
ARTICLE

Cultural Quarters as Mechanisms for Urban Regeneration. Part 1: Conceptualising Cultural Quarters

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Introduction: Cultural Quarters and Urban Regeneration

This paper reviews the concept of the cultural quarter as an approach to urban regeneration. It considers the policy objectives of making such designations, the approach to ‘making’ places which are deemed to be more rather than less artistic and cultural in the broader senses of the word, and the methods and mechanisms for implementation and ongoing management. The paper draws heavily on case studies in describing events as they occurred, and in making comparisons between cultural quarters.

The work is published in two parts. Part 1 is a conceptualisation of the term cultural quarter, discussing in broad terms what is meant by this now almost-orthodox terminology. This Part draws heavily on the urban literature, especially on theories of city growth, economic development and urban design. It concludes with an idealised typology of what makes for a ‘good’ cultural quarter, presented as a series of necessary conditions and success factors. This is applied and evaluated in more detail in Part 2, which considers four case-study examples drawn from the United Kingdom (UK), Ireland and Australia.

In most of the examples referred to in Part 2, planning and development powers have been used to preserve and encourage cultural production and consumption. Moreover, cultural quarters are often seen as part of a larger strategy integrating cultural and economic development. This is usually linked to the redevelopment or regeneration of a selected inner urban area, in which mixed-use urban development is to be encouraged and the public realm is to be reconfigured. In other words, cultural quarters tend to combine strategies for greater consumption of the arts and culture with cultural production and urban place making.

Most great cities have identifiable quarters to which artists and cultural entrepreneurs are attracted, whether it is Soho in London, New York’s Lower East Side, or the Left Bank in Paris (Montgomery, 1998). (For a discussion of the links between city development, creativity and special places within cities, see Hall (1998) and Landry (2000).) Such places have a long history and appear

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to have happened by accident, or at least in the general development of a city over time. What is new about the development of cultural quarters in more recent times is that they have been (and are being) used as a deliberate model for urban regeneration of declining inner urban areas. In other words, they have been adopted as policy mechanisms for urban regeneration.

This more recent meaning of the term cultural quarter dates from the early 1980s in the USA, for example in Pittsburgh and Lexington, Massachusetts (see Whitt, 1987; Florida, 2002, pp. 304–314). Cultural quarters were proposed in the UK as long ago as 1987 by organisations such as the British American Arts Association (BAAA, 1989) and the cultural consultancy Comedia (Bianchini *et al.*, 1988). Culturally led urban development began to appear as a concept in the urban planning literature from the late 1980s (see Boogarts, 1990; Montgomery, 1990; Griffiths, 1991). The early UK examples are the Sheffield Cultural Industries Quarter, dating from the late 1980s, and the Manchester Northern Quarter, dating from 1993. The most frequently referred to example is Temple Bar in Dublin, which dates as an idea from the late 1980s and as an example of applied culturally led urban regeneration from 1990/1991.

In smaller cities and towns, too, there has been a recent interest in the designation of cultural quarters. As well as Belfast or Newcastle, cities and large towns across the north of England are in the process of setting up or exploring the possibilities for new cultural quarters. This includes such places as Hull, Huddersfield, Gateshead and Oldham. Cities such as Newcastle and Fremantle in Australia are looking to, quite deliberately, develop certain areas or precincts as distinct and distinctive cultural quarters. Some critics might argue that this is a case of overkill, that not all towns and cities need cultural quarters. Others argue that cultural quarters are just yet another means of creating high property values in newly gentrified urban areas. This argument, in our view, is largely specious, certainly for the early and more established cultural quarters where a new approach to urban regeneration was being attempted, and which, moreover, anticipated the ‘urban renaissance’ debate (Urban Task Force, 1999) (mixed use, higher density, place making) by over a decade. Such critics are also in danger of confusing certain outcomes, not all of which are predictable or controllable, with intent, a confusion that helps support a line of argument without the need for in-depth analysis and case-study-based research. In my view, it is necessary to have knowledge of the history of each cultural quarter in order to understand the motives of policy makers and the success or otherwise of change and development as it occurred.

It is also perhaps timely to consider the achievements and shortcomings of cultural quarters as an approach to urban regeneration, as a paragraph at least in the urban literature of settlements. In addition, some review of development principles, policies, programmes and projects might also allow the identification of necessary conditions for a successful cultural quarter, as well as pitfalls to avoid. In other words: a review of practice for policy makers who are considering whether and how to go about developing a cultural quarter. Further, as several such quarters have been in existence for 10 or more years, it is also possible to consider how well cultural quarters *mature*, and what management mechanisms need to be established to ensure their continuation and survival into

TABLE 1. The place characteristics of cultural quarters

Activity

- diversity of primary and secondary land uses
- extent and variety of cultural venues and events
- presence of an evening economy, including café culture
- strength of small-firm economy, including creative businesses
- access to education providers

Built form

- fine-grain urban morphology
- variety and adaptability of building stock
- permeability of streetscape
- legibility
- amount and quality of public space
- active frontages

Meaning

- important meeting and gathering spaces
 - sense of history and progress
 - area identity and imagery
 - knowledgeable
 - design appreciation and style
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the future. Do successful cultural quarters grow spontaneously or do they require public policy intervention and support, both in development and into the future?

Conceptualising Cultural Quarters

Necessary Characteristics

It is important to review a number of existing cultural quarters, to characterise each place, identify what is unique to it, establish points of similarity across the various quarters and consider whether any lessons can be learned and applied to other nascent or emerging quarters. However, it is also possible, *a priori*, to identify a set of necessary conditions and success factors in establishing cultural quarters, in large part by deriving these from the various urban literatures. Following from Canter's Metaphor for Place (Canter, 1977), one can posit that all successful urban places are comprised of three sets of elements:

- activity—economic, cultural, social;
- form—the relationship between buildings and spaces;
- meaning—sense of place, historical and cultural.

Within this framework it is possible to build up a set of indicators that can be used to assess the relative success of cultural quarters (Table 1).

Indicators 1: Activity Thus, under the heading *Activity*, in good cultural quarters—as in good urban places generally—one expects to find a *diversity of*

primary and secondary uses (as posited by Jane Jacobs (1961), Comedia (1991a) and Montgomery (1998)). This might include:

- the extent of variety in primary land uses, including residential;
- the proportions of locally owned or more generally independent businesses, particularly shops;
- patterns in opening hours, including the existence of evening and night-time activity;
- the presence and size of street markets, and types of specialisation;
- the availability of cinemas, theatres, wine bars, cafés, pubs, restaurants and other cultural and meeting places offering service of different kinds at varying prices and degrees of quality;
- the availability of spaces, including gardens, squares and corners, to enable people-watching and other activities such as cultural animation programmes;
- patterns of mixed land ownership so that self-improvement and small-scale investment in property is possible;
- the availability of differing unit sizes of property at varying degrees of cost, so that small businesses can gain a foothold and not be driven out of business by sudden rises in rent and/or property taxes;
- the degree of innovation and confidence in new architecture, so that where possible there should be a variety of building types, styles and design;
- the presence of an active street life and active street frontages.

An essential pre-requisite for a cultural quarter is the presence of *cultural activity*, and, where possible, this should include cultural production (making objects, goods, products, and providing services) as well as cultural consumption (people going to shows, visiting venues and galleries) (Comedia, 1991b). This is axiomatic: cultural quarters cannot exist without cultural activity. Of special significance is the presence of venues. These should be as varied as possible, preferably at the small and medium scale where the objective is to encourage a more active street life. As well as performance venues, there should also be rehearsal and practice spaces. A mixed economy in venues helps generate self-sustaining growth, so that as well as publicly provided theatres and galleries there should also be private galleries and performance venues. It is important that as many venues as possible should remain open in the evenings as well as during the day. The most successful of the cultural quarters very often have quite deliberately set out to develop a ‘network’ of such venues, and in some cases these have been ‘planted’ as strategic elements in the wider development of an area. In order to sustain a living culture, it is important for at least some cultural organisations to be producing houses (i.e. making new work) rather than having an over-reliance on touring products. The presence of producing companies in any cultural quarter adds weight and, often, extra quality. Much may be gained by the fact that important arts organisations, regionally and nationally, have their headquarters in an identified area or street.

Table 2 is a fairly straightforward listing of the types and range of cultural activity (deemed necessary success factors in a cultural quarter). Headings under which the comparisons are made focus mainly on the presence or otherwise of cultural activity.

TABLE 2. Indicators of good cultural activity

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1. Cultural venues at a variety of scales, including small and medium.
 2. Festivals and events.
 3. Availability of workspaces for artists and low-cost cultural producers.
 4. Small-firm economic development in the cultural sectors.
 5. Managed workspaces for office and studio users.
 6. Location of arts development agencies and companies.
 7. Arts and media training and education.
 8. Art in the environment.
 9. Community arts development initiatives.
 10. Complementary day-time uses.
 11. Complementary evening uses.
 12. Stable arts funding.
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Successful cultural quarters will almost certainly have a strong *evening economy* (Montgomery, 1994), for where this is lacking a place can only be said to work half of the time. The possibilities for more activity around the clock, with increasingly flexible work patterns and the new anthropology of consumption (lifestyles), are there to be exploited. Very often, there is a close correlation between cultural quarters and at least part of a city's evening economy. Indeed, much of the attraction of cultural quarters is that it is possible to merge the day into the night, and formal cultural activities with less formal pursuits such as meetings friends for a meal or a drink (Montgomery, 1997). It will always be important to achieve a balance of activities across the day and in the evenings.

As a rule, the most lively and interesting cultural quarters tend to be places of complex variety, with a large representation of *small-scale business activity* which trades not only with 'consumers' but also with other businesses. Successful cultural economies are characterised by increasing volumes of trade, constant innovation and the building up of new products and services, networks of suppliers and purchasers. Often now referred to as 'post-fordism' or the "sub-contracting-out mode of production" (Sabel, 1982), this was always a feature of city economies before modern industrialisation. Thus, the successful cultural-quarter economy will be as complex and intricate as possible with myriad networks of firms—and, crucially, a high proportion of small and medium enterprises (SMEs) inter-trading and subcontracting. They will variously and continuously be involved in a dynamic of importing, exporting, import substitution, domestic consumption and adding new work. This is what is meant by "growing a fine grain city economy" (Jacobs, 1969).

Within a cultural quarter, it is also axiomatic that a good proportion of such businesses will operate within the *creative and cultural industries* (Mulgan & Worpole, 1986; Garnham, 1985; Montgomery, 1996). These are now accepted as economic sectors in their own right—in 1998, the UK Government Department of Culture, Media and Sport officially categorised the creative industries by Standard Industrial Classification (SIC) Codes. This codified what many had

been doing over the years, but importantly helped to clarify the definition and concerns over the data themselves (see Appendix). The creative sector forms part of what is now widely regarded as a potential growth sector for the UK economy, notably in a series of growth clusters. The creative (previously the cultural) industries include: music, commercial photography, graphic design, publishing, fashion, pop videos, film and television. What they all have in common is the concept of creativity as a source of added value. Creativity generates new ideas, new ways of working and new products. Potentially at least, the creative industries add to the stock of work which makes up a city's economy. In 2002, according to UK government statistics, the creative industries generated a turnover of £55 billion, including £11.4 billion in exports, and employed nearly two million people or 8% of the workforce.

The creative industries are widely seen as quintessential *knowledge-age industries* (Handy, 1989): involved in the creation and communication of meaning and entertainment; hi-tech, and requiring a high skills base. They generate a large turnover worldwide, they create and sustain popular cultural icons and they are shaped by and help to shape fashion, identity and sub-cultures. The products are CDs, television programmes, books and magazines, videos, films, fashions, records and tapes. They require hardware (equipment, technology, studios) and software (creative people, image makers, ideas, sounds). Most industry commentators agree that the lead creative sectors are film, television, the music industry and publishing, and it is within these sectors that technology is converging most rapidly with the computer industry.

In his influential book *The Competitive Advantage of Nations*, Michael Porter argues that competitive success tends to concentrate in particular industries and groups of inter-connected industries (Porter, 1990). A *cluster* is a grouping of industries linked together through customer, supplier and other relationships which enhance competitive advantage. Such clusters can generate significant wealth through a reinforcing process of exporting, import substitution and the circulation of income earned through local products and services, as argued by Jane Jacobs in *The Economy of Cities* (Jacobs, 1969). In this way, a successful creative industries cluster will include a good proportion of exporting firms as well as those trading locally. Over time, a network of suppliers and sub-contractors will build up as firms inter-trade with each other. New businesses will set up to produce entirely new products, or more likely to provide products and services locally which hitherto have been required to be imported.

In this way, competitive *creative industry clusters* are characterised by the presence of a proportion of internationally competitive firms, continuous upgrading and innovation. The clusters will, moreover, be underpinned by a set of *factor conditions*, i.e. the presence of specialised skills, technology and infrastructure; and *related and supporting industries*, capable of supplying specialised services and inputs. Finally, *demand conditions* need to be conducive to growth—that is to say, there should be a pool of sophisticated and demanding customers locally (as well as regionally, nationally and internationally).

A successful creative industries cluster will therefore comprise a *production–distribution–consumption value chain* (Montgomery, 1994), but this will be underpinned by technology and specialist infrastructure and also the presence of the creative arts and creative and skilled individuals. Moreover—and although this will vary with the characteristics of each creative industry cluster and the

city itself—the creative industries stimulate *derived consumption* in tourism, catering, retail and leisure.

However, it is not possible to conjure up new businesses—especially in knowledge- and skill-intensive activities such as the creative, design and cultural industries—out of thin air. There must be a ready supply or a potential supply of skilled, educated and creative people willing to set up in business for themselves. Quite often, a large percentage of current university graduates intend to or would wish to set up their own business. These graduates are the best prospect for business creation in the creative industries. It is no surprise, then, that many cultural quarters have strong, sometimes formal, links with universities and other education providers.

As well as being high-tech, the creative industries are hi-touch industries, in that people still need the stimulus of meeting other people (Worpole, 1992). Cultural quarters, then, are a means of combining access to non-local markets (via technology) with the playing out of ‘urban lifestyles’ in particular urban locations. Policy makers have also realised that artists and creative producers and those they attract pursue a particular lifestyle where work and ideas and friendships are pursued in coffee houses, bars, restaurants, clubs, venues, galleries and other semi-public meeting places (Conlin, 2001). This is deemed to be an important aspect of urban (as opposed to suburban) living, and is part of the lifestyle on offer to new urban residents. (It is worth recalling that in the mid 1980s very few people were living in urban centres, with many arguing that the cities themselves had no future as places of residence.) The upshot is that cultural activity and imagery have helped to create demand for inner city living and urban lifestyles, although this has not always been seen in a positive light (Zukin, 1988).

Indicators 2: Built Form As far as the *built form* is concerned, most of the indicators are derived from Jane Jacobs, Kevin Lynch, Spiro Kostof and other urban design theorists, and discussed at length in Montgomery (1998).

Lynch (1981) employed the concept of a good ‘fit’ to describe places where activity and the built form are mutually self-sustaining. A city with a good fit provides the buildings, spaces and networks required for its residents to pursue their projects successfully. This ‘fit’ will be governed by the type of place and the range and intensity of activity desired, but it is possible to build up a picture of the fit necessary to achieve a successful urban as opposed to a suburban place. Table 3 posits that a cultural quarter, as a strong urban place, would be characterised by a number of features.

Jane Jacobs identifies four essential preconditions for urban environments which help promote *city diversity*: a mixture of primary uses, intensity of the built form, permeability, and a mixture of building types, ages, sizes and conditions (Jacobs, 1961). Of these, we have already discussed mixed use. Intensity of the built form relates to the notion of a town or cityscape, and particularly those with a tight rather than a loose urban grain. Here we are referring to such urban design concepts as scale, build-to lines, storey heights and the overall relationship between the heights of buildings and the width of streets and routes. Urban environments which are best suited to the sort of active

TABLE 3. An urban cultural 'fit'

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- Complexity of activity, especially cultural activity
 - Myriad patterns of movement (especially pedestrians)
 - Diversity of primary and secondary uses
 - A fine-grain economy, with a good proportion of arts and creative businesses
 - An active street life, with a strong café culture
 - Variety in opening hours
 - The presence of people attractors, such as venues and galleries, good restaurants and speciality shops
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place a cultural quarter should be tend to have a radius of around 400 metres, buildings averaging around 5–8 storeys, with very few streets over 10 metres wide (including pavements). Such areas will also be *permeable* and provide scope for many trading opportunities at ground-floor level.

It is important that at least a proportion of activity in an area should occur in the streets, squares and spaces in the city—the *public realm* (Buchanan, 1988). For it is the public realm and associated semi-public spaces which provide the terrain for social interaction and a significant part of an area's transaction base (the market square, the street vendor, the shop frontage, the sidewalk café). It is activities such as these, and the all-important activities of promenading and people-watching, which provide the dynamic quality of successful urban places and cultural quarters in particular. In fact, the public realm in a city performs many functions, not only as a meeting place but also helping to define the built environment, providing spaces for local traditions and customs such as festivals and carnivals, and representing meaning and identity. According to Gehl (1996), the public realm in towns and cities performs these 'functions':

- an integral part of the built form or townscape;
- neutral territory where everyone has a right to gather;
- places where historical events occurred, and collective memory resides;
- places where public forms of social life can occur.

Cultural quarters should be expected to have a more active and discernible public realm than is generally found in urban environments (Montgomery, 1995).

Places which continue to succeed despite changes in economic conditions, technology and culture do so because their built form is itself mixed and/or highly adaptable. City streets, for example, tend to succeed over larger timescales than do single-purpose office buildings which are susceptible to changes in demand (downsizing of labour forces), technology (computer and cable ducting) and expectation (air conditioning, intimacy as opposed to open plan). This is because, as a general rule, the life of streets and urban areas is longer than the life of individual buildings, while the life of buildings is longer than the life of their original function. By extension, the successful urban area is one which offers *in-built adaptability* rather than *in-built obsolescence*. Again, this is especially true of places that contain a high proportion of small businesses

of varying kinds. There are a variety of building forms that offer much adaptability (see Bentley *et al.*, 1985), and most of them tend to be buildings on several floors with a mixture of room sizes on each floor. Interestingly, whilst loft living represents the adapting of old warehouse and light industrial accommodation for residential use, there are now many examples of residential accommodation being adapted as offices or studios, even galleries and cafés. Such forms, for example apartment blocks and town houses, are not only adaptable in the types of activity they can accommodate, but also in the levels of intensity of activity.

Good urban quarters are judged by their street life. Good streets need to be active, to accommodate and generate diversity, and they must be *permeable*. Good streets have well-defined edges and a quality of transparency or *visibility* at their edges (where the private and public realms meet). For this to happen, there must be a good horizontal grain of *active frontages* along a street (Gehl, 1994). Thus, in any block of, say, 10 shop units, there might be two food stores, a video store, an off-licence, a patisserie, a café-bar, a gallery and restaurant, a pharmacy and a betting shop. Successful quarters will tend to have several such streets, or at least a number of activity nodes between which it is easy to travel between.

Indicators 3: Meaning In terms of *meaning*, good urban places—and by extension cultural quarters—will represent and signal meaning and identity to users and citizens. An individual's knowledge of a city is a function of the *imageability* of the urban environment: that is, the extent to which the components of the environment make a strong impression on the individual. In turn, imageability is influenced by a city's *legibility*: the degree to which the different elements of the city (defined as paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks) are organised into a coherent and recognisable pattern (Lynch, 1960). By gathering information about these elements, the individual creates both an image of the city and also a frame of reference. It is also clear that most people acquire knowledge of a place by a piecemeal 'bottom-up' process which is itself dependent on direct experience. Bits and pieces of knowledge are absorbed and then integrated through the individual's perceptual filters. This results in both an understanding of the city (its form and legibility) and an image of the city.

This in part reflects a combination of wider cultural processes, values and identities which tend to have emerged over time from associations of events and places. For example, "this is where Guy Fawkes was captured", "this pub is where Thomas Paine wrote 'The Rights of Man' ", "this is where I first met your mother, under the town clock ...". Places come to represent memory, meaning and association for individuals, groups and societies. They can also forge new images for themselves, by the activities found in such places and by selective iconography in the form of new architecture and *public art* (Montgomery, 1998).

Places which work well usually have all manner of invisible and informal networks and associations which, in themselves, are indicators of involvement: flower arranging, jam making, judo, sports, clubs, keep fit, life drawing and painting. Information on these activities, local events and traditions are passed on by word of mouth, posters in shop windows and on notice boards, and by leaflets. All of this can be supported and projected to wider audiences by more

formalised marketing drives. The key point, however, is to encourage associational activity and to generate greater *knowledgeability* about what goes on in a place (Comedia, 1991a). One way to do this is to agree and project an area brand or USP (Unique Selling Point). There are many ways in which these messages are conveyed—articles in flight magazines, information packs at the airport, tourist promotion literature and brochures in overseas offices, leaflets and fliers, What's On guides, posters, web sites, videos, feature articles and press releases. Quarters can be promoted in distinctive, even 'alternative' ways, including the programming of events. There might also be a visitor information centre.

Most cultural quarters tend to operate at the modern, design and media end of the cultural spectrum. That is to say, they are all places of innovation and creativity and, often as not, contemporary in terms of design awareness and appreciation (Montgomery, 1998; Urban Task Force, 1999). In the more successful quarters this design ethos is carried through into architecture (modern, but contextual in that it sits within a street pattern), interior design (zinc, blonde wood, brushed steel, white wall) and even the lighting of important streets and spaces (ambient, architectural and signature lighting, as well as functional). All of these reinforce a place's identity as modern and innovative. It is important not to go too far and to retain a balance between the old and the new, particularly with favourite meeting places and traditional pubs.

Conclusion

Table 4 summarises the elements one would expect to find in a successful cultural quarter. These are presented, as earlier, under three sub-headings: Activity, Form and Meaning. It is important to stress that a good cultural quarter would contain a unique mixture of these elements. Thus a place which has good Activity but an inappropriate Urban Form will not be a cultural quarter in the sense of being a good place which attracts everyday users and visitors, but rather a place (most likely) of cultural production removed from the arena of consumption. This means that cultural quarters, and indeed the wider notion of city creative economies, cannot be considered in isolation from the geography and characteristics of urban places. Places matter; place matters.

Similarly, a cultural quarter without Meaning, *inter alia*, will not be much of a place. Nor will it tend to be contemporary, avant garde, or particularly innovative. Culture, after all, *is* Meaning. More than this, a cultural quarter which produces no *new* Meaning—in the form of new work, ideas and concepts—is all the more likely to be a pastiche of other places in other times, or perhaps of itself in an earlier life. A good cultural quarter, then, will be authentic, but also innovative and changing.

This last is perhaps the most telling point. For, to remain successful, a good place, a city economy, even an individual enterprise, will need to maintain what it is good at but also to be flexible, highly adaptive and embrace change, new ideas, new ways of doing things and new work. Failure to do so will mean that the cultural quarter will disappear entirely, or become simply a collection of publicly funded venues and facilities, or else an emblem of former culture—'heritage'. Some cultural quarters will, no doubt, deserve to ossify or disappear

TABLE 4. Cultural quarters: necessary conditions and success factors

Activity

- Diversity of primary and secondary land uses
- Extent and variety of cultural venues
- Presence of an evening economy, including café culture
- Strength of small-firm economy, including creative businesses
- Access to education providers
- Presence of festivals and events
- Availability of workspaces for artists and low-cost cultural producers
- Small-firm economic development in the cultural sectors
- Managed workspaces for office and studio users
- Location of arts development agencies and companies
- Arts and media training and education
- Complementary daytime and evening uses

Built form

- Fine-grain urban morphology
- Variety and adaptability of building stock
- Permeability of streetscape
- Legibility
- Amount and quality of public space
- Active street frontages
- People attractors

Meaning

- Important meeting and gathering spaces
 - Sense of history and progress
 - Area identity and imagery
 - Knowledgeability
 - Environmental signifiers
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altogether, to be taken over by other competing uses (offices, apartments) or to become part of the heritage industry. Others might well continue to develop and grow into the future, although success too can have its dangers, where low-value uses are driven out of successful places. This brings us to a conundrum, in that at least a proportion of the activity found in cultural quarters might well require governmental support in order to survive *in situ*. The issue then becomes one of stimulating new work, new activity and innovation whilst balancing a broader mix of activities, built forms and meanings. Not an easy task, but not impossible either, as we shall see in Part 2.

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Appendix

The UK Government Department of Culture, Media and Sport officially categorised the creative industries by Standard Industrial Classification (SIC) Codes as shown in Table A1.

Table A1.

Publishing of books	22.11 (SIC92 Code)
Publishing of newspapers	22.12
Publishing of journals and periodicals	22.13
Publishing of sound recordings	22.14
Other publishing	22.15
Reproduction of sound recording	22.31
Reproduction of video recording	22.32
Reproduction of computer media	22.33
Software consultancy and supply	72.20
Architectural and engineering activities	74.20
Printing of newspapers	22.21
Printing not elsewhere classified	22.22
Other activities related to printing	22.25
Advertising (marketing, promotion and graphic design)	74.40
Photographic activities	74.81
Other business activities not elsewhere classified (textile design, other design, exhibition and conference facilities and organisation)	74.84
Technical and vocational secondary education	80.22
Higher education	80.30
Adult education not elsewhere classified	80.42
Motion picture and video production	92.11
Motion picture projection	92.13
Radio and television activities	90.20
Artistic and literary creation and interpretation (dance, other design, performance sound and lighting, music performance and production, theatrical production and support, visual arts and sculpture, combined arts, crafts, writing, arts management)	92.31
Operation of arts facilities (galleries and other arts facilities, theatres and concert halls)	92.32
Other entertainment activities not elsewhere classified (leisure and entertainment)	92.34
Library and archive activity	92.51
Museum activities and historical sites/buildings	92.52

It has to be acknowledged that this much fuller definition of the creative industries has been criticised from various quarters as being over inclusive. It goes some way beyond one of the early published accounts of the creative industries in London (Urban Cultures Ltd, 1994). For example, the inclusion of printing has been made on the grounds that such activity is an important part of the supply chain in other industries such as graphic design, and that printing these days usually involves computerised design. The problem is that—at a stroke—people who were only a few years ago categorised as working in industrial processes are now defined as creatives. Similarly, advertising is an integral part of TV and film especially, yet this category also includes local PR agencies and people selling advertising space. It is clear that, with the best will in the world, not all of those who work in advertising are themselves creative.

Perhaps the largest area of contention is the inclusion of secondary, further and higher education. Although it is true that these sectors educate and train the new creative producers, it is mistaken in our view to include more than a small proportion of their staff in any employment estimates. We would similarly take issue with the inclusion of library, archive and museum activities, preferring to see these as no doubt valued activities, but of a different nature to primary creation. Likewise, the inclusion of such activities as nightclubs stretches credulity. To counter some of these arguments, the Department has stressed that organisations should be considered for inclusion where the role of creativity is considered to be ‘core’ or ‘related’, as opposed to ‘peripheral’.

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