CULTURAL PLANNING FOR URBAN DEVELOPMENT AND CREATIVE CITIES

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1.0 Introduction: the 'Cultural Turn' in Urban Planning

Something important – a 'cultural turn' - is happening to the world's towns and cities, especially, though not exclusively, in developed economies. The UN Habitat *State of the World's Cities Report*, 2004, notes, for example,

> …the growing trend of refurbishing and re-branding cities as cultural havens - a creative attempt by many local governments to revitalize economies in need of urban renewal mechanisms….Whether or not a city has a cultural heritage to draw upon, or merely a survivalist's need to succeed, banking on the financial draws of culture – be it artistic, historic, athletic or religious - has proved to be a blessing for many urban officials and planners… On the assumption that culture can be a motor of employment growth, governments are directing investment toward new cultural industries and districts, including public spaces whose cultural amenities are intended to harmonize different social interests and improve the quality of urban life

This 'cultural turn' in the positioning and marketing of towns and cities is, in itself, a response to the profound implications for how cities work and survive in the context of two major forces: globalisation and the 'new economy', in which technology, creativity, human capital, and capacity for innovation are the watchwords.

The 'new economy' is affecting the nature and structure of place and causing a positive re-evaluation of urban assets. As the US organisation Partners for Livable Communities – which has participated in and advised on many Business Improvement District (BID) initiatives with strong arts and cultural elements – puts it:

> Traditional urban characteristics such as density, diversity, turn of the [19th/20th] century architecture and vacant industrial and commercial warehouse space – negative location factors in the old economy – are potentially positive factors in the new economy because they are attractive to those who bring with them the potential for economic growth. (Partners for Livable Communities, 2004:3)

Those who bring with them the 'potential for economic growth' are, increasingly, the (normally) young, culturally diverse, and intellectual property owning – or exploiting – knowledge-based workers of the new economy who now make up more than 50% of the European Union (EU) workforce. I don't know what the numbers are for China but I suspect that they are growing rapidly.

These workers (and also significant consumers) who are increasingly populating urban centres for work, residence, and play are attracted by certain features which the economist Richard Florida has called 'the social structure of creativity' and which he defines as:

> …a supportive social milieu that is open to all forms of creativity – artistic and cultural as well as technological and economic. This milieu provides the underlying eco-system or habitat in which the multidimensional forms of creativity take root and flourish. By supporting lifestyle and cultural institutions like a cutting-edge music scene or vibrant artistic community, for instance, it helps to attract and stimulate those who create in business and technology. (Florida, 2002)

This is not an 'arts advocate' making the argument. It is an urban and regional economist from Carnegie Mellon University whose work has become very influential for urban and regional policy and planning in North America, Europe and Asia. It has become influential not because he has all the answers but because he has recognised something distinctive about the contemporary make up of successful, innovative and creative cities which, in his argument, can be measured if you take account of the combined factors of technological innovation, levels of social, cultural, and lifestyle diversity, and the reality and prominence, in a knowledge economy, of what he calls the 'creative class'.

For this diverse but rapidly growing group, quality, range, mix, and diversity of amenity in urban areas are crucial determinants in their decisions to locate – and stay – there. These are also important quality of life/quality of place factors in the decisions of their employers on business location matters and in the decisions of investors in those businesses. As one Chief Executive of a large digital publishing company in the City of Bath, England, put it in 1999:

> For reasons of both quality of life and access to a creative talent pool, the arts and culture are a vital ingredient of the local environment. In the creative industries, and especially with the coming of the 'knowledge economy', access to creative resources and skills will give businesses and industries their competitive advantage (in Mercer, 1999).

The arts – and broader cultural resources, amenities and facilities - are coming to be seen as a *strategic urban asset* and they have an important and strategic role to play in the new economy. We can best identify this actual and potential role if we characterise this economy in the following ways and identify the possible contribution of the arts and culture as in the table below.

2.0   Culture as a Strategic Urban Asset

The arts – and broader cultural resources, amenities and facilities - are coming to be seen as strategic urban assets and they have an important and strategic role to play in the new economy. We can best identify this actual and potential role if we characterise the features and imperatives of this new economy in the following ways and identify the possible contribution of the arts and culture.

Context	What Arts and Culture can do
Restructuring of the business community	• Bring to prominence the strategic significance of intellectual property-based cultural and creative (content) industries in urban business communities. • Help to develop new marketing and branding practices for existing/traditional businesses. • Work in partnership and synergy with existing/traditional businesses to enhance footfall, offer, branding and opportunity for consumption and diversity of experience.
Importance of quality of life and quality of place factors in location decisions	• Influence personal/career location decisions • Influence business location decisions • Influence inward investment decisions
Reduction of 'suburban flight'.	• Make and consolidate downtown areas as more attractive for work and residence. • Enhance the potential of the evening economy/24 hour economy • Encourage renovation of industrial/heritage/historical districts • Develop human and social capital – skills, trusts, reciprocity, networks • Create busier and safer streets through animation and related strategies
City-regions – not just localities	• Establish a distinctive sense of local/regional identity and 'brand' of product(s) as in the example of 'design' in the Barcelona/Catalunya city-region or the Milan city-region. It is the city-region which is – and always has been – the basic unit of economic innovation and value-adding.
Need for highly skilled workforce	• Provide range and quality of amenity to attract highly skilled, high value-added, and knowledge-intensive workers.
The digital imperative: for infrastructure and content	• Create, exploit and disseminate the 'content' of the cultural and creative industries. • Establish a distinctive brand and niche for the urban area/city-region • Create synergies between 'art' and 'technology' for high growth sectors such as games and leisure software
Importance of clusters and networks	• Provide the elements of urban 'critical mass' and the occasions and venues for creative

	networking. • Create 'non-functional' and informal networks such as 'First Tuesday' and 'Café Culture' initiatives[1] which bring together creators, producers, consumers, and investors to develop the industry base and market.
Social Inclusion	• Demonstrate the positive relationship between cultural diversity and productive diversity • Ensure that urban cultural strategies do not result purely in gentrification and 'ethnic cleansing' • Contribute to safer streets and enhance retail offer and diversity • Increase the diversity of populations, experiences, and footfall (which also means demand and expenditure) in urban centres.

(Adapted from Partners for Livable Communities (2004))

This is a long list – of factors and ambitions – but the fact is that in various forms around the world, in towns and cities, these things are being done with culture and the arts and strategic partners in the development – for business improvement and other reasons – of town and city centres.

3.0   Towards Cultural Planning

It is partly in response to this situation and partly in response to a renewed concern with the quality of life in cities that, over the past fifteen years in Australia, and, more recently in the UK and elsewhere, 'cultural planning' has begun to enter the language of urban planners and designers, local government officers, community arts workers, and community organisations with a stake in the arts and cultural resources. This is a positive sign in so far as it indicates that cultural *resources*, broadly defined, are now being taken seriously in planning frameworks. The Australian Local Government Association (ALGA), for example, includes cultural planning along with economic, infrastructural, environmental and social planning among its imperatives for local government in Australia. The ALGA has developed a mechanism - *Integrated Local Area Planning* (ILAP) - to enable cultural planning to be integrated with social, economic, infrastructural and environmental planning.

In an increasing number of local government authorities, cultural planners are being appointed to develop 'cultural plans'. As a result of the redrafting of the *Queensland Local Government Act* in the 1990s for example, there is now a requirement for local authorities to include

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[1] These are regular monthly and informal meetings, often convened in a café or restaurant or other sociable venue, where the various industry stakeholders can get together to discuss mutual interests, collaborations on product or service development, joint ventures and financing of projects.

cultural planning as a component of their overall planning strategies. In South East Queensland, Australia's fastest growing region, the *Regional Framework for Growth Management* has developed an explicit commitment to cultural planning and a related series of policies and action plans.

There are now many cultural plans completed or underway in Australia. The Australia Council (the national funding body for the arts), after a somewhat suspicious and hesitant initial relationship to the concept of cultural planning, is now working, through its Community Cultural Development Unit with local and state governments on various cultural planning initiatives around the country and, indeed commissioned, with Arts Queensland, the first *Cultural Planning Handbook* (Grogan and Mercer, 1995). There have been national and international conferences, workshops, and professional development seminars on the theme of cultural planning and it is now being taught at Graduate Diploma and Masters level in Australian and UK universities. It seems that cultural planning might be an idea whose time has come. But what is it?

There is a need for caution in responding to this question. New ideas, concepts and practices when subjected to the accumulative logic of 'add new idea and stir' can often lose their edge. But actually, it's not a very new idea. It was an idea that was there at the birth of the town planning movement in the early twentieth century. It is in the work of Patrick Geddes, the founder, in the UK of the discipline and practice of Town and Regional Planning. It is there in the work of Geddes' sometime disciple, Lewis Mumford, author of *The City in History*, and it is urgently implied in the work of Jane Jacobs, especially in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities: the failure of planning,* when she condemns the planning profession for closing down the opportunities, in our cities, for 'spontaneous self-diversification'. We could do worse than to return to some of the principles outlined for planning by Patrick Geddes in order to rediscover some of the lost 'arts of government' which are going to be so vital to our programmes and 'arts' of urban regeneration.

Let me outline a few of these:

> • *Planning is not a physical science but a human science*. Geddes insisted that all planning must take account of the three fundamental coordinates of *Folk-Work-Place* (in Meller, 1990:46) Planners need to be, that is, anthropologists, economists and geographers and not just draftsmen. They need to know how people live, work, play and relate to their environment. Planning has become, unfortunately, a largely physical science concerned with land use, infrastructure and transport systems and the practice and technique of the masterplan has assisted this professional specialisation in developing a two-dimensional relationship to the urban environment without a feel for what is actually going on in those colored rectangles and between those model buildings.

> • *Survey before plan*. Geddes insisted that '... we must excavate the layers of our city downwards, into its earliest past...and thence we must read them upwards, visualising as we go.' (in Hall, 1988:142) We need to be able to fold and integrate the complex, histories, textures and memories of our urban environments and their populations into the planning process. We need to do some cultural mapping - tracing people's memories and visions and values - before we start the planning.

• *Cities produce citizens*. Our fundamental emphasis in planning should not be on the production and development of goods and commodities but of people, of citizens. We need to relearn some of the civic arts of citizen-formation if we are to aim not just for 'urban' but for *civic* renewal. The cultural life - institutions, streets, programs, activities - of a city has a crucial role to play in this but not if we limit this to the spectrum of 'culture as art'. Geddes argues strongly, following Ruskin, that we need to move away from both 'mentalist' and 'aesthetic' conceptions of culture and that we need to have a much more robust, 'hands-on' relationship to the *production* rather than simply the consumption of culture.

With a little advice from Geddes and the benefit of our own experiences we can begin to recognise that cultural planning is, as Franco Bianchini has put it, a 'difficult art' (Bianchini, 1989). It can be glib and superficial, producing a mask of leisure and entertainment to conceal the most profound social and economic inequities. Cultural Planning at its worst can produce the best so-called cultural centre in the world surrounded by decaying neighbourhoods, deserted streets, minimal public transport, homeless families and bankrupt businesses. This is not cultural planning.

A slightly better but far from satisfactory version of cultural planning designates what goes on *after* the physical planners have done their work: cultural planning, that is, as beautification and aesthetic enhancement through so called public art schemes and the aesthetics of the pastel colour and the postmodern with a touch of greenery. This is not cultural planning. Neither of these will do. Neither are cultural planning in any real sense of the term.

So what is an effective definition of cultural planning? Let me offer this as the bottom line: *cultural planning is the strategic and integral use of cultural resources in urban and community development.* Let me take the key terms one by one and unpack this definition for you.

Strategic: Cultural planning has to be part of a larger strategy for urban and community development. It has to make connections with physical and town planning, with economic and industry development objectives, with social justice initiatives, with recreational planning, with housing and public works. It cannot be generated from the self-satisfied and enclosed position which holds that art is good for the people and the community. Cultural planners must make connections between their own interests and activities and the other agencies responsible for planning and development. They must wheel and deal, negotiate a hard position, make the connections, establish a voice and a presence in the development of strategies and action plans to reach long-term goals. They will need to use a hard economic and developmental vocabulary to do this: they will need to use the language of 'leverage'. They must act as brokers, matching the resources for innovation with those who need them - and there are a lot of these.

Integral: Cultural planning cannot come after the fact. It cannot be added on. Cultural planners must persuade other types of planners that what is being planned in cultural planning are the lifestyles, the texture and quality of life, the fundamental daily routines and structures of living, shopping, working, playing - *folk, work, place* . Not just streets and buildings but conjunctions of habit, desire, accident and necessity - *folk, work, place*. So cultural planners

must be there and make themselves heard from the very beginning: at the first whiff of a town or strategic plan, at the first sign of a new residential or commercial development, at the first signal of a new local industry development strategy. And they must be there not as outsiders shouting from the wings but as vital components of a 'growth coalition'. They must persuade public and private sector authorities, on behalf of communities - and with their support and sanction - that these are the structures and the rituals and the sites of our local life that you are planning. This is why cultural planning must be integral to other planning processes and not appended as an afterthought. That is also why we need more talent in these areas beyond those provided by the former community arts officer or worker. We need the economists and the anthropologists and the cultural studies specialists.

Planning: Let's take this word seriously. Planning is the organisational foundation from which all other functions flow. As such it is much too important to be left in the hands of planners as we know them. Planners make spaces: people and communities in their daily activities make places come what may, and often at variance with the planners original intentions. This is not a populist line: you still need the planners but, most importantly you need to be able to broaden their agenda, to give them an ethical corrective in their designs and plans; an ethical corrective based on consultation and research rather than on the drawing board aesthetics of the utopian space and the masterplan. You need to make them think expansively and laterally and messily.

With this in mind let me borrow and adapt six principles of 'Best Practices in Planning' from the Arts Council of Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Here they are:

> 1. It is important to assess the full needs of the community, not just perceived needs in the arts.

> 2. Planning should be recognised as an ongoing rather than an occasional function.

> 3. Long range planning should be reflected by a multi-year document (a strategic plan) and short range by an operational plan.

> 4. The critical element in effective planning is community involvement.

> 5. Within the planning process, there is a need to be both responsive and prescriptive to constituents regarding needs.

> 6. To assure cultural pluralism, it is essential that cultural planners understand what different segments comprise the community, conduct discussions and carry out research with each group, and include representations from each group on boards, committees and in the evaluation process. (in Garner, 1982)

Cultural Resources: This is the final key term and, in many ways the most important since it is the 'stuff' that's being planned. Let me give you the example of a casual conversation which occurred while I was writing up the Brisbane *Cultural Development Strategy* (Mercer and Taylor, 1991). The conversation was with a Vietnamese resident of the West End of Brisbane (a traditional and historical working class and ethnic area), adjacent to the Queensland Cultural Centre. He remarked that he was puzzled by this name since, on the one occasion that

he had visited the Cultural Centre what he found there was not culture but ART. Art, that is, according to an essentially European definition governed by the principles of aesthetics. This did not count as culture for the Vietnamese. It does not count as culture for many other non-English speaking background ethnic communities and certainly not for indigenous communities. You may, indeed, see objects from these communities on display in a cultural centre but they have frequently been transformed from their original meaning and usage - their cultural history - into the quite different space of aesthetic contemplation which characterises European conceptions of the art object. This restricted, pre-modern, pre-industrial but extremely powerful and discriminating concept of culture is of no use whatsoever as a basis of cultural planning.

When we were developing the *Joondalup Cultural Plan* in Western Australia in 1992 we discovered, for example, that the most important cultural centre for the local Vietnamese and Cambodian communities was, in fact, the rather magnificent local Buddhist temple where they met, talked, danced, played, ate and also prayed. For many of the young people in the area and for many of the women, their most important cultural centre was the shopping mall. In the *Cultural Development in South East Queensland* project in 1993, we discovered that for many of the non-English speaking background (ethnic) communities the most important cultural issue on the planning agenda was culturally appropriate *housing* which could accommodate the day to day needs of extended and non-nuclear families. For indigenous communities the land is their most important *cultural* resource. It is not simply a question of ownership or of land-use planning but it is very difficult to persuade traditional planners that the land can be much more than something to be zoned, re-zoned, developed and sold. The masterplan cannot convey the dense and complex levels of meaning and value which indigenous people attach to the land.

Cultural planning must take as its basis the pragmatic principle that *culture is what counts as culture for those who participate in it*. This *can* mean contemplating an art object and it can mean strolling down the street, sitting in a park, eating at a restaurant, watching people at work and so on. This is much closer to an anthropological definition of culture as a 'way of life' than it is to an aesthetic definition of culture as art. This is why we need to return to some of the complexity suggested by Geddes' simple formula of *Folk-Work-Place.*

To speak of cultural resources, then, rather than remaining hostage to a definition of culture as art, is intrinsically more democratic, more conscious of the realities of cultural diversity and pluralism, more aware of the sometimes intangible features of cultural heritage and patrimony, more respectful of the simple fact of *difference*. This is why my response to the question 'Can culture be planned?' is not only in the affirmative but in the *imperative* mode. It does not mean 'the planning of culture' in a *dirigiste* sense but, rather, ensuring that culture is always present and not marginalized in the planning process

Mainstream culture has always been planned - through the education system, through our cultural institutions and agencies, through policy frameworks - and so well-planned, in fact, over centuries, that the result appears effortless, natural and universal. If we are not able to broaden that planning agenda to include both the new cultural products of the cultural industries and the diverse cultural products and experiences of other cultures, then those vital components of a dynamic culture will be marginalised.

Cultural resources are ordinary, everyday and diverse and also sometimes exceptional. When you look upon culture in this way it becomes clear how, *by definition*, cultural planning must be strategic, integral, responsive and comprehensive in its scope. Cultural planning must be able to address the role of traditional arts resources but must also be able to address a developmental logic in the form of, for example, cultural tourism strategies, in cultural industry development, in leisure and recreation planning, in urban and streetscape design and so on: and it must make the connections between all of these.

It must address the issues of identity, autonomy and sense of place but it must also be outward looking and part of a more general program for urban or community development.

It must be able to establish and maintain a real and effective policy equilibrium between 'internal' quality and texture of life and 'external' factors relating to tourism, attractiveness to potential residents and visitors (including large and small businesses).

It must recognise and frequently rediscover the wealth of cultural resources which are already there in communities but which haven't formed part of a community's cultural, social or economic profile. Black heritage tourism is a growing movement in the USA where African-American communities are now realising and, in some cases, rediscovering their cultural heritage in the form of both physical sites and buildings and in the more general sense of a distinctive cultural patrimony with a long and fascinating history. This is not something which has been forced on black communities by governments and tourism authorities so that white folks can come and have a look. It is something which has been generated from within not simply for external display and its considerable revenue-earning capacity but also because a momentum of rediscovery and reassertion of a distinctive African-American heritage has been established. There is no necessary contradiction here: this is simultaneously an economic development strategy and a process of community self-definition and rediscovery. The same logic applies to indigenous initiatives in this area in Australia - cultural and environmental tourism, discovering songlines and ancient histories and meanings of the land, bush tucker and bush medicine initiatives. One thing is certain, if these cultural resources are not planned by, with and for indigenous communities then they will be planned for them by tourism agencies recognising the international market potential here.

This leads me to a further very important point. Cultural Planning must be based upon the principle of a fully consultative and rigorous process of *community cultural assessment*. This is also sometimes known as cultural mapping. Whatever you call it, the simple principle is that you cannot plan cultural resources unless you know what is there and what their potential is. *Survey before plan*, as Geddes put it. You cannot guess at this and you cannot base your evaluation simply on arts resources (which is worse than guessing because it carries so many points of discrimination). A community cultural assessment involves both consultation and a rigorous process of detailed research - quantitative and qualitative - into diverse cultural resources and diverse cultural needs. This can be quantitative and it can be qualitative. In Joondalup in 1992, for example, we used both approaches. On the quantitative side we commissioned the Australian Bureau of Statistics to produce figures on cultural consumption for the area based on the *Household Expenditure Survey*. We discovered a couple of surprises.

> **Surprise number 1** was that the residents of this area had one of the highest annual levels of spending in the 'Culture, Entertainment and Recreation' category in Australia.

> **Surprise number 2** was that most of this money was being spent on cultural consumption *inside the home* (videos, computer games, gym equipment, etc).

Armed with this sort of information we were able to argue to the local authorities that they had a bit of a problem here. Their residents were much more than usually reliant on privatised and domestic forms of cultural consumption. Don't you think, we argues, that this fact sends a message about the quality of amenity in the area and wouldn't you rather see that money going more directly into the local economy rather than to international entertainment and media companies? Would you not rather be exporting than importing – the basis of economic innovation and, in the cultural field, the way in which, through distinctive forms of cultural production and expression, you establish a distinctive identity, presence and 'brand'?

To this quantitative research we added a good deal of qualitative research in the form of imaginative cultural mapping and planning with local stakeholders. We provided young people with disposable cameras and asked them to go out and take pictures of their favourite places. We persuaded urban design students from a local university to come with us to the local shopping centres and to sit down with groups of women, with young people, with older people, with the local ethnic communities, to sketch their ideas about what they wanted their streets and their environment to look like. We sent out a team with a video camera to catch a sense of the patterns of movement and activity in the area. We used, in other words, cultural resources to develop a more complex and composite framework for planning and we mounted an exhibition with our 'survey before plan' which had very positive responses and outcomes in terms of defining the texture, quality and diversity of the new city.

You need to ask lots of questions in order to begin to identify key issues. And, in asking the questions you are setting in motion the first stages of community involvement and investment. You are also setting in motion - perhaps unwittingly - a process of discovery of resources which may have gone unrecognised or hidden beneath a public community profile.

Cultural assessment, as an integral and necessary component of cultural planning - and which establishes the objective presence of the community *within* the planning process rather than simply as an 'object' of planning - assesses a community's strengths and potential within a framework of cultural development. It establishes an inventory of local culture and takes a hard look at resources, gaps and needs enabling us to plan for better, livable, socially just and responsive communities.

4.0   Cultural Planning and Creative Cities

This is not just a social policy and community development agenda. It is an economic one too. In the economy of the 21st century, the cultural industries - those industries in the business of making meanings, signs, symbols, images, sounds - and the human infrastructure which supports them as both producers and consumers, will be paramount.

In the report of the former Australian prime minister, Paul Keating's Urban Design Task Force, *Urban Design in Australia*, released in 1994, cultural development is described as 'a post-

industrial mode of wealth creation' (p.28). If this is the case then urban and community cultural development - policy for, and the planning and management of cultural resources - has a very special role to play. Much more than the formulaic gesture towards the importance of culture (normally understood as 'the arts') in the city, cultural development and planning have an especially urgent role to play in organising the human substance and relations of cities - in the *soft infrastructure*, or - a concept developed in Australia - the *creative infrastructure* - which will be so vital in positioning cities and communities in the re-organised socio-economic relations of the knowledge economy in which the most important form of property will be intellectual.

To engage the new cultural and communications agenda of the 21st century and, in particular, the rapid increase in home-based access to the products of the new media in both CD/DVD and online forms, the ways in which we 'plan' culture in terms of developing appropriate policy settings and frameworks are going to be crucial.

Cultural policy (and planning) has been historically concerned with the cultural point of production - creators and institutions - rather than with the means and 'market' of dissemination of cultural product which are now present in most households. The 'democratisation' of institutions and forms of production pales into insignificance when compared with the explosion in the means of transmission and, increasingly, interactive consumption of cultural product by way of the rapidly expanding *infobahn* and the convergence of the computer, the telephone and the television. We need to know more about these new areas and forms of cultural production and consumption and their implications for our urban environments. And we need to know this for a number of very important and planning-related reasons.

First, cities are now demonstrating the contingency of nations and nation states by becoming, in the post-industrial economy, the key and salient entities of economic life and much more. Cities are becoming crucial centres for import replacement in the goods and services of the cultural and communications industries. In this context, urban cultural development and planning have a crucial role to play in cities and regions because they provide the basis and conditions for innovation, creativity, diversity and, in brief, the *production of value* in much more than the purely economic sense. In a post-industrial context, where the knowledge economy and the information superhighway are becoming as important as physical transport systems in the shape and nature of global cities, it is 'soft' and 'creative' infrastructure which are the special domain of cultural planning and development and which link the concerns with cultural *maintenance* (the 'things we want to keep') to those of sustainable and innovative *development* (how we agree to move on in the context of social and economic imperatives).

Second, there are no predictable outcomes to the greatly enhanced access to the new cultural resources and opportunities provided by information and communications technologies except that if any city - or community - ignores the implications of the global restructuring of the information economy, its citizens, its region and the national economy in which it is situated will be so much the poorer in economic, social and cultural terms. As Manuel Castells has argued in the context of what he calls the 'space of flows' produced by the new relations of the information economy and the need to look to *cultural* imperatives:

>'...local societies...must preserve their identities, and build upon their historical roots, regardless of their economic and functional dependence on the space of flows. The

> symbolic marking of places, the preservation of symbols of recognition, the expression of collective memory in actual practices of communication, are fundamental means by which places may continue to exist as such...(Castells, 1991: 350-351)

Castells goes on to warn, however, that this should not mean a recourse to 'tribalism and fundamentalism'. A full recognition of the importance and role of government at the local level is needed which, rather than being superseded by the global information economy, becomes, in fact, more important with an increased need, in the face of anonymous and 'placeless' global economic and political interests,

> '...to establish their own networks of information, decision making, and strategic alliances...[to] reconstruct an alternative space of flows on the basis of the space of places.'(Castells, 1991:352-3).

It is precisely in this context that the new information technologies acquire a strategic significance at the local level:

> 'Citizens' data banks, interactive communications systems, community-based multimedia centres, are powerful tools to enhance citizen participation on the basis of grassroots organisations and local governments' political will.' (Castells, 1991:353)

Finally, the cogency or otherwise of this argument depends upon our capacity to recognise the *connectedness* of developments in the economic domain (the knowledge or information economy) with those in the socio-cultural domain (sense of identity, access, participation, belonging and citizenship), those in the domain of infrastructure (place and its uses), and those in the domain of environment (stewardship of natural and built resources). My argument is that this sense of connectedness is not well-represented in the planning, management and development of cities and less well-represented on traditional cultural agendas.

This lack of connectedness and especially that between 'culture' and 'planning' has served us very poorly over the past fifty years and will be disastrous if it continues in the context of the knowledge economy.

If we are not able to plan our cultures and manage our cultural resources in this context then one thing at least is certain: they will be planned for us and not necessarily in the interests of indigenous cultural development or endogenous industry growth.

5.0   The City as Unit of Production

The sorts of changes I am suggesting do not entail ignoring the economists and what they have to say about the city. They have a job to do, shaped by specific policy or training settings and, on the whole, they do it well. They have drawn to our attention the importance of the growing service sectors in the late twentieth century city, the importance of financial institutions in the physical form and 'centre of gravity' of cities, the importance of economic restructuring for the shape of the city and so on. These are enormously important developments, but for all our economic knowledge of the city, we seem not to be able to

respond very effectively in policy and planning terms to these new economic realities. As Josef Konvitz has argued,

> ...it would appear that existing policies, both national and local, are inadequate to meet the urban challenges of globalisation. Yet one should not jump to the conclusion that urban problems, especially those associated with rapid change, will simply escalate. History shows that people responding to changing prices in markets, learn to cope with and solve problems that are as difficult to anticipate as they are complex. But it takes a special government effort to make urban problems the focus of innovation. (Konvitz, 1994: 34)

Konvitz speaks with the qualifications of being both an urban historian and an OECD senior administrator and policy specialist and this gives him a useful purchase on a source of data that we don't often get from urban economists: the *history* of cities as units of production and centres of innovation. If there is one thing that we need at the moment, as cities enter a new historical phase, it is a few 'lessons from history'.

A few such lessons have been offered, often controversially but always engagingly, by Jane Jacobs who has reminded us that, historically, the city has always been the fundamental economic unit of production rather than what she calls, the 'myth' of the trading nation. It is worth recapping some of the arguments from Jacobs' book, *Cities and the Wealth of Nations* (Jacobs, 1986):

> • Nations are, and will remain, political and military entities, but it doesn't flow from this that they are also the basic salient entities of economic life.
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> • Most nations are composed of collections or grab bags of very different economies and rich and poor regions.
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> • Cities are unique in their abilities to shape and reshape the economies of other settlements.
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> • The all-important function of import replacing or import substitution is specifically a city function.
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> • Economic life develops by grace of innovating: it expands by grace of import-replacing.

These are enormously important points, I think and, particularly in that last emphasis, they provide a route into expanding urban economic concerns into a broader context of innovation and creativity. Import replacement or substitution is more and more urgently the name of the game in the context of globalised economic relations and this for two reasons at least. First, import substitution is important as an economic activity in its own right in so far as it leads to robust local and regional economies, effective skills transfer and so on. Second, import replacement is an activity which has direct connections with generating local cultural self-sufficiency and autonomy. This has always been the case and is even more so now when the commodities being produced and exchanged are more likely to be the images and symbols of the cultural and communications industries than the products of traditional manufacture.

Hence, a double contemporary significance for the city: it's role in import substitution in general and its role in providing the conditions of creativity and innovation - the creative infrastructure - for the import substitution of cultural products - what Castells refers to above as 'the expression of collective memory in actual practices of communication' - in particular.

Cities will remain and, in many cases, *become again*, centres of innovation, knowledge and technology transfer, simply because of their critical mass and the ways in which they operate as a frequently spontaneous grid of exchanges - of goods, services, people and ideas. They will therefore be crucial centres, in the context of the new communications and information technology economy, in providing local content for international carriers of those technologies. We only have to recall the development of the early US film industry to register this fact. What we get from the early development is not the impossibility of an overall image of 'America' but consolidated and memorable representations of the streets and buildings of New York, Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco on the one hand and a relatively undifferentiated 'west' on the other. One way in which cities get internationalised is through their repeated representation in the movies and on television: their use as a location, that is, for the 'manufacture' of local product and therefore in import replacement.

What else can we learn about the city in historical terms which might be useful as we move into the 21st century? Here are a few observations which might help.

> • Cities are and have historically been the matrix, crucible, vehicle and site for the production of both new types of knowledge and new types of people. They are, that is to say, always and inevitably sites of value production and, indeed, of 'person production' : cities produce citizens.

> • The city gave us, in the 19th century a whole array of new knowledges - sociology, criminology, social statistics, epidemiology, moral environmentalism, the concept of class, the idea of the social. The city gave us, through the work of writers like Dickens, Balzac and later Edgar Allen Poe, a whole new genre of 'mysteries' and detective fiction. The city gave to poets, novelists and visual artists from Baudelaire in France, to Henry James, James Joyce, the Futurists, the Surrealists and the Dadaists and then on into Gropius and Le Corbusier the grammar and logic of modernism.

> • These things didn't just 'happen to happen' in the city as a sort of neutral vehicle. They happened *because of the city* and the distinctive new configurations of social relations between people that were produced in the city. As Georg Simmel first formulated it and as subsequently taken up by the Chicago School urbanists, especially Robert Park and Louis Wirth, the city also forged a new type of personality and disposition - what Simmel called the 'metropolitan blasé attitude'

Any history of the city, then, has to be aware that it is charting not only developments in the urban economy but also changes in perceptions, character types and the complex and changing relations between people and their environment and the values which these relations produce.

Value production in the city, then, means much more than economic activity narrowly defined: it also means social, cultural and environmental value production. These latter areas are not well served, in their complex interactions, by uni-dimensional logics or organisational frameworks and they need, rather, to be understood in a broader and 'paradigmatic' context as proposed in the form of what I have termed the Urban Value Production Matrix. This comprises, horizontally, the five elements of the value chain as developed by Michael Porter and as modified by Charles Landry and, vertically, the five areas of 'jurisdiction' and stewardship of what, in Australia, is called Integrated Local Area Planning.

The five elements of the value chain as described by Porter are:

1. Inbound logistics (Product development)
2. Operations (Manufacturing)
3. Outbound logistics (Distribution)
4. Marketing and sales
5. After sale service

In his work for Comedia on the comparative analysis of cultural industry sectors in a number of cities, Charles Landry has modified this chain in terms which are directly relevant to my concerns here. The modifications are as follows:

Beginnings: This is the stage which is concerned with 'ideas generation'. It is the initial moment and forum of 'creativity' whether this be informal in the home, street or classroom or in the more formal processes of establishing patents, copyright, etc.

Production How is 'creativity' turned into production? Are the people, resources, productive capacities and training available to aid the transformation of ideas into marketable products? These include: impresarios, artistic directors, managers, producers, performers, designers, editors, engineers as well as suppliers and makers of equipment, film or photo labs, studios, frame makers, scenery makers. A training infrastructure is necessary to provide the appropriate skills base for each sector.

Circulation: This concerns the availability of agents and agencies, distributors and wholesalers (say in film or publishing), or middle persons, packagers and assemblers of product. It also includes what catalogues, directories, archives, stock inventories, and media outlets exist to aid the sale and circulation of cultural product and cultural producers.

Delivery Mechanisms: These are 'platforms' which allow cultural product to be consumed and enjoyed: it is about the places they are seen, experienced, consumed or bought. It means assessing the availability of theatres, cinemas, bookshops, concert halls, TV channels and screens, magazines, museums, public and community spaces, record shops and so on.

Audiences and Reception This concerns the public and critics and other 'gatekeepers' and involves activities such as marketing, advertising and publicity. It involves assessments of issues such as market and audience research, as well as questions of pricing and sociological targeting (eg. young and old, gender and education). How good, for example, is the city at getting people from different economic and social backgrounds to participate in cultural activities? Or how good is the city/region at reaching overseas markets? (Comedia, 1991)

The five areas - of resource management, policy and planning - provided in the Integrated Local Area Planning (ILAP) model are:

1. Economic
2. Social
3. Cultural
4. Environmental
5. Infrastructural

Integrated Local Area Planning (ILAP) combines the following approaches:

❑   *strategic planning which considers in broad terms the **full** range of physical, environmental, economic, social and cultural conditions, issues and needs in the local area concerned.*

❑   *co-ordination between agencies and spheres of government to ensure that related programs, capital expenditures and regulatory processes are effectively linked, and focussed on the key issues and priority needs identified by strategic planning.*

❑   *effective corporate planning and management on the part of the responsible local Council to drive both the planning process and the implementation measures.(ALGA, 1992:)*

Some of the key attributes of this approach are::

❑   *Its genuinely synoptic view of local areas*

❑   *The linking of strategic planning with service delivery and program management*

❑   *A focus on issues which cut across the activities and responsibilities of individual departments, agencies or spheres of government, and thus require co-operative efforts. (ALGA, 1992)*

Neither the linear production logic of the value chain nor the more 'vertical' jurisdictional logic of integrated local area planning can effectively work independently of each other however. To stress simply the linear logic of the value chain gives you a dynamic but little substance; to stress simply the jurisdictional logic of integrated local area planning gives you policy and planning domains but nothing by way of a developmental dynamic.

What I want to show, then, is that by 'squaring' the five elements of integrated local area planning with the five stages of the value chain, we can come up with a matrix for effective and responsive management of urban resources in the context of both globalisation and rapid growth.

Let us see how this might work in the form of the matrix.

Stages of VPC to right (horizontal axis) >>>>>>>>>>>>> **Domains of Policy and Planning below (vertical axis)**	1 Beginnings *Pre-production (Inbound Logistics)*	2 Production *Creation (Operations)*	3 Circulation *(Outbound Logistics)*	4 Delivery *(Marketing and sales)*	5 Audiences *Consumption (After Sales Service)*
1. Economic	❑ Quality of life as workforce /business magnet	❑ Skill sets ❑ Convergence	❑ Smart distribution and access vectors ❑ Physical and virtual capacity	❑ Front-end marketing ❑ Retail mix and diversity	❑ Healthy, wealthy, wise citizens as consumers
2. Social	❑ Literate and competent workforce	❑ Quality of life ❑ Community cohesion	❑ Networks of exchange ❑ Soft infrastructure	❑ Interpretation, understanding, access routes	❑ Diversity of consumption ❑ *Caveat emptor*
3. Cultural	❑ Milieux of interaction ❑ Civic participation ❑ Creative infrastructure	❑ Soft Infrastructure ❑ Creative Infrastructure ❑ Capacity building	❑ Creative infrastructure ❑ Vitality and dynamism of exchange	❑ Cultural institutions and spaces ❑ Communications platform	❑ Symbolic economy ❑ Understanding diversity of tastes and lifestyles
4.Infrastructural	❑ Mixed Use Development ❑ Adaptive Use Development ❑ Transport	❑ Proximity ❑ Access ❑ Channels of exchange	❑ Channels of exchange ❑ Spaces of transaction	❑ Planning/zoning issues ❑ Access routes	❑ Footfall and exchange options

	planning				
5. Environmental	❑ Economics of amenity ❑ Lifestyle *milieux*	❑ Equilibrium ❑ Sustainability	❑ Sustainability of exchange relations and transactions	❑ City as stage ❑ Animation ❑ *Agora*	❑ Sustainable consumption

The matrix is, in effect, a sort of 'thinking machine' and a checklist of indicators enabling planners to think cross-sectorally and strategically. Streets, parks and gardens, for example might be just that in the view of one element of the urban administration - bits of the built or natural environment. From the point of view of cultural production, however, those same streets, parks and gardens might become the 'raw material' of a film set, a site for a musical concert, for busking, for skateboarding, for the display of visual or performing arts and so on.

The Hollywood based Australian director, George Miller (of *Mad Max* and *Babe* fame) suggested recently that Australia would have no film culture at all were it not for the existence of various cafes and bars and clubs which facilitated pre-production concept and idea-generation and post-production networking. This has nothing to do with the infrastructure of the industry itself but is closely related to the critical mass and the quality of amenity of the urban environment.

It is possible to have a city which, on standard criteria, is very economically efficient, perhaps has one of the best cultural centres, but which is equally characterised by high crime rates, low rates of pedestrian footfall and high rates of socio-economic inequality. While the city may take pride in its economic performance measures along the single and horizontal line of the value production chain, its incapacity to 'touch base' with the other vertical areas of jurisdiction and planning - the social, cultural, environmental and infrastructural - means that, in the end, its economic viability in the longer term will be very limited.

The moment of consumption is often the one which most economists ignore but it is, of course, absolutely crucial to the viability of cities in a number of ways:

❑ *Patterns of behaviour in consumption are increasingly important in strategies for environmental management for example. This, in turn, is related to 'cultural' and lifestyle patterns.*

❑ *Consumption behaviour can decisively affects the form and nature of street life in both negative and positive ways - outdoor cafes, interaction with retail outlets, number of standardised fast food outlets (that is, lack of import substitution).*

❑ *Diverse consumption patters and culturally aware consumers can add vitality and diversity and also enhance environmental awareness.*

One could continue at every intersection point on the matrix but the point has been made: this is the sort of logic of connectedness, of strategic and integrated concern which should inform planning and policy considerations in the contemporary city as we discover, in the post-industrial era and, paradoxically, through the most modern of post-industrial products - information and communications technologies - some of the imperatives and values which guided the planners of the pre-industrial city.

The production of urban values is a complex and multifaceted process. One cannot simply plan for this to happen since the very nature of the city is to provide the conditions of existence of innovation and creativity and this will often mean a level of contingency beyond the purview of the masterplan. But this is really the point: it is not that planning is too instrumental to address these areas of creativity and innovation. Rather, it is that planning is

too confined and narrow within its current channels of practice to make the connections with the other policy domains - the social, the cultural, the environmental - which would lead to the conditions for urban value production. This will mean a more lateral, more expansive and more creative mind set for our urban planners and managers: to, as the novelist E.M.Forster once advised: *only connect.*

6.0   Ecologies and Clusters: an example from Nottingham

To connect means to understand the nature of the urban cultural ecology or ecosystem and for this we have to be attentive to the disciplinary and policy *positioning* of culture in urban and community contexts. In the traditional - but sovereign and dominant - discourse of economic theory and calculation, 'culture' is traditionally understood as an 'externality' in both macro and micro systems of economic calculation and notation. The so-called 'externalities' of urban economies – the benefits of, for example, proximity, critical mass, quality and texture of the built form, social ambience, the development of distinctive and unplanned milieux of interaction and innovation – are at the very core of how cities function as successful and sustainable business and social environments.

What economists often explain away as 'externalities' – unpriced effects, unintended consequences of developments or actions – are, properly speaking, 'internalities' to the functioning of this - as of many another – urban economy. As the French urban economist Remy Prud'homme has put it:

> Most, if not all externalities, have a geographic dimension. They involve neighbours. They occur in cities. Indeed, externalities are of the essence of cities. They explain the growth of cities: people and enterprises get together in order to benefit from positive externalities, also known as agglomeration economies….Cities can be analyzed as bundles of externalities. And urban policies could be defined as measures to increase positive externalities and decrease negative externalities (Prud'homme, 1995:732)

Our research in Nottingham shows the importance of recognising 'externalities' as absolutely fundamental and integral to the ways in which the cultural economy works and is testament to Prud'homme's generic argument that '[a]n urban economy is a concentration of specialised human skills and of enterprises organised in networks'.(Prud'homme, 1995:732)

This is not something that can be understood simply from the 'supply side'. It also involves the more complex networks of stakeholders, including consumers and participants, who are the key elements of the ecology and draws our attention to what a recent government report, *Business Clusters in the UK: A First Assessment*, calls

> …a set of formal and informal customs, traditions and practices associated with the industry and institutionalised in the social and cultural fabric of the area concerned.(Department for Trade and Industry, 2001: Vol 3, 2)

Referring to the more recent work of US economist Michael Porter (strongly influential on current national economic policy frameworks in this country and elsewhere), the same report underscores

> …the local social, institutional and cultural foundations of 'clusters' and other 'untraded interdependencies' amongst the firms making up a local cluster. Spillovers of knowledge of both a tacit and a more formal nature and the associated notion of 'collective learning' have been identified as playing a crucial role in promoting innovation and entrepreneurial dynamism in clusters.(Department for Trade and Industry, 2001: Vol 3, 3)

In our report on research in the the Nottingham Lace Market/Hockley area (Cultural Policy and Planning Research Unit, 2002), we identify precisely this logic of clustering, strongly dependent on informal networks, mutual interdependencies, networking capacity, a strong sense of place and of 'community identity' in a closely defined area. A further implication of this line of argument is that it brings the user, consumer and participant back into the formula in so far as it recognises that there is a close correlation between the forms and distribution of social and cultural capital in an area and its chances of *sustainable* economic development and social viability. These are hard but urgent policy issues linking economic, social and cultural development to broader quality of life agendas to which we will return below.

Another thing to which the research drew our attention is that of the nature of the cultural 'value production chain'. If the concept of ecology, in our argument, adumbrates the cultural field and suggests the nature of the relationship between the elements, then the concept of the value production chain is useful to draw attention to; (i) the internal dynamics of that ecology, and, (ii) to those areas of culture, especially at the 'demand' or consumption end of the chain, about which relatively little is known by researchers, policy-makers and planners. From different disciplinary perspectives, a good deal is known about the earlier stages of the cultural value production chain from creation through production and distribution to promotion and marketing.

The Nottingham Lace Market area (in which we include the immediate contiguous area of Hockley along with stylistically and demographically congruent parts of the city centre) is within five minutes walk of Market Square and The Council House, the central civic markers of Nottingham. The Lace Market is not actually a market, and there is no lace actually produced there any longer (though some is still sold in *bijou* heritage retail outlets for the tourism market). It is an area just to the east of Nottingham city centre, which was the home of the lace industry in the 18th and 19th centuries. The area is still predominantly made up of grand old factory and warehouse buildings with narrow 'canyon' streets and it houses two significant retail 'firsts' which have developed into empires of differing sizes, ethos and

period: Jessie Boot's first chemist shop and fashion designer Paul Smith's first retail outlet. It also houses the small Lace Market Theatre, the now defunct Co-operative Arts Theatre (soon to be part of a 'creative industries cluster' managed by Broadway Cinema), the Galleries of Justice - a museum of law - and Broadway Media Centre itself on the Hockley side. It is a busy area with very high levels of pedestrian footfall and social interaction greatly assisted, since 1998 by the location of People's College, a major further education institution, in the largest and finest of the historic factories and finishing warehouses, the Adams building.

The Lace Market area is not a specially designated 'cultural quarter' like those in some cities such as Sheffield. The area has historically benefited from 'light-touch' policy regimes hinged around regeneration and heritage-related grant aid as the city's first designated Conservation Area in 1967. It was the first former industrial zone in the country to be so designated. Much of the impetus for the regeneration of the Lace Market area, furthermore, came from civic organisations (including significant business and arts interests) rather than from government, local or otherwise

A key feature of the Lace Market area - and which distinguishes it, for example, from Sheffield's Cultural Industries Quarter - is its retail diversity, level of pedestrian footfall and range of pubs, clubs, leisure and social venues. (Nottingham claims to be the third best shopping centre in the country and the third best clubbing scene) Whether these claims are true or not, the significance of these opportunities - at the consumption end of the value chain - becomes clear in our analysis below. It is worth registering at this point that 'maintaining the balance' between production and consumption has been crucial to the success of the area and will continue to be crucial for its *sustainable and equitable* development. The other defining feature is the balanced *hybridity* of cultural venues and opportunities and the 'ecology' of productive relations between publicly-funded and commercial activities and infrastructure.

Let us now come to the findings of the research that we undertook in the Lace Market area in 1999 -2000 with a brief digest of some statistical facts generated in both street and telephone surveys and from other sources. We interviewed by phone a range of businesses operating within the cultural sector, held focus group sessions with some of their representatives as well as with independent (self-employed, sole trader) cultural producers and we had street interviews with 93 users of the area at different time of the day and night, both weekdays and weekends.

Selected results are as follows.

> There are 419 registered businesses in the area and 168 of these (40%) are in the Cultural/Creative Industries sector as defined in current statistical frameworks. We surveyed by telephone 99 of these (59%)

> We also surveyed 39 'Independents' (self-employed, sole traders, not registered with NCCI, etc) working in the cultural/creative industries. This group is reckoned to account for 30% of employment in the creative industries though they are not included in main statistical categories.

From the business survey, (the 'supply side') the following results are significant:

- 67% of those surveyed rated as 'important to crucial' *for their business* their location in the Lace Market/Hockley area.

- 61% of those surveyed rated as 'important to crucial ' *for their business* the capacity for meeting and networking with suppliers, collaborators, competitors in the area.

- 70% gave a 'very good to excellent' rating to the area as a location for *combined business and social interaction*.

- 74% rated as 'important to crucial' *for their business* the attractiveness of the built environment.

- 60% rated as 'important to crucial' *for their business* the range and quality of restaurants, pubs, clubs, cafes.

- 57% rated as 'important to crucial' *for their business* the heritage quality of the area

- 50% rated as 'important to crucial' *for their business* the proximity of arts and cultural institutions.

- 58% had plans for business expansion

- 77% had experienced growth in demand for their product or service in the past year: 70% of these in the 10-30% growth range.

We have underscored the phrase *'for their business'* in some of the findings in order to stress that the social and cultural capital base of the area is not an 'externality' but, rather, integral to the ways in which businesses of this type - 'high touch', and network dependent - operate.

From the 'demand side' of users and consumers with a majority (58%) female and the same majority in the 21-35 age group, the following results are significant.

- 20% were there for work purposes

- 30% were there for shopping

- 40% were there for social reasons

- Of the shoppers, the largest number (48%) shopped there a couple of times a week; 10% shopped there daily and 35% shopped there once a week.

- The largest percentage of shoppers (35.5%) said they would spend between £21-£30 on this visit; the next largest group (23%) would spend £11-£20 and the next largest (13%) would spend £31-£40.

- 16% of those there for social reaso*ns* (49% of the total) would be visiting a cinema; 13.5% a club and 2.7% a theatre.

- The largest percentage of those in the area for social reasons (51%) would come to the area twice a week; the next largest percentage (27%) came there daily and 16% came there once a week.

In response to evaluative and attitudinal questions and propositions:

- 91% of users agreed that the area 'adds vitality to the city centre area'

- 68% rated the area as a 'safe environment'

- 79% rated the area as 'good for shopping'

- 90% rated the area as 'good for socialising'

- 94% agreed that heritage quality makes the area an attractive place

What do these results from both businesses and consumers suggest?

First, there is a natural tendency towards 'clustering' produced by the nature of the urban environment and economy and the specific dynamics of the cultural sector within this broader economic framework.. Businesses see the opportunities for social interaction, the quality and diversity of the environment and the urban amenity as important *for their business*. This economics of proximity' is as important for consumers as for producers as it produces the additional benefits of a safe and lively environment.

Second, there is a special 'ecological' relationship between the subsidised, independent and commercial elements of the cultural sector: people, skills, ideas and content move back and forth between these elements. The government (Film Council) subsidised Broadway Media Centre, for example, acts as both a social and business hub with incubator micro-businesses forming an important part of the supply chain to the broader commercial sector. Again, from the consumer point of view, Broadway is both a major draw to consumption *per se* and a multi-ethnic meeting point.

Third, and directly related to both points above, there is a high degree of combined business and social *networking* in the area providing a strong basis for precisely those networks of social interaction which Michael Porter and others, have recognised as crucial to the development of the 'knowledge economy'. In the area of new media, for example, recognised as the fastest growing area of the cultural sector, networking is absolutely central to business and market growth: As sociologist and ethnologist Andreas Wittel has put it:

New media practitioners increasingly perceive social relationships and networking as crucial tools and resources for a successful business. They talk about 'relationship value', claim the importance of 'networking' and have reorganised their firms away from a focus on products towards a focus on clients, customers and users.

And 'clients, customers and users', the people who move with relative ease between streets and the *raison d'etre* of the cultural ecology in the first place, are really what it is all about. Their needs, interests and dispositions - we have partially seen -are hybrid with regard to the sectoral logics of 'cultural provision'.. These are needs, interests and dispositions which cannot be fully engaged by the sectoral logics of 'cultural and leisure services', 'economic development' or 'urban regeneration' at the policy level. Nor are they adequately addressed by the disciplinary logics of sociology, cultural studies, ethnology or market research.

So where does this lead us in terms of both the understanding of everyday cultures and the policy and planning logics that might be suggested or generated by new forms of understanding? To answer this question we need to find ways of linking - and sometimes reconciling - hitherto disparate sectoral and disciplinary logics and forms of calculation.

It should be clear, from my argument, that such linkages cannot be forged in purely conceptual terms: that there is a deal of testing to be done 'in the field' and that this testing is not the 'mere' empirical or quantitative side of otherwise sufficient conceptual and analytical frameworks. Rather, a theoretical re-conceptualisation and a policy recasting of the cultural field - especially in its connections with the economic, the social, the environmental - is necessary. That is the real connection between cultural planning and creative cities.

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