

DISCUSSION DOCUMENT



INTRODUCTION

Within this folder is a discussion document produced as part of the process of putting together a national strategy for the arts and media. It does not form part of the strategy. Neither does it express any sort of 'official' view. It was written in order to focus discussion and stimulate ideas.

WHY?

The arts and media in Britain are in renaissance. Over the last decade, they have shown a confidence and diversity never seen before. In quality of work and audience demand, the arts and media have never looked healthier or more central to people's lives. More than ever before, the arts are a source of civic pride as well as personal enrichment.

The arts and media in Britain are in crisis. Scarcely a day goes by without press stories of theatres facing closure, grants being cut or audiences declining; of a lack of good innovative work in all art forms; of the absence of a sense of direction, purpose and adventure.

These views may not be incompatible, and each has some truth. What is beyond doubt is that ideas of what is art have expanded; that demand has rightly grown for access to the arts, film and broadcasting to be the right of all rather than the privilege of the few; and that resources, both public and private, have struggled to keep up. Growth in the variety of the arts contains its own problems. So how can the strategic injection of public money, and the growth of partnership with the private sector, encourage new developments? What should the priorities be? How do we make sure that the opportunity to enjoy the arts is spread ever more widely throughout society?

This is where the national arts and media strategy comes in. In 1990, the Minister for the Arts asked the arts and media funding bodies (the Arts Council of Great Britain, the British Film Institute, the Crafts Council and the Regional Arts Associations/ Regional Arts Boards) to prepare a national strategy. One of its purposes is to provide the basic framework for their work. The Scottish and Welsh Arts Councils are conducting parallel exercises; and the local authorities and museums funding bodies are also associated with the strategy.

A further purpose is to consider whether the public money spent on the arts and media has been used to best effect, and how those responsible can do better in the future. It is important that all those with experience of and a passion for the arts and media provide support, assistance and advice to get the strategy right. Most important, it must be seen as a strategy for the arts and media, not for the bureaucrats.

HOW?

The paper in this folder is part of this process. It is one of a series of discussion documents; each is available free on request. Responses to them will be collated by the National Arts and Media Strategy Unit. Arising from this, a draft of the strategy will be prepared by Spring 1992. This too will be available for comment. The final version of the national arts and media strategy will be completed by Summer 1992. The hope is that the resulting document will be slim, challenging and readable - and that it will provide a mission statement for the arts and media over the next decade, as well as setting out clear goals and targets.

The national arts and media strategy will not write a single novel, put on a single play or make a single film. What it can help bring about, if the funding bodies receive the help of those who care about the arts and media, is the maximum opportunity for such creativity to flourish and for it to enrich the lives of ever more people. Your contribution to this process will be valuable and valued. Please send your views on this discussion document to the address below, to arrive by 30 November 1991.

For further information on the national arts and media strategy, please contact:

**National Arts and Media Strategy Unit, Arts Council,
14 Great Peter Street, London, SW1P 3NQ Tel: 071-973 6537**

(410): 352: 000: 379. 01: 7/0

92-054

Boekmanstichting-Bibliotheek
Herengracht 415 - 1017 BP Amsterdam
Tel. 243739

40

URBAN CULTURAL POLICY

Franco Bianchini

Boekmanstichting - Bibliotheek

Herengracht 415 - 1017 BP Amsterdam
telefoon: ~~24 37 36~~ / ~~24 37 37~~ ~~24 37 38~~ 24 37 39

De uitleentermijn bedraagt een maand. Mits tijdig
aangevraagd is verlenging met een maand moge-
lijk, tenzij de publikatie inmiddels is besproken.

De uitleentermijn is verstreken op:

10 FEB. 1993	
10 FEB. 1995	
11 APR. 1996	
05 JAN. 1998	
17/8/01	
4/12/02	

NATIONAL ARTS AND MEDIA STRATEGY: DISCUSSION DOCUMENT ON URBAN CULTURAL POLICY

This paper has been written in order to generate discussion and debate. It is not a chapter of the national arts and media strategy or a definitive statement. The views it expresses are those of its author, Franco Bianchini.

We should like to hear what you believe may be the key issues in urban cultural policy (including why and how urban local authorities should support the arts and culture) over the next few years. With the paper as background, we should welcome views on all or any of the following questions, as well as on any other matters connected with the subject on which you wish to comment.

1. Does the paper raise and deal adequately with the key issues? If not, where and how could it do better?
2. Do you find the author's definition and analysis of culture and cultural policy (see particularly section I of the paper) helpful and valid?
3. Do you agree with the author's conclusions? If not, why not?
4. What do you think are the key reasons why a local authority should have a cultural policy and budget?
5. Do you think that cultural policy has a place in urban regeneration? If so, where does it fit in, and how can it be made most effective?
6. Is the impact of cultural festivals and events, as economic development tools, short-term or long-term? What can be done to ensure longer lasting effects?
7. Are some cities' cultural policies marketing strategies for attracting lucrative cultural tourism rather than ways of achieving a lasting effect on the population and city economy as a whole? Is this a matter of **attitude** or of the **measures taken**? Which sort of measures are likely to have the most lasting impact?
8. Cultural policies are often used as a means of attracting incoming industry. However, do they create a net gain in the **national** economy or is the effect merely to 'redistribute' industry - so that, in effect, cities are in competition with each other for a finite amount of investment?

9. Do local authorities in Britain take cultural policy sufficiently seriously? What might be done to generate interest and to promote the potential benefits across the full spectrum of local authority activities? What role do the funding bodies (Arts Council, BFI, Crafts Council and Regional Arts Boards) have to play in this?
10. How should the funding bodies be intervening more generally in the process of urban cultural development?
11. The paper may be taken to imply that arts policies have the most long term impact when they form part of a broader 'quality of life' policy. Do you agree? If so, what does this suggest about the future role and operations of the arts and media funding bodies?
12. What role can urban cultural policy play in improving equality of access to and participation in the arts?

**NATIONAL ARTS AND MEDIA STRATEGY UNIT
AUGUST 1991**

NATIONAL ARTS AND MEDIA STRATEGY

DISCUSSION DOCUMENT ON URBAN CULTURAL POLICY

FRANCO BIANCHINI

Contents

Introduction	3
I. WHAT IS URBAN CULTURAL POLICY?	3
I.1 Definitions: 'Culture' and 'the Arts'	3
I.2 The Changing Objectives of Urban Cultural Policy	4
II. EXPERIENCES OF POLICY DEVELOPMENT	9
II.1 Key Events Affecting the Development of Urban Cultural Policies in Britain: A Chronology (1981-91)	9
II.2 London	12
II.3 Glasgow	12
II.4 Birmingham	15
II.5 Sheffield	16
II.6 Liverpool	17
II.7 Bradford	20
II.8 Swansea	21
II.9 Newcastle	22
II.10 Cardiff	22
II.11 Examples of Urban Cultural Policy Development in Other West European Countries	23
III. DILEMMAS IN URBAN CULTURAL POLICY DEVELOPMENT	26
III.1 Cultural Development Dilemmas	26
III.2 Economic Development Dilemmas	29
III.3 Spatial Dilemmas	30

IV. THE FUTURE OF URBAN CULTURAL POLICIES: TOWARDS A CULTURAL PLANNING APPROACH	31
IV.1 What is 'Cultural Planning'?	33
IV.2 The Concept of 'Cultural Resources' and Its Applications	35
IV.3 Cultural Planning At Work: Two Examples	37
IV.4 Implementing A Cultural Planning Strategy	39
Acknowledgements	41
Bibliography	41

Introduction

This paper is articulated in four sections. The first section discusses definitions of 'the arts' and charts the historical evolution of the urban cultural policy in Britain. Section Two provides a synthetic description of the cultural policies pursued by ten cities in Britain, with brief notes on policy developments in cities in other West European countries. Section Three discusses the main themes and issues arising from the experiences of policy-making described in Section Two, by presenting them in the form of policy dilemmas. The concluding section considers possible approaches, models and concepts for the future development of urban cultural policies.

I. WHAT IS URBAN CULTURAL POLICY?

I.1 Definitions: 'Culture' and 'the Arts'

The English have traditionally been uneasy with the word 'culture' and, therefore, with 'cultural policy'. Raymond Williams (1983, pp 90-91) explains that already in Matthew Arnold's *Culture and Anarchy* (1867) the C-word is used to refer both to "a general process of intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development" and to "the works and practices of intellectual and especially artistic activity". Hostility to 'culture' was clearly visible precisely during the debate which followed the publication of Arnold's book. Williams argues that the chief reason for the hostility and the embarrassment caused by this word was its association with class distinction and refinement, and with the separation between 'high' forms of art and popular entertainment. The reluctance to use 'culture' explains why 'the arts' is historically the preferred term in the British tradition of policy-making in our field.

In many respects, a Victorian definition of 'the arts' has dominated the formulation of urban cultural policies in Britain until the 1980s. Since the 13th century, the term 'art' had been used in English to mean any sort of human skill. One could talk about the art of gardening, conversation, fencing, building, ironwork and so on. Three centuries later the word 'artist' emerged and, like the word 'artisan', was used to describe any skilled person. Only from the late 17th century onwards the phrase 'the arts' was increasingly applied to a specialized set of activities, which included initially painting and sculpture, and later encompassed music, theatre and literature. The process of re-definition of 'the arts' and, therefore, of arts policies was completed in the course of the 19th century, largely under the influence of the idealist tradition of Romantic thinking. Within its critique of the materialism of the industrial revolution, Romanticism saw art as a superior reality, divorced from the spheres of economic production and material activity (Williams, 1958), and indeed in danger of damage by contact with commercial forces. One effect of the Romantic critique was to reinforce the view

that the application of imaginative faculties was restricted to the narrowly defined 'arts'. Romanticism, in other words, contributed to isolating the arts from other aspects of human activity and experience. One result of this process was the abandonment, in the reorganization of British art education during the second half of the 19th century, of the emphasis on the link between art and manufacturing industry, which had been strong since the establishment of the National School of Design in London in 1837. This was just one example of the growing gulf between the arts, on the one hand, and the worlds of industry, technology, science, and the crafts, on the other.

The fields of activity chosen by the Arts Council of Great Britain after its foundation in 1946 and by the cultural policies of urban local authorities in the post-war period largely coincided with the Victorian re-definition of the arts. Popular and contemporary cultural forms such as film, TV, electronic music, fashion and design were excluded from this definition. The Arts Council, for instance, did not admit jazz and photography until 1967 to its canon of 'art' worthy of public subsidy, and it established its own Film, Video and Broadcasting Department only as late as 1987. Moreover, the Victorian distinction between the 'fine' and the 'applied' arts was embodied institutionally in the division of responsibilities between the Arts, Crafts and Design Councils.

I.2 The changing objectives of urban cultural policy

The remit of urban cultural policies has been considerably expanded since the 19th century. However, the process has not been one of a simple progression with a new policy replacing the old. Rather there has been a multiplication of arguments and policy justifications. This means that arguments made, for example, in the 1950s are still used today alongside numerous others.

I.2.a Cultural policy and urban social integration: from Victorian England to the 1970s

Like the Romantic definition of 'the arts', the belief in the value of arts policy as a vehicle for life-enhancement, moral civilization and social integration - particularly in urban areas - was inherited by the Arts Council and by the urban cultural policies of local authorities from the Victorian period. It is worth examining, for example, the background to the Museums Act 1845, which enabled the councils of boroughs with a population of at least 10,000 to levy a halfpenny rate for the establishment of museums of art and science. The Act was based on the work of a House of Commons Select Committee, appointed in 1841 "to inquire into the present state of the National Monuments and Works of Art in...Public Edifices; to consider the best means...for affording facilities to the public for their inspection, as a means of moral and intellectual improvement for the People". Joseph

Brotherton, one of the three Radical MPs who in 1845 introduced the Museums Bill, argued during the parliamentary debate that museums could act as a deterrent to urban crime, while Barnstable MP Montague Gore said that two of the Bill's aims were "to render the artisan and the labourer sober and industrious, cheerful and intellectual" (quoted in Minihan, 1977, pp84 and 91, my emphasis).

This set of arguments valued the arts for their own sake as an aesthetic system, that enriches lives and carries a civilizing and educational value. It constructed one important justification for subsidy that has been and still is influential. The rationale for subsidy here is that artistic production should proceed in a way that allows for unfettered creativity. The basic aim of promoting high quality art and democratizing access to it is still one of the main assumptions behind urban cultural policies.

A further development of urban cultural policy thinking, in the course of the 1960s and 1970s, was characterised by a concern with the restricted nature of traditional definitions of 'the arts' and by the emphasis on the need for greater popular participation and community access. From the mid-1970s this developed into the idea of 'cultural democracy', which was promoted also by debates sponsored by the Council of Europe. Social integration was the key policy objective guiding the Arts Council's response to the community and ethnic arts movements during this phase. Both movements were very active in deprived inner city areas, and both questioned the Arts Council's implicit distinction between 'high' and 'low' culture. Their most important legacy was probably their attempt to widen the definition of the arts and to link the question of cultural expression to issues around class, gender and ethnic identity. They often used contemporary cultural forms and believed that the public's involvement in the creative process could help bring about social and political change. In its policy responses, however, the Arts Council deliberately overlooked the radical potential of the two movements, and emphasized the usefulness of community and ethnic arts as a way of developing cultural activity among communities thought to be excluded from access to 'high' cultural forms. The belief in the 'integrationist' function of participation in community and ethnic arts activities was part of a wider consensus, which encompassed the Labour Party. For example, in its 1977 policy document "The Arts and the People" Labour stressed that "local authorities should be made to realise how helpful community-based artistic creativity can be in building up a unified and harmonious neighbourhood". This consensus view failed to include any serious consideration of the potential contribution of the arts to local economic development.

I.2.b Cultural policy and urban economic development: the influences of Thatcherism and the 1981-86 GLC

The separation between the cultural and the economic sphere in British urban cultural policy increasingly came under attack in the 1980s. The attack on the post-war policy consensus was launched by two very different, even conflicting political forces: the post-1979 Conservative Governments led by Margaret Thatcher and the Labour Left which gained control of the Greater London Council (GLC) in 1981.

The Thatcher government, by reducing or freezing public subsidy for the arts, forced arts institutions to develop new advocacy arguments, which soon came to include issues around economic impact. For example, one of the Arts Council's crucial responses to the funding crisis was A Great British Success Story (1985), which marked an important shift of attitudes by making the case for the arts more on economic than on moral or social grounds. The document, written in the style of a business prospectus, explicitly identified the potential role of the arts in the economic regeneration of the inner cities, in attracting tourists and foreign currency, and in creating employment.

The second important influence, particularly in the case of the cultural policies of local authorities, were the initiatives taken by the GLC from 1981 until its abolition in 1986. The GLC formulated and implemented its cultural policies primarily through its Arts and Recreation Committee (ARC) and Industry and Employment Committee (IEC), which shared important features. They employed a much broader definition of 'the arts' than that adopted by the Arts Council, and prioritised contemporary cultural forms, including photography, video, electronic music and community radio. Both were also committed to using cultural policy as a political strategy. The ARC, in particular, organized cultural initiatives associated with the GLC's various political campaigns, including Peace Year (1983), London Against Racism (1984) and Jobs Year (1985). It also developed a radical critique of social integration as an objective for cultural policies in inner city areas, by emphasizing instead the importance of endowing certain disadvantaged 'communities of interest' (blacks, the women's and gay rights movements, the Irish community, youth groups, the elderly) with an independent cultural voice. The ARC was innovative in many respects. It created, for example, policy making and grant-allocating structures which devolved power and resources to those 'communities of interest' themselves. The ARC's views about the separation between the cultural and the economic spheres, however, were fairly traditional. It was the IEC, rather than the ARC, which broke new ground in this field.

The IEC had been set up in 1981 to implement a job creation strategy, in both the manufacturing and services sectors. The Economic Policy Group (EPG), a small

unit of economists performing an advisory function within the IEC, developed a 'cultural industries strategy' within the wider London Industrial Strategy, under the guidance of Nicholas Garnham, Professor of Communications at the Polytechnic of Central London. Garnham (1983) defined the 'cultural industries' as "those social practices which have as their primary purpose the transmission of meaning". These included the performing arts, sports, the music industry, advertising, broadcasting, the film, video and photographic industry, printing and publishing.

The cultural industries strategy was more important for its conceptual innovations than for its practical achievements. The GLC's and GLEB's total expenditure on it in 1984 and 1985 was only £600,000. By way of comparison, the ARC's revenue expenditure exceeded £20m in the single financial year 1983-84. The EPG demonstrated the importance of the cultural industries as a sector of the London economy: in 1983 they employed as many as 250,000 people. The sheer number of people working in the sector became in itself a powerful argument for advocating investment in cultural policy. The EPG also articulated a major critique of the policy of allocating grants to clients on the basis of annual deficit funding, traditionally pursued by both the Arts Council and the ARC. The IEC's alternative approach was to establish in 1984 a Cultural Industries Unit within the Greater London Enterprise Board (GLEB), an agency created by the GLC in 1981 to carry out strategic interventions for local economic development. The Unit's work was based on investments through loans and equity rather than subsidy. It supported only organizations which seemed likely to become commercially viable enterprises, and provided them with 'common services' typical of the commercial sector - marketing, management consultancy, advice on the introduction of new technology. These services were aimed at strengthening the general infrastructure or particular points of the production chain of each sector of the cultural economy.

I.2.c Cultural policy and urban regeneration: influences from the US and continental Europe

The importance of the IEC model was that it showed how cultural policy could form an integral part of the local economic development framework. Nevertheless, it failed to integrate cultural policy into a wider urban regeneration project, encompassing not only economic but physical and social development objectives. To find examples of the use of the arts to lead a broader process of urban regeneration we have to look at the experience of other cities, such as Glasgow, Newcastle, Bradford, Sheffield, Liverpool, Birmingham, Swansea and Cardiff.

The emergence of 'arts-led' urban regeneration strategies was a continuation of a historical trend in urban cultural policy making which is observable not only in Britain but in most other West European countries, and can be characterised as the shift from socio-political priorities, prevailing in the '70s, to economic priorities, prevailing in the '80s. Such shift was initially seen as a defensive

strategy, aimed at preserving existing levels of cultural expenditure in a period of cutbacks in public spending, and was accompanied by efforts to rationalise the administration and improve the management, delivery and marketing of local cultural services. After this initial, defensive phase - however - policy-makers in some cities realised that the reshaping of the urban economic structure (the most spectacular manifestation of which was the collapse of traditional forms of manufacturing industry) provided them with the opportunity to use much more positive and aggressive arguments for expanding cultural expenditure. The 1970s emphasis on participation and community development was replaced by a language of 'investment', which highlighted the positive contribution cultural policy could offer to implement a range of strategic goals. They included the following:

- i) to reconstruct a city's external image;
- ii) to attract new investment and skilled personnel;
- iii) to trigger off a process of physical and environmental renewal;
- iv) to boost retailing and the tourism industry.

Arts-led urban regeneration strategies in Britain combined elements modelled on the GLC's cultural industries approach with more consumption-oriented types of intervention. An important inspiration for the latter came from the American experience of the 1970s. In a number of US cities (notably Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Boston and Lowell) the interests of arts organizations looking for new homes and funding coalesced with those of mayors attempting to relaunch the image of downtown areas, and of developers wishing to use the arts as a means of adding value to schemes in central districts. Interesting forms of partnership emerged around the concept of mixed-use development (MXD) and 'cultural district', in which the arts combined with a variety of revenue-producing uses. It was recognized that arts activities acted as people magnets, made the streets safer by increasing their use, revitalized the evening economy, created a stylish ambience, and often had the effect of boosting rents and property values. In return for all these benefits, arts organizations were in some cases rewarded with a share of the profits generated by commercial developments, which were used to form non-profit making trusts for cultural development.

A third strand of policy-making, which had some influence on developments in British cities, was the use of cultural policy to transform the city centre into a focus for civic identity. This approach derived from the experience of Left-controlled local authorities in Italy (particularly in Rome and Bologna) and other Southern European countries since the late '70s. The primary objective of these policies was not to regenerate the local economy, but rather to encourage local residents to 'rediscover' the city centre and its public social life. It was argued that to achieve such objective was important to counteract trends towards social atomisation and home-based cultural consumption (TV, home videos, etc...), and to promote a process of 'community rebuilding' by providing foci and opportunities for social

aggregation for people of different ages, social classes, genders, lifestyles and ethnic origins. In order to reassert the function of the city centre as a catalyst for civic identity and public sociability, festivals and other cultural animation programmes were combined with a range of other policies. These included urban design strategies (aimed at creating new public spaces, at beautifying the city, and at making it more 'legible'), pedestrianisation and traffic calming measures, and the provision of a variety of 'support services', including evening and late night public transport, good street lighting, community policing, and childcare. Policies of this kind reflected a shift in town planning theory and practice, with the emergence of a critique of functional zoning, and the revaluation of certain features of the pre-industrial city like density, 'walkability', and the overlapping of social, cultural and economic uses.

II. EXPERIENCES OF POLICY DEVELOPMENT

This section returns to the arts-led urban regeneration process in Britain, and examines how the three external policy influences described above interacted with local strategies. This account will be supplemented by some examples of the use of cultural policy in the urban regeneration process in other West European countries. For reasons of space, the selection of local policy experiences aims to provide a representative sample, not a comprehensive account. Only to take the field of public art, for example, the policies implemented by local authorities in towns and cities like Aberdeen, Gateshead, Middlesbrough, Newport, Norwich, Sunderland, Swindon and Wakefield would certainly have been worth describing (for details about public art initiatives taken by these and other local authorities see the Public Art Forum's publication The Public Art Report).

The purpose of this section is mainly to illustrate what different cities have done. A more critical analysis of the policies described here is provided in Section Three.

II.1 Key events affecting the development of urban cultural policies in Britain: a chronology (1981-91)

1981

* Labour in power on the Greater London Council (GLC).

* Department and Committee of Employment and Economic Development set up by Sheffield City Council.

* The first two Urban Development Corporations (UDCs) established by the Government in London Docklands (LDDC) and Merseyside (MDC).

1983

* In Glasgow, the Burrell Collection is opened, and both the Mayfest arts festival and the "Glasgow's Miles Better" campaign are launched.

* In Bradford the National Museum of Photography, Film and Television is opened.

1984

* The Arts Council publishes The Glory of the Garden, signalling its intention to devolve funding to the regions, partly as a justification for cuts in funding to London-based arts bodies.

* A Cultural Industries unit is set up by the GLC within the Greater London Enterprise Board (GLEB).

* In Liverpool the first Garden Festival is held, and functions as an important urban regeneration catalyst.

* The Glasgow Action public-private partnership is set up.

* In the year in which the Labour Party takes control of the City Council, Birmingham starts its annual Film and Television Festival.

1985

* Publication of A Great British Success Story, the first Arts Council document to explicitly make the case for the arts on economic grounds.

* GLEB publishes the London Industrial Strategy, incorporating a strategy for the cultural industries.

1986

* Abolition of the GLC and the Metropolitan County Councils (MCCs), which had operated since 1974 in Tyne and Wear, South and West Yorkshire, Greater Manchester, Merseyside and the West Midlands.

* Sheffield City Council opens Red Tape, Britain's first municipal recording studios.

1987

* Liverpool City Council produce their innovative document An Arts and Cultural Industries Strategy for Liverpool, in which cultural policy is linked with local tourism, city centre and economic development strategies.

* Glasgow is nominated European City of Culture for 1990. The build-up begins.

1987-88

* Setting up of the second and third wave of Urban Development Corporations, in Tyne & Wear, Teesside, the Black Country, Cardiff Bay, Leeds, central Manchester, Sheffield and Bristol.

1988

* Publication of John Myerscough's Economic Importance of the Arts in Britain.

* Publication by the Centre for Local Economic Strategies, Manchester, of City Centres, City Cultures, which deals with the role of the arts in the revitalisation of town and city centres.

* The conference 'Arts and the Changing City', organized by the British American Arts Association, is held in Glasgow.

* Publication of Action for Cities, the first Government policy statement to explicitly recognise the contribution of the arts to urban regeneration.

* The Arts Council publishes Urban Renaissance, a documentation of examples of the contribution of the arts to urban regeneration, presented in the form of 16 case-studies.

1989

* Liverpool City Council establish Britain's first municipal Film Office, to encourage film-makers to use the city as a location.

1990

* Glasgow's year as European City of Culture.

* The Wilding Report commissioned by the Office of Arts and Libraries recommends the re-organisation of the Regional Arts Associations to form fewer and larger Regional Arts Boards.

* It is announced that Greater London Arts will be replaced by a smaller more strategy-oriented London Arts Board.

1991

* Publication of Out of Hours, a study of economic, social and cultural life in twelve town centres in the UK, sponsored by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation and carried out by Comedia.

II.2 London

The abolition of the GLC fragmented cultural policy-making, which is currently the responsibility of 32 London Boroughs which understandably do not see the formulation of a city-wide strategy as part of their remit. Co-ordination arrangements such as the Association of London Authorities and the London Boroughs Grant Scheme have had only very limited success. Greater London Arts has also found it very difficult to maintain the momentum of the GLC's developing city-wide cultural policy.

However, a number of leading edge private developers have begun to use the arts as a way of adding value to their schemes. For example, the Broadgate development in the City of London, undertaken by Rosehaugh Stanhope, included high profile public art elements. Another developer, Olympia & York, appointed an officer to programme arts activities within the Canary Wharf complex in the Isle of Dogs. Moreover, the London Docklands Development Corporation published in 1991 their 'arts action programme', which encompassed a mix of public art, visual and performing arts, using multi-purpose venues as well as open spaces and non-arts buildings. A further significant fact - in terms of the linkages between cultural policy, economic development and urban design - was the formulation by each of the 32 London Boroughs of Unitary Development Plans (UDPs), which - to varying degrees - recognized the economic, social, environmental and transport implications of cultural provision. If linked together in some way, the UDPs could form an innovative strategy. As it is, however, the result of the exercise could be uneven development on a chaotic scale.

To conclude, it is interesting to highlight the fact that by the end of the '80s London had certainly lost its ability to produce cultural policy innovations for the rest of Britain to follow, which had characterised the city in the first half of that decade. To find innovations in urban cultural policy terms since the mid-80s we have to turn our attention to Britain's provincial cities.

II.3 Glasgow

Glasgow was the first British city to successfully implement a 'consumerist' arts-led urban regeneration strategy. The city's achievements were the result of policy initiatives which went well beyond the arts field and which involved not only the pragmatic, Labour-controlled Glasgow District Council (GDC) but also other public and private sector agencies.

From the early 1980s GDC realised that the city should reconstruct its own image (which was frequently associated with violence, drunkenness and urban decay) in

order to attempt to compensate for lost manufacturing jobs by attracting new companies and business investment and by expanding the financial sector, tourism and related consumer service industries. The arts played a key symbolic role in furthering the process of transformation of the city's image and economic base.

Glasgow's model of urban cultural policy development was fairly similar to that adopted by 'growth coalitions' of public and private sector forces in American cities. The Glasgow coalition was supported by national public sector bodies such as the Scottish Arts Council and the Scottish Development Agency (SDA). The main local partners were GDC, Strathclyde Regional Council and Glasgow Action, a 'private-public' partnership, the formation of which had been specifically influenced by American models such as Pittsburgh's Allegheny Conference on Community Development.

Glasgow Action was one of the products of two major studies, conducted by consultants McKinsey and Co and published in 1984 and 1985, on the development potential of Glasgow city centre. Following the McKinsey reports, Glasgow Action adopted a regeneration strategy, the aims of which included the improvement of the city centre's environment and of the city's image, and the expansion of the local tourism industry.

The partners in the Glasgow coalition took a number of individual and joint initiatives towards the achievement of these targets.

Physical improvements in the inner city had begun in 1976, when the SDA launched Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal (GEAR). Jointly with GDC, the SDA also carried out various land renewal and environmental improvement schemes, including the cleaning of many fine sandstone buildings, which again contributed to altering the public's perception of the city. Another important initiative was taken by Glasgow Action. With support from GDC and the SDA, it rejuvenated the section of the city centre known as 'Merchant City' (an area of formerly derelict warehouses), where fashionable housing and retail schemes, and a growing number of arts facilities such as the Tramway theatre, art galleries and print studios began to be based.

Tourism initiatives were chiefly developed by GDC, Strathclyde Regional Council and the increasingly powerful Greater Glasgow Tourist Board (GGTB). Cultural tourism was given a major boost in 1983 with the opening of the Burrell Collection and the launch of Mayfest, Glasgow's major annual arts festival, which attracted over 1,000,000 visitors in its second year. Mayfest came into existence largely as an initiative of the Scottish trade union movement, with the main funding being provided by the GDC. The Burrell Collection and Mayfest strengthened Glasgow's cultural infrastructure, which was already quite powerful in the performing arts field. For example, in addition to prestigious national arts

institutions (Scottish Opera, Scottish Ballet, the Scottish National Orchestra and the BBC Scottish Symphony Orchestra), the city hosts various drama companies, including the internationally renowned Citizens' Theatre.

The single most effective contribution to the 'city marketing' effort was probably the 'Glasgow's Miles Better' advertising campaign, co-ordinated by GDC and launched by former Lord Provost, Michael Kelly. It was, once again, based on an American model - the successful "I Love NY" campaign - and featured the smiling Mr Happy, a cartoon character from Roger Hargreaves' Mr Men books. Advertisements were placed in London in 1984 (in buses, taxis, in underground and railway stations) and in various publications aimed at the international business community. Promotional literature produced for this campaign included numerous references to the city's cultural amenities. After Glasgow's nomination as 'European City of Culture' in 1987, GDC established its own Festivals Unit, to co-ordinate a three-year programme of performances, exhibitions, conferences, other cultural events and publications, culminating in the 'European cultural capital' celebrations of 1990. The 'European' theme itself became an important place marketing tool. A brochure produced by GGTB for the 1990 celebrations, for example, declared that "Glasgow doesn't really feel like a British city...Glasgow looks like a European city. And feels like one".

The total costs of the 1990 celebrations were of the order of £53.5m. GDC contributed approximately £35m (£15m came from a special fund established several years previously), and Strathclyde Regional Council contributed £12m. Approximately £5.5m came from sponsorship and £0.5m each from the Office of Arts and Libraries and the European Community (Booth and Boyle, 1991). Additional resources were obtained from the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) to build a new concert hall.

It is still too early to measure exactly the economic impact of the 1990 celebrations. Available evidence, however, suggests that 1990 had a strong positive impact on tourism. Hotel occupancy rates were considerably higher than in 1989 (+16%), and so were attendance figures for cultural attractions like the Burrell Collection (+79%), the Third Eye Centre (+59%) and the People's Palace (+35%) (Booth and Boyle, 1991).

The 1990 initiative (and the build-up to it) were a success also in many other respects: i) they strengthened civic pride and self-confidence, and enhanced both the city's appeal to mover firms, outside investors and skilled personnel, and the credibility of Glasgow-based arts organizations; ii) they contributed to revitalizing the city centre's evening economy (more restaurants, cafes, wine bars); iii) they showed how the city could be imaginatively used as a stage for cultural activities of different kinds (festivals taking place simultaneously in different districts, public art, experimental street lighting projects).

The most obvious limit of the Glasgow experience was its almost exclusive focus on consumption, at the expense of policies aimed at creating a cultural production infrastructure.

II.4 Birmingham

Like many other cities in central and northern Britain, Birmingham has a recent history of severe local manufacturing decline. After Labour took control in 1984, Birmingham City Council adopted both a cultural industries strategy and a more consumption-oriented approach to arts-based regeneration. The focus for the cultural industries strategy is in Digbeth, a district characterised by redundant warehouses and industrial buildings, where the Council created a 'Media Zone', centred upon a Media Development Agency, created by a partnership between the City Council and Central TV, and aimed at attracting and promoting the formation of media-related businesses.

The area around the International Convention Centre (ICC) - opened in April 1991 - is the main physical focus for the 'consumerist' approach, which is chiefly aimed at improving the ambience of the city centre (which, after a series of postwar planning disasters, was particularly poor) and at projecting Birmingham's new image as an international business destination.

The ICC includes facilities for up to 1,500 delegates, and a new concert hall for the City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra (CBSO). The hall is the Council's reward for the CBSO's successful work - under Simon Rattle's leadership - as a cultural ambassador for the city. The Council also launched new festivals (of jazz, literature, cinema and TV), attracted prestigious arts organizations (including the D'Oyly Carte opera company and Sadler's Wells Royal Ballet, renamed Birmingham Royal Ballet), and invested over £800,000 in the ICC area in decorative art and sculpture. In an effort to shed the city's traditional image as a hard-working but dull and rather ugly place, local policy-makers are even openly discussing the possibility to reform Birmingham's stringent licensing laws. The distinctive features of four districts around the ICC - the Media Zone in Digbeth, Chinatown, the Jewellery Quarter and the theatre and entertainment district - are being highlighted, and the ringroad currently 'strangling' the city centre is being broken through by creating new squares and pedestrian surfaces. These developments have consciously followed an urban design strategy, and have been co-ordinated with policies on public art and on the re-use of the city's canal system.

Birmingham's strategy is still in its early stages, but it is possible to conclude that it has led to a genuine strengthening of the cultural infrastructure of the city, and to considerable improvements in the city's reputation as a cultural centre. One of the most innovative features of the strategy has been the establishment of the

Arts, Culture and Economy (ACE) Sub-Committee, which includes the Council's Chief Executive and co-ordinates the cultural policy elements of the work of the Finance and Management, Leisure Services, Economic Development, Planning and Education Committees, in an attempt to overcome departmental divisions which so often have hindered the effectiveness of municipal interventions in our field.

II.5 Sheffield

Three major elements of Sheffield's cultural policy-led regeneration process must be highlighted: the development of the 'Cultural Industries Quarter', the creation of a civic focus in Tudor Square and the city's build up to the hosting of the World Student Games in July 1991.

The cultural industries strategy of Sheffield City Council, which has been under Labour control almost continuously for the last 65 years, emerged as one of the responses to the rapidly accelerating crisis of local manufacturing industry, based on the steel sector, in the late 70s, and to the related rise in local unemployment from 5% to 11% between 1979 and 1981. The City Council's Department of Employment and Economic Development (DEED) - set up in 1981 - took the lead from 1983 in creating a Cultural Industries Quarter in a previously run-down industrial area in the southern section of the city centre. The quarter now is the base for a municipally owned cinema (the Anvil), Britain's first open access municipal recording studio and rehearsal rooms (Red Tape), a film project with studio and editing facilities, a photographic gallery, an arts centre/night club, a developing 'Audio-Visual Enterprise Centre' (intended to become the Quarter's 'flagship', together with the planned National Centre for Popular Music), and a sprinkling of small businesses related to music, film and TV production.

Another aspect of DEED's support for the local media industry is the establishment of media development grants. With a panel of nationally recognised experts and the support of a regional commercial TV company, the grants scheme has attained credibility in media industry circles. Fifty applications were recently made by small local media organisations, and half of them won support. Lastly, the Cultural Industries Quarter is now forging links with the adjacent Science Park, to initiate research into the development of new technology in image and music recording.

Tudor Square is the city's second main focus for cultural activities, with an emphasis on 'pre-electronic' cultural forms. The square - a converted car park - is planned to be a place for promenading, casual meetings and cultural events like the festival organised to coincide with the World Student Games. The square contains the Crucible Theatre, the restored Lyceum (a traditional red velvet proscenium arch theatre), the Ruskin Crafts Gallery, the City's Central Library, and a proposed new art gallery and hotel.

The World Student Games were seized upon by Sheffield City Council in 1986-87 as an opportunity to enhance the city's image and to establish a new world-class sporting infrastructure. The City Council took the lead and although a private company was set up to organise and run the games, expected levels of private sector involvement in terms of sponsorship and, crucially, in the purchase of television rights, did not materialise. The company set up to run the event collapsed and the City Council had to rescue the project, and was left with a considerable shortfall.

In short, Sheffield was one of the first local authorities in Britain to implement a cultural industries strategy. The success of municipal initiatives in this field is difficult to quantify, but the creation of facilities such as Red Tape certainly contributed to reskilling and remotivating unemployed youth, for whom the local economy offered little prospects. Only a relatively small amount of jobs were created, but the city benefitted from the strategy also in image terms, as it came to be associated in specialist circles with popular youth culture and the media industries. Sheffield, for example, is today one of the most serious bidders for the headquarters of Channel 5, through a campaign co-ordinated by a Media Unit set up within the City Council. The city's cultural industries strategy also contributed to attracting a modest amount of inward investment and to developing indigenous small businesses in the popular music and media sectors.

The City Council's decision to organise the World Student Games, however, absorbed most of the local authority's resources, over-shadowed other policy initiatives (for example, the appointment of a percent for art officer-based within the Planning Department) and threatened to blow off course the implementation of the overall cultural strategy. It is to be hoped that the Council will be able to exploit the Games in image terms, and to profitably use in the future the excellent sports facilities it has established.

II.6 Liverpool

Liverpool City Council's first ever arts and cultural industries strategy was published as late as November 1987. This initiative was very much a product of the May 1987 local elections, when a new Labour group rose to power. It replaced the 47 Labour councillors (about a quarter of whom were associated with Militant, the Trotskyist intra-party faction) who had been surcharged and banned from office in March that year, when the House of Lords turned down their appeal against being punished for setting a rate too late in 1985. Under the Militant controlled Labour administration (1983-87) both cultural policy and economic development had been neglected. The 'urban regeneration strategy' co-ordinated by the Chair of the Finance Committee, Tony Byrne, prioritised the renewal of the city's housing stock. The Militant-controlled Council had also been fundamentally hostile to the Merseyside Development Corporation (MDC) which had been established by

Conservative Environment Secretary Michael Heseltine in 1981. Such hostility extended to the restoration of the warehouses of the city's Albert Dock, the largest group of Grade 1 listed buildings in Britain, which the MDC successfully transformed into a mixed-use development with a strong arts component. By 1988 the complex housed the Tate Gallery in the North, a Maritime Museum, Granada TV's regional news centre and several offices, shops, restaurants, exhibition spaces and residential apartments. In marked contrast with the attitudes prevailing during the Militant era, one of the first urban strategy documents issued after the new Labour group gained control recognised that the regeneration of the docks provided "an asset to the city", and stressed the need to strengthen the visual and physical links between the Albert Dock and the city centre.

One of the main objectives of the City Council's new cultural industries strategy, not unlike in Sheffield and Birmingham, is to create local facilities for cultural training, production, management, distribution and marketing. The local authority has commissioned a series of consultancy studies on the development of the popular music, design, film and video industries. It has also appointed Britain's first municipal Film Liaison Officer, to encourage film-makers to use Liverpool as a location, and launched the Hope Street Project, a theatrical training scheme attached to the Everyman Theatre.

The most innovative aspect of the City Council's arts and cultural industries strategy was probably the way in which it was integrated into the local authority's strategies for economic development, tourism, and the revitalisation of the city centre.

For example, the Liverpool policy-makers outlined an 'integrated approach' to city centre revitalisation, according to which cultural policy could not benefit all residents unless it was adequately co-ordinated with appropriate policies in fields as diverse as public transport, policing childcare, housing, retailing, economic development, planning and environmental improvements.

Since the publication of the strategy in 1987, however, progress in its implementation has been disappointing.

This is not to deny some achievements by the City Council. It created its first ever formal structure for cultural policy making (the Arts and Cultural Industries Unit) and set up - jointly with Merseyside Arts - a Black Arts Development Team of four workers, to make sure that the city's arts organizations take adequately into account the black perspective in all aspects of their work, as well to develop projects and activities in the particularly deprived Toxteth district, where the city's black population is concentrated and where serious rioting took place in 1981 and 1985.

Over forty film and TV crews used the services of the Film Office during its first twelve months of operation. Crews filming in the city spent about £1m in the local economy in 1989, and £1.5m in 1990, although it is obviously difficult to determine for how many film and TV companies the presence of a municipal Film Office was a key factor in their decision to use Liverpool as a location.

Other significant achievements include the refurbishment of Unity Theatre, and the establishment by Merseyside Moviola - an organization funded by the City Council through the Government's Urban Programme - of 'Video Positive', Britain's largest festival of video art. Video Positive was an important addition to the Liverpool festivals season, which includes also the Caribbean Carnival, the River Festival - funded and organized by the Merseyside Development Corporation - and the Festival of Comedy.

Implementing the strategy, however, is still not a sufficiently high priority within the local authority, both among majority party members and officers. The Arts Committee is still a political backwater, and it continues to attract politicians often lacking power and ability. The Department of Arts and Libraries is also relatively isolated within the local authority, and there is insufficient co-operation between different departments. Efforts to create an inter-departmental working group at officer level to receive cultural policy consultancy reports have been all but abandoned. The problem is compounded by the scarcity of strategy officers within the local authority, which helps explain why the 1987 strategy has never been properly phased and costed.

The Council's lack of financial resources is another major constraint. The Council relies for the implementation of its programme mainly on allocations from the Government's Urban Programme. This makes it very difficult to plan, and to pursue strategic objectives which are independent from those of the Government.

Similarly, major private sector-led projects - such as the establishment of a Merseyside Media Centre by Mersey Television, the redevelopment of the Philharmonic concert hall, the opening of a "Fame" school for the performing arts (supported by Paul McCartney) and the transformation by a London-based developer of an under-used, run-down section of the city centre into a "Creative Industries Quarter" remain possibilities, and their success is in no sense guaranteed. They all require substantial investments that might prove difficult to achieve in the recession climate of the early 1990s. Despite these failings, however, the feeling persists that Liverpool has considerable cultural resources which could still be capitalised upon. Indeed, in view of the collapse of many of the traditional sectors of its economy, the cultural industries, broadly defined, appear to offer one of the few remaining opportunities to achieve some economic success. An encouraging sign is the new interest in cultural policy shown by a government agency, the Merseyside Task Force, following a report by

Comedia on the economic importance of the cultural industries in Liverpool. The report, published in 1991, showed that Liverpool's cultural industries (defined as theatre, music, museums and galleries, libraries, Merseyside Arts clients in other cultural sectors, broadcasting, film and video production, exhibition and distribution, and excluding the Liverpool Daily Post & Echo publishing group) employed about 2,400 people, and had a gross income (1989-90) of about £70m. It was also estimated that the indirect employment benefits of these sectors could amount to a further 3,800 jobs in hotels, catering and other ancillary services.

II.7 Bradford

The approach to cultural policy-led urban regeneration adopted by the City of Bradford Metropolitan Council linked tourism policies to the development of cultural flagship projects. The city marketing campaigns co-ordinated by the Council's Economic Development Unit (EDU), which was set up in 1979 and adopted the title 'the Mythbreakers', were crucial for the success of this strategy.

The first cultural flagship created by the Council was the National Museum of Photography, Film and Television, opened in 1983 in a redundant theatre building in the city centre. It originated from the decentralisation of part of the facilities of London's Science Museum, and rapidly became a major tourist attraction, visited by about 3 million people in its first five years of existence (there were 824,000 visitors in 1988 alone) (Hunter, 1988). Bradford's new credibility as a centre for museum activities was certainly a factor in the decision by London's Victoria & Albert Museum to transfer to the city's Lister's Mill its important Asian collections - an appropriate choice given the large percentage of local residents of Asian origins. The presence of the National Museum of Photography, Film and Television also enhanced the credibility of Bradford's bid to attract to the city the headquarters of Channel 5.

The Alhambra Theatre, refurbished with money from the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), was the second flagship.

Tourism and flagship elements have been combined in a scheme to transform the West End of the city into an entertainments district. This would contain the National Museum and the Alhambra, together with five planned pavilions containing speciality retailing, cafes, restaurants, and 'themed' attractions of various kinds. There will be, for example, a 'European', an 'Asian' and a 'Yorkshire' pavilion.

The West End would be linked with Little Germany, the city's historic merchant quarter, which is a mixed-use development comprising office and retail, with cultural facilities in the form of a small arts centre, the Design Exchange exhibition space, art galleries, a live music venue, and design workshops.

In 1988 the Council carried out an interesting consultation exercise on the West End project. Public opinion on the scheme was summarised in some key requirements. These included the fact that the public wished to be involved on a permanent basis in the development and future management of the scheme. The Council then convincingly argued that such requirement would be crucial for the success of the project not only in social but also in economic terms. Continued public involvement in the West End development, they argued, would help create sentiments of 'ownership', which would contribute to preventing abuse and neglect, and therefore to containing maintenance costs.

Festivals have also been used in Bradford as promotion devices. The Bradford Festival began as a promotion vehicle for Little Germany, and subsequently developed into an important event in its own right, incorporating the Asian Mela. The impact of cultural policy in Bradford has not been systematically monitored. One can legitimately conclude, however, that the local authority's cultural policy initiatives gave a significant boost to the tourism industry. Some private sector initiatives, however, were also important. For example, in Saltaire - the model industrial town created in 1853 by mill owner philanthropist Sir Titus Salt - a private entrepreneur is transforming a major old industrial complex into a mixed-use development comprising a 'Victorian' speciality shopping mall, restaurants, bars, crafts workshops and an art gallery.

As a result of these initiatives, visitors to Bradford in 1988 were estimated at around 6 million, and there is unmet demand for hotels in the city. This is a significant achievement, given that only a decade ago virtually no tourists visited the city.

II.8 Swansea

In 1975 Swansea City Council started work to transform the city's South Dock into a Maritime Quarter. It comprises an Industrial and Maritime Museum, a garage transformed into a small theatre, an old church converted into an art gallery and workshops, over 1,000 residential units (the main component of the development), pubs, restaurants, shops and premises for small businesses.

The key mechanism used by the City Council to give the quarter a clear identity was the AES (Architectural Enhancement Scheme). Under the AES developers obtained planning permission if they agreed to install certain enhancement features (sculptures, for example) the design and manufacture of which was organised by the City Council's Special Projects Officer (SPO). The SPO's work has now been extended, with the establishment of a Special Projects Unit, which is responsible for design briefs for new sites, for architectural enhancement projects and for percent for art policies. The development of the Maritime Quarter

was led by the local authority without aid from other public sector agencies. Private sector investment accounts for 80% of the total investment (£37m came from the private sector and £9m from the public). Such has been the success of the AES that the scheme will now be used also for the city centre.

II.9 Newcastle

The cultural policy of Newcastle City Council in the 1980s has chiefly been aimed at enhancing the quality and variety of opportunities for cultural consumption. Such a target was consonant with the Council's belief in the necessity to reassert the function of Newcastle as a regional capital, with a catchment area of about three million people. The City Council helped renovate and relaunch the Theatre Royal, the Tyne Theatre and Opera House, and the Tyneside Cinema. It contributed also to the establishment of the Newcastle Arts Centre, a mixed-use development housing media workshops, exhibition spaces and a studio theatre.

The City Council's 'regional capital' vision was shared by The Newcastle Initiative (TNI), a 'private-public' partnership, which - after its establishment in 1988 - launched a series of 'flagship projects'. One of them was the creation of a 'Theatre Village' in the West End of the city. A feasibility study proposed the establishment of a US-style cultural district, with some components related to cultural production. The Village would include the Tyne Theatre and the Newcastle Arts Centre, in addition to a Business Development Centre for arts-related enterprises, a centre for fashion design, training, marketing and retailing, as well as housing, shops, other arts venues, eating and drinking places. Progress in the implementation of this project has so far been disappointing.

11.10 Cardiff

Seven different public sector bodies have - to varying degrees - been involved in cultural policy development in Cardiff. They are Cardiff Bay Development Corporation (CBDC), South Glamorgan County Council (SGCC), Cardiff City Council, the Welsh Development Agency (WDA), the Welsh Tourist Board (WTB), the Welsh Arts Council and the Welsh Office.

CBDC's urban design and development strategy, published in the spring of 1988, proposed a waterfront revitalisation approach, designed to "establish Cardiff internationally as a superlative maritime city". Plans include the creation of an artificial lake, a Maritime Heritage Centre, a multi-purpose Opera House, and a business park. CBDC also has a public art strategy, which is co-ordinated by a trust (the Cardiff Bay Art Trust) founded by the Corporation but independent from it. The main source of funding for the trust's activities is CBDC's public art

directive, which prescribes that 1% of the capital costs of new developments will be spent on artworks, festivals and other cultural events.

The main initiative of SGCC in the cultural field was the establishment in 1986 by its Economic Development Department of 'Media City', an agency responsible for developing the media industries in South Glamorgan. Media City now has a budget of about £80,000, provided by SGCC, CBDC, the WDA, and other local sources. The agency's approach places a strong emphasis on information and publicity. Its activities to date have included research into the South Wales media economy, the production of a trade directory, the organization of a media industry trade fair and festival, and the establishment of a Media City record label.

II.11 Examples of urban cultural policy development in other West European countries

Over the last two decades city governments throughout the European Community have played an increasingly significant role in the cultural policy arena. There is a serious lack of reliable comparative data on urban cultural policy budgets in Western Europe, but we have sufficient evidence to conclude that they tended to grow, particularly between the late '70s and the mid-80s. This trend can be illustrated with the examples of France and Germany.

The municipalities of French cities with over 150,000 inhabitants spent 601 FF per head on cultural policy in 1981, 789 FF in 1984, and 905 FF in 1987. The highest spending municipalities were Bordeaux and Grenoble with over 1400 FF (about £140) per inhabitant in 1987. Expenditure as a percentage of municipal budgets was highest in Lyon and Strasbourg (over 20%), followed by Brest, Lille, Grenoble and Bourdeaux, all spending between 15% and 20%. The other cities spent between 5.9% and 15% (Développement culturel, July 1989).

Municipal cultural expenditure in the Federal Republic of Germany increased from 3,876m DM in 1983 to 5,214m DM in 1987 (Cultural Trends, March 1990). According to Cities and Culture, a 1989 publication by the Dutch government's National Physical Planning Agency, cultural expenditure as a percentage of municipal budgets reached 7.6% in Cologne, 7.9% in Dusseldorf, and 11% in Frankfurt, which "had a big backlog to catch up with in the cultural sense".

To conclude, local and regional government 1987 arts expenditure per head in France and Germany was £17 and £23.7 respectively. This compared with a figure of £4.5 for the UK (Cultural Trends, March 1990). It must be pointed out, however, that - unlike in Britain - urban cultural policy expenditure in European countries such as France may have already reached its maximum phase of expansion.

Local cultural industries strategies and media policies are more difficult to find in other West European countries than in Britain, although the creation of technology parks for the media and telecommunication industries in Stuttgart, Cologne, Hamburg and Nimes could provide a model for British cities to follow.

Another inspiring example are the training courses in video and cartoon production initiated by the municipality of Vitoria in the Basque provinces. Moreover, municipalities in Southern European countries in particular often have better developed cultural animation strategies than their British counterparts, as well as better integration between their cultural policies and policies on conservation, architecture, urban design and, in some cases, even training and industrial development.

Many of the objectives pursued by European cities in their cultural policies, however, have been similar to those pursued by British cities. The most important of these is probably the well-established policy aim of widening access to cultural facilities and activities for local residents. In the 1980s, however, some European cities enacted cultural policy-led regeneration strategies which closely resembled developments in Britain.

For instance, in many cases cultural policies were aimed at improving the city's external image, generally to attract inward investment and skilled personnel and assist the conversion of the base of the local economy from traditional manufacturing to high tech industry and advanced services. In more prosperous cities, cultural policies were in some cases aimed at filling the gap between economic status and cultural status.

Examples of this kind of interventions include Rotterdam, Frankfurt, Rennes and Montpellier. Rotterdam's image had traditionally been that of a rather dull industrial city, dominated by petro-chemical industries and the port. In order to 'beautify' the city and promote it as a socially and culturally lively place, the City Council created a new Museum of Architecture, renovated old museums, and organised jazz and film festivals. It also designed new public space systems, and encouraged good quality architecture and the recreation of dense residential communities in the city centre.

Municipal cultural policies in Frankfurt enhanced considerably the city's cultural status in the course of the 1980s. Only a decade ago Frankfurt's cultural life was equivalent to that of a medium-sized town. The city was dubbed Krankfurt (krank meaning 'sick'), and it was associated with Geld, Porno und Krawallen (money, pornography and riots). About 1 billion DM was invested in cultural buildings, with the establishment of a complex of as many as 13 new museums on the banks of the river Main.

Both Rennes and Montpellier, two French university towns with large rural hinterlands, used cultural policies to associate their images with modernity, dynamism and advanced technology.

The Montpellier municipality invested heavily in new prestigious architectural projects, and launched festivals of music, dance, photography, video and (Mediterranean, Jewish and Chinese) cinema. These initiatives were combined with an aggressive city marketing campaign aimed at appealing to mover firms and technologists to locate and work in four technology parks in the fields of agro-industry, pharmaceuticals, computing, robotics and artificial intelligence.

Rennes City Council linked its cultural policy to the development of a Science Park, and to a marketing strategy projecting the city as "a thinking network". The municipality took a variety of initiatives aimed at presenting Rennes as a centre for cultural and economic innovation. It was the first city in France to get cable television, it created a computer graphics festival, launched a national competition on technological change, and organized Transmusicales, one of the best rock festivals in France.

Other cities have prioritised the revitalisation of their functions as milieus for social interaction, through a mix of cultural animation, public transport, pedestrianisation and urban 'beautification' policies.

One example of this type of policy in Italy was Rome City Council from 1976-85, with its highly successful Estate romana programme of summer cultural animation (described in my article in *New Socialist*, April 1987, and, in more detail, in my chapter in Bramham, 1989). The Estate romana model became extremely popular among politicians and policy-makers in Italian local government in the late 70s and early 80s. Between 1980 and 1982, in the central Italian regions of Emilia-Romagna, Tuscany, Umbria and the Marches, expenditure on cultural animation initiatives grew in real terms by 69% (Bianchini, in Bramham, 1989).

Similar kinds of intervention were developed also by the city state of Hamburg, which combined cultural animation initiatives with an urban design strategy aimed at revitalising the use of the city centre in the evening, and by the municipality of Barcelona, which - as part of a programme of redevelopments in the run-up to the 1992 Olympics - created a public space system comprising 160 new squares, punctuated by new good quality buildings and artworks in public places.

III. DILEMMAS IN URBAN CULTURAL POLICY DEVELOPMENT

The value of cultural policy-led urban regeneration in the late 1980s has enjoyed a broad political consensus. It was supported by the Arts Minister, the Arts Council, Labour and Conservative local authorities alike. Such a display of consensus, however, masks the fact that urban cultural policies can have controversial economic, cultural, political, spatial and social implications. They can be visualized in the form of a series of policy dilemmas. The nature of these dilemmas - and the extent to which potential conflicts can be resolved by developing balanced and imaginative policies - will be illustrated by referring to the descriptions of policy development contained in Section Two.

III.1 Cultural development dilemmas

III.1.a Elite/prestige/flagship/'big' v. community-oriented/'small'

In the current climate of intense competition for prestige arts events and organizations, many cities have prioritised support for 'high' art forms both through the funding and the construction of new facilities. These policies, in particular when combined with the reduction of public subsidy for more community-oriented and smaller arts organizations, can lead to disaffection and even to some antagonism towards the prestige venues. Examples of this kind of disaffection are evident in Birmingham, Glasgow and Cardiff. It is therefore important to gain broad public support for prestige developments through consultation and other means of involving local citizens and arts organizations.

III.1.b 'Spin-offs' v. artistic content

There is a danger in cultural policy-led urban regeneration that the (social, economic, environmental, symbolic) spin-offs of the strategy are more important than its actual impact on the quality of cultural production. In other words, we have seen in the '80s - not only in Britain but also in other West European countries - a shift away from the development of policies for culture towards the development of policies using culture as a resource and an instrument to achieve a wide range of non-cultural objectives. A related danger concerns the traditional function of the arts as a critical force, able to question the status quo and to raise awareness of possible alternatives to it. Today there is a risk that the incorporation of the arts into urban 'growth coalitions' may reduce the freedom which is necessary to perform this essential critical task. For example, in some cases the hegemonic status of the belief that 'what's good for business is good for the city' could work to limit the ability of cultural

producers to point at alternatives notion of 'the good' for both the individual and the community.

III.1.c 'Ephemeral'/events v. 'permanent'/buildings

It is sometimes argued that in cultural policy a choice must be made between 'ephemeral' programmes of events and activities - eg cultural animation and festivals - and investment in 'permanent' facilities - eg concert halls, arts centres etc. Such juxtaposition (which was common, for instance, among critics of the summer cultural animation policies of Rome City Council and of other Italian local authorities in the late '70s and early '80s) is quite artificial. Seemingly 'ephemeral' events like festivals, if coherently organized and regularly repeated, can become 'permanent' features of the city's cultural infrastructure, and can offer benefits - e.g. in terms of image, and support for local cultural production - which go well beyond the opportunities for public enjoyment of the arts they offer. The 'ephemeral-permanent' dichotomy, however, can perhaps be useful to focus the policy makers' minds on the problem that the costs of the upkeep and maintenance of 'permanent' cultural facilities are often so high that they absorb most of the resources available. In the case of Middlesbrough Borough Council, for example, it has been calculated that 85% of the cultural policy budget goes into building maintenance, leaving very little for the funding and programming of cultural activities. Greater use of tents and other temporary structures could enable local authorities to spend more on events and activities.

III.1.d Local v. international

In urban cultural policy-making the local dimension is sometimes rigidly counterposed to the international dimension. It is argued, for instance, that cultural policies should actively defend the uniqueness of the 'local' against the homogeneity and sameness which internationalization could bring about. It is, however, more constructive to argue that the uniqueness of local products, practices and identities should form the very basis upon which internationalization strategies - for example, place marketing campaigns and 'cultural foreign policies'- should be built. Imitative strategies are likely to fail in the long term. It is also notable that in terms of architectural design, an 'international style' has tended to prevail. The major exception to this trend has been Swansea, where the architectural enhancement strategy for the Maritime Quarter has emerged from a thorough process of research about the city's history and identity.

Lastly, local policy-makers must recognise that good intra-regional networking is one of the most important preconditions for the success of their cultural policies at national and international level. Co-operation between policy-makers in Liverpool and Manchester, Leeds and Bradford, Glasgow and Edinburgh (for instance, in the fields of cultural funding, training, marketing, information and research exchange) could create the conditions for the establishment of internationally competitive regional cultural industries infrastructures. The lack of regional policy-making structures has been, in some cases, primarily responsible for the difficulty in achieving good intra-regional co-operation. It is to be hoped that the creation of the new Regional Arts Boards (through, for example, the merger between Merseyside Arts and North West Arts) will address some of the problems raised here.

III.1.e Past/'heritage'/nostalgia v. future/modernity/experiment

Cultural policies must certainly celebrate the history of a city, and the roots and shared identities of the people who live and work there. Such celebration, however, must not degenerate into 'museumisation', and into the fabrication of fake 'heritage' themes, which often have little to do with the city's genuine history. It is equally important that celebrations of the past are balanced with support for experimental, avant-garde cultural production, and with the exploration - for instance - of the possible links between the arts and media and technologically advanced industries. The vibrancy of a city's cultural life is dependent on a balanced diet of old and new.

III.1.f 'Arts' v. 'Media'

It is noticeable that in urban cultural policies - not only in Britain but also in countries like Italy, Spain and France - 'pre-electronic arts' and 'contemporary media' elements are often still not adequately integrated. Broadly speaking, two kinds of problems can be identified. The first is that in some cities policies for the pre-electronic arts have been developed, but not for the media. The second is that, in some of the cities which have developed policies for both the arts and the media, these two strands tend to coexist in relative isolation. Within local authorities, arts policies are generally older and better established, tend to be 'culture-led', and generally are the primary concern of Arts, Libraries, Leisure or Recreation Departments. Media policies, on the contrary - where they exist - are generally 'industry-led', and are often the concern of Economic Development Departments. The most serious consequence of the lack of integration between arts and media policies is the failure to exploit considerable potential synergies, of which we provide here some examples.

First of all, an integrated strategy could be important to encourage artistic innovation and experiment (for example, by promoting arts-media 'crossovers'). Secondly, an awareness campaign by arts policy-makers aimed at the local media (the local press, and regional and local TV and radio) could contribute to widening the audience for the live arts. Third, in the educational sphere, local Polytechnics and FE Colleges should be encouraged to create integrated Arts & Media Departments, to establish links between - for example - visual arts and industrial design courses. Fourth, and lastly, an integrated arts-media approach can be effective also within a strategy for the revitalisation of the public realm and of public social life. The primary objective of such strategies is often to encourage social interaction by promoting out-of-home cultural activities. Arts policies can contribute to achieving this aim by providing a wide mix of opportunities for cultural consumption, and by establishing cultural animation programmes. The contribution of local media policies, however, is equally important, as a mechanism for getting into people's homes, and establishing a link between private and public space. Public space is not only streets and squares: it is also in the airwaves.

III.2 Economic development dilemmas

III.2.a Consumption v production

Urban cultural policies need to balance the twin objectives of stimulating cultural consumption - and the consumer service industries associated with it - and the local cultural production and training infrastructure. John Myerscough (1988 and 1988a) has calculated that 10,550 people were employed in the arts and cultural industries in Glasgow in 1985-86. Spending by arts organizations and their customers sustained a further 4,185 jobs. Total 'direct' and 'indirect' arts employment amounted to 2.25% of the economically active population, and each job in the arts generated 2.7 jobs in the rest of the economy. The net cost per person removed from the unemployment count through arts spending was £1,361: a figure which compared very favourably with national statistics indicating the average cost of creating one job on the Community Programme (£2,200) and in education and local government (£10,400).

The problem with estimates of this kind is that employment due to the 'customer effect' of the arts (which is particularly strong in sectors such as retailing and hotel and catering) is frequently low paid, part-time, and characterized by deskilling and poor levels of job satisfaction, legal rights and working conditions. Precisely for these reasons, it is important to combine a policy aimed at boosting cultural consumption with a strategy to stimulate and support cultural production (a cultural industries strategy, for example), which has the potential of

creating highly skilled jobs in high value-added sectors such as fashion, design, electronic music, film and broadcasting.

Rome from 1976-85, Bradford, and - despite recent initiatives to formulate cultural industries strategies - Glasgow and Newcastle are all examples of cities in which cultural policies have been more oriented towards consumption than towards production. Bologna, Sheffield and Birmingham all provide examples of more balanced strategies. The formulation and implementation of local strategies for cultural production is important also to stem the 'leakage' of cultural talent from provincial cities to the centres of control of the cultural economy (e.g. London in Britain, Paris in France, Milan and Rome in Italy).

Support for local cultural producers, lastly, can reduce reliance on imported culture, a problem which is increasingly being felt in France, where arts facilities have expanded much faster than the availability of locally produced musical and dramatic repertoire.

III.3 Spatial dilemmas

III.3.a City centre v periphery

Policies focussing almost exclusively on city centre-based developments predominantly aimed at tourists and higher income groups have in some cases further alienated from civic life residents of deprived outer estates and inner city areas. They often find the centre's cultural provision very difficult to access (psychologically, physically and economically). These tensions are evident in many cities, and particularly in Glasgow where the cultural renaissance of the city centre co-existed with continuing deprivation in the four peripheral outer estates of Castlemilk, Drumchapel, Easterhouse and Pollok. A pressure group called Workers' City protested against the 1990 celebrations, which it regarded primarily as a vehicle for 'yuppification'. Problems related to the exclusion of large minorities of local residents from the cultural renaissance of the city centre have been visible also in some European cities, including Rotterdam and Rennes.

One way of addressing such conflicts in the spatial distribution of cultural provision would be to strengthen or, in some cases, create from scratch neighbourhood-based arts facilities. These should be genuinely accessible to all sections of the local community, and properly integrated with other amenities - shops, cafes, restaurants, libraries, leisure centres - to form 'local centres' of activity. This kind of intervention should be complemented by providing support for cultural projects initiated and run by grassroot groups. Such projects as the Easterhouse Festival Society - which led to the establishment of the

Greater Easterhouse Partnership, a body co-ordinating public, private and voluntary sector initiatives for the regeneration of the area - are very important to provide an organizational focus through which a community can express its cultural potential, identify its own needs and articulate a programme of action.

The creation of 'local centres' and the support given to grassroots activities should be complemented by a strategy aimed at making the city centre - where most cultural activities and facilities are concentrated - accessible, safe and attractive for all citizens. Interventions such as anti-litter drives, signposting improvements, the introduction of 'town cards' to easily book and access cultural facilities, the provision of more accurate and widely distributed information about city centre-based attractions and activities, as well as better policing, street lighting, late night public transport and car park safety are arguably needed in most cities to enhance attractiveness, accessibility and security for both residents and visitors.

III.3.b Other spatial dilemmas

The establishment of certain parts of cities as 'cultural districts' can generate gentrification, displacement of some local residents and of some facilities catering for local people, and considerable rises in land values, rents, and the local cost of living (as measured, for example, by the prices charged by local shops). All these processes have been at work in Frankfurt's new Museum Quarter. A related problem concerns artists' quarters and other districts where there are strong concentrations of cultural producers. These districts, in some cases, become so prestigious that increases in land values, rents and house prices gradually drive out most cultural producers and artists. Examples of this process can be found in Paris and in New York's Greenwich Village, a case aptly described by Sharon Zukin in *Loft Living* (1988). In cases like these, the inadequacies of unrestrained property-led regeneration strategies become apparent.

IV. THE FUTURE OF URBAN CULTURAL POLICIES: TOWARDS A CULTURAL PLANNING APPROACH

We have noted earlier that the remit of urban cultural policies in Britain and the definitions of 'culture' on which they are based have expanded considerably, especially over the last two decades. There is also little doubt that the political status of urban cultural policies has grown. In some cases, the need to develop a cultural policy has become an issue for political debate, thanks to the efforts of pressure groups like ECSTRA in Coventry and Culture Shock in Stoke-on-Trent. The latter, for instance, dissolved in 1990 after its campaign

contributed to the City Council's decision to commission a study to form the basis for a new cultural strategy. Perhaps the most striking episode confirming the enhanced political status of urban cultural policies was the controversy following the decision by Glasgow District Council not to appoint Elspeth King, the distinguished curator of the People's Palace since 1974, to the post of keeper of social history. As Christine Hamilton, Arts Officer of the Scottish TUC, remarked in her speech to the 1990 CoRAA conference in Liverpool:

"that an appointment to a post in the museums service, albeit a senior one, could lead to more front pages than Gorbachev or Ravenscraig, several leaders and weeks of full letter columns in a quality Scottish paper...that it could also lead to petitions, demos, lobbying...and the biggest split in the Council seen for many years - all goes to show just how far up the political agenda we have moved".

There has been a growth of interest in urban cultural policy among institutions and forces of many different kinds. They include some property developers, management consultancies (some of which have set up arts and leisure departments) economic development agencies (local authority Economic Development Units, Enterprise Boards and the Scottish Development Agency, for instance), and Urban Development Corporations.

That being said, it must not be forgotten that local authorities endowed with comprehensive cultural policies are still a minority, and that even fewer have developed cultural industries strategies. The relative status of cultural policy is still generally lower than that of other local authority policies (for example, policies in the fields of planning, economic development, education and social services). The erosion of local authority powers in other fields under the Thatcher governments, however, has probably increased the importance of cultural policy as an instrument through which local authorities can maintain a visible political presence. In some local authorities, such as Birmingham City Council, it is noticeable that cultural policy is enjoying high levels of political support. In Birmingham the Leader of the Council sits regularly on the Arts Committee, and the Chief Executive participates to the meetings of the Arts, Culture and Economy Sub-Committee.

This is not to deny that local government urban cultural policy-makers still have to face a range of formidable constraints.

A first set of constraints derives from the erosion of the planning and economic development powers of local authorities, and to the increasing pressure on their financial resources, both of which are largely a result of the centralization policies pursued by Conservative governments since 1979.

A second type of constraint relates to the philosophy of town planning legislation and practice, which is mostly concerned with land use, does not pay enough attention to aesthetic questions, and is not sufficiently rooted in an understanding of cities as cultural entities: as places where people meet, talk, share ideas and desires, and where identities and lifestyles are formed (for a stimulating critique of British town planning see Healey, 1989).

Lastly, a third serious constraint is the fact the 'investor class' (developers, banks, other major financial institutions, companies of national and international significance) in Britain's provincial cities is by and large weaker, less locally based and, therefore, less committed to the locality than in similar cities in countries like Germany, France, Italy, Spain and the USA. As a consequence of this, the scope for imaginative public-private sector partnerships (including, for example, cross-subsidisation agreements for cultural districts on the US model, described in Section One) is probably more restricted in Britain than in those other countries.

It would be perhaps possible to envisage a set of legislative reforms aimed at overcoming some of the constraints described earlier. It may be more fruitful, however, to develop arguments aimed at making cultural policy an integral part of urban development strategies. It is therefore necessary to introduce at this point the overarching and integrating concept of 'cultural planning'.

IV.1 What is 'cultural planning'?

In the USA 'cultural planning' is one of the key concepts associated with the increased importance of the arts for urban and regional policy-makers (Porter, 1980). Wolf Von Eckhardt, in one of the earliest formulations of the concept, wrote that cultural planning "involves all the arts...the art of urban design, the art of winning community support, the art of transportation planning, and the art of mastering the dynamics of economic development" (1980).

To give a more precise and useful definition of cultural planning, it is necessary to explain what is the definition of 'culture' upon which cultural planning should be based, why a cultural planning approach is useful, and what its distinctive characteristics are.

In The Long Revolution Raymond Williams identifies "three general categories in the definition of culture": a) 'culture' as "a state or process of human perfection, in terms of certain absolute or universal values"; b) 'culture' as "the body of intellectual and imaginative work in which human thought and experience are variously recorded"; c) 'culture' as "a particular way of life, which expresses certain meanings and values not only in art and learning, but also in institutions and ordinary behaviour" (1961, p 41).

In order to choose from the three definitions, it is important to consider first what the fundamental objectives of urban cultural policies should be today. I think such objectives are most lucidly expressed by Birmingham City Council in their report An Arts Strategy for Birmingham (March 1990, second emphasis not in original):

"An Arts Strategy for Birmingham should not simply be a statement of principles about arts provision. It should be a statement of principles about the relationship between artistic provision in Birmingham and the people who live and work within the City's boundaries or who look to Birmingham as their regional centre. In the final analysis the test of a civilised city is not the extent of its municipal spending on cultural provision, nor the international eminence of its key arts activities, nor its wealth of locally based creative talent, though all those are important indicators. *The test of a civilised city is the liveliness and pervasiveness of the relationship between the arts and the daily lives of the people living and working within the city*".

If we agree with this fundamental objective, then it is obvious that the definition of 'culture' upon which cultural planning strategies must be based is an anthropological definition of culture as 'a way of life'. As we have seen, the long march of urban cultural policies since the 19th century, with the progressive widening of the definition of 'culture' and of the objectives of policy, also points in this direction: towards a reintegration of "culture" into the mainstream of urban life, and of 'cultural policy' into the mainstream of urban policy. Britain's fitful but nevertheless constant and probably irreversible process of Europeanisation has certainly contributed to making the word 'culture' more common as an alternative to the narrower 'arts', not least through the resonance of Glasgow's European City of Culture year.

That being said, there is certainly some truth in the critique of the use of an anthropological definition of 'culture' for cultural policy purposes formulated by J. Langsted. He writes that "supporters of the wide concept of culture are rarely explicit as to its cultural policy consequences. If they are, cultural policy suddenly becomes...an all-embracing and rather unmanageable concept" (1990, p. 14).

IV.2 The concept of 'cultural resources' and its applications

What has been said suggests that the challenge is to develop an anthropological definition of 'culture' which is manageable in policy-making terms. The concept I propose to adopt is 'cultural resources', which consists of the following elements:

a) the range and levels of skills in both the 'pre-electronic' performing and visual arts, and in such contemporary 'cultural industries' as film, video, photography, broadcasting, electronic music, publishing, design and fashion;

b) the facilities and the skills necessary for the management and the development of local talent, and for the pre-production, production, distribution and marketing of products in the sectors listed in a);

c) the presence of peculiar and specialised products and skills in particular forms of crafts, manufacturing industry and services (eg jewellery, ceramics, cookery, gardening);

d) the vibrancy and attractiveness of the 'out of hours' economy of the city, which encompasses qualities like the following:

i) diversity in the provision of cultural, leisure and entertainment facilities

ii) the attractiveness and 'legibility' of the city's public spaces;

iii) local traditions of sociability (for a more precise and detailed definition of a city's 'out-of-hours economy' see Comedia, Out of Hours, London, 1991);

e) the city's historical, artistic, architectural, archaeological and anthropological heritage (including local traditions, accents and dialects);

f) urban landscapes, vistas, landmarks and amenities (including park systems and waterfronts) created by human intervention;

g) external and internal perceptions of the city, which are constituted by the interaction between cultural representations (eg how the city has been portrayed in novels, films, popular songs), media images and 'conventional wisdom'.

In order to understand and exploit 'cultural resources' as defined here, cultural planners (for example, the officers of a local authority's department primarily

responsible for cultural policy) need, first of all, to be able to identify the resources themselves. They then need to be able to act upon the potential uses and implications of these resources, and to monitor the results of their action. Here are examples of some possible applications of cultural resources in seven different spheres:

1. Economic: development of cultural industries strategies; creation of links between art/design and policies for manufacturing industry, as well as between the media industries and research in advanced telecommunications and image/music recording technology; formulation of 'cultural tourism' development strategies.

2. Symbolic: city marketing strategies highlighting a city's cultural attractiveness and potential; civic pride rebuilding programmes based on raising the local residents' awareness of the city's cultural resources; development of systems for the effective monitoring of media images and cultural representations of cities.

3. Social: community rebuilding programmes in areas of social stress and conflict (for instance, through community-based cultural initiatives); use of festivals and other cultural animation programmes to enhance public sociability, social cohesion and perceptions of safety in the urban environment (busy streets are generally safer streets).

4. Environmental: use of public art and percent for art policies in 'urban beautification' programmes; inclusion of new cultural facilities in mixed-use developments in run-down areas, to raise the value of property and land - thereby increasing pressure for development - and to attract users.

5. Political: the revitalisation of public social life and of the 'evening economy' of cities - through a cultural animation programme, for instance - can provide opportunities for raising the local residents' expectations about the quality of urban environments, and for stimulating greater involvement in a genuine public discourse about how the city could function not only at night but also in the daytime. In some cities - like Grenoble - cultural animation programmes were accompanied by experiments in the use of new technology to create forms of two way communication between civil society and the local state. In other cases (Rome and Bologna City Councils in the early '80s, and the 1981-86 GLC, for instance) programmes of cultural animation, together with initiatives aimed at supporting 'alternative' cultural producers and at devolving powers and resources to grassroots organizations, became an important channel through which local authorities could establish a dialogue with social movements and marginalised social groups. In these cases cultural policies functioned also as alternatives to traditional forms of political mobilisation.

6. Educational: interventions aimed at imbuing educational programmes with an awareness of the city's multifarious cultural resources, and of their possible implications and applications.

7. Cultural: initiatives aimed at renewing the philosophy of intervention in the cultural field by learning from and being influenced by the other six spheres noted above, through mechanisms and procedures (such as consultation, corporate working and training courses for policy-makers) which will be described in detail later.

IV.3 Cultural planning at work: two examples

We can illustrate how the cultural planning approach would work with two examples.

First of all, the adoption of a cultural planning approach would enhance the effectiveness of cultural policy, by ensuring that it is properly co-ordinated with and supported by policies on public transport, lighting, environmental improvements and urban design. These policies might include:

- a) an urban design and townscape planning strategy, with an emphasis on the needs of pedestrians rather than motorists;
- b) a 'what's on in town' information strategy, encompassing the use of signposting, town maps, libraries, listings magazines, municipal ticket offices, community noticeboards etc.;
- c) a city centre promotion strategy, combining the introduction of 'town card' schemes for local residents with an image campaign aimed at improving the visual appearance of key sites and at monitoring the way in which representations of the city centre are formed and projected (through articles in the local press, for example);
- d) a public space strategy, based on an audit of venues ready to host cultural events (including parks, canals, car parks, indoor shopping malls, and currently unused or underused buildings and upper floors);
- e) a public lighting strategy aimed to communicate a sense of occasion, define spaces and link the various focal points where events are taking place;
- f) an evening transportation strategy, re-examining the provision of safe, accessible, fast, clean, reliable and reasonably priced public transport;
- g) a housing policy which favours the re-establishment of sizeable, non-ghettoised residential communities in the city centre.

It is necessary to provide a second example of cultural planning at work, which emphasizes the importance of infusing with a cultural perspective every aspect of

local policy-making. This can be achieved by injecting 'creativity' into all policies affecting a city's development. 'Creativity' is an overused word, often applied to activities -such as much 'creative writing' - which are not creative at all. Within the intellectual and professional discipline of cultural planning, 'creativity' should be defined as a mode of thinking which encourages innovation and experimentation, as well as the ability to look at problems flexibly and laterally, to think from first principles, and to visualise future scenarios.

Now the question is, how can 'creativity' (or, in other words, a 'cultural perspective') be injected into all aspects of urban policy? In order to do this, we must deconstruct the notion of 'the urban dimension' (or, in other words, the notion of 'the city') into its different components. So the next question we must ask is the following: 'what is a city?'

- i) A city is an area defined by clear geographical boundaries, and endowed with certain 'natural' characteristics.
- ii) It is an environment shaped by human intervention, comprising buildings, landmarks, a designed layout of streets and squares and necessary infrastructure.
- iii) A city is a community of people, endowed with a particular set of collective identities and social dynamics: a city is also a society.
- iv) A city is also an economic structure: a system of economic activities and relationships, with particular economic functions.
- v) A city is a natural environment, a built form, a society and an economy governed by a set of agreed principles and regulations: a city is also a polity.

Given that a city is all these five things, the task of cultural planning is to inject creativity into all five dimensions. In other words, a cultural planning perspective can help a city be creative and experimental in the ways in which it protects and enhances its natural environment, develops its built form and social dynamics, runs its economy, and handles its political arrangements. Examples of interventions in these five fields could include the use of cultural initiatives to raise awareness of local environmental problems and resources, as well as the organisation of high quality architectural and urban design competitions and exhibitions, and the promotion of campaigns to establish links between local visual artists and craftspeople and manufacturing industry. The involvement of cultural producers in the formulation of local policies - on, for instance, physical planning and economic development is another way of implementing this type of cultural planning approach. One good example is Lewisham Borough Council's Lewisham 2,000 project, for the redevelopment of Lewisham town centre. One of the innovative features of the project is the employment of an artist as a full-time member of the team, together with planners, engineers, landscape architects and urban designers.

IV.4 Implementing a cultural planning strategy

By its nature the cultural planning approach cuts across the divides between the public, private and voluntary sectors, different institutional concerns, and different professional disciplines.

Local authorities, for example, would have to overcome 'departmentalisation', and move towards a more corporate, integrated approach to policy-making in order to implement a cultural planning strategy. Examples of good practice in this field are the establishment by Birmingham City Council of the Arts, Culture and Economy Sub-Committee (see II.4), and the development by Knowsley Metropolitan Borough of a corporate cultural policy, which will be implemented by the arts officer working in co-operation with all the local authority's departments.

Secondly, there is a clear need for a more broadly-based approach to training urban cultural policy-makers: a type of training the aim of which should be to provide basic knowledge not only of arts administration but also of urban economics, sociology, politics, geography and planning, as well as of European Community institutions and models of cultural policy in other European countries.

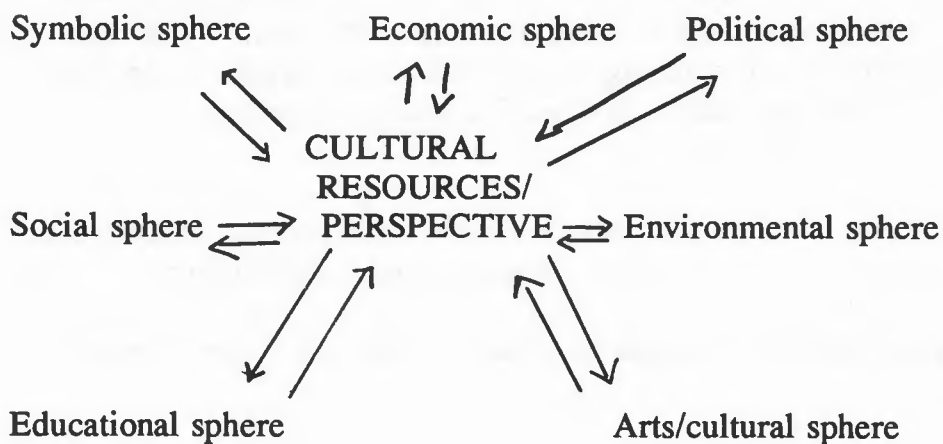
Thirdly, the cultural planning process should be responsive to the demands and ideas of individual citizens, community groups and the local private sector. There are several ways in which this could be attempted. Local authorities could draw up 'cultural plans' consisting of audits of existing cultural resources, of surveys identifying the needs of different sections of the local community, and of studies on culture's social and economic impact.

Another possible model, adopted by the GLC's Arts and Recreation Committee from 1981-86, is the devolution of decision-making powers and resources to community groups. In the GLC's case such groups were the cultural expression of urban social and political movements - feminism, black and gay activism, Irish and youth groups. However, perhaps as a consequence of the GLC's lack of an overall strategy for urban regeneration, the emphasis tended to be more on the celebration of the distinctiveness and separateness of the identities of these movements, than on the contribution that the ideas of the movements themselves could give to improving the quality of life of the wider community. For instance, in addition to supporting women-only arts projects, the GLC could have translated into policies some of the ideas generated by the feminist critique of urban design (see - for instance - Matrix, 1984), to show how feminist ideas can help address important everyday problems. Public consultation is a third important mechanism which can be used to formulate, legitimate and implement cultural planning strategies. There are good examples of consultation exercises carried out by local authorities on particular schemes, such as the Bradford's West

End case described in II.7. The Forum for Industry, Culture and Trade proposed by the municipality of Sabadell in Catalonia must also be mentioned, as an innovative model of cultural centre through which the cultural sector would interact with local entrepreneurs, initiate joint projects, and influence the city's developing cultural strategy.

Consultation, liaison with the local media, and the establishment of a dialogue between local policy-makers and civil society are important vehicles through which cultural planning can help strengthen civic identity, a sense of community, and the citizens' active involvement in local affairs: all important preconditions for the emergence of a public sphere in which the city's future can be democratically and imaginatively discussed.

Figure 1 - The cultural planning approach



Acknowledgements

Some of the ideas contained in my discussion of the cultural planning approach derive from conversations with Charles Landry of Comedia Consultancy, London, whom I also thank for permission to use descriptive material from *The Importance of Culture for Urban Economic Development: the UK Case-Study*, a report Comedia prepared for the German government (April 1991). I also wish to thank the following: Sylvia Harvey and Paul Skelton, Sheffield City Council; Susie Webber, Urban Fabric, Bingley (formerly at City of Bradford Metropolitan Council); Alison Jones, Knowsley Borough Council; Dee Hennessy and Paul Mingard, Liverpool City Council; Anthony Sargent, Birmingham City Council; David Dawson, Teesside Development Corporation; Sally Medlyn, Cardiff Bay Art Trust; John Kieffer, London Docklands Development Corporation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bianchini, Franco (1987) 'Living for the city', New Socialist, April.
(1989) 'Cultural Policy and Urban Social Movements: the Response of the "New Left" in Rome (1976-85) and London (1981-86), in Bramham (1989).
- Bianchini, Franco and Parkinson, Michael (eds.) (1991), Cultural Policy and Urban Regeneration: the West European Experience, Manchester, Manchester University Press (forthcoming).
- Boden, Trevor (ed.) (1988), Cities and City Cultures, Birmingham, Birmingham Film and Television Festival.
- Booth, Peter and Boyle, Robin (1991), 'See Glasgow, see culture', in Bianchini and Parkinson (1991).
- Bramham, Peter et al. (1989), Leisure and Urban Processes. Critical Studies of Leisure Policy in Western European Cities, London, Routledge.
- Garnham, Nicholas (1983), The Cultural Industries and Cultural Policy in London GLC, AR 1116 and IEC 940.
- Healey, Patsy (1989), 'Planning for the 1990s', University of Newcastle upon Tyne, Department of Town and Country Planning Working Papers, 7.
- Hunter, Jean (1988), 'A National Museum in an inner city role', in Boden (1988).

Langsted, J. (ed.) (1990), Strategies. Studies in Modern Cultural Policy, Aarhus, Aarhus University Press.

Matrix (1984) Making Space. Women and the Man Made Environment, London, Pluto.

Minihan, Janet (1977) The Nationalisation of Culture, London, Hamish Hamilton.

Myerscough, John (1988) The Economic Importance of the Arts in Britain, London, PSI.

(1988a) Economic Importance of the Arts in Glasgow, London, PSI.

(1988b) Economic Importance of the Arts on Merseyside London, PSI.

Porter, Robert (ed.) (1980) The Arts and City Planning, New York, American Council for the Arts.

Williams, Raymond (1958) Culture and Society 1780-1950, London.

(1961) The Long Revolution, London.

(1983) Keywords, Glasgow.

Other bibliographical references about urban cultural policy in Britain are provided in 'Urban renaissance? The arts and the urban regeneration process', my chapter in S MacGregor and B Pimlott (eds.), Tackling the Inner Cities, Oxford, Clarendon, 1990.

NOTES

NOTES

