East 2nd Avenue way back in 1994, would use the money to pay off the last of its mortgage; the Western Front would buy the iconic wood-clad building it has occupied at East 8th Avenue since 1973; and the Centre for Arts Innovation is to be the new shared home of VIVO Media Arts and the Vancouver Creative Space Society (or C-Space, a collective comprising the theatre companies Boca del Lupo, Neworld, Rumble, and the Electric Company). The grunt, Western Front, and VIVO are all artist-run centres of long standing in the city, and there is some irony in the organizations benefitting from what many lament is the accelerated gentrification of Mount Pleasant while also claiming to be its victims; VIVO's application for CAC funding, for example, was prompted by the fact that it has been evicted from its longstanding Main Street space to make way for a new development project. I will return to this point. For the time being, it bears noting that the outlier in this group, C-Space, in many ways pioneered the



Studio interior of Progress Lab 1422. Photo courtesy of Progress Lab 1422



Community Dinner, a co-presentation by Rumble Theatre, Boca del Lupo, Electric Company Theatre, Neworld Theatre, and MOSAIC at Progress Lab 1422, 2011. Photo by Michael Julian Berz

whole concept of co-location—but at its own expense and five years before other performing arts groups jumped on the CAC bandwagon.

In 2009, the companies comprising C-Space moved into Progress Lab 1422, a 7,000-square foot facility on William Street in Vancouver's Grandview-Woodlands/Commercial Drive neighbourhood. A former garment factory that was abandoned following the economic downturn of 2008, the building was converted, following a \$500,000 renovation into a well-equipped 42' by 37' studio with mezzanine and sprung floor, common assembly space, media/reading room, light-duty workshop, production storage, and kitchen facilities, plus administrative centres for the partner companies and associates (see "Vancouver Creative Space"). As Boca del Lupo's Artistic Producer Jay Dodge explained to me in conversation, the idea was pretty straightforward: band together to share resources and rent in order to ensure the stability and sustainability of each partner company's organizational and artistic goals, while also contributing to the collective capacity of the broader performing arts community through programming partnerships and the affordable rental of space (Dodge 2014). And yet while C-Space has a generous long-term lease from a respected landlord who owns several other buildings in the neighbourhood, Dodge said that despite the interest and praise Progress Lab 1422 has received from other creative and social enterprise initiatives who have studied and copied their model, the four partner companies soon realized the model was unsustainable if arts funding in the province failed to keep pace with even the minimum allowable yearly increase in market rental rates. To that end, C-Space initiated a five-year plan to work toward the purchase of their own building, a plan that was accelerated when the city announced its open competition for the Rize density bonus monies.

Coincidentally, Dodge, who has become C-Space's de facto spokesperson on resource sharing, management cooperatives, and co-location projects, was working with VIVO at the same time on its own feasibility study to find a new space. Both

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organizations had independently made applications to the Rize CAC competition, and while Dodge had recused himself from advising VIVO on their application, his instinct was that the chances of success were better for everyone if they worked with rather than against each other. As he put it, VIVO's application had a sense of urgency behind it, especially as they had a long history in the area; as an artist-run centre, however, they didn't have the tightest governance structure, particularly regarding fiscal oversight. C-Space, on the other hand, had a proven track record on the management front, but they were applying from outside the Mount Pleasant area. When, upon each organization making it to the second phase of the competition, members of the jury let it be known that Dodge's instincts were correct, VIVO and C-Space joined forces as the Centre for Arts Innovation (CAI) and eventually came away with the largest allocation of funds (Dodge 2014).

Of course, the \$2.3 million awarded by the city is only the beginning. Dodge estimates that CAI is looking at a total capital campaign in the neighbourhood of \$8 million, with the cost of the building alone likely coming in at \$5.5-6 million, plus a design concept and build-out costing another \$1-1.5 million. But as Dodge cheerily stated, "They say that the first million is always the hardest" (Dodge 2014). As of January 2016, CAI had just completed two consultancy processes: the first concerned space, with a purpose build in partnership with a developer now on the table in addition to a renovation of an existing space; the second concerned fundraising capacity (Dodge 2016). While Dodge admitted that the latter would be a challenge, he also stressed, with explicit reference to the Cityowned space on West 1st Avenue tenanted by the Arts Club and Bard, that it was easier to fundraise toward an actual structure than renovation costs and building supplies. Whether or not the CAI's fundraising plan ultimately succeeds, according to Dodge the City's move to a model of allocating funds directly to cultural organizations to undertake capital projects of their own choosing and design ultimately gives these organizations more agency and control.

Glen Alteen, long-time director of the grunt gallery, agrees. He notes that with respect to CACs and density bonusing, "We have always been the Wild West Coast with these things. I don't know of any other city that does [it] the way Vancouver does. . . . [Delivering] the CACs to organizations rather than giving real estate is perhaps the most progressive thing Vision Vancouver has done" (Bachman). Alteen also hopes that such a model might serve as a catalyst for more direct interactions between developers and arts and culture organizations on planning sustainable communities. While benefiting from the Rize CAC, Alteen has nevertheless been a vociferous opponent of the development project, noting that unlike "development [in Mount Pleasant] that happened 20 years ago," it is not "integrated into the neighbourhood," and that this will potentially "send gentrification over the edge." According to Alteen, "This is a dangerous thing for the arts community in Vancouver" because its "whole . . . infrastructure"—including, in the case of Mount Pleasant, a significant proportion of affordable live/work artist spaces—is located east of Main Street (Bachman).

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Alteen's comments are not a knee-jerk response against development; indeed, as previously alluded to, the grunt is the only arts organization discussed in this essay that has "a history of cooperating directly with a developer" (Bachman), receiving a significant discount on the purchase of their current location in the Mainspace complex on East 2nd Avenue in exchange for allowing the building's realtor to use the gallery's logo in their ads marketing the live/work development. Rather, to return to my opening discussion of Westbank and its contributions to the Vancouverism brand, Alteen is intervening against a model of architectural building and urban planning that is "developerdriven" rather than responsive to the most urgent needs of its citizens, including working artists for whom housing and space affordability remain aspirations rather than certainties. Such concerns were at the heart of a 2015 conference and exhibition called "Urgent Imagination," held at the Western Front, which like the grunt and CAI also benefited from the Rize CAC, helping it to secure ownership of its own iconic facade—something that Director Caitlin Jones admits is "deeply ironic" given that their "own stability" is made possible via "a mechanism that is making so many others unstable" (Vikander). And yet, while many at the conference were critical of Vancouver's CAC system, I am keen to see how moving to more collective turnkey models for cultural space acquisition and distribution might likewise lead to a shift in how we value the contributions of the performing arts to civic infrastructure and urban planning. That is, rather than arts and culture being seen as either the tail that wags the dog of gentrification or the dog that is perforce wagged by it—as seems to be posited in most models of "creative placemaking"6—we might, by giving arts organizations more say as to where and in what manner they relocate, enact a concomitant shift in our understanding of the property that is being invested in: from a building and its gleaming finishings to the companies producing new ideas within it.

Notes

- The publicity was mutually beneficial, as the Gesamtkunstwerk launch preceded the openings of a trio of exhibitions in Vancouver focusing on Graham's work from May to November 2014: at the Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery at the University of British Columbia, which featured a film loop from 2005 of Graham's original idea for the spinning chandelier; at the Charles H. Scott Gallery at the Emily Carr University of Art and Design, focusing mostly on Graham's painting; and at the Rennie Collection in the Wing Sang Building in Chinatown, a private collection owned by Vancouver's most successful real estate marketer.
- 2 In his comparative analysis of Toronto DBAs and Vancouver CACs between 2007 and 2011, Moore concludes that while Toronto's density-bonusing decisions are frequently less transparent than Vancouver's and percentage-wise are applied to far more capital infrastructure (including roadworks and the like) than community amenity projects, the city's ward electoral system means that individual councillors are more actively involved in all stages of the process. By contrast, Vancouver's slate system means that the CAC process is more technocratic, with deals being worked out in advance between developers and city planners, which are then brought before Council for approval (where changes may, of course, be requested).

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- 3 The Vancouver Public Art Committee (VPAC) has especially benefitted from the CAC program, as a proportion of all density bonusing in the city must go toward funding public art, with developers either making a cash contribution or working with the VPAC to locate public art on or adjacent their building sites.
- 4 On controversies relating to previous donations made by Goldcorp to cultural organizations in the city, see Dickinson.
- Two additional cooperative arts tenancies of city-owned cultural amenity spaces—both of which required significant additional capital campaigns—are worth mentioning in this regard: in November 2014, 110 Arts Society, comprising the PuSh International Performing Arts Festival, Music on Main, Touchstone Theatre, and the DOXA Documentary Film Festival, moved into The Post at 750 Hamilton Street, adjacent the CBC Vancouver Broadcast Centre, and in 2015 Kokoro Dance, the Vancouver International Dance Festival, Vancouver Moving Theatre, and Raven Spirit Dance were given the nod to take over the space at Woodward's formerly occupied by W2 Media Arts. In the context of this essay, it is worth noting that both of these CACs are connected to Westbank developments.
- 6 See, paradigmatically, Richard Florida's The Rise of the Creative Class.

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