# **CULTURAL PLANNING** an urban renaissance? Graeme Evans

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# **Cultural Planning**

The late twentieth century has seen a renaissance in new and improved cultural facilities: from arts centres, theatres, museums, to multiplex cinemas and public art. Cities worldwide have sought to transform their image and economies. Industrial cities have become cultural capitals, such as 'Guggenheim Bilbao'. Barcelona and Baltimore have been emulated by New Jersey and Singapore in regenerating downtown areas through new and upgraded cultural facilities and waterfront developments. Even old world cities such as London, Paris, Berlin and Vienna have created new millennial cultural quarters.

Using an historic and contemporary analysis, *Cultural Planning* examines how and why societies have planned for the arts. From its ancient roots in the cities of classical Athenian, Roman and Byzantine empires to the European Renaissance and its global recreation today, public culture has exhibited remarkable continuity in its location and selection of arts facilities and cultural activity, and their role in the form and function of cities. Whether as an extension of welfare provision and human rights, or the creative industries and cultural tourism, the arts are growing elements of urban, social and economic development in the post-industrial age. However, the new 'Grands Projects' and cultural resources are highly concentrated, at the cost of both local cultural amenities and a culturally diverse society. Arts audiences have been in decline as cultural venues, museum collections, orchestras and a mobile cultural milieu, have become footloose.

Cultural Planning is the first book on the planning of the arts and the relationships between State arts policy, the cultural economy and city planning. Combining cultural and economic geography with arts and urban policy, it uses case studies and examples from Europe, North America and Asia. The book calls for the adoption of a cultural approach to town planning, greater equality in distribution and integration of cultural provision and urban design, in order to prevent the reinforcement of existing geographical and cultural divides.

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# **Cultural Planning**

An urban renaissance?

Graeme Evans



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# **Preface**

Like good cultural development and community planning, this book has had a long gestation. Working in an inner-city arts centre in the early 1980s gave me my first experience of how communities respond to the arts and the role of culture in education and the urban environment. From action research and model projects, which ranged from city farms, a weekend arts college, community media, and both adult and young people's touring theatres, the aspirations of and exposure to many communities, audiences and organisations naturally led to the provision of technical aid to local groups undertaking arts and cultural development and site-based facility proposals. This entailed working alongside colleagues in community architecture and planning (before it became fashionable and appropriated by mainstream design firms and politicians), in organisational development which brought together youth and social workers with local authority planners and artists, and in what was then new technology, which brought low-cost IT and media facilities into the reach of local groups and creative artists. This period coincided with a national concern and response to various forms of urban economic, social and environmental decline, which gave me the opportunity to work with communities and agencies in cities such as Liverpool (postriots), Huddersfield and in other countries, notably the resettlement town of Ashkelon in Israel. The emergence of what became a now-established association between the arts and urban regeneration spawned in London two seminal 'think tanks': the Arts & Urban Regeneration and Planning London's Arts & Culture groups, convened by the regional arts body with voluntary members, including myself, from architecture, planning, arts policy and finance institutions. These were served by a series of casestudies developed by the British American Arts Association which provided a range of examples—good and bad—of how the arts had and could be incorporated with urban regeneration and the input of artists and local communities to this process and also by the concurrent arts and CityPlan being developed by Metro Toronto. The model guidelines for Arts Culture and Entertainment that arose from these working groups provided the basis for much thought on how the arts and town planning might better interact and the resulting guidance offered an opportunity for local boroughs to develop cultural planning within their statutory land-use development plans for the first time. When serving as Director of the London Association of Arts Centres in the late 1980s, the issues of spatial distribution, arts development and equity in cultural provision became even clearer to me, and the cumulative experience of the arts centre movement in the UK, Europe and North America has provided a foundation for much of the detailed analysis provided in this book. In particular, the notion emerged of a hierarchy of arts facilities and cultural

resources through both the arts in education, com-munity and professional practice, at small, medium to large scales and from the local community arts centre to national cultural flagship. Working with urban design action teams in several major regeneration sites also presented insights to the fraught relationships in the public-private development process, in local governance, and in the design and planning for complex and often contested sites and community identities.

In the 1990s my role as director of a university research centre covering a broad spectrum of policy and planning studies in recreation and leisure, from urban and cultural tourism and the growing concern with 'heritage', to arts plans and strategies and site-based development schemes, has further helped me locate the various notions of culture within a more catholic tradition of amenity and within the political economy which looks to the arts and cultural industries as prime aspects of economic development and employment growth. Micro-level impact studies and mapping exercises have provided much empirical data, whilst policy studies undertaken for local and central government cultural, planning and environment departments and agencies in the UK, Europe and internationally have similarly placed culture within the public policy and ideological spheres. In particular, research and comparative policy analysis undertaken for the Department for Culture Media and Sport, Arts Councils, local government associations and the European Commission has provided both access to policy formulation and implementation, and to comparative and longitudinal data.

The international perspective that I have sought to encompass from my London base has been enabled by fieldwork and exchange with researchers, agencies and communities in these countries—notably Canada, the USA, Brazil, the Caribbean and Mexico and Continental Europe—as well as with colleagues in my department who have brought a range of area studies, policy, planning and social anthropological dimensions to my work. The basis of this book in disciplinary and conceptual terms is therefore very broad. This in one sense reflects the approach identified with cultural planning itself, and with the growing desire in theory if less in practice amongst the social sciences and humanities to develop more interdisciplinary approaches and frameworks with which to understand the phenomenon of cities, culture and the practice of urban planning. This is equally valid in the field of geography and its branches of urban studies, sociology and economic and cultural geography, and also in cultural policy studies and the wider fields of governance, public policy and amenity resource management. My aim has therefore been to present and interpret the range of historical and contemporary approaches to culture in its many guises, in the form and function of cities. Neither a treatise on culture nor a thesis on town planning, I hope this book has however combined an element of advocacy based on empirical and conceptual analysis of the relationship between the arts and urban society. This I trust will serve as a useful and at some points thoughtful source and tool for researchers, students and practitioners in town and urban planning, arts policy and *cultural strategists*, and for those interested in the history and evolution of cities from a cultural perspective. At the risk of using an opportunistic cliché, the new millennialism that has seen a surge in the building of culture-houses and quarters makes this text timely, as does a heightened political and economic concern for the urban renaissance from government urban task forces, city mayors, environmentalists, to UNESCO and the World Bank, and for local communities and creative workers who seek to make sense of both globalised culture within their everyday lives and the continuing aspiration for cultural amenities and opportunity for participation and pleasure.

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Many colleagues, past and present, have provided inspiration, access and opportunity and the cross-fertilisation of ideas which have been drawn on and extended by myself here. Key authors on cities, urban planning and on the arts and cultural policy will be evident from the text and the extensive bibliography. I will single out several individuals who have personally (knowingly or otherwise) been both instrumental and most influential over this period: in London, Patrick Boylan, John Pick (both late of City University), Ken Worpole (Comedia *et al.*), Phyllida Shaw (Arts Research Digest), Nicky Gavron (Deputy London Mayor, former Chair of the London Planning Advisory Committee), John Montgomery (Urban Cultures Ltd), Jo Foord (UNL); Fred Coalter in Edinburgh, Tony Veal in Sydney and Hélèn Laperrière and Daniel Latouche at the INRS, Montreal.

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# 1 Introduction

Those who toiled knew nothing of the dreams of those who planned.

(Metropolis, Fritz Lang)

The places where collective and public cultural activity occurs have an important and lasting influence—aesthetic, social, economic and symbolic—on the form and function of towns and cities. At their most integrated, the arts have played a central role in the life of different societies and in models of urban design, from various classical, renaissance, industrial and post-industrial eras the world over. Where this coincided with affluence, technological and social change, the cultural economy of cities has also supported arts and crafts production, innovation and a thriving cultural industry, which has in turn created powerful comparative advantage and helped create and reinforce a sense of identity.

Land-use and culture are fundamental natural and human phenomena, but the combined notion and practice of culture and planning conjure up a tension between not only tradition, resistance and change; heritage and contemporary cultural expression, but also the ideals of cultural rights, equity and amenity. Where public culture and 'civilisation' are celebrated and where state, ethnic or municipal pride require signification, public monuments, squares, cultural buildings and events have been used and promoted, whether motivated by ceremonial, propagandist or place-making objectives. These manifestations also symbolise, often over a long period, a place, a town, city, even a whole society or nation-state. How and why culture is planned is therefore a reflection of the place of the arts and culture in society, of the approaches to the design and planning for human settlements in the town planning tradition and therefore in the development of urban society:

Place and culture are persistently intertwined with one another, for any given place...is always a locus of dense human interrelationships (out of which culture in part grows), and culture is a phenomenon that tends to have intensely local characteristics thereby helping to differentiate places from one another.

(Scott 2000:30)

Whilst the 'cities of culture' have in the past been associated with the centres of empires, city-states, trading and industrial towns and cities, the urban renaissance which

incorporates culture as a consumption, production and image strategy is evident now in towns and city-regions in developed, lesser developed, emerging and reconstructing states; in historic towns and new towns; and in cities seeking to sustain their future in the so-called post-industrial age (or more accurately the *new industrial* era). The symbolic and political economies of culture have arguably never been so interlinked. This is perhaps not surprising in the context of globalisation, where late capitalism sees symbolic goods as niche markets and the arts and culture are big business—for local, domestic markets and for international and tourism trade. Planning for culture in this sense adopts industrial and economic resource planning and distribution, whilst the physical aspects of public culture—facilities, amenities, the public realm: a cultural infrastructure—directly contribute to urban design and the relationships between landuse, access and transport, i.e. the town planning process. Although the cultural flagships and the designated and self-styled cultural cities and industries receive most attention from both historical and contemporary perspectives, the creation, planning and support of cultural amenities for primarily local communities, and for artists themselves (e.g. education, training, small-scale production, studios), has a much wider application and tradition. This is most apparent in the twentieth century where notions of cultural equity 'rights' and growing urbanisation and cosmopolitanism looked to aspects of the arts and culture as social welfare provision. This was also evident not only in the most prescriptive socialist society models (People's Palaces), but also in the past where popular entertainment and common (and uncommon) culture took place in gatherings and meeting places, festivals and fairs, and pleasure gardens, as well as in buildings for arts and entertainment. It is these local art centres, maisons de la culture, casas de cultura, whether shared village halls, community centres, workers and association clubs, or municipal and commercial cultural facilities from the museum, theatre, civic and dance hall to the cinema and local festival, that planning for culture also encompasses. A critique of cultural planning as this book seeks to present therefore needs to consider both high-art as well as local and popular culture, in different places and in different times. An international perspective also provides a comparative basis by which culture in society and the design of urban settlements has impacted and been treated in different countries and under different regimes. How far replication, models and convergence is evident in the current and earlier examples of cosmopolitan and globalised states and empires, and how far social and planning policy has influenced this, are therefore recurrent questions considered throughout this book.

It could of course be argued that a book on planning for the arts at a time of increasing globalisation of cultural consumption and production, and the converse but not unrelated rise of individualism and new millennialism, is anachronistic. The technologydriven expansion of home-based entertainment and leisure activity; moves towards the twenty-four-hour city and night-time economy; the associated social atomisation of work, home and play; and fragmentation of traditionally collective forms of cultural participation might therefore render an investigation of planning for the arts somewhat redundant, or at least of historic rather than contemporary concern. Despite, and perhaps because of, the globalisation of media and cultural products, images and social expression, the late twentieth century has paradoxically seen a renaissance in the development of new and improved venues for cultural activity—from arts and media centres, theatres, museums and galleries, and centres for edutainment; public gatherings,

raves and festivals, Pavarotti in the Park; to public art works, urban design and public realm schemes—as well as the promotion of cultural industries zones and workspaces to attract and support the new media and cultural economy in towns and cities world wide. This is seen in cities seeking to transform their image and appeal and thereby qualify as *cultural capitals* for the first time, such as 'Guggenheim Bilbao', to established industrial cities also undergoing re-imaging through upgraded and new cultural facilities, from Glasgow, Barcelona and Frankfurt to Baltimore, Montreal and New Jersey to name a few, with massive fin de siècle cultural and museum quarter developments in Berlin and Vienna and in Beijing and Singapore. As Zukin maintains: 'Rightly or wrongly, cultural strategies have become keys to cities' survival...how these cultural strategies are defined and how social critics, observers, and participants see them, requires explicit discussion' (1995:271). This is not only a Western phenomenonalthough its foundations may have ancient roots from the cities of the classical Athenian, Roman and Byzantine empires, to the European Renaissance—since it has been replicated and adapted in developing and emerging nation-states, from Croatia to Southern Africa. As one indication of this, the World Bank, whose mission is to provide loans to developing countries and in areas of post-conflict/reconstruction, recently initiated a Culture and Sustainable Development programme with a focus not only on conservation and heritage (e.g. sites and patrimony), but also on 'Culture and Cities' (1998). The cultural dimension to development—a form and function of land-use and economic planning—is therefore seen as an important component of economic and social policy, rather than an aspect of society which is peripheral or at least subsidiary to the political economy and public sphere (McGuigan 1996).

Indeed, the development and funding of cultural Grands Projets by national, regional and city governments, as this book will present, both emulates and parallels the urban renaissance witnessed in Europe between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, and subsequent public works and rational recreation policies advocated by the Georgians and later the Victorians in Britain and elsewhere. Rationales for state involvement and promotion of cultural facilities show both an historic continuity and contemporary response to economic and social change. This is not least reflected in the breaking down of traditional planning assumptions and imperatives that have in the past separated the functions of employment, leisure and housing in the dualistic industrial city, with a clear spatial divide between these social spheres (Weber 1964, Doxiadis 1968). As Charles Jencks comments on the failure of modern town planning: 'masterplans were drawn up with the city parts neatly split up into functional categories marked working living, recreation, circulation', but as he goes on: 'inevitably these mechanistic models did not work; their separation of functions was too coarse and their geometry too crude to aid the fine-grained growth and decline of urban tissue. The pulsations of a living city could not be captured by the machine model' (1996:26). Physical proximity does not however overcome social and cultural exclusion, while at the same time ambiguous transitional zones blur the edges and offer more porous boundaries that allow people to move and restructure the urban area in accordance with socio-economic change, as the postindustrial notion of the urban village and 'a complex pattern of interlinked districts takes shape' (Seregeldin 1999:52). Cultural planning, as well as an aspect albeit an exceptional one, of amenity planning, has therefore played a role and one that is increasingly being adopted in the post-industrial era in meeting economic and physical regeneration as well as 'place-making' objectives (Ashworth and Voogd 1990, Ward 1998), and as an approach to urban design and the more integrated planning of towns and cities.

Planners, 'urban strategists' (Landry 2000) and writers on cities, urbanism and globalisation have of course contributed to an air of determinism and fragmentation, not quite in the manner of John Ruskin and the later Arts & Crafts movements and their planning inheritors, the Garden City and Utopian movements, but with a feeling of the failure of urbanisation and the deleterious effects of post-Fordist economic change. This is seen in the de-urbanisation and suburban sprawl evoked by Noel Garreau's Edge City (also Evans 1998d); Dejan Sudjic's 100 Mile City (1993) and the technopolis, core and periphery divides analysed in Castells' Information Age (1989, 1996), as well as by masterplanners such as Peter Hall (1988) and others. At the same time, urban sociologists and analysts in the USA, such as Anthony King, Saskia Sassen and Sharon Zukin have linked the symbolic economy: 'the trade in signs, images and symbols...' (King 1990), with the post-industrial city, in terms of land-use, landscape and development, and in terms of the cultural economy itself (Scott 2000). What distinguishes the late capitalism phase and post-industrial eras from the earlier colonial and commodity trade-based globalisation periods is the extent to which society has become cosmopolitan, not that cultural consumption has just become homogenised and cultural facilities serially replicated. Some argue that the earlier period of intense globalisation that occurred in the late nineteenth/early twentieth century brought about national alliances and power structures and a consequent nationalism of 'wilful nostalgia', requiring homogenised and integrated so-called common cultures and the elimination of ethnic and regional identities (Robertson 1990, also Adorno and Horkheimer 1943, Adorno 1991). The heyday of the Hollywood film and moviegoing was witnessed between the 1930s and 1950s, despite the resurgence of cinema attendance today, accelerated by the development of the multiplex (if not of film production and choice), whilst the culture industry which Adorno and Horkheimer (1943) railed against in Nazi Germany has exhibited important gains in cultural democracy and cultural development—the ability of people to mediate, adapt and make their own cultural forms and to access associated technology (e.g. audiovisual, desk-top publishing, photography, digital arts and multimedia) is one measure of this; the process of cultural hybridity and fusion is another. As Stuart Hall (1990) and others (Cooke 1990, King 1991) maintain, this is increasingly the norm and assumptions beneath cultural planning necessarily need to take this new reality into account. Culture, to borrow Homi Bubha's phrase (1994), has many locations: 'a dialogue in which there are many parts...we are forced to speak of the cultures of cities rather than of either a unified culture of the whole city or a diversity of exotic sub-cultures' (Zukin 1995:290). As Willis therefore optimistically put it: 'We need to think of ourselves as only at the beginning of civilisation's historical clock. The best of what is thought, spoken, written, composed and made, must be yet to come, and come it must from our living culture and not from a backwards looking, self-propagating "art" (1991:8–9).

### Book focus and scope

The primary focus of this book is the role and relationship between cultural policy and provision and town and city planning, taking key exemplars and approaches, and

presenting planning regimes and case-studies from various countries and cities—from the classical, pre-industrial periods, to the industrial and post-industrial eras. On the one hand cultural planning is considered in terms of the amenity aspects of arts and cultural facilities, or culture as an aspect of 'social welfare' and spatial approaches to such provision; and on the other, cultural planning is placed within the wider context of urban planning, regeneration and local-global relationships. The adoption of arts and urban regeneration policies and urban economic strategies from the late 1970s in Europe, the Americas and spreading to Asia presents a particular version of the urban renaissance with a hardening core-periphery and social divide in cultural activity and amenity, and an archetypal manifestation of the twin movements of globalisation and cosmopolitanism. Issues and practice of urban cultural rights, identity and the city as a shifting site for cultural production and consumption emerge from this late twentiethcentury attempt to reclaim and redefine the city.

The related but distinct sub-discipline of cultural geography has also developed an approach and body of knowledge on the spatial and symbolic variations among cultural groups and the semiotics of landscape, taking Tuan's definition of culture as 'the local, customary way of doing things; geographers write about ways of life' (1976:276). It is fair to say, however, that geographers and their urban cousins, town and city planners, have not tended to consider the arts, creative activity or cultural development—one example of this is the lack of a definition of 'amenity' in town planning legislation and practice, other than through a negative, anti-urban sentiment, and the absence of planning standards for arts facilities in contrast to the more benign areas of parks, play and recreation, and conservation and heritage, alongside housing, industry and other local amenities. Until recent times, planning has, not surprisingly therefore, avoided a deeper appreciation of the needs of arts practice and participation, or resisted engagement with 'culture' altogether, unlike other areas of social policy and urban development. This book therefore attempts to introduce and analyse some of the ways in which culture and planning have and may be integrated against these anti-planning ('Non-Plan') tendencies.

## Arts/planning defined

In a book on planning for the arts and the position of arts and cultural facilities in amenity planning, the ubiquitous term 'planning' itself requires further delineation. Some core definitions of planning in these related but discrete contexts may therefore be useful at this stage. Like the term 'culture', the generic 'planning' is widely used and associated with a range of functions and disciplines, from human geography—the disciplinary root of modern town planning; urban design, as in the planning of settlements, e.g. masterplan; planned economy and modern political economics— 'Marshall plan', five-year plan; related social policy and public administration to business management (corporate and strategic planning) and organisation theory. Planning is the application of scientific method—dictionaries define town planning successively or cumulatively as a science and an art—however crude, to policy-making and is closely associated with 'public policy and choice' theory (Dunleavy 1991). Planning is also defined as 'a process for determining appropriate future action through a sequence of choices' (Davidoff and Reiner 1973:11) and therefore in the

6 Cultural Planning: an urban renaissance?

case of amenity planning—as Tietz argues in his seminal work on facility location: 'public determined facilities [have a] role...in shaping the physical form of cities and quality of life within them' (1968:35). The definitions below, whilst discrete, are also used in combination with each other and in practice can overlap: 'In all probability, the difficulty of achieving a closer definition of this concept is attributable to its polymorphous character: yet all would agree that in the final analysis, its purpose is to organise the city for the greater happiness of its inhabitants' (Cohen and Fortier 1988:12). All definitions of planning therefore infer some consideration of the future and the achievement of given goals or end states, whether physical and environmental, social or economic: arguably all manifestations and impacts of culture. The terms 'strategy' and 'strategic plan' are also now widely applied, a reflection perhaps of the business and scientific management approaches exported from the USA from the 1960s and drawing on technological and military terminology—e.g. cultural strategies (Zukin 1995) and urban strategists (formerly 'planners'; Landry 2000). A specific adaptation in town planning, including the cultural sphere, is the concept of infrastructure—first coined by the French railways and then in military installation and public utility provision. These terms found favour and usage from the 1980s in arts administration and government policy and practice (e.g. Arts Council 1984, 1993a), as a natural terminology for both the new managerialism and rationalised public services (Pick 1988, 1991, Evans 2000b, Adorno 1991), and in local, regional and city arts plans and *strategies*—all confirming a planning approach to resource allocation and decision-making for the future.

- Town Planning-in Britain, Town & Country Planning legislated 1 comprehensively in town and country planning Acts in Britain from 1947 and in the USA City Planning and at the micro-level, zoning. It incorporates amenity planning—recreation, conservation, as well as economic development. Primarily a function of population, land-use and the control of development (zoning, landuse classes) and latterly heritage/area conservation. National (and supra-national, e.g. European Union) planning policy and guidance-driven, but implementation and interpretation is a local function of statutory local planning authorities, based on a local area plan (e.g. city, town, district) and regional structure or county plan (namely County of London Plan 1943, Greater London Development Plan 1969, Toronto City Plan 1991).
- Strategic Planning—public sector macro-economic resource allocation, investment and long-range planning (e.g. infrastructure, above), and private industry corporate planning and strategic business planning. It incorporates both social welfare planning and national/regional land-use and utility development, i.e. higher level 'Structure Plans' in town planning (Point 1 above), and in the USA comprehensive strategic or masterplans (So and Getzels 1988). Hence 'strategic planning is about trying to ensure that appropriate development occurs in appropriate places and is matched and supported by the provision of required infrastructure' (Smith, in Englefield 1987:29).
- Arts Planning—the allocation of resources and distribution of public subsidy and 3 facilities for a range of designated and prescribed arts activities—'art forms' (namely theatres, galleries, museums, concert halls, dance studios, arts and media centres,

film exhibition, etc.), and the support of artists and cultural workers, including education and training. It takes place at national (flagship; arts policy), regional (regional or provincial arts area) and at local community and arts amenity levels. Thus the regional or local *Arts Plan* refers to a *strategic* plan (Point 2 above) of arts resources—creative artists/workers, facilities, funding, markets/audiences and participants for a given catchment area or community. This includes the concept of arts development and access (and cultural 'rights')—often through intervention in communities and local areas to stimulate demand and participation, and in some cases to empower, e.g. notions of cultural democracy and development.

Cultural Planning—on one hand the 'art of urban planning' (Munro 1967) and 4 also the wider integration of arts and cultural expression in urban society. It is also described as 'the strategic use of cultural resources for the integrated development of cities, regions and countries' (DMU 1995). When combined, these produce a cultural approach to Town Planning (1) which uses an infrastructure system of Arts Planning (3). Mechanisms employed include consideration of urban design, public art, transport, safety, cultural workspace and industry quarters and the linkage concept of the creative production chain and scale hierarchy of facilities. Given the role of cultural development and democracy intrinsic to a cultural planning approach, the exercise of local governance and community involvement in planning processes, facility location and urban design, also incorporates Planning for Real, Community Planning and delphic exercises such as Urban Design Action or Assistance Teams (UDATs) used for instance in the USA and UK for major development areas and sites.

Planning, as I have already noted, infers the planning of *resources*, present and future, and therefore cultural planning concerns activities, facilities and amenities that make up a society's cultural resources. A framework for this has been developed that goes some way to show the various spheres which a cultural planning perspective offers for policy formulation: 'a process of monitoring and acting upon the economic, cultural, social, educational, environmental, political and symbolic implications of a city's cultural resources' (Comedia 1991b:78) (Figure 1.1).

In a recent guide for cultural planning and local development in Australia, for example, cultural planning is seen as 'simply a purposeful, strategic approach to cultural development...approached like any other form of planning; by a thorough assessment of the existing situation; by setting clear goals and objectives; by identifying clear issues and priorities and by formulating and implementing practical courses of action' (Guppy 1997:8). Landry also puts this in terms of the management of cultural resources and governmentality (Bennett 1998): 'Cultural planning is the process of identifying projects, devising plans and managing implementation strategies.... It is not intended as the planning of culture...but rather as a cultural approach to any type of public policy' (Landry 2000:173). This distinctly bureaucratic terminology perhaps overstates the 'simplicity' of such an approach and the complexities and tensions within the processes of community and cultural development and creativity itself (e.g., the role of the artist), and the selection of 'priorities'—whose culture, whose priorities' Later, the guidance was stated more realistically:

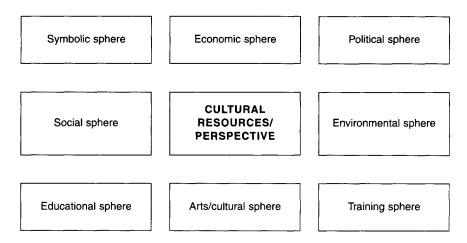


Figure 1.1 Cultural resources planning perspective Source: Comedia (1991b:78)

Cultural plans and policies articulate an ongoing role for cultural appraisal and action in a competitive planning environment. They also provide a formal discourse with the statutory planning framework along with an informal and an energetic entry point for local communities eager to conserve and develop the cultural identity of their area.

(Guppy 1997:54)

### Planning for what arts?

The imperatives and mechanisms of urban planning as they are applied to culture also beg at least some consideration of the arts that are and have been 'planned' in the past. Firstly, planning which infers a positive change ('development' and 'progress') also represents in practice a normative approach to public culture, the prescribed and therefore legitimated arts (Point 3 Arts Planning, above), and therefore to the place of culture within society. Environmental planning in the modern local-regional-national hierarchical sense, and the earlier planning of city-states and settlements, has influence over the nature of culture that is facilitated and promoted, whether benign or as a manifestation of ideological and/or religious foundations and their celebration and propaganda. Planning also incorporates aspects of control, censorship and therefore culture that is excluded, banned, suppressed, or even ignored. (The town planning function, it should be remembered, is also often the source of licences and permits, e.g. for public entertainment, dancing, alcohol and so on.) Distributory approaches also look to spatial equity in arts facilities and amenities and the arts that find themselves within the practice of planning and urban design therefore largely flow from the position of the state in relation to 'culture', however defined (Titmus 1974, Pick 1988). What is represented by cultural policy and municipal culture today?

Different societies have throughout European history, devised may different ways in which to find a place for the artist, ask for his work and supply him with resources and a living. The Greek City State, the Mediaeval church, the Renaissance Pope and potentate, the eighteenth century prince, the impresarios, dealers and publishers, of the nineteenth century...today these functions...are fulfilled by committees, with financial assistance from state and municipality.

(Pick 1980:27)

As ideologies/beliefs then require policies, programmes and action, the planning of the built environment and the inclusion of cultural practice and expression within social formations, and questions about whose arts are to be represented, 'housed' and provided for, therefore arise. Concepts and definitions of culture itself are of course fraught and fluid, as Eagleton reminds us: 'Culture is said to be one of the two or three most complex words in the English language' (2000:1). The dialectical tension between ideas of culture, between the high-arts and non-high-arts (popular culture, low-brow etc) are encapsulated in three variants: (1) its anti-capitalist critique; (2) the notion of a whole way of life (Arnold, Williams, Elliot et al.) and therefore culture as civilis-ation/ing; and (3) its specialisation in the forms and practices that make up the canon of the Arts (Eagleton 2000:15). Lists and classifications of arts practice (Munro 1967), typologies of arts facilities and media, those arts eligible for state support, education and training provision and accreditation, together form the mainstream within hegemonic and intermediary power structures. However, these do not easily transfer into the planning process, which is less concerned with artistic hierarchies *per se*, but with divisions between public and private (and therefore the influence of sponsors/patrons), the polity and political, notions of the public realm and aesthetics, participation versus consumption, and the place of culture within everyday life—as defined within Point 4 Cultural Planning, above. The German sociologist Bahrdt for example saw the origin of the public sphere in the late medieval European city, with the market as the organising principle generating new forms of social exchange (1969). The anonymous social interaction that early cosmopolitan trading centres exhibited through the market-place also created locations for cultural exchange and celebration. Sennett identifies the early urban cosmopolitan with the rising bourgeoisie and the construction of public space (1986), but where the public sphere occurred not just through economic exchange but through 'much more political and social exchange...the debate between free citizens in the coffee-houses and the salons, the meetings in theatres and opera houses' (Burgers 1995:151). The evolution and creation of cultural places and spaces in pre-industrial, urban renaissance, industrial and in contemporary society, is therefore discussed in the following chapters, with a recurring theme of the relationship and tension between commerce and culture; between arts-as-amenity and the cultural economy, and the dominant rationales that have effectively selected and ranked the arts that are considered worthy of planning in different times and by different societies.

### Cultural equity and 'rights' versus masterplanning

The notion and practice of public planning just described may not however sit easily with cultural ideals, particularly those, on the one hand, associated with cultural rights

and freedom of expression, and, on the other, the creative process that may defy if not resist prescriptive planning altogether. Critics point to the deleterious link between public planning and culture in extreme socialist and authoritarian regimes for instance, which both control cultural production and, by design, censor and limit cultural diversity or pluralist views of society. This libertarian view has therefore resisted anything more than benign state involvement in culture, promoting the structure of 'arms length' cultural agencies, as a buffer between the state and the arts, and when this is threatened, raise the spectre of communist regimes under Lenin, Castro and Mao for instance, where only state-approved art was permitted and cultural planning was both centralised, monumental and an extension of propaganda machines. The promotion of a monoculture is also evident in nationalistic regimes, such as Ataturk's Turkey which in the 1930s sought to purify the real Turkish folk music, standardising lyrics and instrumentation in pursuit of a Westernised and sanitised version of Anatolia, whilst genuine folk and religious musics were all but lost (in fact kept for the enjoyment of the ruling elite, namely 'courtly culture'). Colonial influence that spawned, for instance, Ghanaan choral singing, also unwittingly ensured that tribal arts went underground and survived 'unfused', whilst in apartheid South Africa, where tribal dance was outlawed and artists imprisoned for performing in public, a post-Mandela programme of cultural development and the creation of forty community arts centres in black townships and rural areas looks to re-establish indigenous cultural practice and expression, as it did in newly independent Zimbabwe in the 1980s with a programme of village-based cultural centres.

Whilst arguments for greater spatial consideration and integration of the arts and town planning have developed, as this book will explore, the notion of equity in access and participation in the arts and cultural expression also presupposes a democratic system capable of responding to and meeting local needs—community and artistic. Unilateral declarations of cultural independence may be unrealistic (although cultural and regional independence is a late twentieth-century phenomenon), however a reassertion of ownership of cultural amenity through enabling policy and planning is both desirable and possible, and indeed a goal which arts planning standards may facilitate, as Bianchini and Shwengel assert: 'Cities will be re-imagined in democratic forms only by creating the conditions for the emergence of a genuinely public, political discourse about their future, which should go beyond the conformist platitudes of the "visions" formulated by the new breed of civic boosters and municipal marketeers' (1991:234). Given the dualism created by the twin forces of globalisation and centralisation of power—not least in cultural production and 'free' (sic) trade; the reassertion of regionalism; emerging eclecticism ('global village'); cosmopolitanism and 'glocalisation'—cultural expression and the planning of urban culture in particular are central to both reconciling and locally driven responses to these potentially conflicting regimes and aspirations.

The inclusion of services within GATT following the protracted Uruguay Round (1986–93), namely the General Agreement<sup>1</sup> on Trade in Services (GATS), has for the first time raised the issue of cultural services and intangible 'goods' within free trade legislation—with services accounting for over 60 per cent of world production and 20 per cent of international trade (Buckley 1994:13) and cross-border trade in services totalling over \$1,350 billion in 1999. However, as Scott points out, treating culture as

simply 'goods' is problematic—commenting on the US Department of Commerce's position on GATT: 'free trade in cultural products betrays a fundamental failure to grasp the full complexity of the issues at hand' (2000:212).

In the fraught relationship between central and local government, which has been epitomised by deregulation, the imposition of internal markets (e.g. through competitive testing/tendering) and a decline in public spending during the late twentieth century, the principle and practice of 'subsidiarity', of public choice and democracy, are of fundamental importance to the continuance of the principle of public/ merit goods-services that are either free or subsidised and non-excludable and accessible to all—and therefore to levels of local amenity and cultural provision. As The *Economist* therefore argued:

One essential is to end the pretence that local taxation should pay for those services which are clearly of national importance...[but] to meet the cost of only those that can reasonably be allowed to vary widely in local character.... Within such bounds, each local authority should then be left, unfettered, to coax voters into paying for whatever it favours—whether it be a new concert hall or meditation classes.

(*The Economist* 1991:18)

The dominance of a cultural and cosmopolitan elite, described as the 'Professional-Managerial Class' by the Ehrenreichs (1979), in the consumption of high-arts and national performing and visual arts audiences, has been a perennial feature of statelegitimated culture, from Bourdieu's cultural capitalists and the petite bourgeoisie, to the conspicuous consumers and occupants in the post-industrial city-centre arts flagships and cultural quarters. Whilst Bilbao is celebrated as the new cultural tourism destination (Evans 1998a), the creation of a franchised Guggenheim Museum designed by American architect Frank Gehry, together with loans and exhibitions from the New York collection, provoked negative reaction among Basque artists, journalists and regional politicians alike—in this case the museum as a site of contest (MacClancy 1997). The absence of a cultural policy and planning approach here, as in many of the 1980s' versions of culture-led urban regeneration, suggests that their new found status as cities of culture will not be sustained (or their economic development and 'trickledown' objectives maintained) in the post-event phase. The downtown and city islands of culture celebrated by urban revitalisation advocates—public and private—have in many cases ghettoised their inhabitants and those in the often poorer adjoining districts (namely the Baltimore Waterfront, City of London, Los Angeles, and even Barcelona; see Chapters 7 and 8), and as Robins claims, the highly selective revitalisation of 'fragments' of cities is really about 'insulating the consumption of living spaces of the postmodern *flaneur* from the "have-nots" in the abandoned zones of the city' (1993:323). Richard Sennett in Flesh and Stone also offers a commentary on the corollary of the city centre—the urban periphery, following a cinema visit to an outer New York shopping mall: 'If a theatre in a suburban mall is a meeting place for tasting violent pleasure in air-conditioned comfort, this great geographic shift of people into fragmented spaces has had a larger effect in weakening the sense of tactile reality and pacifying the body' (1994:17). A similar socio-spatial phenomenon had also been wryly observed by Venturi in 1966, who asserted that Americans do not need piazzas, since

they should be at home watching television (and eating pizzas...). Notions of cultural equity therefore have to be squared with fiscal and economic development strategies as well as cultural and urban planning policies, particularly where the spatial divide and social exclusion from local amenity and cultural facilities is hardening and widening (e.g. in car ownership) and the quality of spatial relations is deteriorating.

The real and perceived 'over-concentration' of national cultural production and arts venues in cities such as New York, Los Angeles, Sao Paulo and capitals such as Paris and Madrid has not surprisingly fuelled a regional city cultural regeneration and resistance to entrenched centrism, and in London, for instance, to the emulation of earlier eras when:

leisure centres frequently imported theatrical and musical performers from the metropolis...and their musical clubs were modelled on institutions pioneered in the capital.... The metropolis provided a blueprint for many other areas of provincial urban life, so much so that in 1761 it was claimed that the several great cities...seem to be universally inspired with the ambition of becoming the little Londons of the part of the kingdom wherein they are situated.

(Borsay 1989:286–7)

In this case, the inheritance and continued political and cultural hegemony in the location of national art institutions, policy-makers, commercial media production and headquarter operations has directly caused a cultural planning response by other cities, for instance in the UK—Sheffield, Birmingham, Glasgow and Manchester, which have all pursued cultural industries and infrastructure policies in an unusually high profile way (Fisher and Owen 1991, Bianchini et al. 1988, Worpole 1988). In Europe, networks of regional and 'second cities' have been established to counter the core-periphery drift, including the development of cultural policy and planning approaches and regional groupings which reflect both cultural and geographic commonalities.

As writers on the information city and technopolis have also observed (Sassen 1991, 1996, Castells 1989, 1996), the tendency for spatial concentration of the powerful trans-nationals in global city quarters, such as broadcast and print media in Times Square, New York, Burbank, Los Angeles and Soho, London, contrasts to the post-Fordist, footloose behaviour of manufacturing and other dispersed service sector activities. The suggestion is that cosmopolitan culture (and its eclectic human capital) provides a competitive advantage to these global media operators that might otherwise levitate and fragment to locations of lower labour, land and capital/entry costs. However the allocation of public cultural resources (normally in the absence of a national cultural plan) also continues to be skewed towards the capital city-state, and between larger regional cities and smaller towns and so on. In Brazil's 5,000 municipalities, over 3,000 do not have a public library, whilst the mega-cities of Sao Paulo and Rio have the disproportionate majority; similarly in Greece, where Athens dominates in professional cultural provision (Deffner 1993) and in Canada where the cities of Montreal and Toronto and the administrative capital Ottawa possess the lion's share of major cultural facilities and activity. In contrast, France and Spain where resistance to capital city and central government administration is no less strong, regional and provincial city pride in cultural investment is well established, from Barcelona and Valencia to Grenoble, Rennes and Montpellier (Bianchini and Parkinson 1993). The resistance by the French to what is perceived, with good reason, as the American Trojan horse that goes hand in hand with *mondialisation*, therefore, also manifests itself in planning measures to restrict the growth of the multiplex and protection of francophone cultural expression and production. Before the opening of a seventeen-screen, 3,000-seat Megarama on the outskirts of Paris, the Cultural Minister announced plans to increase subsidies to small town-centre cinemas—the French government passed legislation limiting new multiplex cinemas to 2,000 seats (Evans 1998d). In contrast, the world's third largest cinema complex was planned for the site of a former powerstation near Birmingham's infamous Spaghetti Junction, with planning permission for a twenty-four-hour, thirty-screen multiplex (Star City), whilst in north London a familiar if sentimental plea from a planning officer: 'the Borough is now served by one cinema where previously there were seven' (Evans 1998d), reflects the resignation and surrender to the global market (in this case to the vertical integration and dominance of US film production, distribution and exhibition) in a liberal planning regime set against a decline in both public realm and local amenity.

Culture is in consequence inextricably linked with notions of local governance and identity, no more so than when identity and ethnicity are threatened or suppressed, as in civil wars in the Balkans, and in disempowered ethnic groups, such as the Kurds and indigenous 'fourth world minorities' (Graburn 1976), from Central America to Australasia. When in 1936 the southern Spanish town of Almunecar thought that its republican freedom was assured, the peasants and fishermen took over the village and declared their plans for the new millennium: 'Here will be the House of Culture' along with school, health, and agriculture centre (Lee 1969:168), but this pre-Franco cry for freedom was unfortunately short lived. This freedom is still not assured, even in Europe today where state censorship and prosecution of artists and assaults on cultural expression deemed to be at odds with the extreme right-wing political ideology, is being witnessed in Austria. Here funding is withdrawn from incumbent arts organisations only to be replaced by those more consonant with the political message (see Chapter 8). Conversely, the promotion and cultural development policies pursued in Cuba, for example, has created a celebration of national culture and identity through music and dance, as well as architecture. As Cooke observes in Back to the future: 'modern perspectives undervalue...the consensus of minorities, local identities, nonwestern thinking, a capacity to deal with difference, the pluralist culture and the cosmopolitanism of modern life' (1990:11) and this is apparent for example in the promotion of heritage sites by universalist international agencies such as the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), the World Tourism Organization (WTO) and the World Bank. In extreme but by no means unique cases, Shackley even warns that 'the possession of a World Heritage Site and the development of cultural tourism can create a [spurious] image of long-term stability and the basis for establishing a national identity, or may become the focus for a new nationalism' (1998:205). The extent to which cultural heritage should be prioritised over contemporary culture and living art is a complex and ultimately political issue, as the colonial quarters of Old Havana and Spanish Town, Jamaica languish in neglect, despite intervention by international agencies and foundations (Evans 1999c). Less attention and support is

afforded contemporary art, cultural expression and facility needs in these communities (Willis 1991:8-9, as cited above) and cultural planning may offer an urban and resource planning process and framework, within which these conflicting worldviews and amenity demands may be reconciled and more equally balanced. Arguably because of the cultural and political hegemonies and global capital that drive mono-cultures and mass branding, and the benign nature of traditional planning processes which reinforce both norms and the control of development, culture-led planning might provide a fundamental response to the promotion of cultural diversity, the protection of cultural identities, and the encouragement of the local and the vernacular.

Furthermore, the planning of our towns and cities, the consideration of amenity provision within society, and the celebration and development of cultural rights—in Europe reasserted in the Maastricht Treaty (CEC 1992, cited in HMSO 1993, Fisher 1993), and the European Urban Charter (Council of Europe 1992)—arguably requires an element of planning: spatial, resources and 'cultural', as does meeting the changing needs of communities and creative processes. The imperatives of urban living and consumption therefore also look to a more sophisticated and integrated approach to the cultural aspect of post-industrial society, whether in developing or advanced states and the extent to which this has been achieved is therefore explored here. With this dialectic in mind, and in terms of the planning definitions presented above, this book therefore analyses the evolution of town planning in relation to public cultural amenity and arts facilities and offers a critique of arts planning approaches and the development of a cultural planning conceptual framework within which both urban planning and arts planning relate. Lewis Mumford's plea of 1945 is therefore just as pertinent today:

The technical and economic studies that have engrossed city planners to the exclusion of every other element in life, must in the coming era take second place to primary studies of the needs of persons and groups. Subordinate questions—the spatial separation of industry and domestic life, or the number of houses per acre-cannot be settled intelligently until more fundamental problems are answered; What sort of personality do we seek to foster and nurture? What kind of common life? What is the order of preference in our life-needs?

(quoted in Olsen 1982:12)

More and more towns and cities, regions and countries—established and emergent therefore look to culture to reaffirm their identity/ies; attract and retain their share of the cultural industries (and tourists); join the 'competitive city' race and contribute to the design and adaptation of the public realm and consumption in urban society. How these cultural strategies are defined and how 'we see them' (Zukin 1995, as quoted above), this book attempts to discuss explicitly, since as the Richness of Cities maintains over fifty years from Mumford's humanistic plea:

Any form of urban planning is today, by definition, a form of cultural planning in its broadest sense, as it cannot but take into account people's religious and linguistic identities, their cultural institutions and lifestyles, their modes of behaviour and aspirations, and the contribution they make to the urban tapestry.

(Worpole and Greenhalgh 1999:4)

### Summary of book content

Culture and its place in the planning and life of towns and cities naturally follows an incremental and evolutionary path, including the transfer and transmission of artistic products, styles and experience within and across communities and societies. In the next two chapters the book therefore presents an historical analysis and synthesis of the place and form of public culture within certain early classical societies, including Athenian, Roman and Byzantine, as well as metropolitan exemplars such as pre-Colombian Mexico. The evidence and supporting theories of the cultural influence in models of city formation and planning are considered in the context of the emerging relationship between culture, commerce and trade and the issue of population density, size and therefore cultural autonomy and the emergence of a public realm in these earlier regimes. These issues are extended in Chapter 3 in the early experience of urban culture in renaissance Europe and in the industrial age. The move from essentially elitist, private provision of the arts from court to putative state and from merchant to middle class consumer is examined through the formalisation of places and typologies of cultural facility and crafts trade. A focus on public places for drama and opera in Elizabethan London and the courts of Europe and the spread of culture-houses in the nineteenth century confirms not only the symbolic importance and continuity of location, but also an increasingly stratified audience for the arts, as class divides and state intervention in cultural activity and provision are established. Industrialisation and the move from rural to urban forms of popular culture are therefore considered in relation to state planning and programming controls and the nineteenth-century response in the rational recreation movement and its effect on new and re-created provision in the form of museums, theatres, libraries and pleasure gardens, and their inheritors, the gin palaces, music halls and precursors to the cinema. Cinema's rise and fall and resurgence is a factor in its changing building type and location, epitomised in the multiplex and like its predecessors, its forecast saturation. Cities such as London and Berlin and their emulators, and the internationalisation of cultural facilities and consumption through colonisation and trade, such as opera, theatre and libraries, serve as detailed examples, as do the Great Exhibitions which brought together culture and commerce under a global economic rationale for the first time.

As the evolving forms and locations for collective cultural activity came to be influenced by state policies towards these aspects of recreation and national identity, the beginnings of town planning and associated approaches to new town and cityregional development and decentralisation are considered in Chapter 4. This is dealt with in the context of the place of amenity in emerging town and country planning legislation and the particular place of the arts and entertainment in the post-War reconstruction and formation of welfare states and its socialist manifestation in Peoples Palaces and Houses of Culture. Concepts and case-studies of distributive policies for cultural provision are then presented, comparing French and British state arts policy and the development of the arts centre and maison de la culture as a gradually universal phenomenon in local and municipal cultural provision. The development of the arts centre is documented in France, the UK, USA and elsewhere as a vehicle for arts development, a network for community and social action—whether village hall or new build venue—but specifically as a *local* amenity. A theme taken up in this book is the

absence of both definitions of amenity and specifically the reluctance to plan for the arts and apply planning standards and norms, as are widely used for other recreational amenities such as sports, play and open space provision. Models and techniques for developing planning standards for arts and cultural facilities are consequently outlined in Chapter 5, incorporating examples of more integrated policies for arts provision with local area development plans. The profile of cultural consumption and audiences for various arts activities confirms both their disproportionate socio-economic and spatial concentration, whilst this chapter provides evidence of the range of environmental and perceptual barriers which limit out-of-home and wider participation in cultural activities by the majority. Key concepts of the scale hierarchy and *pyramid* of *opportunity* are presented with case-studies from local area and city arts plans and cultural strategies. From this I argue that despite their shortcomings in implementation, arts planning standards would go some way to ensuring greater distribution and access to cultural experience and expression and counter the spatial core and periphery and institutional imbalance which the cities of culture have reinforced. From the social welfare arts-as-amenity experience, the growing attention paid to the cultural economy and the commodification of the arts as urban cultural assets is then discussed in Chapter 6. This provides a critique of the economic importance of the arts argument and the conversion of high and popular culture though cultural tourism and the cultural industries, as prime and growing elements of urban and national economies. The importance of cultural provision and other quality-of-life factors in employer re/location presents another rationale for their value and contribution to the urban environment and in post-industrial society. The tensions between traditional town/centres and the out-of-town/edge city drift considers the shopping mall and leisure-retail *pleasure periphery* which has had a radical spatial impact on cultural consumption, whilst conversely, cultural production and higher-scale facilities continue to be concentrated in the core inner urban and downtown zones. Data presented on city, national and regional cultural economies compare employment across a number of arts and cultural sectors and the clustering evident in world/cities of culture and within entertainment, touristic and cultural industry districts. Cultural activity as a universal economic development and employment strategy warrants a close look at its form and claims for its growth prospects. A definitional analysis of the cultural industries is discussed in both conceptual, economic and political terms, including the production chain as it is applied to the arts and various creative practices. Questions are raised over the politically termed creative and knowledge industries and the crude conflation of the heterogeneous cultural industries, including their creative content and employment profile and the impact of e-commerce and 'digital arts' on traditional forms of cultural practice and dissemination. A specific type of cultural production facility, the artists studio and workshop is then considered, with examples of this traditional and symbolic place for the arts across European and North American cities and the mixed treatment of the artist and public art in urban regeneration.

The importance of the city-region in terms of the cultural economy, identity and political aspirations towards autonomy is the subject of Chapter 7. It looks at the notion and promotion of European 'common culture' and heritage through the regional development programmes that have benefited cities and rural areas of the

weaker economies of southern European, Ireland and northern industrial regions undergoing post-industrial regeneration. From an overview of European planning systems, contrast is made between the planning regimes and respective approaches to cultural amenity in different European countries. The inclusion of the arts and heritage and major culture-led redevelopment projects outside of either a national or European cultural policy or planning framework, presents a prime core-periphery and cultural capital emphasis which the examples of collaboration between the arts and urban regeneration have come to typify, from Barcelona to Birmingham. Examples such as Glasgow and Dublin, as well as cities in new EU Member States such as Helsinki and Vienna, indicate the extent that the European arts and urban renaissance has been adopted and replicated. The place of culture and the flagship arts project within major downtown, city centre and regeneration sites is the main subject of Chapter 8. Taking examples from North America and Europe, including major cultural zones in Berlin and Vienna, the arts and urban renaissance formula is reviewed here and in developing countries, notably in South East Asia and Latin America. The Westernised models of urban regeneration and architecture are evident in many of these developing countries, echoing the universalist approach to the development of heritage sites by the World Bank and others. The involvement of Western development agencies in the promotion of culture within developing and restructuring states provides another example of where cultural planning might engage with community and cultural needs, rather than the heritage tourism strategy adopted to regeneration here as in post-industrial cities in more advanced states. A comparison is also made between major regeneration areas of two European world cities—London and Paris in the context of their contrasting city planning and governance regimes and the culture-led approaches adopted in each case and their relative outcomes. Even in the more fêted examples of regeneration and cities of culture, these strategic planning solutions, I argue, in fact reinforce the divided city at the cost of local area amenities and genuine mixed-use of buildings and sites, including more varied forms of cultural expression, production and the public realm. This is no less in the archetypal contemporary mega-event and EXPO, which are contrasted to the earlier Great Exhibitions and civic cultural monuments, with a critical review of the planning issues arising from the millennium and Grands Projets in Paris, London and Montreal—their sustainability and influence on the cultural maps of cities. The extent to which planning and in particular cultural and more consultative forms of planning have been evident in these cities of culture is a continuing theme which the concluding Chapter considers in terms of cultural strategies, the notion of the arts as public goods and resistance to planning that undermines many approaches to more integrated and community-based planning and resource distribution. The theme of culture-led planning and particular approaches and mechanisms offered by cultural planning in varying environments and locations runs throughout these chapters. These, the book argues, are required to counter the failure of simple economic and property-based 'solutions' to urban and cultural decline, and the explanations offered by economic and cultural geography, urban sociology and regime analysis, and to ensure the survival and growth of post-industrial society and those aspiring towards greater cultural development and diversity and greater spatial equity in cultural provision.

### Notes

1 This Agreement (1993), which created the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 1995, also set up a new framework for the so-called protection of intellectual property rights (TRIPS—Trade in Intellectual Property Rights), although the import of Hollywood films to France was not resolved for fear of undermining the 1993 GATT.

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