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# CULTURAL PLANNING

Center for Urbanism

The Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts

School of Architecture



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## **Cultural Planning**

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## Foreword

by Jens Kvorning

The Centre for Urbanism focuses on forms of planning and planning strategies which under processes of globalization and de-industrialization promote relevant urban transformation processes. From that perspective, cultural planning emerges as an area of particular interest.

Cities and culture have always been connected. In the last twenty years, in the light of globalization and the network society, a lot has been said about culturally based development strategies and culturally based planning, and there is a rich body of literature which discusses that phenomenon both on a theoretical level and in connection with planning practice.

But to link culture and planning directly and instrumentally as it is done through the concept of cultural planning raises a number of questions. Can we plan for culture? We probably can, but do we not move along a tendentious and authoritarian road if we attempt to do so? Should we understand cultural planning as a practical initiative, which promotes the coordination of planned

cultural events? If this is what the concept cultural planning is about, then it is relegated to a peripheral – if not uninteresting – position in relation to the planning strategies which can promote positive interventions in the network city.

In England, cultural planning has gained a particular meaning and has been associated with a practice which is by and large about a frontal attack on the planning approach initiated by the Thatcher Government in the beginning of the 1980s. A number of traditional planning tools were removed and cities were left with reduced means to control local development. Cultural planning emerged as a form of resistance to this situation – or to put it in a less dramatic way, as the result of a search for possible operational initiatives in the absence of planning tools. The term cultural planning thus covers diverse types of approach and practice.

The type of thinking which really makes cultural planning interesting in relation to urban transformation strategies is that which

introduces the requirement, that all decision-making concerning planning be discussed and examined in the light of their cultural impacts. Through this formulation, which has been put forward by Franco Bianchini, a meaningful link can be made between culture and planning.

Franco Bianchini has in the last 20 years been a constant and curious observer of cultural planning and one who has attempted to theorise and problematise that phenomenon from his position as a university professor and consultant.

Paul Collard is a practitioner with a solid theoretical basis, who through his long carrier in the field of culture management, has implemented a very interesting strategy in the process of transformation of Newcastle-Gateshead – notably in the self-understanding of the region – from the epitome of the industrial city to a post-industrial city.

Trevor Davies is the most experience cultural events planner

in Denmark. But he has also through his education and his approach to cobbling events with urban development strategies placed himself in the hyphen of cultural-planning.

The present publication is based on a transcription of video recordings of the conference Cultural Planning. This has given a particular character to these proceedings, which we hope will make them more accessible and readable.

The compilation of the present volume has been done by Katrine Østergaard assisted by Bo Grönlund and Gustavo Ribeiro

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Jens Kvorning



## The Cultural Turn in Contemporary Urban Planning

by Martin Zerlang

Culture has become a keyword in contemporary urban planning. Most big cities and many smaller towns have invested considerable amounts of energy and money in cultural institutions such as museums, concert halls and libraries as well as in cultural events such as parades, jazz festivals and drama weeks. Just a few decades ago art museums belonged to the culture of the elite, but today museums have become mass media, and politicians use culture to further the cause of their cities. But why has culture become so important in contemporary urban planning? The concept of culture which was shaped in the 19th century quickly developed in two directions. To some culture was high culture, that is: art, ideas, literature, music, or to use a famous expression by Matthew Arnold, 'the best that has been thought and said'. To others culture was common culture that is customs, beliefs and practices of a people, or to use a famous expression by E.B. Tylor 'a whole way of life'. Common to both definitions is the importance of tradition – conscious tradition in culture as 'the best that has been thought and said' and unconscious tradition in culture as 'a whole way of life'.

The definition of culture which is implicit in the new concept of cultural planning differs from these old definitions in that culture no longer automatically associates with tradition. In fact, one may suggest that today attention to cultural matters has been determined by a revolution in our 'way of life'. The sociologist Anthony Giddens has described what he calls the 'disembodiedness' of modern life and he claims that this experience of being unable to rely on tradition has made 'reflexivity' the predominant attitude towards modern society. Culture and planning would be an odd couple in a society with stable values, but in an uprooted modern world it is only logical that culture becomes an object of reflection and planning.

The cultural turn of contemporary planning may be interpreted as an effect of a number of more or less concomitant tendencies of development. Most important among these are 1) deindustrialization, 2) globalization, 3) individualization, and 4) mass education.

As to the process of deindustrialisation, it is evident, that this is one of the most important forces behind the new emphasis



on culture in planning. If the experience of disembeddedness originated in the development of industrial society with its internal exodus from country to city and its external exodus from Europe to America, this experience has been repeated at a new level with the spectacular process of deindustrialisation. The American rust-belt and the German Ruhr District have undergone changes which have transfigured the whole industrial landscape into a picturesque landscape of ruins, and some of the ruins have become converted into new functions, playgrounds, theme parks etc. Similarly the Docklands in London and the Harbour of Copenhagen have become areas of luxury and leisure. And if the old factories and industrial plants have not been demolished, they have been rebuilt into theatres, museums or the like.

Deindustrialisation is related to the process of globalization which must be considered as another powerful force behind the 'cultural turn'. Globalization has been defined by Anthony Giddens as 'the intensification of worldwide social relations that link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa'. More likely than not these 'localities' are cities rather than nations. Increasingly competition on the world market has shifted from competition between nations to competition between cities, and the individual cities try to catch international attention by building cultural institutions or shaping urban spaces according to the best principles of scenography. The annual nomination of a 'Cultural Capital of Europe' is another manifestation of this use of culture as a lever in the inter-urban competition.

Berlin after the fall of the wall is a spectacular example of globalization and cultural planning. Since 1989 Berlin has become a centre for the new discussion on how to build a modern global city. Christo's wrapping of the Reichstag put Berlin on the front pages – and prepared the way for Berlin's return to the status as the capital of Germany. And Philip Johnson's contribution to the rebuilding of Checkpoint Charlie into an American Business Centre prepared the way for a shift to a new economy without borders. A great event called 'Checkpoint Charlie meets Culture' served to make Checkpoint Charlie the most publicized building site in the New Berlin. If the old control post ensured a separation between the East and the West, the cultural varnish of the new Business Centre was intended to obliterate differ-

ences and facilitate exchanges in a global economy.

As a third force behind the focus on culture in urban planning, one must point at the process of individualization. Industrialism itself put a high prize on the individual, and the sociologists of industrial society tried to analyze what would hold the industrial society together if it was based on private property and the initiative of the individual. Émile Durkheim suggested that the 'mechanical solidarity' of the pre-modern society, where people acted and felt according to their status as peasants or artisans or merchants rather than as unique individuals, was followed by the 'organic solidarity' of the industrial society, where the division of labour would make the individual specialized and special, but at the same time dependent upon society. According to social position this organic solidarity would manifest itself in trade unions, in holding companies, in corporations and similar associations, and even though the individual would have 'a sphere of action that was specific to him, and in consequence a personality' (Lukes: 153), it is evident that each of the social classes would foster recognizable types of personality – a blue collar worker, a white collar worker, an industrialist, a bohemian etc. Thus, industrial culture produced a new stability in social and cultural patterns, and it was therefore no wonder, that people would be life time members of trade unions and other unions, they would support the same political party for decades, and as cultural consumers they would follow their class or social environment.

In what has been called postmodernist society but which perhaps is better characterized as the society of radical modernism, the shaping of the social ties has taken a new direction. The generation gap of the 1960s indicated that other factors than social belonging were having a growing impact on culture, and the invention of new media such as the Walkman, the mobile telephone, the video machine and the PC have carried this development to its extreme. The question of interests of course still forms the core of politics, but the search for identity has become an increasingly important part of modern or post-modern politics. The individual must develop a capacity for rapid readjustment to new professional as well as personal circumstances, and he must be able to negotiate his role in shifting contexts. Dealing with culture is a way of acquiring these skills - and finding an answer to the search for identity.

As to the question of education, it is evident that a high level of education is necessary if people in any significant numbers may benefit from exhibitions of art, film festivals, meta-fiction etc., and the take off of mass education in the 1960s certainly ensured one of the preconditions for the present cultural turn in politics and planning. It is possible that Daniel Bell exaggerates when talking about a shift from mass culture to a cultural mass, but the transformation of museums into mass media and operas into mass culture show that what once was high culture now has won a new public. This shift is also visible in the development of tourism, where so-called cultural tourism plays a growing role.

In the early 20th century American sociologists such as Robert Park, Ernest W. Burgess and Louis Wirth developed an ecological theory of the city, in which the growth of the city was treated in terms of its physical expansion and differentiation in space. The leading metaphor was the ring, and according to this theory the city would take the form of a series of concentric rings representing successive zones of urban extension. In the late 20th century a new metaphor became prominent in urban studies. The city was compared to a network or even a hypertext, and in his little book 'Les nouveaux principes de l'urbanisme' François Ascher gives the following explanation of this metaphor:

'Individuals move around, whether in the real world or in a virtual world, in distinct social universes, which they articulate individually in different configurations. They form a hypertext similar to the words which link an ensemble of digitalised texts. The hypertext is the procedure that allows that anyone by 'clicking' a word of the text to arrive at the same word in a series of other texts'. (Ascher: p.40, my translation)

Thus, if the characteristic personality profile of industrial society was an individual defined sequentially by different social 'zones', which were articulated spatially as the home, the work place, the business district etc., the personality profile most adequate for the informational society is a flexible individual able to articulate his belonging to different social 'texts' simultaneously.

Functionalist planning aimed at shaping the ideal city for 'industrial man'. In the old Charter of Athens from 1933, the ideology of functionalism saw the planner as a director or even a dictator capable of putting up total plans for urban development. As the

sovereign creator of a new world, a new man and a new spirit this planner would more or less ignore historical and natural context. The city was defined on the basis of its different functions, and the planner would serve each of these functions by separating the urban fabric into urban zones.

In 1998 a New Charter of Athens was published and here it was stated, that the planner was no longer 'a Grand Master' but 'an enabler and choreographer'. The utopian ambitions of the 1933 Charter are replaced by much more pragmatic points of view in the 1998 Charter, and the idea of planning social relations on the basis of a rational analysis of the city is replaced by the hope that cultural intervention may enhance the quality of urban life. To the 'Grand Master' the city dwellers were recipients who would benefit from his grandiose visions whereas the city dwellers of today are treated as participants by the planner.

Also in 1998 in UK an 'Urban Task Force' was formed by the Labour government, and headed by Sir Richard Rogers they published an impressive Report called Towards an Urban Renaissance. The idea of 'sustainable cities' and therefore the idea of an equilibrium between city and nature is central to this report, but it is also evident, that culture has an important part to play in their effort to create 'urban values' and in their assertion, that urban design is the key to successful urban regeneration.

To sum up, the cultural turn in contemporary planning reflects a number of interdependent developments. A new level of mass education has created a mass audience for culture in the sense of high achievements within Art and Science. A new focus on the individual in the informational society has created a demand for a personality structure characterized by flexibility and ability to make decisions, and culture in every sense of the word offers a kind of playing ground and school for this personality. The ruins of factories and industrial plants are more than ready for rebuilding into this 'playing ground and school'. And in combining this rebuilding with ambitious new buildings and urban structures capable of putting this or that 'locality' on the global map the planner has become an 'enabler' and a 'choreographer' who as a matter of course has to integrate the city dwellers in the planning of a city whose foremost values and tasks are: information, integration, identity.

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## Cultural Planning in Post-Industrial Societies

by Franco Bianchini

It is always interesting to see the level of interest that there is in the clashes of urban cultural planning and also cultural policy and urban development in Denmark and in the other Scandinavian countries and Finland.

I was asked to talk about the prominent role of culture in post-industrial societies and present an analysis of different forms and different generations of cultural planning and how they relate to societal structures and lastly present and evaluate different examples of cultural planning in practice. That is what I have to do, but I am not sure that I am going to do this exactly in this order, but I will try to address this, explaining for example that – what has already been mentioned by Jens and Martin in his introduction - Cultural Planning very much starts as an idea as a response to the problem of deindustrialisation of cities and of economic restructuring of cities. And it does not start in Britain and it does not start even in Australia which are often regarded as two countries to have invented the word Cultural Planning. The first references I have found to Cultural Plan-

ning come – like many other things – from the US. The first Ph.D. dissertation on Cultural Planning was written towards the late 1970s in a university in Los Angeles. The first mention in a book I have found is an article by an American journalist, Wolf von Eckardt, in 1980 where he talks about the need to adopt a more integrated approach to cultural policy and makes links between cultural policy and transport policy, town planning policies and so on. So much earlier than in Britain, in fact Britain and Australia start talking about the word Cultural Planning and this Integrated Cultural Planning Approach only towards 1988-1989. But let us see in terms of this particular history of Cultural Planning some issues to which it responds. In a way, you could say that in America in the late 1970s and in Britain in the late 1980s beginning of the 1990s, Cultural Planning is a response to certain problematic aspects of the use of cultural policy for urban regeneration, for urban economic development and for city marketing. In Australia the issue is slightly different. Cultural Planning is more linked with the debate on urban consolidation, so basically the actual transformation of rather amorphous ur-

ban areas into proper cities with city centres, with public spaces for interaction and so on. So it is a different debate perhaps in Australia. But I think in both certain parts of the US and Britain it is a response to a kind of dissatisfaction with a certain approach to using cultural policy in urban regeneration and to the limits of the approach. As you know already, basically, cultural policy in England shifted quite dramatically in the course of the 80s and early 90s from a kind of social model which was more focused on participation in culture by all citizens, a model which you know very well in Scandinavia, participation in cultural activities by all citizens to encourage their creative expression basically focused on social purposes. It shifted for a variety of reasons in 1980s to a more economic development oriented approach, which was used by a range of different cities not only in the United Kingdom but also in the rest of Europe.

**Impacts of 1980s Policies**

**- RELATIVELY MARGINAL IN JOB TERMS**

**- STRONG IN PHYSICAL REGENERATION TERMS (E.G. LIVERPOOL, BRADFORD)**

**- MOST IMPORTANT IN IMAGE TERMS, FOR ALL TYPES OF CITIES**

<b>DECLINING / OBSOLETE</b>	<b>REBORN LIVELY / MODERN</b>
<b>SLEEPY / PROVINCIAL</b>	<b>INNOVATIVE / COSMOPOLITAN</b>
<b>WEALTHY BUT CULTURALLY UNDERDEVELOPED</b>	<b>WEALTHY AND CULTURALLY SOPHISTICATED</b>

If you see here, the typology of how in the 1980s cultural policies were used by different cities, you can find that there is a category here of use, by cities like Glasgow, Liverpool etc.

The typology of uses of cultural policy in the 80s and early 90s so used by the cities depending on declining sectors of the economy like traditional manufacturing industry, ports, and trying to use cultural policy to attract tourists, to rebrand themselves as cities, to project a more favourable international image. More favourable in terms of attracting international investment and companies and so use culture as a location factor in declining traditional industrial cities. That is a long history as seen in the examples ranging from Rotterdam to Bilbao, going through Lille, Turin, Genoa and also of course Newcastle as well, as it probably fits into this category.

The second category is the use of quite innovative cultural activities including high-tech architecture and new media-related cultural activities by cities which have a problem in being regarded as rather sleepy and provincial, probably too small and not sufficiently dynamic. And that is that kind of example. That kind of category probably includes places like Rhine or Montpellier in France probably also Linz in Austria, with the importance of the Ars Electronica experimental Linz being quite successful, Cultzla in Germany could be another example, or Modena in Italy with the very successful philosophy-festival which has become a major cultural event in Italy, or Mantua again in Italy which is rapidly becoming a city of festivals starting from a very successful festival of literature and now developing a series of other festivals.

And then we have a third category of cities with considerable material wealth, but relatively culturally underdeveloped, places like Frankfurt which invested heavily in infrastructure and museums particularly in the 80s too, in a sense very much filling the gap between a very high economic status and relatively secondary provincial cultural status. So we have these types of policies relatively marginal up till now in terms of jobs, although we should find out because there are very important differences between cities, interesting in terms of physical regeneration and in terms of image, although again the impact in terms of image in cities varies a lot from city to city. But the points I want to make mainly in terms of the shortcomings of this approach concern certain imbalances or dilemmas. We have seen for example that you don't play this game to play the city marketing game linked with culture. Cities have invested mainly in the city centre, of course, because it is in the centre where the architecture of distinctiveness is located, the historical distinctiveness of the city is most evident, and also where the majority of the cultural institutions and the cultural infrastructure generally are located. This has provoked in many cases a diversion of resources away from a more neighbourhood based approach to cultural provision, which has unfortunately made even more difficult the condition and the quality of life of areas which are increasingly suffering from multiple deprivation outside the city centre. Because in fact this critique of this approach to cultural policy and urban regeneration has to be seen in parallel with

the socio-economic trend in European cities which is towards greater socio-economic inequality, we now have an increasing concentration of multiple deprivation in very specific areas of cities in Europe, which are often historical districts close to the city centre where new immigrants are often located. For example the Augarten district in Vienna is an example not far from the city centre, traditional point of arrival of immigrants to the city and also more outer housing estates, which are now more and more lacking also in cultural facilities partly because of disinvestment and partly because of the need for cities to reorientate resources towards flagship iconic projects in city centres. So, I am not saying one should do without the flagship iconic projects, but there is clearly a problem if this is done at the expense of neighbourhood based provision in areas which you find are suffering more and more and are finding it difficult in economic and psychological and even public transport terms to access the cultural infrastructure of the city centre.

Now, this may not be perhaps such a problem in Denmark and in Copenhagen, but it is increasingly a problem in other cities where you have in a way a problem again of fear of threshold in many cases, of insufficient cross class appeal of the new prestigious cultural institutions created in city centres. So that is one of the issues.

#### **Dilemmas in Urban Cultural Policy**

- CONSUMPTION V. PRODUCTION

- EPHEMERAL V. PERMANENT

- LOCAL V. INTERNATIONAL

A second issue from which the cultural planning debate started and tried to respond was the emphasis on consumption often by rich consumers, of course this new season of cultural policies linked with the regeneration in the late 80s and through the 90s and still with us now was very much linked with urban cultural tourism and again we have seen a proliferation of opportunities for cultural consumption, but that has not generally been matched by strong strategies to support local cultural production, which then would feed the increasing cultural consumption.

So we have a problem again because there hasn't been equal energy resources in global cultural industries devoted to support local young people who want to develop activities, in various forms of cultural activities from theatre to multimedia to design and fashion to you name it – basically the whole spectrum of cultural activities. This is linked with the other problem, basically in relation to this first point: consumption and production, it is quite interesting that if you travel Europe in the summer for example, you will often be followed by the same types of cultural products which are touring Europe. It was an experience I had this summer where I was in Leicester, where I live, and I went to a concert of the Gothan Project, very interesting kind of new tango I think French group. Then I went to Catagna on holiday and there was a concert with the Gothan Project, then I went to see my dad near Florence in Tuscany and there was a Gothan Project concert there. So they were following me around. These are just coincidences of course, it is interesting, there is nothing wrong with that in a way, but we need also to give opportunities to local cultural producers. This is linked with the problem of ephemeral and permanent. By permanent I mean buildings, bricks and mortar, concrete structures, concrete achievements in a way, and again there is an imbalance in urban cultural policy there, because maybe excessive investments have gone in to buildings to the expense of projects, support for artists and so on. So of course: buildings are important and buildings give the foundation to a cultural policy and they also give a new cultural ambition to a city, so I am not saying that they are not important, but there is a problem when your entire cultural budget is paralysed, concentrated exclusively on buildings, because buildings have very long term fixed costs of maintenance, security and so on and if things get tight in a municipal budget in a city budget, it is more likely that the city authorities, the city policy-makers, will cut temporary activities, activities to do with projects, with support for artists, community projects rather than the building itself. And it is a situation which has generated problems, I mentioned Frankfurt before, and it is now a problem in Frankfurt. Frankfurt has such a large infrastructure of museums now, that even at times when the German economy - the Frankfurt economy - is not doing as well as they were doing before the unification in the 1980s now they are finding themselves unable to respond to a vast potential for cultural innovation in that city which is



interestingly one of the most multi-ethnic, multi-cultural cities in Europe and has a lot of potential, but in a sense the cultural budget is too committed to cultural buildings perhaps to be able to respond. So these are some of the problems related to the emergence of cultural planning. But there are more problems as Martin said in the introduction, the agenda for this conference is not just to discuss the role of cultural policy in relation to the deindustrialisation which is what I have been talking about until now, really, but also in relation to globalisation which is a much more subtle problem, a word which is often not very well defined, I am not going to define it now, but you know there are entire books looking at the definition of globalisation, including a useful book by John Tomlinson called 'Globalisation & Culture'. But nevertheless globalisation is more than an economic phenomenon and there are a range of changes, which are affecting the way we experience cities and so I want to talk a little bit about that, and to see again how cultural planning responds to that, so if you look at some other processes of change.

#### **Processes of change in European cities**

- THE CRISIS OF LOCAL ECONOMIES
- SOCIO-ECONOMIC POLARISATION AND MARGINALISATION
- THE CRISIS OF TRADITIONAL URBAN POLICY-MAKING
- THE TYRANNY OF CAR DEPENDENCY
- THE SPRAWLING CITY
- CULTURAL STANDARDISATION, MUSEUMISATION, DISNEYFICATION AND THE EMERGENCE OF "NON PLACES"

So the crises of global economy, as we have already mentioned, the restructuring of urban economies in Europe, particularly those related to traditional forms of industry: I have already mentioned the problem of socio-economic polarisation and marginalisation, the problem of spatial segregation by low-income groups which is very visible, for example in Glasgow. Glasgow, European City of Culture in 1990 is now one of the cities in the United Kingdom and in Europe which is experiencing the most evident growth of the wealth and health gap inside a city, between well-off and healthy minorities and also a substantial, again other minorities which are increasingly unhealthy and increasingly poor and increasingly also stigmatised because the areas where they live are regarded as dominated by criminal

activities. And if you apply for a job in Glasgow, and you give your real address, you are unlikely to get an interview. So there are people in Glasgow like in many other European cities, who will give a different address in order to be considered for jobs, it is quite a problem.

So even Glasgow, I am mentioning Glasgow, not by chance, but because it is one of the model cities for linking culture with urban regeneration in a way in Europe. The problem of car dependency is very interesting; it is related to the issue of the sprawling city, urban sprawl. Urban sprawl is a problem which again has to be linked with the debate of cultural planning in many ways; it is an interesting phenomenon because we are seeing the problem of urban hypertrophy of sprawl of the cities in Europe in the absence of population growth - quite an interesting issue. In a sense this is related to a relaxation of planning controls, for example of green belts regulation in the United Kingdom and to changes in consumer demand and consumer preferences and lifestyle rather than to demographic change to increases in population. What we are beginning to see is the increasing popularity of a more north-American or Australian approach to urban development, which basically allows the building of out of town shopping-centres, residential developments in green field sites which create a more hypertrophic city. Relating to that is the fact that public transport systems in a hypertrophic city are increasingly not viable so despite the talk about urban sustainability, there are lots of planning decisions being made in many European cities every day, which point in a completely different direction. So if you look for example at Italy, you see the development of one city which links the old area from Novara on the border between Piemonte and Lombardi to Reggio going towards Lake Garda. It is basically one city going along the pre-Alps. If you go to the Adriatic coast, you see basically one city stretching all the way from Pescara in Abruzzo almost to Venice. It is one huge sprawling city, the Adriatic city.

So there are interesting problems and issues there, because the new kind of "public spaces" which are being created in the hypertrophic city are actually lacking some of the characteristics, the qualities that characterise traditional public spaces in historic city centres for example, so there is the problem of

cultural standardisation in a way we are seeing the same kind of out of town shopping-centres, the same kind of multiplex cinemas everywhere in Europe, and these places are increasingly significant as places where people meet. We can not ignore them. They are important. I have noticed that with the closure of the city centre cinemas in my city, Leicester, the only option for us, a city of half a million people now including the metropolitan areas, is to use a multiplex cinema which is situated by a motorway junction. We meet our friends going to the cinema in a boring placeless car park, and then we walk towards a shed basically, which is the cinema itself. The visual experience is that we have sheds on three sides and the motorway at the back; this is hardly the most stimulating environment. And there is a very curious disconnection between the kind of richness, the beauty of the films going on inside the cinema, and this boring nature of the urban experience, if we can call it urban, when we step outside the cinema.

We have a problem therefore of almost urban obesity, which in the US goes hand in hand also with the problem of body obesity, in fact. Because a hypertrophic city is not sustainable in terms of public transport, people have to drive everywhere. And that is, I think, one of the causes of the adoption of a much more kind of sedentary lifestyle. I was struck for example, when I took my students to Copenhagen, and we were commuting everyday from Malmø to Copenhagen by ferry in the times before the bridge in 1996, that I did more walking that week than I have ever done, probably ever. We were all in a group of twenty people absolutely fit by the end of the 10 days in Copenhagen and Malmø. And the reason why we did that was because we could easily walk to a public transport point, and we knew that we would reliably get to where we had to go on time and so on. You can not do it increasingly in European cities because of this hypertrophic development, so it is a very serious issue. It is an issue not only of environmental sustainability, but also on cultural sustainability. What do we do with these non-places? Do we have a plan? Are there interesting architectural and urban planning ideas for transforming these non-places – admitting that we agree that there are these non-places - into places? What can be done about them? It is an interesting issue. That is also part of the reason for the emergence of Cultural Planning.

It is probably time to highlight what is Cultural Planning? I also want to raise another issue: we are also seeing increasing competition between retail outlets in European cities, because the city centre is becoming a playground characterized by the presence of for example restaurants, bars, pubs, designer clothes shops and so on. And there is an increasing number of these retail outlets, therefore competition between them is increasing. So we are seeing a trend which is important, again from the US, of theming of retail, retail experiences. The concept of experience economy is becoming more current also in Europe, introduced in a book by Joseph Pine and James Gilmore, two American authors who wrote a book called 'The Experience Economy' in 1999. Pine and Gilmore write: 'An experience occurs when a company intentionally uses service as a stage and goods as props to engage individual customers in a way that creates a memorable event.' They also say: 'An effective theme is concise and compelling, the theme must drive all of the design elements and staged events of the experience towards a unified storyline that only captivates the customer.' And 'Experienced staggers must eliminate anything that diminishes, contradicts or distracts from the theme.' We also see the emergence of retail theme concepts like 'eatertainment' - restaurants which are also entertainment venues. The emergence of experiential retail is also potentially problematic. Of course, in many ways it is done well and it actually adds to the richness of the cultural landscape of the city. For example if you go to the Nike Town shop in London, Oxford Circus, you will see that it is much more than a shop, it is a sort of museum about human performance, and it could be regarded as an additional interesting cultural attraction in London. But in other cases there is a sort of narrowing down, a channelling, and an excessive channelling, of urban experience also through this excessive theming of shops and so on. As John Hannigan says in his book 'Fantasy City', in reference to theme parks, and it is basically a theme park concept, which is now increasingly being used for retail in many cases. John Hannigan writes: 'In return for the assurance of safety and certainty, the theme park visitor surrenders an extraordinary degree of control, both in terms of freedom of movement and freedom of imagination.' So, that is also a possible danger.

### What is 'Cultural planning'?

- A CULTURALLY SENSITIVE APPROACH TO POLICY AND PLANNING  
- "THE STRATEGIC AND INTEGRAL PLANNING AND USE OF CULTURAL RESOURCES IN URBAN AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT"  
(C. MERCER)

The idea of cultural planning is in a way, in this context, the emergence of crises and this has been defined in a couple of different ways. It is a cultural sensitive approach to policy and planning. Not just for urban planning but to every type of public policy. And according to Colin Mercer it is 'the strategic and integral planning and use of cultural resources in urban and community development.' So, strategic and integral means that it is actually not appended as a kind of after-talk to an urban policy, but it is integrating cultural policy with other policy processes in an organic way and it is strategic in the sense that it is part of a larger strategy. The keyword is cultural resources. And again the introductions that I have mentioned today, what definitions of culture we use in cultural planning raises interesting issues. And it was a Danish critic of a use of an anthropological definition of culture and cultural policy, Jørn Langsted, who about 20 years ago I think, wrote that the people who advocate the use of a way of life definition in cultural policy, are very rarely specific as to the consequences of adopting an anthropological way of life definition. Because there is a risk that if you adopt that kind of definition, cultural policy becomes a sort of unmanageable, rather amorphous nebulous concept. So the trick in Cultural Planning is, I think, to adopt a broad definition but to be quite specific as to what its elements are.

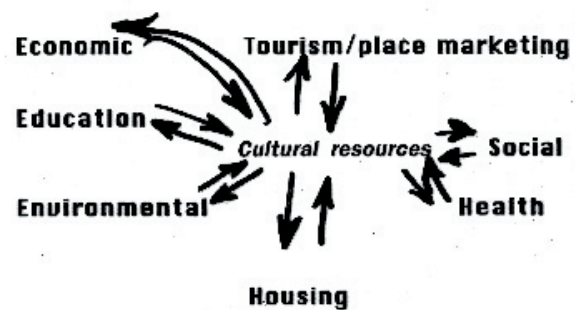
### The concept of 'local cultural resources'

#### IT INCLUDES:

- ARTS AND MEDIA ACTIVITIES AND INSTITUTIONS
- SPORTS AND RECREATION
- THE TANGIBLE AND INTANGIBLE HERITAGE
- THE LOCAL 'IMAGE BANK'
- PLACES FOR SOCIABILITY
- INTELLECTUAL AND SCIENTIFIC MILIEU AND INSTITUTIONS
- CREATIVE INPUTS INTO LOCAL CRAFTS, MANUFACTURING AND SERVICES ACTIVITIES

And I have here a proposal of a definition of cultural resources, which includes not only arts and media activities and institutions, not only sports and recreational activities. Recreation includes activities like play, children's play, and for example countryside walking and so on. Not only the tangible heritage, meaning the architectural artistic heritage, but also for ex. dialect, gastronomic tradition, rituals, local festivals and so on. But also the local image bank, the image bank of a place which includes the way a place is represented in history, across history, in the media, in literature, in cinema, in music, stereotypes, local myths, and conventional wisdom and so on. That is what forms the image bank. And very few places have a detailed awareness of what their image bank is. Also places for sociability, places where people meet, exchange ideas and so on. Intellectual and scientific milieu and institutions including research centres, universities, learning societies, is another cultural resource. And lastly creative inputs into local crafts, manufacturing and services activities for example dealing with the question of how you arrange a shop window that is also cultural resource; the whole question of particular skills applied to manufacturing crafts, styles of production in manufacturing resources and cultural resources.

### Cultural resources



So what Cultural Planning does, is to relate cultural resources through a process of two-way interaction to policy. It is about establishing these two-way relationships between the tool of cultural resources existing in a place and tourism, economic policy, educational policy, environmental policy, social and health policy and so on. And I say two-way interaction because if you have just a one way interaction let us say from tourism to

cultural resources or from economic development to cultural resources, it is a limited interaction. It is what I call an instrumental use of cultural resources and by which I mean that a tourism or policy maker simply uses the cultural resources for its own purposes without actually changing the way he/she as a policymaker thinks about policy. And I think one of the beauties of this potential interaction between cultural resources and policy, is that it should be really a dialogue between equals. It is hard to explain the concept. That is why I put a two way arrow going one way or another so it should be a real interaction, a dialogue. By a dialogue I mean that the cultural sector broadly defined, following the definition of cultural resources I have given before, so the cultural sectors and the people, who work in the cultural sector, should be treated with respect and there should be a certain humility in the cultural sector, but also in the other policy sectors. For example if you are in charge of a tourism strategy for a city or a region, you should be humble enough to recognize that tourism is a cultural experience in a way, and that a training that you may have received in a tourism school, or in a marketing school, or a business school, is probably not enough to develop a marketing strategy for something as complex as a city or a region. This sounds totally obvious when I am saying it, but actually it is not often accepted. If I start criticising a tourism specialist or a city marketing specialist, they get back to me and say: 'Have you actually studied marketing in a business school?' Or 'Are you a member of the Marketing Institute?' Which is the same kind of thing that I get when I start criticising a town-planner, they would say to me: 'Do you have a degree in planning? Are you a member of the Royal Town-Planning Institute?' Well, of course I am not. But on the other hand I live in a city, like everyone else. And I believe that place marketing and tourism, for example, benefit from an integrated approach to knowledge and to defining a strategy because, you need to involve specialists in the dialogue in order to define a distinctive and effective place marketing tourism strategy. You would need to involve a historian probably, or a group of historians, a sociologist, a semiologist, artists, anthropologists, geographers. So it can not be an approach where you use certain formulas from marketing theory, and then you develop a strategy for a city in the same way as you would develop a strategy for a pair of shoes or a bottle of mineral water. It is not the same thing. It is

a more complex brand. And I think certain books written by people like Philip Kotler for example, who has a lot of influence in this area, probably do a bit of damage because they are simplifying excessively the discipline of place marketing and tourism development. So, in a way that is what I mean by cultural planning. It is this two-way dialogue which maximizes the distinctive qualities of the cultural sector, which I think are these ones.

#### **Learning from the process of cultural production**

**THE THINKING THAT CHARACTERIZES THIS PROCESS TENDS TO BE:**

- A) HOLISTIC, INTERDISCIPLINARY AND LATERAL;**
- B) INNOVATION-ORIENTED, ORIGINAL AND EXPERIMENTAL;**
- C) CRITICAL, CHALLENGING AND QUESTIONING;**
- D) PEOPLE-CENTRED, HUMANISTIC AND NONDETERMINISTIC;**
- E) 'CULTURED' AND INFORMED BY CRITICAL KNOWLEDGE OF TRADITIONS OF CULTURAL EXPRESSION.**

Which are in a sense linked with the issue of Cultural Production: What are the distinctive qualities of the processes of Cultural Production?

They are basically holistic, interdisciplinary and lateral processes linking different types of knowledge. Innovation-oriented, original and experimental processes, of course in the best cases - we also get lots of artists who repeat themselves.- critical, challenging and questioning processes, people-centred, humanistic processes and 'cultured' processes informed by critical knowledge.

Now, my main contention basically is that a lot of public policy making, especially at local authority level, for a variety of reasons is not like this. It is not actually holistic, innovation-oriented, critical, people-centred and 'cultured' enough. For example it is certainly not critical enough because now under the new logic under private-public partnership, of building partnerships between the public, private and voluntary sector, critical issues - conflicts and contradictions - are often swept under the carpet. There is not a positive attitude to conflicts and contradiction, they are not regarded as potential assets, but they are ignored. There is often a sort of new form of political correctness that tries in a sense to remove conflicts and contradictions.

So, that is the idea really of building on this kind of philosophy to make public policies more interdisciplinary, holistic, more innovation-oriented, more critical, more people-centred and also more 'cultured', because I do believe we still have a problem of insufficient cultural skills of policy makers and of politicians as well.

I will just give you some examples of what we have to contend with here. Why is public policy not like that? We have a lot of literature about the importance of creative cities for example, I myself wrote a book in 1995 called 'The Creative City' in the optimistic climate of the crisis of the conservative government and the hope that we would have a kind of progressive liberal government, which in a fact was elected in 1997, but it has been a little bit disappointing in many ways. So, I wrote this book called 'The Creative City' and since then there has been a proliferation of reports about the creative economy, the creative society, creative cities and, Richard Florida for example, the creative class - the emergence of a new class of creative people who are absolutely essential for future urban competitiveness.

So, I think again we have to be honest enough to recognize that if we don't do something about certain trends, the opportunity for a creative economy, for creative cities in Europe today is seriously undermined by a range of different trends. For example not many people talk about the issue that, by comparison with the 60s and the 70s, we are seeing less and less leisure time for people in work, increasing problems of work-life balance for European citizens. In 2000, 1 in 13 women in the United Kingdom worked more than 60 hours per week, in 2002 it was 1 in 8, and the trend now is towards 1 in 6, so the United Kingdom government has set up a work-life balance unit as a response within the Department of Trade and Industry for example. Another trend which militates against a creative approach to public policy, to urban policy, is the issue of information overload. We are spending more and more time handling information rather than selecting, understanding and reflecting on it. Not surprising given that we all have email systems at home and at work, we have two landlines or one mobile telephone, you know, two snail-mails reaching us at home and at work. So, we

have really a problem of information overload. And in a sense I am sceptical also of claims that our societies and cities are becoming more and more reflexive, I am not so sure. For example 80% of elementary school pupils in Texas, in 1998, suffered from concentration problems directly related to information overload. Another issue related to creativity in public policy is what Michael Power, in a book he wrote in the late 90s called 'The Audit Society', the subtitle of the book quite interestingly is 'Rituals of Verification'. So, increasingly in the public sector in particular in local authorities, universities and so on, we are oppressed by a culture of excessive evaluation, evaluate anything that moves and evaluate continuously as well. And there has been a reorientation of administrative personnel in public sector organisations, personnel which 10-15 years ago used to work in a supporting function, supporting creative personnel, now works in a quality assurance and control function which in a sense creates additional work for the creative personnel and makes them less able to perform their creative function within the organisation. This applies to museums, theatres, universities and so on. So, there is certainly a sense that this kind of organisations are becoming less creative partly because of this excessive evaluations, of course which started from very good intentions of ensuring more transparency and accountability in public sector organisations.

So, we have problems therefore and I don't know where to stop. I will wrap it up!

I deliberately wanted to raise the difficult issues because, obviously the purpose today is to have a discussion and I want you to deal with some of these problems. So, I just mention some of the other trends which are not often talked about. The problem of an emerging crisis in local government cultural funding across Europe, related to a more general crisis of public expenditure in different European countries now. Also a problem of reorientation of community arts, community arts known under different names in different countries, known as social culture in Germany as an approach, known as social culture animation in France, but you know what I mean basically: artist working in social contexts with people. A movement which started in the late 60s and early 70s as a revolutionary movement, it started

from an idea of enabling people to understand their condition of oppression and subordination - that was the ideology - through participation in art and therefore engendering processes of social and political change. Now we have a change in community arts which is described with the shorthand 'from revolutionaries to trainers.' So, a more kind of training function of people working in this field. Which again I think has meant that we have lost a certain capacity for imagining alternative futures, which should not be forgotten in a way. Increasingly the task of imagining an alternative future for cities is an elite task it seems to me. We have had a decline, a crisis, of local pressure groups of social movements which are putting forward ideas and adding issues on the agenda of urban policy, and that is perhaps related to some extent to changes in the characteristic of art activities, cultural activities, in cities.

There are also of course positive trends, for example we can certainly build on the question of demographic change and the changes produced by immigration. The potential for example for a more intercultural approach, which would renew the way we think about cultural institutions. So, it is quite clear that in a city like Leicester, where I live now, where we have about 100.000 people of Indian and Pakistani origin out of a total metropolitan area population of 500.000, it is quite clear that we can not ignore this substantial presence of British Asian people in planning the built environment of the city, in planning public art, parks, museums, theatres and so on. And the task of doing that is actually beginning and I think that it could produce lots of interesting innovation, also in cultural production, and give a kind of distinctive niche also to that city. And we have plenty of interesting examples of intercultural activities, for example reinventing libraries through a program of intercultural libraries promoted by the region of Tuscany in Italy. New approaches to festivals like the invention of the intercultural festival, the Karnivale der Kulturen in Berlin. And even also Randers in Denmark is an interesting example.

So, to conclude basically I would just like to say that we need to understand the difference between cultural planning and cultural policy. Traditional cultural policies which are about the development of cultural activities in theatre, in literature, in dance, in

cinema and so on will continue to exist and they are important. And we need specialists who nurture creativity in all these different sectors, who know the audience, who develop interesting events and who nurture also institutions working in this field. But probably we need the addition also of the cultural planner as a new figure in policy making. And, in a way, that is one of the challenges, to get cultural planning strategies to work. The record of cultural planning strategies which have been implemented until now is not terribly positive. We have seen experiences of trying to adopt a cultural planning strategy, in for example Bristol in the United Kingdom through the work of Andrew Kelley, who is one of the earliest cultural planners in the United Kingdom. Also in Huddersfield which is a town in West Yorkshire not far from Leeds. In Lewisham which is one of the main London bars and also in other places, but they have all revealed fragility in a sense that perhaps the idea of cultural planning is an idea which is difficult to communicate, it is quite subtle, quite complex, and it needs examples which I haven't actually had time to go into in detail. And it has revealed to be often connected with the work and the enthusiasm of particular individuals, politicians and policy makers, and as soon as these politicians or policy makers have lost power, the whole strategy has tended to collapse, has tended to revert to a much more traditional, cultural form based sector of vertical functional strategy, so the kind of horizontal character of cultural planning is not basically easy to implement. Because you are constantly dealing with divisions between different departments of a local authority, between different professions and between different professional skills, so it is not an easy idea to implement. It is also very difficult for the local authorities, for some of the reasons which I have mentioned before and for other reasons, to justify investing in a strategy which stimulates, which is about stimulating creativity and innovation. The importance of research and development budgets is not actually still understood in local authorities. And the ability to distinguish and praise almost a competent mistake is again not often very common in local authorities, so the ability to distinguish competent mistakes from incompetent mistakes, and to know that a competent mistake can be the source of future success. One of the reasons for this fear of risk in many local authorities has to do with the paralyzing impact of insurance arrangements that are increasingly discouraging innova-

tion, in fact basically local authorities do not want to take risks because they are afraid of the insurance implications of making mistakes, as well as of course the implications in terms of the way the media writes about innovation in different cities.

So, I am afraid I am not actually quite finished, but I am sure we can pick up some of the issues through our discussion including perhaps some examples.

Q: I really though it was very interesting what you did say. But there was one thing that I wondered about and that was the kind of non-role or the non-talked about major cultural institutions in any city, because don't you believe that it is important that the institutions that do have power in the cities, the cultural ones, how do they act, because they are very often not interested in changes?

FB: Of course again I was going through all these points very fast. Again the dilemma, one of the dilemmas, which is often posed is the classic dilemma between the flagship institution and then the community projects, the neighbourhoods and so on, which I hinted at when I talked about the possible imbalance between city centre and peripheral areas which are culturally deprived, of course the dilemma can be solved like any dilemma, sometimes there is no solution unfortunately and it is very sad. But in some cases it is possible to solve these problems and I think one of the ways it can be dealt with is by clearly having a very strong outreach and education mission for a museum, a theatre, a concert hall and so on, and I think that is beginning to change. It is still not sufficiently changing in a way in the sense that although there has been an increase in the budget for education, outreach activities by many of what I call "traditional" cultural institutions for example in the United Kingdom, it is still in my view too limited as a percentage of the total budget, particularly considering the scale of the problems in some of the cities, in some of the areas, where they are operating. I must say the situation is even worse, much worse, considerably worse, in for example the other country I know better in Europe, which is Italy, where we have much less awareness of this outreach education role of the need to start activities, almost like conceptualizing a cultural institution as a base from which then you start activities in schools, in neighbourhoods, in all sorts of different organisations

within the city, we have much less of that awareness in 'traditional' cultural institutions in Italy. And what is worrying is that they are not being put under pressure by the government to do that. While at least in the United Kingdom there is a kind of official policy which makes the cultural institutions much more aware that they have to do that. I am sure that Paul in his presentation probably will deal with this aspect.

Q: Another aspect is the demographic development that has been mentioned and it is obvious maybe that the change consistently in population in the sense that the higher level of education has expanded radically during the last decade, and in that way created another kind of public for all these activities. And also in relation to what you have been talking about also created this kind of competition between a consumer-oriented culture and participatory activities and public libraries and so on and so forth, as part of a broader educational effort. I think that this question of the change of the population, not only from the point of view of immigration, but also of the point of view of another composition of level of knowledge, level of intellectual experience and so on, is an important factor.

FB: Very important point. In fact we have seen in many historic city centres in Europe, the change that you are alluding to, is the growth of the student population in city centres which is a phenomenon across Europe. Now, this has taken different forms again and unfortunately in relation to British cities, one problem which is not often recognized is that perhaps because of the crisis of subsidy for what I call the independent sector of cultural activities, the small scale universe of specialist cinemas, specialist bookshops, free radio stations, independent record labels, music venues, that kind of network of activities which depend largely on certain forms of public subsidy often from a global economy. This we have in a very strong way, for example if you go to Bologna in Italy, you will see a flourishing, still quite strong network of this kind of independent culture. It is a student city, it is a city with a very large student population in the city centre. In the United Kingdom unfortunately we don't have that, to the same extent, and I - again one of my many sins as my activity perhaps as a kind of policy thinker - was to introduce the debate on the idea of the night time economy in Britain in the late 1980s beginning of the 1990s, and with colleagues from Comedia, which is a kind of research think-tank in the United Kingdom, we

had a sort of vision particularly linked with the growth of the student population in city centres, of a video café culture with lots more small cabaret theatres and music venues, pubs and so on growing in city centres in the United Kingdom. The reality, 15 years later, has been that we have increasing problems of binge drinking, of basically provision almost exclusively of nightclubs, pubs and bars, which have added to the social bill for cities massively, they have added policing costs, they have added cleaning costs and they have added also hospital and health costs, because 70% percent of all admissions to accident and emergency departments in the United Kingdom, between 11 PM and 3 AM, is related to excessive consumption of alcohol often in city centres, often by students, but not exclusively by students. So, now we are in a paradoxical situation where some local authority institutions, including mine - Leicester City Council - are saying that one of the reasons why they are cutting the cultural budget, is because they have too high costs generated by the night time economy, that they have to pick up. Because the attitude of the pub owner is often; as long as you stand up we give you pints of beer to drink and then we chuck you onto the street. That is the sort of attitude and I mean it can't continue like that, but it is a big problem. So, that raises another issue which is, can we have the coexistence of a totally pluralist, totally relativistic definition of culture whereby it is a legitimate cultural activity to drink 18 pints of beer in an evening. Can that coexist with a normative definition of culture, which is about cultural policy being about improving people's behaviour and you know having a better society and so on. Because at the moment in the rhetoric for example of the Blair government you have both things going at the same time which is quite a problem. Again the question of the student population in city centres in the United Kingdom has generated some problems which we are not facing totally honestly, I would say, and problems also for the cultural budgets for the cities.



## Interesting Websites

### URBAN CREATIVITY AND INNOVATION WEBSITES

#### *Comedia*

<http://www.comedia.org.uk>

#### *EGPIS (European Good Practice Information Service)*

<http://www3.iclei.org/egpis/>

#### *European Academy of the Urban Environment*

<http://www.eaue.de/>

#### *European Commission Urban Pilot Projects*

[http://europa.eu.int/comm/regional\\_policy/urban2/urban/upp/frames.htm](http://europa.eu.int/comm/regional_policy/urban2/urban/upp/frames.htm)

#### *European Sustainable Cities*

<http://www.sustainable-cities-share.org/home.html>

#### *European Urban Forum*

<http://www.ecotec.com/urbanissues/forum/index.htm>

#### *Forum on Creative Industries*

<http://www.mipc.mmu.ac.uk/foci/welcome1.htm>

#### *Global Ideas Bank (Institute for Social Inventions)*

<http://www.globalideasbank.org/site/home/>

#### *Habitat - Best Practices Database for Human Settlements*

<http://www.bestpractices.org/>

#### *Huddersfield Creative Town Initiative*

<http://www.huddersfieldpride.com/archive/cti/ctimain.htm>

#### *The Innovation Journal*

<http://www.innovation.cc/index.html>

#### *International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives*

<http://www3.iclei.org/iclei/casestud.htm>

#### *International Institute for Sustainable Development*

<http://www.iisd.org/>

#### *International Urban Development Association*

<http://www.inta-aivn.org/>

#### *Megacities*

<http://www.megacities.nl/>

#### *Randers Urban Pilot Project*

<http://www.undervaerket.dk/>

#### *RSS(European Regional Development Fund and Cohesion Fund Projects)*

[http://europa.eu.int/comm/regional\\_policy/urban2/urban/upp/frames.htm](http://europa.eu.int/comm/regional_policy/urban2/urban/upp/frames.htm)

[http://europa.eu.int/comm/regional\\_policy/index\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu.int/comm/regional_policy/index_en.htm)

#### *SCN (Sustainable Communities Network)*

<http://www.sustainable.org/casestudies/studiesindex.html>

#### *United Nations Management of Social Transformations*

<http://www.unesco.org/most/bphome.htm#1>

### CREATIVITY WEBSITES

#### *Charles Cave*

<http://members.optusnet.com.au/~charles57/Creative/index2.html>

#### *Creativity Net*

<http://creativity.net/>

#### *De Bono, Edward, related sites*

<http://www.aptt.com/>

<http://www.edwdebono.com/>

#### *Healthcare Forum*

<http://www.well.com/user/bbear/rosen.html>

#### *Kao, John (author of Jamming)*

<http://www.jamming.com/>

#### *Morgan, Gareth (of Imaginization)*

<http://www.mgeneral.com/fastforward.htm>

<http://www.imaginiz.com/>

#### *Mulder, Bert - New Media and the Power of Culture*

<http://www.powerofculture.nl/uk/index.html>

#### *Russell, Peter (author of The Brain Book)*

<http://www.peterussell.com/index2.html>





## Cultural Planning in Newcastle-Gateshead

by Paul Collard

I first became aware of Franco and his work in the late 1980s and I remember having a phone conversation with him then because we were both interested in the whole notion of the way that culture can help regenerate cities. And I actually haven't spoken or seen Franco since then and this morning was extremely interesting to see how, almost twenty years later, the thinking that we have been doing separately seems to have gone in exactly the same ways. The big difference is that he is an academic whose job is to problematize and I am a practitioner whose job it is to solve. And I hope that this will be a good counterpart to the issues he raised, because I think the issues he raises are exactly the right ones and this presentation is about how we are going around solving those issues in the Northeast of England.

### **The Angel of the North**

The image you can see here is of a large sculpture called The Angel of the North. I first went to the Northeast in 1993 to run a year-long cultural festival which took place in 1996 across

the North of England. One of the projects we developed was this angel. It's actually 20 metres high and has a wingspan of about 40 metres. It was the most controversial project we proposed in the whole program. And it became a huge issue in the whole of the Northeast but particularly in Gateshead where it was being built. The press, particularly the tabloid press were hysterically opposed to it. The Conservative party in Gateshead campaigned for three elections in a row on a 'stop the angel' ticket, it was the only issue. You could go in to any pub, bar or restaurant in the whole of Northeast and say: 'What do you think about the Angel?' And everybody knew what you were talking about. So it was also the most famous work of art. They might not know any other works of art, but they knew this one. But what was extraordinary about it was the debate it provoked was a debate about a region which had been through very intense deindustrialisation, extreme economic hardship, and the debate was about "Do we have the capacity to change and move on?" And the people who believed in the Angel believed we could change and we could move. The people who didn't believe in

the Angel thought that they were trapped in time and couldn't change. What was interesting is that by the time the angel was built there were no conservative counsellors left in Gateshead Council. They had been completely wiped off. It was built in three big sections in a shipyard in Hartlepool which is about 30 miles from Gateshead and it was then put on huge trucks and all the streets from Hartlepool to Gateshead were closed on a Saturday night, so that these three big sections of Angel could be driven through the streets. And this was in February - we are on the same latitude as Copenhagen so you know what the weather was like - and thousands of people came out and stood by the side of the road and cheered as the trucks went past. And it was an incredibly powerful catalyst for change in the region but it has also become a symbol of change in the United Kingdom. On the 1st of January 2000 the Sunday Times - which is our major quality Sunday newspaper - had as their front page -the whole front page- the photograph of the sun coming out over the Angel. If in 1993 you had said to anybody in the Northeast that the Sunday Times would have selected an image from the Northeast to characterize the dawn of the new millennium, they would have thought you were completely mad. But by the time it happened they had changed as a community, they had changed as people and now believed that they had a role in that new millennium and were very, very proud of it. After that, the most important moment probably was when Newcastle was playing in the major football cup final. The fans made a huge black and white shirt - the colours of the football team - and hung it over the Angel on the day - unfortunately they lost!

Today, I want to talk about how and why culture has the capacity to have this affect. But first of all I just want to define what we mean about cultural planning.

#### **Planning for a Creative Economy**

- **An economy based on creativity, innovation, intellectual property and uniqueness of place.**

Our role in the Northeast is to plan for a creative economy. That's what we wanted to stimulate and Franco explained why this is so attractive to the industrialized nations, so I won't do that further.

#### **Planning for a Creative Economy**

What are the elements of the creative economy that we see?

They are the:

- **Arts and heritage,**
- **Digital media,**
- **Innovation in generally in science, technology, manufacturing**
- **Research and development**
- **Sectors that service those areas, which includes the tourism sector**

Why are they important? They are important, because they are about knowledge capital, and in a world where it is increasingly hard for western nations to compete in manufacturing on the basis of cost - knowledge capital is going to be the big resource that we have, and places with the capacity to generate it, are going to be the ones who are most successful economically.

In planning for a creative economy we have been influenced by a lot of writers, and obviously - and Franco mentioned the book again this morning - Richard Florida 'The Rise of the Creative Classes' is a book that a lot of people are referring to.

#### **Planning for a Creative Economy**

##### **Richard Florida The Rise of the Creative Classes**

- **Better cultural infrastructure,**
- **More artist, musicians, writers**
- **Better night life**
- **High concentration of gay people**
- **Immigration**
- **Ethnically diverse**

What Richard has done is looked at a small number of US cities, which has been performing well economically, and tried to work out, whether those cities had common characteristics, that we could learn from. He has concluded that they tend to have a better cultural infrastructure than other places - so actually the galleries, the museums, the theatres and all those things are very important. They have more artists, musicians and writers living there. They have a better nightlife than other places - they tend to be 24 hour cities or certainly 18 hour cities. They have a high concentration of gay people. He deduced this by establishing a 'gay index', which is what made the book so controversial in the states. They have high levels of immigration, and they tend to be ethnically diverse.

Now the conclusion that Richard draws from that group of characteristics is not that gay people, for instance, are more creative

than other people. It is that those cities are tolerant, and tolerant of diversity, and whether you are a very creative person or an immigrant from another culture or a gay person, you want to live in places that are tolerant. Artists whom – for a lot of them – tend to be on the margins of society are again attracted to those cities. So these are the characteristics that successful cities must aspire to:

### Planning for a Creative Economy

#### Richard Florida – The Rise of the Creative Classes

- Creative
- Tolerant
- Diverse

Now I don't think that Richard Florida is actually saying anything very new, and certainly the book *The Creative City*, which Franco worked on, has covered some of the ground. And when you go back to Sir Peter Hall – one of the great British planners – again he looks back through history and says that we have always known that cities, which are the most creative and have golden ages, tend to be 'High culture cities' – lots of culture, 'cosmopolitan'. They tend to have recent immigrants'. All of those famously creative cities, whether in Athens before Christ, or in Florence under the Medicis, or in Paris in the early 20th century they all tend to share these characteristics.

### Planning for a Creative Economy

#### Sir Peter Hall 'Why do cities become creative and have golden ages?'

- 'High culture cities', 'cosmopolitan', 'recent immigrants', 'creative outsider groups', 'creative and cultural industry', 'Quality of life', 'marriage of art and technology', 'techno-boohoos', 'multimedia', 'magnet to immigration of talent'.

Sir Peter Hall adds to those characteristics of creative cities; surplus capital concentrated in relatively few hands – which is a very hard thing to replicate -, societies troubled about themselves, in other words places which are able to challenge themselves, cities which can see a transformation in the social order, and what we call 'edge cities'.

### Planning for a Creative Economy

#### Sir Peter Hall – Why do cities become creative and have golden ages?

- 'surplus capital concentrated in relatively few hands'
- 'society troubled about themselves'
- 'transformation in social relationships'
- 'edge cities'

### Planning for a Creative Economy

#### Can you build it if you don't have it?

#### What is the role of Arts?

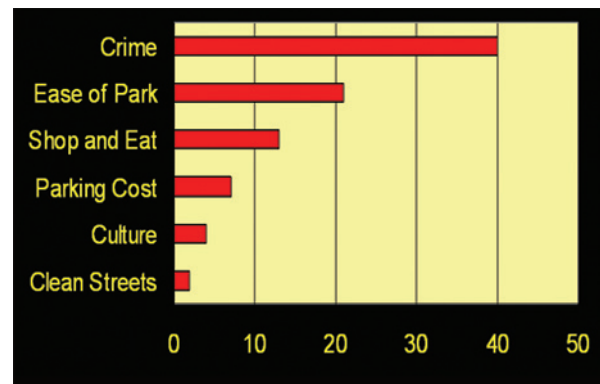
- Surplus capital, social unease, edge cities
- Creative , tolerant , diverse

The issue for us – if you searched for the characteristics of creativity, tolerance, and diversity in the Northeast, and you looked at the other criteria that Richard Florida and Sir Peter Hall have identified - is that when I went there in 1993 we had none of those things. The Northeast is the most mono ethnic region in England. It is a large, white, working class population. There has been virtually no immigration since the start of the 20th century and it possessed virtually no cultural infrastructure. In fact, it was losing people – it had been losing population since the Second World War and all the brightest people had gone. So there were endemic problems, because the people who don't tend to leave are the people who can't leave. For instance the Northeast has the highest percentage reporting long term sickness, because the ones without long-term sickness have all gone to London, which has lowest percentage of long-term sickness, because it tends to be a lot of younger people who manage to move there.

So our question is – we know what a creative city is and we know the characteristics, but if you don't have them – can you build it? Our whole journey from 1993 until now has been exploring that possibility – that you can intervene in a place and turn it into a creative city.

### Planning for a Creative Economy

#### • Most Important Factors in Visit - 1998



I just want to touch a little bit on the experience in New Haven, which is about, why culture has this particular role in transform-

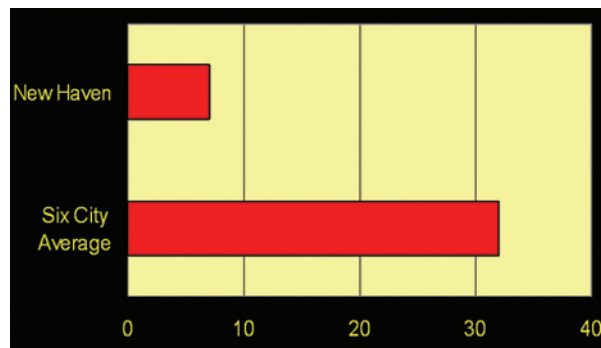
ing images of cities, because if you are going to be a creative city people have to notice it – because that’s how you become a magnet.

I was there from 1997 to 2001. New Haven is a small city – about 50 miles outside of New York. It is most famous for having Yale University inside it. Yale University is one of the biggest most powerful institutions I have ever come across in my life. It had never really spoken to the city administration from its founding in the 17 hundreds until the late 1980s and the reason it began a conversation with the city was because the city had gone through a process of deindustrialisation. New Haven actually was at the heart of the arms industry of the United States – it is where the Winchester rifle - the gun that won the West - was made and the Colt revolver. United Technologies has factories all around there. Sikorski helicopters and Pratt & Whitney engines are made there.

At the end of the cold war all that collapsed, and there was this incredible rapid process of deindustrialisation. And as the economy collapsed Yale emerged in the ruins as really the only show left in town. But as the economy collapsed there was an explosion in crime, a dramatic flight of the middle classes from the city leaving these pockets of incredible depravation, which absolutely astonished me where I got there, and very little else. And Yale suddenly realised having ignored the city all those years, it had to take responsibility for the city, and it sat down and had a conversation with the city. First thing they did was to launch a major international festival and why I went there it was because I was asked to go and run it.

**Planning for a Creative Economy**

• Positive Impression Index - 1998



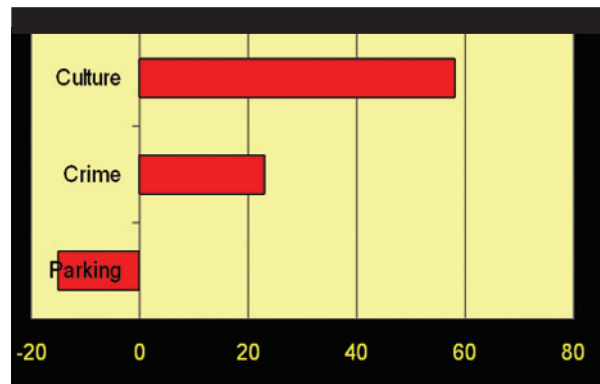
Now when I got there we did this research into which are the

most important factors – this is in Connecticut in general – in influencing people’s decision to visit the city. It was a big piece of phone research.

The most important factor was crime. People didn’t like crime and therefore they didn’t go. The next was that there had to be ease of parking – they wanted ease of parking in the cities they were going to. The next was that they had to have good places to shop and eat. The next was the parking costs – this is America so parking is being counted in twice. Culture is near the bottom along with clean streets.

**Planning for a Creative Economy**

• 1998 – 2002 Improvement Index



We also asked them to compare the city with six other cities, because this was going to be tracking research. We wanted to be sure that the changes we observed in New Haven, in the attitude towards New Haven, were not simply changes towards cities in general.

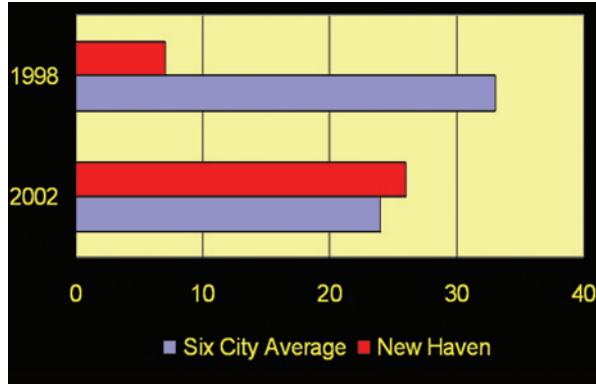
This was a Positive Impression Index. We asked a lot of people to each score the city, and then score six other cities. Three of which were in Connecticut – they where Stamford, Bridgeport and Hartford. And three were outside – Boston, Baltimore and Providence, Rhode Island. Clearly people didn’t think much of New Haven. It hardly got a positive rating at all. But they had a positive attitude towards the other cities.

In 2002 we did the research again and we asked them what had changed during the period. What had changed they all said is that culture had got much, much better. The cultural scene is now absolutely fantastic. Crime got a bit better. And - you can see this one is parking – parking has got worse, because as the culture got better more people came and it became harder to park. And remember parking appeared twice in the list of rea-

sons, so parking was now much worse than it was previously.

**Planning for a Creative Economy**

• **Positive Impression Index**



But when you looked at the Positive Impression Index over the same four years, the attitude towards New Haven now was better than for the six cities average. The image had completely transformed and I believe only culture does that to cities. There is nothing else you can do in a city that makes people feel so much more positive about it.

We did another piece of research at this time as well when we were asking people – Connecticut is probably one of the most affluent places in the world. Certainly its western part – which is called Fairfield County - has the highest per capita income in the world – staggeringly rich people, very interested in culture. So we did this big phone survey.

Saying: 'Are you interested in culture?'

'Very interested in culture.'

'Do you go to culture?'

'All the time'

'Do you go to New Haven?'

'Never.'

'Why not?'

'Well... If we could park, which we can't, we would be shot.'

So we asked them: 'Where do you go?'

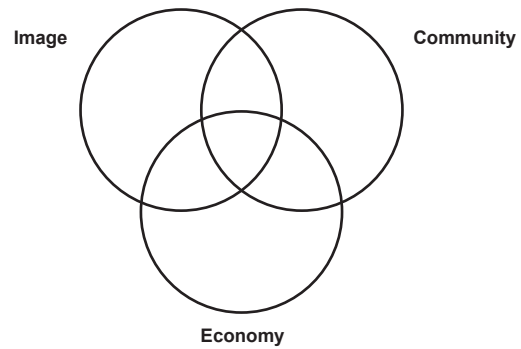
They all said: 'Well we go to New York.'

So we said: 'So it's easier to park and no one ever gets shot in New York?'

The thing is that people are not logical. New York is much more dangerous. It is far harder to park in, but because they saw the cultural offer is so strong they completely ignore that. People

will risk their life for culture! There is not much else that they will do that for and that is why it is such a positive driver in terms of visitors. And I think this has been detected by many people, which is why it has become so important in so many city- and regional strategies.

To make it work one has got to understand that there is a tension in all the things you do between these three:



Image, that is the image of your city or region that you want to promote. Community, these are the people who live there, all the people who live there. Economy, this is the economic output that you want to get out of it.

What you have to make sure is that you develop projects in there (intersection of Image – Community – Economy). Now I give you one or two examples from my region which aren't.

**Hadrian's Wall**

One of them is Hadrian's Wall. Hadrian's Wall is one of the great world icons. It was a wall that was built by Emperor Hadrian to keep the Scots out, which was a very good strategy. It is a world heritage site. It goes from coast to coast. Certainly when I lived in the States I could talk to anyone and they say: 'Oh yes we know Hadrian's Wall'. Nobody has a clue where Hadrian Wall is. If they think anything they think it is in Scotland. But much more important: nobody in the Northeast thinks that it is a part of their identity. They don't think: 'I live in a land that has got Hadrian's Wall'. Therefore there is no connection between image and community. If we use this (Hadrian's Wall) – and the region has for many years – use this as an icon to attract tourists it doesn't really work. And that is because it doesn't connect with that feeling. If you go to an Italian city and you see the old



architecture and the new architecture you feel that it is all part of the same thing and that the people in that city believe there is a connection between them.

### **Folk music**

Another area: The Northeast has a strong folk music tradition, one of the most interesting and distinctive folk music traditions in the world. It operates in the community. Nobody outside the region knew that we had a folk music tradition, and it actually had no impact at the economy at all. It was very much amateurs playing and so forth. So there is an existence up there (in the community) but is not really working for us in any other terms at all. So our strategy has been to look at projects, which begin to occupy that middle zone (intersection of Image – Community – Economy).

### **The Baltic Centre**

This is one that we opened a couple of years ago. It is called The Baltic Centre for Contemporary Art. It is the biggest centre for contemporary art outside of London. It is an absolutely huge space: Five floors of galleries. Sometimes people compare this with the Guggenheim in Bilbao, but it is fundamentally different and controversial. Because although it is the biggest space for the contemporary arts, it has no collection – we like to call it an art factory. It is about making art in a place, and therefore it is about developing institutions, which stimulate creative activity. That's when you begin to get this connection with us being a place that not only has a wonderful gallery – there are other places that have one - but is playing a part in our city because it is attracting artists to live and work there. What has been very interesting as a consequence of this is that there has been an explosion in commercial and independent development of galleries in Newcastle and Gateshead since this opened. One of the biggest ones, which is in a converted biscuit factory and it is called The Biscuit Factory, is actually developed by a local businessman who is a plastics manufacturer who saw: 'There is a lot of art going on – I want a piece of that action too.' He has developed a huge retail space, which sells arts. It is very much domestic art. They tell me that, they always know that people are going to spend the most. They first go to the Baltic, which tends to do very conceptual work, and they then go to The Bis-

cuit Factory and they say: 'Isn't that awful at the Baltic?' They then have long rants about how terrible and unconnected it is and they buy lots of art.

There are also a number of ways in which it has affected the previous biggest gallery - the Laing Art Gallery, which tended to get 200,000 visits a year (It presents historical as well as contemporary shows). The Baltic had a million visits in its first twelve months, five times the number. As the number of visits went up at Baltic, the number of visits at the Laing Art Gallery went up as well. So there is this cross fertilisation between these cultural institutions.

Also the day we opened it to the public for the first time, we have a very significant night time economy, we opened it at midnight to the public for the first time – at midnight – and kept it open until 5 o'clock in the morning. It was completely filled up with 5000 young people from all the bars and nightclubs – all the ones still standing - and they went there and had an absolutely fantastic time. It was about connecting it from the start with who people thought it was for.

The best example of how this can work was a major exhibition at the Baltic by Anthony Gormley called "Domain field". Anthony Gormley is one of the major British contemporary artists.

What he did was to take 250 people and turned them into art. He literally cast them – covered their bodies in plaster and turned them into life-size sculptures. They are quite strange figures because of the way they were constructed. I remember watching an 8 minutes piece on national television about this exhibition. Anyone in the community could volunteer to be a part of this exhibition, and all kinds of people did. And there I was watching the news, which was talking positively about this exhibition – which was image, which was making people say 'I want to go there, because it sounds very interesting – they make art' – which is economy. But it was actually entirely interviews with local people about why they wanted to be a part of this exhibition and how it reflected who they were which is community. So the exhibition itself was an example of a project which makes the connections between image, economy and community. It is making those connections that I think is absolutely essential.

### **'Cooking with Elvis'**

This is another show - another example. We have a small new

writing theatre, which is called Live Theatre and it has been there for a number of years. What we are now doing is investing in the theatre to encourage more new writing. We are creating a thing called the Ideas Factory where writers can be developed to write new plays.

This was a show called 'Cooking with Elvis' and what was interesting about it is the person who wrote it – Lee Hall grew up in Newcastle. He came to Live Theatre because Live Theatre has a big outreach program and does lots of workshops and it runs a youth theatre. He joined the youth theatre, wasn't a very good actor and was encouraged to write by the theatre. He wrote for them a short script which was first performed at Live Theatre called 'Billy Elliot' which went on to be a big movie. He wrote for them 'Cooking with Elvis', which started as a community show. Then Live Theatre helped transfer it to London's West End, where it ran for a long time and then the national tour - the national production, came back to the Theatre Royal in Newcastle, which is our big, grand theatre. It is that circle, which says there are kids out here (Community) who you can develop all the way though, so that the big classic theatre – the places for the elite if you like – are actually showing the show that they wrote and it is taken through that whole circle.

#### **Centre for Life**

Another connection: The University of Newcastle has a very advanced and sophisticated genetics research institute – it is one of the best that there are in the country. What we felt was very important is that the activities of the centre needed a public face. So we developed a museum called the Centre for Life, which is a museum of genetics, which is informed in what it does by the thinking and the research that is coming out of the institute of the university. So as opposed to being just a centre of excellence, which is elite in its nature and cut off from people, there was a connection for local people, because they can begin to understand what it is. It is a great museum as well. It is a lot of fun, and they run a great education programme, which also connects the community to say 'Hey that is something I can do'. But between the two, because the institute is just at the back, is a whole series of incubator units, so that new projects being developed in here actually spin off into incubator units, where they then develop to become private companies and so

forth. So you get that Economy – Image - Community all feeding through again.

#### **Music centre**

This is our big music centre concert hall which opens in January 2005.

What is important about this fantastic new concert hall - two major concert spaces in there – is that it is literally built on a music school – the whole of the basement is a huge music school that takes kids of all ages. It takes elite kids all the way through the system. It has university degrees developed with the universities in town. There is actually now a degree in folk music, which you can study there. So that the organisation is focused on developing the creative talents of the population amongst which it lives. We want those kids performing in those spaces as adults. When we decided to go with this, the first post that was appointed was the director of education. In other words before there was an artistic director or a general manager in there, there was a director of education. And the director of education started seven years before the building was built, beginning to put in the networks all across the region of music education, and this has now become a national model – it has got additional money from the Development of Education, and they are trying to develop three or four other English musical hubs like this, which connect the high quality classical music division that is going on in the halls, it is connecting it all the way down and out into the school system, so there is no break in those at all.

#### **Centre for the Children's Book**

Just one more example: This is the Centre for the Children's Book. So we are developing a centre to celebrate children's literature. Children's literature is a big obsession in Britain. The building will have temporary exhibition spaces. It is also going to be a national archive for children's literature and lots of major writers are donating all their work and original manuscripts. It will also have a big outreach program. It is actually being built on the edge of one of the toughest neighbourhoods in Newcastle – in Byker - which has one of the biggest literacy problems in the country. The level of reading ability in children there is extremely low. They are getting this resource in there, and again: it is going to be a great destination. Loads of people will come

and visit it, but it is literally built in the community and works out of that community as a facility to get people used to books – live with books from the very early age and it is opening in 2005. It is one of the projects for 2005 and actually commissioned from half a dozen of the top of Children's writers in England a special book and we will give a copy of that book to every child in Newcastle and Gateshead when the building opens and in a lot of all those households it will be the first children's book they will actually have.

### **New development**

What we found is that as we focused on the intersection of Image – Community – Economy the private sector started filling in the gaps around us. I think it is very important in cultural planning to be able to understand what it is that the public sector investment does best and what you should let the private sector get on and do.

One of the things is the image of Newcastle and Gateshead has transformed. There has been this explosion in hotel buildings – between 2000 and 2005; we will get 2500 new hotel beds. Every single one of these is a commercial development. We put no money into building those hotels and I think that that is a very important principle.

### **DFDS**

We have seen a lot of investment in transport links. DFDS started two or three years ago with a ferry running just in the summer – one ferry from Amsterdam to Newcastle. It was such a success they ran it all year around. That was such a success that they actually brought two huge new ferries in, so this is sailing every night each way. That is bringing 500.000 visitors to us. I have to say that quite a lot of them are on their way to Scotland. But we have a tactic for that: When they get off the boat there is going to be a huge sign saying 'Welcome to Scotland'

### **Easy Jet**

We have seen ourselves become Easy Jets fourth hub in the United Kingdom. What was interesting is that Easy Jet chose us, because people in the Northeast go on holiday to a much higher degree than almost any other region. So Easy Jet thought that would be a great place to be based. When we were doing the

bid for the European Capital of Culture we did research, to find at that stage, which was in 2000 - 4 % of travellers at Newcastle airport were inbound, 98% had originated their journey in the region.

Easy Jet had been astonished by the impact that they have had. On the Barcelona route 30 % is now inbound, 30 % Catalans coming on holiday in the Northeast and when I got on the Easy Jet from Newcastle to Copenhagen last night almost everybody on the plane were Danish – I mean there were very few English speaking people. So it is very interesting how Easy Jet has opened up these markets to us. Thinking they were going to do something quite different.

### **The Biscuit Factory**

I have mentioned already – this is The Biscuit Factory - these huge developments in galleries and museums that has been going on.

### **Knowledge Campus**

There has also been a huge investment by the private sector in new business parks and other infrastructure.

This – among us it is called Knowledge Campus and has been built just by the River Tyne – the river Tyne - that's the Sage Gateshead. The Baltic is just by there.

This was very heavily contaminated land – mining had gone on in this area of Gateshead – since the 11th century – and that is a lot of mining having been done. It was really very deeply polluted. Nobody wanted that land at all. By building these cultural facilities, by connecting them with a wonderful new pedestrian bridge across to the other side to the sort of heart of the city of Newcastle this added huge value to this land, and you had the private sector suddenly coming in and in fact the biggest problem Gateshead now has in this area is over-competition by the private sector. Because local authorities have less powers than you think and if you have loads of private sectors saying 'I want to build this', 'I want to build that' your plan begins to get distorted simply by the level of investment that is on offer.

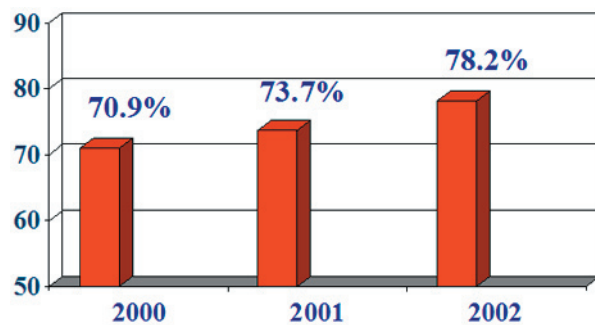
### **Lantern parade**

And we also saw more and more engagement by other authorities in culture. So that a lot more cultural activity was taking

place.

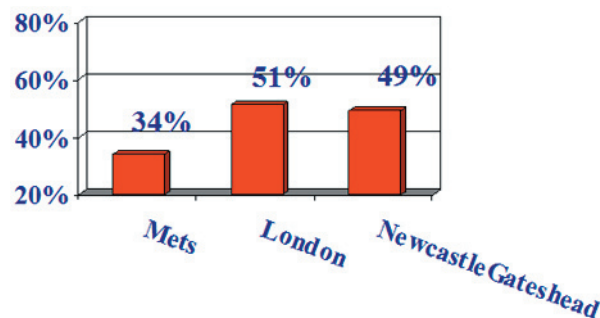
This is a health project. We have got a public housing estate called Wreckington which has the unenviable statistics of having the worst heart condition in the United Kingdom. So the local authority used the arts to create an annual lantern parade. The purpose of it was to get people to think about healthy living and hearts and so on and so forth. In that whole process of making the lanterns, getting parents and other involved and so forth, all the messages the health centre wanted to get across were communicated and what we now have is an annual community event, which they are very proud of, and it works extremely well, but improving health going on at the same time.

**Hotel Occupancy in Newcastle Gateshead**



We found that on the edges around here we can now begin to measure the impact of what we are doing. Hotel occupancy in Newcastle Gateshead is going through the roof and at the weekends it is almost impossible to get rooms and we are worrying about insufficient capacity.

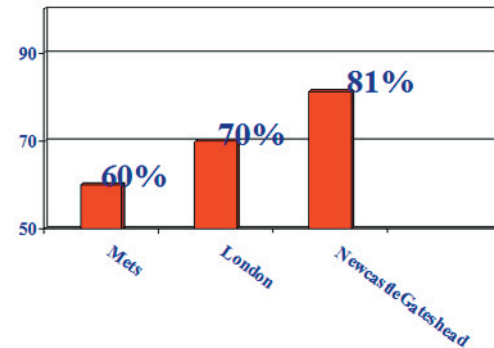
**Art Plays a Valuable Part in my Life**



We have also been doing tracking research in the community at large on how people feel about this. The Arts Council has been doing national research, and we have been asking the same questions at Newcastle and Gateshead. The Arts Council

research base is very big. We asked the question: 'Do the arts play a valuable part in my life?' The Metropolitan Authorities – 'the Mets', as I call them – are the other big urban conurbations in England. What you see is that 34% of people in this conurbation says that arts play a very big part of my life, 51% in London - London always scores high on these things - 49% in Newcastle Gateshead, so you can see that we are performing much better than comparable urban populations in having made ordinary people feel that arts have an important part in their life.

**If my area lost its arts and cultural facilities, the people living here would lose something of value.**



I think that is the most important one – it goes back to developing cultural institutions in the heart here. If you ask local people: 'If my area has lost arts and cultural facilities...', and these are all the projects I have been talking about '... the people living here would lose something of value'. Urban areas generally 60%, 70% in London, 81% now in Newcastle Gateshead. That sense of ownership of those spaces is absolutely fundamental to making them work in these towns.

**The impact on Employment and the economy:**

- Graduate Retention Up (Northumbria University by 24%)
- Jobs in Culture & Tourism Growing Faster than National Average (1996- 2001: UK – 19,6%, NE – 21,3%)
- Business Confidence higher than rest of UK (CBI)
- High Tech start ups second only to London (GEM)
- Only region growing employment (PMI)

Graduate retention is a big issue for us. We have got 5 universities in the region. Two of them are very elite universities we have tended to lose all those graduates as soon as the graduated. A research institute in Newcastle did a piece of research

for our regional development agency in which they studied 600 computer graduates to find that 80% of them had originated in the region before they went to the university. Not one of them was there two years later – they had all left the region. We can't afford that and that's beginning to change.

Jobs in culture and tourism are growing faster than national average and that is extremely important.

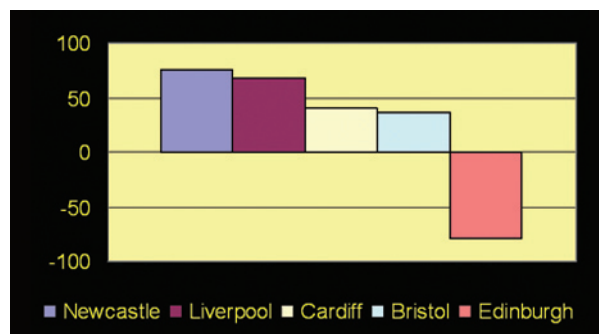
Business confidence is now higher than the rest of the UK.

High Tech start ups: the region has always had a huge problem in developing small and medium size enterprises. It has been about big industries and huge gaps. Suddenly it is beginning to happen, and in the high-tech sector in particular – the start ups are only secondary to London.

There is also now, what is starting to be called the 'Brain Gain'. There are very clear indications now that in the last twelve months we have been stealing bright people from other places and they have been moving into the region. Interesting: One of the pieces of research has been done by Demos, which is a very influential think tank in United Kingdom based in London. They sent a very bright researcher to the Northeast to write a report, which they gave her the title to before she got on the train. It was going to be called: 'A tale of two cities', and it was to show how in the city developments had not connected with the outer edge of the city. When she got there she found that it wasn't true, so she couldn't write that report, so she did another report, where she came up with this phrase called the "Brain Gain", when she looked at the whole series of employments in the region and looked at the extent to which they were now able to recruit. This is a region, which has always had difficulty recruiting people from outside it self. So we have these economic indicators, which has been working for us.

**The European Capital of Culture Effects**

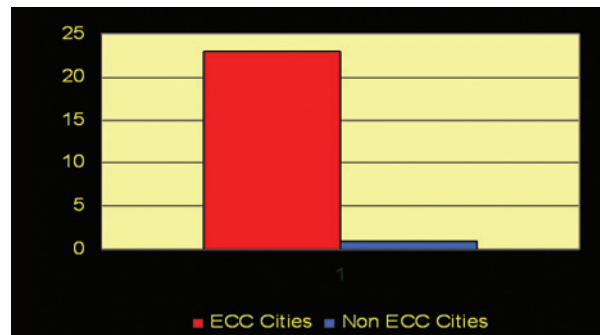
• Visitors Perception Index – Change 2001 - 2003



Now the challenge is where we go on from this. But I just want to touch quickly on the European Capital of Culture, because it gave us a particular opportunity. We make a series of claims about what we did and what impact it had. What is always so hard to prove is any causality between those actions and those indicators. We had a very high profile national campaign to be nominated for European Capital of Culture in 2008. There was an initial phase and then there was a short listing phase. It became a sort of national competition – all the national papers were talking about it. We looked at the short listed cities, which had very high levels of profile out of this process to say: "If some of the claims we make about us are true, and in particular the impact of bidding for European Capital of Culture and the profile it brought on our facilities, we should find the same things happening for the other cities that were short listed.' There were some areas where this was really interesting. We do tracking research every year in any case of perceptions of people outside the region to the region as part of this perceptions index. We happened to be tracking Newcastle, Liverpool, Cardiff and Bristol all of which were short listed for European Cultural Capital, and Edinburgh which wasn't over the period 2001-2003. We found that all of those rose and Edinburgh dropped in comparison, which wasn't bidding.

**The European Capital of Culture Effects**

• Average Increase in Overseas Visitors 2001- 2002

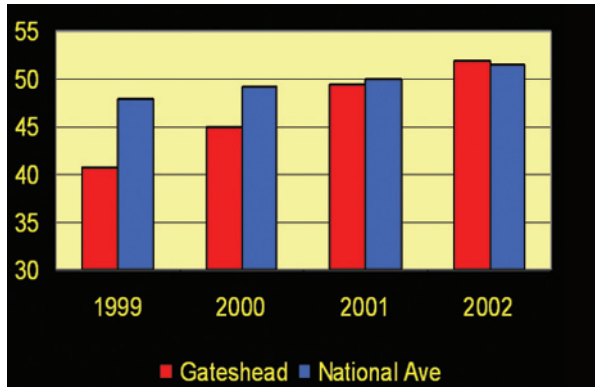


The six cities, that were short listed, happened to be in the top 14 cities for overseas visitors in the United Kingdom. So we were able to look at what happened to the six cities that bid, and what happened to the eight that didn't. What we found were that cities that bid had a 23% increase in overseas visitors. Whilst the ones that didn't had a 1% increase. The biggest number in

the United Kingdom is obviously visitors to London and London was 1%. That was clear to me what the market would have done without the bidding for European Capital of Culture.

### The European Capital of Culture Effects

#### • Educational Attainment Gateshead



Educational attainment is one of the really interesting ones. Gateshead, which is across the river from Newcastle. It is really one city, but for various administrative reasons it has been run as two cities since William the Conqueror arrived. Gateshead has never had the profile that Newcastle had. Newcastle was the regional capital. Everyone was talking about Newcastle, nobody knew where Gateshead was. Gateshead has invested in the big iconic projects like The Angel, The Sage Gateshead, The Baltic – they are the people who have done that. And Gateshead now has a national reputation for being innovative, forward looking, aspirational, delivering beyond expectations. It is now almost a national brand if you understand.

What I think is interesting is what happened to 16 year olds during this period. Now we have a major exam at 16, and they are called GCSE's and the key target is that you are supposed to get five separate subjects, with a grade A to C and that is the standard. If you haven't got that you are basically flunked. In 1999 42% of 16 year olds were getting five GCSE's in Gateshead. By 2002 it was almost 52%. It had gone from being almost bottom of the national performance to now where we are well above average. There is no doubt in my mind that the way people think about themselves is affected by the way people think about the place they live in, and if the place they live is perceived negatively, it affects their performance. I think that what this shows is that if you can completely transform an image of a place it actually affects very directly the way some of our most

troubled young people perform.

### The European Capital of Culture Effects

#### • UK House Prices 2002 - 2003

1. Co Durham	39.3%
2. Merseyside	36.4%
3. Teesside	33.5%
4. Tyne and Wear	32.5%
5. Cumbria and N'berland	30.8%
6. Lancashire	29.4%
7. Birmingham	29.2%
8. South Wales	28.6%
54. Central London	0.9%

House prices. This was the changing house prices in the United Kingdom from 2002-2003. It comes from a list of about 70 different parts of the UK. Central London was down here at 54. What was interesting about them is that all the ones in the top 8, were either cities bidding for European Capital of Cultural or counties adjacent to those bidding for European Capital of Culture. They were all areas where property was undervalued – there is no doubt about that – but the attention that was brought to the properties and the place had a dramatic impact on the values of those properties. That is important for economic regeneration, because it attracts the private sector to invest.

### Culture10 – What?

#### 'Locally rooted, globally relevant'

• Culture10 is a succession of cultural events and projects which support the development of the Newcastle Gateshead brand.

So the question is: 'Where are we going to go now?' We have done all these new buildings. We have a sense of where we want to go, but as Franco said earlier: 'You can't just go on building new buildings all the time. The real issue is: 'where do you move after this?'

We have launched a program called Culture10, which is to address this issue. What it is broadly speaking is a succession of cultural events and projects, which support the development of the Newcastle Gateshead brand. The development of the Newcastle Gateshead brand is the responsibility of an organisation called 'Newcastle Gateshead Initiative' – which was set up in 1999. They bid for European Capital of Culture, because they thought that bidding for the European Capital of Culture would

get the Newcastle Gateshead idea across. In 2002 Newsweek did a front page – a front cover story on the eight most creative cities in the world, and they chose Newcastle Gateshead as one of those eight. What was interesting to me was not that we were one of the most creative cities in the world, because how do you prove that, and it is clearly not true. It was that somewhere in the headquarters of Newsweek the concept of Newcastle Gateshead, which didn't exist before 1999, had got across. There was something about the way those two places have come together, which have created something which is very powerful.

What happens with destination marketing and place marketing is that you tend to get – and Franco has showed this very clearly – a kind of: 'where does responsibility lie for actually shaping the program in all this?' You sometimes get place marketing, which simply gets involved into promoting projects that have been decided elsewhere or place marketing, which is dominating the program development side. Culture10 is a program development unit which will sit inside the NGI as a partner, so that as we develop a program we are doing it in partnership with the place marketing. They are not telling us what to do, we are not telling them what to do, but we are in the same place and this is extremely important for making this work.

#### **Culture10**

**'Locally rooted, globally relevant'**

- **Culture10 must deliver a regional, economic impact**
- **Culture10 will support a small number of big projects each year.**

Its objectives are: It must deliver a regional economic impact. There is culture program outside Culture10. It is not the entire cultural program, it is a particular one. We have decided that we are going to support a small number of big projects each year.

#### **Culture10**

**Economic Return by 2010**

- **Increased income for the region**
- **1.2 billion pounds**
- **Increased employment in the region**
- **24.000 jobs sustained or created in tourism**
- **Unemployment lower than national average**
- **Improved skills in region**
- **Measurable improvement in educational attainment and employment skills.**

What we have to deliver is increased income for the region. We have had Price Waterhouse looking at this and our target is now 1.2 billion, which is primarily tourist income. That has a direct impact on increased employment in the region, which would translate using standard multipliers throughout to 24.000 jobs. But our target of Culture10 is having unemployment lower than the national average, which would be for the first time since the end of the Second World War. Also we have to deliver improved skills in the region: Measurable improvement in educational attainment and employment skills. Those are the objectives that we have been given to deliver.

#### **Culture10**

**'Locally rooted, globally relevant'**

- **Culture10 is seeking projects which are:**
- **Transformational**
- **Distinctive , rooted and contemporary**
- **Challenging, ambitious and world class**

What we want are projects which are transformational – it takes you back to The Angel again. It is no good doing things which leave us where we were before hand. Other cultural programs can do this. This is about changing. It is very much not a complacent program, it is not saying: "We are good enough as we are", it is about saying: 'We have to go on!'

It has got to be distinctive. Franco's point: It can't be about booking in all the worlds' greatest act, which appears in every other city, it has got to be different and even if somebody comes with a product or a performance or something which was performed elsewhere it has to be different, when they do it here. It has got to be rooted, in the sense that local people have to own this; they have to feel it belongs to them. It is about who they are in everything that we do. It has to be contemporary, even though there is a lot of heritage involved in this. It has got to be about now – about feeling alive.

It has got to be challenging in this process, in terms of moving people on. It has got to be ambitious, and the rest of the world has to perceive it as being of exceptional quality.

#### **Culture10**

**'Locally rooted, globally relevant'**

**Partners:**

- **ONE Northeast**
- **Newcastle and Gateshead Councils**

- Arts Council
- Northern Rock Foundation

The partners who have signed up to this are ONE Northeast, which is the regional development agency, which is central government funded organisation responsible for the economical development in the Northeast. The two local authorities: Newcastle and Gateshead Councils. The Arts Council, through its regional Arts Council. The Northern Rock Foundation – we have a big bank placed in Newcastle called Northern Rock – they have a very good foundation they are investing very heavily.

Those five partners have for the year 2005 to 2010 put 60 million pounds of revenue funding – this is all projects under this project - on the table for Culture10, which is around 600 million kroner.

We don't have to pay the running costs of any of the organisations, which do already exist – that's funded separately. We don't have to build any new buildings. We don't have to deliver cultural programs, which are outside our remit. We are free in this space to begin to develop those projects which meet those criteria and recognition by those people of the importance of being challenging and transformational and it is really going to ask difficult questions. The kinds of projects we are talking about are going to be software, but they are going to raise the issues that The Angel did. They are all in it together, which helps them, because they can offset the political criticism saying: 'That wasn't a project I really wanted to do, but they insisted'. Partnerships are very powerful in terms of being able to spread responsibility around. But also there are leveraging their money against other people's money. So if they took their money away, they would actually lose 60 million pounds or so, and that is very important in terms of keeping them all glued up.

#### **A decade of world class culture**

I don't actually know yet what those projects look like. I know that Manchester is thinking the same thing and that Manchester has come up with this idea called Ideopolis, which is that it is all going to be about ideas and the city - Ideopolis.

But when you say: 'What is it actually going to be?' The best I have heard so far is that they are going to have an international festival of arts and ideas, which interestingly was the name of

the festival in New Haven that I ran.

Barcelona this year has come up with Forum2004. 'What is Forum2004?' 'Well, it is a sort of four months of activity, sort of about the environment and world poverty, and making this a better place, and lots of cultural projects etc.' I think 'Yes, I understand that', but Forum2004 feels to me, if they had all the right ingredients they put in the oven and it comes out not quite cooked if you see what I mean.

We have got to invent new forms of doing it. It is going to be different when you look at it. The closest thing I came to was a very inventive games person who suggested to us a very complex game that you could play on the web, on your computer, on the telephone and in the streets of Newcastle and Gateshead. You sort of go into this strange play-acting mode, and you go there in order to do this. But they are very complex and sophisticated in how they operate. I think that is beginning to be in the direction which clearly feels new. It could have festivals there; it could have great opera and kinds of things. And they will have all those things in it. It is going to have to come up with a brand new shape, and that is what we are struggling with at the moment.

I think we know the direction we are going in, I think we know it is working, I think we can see what we have to do next – we have the partnership, we have the money. If we don't deliver it will be nobody's fault but ours.





## Culture City / Cultural Planning by Trevor Davies<sup>1</sup>

I have two roles in the conference: the role as the independent view now and the role as the mediator later. So I'll try to make this part the more personal and the more political of the two roles.

As a wonderful bit of normative planning, I missed the flight yesterday from Stansted to Malmø that I wanted to try because of cheaper prizes, and a wonderful bridge.... Anyhow, with the experience learned from cultural planning, I managed to adapt to the situation and fly to Århus instead and arrived there late at night. However DSB railways doesn't rely on people like me, so there were no trains and I had to spend most of the night at the station and got the train at 4 o'clock in the morning.

### **The learning from 'Huset'<sup>2</sup> in Århus from 1974 onwards - an early experience in an alternative way of organizing space, people and ideas**

Actually driving from the airport into Århus, where I did start my career, I passed a place, which I used to program and run 20 years ago from 1974 to 1978. It occurred to me that I learned

most of the basics there... (pointing at a sketch of the place 'Huset' drawn at the blackboard). This is basically the space: 25 times 25 meters. It is 'Huset' in Århus, the old museum, down by Vester Allé just across from the library. That's the space, which taught me basically all I know about this phenomenon, we are calling cultural planning.

So I would like to go back to that space, and talk about how I looked at it and how I worked there. And then take you through a series of enlargements or up-scaling, and look at how I tried to work the same way with larger projects, with festivals and with the city. Actually they are all about the same thing: organizing space, people and ideas.

That is basically what my life has been about: organizing space, people and ideas - and try to make them connect in the best possible way - to try to create something else which isn't just a sum of the space, the ideas and the people, but which is trying to explore, diffuse or contradict something.

In 1974 that space basically was a hang-out joint for the rockers [bikers] and nothing else. Within three years, how to actually

make it into what turned out to be the most dynamic room in Denmark through cultural creation?

What is this space? It is one big room basically, with folding door systems here there, plus the toilet, washrooms, kitchen, services, and a room full of storage. How to make that into a cultural place?

There was no money to rebuild or do anything. Nobody wanted to own this space. As they were all afraid of that space and there was no budget. I had, of course, to create the cultural capital to actually change that space.

As I was new in town and didn't really speak a lot of Danish, I went to the train station at 4 o'clock every afternoon. The train from Hamburg came in, basically that was the connection with Europe, and all the backpackers came off the train. I said: 'OK, let us make a sleep-in here', and I actually spaced out beds here and some sort of fun-place there. I was on my own for three months running this place to create money to be able to rebuild.

People wanted the free beds for the night; in return they were making the beds, doing the dishes and stuff like that. There were no people employed there then. That was the first thing it taught me. What you actually do is to create a temporary community, and you actually engage the community to organize its own space; but still having the rockers there in the evening, sometimes also having intellectual things going on.

That was my first lesson in cultural planning. It was about putting people in the centre of the space, creating opportunities around them, and motivating them to actually take those opportunities, work through them, and deliver something, which will not just benefit themselves but also benefit the community.

Using the juxtaposition of space, people and ideas was a very basic lesson.

That developed after the rebuilding, which created a space for events for 300 people, a space for the bands to play, a space with showers, because a lot of young people in that area did not have showers, and a veggie-type kitchen, which was the thing to do in those days. I got the rockers in and asked them to help me rebuild. We had a capital of 150.000 kroner, which was quite a lot then.

There was a book-café at the first floor. I demanded it be spa-

tially open. I wouldn't let them build walls and wanted an open staircase up there. I don't want anything to actually stop people from seeing, that there are other things around or stop them hearing sounds from other rooms.

The architect said: 'You can have the cheapest solution where everything goes there, or you can have the more expensive, which makes you unable to hear'.

I said: 'I want the cheapest, because I want people to hear what is going on in the other rooms.' I wanted them to be initiated and I wanted to create a micro, positive, cultural conflict to allow people to know, that they don't own that space.

So, people there are temporary residents. They are temporarily existing in a space for a time and don't have to just look at it as a consumer. They also have to take care of the actual act, so they don't disturb people with too much annoyance.

We were actually building a very lightweight model and structure, where people had to take account of different habits, different cultural and social backgrounds and different needs and forms of expression. It was an attempt to generate a place where everybody got to know that - and not at all to try to work in a sectorial planning way.

I had a background as a qualified planner at The Royal Planning Institute in the UK, and worked in Manchester, but I moved over here to Århus, and started all over. This had nothing to do with any formal decision; it just had to do with a girl with long legs. You know, that is the sort of thing that happens...

Anyhow, we tried to actually work in that space in 'Huset' and let all its weaknesses and problems lead to a positive contact between the individuals that are invited there and create a community spirit, and something, that I was not quite sure what would be.

At a typical day we would be there working from 7 o'clock in the morning. I would probably sleep in there, you know, that was the time. It would open at 9 and we would have a children's theatre show then and again at 10:30. Then you might have a writer's session, where young writers and intellectuals might meet. We might also have a Fassbinder film in the afternoon, and then very well a young band. TV2, the Danish band, actually started here and were banging away from 4 till 6 every afternoon. They could be heard by the intellectuals and by the people eating

their veggies stuff and that was all part of the game.

We were trying to develop a subculture, to develop something, although it was really managing culture - initiating a cultural system to exist, to support it, but also to make it very interdependent. That is independent regarding the external society, but interdependent regarding their own needs, aspirations, ideas, possibilities and possible resources.

That was my first lesson: How to think in a way that is not only creative, but also socially cohesive and holistic.

Trying to think about that, it isn't about a product. It isn't about producing and consuming. It is about open processes, and letting people be part of these, to allow them or enable them to take on a responsibility, and allow them to express, whatever they want to express.

Of course there were conflicts, and you could get situations, which were bad. But the system managed itself. It occasionally happened that there were people starting fights in the evening and throwing bottles and stuff. Then you would ask three or four rockers, who still were sober, to go across and take care of it.

When I wanted to rework the space, I put notices on the board: 'Look, I need somebody who's a good electrician; I need somebody who does that and that. In that way we also used the space as a communication system. I got a printer, and I got a guy, who knew printing machines, so we could run everything ourselves. Actually at night, we were putting up posters in town. It was of course illegal, but it was the only way to actually advertise and survive.

As things grew, we tried to communicate needs and solve problems in a more and more formal way. From the notices on the board, it got to newsletters and telephone networks - building this up as you went along. So within 4 years it changed and we began to see the formal impact in regards of finances. This is something else which reality taught me: The difference between a financial driven economy and a resource driven economy. These differences are huge.

More and more I came to value the idea of trying to manage with as little of the formal, financial economy as you can, which will generate as much free, independent resource economy as possible.

You actually can see a relationship between the resource econ-

omy and the financial economy. Sometimes they replace each other. If you are enough people, you can get things done for free, and if you aren't, you have to pay for it. Free resources are what have driven most of the alternative culture and most of the subculture that exist today.

At some point the activities stop being informal. They stop being driven by free resources - people's time, connections, material and whatever. Then they become more formal and even market driven - and they tend to be dependent on public support.

But actually the most viable projects are by people who made up the game in the process; projects, which are partly driven by public funding, partly by the market, but also still driven by energetic people, ideas and concepts. So they are still resource driven and that is an interesting thing.

Looking at the value of this project, measuring it in real terms, in economic terms, in terms of people employed, etc.: It was a buoyant economy, but the input from the formal economic system was still the same. The extra value created, was created by the people themselves, by the system itself and the configuration of space, people and ideas.

That was the case 'Huset' on one level. We are talking here about micro levels, but it is actually a lot of the same things, when we are talking about how to actually regenerate cities. 'Huset' was regenerating one room, in one city, in one country and it was 30 years ago, but the same sort of process, the same concept and the same ideas can be used at other scales and levels.

### **Learning from the Copenhagen International Theatre<sup>3</sup>**

Going on from 1978/1980 we shall now look at examples from projects, which I literally happened to have in my bag, as we are printing a Fools 25 Year Anniversary Book<sup>4</sup>, and I have some pictures, I think it is nice to see.

We see a picture from Nokken on Amager in the harbour of Copenhagen. Nokken is a place which is going to have all these nasty designed houseboats which nobody wants to buy, and they are basically going to lie in the harbour, screaming about this anarchistic area, which is being completely spoiled because of these nicely planned architectural interventions in the water.

But let us go back in time. Finding these places was a part of

a project called 'Storbynætter' (Metropolitan Nights). The idea was to make a series of formative interventions in public space, looking at spaces, which were forgotten or spaces we were looking at in unusual ways. We invited several artists to come along and work. Some of these guys were going to be the theatre group Dr. Dante a few years later, but that is another story. It is about finding spaces, while thinking why are we doing a theatre-piece here? It is about challenging artists by inviting them into spaces that are not so called habitable by artists normally, or which don't have culture there, or which don't have a normal frame of reference. It is actually about forcing the artists to react to a given situation, at a given time and connect the people.

You actually need permissions to do this, so we had quite a long negotiation with the people living there. They don't want people coming around making performing art on their bathing shore. They really don't want that, because they don't want their pictures in the press. And they don't want the press to ask questions. It is all too dangerous, as it is threatening their lifestyle. So you have to negotiate with people about interventions of this type, which intrude on their privacy, on their lifestyle, to be able to do something but to be sympathetic towards them and to generate some sort of discussion about these lifestyles. What are they? What should they be? Is Nokken a possible future for the city and so on? All these underlying questions you are trying to relate to and of course the guys did produce a wonderful piece. The last night they actually did a performance for the inhabitants of the area.

In another case we asked the theatre leader Kirsten Dehlholm<sup>5</sup> to look at Stormgade in Copenhagen, which is a kind of the backside of the National History Museum. This street is basically just for driving through as quick as you can, and if you are on a bike, good luck! If you are walking, you feel like you are walking through hell, because the sound magnifies incredibly in the colonnade. It just bounces off you. So, actually it is taking in a very inhospitable space, which is architecturally wonderful with this row of columns, and the spaces in between, and inhabiting that space. Given the task, of course the first you do is to close the street off. It means you have to negotiate new traffic plans with the city, which is interesting, because we are a very informal organization asking the city manager: 'Do you

mind actually closing this street off basically for 10 nights from 6 o'clock to 12 o'clock?'

It is an interesting exercise, because it gets these people thinking about where does the traffic come from, and what is it doing there? Do we want to make that sacrifice for this piece of art, which is put on for a 100 freebees, who are wandering around because it is interesting? Where is it getting us, the city and its managers?

But it happened, and it was a wonderful and beautiful experience. On the other side of the street, there are flats, and we asked every one in them if they would have a certain piece of music playing at a certain time? We were also asking the local radio to play special music. At a certain time all the flats opened the windows and played the music from the radio, which made the soundscape.

In the street we had hundreds of people wandering up and down. This was commenting not only on traffic but also on what was not happening in the actual museum. Because there weren't hundreds of people wandering up and down there, looking at the collections, which were uninterestingly organised at that time.

So making a comment in the street and colonnade, we actually tried to generate some discussion and some ideas in this public space. We were not taking ownership of the public space, but were using the event in the public space to speak out loud, and inviting, again, these positive confrontations, using local media and actually using primetime local radio directly.

Normally the local radio would be playing pop-music at this time and everybody asked: what the hell are they playing? What is the idea? Maybe I'll go down and see it! Actually it intervened into mainstream culture, at the same time offending and intimidating the national institution behind the walls.

Again we were playing around with space, time, people and ideas.

Another case: A French guy made an installation in a courtyard in Nørrebro. There are a lot of these places in Nørrebro and Vesterbro in Copenhagen, which basically are yards between tenement blocks. These are his drawings, and they are pretty much the scale. It took place in an unused area, which was sort of desolated, with garbage, rubbish, etc.

The project was actually to say, what are you going to do with this? The artist's idea was to transform the site into something, which was a night space for film and video. We had a big 35 mm projector, which were showing films like 'Subway', iconic urban films. We had several 16 mm films also, which were art films - all related to the city - and we had these huge Oldsmobiles, 1950s and 60s American rundown cars from a scrap dealer. People sat inside the cars and looked at the video monitors outside. Those films were a sort of purposely made and even trashed movies - all artistic creations for the event.

It ran from sunset to sunrise on a series of evenings, and there were also hamburger stands. So we were actually celebrating and making quite a few points there, which were really obvious: about cities, about cars, about empty spaces, about possibilities, but also about regeneration.

It is again about creating these communities, who have to relate to different things in different ways, and force them to do things and connect. People would hang around. I mean literally nobody would leave. They would come back day after day. It became cult. It became a nightclub thing or a rave thing. It became a sort of alternative space of the Christiania-type.

During the life of this organization called Copenhagen International Theatre, we have done a series of projects like this, from 1980 to the present day. There have been over 100 hundred live interventions in the city, which has worked on principles like this. Most of them have taken advantage of disused areas or areas where there is conflict, areas where there is a vacuum for ideas, or areas waiting for development. In other words what we are trying to do is to underline the potential for change. In that way you are not entirely destructive, you are trying to see potential.

Another place: The gardens in front of the Royal Library. An artist stretched out a huge net and actually bounced on it as a trampoline thing. It was transparent, so you could see all the wires and it was all done by flames, light and whatever. In a way it was changing this place to a kind of Japanese garden - looking at the tensions in that sort of structure, themes and colours.

These guys from 'Survival Research Laboratory' came from the United States. They were, and still are, a number of defunct magicians, who work with not only pyrotechnics but they are also computer experts and they have very good connections with the American military forces and the research institutes. They built computer-controlled monsters basically. The size of the monsters in Copenhagen was massive - very large scale. It was in 1988. Now, much later, smaller computer-controlled monsters are in games on TV where they are fighting each other.

The area for the monster event was a place nobody had ever been to, in Sydhavn, the South Harbour in Copenhagen. It was basically out of bounds. It was boarded up. You weren't aloud to get to the waters edge there. At the event, there were 2,000 people there. We had to build up barbed wire to keep the other 1,000 out - literally had to keep them out.

So how do you transform a space which has no value - no market value, no cultural value, nothing - into a space which becomes a symbol of its time? That evening is only a one time thing, it's only done once. It is a snapshot of something, which could be. It is a snapshot, which people talk about and still relate to. It was quite magnificent. The heat was so intense that actually the people in the front got a little burned. There was Bettina Heltberg, the journalist from the Copenhagen newspaper Politiken. She still writes occasionally, most of it pretty memorable stuff, but at that time she was a very important theatre critic. She got her front hair burned off - 'psscht' - off it went! So you are actually talking about quite huge manifestations.

Again you are giving voice to another type of culture. It becomes a sub-cultural property a place is invaded by the occupying people who are crying out for space.

What they thought of as art was already in that time much about computer art, and much about all these used windows, that were collated from buildings abandoned in the area. So again you are trying to put in things of modern technology, reusing also old stuff partly in a violent way. It is a statement of pulling houses and blocks down - building into it a whole lot of discussion.

Now to a project from 1983. What we wanted to do then, was a staging of a play which was written by four people in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Denmark and England respectively. It was writ-

ten over six months and the text had to be actually transported. If we telephoned, the lines were tapped. If we sent it by post, it never got there. We actually had to create a system of travelling information to get this piece that was very subversive about creating a new Europe - about creating a new world and about linking the two parts of Europe.

We wanted to find a theatre, where we could do that. We thought out the idea and found 17,000 square metre disused industrial space in Amager in Copenhagen. That is a lot of square metres.

We moved out in February with our kitchen pots and worked with the one electric line that was open. We actually made camp and were there for four months working with, in the last phase, 150 artists and a lot of other people that came around. Again the play had the idea of a manifestation in a part of the city, that was essentially neglected, which had no potential, which was actually written off. Amager was a joke.

It made sense to do this thing. We revitalised the area. We had a wonderful dialogue with all the people working around in the area, whether they were the bakers, the electricians. Everybody supported this whole project.

If you are looking at what it was created about, it was actually a community of people living outside, working outside, producing something. So, again it was the idea of claiming that no man's land and creating an infrastructure, where people could talk about the future - in this situation about the future of Europe. At the same time the authors were tyrannised and threatened at home by the secret police.

I think it is all about this idea of cultural debate, which could be about globalisation, which could be about communities in different countries and cities. All these serious debates, which are often difficult to structure, difficult to confront, are easy as soon as you are in the matrix of a game. Because then everybody would play it and you get off further. So you can actually play out role models, play out conflict situations, circumstances, and processes, by calling it theatre, by just using this areas for a theatre piece.

And actually it is just a big bit of scenography, isn't it - all these sort of games? So you are trying to do something by going in and work on the idea of what is reality and what is theatre, or

what is concept and what is product and what situationism is. That is what it is basically. It is actually allowing you an enormous amount of freedom.

With these kinds of projects, you don't have the protection of the normal theatre, but you have this complete nakedness to what's going on, and a complete openness of process. You are not talking about a product a première night and 14 shows (you are also doing that), but you are talking about process, you are talking about getting people there to talk about the process, getting them meeting there, documenting it, discussing it. It is amazing because you generate this understanding. All through, from 1980 until today, I think the Copenhagen International Theatre has been doing this other model in different ways with lots of projects and lots of concepts.

So this for me was actually going out into the open urban space working in the same way I had worked before but on another scale. And it was again trying to organise a juxtaposition of time, situations, spaces, people and ideas. It was an attempt to relate them to what has been talked about in the context of their time, and relating them to where there seems to be a driving force, and to what needs to be discussed where.

One of the big foci of these efforts has always been the harbour of Copenhagen - and that goes through from 1980 - and also through the whole City of Culture '96 and after, when we also have done projects. It has always been my theory that the harbour is Copenhagen's saving grace. If there is any room for movement in the city that is very controlled, it is there. The city is much departmentalised, the people there do not know each others strengths, and either takes too much space or just allows other people to do it. There is little dialogue about what should be done. So our whole thing is very much about negotiation, very much about dialogue. It is very much about putting people in positions they are not used to, and in that way creating an uncertainty, which usually, if you manage it well, creates very positive results.

You could not usually create positive results that are different when, people are on certain ground - or if they are in their own area, which they command, which they are responsible for with their budgets in a situation which they are used to, and using the language they are used to.

You have to destabilise before you can change. It is this process

of destabilising; it is this process of confronting, this process of trying to find other situations, which allow them the freedom and the necessity to think in another way to move on. And that's what most of the work has been about.

It has also been done on a more global level. For example the idea of having an images of Africa festival quite simply came out of an Århus university report saying Denmark is putting billions into Africa, but people have no idea what Africa is, no idea of African countries: What are we investing in? Why are we trying to save these people? What is it all about? So we said OK, we can make a festival and we can actually try to change people's point of view.

That started a whole process and series of images festivals<sup>6</sup> which actually ended with the establishment of a government organisation, that has the job now to manage cultural exchange with developing countries, as we call them, or non-western countries, what in reality it is.

That sort of global dialogue is again about the idea of using something temporary, using something that is a laboratory, using something that is called a festival. Actually it is not a festival - although of course it has events. It is about something much more. It is about confrontation with concepts and ideas, a continent, and about trying to make people aware. The words, the terms, and the phrases used are irrelevant and we might have to find new ones. It is about making people uncomfortable, and allow them to talk about it. And so they did in debates and discussions.

One of the results that is quite interesting, is afterwards you can see far more Africans walking around in their own national dress, which is just a quirky way of saying they felt safer. You can also measure the effect in other ways.....

Again, after doing this festival three times, we had to say: We can't go on making this festival. We want to move on. We have an agenda. Our little group can't go on saving that continent. Lets us widen it and create something to carry it on. By that point in time, there were enough politicians and enough people in the ministry of foreign affairs, who thought: yes! Denmark ought to have a centre for this, and we ought to have a permanent staff to do it, and that was then created.

So, again you could use situations like this that seems to be

very much about playing level, to actually create a positive decision making environment - to cement the change once you have done it. That makes the change have a long term impact and long term consequences not only for yourselves, but for others.

Mechanisms like this, where you are actually playing, have a role. And you must remember we are an independent organisation, having only 3 full time staff and a budget, with only about 1,5 million kroner a year from the ministry. That has not changed in 25 years...

However what has changed and why it is possible to do things like this is that informal networks mean far more these days than major organisations or institutions. And the change of thinking in the 1980s in terms of either 'foreninger' (associations, etc.) or 'movements' for the grassroots or institutions running things, went out the window. What happened was that projects and networks came in the back door. And whatever we do today, it has to be built on the ideas of projects and networks.

But being dependent on projects and networks since 1980 (and even before) has of course given us this expertise. And it shows that we have been able to find partners to do even the most ridiculous things, which we can't get funding for. So actually it is playing the same game in different roles and at different levels.

### **The case of Copenhagen as the European City of Culture '96<sup>7</sup>**

Translating these experiences to a project which is the Cultural City of Europe of course is not easy.

Until then you were allowed to play the role of 'l'agent provocateur', you were allowed to play around because you were not official, you were not the city ... But how do you do this in a situation, where there is political control? How do you do this in a situation where you are talking about real budgets, which are quite scary? How do you do this with a staff of 145 over a 4 year period? And how do you do this with 42 local authorities on your back saying, we want this and this delivered? How do you create systems like this in a scale that is not permanent, but actually is six years? And that is near as permanent, as you can get.

That was something that we were very hard at, and although it is very laborious, it seemed to work. We did try to define, and actually succeeded to define culture in a way, which forced it



out of the rhetoric of the arts and out of the rhetoric of the 1960s and 1970s.

It was defining culture having three main components:

- Basically a community component
- An arts component
- An environmental component

We felt, if we have to generate change in the city, we have to captivate the imagination of people working in all three sectors. People related to all three sectors. It was the rule that whatever project, we had a sort of a cube - there is one way and the other way and the third way. Any project you had was in the middle of that. You had to relate to these goals and strategies, whatever was formulated.

Actually it was also about creating an area of freedom, because nobody knew what was going to happen with the wonderfully large project, which they curated with six wonderful artists from New York. What would happen to it? You have to force it to relate to social goals, and force it to relate to environmental concepts.

Similarly for all the greenies: what will happen to all their loved environmental projects, what will happen to the parks department, and this and that...

We said, you should know, we want something else. We want other kinds of projects that look at things in other ways. So forcing everybody into a new situation, and forcing them to look at other departments and other concepts, actually made them freer. It made them freer to be able to take the changes in their stride, and allow and have an excuse to make other decisions, than normally would be made with the same projects and the same people and the same departments.

Again, it is trying to actually change the point of decision making, to make that very different from normality. It is again - on a mega scale - using the political system to protect you, having all these people on the board, having everything there. Actually not one project was changed out of the 600 projects we did. Not one of those was voted against. You build up your wall of protective environment, and within that you create a very free environment in which you challenge everything on the go.

You don't decide everything at once. You invite everybody to days of debate and discussions. Everybody gets pissed off, and everybody gets tired of all these debates and discussions, but

it is a completely necessary process to go through. In the end, I think, one found it actually had some interesting results.

It was not all aimed at selecting products. We could have given it to the arts counsel, or the film counsel to select film projects. It wasn't about selecting product. It was about changing product, opening up the process to make that product, and actually forcing that product into situations the involved don't want to be in. We didn't want another film festival in the film house. We wanted open air and we actually wanted it in the suburbs, so you could keep your good idea in the program.

Actually you are telling everybody: There was not one project where we said 'yes do it and here is the funding'. So you are forcing people into those changes, and you are giving yourself a role as an intermediary in the process of creation, which annoys them like hell and particularly the major institutions. Because institutions are made and built to be self sufficient - and the more self sufficient they are, the better they perform in the normal world. Because the better they are to manage their own ideas, their own concepts, their own staff without trouble, and the better the same people came to the same effects, the more happy all are. But it is not about that. It is about forcing them to do something else. So you are very much challenging these institutional ways.

Of course, working in environments like that is extremely difficult, and it is a huge power struggle. I think there were enormous lessons in situations, when the chain pops off - in a biking nation that might be a logical metaphor. The chain did sort of pop off, or somebody put a spoke in it.

What happened at the end of the year was that normality in a rain of silent terror raised its ugly head and took over, because it is absolutely natural for systems to regroup. And the system regrouped basically as it was before.

The wonderful ideas that Franco Bianchini has come with this morning, the things we know are implicitly right, have never been talked about as part of any formal decision making process or any structure we knew, that would be able to manage this kind of thinking.

So, I can say why the hell are we having this discussion now? We should have had it 10 years ago. 10 years ago was ripe. We are a decade too late with this discussion. Because all the

signs have been on the wall, all the possibilities have been there, all the lessons have been there, but there was nobody to take over.

So, if you are thinking about doing it again, or create in another environment, you might have to think of something, which is going to actually make a structure of concepts and ideas and projects. Because, can you fight normality, or can you fight existing structures and hierarchies and systems, with the same sort of logical thinking? With the usual political decision making process, the usual negotiations you go through in the departments? On the same level? I very much doubt it. But you might. I think the changed planning regards to the harbour is quite interesting. There has maybe been a wind of change, as to how it ought to be done, after all.

You know, the young architects from Amsterdam, that have been given planning tasks in the Copenhagen harbour, may not be the greatest architects in the world, but they are out of the system. They have done something, which is interesting and it can point to different ways of doing things and different decision making processes<sup>8</sup>.

But there are huge gaps to what Franco is saying. If we want to do something, which is a step forward from doing the iconic projects - the mega projects - the projects which are very controllable as the Royal Opera in Holmen. What you don't get, is cultural confrontation of these issues, because there is a very obvious ownership of the project and this creates different rules and regulations with different parts of the city. It is still that dialogue and debate, which is missing. So I wonder if that is going to happen. It is something we could talk about afterwards. How do these concepts relate to Copenhagen in its current situation?

But anyway that was a brief idea about how I tried to keep some very integral ideas alive at different scales of work, but also a sort of ending up in a formalistic way, looking at decision making processes in the city we are in - against its own experience and its own successes in a way. The sort of things that Franco Bianchini does and the sort of iconic vision that Newcastle has, and perhaps your own ideas of what this cultural planning is all about.

Question from the audience: Is there an ideology behind this?

Davies: I don't know. I suppose there is in a way. I think it is a fascination about the public domain. And it is an absolute obsession about working in the public domain and creating a public domain, and managing it without controlling it and allowing this public debate whether it is artists who work with sculpture, or whatever. It is actually using that in the context of a rapidly changing civic society which is loosing its public domain. That is its main thrust you might say.

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## Urban Restructuring and Cultural Planning

by Jens Kvorning

In my presentation I will try to discuss how this concept of Cultural Planning could be understood from the point of view of the urban planner.

What I am going to present is partly based on a research project called 'Urban Restructuring', which is a project aiming at understanding what is happening in European cities as a consequence of the restructuring processes started by globalisation and deindustrialisation - how cities react to these changes, and especially how they react by setting up transformational or restructuring strategies.

Putting cultural planning and restructuring strategies next to each other the first question coming up is: What can planning support, and what should planning support? Is it possible to support the alternative cultures, or is cultural planning deemed to deal with the strong, successful commercial or mainstream cultures?

I will start to present some of the points of view which this project is based on.

A well known statement about the city is that the city is where you meet the stranger. From that statement you can conclude that urban culture is about learning from the stranger. Over and over learning from the stranger is what creates the vitality of the urban culture. Sharon Zukin in her book 'Cultures of Cities' says that this is what used to be the case, but it has been replaced by fear of the stranger. Everybody is afraid of the stranger, everybody is trying to get rid of the stranger, isolate themselves from the stranger, building up compartments or enclosures where you can avoid meeting the stranger. So one very central question is: What is urban life about and urban culture than about if everybody in a city is trying to avoid the strangers?

One of the conclusions drawn by Sharon Zukin is, that what the Disney Corporation is producing is extremely logic. Disney Corp. is producing theme parks and urban designs which transcend ethnicity, class and regional differences, to offer a national public culture based on aestheticizing differences and controlling fear. The solution simply is to remove the problems and

create a 'Landscape of civility and security that recalls the world long left behind'. The landscapes of Disneyland have no guns, no homeless people or illegal drinks or drugs and therefore create a viable presentation of a real city built for people from the middle class. Sharon Zukin tells us, that this is actually what we as planners and architects have to struggle with, because that is a logical answer to the social and cultural processes going on in the city. The Disney strategy presents a strong and simple, market based answers to the basic questions. From the point of view of the Disneyland manager she says that: 'The Disneyworld is understood as a powerful visual and spatial reorganisation of public culture. Learning from Disneyland promises to make social diversity less threatening and public space more secure.'

So that is more or less the recipe given by the Disney Corporation, but not just in the theme park, but actually a sort of strategy delivered to anybody. And a lot of strategies put forward in these years actually deal with exactly the same view of what are the problems and what are the effective or simple answers.

In another Sharon Zukin book, *Landscapes of Power*, she has examined different cities focusing on how they react to the global transformation processes. She put forward the notion of culture as what frames cities' and communities' ability or inability to adapt to changes and new circumstances. She has carried out case studies dealing with a traditional steel city which was confronted with the challenge that the steel plant would close down. The local community reacted by trying to take over the plant, which was completely meaningless because the plant had no future. But the working class culture was so strong that it was the only offer given by the local culture to that threat.

Sharon Zukin examines in the same book another steel city not far away, actually inside the Detroit urban region. That community had been confronted with the same challenge 15 years earlier. It produced a conflict with the labour unions about how to react to that. During that conflict the city or the local community learned to behave and react in a completely different way. So when they, 15 years later, were confronted once again with plans for closing down the plant, they were able to react in a different and more constructive and sophisticated way – far away from the simple proposals delivered by the traditional working

class culture.

So Sharon Zukin brings forward some very convincing examples of culture forming that overall framework of ability or inability to adapt and react in a positive way to changes. And I think the same thing was said in another way this morning and also in the afternoon by Trevor.

I know it is banal when I quote complex theoretical thinking in such a simple way as has just been done, but nevertheless I will go on with a quotation from Saskia Sassen. She has this notion of the global city as a control-centre, claiming that to the same extent that economic activities are spread all over the world, the necessity of control-centres is growing. The success of the global city is its ability to over and over again regroup the different cultural and intellectual components, creating new combinations and environments able to come up with sophisticated services, necessary to develop the global economy. If a city doesn't have that capacity to constantly regroup a lot of different functions, a lot of different knowledge and a lot of different understanding, it can not work successful on the global scene.

This, once again, focusses very much on cultural aspects, because this ability to regroup things, to do things in a new way, to combine elements and skills in the city is very much attached to culture. So culture becomes this very basic sort of circumstance that allows cities to adapt to the changes started by globalisation and de-industrialisation – or prevent them from this.

My last quotation comes from Pierre Lafitte who in the 1970s was the director of the Ecole des Mines which is a big French engineering school. In an article written in the early 70s he put forward the idea building up a Latin quarter in the countryside. It seems ridiculous or astonishing to combine university Quarter and the country side. But what was really interesting was the understanding of the concept of the Latin Quarter. Lafitte said that what the Latin Quarter is about is what is in between the big academic institutions. Each of the big academic institutions has some capacities, but what the Latin Quarter is about, is the cultural and intellectual exchange between these institutions. That is the real capacity of the Latin Quarter. It adds to the big cultural institutions this ability to open up for exchange, and in a way that is similar to what Sassen is looking for - structures

which allow for combining things in new ways. And in Pierre Lafitte's statement that is the capacity of the Latin Quarter.

Talking about knowledge economy and globalisation building up Latin Quarters in the Lafitte-sense becomes one of the crucial operations.

My last quotation marks out the territory in which I want to discuss cultural planning, is another quotation from Sharon Zukin - what she calls 'up-scaling'. She relates 'up-scaling' mainly to Central Business Districts, but I think it is also relevant to a lot of other urban interventions. Up-scaling seems just to be about bringing up the quality of a district or an event, making things more sophisticated. But Zukin argues that actually what it is about is making it possible for each group having their own place, public space secured by uniformed guards, the neutralisation of ethnicity, the aesthetisation of differences and emphasising corporate identities.

So, according to Zukin, what is actually in our practice as planners is very similar to what the Disney Cooperation includes in their strategy for building up amusement parks. That of course, makes it quite interesting to discuss what the content of cultural planning really is. I could ask you: Is this a picture from Disneyland, is it from a historical European city or is it from a newly build, Krier-designed Dutch city?

So, just to make a conclusion to this first section, the question could be: Are there other ways of dealing with these questions, the fear of the stranger, are there any other ways than the Disney way to deal with re-establishing the system of learning from the stranger, are there ways of creating zones which can start a new process? That must be the key question for cultural planning.

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Let us start with the most banal, the best known, the most exhausted and maybe also the most misinterpreted example of cultural planning in the urban scale: The Bilbao project. Because what is interesting is that if we ask architects, if we ask architectural magazines: 'What is this project about?' The answer is: 'It is about building a signature building. The Gehry architecture is so fantastic, that this signature building has put

Bilbao on the world map of tourism and architecture. The very moment Bilbao, as a consequence of that building, was placed on the world map, a lot of things started to happen. That is the strategy of Bilbao.

That is, from my point of view, a very narrow-minded understanding of a strategy for urban restructuring.

If we ask in another professional world, the world of curators and other people involved with the art scene, I think their answer would be, that the Bilbao strategy is about the combination of the signature building and the first global museum. The concept of the global museum, this branch of the Guggenheim and its power repeated in a provincial city, this combination is so powerful and so fantastic. That is what makes the success of the Bilbao project.

Even that interpretation, in my opinion, is quite superficial, and even if it was the case, it wouldn't be a valid urban restructuring strategy.

The reason why it nevertheless is worth looking at Bilbao is that the strategy is much more comprehensive. It is about trying to renew and culturally move an industrial city into another position, facing a new reality. What is actually done in Bilbao is a layered strategy of a lot of different things carried out at the same time that creates a valid cultural planning strategy. It is not just about Gehry making this map - which he actually didn't do, even though everybody says so - but it is about the city doing a lot of different things at the same time. On the cultural level, two initiatives are carried out in parallel. The global museum, which interacts or tries to get into a dialogue with the international art and tourism world. At the same time a huge music and concert complex has been created. It contains a lot of training facilities for local musicians, and teaching facilities, but also a big concert hall and a lot of other halls for different purposes. So there are two things happening at the same time on the big cultural institutional level. There is one element here, which is actually reacting to the local and the regional world, and there is another one reacting, of course also to the local, but primarily to the regional and international world, and those things are happening at the same time trying to open up relations on a lot of different levels.

Parallel to that, there is a strategy going on trying to teach people a new way of understanding and living in their own city, a



new appreciation, a new way of walking around, repeating the tradition of the promenade, featuring that with constructions with a high architectural value, new bridges, new pavements etc. Creating accessibility to the city, making communication into the city much faster, much more effective but also visible in a new symbolic way realised by the Norman Foster metro stations. All of these things are created at the same time, and the Guggenheim Museum is just one part of that. All these ways of transforming culture on different levels, I think, form an interesting strategy.

But it is quite frightening that in the architectural magazines, it is never explained in that way, it is just a signature building made by the architect-god, saving the world.

#### DUBLIN

The Temple Bar area in Dublin is another well known example, where culture is provided the vehicle, generating power for starting up new transformation processes in the city, and thus making the city able to adapt to new post-industrial circumstances.

The starting point in Dublin was that run down area, along the river, next to one of the main business streets. For many years the official planning policy had aimed at clearing that area in order to build up new structures. In the late 80s the city realized, that the new buildings were not very attractive and that the area along the river actually was a part of the history and the cultural heritage of Dublin. So the city produces a completely different strategy trying to, in this run-down quarter – which the investors didn't like at all – insert a few new institutions, open for different cultural purposes, like a film institute, an art centre, a dance theatre, with small squares and cafes in-between, and that was it.

At the very moment those investments were made and the potential of the area was realized, everybody could see it, and a lot of training facilities for young artists, media production companies etc. moved in to the area and transformed it in a very short time. On top of that, it became the most popular amusement centre, with so many people coming every night, that it is almost too much now.

But the strategy is quite interesting because it was based on this

combination between a little public investment followed by private investment. Not the huge, impressive, institutions like the Guggenheim Museum, but fairly local ones, trying to address different groups in the local culture, opening up new spaces to be taken over - and from there expanding this understanding of the possibilities and potentials of the area.

What is interesting in a broader urban perspective is that coming from this area, based on this successful strategy, it has been possible to persuade private investors to transform the other side of the river, which is also a very run-down area with a lot of different types of urban structure and activities. In this way, Dublin still have spaces in the central city for different groups and different alternative cultures which I believe is a crucial dimension of cultural planning. The city must be able to cope with different groups and different cultures and allow for different ways of living. The university quarter is just next to Temple Bar District and the HARP-area on the other side of the river. Instead of tearing down these areas next to the river and building up some terrible office blocks, the city now has got a complex area with a lot of overlap between the university, the media firms, the traditional businesses and the amusement functions, and also overlaps between young people and other age groups - a lot of different spaces open to different groups and open to different activities.

#### ROTTERDAM

What is interesting in Rotterdam is that in the late 80s and early 90s the city realized that the self-understanding of the city was simply wrong. Rotterdam used to believe that it was the prime modernist city. You can read it in the books by father Koolhaas too - Rotterdam is the modern city!!!

In the 30s Rotterdam had all the finest examples of modernistic architecture in Holland, a city which appointed Oud a city architect when he was 27 – the youngest city architect and a young hero from the modernistic movement. The city built up fantastic areas of working class houses and a lot of new institutions. The whole world focused on Rotterdam in the 30s. And after the Second World War, after having been bombed the city repeated the building up of the images of the modern city - the first pedestrianized shopping quarter in Europe was created, presenting a new model for how to shape the modern city. Rotterdam

continued to be that modernistic city focusing on working class culture. But suddenly in the late 80s and early 90s the city realized that the harbour, the economic basis of Rotterdam, was no longer a harbour depending on a lot of unskilled workers, but it was a harbour which actually needed a lot of sophisticated control from people able to deal with computers and abstract thinking. There was a need for a lot of highly educated middle class people, but the city in its self-understanding had failed to create room for this group of people. The city suddenly realized that it had no attractive quarters for the middle class.

That was the starting signal for a new urban policy. And contrary to what is normally the case what was the missing element here was the middle class quarters. A strategy for the whole urban area was introduced arguing: 'OK, if we are going to adapt the city to today's circumstances what do we need? We need to upgrade the central city and to adapt it to today's way of urban living and shopping, but we also need to expand our cultural possibilities and build up a cultural quarter – new museums - we do need to create a middleclass quarter and to unite the different parts of the city and understand the role of the harbour in a new way.' Of course that can be said to be a quite normal way of thinking in urban planning, but the reason why I have chosen Rotterdam as an example of cultural planning, is that it started by saying that we need to create possibilities for new cultures to expand, to bridge both in a direct and indirect way between different groups and parts of the city.

So the cultural quarter was built with the Architecture Institute and the Kunsthalle. The bridging was symbolized by the expensive Erasmus-bridge, telling: 'we are trying to carry out something new and it needs a symbolic value', The new middle class quarters were built in an attractive position in the middle of the harbour combined with new cultural and university institutions to make it a space in the central city which connects the different parts of the city, allowing for a very comfortable living in the central areas, thus attracting the middle class groups to Rotterdam.

## STUTTGART

The next example is Stuttgart. Stuttgart was for many years - and still is - one of the successful cities in Germany - running a sort of general or generic policy. They learned from Frankfurt:

We better build some art museums - and they build this famous art museum by James Sterling. That allows for a digression because it shows the fragility in the signature-building strategy – and the architects misinterpretation of the Bilbao example. The Stuttgart Museum actually was a prime signature building for 5 years or so. It was in all the international architectural magazines, it was where all the architect students of the whole world went for 3 years. I guess that none of the young architecture students of today have been there. Now we are looking at something else and the same will happen in Bilbao. In a few years there will be new signature buildings that will attract attention.

But back on track: the interesting thing about Stuttgart is, that the city has been very economically successful, and at the same time a very traditional industrial city based on motor industry - it is the headquarter of Mercedes Benz, Porsche and of Robert Bosch – it is not the hometown of microelectronics, but for old fashioned electric products. Indicators normally used to rank successful cities would suggest that Stuttgart ought to be an unsuccessful city. The secret about Stuttgart was that the city was extremely effective in combining research in the big technical university and research related to this traditional industrial motor and electric production, and by doing so actually turning traditional industrial production to a sort of high-tech production. That made the city survive the waves taking more traditional industrial production away from Europe. But then in the early 90s Stuttgart experienced that this combination was not enough any longer. And they realized that this very effective combination between the universities and the production sector made it difficult to renew these structures. Analyses pointed out that the only strategy which might make this connection between technical knowledge production in the university and the development in the production industry more innovative was to open up these research structures by bombarding them with culture to produce new ways of thinking. So Stuttgart designed a cultural program during the 90s which was supposed to attack that connection, trying to open it up and make it more vivid by creating the abilities to react in a much more adequate way to new circumstances.

That once again relates to Sassen's statement and to Pierre Lafittes and places cultural planning in a key position.

## RUHR DISTRICT

The last example is the Ruhr district. A complete collapse of ecological and economic structures was the point of departure. There were only few real cities to regenerate, most of the Ruhr district was scattered houses among scattered factories. And what does one do in that situation?

Very basic things about the city had to be reconsidered - what the city is about. Learning from the stranger, learning to learn, learning from the cultural landscape, and by doing so learning to understand today's circumstances.

A new planning set up and a new type of thinking was introduced with the Emscher Park framework.

The heavy industries had gone and a simple reaction of course was to tear down the remaining structures from those industries. But after a period of tearing down it was realized that those big industrial structures functioned as visual and cultural landmarks. The landscape disintegrated when they were torn down. So a new strategy based on reinterpretation and reuse of these structures was introduced combined with a comprehensive programme claiming that new projects should take a position that reflected environmental problems, restructuring of the regions economic basis, re-education of the workforce, new public spaces.

A lot of interesting projects, which actually managed to come up with answers to many of these problems were realized. A combination of a research centre, public space, and kindergarten. The research centre is the biggest research centre for solar-energy in Europe at the same time it demonstrates solar energy. So it is a combination of a new high-tech industrial basis for the area dealing with environmental problems and creating new public spaces in an area where there are no public spaces – succeeding in making new connections between business, research and public life in general.

The headline or slogan: Emscher Park was introduced. In a way it was absolutely ridiculous to talk about the Ruhr District as a park. But that phrase was used just to open up the possibilities in their own minds to think in another way about combining urban and landscape elements - letting the landscape and the big industrial monuments clash together, and in that clashing together actually creating possibilities for new type and form of public spaces.

The Emscher project has been extremely successful. Very far from the Bilbao strategy the Duisburg Landschaftspark has been able to create very attractive areas, where a hell of a lot of people arrive every weekend just to be there, just to run around in these fantastic structures. The Duisburg park contains big training centres for climbing. People are coming there from far away to practice climbing and a lot of other people arrive just to look at that. You can do almost everything in the area. The attractiveness of being close to other people, looking at other people doing something has created a type of public spaces that you do not find anywhere else. The Duisburg park and many other Emscher projects - from my point of view – come up with a very strong answer to the question posed by Sharon Zukin saying: 'There must be other ways, than the Disney way, to create public spaces, where you actually meet the stranger and learn from the stranger.'

Also in the Ruhr District you can find a new combination of community building, education centre, mediateque and public space. The building is in a way a power-station made out of solar-panels which produces more than the building itself consumes. This building presents to us ways of acting in the world without abusing our resources, and at the same time building up public spaces which gain and generate new importance and meaning through this fact. The building is a huge glass shed with all of the urban functions inside, creating new possibilities, a new attraction of being in the Ruhr District, presenting the possibility of a new type of public life and a new future for the Ruhr district, not based on tremendous commercial power or big-scale public institutions, but based on the power of people actually being there.

## COPENHAGEN

I will end up by trying to bring this thinking on cultural planning back to Copenhagen. Having learned from the previous examples we can ask the simple question: What are we then doing in Copenhagen, how can we look at Copenhagen using this concept of cultural planning. Let us just go there and see what is happening.

All of us who every morning are crossing the bridge will know that the harbour is actually running through a radical process of change and developing into a quite important space, struc-

tured to a large degree by big cultural institutions. Looking north we have got the Danish Architecture Centre, the North Atlantic House, the new huge Opera House and the first traces of the extension of the National Theatre. So we have developed a space which the city is using for presenting its big cultural institutions.

But in the background we have actually got another huge monument too - an industrial monument - which is quite interesting in this context, because it is very cheap and consequently allows for alternative functions.

This introduces a quite crucial dimension in the discussions of urban planning and cultural planning: Real estate values. The increasing prices in many central areas mean that a lot of alternative activities can not find place there any longer. So protecting areas like the big industrial sheds and keeping them open for a lot of alternative functions, certainly could - and should - be a key dimension in cultural planning.

If we look south from the same position on the bridge, in the foreground we see a similar situation, a big cultural institution, the National Library, which is working as a magnet drawing people to the harbour. The library is part of a successful but fairly monumental way of thinking - arguing: it is only the big cultural institutions which have the capacity to draw people to the harbour in order to reorganise and integrate the harbour in the city in a new way.

In the background when we look south we have got another way of interpreting and exploiting the potentials of the harbour - the huge shopping mall: Fisketorvet, which reflects a completely different way of thinking about the city. Inside that centre we have got the traditional standardized commercial space. This shopping centre initially addressed the middle class. I guess that the owners were quite astonished when they learned that the centre actually attracted a lot of the immigrant population, so the centre has the capacity to merge immigrants and lower middle class in a new way. But apart from this merging capacity the Fisketorvet Shopping Mall is a very controlled space, where one way of thinking controls everything, not allowing for alternative cultures or alternative anything - there is just the way of doing things decided from the very start. You could also argue, that it represent a misuse of the site, in the way that 4 million people coming there every year would be a fantastic way of

vitalizing the harbour and understanding the potentials of the harbour in a new way. But the 4 million people are kept inside, because that is the idea of the commercial program - if they look outside, they forget to buy something. So it is necessary to keep them inside and send them back by car to maintain them as premium consumers.

So this possibility of actually using the energy and vitality of 4 million people has not been exploited in a successful way if our point of departure is cultural planning.

If we look at what used to be the central space in the city - Strøget - what we recognise is that this space more and more becomes like the shopping mall. It is exactly the same type of international brands and shops that we find in the shopping malls, and it is a repetition of what we find in every international city. Of course in the immediate hinterland of Strøget we find some heavy cultural institutions that are creating a district which in total is working differently from the strict shopping mall, but still with the tendency of that standardization towards the same concept as the mall actually is presenting.

And we have got districts like Nyhavn, which is in a way also a standardized leisure strip, similar to what you can find in a lot of cities - of course in a specific Copenhagen version - the canal and the architecture which is interesting and makes it specific for Copenhagen, but it also opens up for the danger of just having the same as everywhere else.

We have got the traditional streets in the former working class areas, which are at the moment the most vital areas in the city, I believe. Because they are extremely flexible, they adapt extremely fast to new circumstances, they combine a number of groups - a lot of young people are living there, but also a fairly big community of ethnic people coming from different countries. And these groups actually coexist in some interesting ways, having shops which in different ways combine producing and selling things, this mixture producing an environment which is very interesting for a lot of people and extremely flexible.

In these districts we can find examples of public spaces which manage to give room for a good coexistence between different groups: Vesterbros Torv, where you find that the students have

enough money to sit at the cafés and at the same time the people who are not in touch with the norms of society are being accepted – so far! - in the same space. And there are a few other places in the city where it is still possible to coexist in that way. I think that looking, analyzing and understanding them, trying to find special possibilities for merging cultures, should be a key element in cultural planning.

If we go back to the harbour and look once again, I think what is interesting here is the introduction of a swimming pool in the main harbour basin. From day one this device opened up another way of understanding what the harbour was about and completely changed the attitude to the centre. The harbour was perceived as a showplace for huge cultural institutions and a lot of corporate buildings not creating much life and only a very controlled life like in the shopping centre. Suddenly this swimming facility was opened – made possible actually by a lot of investment in cleaning up the water - and the harbour appeared to be a completely different space allowing for new cultural forms. You could walk around along the harbour and in the adjacent districts in bathing costume, meeting with people dressed in black city dress in a beach bar. And it also showed that an area between the buildings and the waterfront is a very potential area for merging local and city activities – sometimes creating conflicts – but following Trevor Davies - these conflicts should be seen as positive conflicts.

Of course there is a twofold condition here – what we are looking at could also be described as a process of gentrification similar to what you can find in every big European city. We can find big posters crying out: star-site.dk – meaning from the point of view of the developer this is a star investment area - that is, a high profit area. This point of departure and the logic of economy and investment gradually will erase the cultural and social complexity of this former working class and industrial area turning it into a paradise for the upper middle class.

I think in a way cultural planning should also be about finding a balance between different activities and not just making everything into star sites. Because if you just follow that concept I think you will get this international homogenisation or normalisation, which was introduced by Franco Bianchini this morning. And you need to find a balance. You need to find out how the

instruments of planning actually can balance out this development between star sites and something else.

I will just end up by saying that maybe it is more interesting to take a study-trip to Amager than to Bilbao. In other parts of Amager – the Holmbladsgade district - a very conscious municipal policy actually has been able to vitalize a completely run down area turning it into a quite interesting area with mixed cultures. The municipality has managed in this district to introduce one of the most gifted young architects, confronting her with local people and the task of developing simple cultural buildings. In a way this is the real stuff in cultural planning and much more interesting than the Bilbao blob. These simple buildings and participation processes are very much about cultural planning. Introducing a young female architect and saying: 'OK, you are an avant-garde architect, you start to discuss with alcoholics and other weak people about how to develop this area is also about cultural planning.





## Panel Discussion

Trevor Davies: Franco Bianchini is 10 to 15 years ahead of us, because he has been through the very positive idealistic thinking about culture as a magnet for investment, for tourism, for iconic buildings, for symbols and so on. He actually gave us a proposition of some things to worry about, although it might be problematic translating that obvious truth that has been shown: *Culture has this power*. But how shall we be able to make sure, we don't create spin-off problems, as you were suggesting to us - like marginalisation, over concentration and over consumption. These things, which also some cities are suffering from, are actually a by-product, because we haven't fully understood the concept we are working with.

Bianchini suggests, what we have to do in reality, is to look at Cultural Planning as being in the centre of a number of parameters, a number of sectors such as: economy, tourism, education, and community. We also have to make sure there is a dialog, so that culture doesn't become purely instrumental as a means to promote specific economic results, specific tourism results, or whatever results. This is a very sobering and a very

good point of view.

Paul Collard, who, if not 10 years behind, tried to present some solutions of how he felt that Newcastle had gone further than just making superficial, one-dimensional projects. He was suggesting that we are actually building iconic projects. We do have an amazing art space, but we are also not just planning the building(s), we are also planning the activities.

There are three things, I think, that are very important. I don't think we can just talk about buildings, whether in the harbour of Copenhagen or anywhere else. What you have to plan, what Cultural Planning is about, is not planning the buildings. It is planning in several ways simultaneously: the buildings, the organisation and the management of those buildings, and the activities which the management has to structure. You have to think in content, form and structure - not as architects or as planners just thinking about wonderful iconic buildings - and there is also leftover space in between and what is going to happen there? Cultural Planning in its essence is talking about content, talking about organisation.



Paul Collard demanded that all these quite magnificent projects ideas would have both roles in the community and would also be able to take in and develop the cultural capital. You know, get the young artists in there and have a sort of greenhouse function. Collard therefore was looking at different types of organisations as well, which is very, very vital. He was actually trying to counterbalance the built environment or physical investments point of view.

Then Jens Kvorning took us through a series of cities, who had translated this ideology of Cultural Planning in the context of their own city and their own culture. He let shine through, that though there are the Bilbaos, there are also many other ways of doing things. I think it is interesting, that he did say: 'Actually sometimes you don't have to do very much.' E.g. the left over landscape, as in the Ruhr District, can give you an urban theme park, which Disney hasn't been allowed to pervert. It was actually reverted into almost a sort of a museum combined with a country park. It is rather untouched by the people who go there, a sort of a light footprint idea, a new kind of tourism. That is a very interesting concept. These waste areas are important. They are symbolic for people who work there, their families, their heritage..... Actually if you talk of the World Heritage sites, perhaps you got some good examples there - a very good idea. We don't have to build huge structures.

Then Kvorning was a bit sarcastic about the Bilbao attempt, which certainly has been in the headlines and certainly had its role to play. But he was worried about what else was happening in the city, and how it ended up. Sometimes there are things, which you could manage in other ways.

Jens Kvorning also pointed to small scale interventions in Copenhagen. Here you have the contrast of having avant-garde artists working with small spaces for culture in traditionally working class areas with contemporary problems and situations. He was looking at the edges of very structured and controlled development and said that perhaps the most exciting possibilities are at these edges, because they do give room for movement and ideas and things. And they don't have to have a life of one hundred years. But if they are not intermittent, they are actually having a life span because of their investment, perhaps of 5, 10, 15 or 20 years.

I mean, how long is e.g. that swimming pool in the harbour built

for? We don't know. But it is not a hundred years - that is very clear. This is also important in cultural development.

It is very hard to think cultural development, if you think what you are building is going to last a hundred years, and basically must not be touched. If the architect says in his brief, that he is the only one who can change the colour of the doors, you know.... So it is actually getting down to how you build in this idea of ongoing creativity. This creativity can't be encapsulated in a brief and then be manifested in a building. Creativity has a longer lifespan, and if those buildings are to generate more creativity, how are they going to do that?

It is looking at buildings, which are not just containing things, but also are a platform for creativity. That would be a very different architectural point of view, as Cultural Planning demands the opposite to just being a partner together with anthropologists, sociologists and whatever. They would have to think very differently about buildings. I think those are the things that were thrown up.

I think my appeal was: don't forget the content. Let Cultural Planning be content driven - at least some of it. Let it be process driven. And let it be celebratory.

Cultural Planning is also about manifestations outside buildings. It is also about things which don't have to be permanent - things which are very impermanent and things which only happen once or twice, and actually give this feeling, that there are people dealing with the real stuff.

As planners and as architects you are very future orientated, but there are always three time scales to anything. I always think of events as having three time scales. Therefore you must plan with three time scales in mind:

1) *the before*: It is very easy to get caught up in the idea of perfection, and get the thought that you need a certain number of years to do this, and certain years to do that, and that you could control every goddamned thing, because you get the time to control it.

2) *the now*: There is another time, a second time, which is just as important, and in cultural time even more important - an artistic time, which is the only time that is worth while. That is 'now', when you do have something happening, and when it is not controlled. You go to the big carnivals. You go and meet a person in the cafe, you have never met before. It is the situation.

It is the freedom of that. And it is actually not knowing, and not being able to control that, which is the beauty of the city. So that we actually also have to create for.

3) *the memory*: Then there is another thing. It is the memory. No matter if we have five years, or eight years, or ten years for a project, event, etc., we will have 5, 10, 15, 20, 25, 30, 100, 200 years of memory. So we are also planning for memory. Therefore planning for memory and planning for what has happened is also the third and the lasting thing. Remembering a city, a festival, or event is never the same as looking forward to it. You will remember something else about it, and it is never the same as the thing you feel in the middle of it. Those experiences - before, during and after - say that if you only plan from the point of view of looking at the future, you have very much a problem. That's why it is often difficult to translate plans into realities, which don't then translate to positive lasting memories. Those things also have to be looked at.

These are some of the things which we have to confront, when we are talking about Cultural Planning, because you need new timescales, you need new friends, and you need new terminologies. You also have to give up power, if you are actually used to control the urban environment and the built environment.

Who is there to take up that power struggle with you, and create that dialogue? Who is going to do that? And who is going to make that final decision, and then come back to what Bianchini and other people were saying today: if we don't have the organisations to do this - and we don't actually - where is it going to take place: this trade off, this discussion, this movement: Do we have to structure those?

That's what I got out of it, I think - at least some of the terms. Let's open on some of that - if that rings the bell?

Martin, you haven't said enough today and you used to be able to speak for hours.... What is the most important thing that has been said today?

Martin Zerlang: I am a little shocked now. I was just amazed about your summing up of what was said today.

I find in many ways the problem that you try to question, is very good: The question about an organisation or a frame for the discussion of these issues. The question of how to implement this and how to maintain that is a very good question, because what

we see now is that we only have event cities. We have these event structures. We have festivals which last for one year. We have research centres, which lasts for three years or five years. And we create - in this network society - a lot of networks. But if people do not maintain these networks, they just disappear like rings in the water.

You wanted me to come up with a question to what has been discussed today. Well, just before this session I had a conversation with some of the people present here on the concept of culture itself. We have been discussing things like branding. We have been discussing things like ethnicity. We have been discussing the history of gender cultures. I think we really have a question here, of how do you make these things manageable. On the one hand we discuss, how do we market a city? Paul Collard presented Newcastle, i.e. how Newcastle succeeded in making a very good brand. And he didn't mention other cities, but he mentioned, that he do know about unsuccessful brands. So that's one thing: how we create a brand for a city. Another thing is: how do we make culture into a frame for diversity, for heterogeneity?

Can a brand be heterogeneity, can a brand be not identity but alterity, otherness?

TD: Great. OK. Shall you Paul say something about that?

Paul Collard: This is an extremely interesting question and absolutely at the core of it, and of my work for the moment. Brands can be very complex and interesting. They are not often used that way. In a commercial sense, you know, the Coca Cola is not very complex and interesting. That is not how they have used it. But brands can be complex. And I think, for cities, they have to be. There is no reason in a brand that it shouldn't be. Now, I think it is important to understand, that a brand isn't a strap line. It isn't a picture. It's a series of characteristics that create a feeling about a place.

When I finished talking this morning, Franco came up to me and said: 'The great thing you have in the North-east, which you could really use, is all that pain'. He is absolutely right. Our brands have to have that in them. You know, this was not an easy journey, which we have been through. There was a lot of pain in that process. And if we come up with a brand for the

city which is pain free, we would have denied the place that we were in.

This relates to Bilbao and the Guggenheim. I think the latter is a complete one off. It's one that I am fundamentally opposed to. It fails all my tests, but I just want to remark upon it. The reason, it is a one off, is very interesting. The Guggenheim has nothing to do with Bilbao. It's another architect, from another place, who could have built that building anywhere, housing a permanent collection collected by somebody on another continent, which bought too much, and didn't know where to put it. Why did that happen in Bilbao?

Well, if I was in Bilbao, I would have to build something that was about Bilbao, which meant building something about the Basques, *and that was too complicated*. And that's why, they got the Guggenheim. And there are not many cities in the world, which will run this far away from who they are, as Bilbao has...

TD: Great. In a way that is because cities are also becoming destinations. As soon as you start using the term destinations on a city, you are on that slippery path. Then you are actually trying just to attract some to that destination. What the city policy is doesn't really matter. So I think that destinations seem to go with the kind of terminology, which is also suggesting brands. It is the same sort of field, we are getting into.

But to get back to the modern cultural danger of branding versus the multicultural thing: Franco, you have been talking about diversity, how does this question feel?

Franco Bianchini: There isn't a very simple answer, because the question is complex. By definition a brand to some extent needs to simplify, to narrow down the in-homogeneity into a message, which is to be communicated. Anyway, I will say two things on this:

1) One of our students of the MA in European Cultural Planning did a good dissertation on Cultural Planning philosophy and place marketing. He then produced a book, published by Co-media, out of the dissertation, called 'Making Sense of Place'. His name is Chris Murray<sup>1</sup>. He did an analysis of 77 marketing strategies by 77 local authorities in the UK through content analyses:

'Making Sense of Place' - Research results concerning city marketing strategies used in the UK:

- *A derivative, generalised landscape*
- *'Friendly' people*
- *Homogenous culture*
- *Living in the past, a 'Golden Age'*
- *One UK leisure offer*
- *Everywhere is unique*

Those are the six conclusions. Basically these are the six characteristics or strategies of city marketing. In a way it just shows you, how not to do it.

Basically, the overall image, that came out of the analyses, was that a derivative, generalised landscaped came out of these brochures. They were using the same pictures, photographs of shopping malls, of golf courses with some Japanese businessman generally playing golf in the different pictures,

*Friendly people* - generally everybody was being described as friendly. This description of people as friendly was vastly outnumbering all the other adjectives being used. I just give you the figures, 1063 'friendly' references against 15 other references.

*A homogenous culture* - even for the cities with very substantial non-white communities were, usually only using pictures of white people. A homogeneous culture also means that everything in Wales was branded by the label 'Celtic' culture. Well, we know that the Welsh' culture is much more complicated than that.

*Living in the past* - that is: some strange orientation towards the past. It's beginning to change now, but there were lots of pictures of bits of heritage and of cricket and people drinking tea, and so on.

And *everywhere inexplicably described as being unique*, even if, of course, no actual proof for this kind of uniqueness was being offered, but still the place was being described as unique.

PC: Which every place is...

FB: Which every place is anyway

PC: It is interesting to parallel that, with what I was saying about

Culture 10<sup>2</sup>. I said that our goals are about the distinctive. It is absolutely the key that it is distinctive, that it is contemporary, that it is about now, that it is about the lives that we live now, and that it is challenging. All this, to me, is the opposite of being friendly, in a sense. Well, I like it, but other people might not. All the things we are saying in Newcastle are the complete opposite of that overhead. So I am pleased.

FB: 2) The other thing, I can say, is in order to do something distinctive, to develop the brand, you have often to profile uncomfortable aspects of your image. For example I had a discussion with Liverpool, when they asked me, what their brand should be for the European Capital of Culture 2008<sup>3</sup>. The suggestion I came up with, was not taken up though, but I was busy suggesting that Liverpool has a unique characteristic of being a city where every English person is to some extent proud of. Because the Beatles is an essential part of English popular culture, and also because of Liverpool football club is another essential part of British popular culture. It means it is a key element of Britishness being attached to Liverpool. But it is also a place, which every British person is also ashamed of, and embarrassed by, and in that sense it is exactly parallel to the relationship between Paris the metropolis, the centre in France, and Marseilles, and well as a parallel to the relationship between Rome as the centre in Italy and Naples...

TD: Did you say Århus? (i.e. Copenhagen vs. Århus) (Laughs)

FB: So this ambiguity, that schizophrenia, that is what you have got to build your brand on. But it is a very difficult process, and it is how you do it, that is the trick...

TD: When we are talking about these things, the buildings and the spaces in the cities, and particularly the city as such, it seems to be that branding is needed as an external vision. The danger really comes using it internally. What you need branding for is because people no longer create their vision of a city by its spirits. They have to see it on a CD-ROM or they have to see it on a website, so you actually have to replace experience by something simplified, you don't allow that exploration of space, of time. You have to have the city presented into these products.

Then actually, when you do, the marketing people would tell you, that you have got to have the brand, and they might create that. But does the branding internally in a city actually limit, does it become a hindrance? Do you need anything internally? Paul, you are saying that you needed this iconic symbol of the structure (*TD makes the gesture of an angel with wings*), but that is not a brand in a normal sense. It becomes a symbol.

PC: The angel was an icon too, which provoked an argument. The people who live in a place have to recognise it as theirs. If they don't, it is doomed. It will never work.

Going back to the Wales thing, I actually know why 'Celtic' appears in that thing. There was a really interesting article about this. The Welsh Marketing think their market is England. It did all this research, to find out that people in England like Wales but hate the Welsh. Therefore their entire marketing is based on the fact, that the Welsh are never mentioned. None of the images have Welsh people in it. It seems to me, that you can not do that. People in Wales will spot it. They will say: I won't buy this. So unless the people, who live where *you* are, recognise themselves in what you say, it is a failure - it simply doesn't work.

About branding carefully, I have to say: Branding is how we survive. It is a mental process. I was talking about, when you move to the US, going to the supermarket used to take me three hours, because nothing looked like it was supposed to look. Like I pulled down a box of cornflakes, and it would be spaghetti. This is how we cope with it. It is being able to build these images. And therefore, in itself, there is nothing wrong with branding. It is how some people use it that is problematic.

TD: Isn't architecture basically about branding, historically? Or do you (*addressing JK and MZ*) feel that actually the problem now is that the branding is not completed by you. You give your branding images to a designer or a tourist authority and they manipulate it in ways you don't like. Therefore, I thought, architecture is purely about branding?

MZ: When we were planning this conference we were talking about different cities, and I remember, that Jens mentioned the French city Montpellier, where there is a very interesting combination of a very active cultural policy and a very active social

policy. They make housing projects and at the same time they invest a lot in cultural institutions. When I came forward with, this question about branding, I wanted to discuss if it is possible to get all those 'unfriendly' people under the umbrella of the brand? I suppose, when you talk about 'unfriendly' people, they must be the ones that you were talking about, when you presented this Amager project where they actually were talking to 'bums' etc. I mean, how would you create a brand for a city like Montpellier? Is it interesting to discuss the possibility of making a brand for a city like Montpellier, which actually does stand on two feet so to speak?

Jens Kvorning: You were discussing the distinction, that branding might be useful as a communication to the 'outside' world, but mentioned that it could be quite dangerous for the 'inside' world of the city. What is the consequence of introducing a strong brand and actively using it internally by the politicians? In a certain sector of the public department, I think, you would end up in a position very similar to my way of characterising the shopping mall - a controlled space that doesn't allow for very much because there is a management controlling that space. The management has a special vision of what is allowed to happen in the shopping mall and nothing else should happen. So they are excluding a lot of activities. I think the brand used internally have the same effect. It will end up excluding a lot of activities. So I find it extremely dangerous.

I also find the question posed by Martin quite intelligent. There is a big problem in some of the themes in a lot of discussions of urban affairs. We talk about the necessity of branding, or at least in some way marketing cities on the international market. That is a consequence of globalisation and things like that. At the same time we speak about a lot of the differences in the city and that is really a conflict we need to be aware of.

MAN IN THE AUDIENCE: Can branding be the opposite of democracy? I think you have been talking very little about the suburbs, where most people live in Denmark and everywhere else. In many suburbs you are working very much with branding, trying to change the ghettos, and to get a good image about a local area. But if you don't work very hard with the internal branding so that the people support it, then it is not democracy, I think. I

would like to hear more about the internal identity making and also about creating more than internal branding. I think it is an enormously important case.

TD: Very specifically, how do we manage the need to brand a city in relation to how to actually stimulate it: the idea of neighbourhood identity, sub cultural identities, all these sort of things, which actually is just as important. How do we not get these things regulated down to sort of second, third or fourth level? Is that possible? It is the same question posed by Martin. It seems to be a key issue. Can we do that?

FB: On neighbourhoods (*addressing PC*): Because the way in which the urban dynamics are working now, which everybody has mentioned today, we are in a situation where you have normally successful parts of cities. Parts that are very competitive, increasingly rich, and becoming internationally connected with similar places. That coexists half a kilometre, or two kilometres away, with areas - on the other hand - which are turning into themselves. Areas, which are taking more and more the characteristics of a sort of enforced community, a trap almost, here people are trapped into a cycle of decline: with low skills, and difficulties in accessing the labour market.

What has begun to happen in some cities is that you have several branding processes going on in the same place. You have for example Nottingham, which has a particular brand strategy for the old city, which not surprising - like every other city- is oriented towards international competitiveness. Their brand is of course Robin Hood and the strap line 'our style is legendary'. That is the overall brand for the city on the international market. But then you have a very innovative strategy within one of the more multicultural neighbourhoods of the city called Harrison Green, which is very near the city centre. This neighbourhood, which is a place with problems of bad image, prostitution, crime, drugs, but also of very interesting food, restaurants, illegal blues clubs, a music club called Shabbiness. It is a very interesting mix of population, with the new immigrants.

It is a bit like some of the other neighbourhoods, I was mentioning today. They have developed their own marketing strategy, with urban funding from the European Union Urban Program. Through that they manage to promote a much more positive

image, although it is a strategy which is completely different from the overall city strategy. It has produced results, in terms of beginning to shift perception towards the neighbourhood. So maybe a possibility is that we begin to have neighbourhood strategies also, not just a city strategy.

PC: How identity is formed is an incredibly complicated process, and the relationship between positive images and identity is uncomfortable. Why do people support football teams, who never win anything? It is just a mystery to me, but they do. And they are passionate about it. It is about who they are. This team, which never wins anything, is their whole life.

We got to learn from the complexity of identity there, that people do not naturally and obviously gravitate to positive images. Identity is much more complex. Therefore your brand has to encompass those sides as well. It is not just about a simple good news story, because this actually doesn't work.

We did focus groups last September with a whole range of groups in the city, with passes where we asked them about particular kinds of projects. One of the kinds of projects is that we are thinking of doing a one off big international Shakespeare festival, with The Royal Shakespeare Company, where all the worlds' theatre companies will come and do Shakespeare in all the worlds' languages. This was one idea, and we tested that on people, which we thought would be a disaster. Then there was another project, which was a community chess event with a fund, which therefore has easy access to pay for projects in community centres, in schools, on the street, and out in the neighbourhoods and so and so. There were some other projects, but these were the typical ones.

With the international Shakespeare festival, the way it was facilitated, was simply to go through the points and everyone would have their say, and then towards the end ask if they would go, or they don't want to see this happen? They said: 'No, no, we want to see it happen, because we want to live in a city where those things happen. I thought you asked: 'Do you want to go and see Shakespeare?', which I don't want at the moment. 'I want to live in that city though.'

With the community chess proposal, they all absolutely from A down to Z hated it, because they thought it was to be about poor quality. They thought it meant, that you go to the usual suspects

in the community and that it wouldn't actually deliver anything at all, and so forth.

Therefore I think there is a strange relationship between the neighbourhoods and these iconic developments that are going on. We found, that everyone in our city goes to these big developments, and even though they are not in their neighbourhoods, they are very proud of them. I showed you some research on that, and they care about that.

What happens in neighbourhoods is very different and the problem with suburbs is that they are the least distinctive thing that we do in life. They are all the same all over the place, and yet that is where we choose to live, but it is not the cities we want to live in.

Kathrine Winkelhorn: There is a kind of very negative thing about branding in the sense, that there is a tendency, that it is only the rich and affluent parts of the city that are being branded. Now Copenhagen is being branded with two new huge cultural centres (two new theatres by the harbour), but the problem is, will this create any kind of innovation? This I think is a problem, because it is going to be national and, probably, to some extent conservative. Maybe it would attract money but it might not attract innovation?

Hemming Lindell: I have a question on a different track. Have you within your research or experience seen any differences between Cultural Planning or policies at different levels, like local level, regional level and national level, in respect of economic development versus a kind of more social development within the perspective of Cultural Planning?

I work for the Stockholm region, where the city and urban development is a very elusive theme or project. I mean, we have 26 municipalities in the urban region. Some of them are municipalities in the suburbs. Some of them are municipalities almost in the countryside. Some of them are downtown. They are all part of the same Stockholm region, so have you seen anyone addressing this kind of situation?

FB: Maybe Sweden or Denmark are better, but the first things that comes to mind is that, usually in Europe there is a disconnection between the national governments cultural policies

and the local governments cultural policies particularly. And unfortunately in general the national government cultural policies - certainly in Spain, in Italy, and a little bit in Britain as well - do not support local government cultural policies. They do very little to support. In Italy for example, national government cultural policy is traditionally focused on heritage, partly because the country has so much heritage. But nevertheless, really there is no dialogue to try to support the specific objectives of different cities.

I have to say, that most the innovations in Europe in cultural policy have come from the local level, not generally from the national government level. Now, if we take again the example of Italy or even Germany, if we take the best examples of building on inter cultural exchange, multi ethnic exchange between cultures as a resource, if we take a positive attitude towards that: Again the best examples are at the level of local government cultural policy, not at the level of national government. I think the same is also the case for support for young artists or creative industries strategies. I am really struggling to find good examples at the national level.

PC: But, I should admit an interest. I am on a national council - the English Arts Council<sup>4</sup> - which is the main funding body. It went through a restructuring, which I think is highly significant. I support it and I have taken it on, although it is very controversial. We had a situation previously, in which there were independent institutions regionally. So there was an organisation called Northern Arts, who funded the arts in the northeast of England. They got a grant every year from the Arts Council with lots of strings attached, saying this is what the purpose is. But you can have it and give it out. So what you had was the organisation of the region say: 'this is what we really want to do' and an organisation saying 'but this is what you are actually going to do'.

I believe that successful cultural policy has to be made at the local level, because culture is distinctive. It is different. It doesn't fit national rules. And whatever national government fits in, or tries to do it, it tends to be a disaster. We got a new chief executive of the Arts Council nationally. What he did, was to take over all the regional councils and merge them into a single organisation, and make the chairs of each regional council the directors of the national council. The reason he did that was because his

vision was that the National Arts Council should be an enabler. Its job should be to make sure; there are no blocks to the development of distinctive local cultures. That is their only job - to get the money as quickly as possible from the centre out into the regions - and the regions are where policy should be decided. That is the situation that now exists. I think that is the right one. It has only been operating for two years now. I like to believe, what will get out of that structure, is that the cultural differences between our regions will be much more marked in ten years time than they are now. I think that is the proof of successful cultural strategy.

TD: In principle of course it is important, if you are talking about Cultural Planning, to have actually the same borders, the same structure in place, both in the fields of economy, education, social affairs and culture, because in other ways you are not working basically in the same environment. That is always a problem, particularly in the Copenhagen region, where one still is very unclear about what the permanent structures are going to be and who will handle the powers to do what. This discussion has been going on for many years which make long term ongoing development and decision-making very difficult. Decisions only happen, if there is one of the authorities that actually have the power and the finance to do one thing basically on their own.

Otherwise you are dependent on co-funding, cross funding, network building and whatever on funding levels. Private public partnerships are very difficult in this environment, because it is not stable enough, and because there is so much uncertainty and political games going on. In that way culture will be the loser. It is also a question related to branding.

Copenhagen is basically working with three or four regional identities:

- The Øresund region, which in European terms is interesting, because they hope to get some funding. But whether it really mean something to people, or ever will mean something, I don't know.
- Hovedstadsrådet (actually HUR, Hovedstadens Udviklingsråd and its area) which is again a quite amorphous mass.
- Ørestad which will be the new developed part of Amager, and so on.

So Copenhagen is actually working with regionally very different strategies and it is very confusing. And if you talk about branding, it is absolute disaster, because people don't know what you are actually talking about. Then there are still a lot of district authorities, who are big enough to actually want to profile their own part of the city or their own town.

So I think all that really has to be sorted out, before you get any situation, in which it is politically possible to make any coherent decision-making in another way. You are not only divided between sectors. You are divided also geographically. And you have this period of change and flux, which means that coherent decision-making, is actually very difficult, especially in areas like the harbour, which in a way straddles across several of these authorities domain. While the harbour is free in one sense, it is very blocked with regards to who owns what part. Therefore it is very difficult to get any consortium, which actually works. That has been one of the problems for many years - getting a viable consortium, which actually make good decision-making.

MAN IN THE AUDIENCE: I have one question about communication. I like to know, if you have some examples of how emerging projects in the cultural field are communicated. It seems to me, there is this problem, that most of innovative cultural projects are known, if they are innovative. Yet you have to provide some funding for it, and how do you communicate to the funding politicians about these projects, that you want to develop? I mean, you can always place them into a typology, which is often done in the building industry. You do a music centre, or you do a theatre complex. This limits the ideas, because they are framed into these well-known typologies. I don't know if you have any experience of this? Of communication of this stuff?

PC: It is a very complex question. I think that in any communication strategy you have to decide very clearly, who you want to communicate with, and what it is, that you want to communicate to them. Sometimes it is a very narrow focus in the sense, that there are three or four politicians in your local council, you want to understand. You got to find out about how to get to them. Other times it is a much broader audience. So in destination marketing, we have decided, which bits of Europe we can commercialise and send tourists to us, we want to get into those markets.

You are then dealing with the medium. The media operates in a particular way. You have then got to decide, how good you are at relating to the media to be able to do that. The media loves arguments. So if you are controversial, they are much more likely to talk about you. But are you brave enough to allow the other side to be heard as well? That then becomes a manipulation.

Why iconic buildings have been so successful, is because they make great photographs. Picture editors like them and we put them in all our newspapers. While if it is a boring building or what you are doing is going on inside a boring building, nobody wants to photograph it. You know, the article does not get read and all that kind of things. Therefore the visibility of your project, how it comes across and so forth, also becomes very important. I believe, that almost any project can be communicated to the people you want to, if you think about it. But you need to be very focused in what you do.

TD: When you talk about capital investment in any project, I think you really have to talk not only about capital investment in the building, but also capital investment in the project in other ways. You really need a lead in time of one, two, or three years, in which you have to invest in branding the project, in developing the team, in developing the program, and in making sure that the project is viable in financial terms to its sponsors on board. So for every building project, particularly in the arts, you probably should allocate ten percent to actually getting the project off the ground. That is never done. There has always been a brick wall between getting the building off the ground, and the revenue funding to actually run the thing. So that lead in time is often critical for institutions. Quite a few institutions actually come out stuck, because they don't have enough capital.

There are also cases, when you don't have the magnificent buildings, but have the crummy little building on the corner, which is an artists' studio for 12 artists, who actually want to make a living of this the next three years, but it might all go bust within a year, if they haven't had two or three years incubator time to actually support it. So there needs to be a real linking between the investment in new infrastructure (as buildings) and investment in the organisational structure for the initiative, which is going on. At the moment this is not happening, either because



the money is channelled from different sources, or because the thinking isn't there. It might also be that they don't want to touch it with a barge pole, because they want the wonderful opening, but if it goes bust, they don't want the political responsibility. So there can be different reasons for that, but it has to be thought together again. This is again another way of Cultural Planning: the need to think the things in different ways in processes, which is part building, part management, part branding, and part developmental. It needs to go on and on and on.

PC: I just want to mention retail, because it has popped up a lot in what we have been talking about. The northeast has been obsessed with shopping for a very long time. The first department store in the world came in Newcastle at the beginning of the 19th century. By the early 1980s Newcastle had the biggest indoor shopping centre in the whole of Europe. Then another one was built one and a half miles away, which is even bigger - and there was no loss of shopping in the other one. We found England is completely obsessed with shopping. A third of all retail space in Europe is now in Britain. A third shopping centre is now opening. We absolutely go on.

The more we build, the more we shop. I think it is a problem that we in the cultural sector need to face, because it is cultural consumption. We are failing to deliver to people, what they are looking for, and as a consequence they go shopping. The quality that we are providing in the cultural sector isn't meeting this incredible demand. A particular example of this: all the market research says we love the countryside, and that we want to get to the countryside. But what do you do in the countryside? We go there and we drive around in our car - and then we go shopping.

A national trust, which owns most of the kind beautiful countryside, says that 80 percent of the people, who go to national trust areas, never get more than 100 yards from the car park. 80 percent! That is what they do, and people want to interact. They want to belong. They want to be a part. Shopping delivers it. A huge amount of our cultural product does not. So I don't think we should say 'Why do people have to go shopping why - what is it that we are failing to provide?'

FB: It's a vicious circle. Because of crises in local government,

cultural funding in England particularly is trying to establish a partnership with the private sector, including the big shopping malls, including the retailers. There is some evidence, that some of the big retailers, who have a lot of money, say no to you generally, for example in Leicester. What they say is: 'I am sorry my hands are tied. I have no autonomy, because we are simply a branch of a larger company which is located somewhere else.'

The real reason, which may be more sinister, has come through in some more informal discussions with these people. It is, that they actually like it the way it is. Because if there is not much to do with culture in a city, people are more likely to use part of their time budgets and their money budgets to shop. That is certainly the reality for the teenagers in the UK, compared to for example a French or Spanish town with a more developed cultural offer. In the UK the teenagers clearly spend more money in shops, because that is the only thing in town. So, I wonder if behind this lack of enthusiasm for cultural sponsorship by British retailers, there is also this kind of more sinister motive: They know that there will be competition in terms of time and money budgets.

Gustavo Ribeiro: This issue about Cultural Planning has contradictions. I mean, like in your position (addressing PC), on the one hand you are judges about culture - you just made one about shopping for instance. You have to be critical about culture - supporting sometimes some initiatives and not others. On the other hand, you have to create structures and spaces for something to happen, branding, etc. You have a position as director and have to make some choices.

PC: The most challenging part of my job, there is no doubt in my mind at all, is that you have to be judgemental, but you also have to be willing to be educated. You have to be judgemental in the sense, that what you do has to be of high quality, but you have got to be big enough to admit, that you might not know, what high quality is. You have to be willing to test that - across range! This is particularly important, when you are coming across new cultures that you have not dealt with before: new ethnic minorities, who may be moving into your city. You have to shift your concepts of what is being included and what is not.

My experience all the way through my life regarding culture, is that ordinary people, if such a thing exists, they instinctively recognise work of exceptional quality. The problem is that we spend a lot of time giving them fairly mediocre work, pretending it is very high quality. But they spot it. A lot of young people's experience of the arts for the first time on a school trip, when they go to the theatre is a rather boring provincial repertoire theatre doing King Lear. I don't go and see that show and I think it is rather boring. If they also thought it was rather boring, they never go to the theatre again. But if you give them a piece of theatre, which is absolutely extraordinary, then everybody is uplifted.

The first show that I did at the international festival in New Haven was a play appropriately called 'Copenhagen'. I think it is one of the most brilliant plays ever written. The bulk of this play is an argument between Niels Bohr and Heisenberg. It is based on the famous meeting that took place during the Second World War here in Copenhagen. It is about nuclear physics and it goes on for 2 and 3/4 hours. I have never come across anybody, who isn't completely riveted by this discussion, because it is so brilliantly done. And it is so interesting.

Again and again in my life, we have taken on board things, which I thought was going to be difficult - odd things people could be alienated from. But because it was great, they went for it. Generally people's judgement about what is low quality is right, and they know it, and it will still be even if we pretend it is not.

GR: Can you tell us more about the conflict with shopping?

PC: Shopping is the competition, and we have got to win. If shopping is more interesting, then it is our fault, not the shopping centres'.

TD: There is need and there is demand. Are we satisfying demand or are we creating demand? Are we satisfying need or are we creating the need?

I think one always has to work on different levels. I think, there is some expectancy that we always have to satisfy the existing demand. But on the side - in parallel - you have to develop and create need for something else. There is so much real politics in

it that you actually have to suffer the burden of providing, if not mediocre, at least mainstream arts. Of course as an animateur, as a programmer, you are actually always trying to develop a need for something which is quite specific, which means a lot of work on the side. It is the fusion of the two - not just having the main house and having the studio sort of idea, which is basically a 1950s sort of concept, where you got the main public here and the intellectuals there, and the first house is 5 times bigger. You have to think in different ways of connecting with your market in your development strategies.

JK: It is quite useful to deal with the potential that comes from shopping, because everybody is involved in this activity. It is the strongest sort of movement. So I think there is a potential. There is something that we could do. My favourite shopping centre example (Fisketorvet), on the harbour in Copenhagen, is visited by 5 million people a year, but they never come out of the box. It could be a fantastic sort of potential to take them outdoors on the harbour front. We could do a lot of things outside, and it has something to do with the physical structure too. If the physical structure surrounding the shopping centre could better take up a lot of alternative things, like what happens in Vesterbrogade and Nørrebro, we could have extremely fast adaptation, and support and take customers. But what we very often do as planners, city builders and whatever profession we come from, is that we accept that these areas with those big concentrations of new shopping are structured in a way that is not able to adapt anything else. There is a lot of unused potential. You have to think about that.

TD: It is really about connectedness as of part of a community and not a self-controlled regional shopping centre. E.g. it is making sure that car parks don't block the possibilities. Yes, it could be done differently. You, Paul Collard, could use all your money on that: The world biggest shopping centre, with the world's best art complex, in and around it!

MZ: A final comment on shopping: It is from B. B. King, and he says 'I don't want to live no more; I want to go shopping instead.'

1

<http://www.comedia.org.uk/publications-1.htm>

2

<http://visitnewcastlegateshead.com>

<http://www.visitnewcastlegateshead.com/cultureIndex.php?s=10>

3

<http://www.liverpoolculture.com/>

4

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Dr. Franco Bianchini is Director of the Cultural Planning Research Unit, at De Montford University, Leicester. His publications include *Cultural Policy and Urban Regeneration: The West European Experience* (with M. Parkinson, 1993), *The Creative City* (with C. Landry, 1995), and *Culture and Neighbourhoods: A Comparative Report* (with L. Ghilardi, Council of Europe, 1997). Franco Bianchini is specialist in urban cultural policies in Europe and a UK authority on cultural policy and planning. He has acted as advisor and researcher on cultural planning strategies and projects in various European countries.

[www.dmu.ac.uk/faculties/humanities/research/centres/icppu.jsp](http://www.dmu.ac.uk/faculties/humanities/research/centres/icppu.jsp)

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Paul Collard was in 2004 appointed National Director of Creative Partnerships, a government-funded programme delivered by Arts Council England that gives school children in deprived areas throughout England the opportunity to participate in cultural activities on a sustained basis and develop their creativity. He has an incredibly rich and varied background in managing and implementing major cultural projects. His track record in Newcastle Gateshead Culture 10 program has been second to none and influenced the city's cultural program for years to come.

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### Trevor Davies

Trevor Davies has an education as urban planner and has for a long time developed and carried out cultural events and festivals that have worked as engines for urban development and restructuring: Århus' Festival Week, large festivals in Copenhagen, European Cultural City 96, Salisbury Festival and Copenhagen International Theatre. Trevor Davies also works as a consultant on cultural planning.



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[www.hum.ku.dk/littvid/index.html](http://www.hum.ku.dk/littvid/index.html)



