

Original citation:

Vickery, Jonathan (2013) *Cultural strategy and economic development : challenges for the European City*. Jonathan Vickery. (Unpublished)

Permanent WRAP URL:

<http://wrap.warwick.ac.uk/103946>

Copyright and reuse:

The Warwick Research Archive Portal (WRAP) makes this work by researchers of the University of Warwick available open access under the following conditions. Copyright © and all moral rights to the version of the paper presented here belong to the individual author(s) and/or other copyright owners. To the extent reasonable and practicable the material made available in WRAP has been checked for eligibility before being made available.

Copies of full items can be used for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes without prior permission or charge. Provided that the authors, title and full bibliographic details are credited, a hyperlink and/or URL is given for the original metadata page and the content is not changed in any way.

A note on versions:

The version presented here is a working paper or pre-print that may be later published elsewhere. If a published version is known of, the above WRAP URL will contain details on finding it.

For more information, please contact the WRAP Team at: wrap@warwick.ac.uk

'Cultural Strategy and Economic Development: challenges for the European City' (Public Lecture)

Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza | Adam Mickiewicz University

Instytut Kulturoznawstwa UAM | AMU Institute of Cultural Studies, Poland.

15th April, 2013.

Dr Jonathan Vickery, **Centre for Cultural and Media Policy Studies**, University of Warwick

Note: this is the full script of a public lecture, which was animated by imagery that cannot be reproduced here for reasons of copyright. I nonetheless indicate in the text where an image featured (that is, where I elaborated on a point with the aid of imagery), hence to some extent justifying a line of thought truncated in its written form.

I wish to thank the Mayor of Poznan, Ryszard Grobelny for his kind letter, Professor Dr. Jacek Sójka and Dr Marcin Poprowski and the Institute of Cultural Studies for this kind invitation. I am very happy to be here. Dr Poprowski was a visiting scholar in my Centre at the University of Warwick last year, and we found many points of dialogue. One such point was the state of contemporary European cities, specifically how culture and creativity are contributing to the economic development of Europe's major cities and how culture and creativity are becoming objects of public policy in cities.

How do we, as researchers, understand the city? I have just been asked to play a role as Ambassador of the CreArt European Network of Cities for Artistic Creation [*slides*].

Recently the CreArt network held the EU Day of Artistic Creativity, where participating artists from the 13 network member cities will come together and interact and exchange ideas, exhibit, hold public seminars. They will also facilitate a European network of artist residencies – recognising the need for increased interchange and cultural 'nomadism' in Europe, as well as an increasing need for cultural managers and curators to facilitate artistic engagement with the public sphere. Cultural sectors all over Europe have expanded enormously in the last two decades, yet the role of production and producers is still ambivalent in many a city's cultural strategy. The CreArt network is comprised of cities like Poznan (Genova, in Italy or Kaunas, in Lithuania) that we could define as 'second cities' or medium-size cities. They have fewer resources than national capitals or the 'global' cities, but they are emerging as places for great policy flexibility and risk-taking. The objectives of CreArt therefore is to place creative activity at the Centre of urban and civic culture – where civic culture in Europe is usually dominated by heritage. And to construct a framework of advocacy, where both academic and artistic research

can feed into city policy and planning. We do not need more bureaucratic cultural policy, but dynamic cultural strategy-making.

The subject of this lecture is 'cultural strategy' in cities. Traditional cultural policy (whatever it was called) was simply arts/ performance, libraries and archives, museums and galleries and heritage, along with any other state patrimony the city was charged with maintaining. For the contemporary city, cultural policy may include a range of activities from IT and new media to international relations. This expanded field presents problems for the researcher; and there are questions for cities regarding how they manage these areas, and under what policy or department. Cities are culturally complex entities, the key actors of which are usually city management and the urban planners. The urban planners with which I have repeatedly discussed my university city of Coventry still talk about the Second World War. All over Europe, particularly in the East, city planners are still working with an urban infrastructure inherited from the post-War period. [slides] And despite strong models for the development of post-industrial sites, there remain enormous problems in designing affordable housing for growing and changing populations. Cultural policy has – unfortunately – not extended its range of interests to housing and the architecture of population densification. In this context the urban growth patterns of the USA, developed in the Global South are instructive. [slides]

In this lecture, I am working with three points of reference: first are the many reports and data studies, so common to contemporary urbanists, which reveal that the economy of major cities have become central to their national, regional as well as the global economy. A country's success and development is in large part due to its cities. Secondly, the role of culture in cities is growing in economic importance. The Mayor of London's new *World Cities Culture Forum* is just one of the many new associations across the world recognizing and promoting the role of culture in cities. [slide]. Third is the pervasive paradigm of 'urban regeneration' that has persisted in Europe since the 1980s is changing. It was through urban regeneration that culture found new forms of investment and new models of development. Urban regeneration, however, was famously characterized in cultural policy debates (I am sure you are all aware of) by its 'instrumentalism' and the commercial appropriation of culture.

My argument in this lecture emerges from the now common critique of urban regeneration. The argument is quite simple: culture can play a role in economic

development without being subject to 'instrumental' commercial forces. In other words, we need a broader concept of 'the economy' in cities, whereby we can understand the real spectrum of the production of capital. UNCTAD's now well-known *Creative Economy Report 2010* featured a helpful diagram explaining how the creative economy of a city develops out of the interaction of four types of capital: human, social, cultural and institutional capital [slide]. 'Capital' is a central economic concept, but here is not primarily defined through financial profit-making mechanisms, through money, revenue or financial turnover. As important the monetary dimension to any form of cultural production obviously is, we nonetheless need a broader understanding of capital in order to make specific forms of investment. Cultural policy needs to use alternative models of capital with which to develop strategies that play a role in a city's economic development.

'Urban Regeneration' was a term coined in the UK in the 1970s, and became a globally influential and interdisciplinary policy field, a way of combining city planning, social policy, economic policy and cultural policy. I'll start with some memorable examples from the UK: [slides: new retail areas integrated with the civic architecture of the city; new branded landmark architecture and public art, cultivating civic identity; new plazas and urban public spaces, providing for increased social interaction as well as new open markets; new heritage design, reviving the concealed historical origins of the city; abandoned industrial areas, like canals or walkways, renovated; new cultural facilities, expanding the role of museums and galleries; and my list could continue.]

The strategic thinking of urban regeneration was invariably limited to one aspect or segment of a city; it was usually property-based, and usually a 'single solution' approach whose administration was devolved to an agency external to a city's own urban development. This agency's remit was primarily to 'regenerate' according to a system of value-creation whose primary mechanism of value-identification and quantification is short-term profit-making. I will expand on this later, but my approach here will emphasise the need for an urban cultural policy that is based on a comprehension of the city itself as one entity, (not in terms of territoriality so much but ontology). I want to discuss the 'challenges' (or the problems) of developing cultural strategy for the economic development of the whole city

In Europe many cities are at a cross-roads: broadly speaking, Eastern Europe was until recently basing its urban development on Western European urban regeneration. Now

the West is in economic trouble. In Western Europe we are tackling the 'reindustrialisation' problem, whereby costs in East Asia have sufficiently risen for the West to reconsider the role of manufacturing and even heavy industry. The West remains reliant upon the supremacy of its information infrastructure and technological-scientific innovation. There is little doubt that Western cities have developed extraordinary capabilities, but their development – in the words of urban scholars Doreen Massey and John Allen – is (still) 'uneven' (Massey, D. and Allen, J., 1988). The spheres of economy, society and culture in European cities are disconnected, or to use a spatial metaphor, dislocated.

What immediate challenges then do we face, and how are European city governments developing cultural strategy as a means of apprehending these challenges? The published research on this subject is slight: I will start with challenges for the researcher of city culture, then move on to the challenges for city cultural strategy itself.

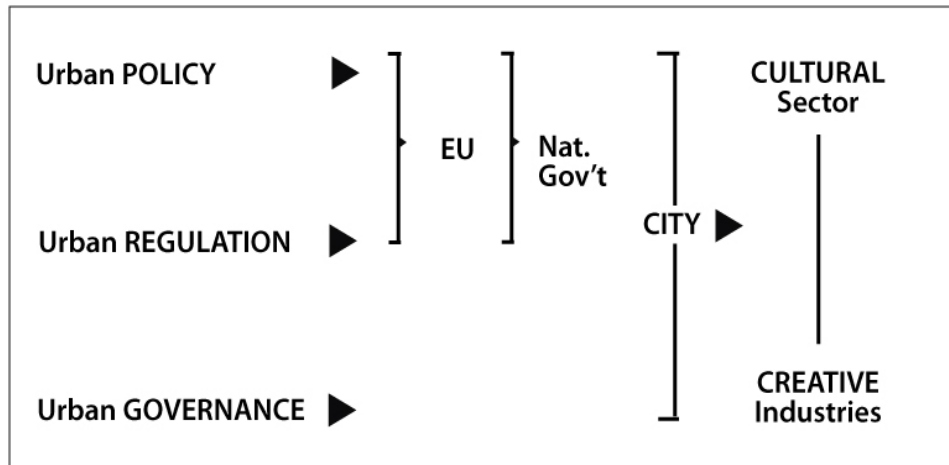
The first challenge is the lack of research on the relation between the organizational field of cultural institutions or established civic culture, and the urban culture of the city more generally. The term 'cultural policy' as a term is misleading in that the object of 'policy' is not so much culture but civic institutions and organizations. For European cities, culture invariably means three things – heritage, the established arts, and event administration (festivals, and so on.). All too often the cultural policy of a city consists of a list of institutions and organizations that require annual funding; city cultural policy is often reduced to budget management. This framework was usually constructed after the Second World War as part of the reconstruction of the nation state, whereby the arts and culture became part of a civic bureaucracy and institutionalised within the apparatus of city government.

There are many dimensions of urban culture that are not recognized by cultural policy, such as faith groups, social or political activism or alternative communities, and of course the so-called creative industries. These can be centres of profound cultural production and creativity [*slides*]. The creative industries, which have emerged since the 1970s (largely from the entertainment industry, later inflected by the rise of the art markets in the 1980s and then exploded with the 'microchip revolution of the 1990s) has inspired broader policy terms like 'creative economy'. For some cities, cultural policy has been re-positioned within a broader creative economy policy; for others, the creative

economy belongs to a different policy field, and the arts remain separate. My main point here is that 'artistic culture' remains separate as a means of preserving its historical autonomy (for reasons we all know), but at the same time faces marginalization from the policies and processes of real economic development. The art world, for instance, is often referred to as a creative 'silo'.

The second challenge is terminology: what is 'cultural strategy'? Sometimes city officials refer to 'cultural strategy' as a policy or plan or just a directive from the city government. I will use it to refer to an 'instigation for specific action' proceeding from a policy: strategies are specific actions flowing from an interpretation of policy, referring to a specific objective for a specific art or cultural organisation. It is relative, of course, as there is no one model of city government in Europe, and in any case, even similar forms of city government function differently depending on the networks of interests and specific economic challenges that face the city. While policies can be generic and look similar from country to country, strategy is quite specific and not something set or fixed. It emerges from a network of actors in a process of 'governance', and governance is invariably where policy is discharged by a multiple of agents. The composition of the agents is usually as political as the ideological basis of the policy. Some may be public, others private (like a private agency contracted to build a theatre, or even an artists commissioned to provide an art work for a public space).

Our third challenge is *process*: in the city authorities I have encountered in my research so far (Birmingham, Amsterdam, Helsinki, Barcelona, Genova), there is a distinction within city government between the levels of policy, regulation and governance, which are critical for our understanding of the research problems at hand:



To recap on the terminology, (in case you are not familiar with it), think of policy as the ‘direction’, regulation as the legal framework (Rights; Health and Safety; Disability; etc.) and governance is the practice of organization and management. Strategy thus emerges from policy (as an interpretation), is framed by regulations, then managed by ‘governance’. This may be a fact – but for many people with the power to act in the cultural realm, it is purely academic.

It is all too obvious when a policy has no real strategic application; it loses its sense of its social conditions of possibility. To give you two notable examples from my own country: the Millennium Dome cost around £789 million, and began as a site of millennium celebration, ostensibly to spearhead social regeneration of this post-industrial site next to Greenwich on the river Thames. As a policy it seemed adventurous, legitimate and architecturally inventive. It had no strategic objectives beyond its initial function, and generated a series of management scandals that generated national political consternation. A lesser example is one more local to my university, ironically called The Public (West Bromwich, West Midlands). Its total costs are unknown, but estimated to be around £6million. Again, it was generated by admirable policy aims of giving the degraded community a site for contemporary public culture; but without defined strategy objectives failed to deliver and failed to sustain an active public for its culture. [slides]

These two examples were, in reality, very complicated affairs; they became complicated the moment their patrons realized they had no strategy. I show them here as examples of a failure to generate strategy out of broader policy aims – where both assumed that if the

policy aims were appropriate then strategy would emerge in the process of implementation. It did not. Both these impressive architectural achievements remain to this day without any significant (or sustainable) cultural function.

The 'urban regeneration' dimension to this is significant. Despite the massive productivity and intellectual veracity of contemporary arts and cultural creativity since the 1960s, it was only the rapid urban growth under successive urban renewal projects that the cultural field expanded to what it is today. Urban regeneration was not a wholly national or local activity, but had a broader conceptual framework, notably the European Union urban framework (the European Spatial Development Perspective or ESDP) with its many projects like INTERREG and URBAN). Along with the EU's regional policy and structural funding (through the European Regional Development Fund) the changes in the urban environment effected greater change than any actual change in the nature of cultural production. [*slides*].

Changes in the urban environment are, of course, complex and difficult for cultural producers to negotiate, particularly artists, and at the same time present opportunities. The inclusion of sustainability measures, design quality indicators, well-being and other socially-orientated clauses in public works contracts (however vague, politically motivated and often ignored) offer, at least in principle, ethical imperatives for artists to exploit. Last year I visited a housing project north east of Helsinki called Arabianranta. It is a post-industrial site, previously of the Arabia ceramics factory. I met with an art consultant who decided upon an activist orientation towards the commissioning authorities in the City of Helsinki and the construction company. Using a carefully phrased set of propositions, she persuaded the City to allow her to hold discussions with both the company and the architects, finally working to develop a collaborative situation with artists. The city has a good cultural policy – but no specific policy for culture on housing (few cities do) [*slides*]. In Arabianranta, the artists set about questioning the meaning and practice of social sustainability and community well-being, asking how residents would use the provided space from day to day, how they would feel 'at home' or how community could develop. They worked with residents to develop a narrative of this space, setting up a dialogue between the residents and their emerging habitation, generating a sense of time, history, meaning [*slides*].

Artists are useful for asking the 'obvious' and general questions routinely ignored by

policymakers and practitioners alike, questions like ‘what’s this place about?’ Cities need a sense of what it is, what it’s for, who it’s for, where it’s going: these are strategy questions. And this is the argument of a fellow countryman of yours, Krzysztof Nawratek (professor of Architecture at Plymouth University, from Łódź). In his recent book, *Holes in the Whole*, he states:

‘.....Even growing cities are mostly unable to exercise power over themselves. Spaces Controlled by global corporations, the State (military sites, roads, railways) and natural Reserves protected by international agreement (such as European Union areas protected by Program Natura 2000) are beyond the control of the city authorities. I would then risk the thesis that contrary to the optimists that see a bright future in cities, one can have doubts whether they are necessary at all. This doubt stems from the fact that in contrast to fortified cities, market towns and even cities from the industrial era, cities today do not seem necessary at all’ (Nawratek, 2012: 3).

Perhaps cities are not ‘necessary’, but they have historically become compelling. The European city in the last two hundred years generated profound social interactions (like class solidarities; religious or political movements; immigration and multi-ethnicities), which later impacted the globe; the city was and still is a vehicle for cultural modernity (values, arts forms), and remains the site of the highest concentrations of capital investment. Even in the fluid landscape of business flows, virtual money and remote communications, where corporations have a choice they still choose expensive corporate space in key cities.

But Nawratek’s implied point is that cities across Europe are failing to define their mission as cities – what they are *as a city*. They are acting as platforms for shifts in capital or objects of routine policy implementation, without exercising agency or resistance or using their engagement with global capital for a greater vision. Our need for a city vision has been eclipsed by so many seductive brand campaigns, where brand promises to be the mechanism of values and the expression of ‘essence’ and yet invariably reduces the city to the sum of its facilities. Again, artists can play a role in this ‘visioning’ activity, but are rarely given one.

[slides] Eastside Projects is an ‘artist-run gallery’ in an industrial region called ‘Eastside’

in Birmingham UK, and they maintain an intermittent dialogue with city of Birmingham policy makers through informal contact, seminars and publications. As an artist-run gallery it is largely concerned with curating exhibitions and events – but these activities form part of an ongoing dialogue on the space of Eastside as an urban space under policy construction. Each exhibition and visiting artist is another stage in the exploration of the politics and social meaning of the space.

Another theme of Eastside's artistic research is the demarcation between 'public' and 'private' within the city: what is public culture? what is private culture? What is public art, What is private art? And what roles do each play in the evolving city? The distinction between public and private is of course the conceptual basis of public policy-making. Eastside hold events that feature the latest forms of street and urban culture, music and dance, performance and design. They register in 'real-time' the changing nature of urban community, particularly the street culture of younger people. Eastside is therefore a space where the city finds a dimension of self-reflexivity in its self- understanding and develop a 'sense of itself'. Data sets, brand research or performance measures do not tell you what a city is, or can be.

Without a capacity for such reflexivity, the city can be prone to all kinds of seduction. East Asia is currently the most innovative arena for architecture and urban design, Singapore's Marina Bay Sands a good example of a seductive model or urban design. Across Europe the seduction of this 'millionaire's paradise' is all too evident. There is always the temptation to shift the burden of local taxation on the long term local residents and away from newly arrived business property developers and their clientele. In relation to this phenomenon I will briefly refer to two examples, the first is the now well-known case of *Baltimore's Inner Harbor Project* in the USA in the 1980s. The theory is simple and still persuasive: the city hands over certain powers that should (and do) belong to public agencies, over to specialist agencies who develop an urban space that places the most dynamic wealth creation mechanisms at its centre. Around this, the strategy goes, they develop facilities that 'feed' that centre. This invariably creates an hermetic and simplistic model of an urban economy, where for example, the central core is business, culture and entertainment, surrounded by retail and hospitality (shops, restaurants and hotels), in turn surrounded by luxury apartments and parking (that part pay for the development); then we find larger houses or further boutique office enclosures enveloping the area, before we arrive at the pre-existing expanse of the city itself.

Considering a well-known study published in 1990, Richard C. Hula observed how this seemingly effective economic development was deceiving (Hula, 1990). One segment of a city making extraordinary profit and attracting people with surplus wealth does not equate to the 'economic development' of a city. Observations were made in this study that still stand as essential questions on the nature of economic development, starting with the fact that short term financial investments based on a return generated or dominated by retail does not amount to a substantial contribution to the growing industry of a city. As an urban space given over to consumption, the potential of the space to develop socially or culturally was remarkably small. The local workers employed were for the most part low paid, and the kind of work did not develop a skills set or career prospects. Ownership and profit is often contained in investors from outside the city. Poverty and unemployment in the city can be exacerbated if public funds are diverted into support for the new development and local taxation fell. The 'zoned' nature of the space protected the space against competition and ironically provided disincentives for businesses to grow or change.

Across Europe, a similar approach to the Baltimore phenomenon was adopted, becoming widespread in the 1990s. This invariably involved public-private partnerships (where policy powers are devolved to independent specialist entities, like property developers), direct-funding of environmental conditions for new business (facilities, or new transport, for example), tax incentives (low corporation tax; tax deductions for hiring local workers), training and internships, involving low cost or free labour, and international collaborations between city business and foreign investors (for FDI).

My second example of this common urban regeneration strategy is the Bullring Birmingham. The new construction of 2003 transformed the 1964 shopping centre. However, as an extension of the city centre's public space it was deceiving, and when opened, held surprises for many. The space, while visibly co-extensive with the traditional civic causeways of the 'city centre' high streets, is in fact *private*, and where the force of private legal rights can always be enforced. As countless people discovered (including lecturers like myself entering the newly opened space with a dozen students on a field trip exercise) any form of group interaction (any social, political or religious congregation) is prohibited in the Bullring space. Letters requesting permission can now

be submitted, but the fact was that this most central and frequented part of the city was no longer under the immediate jurisdiction of the city itself.

With initial reference to Coventry, I want to outline three major discursive influences on city government throughout Europe, each of which have generated variations on the 'Baltimore theme'. Coventry, as you may now, was the first city to be bombed, and quite devastated, and subsequently the place of the most radical urban redesign. City council architect and planner Donald Gibson, influenced by international modernism and its critique of the 19th century Industrial city, revolutionised the plans for the city's urban infrastructure. He determined the following (though many of his ideas and plans were not carried out): Industry was moved out of the city and placed in designated parks. So was private housing. The city Centre was pedestrianised: the priority of access and mobility was the city's inhabitants, not traffic or even buildings. Architectural design was not invested wholly in buildings but equally in landscape, social interaction and visibility (such as light, leisure spaces and space for children). The main road around the city was raised off the ground – pushing noise and pollution upwards; and cars were parked on the roofs of buildings – leaving ground space free. The new pedestrianised 'public' city did not disfavor industry and business; rather it created a new civic ethos of innovation, where industry remained clustered around the city, without despoiling it (Triumph motorcycles being one great example). [*slides*].

The vision of a people-centred city design is still influential across Europe today. It emerged in the UK in Richard (Lord) Rogers' now famous Urban Task Force report of 2000, and earlier in Mayor Pasqual Maragall's reconstruction of Barcelona's waterfront and parts of El Raval. It is most obviously present in the research, reports, books, articles and films of Danish architect, professor and city design consultant Jan Gehl. His 1971 book (and later film) *Life between Buildings* is a poetic and persuasive petition for us to look at the micro-environments that make for social habitation and interaction (with each other, with space, physical structures, nature and light) and understand the city as an expanse of co-extensive micro-environments (his ideas bear obvious resonance with broader movements of New Urbanism and so-called New Pedestrianism). For Gehl, open public space and pedestrian movement is the fulcrum around which the city is developed. The central concern is on health and social well-being, ostensibly where 'lived life' promotes an industrious and energetic populace. Industry is left for development zones outside the city, unless they are SMEs or offices and can fit in with small human-scale

design of the inner city.

I find his vision wonderful – but it also evades the issue. The issue, as is clearly seen from the shrinking cities of eastern Germany (and the current problems of the city of Amsterdam) is that a city needs a more diverse, less restrained economy. Cities are spaces of employment, production and labour markets, as well as spaces of social interaction, consumption, habitation and culture. While I will come to Richard Florida's creative class theory in a moment, it is worth quoting his study of Western Europe's creative economy from 2004, called *Europe in the Creative Age* (DEMOS, 2004: with Irene Tinagli) he pointed out that most cities in southern Europe have small creative economies. The reasons for this include the high entry barriers in tax and start-up costs and the inflexibility of State bureaucracy. What Florida did not go far enough in identifying was the extent of State grip on the space of the city, and how a younger generation could not harness the energy of the city for new creative enterprise. However, in Jan Gehl's vision of a 'public city', city planners and government retain an inordinate level of control over the space of the city.

In European cities today, we have an urgent need to re-think the economy and its relation to urban space and the infrastructure that develops through that space. In the last few decades, even Eastern Europe has faced a contraction and hybridization of basic manufacturing capacity and labour, a new division of labour, mostly geared towards services; an expansion of the corporate office complex and suburban employment centres, and pervasive new technologies interconnected with global markets. This is the world of the so-called 'New Economic Growth Theory', popularized by three books that made it to the NY best seller lists – Pine and Gilmore's *The Experience Economy* (1999), David Brooks' *Bobos in Paradise* (2000), and Anderson and Ray's *The Cultural Creatives* (2000). New Economic Growth Theory broadly revolves around the idea that the de-industrialisation of the West has created an economy of intangible wealth, invested mainly in human resources or its people. Particularly educated and talented people are the fount of the 'knowledge economy', where industrial development for advanced nations is generated by its capacity for ideas, design, strategic planning, communications and management of innovation processes.

Apart from Gehl, across the European policy landscape there are two other influential figures that develop a strong vision for city development in this context, Richard Florida

being one, and of course Charles Landry the other. In my travels, almost every city policy maker I have talked to is influenced to some degree by Landry and Florida. Charles Landry, once a junior European Union policy maker, now the arguably most successful consultant on city development in the world, emerged through the world of Urban Regeneration in the UK, the examples I started with. Hard, inflexible bureaucratic structures were Charles Landry's target. His now famous book *The Creative City: toolkit for urban innovators* (2000; first published in shorter form in 1995), was that it was full of urban regeneration ideas (most of the 'toolkit'), but on top of that were some big ideas for city government. What was missing in many a city, in Landry's view, was a creative strategy *both* to tackle intractable problems as well as inspire a broad vision for a city's future.

How does a city develop as a *creative city*? Landry's toolkit demanded certain 'preconditions' for a city: these included (in short): (i) Leadership and political will; (ii) Creativity and intellectual openness (in both organisational structures as well as organizational cultures); and (iii) a 'creative milieu' (a critical mass of policy thinkers, artists, intellectuals, and other people open to a city-wide dialogue on change and creativity). Landry was the first in Europe to use the term 'cultural strategy', and everywhere we find 'creative city' strategy, now pioneered by British Council consultancy and the UNESCO creative city network. However, there emerged two major problems with Landry's cultural strategy: first, the motive and even policy was often in place, but the city lacked the kinds of governance required to implement it; and second, departmental responsibility for implementation within city government was often compromised, sometimes by a lack of political weight sometimes a clear lack of management skills.

This in part is why in the UK we often produced remarkable cultural components or creative aspects of a creative city (all the examples of Urban Regeneration I cited before) but with no real systematic creative strategy for the whole city. It was possible to take a few tools from Landry's 'toolkit' yet leave the demands of strategy behind. [slides]. Comparing Landry with Florida in the context of European policy-making, Florida is probably by far the most influential within strategy thinking. My view is that this is because Florida's ideas make little demand on the politics of the city: there is no emphatic public dimension, nor reason for city government to extend cultural democracy into urban development. There is indeed a recipe for developing creative, new

technology and media business in appointed segments of the city. Florida's concept of the 'creative class' has been appropriated effectively within these limits, and moreover of late have retained a relevance to new ideas like so-called Smart City, Science City, and Media City.

Furthermore, the New Economic Growth Theory on which Florida's ideas are built is now taken largely as a matter of fact by European policy makers. Florida's groundbreaking book of 2002, *The Creative Class*, actually emerged from the application of some older economic ideas, notably the Endogenous Growth Theory of Paul Romer, developed at Stanford University in the 1990s. This framework held that economic growth is largely determined by factors 'internal' to the mechanisms of growth, and that these factors are human and social, such as knowledge, interaction and innovation. Florida combined this with the older 'cluster' theory, popularised by Harvard Business School's Michael Porter in his notable essay 'The Competitive Advantage of Nations' of 1990, where organisational evolution takes place more effectively and efficiently when similar companies or businesses share the same urban space (Porter, 1990). Florida's Creative Class book this constructed a set of policy-friendly principles addressed to a broad audience. These could be defined as follows: (i) Economic growth is at the heart of both social and cultural development; (ii) The conditions of economic growth are social and cultural: (a socially and culturally creative environment – the 3 'T's, Florida called them: *technology; talent; tolerance.*); (iii) The energy of economic growth is *creativity*; (iv) Creativity is not, in fact, essentially art; it is the experimental processes of science, technology and engineering; (v) New growth economies are city-based, with agglomerations of like-minded, open minded, innovative companies and their workers; (vi) The new model worker is the young, educated, flexible and mobile. And they are members of a new social 'class', formative of national economic development generally.

In another book, *Cities and the Creative Class* (2005), Florida reiterated his theory more explicitly in the context of urban economy. To get a Creative City, city governments should concentrate on providing the right environment for the creative class to grow and flourish, which he called the 'creative ecosystem'. This can arguably be witnessed all around Europe today, where city governments are abandoning the possibility of a creative vision for the whole of the city, and constructing a more limited sphere of a creative quarters or centre. For me, it is an updated version of the old Urban Regeneration. Of course, it has given rise to some very impressive projects: here are

there examples: [Slides] *Birmingham Big City Plan*: mixing the magic ingredients of transportation, information and networked spaces, spectacular landmarks, global brands and luxury apartments. [Slides] *Hamburg HafenCity*: the biggest port conversion in Europe, aiming to house 40,000 workers in creative and technology industries, as well as set up a new university specialising in Urban design, Planning and Architecture. [Slides] *22@Barcelona*: ‘to turn Poblenou into an important scientific, technologic and cultural platform’; realise ‘real estate potential’; facilitates the interrelation among different professionals’ [quoting from their website].

These urban development projects are impressive enterprises, but they do not address the condition of the city itself. The Creative City is, in effect, compressed and made over into a hothouse for commerce. Furthermore, they are also in danger of creating conditions for a new kind of social class system, where the prestige of certain kinds of education, qualifications and networks became dominant and closed to incomers. This class is dependent on existing corporate and state-backed cultural and media organisations (funding councils; State media), as well as being heavily reliant on market media communications – brand, celebrity and advertising. In effect, as Stefan Krätke has pointed out, the ‘creative class quarter’ model of creative city strategy denigrates the role of public policy, and asserts that urban economic development is primarily in line with the broader accumulation of capital in the global economy. [slide]

As an alternative example to this phenomena, I want to present a counter-example: the city of Genova, and the District of La Maddalena. Recently – as part of the CreArt project – I have discovered alternative forms of city development, initiated by the municipal cultural departments in relation with planning and economic development officials. The objectives of the Municipality of Genova did not require that they devolve strategy development to an urban regeneration agency, but, as a public agency, the department for cultural policy set up a research investigation into the practices of other countries and other cities. They then set about undertaking advocacy, constructing a lexicon of policy terms for creative city development and inserting them into their broader dialogue with other parts of the city and city government. This dialogue created a cross-departmental investment in creativity, whereby the arts/cultural sector and Creative industries (including media) were included. [slides]

They joined two EU sponsored capacity-building groups, from which they were able to devise strategy plans and input cases and empirical evidence; their web portal provided an interconnection with the cultural and creative sector actors of the city, from which small events and meetings were arranged; major cultural agencies, like the historical museum the Palazzo Ducale and the FIIT [Foundation Italian Institute of Technology] were motivated and enfranchised; official recognition was awarded to a segment of the city under urban regeneration, whereby the regeneration would be defined in terms of the economy of the whole city (i.e. not a limited range of networked stakeholders). Lastly (not first) was the construction of a brand and marketing strategy, whereby the project could be communicated and represented internationally.

Of course, there remain challenges. I could identify three from my discussions with the writer of *Creative Genova*. The strategic tools that should unite economic development with urban development are still lacking. Too many city policy makers understand 'the economy' in terms of income-generating businesses and as a discrete set of issues. Moreover, the project exists through large public funding commitments, and is in danger of creating a 'false economy' without a genuine ROI. Within this economy, the creative industries and cultural sector are in danger of remaining two distinct spheres of interest, and the usual networks and forms of patronage could remain. And yet, I think Genova is heading in the right direction.

My concluding section concerns two examples closer to home, and where culture is used to generate strategy in a limited part of the city, without massive consistent public funding, and which has implications for the whole city. We may call it urban or cultural entrepreneurship, as it is both culture and enterprise, where both are essentially 'private' initiatives with profound cultural impact.

[slides] The first is the Custard Factory Birmingham: This 5-acre site of riverside factories was built 100 years ago by Sir Alfred Bird, the inventor of the peculiar concoction of custard. But by the early 1980s the factory fell derelict, but the City did not have the money to renovate it, nor the strategy. In 1992, a private businessman, Benny Gray, was aware of the city's current urban regeneration models and thought them to be unfortunately favouring high-cost, large-scale development. With a view to cultivating small business opportunities, he applied for a modest £2000 grant under the existing

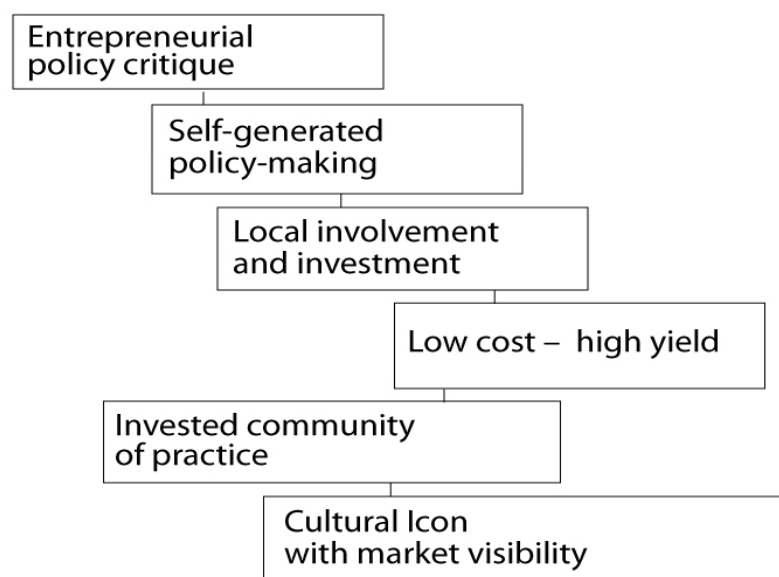
urban regeneration budget, and purchased the buildings. He became inspired by the creative potential of the site, and engineered a distinctive vision for the integration of enterprise and culture, later rationalised with his association *SPACE: Society for the Promotion of Artistic and Creative Enterprise*. Within the Custard factory complex there were 1000 units that have been made habitable, by minimal renovation; charging rates that allow for income levels and renovation costs, the entire project operated according to an internal economy of capital generation, with a long term sustainable view. One interesting dimension of the Custard Factory's evolution is that, initially at least, the combination of the occupants ensuring a synergy, enterprise sub-culture, intelligence-sharing, and favourable conditions for start-ups or public projects.

The Custard Factory site became a cultural fulcrum, not just accommodation of office space. It build seminar rooms, an auditorium and cafe for public use, along with a nightclub and concert space, with private functions in the summer. It does not need a commercial brand or marketing, as its cultural function in the city has generated successive images in the internet and public sphere. It evades the 'private-public' dichotomy that troubles all regeneration projects; it inspires commitment from its users, and interest in investors. These components are perhaps common today; but

[slides] My second example is the Stokes Croft area of the city of Bristol. In the past, small segments of the city of Amsterdam, Berlin, Ljubljana, famously became 'taken over' by cultural producers, squatters and alternative communities, sometimes, as in Ljubljana, called 'Autonomous Culture Zones'. They were secretly envied by cultural policy makers, who could never seem to harness this creative energy, or make compelling art and social life come together like this. Here in Bristol UK emerged a small pocket of resistance by mainly younger residents, opposing the commercialization and gentrification that has become norm in many a city residential area. The residents (with friends and supporters) decided to construct their own organized cultural enterprises: they now have a small museum, shops, design and craft making facilities, and have re-designated the area the *The People's Republic of Stokes Croft*.

Whatever the outdated utopian motives that may have been at work in Stokes Croft, it is indicative of a compelling phenomenon in critical tension with mainstream cultural strategy in the city. The residents became aware of and responsive to policy trends and their socio-economic impacts. They resisted the plans for the area, devised their own

alternative local plan, and resisted by public protest and community mobilization the policy-direction that would result in the rise of property values and dispersal of community. Their own strategy centred around cultural production, housing and social needs, and around those set of concerns they set about developing local enterprises. Stokes Croft is a place for experimental design and community 'self-management'. It has also become a brand – not a commercial brand (though they do retail both online, and in shops), but a form of representation that inspires a sense of identity and participation in a local public sphere.



For me, these two examples point towards a strategic approach that needs to be considered by city governments: the Custard Factory concerns culture and business, Stoke's Croft concerns the relation between culture and community. Both were privately initiated as acts of critique of current policy approaches: my model then comprises entrepreneurial critique of current policy frameworks; self-generated policy-making (the first of which was entirely in harmony with and supported by local policy); demands for local involvement and investment: both driven by young people with low-chances of employment; financially low-cost yet high yield in terms of returns; an invested community of practice – working or living there develops one's skills and knowledge. Lastly, they are both something that practitioners can believe in: they generates their own 'cultural icon' brand that has market impact. But their impact on the urban culture of the city is significant. We can learn something from these examples.

References and Bibliography

- Anheier, H. and Isar, Y.R. (2012) *Cultures and Globalization: Cities, Cultural Policy and Governance*, London: Sage.
- Brooks, D. (2000) *Bobos in Paradise: The New Upper Class and How They Got There*, New York: Touchstone.
- Cooke, P. and Lazzeretti, L. eds. (2008) *Creative Cities, Cultural Clusters and Local Economic Development*, Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.
- Corijn, E. (2009) 'Urbanity as a Political Project: Towards Post-national European Cities', in Kong, L. and O'Connor, J. eds. *Creative Economies, Creative Cities*, London: Springer: 197-206.
- Council of Europe (1997) *From The Margins: A contribution to the debate on Culture and Development in Europe*, COE Strasbourg: European Task Force on Culture and Development.
- DCMS (1998/2001) *Creative Industries Mapping Document*, London: Department of Culture, Media and Sport / Stationery Office.
- Department of Culture, Media and Sport (2004) *Culture at the Heart of Regeneration*, London: DCMS/ Stationery Office.
- Drucker, P. (1993) *Post-Capitalist Society*, Oxford: Butterworth Heinemann.
- Edensor, T., Leslie, D., Millington, S. and Rantisi, N.M. eds. (2010) *Spaces of Vernacular Creativity: rethinking the cultural economy*, London: Routledge.
- Florida, R. (2002) *The Rise of the Creative Class — and how it is transforming leisure, community and everyday life*, New York: Basic Books.
- Florida, R. and Tinagli, I. (2004) *Europe in the Creative Age* London: DEMOS.
- Florida, R. (2005) *Cities and the Creative Class*, New York: Routledge.
- Føllesdal, A. and Koslowski, P. eds. (1998) *Democracy and the European Union*, Berlin: Springer.
- Gehl, J. (1987) *Life between Buildings*, New York: Von Nostrand Reinhold (originally published by Arkitektens Forlag, Denmark, in 1971).
- Gehl, J. (2010) *Cities for People*, Island Press.
- Grodach, C. and Silver, D. (2012) *The Politics of Urban Cultural Policy*, New York and London: Routledge.
- Hula, R.C. (1990) 'The Two Baltimores', Judd, D. and Parkinson, M. eds. *Leadership and Urban Renewal*, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Hutton, T. (2008) *The New Economy of the Inner City: restructuring, regeneration, dislocation in the twenty-first century metropolis*, London: Routledge.
- Howkins, J. (2001) *The Creative Economy: How people make money from ideas*, London: Penguin.
- Kaufmann, T. and Raunig, G. (2002) 'Anticipating European Cultural Policies': *Europäisches Institut für Progressive Kulturpolitik*: <http://eipcp.net/policies/aecp/kaufmannraunig/en> (accessed 24/01/13)
- Krätke, S. (2011) *The Creative Capital of Cities. Interactive Knowledge Creation and the Urbanization Economies of Innovation*, Malden and Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Landry, C. (2009) *The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators*, London: Comedia/Earthscan.
- Leadbeater, C. and Oakley, K. (1999) *The Independents: Britain's new cultural entrepreneur*, London: DEMOS.
- Massey, D. and Allen, J. eds, (1988) *Uneven Re-Development: Cities and Regions in Transition*, Open University.
- Mokre, M. (2006) 'European Cultural Policies and European Democracy', *Europäisches Institut für Progressive Kulturpolitik*: <http://eipcp.net/policies/dpie/mokre/en> (accessed 24/01/13)
- Municipality of Genoa (Cultural Policy Office) (2012) *Creative Genoa*, Genova: Commune Di Genova.
- Nawratek, K. (2012) *Holes in the Whole: Introduction to Urban Revolutions*, Winchester/Washington: Zer0 Books.
- OECD (2005) *Culture and Local Development*, Paris: OECD.
- Pine, J. and Gilmore, J. (1999) *The Experience Economy*, Boston: Harvard Business School Press.
- Porter, M. E. (1990) 'The Competitive Advantage of Nations', *Harvard Business Review* 68, no. 2 (March–April): 137-145.
- Porter, M. E. (1998) 'Clusters and the New Economics of Competition', *Harvard Business Review* (Nov–Dec): 77-90.
- Pratt, A. C. (2009) 'Policy Transfer and the field of the cultural and creative industries: Learning from Europe?' In Kong, L. and O'Connor, J. eds. (2009) *Creative Economies, Creative Cities*, London: Springer: 9-23.
- Ray, P. H., Anderson, S.R. (2000) *The Cultural Creatives: How 50 Million People Are Changing the World*, New York: Harmony.
- Rooney, D., Hearn, G., Mandeville, T., & Joseph, R. (2003) *Public Policy in Knowledge-Based Economies: Foundations and Frameworks*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

- Scott, A.J. (2000) *The Cultural Economy of Cities: Essays on the Geography of Imageproducing Industries*, London: Sage.
- Shore, C. (2000) *Building Europe: The Cultural Politics of European Integration*, London: Routledge.
- UNCTAD (2010) *The Creative Economy Report 2012*, Geneva: UN.

Websites:

- CreArt Network: <http://www.creat-eu.org>
- World Cities Culture Forum: <http://www.worldcitiesculturereport.com>
- Eastside Projects: <http://www.eastsideprojects.org/>
- Birmingham Big City Plan: <http://bigcityplan.birmingham.gov.uk>
- @22Barcelona: <http://www.22barcelona.com/index.php?lang=en>
- Hamburg Hafencity: <http://www.hafencity.com/en/home.html>
- Custard Factory Birmingham: <http://www.custardfactory.co.uk>
- People's Republic of Stoke's Croft: <http://www.prsc.org.uk>
- UNESCO Creative Cities Network: <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/creativity/creative-industries/creative-cities-network>