PLANNING FOR THE ARTS - AN URBAN RENAISSANCE?

A Critique of Arts Policy and Town Planning and their Relationship

Volume I

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Declaration

I declare that the content and source material contained in this thesis is my own and represents original research undertaken by me and that all acknowledgements and quotation references have been given where appropriate. None of the work undertaken for this thesis has been offered for another degree or other qualification. I hereby grant powers of discretion to the University Librarian to allow this thesis to be copied in whole or in part without further reference to me. This permission covers only single copies made for study purposes, subject to normal conditions of acknowledgement.

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ABSTRACT of Thesis

Title: Planning for the Arts - An Urban Renaissance? A Critique of Arts Policy and Town Planning and their Relationship

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The study examines the development of arts policy and town planning in the United Kingdom and investigates their relationship in the provision of arts and cultural amenity in urban contexts. The historic evolution of arts planning is taken through the pre and post-Welfare State periods, concentrating on national arts and related environmental, urban and economic policies. The evolution of town planning in Britain is assessed both in terms of urban policy and planning and as they affect arts provision and development. The position of London and the 'regions' is assessed in terms of the distribution of arts resources, in the light of the Arts Council's 'Glory of the Garden' strategy (1984) and subsequent initiatives and this is extended to the increasing influence of European policy through cultural and economic development programmes. The adoption of economic rationales for arts provision and investment is assessed in terms of the shift towards a cultural industries approach to local economic development. Arts-led tourism and the use of cultural attractions as part of inward investment and image improvement strategies are contrasted with the provision of local arts facilities, taking the example of the arts centre and workspace for artist and crafts producer. The application of planning standards for leisure and recreation is evaluated in terms of arts amenity planning and the relative outcomes of arts versus sports provision. Two surveys of London local authorities assess the adoption of arts and urban regeneration measures and the place of arts amenities in local land-use plans. The results are then compared with other cities in the UK and overseas. A detailed analysis of one London borough, Islington, is made in terms of arts policy and provision in the context of the national planning regimes operating during the 1980s. A local cultural quarter, Clerkenwell, is then investigated in terms of the impact of such policy and planning changes on artist, crafts and other cultural production and premises usage. The thesis develops the case for the utilisation of arts planning standards and the results suggest an integrated policy and planning approach to local arts provision, and to economic and cultural development, at both local and regional levels.

GLOSSARY OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABSA	Association for Business Sponsorship of the Arts
ACE	Arts Culture and Entertainment (per model planning policies - LPAC, 1990a)
ACGB	Arts Council of Great Britain
ADC	Association of District Councils
ALA	Association of London Authorities
AMA	Association of Metropolitan Authorities
BAAA	British American Arts Association
BFI	British Film Institute
CCT	Compulsory Competitive Tendering of Local Government and public services
CEC/EC	Commission of the European Community/European Community
CEU/EU	Commission of the European Union/European Union
CGA	Clerkenwell Green Association
CILAF	Crisis in London's Arts Funding Group
CIPFA	Chartered Institute of Public Finance & Accountancy
COSLA	Council of Scottish Local Authorities
DfEE	Department for Education and Employment
DNH	Department of National Heritage
DoEn	Department of the Environment
ETB	English Tourist Board
ERDF	European Regional Development Fund
ILEA	Inner London Education Authority
IUAA	Inner Urban Areas Act 1978
GDO	General Development Order (Town & Country Planning Act)
GOL	Government Office for London
GLA	Greater London Arts (Association to 1991, LAB from October 1991)
GLC	Greater London Council
LAB	London Arts Board
LAAC	London Association of Arts Centres
LAC	London Arts Conference (Standing Conference, meets annually)
LBGC	London Boroughs Grants Committee
LDDC	London Docklands Development Corporation
LGA	Local Government Act (year follows)
LGFA	Local Government Finance Act 1982
LGPLA	Local Government, Planning and Land Act 1980
LGHA	Local Government and Housing Act 1989
LPAC	London Planning Advisory Committee
LTB	London Tourist Board
NAMS	National Arts and Media Strategy (Arts Council of GB, 1990-1993)
NCA	National Campaign for the Arts
OAL	Office of Arts and Libraries
OPCS	Office of Population Census and Survey
PLCA	Planning and Compensation Act 1991
PPG	Planning Policy Guidance Note (1 to 22, 1988-1993)
RAA/B	Regional Arts Association/Board
RSG	Rate Support Grant
SERPLAN	London & South-East Regional Planning Conference
SRB	Single Regeneration Budget
SSA	Standard Spending Assessment (of Local Authorities by Central Government)
TCPA	Town and Country Planning Act (year follows: 1909,1939,1947,1971,1990)
TDAP	Tourism Development Action Programme
UCO	Use Class Order (Town & Country Planning Act)
UDAT/RUDAT	Urban Design Action/Assistance Team (in the USA, Regional/RUDAT)
UDP	Unitary Development Plan
URBED	Urban Economic Development Ltd.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: DEFINITIONS, METHODOLOGY AND SUMMARY

1. 0 Introduction

This thesis analyses the historic and contemporary relationship between the arts and town planning in the urban context. The study draws on the concepts of planning for the arts and of making such provision within the town and country planning process in the United Kingdom, and specifically in the capital, London, in terms of land-use and economic development, and in terms of arts policy and provision. The historic context from which clear references are seen in the post-industrial urban regeneration experienced in the UK since the early 1980s, includes the period from the Renaissance to the Victorian era under industrial growth and concomitant urbanisation. Both present examples of public and municipal intervention in city planning and the provision of cultural amenity. Civic involvement in the promotion and planning of cultural amenities under the London County Council's first tenure straddling the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, provides a foundation for the establishment of the welfare state and modern urban planning, which is analysed here as the starting point for a critique of arts policy and town planning and their relationship to the present day.

Whilst the planning of public amenities in the United Kingdom has drawn on norms and minimum standards of provision for given populations, since the development of post-war town and country planning, the arts have been largely ignored both by planners in the amenity, land-use and development process and by the arts promoters and policy-makers themselves, who have resisted the tendency to 'plan the arts into being' (Rees-Mogg, 1985 p.4). This resistance to planning the arts is shared by otherwise diverse sources, from John Pick (1988; 1991) and free-market ideologists Kingsley Amis (1979) and Mason (1987); political economists Rees-Mogg (1985) and Peacock (1993) who share similar libertarian views, to the more pragmatic US commentator Von Eckardt (1982). At the same time as national[1] and metropolitan[2] town planning were established and local government arts and

[1] Town & Country Planning Act, 1947

[2] County of London Plan (1943); The Greater London Development Plan (1944)

entertainment spending powers awarded[3], national arts policies and delivery mechanisms were developed[4], but with little or no consideration of quantified or community need, effectively reinforcing a top-down, centralised and geographically imbalanced provision of prescribed arts activity and resources.

Urban policy and planning have traditionally been dominated by the zoned separation of work, domestic and leisure activity (Seabrook, 1988; Clarke and Critcher, 1985) and a quantitative approach to economic development and recreational land and green space (Abercrombie, 1944). However, urban policy and planning have had to redefine themselves in post-industrial society, where traditional work space, travel-corridors and work-leisure trade-offs (Becker, 1965; Gorz, 1989) no longer apply. Flexible employment in a service-based economy, no longer rooted in place; structural unemployment and longer-distances travelled to work and 'play', as well as emerging information and media technologies, have all combined to render prescriptive, population-based town and amenity planning almost redundant.

Castells (1977) defines "spatial structures" as the particular ways in which social structures are spatially articulated (Pickvance, 1976), however the Marxist and Weberian separation of the economic from other aspects of society no longer holds true in the contemporary urban environment, and certainly not in terms of cultural consumption and leisure behaviour. For example, emerging communication and other technologies (TV/video, cable/satellite, personal computers and electronic devices) have induced a "fortress home" mentality (Henley, 1985) in part a reaction to the real and perceived deleterious effects of urban living and unemployment, whilst the tourist wanderlust and ease of escapist travel represents another extreme. A contrast can also be seen on the one hand between extended commuting through widened transport networks, both to work and to out-of-town leisure ('Day Visits' - OPCS, 1994), and on the other, growth in home-based working, whether a 'lifestyle choice' or through economic necessity (eg.teleworking, piecework, freelancing and sub-contracting). Planning as a historically spatial and normative process has had to adjust to this continuity and change, where culture is consumed (and produced) at home, on

[3] Local Government Act (1948) which permitted up to 2p (6d) in the Rate pound to be spent on certain arts and entertainment activities

[4] Arts Council of Great Britain incorporated by Royal Charter (1946)

holiday ('cultural tourism', Evans, 1993; Richards, 1994) and in the retail and entertainment centres housing shopping malls, multiplex cinemas and leisure/theme parks. Town and city planners, often in alliance with leisure planners and cultural interventionists such as regional arts agencies, have responded with an attempted renaissance in town and city centre cultural life. One of the prime objectives of this strategy has been to salvage identity, employment and community, against urban decline and consequent social fragmentation arising from the forces of economic restructuring, globalisation and post-Fordism.

Contemporary responses to economic restructuring have linked urban planning, arts and cultural policy and local economic strategies, providing a framework within which the arts, land-use and economic planning have coincided, despite the traditional resistance to actually plan for the arts. This has produced echoes of the urban renaissance of the seventeenth century (Bell, 1969). The use of the term 'renaissance' did not herald the discovery of yet another major historical movement, either then or today, yet there are parallels, as this thesis notes later, between the pre-industrial and post-industrial periods. Both represented cultural revivals after a period of decline, even crisis: both were an urban phenomenon and were associated with high culture, and with the absorption and propagation of classical art as well as popular (traditional) culture (Borsay, 1989). The first English Renaissance consisted of extraordinarily diverse, but integrated processes embracing a broad range of cultural forms (from the visual and physical to the abstract and cerebral), and whose nature and development were inextricably tied to wider economic and social forces. London fully participated in this urban renaissance and in many respects led it: since the 1980s it could be said that it has been regional capitals and provincial cities that have led, however then as now, the metropolis is a unique 'schizophrenic' case, where the pace and scale of change is markedly different from that in the provinces. The planning and place of the arts and culture in the late-twentieth century urban renaissance draws many references from the earlier experience, and shares the familiar context: *"the foundations of the Urban Renaissance were first and foremost economic ones"* (Borsay, 1989, p.199).

The Arts Council of Great Britain in its policy document, 'Glory of the Garden. The Development of the Arts in England: A Strategy for a Decade' (1984), had proposed the more equitable redistribution of arts subsidy and decentralisation of resource allocation to the 'regions', and away from London. This strategy was, however, less than successful, as

demonstrated in Chapters 2 and 4 below - London's position *vis a vis* the provinces and the national Arts Council's reluctance to accept London as one region itself is a feature of the 'London centrism' that continues to dog national arts policy and the allocation of public arts funding and facilities. This has undermined the notion of equitable planning for the arts which was supposedly one goal of the 'Glory of the Garden' policy and the access aims of the Royal Charter of the Arts Council itself (1946, revised 1967). This policy has largely been overtaken by the radical changes in the political economy of central-local government structures and relationships - democratic and fiscal[5], as well as deregulation of the town planning system itself. The perennial tension between the metropolis and other regions - national and international - and the consequent inter-place competition between cities for resources and status, still predominates and is indeed encouraged by competitive regional assistance and incentive schemes which are promoted and controlled by the centre. The 1980s have also seen the introduction of urban economic and social regeneration initiatives - public and private - which have looked to the arts, the design and functions of cities, as key components and in some cases as prime aspects of revitalisation strategies by local and central governments and by newly formed partnership agencies.

At the same time, the town planning system through its structures and powers of intervention and mediation in the land-use and development processes, has come under threat from free-market pressures and ideologies (as discussed in Chapter 3 and also in Chapters 9 and 10). Together with the restructured central-local government relationships, these forces for change and the pursuit of solutions to the problems presented by the decline of post-industrial urban physical and social structures, have created an opportunity for town planners, arts and cultural organisations, local government and advocacy agencies. Their responses and the theory, policy and practical implementation underlying these, in the context of the historic and contemporary 'renaissance' and post-war town planning movement, warrants investigation and study. This decade is therefore the focus for an analysis of the rationales and mechanisms by which intervention and policy promotion is

[5] This refers to the centralisation and constraint on local authority revenue generation from domestic and business residents (see Chapter 2 and 4). This includes limitation of capital and revenue spending powers, and control over budget discretion, through the ring-fencing of service areas and the Compulsory Competitive Tendering (CCT) of the management of local services and facilities, irrespective of the local electorates needs and preferences (Byrne,1994)

justified, and the arts policy and town planning regimes interact.

1.1 Planning Approaches and Definitions

In a thesis on planning for the arts and the position of arts and cultural facilities in amenity planning, the ubiquitous term *planning* itself requires further definition and delineation. Like the term 'culture', the generic 'planning' is widely used and associated with a range of functions and disciplines, from human geography (root of 'town planning'), design (*viz* the planning of settlements, 'urban design', eg.masterplan), political economy/economics (eg. planned economy, Marshall plan, 5-year plan), social policy and public administration, to business management and organisation theory.

Planning is the application of scientific method, however crude, to policy-making and planning is also defined as *"a process for determining appropriate future action through a sequence of choices"* (Davidoff and Reiner, 1973, p.11). This application of planning therefore infers both a logical sequence of decisions, of estimating optimum outcomes and community 'need' and is closely associated with 'Public Policy and Choice' theory (Dunleavy, 1991) - the rationale for particular choices (over, for example, resource allocation and land-use) and by implication discounting alternative decisions or opportunity costs and benefits. The definitions below, whilst discrete, are also used in combination with each other and in practice overlap. All definitions of planning infer some consideration of the future and the achievement of given goals or end states, whether physical and environmental, social, economic or cultural. The terms 'strategy/strategic' are also now widely applied, a reflection perhaps of the business and 'scientific' management approaches borrowed from the USA from the 1960s and drawing on technological and military terminology. These found favour and usage from the 1980s in the arts administration and policy departments, such as the Arts Council's 'Glory of the Garden' strategy (1984), and more recent 'National Arts and Media Strategy' (1993); in local and regional authority arts strategies (eg. Greater London Arts, 1990b; Southern Arts Board, 1991; Liverpool City Council, 1987[6]), to a single organisation's business strategy: all confirming a planning approach to resource allocation and decision-making for the future.

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[6] *A Strategy for the Arts in London*, (GLA, 1990b); *The Arts in All Our Lives: A Strategy for the Arts in the South 1990-95*, (SAB, 1990); *An Arts & Cultural Industries Strategy for Liverpool* (LCC, 1987) and see Evans (1994a) *An Economic Strategy for the Arts and Cultural Industries in Haringey*

i. Town Planning - In Britain, *Town & Country Planning* (in the USA 'City Planning'), legislated in town & country planning Acts from 1947[7] onwards. It incorporates amenity planning - recreation, conservation, as well as economic development. Primarily a function of population, land-use and the control of development. National (and now European) planning policy and guidance-driven, but implementation and interpretation is a local function of statutory *local planning authorities* (LPA), based on a local area plan (eg.city, town, district) and regional structure plan (eg. county viz *County of London Plan*, 1943);

ii. Strategic Planning - Public sector (national economic) macro-economic resource allocation, investment and long-range planning, and private industry *corporate planning* and *strategic business planning*. It incorporates social welfare planning and national/regional land-use development: 'Structure Plans' in town planning, (i.above). Hence *"Strategic Planning is about trying to ensure that appropriate development occurs in appropriate places and is matched and supported by the provision of required infrastructure"* (Smith, in Englefield, 1987 p.29);

iii. Arts Planning - The allocation of resources and distribution of public subsidy and facilities for a range of designated and prescribed arts activities - 'art forms' (*viz* theatres, galleries, museums, concert halls, dance studios, arts centres, film exhibition, and artists and cultural workers). It takes place at national (*flagship*; arts policy), regional (regional arts area) and at local (arts amenity) levels. Thus the regional or local 'Arts Plan' refers to a *strategic* plan (ii. above) of arts resources - facilities, funding, markets/ audience/ participants, for a given area or community. This includes the concept of arts development and access - intervention in communities and local areas to stimulate demand and participation, and in some cases to empower (eg. notions of cultural democracy and development);

iv. Cultural Planning - On one hand the 'art of urban planning' (*design of cities*, Mumford, 1945); what Munro in the same decade classified as 'city and regional planning' in one of a hundred 'arts' (see Chapter 5, p.104), and also the wider integration of arts and cultural expression in urban society. It is also described as 'the strategic use of cultural resources for the integrated development of cities, regions and countries' (De Montfort University, 1995). A cultural approach to town planning (i.above), which uses an 'infrastructure' system of arts planning (iii.above). Mechanisms employed include consideration of urban design, public art, transport, safety, cultural workspace and quarters and the linkage concept from the industrial process of the cultural *production chain* (through stages of creation, production, distribution and consumption) and the amenity planning approach (eg. for parks, libraries) of *scale hierarchies* of facilities (also described further in Chapters 5 and 6).

In terms of the above definitions, therefore, this thesis analyses the evolution of town planning in relation to public cultural amenity and arts facilities and offers a critique of arts planning approaches and the development of a conceptual framework within which both urban/town planning and arts planning relate. The role of arts policy and its implementation

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[7] Although preceded by the 1909 and 1919 Housing and Town Planning Acts and the 1925 Town Planning and 1932 Town and Country Planning Acts, the 1947 Act was *"The crowning piece of comprehensive planning legislation heralded by the 1944 White paper* 'The Control of Land Use', *which imposed a compulsory planning duty on all local authorities for the first time"* (Rydin, 1993, p.26).

through the planning and distribution of arts facilities in the urban (cultural) planning context is therefore central to this thesis. Whilst arts resources can be physical, dedicated spaces, as well as supporting human creative process and expression (eg. performance, artworks), the generic 'arts facility' is expanded in this thesis to include places of cultural production (both public and private) such as artists studio workshops, in assessing the approaches, rationales and impact of planning the arts at a local and regional level. This interpretation and expansion of the "arts" to incorporate cultural industry activity not limited to arts amenity provision, is further discussed in Chapter 5.

1.2 Methodological approach

Given the range of disciplines, legislative and policy foundations of this study, an 'inductive-deductive' method of research has been employed (Cohen and Manion, 1989), taking the 'Grounded Theory' approach (Strauss and Corbin, 1990):

> *'One that is inductively defined from the study of the phenomenon it represents. That is, it is discovered, developed and provisionally verified through systematic data collection and analysis of data pertaining to that phenomenon. Therefore data collection, analysis and theory stand in reciprocal relationship with each other. One does not begin with a theory then prove it, rather one begins with an area of study and what is relevant to that area is allowed to emerge'* (p.23).

From a theoretical, conceptual and historical analysis of the formulation of national policy for the arts and for town and amenity planning and related urban and economic policy, an epistemological discussion of the wider notion of culture and development of cultural policy and the identification of a cultural industry sector, brings the thesis to a contemporary position of planning in post-industrial urban Britain. The focus on the capital, London, having been assessed in terms of the social history of urbanisation and in comparison with other provincial, European and North American cities, continues as the basis for primary and comparative research into the approaches and adoption of the arts into the urban regeneration process and the treatment of arts, culture and entertainment in the new local borough plans (Unitary Development Plan - UDP).

Comparative data from each London borough has therefore been obtained through two surveys - the first based on a questionnaire focusing on policies, rationales and examples of arts input to urban regeneration schemes within each borough, and the second based on

analysis of each borough's Unitary Development ('Borough') Plan (UDP) and the treatment of arts, culture and entertainment as a policy and town planning matter. These surveys are supplemented with borough officer (planning and arts/leisure) and regional arts agency representative interviews, which are then further tested through local case studies and surveys of a single London borough and within this an urban 'cultural quarter' and conservation area. Primary research into the borough's arts and cultural activity: scope, type, employment and economy, and interviews with resident arts organisations and studio based artists and crafts designers, over a three year period, are set against secondary data on land-use, local planning and arts and entertainment policy in the planning heyday (1970s); in the 'anti-planning' rolling back of the welfare state period (1980s - Clarke, 1991a), and in the period of reassertion of the local plan and therein the development of cultural planning approaches (1990s).

The methodological approach therefore seeks to marry theory, policy and practice at national, metropolitan and local levels, employing policy and comparative analysis within the central thesis subject of planning for the arts in the town planning context.

1.3 Main content and structure of the thesis

1.3.1 This thesis first examines the post-1945 debate and practice of 'arts planning' in the context of emerging arts policy and town planning regimes. The former policy which supports professional, subsidised performing and visual arts activities, emerged not just from the Welfare State and reconstruction period and earlier cultural consideration in Education and wartime initiatives, such as the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts (CEMA), but also from a longer history of cultural amenity inherited from Victorian and earlier times, which had seen the public provision of museums, libraries and other cultural amenities. The post-war town planning formation had also culminated from earlier movements, such as the Garden City and Utopian visions, and had also inherited several hundred years of urban settlement, land-use control and a previous experience of town and city renaissance and rebuilding of both the public and private realm, by the predecessors of the modern municipal and property developers, the Victorian 'City Fathers' (Bell, 1969). This era has been harked back to by, for example, the Environment Minister who presided over much of the planning liberalisation enacted during the 1980s:

"The politics of the 1980s are very different from the politics of the 1890s but if we can begin to recapture some of that civic pride and sense of public obligation which inspired so many Victorian industrialists, then I believe we can look forward with hope to the solution of some of those problems which beset us today" (Nicholas Ridley MP, in *Foreword* to Englefield, 1987 p.15).

1.3.2 An introduction to the position and consideration of arts and cultural planning in the United Kingdom is given in Chapter 2: the political economy of national and local authorities and agencies active in the promotion and provision of the arts. The creation of the Arts Council of Great Britain and the political and social rationales underpinning its form and function provide an initial insight to the 'top down' approach to the provision (rather than 'planning' as defined above) of arts facilities and attempts at a distributive arts policy, which has persisted, at least at a regional level, ever since. The empowerment of local authorities from 1948 to a limited subsidy of resources for arts amenities and entertainments, also provides a starting point for an examination of the growing role and importance of local support for the arts and development of arts and cultural facilities.

1.3.3 The government of London from its 'pre-governed' state, through the century of regional government under the London County (LCC) and Greater London (GLC) Councils (1888 to 1986) and the place of recreational amenity in land-use planning, starts with the Progressive Party's first tenure (1889 to 1907) and finishes with the radical Labour administration (1981 to 1986), both in their different ways, placing the arts and cultural activity high on their political and resource allocation agendas. From the dissolution of the Greater London Council in 1986, the decline in local authority investment and support for arts activity, particularly capital spending, and the crisis in arts centre provision and switch from social to economic rationales for arts subsidy, is assessed in terms of London and its constituent local authorities. Finally, in acknowledging the growing involvement and legislative power exerted through the UK's membership of the European Union (EU), European policy and initiatives in the area of culture, heritage and related economic and structural programmes are assessed in terms of cultural convergence, harmonisation and direct investment benefiting arts and heritage facilities. European initiatives and 'models' in town and cultural planning (Mennell, 1976; 1978) and tensions between the goals of convergence, diversity and notions of subsidiarity are also considered, complementing the contrast made in Chapter 3 between the planning systems prevalent on the Continent and in England & Wales: *"Although the Arts Council have developed some guidelines...there is*

little to compare with the French, Dutch or Scandinavian policies of seeking spatial equity in arts provision" (Burtenshaw, Bateman and Ashworth, 1991 p.180).

1.3.4 The emergence of the town planning movement, profession and legislative foundation, in the build-up to the post-war reconstruction marked by the 1947 Town & Country Planning Act, is then detailed (Chapter 3), including the place of public amenity generally and arts and cultural facilities in particular. The role and responsibility of key developments in urban policy and their impact on urban planning are expounded, as a further reflection of the planning system's involvement in economic development from the 1960s and early 1970s - the heyday of strategic planning (Smith, 1987 p.31). Planning theory and the changing position of the planning profession and primacy of the land-use 'plan' are also evaluated, both in relation to amenity and recreation planning and in contrast to the role of planning in other European countries.

1.3.5 The position and tensions between the metropolis and the provinces (traditionally but confusingly termed the *regions* by the Arts Council of Great Britain and regional arts agency for London - the London Arts Board - LAB), is explored further in Chapter 4, in the context of the urbanisation process, socio-economic change and London's particular development as a centre for craft, commerce and trade, as well as a 'cultural capital' and destination for visitors. This includes discussion of the notion and implications of London's 'Global City' status (King, 1990) and consequent conflicts between local and national/flagship cultural amenity, relating this particular version of the 'Local and Global' debate: *'World City - Whose City?* (London Arts Conference, 1993 and see London Arts Board, 1992b; London Planning Advisory Committee, 1991; Colenutt and Ellis, 1992). The impact of the arts policy of redistribution and 'democratisation' is therefore also assessed in terms of the arts funding allocation between London and other regional arts areas.

1.3.6 A critique of the development of cultural policy alongside local economic development and urban policy is then presented in Chapter 5, in terms of local and regional arts and cultural industries policy and intervention. This critical appraisal and literature review explores further the conceptual approaches to culture and cultural production, and identifies both pre and post-industrial arts and designer crafts activity, as defined by urban cultural policies and local economic development strategies by city councils.

1.3.7 Chapter 6 outlines the emergence of amenity planning through the formalised town and country planning act (TCPA) system. This originally contained no consideration of the arts or culture, with the exception, indirectly, of protected planning zones and conservation areas affecting cultural assets and heritage sites. Only from the 1968 TCPA did the introduction of strategic planning through regional Structure Plans and more responsive local area plans provide a vehicle for more proactive recreation and amenity planning and for greater community consultation in plan formulation. One of the major handicaps in the development of both cultural policy and effective urban planning has been the absence of a definition of 'amenity' in town planning literature and legislation, and the reluctance to develop quantified standards of arts facility provision. Consequently, a methodological review of amenity planning is undertaken in this Chapter, based on leisure, recreation and other planning techniques, including approaches used in new town and more recent urban development planning processes. The latter have attempted to incorporate arts amenity and infrastructure needs into borough land-use plans. This more integrated approach to planning for arts and cultural amenities puts forward a model of the generic 'arts centre' facility, within a hierarchy of need, from neighbourhood to strategic arts facility.

1.3.8 The central thesis of the study is developed in Chapter 7 through primary research undertaken of all thirty-three London planning authorities (the thirty-two boroughs and the City of London) and relevant regional and national arts and planning agencies. In addition, a review is made of other urban arts and cultural policy developments, notably in regenerating cities in the Midlands and North of England, and a comparison with other European 'cultural capitals'. London's position vis-à-vis these - through the allocation of Arts Council funding and arts subsidy in other European cities - is contrasted and is set against the pressures from industrial property valuation and imperatives impacting on London local authorities and land-use development. These present particular barriers to London achieving the same levels of arts-led urban regeneration evident elsewhere, as well as opportunities, based on experience in these other cities. The case of Paris for example is taken as a comparative to London Docklands in terms of a more integrated cultural planning and less oppositional approach to the regeneration of key sites and areas. This assessment then goes on to present the findings from a comparative survey of the rationales, interventions, organisational and consultative delivery mechanisms, and examples of arts input to urban regeneration by London boroughs between 1987 and 1990. Detailed

responses from boroughs are scheduled in Appendix III.

1.3.9 In Chapter 8 a detailed survey and analysis of London Borough Unitary Development Plans (UDP) and their consideration of arts, culture and entertainment provision, presents a comprehensive analysis of arts planning in the land-use and development planning context. A *micro*-study is then presented in Chapter 9 of one London borough - Islington - with a survey of the arts and cultural economy in terms of artists and cultural industries activity: employment, premises and art form typologies, and a closer investigation of this borough's UDP preparation and arts planning rationales. As an example of an urban area, an inner London borough has therefore been selected here, but one which is also outside of the atypical central zone of the West End and of the heritage and tourist honeypots represented by the polycentric 'islands of culture' of Camden, Westminster and Kensington boroughs (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1990). Islington has a combination of residential, office, light industrial and retail premises, a mix of social housing and gentrified middle class owner-occupied houses, and presents a range of community, commercial and subsidised arts venues and centres. In planning and economic development terms, Islington also contains a high concentration of conservation areas, managed workspaces and a long history of traditional crafts and contemporary arts and media practices. Adjoined to the south by the City of London, it has also been acutely affected by the impact of planning liberalisation and service industry pressures for office space, highlighted below. This borough has been particularly active in exploring the new opportunities offered by emerging approaches to town planning and has been especially concerned about the role of the arts and cultural industries in its economy.

1.3.10 In Chapter 10 the historic 'cultural quarter' of Clerkenwell located in the south of this borough, has been further investigated in terms of the effects of policy and planning changes in practice. This historic district named after one of many springs, the Clerk's Well, has for several hundred years been a major centre for crafts and artist activity and workplaces. Today it has a high concentration of conservation areas and protected buildings, but despite this, the property-led regeneration promoted directly and indirectly by central government in the 1980s has been in conflict with local economic priorities of the Islington Council and especially its mixed-use property and employment policies, as well as the needs and aspirations of established and new creative workers based in the area. The effect of central

government liberalisation of the local planning system and the selective usurping of local control of development since 1980 (LGPLA, 1980)[8] had produced a particular policy which was to significantly weaken the execution of local planning and urban policies, including the protection of arts and cultural business premises. The relaxation of the permitted change of use of premises requiring statutory planning permission (DoEn, 1987a; 1988b) opened the door to the private sector development and conversion of manufacturing, workshop, studio and other mixed-use premises and amenities, to high commercial value office use. This period of office property growth was fuelled by the demand for service industry, notably financial services, themselves a product of deregulation, the 'Big Bang' (King, 1990 pp.97-100). The impact of these changes in government economic and planning policy and the implementation of arts policy input to local development plans is assessed through survey and analysis of land-use, studio rental and arts/crafts activity in the 1970s, during the late 1980s office-led property expansion and planning liberalisation era and in the 'post-recession' period, when the borough's Unitary Development Plan (UDP) policies have come into force.

1.3.11 Conclusion (Chapter 11)

This thesis develops and tests the case for the creation and utilisation of arts planning standards, and the wider interpretation of their planning needs, following some if not all of the principles accepted for other recreation and amenity provision. Arts policy and town planning are inter-reliant in this model, where land-use planning and the control of development ('development plans') adopt a more sophisticated approach to the planning and maintenance of arts and cultural facilities, as defined above. From the comparative analysis, case studies and model planning policies explored, this suggests that a spatial and *hierarchy of provision* approach to the planning of arts facilities might usefully be adopted, including the assessment of infrastructure needs that planning for arts amenity and the cultural economy have lacked or been denied by the British arts policy and town planning regimes. Despite the change factors (arguably *because* of these) that render public intervention seemingly short-lived, even powerless, this study hopefully makes the case for the clear advantages of an integrated, corporate approach to local cultural development and economic planning, alongside the planning for arts, culture and related amenity provision. Inherent in

[8] Local Government Planning and Land Act (1980) which established Enterprise Zones - 25 between 1981 and 1985, and Urban Development Corporations (UDC) - 12 between 1980 and 1993 commencing in 1980 with the London and Merseyside UDCs, all free from local authority planning control (Thornley, 1991)

this arguably sustainable approach is the integration rather than the separation of social, economic and cultural activities and functions in urban society and the design of cities.

A timely recognition of the circle having turned is seen in the Environment Minister's proposed revision to Planning Policy Guidance (PPG No.1 and 3) exhorting local authorities to look favourably on developments that include a mixture of shops, housing, offices and cultural facilities: 'Different but complementary uses during the day and in the evening could reinforce each other, making town centres more attractive to residents, businesses, shoppers and visitors' (Gummer in Walter, 1995 p.46 and see Comedia, 1991b and Worpole, 1992a). Human needs and aspirations ('hierarchy of needs' - Maslow, 1954) which are met through cultural expression and experience, require the town and amenity planning system to reflect and respond to social change, or in Hobsbawm's words (1995 p.334) to "social textures" which are threatened by the contemporary trend towards individualism, not least in the urban situation where an increasingly large majority of the population live. A greater degree of planning consideration in the provision of arts and cultural amenities would therefore need to first ask what Mumford posed at the foundation of the town planning and arts policy regimes: *"What sort of personality do we seek to foster and nurture? What kind of common life? What is the order of preference in our life-needs?"* (Mumford, 1945, quoted in Olsen, 1982, p.12).

Finally as a *Postscript* to this thesis, the introduction of the National Lottery in Britain looks set to significantly change the map of arts and cultural facilities as a result of the injection of capital funds for the Arts. Opportunities to develop and apply some of the notions of arts planning explored in this thesis therefore arise, whilst the absence of strategic level planning of arts facilities risks perpetuating existing imbalance and an unsustainable distribution of resources. Arts planning and public choice issues are therefore raised by this legislative and fiscal development - some of these are therefore considered in the *Postscript* based on published papers by the author (Evans, 1995a and b).

CHAPTER 2 THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF ARTS POLICY AND PLANNING: AN HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVE

2.0 Introduction

This chapter will focus on the formation and evaluation of arts policy and planning from its nineteenth century and earlier foundations and in particular the creation of the Arts Council of Great Britain in 1945 and subsequent policies which influenced the development of arts facilities, notably the 1965 White paper - 'A Policy for the Arts' (Lee, 1965). Subsequent chapters further assess the influence that the prevailing political economy and planning regimes have had on the planning and distribution of arts facilities in London and the UK generally. These approaches to social planning for arts provision and the later establishment of a 'Housing the Arts' fund are shown to have been superseded by the emergence in the 1980s of an economic rationale for public support of the arts - in each of these phases raising the issue of the basis on which arts facilities should and could be planned.

The changing administration of London's government and promotion of the arts during the 1980s and attempts at developing a plan for the arts in the London region are reviewed and further explored in the case of arts centres and community arts facilities, as indicators of the shifting arts policy rationales and planning regimes during this period. The historical relationship and support of such arts activity by local authorities is then parallelled in terms of the relative significance of local government funding of the arts against a decline in revenue and especially capital expenditure, as a result of central government spending restrictions. This is further detailed in the case of London local authorities and the place of arts development within council leisure and departments. Finally, the increasing role and influence of the European Union is summarised in terms of regional policy and assistance programmes and their impact on arts and heritage funding, as well as moves towards harmonisation of cultural policy and urban planning following the Maastricht Treaty of 1992.

2.1 Only in recent times has the concept of planning for the Arts emerged and in comparison with other areas of amenity planning it remains largely undeveloped. Arts planning is, however, not a solely modern phenomenon, in the sense of social planning and the expansion of civic cultural amenities. Much of our local and national 'flagship' and civic arts facilities are inherited from the Victorian era (and some private theatres date from the Georgian 'golden age', Fox 1992), legislated in Ewart's Acts for museums (from 1845,

though these did not initially cover public art galleries) and libraries (from 1850), as well as parks and baths[1]. The Public Health Act of 1875 gave an impetus to public park provision by giving local authorities power to raise government loans to acquire land for recreation (Conway, 1989), prior to this, costly special legislation was required for each project. Popular and largely commercial entertainment, from pleasure gardens to music halls and theatres (Bailey, 1986; Crowhurst, 1992), evolved within the private sector under the growing influence of State licensing and control[2], which directed and restricted their location, operation and programming (Pick, 1988; Weightman, 1993). The majority of surviving West End theatres were built in the boom period for theatre and music hall from 1890 to the outbreak of the first World War.

An urban renaissance in Continental Europe during the sixteenth century spread to London from the early seventeenth century, although it was arguably *"small fry when compared with the great Italian Renaissance"* (Borsay, 1989 viii). This period had witnessed the secularisation of the theatre with the licensing of theatres to perform Shakespeare and 'legitimate drama' - the first London theatres in Shakespeare's day had been to the east of the city and later on the South Bank, however the theatrical world had been devastated by Cromwell's puritanical closure of playhouses and pleasure palaces, with public theatres only regaining their licences in 1660 following restoration of the monarchy. From 1737 music and dancing licences were issued by the Justices, comprising a different set of regulations from the those applied to the earlier 'patent' theatres[3] (Southern, 1962), the precursors to the 'Theatre Royals' and Edwardian and Georgian theatre ventures (Pick, 1985, 1988; Fox, 1992), already reflecting the divide between high art (eg. theatre) and popular culture (eg. music and dance halls).

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[1] Museum Act 1845 - this gave borough councils with a population of at least 10,000 powers to levy a halfpenny rate for the establishment or support of museums of arts and science; Libraries Act 1850; Select Committee on Public Walks 1833; Towns Improvement Clauses Act 1847; Baths and Washhouses Act 1846.

[2] Theatre Regulation Act 1843 and Fair Act 1871. For two hundred years prior to this, the monarch controlled the operation and building of theatres though the Patent system, this responsibility for licencing plays and theatres in 'Royal' London passing to the Lord Chamberlain's office in 1737 (Weightman,1993).

[3] Examples include Vanbrugh's Opera House (1705) in the Haymarket (today Her Majesty's Theatre), new theatres in Lincoln's Inn Fields (1714) and Covent Garden (1732) both under William Davenant's old patent and the New or Little Theatre (1720) in the Haymarket and another at Goodman's Yard (1729) near the Tower of London.

This urban renaissance also spread to provincial towns and cities such as Bath and Kings Lynn during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (Borsay, 1989; Bell, 1969), often emulating London's development and attractions:

> *"...leisure centres frequently imported theatrical and musical performers from the metropolis...and their musical clubs were modelled on institutions pioneered in the capital..The metropolis provided a blueprint for many other areas of provincial urban life, so much so that in 1761 it was claimed that 'the several great cities..seem to be universally inspired with the ambition of becoming the little Londons of the part of the kingdom wherein they are situated'"* (Borsay, pp.286-7)

As an early example of planning control of cultural production, the expansion of the City of London itself directly influenced the location of arts, crafts and related guild firms, on one hand to serve Crown and Church, and growing trade markets, and on the other, to escape rate and licence obligations within the confines of the City walls, for example to Clerkenwell, where local and immigrant craftsmen located from the seventeenth century to the present day (Cosh, 1987 p.2 and see Chapter 10). This dispersal continues today, with an exodus further east and out of London altogether, under pressure from commercial and industrial property rent increases as a result of planning liberalisation, encroaching office development and revalued business rates, set by central, rather than local government since 1990[4].

The urban area chosen for this study - Greater London - is a historic capital city: a cultural capital; a World City (LPAC, 1991); a tourist city and a multi-cultural city made up of 'urban villages' - West End, East End, suburban and urban fringe areas. London is home to a population of 6.6 million (OPCS, 1991), plus a commuter population of over one million daily, and receives over 10 million overseas and 7 million domestic (ie. 'overnight') tourist visitors annually (ETB, 1990).

London's first Development Plan, drawn up by Patrick Abercrombie in 1944, was a model of a visionary and integrated approach to urban planning; *"a living and organic structure"* (Abercrombie in Rogers and Fisher, 1992 p.150) and high expectations were held by those involved in its implementation: *"The fate of London, one of the Greatest cities the world has ever known, will be one of the signs by which posterity will judge us. There is a*

[4] National Non-Domestic Rate, or Unified Business Rate (Local Government Act, 1988).

long road to travel before London can become the city she ought to be. Therefore let us start now" (Lord Latham, Leader of the LCC in foreword to *The County of London Plan*, 1943). However, arts and cultural provision were not considered alongside other amenity considerations, such as open space and recreational land: *"Amenity is one of the key concepts in British town planning, yet nowhere in the legislation is it defined"* (my emphasis - Cullingworth, 1979 p.157). Urban planning and city cultural life had thus been separated:

> *"In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, British urban planning and the arts parted company. The earlier view of the city as a work of art, a planned series of aesthetic experiences, was lost. The city came to be conceived as a functional unit, with the emphasis more on efficiency and economic prosperity than on quality of life or the cultural aspirations of its citizens."* (Arts Council, 1993 p.110).

Whilst the importance of amenity issues was recognised (eg. Civic Amenities Act, 1967; Town & Country Amenities Act, 1974)[5], this has been limited to the preservation and enhancement of special architectural and historic sites and buildings, which led to the designation of conservation areas in Great Britain. Over 3,000 conservation areas were established by 1974, and by 1984 there were 350 conservation areas and over 30,000 listed buildings in Greater London alone (GLC, 1984).

This separation between urban planning and cultural amenity had been maintained in the town planning system for over forty years, however following intervention by the regional arts association and others (but not initiated by town planners, or borough arts and leisure officers themselves), in a response to urban regeneration and administrative change in the capital, the arts have for the first time begun to feature, albeit in a limited way, in local borough land-use development planning guidelines (see Chapter 8). However, as the borough-based planning body (the London Planning Advisory Committee - LPAC, established after the abolition of the GLC in 1986), observed:

> "...*while arts, culture and entertainment can contribute to the achievement of overall planning objectives, the planning system itself cannot help realise all their potential or address all the problems (they) face. That requires integration of the contribution of the planning process within a broader social and economic context*

[5] The designation of listed buildings, 'of special architectural or historic interest', their protection and the control of their alteration and demolition, was established in the TCPA 1947, with the first list prepared in 1949. By 1990 there were 400,000 listed buildings in England, 37,000 in Scotland and 14,000 in Wales (Cullingworth and Nadin, 1994, pp.158-162)

covering all dimensions of the (arts)" (LPAC, 1990a p.3).

The extent and rationales for such integration at national, regional and local levels, as well as the contribution of the planning system itself, therefore form part of this study of arts and urban planning. Before this point, the formation of national and local arts policy and provision are explored in the next section.

2.2 Arts Planning and Policy formations

By the beginning of the nineteenth century the industrialisation and urbanisation that created the conditions for the foundation of urban planning gave way to the problems of poverty, disease, crime and squalor, which demanded responses previously resisted by the state's prevailing *laissez faire* philosophy (Taylor, 1972). By the mid-nineteenth century there was therefore more active concern about these social problems, however it was a community rather than a state response, with private enterprise developing housing estates and utilities; voluntary groups and charities providing schools, hospitals and social ('poor') housing and self-help and pressure groups the provision of parks and other cultural and social amenities.

This amateur tradition: *"in the nineteenth century produced a plethora of musical, theatrical or artistic groups rooted in local and regional life*" (Parry, N and J, 1989 p.17), and as noted above, was also parallelled by self-financing commercial entertainment. As Pick comments: *"The greater number of arts activities in Britain had never been **dependent** upon state aid, but had been sustained by a great variety of other economic means...**at least 150 years of support from the private sector**"* (1991 p.75).

No explicit local government legal power to support the arts existed until the 1940s: dancing and music activity were first established under wartime Emergency Powers or Local Acts, consolidated in post-war Education Acts. However since the 1830s the Treasury and other Ministries, such as the Department for Science and Art, had been funding some parts of the arts: museums, art galleries, libraries, as well as arts education provision through music and drama conservatoire and art schools (Best, 1985): *"The nineteenth century had seen the arrival of public museums and art galleries, either financed by the state, or by*

local government[6]*. Until the 1940s, music, drama and dance and literature had had to survive in the market-place"* (Everitt, 1992 p.6).

Whilst the planning for public arts facilities in the modern town planning and spatial sense was not evident in these earlier periods, it would be misleading to present civic involvement as purely restrictive, through licencing and control, culminating in the 'rational recreationist' philosophy of the later Victorian era, as it would be to present arts and entertainment provision as a solely private enterprise. In the first English Urban Renaissance of the seventeenth century, urbanisation had led to the rising demand for social and consumer services ('Worldly Goods' - Jardine, 1996), which provided the economic foundations for a change in the quality of urban life. The emergence of planning on a formal or informal basis helped to create a more integrated urban design and townscape, which was strengthened by investment in public buildings and artefacts: *"The provision of fashionable leisure was not a random affair, but was organized within relatively well defined temporal and spatial contexts"* (Borsay, 1989 p.139). This included amongst other concerns, the recognition of cultural services as a growing aspect of urban life: *"The impact on towns was considerable, since they were the traditional gathering points and service centres of society"* (op.cit. p.117). Outside of the patent control of licensed theatres in London and other cities, the popular arts and entertainments were largely housed in public inns and coffee houses, but from the mid-seventeenth century, public buildings created dedicated arts and cultural venues, including town and guild halls, market squares and assembly houses hosting dance, drama and music (Chalklin, 1980). Many such buildings surviving today still act as arts centres, civic halls and exhibition venues. Their location and architecture expressed pride in the town and parish they represented and acted as the cultural and social centre, linked to transport and trading systems.

Later public intervention in the planning of public cultural facilities can be seen in the rational recreationist period (Bailey, 1987; Yeo, 1981), with the development of 'People's Palaces' for example in east and north London, and in Glasgow. In the case of London, a clear spatial approach to cultural "deprivation" saw the notion of bringing West End culture to the East End, with Walter Besant's vision of the People's Palace in the Mile End Road,

[6] Lottery proceeds also contributed to the financing of the British Museum (Wilson, 1989; Evans, 1995b, p.225)

Whitechapel (Weiner, 1989). Following the success of the Crystal Palace, which had been moved from Hyde Park to Sydenham, south London after the Great Exhibition of 1851, north London also developed its own 'People's Palace' named after the Prince of Wales' wife - *Alexandra* Palace, linked by railway to central London.

2.2.1 Arts Council of Great Britain - formation and precedents

Notwithstanding this earlier piecemeal public involvement and civic building for culture, the creation of the first Arts Council for Great Britain, out of the wartime Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts (CEMA) in 1946, marks the beginning of a formalised if 'arms length' promotion of certain arts activities and forms, and the development of arts policies, which have come to influence the development of new and existing arts facilities. The major premise on which public subsidy was based can also be traced to the 'right' of access to culture, as specified in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights: *"Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts..."* (in Shaw, Arts Council, 1983 p.7) and the Arts Council's creation formed part of the post-War reconstruction and settlement: *"so accepting for the first time the contemporary and performing arts alongside museums and art galleries as a permanent national responsibility"* (Hewison, 1995 p.29).

In addition to the nineteenth century enabling legislation for the establishment and support of a range of public amenities and national cultural institutions, the Arts Council's formation had been preceded by several other national cultural institutions in the pre-War period: in 1933 the British Film Institute (BFI) was formed to protect the national film industry against the dominance of Hollywood and in 1934 the British Council was created initially as a response to the propaganda machines of Italy and Germany (Hewison, 1995). The Standing Commission on Museums and Galleries was established by Treasury Minute in 1931 following a Royal Commission on museums, and the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) was incorporated by Royal Charter in 1927 following five years of broadcast monopoly and proved to be the most influential development in post-War cultural policy and consumption (Hewison, 1995 p.31 and see Marwick, 1991).

As with the response to demands for social need and change a century earlier, it was private and voluntary action that both preceded and prompted formal state involvement in arts policy. In the 1930s depression the charitable Pilgrim Trust, endowed by the American

Harkness Foundation in 1930, had supported the touring of art exhibitions and the appointment of music and drama organisers to areas of particular deprivation. With outbreak of the War in 1939 and the curtailment of most professional and amateur artistic activity, the Board of Education wished *"to show publicly and unmistakably that the Government cares about the cultural life of the country"* (Leventhal, 1990 p.293). Through Lord Macmillan, both as government Minister for Information and as chairman of the Pilgrim Trust, a pump-priming grant was given to a newly formed Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts (CEMA) which was to continue the wartime touring of the arts. Subsequently matched by funding from the Treasury, CEMA was the institutional and cultural model to be used in 1945 as the basis for the Arts Council of Great Britain. The alternative model rejected by this choice was the Entertainment National Services Association (ENSA) which had been formed in 1938 to entertain the troops in anticipation of the outbreak of war, and which was staffed and organised by the commercial entertainment industry. By turning their backs on ENSA in the formation of the Arts Council[7], the government effectively prescribed and separated 'high art' from popular culture, and therefore public subsidy was exclusively directed at the former, leaving the promotion and development of popular arts to the commercial, independent and voluntary sectors, from West End theatres, cinemas, to publishing, pop music and recording and the amateur and folk arts.

2.2.2 A Policy for the Arts: The First Steps?

The new Labour Government that was elected in 1964 transferred responsibilities for arts, libraries and museums funding from the Treasury to a new Arts and Libraries Office of the Department of Education and Science (though most 'heritage' responsibilities stayed with the Ministry responsible for Works, Housing and Local Government/Department of the Environment until the 1992 formation of the Department of National Heritage). The appointment of Jennie Lee as the first Minister for the Arts in 1965 brought forth the milestone government white paper: 'A Policy for the Arts: The First Steps' (Lee, 1965), which saw a 30% increase of the Arts Council's revenue grant and in 1967 a revision of its Royal Charter. References in the Charter's original 1946 Objects to the 'Fine Arts' and the 'improvement of standards' were removed and the amended Charter reflected the renewed

[7] In Pick's view this was an unfair move since *"CEMA...was overpraised by about the same proportion as the more earthy activities of ENSA have been undervalued"* (1991 p.23)

distributive and access aims in taking the arts to the people. The 1965 White Paper repeatedly referred to the maintenance of 'artistic standards', 'high points', and 'excellence', however in order to accommodate these promotional and distributive aims, the 'Housing the Arts' fund was created by the Arts Council (initially allocated £250,000 in 1965/66 and by 1986/87 £661,500). This provided capital for the development of arts facilities, and when combined with this newly-elected Labour administration's policy of wider distribution and access to the arts (mainly the same 'high' arts), an arts centre movement emerged (Hutchison and Forrester, 1986). Arts Centres were envisaged as: *"Centres where light entertainment and cultural projects can be enjoyed"*, and made more inviting: *"to provide additional amenities (restaurants, lecture rooms) at existing centres"* (Lee, 1965).

This was not, however, an original mission. Several years before taking up appointment as the second Secretary of the Arts Council (1950-63), W.E Williams had published an article, 'Are we building a new culture?' (1943) in which he foresaw a Great Britain 'covered with a national grid of cultural centres' (Pick, 1991), drawing on the French *Maisons de la Culture* which had previously been adopted by the short-lived Front Populaire government in 1936. Prior to the 'First Steps' policy introduced by the new government, the Arts Council had already looked to a demand-led model of planning arts facilities in their 'Housing the Arts in Great Britain Report' (Part 1: London, Scotland and Wales) (ACGB, 1959 - see Chapter 6 below).

However, when in office during the 1950s, Williams' egalitarian thoughts were subordinated to the Arts Council's Charter objective of pursuing excellence in the professional arts. Mary Glasgow, Arts Council Secretary-General between 1946-50 had already commented thus: *"An actual conflict developed between what may be called the amateur and the professional point of view"* (Glasgow and Evans, 1949 p.47). Although supporting professional artists working in education settings and for a period the National Federation of Music Societies (NFMS - subsequently devolved to the regional arts associations), the professional bias dominated:

> *"(Williams) argued forcibly for the need to concentrate on raising standards, believing that too great an emphasis on spreading would lead to the diffusion of mediocrity...in 1975, the climate of opinion had changed, and William's views seemed like 'elitism'"* (Shaw, in Arts Council, 1983 p.7).

The environment of planning for leisure was discovered as a public policy issue in the 1960s with its central focus on 'demand' - with the aim being to measure and forecast the totality of leisure demand and then put in place policies to provide for that demand. Hence the growth in facility-building of sports and arts centres during this period (1960-72). This phase did not however involve a 'welfare' perspective - it was based on 'leisure for all'. During the next phase the priorities were to be focused on those in most 'need', including target and priority groups, whether specifically recreational or more general social need (1973-85). The period of consensus (Hewison, 1995) which had survived the 'demand' and 'need' phases of planning for leisure (explored in detail in Chapter 6 below), including to a lesser extent the arts (Veal, 1993 pp.85-89), gave way to what Veal calls the 'enterprise phase' (1985-) in leisure planning and the growing significance of 'market-led' approaches to planning and provision (Henry and Spink, 1990, p.63). The arts were to embrace this ideology and 'opportunity' more comprehensively than other leisure sectors: the 1980s saw a distinct switch from social arts investment to economic arguments for state and private funding of arts activities (Evans, 1993b). This was expressed by the Arts Council, for example, under its' 'Urban Renaissance' initiative:

> *"There is little awareness nationally of the important role which the arts are playing in revitalising depressed urban areas. The Arts Council has launched the "Urban Renaissance" project to inform those involved in redevelopment - policy makers, property developers and inner city agencies - on the ways in which the arts can stimulate economic and social regeneration. Throughout Britain, the Regional Arts Associations are accomplishing much in inner city areas - Urban Renaissance will provide a facility for sharing these successful formulas for regeneration,involving partnerships across the public and private sectors"* (Rees-Mogg: Arts Council, 1986 p.1).

The recognition of an explicitly economic rationale for arts support was first expressed by the Arts Council in its 1984-85 Annual Report entitled a 'Great British Success Story' a year earlier, which made the case for *"an increase in public investment in the arts (bringing) quick and sizeable returns..a first rate investment...it buys not only the cultural and educational elements..but also a product with which we compete on equal or superior terms with the rest of the world"* (Arts Council, 1985). The language of "investment" and "returns" revealed an overt move by the Arts Council in the presentation of the "case for the Arts" and: *"Rees-Mogg unashamedly led the shift away from the arms length principle explicitly describing the Arts Council as the state instrument for aiding the living arts"*

(Mulgan and Worpole, 1986 p.24). Two years later John Pick offered the following sardonic definition of the new Arts Council terminology:

> *"Investment - A trendy word used by left as much as monetarists for Grant Aid...The implication is that untold benefits will result from giving the money now it is called that, whereas formerly it was just blocking up a financial leak, try using financial help as an alternative"* (Pick, 1988 p.162).

The "economic" justification for public funding of the arts was similarly emphasised by the study commissioned in 1986 by the Office of Arts and Libraries and co-sponsored by the Gulbenkian Foundation, the Museums and Galleries Commission and both the Arts and Crafts Councils, which was published two years later as the four volume 'Economic Importance of the Arts in Britain' (Myerscough *et al*, 1988). This quantified the economic scope of the arts in terms of employment (500,000 nationally)[8] and its 'value-added' potential, and established the relatively high multiplier effects[9] of arts venues attractions in job creation, income generation and in city-imaging. The latter is increasingly seen as a strategy for employment and inward investment against a competitive and globalised economy. The study also analysed attitudes of middle managers to local amenities as an indicator of quality of life and the work environment, and therefore as a determining factor in workplace location decisions (op.cit.):

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[8] This estimate was based on a narrower definition than that represented by the "cultural industries" - it excluded publishing, media and related cultural production - see Comedia, 1991, but included museums and libraries (and see PSI, 1994)

[9] The 'multiplier' refers to the Keynesian 'demand-led' economic approach (General Theory, 1936) to revitalising the national economy, notably reducing unemployment and raising investment activity. This held that an increase in (public) spending in an area would have a *multiplying* effect greater than the amount initially spent or invested (through indirect and induced rounds of spending). Myerscough refers to this as the 'customer effect' - basically additional or ancillary spending outside of arts venues and price of a seat or entry ticket, from transport, catering, accommodation, complementary goods etc. In his 1988 study he calculated the income multipliers in Glasgow as 1.20 for Museums, ie. for every £1 spent in the museum a further 20p was spent in Glasgow on other goods and services

Factors affecting location:		**Reasons for enjoying and working in a location:**	
	%		%
Pleasant environment/architecture	98	Access to pleasant Countryside	93
Good transport links	84	**Museums Theatres Concerts and Cultural Facilities**	**69**
Outdoor recreation & sports	81	Parks and Public Gardens	62
Wide choice of housing	80	Fine Old Buildings	69
Good choice of schools	76	Participation in sports	54
Museums, theatres, concerts and other cultural facilities	**74**	Pubs Clubs and Nightlife	50
		Spectator Sports	20

(Myerscough, 1988 p.140, **my emphasis**)

This had also been the case in the English Renaissance of the seventeenth century when: *"More fashionable and better housing, better civic facilities and the existence of an appealing new range of recreational services were critical in attracting the wealthy to visit towns and reside in them"* (Borsay, 1989 p.312).

Despite criticism of this macro-economic approach and perceived weaknesses in the methodology and consequent over-inflated claims for the 'arts economy' (Hughes, 1989a; 1989b), this economic opportunity has been grasped subsequently by British towns and cities. A growing number of local and regional economic impact of the arts studies have been undertaken in Europe and North America (Appendix I). These served as a precursor to investment strategies and arts development policies, that previously would have been limited to cultural and social welfare provision, in meeting access and equity aims by local authorities. However, as Pick maintains, this risks creating a predominant rationale for arts subsidy: *"The value that the (Arts) Council claims to give the government for taxpayers' money is purely* ***economic*** *value"* (1991 p.15).

Three case study areas were used in this British study: Glasgow, Merseyside and Ipswich. However, London was also assessed in terms of the relationship and motivations of tourists in visiting the capital. This link between tourism and the arts as an economic activity has been subsequently grasped by diverse, aspiring cultural centres, from Hull and Grimsby - *Humberside Gateway* (YHTB 1991), to Portsmouth (Evans and Shaw, 1992), Weston-Super-Mare (Beoiley and Southwood, 1992) and L.B.Islington (Discover Islington, 1992), as well as more high profile city regeneration strategies, such as in Bradford and Glasgow (Myerscough, 1990). A regional study for the 'London World City' initiative, (LPAC, 1991), also quantified the economic importance of the arts and cultural industries

in London in terms of employment (estimated 214,000 jobs)[10] and in comparison with the 'offer' of other competing world cities: Paris, New York, Tokyo and re-emerging cultural capitals - regional and national - notably Berlin, Barcelona (Catalonia) and Frankfurt (see Comedia, 1991a).

A year after the Conservative party's re-election in 1987 and with Margaret Thatcher continuing as Prime Minister, the Minister for the Arts commissioned the soon-to-retire head of the Office of Arts and Libraries, Richard Wilding, to review the relationship between the Arts Council and the Regional Arts Associations (RAAs). From this review (Wilding, 1989), a federal structure was recommended, administered by a rationalised central body and fewer but geographically larger Regional Arts Boards (RABs) to whom all but 'national' arts clients would be devolved: *"These changes are intended to improve accountability by focussing more clearly on the objectives of funding and monitoring their progress"* (COI, 1993 p.6). Following several years of criticism, compromise, resignations and political change, typifying British public administration of the arts, ten Regional Arts Boards superseded the existing twelve RAAs in 1991, as effective satellites of the Arts Council, thus ending between twenty and thirty years of more accountable partnership and "ownership" of regional arts associations by local authorities and arts organisations[11]. The divide between 'social' and 'artistic' provision was spelled out: *"Like other regions (Greater London Arts) should divest itself of that work which is of purely local interest or is undertaken mainly for social rather than for art reasons"* (Wilding, 1989 p.68)[12].

Wilding argued that arts for 'social reasons' should be the sole responsibility of local

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[10] This study adopted a wider "cultural industries" definition, in addition to the performing and visual arts, including media-broadcasting; publishing; crafts, design; museums and libraries

[11] Less than ten years before Wilding (1989), the Arts Council and the 12 English RAAs reported on a joint working group 'Towards a New Relationship' (1980) which had been inspired by the RAA Directors paper 'The Arts in the '80s' and the Arts Council's review of its 'Organisation & Procedures'(1979). This report reaffirmed: *"the autonomy of the RAAs and that the strength of diversity should be maintained... This would allow the development of a cohesive national strategy with scope for regional variations"* (p.29).

[12] Wilding further expanded this distinction: *"where the principal objective is to improve the social or educational provision, it is the local authority rather than the RAB that should finance the work..where the impact is local, there is prima facie case for funding it through a local agency"* (not the RAB) (1989, 7.21)

boroughs and the important 'arts' should be the preserve of central and regional arts agencies, signalling a return to the artistic hegemony formalised in the Arts Council's creation over forty years before. This also resulted in the winding-up of the Greater London Arts Association in 1991, which had developed the first 'Arts Plan for London' (1990), and the creation of a London Arts Board, in effect appointed by the Arts Council and distanced from local authority representation. As a measure of the cultural change occurring, the incoming chairman of the London Arts Board was Clive Priestley, an 'efficiency expert' (Hewison, 1995), whilst his predecessor had been an educationalist. Local authority councillors on the Board were reduced from thirteen to five (two Labour, two Conservative and one Liberal nominees), one third of the Board were to be appointed by the Arts Council and no local authority Councillor or Officer could hold the office of chairman of the Board. GLA had inherited many of the Greater London Council's arts clients, with transitional funding from the Arts Council, which was soon to reduce (Feist and Hutchison, 1989a). This reorganisation began a divestment of funding to these community arts organisations, which has accelerated since the formation of the new Board and who have sought to reduce their arts client portfolio. Together with the contraction of local government arts and leisure spending this has led to the reduction in arts centres and local arts groups operating in the capital (below, and see Wallace, 1993). The support and status of arts centres has therefore been an indicator of both arts planning and policy during this period.

2.3 Arts Centres

The history and evolution of arts centres as a movement and particular type of facility took place within an arts policy framework, but less so as part of a town planning approach. The location and support for this largely voluntary sector (as opposed to direct public and municipal-owned facility) community arts provision, owed little to either urban planning or policy. Over 70% of London's arts centres were housed in second-hand buildings: churches, town halls and disused industrial buildings (Hutchison and Forrester 1986). Capital funding was used primarily for conversion and equipping of such centres, which were often sited in non-central and inconvenient locations (poor transport access, parking, noise restriction). The Arts Council's 'Housing the Arts' Fund was wound-up in 1984/85 (with outstanding commitments paid off by 1988/89), however, by 1988 over 70% of Arts Council funded drama tours took place in arts centres (Arts Council 1985/86 Annual Report). Visual art exhibitions were also loaned to selected regional galleries, however these receiving art

houses were predominantly Arts Council-funded, rather than municipal galleries and venues: already a hierarchy of arts facility was being created from the centre.

As well as these largely 'second-hand' arts centres, much arts activity also takes place in mixed-use and non-arts designated premises, including community and other voluntary sector organisations who are largely local authority funded or directly provided. Excluding adult education centres and institutes, it was estimated (Forrester, 1985) that there are at least 100 arts and resource centres, 180 community centres and 200 youth clubs in Greater London that have more than one arts activity, in addition to approximately 60 centres which met a *"fairly stringent definition*[13] *of arts centre (they have substantial programmes of arts activity in more than one art form and have considerable professional input to their work)"* (op.cit. p.215).

The arts centre movement evolved from the late 1960s and gained momentum during the 1970s, fulfilling local arts development aspirations and needs, but Jennie Lee's planned dissemination of the high arts themselves was much less effective. However, many arts centres have suffered from the 1980s public expenditure cuts, as well as the related shift from social to economic investment priorities, particularly following the abolition of the GLC and the rate capping of a number of the London local authorities. The 1986 Arts Council Directory of Arts Centres in Great Britain listed sixty-two arts centres in London. Its 1989 Directory listed sixty-four, the total including six 'new' centres and four no longer listed. In fact of the six new listings, four had existed for over ten years previously (Leaveners Arts Base, Islington; Lauderdale Community Arts, Haringey; Tramshed, Greenwich; Independent Arts Centre, Croydon). Only two were new (or 'rediscovered') centres - the Shakespeare Globe Theatre and the Bear Garden Museum, both in Southwark and neither actually met the NAAC definition of an arts centre, noted above. In fact since the 1989 Directory, seven of the listed arts centres have closed altogether or their arts programming function seriously curtailed:

- Moonshine Arts (*Afro-Caribbean* - Brent: funding withdrawn)
- Tara Arts (*Asian* - Wandsworth: funding withdrawn)

[13] National Association of Arts Centres (NAAC) definition (Hutchison and Forrester, 1986).

- Albany Empire (*Afro-Caribbean/multi-cultural* - Lewisham: arts funding withdrawn)
- Brixton Village (*Afro-Caribbean* - Lambeth: funding withdrawn)
- Roundhouse (*'Black'/Afro-Caribbean* - funding withdrawn, building sold by L.B.Camden - inherited from the GLC in 1986)
- Diorama Arts (*Disability Arts* - Camden: building repossessed by Crown Estates)
- Monega Arts Centre (*Afro-Caribbean* - Newham: funding withdrawn)

Significantly all of these centres were either run by or programmed to target Black, Asian or disability arts groups, and since 1986 therefore, 18% of listed arts centres have closed in London (and see MAAS, 1993). The impact on 'black arts' clients[14] supported by the regional arts association/board in London (Greater London Arts-GLA/London Arts Board -LAB), and the knock-on effect of revenue funding from the London Boroughs Grants Scheme[15] is seen below. In both cases the percentage of black arts clients to all arts client reduced by 60% over this period:

Year:	**1987/88**	**1990/91**	**1993/94**	**%Change 1987-94**
GLA/LAB Black arts clients (No.)	82	45	28	- 66%
Value of above Grants	£1,461,685	£994,630	£893,009	
LBGS Black arts clients (No.)	38	26	10	- 74%
Value of above grants	£605,843	£484,386	£208,623	

[Annual Reports: LBGC (1990a), London Independent Arts Digest No.6 (1993 p.88-99); No.7 (1993 p.14)]

Each of these arts centres - an ideological and a generic term - has a unique foundation, a particular aspect of voluntary sector evolution from the 1960s ('arts labs') onwards. Few owed their existence to decisions based on arts and cultural planning, expressed in terms of clearly defined catchments, or quantified 'needs'. Through latent

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[14] 'Black arts' includes those which are African, Caribbean, South Asian, South American. Many of these former GLC arts clients were 'strategic' or regional in scope and were funded by both the regional arts association and by the LBGC. Gerald Oppenheim, LBGC Director observed that *"On the whole they (black arts clients) were not established or mature organisations. Their resources were limited...systems were not all that they should have been, financially or managerially. Most were operating from poor premises which were usually rented"* (LIAD, 1993b p.15).

[15] The LBGC is funded by the thirty-two boroughs and the City of London on a per capita population basis, and was established to fund cross-borough and London-wide voluntary services, following the demise of the Greater London Council, under Section 48 of the Local Government Act, 1985

demand and supply-led forces they came into existence in various forms, whether neighbourhood or strategic in scope and whether driven by communities of special interest, eg. ethnic/minority arts, fringe drama, youth arts, community arts (social action and cultural development), or by new arts and media forms and technologies. However, the value and impact of such arts centres and projects on local arts provision and cultural democracy has increasingly been questioned (Lewis *et al*, 1987; Wallace, 1993). In particular it was argued that many were *"reflecting a concern with the culture of the arts centre, rather than the culture of the area it operates in"* (Lewis, 1990 p.35). Indeed, some would expressly reject a close relationship with a wider community: *"There is a dilemma where an arts centre sees itself accountable to the local community...From the artist's point of view, this discourages innovation"* (Higney, 1986 p.6).

This viewpoint however ignores the role and rationale for the 'cultural animateur' and much community arts work. Nevertheless the goals of arts centres remain confused and strained, arguably even more so as a result of the switch from investment in 'excellence' to the economic investment/cultural industry justification. As one recent commentator put it: *"Do London arts centres present an opportunity for focus, identity, prestige, quality and general autonomy? Or are they more about impossible yearnings, unachievable ambition, management frustration, funding body interference, general struggle?"* (Wallace, 1993 p.2).

2.4 Local Authority Support for the Arts

Despite the early visions of arts planning and the national support for arts centre development, the primary role in policy, provision and planning for local amenity has rested largely with local authorities since 1948. Prior to this, local authorities had no general powers although some had obtained Local Acts of Parliament authorisation for specific projects. The Emergency Powers Act (1939) was widely used to permit provision and funding of dancing and entertainment during the war, including joint initiatives with touring CEMA productions (above) such as 'Holidays at Home' weeks of summer arts events.

As a consequence of successive reviews of local government, powers to fund, promote and develop arts provision have been specifically given, although not mandatorily, under the Local Government Act, 1972 - Section 145, (Marshall, 1974). This measure

removed the sixpenny-in-the pound maximum rate, imposed under the 1948 Local Government Act. Roy Shaw writing in 1978 observed that: *"thirty years later few English authorities have achieved an annual expenditure of even half (that) amount"* (Arts Council, 1978 p.10). The 1963 national survey of Municipal Entertainment in England and Wales showed that net council spending on the arts, culture and entertainment was only the equivalent of one (old) penny rate - the pre-1948 maximum. 43% of this expenditure was on the upkeep of buildings, and the most popular areas of spending was on band concerts, art exhibitions, children's entertainment, ballroom dances and orchestral concerts, all much more popular than theatres, which ranked only fourteenth (Mulgan and Worpole, 1986). The present phase of progressive restrictions on council spending and revenue support was started by the Labour Government in 1977, following the economic crisis which brought in the International Monetary Fund. Central Government Rate Support Grant (RSG) allocations to councils were reduced, fuelling local rate rises in compensation, particularly in higher spending urban authorities. For example the decline in 'block grant' to metropolitan authorities was most severe in those inner city areas on which, ironically, the government had focussed its urban policy initiatives (Chapter 3), in effect a centralisation of power and resources - a 'zero sum' game:

% Decline in Block Grant between 1981-82 and 1984-85 (Lee and Wolman, 1986 p.100)

Islington, L.B.	100%
Newcastle	40.6%
Manchester	30.1%
Tower Hamlets, L.B.	23.8%
Salford	18.7%
Liverpool	16.6%

Even after nearly two decades of progressive expenditure restrictions, local authority arts spending - discretionary in nature - totalled £326 million in England and Wales, compared with equivalent Arts Council grants of £199 million (CIPFA, 1992/3 and NCA, 1992a). Local authorities also continue to be the largest contributors to capital funding, notwithstanding restrictions on their spending powers and levels, which even prior to rate-capping and tightened capital controls (LGHA, 1989) had produced a drastic reduction in capital spending (Table 2.1 below). For instance, authorities funded 84.5% of all theatre

capital development and improvements, according to the Theatres Trust 1991/92 survey (1993), but as the Trust observed: *"this source can no longer be considered safe"* (op.cit. p.3 and see Marsh and White, 1995). Whilst direct capital funding has been curtailed, local authorities are still key to attracting regional assistance, 'leverage' and 'matching' funding under central government, European and more recently, National Lottery grant criteria.

However, as the National Campaign for the Arts (NCA) also warns:

> *"In addition, the introduction of the Council Tax, CCT and the reorganisation of local authorities, will be compounded by the government's even more vigorous determination to restrict public expenditure. All of these promise continuing confusion and threaten to undo many of the achievements of local arts support"* (NCA, 1992a p.4).

TABLE 2.1 Local Authority Expenditure in Great Britain at 1986-87 Constant Prices
(The Government's Expenditure Plans 1986-87, Cmnd 9702)

£ million	**1979/80**	**1980/81**	**1981/82**	**1982/83**	**1983/84**	**1984/85**	**1985/86**	**1986/87**	**% Change**
Net capital	7,552	6,171	4,285	4,354	5,174	4,872	4,152	3,700	**- 55%**
Net Revenue:	28,113	28,729	29,313	30,076	32,379	32,836	32,239	30,940	**+10%**
Of which **Arts and Museums**	392	392	395	406	415	425	427	396	**+1%**

Notes to Table 2.1:

1. 1986/87 figures also reflect the abolition of the six metropolitan authorities, including the GLC and the allocation of transfer funding of metropolitan arts clients via the Arts Council and Regional Arts Associations, and not through local authorities

2. Aggregate Exchequer Grant 1979-80 to 1986-87 (at 1987 prices):

Total Grant: 1979-80 : £15,960 million; 1986-87 : £11,765 million - **Decrease of 26.3%**

Arts and recreation provision under the earlier 1974 reorganisation, outside of London (following the Local Government Act 1972), was fuelled by a *"corporate management ideology"* (Henry, 1993 p.21), which looked to large-scale council departments with the potential economies of scale, professionalism and a strategic role, sufficient to address growing local economic and social problems (Bains, 1972). This municipal corporatism saw the creation of leisure service departments in metropolitan areas and shire

districts, which combined parks, swimming pools, sports centres, community centres, libraries and arts centres, though the trend had begun somewhat earlier as Travis noted: *"It was not until the mid-1960s that a few local authorities began to view their leisure services as a whole rather than as a series of unconnected separate services"* (1979 p.2).

However, the arts were often the exception in corporate leisure service departments (GLA, 1979), even by the 1980s: *"Approximately half of the London Borough's have amalgamated their various recreation services into a single department...It is not unusual for functions such as arts or libraries to remain outside an otherwise comprehensive leisure department"* (Steele, 1982 pp.16-17).

This separation reflected the prevalent view that libraries, museums and some arts activities are educational, not leisure services, mirrored in their Departmental location - Education ('arts and libraries') and Environment ('sport and recreation'), until merged with the formation of the Department of National Heritage in 1992. This separation was also seen in the government's first major review of leisure participation 'Planning for Leisure' (Sillitoe, 1969), which in fact only considered sport and recreation, although ballroom and folk dancing were included (folk dance has been the responsibility of the Sports Council, with support for The English Folk Dance Society, and dance's subsidiary position within physical education and training has been re-established with the National Curriculum for PE - Talbot, 1993).

As far as the subsidised arts are concerned, London Boroughs, both directly through managed and grant-aided provision and indirectly through contributions and precepts to London-wide bodies, continue to be the largest contributors to arts groups (Table 2.2 below). In addition to £67 million gross expenditure on local arts provision, a further £7.4 million was contributed in 1990/1 towards London-wide arts activities (£4.42m directly and £2.98m via the London Boroughs Grants Committee - LBGC):

TABLE 2.2 REVENUE FUNDING TO LONDON-WIDE ARTS ORGANISATIONS, 1990-91					
£000s					
Source	**Building**	**Touring**	**Festivals**	**Other**	**TOTAL**
Local Authorities	3,795	388	124	113	4,420
London Boroughs Grants Committee	1,900	535	263	282	2,980
Greater London Arts	2,147	660	53	144	3,004
Arts Council of GB	3,410	1,262	407	64	5,143
Total Subsidy	**11,252**	**2,845**	**827**	**603**	**15,527**
Other Income	15,581	2,310	1,254	268	19,683
TOTAL INCOME	**27,103**	**5,155**	**2,081**	**871**	**35,210**

Source: London Boroughs Grants Committee *Report of the Arts Working Party* (LBGC, 1990 p.136)

Local authority arts funding is also supplemented by education and social service provision, where arts activities are supported in schools, youth, community and adult education and in play and health situations, such as drama therapy and public art in hospitals. A measure of educational funding of the arts in (inner) London is shown in the spending made by the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) in the penultimate year of its existence (1987/88). This totalled £4.7 million, including £741,000 in grants to independent arts organisations (largely arts centres and theatre-in-education and other touring companies - Feist and Hutchison, 1989a p.56). £191,000 was spent via youth centres (and see Forrester, 1985) and several youth arts venues were maintained: the Cockpit Theatre, the Curtain Theatre, the Greenwich Young People's Theatre, as well as the Centre for Young Musicians. Whilst much of this provision was transferred to independent trusts post-ILEA's abolition (ERA, 1988), including two museums, the Geffrye and the Horniman's, non-statutory funding and 'block' arts support has fallen, as Local Management of Schools (LMS) and the National Curriculum has placed areas of arts activity in discretionary and financially exposed positions, notably dance, drama and Youth Service, Adult and Community Education (see GLA, 1989; Rogers, 1993).

2.5 European Cultural and Regional Policy

Whilst arts policy and planning has been the concern of central and local government and their agencies, including regional boards (RABs), in partnership or in isolation from arts organisations themselves, the influence and intervention of the European Commission must also be considered, as legislative and planning powers - fiscal, social and environmental - shift from nation-state to European policy-makers. Mulhern writes on 'The Logic of European (Dis)integration': *"Out of control, yet not chaotic...Following long-laid schemes, galvanized now by the need to maximise West European advantage in the newly breached*

markets to the East. Both emerge from a single process: the active decay of the nation state as the principal means and field of political determination" (1993 pp.200-201).

The significance of European-level policy and decision-making has yet to be widely felt in the United Kingdom, outside of the beneficiaries of regional assistance schemes (see below) and economically in the free-trading and agricultural spheres. However, this is rapidly changing, despite national resistance and attempts at reassertion of parliamentary sovereignty. The primacy of the European supra-national state is forecast, perhaps optimistically, by Jack Delors: *"By the mid-1990s, 80% of all economic and social legislation in the EC will be determined by the Community and not nationally,* (quoted in Lintner and Mazet, 1991 p.28).

The freedoms enshrined in the Treaty of Rome: 'free movement of goods, services, capital and people', suggest that sooner rather than later, physical planning will be seen as an activity beyond national boundaries (Antoniou, 1992 p.12) and indeed town planning is mentioned in the Maastricht Treaty (below), which established the concept of a trans-European infrastructure network, and town and country planning is directly implicated in European environmental policies, such as European standards for the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) of development projects. Initiatives by the European Union (EU) in arts planning have, however, been limited, with a few exceptions in the cultural sphere, for example[16] 'European Cities of Culture', 'Platform Europe' and various educational exchange, language and media schemes as well as film and related technology initiatives, such as Telematics (Fisher, 1992; Fisher and Mitchell, 1992; NCA, 1995). Of greater impact on arts programmes (ie. revenue rather capital funded) since the late 1970s, has been the European Social Fund (ESF) through the support of voluntary and public sector arts and cultural-oriented social and training schemes (Scott, 1992). More recently the support of cultural tourism and heritage initiatives - eg. trails and itineraries (Evans, 1993c) - has been promoted through this Social programme (Chapter 7 below) and through the Tourism Directorate (DG XXIII). Since the 1994 European elections, the United Kingdom has had

[16] European Cities of Culture were established by the Commission of European Communities (CEC) to raise the cultural profile of a particular city and to help bring the peoples of members states together, with CEC financial support. Cultural Months are also designated to complement the annual Cities of Culture and take place in non-EU nations to attempt to strengthen cultural links in Europe. Platform Europe (formerly 'Kaleidoscope') was a scheme introduced by the CEC (DGX) in 1990 to promote cultural events with a European profile with awards of 50,000 ECU - examples in the UK include the Women's Playhouse Trust for 'Crossing Boundaries' and the Bradford Festival celebrating immigrant communities in Europe.

five representatives on the European Parliament's Committee on Culture, Youth, Education, the Media and Sport, but the Committee has yet to establish its influence over the way that the European Union organises cultural spending: less than 8% of the £350 million a year spent on cultural activities comes from the Directorate with the cultural brief (DG X - *Information and Culture*) since the majority is funded through regional development programmes (NCA, 1995 p.54).

The main 'structural' intervention in regional economic development has been directed through the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), as well as targeted former industrial (mining, coal and steel) areas. This has benefited those poorer Member states (Ireland, Portugal, Spain and Greece) with GDPs less than 75% of the EC average, and specific regions eligible under employment reconstruction criteria, such as Northern Ireland and Liverpool in the Merseyside region. In the United Kingdom, this also included restructuring funds in former steel and coal-mining areas of South Wales, Scotland, Corby, Scunthorpe and Sheffield, the latter incorporated investment in cultural and heritage capital projects - Table 2.3 shows the funding received in England:

TABLE 2.3 EUROPEAN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT FUNDING OF ARTS & HERITAGE(I)

Year / £000s	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	TOTAL
Museums	13	159	-	287	1,556	2,114	2,202	15	499	67	**6,912**
Heritage Sites	-	-	-	-	375	73	1,216	821	203	1,064	**3,752**

(I) Eligible regions: Targeted areas within the North, North West, East and West Midlands, South West, Yorkshire and Humberside. ERDF arts-related projects were funded in Scotland - £4.127 million; Wales - £6.605 million and Northern Ireland - £2.454 million. No arts-related projects were funded through the ERDF between its inception in 1975 and 1977 (Feist and Hutchison, 1989 p.48)

Arts, leisure and tourism schemes have therefore been supported through this mechanism, either as part of wider regeneration strategies, or through individual projects themselves where sufficient job creation is projected (a minimum of ten new jobs are required for ERDF support). Since this policy area is established European-wide and is primarily structural-employment in nature, the incidence of arts and cultural investment has had little or no reference to national, or regional arts planning and policy, other than on an opportunistic basis, where the potential of the arts in urban regeneration is expounded, at least by regional development and arts agencies. In Cheshire and Hay's (1989) analysis of European urban problems they point out that there has been a lack of 'spatial congruence' between areas qualifying for ERDF assistance and the worst areas of urban deprivation and

'need', concluding that at present ERDF funds do not necessarily benefit urban areas.

In addition to and separate from the European Commission, the Council of Europe has also initiated a number of projects, for example around socio-cultural animation in the 1970s and studies of the cultural sector (eg. taxation, protection of cultural workers, art trade, copyright - see Mennell, 1976; Dumont, 1979 and Goodey, 1983). Resolutions in 1974 and 1977, adopted by the European Parliament in 1979, laid down the first Community action in the cultural sector (Dumont, 1979), although these Parliamentary resolutions had no executive or legal power of implementation. More recently, in recognition of both citizenship and duties, the 'European Declaration of Urban Rights'[17] also included the right to 'culture', alongside 19 other urban environmental 'rights', including identifying the importance of integrated urban planning and functions:

> *"8. CULTURE:- to access to and participation in a wide range of cultural and creative activities and pursuits;*
>
> *11. HARMONISATION OF FUNCTIONS:- where living, working, travelling and the pursuit of social activities are as closely interrelated as possible;*
>
> *17. PERSONAL FULFILMENT:- to urban conditions conducive to the achievement of personal well-being and individual social, cultural, moral and spiritual development".*

The thrust of the Council's earlier studies rested on the expectation that local authorities increasingly needed to shoulder the burden of public patronage of culture and leisure, both high art and popular and traditional culture, leading to the question: 'how is a town to distribute its limited resources to the best advantage?' (Mennell, 1976). However this approach met the familiar problems and complexity that resist a standardised, universal approach to arts and amenity planning. As Burtenshaw et al note, there is divergence between European cities, for instance: *"large variations in the popularity of entertainment media and the responsibility of urban authorities"* (Burtenshaw, Bateman and Ashworth, 1991 p.180). However, as Ashworth also observes:

> *"Although large differences can be detected between cities within Western Europe, attributable to differences in economic priorities, political traditions and social preferences, urban planners have responded in recognisably similar ways...The*

[17] This declaration arose from the *European Urban Charter* adopted by the Council of Europe's Standing Conference of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe (CLRAE) on 18th March 1992, Strasbourg

monitoring of the adequacy of provision led to the study of the effective range of demand, the estimation of catchment areas, and ultimately the creation of scale hierarchies of provision" (op.cit. p.194).

These approaches are analysed in greater detail in Chapter 6 below, and given the harmonisation and structural intervention measures also enacted, their impact on cultural planning will need to be considered, not limited to the Commission's direct responsibility through the Directorate General X, but also in economic, employment and competition policy areas, directed through other departments in Brussels. This encompasses at the supra-national level, the pursuit of defining and developing a 'common European identity' and heritage, as expounded in the Maastricht Treaty[18] (TITLE IX: CULTURE, New Article 128):

> 1. The Community shall contribute to the flowering of the cultures of the Member States, while respecting their national and regional diversity and at the same time bring the common cultural heritage to the fore;
>
> 2. Action by the Community shall be aimed at encouraging co-operation between Member States and, if necessary, supporting and supplementing their action in the following areas:
>
> improving the knowledge and dissemination of the culture and history of the European peoples;
>
> conservation and safeguarding of cultural heritage of European significance;
>
> non-commercial cultural exchanges;
>
> artistic and literary creation including the audio-visual sector.
>
> 3. The Community and the Member States shall foster co-operation with third countries and the competent international organisations in the sphere of culture, in particular the Council of Europe.
>
> 4. The Community shall take cultural aspects into account in its action under other provisions of this Treaty.
>
> 5. In order to contribute to the achievement of the objectives referred to in this Article, the Council...shall adopt incentive measures...acting unanimously.

This pursuit of a common identity and identification with a common European heritage potentially conflicts with, or at least raises the issue of the protection and

[18] *Treaty on European Union*, Maastricht, 7 February 1992 (entered into force 1 November 1993), London: HMSO (Cmnd 2485 p.33)

celebration of cultural diversity within Europe. Politically, this is interpreted as the divide between centralism and regionalism, or the notion of 'subsidiarity' - that is, responsibilities should be vested as closely to the level of impact as possible, and action assumed by the EC only if it cannot more appropriately be taken at national, regional or local levels. This concern for the expansion of the 'Europeanisation project' into the cultural dimension had been expressed previously: *"It is unthinkable that the Community should attempt recommending a European cultural policy...It is equally out of the question for the Community to propagate the idea of a 'European culture'* (Dumont, 1979 p.9).

The development of cultural policy and funding initiatives during the 1980s tended to promote and favour cultural unity, but perhaps as a reflection of the post-Maastricht mood against further European centralisation and the realities of a widening Europe - culturally, geographically and economically - with prospective membership from Central and Eastern European countries, the recognition of diversity is now pragmatically accepted and 'respected'.

Each of the key players in the arts and urban planning process will be explored in more depth in this thesis, however before analysing policy and implementation, the next two chapters will review the formation of town planning and urban policy in Britain and in London, and the impact on arts policy and planning, including European and other international contrasts. A discussion of the concept of 'urban cultural policy' and an exegesis of cultural industry planning and of the parameters and political ideologies of such concepts are then carried out in Chapter 5. This is provided in order to focus on the particular context of planning for arts and culture in the urban situation and in order to discuss the widening of planning for arts amenity and cultural facilities, to include cultural industry production and workplace provision, as discussed in the Introduction above, particularly as part of economic development and urban development strategies.

CHAPTER 3 TOWN PLANNING AND URBAN POLICY IN BRITAIN

3.0 Introduction

This chapter provides an introduction and overview of modern town planning as formalised in the town and country planning act (TCPA) system, and the emergence of government urban policy in response to nineteenth century industrialisation and then post-industrialisation in London and other urban areas. Key milestones here are represented by the County of London and Greater London Development Plans of 1943 and 1944 and the Town and Country Planning Act of 1947, with the evolution of the role of local planning authorities. The interpretation of amenity and the lack of a definition in planning terms is discussed, as is the differing treatment of planning concerns such as conservation and recreation, with the arts being the exception by their absence in the development of local and regional plans and the creation of planning standards - this topic is further considered in Chapter 6.

The changes to town planning arising from post-industrial and economic restructuring are assessed in relation to the change of use of premises affecting arts spaces and cultural production in London and the impact of urban programmes. These have parallelled the switch from social to economic criteria for government funding and support as seen in arts policy and funding in the 1980s, notably the Arts Council's "Urban Renaissance" and "Arts Challenge" funding initiatives. The role and impact of the newly-formed urban development corporations (UDCs) in areas of major redevelopment and regeneration, notably in the Docklands area of east London, is one example taken here of the initiative-led approach by central government which has removed planning and resourcing powers from individual local authorities, with consequent deleterious impact on arts provision and strategic planning - as noted in the research findings detailed in Chapters 7 and 8. Central government liberalisation and guidance on planning policy and controls are also assessed against a fragmented planning regime in London, now represented by the borough-based Unitary Development Plan (UDP) system, which is used as the comparative arts planning framework in Chapter 8 and the borough and local area study in Chapters 9 and 10 of this thesis.

Finally, contrast is also made between the British and Continental planning

approaches, including the differing attitudes to urban design, strategic-level planning and the integration of cultural and other factors in town and city planning. As the chapter concludes, and this is further developed later in this thesis, there has been an inherently negative attitude to notions of urbanism and urban living in British town planning, with its deep roots in Garden City and Utopian movements arising from the extremes of urban density and industrialisation, and the consequent separation of social, cultural, work and residential activities and areas (zones). The absence of planning norms or standards of provision of arts facilities; the spatial separation of larger scale cultural venues from residential and workplace areas; the control and licencing of entertainment, and the reluctance of planners to recognise the role and input of artists and creative professions in the design of urban environments, all present examples of this aversion to 'city culture'. These persistent urban planning movements and processes have consequently limited the integration and consideration of arts and cultural amenities in town planning generally and particularly in regional and local planning in London.

3.1 British Planning and its Ideological Foundation

The evolution and structure of the British town and country planning system and in particular its influence on urban policy and development should at least be preceded by some consideration of planning ideologies. Whilst an analysis of the theory of planning (see for example Faludi's seminal *Reader*, 1973) is beyond the scope of this thesis and its special investigation of the relationship between arts and urban planning, the extent to which theoretical foundations have influenced the British town planning system and its professional and practical implementation, suggests that the view of amenity and the reluctance to plan for the arts relates, at least in part, to the theory underlying British planning and its formation, as distinct from say American city planning or Continental regional planning. From this it might be concluded that the higher support for and legislative protection of the arts and culture by other European countries owes something to their approach to land-use and strategic planning and to the position and role of the planner. In several European countries, from Spain to Czechoslovakia for instance, planners and architects are one profession, whilst in Britain, planning was separated from architecture and engineering, from the time of its professional foundation in 1914. Britain has therefore not produced the "masterplanning" architects such as Le Corbusier (Raeburn and Wilson, 1987), although more recent but exceptional cases include the late Francis Tibbalds (planner and architect)

and architect Richard Rogers (see Rogers and Fisher, 1992; Tibbalds, 1992). Significantly much of Rogers' built work has been located outside of Britain.

The ideology of planning provides a philosophical basis for the activity itself - it indicates the main goals and approaches and provides a basic operational rationale. In so far as town planning is a governmental function, its ideological base provides a broad means for winning over and maintaining the allegiance of politicians, officers and the community, ie. *consensus*, a particular feature of British public policy and planning, including arts policy - until the 1980s largely apolitical and with a low profile in governmental and ministerial terms (Hewison, 1995; Pick, 1980, 1988). Town planning in this country in attempting to assimilate diverse pressures and interests, ranging from utopian reform to design and practical administration, has had a complex history (Foley, 1973). Firstly Britain is highly urbanised, considerably more so than the USA and all other West European countries, due to the duration and depth of its industrial revolution, subsequent congestion and limited land availability. This is also the result of precise choices in planning policies and to cultural preferences (eg. low storey houses with gardens).

The British tradition has also relied on greater trust given to public officials, both elected and appointed, in the protection of the 'public interest', than is the case in America. As Glass states: *"British land-use planning has* a prioristic *and utopian origins. They are the idea of nineteenth century reformers...Since then, society has become more complex and the prospect of social change far more ambiguous, and yet the old ideas have been maintained, have become fixed prejudices"* (1973 p.55). It is to these ideological 'super-egos of planning thought that is attributed the perceived anti-urban bias in British town planning. This historical and utopian origin provides a clue to the limitations of amenity in urban planning. Paradoxically, whilst lacking a definition in town planning legislation, "amenity" is claimed to be one of the most relied upon concepts in British town planning. Amenity in this context has been defined as: *"a quality of pleasantness in the physical environment [which] ranges from an essentially negative restriction against nuisances to a notion of visual delight"*[1] and as Foley observed: *"one sometimes gets the feeling that the British have quite self-consciously sought to protect themselves against the pragmatic*

[1] See Chapter 10 "Amenity", *Town and Country Planning, 1943-1951*, London: HMSO, Cmnd 8294, pp.138-154

inventiveness of their own designs" (1973 p.81).

The distinctive influence of the British garden city movement evolved into a broader decentralist new town movement, pre-dating town planning proper. Its influence on the Greater London Development Plan was profound. Indeed the Garden City Association formed in 1899 was to become the Town and Country Planning Association formed in 1914. Town planning had come to be distinguished from regional planning and also from country (rural) planning: there has been virtually no recognition until recently (eg. by authors and commentators like Peter Hall and Greg Ashworth) of metropolitan or conurban planning. The preoccupation with the separation of town and country, of the new town and decentralisation solutions and consequently with the green belt and recreational objectives, has clearly influenced and limited the positive approaches to urban planning seen elsewhere in Europe and North America (Burtenshaw, Bateman and Ashworth, 1991). Despite town planning's normative role as an extension of social policy, this foundation and formation in the post-War reconstruction and settlement period, discussed in Chapter 2, has limited the development and scope of amenity and its extension to the cultural sphere, particularly in the urban environment. This has persisted in the subsequent periods of urban development: the periods of technocratic planning epitomised in the high-rise, high density and new road building of the 1950s and 1960s, and its counter-movement, the 'flight from modernism' and the city (op.cit pp.37-41). The globalisation of the service economy which the computer has enabled, has heralded a push towards cities being at the forefront of the new technological era, whilst demand for leisure has been in part fuelled by the time released from work by these same technologies. In the post-industrial era, with this rise of the *technopolis* and the city of leisure, notions of urban cultural planning and the serious consideration of the place of the arts within town planning have gained force.

In the United Kingdom, the planning of towns and cities, as a discipline and statutory function, and one which therefore dictates land use and the control of building, is a largely twentieth century development. Whilst the historical perspective on state involvement in arts provision and town planning and its place in urban cultural society is of relevance, particularly in view of the inheritance and notion of civic provision and 'public good' noted previously, this thesis concentrates on the period from which town planning was formalised (Town & Country Planning Act, 1947). Preliminary steps in the pre-Welfare State period

(c.1890 - 1939) had also established land-use planning and recreational uses, notably the TCPA 1909: *"which itself marked a significant stage in the state's willingness to intervene in spatial development"* (Travis and Veal, in Henry, 1993 p.13) followed by the Physical Recreation Training Act, 1937 and Green Belt Act, 1938, each of which had specific recreational objectives. In London, the most important planning milestone was represented by the County of London Plan and Greater London Development Plan (Abercrombie and Forshaw, 1943 and Abercrombie, 1944), following a long period of ad hoc and laissez-faire development, when: *"After the mid-fourteenth century, urban planning virtually collapsed, and for the next three centuries remained a dormant force ...with the exception of a small portion of Stuart London, there was little planned extension of existing settlements"* (Bell, 1969 p.68).

Even by the seventeenth century, the situation had not much improved: *"While Renaissance Europe forged ahead with sophisticated urban schemes, England remained rooted in the dark ages of planning"* (Borsay, 1989 p.87). By the nineteenth century, other countries had developed formalised planning systems, including formalised city and regional planning laws in Spanish Latin American colonies from the sixteenth century onwards, such as Puebla, Mexico with planning statutes closely resembling recent British town planning (eg. TCPA, 1947) and in new town developments at La Plata, Argentina from the late 1800s, as well as Haussman's nineteenth century Paris. Other cross-cultural influences on British planning were those of Prussian land policy and urban design and the later North American influence in the field of environmental impact assessment, outdoor recreation and national parks (Rydin, 1993).

3.2 Local Planning

The foundations of the present land use planning system in England were laid by the Scott, Uthwatt and Barlow Reports[2], which appeared between 1940 and 1942: *"Together these reports demonstrated concern to secure social and economic change in post-war Britain...(and) illustrate how land use planning might..contribute to that change"* (Bruton and Nicholson, 1987 p.20). These followed the Greater London Regional Committee set up

[2] Final Report of the Expert Committee on Compensation and Betterment (Uthwatt, Cmnd 6386, 1942); Report of the Committee on land Utilisation in Rural Areas (Scott, Cmnd 6378, 1942); Report of the Royal Commission on the distribution of the Industrial Population (Barlow, Cmnd 6153, 1940)

by Neville Chamberlain in 1927, with Unwin as technical adviser (see Unwin, 1909), and were the models of planning law incorporated in the Town and Country Planning Act (TCPA) of 1947. The original system comprised three elements: development plans, development control and the return to the community of the 'betterment' in land values resulting from the grant of planning permission. ' Precursors to the 1947 Act in 1909 and 1919 sought to establish the ground rules for town planning, in terms of the concern to improve social conditions and housing, and as a response to urbanisation and overcrowding, which was directed at the new-town and urban fringe policies, not least in Abercrombie's decentralising Greater London Plan (1944). The 1939 Town and Country Planning Act either repealed or consolidated almost the whole of the then existing general and local enactments relating to planning and extended the (voluntary) preparation of planning schemes. The statutory requirement to produce development plans, defining future land use and to control new development in the light of the approved plan, was to be a key feature of the 1947 Act. This Act also gave planning authorities powers to deal with specific problems of amenity including the preservation of trees and woodlands and of buildings of special historic or architectural interest.

Since 1947, therefore, local authorities have had responsibility for planning control designated in Town and Country Planning Acts and a range of discretionary powers. Since the 1980s the latter have frequently been focussed on the impact of the sustained growth of unemployment and post-industrial economic change. Local authorities have exercised employment generation and economic development functions, which have commonly been managed as part of environmental planning, in recognition of the relationship between land-use development, economic regeneration and employment creation (again a corporate strategy approach to urban socio-economic problems): *"employment and economic change lie at the heart of regional planning"* (Cullingworth, 1979 p.234). The contemporary association of economic development with physical planning at the local level, although linked from the late 1970s through urban and regional economic policy initiatives - 3.4 below - has not been reflected in central government economic and employment policy for which responsibility lay with the Departments for Trade and Industry, Employment and their antecedents and of course the Treasury, rather than the planning ministry (currently the Department of the Environment). Regional (economic) planning had in fact originated in the Labour Government's short-lived Department of Economic Affairs established in 1964,

again reflecting the traditional post-war divide:

> *"the various aspects of planning were separated, Economic Planning was split up into various branches, and physical planning was set apart..While one Ministry* [dealt] *with a major aspect of economic planning-location of industry, another is entrusted with town planning (no longer including the word planning in its title)"* (Glass, 1973 p.51).

The nationwide planning system introduced in 1947 was regarded as radical and comprehensive. However by the early 1960s it was apparent that this was inadequate to cope with rapid social and economic change. In the 1964 review of the planning system and 1947 Act, it was concluded that the system was over-centralised, prone to delay, unable to influence the quality of design, inflexible and therefore not able to adjust to changing circumstances (PAG, 1965). A development plan system, the core of the current planning system, was recommended, which formed the basis of the 1968 TCPA and which sought to:

i) guide the urban development and renewal which is certain to take place;
ii) promote efficiency and equality in the replanning of towns;
iii) encourage better organisation and co-ordination of professional skills;
iv) stimulate more purposeful planning of rural and recreational areas (PAG, 1965 pp.8-9).

The reformed land use planning system thus introduced was to consist of two tiers of plans - the structure plan (normally for a county) and local plan (usually for a borough, district, or some part of these). The former was to be approved by central government, and the local plan, with a proposal map produced on an Ordnance survey base, was to provide the framework for development control (eg. granting of planning permission). These local plans could be adopted by local authorities themselves after a local public inquiry if any objections were made. However the local government form anticipated by this review did not materialise and in the place of the anticipated pattern of single-tier unitary authorities, a two-tier system of county and district council planning authorities was introduced in England and Wales by the Local Government Act 1972, with counties responsible for structure plans and development control powers in only specialised areas (notably minerals extraction and waste disposal), and districts for local plans and most development control decision-making.

However, since 1979 central government has progressively weakened the planning

system by introducing on an ad hoc basis, new initiatives and procedures designed to simplify and reduce the impact of town planning, in its proactive and democratic form, on proposals for development. This included the relaxation of planning controls on the change of use of premises and sites (for example from studio to office - see Chapter 9 and 10) and the use of planning policy guidance notes (PPGs) on specific topic areas. The Guidance Note has been a seemingly benign device increasingly used by the Environment Ministry: *"The town and country planning system is showing distinct signs of middle age. The Use Class Order survived nearly 40 years, but despite radical proposals for change the final outcome introduces as much complexity as freedom"* (Waters, 1987 p.59). Despite this criticism they serve as a policy statement and guidance on government preferences, including policy changes (such as the restriction of further out-of-town retail developments), between the passing of town planning Acts, and their status requires local planning authorities to adjust their own planning policies, plan formulation and development control decisions where they relate to Guidance Note subjects. An indication of the areas of interest included in guidance notes can be seen in three dealing with recreation and amenity matters:

- Archaeology and Planning PPG No.16 (DoEn, 1990)
- Sport and Recreation PPG No.17 (DoEn, 1990)
- Tourism PPG No.21 (DoEn, 1992)

The Sport and Recreation Guidance Note dealt specifically with planning standards, reiterating the quantitative norms of provision for playing field and outdoor park and recreation areas, as well as reference to Sports Council planning objectives (Chapter 6). The Tourism PPG is a recognition of the growing importance of tourism in urban authorities as well as the traditional historic town and seaside resorts. A spatial approach to the distribution of hotel accommodation and avoiding the problems of overcrowding around tourist 'honeypot' areas and sites are particular considerations. An attempt at developing a Planning Policy Guidance Note for 'Public/Percent for Art' by the Arts Council's Visual Arts Department did not get further than the draft stage. This was due to the complexity of defining such activity and the reluctance to require compulsory percent for art contributions in the property development process, particularly the legal ambiguity within existing *Planning Gain* powers (ie. the award of cash or in kind 'community benefit' via the local planning authority arising from the granting of planning permission for a property development scheme under S.106 TCPA 1990 - DoEn, 1989b). Legal Advice taken by the

Arts Council concluded that: *"the promotion of art as such is not a proper function of planning control..Nor is there any power under existing legislation to insist on any particular proportion of the capital expenditure on the scheme being devoted to art"* (R.Carnwarth QC, Advice in the matter of Arts Council of Great Britain: Percent for Art, 22 July 1988, in Arts Council, 1989a).

3.3 Planning In London

The Greater London Development Plan, which superseded Abercrombie's 1944 Plan and which was finally approved by central government in 1976 (although first submitted by the GLC in 1969), had made no reference to the planning needs of arts and cultural provision, though by the time of its imminent demise the GLC had developed cultural policies and cultural industry strategies (GLC, 1985b; GLEB, 1985):

> *"..in the 160-page manifesto for the 1981 GLC elections...the arts received a mere quarter of a page of attention...Yet at the end of the administration it could be said that the arts programme had become the flagship of the GLC's radical political and economic policy.."* (Mulgan and Worpole, 1986 p.74),

However, in its 'Planning for The Future of London' (1984), the GLC again gave no consideration of cultural planning and provision (though one issue paper is devoted to Historic Buildings, a traditional planning department consideration necessitated by the 1953 Historic Buildings and Ancient Monuments Act, subsequently consolidated under the Planning [Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas] Act 1990). For planning in London, the abolition of the GLC in 1986 laid to rest the Regional Development Plan (GLDP 1969/1976), to be replaced by a fragmented Unitary Development Plan system (UDP) drawn up by each of the thirty-three planning authorities ('Streamlining the Cities', DoEn, 1985b). The opportunity to develop a regional cultural plan with land-use control powers was effectively lost: a fatal weakness in the 'Arts Plan for London' (GLA, 1990a) was that it lacked any land-use or regional planning foundation, or integration with borough or former Greater London Development plans. Following the abolition of the GLC as London's strategic authority a purely advisory body, the London Planning Advisory Committee (LPAC) was established, with thirty-three local authority representatives, to advise the Secretary of State and individual boroughs. However outside of LPAC's advocacy, advisory and informative role, no planning powers, positive or negative, are held by this body. The Unitary Development Plan (UDP) process, although borough-wide, rather than

London-wide in scope, has therefore presented the prime, surviving opportunity for integration of local arts policy and amenity considerations in the context of city planning and urban regeneration, and UDPs will be a particular focus for this study of arts and town planning in the capital (Chapters 8, 9 and 10).

Local government in London had also remained fragmented in the mid-Victorian period (1850-75): *"an extraordinarily confused mosaic of unions..., parishes, improvement commissioners for every sort of purpose...London presented the anomalous spectacle of a great capital city without a unitary government; a natural whole allowed to remain in condition of separate parts"* (Best, 1979 pp.69-70). Until 1965, London was governed by the institutions which had been established in the late Victorian era and which *"reflected more than anything else the culmination of historic, pragmatic and incremental adjustments to the numerous organisations which had performed government functions in the pre-democratic era"* (Hebbert and Travers, 1988 p.174). Following the Local Government Act of 1963, a two-tier directly elected local government system prevailed in Greater London, with powers and responsibilities divided and shared between the Greater London Council and the thirty-three boroughs. London has returned to its fragmented state, after nearly a hundred years of a two-tier regional and local government structure, from the establishment of the London County Council (LCC) in 1888, to the abolition of its successor, the Greater London Council in 1986 (LGA, 1985). As the Arts Council recognised more recently:

> *"Each of its 33 boroughs has the population of a small or medium city. But many of these boroughs have arts facilities considerably inferior to those of most cities. Since the demise of the GLC and the ILEA, London has lacked a strategic level of local government. This has impaired arts planning"* (Arts Council, 1993 p.115).

3.4 Urban Development Policy and Urban Programmes

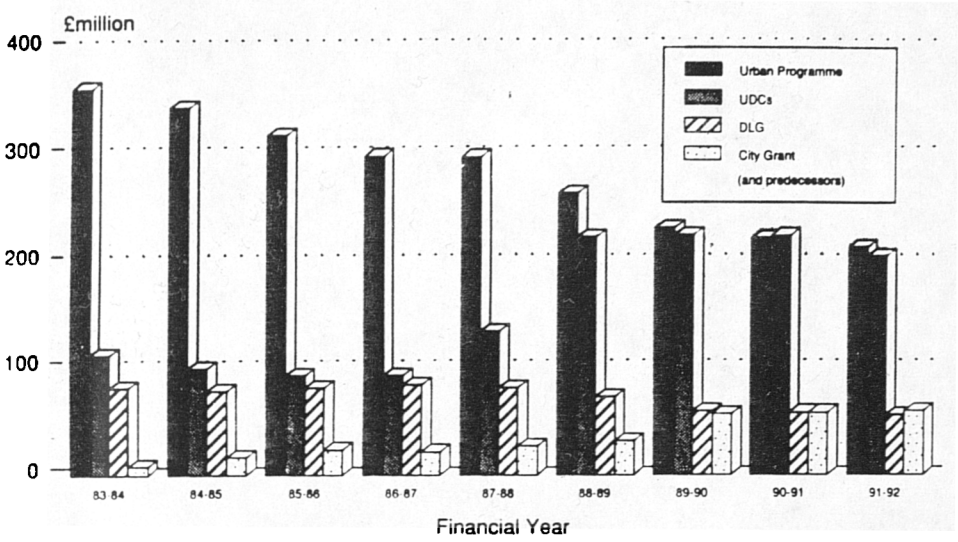
A key influence in the planning, control and funding of urban development has come from central government's Urban Programme (originally Urban Aid, later recast as the Urban Programme), initially designed to raise the level of social services in areas of acute social need (Local Government [Social Need] Act 1969), and since 1977 directed by the Environment Ministry (DoEn) and implemented through eligible local authorities. Urban Programme grants were made on a 75:25 central:local government funding basis, with the

larger proportion funded by central government. This programme was not originally directed expressly at inner urban areas or at economic problems, being mainly concerned with specifically social projects such as the establishment of community facilities. The allocation of capital and revenue funding under these programmes had underpinned much voluntary and community investment in designated 'Programme' areas until the early 1980s (Inner Urban Areas Act, 1978). For example the Urban Programme was exploited opportunistically in some London boroughs and in other cities to develop arts centres, such as Inter-Action, Camden; Brixton Village, Lambeth and The Half Moon Theatre, Tower Hamlets (Evans, 1993a), and the Leadmill Arts centre in Sheffield, as well as to underwrite Liverpool City Council's resource plan: *An Arts and Cultural Industries Strategy for Liverpool* (1987). As Urban Programme funding expired after three or five years, expectations of transfer to full local authority support could only be met and guaranteed while local authority budgets were growing. The legacy of transfers of both local authority and additional voluntary sector Urban Programme schemes, at the end of their funding period, has added to the acute financial problems of rate-capped and spending restricted (through the Standard Spending Assessment - SSA) urban authorities. The SSA has been the prime mechanism by which central government has fixed the revenue and capital budgets of local authorities based on central government's standardised assessment of 'need' for each authority. The revenue support grant (RSG) paid to each authority is therefore based on this assessment, irrespective of local need or preferences.

Such urban assistance programmes are now in decline and have for several years been biased towards capital schemes, in part to avoid 'revenue-dependency' (Henry, 1993 and see Figure 3.1 below). However since 1980 (Local Government Planning and Land Act - LGPLA) the Urban Programme has been phased out and replaced by more competitive, capital (as opposed to revenue-funding), and commercial partnership programmes, such as City Challenge, City Grants (Audit Commission, 1989b) and most recently, the Single Regeneration Budget (SRB), for which 400 local authorities bid in 1994 (DoEn, 1994b). The SRB was designed to combine all urban assistance programmes under one regionally co-ordinated government department (in London - the Government Office for London), for which individual urban local authorities bid competitively for funds.

Figure 3.1 Urban Development Funding in England: 1983-1992

URBAN GROUP RESOURCES: ENGLAND (March 1988 prices)
There is a continuing switch of resources to the UDCs and City Grant



Source: Audit Commission (1989b)

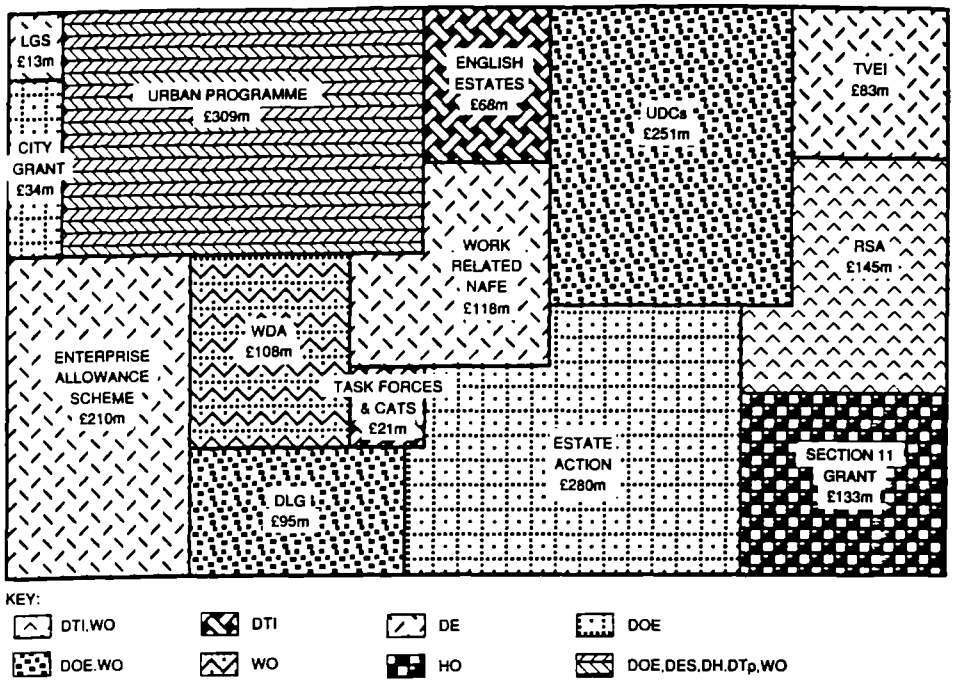
This redistribution of urban assistance also reflects an absence of co-ordination which is exacerbated by both competition for investment, trade and 'status', and by a lack of national or regional urban policy particularly in England (Scotland and Wales benefiting from strategic authorities and wider economic development powers and assistance, see Englefield, 1987), and in London most acutely:

> *"The rules of the game encourage compartmentalised policy approaches rather than a coherent strategy. Key organisational structures have fallen into disrepair..it is hard to escape the conclusion that at the level of the individual city there can be programme overkill within a strategic vacuum"* (Audit Commission, 1989b p.4).

The 'patchwork' of government urban regeneration programmes (Figure 3.2 below - op.cit.) has hardened further, as social investment criteria have been superseded by economic and private-sector led development (Henry, 1993) and successor programmes to the diminishing Urban Programme have introduced competition between boroughs and cities for these "Challenge" funds. Winners and losers are inevitable outcomes (and see Henley, 1990), whilst not 'playing the game' risks all and diminished chances in future bidding processes:

Figure 3.2 Public Expenditure on Relevant Urban Programmes, 1988-89

A patchwork of central government programmes assist urban regeneration



Arts and heritage improvement and regeneration objectives feature in many such "Challenge" council bids (see Chapter 7), such as in Hackney ('Cultural Workshop of London' - Hackney, 1992), east London, which includes the redevelopment of the former music hall Hackney Empire; Circus Space (relocated from neighbouring Islington, tempted by City Challenge assistance - ie. competitive relocation); a regional film and media development at Dalston; extension of the Geffrye Museum; cultural industries workspace development, and related education and training projects. These are largely on the back of commercial property schemes and town-centre improvements designed to enhance 'image' and retailing, reworking the 'trickle-down' effect: *"a growth sector...is cultural enterprise associated with entertainment, leisure, design and crafts"* (Dalston City Challenge, 1992 p.3)

As well as inner-city and urban regeneration initiatives, another feature of the 1980s property-led leisure boom was the out-of-town leisure scheme, ranging from multiplex, theme park, leisure-retail centres through to extended heritage attractions. These schemes in fact competed with inner-urban and town centres for limited private sector investment and vital partnership funds, as well as trade. Almost all such developments were planned primarily for the car-borne visitor and require sufficient land, access and scale to achieve commercial viability, even if these schemes were not-for-profit, or semi-commercial

ventures, such as stately homes, gardens and independent museums. Aside from the "zero sum game" of an unplanned national and regional urban policy, there are likely to be clear losers in those town and other centres who lose employers, trade and economic activity to their neighbours (*sic*), as already experienced in the 'Docklands effect' and by city centres feeling loss of activity to out-of-town shopping and leisure centres, such as Newcastle to Metro Centre, or Sheffield to Meadowhall. Between 1961 and 1982 the 580,000 shops in Britain declined to 332,000, down 43%, a decline which parallelled the rise of out-of-town shopping and ownership concentration (Hillier & Parker, 1992):

> *"...Where shopper surveys have been undertaken, they have been used to draw conclusions about the loss or deflection of trade from town centres or other economic aspects..they have not gone on to indicate how such trade impacts manifest themselves in the social role of town centres"* (Oxford Institute of Retailing Management, 1988 quoted in Whitehead, 1992 p.5).

A prioritisation of eligible local urban assistance areas had also established two statutory categories of 'Designated' and 'Partnership' authorities. The latter were specified areas requiring a concerted effort to alleviate social and economic conditions, and a third non-statutory designation also emerged - Programme Authorities, falling between the two statutory designations in terms of priority for action and resources. Grant allocation therefore became increasingly selective and competitive, and dependant on ministerial decision and preference, a feature of subsequent urban assistance schemes. This selective and competitive approach is mirrored in competitive arts funding initiatives to those noted above (eg. the Arts Council's "Incentive Funding", "Arts Challenge" and annual "Arts 2000" funding schemes[3]). Funding for such central government policy derives partly from an extended Urban Programme, but mainly from the redirection of existing spending programmes such as housing, education, transport and the Rate Support Grant (RSG - the central government 'block grant' used to subsidise local authority budgets). The scope of the Programme had also been expanded to cover industrial, environmental and recreational

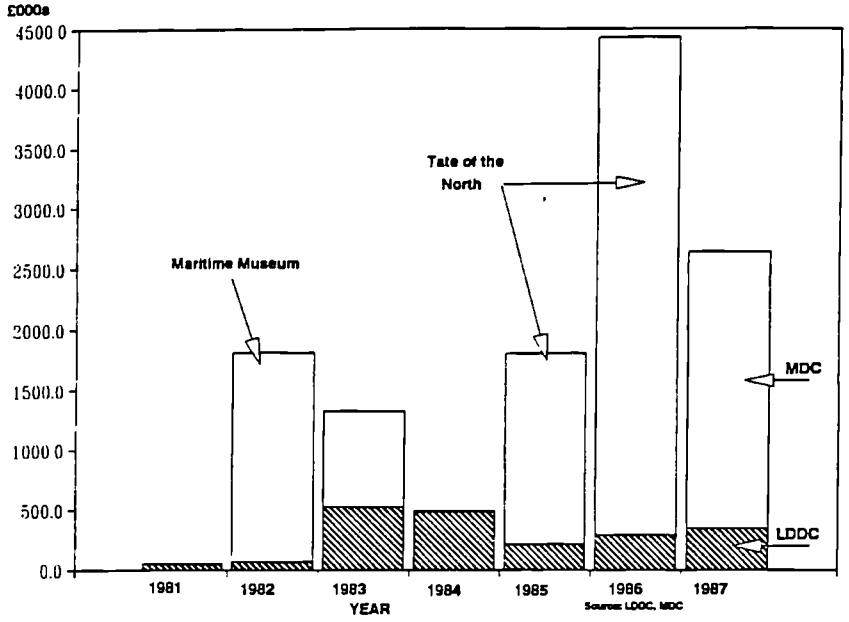
[3] These funding schemes were open to arts organisations and local authorities to competitively bid for project and capital funding for new developments and programmes. They all required matching funding from other public and private sources, including sponsorship and increased revenue generation as a result of any new funding awarded ('incentive' funding acted therefore as leverage to other funding and increased income). *Arts 2000* was an initiative leading up to the new millennium for regions and cities to host festivals and programmes themed by art forms, such as Birmingham - City of Music (1992), East Midlands - City of Dance (1993), Manchester - City of Drama (1994), Swansea - City of Literature (1995), Eastern Region of Opera & Musical Theatre (1996) and Glasgow - City of Architecture (1999). Winners are offered £250,000 from Arts Council funds, for which co-sponsorship and matching funds are required for each city or regional programme.

provision. The latter was a recognition of the growing importance of leisure and tourism development in urban economic regeneration (Myerscough, 1988; DoEn, 1990b). (In the same way, recent Arts Council competitive initiatives have mainly been funded by the re-allocation of funds within existing budgets).

This marked policy realignment in the various urban aid initiatives has effectively reduced the opportunity for investment in social and community facilities and furthermore, statutory local plans appear to have played little practical part in the development of Urban Programme policy and expenditure commitments (Bruton and Nicholson, 1987): *"there has been a divorce between development plans and expenditure based plans which the corporate planning idea of the late 1960s and 1970s never resolved and which continues to this day"* (Carter, in Rydin, 1993 p.337).

In addition to the repositioning of the Urban Programme, the 1980 LGPLA Act made provision for the designation of Urban Development Areas with a view to securing their economic, social and physical regeneration: *"by bringing land and buildings into effective use, encouraging the development of existing and new industry and commerce, creating an attractive environment..."* (Cullingworth and Nadin, 1994 p.205). These areas were overseen by Urban Development Corporations (UDCs) within most of the larger cities in England and Wales, and with planning and investment powers compulsorily transferred from incumbent local authorities (LGPLA, 1980), with similarities to the earlier new town development agencies. The UDCs were primarily concerned with land reclamation and were geared towards attracting inward investment and new populations - in London Docklands (LDDC) for instance, the borough of Tower Hamlets experienced the only rise in population during the 1980s, whilst other London boroughs' population fell or remained static (OPCS, 1991). This reflected a shift from the earlier policy position that local authorities were the natural agencies to tackle inner city problems (DoEn, 1977a). UDCs have also impacted on the pattern of land-use, including arts amenity provision in those designated areas, such as London Docklands (LDDC, 1989) and Merseyside. This has included an increase in office development and private housing, and a decrease in light industrial, public housing and community facilities, whilst a small number of flagship cultural facilities have been located in UDC areas, see Figure 3.3 below (Feist and Hutchison, 1990 p.50) and Chapter 7 below.

Figure 3.3 UDC's Capital Funding of Museums and Arts in London and Merseyside



Local government financing and spending powers have also come under closer scrutiny and rationalisation since the election in 1979 of the Conservative Party with a manifesto commitment to privatisation through three mechanisms: *denationalisation* - the privatisation of state corporations, *deregulation* - the opening up of state regulated activities, eg.transport, to competition and weakening of trade and restrictive practices (eg. union labour/conditions), and *contracting-out* - placing in-house services with external contractors (eg. through compulsory competitive tendering of local government services), and underpinned by a goal of reduction in public spending based on the 'crowding-out' theory. The neo-Classical school of economics (Chicago school - Friedman, 1962, *et al*) argued that the economy was of fixed size and that attempts to stimulate the economy by increasing government expenditure was not only ultimately inflationary, but that this will *crowd-out* the private sector through stifling (private) enterprise, ie. an expanding public sector will restrict wealth creation through the dominance of labour, capital and land - the factors of production (Turner, 1987). This view informed the supply-side and free-market-policies adopted by the Thatcher governments throughout the 1980s which formed the basis for reductions in public sector labour forces, local government spending and the relaxation of planning control and public landholding. These legislative and political changes will be analysed as they affect urban cultural policy and arts development in Chapters 5 and 6.

Policy, intervention and the direction of urban development therefore rested

substantially with the Environment Ministry (DoEn), during the 1980s, co-ordinated through an Inner Cities Directorate and Regional Offices, and following the 1992 General Election through a new national Urban Regeneration Agency. Through such initiatives - coupled with its responsibility for planning generally and local government as a whole, (notably through Standard Spending Assessment - SSA) and the plethora of local government legislation arising during the 1980s (Byrne, 1994 and see Chapter 5) - the DoEn arguably wields far greater power (fiscal and policy) and influence over urban cultural policy and planning in London, than any other single agency, far more than the English Arts Council (ACE), the London Arts Board, or the National Heritage Ministry (DNH) itself, or even all of these combined.

3.5 British versus European Planning

As already stated, British town and country planning is rooted in a long tradition of democratically elected central and local government and a developed indigenous legislative system and 'discrete' planning profession. It is administered and directed at district or town level and is nominally "guided", but increasingly directed, in practice by policy statements and technical "advice" from central government. Major problems have arisen under this system, from the problems of procedural responses to socio-economic changes in human and economic geography which have at the same time created unexpected growth (eg. out-of-town/urban fringe), urban decline (eg. inner cities) and new infrastructures (transport, communications) on a scale not previously envisaged by the local plan process. These changes have impacted on cultural and leisure consumption and habits, including employment and workplace functions and relationships, though these problems are not unique to Britain, having occurred to a greater or lesser extent elsewhere in western Europe.

As already indicated, planning systems differ widely across Europe with some important differences also within the UK - for example, the systems of Scotland on the one side, and of England and Wales, on the other, in addition to the social, economic and cultural disparities across and between European countries. In Scotland for instance greater regional and 'structural' land-use planning and adherence to local area plans is evident, than is the case in England, alongside regional-level economic development and a more integrated land-use and amenity planning system, including arts and cultural facility standards (Chapter 11). Despite these historic and legislative differences, developments in supra-national planning

policies are anticipated, as the European Commission promotes greater harmonisation and co-ordination (see Chapter 2 and 7 of this thesis). States such as Germany and the Netherlands have appointed ministers for land use and physical planning. Others such as Portugal and France combine land use planning with regional policy. The chief exception to this continuity in western Europe, from the early days of planning, has been the UK. Development Plans since 1947 have not been a form of legally-binding zoning plan, and national and regional planning guidance is not administratively binding on local government (Davies, 1994a).

Of fundamental difference is Britain's constitutional position and land rights. The French *Code Napoléon* does not apply here - the English lack a written constitution: *"we are subjects not citizens and as such we have virtually no rights. We are allowed to develop land at the discretion of authority"* (Antoniou, 1992 p.12). The uniqueness of the British planning system includes an absence of legally-binding plans; the separation of development control from building control, and the discretionary approach to development between planning policies and actual control decisions, ie. the flexibility of the planning system to allow development contrary to approved land use plans - the difference between policy and practice. In contrast the Continental model is essentially plan-led. In Denmark, France, Germany and the Netherlands a proposal conforming to the plan ensures a right to develop land, and planning and building controls (including design) are combined in a single permit. The consideration and special treatment of artists workspaces and studios is also evident in both North America and in other European countries - see Appendix VII. This has entailed specific land-use zoning and the protection of artist studio facilities within town planning and property rental markets. Canada and continental Europe also benefit from stronger city and regional plans - a weakness of the British approach which lacks integrated action on regional planning (in the case of London). As Waters notes, British town planning is reactive rather than proactive in approach: *"As with other aspects of [British] town and country planning policy, planning in the sense of vision and opportunity is noticeable by its absence. Planning policy is reacting to the market, not anticipating or controlling it"* (1987 p.59).

In further contrast, regional policy in France has considerable status with a directly elected assembly having major responsibility for infrastructure and development (the European Commission's approach to the distribution of EU funds is largely based on the

French integrated system of regional economic development). British planners (who numerically constitute 90% of Europe's professional planning workforce) are seen to be, in the words of Robin Thompson - a former President of the Royal Town Planning Institute - *"the aliens of European planning..We practice discretionary planning..We also engage in a range of activities notably in economic and environmental action which our European neighbours generally assign to other professions"* (1994 p.18). Conversely, whilst regional planning in most of Europe is the domain of the economist or geographer, other city planning practice combines architectural and urban design with 'planning', a factor perhaps in Thompson's observation that: *"the best European practice outdoes our own. It is strategic, imaginative, fluid and* ***cultured****"* (op.cit., **my emphasis**).

The chameleon-like nature of the British town planning profession in recent years reflects their flexibility in adapting to the changing and diminishing role of local government. Originally formed from longer established architectural, surveying and engineering professions[4], the first town planning training was established in the 1920s, but it was the post-War Town Planning Act period that brought the expansion of this profession. However the late-1940s also saw local government's post-Victorian role much reduced with the nationalisation of key local government public utilities (electricity, gas, hospitals in particular, followed by water and sewerage in 1974) and the centralising of education policy and practice (followed by social services in 1969). The period of technocratic planning and the housing and transport experiments of the 1950s and 1960s saw town planners redefine their role, more than any other town hall profession, moving apparently effortlessly through estate planning, transport and highways planning, and the beginnings of urban recreation and retail planning policies by the late 1970s. In the late 1970s/1980s economic crisis and in particular the urban, structural unemployment seen in industrial areas - growing youth unemployment and the decline in traditional manufacturing and extraction industries - all have provided a new lease of life and opportunities for planners, following the ending of new town development and public house-building and the absence of regional planning (and design) being practised elsewhere in Europe. Hence, planners frequently took responsibility for economic development and employment promotion initiatives and for the policies towards conservation and heritage in towns and rural areas, as well as for related tourism

[3] The Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) was founded in 1834 and the Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors (RICS) in 1868.

and leisure development. Economic development, conservation and tourism officers tended to be located in Planning and Environment departments (Richards, 1992). From the 1980s, the planning departments' changing role encompassed the urban regeneration process, dominated the co-ordination and negotiation of central government and European urban and regional assistance programmes, and in many areas took on a key "enabling" role in property development schemes (eg. negotiating of planning gain) (Rydin, 1993). Concerns for the environment, pollution, natural and heritage conservation, and for sustainable development approaches emanating from central government, European and United Nations (eg. 'Agenda 21') policies and directives, have also contributed to giving responsibility for Environmental Impact Assessments (EIA) and 'green audits' largely to the planning profession. These major developments have consequently spawned another specialist branch of planning alongside existing environmental health, landscape and heritage conservation professions.

The new Unitary Development Plan (UDP) requirement has also given what would otherwise have become much reduced planning departments (suffering from major white collar staff reductions in budget-restricted councils as planning powers were reduced) a further *raison d'être*, with the UDP's consultative preparation and ten-year horizon within a more detailed and powerful plan-led system. The degree to which planners and planning committees have recognised arts amenity and wider cultural planning approaches in the new urban plans in London is assessed in Chapters 8 and 9 below.

Fundamental to the traditional British town planning approach and system, inherited from the 1947 Act and its Garden City roots, has been the failure to integrate the local and regional with the national (as shown in particular by the absence of national or regional plans) and therefore to reflect the changing nature of urban inter actions in the social, economic and cultural spheres. Philosophically this persistence is summed up in the reluctance to celebrate city and urban life, preferring instead to deal with the urban environment as a problem. This again is in contrast with mainland Europe. One tends to agree with Walton's argument that:

> *'Europeans appreciate urban life. The towns and how they are adapted to modern needs, funded and managed illustrate a belief that urban life can be rich, varied, complex and fun. People like living close to the centre of Town. Conversely in Britain we appear to distrust urban life, seeing it as often as sinful and dangerous and the countryside as the repository of safety and virtue"* (Walton, 1991 p.9).

Planning theorist Ruth Glass, over twenty years ago, castigated town planners for their mechanistic mode of thought and their conservatism masquerading as utopian commitment: the recurrent theme, then as now, is the division between social (*cultural*), economic and physical planning (Glass, 1973 p.42). This is apparent not least in the capital, London, whose first city plan (Abercrombie, 1944) responded to the problems of urban congestion, lack of amenity and the need to separate the city's main functions.

London's changing population and employment profile and the multiple roles of the metropolis as cultural capital, residential, pluralist and world city, are explored in more detail in the next chapter. Key issues to be considered include London's relationship to other regions of the United Kingdom and the distribution of public arts funding in the light of the Arts Council's redistributive 'Glory of the Garden' (1984) and other regional strategies.

CHAPTER 4 THE LONDON METROPOLIS CONTEXT

4.0 Introduction

This chapter expands on the London context - the focus for this investigation of arts and urban planning - from its industrial 'world city' formation, manifested in urbanisation, employment activity and change. London's population and industrial decline, as a result of decentralisation and economic restructuring, are assessed as they impact on contemporary planning and the provision of arts facilities and cultural production. The paradox presented by the resistance to and celebration of urban society and London's unique role as world and capital city, are also discussed as London evolves and struggles with the effects of post-industrialisation, decentralisation and the ascendancy of other regional British cities, as well as world cities in other countries. The differing position, needs and responsibilities of London's 'communities of interests' - residents, businesses and visitors, from daily commuters to day visitors and overseas tourists - are then reviewed, in relationship to local governance and the financing of local amenities, since they raise both practical and policy issues for the distribution and access to arts and cultural facilities.

Arts and urban planning approaches, as argued in this chapter, therefore need to recognise and attempt to reconcile these often competing and conflicting users. London's perceived 'special case' in terms of arts provision - for example the inner and outer-London and flagship/city centre and local amenity divides - are presented both in terms of internal socio-economic and demographic trends and the impact of policy changes brought about by the liberalisation of planning controls. This chapter goes on to rehearse the 'London-centric' claims which have been long-present in the distribution of arts subsidy, only partly redressed by the Arts Council's 1984 'Glory of the Garden' strategy. The arts policy of redistribution and 'democratisation' is therefore also assessed in terms of the arts funding allocation between London and other regional arts areas.

4.1 The Metropolis (*meter-tros+polis*, Gr: 'mother city') is by definition, the chief or capital city of a state and as in the case of London also the 'geopolitical' centre of the nation's economic and cultural activity. These cities are now also known in a global sense as 'world cities': *"those in which quite a disproportionate part of the world's important business is conducted"* (Hall, 1984 p.1). The conflict and competition for land use, between

economic activity and social amenity and cultural provision, is particularly acute in London, as the 1980s property-based expansion demonstrated, but this was not new: London was the first World City whose growth and shape were determined by the market (see Rasmussen, 1982).

Lewis Mumford (1961 p.640) likened big cities to museums where *"every variety of human function, every experiment in human association, every technological process, every mode of architecture and planning can be found within its crowded area"*. A purely 'command city' devoid of industry or production is a futuristic scenario, but the functions of a world city which are perhaps desirable, are also crucial to their survival, and according to Cheshire: *"are likely to be much closer to those they had before the industrial revolution - as commercial and administrative centres, as cultural centres in the broadest sense of cultural, and as providers of higher level services and urban amenities"* (LPAC, 1991 p.7).

London's position as a metropolis was well established by the nineteenth century, as shown by Table 4.1:

TABLE 4.1 LONDON'S POPULATION GROWTH - 1841 to 1881 (Best, 1979 p.24)

Year:	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881
Urban population as a % of total	48.3	54.0	58.7	65.2	70.2
Inner/Outer London population (000s)	2,239	2,685	3,227	3,889	4,770
% increase		20%	20%	21%	23%
London as a % of England & Wales population	14.1	15.0	16.6	17.1	18.4

London's growth made it the largest city in the Western world until the 1930s (the nearest, Paris, reached two million by 1877-8 and New York one and a half million in 1871). Despite this, urban land use planning as has been shown above, has been a primarily post-World War II movement in London, with the exception of the city's reconstruction following the Fire of 1666, which did see the introduction of basic, but important building regulations, and subsequent investment in civic buildings and artefacts. In the mid-nineteenth century building bye-laws under the Sanitary Acts gave local authorities powers to control the density, sizing, construction/materials and drainage standards of premises. Indeed another force majeure contributed to the modern town planning system: *"I often wonder if there would have been any progress in London planning if there had not been a war..The war period became the third phase of the great comprehensive plans for the entire London Region"* (Rasmussen 1982 p. 427).

London's population did not in fact peak until 1939, when it reached 8.6 million. From nearly eight million in 1961, the resident population had fallen to 6.7 million by 1981, where it has stabilised, although this masks internal demographic change and inner-city to suburban and urban fringe decentralisation. The overall depopulation was reflected in the move outwards to the zone immediately surrounding Greater London and to the South-East region, which had reached ten million by 1981. King, writing in 1990, observed that:

> *"so great is the pull of London and the South-East in general, that its daily commuting reach now extends to a radius of well over 100 miles, to Newark, Doncaster in the north, Cardiff and Bristol in the west, and the major towns on the south-east coast - all well within two hours from London"* (p.114).

London continues to attract a significant commuter population, estimated at 1 million, (London Regional Transport, in LCCI, 1992) and 55% of these are in professional/managerial posts (Hogarth and Daniel, 1988).

Conversely there has been an exodus of light industrial and service sector employers. The Garden City and New Town policies (New Towns Act 1946), from the time of the post-war settlement, continued with the government's Relocation of Offices policy from the 1960s and the creation of new suburbs and office 'cities' such as at Croydon, Surrey; Basingstoke, Hampshire; Brighton, Sussex and others beyond the London Green Belt. The success of these decentralisation policies was blamed in part for London's subsequent inner city problems (DoEn, 1997a). Some categories of employment, notably financial services and 'high-tech' firms, have built up along the 'M4 corridor', attracted by lower land and office rents, a good transport infrastructure (new motorways, inter-city rail, and an expanded Heathrow airport) and a greener, less urban environment. Peter Boydell QC, reversing Dr Johnson's famous aphorism, observed at the opening of the inquiry into the Greater London Development Plan, on 6th October 1970: *"Unfortunately today too many people are leaving London not because they are tired of life, but because they are tired of London"*. Between 1983 and 1993, 241 firms employing over 100 people moved out of central London - 75% of these went to the suburban fringe and South-East and 8% out of the London area completely to south-west England. Whilst the cost of property and availability are prime factors, the quality of the environment - in particular the area around the location and sites and buildings themselves - are increasingly important factors (Crawford, 1992 p.4 and see Myerscough, 1988 on the influence of environmental and cultural amenities in the

determination by middle and senior managers of office and workplace re-location - Chapter 2, above).

Although the largest national centre for engineering and manufacturing until the 1960s, London was never perceived to be an industrial city, unlike say Bradford or Manchester, but remained also, to a greater or lesser extent, a crafts, artistic and commercial centre. Several of the most important of the London trades - tailoring, dressmaking, shoe-making, jewellery and metal work - were not organised along factory lines, but were 'handicraft employments which can be carried on at the home of the workman' (see Chapter 10: Clerkenwell crafts quarter, and Dodd, 1843). The concentration of financial and related services - of media, design and of the highest proportion in the UK of practising artists, architects and craftspeople (LPAC, 1991; Comedia, 1991; RIBA, 1993; Crafts Council, 1983) - confirms this perception and profile in both pre-industrial and post-industrial eras. This factor has in part compensated for the loss of manufacturing activity in recent years (Tables 4.2 and 4.3 below). As King observes, we have seen: *"the displacement of a trade in goods by a trade in signs, images, symbols, in the projected lifestyles of advertising, television, videos and films"* (1990 p.120)

In addition to the capital's political and administrative base, therefore, media, advertising and cultural production in general has become increasingly important to London's international role (GLC, 1985b). This is not only in the traditional areas of the performing arts, literature and heritage, but also in the electronic media of radio, television, records, films and video, which together employ a quarter of a million people:

> *"Culture... is a major export from the UK, with over one-third of British books exported and a quarter of the world's records emanating from the UK. Some sectors of the printing industry such as newspapers have a much higher representation in London with 40% of national employment in newspaper and periodical production"* (King, 1990 p.150).

The 'comparative advantage' of the English language is demonstrated by the fact that over 50% of all the world's business contracts in the European Community and two-thirds of all the world's scientific papers are now published in English (The Economist quoted in Comedia, 1991 p.8), as are an estimated 75% of Internet documents and 'traffic'.

The long-term population decrease in London noted above, does not, however, signal a decline or even levelling out of urbanisation in the south-east, or in England as a whole: rather it represents a redistribution of population and continued urbanisation and development of suburban, urban fringe and town areas. Since 1944, the South-East has increased its urban area by 44% (470,000 acres), an area more than the size of Greater London itself (CPRE, 1993). By the same token, government attempts to bring back into use derelict land in existing urban areas, through the Derelict Land Grant scheme, has so far largely failed: since its inception in 1974 only 6% of designated derelict land has been brought into use (Audit Commission, 1989b). Britain's urban concentration, with 92% of the population living in cities and towns, suburban zones and large 'villages', means that in terms of spatial and other 'hierarchies of need', amenity and other planning strategies are not as comparable with other countries in Europe and North America, which are characterised by lower levels of urbanisation (World Bank, 1987[1] and see Chapter 6, below).

The loss of manufacturing jobs from London was most acute in the period between 1961 and 1978 - total employment in Greater London fell by 17% in total, and manufacturing by 47%, as shown in Table 4.2 below. Between 1971 and 1981 this loss was 36% in Greater London and 41% for Inner London, compared with 25% for Britain as a whole (GLC, 1985a).

TABLE 4.2 REGIONAL EMPLOYMENT CHANGE - 1961 to 1978 (000s)

Year: Manufacturing Employment	**1961**	**1966**	**1971**	**1974**	**1978**	**1961-78 %**
Greater London	**1,429**	**1,309**	**1,093**	**940**	**769**	**- 47%**
Rest of South-East England	990	1,142	1.200	1,194	1,092	+10%
England & Wales	7.626	7,848	7,442	7,248	6,513	- 15%
Total Employment:						
Greater London	**4,386**	**4,430**	**4,084**	**3,990**	**3,679**	**- 17%**
Rest of South-East England	3,240	3,775	3.900	4,149	3,612	+12%
England & Wales	20,913	22,325	21.562	22,186	20,186	- 4%

(Young and Mills, 1983, in King, 1990 p.116)

[1] Statistics on the urban world are assembled annually by the United Nations and published in its 'Demographic Yearbook' - the basis of urbanisation tables in the World Bank's 'World Development Report' (Clark, 1996)

The disproportionate decline in manufacturing in Greater London shown by Table 4.2, was accelerated by the closure of port, dockyards and engineering industry activity, and which is only partially offset by a shift to non-industrial and more fragmented services occupations in the capital (King, 1990) as forecast by the Town and Country Planning Association in 'The Paper Metropolis' (TCPA, 1962), reference Table 4.3 below.

TABLE 4.3 GREATER LONDON OCCUPATION GROUPS (000s) - 1961 to 1981 (op.cit.)

Occupation Year:	**1961**	**%**	**1971**	**%**	**1981**	**%**
Operatives	1,507	34.3%	1,164	28.4	844	22.8%
Office Workers	1,404	31.9%	1,527	37.4%	1,606	43.4%
Others	1,475	33.8%	1,393	34.2%	1,251	33.8%

4.2 London and Urbanism

London's long history of urbanisation has had a close relationship with economic and employment activity since the first urban renaissance and the response to industrialisation (and most recently to post-industrialisation), which has been a foundation of the town planning system and ideology, as reviewed the previous Chapter. The urban 'condition' and notions of civilisation and citizenship therefore present a balancing act that has existed since urbanisation (*urban* - 'other than rural') began. As Dr John Fell remarked in 1680: *"I will tell you why my Lady Hatton is very happy. She is removed from the infectious conversation of the Town, where the precious time and estate designed for the purposes of charity is to be wasted on impertinent and uncharitable visits..."* (quoted in Wainwright, 1993 p.1).

The destruction of the values of modern English society was put at the door of the modern nineteenth century city, against which Pugin, Ruskin and Morris (and later the Arts and Crafts movement) reacted, with a harking for the aesthetic and vernacular harmony of the countryside and rural life. Raymond Williams in 'Culture and Society' traces this intellectual, holistic tradition, *"which interrelated aesthetic, moral and social judgements"* (Williams, 1963 p.137), whilst as Elizabeth Wilson maintains, urban life in the 1800s was projected as undesirable: *"C19th planning reports, government papers and journalism created an interpretation of urban experience as a new version of Hell"* (1991 p.108).

Wilson's feminist critique of the town-planning movement as *"an organised*

campaign to exclude women and children, along with other disruptive elements, the working class, poor, and minorities - from this infernal urban space altogether" (op.cit.), targets the planners' hegemony, including Abercrombie's ambitious plans for London where in Wilson's opinion *"there was a whiff of authoritarianism about his solution"* (1991 p.14). Increasingly however, urban life was contrasted with rural life which was perceived as 'uncivilised', whilst city life was perceived as 'urbane' and 'cultured'. Meller maintains that *"what happened in each large city..was part of the national response to the challenge of civilisation"* (1976 p.7) and Geddes had similarly observed that: *"The central and significant fact about the city is that it functions as the specialised organ of social transmission"* (Geddes in Mumford, 1940 p.198)

The re-creation and promotion of former-industrial cities - their re-imaging through themes and visitor attractions from musems and galleries, convention centres to festivals and urban design and transport schemes - is a post-Fordist response in a competitive national and world economy, and one which echoes the first urban period which looked to the civilising values of *"cultural facilities devoted to the formal concept of Liberal Culture, sometimes the spearhead of an attempt to salvage the reputation of the city"* (Meller 1976 p.42). David Harvey's interpretation of Fordism which had its origins in Henry Ford I's factory system of the production line, based on F.W.Taylor's "scientific management" principles, also maintains that postwar Fordism was:*"..less a mere system of mass production and more a total way of life. Mass production meant standardisation of product as well as mass consumption... Fordism also built upon and contributed to the aesthetic of modernism - functionality and efficiency"* (1989, p.135). Harvey also argues that the successor, post-Fordism, *"rests on flexibility with respect to labour processes, markets, products and patterns of consumption..It has entrained rapid shifts between sectors and between geographical regions"* (1989 p.147).

Urry also describes the shift to post-Fordist consumption in his 'Consuming Places' (1995 pp.150-1), as greater consumer dominance, the emergence of segmented ('niche') markets and the rejection of mass production in favour or more customised products and services and aesthetic (less functional, eg. modernist) tastes. One impact of post-Fordist production and of the transfer of manufacturing processes to developing countries and low-cost workforces, has been the separation of industries from their traditional locations, communities and skills-base, leaving them ill-prepared for new forms of working (and

enforced 'leisure' - un/under-employment) and severing the relationships between work, home and recreation. Manuel Castells (1977 p.439) defines the *"specificity of the urban as the field of collective consumption, the realm of reproduction"*, as distinct from the 'region' as the scale of production. London in fact fulfils both of these roles, as an urban region where concurrently cultural production, consumption and amenity presents a skewing of supply and demand and consequent difficulties and opportunities in resource and amenity allocation, and in cultural policy and economic development (a particular example of the conflict and interaction between the 'local and the global'). London therefore divides itself between the internal and the external, between the visible and the 'invisible' city (Calvino, 1979 and see Mumford, 1961 pp.641-646), the latter no less so in arts and cultural activity that is hidden in terms of cultural industries production (eg. media, crafts), individual artists (workspace, home-based, peripatetic/touring) and community and voluntary arts and crafts participation, in contrast to the high profile cultural venues of central London.

4.3 London: Community and World City

Post-war post-industrialisation and depopulation presents difficult choices for local and regional arts and amenity planning in London. Put simply, who or what is the 'community'? This is typically constructed in such general terms as **residents**, **non-resident commuters** from the extended 'travel-to-work' areas, and **tourists** (or the generic 'visitor'). Adult residents obviously have significance as the basis of local taxation (domestic rates - community charge, council tax) and local council voting powers. As well as through demographic, ethnographic and other cultural groups and socio-economic (class and lifestyle) categorisations, this population may be divided between the economically active and 'inactive' (children, infirm and retired - not 'available' for work). The former group can be divided between those in work (employed/self-employed) and those unemployed - whether or not formally registered as such. London's unemployment stood at 11% and rising in 1992, of which 31% were long-term. In some inner-city areas, male unemployment reaches over 40%, and in some recent refugee and immigrant communities up to 80% are unemployed (OPCS, 1991; LCCI, 1992). Such economic, social and cultural polarisation/segmentation therefore has importance for arts provision, for the assessment of arts 'needs' and amenities, and is of interest to both public and commercial sectors, whether as providers, facilitators or policy-makers.

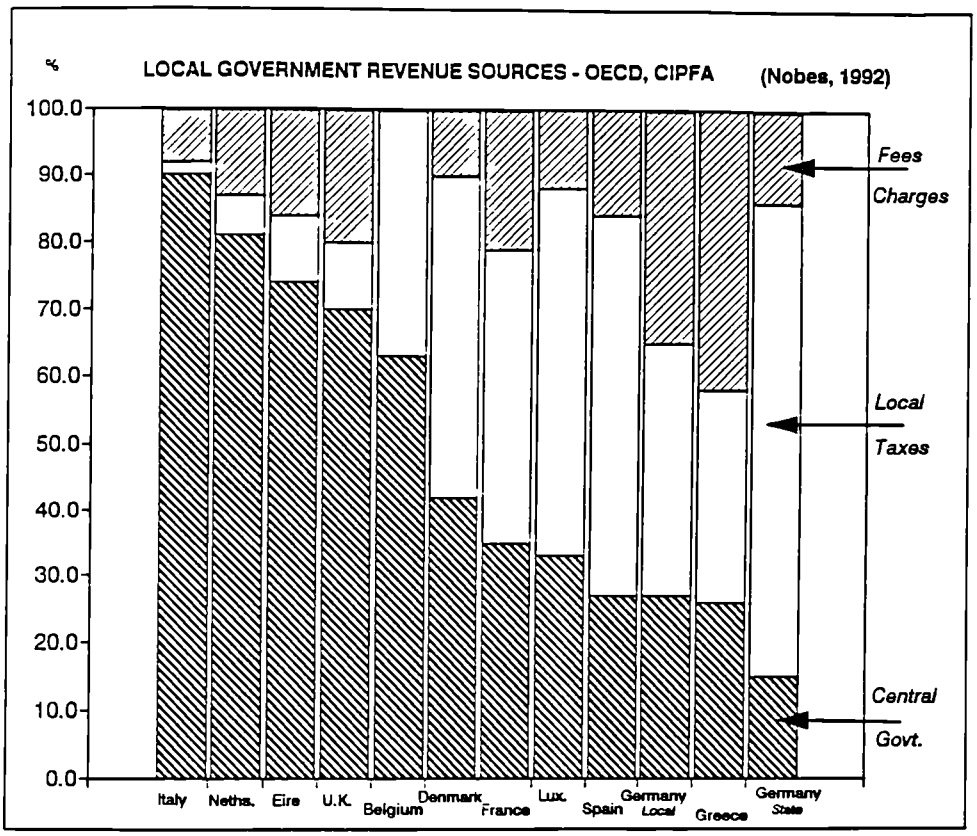
Business 'residents' and commuting employees (estimated at c.1 million, LRT, 1991),

also have local taxation significance for London through the business rate and since 1990 (LGA 1988) the Unified Business Rate (UBR) and through the 'weighting' of revenue/'rate support grant' (RSG) paid to local councils by central government in respect of their incoming commuter population. Unlike residents, they have no political power, the only exception in the thirty-three planning authorities in London being the City of London where the business vote survives. Such erosion of local political autonomies was the key rationale for the introduction of the UBR. The level of the UBR is now fixed and applied to property valuations, and received by central, not local government (although collected by local authorities and redistributed back to councils according to their population, irrespective of tax 'earned' or received). Property rate revaluations in 1989 produced clear winners and losers. In Inner London there was an increase of 38%, compared with reductions of 23% in the West Midlands and 15% in the East Midlands and reductions of 28% in the North/North West. This regional disparity was 'equalised' in the case of national chain and 'multiple' companies able to offset increases in the South with decreases elsewhere. However, independent, single-location firms (eg. small businesses, arts and cultural industries) were unable to do this, and London's economy was further disadvantaged by this intervention. Transitional payment arrangements were only a temporary mitigation, and acted as a disincentive for expansion and new development in the capital. This centralisation of local taxation removed the powers of local authorities, abused in the eyes of central government, to raise taxes from non-domestic residents to whom they were not accountable, and who, the Government argued, did not receive adequate 'value for money' for services financed partially through this mechanism.

From the perspective of local authorities, however, these changes effectively severed the financial relationship between local economic development and their tax and financing base. No longer did a successful new development offer the opportunity for compensation towards the cost of infrastructure works carried out from local authority funds for the development, or reward for the council attracting new businesses and increased economic activity in their area. The rejection of a responsive local democracy financed by local income/property taxes, as is the norm in many countries in Europe and North America (where local authorities also have greater freedom to fund and develop arts and cultural

facilities), was made after the Layfield Committee reported in 1976[2]. This failure to implement the Layfield proposals effectively confirmed the Government's rejection of decentralisation and 'federalist' arguments, which have gained strength elsewhere in Europe during the 1980s (Crouch and Marquand, 1989; Bianchini, 1993). The ratio of central to local government financing of local services can be seen in a comparison of European Union member states (Figure 4.1 below).

Figure 4.1 Local Government Revenue Resources in the European Community



Even before delegation and moves towards grant-maintained status for schools and colleges, and trust status for council housing estates, local community charges accounted for only 22% of local government finance (1991-1992). After delegated budgets to individual education organisations have been implemented, this proportion could fall to 10-15% with 85-90% of local government finance being controlled by central government and quangos, (compared with around 80% of locally determined income from locally determined and collected taxes and charges for services in the early to mid-1970s).

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[2] Local Government Finance: Report of the Committee of Enquiry, Cmnd 6453, May 1976. Layfield explicitly warned that unless local government was given wider local tax-raising powers and autonomy, effective democratic local government would rapidly be destroyed. Neither the Labour government to whom Layfield reported, nor the Conservatives from 1979, acted on the recommendations.

Whilst relief from the full cost of local 'business rates' has been extended to charitable organisations, including eligible arts and cultural organisations - a mandatory 80% compared with a minimum of 50% under the previous rating system, (with council discretion over the balance) - this is calculated on greatly increased valuations. Local authorities are also now less able to waive the 20% balance of rates payable by charitable arts and community organisations (eg. in the form of a 'grant in kind'), since this is now treated as in effect a cash grant for budget and government grant purposes, whereas previously such a decision was broadly neutral (ie. it appeared neither as expenditure by the local council, or as income by the beneficiary). Remissions of rates on charities now counts against their diminishing revenue budget, which is already under pressure for maximum recovery and 'return' on council assets. Local authorities are also major land and property-owners of civic arts and community facilities (Audit Commission, 1989a) and here again they are under severe pressure to increase all rents and charges including those for charities. The current government grant is calculated on the assumption that rents are being increased by an average of at least 5% a year, almost twice the current rate of inflation (RPI), and when most commercial rents are actually falling in real terms.

The principle of 'subsidiarity' - central to the Treaty of European Union (Maastricht, 1992), is used very selectively. The UK government uses this key "Maastricht" principle to resist the growth of the EU's powers, but rejects the obligation to the principle of subsidiarity at local government level, arguing instead that the United Kingdom is a 'unitary state'. The Government's specific policies towards local government have included the need for a low tax base, standardisation in service "performance" (as exemplified by the work of the Audit Commission, the National Curriculum for schools, the Standard Spending Assessments for local government grant and budget "capping"), and the "contract culture" in pursuit of the "three Es" of efficiency, effectiveness and economy. This ideological position has also raised the issue of performance measurement in the arts, as an Arts Council document issued in 1991 as part of its National Arts & Media Strategy (NAMS) review observes: *"The tension, the serious tension, is between the three Es of the Audit Commission..with our four Es; equality, excellence, entitlement, empowerment"* (Arts Council, 1991b p.5).

The local finance regime and principle and practice of 'subsidiarity', public choice and democracy, are of fundamental importance to the continuance of the principle of public/merit

goods - services that are either free or subsidised and non-excludable and accessible to all - and therefore to levels of local amenity and cultural provision. The *Economist* argued that:

> *"One essential is to end the pretence that local taxation should pay for those services which are clearly of national importance..(but) to meet the cost of only those that can be reasonably be allowed to vary widely in local character..Within such bounds, each local authority should then be left, unfettered, to coax voters into paying for whatever it favours - whether it be a new concert hall or meditation classes"* (*'Sorting out the town halls: Let voters decide about Mozart'*, The Economist, 20th April, 1991 p.18).

The distribution and resourcing of arts and cultural amenities is most complicated in London, with its particular historic, political and contemporary problems outlined earlier in this thesis.

4.4 London - A Special Case?

London has many distinctive subdivisions politically, environmentally and socially. With abolition of the GLC, London is also more fragmented administratively than are the other UK metropolitan authorities (LPAC, 1988), as the present London boroughs created in 1965 are on average far smaller than the Metropolitan Boroughs created in the other six 'Metropolitan' counties of England in 1974. In 'London - A special case' (Gavron, 1989), the lack of a strategic authority was seen to be compounded by:

- Underfunding of the arts, particularly compared with other European cities;
- Specific diversion of public arts funds to the regions at the expense of London;
- Inadequate provision for distinct ethnic and cultural groups (GLA, 1990 p.2).
- High property and land values, reflected in rents and business rates, driving out established arts and cultural activities;
- Increasing costs of living and working in London, especially lack of affordable housing and transport costs;
- Uneven distribution of arts and entertainment activities concentrated in the central area and patchy provision elsewhere;

The impact of increasing property and land values in London has also been very acute, to an extent not experienced in the other regional cities (below), in part the result of its 'world city' status, its concentration of financial services and the media industry, and ironically, because of planning controls which have created high value zones by restricting the unfettered development in other areas of the city and Green Belt. A particular factor in

the office-led property boom in the mid-1980s was the liberalisation of development control on the change of use of premises (through the statutory Use Class Order-UCO and General Development Order-GDO - DoEn, 1987 and 1988 and see Chapter 3 above). This effectively gave office developers a free hand to acquire semi-redundant and lower capital cost industrial buildings and workshops and change their use to premium office use, whether immediately achieved, or 'deferred' to future 'hope value'. Waters observes that *"In the short term planning authorities will be concerned to reconcile often recently approved local development plan policies with the contradictory consequences of the new (Use Class) order. This will be the case in many inner London boroughs"* (1987 p.59). This further extinguished much remaining manufacturing and related production, notably small-scale, crafts and low-cost studio premises (Chapter 10 and see Worpole, 1991 and in New York - Zukin, 1982; Munk, 1986).

The loss of cultural activity and manufacturing production in the capital was exacerbated by its ineligibility for (or at least, the unwillingness of the UK government to consider) regional assistance from central and European structural funds (ALA, 1988 and see Chapter 2 above), which, in contrast, facilitated much of the urban regeneration of northern English, Irish, Welsh and Scottish cities. As Bianchini notes, these cities *"are, far more than London, active exploiters of EC resources and active members of international urban networks, and are also keen to initiate projects which would improve their ambience internationally"* (Bianchini, 1991 p.3).

Despite a concerted bid by the Association of London Authorities (ALA, 1988) to convince the Government of its case, based on its demonstrable levels of urban deprivation (eleven boroughs in the highest 'Z scores' in the UK as a whole[3]) London had until the mid-1990s consistently been refused assisted area status, and therefore access to European Regional funds (ERDF) by Central Government. This is in contrast to other EU member states who generally promote assisted area status for their regions, being less concerned or convinced by the UK's 'additionality' argument against regional intervention[4]. As already

[3] Z-scores are calculated on a basis of weighted individual scores for Standardised Mortality Rate (x2), Population Change (x1), Single Parent Households (x2), and Unemployment Rate (x6), (LCCI, 1992, p.113).

[4] This arises because of the EC's rule that there must be at least a minority contribution from the recipient national government or other publicly funded body, but the United Kingdom has repeatedly refused to pay its share and therefore effectively blocks both designations of assisted area status and consequently grant

noted, however, innovative Social Fund (ESF) projects linked to employment opportunities have been developed by London councils and independent arts groups since the early 1980s (Scott, 1992). Examples include projects by Inter-Action for youth arts training in Camden; Cultural Partnerships, Hackney - for sound recording training; Haringey Arts Council for music industry training and ARTEC, Islington for multi-media training (Islington).

National urban economic policy has therefore effectively 'ring-fenced' London in a similar fashion to the Arts Council's 'Glory of the Garden' policy (1984) for arts subsidy. London's situation with fragmented and confrontational local authorities has also weakened its international regional networking role, which cities such as Birmingham, Sheffield and Glasgow (and many others far smaller) have more successfully exploited. Bianchini writing in 1991 concluded: *"with post-GLC London paralysed by traffic congestion, administrative fragmentation and a lack of imaginative urban leadership* [British regional] *cities have challenged the capital's monopoly of cultural excellence and innovation.."* (1991 p.3).

In the same year, but from a different perspective, Lady Shirley Porter, then leader of Westminster City Council, made a plea for a Minister for London: *"to tackle a clutch of major problems which now threaten to undermine the city's long term future"* (1991 p.1). However, none of the cultural impacts and disadvantages noted in the 'London - a special case' arguments noted above, were considered in her 'Capital Concept'. Another issue and area of conflict which London's planners and arts and cultural providers have to face, is the growth of tourism and its role as an international cultural capital and business centre, presenting an unpalatable scenario where in Cherry's opinion: *"London might become a city dominated by Third World cultures and under-classes, qualified only as a smattering of yuppies, dinkies, and visiting businessmen corralled in conference centres"* (in Porter, 1991 p.18).

4.5 Hosts and Guests?[5]

Like the commuter and day visitor, the final 'user' of London's cultural and other amenities, the tourist, has neither political nor fiscal responsibilities towards local services and

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applications for aid.

[5] After Smith - *"Hosts & Guests"* (1989) and therein, Graburn, and see also MacCannell (1976); Urry (1990).

provision[6], other than through the market mechanism. The tourist is traditionally analysed by motivational typology:

i. Leisure Tourist - 'holiday maker'
ii. Business Tourist (conference/convention, trade, study)
iii. Visiting Friends and Relatives ('VFR' - including migrant communities)

Tourist types and behaviour have obvious implications for accommodation and transport capacity, price sensitivity, discrimination and inflation, as well as leisure consumption, including arts and cultural attractions. Overseas visitors are particularly important amongst the leisure tourists, of which London captures the lion's share in Europe - 9 to 10 million (IPS, 1990; UKTS, 1991) as well as many domestic visitors - 7 million (op.cit.), swelled by numerous day-trippers, including those visiting London to attend arts and heritage venues. A substantial 36% of leisure day trips to London (excluding visiting friends) were motivated by visits to out-of-home attractions, including arts and entertainment ('Leisure Day Visits Survey', English Tourist Board, 1988/89).

Tourism has widened its brief, no longer restricting its sphere of activity, and therefore policy matters, to the limited holiday and business travel and hospitality markets. These changes have led to a redefinition of tourism policies by public authorities, trade and research bodies - now encompassing virtually all out-of-home 'visits' (international, domestic, local) to generic 'visitor attractions'. The relationship between arts and cultural facilities and the ubiquitous tourist is now stressed by arts and tourist quangos alike (ETB/LAB, 1992; Myerscough, 1990; Arts Council, 1991a, and see Evans 1993b).

The growth of tourism on the one hand presents economic opportunities (employment, income-generation, regeneration and inward investment) and on the other hand can bring conflicts with local access to cultural amenities and produce competition for arts and leisure participation and consumption between tourists and residents, particularly from amongst socio-economic groups that may be targeted by local authorities (through their equity, access and participation aims), and arts agencies (through their audience devel-

[6] The Association of Metropolitan Authorities issued a consultative proposal to introduce a Tourist Tax: 'Green Paper' (1993), which is similar to US state and Continental schemes. These are directed towards the financing of local amenity and cultural services - see Cook, P: *"Tourist tax could fund facilities"*, British Tourism News, Issue 13 p.6, July 1993.

opment and 'cultural access' policies). Over-crowding, parking problems, land and property revaluation and price inflation fuelled by higher spending visitors, can therefore crowd-out residents and those on lower incomes and increase environmental damage through excessive use (eg. heritage sites). As Selwyn states, somewhat emotively:

> *"The late C20th restructuring of inner London requires the ejection of urban proletariat and tradespeople from the city centre, while the immovable parts of C19th London like its museums, art galleries...will be increasingly isolated from day-to-day life...and be used for ceremony and tourism* (1992 pp.10-11).

The potential contribution of arts and cultural attractions to Europe's world tourism offer has also led to the adoption of cultural tourism policies (CEC, 1992) and the funding of a number of projects aimed at developing and marketing cultural tourism on a European scale. One of these projects was a contribution to drafting a charter for cultural tourism (ECTARC, 1989) as an instrument of economic and social development in the regions. The nomination of annual 'European Cities of Culture' is itself a promotional vehicle for cultural destination marketing and an urban renaissance, and cultural tourism has thus been identified and re-invented within and across member states (eg. through cultural trails, itineraries and routes).

In London the significance of the 'visitor' is seen in the fact that one third of 'West End' theatre audiences are from overseas and these have the highest average ticket spend (Gardiner, 1991), while a further third of their audiences come from outside the former GLC boundary, split between a commuter belt majority and the rest of the UK. Domestic visitors are therefore as important (and less exposed to volatile overseas travel and tourism factors), as are foreign tourists. The relationship between arts promotion and tourists (encompassing both overseas and 'day' - or evening - visitors) is therefore important for smaller and more localised arts venues, outside of the tourist honeypot areas. This has been recognised by the regional arts board for London: *"A way needs to be found of getting people out of the over-used facilities of the West End and into other parts of London"* (LAB, 1992 5.12.2).

With only one third of the audience for London's West End theatre drawn from among Londoners themselves, there can be little sense of 'ownership' felt by residents, especially as much touristic cultural life is concentrated in the central core zone and honeypots of 'visitor London' which have between them only a small minority of London's

residents: *"What remains of West End theatreland - is of small importance for Londoners themselves...Even in the suburbs, where going to the theatre, the music hall, and above all the cinema was once a routine part of life, for the majority it is no longer so"* (Weightman, 1992 p.6).

This perspective is however ignored in the Arts Council's redistributive 'Glory of the Garden' policy (1984). As one recent commentator put it: *"the British Museum and the V & A will no longer be, as they were intended, a source of education and wonder to the citizens of London but instead just another nodal point on the printed circuit of international tourism"* (Selwyn, 1992 p.11).

Myerscough (1988) confirmed this motivational arts and tourism link, in terms of London's 'cultural' attraction as a destination, although this was not a new discovery. As early as 1968 it was estimated that 75% of overseas tourists to the United Kingdom stayed in London. A 1969 survey of tourism in London by the British Travel Association placed Trafalgar Square as London's top 'attraction' (visited by 93% of foreign tourists), while 38% described nightclubs, discos and trips on the river as among London's most popular amenities (Mullin, 1971 p.114). Myerscough estimated that 41% of overseas tourist spending was arts-related in 1986, as was 13% of domestic tourists' spending (17% if day trip visitors are included). Museums and galleries were also major tourist attractions in London, as in other cultural capitals: 44% of visitors to the major central London national museums were tourists (26% in other UK cities). London theatres and concerts also depended on tourists who made up 40% of total audiences, compared with only 8% in regional cities.

This visitor activity, however, is concentrated in the built heritage and museums, rather than the live performing and visual arts (Evans, 1993c). The majority of the arts and cultural facilities that double as visitor attractions are concentrated in London's central core - the South Kensington complex of the Royal Albert Hall, the Science, Natural History and the Victoria and Albert Museums; the National Gallery and Trafalgar Square heritage "island"; the Tate Gallery; the British Museum, and the Tower of London, Tower Bridge and HMS Belfast complex. Other tourist clusters exist elsewhere in Westminster, the City of London and on the outskirts at Greenwich (Royal Park/Observatory, National Maritime

Museum, Cutty Sark) and Richmond (Royal Park, Kew Gardens, Hampton Court) in particular (Morris, 1994 p.235; LTB, 1988b). Indeed, the concentration of tourist activity on these honeypots has led to a joint London Tourist Board and London Arts Board initiative aiming to spread the visitor range to *Beyond the West End - Off the Beaten Track* (ETB, 1992). In New York there is little or no distinction between Broadway and 'Off Off Broadway' to most theatregoers, whilst in London there is the West End, national venues and a broad, but unconnected range of other arts centres and fringe venues.

In addition to a resurgence in local civic culture, on the back of urban regeneration and economic development schemes and 'challenge' funds (Chapter 4), several London boroughs have also established cultural tourist trails and itineraries, in 'under-visited' parts of the capital - West London (Ealing, Hounslow, Richmond), East End (Tower Hamlets, Newham, Hackney) and Tourist Development Action Programmes (TDAPs) and tourism plans have also been established in the boroughs of Islington and proposed in Greenwich, Croydon, Southwark and Barnet (Evans and McNulty, 1995c).

Reconciling these distinct but inter-related 'communities' in the Metropolis, over and above the 'invisible web' and complex social, economic and cultural disparities between residents, requires that consideration of conflicting and shared uses of land, cultural and other amenities and infrastructure be taken into account in both local and regional development plans and in arts and cultural policy formulation. The pressures on local employment and economic development have also increased with the growing recognition of the potential of job creation from tourism and related activity. The estimated 200,000 jobs in London's tourism and hospitality sectors are forecast to grow by 25% by the late-1990s (LTB, 1988b) and local authorities are hoping to set this against decline in other areas, such as financial services and government (local and central). The deleterious effects of large-scale tourism on local amenities and infrastructure, as already noted (viz overcrowding, price and property inflation - the commodification of local and cultural facilities) are also exacerbated by the policies of some local authorities in developing new leisure facilities at the cost of declining, community provision where:

> *"the development of new-build, flagship leisure projects by local authorities, such as the Sheffield-Arena; Birmingham-NEC/Arena; Tottenham Green-north London has, when set against declining local revenues, precipitated the closure of lower quality (and lacking in investment), but accessible neighbourhood provision. Social*

investment is being switched to quasi-commercial and higher cost/price provision" (Evans, 1993b p.11)

King has also noted the growing 'creative tension' and influence of world cities and particularly the traditional and shifting community and cultural needs in London:

> *"the world city has its contradictions..once a centre for the diffusion of a 'Western' mass culture, it is also, through the diversity of its peoples, its ethnicities, its sub-cultures, its alternative cosmopolitanisms, its representations of both core and periphery, also an instrument for changing the culture of the country wherein the 'world city' is located...not only is the economy restructured, but the nature of the national culture and identity"* (1990 p.150)

The place and development of an *urban cultural policy* is therefore analysed further, in the political economy and planning contexts (Chapter 5) and in relation to London's position versus the provinces (or what the Arts Council insists on calling the 'regions', as though the Metropolis was not a region in its own right).

4.5 The Arts in the Metropolis and the Provinces

The relationship between the capital and the rest of the country in terms of the distribution of arts and cultural resources and public funding, reflects in part the long-standing antagonism and 'love-hate' relationships felt between the capital and the provinces. This is less an urban-rural divide, than a capital-regional one, with most of the country living (and even more working) in urban areas, and with regional cities striving for recognition, status and investment in the post-industrial economy. However this is not a new situation - according to Asa Briggs, in the nineteenth century - *"the provincial cities nurtured* [their citizens] *sense of loyalty through rivalry with each other and solidarity against the metropolis. They used their status as regional capitals to challenge the claims of the national capital, both culturally and politically"* (1990 p.85).

A paternalism in the urban culture of London was also recognised by Henry James in the nineteenth century, with London presented as a model of cultural development for other urban areas: *"(London) is the biggest aggregation of human life, the most complete compendium of the world. The human race is better represented there than anywhere else'. Its new mission is to hand on to the smallest urban unit the cultural resources that make for world unity"* (in Mumford, 1961 p.639 and see Borsay, 1980).

Historically, London's position as the seat of political and administrative power, multiplied by the influence of the national institutions based there, from the BBC to most national associations and headquarters of corporations, also creates a capital city which is overwhelmingly identified with national policies. This status is therefore resisted and criticised by those outside of London, not least as such centralisation is seen to diminish local and regional democracy, a trend confirmed in the abolition of the metropolitan councils in 1986 and the growing central control of local finance. The reality for Londoners is ironic in that their disenfranchisement at local government level makes them feel similarly powerless. In political terms approximately 50% of London local authorities were never controlled by the ruling Government party during the 1980s and following the 1994 local government elections in London, Conservative councils are now greatly outnumbered by those under Labour and Liberal Democrat control. Ratecapping and other punitive financial measures have impacted on several of such councils, which include eleven of the most socially deprived local authorities in the UK (measured by DoEn 'Z-score' indicators, LCCI, 1991). This deprivation has at last been recognised in the award in 1993 of Assisted Area status under Objective 2 of the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) to parts of London for the first time by the European Commission (Park Royal area in Brent and the Lee Valley and East London 'corridor' in Haringey, Enfield, Hackney, Tower Hamlets, Newham and Waltham Forest).

Given this continued London-centrism however, a demand for the redistribution of national resources - a more equitable 'slice of the cake' - was therefore a critical part of city and regional regeneration strategies. The views of Shadow Arts Minister, Mark Fisher (MP for Stoke-on-Trent), on this are typical:

> *"For years our cultural life, like almost every other aspect of British life, has been hugely weighted towards the south-east. Despite cities like Manchester developing a strong cultural voice, the capital has kept most things to itself, theatres, galleries, television companies, publishing houses, agents, work, investment. Now other cities are fighting back"* (Fisher in Fisher and Owen, 1991 p.6).

This rallying call for regionalism ignores some key facts: the allocation and ownership of much of the cultural activity and economy resides in a few core central areas of the capital, serviced by a wide catchment, including regions beyond the south-east (economic and 'quality of life' arguments often dictate this, with relative land and property

values and suburban and rural living preferences over London's higher wage but higher price housing and poorer quality environments). Access to the high arts through 'cultural' and 'economic' capital (Bourdieu, 1984) is effectively denied the majority of Londoners, or is of no interest to them (Arts Council, 1989). Subsidy of performing and visual arts continues to benefit the better-off (Henley, 1985; Le Grand, 1982 and see Lewis et al 1987). Arts provision and opportunity in the counties of the south-east, from Essex, Kent, Surrey and Sussex, is generally paltry and is severely limited. The South East and Eastern Arts Associations have consistently received the lowest Arts Council grant per capita, and less than half of the English average (Feist and Hutchison, 1989). These 'home counties' are also consistently in the lowest quartile of county council arts spending, despite the encouragement of local authority support and "partnership" through the Arts Council's 'Glory of the Garden' (1984) and other regional initiatives, including regional and district arts plans. The lowest spending County Council in the south-east, West Sussex spends annually 5p per head on the Arts, compared with £3:73p in Lincolnshire and £2.26p in (economically deprived) County Durham (CIPFA, 1987/88 to 1992/93).

Against the policy of growing centralisation (although presented by the Government as an ideological claim for public/consumer choice and privatism versus collectivism), arts policy during the 1980s reconciled its urban renaissance and partnership drives, with the regionalism that was required in order to meet the Arts Council Charter's (1946) distributive, equity and access aims, represented by audience growth and development across the country, particularly in less-active regions. That London geographically had and still has the majority share of arts subsidy was undeniable. Even taking account of 'national' arts and cultural companies based there[7], arts subsidy per head was the highest (£2.62p), compared with the next highest region, Merseyside Arts (£1.87p), and the lowest, Eastern Arts (65p). One response to redress this imbalance was the strengthening of the regional arts associations' (RAA) role under the Arts Council's 'Glory of the Garden' policy (1984), which led to an increase in RAA grant-aid from 14% of the Arts Council total grant in 1983-84 to 24% in 1988-89 (Feist and Hutchison, 1990).

[7] Royal Opera and Ballet companies, English National Opera, Royal National Theatre, Royal Shakespeare Theatre ("nationals") and the South Bank Board.

The 'Glory of the Garden: a strategy for a decade'[8], represented a review of the Arts Council's grant allocation and the development of a 'new' strategy based on:

1. The principle of bringing financial support for the arts outside London nearer to the London level of support in the words of the document *"to distribute arts subsidy a bit more equally between London and the regions"*;

2. The promotion of 'partnership' with local authorities and private sponsors.

The first strategy and the 'partnership with local authorities' was a continuation of the re-distributive aims (Lee, 1965) and a response to the long-held 'dominant London' sentiment expounded by Arts Council chairmen, from Keynes, Williams to Goodman. The second aim was in common with the economic rationale promoted subsequently in 'A Great British Success Story' (Arts Council, 1985), as well as in the subsequent urban renaissance, incentive and challenge funding initiatives[9]. An example is provided by the evolution of the thinking of the Arts Council chairman Rees-Mogg who, writing in the introduction to the 'Glory of the Garden' in 1984 (iii), had stated: *"whatever may be the controversies in economics I remain an avowed Keynesian in the arts"*, while a year later he appeared to have come to subscribe to Thatcherite economic 'reality': *"The truth is that the political economy of the arts is dependent upon the political economy of the nation...Art is simply one of the things crowded out by state over-expenditure, along with education, research, productive investment and other desirable goods"* (quoted in Pick, 1991 p.86).

At the cost of existing drama, music, touring and training clients and the winding-up of the 'Housing the Arts' capital fund, the Arts Council increased funding to RAAs and allocated £6 million 'development funds' largely to the regions, which were prioritised for Art, Dance, Drama, Music and Education, as shown below:

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[8] This strategic paper concentrated on the need, in the words used by Lord Keynes in 1945 *"to decentralise and disperse the dramatic and musical and artistic life of the country"*. The *"Glory"* was announced as the largest single programme of devolution in the history of the Arts Council. It aroused high expectations among the RAAs (Wilding, 1989 p.11)

[9] The Arts Council's urban renaissance project was to be initiated through a series of matching funding schemes and competitions which mirrored the urban assistance programmes promoted by central government, as expounded by the Arts Council in *'The Case for Increased Private and Public Sector Co-operation* and *Partnership: making arts money work harder'* (1986 a and b).

Year	London	Regions	TOTAL
1985/6	255,250	2,714,750	3,000,000
1986/7	137,000	2,065,000	2,202,000
1987/8	30,000	504,000	534,000
1988/9	42,500	221,500	264,000
Total	**£464,750**	**£5,505,250**	**£6,000,000**

(House of Commons Select Committee on Education, Science and the Arts, OAL, 1988)

Over one third of these 'development' monies were in fact spent by RAAs outside of London, on their own internal reorganisation and expansion: 16% of total RAA expenditure was being spent on their own staffing and overhead costs by 1987/88 (Feist and Hutchison, 1989). The tension between London and 'the rest', and perennial efforts to address this in arts policy terms, have featured ever since the foundation of the Arts Council and have never been resolved, despite such devolution measures (but seldom decentralisation - over 83% of Regional Arts funds are received from the Arts Council; 88% including the national British Film Institute and Crafts Council, according to the 1987/88 Arts Council Annual Report).

The Arts Council has from its inception been London-based and to a greater or lesser extent, London-centric. Lord Keynes stated in 1945 that the Arts Council's business was *"to make London a great artistic metropolis, a place to visit and wonder at"* (quoted in Pick, 1991 p.108) and Pick also observed that *"Goodman's Arts Council [had] two arms...the jewels, its power houses, centres of excellence, benchmark of quality, the other groped for local initiatives, fumbled for distinctive and different 'somethings' in each locality"* (p.49).

However, this was not seen to be incompatible with the general decentralisation objectives which, according to Rees-Mogg (Arts Council, 1984 iv), were evident in the deficiency of arts provision in the rest of the country, when measured against the quality of London as artistic metropolis. Three years after the release of 'The Glory of the Garden', 48% of the Arts Council's total grant was allocated to London-based arts clients (including the 'nationals') and whilst devolution to RAAs had seen their central grant allocations rise from £781,000 to £27,619,000 (an increase of 770% in real terms), the strategy was overtaken by the abolition of the metropolitan authorities in 1986. This increased the Arts Council's London (and metropolitan) client portfolio again, funded by a transitional, but

tapering grant of £25 to £23 million between 1986/7 and 1988/9. This was, however, £10 million less than that required to replace the lost funding from the GLC and other metropolitan county arts budgets. Devolution to the Regional Arts Boards (RABs) - successors to the RAAs - has also been complicated by lobbying by certain arts organisations, who feared a diminution in their status from that of 'national' to 'regional' client. The result of this enforced reorganisation has, despite the 1984 strategy, been an increase in Arts Council funding to London from £3.41p per head in 1980/1 to £7.92p in 1987/8, largely due to the funding of the 'nationals' (which doubled in real terms, between 1973 and 1988) and the need to be replace the comparatively high arts spending by the abolished GLC (Feist and Hutchison, 1989).

The strategy of equitable distribution of arts facilities and opportunities has consistently lacked either a national arts and cultural policy basis, in terms of the range and quality of such provision, or an assessment of 'need'[10] and a planned response to this assessment. Instead, a seemingly destructive and distracting cycle of London versus the regions; London v other 'World Cities'; region v region; city v city; 'Nationals' v local arts (London), and city centre v suburb/fringe, is played out.

The other key question in arts planning, raised by the notions of 'community' discussed above, is the impact of the replication of standardised arts facilities and provision (a risk of prescriptive planning 'norms' - see Chapter 6) against local and 'indigenous' arts and cultural expression and needs - or whose culture is being expressed and displayed?. The replication approach has seen the inward investment and 'export' of arts resources and companies to the regions, eg. the Sadlers Wells Royal Ballet move from London to Birmingham in 1989, "footloose" museum and art collections (see Chapter 5 below), as well as the re/location of television channels and even orchestras, raising the question of whether the arts join the ubiquity of high street, supermarket and consumer cultural products, or whether local and regional cultural identity, expression and production are to be retained and encouraged. The version of cultural and political economy which has gained force has arguably commodified city-centre culture, with towns and cities, regional arts and tourist boards pursuing equality on the grounds that 'Every Town Should Have One' (Lane, 1978).

[10] An Arts Council 'Housing the Arts' survey in 1959 laid down a facility 'norm' for population areas; this was in fact based on a subdivision of the scale of provision in the capital (Pick, 1991and see Chapter 6 below).

The formulaic approach to investment in spectacles and 'place marketing' by various cities seeking to differentiate themselves, ironically creates a serial replication of homogeneity (Boyer, 1988).

Planning for the arts has since the mid-1980s widened to encompass the re-emergence of cultural production as a significant economic activity, particularly in London's economy. At the same time, the narrow focus of arts policy (art form, high arts) has also widened at local and regional levels, into notions of cultural policy and cultural planning, as defined in the Introduction to this thesis. The development of cultural industry policy, economic development and intervention strategies at local and regional levels are therefore investigated further in the following chapter, together with the political ideologies underpinning these, including the policy responses in other European cities.

CHAPTER 5 URBAN ARTS & CULTURAL POLICY: FROM ARTS AMENITY TO CULTURAL INDUSTRY

5.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the development of cultural industry policies is explored in the context of the political economy of the 1980s and local authority policy and planning operating during this period. The latter function originally encompassed amenity planning and infrastructure concerns (Chapter 3 above), but has evolved a more proactive economic development and promotion role using, amongst other sectors, the cultural industries to meet social, creative and economic goals. Politically, the emergence of an identifiable urban new left is contrasted with the liberal/new right attitudes to arts and cultural planning and intervention, whilst the chronology of urban cultural policies is analysed to include key writers and commentators prevalent from the early 1980s. These developments are discussed in the historical context of a political resistance to the notions of cultural development or the adoption of national cultural policies and a cultural ministry in the UK.

A practical exposition of the cultural and creative industries is then made, drawing on wider definitions of cultural production to include the concept of the production chain and the relationship between creative and production processes, and planning responses to these. Examples are then given of local authority cultural industry policy initiatives in UK cities, against the "zero sum game" operating at regional and national levels, epitomised in visitor and tourism-led economic strategies, and competitive positioning through image, place-creation and exploitation of cultural assets, including the relocation of museum collections. The transformation of policies for the arts and amenity planning, into cultural industries policies and economic development goals, provides a wider basis and framework for the analysis of urban cultural planning in subsequent chapters.

5.1 Urban Cultural Politics and Policies

The recent development of British urban arts and cultural policies is bound up with the political response to centralisation of government; the related fragmentation and disempowerment of local and regional government, and an economic response to post-Fordism and the decline in local manufacturing, including the role of the cultural industries in reviving local production.

The main proponents of the new urban cultural policies have been termed the 'New Urban Left': *"a relatively heterogeneous group..the ideological heirs to the community activism of the 1960s and 1970s"* (Gyford in Henry, 1993 p.106). A defining feature of the new urban left is its rejection of more traditional Labour militancy, based solely on class politics, and a new attention to all forms of disadvantage, including those caused by racism, sexism and disability. Manifestations of such thinking in local amenity provision include access and concessions schemes (eg. *Passport to Leisure* - see Worpole, 1989), although these have predominately been available for sports and recreation rather than arts provision. Direct intervention in both local economic and cultural service provision was a key feature (see GLC arts and employment policies - Bianchini, 1989a), encompassing culturally diverse initiatives which ranged from festivals to support of 'minority' group arts activity and economic development strategies based on supporting independent cultural producers.

One of the advantages of this approach has been the ability to justify and reconcile social and economic investment, rather than the neo-classical 'crowding out' scenario based on the finite nature of resources, or factors of production, that pits public spending against wealth creation. An analysis of the dominant central (New Right) and urban local (New Left) government ideologies, in terms of cultural policy, is given in Henry (1993) below. The pursuit of cultural democracy can be argued from these New Right and New Urban Left standpoints, and the distaste for paternalism and the distortions of the subsidy intervention system can also be interpreted so as to appeal to both.

Political ideology and cultural policy (Henry, 1993 pp.50-51)

Political Label	**Liberalism/New Right**	**New Urban Left**
Cultural Policy	Democratisation	Provision to facilitate class expression
Key concepts	Individual freedom	Hegemony
Cultural values	Free market pluralism	Socialism through a modified market
Arguments supporting arts policy analysis	1.Freedom of individual to choose cultural artefacts through market 2.State intervention distorts supply and demand, economic wastage 3.Avoid state paternalism dilution of individual freedom and artisticexpression 4.State subsidy fosters poor taste: aesthetic judgement no different from market judgements	1.Arts policy can be highly visible means of demonstrating socialist ethos as caring and progressive 2.Art can be medium for challenging hegemony 3.Cultural industries source of exploitation of labour. State can unify small-scale cultural producers to give them power in market to combat multi-nationals on distribution
Arts policy goals	Allow market rather than state to judge people's cultural wants	Promote arts with potential for raising consciousness. Control the market rather than circumvent it, allowing consumers wider choice by combatting oligopolies
Proponents or theorists drawn upon	Amis, Brough, Selsdon Group, Friedman	Braden, Gramsci, Adorno, Garnham
my additions:	***Mason (1987)***	***Mulgan and Worpole (1986), Montgomery, Comedia group***

Examples of the New Urban left approaches can be seen in the adoption of cultural industry strategies and intervention policies in London during the Greater London Council's final term (GLC 1985b; GLEB 1985 and see Bianchini, 1989a), in Liverpool (LCC 1987, Parkinson, 1993), Bradford's 'Little Germany' (URBED, 1986 and Lawford in Arts Council, 1991) and in Sheffield (URBED 1988; Sheffield C.C., 1991), Southampton (Southampton C.C., 1988) and Manchester (CER, 1989 and see also Bianchini, 1991, and with Parkinson, 1993). Other cities and councils have also used approaches which identified the cultural industries as important economic sectors and as tools in regeneration and image development, from Glasgow (Todd, 1988) to Newcastle (Thompson, 1989) and Birmingham (Taylor, 1988; Arts Business, 1991). Cultural tourism (Evans 1993c), and inward investment strategies are also being applied around seaside and 'gateway' towns, as much as former industrial towns and cities. Waterfront rejuvenation (docks, canals, rivers, coastal resorts and ports/gateways) has been a particular feature of arts and tourism-led regeneration

initiatives (Evans, 1993a p.8).

A chronological summary of the evolution of urban cultural policy is provided in Bianchini (1991 pp.9-11), in a contribution to the Arts Council's 'National Arts & Media Strategy'. This has been expanded to include key planning, policy and subsequent developments impacting on London.

YEAR	Key events affecting the development of urban cultural policies in Britain (1981-91) (**my additions**)
1981	*Labour returns to power on the Greater London Council (GLC) *Department and committee of Employment & Economic Development set-up by Sheffield City Council ***Urban Policies Committee and Unit set-up by Leicestershire County Council (first by shire county)** *The first two Urban Development Corporations (UDCs) established in London (Docklands-LDDC) and Merseyside (MDC)
1983	*Glasgow's Miles Better campaign and Mayfest are launched *In Bradford, the National Museum of Photography, Film and Television is opened
1984	*The Arts Council publishes *The Glory of the Garden*, proposing the devolving of funding to the regions and cuts funding to London-based arts bodies *A Cultural Industries set up by the GLC, within the Greater London Enterprise Board (GLEB) *Liverpool holds first National Garden Festival *Glasgow Action public-private partnership is set-up *Birmingham starts its annual Film & TV Festival (Labour in power)
1985	*Arts Council publishes *A Great British Success Story* *GLEB publishes the London Industrial Strategy, incorporating a Cultural Industries Strategy
1986	*Abolition of the GLC and seven Metropolitan County Councils
1987	*Liverpool County Council produce An Arts and Cultural Industries Strategy, linking cultural policy with local tourism, city centre and economic development strategies *Glasgow nominated European City of Culture for 1990 ***Use Class Order* introduced (DoEn, 1987), enables change of premises use, eg. from studio, workshop or other 'light industrial' use to offices or storage, without planning permission**
1988	*Setting up of further UDCs in Tyne & Wear, Teeside, Black Country, Cardiff Bay, Leeds, Manchester, Sheffield and Bristol *Publication of John Myerscough's *Economic Importance of the Arts in Great Britain* *'Arts and the Changing City' Conference held in Glasgow (BAAA) *Government publishes *Action for the Cities* recognising the contribution of the arts to urban regeneration *Arts Council publishes its' *Urban Renaissance* statement and case studies ***Strategic Guidance for London* issued by LPAC (no reference to arts/cultural amenity or planning)** ***Local Government Act* - brings local authority leisure services (sport, recreation, parks) under Compulsory Competitive Tendering (CCT) regime** ***Education Reform Act* - introduces Local Management of Schools and budget "delegation", restricts LEA arts policy and block provision and charging. National Curriculum launched, Art and Music foundation subjects, dance and drama marginalised (subsumed with PE and English respectively)** ***Theatre Village project conceived as part of the Newcastle Initiative, through a community planning exercise (RUDAT) a public -private partnership**

1989	*Liverpool City Council establishes Britain's first municipal Film Office, to encourage film-makers to use the city as a location ***London Arts & Urban Regeneration Working Group established, drafts *Space for the Arts* guidelines (Montgomery *et al*)** ****Local Government and Housing Act* - restricts capital spending and borrowing, specifies economic development activities and defines "connected and associated" council activities in respect to voluntary organisation management, premises and grant-aid** ***Building the Arts into London Conference - GLA/Royal Town Planning Institute** ***Abolition of the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA)**
1990	*Glasgow's year as European City of Culture *Office of Arts & Libraries' 'Wilding' Report recommends rationalisation of Regional Arts Associations (and divide between social and arts investment) *Greater London Arts to be replaced by London Arts Board, **(with minority local authority representation and dismantling of external assessor/adviser system)** ****Strategic Planning Policies for Arts, Culture and Entertainment* issued by LPAC for UDP preparation** ****Town and Country Planning Act***
1991	* Publication of *Out of Hours*, a study of economic, social and cultural life in 12 town centres in the UK (Comedia, 1991b) ***Audit Commission review of Arts and Entertainment, and Museums Services issued - performance measurements proposed** ****London: World City moving into the 21st century* research project published, including *Position of Culture* (Comedia/LPAC)**
1992	***Conservative party returned for fourth successive term. Department of National Heritage formed; National Lottery Bill proposed, benefiting arts, heritage, sport and charity**
1993	***National Arts & Media Strategy issues *A Creative Future*. Deterioration in London's cultural facility provision and lack of planning acknowledged *2% (5% in real terms) cut in Arts Council grant from central government announced *Symposium and research project on the future of arts centres in London launched by the London Arts Board (LAB, 1994)**

Related research studies during this period, closely identified with the 'New Urban Left', included *City Centres City Cultures: the role of the arts in the revitalisation of towns and cities* (Bianchini, et al, 1988); *Out of Hours*, a study of the economic, social and cultural life in twelve UK town centres (Comedia, 1991b) and - in the lead-up to the 1992 General Election - *Whose Cities?* a collection of essays on city culture (Fisher and Owen 1991) and *New London* (Rogers and Fisher, 1992). The latter originated from the Royal Academy exhibition *London as it could be* (1986) and presented the case to halt London's decline with an urban design-led vision, focusing on the strategic use of the River Thames, for which the architect Richard Rogers has long proposed an animated and modern architectural response in his master plans for the South Bank redevelopment. Both of these publications were supported by the Labour Party and co-authored by the shadow Arts minister, Mark Fisher.

5.2 The C-word [1]

The development of urban cultural policies outlined above, has evolved from the inheritance of a social and political attitude to notions of 'culture' and cultural intervention by the State. These are noted in Chapter 2 above and encompass the rational recreation movement; an arguable consensus in political relations with the arts (and the notion of 'arms length') and a sceptical approach to cultural development. The resistance to the adoption and usage of the word 'culture' in Britain was best expounded by Williams (1958 p.3). Victorian discomfort with the egalitarian (and Marxist) implications of the German concept of 'Kultur', underpinned their belief in the civilising value of the 'arts' and, for example, policies to control and licence popular entertainment (Chapter 2), and efforts at control and censorship of music hall performances and spectator's behaviour (eg. through the notorious 'music-hall purification campaign' - Bailey, 1986). In fact the London County Council's (LCC) Theatres and Music Halls Committee never actually closed down a music hall, although a degree of self-censorship was created - proprietors occasionally submitted lyrics for the committee's 'inspection', but most of their role was in 'health and safety' matters - alcoholic consumption was a target and this was forbidden altogether in any new halls.

The LCC's puritanical image in this period has been exaggerated and developed from real concerns in health, education and worker protection, which included 'cleaning-up' various 'acts' - winding up of the Metropolitan Board of Works (also known as the 'Board of Perks': for its corruption); ridding parks and open spaces of vagrants, anti-social behaviour and gambling, as well as legislation on public health, child and worker protection (eg. the Shop Hours Act, 1892). Indeed the moves towards licensing and control of leisure and recreation did not go far enough for the Nonconformist 'lower middle classes' whose growth had put the Progressives out of power and elected the first Conservative group to the LCC in 1907. The licensing of places of public entertainment was one of the vital issues for the 1889 LCC election and where *"creating a civic culture, at once humane for the deserving and punitive for the corrupt or dissolute, still seemed a worthy endeavour to many in the metropolis*" (Pennybacker, 1989 p.148).

This ingrained attitude towards culture as 'improvement' and the Victorian social control through 'rational recreation' also manifested itself in terms of the emerging arts

[1] (in Bianchini, 1991 p.3)

policy with the formation of the Arts Council, although this subsequently created groups of resistance and dissent, most openly in the 1960s community arts movement (below). A few years before Jennie Lee's White paper (1965), Williams had less emotively argued that *"to achieve cultural growth, varying elements must be equally available and that new and unfamiliar things must be offered steadily over a long period to make a general change"* (1961 p.365).

Resistance to moves towards a more cultural democratic stance in Britain, was seen in the reaction to the community arts movement's attacks on the selectivity and hegemony of the British arts funding system. Roy Shaw, then Arts Council Secretary-General - with a background in Adult and Community Education, and who had been instrumental in the development of the Arts Council's early education policies - made a response (Shaw, 1983 p.9) that was conciliatory, but firm:

> *"I have always maintained that we need both the appreciation and participation approaches, and have said publicly that a good community artist can be a 'centre of excellence'...I oppose only those community artists who themselves oppose attempting to develop appreciation of the artistic heritage and the best of present day arts"*

The aim of the arts in the philosophy of the community arts activists had been overt: *"to effect social change and social policies and encompass the expression of political agendas"* (Kelly, 1984 p.2). This more community-oriented and non-elitist approach was also evident elsewhere in Europe. In exploring aspects of cultural life in urban affairs, the Conference of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe had produced the following statement of 'cultural rights' (Sanchez-Faba 1981):

> *"Culture consists of the community's specific form of expression, thought and action. It is a set of beliefs, institutions and techniques imposing a way of life..Each human group has a cultural heritage, a set of "values". And each member has a right to maintain, develop and express those values"* (in Goodey, 1983 p.14).

At the same time, the Arts Council has also had to defend its role and the rationale for subsidy, as it sought to develop education policies in response to its revised Charter objectives which included: (a) develop and improve the knowledge, understanding and practice of the arts, and (b) increase the accessibility of the arts to the public throughout

Great Britain (Arts Council Royal Charter, 1967). The Royal Charter had been amended in 1967 following Lee's 'Policy for the Arts', and her observation that: *"many people (are) conditioned by their education and environment to consider the best of the arts outside their reach"* (Lee, 1965). Critics of this distributive approach, such as writer Kingsley Amis, were still apparent some years later, including Roy Shaw himself:

> *"Attempts to bring art to some much larger number will not work. The Arts Council constantly stresses art education, pathetically pretending that some external obstacle..stood in people's way and we must work to make the arts 'truly accessible' to the masses only at the expense of cheapening and diluting and simplifying it out of existence"* (Shaw, 1983 p.7).

Government attitudes to the arts were also evolving - before urban councils developed local arts and cultural policies - the Labour Party had, for the first time, *"defined...the arts, media and cultural industries as a coherent sector, all of which depended on innovation, diversity, freedom of speech and editorial independence"* (Short/National Executive Committee, Labour Party, 1978). However Henry maintains that the *"Labour party and TUC policy documents on the arts, from the 1970s onwards, adopt a less radical approach than that associated with the new left"* (1993 p.45 and see TUC, 1976 and Labour Party, 1977). More recently, the failure of the Labour Party to achieve power in 1992 lost them the opportunity, which had been promised, to establish a Ministry of 'Culture' (Arts and Media or Communication), closest to the 1980s French model (*Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication*[2], broken-up by the 1993 right wing coalition government), with the scope for an integrated 'cultural' policy. This 'model' had been recommended earlier by advocates such as Mulgan and Worpole (1987) and others, however as another Secretary-General of the Arts Council observed:

> *"..almost from the beginnings, an ideological conflict underpinned the theory and practice of public funding of the arts. Serious efforts were made to encourage a holistic approach to cultural policy - but gradually the interest of the public as audience, reader or spectator overtook that of the public as doer, maker or*

[2] In 1959 cultural affairs were supposedly grouped under a single ministry (Deputy Minister, André Malraux), although not called the "Ministry of Culture" at the time. The "Malraux decree" was *"to make the major works of humanity, starting with those of France accessible to the greatest number, to provide the widest possible audience for the French cultural heritage and to encourage the creation of works of art and of the mind"* (Wangermée, 1991 p.7). In fact several key departments remain separate, as in the UK, including Education, Universities and Science, Communication and Audio-Visual, 'Aménagement Territoriale', Defence and Foreign Affairs.

participant" (Everitt, 1992 p.6).

5.3 The Cultural Industries and Local Economic Development

The shift from arts as amenity to arts economy (Myerscough; Arts Council *et al*), and from cultural intervention to cultural industries policies; whilst not 'seamless', has made possible a pragmatic and ideological response to the decline in public services and spending at a local level, and at the same time, to the globalisation and commodification of much cultural production and even the ubiquity of touring the 'classics' around the country. A left and right agenda has coincided, in the process of city imaging, place marketing, tourism development and, more generally, culture-led urban regeneration.

The 'pragmatic socialism', evident in regeneration strategies of the city councils of Glasgow, Liverpool and Birmingham (see Chapter 7), tends to present itself in the guise of the "enabling authority", shaking off a municipal socialist approach (and associated political images and personalities) in the pursuit of "partnerships" with the private and voluntary sectors. The growth of local authority service provision and spending during the planning and heyday, as outlined in Chapter 3, and the recreation boom of the 1960s and 1970s (see Chapter 6) placed local authorities in a dominant position in local economies, in terms of employment and often land-use (together with other 'statutory undertakers' - national utilities/corporations, health, education bodies - see Audit Commission, 1989a). Urban city politics became commonly the politics of social or collective consumption (Dunleavy, 1980).

From this peak of municipalism in the mid-1970s, public sector employment fell from 26% to 23% between 1975 and 1985. This fall masks the emergence of the contract culture which has effectively ring-fenced or contracted-out local authority services under CCT by limiting budget reallocations (ie. transfers of spending between service areas, or cross-subsidy) and requiring notional returns on investment (ie. charging internal departments 'rent' on local authority premises and facilities, eg. theatre or museum) in order to compete with often 'invisible' private sector operators. 'Invisible' because the majority - over 80% - of management contracts for sports, parks and other leisure amenities have been retained 'in-house' by councils against no competitive bidders, but on lower budgets and consequently paying lower salaries and employing fewer staff than before (Audit Commission, 1993; CELTS, 1992). Following a consultant's review (Positive Solutions, 1993), council-owned

arts and museum facilities have been exempted from such competitive tendering for the time being, although the government may return to the question of CCT in this area of provision at a later date (NCA, 1992; Fishel, 1993). An enterprise state has arguably replaced the welfare state and arts and cultural policy has been placed alongside economic development strategies, as one of the last areas of discretionary spending, to provide opportunities for political and economic image enhancement.

As well as the 'arts as economic development' rationale, the re-evaluation and 'rediscovery' of design and the resurgence of 'pre-industrial' crafts also came to be recognised by local authorities and agencies, as part of economic development and regeneration strategies. Small-scale crafts activity also had appeal in local economic terms, since it had the potential to counter mass-market cultural production and thus the 'import' of goods: *"(crafts) may well gain competitive advantage as Western countries develop post-modern economies...the so-called "narrow cast market" should stimulate demand... homogeneity in tastes...are now being reversed with increasing fragmentation within the mass market"* (Hillman Chartrand, 1988 p.21). This reaction to mass production through the rediscovery of the 'useful' or 'industrial arts' feeds into the aesthetic quality of household/consumer products, (collected in London at the Design Museum and the V & A Museum), and typified by 'artisan-designers' such as Philippe Starck and architect-designers from Corbusier to Alvar Aalto, as well as by the movement for the integration of 'Art into Architecture' (Peatherbridge 1987; Crosby and Garlick 1989), by public art (Shaw, 1990) and urban design.

The use of public art in urban design strategies draws particularly on US models (Shaw, 1990a; BAAA, 1993). These have ranged from private and exclusive 'office art', civic sculptures and landscaping, to a more integrated (and planned) involvement of arts and crafts input to the design and building processes themselves. The latter is, however, still the exception in Great Britain - according to Harrod:

> *"Architects arrogantly continue to ignore the contribution which artists can make and architecture continues to fail in its traditional role as the mother of the arts. The modern movement has long been berated for having expelled the artists - but the architecture of the late C20th shows no sign of welcoming them back."* (1991 p.16).

Harrod exaggerates the power of the architect here. Ultimately architects

(*Arkitektron, Greek*: "master builder"), work for public and private clients 'to order' at the outset, unlike artists who can 'produce' and then attempt to sell and promote their work. Cost-efficiency and standardisation (a feature of much post-modern urban architecture) of 'design and build' has effectively cut out the role of the architect altogether, reflected in the extreme unemployment in this profession (RIBA; 1991). The range of public art has been limited however: 69% of local authority commissioned public art work between 1984-1988 was either sculpture (47%) or murals (22%) (Shaw, 1990a). Local authority initiatives have nonetheless created a climate for public art opportunities, notably through 'percent for art' policies (Arts Council, 1989a; Shaw, 1990b), with several employing public art officers, and in partnership with RABs and public art commissioning agencies, nationally (Public Art Development Trust) and locally (for instance in Birmingham, Wakefield, Newcastle). Public art has been one of the higher profile aspects of arts and urban regeneration and local cultural policy, although the commissioning process is often traumatic and controversial (and protracted), and percent for arts policies[3], unlike some in the USA, are voluntary for developers. However, importantly for public agencies, ongoing revenue commitments are minimal, unlike for facilities and events.

Public art in its own right, or based on "percent for art" schemes, like most 'betterment' mechanisms, tends to arise in the UK where development takes place (and therefore tends to be absent in areas of decline and inactivity). More creative schemes for community benefit arising from development (private and public) have developed in North America (notably in Seattle and Los Angeles) and in France, in which endowment funds and a degree of ownership and self-sustaining cultural provision is provided, as opposed to the one-off capital scheme financing public artworks (see Percival, 1991; City of Toronto, 1991a, and case studies in BAAA, 1993). The market for collectable designer crafts is also seen to have a potential similar to the art market which similarly centres itself in New York and London and trades on original (non-substitutable) and appreciating artwork investments.

[3] 'Percent for art' is a voluntary scheme whereby a percentage of development or building costs are dedicated to works of art, public realm or design aspects of a building (eg. 1% of capital cost). Percent for art is also supplemented in some US states by hotel/motel room taxes, local lotteries and bond issues. Trust funds have been created from 40-80% of the percent for art contribution, between 0.5% to 2% of the capital construction cost for ongoing arts programming and maintenance, eg. festivals.

5.4 Cultural Production

A typology of 'cultural industry' logically should be based upon the *production of culture*, and therefore rest on the culture definition (above), itself often emotive and politicised, and even resisted in the UK. The means and methods of production and evolution of art forms are a function of technology, cultural exchange, as much as the dynamic nature of cultural form and expression, which are invented and re-invented: *"In addition to the performance-based arts, small-scale workshop production is back on the agenda again both in handicrafts and hi-tech cultural forms such as video animation, computer graphics, electronic music, desk-top publishing"* (Worpole, in Fisher and Owen, 1991 p.143).

As early as 1949, Munro attempted to merge a philosophical and scientific classification of the arts and lists a convenient one hundred 'visual and auditory arts'. In addition to the obvious arts, crafts and decorative aspects, he includes city and regional planning and industrial design, and of course this list would now be swelled by subsequent technological developments and evolving art forms (although most of these are in fact developments in media). The utilitarianism and modernist movements; the resurgence of design, crafts and other (artisan) skills, have cumulatively shifted emphasis away from the precious and separateness of the arts: *"a construct that we make; the transcendence claimed for art in our society gives it status at the expense of influence"* (Sinfield, 1989 p.129). Urban cultural policy and industry development is therefore directed at influencing socio-cultural and economic change, rather than at 'transcendence', which is viewed suspiciously as paternalistic, intellectual elitism. In these terms, the 'cultural apparatus' is all-pervading: *"all the organisations and milieux in which artistic, intellectual, and scientific work goes on, and by which entertainment and information are produced and distributed"* (Mills, 1959 p.252).

This holistic view of cultural production lends itself to the cultural industry and urban policy developments of the 1980s and 1990s, and also harks back to an urban renaissance epitomised in the RSA (Royal Society for the encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce), whose founder's mission was *"To embolden enterprise, to enlarge science, to refine art, to improve our manufactures and to extend our commerce"* (William Shipley, 1754, in RSA, 1993 - Shipley was a drawing master from Northampton, who moved to London and over time assembled a group of eminent artists, philosophers, scientists). Its first

award scheme was for innovation in design, including the thresher machine and power looms (the technological cause of the Luddites 'revolt'), in 1760 staging the first public exhibition of contemporary British artists, which led to the foundation of the Royal Academy. In 1856 the RSA launched examinations 'for the benefit of the working classes' (later handed on to the newly formed City & Guilds Institute); established a National Training School for Musicians (to become the Royal College of Music). Current initiatives include an 'Art for Architecture' award, encouraging artists and crafts input to urban planning and design. This example is given to emphasise the 'tradition' of the cultural industry approach to urban economic development, which today operates primarily at local, and despite their commonalities, in a fragmented way between towns and cities.

The relationship - spatial, social - and the potential synergy between cultural activity, whether trade or amenity, and other local economic activity, has been explored in Bianchini and others (1988), Montgomery (1990), more recently in Comedia (1991b) and in arts planning guidelines developed by the London Planning Advisory Committee (LPAC) in relation to borough Unitary Development Plan preparation (Chapters 6 and 8). Here the notion of the strategic location of arts and cultural centres and activity, through cultural quarters and managed workspaces, exploits both critical mass (cross-trading, 'synergy', economies of scale) and infrastructure advantages of transport links and shared facility-usage, as well as mixed use schemes (eg. public-private, office - studio - housing - leisure). This has also included studio developments for both pre and post-industrial artist and craft production and designer-makers, including training and 'technology transfer'. Integration of other local amenities, such as libraries, and commercial retail and entertainment facilities, looks to increased local social and economic activity and more attractive amenity and cultural provision (cf. Lee p.30 above), in a safer and environmentally improved town centre. A less grand, but more attainable *urban renaissance,* seeks to reverse much of the separation of activity and land-uses characterised by modern town planning and urbanisation.

Whilst amenity and economic development planning has been implemented at the local authority level, the artistic policy and 'plan' has rested traditionally within a cultural and managerial ("professional", Fishel, 1991) hegemony or élite. Together with the subsequent arts business plan, in the post-Fordist market economy, they are both devoid of

democratisation and participation. This latter goal, however, has been pursued by certain new urban left authorities through decentralisation and a more open form of cultural democracy and devolution (see Henry, 1993) and for example via local arts councils in boroughs such as Haringey, Newham, Walsall, and through arts in education forums in London boroughs of Southwark, Hammersmith and Islington (LAB, 1992) and Hampshire County Council (1992).

The notion of cultural democracy has come to infer the provision of resources and an arts 'infrastructure' such as theatres, galleries, concert halls and exhibition centres, traditionally the vehicle for distributive policies: *"From the mid-1960s to the early 1980s, the aim of arts and cultural policy has been to make the contemporary expressions of high-art forms universally available through subsidy: both hip-hop and heritage, on the other hand were market-led* (Edgar - *From Metroland to the Medicis*, in Fisher and Owens 1991 p.21).

On the other hand cultural development, a wider concept (Goodey, 1983; Eskola and Hammerton, 1983), has looked to less paternalistic and infrastructure-led provision to achieve its goals. This has relied on community education, non-arts amenities and facilities and the role of animateurs and outreach workers (eg. *Taking the centre out of arts centres* - LAAC, 1987), to reach and empower local communities and target groups. However, a reliance on designated arts facilities has generally prevailed, not least because of the facility-led nature of traditional local authority leisure and community provision and planning (Torkildsen, 1983; Travis, 1979 p.18 and see Chapter 6).

The attraction of the combination of market-demand, local production and a reaction to national 'high arts' policies and international globalisation, has underpinned cultural industry strategies, which has required a whole-hearted acceptance of the social market, as Worpole maintains: *"The left should stop getting so anxious about the word 'market'. Markets are mechanisms. They do not produce anything themselves..markets per se do (not) determine artistic content"* (1991 p.145 and see Hillman-Chartrand and McCaughey, 1989 p.45). A pragmatic, but conceptual and functional analysis of what made up the 'cultural industries' was developed by Garnham (1983), which took a stand against a whole tradition of cultural analysis (Williams *et al*):

"Cultural industries refers to those institutions in our society which employ the characteristic modes of production and organisation of industrial corporations to produce and disseminate symbols in the form of cultural goods and services, generally, although not exclusively, as commodities"; and more succinctly: *"the production and dissemination of symbolic meaning"* (Garnham, in GLC, 1985 p.146).

A distinction, originating with Adorno (1943), is acknowledged, between the traditionally pre-industrial creative processes, which then employ mass reproduction and distribution methods (books and records), and those where the cultural form is itself industrial (newspapers, film, television). This definition is largely separate from the traditional performing and visual arts, and therefore from the notion of arts amenity and public/merit goods. These only come into the realm of the cultural industries when they are part of the market economy as 'tradeable goods' and when reproduction is achieved or is possible, simplistically the distinction between the arts and the media. Garnham's (1984) 'transmission of meaning' encompassed the following core activities:

- the promotion, distribution and retailing of books, magazines and other printed materials and including the libraries service;
- broadcasting;
- the music industry, both live and recorded;
- the film, video and photographic industry;
- advertising;
- the performing arts

Related activities to these core forms included sport, education and tourism. The latter is a process, rather than a product, which feeds off of packaged attractions and visitor experiences. Sport arguably completes a popular cultural analysis, which is itself dynamic, as cultural expression finds new forms and outlets (epitomised in the "leisure" industry). Their identification as cultural activities, with creative input and potential no less than the traditional art forms, widens the scope and importance for urban cultural policy beyond the civic amenity and arts practices, both professional and amateur.

These distinctions, particularly that of commodification, also raise investment and subsidy dilemmas. Cultural planning of local resources, amenity and enterprise therefore requires a more sophisticated analysis of the arts and cultural industries and their inter-relationships, in terms of social, economic and cultural policy. In fact an urban cultural

policy requires an integrated approach to all of these, and spatially and economically, also at a macro level.

5.5 Cultural 'Production Chain'

In order to translate and provide a conceptual framework for arts and cultural planning and the determination of an 'arts infrastructure', a 'Production Chain' analysis has been developed (Comedia, 1991a; Montgomery, 1991). This attempts to divide cultural economic activities between five inter-related stages:

1. Beginnings - ideas generation, copyright, creativity, training;
(Infrastructure: education, training, research and development resources)

2. Production - from ideas to products, locations of;
(Infrastructure: entrepreneurs, "makers", technology, premises)

3. Circulation - distribution, wholesale, marketing, information, circulation;
(Infrastructure: intermediaries, agents, promoters, publishers, distributors, transport)

4. Delivering - venues, tv, cinema, shops;
(Infrastructure: venues, shops, media channels, magazines, museums and galleries)

5. Audiences - watching, listening, viewing;
(Infrastructure: marketing, pricing, "access", transport, safety)

Distinctions can also be made between different types or functions of 'infrastructure' (Montgomery, 1991):

i. As a direct factor of production, technology and circulation
ii. As indirect support services, public transport, policing, street cleaning, lighting
iii. As property: location, space and specialist premises

These conceptual and functional distinctions and production phases require testing in practice and they present opportunities for intervention through planning and arts policy mechanisms. These will be analysed further in the context of urban land use development and arts amenity planning (Chapters 6 and 8).

The cultural industry 'construct' was adopted by the GLC and by Sheffield and Liverpool City Councils' cultural policy/industry developments: *"realising and developing the political, cultural and economic significance and benefits of the arts, as part of the*

cultural industries, in relation to economic development and planning" (Resolution on Leisure Services Policy, District Labour Party Conference, Abercromby Ward, Liverpool, 1988). Versions of this are now replicated in similar local economic strategies (London - see Comedia, 1991; Islington - Evans 1989; Hackney, 1992; Haringey, 1993), although local emphasis varies with the prioritisation of particular cultural or art forms, such as pop music and film (Sheffield), Newcastle (visual arts), Birmingham (music, film); Islington (crafts, publishing), Bradford (visual arts/museum, film), although combinations of media, music, contemporary arts and heritage ('literary', built and natural environments) are evident in all such cultural economic plans.

However, the relationship with, and consideration of 'community' as discussed in Chapter 4, is less evident in such urban cultural policy approaches. Whilst earlier strategies and programmes (eg. GLC, Sheffield, Liverpool) targeted particular community groups and a notion of cultural amenity 'for all' (whether this was achieved by widened participation or not - see Le Grand, 1982; Lewis *et al*, 1987; Parkinson, 1993), other regeneration and later cultural strategies are essentially marketing and tourism-led. These gave little or no consideration to conflicts of uses, price inflation, or local cultural preferences and production, aside from employment opportunities in the hospitality and visitor centres themselves. As Bianchini notes, this situation arose Europe-wide through financial imperatives: *"During the last decade, a shift to the right in the political climate in most west European countries and growing pressures on the financial resources of local government helped downgrade the earlier emphasis on the importance of access to culture, especially for disadvantaged groups"* (1993 p.2).

In Bradford for example, the local authority's cultural policy (Arts Council, 1991a) originated in 1979 and was always tourism-led, although local regeneration initiatives focused on community festivals and animation (eg. at 'Little Germany'). Responding to a loss of 63,000 jobs during the 1970s, the City of Bradford Metropolitan Council revived a cultural tourism strategy originally launched in the mid-1960s which concentrated on the industrial heritage, the Bronte connection, the rural landscape and the 'arts in the district' (undefined). Outcomes were not quality of life, or cultural opportunity for residents, but the increase in visitor numbers, building a tourist base (overnight accommodation) and encouraging business relocation, and to generally raise the profile of the city outside of Bradford. Cultural flagships were part of this regeneration: the National Film & TV

Museum, Alhambra Theatre, several heritage centres and museums: *"landmarks of the industrial revolution..These large-scale recycling projects have turned into spectacular pieces of urbanism, more Cecil B. de Mille than town planning"* (Sudjic, 1993b p.185). This included exploiting the Hockney connection in the gallery at Salts Mill, and a long-delayed move of the south-Indian collection from the Victoria & Albert (V & A) Museum to a proposed converted Manningham (Lister silk) Mills at an estimated capital cost of £60 million. This move was presumed to be a welcome gesture toward the large community from the Indian sub-continent, resident in the city since their migration to serve in textile mills, now cleaned and swept to house 'imported' collections and displays[4]. What scope for contemporary Indian culture and youth arts expression or production is offered by this version of a cultural economic strategy, again is not clear, nor is the real job creation potential for a sustainable local economy. The Bradford project was quietly dropped by the V & A in the summer of 1995, whilst Sheffield is now the target of a 'V & A of the North' development.

The V & A proposal presents another feature of a competitive urban cultural challenge, the 'footloose' nature of museums and art collections themselves, as cities fight over their new 'home' and regional outposts meet both distributive aims in arts policy terms and at the same time help meet criticisms of galleries and museums with most of their collections hidden and 'mothballed' - viz Tate of the North (Merseyside), Tate of the West (St. Ives), Tate at (South) Bankside and individual artists sought, living and dead, from Henry Moore (Leeds and Halifax), Sutherland (Pembrokeshire), to Hockney (Bradford, above). In the unseemly battle for relocation of the Tower of London's Armoury collection between Leeds and Sheffield, the latter would appear a more relevant, 'vernacular' home (steel/metal crafts), but Leeds 'won' with a commercially financed' 'theme-museum' which will require commercial returns to meet financing costs and expectations:

> *"The proprietors of almost any halfway respectable art collection financially viable opera company or solvent regional orchestra now find themselves in the same privileged position once occupied by Euro Disney and Nissan. They are assiduously courted, flattered and bribed by every ambitious city eager to make its mark.. and set up in their back yard"* (Sudjic, 1993 pp.4-5).

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[4] Most of the collections proposed to be transferred were in fact Hindu and Jain, predominantly of human figure representations and potentially highly offensive to Bradford's largest ethnic minority group - Muslims of Pakistani origin.

A similar competition has been played out in Scotland over the location of the new National Gallery of Scottish Art, between 'big brash' Glasgow and 'effete old' Edinburgh:

> *"In the post-industrial world a national museum has come to take on the national significance as a car factory or airport..the bargaining chips that a new generation of entrepreneurs desperately fight over, markers to prove their ascendancy over their competitors. More than trophies of civic pride they are seen as the job-creating building-blocks of local economies"* (Sudjic, 1993 p.5)

The ace card played by Glasgow is the offer of £10 million of EC regional aid, if the gallery is sited there: an example of supra-national cultural intervention, little to do with arts planning, but on the back of regional economic development criteria (see ERDF - Feist and Hutchison, 1989 p.48; CEC, 1991), and in Mommaas and van der Poel's words: *"the city as a kind of commodity to be marketed"* (1989p.264). This regional competition has long been seen at national levels, with the 'politician as monarch'[5], and as Evans (1993b) observes:

> *"Politically-motivated intervention as a diversionary tactic or profile-raising measure is a time-honoured act, historically second only to declarations of war! Government funding of Manchester's Olympic city regeneration, pre-election and Mitterrand's publicly-funded cultural schemes and events in and around Paris, even Spain's 'big year' in 1992 - all have direct relationships to re-election prospects, against generally ailing economies or fundamental problems on the horizon"* (p.12).

Arts and cultural planning in terms of local amenity and assessment of need and preferences, are seldom considerations in such 'Grand Projets', serving as national political-cultural statements, whether inherited from sixteenth and seventeenth century city fathers, or promoted by contemporary national agencies and patrons, from the new British Library, to the Conran Foundation's Design Museum, and of course in Paris where: *"the Pompidou Centre was decided against all planning authorities, whose discourse or speech was 'no more institutions' and 'no more Paris institutions'. Nevertheless, Pompidou decided to go ahead"* (Girard, 1987 p.10). A similar 'monarchial' decision was taken by Mitterrand

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[5] The French system is said to be a 'cultural monarchy', *"where he pleases, the minister in office defines his options and takes his decisions in the fashion of a sovereign, according to the principles of 'enlightened despotism'"* (Wangermée, 1991 p.35). Boylan agrees (1993) but stresses the dominant role of successive Presidents from Pompidou onwards rather than culture ministers. He argues that presidential self-aggrandisement has been more powerful than Culture Ministers, who have largely been insignificant short-term holders of the post except for the first, André Malraux and the socialist Jack Lang during the Mitterrand presidency.

(and Lang) over the Opera Bastille *"which related either to an historical tradition or an intuition, or vision, of the monarch, (which) could not by definition be rational"* (op.cit.) - or be based on a cultural democratic 'plan'. The diversion of local cultural policy and industry strategies into regional and even international cultural tourism strategies, is now the major threat to both local amenity and cultural development and one which requires a more local economic response, as Bianchini suggests:

> *"the challenge for the next decade will be to go beyond narrowly consumption-oriented strategies, and the ultimately destructive 80s zero-sum game of competing for limited pools of inward investment or tourism revenues. It will be necessary to develop more locally-controlled production systems, be they in... manufacturing..or in cultural industries like film, fashion and design"* (1991b p.12).

A reaction to the cultural industries argument persists, notwithstanding the accepted benefits: *"in highlighting things that should be known about the arts, and a major justification for state involvement"* (Wright, 1993 pp.13-14). However, in Wright's view, as well as opening up access and experience of the arts to a wider audience and consumer, there has been been a tendency of the cultural industries as producers and promoters of popular arts and media, to play down more aesthetic, 'artistic' considerations with *"a retreat from the very idea of* ***artistic value****, as 'more or less arbitrary' matter of elite taste and pretension..foisted on the public at large"* (op.cit., **my emphasis**). A purely positivist approach would place the cultural industries in a neutral, mechanistic position as regards the creative arts that are 'transmitted' (viz Worpole's 'social market', above). Given the rationales and ideologies that have chosen urban cultural policy as a saviour or a strategy: *"a term that has had Marxist as well as Thatcherite resonances"* (op.cit.), the normative approach (including planning norms - see next Chapter) places the political economy of the arts as inseparable from modern society and therefore from urban, economic and social policy spheres. Von Eckardt (1982) from the pragmatic American perspective, put it more clearly:

> *"Cultural planning does not imply any attempt to plan culture, it is the attempt to nurture and cultivate cultural activity so that the arts can grow with vigor and yield abundant fruit. Properly planned (it) will include* ***all*** *the arts, which can yield economic benefits, as well as enjoyment and inspiration for everyone"* (pp.15-16).

Whilst cultural industry and related policies have brought the arts within the context of cultural and strategic planning, generally within an economic rationale (although social and cultural objectives are not necessarily excluded from this), the planning of arts amenity in the UK draws on the tradition and methods adopted for public amenity provision, alongside the planning and design of new towns and urban 'settlements'. This experience is most clearly evident in the realm of recreation and leisure planning, within which the arts have had a largely peripheral place. However, the planning techniques and approaches more successfully developed in leisure planning offer both an insight to why this separation of the arts from amenity consideration has persisted, and the extent to which they may be used in planning for the arts today. Planning methods and their evolution are therefore analysed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6 PLANNING FOR LEISURE & THE ARTS: METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES

6.0 Introduction

As the foregoing chapters have noted, the notion of developing and promoting measurable standards for arts amenities, either within the statutory planning process, or as part of wider cultural policies, has not gained wide acceptance in Britain. However, some attempts at population-based and/or comparative provision levels of arts facilities have in the past been proposed within the Arts sector at national and (more successfully) at regional levels and this chapter analyses some such attempts in the context of regional arts planning. The contrast between planning for sports and the arts is then presented in terms of the relative funding of these areas at local and regional level, and through national arts and sports councils. Whilst the influence of the supply-led nature of much sport and recreation provision and participation is noted - and this is reiterated later in the chapter in terms of the impact of planning norms - the difficulties in defining and accepting arts planning standards is explored through the notion of an 'arts infrastructure', encompassing both arts facilities and cultural industries production and workspace needs.

Given the significance of leisure and amenity planning as an aspect of town planning, and the place of the arts within local leisure provision, the chronological evolution of leisure planning since the 1960s is presented under the 'demand', 'needs' and 'enterprise' phases, including the contemporary development plan-led regime (Unitary Development Plan-UDP), which forms the basis of the arts and UDP survey analysis in Chapter 8. The various planning techniques and mechanisms employed in the application of leisure planning standards, norms and other spatial approaches during this period, are then detailed, with an assessment of their application to the planning of arts provision. The concept of the hierarchy of arts provision and strategic level facilities and their relationship through tiers of arts provision, is discussed and schematically presented, with examples from Portsmouth City and the Southern Arts region, including the development of arts, cultural and entertainment facility planning criteria in London. Having assessed these planning approaches, in particular the hierarchy and production chain concepts, the role of the multi-purpose arts centre is further developed, as a possible model for arts facility planning and provision. Finally, against the historical absence of arts planning norms, or their inclusion in recreation planning and town planning generally and in London especially, more recent

approaches to the integration of arts and cultural facilities within local borough plans, and the emerging Unitary Development Plan system are presented. This includes the development of 'Space for the Arts' policies (extract - Appendix II) created by London-based agencies (Appendix VI) and the emergence of London-wide planning and policy measures adopted by London arts, borough and planning bodies.

6.1 Amenity and land use planning cannot take place in a vacuum if competing needs, present and future, are to be met and 'Pareto' losses[1] minimised. This was a basic tenet of the modern town planning movement which responded to public concern about the uncontrolled development of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The direct result was the passing of the Town and Country Planning Act (1947) which introduced the preparation of Local Plans (in the literal sense, ie. maps marked with existing, proposed and permitted changes in land use, such as zones for new housing or industry), together with systems of development control[2] by means of planning applications and permission and a number of other provisions, including listed buildings and facilitating the improvement in economic, environmental and community amenities. Hence an analysis of cultural policy in relation to planning for arts provision and cultural facilities is desirable on the grounds that Plans are, or should be, policy-led, or at least influenced by policy objectives.

Whilst planning guidelines and standards have never been mandatory for arts and cultural facilities, within the British system some early attempts to quantify arts provision were made. In 1943 W.E.Williams expounded some notion of arts planning based on the concept of a 'National Grid of Arts Centres':

> *"instead of our present dispersal of the public library down one street, the art gallery (if any) down another, the workingmen's club somewhere else...let us plan the Civic centres where men and women may satisfy the whole range of educational and cultural interests between keeping fit and cultural argument. Let us so unify our*

[1] The idea of Pareto-efficiency is used in modern welfare economics and is named after the economist Vilfredo Pareto, whose *Manual D'Economie Politique* was published in 1909. An allocation or land-use is Pareto-efficient for a given set of consumer tastes, impacts, benefits or resources if it is impossible to move to another which would make some people better off and nobody worse-off. Winners and losers arising from a development, would therefore be inefficient and a Pareto loss (Begg, 1994)

[2] Development Control - The process through which a Planning Authority (eg. Borough or District Council) determines whether a proposal for development should be granted planning permission taking into account material considerations such as any relevant development plans for the area

popular culture that in every considerable town we may have a centre where people may listen to good music, look at a painting, study...join in a debate" (Williams, 1943 quoted in Pick, 1991 p.23)

The emerging Arts Council in 1945 had also produced a pamphlet and touring exhibition called 'Plans for an Arts Centre': *"designed to show how the arts can be accommodated in a medium size town...a town where it is not economically possible to run a separate theatre, art gallery and hall for concerts"*. The special role for the flexible arts centre, as opposed to a single-activity building (eg. theatre, gallery), was also later recognised by the Council of Europe in their 'Symposium of the Council for Cultural Co-operation', entitled 'Facilities for Cultural Democracy' (Janne, 1970) and later adapted by national and regional arts associations, including the National Association of Arts Centres (Chapter 2 and see below and Hutchison and Forrester, 1987).

The Arts Council in 1959 produced a survey 'Housing the Arts in Great Britain' (Arts Council, 1959) which listed eight general rules on the needs of regions, cities and towns (expressed entirely in terms of physical facilities for arts performance or exhibition):

1. A region with 10 million inhabitants should have one permanent professional opera company;
2. A region with 5 million inhabitants should have one permanent symphony orchestra;
3. Towns of more than 150,000 or more should have one theatre large enough to house major touring productions including opera and ballet;
4. Towns of 100,000 or more should have one permanent repertory company, with its own theatre;
5. Towns of 75,000 or more should have one hall suitable for large symphony and choral concerts;
6. Towns of 50,000 or more should have one museum and/or art gallery, and one professionally staffed Arts Centre (in use all year);
7. Towns of 20,000 or more should have one Arts Centre which may be part of another establishment; one Music Club or Arts Society, presenting regular series of professional events; one amateur orchestra (on a scale of at least one for every 60,000 inhabitants); facilities for showing regular touring exhibitions;
8. Towns of 10,000 or more should have an amateur dramatic society, a Choral Society, and an Amateur Art Society or Club (each on a scale of at least one for every 30,000 inhabitants).

Unlike the new-town movement, however, the idea of arts planning and the ideals of arts centres or similar facilities existing as a service to a community and as a place where amateurs and professionals would work together, disappeared from Arts Council thought until the 1960s.

John Pick (1991) also rejects this *"relish for planning"* (p.23) as one *"which might please a Soviet Planner"* and which also confirmed the Arts Council's London-centric view of arts provision: *"There has never been anything which demonstrated more plainly the Arts Council's London mind (the figures are subdivisions of the scale of provision in the capital) or its narrow view of what constitutes the arts"* (op.cit., pp.55-56).

Whilst standards were not officially adopted, the tendency to plan has not disappeared, creating an *"uneasy history in the arts: British arts funding bodies have always had an ambivalent relationship with the idea of planning. One underlying approach has been the very top down approach involving the production of apparently prescriptive documents"* (Stark, 1994 p.12). In his 1989 review of the structure of arts funding for the Office of Arts and Libraries (OAL), Richard Wilding recalled Keynes' BBC broadcast at the formation of the Arts Council in 1945 viz: *"the artist walks where the breath of the spirit blows him"* (Keynes, *quoted* in *The Glory of the Garden*, Rees Mogg, 1984 iii) stating, rather naively: *"Art is resistant to bureaucratic planning. It may crop up anywhere. The wind bloweth where it listeth and we must keep our ears cocked if we are to hear the sound thereof"* (p.17).

Peter Hall, writing in the Financial Times in the early 1970s put this more clearly: *"The (Arts) Council did not try to plan art into existence - always a barren and schematic procedure. The policy was to watch out for creativity wherever it occurred and then encourage it with a mite of subsidy. The process was organic"* (quoted in Stark, 1994 p.12). The tendency to prescribe provision has, however, been replicated regionally. At the formation of the Southern Arts Association in 1970, 'The Arts in the South' contained a version of the Arts Council's 1959 'rules':

> (i) Permanent repertory theatres with their own buildings in Portsmouth, Reading and Southampton;
> (ii) A large touring theatre in Southampton;
> (iii) Large concert halls in Havant, Poole, Reading and Swindon;
> (iv) Museum/Art galleries in Havant, Gosport, Fareham, Crawley and Poole;
> (v) Portsmouth, Southampton, Bournemouth, Reading, Poole, Havant, Worthing, Gosport, Fareham and Crawley should have professionally staffed arts centres, in use all year round;
> (vi) Maidenhead, Eastleigh, Farnborough, Aldershot, Salisbury, Basingstoke, Bognor Regis, Winchester, Christchurch, Windsor, Horsham, Newbury, Andover, Ryde, and Chichester should have an arts centre which may be part of another establishment;

(vii) Portsmouth, Havant, Fareham, Crawley, Eastleigh, Farnborough, Aldershot, Lymington, Bognor Regis, Christchurch and Ryde should have a music club or local arts society presenting a regular series of professional events;

(viii) Poole, Havant, Fareham, Farnborough, Basingstoke, Bognor Regis, Newbury, Andover and Ryde should have facilities for showing regular touring art exhibitions.

The report also concluded: *"It is clear from the present low level of public investment in the arts at both local and national level that something needs to be done"* (my emphasis). Whilst this 1970 'shopping list' was more of a vision than an investment strategy, it does closely resemble the current (1990s) distribution of subsidised provision in the Southern Region, and was therefore influential in both District and County Council arts funding through a crude 'Every Town [district] Should Have One' (Lane, 1978) approach based on a regional map of existing provision (ref. arts plans below). This facility-led approach mirrored the leisure planning seen in sports and recreation: these arts 'plans' focussed on physical buildings, with little consideration of the 'soft' infrastructure of artistic creativity, education, or specific art forms, particularly those that are not building-based such as literature and broadcast media. Over twenty years on from the Southern Arts Association proposals, the successor agency for the region, the Southern Arts Board, reaffirmed the seemingly contradictory approach, mirroring the national position: *"Southern Arts is not in business to plan the arts, but to plan* for *the arts, to create a climate of opinion, a strategy and a framework for support in which the arts can flourish and develop"* (Southern Arts Board, 1991 p.1). For example, within this region the County of Hampshire Arts Department is structured around two arts centre officers, following a spatial, mapping approach to provision, rather than an art form or cultural-need approach.

One objective in this 'Strategy' is 'Arts Centres 2000': *"a campaign to achieve adequate revenue and capital investment to equip arts centres as a principal means of cultural development for their communities"*. As an arts development agency for the region, their planning responsibility included *"the identification of needs, setting targets, and to establish and implement minimum standards of provision"* (p.9). Their advocacy role is also expressed through the support of arts plans and audits of arts facilities by district councils. In 1990, out of 48 district, borough and county councils in the region, 15 had carried out arts plans/audits and the Arts Board was offering funding for the reminder to undertake similar studies of their local area. The Board has not, however, undertaken a regional arts

plan, unlike in Greater London where the first 'Arts Plan for London' was commissioned in 1989 by the Greater London Arts Association (below). The local arts plan has therefore been the prime mechanism by which regional arts bodies have attempted to influence local arts and develop a network of provision and thereby the adoption of arts policies, effectively taking a mapping and comparative approach, despite the absence of any agreed arts planning norms.

A conclusion here is that it is the regional arts associations/boards (RAA/RAB) which have increasingly sought to take on the role of planners, rather than the planning or arts and recreation departments (and the planning and leisure professions) of local authorities themselves. Indeed in some respects the regional arts associations evolved from constituent local authority, arts organisation and local arts council membership to represent the arts interests of these within a specialist body. However, in the new Regional Arts Boards (Chapter 2) they are increasingly distant from both local communities, artists and the local democratic processes, and are least able to be accountable for the social and cultural needs and preferences of the communities they serve, effectively exercising their hegemonic power in a similar way to their prime funding source, the national Arts Council. This was reinforced in Wilding's distinction between 'social' and 'artistic' arts funding (1989).

Writing in the same year that *The Glory of the Garden* was issued, Stark (1984) documented the rise and proliferation of arts centres in England: *"This phenomenal growth is in no sense the result of central, regional or local planning by any one agency, least of all the Arts Council. It is, and has been unplanned"* (p.126 my emphasis). Because of this, arts centres had certain characteristics (distinguishing them from other arts facilities):

> 1. Their unplanned status meant that there was never enough food for them on the table *(ie.funding)*;
> 2. They are architectural opportunists; *over 80% of arts centres were housed in second-hand buildings, from churches, drill halls to town halls, over 50% of urban centres were in buildings over 100 years old (Hutchison and Forrester, 1987)*;
> 3. They are economic and efficient *('multi-use/purpose')*;
> 4. They are masters of disguise - in terms of their programme, purpose, attracting a wide mix of funding, in addition to 'arts' funding - inner city programmes, unemployment training, education, youth and community services. (Adapted *my additions* from Stark 1984, pp.126-7)

6.2 Arts vs Sports Planning

Stark (1994) also draws a parallel between the development of Sport and Recreation policy and provision and that of the Arts, taking the respective milestone policy documents:

'Planning for Sport' (1968) and Jennie Lee's 'A Policy for the Arts - The First Steps' (1965). Whilst the new Arts Minister undeniably influenced the levels of revenue and capital funding of arts facilities, notably through the Housing the Arts fund and the development of an arts centre movement (see Chapter 2):

> *"there was little to follow through this policy aspiration...Planning for Sport, however...is acknowledged to have transformed the availability of facilities and opportunities to participate in sport at a local level...by proposing the levels and standards of facility which should be provided by urban communities"* (Stark, 1994 p.13 and see 'Norms', below).

A key difference between regional sports and arts agencies is the fact that Regional Councils for Sport and Recreation were created and appointed by the new Labour government after 1974 with this specific mandate, whereas Regional Arts Associations as independent (and individual) bodies funded jointly by local authorities and the Arts Council, were not given a parallel role in 'planning' for arts provision. Stark also recognises the sensitivities towards a rigid planning approach:

> *"planning in the arts can be caricatured or wilfully misunderstood...we are not suggesting that there is single model of what might constitute a local theatre or arts centre, or propose, as John Lane did, that 'Every Town should have One' (1978). We do argue for a mix of opportunities, facilities, services and equipment to be available in every locality and accessible, [which] must be determined locally, but nationally informed"* (1994 p.13).

The 'mixed funding', familiar to many subsidised arts organisations, also reflects a divergence in the levels of public funding between arts and other 'leisure amenities', which distinguishes their respective position in planning and standards of provision. Whilst the Arts Councils (England, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales) receive £230 million compared with the four Sports Councils equivalent of £66 million (1992/93), local authority funding shows a different picture:

TABLE 6.1 Local Authority Funding of the Arts & Museums vs Sports & Recreation, 1992/3		
Total Arts & Museums	£ 384 million	£ 6.78 per head
Total Sports & Recreation	£1,350 million	£23.84 per head
Highest spending region (London)	Arts £70 million £10.56 per head	Sports £213 million £31.95 per head
Lowest spending region (South-West)	Arts £14 million £3.78 per head	Sports £58 million £15.71 per head

(Source: CIPFA Leisure & Recreation Statistics, 1992/93 p.5; OPCS Census, 1991)

Thus the highest spending Region in terms of Arts & Museums still spends less on the 'Arts' than the lowest spending Region does on 'Sports' provision. Taking into account the levels of Arts and Sports Council grant-aid, above, the ratio of Sports to Arts funding is 2.3 to 1. These are both discretionary areas of public provision, but the influence of prescribed planning standards in Sports & Recreation and their absence (and resistance) in Arts planning, is hard to ignore. Critics of the claim for more equitable allocation of public resources to the Arts point to the higher participation rates for sports and outdoor recreation than for the performing and visual arts, from swimming to parks and countryside (the latter seldom have a rigorous usage basis where entry is free/uncontrolled and the highest recreation activity is 'walking'). However a valid response here (and see below) is to draw attention to the supply-led nature of much 'leisure' and cultural activity, including its introduction through school and social upbringing (*viz* Bourdieu and 'cultural capital', 1984) suggesting that sports' relative 'popularity' is self-fulfilling as a result of the level of opportunity for access offered. As Val Bourne, founding director of the annual Dance Umbrella festival in decrying the lack of large dance spaces points out: *"Statistics say that [modern] dance audiences have dwindled but 'the fact is there's simply less for them to see'"* (in Mackrell, 1995 p.20). Ironically, given modern (subsidised) dance's lowly position in arts audience share (BMRB, 1994) 'dance' as a whole, from ballroom to bangra, is the most popular cultural activity and the most 'joyful' pursuit according to Michael Argyle's recent survey of the 'Sources of Joy' (1995 and see *Psychology of Happiness,* 1987), which ranked dance the highest, followed by voluntary and charity work and only then sport: over 2 million people participate in ballroom dancing each week in the United Kingdom.

The 1980s version of arts planning, however, drew not on norms or needs (below), but on a kind of renaissance of the dream of city fathers and patrons that 'Their Town Should Have One (too)', revisiting the English Urban Renaissance of the seventeenth century in provincial towns (Borsay, 1989). Though the decade 1985 to 1994 was, according to the *Glory of the Garden* report (1984), set to redraw the cultural map of the country, there was in fact little evidence of a 'planned' approach to arts provision in this period. Arguably therefore a more genuine planning approach needs to be developed, one which avoids the anti-creativity and spontaneity criticisms, and the *chessgame* (chess pieces here representing flagship arts venues) of winners and losers. Indeed the notion of competition, arts and cultural planning and 'need', can be seen to contradict with each other in this approach. As

Von Eckardt asserts: *"What is dangerous is* not *to plan - whether it is a business, a wedding, the development of a city, or a city's arts facilities and activities"* (1982 p.15).

6.3 Arts Infrastructure

The need for arts resources, for both cultural and economic development, can be viewed, instead, as part of the *arts infrastructure* that a city can and should support (Chapter 5). In particular this approach looks for example to the role that a multi-use arts facility ('arts centre') and workspace (eg. studio - artist, audio-visual, crafts production) can fulfil as part of this infrastructure, in bridging professional performance, production and display, with participation, community arts development, education and training (see *Hierarchy of Provision*, 6.5.3 and 6.6 Arts Centres, below).

The term 'infrastructure' is a useful shorthand for the various support structures, networks and capital assets required to enable artistic/creative work to be produced, circulated and consumed. The term was first used by the French railways in the nineteenth century, and later adopted by the North American Treaty Organisation (NATO) to describe fixed installations, such as airfields, telecommunications, pipelines and ports. The term was later extended to cover barracks, training and intelligence establishments. Economists have adopted and redefined the term infrastructure as the basic capital investment of a country or business organisation, the system of assets, conduits and communications, which under-pin economic activity; a combination of fixed assets along which information or goods are moved, or as a location from which activities can be undertaken. Its usage in local and national planning is clear, and this means that infrastructure is important not only as a means of communication, but as a base from which the arts can be produced and consumed. The precise configuration of this is complicated in the real world by what already exists and what is desirable. Infrastructural needs also vary considerably from art form/sector to art form/sector. Infrastructure can therefore be either 'hard' or 'soft' - buildings and equipment on the one hand, but also accumulated knowledge, skills and expertise on the other (Montgomery, 1990).

The investment in *human capital* is the economist's analysis of education and training from both the individual and state's standpoints (see Becker, 1965). The place of arts and culture in education, training, skills development (traditional and contemporary) is of

importance, for example over 85% of professional orchestral musicians learnt at state schools (MIA, 1993); 75% played in LEA youth orchestras (ABSO, 1991) and over 80% of all instrument and printed music sales come from education purchasers (MIA, 1992; MPA, 1993 and see Rogers, 1993). The links between phases and elements of the 'production chain' (Chapter 5) are fundamental to access and equity objectives, as well as 'production', requiring an arts infrastructure, no less than any other form of 'investment', using this in a more a neutral and less pejorative approach than that allowed by Pick (1988). These infrastructure and human resources are generally taken for granted, until they are lost or at least under threat. Examples include cuts in arts in schools and other education - soft infrastructure; the loss or relocation of cultural assets - companies, collections and buildings (eg.museums - Chapter 5). The latter was recognised in the creation of the protective Theatres Trust (1976) and Civic Trust (1959), and the establishment of conservation areas and listed buildings.

Until recently, arts infrastructure and cultural assets were not considered as part of the planning and economic development policy processes, either locally or at the macro level. Strategies for the development of an arts infrastructure should not lose sight of these linkages and 'synergies', for they can mean the difference between keeping a skill or tradition alive and losing it. Buildings (with few exceptions, notwithstanding implications for 'heritage') can be easier to 'replace' and conserve than talent. There is a need therefore to find ways of encouraging *footloose* 'talent' to stay in a target area and to seek or create opportunities for their development and exploitation (and see *Study into the Salary and Conditions of key Arts Workers* - GLA, 1989). There is an investment-production link between subsidised and commercial sectors: this is evident in the links between education and training (dance, drama, music and film colleges) and between subsidised repertory theatre and commercial theatre, film *et al.* In their study of the condition of theatres in England the Theatres Trust considered commercial theatres as well as the subsidised sector: *"Commercial, self-financing and subsidised theatres form essential part of cultural industry, which needs to be seen as indivisible. Their activities should be mutually supportive. They prosper or starve together"* (Theatres Trust 1993 p.6).

Here the Trust is considering the built fabric, the theatre heritage, irrespective of ownership and management. A clear 'cultural chain' links the local, regional rep/civic theatres, and National Theatre, to commercial venues, in terms of co-production, 'West End

transfers', the support of new writers, the access to wider and larger audiences and above all in the two sectors shared use of performance and technical talent and expertise.

6.4 Planning for Leisure

As earlier chapters have discussed, the planning for arts provision has been an undeveloped aspect of amenity planning in general. The comprehensive and systematic planning for leisure, a wider but related concept, is also a relatively new form of human endeavour. The political economy and underlying rationales for planning for leisure in Britain can be characterised by three distinct post-War phases (Veal, 1993) within which arts planning has played a particular but minor role, followed by a fourth, current phase in a return to a plan-led regime:

6.4.1 The 'demand' phase: 1960-1972

In the 1960s, when leisure in various forms was 'discovered' as a public planning issue, the central focus was on demand. In a period of rapid technological change and increasing population, incomes/affluence and car-ownership, the pressure for mass recreation demand in the countryside and the potential for unrest due to the lack of constructive leisure outlets for young people in urban areas, all fuelled policies to respond to this expressed and latent demand. The Wolfenden Committee report *Sport and the Community* (1960), the Arts Council's 'Housing the Arts' (1959) and later planning strategies: Sports Council (1960) and Sillitoe (1969) provide the policy response, and Dower's influential paper (1965) reflects the mood of the time:

> *"Throughout the nation people have more leisure than ever before: the opportunity and desire to use it are being profoundly influenced by the growth of income, of mobility, of education. The result is a fast growing and changing demand for leisure activities... This presents a planning challenge no less urgent than those of housing or traffic"* (Dower, 1965 p.189).

Dower laid the prime responsibility for this challenge at the government's door:

> *"The Government should initiate... an assessment of national demand for leisure facilities and should formulate broad principles for satisfying this demand..research into standards of provision for buildings and other facilities for leisure in urban areas. Regional planning boards should treat leisure as a major factor in preparing regional plans"* (op.cit.).

As well as the establishment of agencies such as the Sports Council, Countryside Commission and later the tourism boards (Richards, 1995), Dower's approach was closely followed with mechanisms that created the present-day public sector leisure services in the form of over 2,000 indoor leisure centres, a vastly increased number of swimming pools, many arts centres and dozens of municipal theatres, as well as country parks, footpaths and trails (Veal, 1993 p.86).

6.4.2 The 'need' phase: 1973-1983

Despite the fact that the 'demand' phase took place under the Labour government, this perspective of planning for leisure did not involve a proactive welfare or equity approach. There was little or no reference to particular priority or under-represented and non-participant groups, or mechanisms to target them (such as concessionary pricing, grant-aid - see Urban Programme, Chapter 3). The aim had been provision for all (*cf.* Lee, 1965). During the 1970s, with the beginning of the end to 'full employment' the mood changed and policy priorities and subsidy were focused on those most in 'need', whether specifically recreational or cultural, or more general social need. Criticism of the previous undifferentiated 'supply and demand' approach and the lack of consideration of underlying needs was expressed by Glasser (1975) and Rappaport (1975) and culminating in Dower and Rappaport's project sponsored by the Department of the Environment: 'Leisure Provision and People's Needs' (1981). This called for a 'new culture of leisure provision' reflecting the idea that different people had different needs and that needs could be met in a variety of ways, involving a pluralist view of leisure provision (p.142). Economic reasons also influenced this targeted approach with the drive for reduced public expenditure and other priorities, and at the same time by focusing on social need, 'leisure' was also seeking to maintain its share of resources and rationale for public and political support (Coalter, Long and Duffield, 1986). This policy shift also drew on the early evidence of participation in leisure, dominated by the higher socio-economic classes (Lewis, 1990), and the arguments against block subsidy (Le Grand, 1982) and the introduction of 'user-pay' concepts and willingness-to-pay criteria that were to surface more overtly in the next phase.

6.4.3 The 'enterprise' phase: 1983-1992

This era is that associated with the Thatcher administration, originating with the 1979 privatisation manifesto commitment that has been implemented over the past fifteen years,

without reversal, through denationalisation, deregulation and contracting-out. The latter mechanism has been directed at local authority leisure services (eg.sports, parks)[3] as one response to the *crowding-out* theory, linked to the underlying free-market economic ideology (Chapter 2) and combined frontal attack on public sector trade unions. As well as the preference for a private sector-led economic recovery and system, the economic significance of the leisure 'industry' was also given political attention, with a turning point perhaps in an interview with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in *The Director* magazine (1983). In commenting on the proposal to build a theme park in the former steel town of Corby (in the middle of the steelworks site), she declared: 'There is much industry to be had from people's pleasures'. Two years later the government report 'Pleasure, Leisure and Jobs: The Business of Tourism' (Young, 1985) and the Arts Council's 'Great British Success Story' (1985) embraced the same approach. Two government agency-sponsored research studies sought to underpin these economic policy linkages: Myerscough's 'Economic Importance of the Arts in Britain' (1988) and the Henley Centre's 'The Economic Impact and Importance of Sport in the UK' for the Sports Council (1986).

6.4.4 The 'planning and partnership' phase: 1992 to date

This current phase, whilst not discarding the enterprise tendencies, and indeed privatisation programmes continue albeit with greater resistance than before (viz Post Office, British Rail), is distinctive in terms of planning, since a return to the primacy of the local plan and integration offered by the Unitary Development Plan (UDP) process is in contrast to the preceding anti-planning period (Chapter 3), which had also seen an extreme property-boom and bust cycle. Partnership had been a feature of challenge-oriented funding and assistance schemes (including in the arts - commercial sponsorship), however the more planning oriented system required a more equal partnership between private developers and operators, local authorities and independent community and cultural organisations, in order to meet funding criteria (eg.City Challenge, Lottery and Single Regeneration Budget bids). Pragmatic acceptance of partnership by private companies also reflected the reality of a long recession and their over-reliance in the past on underlying property capital values to justify development projects.

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[3] The economic and efficiency argument also coincides with the zealous pursuit of 'Economy, Efficiency and Effectiveness' by the Audit Commission, who since the early 1980s have been required by their governing legislation to promote a managerial and performance ('standards') approach to local authority services, as reflected in special studies including those for Arts & Entertainment (1991a); Museums (1991b), Parks (1988) and Sport (1989).

This period has also seen the creation of the Department of National Heritage (DNH) following the 1992 General Election, with the prospect, as yet unfulfilled, of a more integrated national cultural policy and administration system, at least for England (Arts; Sport; some aspects of Heritage; Tourism; Broadcasting; Lottery *et al*). The National Lottery's introduction has itself raised the issue of planning for arts, sports and heritage facilities into sharp relief (Evans, 1995a and b and see *Postscript* to this thesis).

6.5 Planning Methods and Techniques

In the absence of any consideration of the planning requirements of the arts, with no definition of 'amenity' in town planning legislation, nor any real place for the 'arts' in leisure planning guidelines (Sillitoe, 1969), it is worth analysing planning approaches to recreation and related amenity provision in terms of their application to arts and cultural provision. The link between leisure and social problems and change had followed a more positive/ist approach to planning for leisure (Cullingworth, 1979 p.190) and at the regional (eg. County) level, a degree of integration was promoted: *"issues of structural importance to the area and their inter-relationships, eg. employment, housing, transport and conservation, recreation and tourism"* (DoEn Circular 98, 1974). In 1973 (TCPA) Local Plans were made mandatory for boroughs and districts, and in the era of the first build-up of post-War youth and structural unemployment, studies into the 'linkages' were undertaken: *Recreation Deprivation in Inner Urban Areas* (DoEn, 1977a); *Leisure and Quality of Life Experiments* (DoEn, 1977b). As with leisure and recreation planning legislation and guidelines (Sillitoe, 1969), arts and cultural activities and provision were largely absent from these policy and professional developments.

Research and literature in leisure and recreation planning is more developed, both in North America, particularly for outdoor recreation (Walsh, 1987) and in the UK (see Chapter 2 - Open Space, Physical Recreation Acts, Sports Council, *Planning for Sport* and Veal, 1982). The following planning approaches have evolved from a largely quantitative, normative and participative philosophy within each of the phases outlined above, and when combined with a spatial application, draw from human geography, epitomised in planning for new towns and the garden suburbs of London's sprawl (Ebenezer Howard, 1902 and see Veal, 1975; Llewelyn-Davies, 1966) and more recently in urban and economic development policy.

6.5.1 Normative approach - the use of standards

A standard in planning for leisure and amenities is a prescribed level of provision of facilities or services, usually related to the level of population served. The value of such standards to planners is their neutrality and simplicity, and ease of understanding, when communicating with politicians and local communities: *"However, politicians are still politicians and few believe that an electorate is able to cope with intelligent discussion of the alternatives and difficulties ahead. So the picture was painted bright"* (Hillman on the 1969 Greater London Development Plan, 1971 p.10). Examples of standards used in the UK include the following:

Facility	Planning Norm/Standard	Source
Playing Fields	6 acres per 1,000 population	N.P.F.A., 1971
Allotments	½ acre per 1000 population	Thorpe Committee, 1969
District Indoor Sports Centres	1 per 40,000-90,000, +1 for each additional 50,000 population	Sports Council, 1972
Local Indoor Sports Centres	23 sq.m. per 1000 population	Sports Council, 1977
Indoor Swimming Pools	65 sq.m. per 1000 population	Sports Council, 1978
Golf Courses	1 x 9-hole unit per 18,000 population	Sports Council, 1972
Libraries	1 branch library per 15,000 population, maximum distance to nearest library in urban areas-1 mile: Book purchases: 250 p.a./1,000 population	Ministry of Education, 1959
Children's Play	1.5 acres per 1,000 population	N.P.F.A., 1971

Sources:
NPFA [National Playing Fields Association] *Outdoor Play Space Requirements*, London, 1971;
Thorpe Report of the Environmental Committee of Enquiry into Allotments, Ministry of Housing and Local Government, London: HMSO, 1969
Sports Council, *Provision for Sport, Indoor Swimming Pools, Indoor Sports Centres, Golf Courses*, London, HMSO, 1972 updated in 1977; *Capital Grants for Sports facilities*, London
Sports Council, *Provision for Swimming Pools, A Guide to Planning*, London, 1978
Ministry of Education, *Standards of Public Library Services*, London, HMSO, 1959

As universal norms, such numerical standards can avoid duplication of provision, for example at local and regional levels. They also obviate local authorities having to actually assess need - a politically controversial area. Standards are also attractive because they can be presented in terms of public equity aims, since the standards are applied everywhere (or can be used to justify provision on equal terms), and a certain equality in provision per capita is ensured. This also simplifies resource allocation processes, particularly government

grant-aid and local authorities investment and public spending criteria. Evaluation of provision is also more easily measured by this quantitative approach, and a minimum, if 'conservative' level of provision is a likely outcome.

However, there are also fundamental drawbacks in the use of such standardised criteria for provision. They rely on a hegemonic assessment of what is the **right type** of provision, and the **right level**, in short, by whom and how are standards determined? Local conditions and needs are also reflected in the quantitative approach, these will range from demographic (particularly age), socio-economic, cultural to spatial variations between and amongst communities. Standards also tend not to be dynamic, or reflect socio-cultural change, including lifestyle and leisure trends. A quantitative approach also ignores quality issues, provision and processes (a high quality facility may 'compensate' for lower capacity), including design, ambience, location and age of facility influences (Leisure Futures Ltd, 1991). The degree of substitution within provision also needs to be considered; if an area has no cinema, will theatre attendance be higher? What is the impact of non-arts leisure activity and facilities in terms of attendance and participation, home and out-of-home? The lack of qualitative, spatial (transport, access) and local issues, and most importantly assessment of community needs and the requirements of artists is overlooked in such standards. Standards may also fail to reflect historic or community factors, such as provision or access under a legacy or 'trust' (eg.heritage, collection, public park and open spaces).

Supply-led developments, particularly in commercial entertainment such as multiplex cinemas and arenas, and developments in technologies, for example cable/satellite television, 'distorts' public leisure policy and planning. Again the land-use planning function (designated areas, zoning) can intervene. However this has increasingly been limited by a weakening of planning powers and the overriding of local planning decisions (ie. refusals, design guidelines) by central government ministers (Thornley, 1991; Montgomery and Thornley, 1993). Home-based entertainment also 'escape' the land-use controls over public realm and infrastructure, and increasingly, private recreation and entertainment competes with local arts and entertainment and the cultural economy (Henley, 1985). Barriers to out-of-home cultural activity are therefore of considerable importance if cultural consumption is not be either ghettoised and dominated by one user-group (eg.young people on Friday and Saturday nights in town centres - Bianchini, Fisher *et al,* 1988 p.22; Worpole, 1992a), or

made exclusive (flagship arts and cultural venues) to the well-heeled or tourists (Selwyn, 1993).

As Harvey also observes - and this is evident in the inner-outer divide between London's boroughs (Chapters 7, 8 and 9) - *"many people commute into the centre of the city to work and then go off back to the suburbs and are not bothered with what's going on elsewhere in the city"* (op.cit.). Audience profiles, from Hampshire (below) to London's West End (Gardiner, 1991) and national and European museums (Merriman, 1989; Richards, 1992), clearly confirm this, and the scenario now familiar in the USA ("Edge Cities" - Garreau, 1991) is replicated, in much the same fashion as shopping malls, urban fringe/green belt leisure 'parks', multiplex and arena developments. One manifestation of this divide is the 'fortress' development; impenetrable and security-conscious (guards, closed-circuit TV) apartment, retail and office buildings.

Moreover, a quantitative arts planning approach is not easily accepted (see Rees-Mogg, Pick, Von Eckardt - above and Chapter 5), although in longer-term planning, a 'hierarchy of provision' (below) may need to consider the equitable spread of arts provision for the community. One of the difficulties in setting arts norms has been the heterogeneous nature of arts experience, programming and development (unlike say a swimming pool, or even a library), the mixture of local and touring work and the need to experiment, leading to a dynamic range of provision. Arts provision sits alongside commercial arts and entertainment, as well as multi-use venues (eg.halls) but is unique, however, in having insufficient accessible arts resources and these are predominantly in second-hand' buildings. The arts are therefore the 'poor cousin' in municipal leisure provision (Hutchison and Forrester, 1987).

6.5.2 Gross Demand or Comparative approach

This method, associated with the 'needs' phase (6.4.2 above) and assessment of under/non-participation, takes the overall level of arts participation for each 'activity/art form' as derived from national and/or regional surveys and compares and applies these to a local area. In addition to social surveys, for example the General Household Survey (GHS), Social Trends and more specifically, Arts Council audience surveys (Arts Council, 1991c and d; Verwey, 1989), the annual Arts Council Target Group Index (TGI) survey (1990), provides a regional analysis of participation (or rather *attendance*) by socio-economic group across

a range of art forms and activities. Although this method does afford some simplified comparison, it does not allow for regional/local and cultural differences, particularly variances in the supply of arts facilities, or their quality, artistic and otherwise and no account of 'externalities' - socio-economic and other variables effecting demand and attendance.

Again, this approach draws on planning for sport and recreation provision, and was put forward in 1968 by the Sports Council in *Planning for Sport* and see Veal (1982). The approach can be taken in stages, the initial simplified version takes an overall level of participation for a particular activity as derived from a national or regional survey, and then applies this participation rate and profile to a local community, for example a local or district authority area. For example the 1977 GHS indicates that 5.5% of the population visited museums and galleries at least once per month. An area with a population aged 16 and over of 200,000 (an average outer London borough) would therefore be expected to contain some 11,000 regular museum and gallery 'visitors'. From this usage 'norm', a calculation of the number and size of museums and gallery space required to meet this demand could be estimated, and the result measured against actual provision in the area concerned. This method is more readily acceptable with more homogenous provision, such as parks, play and certain sports facilities (ref. norms above), but less so in the case of arts and cultural facilities. A flexible, multi-use arts centre may lend itself to such a quantitative demand approach, possibly dedicated arts venues such as theatres, cinemas, but in the nature of museum collections, perhaps less so (the definition and valuation of what constitutes a local museum or art collection is complex, dependant upon historical and patronage influences, but collections are now less 'fixed' - per Chapter 5).

The comparative approach also gains credence, in the absence of national cultural planning, particularly where the 'centre' dominates in the quality and quantity of arts facilities. In Greece for example, a simple quantitative analysis of the 'Geographical Distribution of the Cultural Spaces' (Deffner, 1993) compared each region to the national whole, in term of artistic and educational cultural spaces. This took a formula:

$$\frac{\text{the number of spaces in each region X / population of region X}}{\text{total number of spaces in Greece / total population of Greece}}$$

Thus the resulting quotient for each region equals 1 when the particular region has the same concentration of spaces as the whole of Greece. This per capita formula obviously ignores spatial, qualitative and cultural diversity issues, and the typology used is limited (*Artistic*: theatres, music and dance spaces, cinema clubs; *Educational*: museums, galleries, libraries and cultural centres - Deffner 1992a and 1992b). Cultural planning in Greece is seen to be closely related to the spatial dimension where Deffner maintains there is *"a crisis in cultural spaces, a phenomenon which is connected to the side-stepping both of open and public spaces"* (Deffner, 1993 p.8). The reasons he gives for this crisis include:

- the application of functionalism in space, in connection with rationalism
- the commodification of space and time
- the privatisation of space, and
- the dominance of the private use car

A more sophisticated application of this method breaks down the population groups into age, gender and if appropriate, other socio-cultural groups, in terms of participation rates (this information is available for a limited range of arts and recreation activities from GHS surveys and a more art form-based analysis in Arts Council/Target Group Index surveys). Whilst the gross demand approach affords a comparison in terms of participation trends over time and a shorthand benchmark for local authorities seeking to justify investment on the grounds of 'under-provision', like expert norms, above, no spatial or access considerations are taken into account, notably transport means and provision. A full-blown application of this method could however effectively model an area and incorporate such determinants of demand, using multiple regression analysis and related econometric analysis methods.

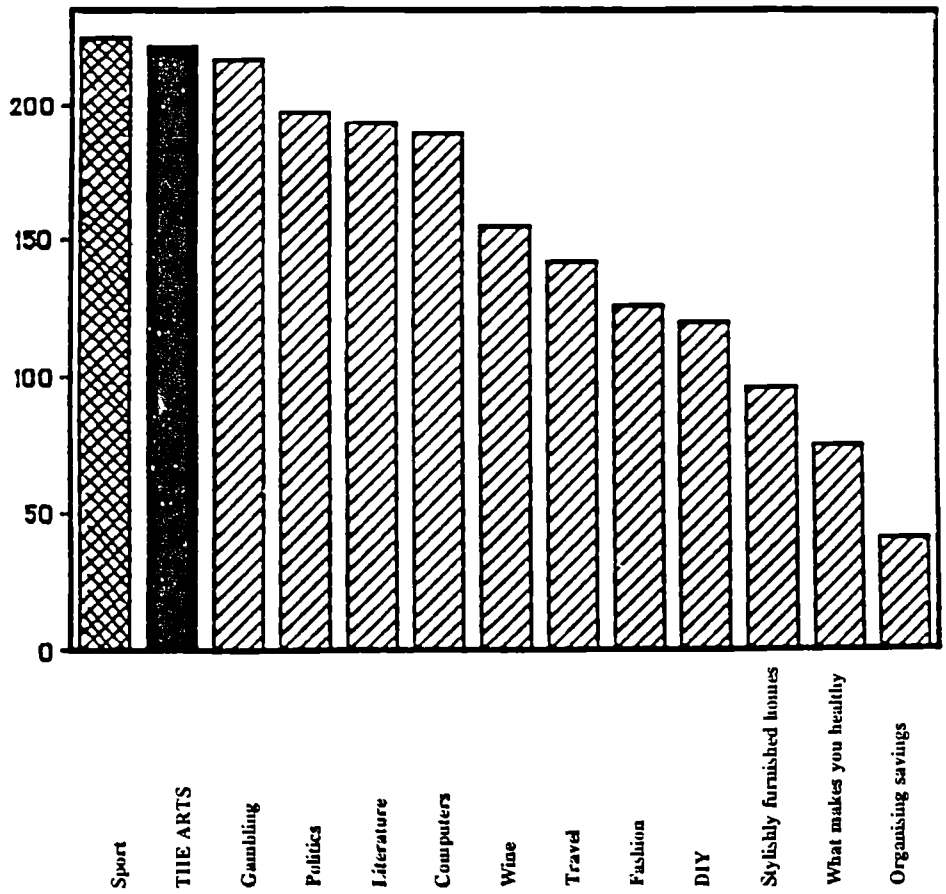
The major flaw in this approach is its reliance on participation, as synonymous with 'demand', which leisure planning has come to adopt (Field and MacGregor, 1987; Wilkinson, 1973; Burton, 1971). *Demand* in this sense is in fact *consumption*, and as such ignores unmet need, deriving from latent or unrealised demand. This arises from a complex array of factors, in addition to the obvious supply-led nature of demand and non-availability of arts facilities in the first place, such as lack of information ('marketing'), location-time-price inter-actions, and less tangible determinants, such as education, skills and 'substitution' effects (competition from similar activities - home video for cinema, compact disc for live

concert). The policy and resourcing of arts (and sports) development by local and regional arts authorities from the 1970s to date has been closely allied to arts centres, community arts projects and local arts development agencies and animateurs, and since the early 1980s, education and outreach officers and programmes at theatres, museums and galleries.

Emphasis on inducing demand from non-users of arts facilities has concentrated the minds of arts venues and agencies, with the dual, but potentially conflicting aims of new audience development and income-generation to offset reductions in public subsidy, and the widening of audience profiles - including young people (future audiences), under-represented groups (race, gender, class) - and thereby meeting socio-cultural objectives. Barriers to participation are recurrent in the urban situation, and there are clear arts planning issues which address some of these (see *Space for the Arts* - GLA, 1991 and LPAC, 1990 and 1991). Figure 6.1 below gives an indication of the 'knowledge gap' between arts participants and 'non-users', in comparison with other 'leisure' pursuits (Henley, 1985 p.19).

Figure 6.1 Knowledge Gap between Arts Participants and 'Non-Users'

'Difference in amount they would like to know about the following subjects, between those already knowing a lot and those not'



In this survey people were asked how much they knew about various subjects and also how much they would like to know in the future. Activities to the left of the chart are those where people already participating are enthusiastic about developing their interest further, but those not participating have little interest in doing so in the future - the knowledge and perception gap: *"on the whole the arts have failed to have an image of being fun, even to those who know a lot about them, and therefore appear inaccessible to those who do not have any expertise in arts-related matters"* (Henley, 1985 p.19).

Five years later, these barriers are still significant, according to another Henley survey:

Would you spend more time in away-from-home activities if?

	% citing YES	
	1990	**1985**
Cultural facilities were more to your liking:		
(comfort, convenience, atmosphere)?	65	55
Facilities catered for the whole family	58	56
The streets were safer	54	54
Better parking facilities were available	43	29
Facilities for a variety of activities were in one small area	44	41
Better public transport	36	28
Better baby-sitting facilities	24	20

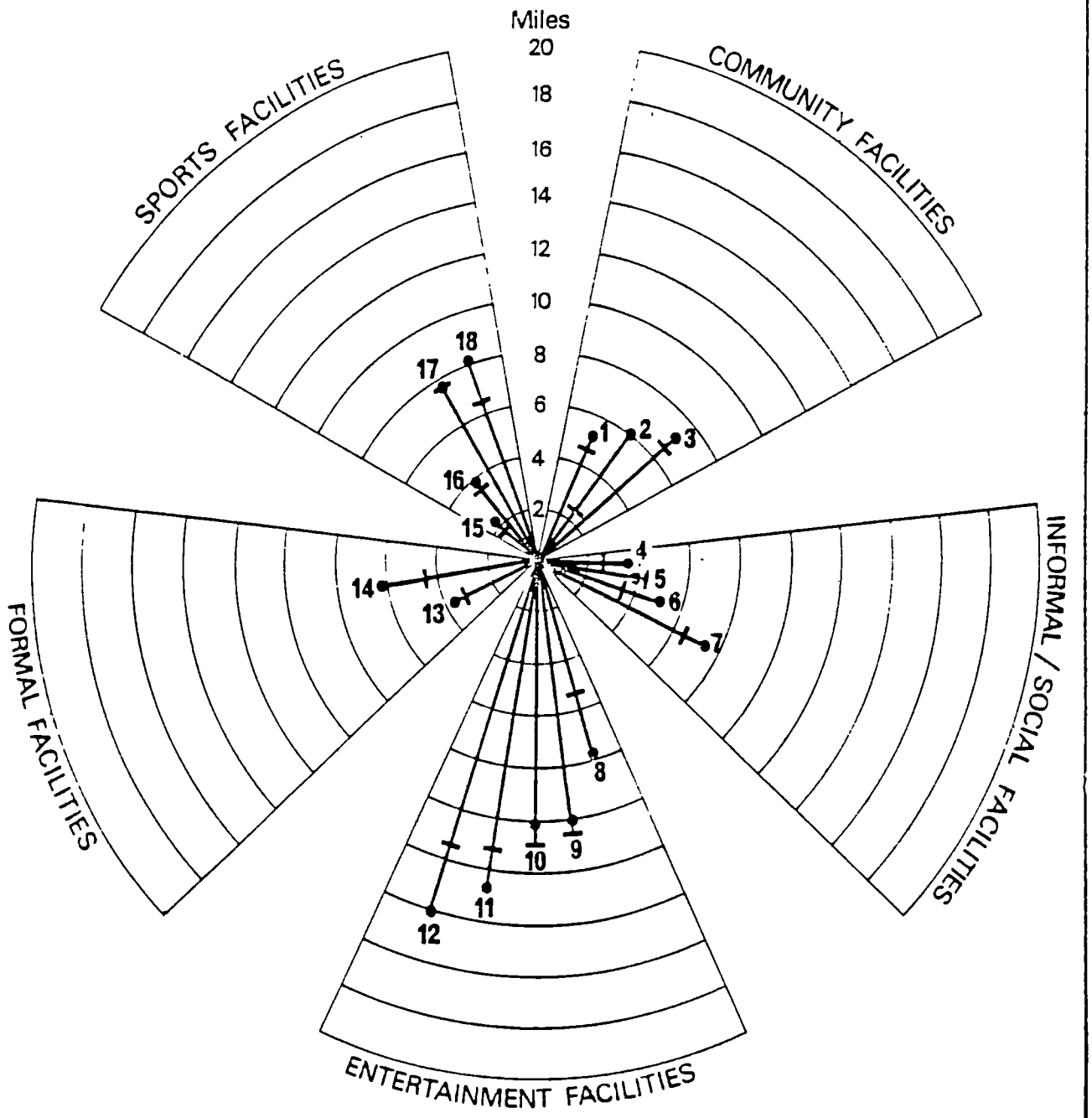
(Source: Henley Centre for Forecasting/PSC Surveys: 1990 and 1985, 1990 Chart 2)

The importance of environmental factors continues to rank and grow, and the planning of public realm, design and access to arts and cultural facilities provides some clues to an arts planning approach, in terms of audience and participation needs and support services.

6.5.3 Spatial Approach and Hierarchy of Provision

The spatial approach to recreational planning, not surprisingly draws mostly from outdoor recreation planning, in North America - Clawson and Knetsch, 1966; Walsh, 1986, and in the UK - Veal, 1982 and 1983; Henry, 1980; Burton, 1971 and Wilkinson, 1973. A diagrammatic assessment of facilities needed and their associated distance relationship is shown below (Figure 6.2 - TRRU, 1979), although for a rural, rather than an urban area. This demonstrates the weakness of the simplistic spatial and other quantitative 'standards' approaches in their reliance on existing participation and levels of provision which place a theatre's catchment as fourteen miles (for the car-owner), compared with eight miles for a pool and squash court, eg.: *"audiences within the [Hampshire] region appear to travel far for entertainment"* (*Portsmouth Theatres Development Appraisal*, Myerscough, 1992 p.2).

Figure 6.2 Facilities Needed : Distance Relationships



1 Community Centre
2 Church Hall
3 Village Hall
4 Old Folks Facilities
5 Youth Club
6 Cafe
7 Restaurant
8 Bingo Hall
9 Cinema

Opinions of those with access to vehicle

Opinions of those without access to vehicle

10 Dance Hall
11 Discotheque
12 Theatre
13 Playschool
14 Library
15 Children's Play Area
16 Playing Field
17 Squash Court
18 Swimming Pool

TRRU(1979) in Veal (1982 p.29)

A more realistic, but strategic approach to arts planning, is to consider **catchment areas** for 'out-of-home' cultural provision, recognising that there are generally identifiable areas from which most users come. This method therefore relates the neighbourhood/ward and 'centres' to population size/profile and accessibility, in particular the relationship of the location of arts facilities to work/home residencies and transport, public and private. From empirical evidence (again audience/participation-derived), theatres generally have larger catchment areas than swimming pools (and among pools, large, new pools a wider catchment area than small, older facilities); a new multiplex a larger catchment than a high street cinema, and so on, and see Leisure Futures Ltd. (1992).

In the Southern Arts region, Hampshire County Council pursued an economic and spatial/catchment approach to arts policy and provision, commissioning an 'Economic Strategy for the Arts' (1989) from the author of the national PSI study, John Myerscough:

Market catchments in Hampshire (CACI, in Myerscough, 1989 p.22)

	Southampton	**Portsmouth**	**Basingstoke**
30 minute drive time	537,540	521,248	390,420
60 minute drive time	1,765,005	1,898,087	3,928,488

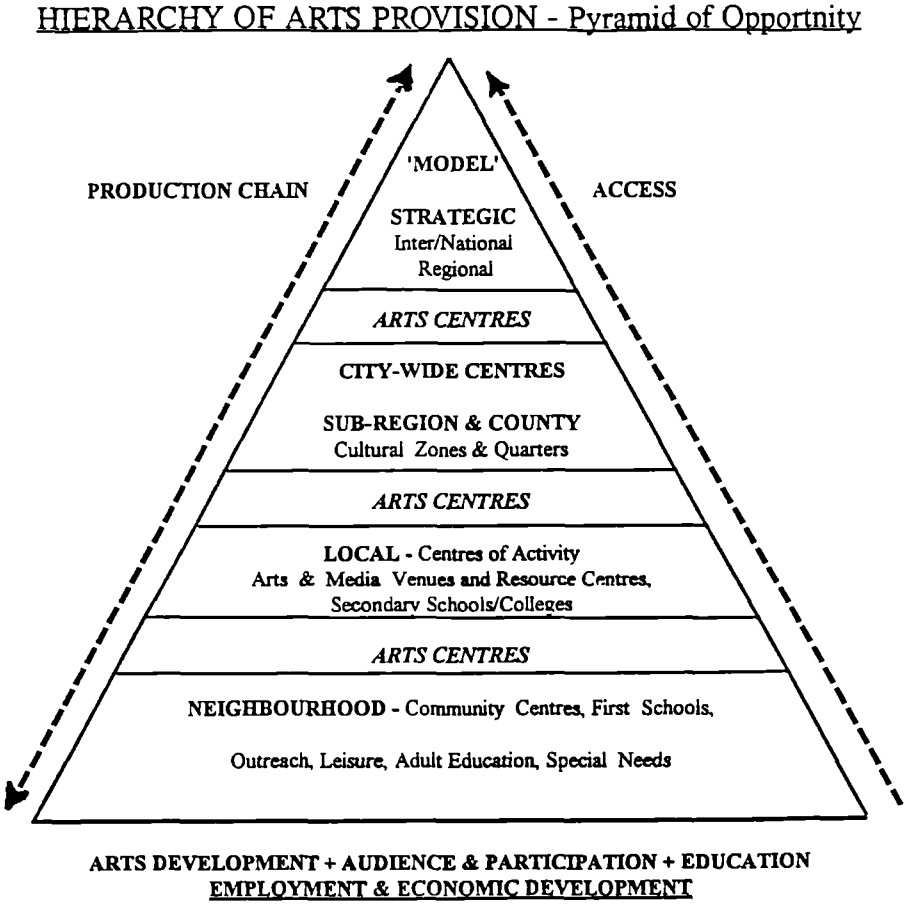
Myerscough 'talks up' the market for the arts in the county: *"Hampshire's market catchments are not only large. They are expanding and their quality is excellent. The bigger prizes relate to the 60 minute drive times"* (op.cit.). For "quality" read high disposable income. Drawing on the Target Group Index (TGI, 1990) data Myerscough also applies a Gross Demand/Comparative analysis: *"TGI data suggest that the population takes an above average interest in the arts - 15% up for theatres and 13% up for galleries. On the other hand frequencies of attendance appear to be low, which implies a certain lack of 'perceived opportunity' to enjoy the arts"* (op.cit. pp.24-25).

The commercial planning of leisure and entertainment facilities and as indicated in the Hampshire theatres study, the public sector also, is predicated on the car-borne consumer, and therefore the new multiplex cinema or theme park operator will require a catchment population of 250,000 to 500,000, based on a 'drive-time' parameter of 1 to 2 hours maximum (Grant, 1990). The implications for cultural planning and provision are considerable and problematic: *"The concept of the working town, where work, housing and*

recreation are integrated, is in danger of being pulled apart by the centrifugal forces of out of town shopping centres, green field private housing, car based leisure provision, and retirement villages" (Worpole, 1992b p.21). Planning here is dictated by transport links and the necessity of adequate car parking, along the lines of US arena developments, where the planning norm is one car parking space for each five seats. This is demonstrated in a new 12-screen multiplex opening in the outer London borough of Enfield, where 1,100 free car parking spaces are advertised (*Hollywood comes to the Lee Valley*, Haringey Independent, 25th February 1994). This new facility is expected to kill-off existing local cinemas in the borough (interview with Enfield planning officer - G.Hillborne, 25th February 1994).

This catchment area approach can also be applied for a range of local and regional amenities from arts, recreation to community resources and a *hierarchy of need*, identifying four overlapping levels of provision: **NEIGHBOURHOOD; LOCAL; CITY/ BOROUGH-WIDE; STRATEGIC** and shown diagrammatically in Figure 6.3:

Figure 6.3



(Adapted from Evans and Shaw, 1992a, after Veal, 1982)

A definition (*criteria*) for 'strategic' facilities is provided below (LPAC, 1990a). This approach also takes into account existing and potential centres and resources, where arts activities - local, resident and touring - can take place, including at 'non-arts' locations such as schools, colleges and adult education, community and youth centres, sports and leisure centres, parks and museums. An effective 'mapping' of an area in terms of provision and participation and related access and spatial relationships is then developed, at its most sophisticated, drawing on user and audience surveys of existing facilities, non-user and attitudinal research. This can identify gaps in the quantity, typology and quality of provision, and related infrastructure, such as transport, zoning, parking, street lighting, and pedestrianisation. Participation rates would also take into account frequency of use, within catchment areas, producing a **penetration rate** for a given population area. An annual participation rate in terms of art gallery visits of 10,000 per year may be made up of 10,000 individuals visiting once per year, or 2,500 people visiting 4 times - a fundamental difference in terms of social objectives, and in marketing and demand assessment. (Similar marked differentials can be recognised if classified operationally, eg. length of visit: facilities, spending). Even a discrete penetration rate is limited, however, by a quantitative measurement that ignores quality of experience, duration of visit and subjective assessment of 'quality' ('Quality standards', such as BS5750[4] now being adopted within service industries, including public leisure and arts venues such as the Royal National Theatre: these would measure whether the heating achieved the correct level, opening times were met, but not whether a *good* experience was had by a visitor, or that the artistic programme met expectations). Thus inputs and standards are measured, but not outputs or experiences.

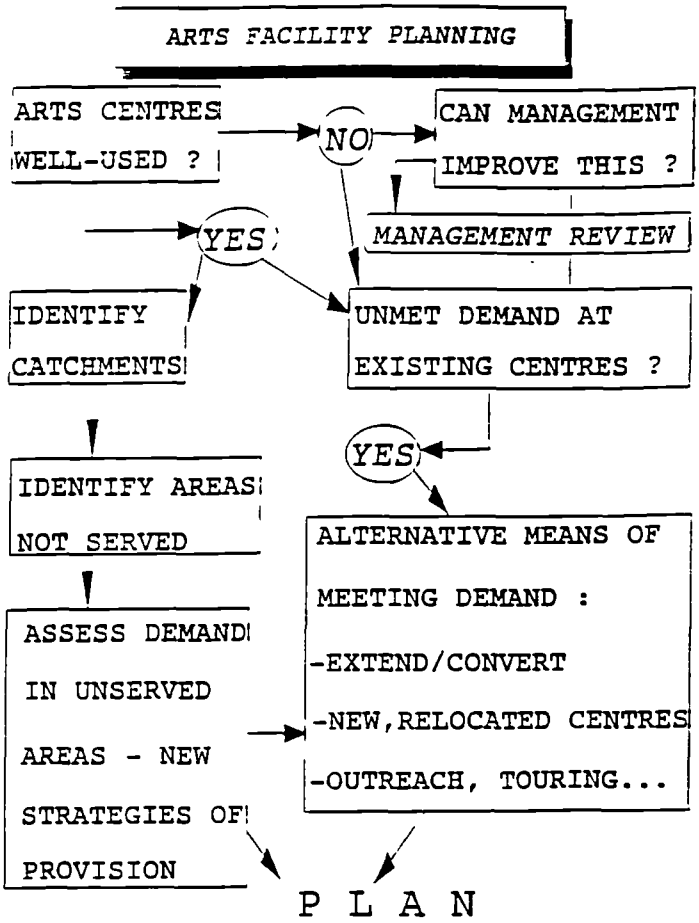
The *hierarchy* scheme was developed in the planning of arts centre provision in the city of Portsmouth (Evans and Shaw, 1992a). Portsmouth has a population of c.200,000 (1991 Census), and is the most densely populated urban locality in the United Kingdom outside of inner London. Following a policy initiative for all Council services a 'pyramid of opportunity' was coined, to represent the development and access to cultural amenities in the city (Portsmouth, 1991). This sought to make links in the production chain between levels and quality of arts and cultural provision (see arts centres *form and function*, below), from neighbourhood to strategic centres (above):

[4] BS5750 - Part 8: British Standard for Quality Services, British Standards Institute (BSI) *cf.* quality assurance and control (QA), total quality management (TQM) as applied to service industries

"the appropriate structure for community based performance and visual arts development is perceived as a pro-active network model..this has utilised a series of centres, with both specialist functions and neighbourhood commitment, operating within an overall network on a regional basis to enable a sharing of skills, resources and mutual support" (Portsmouth C.C., 1991b p.2).

As part of this process, the current catchment and impact of existing arts provision was measured, using the facility planning chart (Figure 6.4) below:

Figure 6.4



(Evans and Shaw, 1992a p.12)

In London the lack of arts and cultural input to amenity and environmental planning was acknowledged by the London Planning Advisory Committee (LPAC), which recommended in the *Strategic Planning Advice for London*, 'Criteria for Defining Strategically Important Arts, Cultural or Entertainment (ACE) facilities' (LPAC, 1990a). These developed a hierarchy of arts facility, as detailed below.

ACE facilities have complex functions: those that are physically small may have a more extensive role than their size implies, while some of the larger facilities cater for predominantly local audiences. Catchment area is therefore the main criterion for identifying those that are strategic. Conventionally, it is usually assumed that facilities which draw visitors from more than one Borough are strategic. However, local circumstances may require a more flexible definition. The following guidelines may assist in this assessment. It is suggested that if a facility falls within one or more of the following definitions it can be considered strategic:

> 1. A facility which draws a significant proportion of its visitors either from: abroad, the rest of the country; the rest of the SE region, London as a whole (these can be considered "higher level" facilities) or from more than one Borough.
>
> 2. A facility which provides a service for areas where there is a concentration of workers, a significant proportion of whom travel there from outside the Borough.
>
> 3. A facility which is unique to this sector of London (a sector being defined here as a Borough and its neighbours).
>
> 4. A type of facility which with special amenities, eg. access for the handicapped, and which is unique to this sector.
>
> 5. A type of facility which caters for specific groups, eg. cultural minorities and which is unique to this sector.
>
> 6. A facility which is or will be used by a significant number of visitors to London.
>
> 7. A type of facility able to accommodate special events which is unique to this sector.
>
> 8. A type of facility with particular historic associations which is unique to this sector.
> (LPAC, 1990a, Appendix 2)

Strategic provision here, whilst catchment oriented, also recognises the importance of special needs, physical and cultural, and reflects the issue-based approach adopted by the regional arts association in their 'Arts Plan for London' (GLA, 1989b). This is no coincidence, since GLA were instrumental in developing arts and planning guidelines, in collaboration with the planning-officer dominated London Planning Advisory Committee - a significant milestone, given the absence of the arts in environmental planning legislation and therefore in local and amenity planning.

6.5.4 Needs and Community Development Approach

A criticism of the normative approach to arts and recreation planning has been its tendency towards paternalism and minimum standards, rather than towards responding to the needs and demands of actual communities and participants. The view was expressed by some

senior officers (in conversation with B.Hall - Director of Leisure, Portsmouth City Council, 30th January 1992), that there was a lack of 'demand' (ie. expressed need) from Portsmouth residents for additional arts facilities and that this should be a test of any new initiatives and investment.

Whilst this may seem reasonable, expressed demand generally arises from the more articulate and knowledgeable (seldom representative of a wider/larger group) and a need will normally arise only where a lack of provision is felt. For this, individuals and groups will normally have had some exposure to arts experiences. As the Portsmouth study (Vaughan, 1991; Evans, and Shaw, 1992) and other research (see Henley, 1985) have indicated, there are also perceptual barriers to arts participation (education, skills, language) as well as the obvious financial and access constraints. The importance of arts in education becomes clear, requiring an integrated approach to community arts development at amateur, school and professional levels.

Again the special role of arts centres in arts in education and in encouraging adult participation can be argued from recent North American research into child exposure to the performing arts (Dobson and West, 1988; Morrison and West, 1986). This research on adult participation and attendance and childhood 'exposure' to the arts, made a strong, positive linkage between participatory experience in informal settings (youth, community arts centre - see Forrester, 1985; Macdonald, 1986), as opposed to formal and passive attendance at school, theatre trip etc. This correlation was high, irrespective of economic and educational backgrounds. Arts centre and community provision should not therefore be seen solely as compensatory provision for the disadvantaged, but a key link in the arts production chain and infrastructure.

Some arts and cultural activity may also be 'hidden', undertaken within institutions and by amateur, youth groups (and see Forrester, 1985), ethnic minorities, religious and other communities, 'privately'. It may be felt by some of these groups that arts resources are 'not for them'. Some, however, may welcome support and facilities to develop and to participate/demonstrate more publicly, for example Vigar writes as part of the National Arts & Media Strategy Discussion:

"For some practitioners it is important to challenge received notions of 'Cypriotness' from within the community, so that a new identity can evolve which takes into account a broader, more universal reference of British Cypriots..clearly there is gap in provision here" (Cultural Diversity: Cypriot Cultural Interests and Aspirations - 1991 pp.16-17).

Community development using the arts as an element of social action and empowerment was closely allied to the growing community arts movement in the UK from the late 1960s and 1970s (Kelly, 1984; Braden, 1977). European-wide initiatives originating in the 1970s, prior to the UK's membership of the EEC, focused on both arts development and notions of cultural democracy (Chapter 2). Distinctions rest between the distributive and network approaches used by all political parties, to a greater or lesser extent, which became resource-led (arts centres, spatial and catchments, above) and a more genuine cultural democracy which would require a less paternalistic and more community-led approach to arts and cultural amenity and subsidy. By definition, the latter would require the end to the dominance of central arts councils and agencies and 'high arts' and heritage preferences in resource allocation and planning, and therefore such an approach is rejected as a serious alternative to a central arts policy and interests. The degree of consultation in the formation and assessment of arts and planning policies is, however, a measure of local authorities and arts agencies interest in the communities they serve. The return to a plan-led system, requiring community consultation in local area plan formulation, suggests that the community development approach will need to be given greater attention. This was demonstrated in the development of an arts policy and plan by Portsmouth City Council, who, in collaboration with Hampshire County Arts and the Southern Arts Board, commissioned a residents survey (Vaughan, 1989). Unlike audience and other user surveys (Arts Council, 1990), this sought to profile residents actual leisure and recreation activity, including attitudes to arts and cultural provision, whether or not arts participants or attenders - ie. 'non-users'.

Finally, most public and private arts and leisure provision has been 'supply-led', with latent demand and participation only being released when 'new' provision is made available (*or is better presented and communicated*). This could occur for a single performance, production, school lesson/curriculum, or for a permanent resource such as a dance floor, workshop studio, or community music education programme (Evans and Shaw, 1992b). The planning methods assessed above have emphasised demand and need, however the form of

provision itself offers particular insights and consideration of the 'supply and demand' relationship within the arts.

6.6 Arts Centre Needs - Form and Function

Earlier 'models' of arts centres could be seen in the eighteenth century coffee houses, nineteenth century working men's clubs and institutes, and more recently, the little theatre movement between the first and second World Wars. Three seminal post-War arts centre projects were associated with key individuals: Joan Littlewood at the Theatre Royal, Stratford East; John English at the Midlands Arts Centre, Birmingham and Jim Haynes at Drury Lane Arts Lab. Other arts centre and community arts projects were identified with local communities (see Chapter 2 above), and were sometimes neighbourhood based, for example in London: the Albany Centre, Deptford; Inter-Action, Kentish Town, or communities of interest: Drill Hall Arts Centre (lesbian and gay); Brixton Village and Yaa Asantewa (Black arts): *"..buildings, a programme which combines presentation with workshops, a serious commitment to more than one art form, and a policy of working with particular communities"* (LAAC, 1984 p.3).

By 1969 there were 180 projects claiming to be *arts labs* (White, 1969). With hindsight, whilst many of these centres developed unique arts production and acted as a reflection of their times, particularly in attracting young artists and playwrights, they generally did not achieve or sustain a cultural democratic role (staffed by the well-educated, pursuing an 'alternative' culture/lifestyle), and few if any, could claim a place in the cultural democratic process:

> *"arts centres have slipped from a dominant position in the cultural chain - they've lost part of their role as value givers within the subsidised world...The vortex of commercial popular culture and the consumer, commodity and technological revolutions has taken so much of what the arts centre world values most - smallness, locality, the love and sense of community"* (Wallace, 1993 p.2).

The multi-use and multi-form aspect which identifies an arts centre, (as distinct from a single-use facility), reflects its **physical** nature, while its accessibility (in the widest sense eg.new audiences) defines its **location**. The scope and scale of arts resources should also be capable of creating a *synergy* between 'levels' of experience, art forms and opportunity:

amateur and professional;
young and adult;
diverse cultures ('new' and 'old');
mixed-arts and media;
cross-trades (eg.crafts);
local and regional and beyond,

and links in the 'production chain' (Chapter 5 above):

rehearsal and performance;
workshop and display/exhibition;
production process (crafts, media);
print/media and communications;
(including new technology eg.graphics, inter-active video, digital imaging)

(adapted from *Arts Centres Plan for Portsmouth*, Evans and Shaw, 1992b p.7)

Technology, knowledge and scale are also important (viz 'soft infrastructure'). Increasingly technical and management skills and resources (including fundraising, production, marketing) are required for the individual and small scale to develop. Some of the best arts centre models have been those where professional arts and management resources mix with new artists and companies, including youth, unemployed and in community education (Macdonald, 1986), ie. acting as a seed-bed and showcase for new work and offering scope for collaborative and outreach work with residents/local communities, schools and touring productions. Advances in design and building technology have also made possible the multi-purpose space or hall, which can serve dedicated sporting, performance and exhibition requirements, including surfaces, layout, staging and mixed/multi-media work, offering opportunities for a mix of users - sports and arts, not normally attending the same venue. Recent commercial venue developments encompass the arena and open-air opera productions of rock promoter Harvey Goldsmith and others; ballet productions in mobile tents, through to US-style arenas hosting sporting, entertainment and exhibitions (Sheffield, Birmingham and Docklands arenas). Such multi-use is not limited to new and rediscovered venues, however, village, church, school/college and town halls have long provided a focus for community activity, from badminton to ballet, classes to choral societies. In rural areas, the village hall has often provided the only venue, and this has been recognised by regional arts associations who cover remoter areas, such as the Northern and South-Western regions (Bailey and Scott, 1989; Brinson, 1992).

Without pursuing a sterile argument over what qualifies as and constitutes an 'arts centre', and more importantly what is not covered by the NAAC definition ('regular base

for substantial programmes...in more than one art form... professional input..primarily used for arts activities'), the emergence of local arts development has changed the focus and role of many arts centres, with the rediscovery of the animateur and outreach role and the resource nature of many organisations - a growing networking function. In view of the changing functional nature of arts centres (as well as many outward-looking museums, galleries and festivals), which must reflect local needs and existing provision (commercial and public theatres, galleries, studios etc.), the essence of the arts centre ethos is perhaps worth restating: *"it lies equally in the spirit of participation that tends to inform and shape the activities at most centres"* (Hutchison and Forrester, 1987 p.216).

Although not usually defined as an arts centre facility, managed workspaces/studios (Chapter 10) which house arts businesses and cultural industries, notably visual arts, media and crafts production, can also fulfil the arts centre role as defined above. These are not generally places of public performance and display, but this can be a dual/occasional role, such as the 'East End Open' (Whitechapel Gallery) and can incorporate gallery and shop units, such as the Harborfront crafts studios, Toronto (Appendix VII). The dynamic and non-intimidating form of the 'arts centre' provides further opportunities in arts planning, beyond the preoccupation with designated arts space. Indeed, given the barriers to arts participation, and the role of arts infrastructure discussed above, *Taking the centre out of arts centres* (as the London Association of Arts Centres report suggested - LAAC, 1987), requires a more integrative approach to planning and arts provision:

> *"should Arts Culture and Entertainment* [ACE] *activities be treated as a 'stand alone' topic area, or should policies to realise the benefits of ACE to the community seek to harness them via other, broader mechanisms proposed in the plan, eg.by incorporation in relevant sections on Town Centres, urban design, employment, specific areas"* (LPAC, 1990b).

6.7 Local Development Plans and Arts, Culture and Entertainment (ACE)

The methodologies explored above - established leisure and recreation planning, amenity planning for development areas (eg. new towns) and the increased recognition of the realities of urban planning and related design and spatial considerations - have led towards a more integrated analysis, and the formulation of policies linking land-use planning and development, with arts facility provision and related infrastructure. Concepts within this approach include direct arts input to the built and natural environment, notably through

public art, and the involvement of artists and craftspeople in design and planning itself (the latter is still rare in the UK). In addition, the regenerative potential of arts activities has been recognised, from events, venues and workspaces, to the economic development of the arts and cultural industries as part of local production, enterprise and cultural development (eg. Sheffield media industries, Newcastle *Theatre Village* - Chapter 5, and 7 above).

Cultural quarters - the critical mass of activities that draw visitors and users and extend the active use of city and town centres (Comedia, 1992), and environmental quality (eg. lighting, public squares, pedestrianisation, transport, licensing) - all require a response from the planning system and the control and development of property and infrastructure, such as transport. The protection of cultural assets and access to affordable spaces for arts activities also requires a planning response, if arts planning is to have any application in a largely free market system, particularly in the absence of arts 'capital' (LAB, 1992a).

The mechanisms by which these and other arts planning objectives might be achieved and mitigated, have been developed in guidelines prepared by the 'Planning London's Arts and Culture' (PLAC) group of individuals, who met through the offices of Greater London Arts between 1988 and 1991. This initiative responded in part to London's 'absence' from the models and examples of arts and urban regeneration (BAAA, 1988, 1989, 1990 and 1993 and see Chapter 7), which were dominated by North American and northern British cities (located in assisted/European Regional Development Fund - ERDF - Areas), and also to the opportunity offered by the Unitary Development Plan (UDP) process within each London borough, signalling a return to a more planning-led approach to town and urban planning, post 1980s property boom.

6.7.1 Unitary Development Plans

Unitary Development Plans (UDPs) were a creation of both the void in Strategic Planning, in the absence of a regional London authority, and a desire to the return to a more planning-led approach to land-use, the control of development, and consequently in the planning of amenity and economic provision and related infrastructure. This did not, however, represent a rejection of the market or a return to a central planning system, but a more pragmatic recognition that a complete free for all in development was not desirable for any party. The uncertainty and oppositional position between planning authorities,

developers, investors and local communities brought the planning and development system to an impasse in urban areas. The liberalisation of premises change-of-use, which had fuelled much office re/development since 1986 (Chapter 3 and 4), contributed to the massive over-supply in London's office accommodation, predicted to exceed demand until the year 2007 (Doak, 1993). The ensuing property crash combined to leave the city and urban fringe developments vacant, but the boom-bust cycle had again altered the shape of many areas, from mixed-use to single-use areas (eg. office, retail).

The recognition that the creation of development plans would avoid the inefficiency of both market failure and environmental chaos, was perhaps inevitable, if slow in coming to the UK. Elsewhere in Europe (Sharp, 1992), and in most North American cities (for example Los Angeles, where the Community Redevelopment Authority was set up in 1948 - Sudjic, 1993), the importance of a sound infrastructure and designated planning zones has long been recognised. The presence of plans and pre-determined preferences as to the use of particular areas and sites, urban design and other environmental requirements, avoids spurious development proposals and a more co-operative planning regime. The place of the planning and review process, as witnessed in Toronto (TAC, 1992; Bradley, 1993), gains significance here, as consultation is required in order to determine the development plan in terms of policy and planning implementation.

London borough and other unitary authority UDPs will normally have a time span of ten years (DoEn, 1988), during which time periodic reviews can be made, but these are not statutory unless the Secretary of State directs (TCPA, 1990), but 'continuing duty is imposed to keep under review the matters which may be expected to affect the development of their area or the planning of its development' (op.cit. 11:1). The *unitary* nature of these development plans is due to the absence of a regional planning authority, whereas outside of London, district and borough councils draw up Local Plans, alongside Structure Plans which are the responsibility of County, or Metropolitan Councils. A degree of strategic and regional planning is evident elsewhere, leaving London boroughs effectively isolated, save from the voluntary 'strategic advice' provided by LPAC, and ad hoc pleas and intervention from agencies such as the regional arts board (LAB), tourism board (LTB), various civic and amenity associations and private sector consortia (London First et al).

London councils have therefore been required to prepare a new borough-wide plan, concerned with land-use, transport, environment and economic development, however as the regional arts association pointed out: *"these plans are unlikely to contain much about the provision of Arts, Culture and Entertainment unless arts officers and organisations become actively involved in their preparation"* (GLA, 1991 p.1). Responses to draft UDP proposals from the regional arts board and others, have centred around the desire to see an integration of arts and cultural policies and mechanisms within these planning guides, and this has required the interpretation of their 'needs' in environmental planning, as well as in local 'amenity' terms. The development of arts planning in this way and the inclusion of the arts and related infrastructure requirements in borough development plans are both unprecedented at least in terms of the UK - a tentative move towards a cultural planning approach. An analysis of these and the treatment of arts policy within UDPs forms part of the survey and findings presented in Chapter 8. This provides a London comparative analysis by borough, and is preceded in the next chapter by a borough survey which assesses the extent and integration of arts planning and arts input to urban regeneration as part of the land-use, economic development and planning process, in the period prior to the preparation of Unitary Development Plans by each borough.

CHAPTER 7 THE ARTS AND REGENERATION IN LONDON: AN URBAN RENAISSANCE?

7.0 Introduction

In this chapter, a review of the rationales and interpretation of arts and cultural input to city regeneration strategies is undertaken, focusing on former industrial areas and their adoption of themed and image-creation approaches, linking economic development with tourism, heritage and arts promotion. The influence of European Commission assistance schemes is of particular significance here and the relative State spending on arts and culture is therefore further translated in terms of cultural spending at a city level, contrasting London's poor ranking in European city terms. The national arts policy of resource distribution and the Arts Council's 1984 'Glory of the Garden' strategies are then analysed in terms of London's declining proportion of regional arts funding and tourism share. Against this backdrop of resurgent regional cities - including London's notable absence in regeneration strategies and investment assistance during the 1980s (nothwithstanding the creation of the London Docklands Development Corporation in 1980), and its perceived decline as a competitive 'world city' - this leads to a discussion of London's particular role and needs in cultural planning and the formation in 1989 of a 'London World City' case, addressing its planning and arts facility provision complexities, as discussed earlier in this thesis.

London's exceptional concentration of arts and cultural employment is again emphasised in this part of the study, since this influences and informs arts and planning approaches, as do the clusters of cultural activity and production in certain parts of London - the focus for case study chapters 9 and 10. Given the world city analysis, a short comparative study is also made of London and Paris, as competing cultural capital cities, again contrasting planning approaches in the key regeneration areas of London's Docklands and the more successful La Défense and La Villette redevelopment areas in Paris. The remainder of the chapter presents the findings of a comparative survey of London local authorities in terms of policy rationales adopted and mechanisms used to incorporate the arts into urban regeneration schemes, showing the links with urban programme policies discussed earlier in Chapter 3. Examples of individual borough arts and urban regeneration projects and initiatives are listed in Appendix VII, based on the borough survey and supplemented with secondary analysis. Finally, a summary of the survey results points to the limitations of the borough urban policies and examples provided. Despite the growing

recognition given to arts and urban regeneration, these have not on the whole developed within a local or regional planning framework and are unlikely to be sustainable over time. Indeed, there is evidence that many of these schemes have not been maintained or fully developed, suggesting that a more integrated system of planning for the arts within town plans and a cultural planning approach is needed - as maintained in this thesis and explored in subsequent chapters.

7.1 The political economy of urban policy and regeneration has been referred to in Chapters 3 and 5 in terms of urban programme and subsequent "challenge" schemes and in terms of the 'patchwork' of initiatives that are based on competition and private-sector partnerships. A planning framework to these policies has been largely absent since they rely on commercial property interests, existing infrastructure support (eg.transport) and the promotion of image (for tourists, investors, employers etc). This was largely echoed in the urban renaissance advocated by the Arts Council and regional arts associations, with the experience of North American cities in particular resonating in the UK (BAAA, 1988 and 1989). Urban regeneration in practice takes place at site level, albeit on varying scales - sometimes a single building, development area or 'zone' - whether public or private sector-led. The role and interpretation of the potential for arts input to regeneration projects is focused on individual boroughs, through both planning (policy and development control), arts amenity and economic development functions, with advocacy provided by regional arts and other agencies.

Whilst the value of the promotion of the arts, and their mutually beneficial contribution to urban, regional and economic development, were expounded regionally (eg. GLA, 1989a; LCC, 1987; Myerscough, 1988 and 1989) and nationally (eg. Arts Council, 1986a; 1989b), the implementation and dissemination of such policies therefore lays primarily at the local level, both in public (planning authorities, public and civic realm/amenity), independent (voluntary, semi-commercial, subsidised arts and heritage) and private sectors (entertainment and cultural industries). As Fisher commented: *"The driving forces behind such initiatives and behind this significant change of attitude towards the arts and culture are complicated and prosaic, sometimes pragmatic, but always concerned with local identity"* (1991 p.2).

Industrial and regional 'capitals' and resurgent resorts had from the 1980s increasingly been associated with regeneration, often event-based and linked to industrial and cultural heritage (French, 1992), whether authentic or spurious (the 'staged authenticity' of MacCannell, 1984 and 1993). English examples of such cultural initiatives include the association with literary and artistic figures of the British Tourist Authority's annual promotion 'Literary Britain' (BTA, 1994). This covered literary or artistic figures both living or dead, from Hockney (Bradford), "Catherine Cookson County" to "Bronte Country", Du Maurier (Cornwall), Potter (Cumbria), "Hardy Country", "George Elliot Country" (Prentice, 1994 p.310) and the ubiquitous Charles Dickens (Broadstairs, Canterbury, Rochester...). Other examples included Chaucer and "Pilgrim" cultural trails (and see CEC, 1992). The renovation of theatres and music halls - redundant and rediscovered (eg. the original Globe - Southwark) has been vital in the renaissance of the civic venue (Theatres Trust, 1992 and 1993) alongside their modern counterpart, the arena-style concert hall and what Austwick refers to "Aida in Disneyland" (1989).

If the hype is to be believed, the scale of such city and regional investment and promotional initiatives outside London had pointed to an urban renaissance on a level not witnessed since the golden age of Victorian development of cultural, civic and public amenities. Such urban redevelopment, cultural 'quarters' and similar tourism and visitor-led schemes ranged from garden festivals successively held at Liverpool, Glasgow, Gateshead, Stoke and Ebbw Vale (PACEC, 1990), new theme parks through to heritage centres and cultural festivals, especially European Cities of Culture (Glasgow 1990, Dublin 1991). All took advantage of various capital funding incentive and promotional schemes, from national and international sources. These used a plethora of sources of grant-aid: Derelict Land Grants, Urban and Inner City Programmes (Chapter 3), Tourism Development Grants (Gratton and Montgomery, 1991), European (EC) Regional and Social Fund *infrastructure* grants and joint EC schemes with local authorities, supporting areas of denationalised, declining industries (eg. steel, coal mining, textiles, shipbuilding, port and docks). Such initiatives were also strongly encouraged by investment incentives (Evans, 1993b), and by local taxation exemption and planning regime relaxation (via Urban Development Corporations and Enterprise Zones). The partnership with the private sector manifested itself in three main ways: through the devices of corporate sponsorship, investment (Allen, 1990) and patronage incentives for private benefactors such as Grant Aid tax deductions; through

operational management (contracting-out by public 'clients' - see Stott, 1991; Craig, 1992; Fishel, 1993), and through the direct ownership and development of arts projects and cultural facilities by private sector entrepreneurs and investors (RIBA, 1991). Partnership and alliance approaches modelled on that of the USA (Boyle and Meyer, 1990; Todd, 1988) also advanced the corporate benefactor both as community leader and arts sponsor, despite the major differences - rarely understood - between the USA corporate patronage model and that of the UK (Stewart, 1987). Nevertheless, such initiatives were seen as echoing the role of the patrician city fathers of earlier times:

> *"The alliance of the arts and the city is nothing new. For the last four hundred years, the arts in their collective practice have largely been the product of an urban environment..The significance of the 1980s to the process of cultural planning has been the widening range of participants in that process: business as well as public agencies, the re-emergent private patron as well as the philanthropic trust, planners and developers as well as arts managers"* (Pratley, 1988 p.8).

The viability of these arts and other cultural-led schemes frequently rested on the availability of cheap, derelict/vacant land and buildings, often redundant manufacturing and mining sites with no prospective re-use, as well as regional assistance and relaxation of planning controls (change-of-use from industrial/manufacturing to services/recreation). Examples include Dean Clough, Halifax a redundant carpet factory, now a mixed-use managed work space for arts, media and cultural industry firms (Evans, 1991a), or the faked "heritage" shopping environment of the Gateshead Metro Centre. Such developments were celebrated, not only by the government and agencies (Arts Council, 1989b) as models of public-private partnership, but by action research-based 'events' eg. the British American Arts Association's 'Arts and the City' series (1988, 1989, 1990, 1993 and see also Bianchini and Parkinson 1993 and Bianchini 1988, 1989b and 1990).

7.2 The position of London

The capital London, did not, however, feature to any extent in these 1980s initiatives and models. For example the British-American conference case studies of arts and urban regeneration (BAAA, 1988) were located in Newcastle, Bradford, Belfast and Glasgow. Similarly in the USA, the prominent examples were not in major metropolitan centres such as Washington, New York or even Los Angeles, but in Boston, Lowell and Yale. West European comparisons also lacked a London focus (*cf.* Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993 on

Glasgow and Liverpool). As Ken Worpole noted: *"The rise of 'second' cities in Britain in the 1980s...cannot be separated out from the decline of London as the confident, elected, self-governing metropolitan centre of the UK"* (Worpole, 1994, p.163)

The Europeanisation of British political culture (Evans, 1993b) was also supported through Commission for the European Communities-funded networks: 'Eurocities' representing major European 'second cities', and the 'Commission des Villes' representing a network of smaller towns and cities (Worpole, 1994), where:

> *"Economic interaction, the exchange of best practice policy and resource lobbying has, in recent years, led to inter-urban co-operation and an explosion of interest and participation in networks of cities...(which) often aim to subdue the increasing intensity of city rivalry by stimulating collaboration rather than competition"* (Dawson, 1992 in Worpole p.159).

As already noted, London had also faced growing competition for service-based company location (Chapter 4) and therefore for inward and local investment and for cultural-led tourism (Evans, 1993c). The implications of all these trends were not lost on a group of London representatives (Appendix VI) who on their return from the seminal Glasgow BAAA conference in 1988, above, formed the 'Arts and Urban Regeneration Group', coordinated by the Greater London Arts Association (GLA, 1989a) in response. In addition to staff from the regional arts association, Group members came from local authorities, the London Docklands Development Corporation (LDDC), London Planning Advisory Committee (LPAC), London universities, the property developers Rosehaugh Stanhope plc and bankers Citicorp. This group sought to demonstrate and develop comparable examples in London, to assess the transferability of such arts and urban regeneration 'models' (and London's particular constraints on these) and to respond to the perceived competitive threat from the provinces and abroad.

Equally, the international threat was seen to be significant, and to emanate from as close as Paris and the rapidly growing programme of arts and heritage tourism initiatives in the Nord-Pas de Calais region, in advance of the completion of the planned Channel Tunnel, including the Paris of EuroDisney and the *Grands Projets* (Comedia, 1991a, p.53-58; Biasini, 1989), as well as from further afield. Slightly more distant examples of such cultural developments included Poitiers ('Futuroscope'), Nîmes and Rennes (Bianchini and Parkinson,

1993). The 'Sun Belt' and cultural capitals of Spain (Madrid, Barcelona, Seville), Portugal, Southern Italy, Greece, Central and Eastern Europe, were all attracting growing numbers of traditional London visitors, while resurgent Germany, including newly unified Berlin (Comedia, 1991a), Cologne and particularly Frankfurt (technology, communications, new museums), were challenging London's European capital role.

The boom in already comparatively high property values and the growing crisis in local authority revenue generation and capital investment, post-GLC abolition, had left London exposed to an exodus of *foot-loose* employers, cultural production and key workers (GLA, 1989e). London was perceived to face the real risk of marginal status in 'World City' terms within the forseeable future. At the national level at least, a positivist analysis would view London as being priced out of the market (costs of production - land, labour/skills and capital), which through the invisible hand of the free-market mechanism, migrates to lower cost areas. Regional policy and assistance schemes (British and European) positively encouraged this scenario. Internationally this 'post-Fordist' process has already seen the relocation of both labour intensive as well as technology intensive industrial activity away from developed countries altogether (King, 1990). Under such a scenario cultural amenity, communications and quality of life were therefore seen as one of the last opportunities to stem these outflows, (investment, jobs, population) and conversely to reverse this trend through inward investment and a switch from manufacturing to services employment (Chapter 4).

It was therefore argued that there was a 'special case' for investment and maintenance of cultural amenity, infrastructure and production, even where the over-arching ideology is free-market, efficiency and competition-led. An example of such prioritisation in practice is evident in Birmingham, the largest single tier local authority in England, where over the past decade an urban regeneration policy has focused on "flagship" visitor attractions and the public realm, though allegedly by diverting funds allocated for social and educational investment (Taylor, 1988; Arts Business Ltd, 1992; Loftman and Nevin, 1992).

However, in the case of London the then current regional policy of the Arts Council ('Glory of the Garden', 1984) continued to give the impression of penalising the capital and the Home Counties to redress the unquestionable regional imbalance of total resources. This

was manifested in the 1991/2 allocations of grant-aid to Regional Arts Boards: a 4.5% increase to London, versus 10% overall: *"since 1986/7, London's share [of regional Arts Council funding] has dropped a total of 4.32% - a direct result of the equalisation policies of the* Glory of the Garden. *For London therefore, the governments claimed munificence has a very hollow ring about it"* (Gilderson, 1993 p.30). The following statistics (Table 7.1) show the continuing shift in Arts Council grant resources in favour of the regions outside London in the transition from the voluntary sector Regional Arts Association (RAA) to the official, government-controlled Regional Arts Boards (RABs) between 1990 and 1992. The only single figure increases in percentage terms were those for Greater London (4.5%) and the South East (5.5%). This year-on-year change reflected an underlying decrease in London's share of Arts Council funding in relation to other regions. Between 1987 (following abolition of the metropolitan regional councils) and 1996, London's share of regional arts board funding decreased by 5.5% from 28.8% to 23.3%. London's arts proponents maintained that this redistribution of subsidy had failed to reflect the capital's strategic, national and international role, as both a draw and national generator of arts output, in contrast to the existing and new competitors on the Continent (Gavron, 1989).

TABLE 7.1 ARTS COUNCIL GRANTS TO REGIONAL ARTS ASSOCIATIONS (RAAs)			
REGIONAL ARTS ASSOCIATION	**1990/91**	**1991/92**	**% Increase**
Eastern	2,290,000	2,597,000	13.4
East Midlands	2,058,560	2,288,000	18.5
Greater London	8,655,000	9,046,000	4.5
Lincs. & Humberside	1,168,000	1,337,000	14.5
Merseyside	1,277,000	1,416,000	10.9
Northern	3,971,000	4,416,000	11.2
North West	2,467,000	2,757,000	11.7
Southern	2,067,000	2,306,000	18.6
South East	1,804,000	2,121,000	5.5
South West	2,041,000	2,266,000	11.0
West Midlands	2,808,000	3,125,000	11.3
Yorkshire	2.582.000	2,914,000	12.9
TOTAL	**33,371,000**	**36,694,000**	**10.2**

(Arts Council figures include RAA contingency fund and in 1991/92, allocations from the enhancement fund)

The Labour Party's Shadow Arts and Media Minister, Mark Fisher M.P., also echoed the distributive move away from London: *"..the capital has kept most things to itself, theatres, galleries, television companies, publishing houses, agents, work, investment. Now other cities are fighting back"* (Fisher, 1991 p.6). A new counter argument thus emerged, ie. that the continued application of the 1984 'Glory of the Garden' principles was failing to consider the external forces of international competition, played out at cultural capital level. This position was specifically taken up by the 'World City' research and profile-raising project (LPAC, 1991), fuelled by the confusion and lack of co-ordination which had built-up since the demise of the Greater London Council (and remains unresolved today). This project was sponsored by an unlikely grouping of agencies, led by the London Planning Advisory Committee (LPAC), with the London Ports Authority, London Docklands Development Corporation, Greater London Arts, The Corporation of London, London Transport and Westminster City Council. This group sought to redress the perceptual balance in London's favour, as a world city, including its dominant position in culture (Comedia, 1991a), when ranked against New York, Paris, Frankfurt, Tokyo and unified Berlin. This coalition was itself a reflection of the perceived scale of the problem and threat, and the

consensus that 'something had to be done'.

London's exposed position - real and perceived - in terms of regional and strategic planning, was not only the concern of party politicians and agencies: *"The politically driven fragmentation of London has not only ravaged the public realm, but also caused London to lose layers of its identity"* (Glancey, 1993 p.4). The plethora of London-wide groups attempting to fill parts of this vacuum included several private and voluntary sector led initiatives: *London First, London Pride* (primarily marketing, investment and promotional bodies), *London Forum* (representing civic amenity societies), the design and regeneration-led *Vision for London*, the *London Regeneration Network* (voluntary sector agencies) and *London 2000* (local authorities). The Confederation of British Industry (CBI) proposed a London Development Agency (CBI, 1991) later producing 'London plc, a 10-Year Business Plan' (CBI, June 1993), and the call for a Minister for London gained cross-party and cross-sector support (eg. Porter, 1991). The importance of strategic city planning was also confirmed by a survey of international business for the World City research: 88% of respondents saw a role for an official strategic planning and transport body for London, whilst an associated survey showed that in mainland Europe 70% of cities had a strategic plan (Richard Ellis, in Coopers & Lybrand Deloitte, 1991 p.11).

7.3 London and European City Regions

The comparative position of public funding of the arts was also presented by such studies as a disadvantage for London, compounded by the non-mandatory status[1] and the absence of cultural planning and provision norms, compared with some Continental countries of federalist Germany ('länder') and more regionally-strong France, Italy and Netherlands (Lintner and Mazey, 1991). Unlike most West European counterparts, cultural provision in the UK has been relegated to the lower reaches of political agendas, and consequently in resource allocation (Feist and Hutchison, 1990b; Evans, 1993b). Regional variations in arts funding also confirm the bias towards capital cities, which can also mask the impact of the relatively well-funded national, flagship cultural centres, alongside deteriorating local provision (Figure 7.1).

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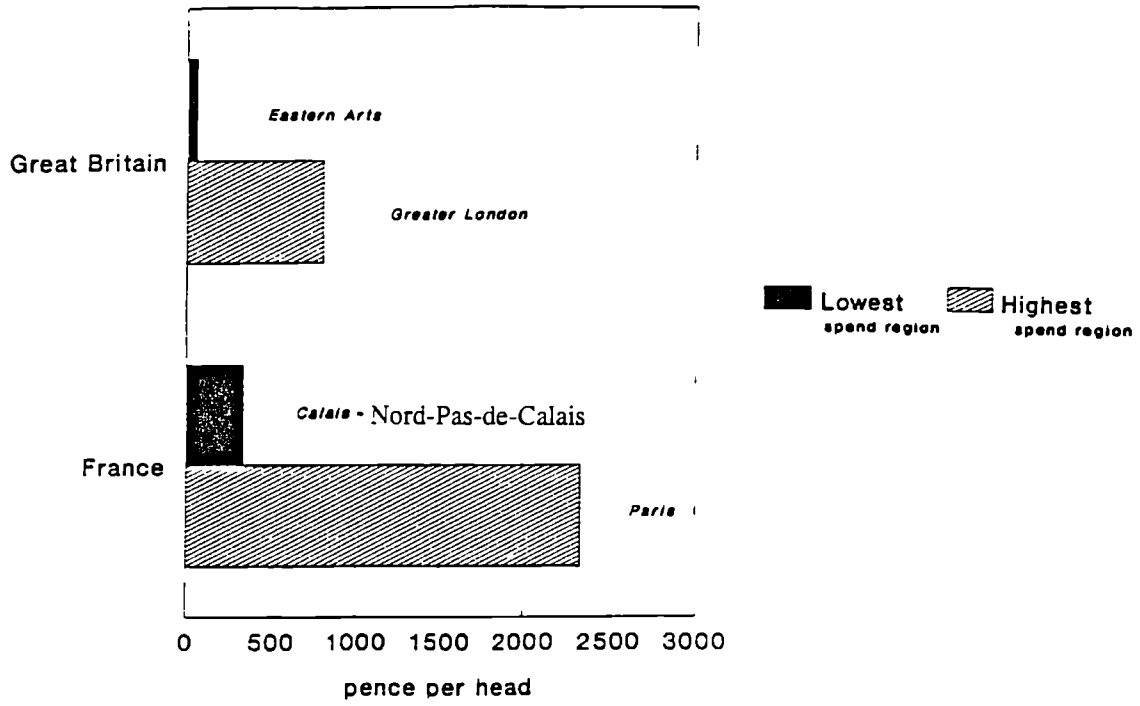
[1] Peter Palumbo, Chairman of the Arts Council of GB at a meeting with Local Authority Associations in November 1990, claimed to have *"all Party support"* for making Arts provision a mandatory responsibility of local government in England and Wales (Evans, 1993a p.3) as it is in Scotland: *"a...council shall ensure that there is adequate provision for facilities for the inhabitants of their area for recreational, sporting, cultural and social activities"* (Local Government and Planning [Scotland] Act 1982), and in Northern Ireland. See Chapter 11 below.

FIGURE 7.1. Regional variations in expenditure on the arts, museums and culture



(Feist and Hutchison, 1989a)

For example in France, Parisians (predominantly University students) are the main users of the major library facilities at the Pompidou Centre, although this is nationally funded and costs each French taxpayer £23 per year. Despite earnings of around £9 million each year, and although the Pompidou Centre is visited by 9 million people a year, less than 20% actually enter fee-paying areas of this local-international venue (Evans, 1993c, p.18; Uusilato, 1993 p.9). Unlike London, however, French provincial cities have long asserted their 'independence': *"There seems to be a marked contrast with French experience where the provinces came into their own after 1871...and the dominion of Paris had been broken"* (Briggs, p.1990 pp.359-360). Co-funding of many cultural projects in French provinces since 1981 (including sixty new or refurbished regional museums) continued from the centre, however, and the first of Mitterrand's promised regional *Grand Projets*, the Grenoble Museum has opened, at a capital cost of £28 million and whose annual running costs (estimated at £4.5 million) have increased Grenoble's subsidy of the arts by a further £30 per head of population, an increase of 22% (Boylan, 1994 p.24). Other recent French examples of arts input to urban regeneration are essayed by Negrier (Montpelier) and Le Galés (Rennes) in Bianchini and Parkinson (1993), alongside Paris' high profile Grands Projets (Biasini, 1989), but in contrast *"The full history of the relations between London and the provinces remains to be written"* (Briggs, 1990 p.359). As the business consultants to the

'London: World City' research initiative concluded:

> *"London is a world-class centre of culture only just surpassed on a number of counts (eg. visual arts) by New York. It has a wealth of museums and galleries, internationally renowned theatre, opera and ballet companies, major symphony orchestras and an internationally respected training infrastructure in the arts. However, unlike Paris with stronger advantages, London appears to be making less concerted effort to assess its cultural attributes and promote them for the 21st century"* (Coopers & Lybrand Deloitte, 1991 p.7)

Comparative public funding of the arts between France, Germany and the UK also reinforces the disparity at city level - shown in Table 7.2 below - London receiving less cultural subsidy per capita than regional French and German cities, let alone their capitals:

Table 7.2 Arts and Museums subsidy per head (Comedia, 1991a pp.52-3)

Paris	£262
Other French cities (average)	£65
Berlin	£138
Bonn	£150
Frankfurt	£238
London	£45

In times of close scrutiny and contraction of public expenditure, such non-mandatory provision has been exceptionally vulnerable in the UK, and has suffered cuts often out of all proportion to its share of overall resources. Arts and entertainment spend typically represents less than 5% of local authority leisure budgets in London and metropolitan authorities (CELTS, 1995; Marsh and White, 1995; Feist, 1995) and the Leisure budgets themselves represent only between 5% and 7% of total council revenue spending (CELTS, 1995; Audit Commission, 1991a and b; Henry, 1993). Alan Tomkins, formerly GLC Principal Arts and Recreation Officer during its last period, also suspects that council budget decisions are predetermined (by senior officers and councillors), often without full discussion or reference to the arts and voluntary sectors whose funding is being reduced or even withdrawn:

> *"Many London boroughs with a good track-record in the arts have been forced to cut-back...the arts in particular. These decisions are frequently made outside the democratic structures of the Council.* ***The absence of planning results in short-term savings but long-term losses"*** (Tomkins, 1993 p.6, **my emphasis**).

London's notable absence from the urban regeneration 'portfolio' was also to be expected. In terms of the political economy of arts and regional policy and the capital's atypical status, its position was underpinned and complicated by the size of its existing cultural economy and the presence of so many national 'flagship' cultural organisations, despite the period of national redistribution and devolution of arts resources and activity. The model of replicating "little Londons" in the provincial cities has been the chosen path, encouraged by the London-based arts funding agencies and their regional satellites, again mirroring the urban renaissance of the sixteenth century where provincial towns copied and imported London's cultural facilities and life (Borsay, 1990). The ability of regions to assert their own identity and cultural practices has been historically limited - Briggs (1990 p.357) argues that by the time of the Victorian era in England: *"Socially the days of autonomous regional cultures were doomed"*. Keynes, as the first Arts Council chairman had resisted this in terms of the arts:

> *"How satisfactory it would be if different parts of the country would walk their several ways as they once did and learn to develop something different from their neighbours and characteristic of themselves. Nothing can be more damaging than the excessive prestige of metropolitan standards and fashions. Let every part of Merry England be merry in its own way. Death to Hollywood"* (Keynes, 1945, quoted in Pick, 1991, p.108)

However, as discussed earlier in this thesis (Chapter 2) subsequent arts policy and resourcing was to reinforce the London-centrism (Hutchison, 1982a and see Pedersen and Mandler, 1994).

London's role as 'cultural workshop', then as now, was able to import and absorb a critical mass of new and traditional arts, and particularly cross-cultural influences (in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, including French and Italian courtly culture: music, dance and fashion - Borsay, 1980; Weightman, 1993). London, according to King, also functions as a place of cultural fusion and mediation between incoming and established arts and cultural forms, as well as its traditional role as: *"a centre for the diffusion of a Western mass culture"* (1990 p.150).

In terms of employment, the headline economic indicators revealed by Myerscough's study of the 'Economic Importance of the Arts' (1988) were, not surprisingly,

proportionately highest in London. Of the 500,000 jobs supported in the 'arts' nationally[2], 40% of these were based in London, including 80% of all visual and craft artists. The arts 'industry' represented 2.1% of the national Gross Domestic Product (GDP), whilst the equivalent in London was 6% of the capital's GDP. The close correlation between visitor economic activity and cultural attractions in London also confirmed its cultural capital status in terms of arts venues: theatre, gallery, auction house, concert hall and museum (op.cit. and see Gapinsky, 1988; Evans, 1993e and Chapter 4 above).

Though national census figures understate activity in the arts and cultural sectors, which are characterised by freelance, home working and part-time working (eg. musicians, actors, craft makers - Evans, 1993e), the 1991 National Census confirmed the size of London's arts and entertainment labour market:

Table 7.3 London Employment in Arts and Mass Communications Sectors (DE, 1991)	**Employment (FTEs)**
Radio, TV, Theatre	39,887
Film	11,074
Publishing	85,147
Clubs	11,975
TOTAL	148,083

Comedia (1991a) estimated that there were in addition a further 67,000 jobs represented by London's music industry (29,200); visual arts and crafts (12,600); and in advertising and design (25,400), though this total had in fact decreased between 1989 and 1991 (DE, 1991) with job losses particularly notable in this period in Clubs (down by 14%), Film (down by 7%) and Publishing (down by 7%). Although it is not possible to determine the relative importance of factors contributing to this short-term decline - recession, relocation and employment restructuring (contracting out, new technology in production and distribution, economies of scale) - are the most common explanations, coupled with changes and shifts (substitutes) in cultural consumption in volume and preference terms (Henley, 1985 and 1990; Martin and Mason, 1992 and 1994). The impact of economic recession, high

[2] Myerscough's definition of arts employment *excluded* heritage, libraries, design and architecture, fashion and publishing, all of which are major parts of London's overall "cultural industries" sector

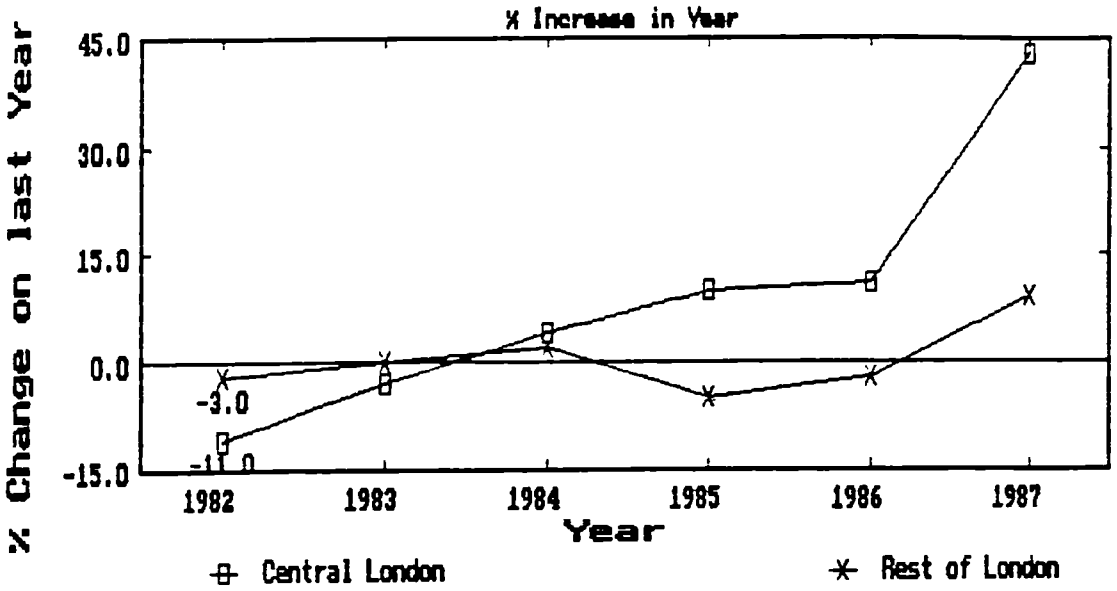
property costs (rental, business rates) and London factors, above, appear to have been the prime reasons for a loss of up to 20% of arts and cultural firms operating in the borough surveyed for this study (Islington - Chapter 9) and also in a similar borough study of Haringey (Evans, 1989; 1993e and 1994a). Spatial variations are also marked - over 45% of the cultural sector jobs in London were located in the central boroughs of Camden, Hammersmith, Kensington and Westminster (CENTEC-Central Training and Enterprise Council area), whilst the next highest area contained only 15% (boroughs in the South Thames TEC area of Southwark, Greenwich, Lambeth and Lewisham - STTEC, 1993).

It is a measure of the impact of the Conservative government's political agenda (Jenkins, 1995) that it has not been concern for public amenity or socio-cultural experience, but economic regeneration, specifically job and wealth creation potential of the arts (job and income multipliers - Myerscough, 1988), that has raised both the profile and credibility of the arts as a 'value-added' component within urban policy. The economic impact of the arts on tourism, particular in London and other heritage and cultural cities, manifested itself as a competitive and valuable element in property developments and urban design. The beautification and animation potential of arts and artist involvement in both new-build and in run-down sites is now well-documented, although the exploitation of this role, to use the housing term, as a 'short-life' exercise, is also recorded in Zukin's salutary tale in New York (1988 and see Appendix VII). Pratley notes this cycle of 'market failure' and the role and exploitation of the artist in property regeneration projects:*"Left over areas: today's area from which the artist is prevented by economics is tomorrow's area where the artist is begged by a developer to move in because the development went bust"* (in BAAA, 1993 p.28).

Mixed-use developments of office, retail and 'leisure' are themes that have been adopted by developers and local authorities, the latter seeking to secure arts and social amenities (including social housing), as part of privately financed developments. This is not a new phenomenon, however, examples in the 1960s included Newport, Gwent's new Central Library, Museum and Gallery, as part of a commercial shopping centre, and Leicester Haymarket Theatre (1973), both built through 'development gains': *"There are, of course, some new public buildings - big new libraries in Cardiff, Glasgow, Hounslow, Ealing... - but significantly they have often been financed or part-financed as 'planning*

gains' on the back of a new shopping mall..." (Worpole, 1994 p.161). The partnership between commerce and culture also harks back to the first urban renaissance financed by city patrons and industrialists. Since the 1970s this has also been a pragmatic response to the restrictions on local authority capital spending (Chapter 2) and a reflection of the dramatic rise in property values experienced in London during the mid-1980's (Evans, 1993a p.11):

Figure 7.2 Capital Values of Industrial Property in London - 1982 to 1987



The opportunities for arts input to urban regeneration in London were therefore influenced and in some ways constrained by the following factors, which were either unique or felt to be more acute than in most other regions (see Harvey, 1989; Friedman's hypothesis on the 'World City', 1986 and in the Victorian period, Briggs, 1968 chapter 8):

1. High property and land values, fuelled by change of use (supply) and financial deregulation ('Big Bang' - demand) and the consequent property boom;

2. High relative cost of living, consequent low 'real' pay and conditions of arts staff (GLA, 1989e)

3. No strategic authority - planning, policy, education, infrastructure etc.

4. Redistributive regional policy - arts, economic (regional and inward investment), relocation of offices and places of production (public and private)

5. Mix of national, flagship and local arts facilities and companies

6. Tourism dominance - domestic and overseas visitors

7. Political competition and conflict between boroughs - *no overall control or consensus* (Hebbert and Travers, 1989)

8. Central Zone/Inner-Outer London divide - political, socio-economic, arts facilities and usage

9. Depopulation and demographic change (LCCI, 1992; OPCS, 1993)

10. Ethnic minority communities - recurrent ghettoisation; new immigrants/refugees[3]:

On this last point, Owusu commented: *"For many black artists working in the city, the city itself is a terrain of contested spaces, and that changes the whole equation for many of them, because one does not assume one's own space within the city in the way that a white or European artist might"* (in BAAA, 1993 p.22).

The response to the above scenario, reflecting the libertarian and market-led environment in which arts organisations had been placed, required a more sophisticated and at the same time, more pragmatic approach by local authorities and other arts development agencies in London. Whilst replicating the corporatist model (Henry, 1993) in terms of the range of statutory and other services they solely delivered, but with no London-wide authority, individual boroughs arguably required heightened co-ordination across and between neighbouring parts of London. Moreover, if a move towards a local cultural policy (Chapter 5), as opposed to a prescriptive arts policy as an extension of national/regional art form or static amenity provision, was to be achieved, the integration of planning, economic development and cultural facility needs would also be required.

At the same time the attraction to private developers of arts input to schemes, both in prime and degenerated areas, was also complex and fraught. Factors in a competitive rentals market include design and image - a 'sense of place', public art and art in architecture (and the more privatist 'office art'), all of which increasingly had a contributory role in urban developments. This embraced design and planning concepts such as 'one-stop-shopping', 'retail-leisure experience' and perhaps even the civilising values of the presence of art and design and animation in otherwise brutal and often ubiquitous malls and high street

[3] Areas such as Whitechapel, Shoreditch and Clerkenwell had received successive waves of immigrants/ refugees, from the Irish (1840-60s); Jewish (1870s); Caribbean and from the Indian sub-continent (1950-60s), whilst protestant Huguenots had settled in the East End in the seventeenth century (Chapter 10) and see Said (1994)

frontages. As already indicated, the attraction of cultural amenity and quality of public realm to commercial and executive re/location preferences have continued to gain force since Myerscough's influential study re-established this connection (1988) in the contemporary urban renaissance period. The economic imperative is therefore less distinguishable from the social, where once the dividing line between welfare state and public goods and the private sector was clear: *"It is curious that in a commodified world it seems to be* social *and not merely economic factors which determine whether capital investment will take place or not. **Attractive locations for individual and collective consumption have become preconditions of production"*** **(my emphasis**, Rustin, 1994 p.81 and see Harvey, 1989; Evans, 1993b).

For example, the 'arts centre as entertainment corporation', as seen in the USA, has pinnacled in Frank Gehry's Walt Disney Opera House in Los Angeles, which may presage a further import to Britain, given the dominant US model of urban regeneration (Barnekov *et al*, 1989; Boyle, 1989a and 1990) and of arts patronage. However, the reality of the deferred property-based schemes in London, which lacked adequate finance, from the Battersea Power Station, South Bank and Royal Opera House redevelopments, have to date, constrained such monolithic cultural shrines. As the millennium approaches, the combined promise of the National Lottery (LAC, 1994) and particularly the Millennium Fund, offer the only salvation for major capital schemes, from the proposed Albertopolis in South Kensington to the Tate-at-Bankside (Evans, 1995a and b). The Albertpolis scheme failed at its first attempt at Lottery (Millennium) funding, but is being reworked for later submission. The development plans of major arts venues are massive (the Royal Opera House alone has asked for £42 million to be earmarked, with the capital needs of the new Tate estimated at £80 million and the Kensington museum quarter - £150 million - Laurance, 1994 p.40; Evans, 1995a and b). Arguably these threaten the funds that may be available for small and middle-sized arts organisations, including local authority facilities[4]: *"demand from London will outweigh supply of funds...there is a risk that Lottery monies may be allocated to a handful of large and hungry flagship projects"* (LAC, 3.19, 1994 p.13). Regional organisations and authorities can be forgiven for their cynicism about the disproportionate claims coming from London. (*"The Government has tried to counter accusations of capital*

[4] Lottery funding will not be classified as *Local Authority Self-Financed Expenditure* (LASFE) and will not therefore count as public expenditure with the Control Total (SSA), but the National Lottery will cover only a proportion of capital funds - generally 60 to 70%, requiring matching funding of the balance.

bias by including representatives from most parts of the UK among the millennium fund commissioners", Laurance, 1994 p.40).

Local and other public authorities (eg. health, education, utilities), as major landowners in city centres (Audit Commission, 1989a), have used this position as 'leverage' in the development of community and other amenities. Arts and other leisure and community facilities have also been funded as a result of negotiated agreements and 'planning gains' with developers (Section 106, TCPA, 1990; S.52 TCPA, 1971) by local planning authorities, anxious to obtain community benefit from commercial development schemes. However, this mechanism brings problems since: *"Planning Gain Agreements are frequently appropriate in areas where pressures for development are high; and lead to development significantly outpacing the provision of infrastructure, whether environmental, physical or social"* (ACC, 1988 p.3 and see DoEn, 1989b).

The pressure on local authorities to accept planning gains for their community benefits whilst ignoring negative environmental and social costs, is exemplified at Rainham Marshes, north-east London/Essex. Here the MCA Entertainment Corporation in return for a lucrative Disney-style theme park and film studio offered £16 million worth of 'benefits' to the local community in exchange for planning permission in a wildlife and environmentally sensitive area. MCA's community ("planning") gain was 428 acre and 175 acre nature reserves nearby, a trust to preserve another 15,000 acres elsewhere on the Thames and a variety of local community facilities (Gosling, 1992 p.26). Only the recession and high development costs stalled this scheme, but with continuing severe capital expenditure restrictions, local authorities are likely to find it increasingly hard to justify resisting such offers, particularly where job creation, even short-term, is an outcome of the process of development.

Longer-established London arts centres such as Waterman's and the Treaty Centre in Hounslow (Evans, 1991a) were largely financed through this "planning gain" mechanism. However, such spin-offs only arise where commercial development takes place, further disadvantaging under-developed boroughs and neighbourhoods, caught in a spiral of under provision, poor image and amenity and therefore lacking attraction for further investment. Planning gain is also arbitrary and inefficient, since such windfall investment is not

necessarily based on planning or cultural need. An example of this was seen in East London, where the lack of strategic planning and the demise of existing arts projects saw the Half Moon Theatre lying dormant prior to sale at auction, whilst down the road the Canary Wharf Offices programmed arts events, effectively underpinned by substantial public money (Docklands Forum, 1989; Evans, 1993a). This approach, which ignored planning and local needs, also made little or no reference to existing arts provision and the impact on arts organisations: *"in the 1980s Developers required to provide arts facilities as part of planning gain, often did so without consulting possible future users. As a result, new facilities were created that were inadequately designed for use by arts organisations"* (Horstman, 1994 pp.4-5). The property crash that put both the flagship Canary Wharf office development and the neighbouring new multi-purpose London Arena into receivership, epitomises the short-term nature of a purely market-led reliance on local arts provision: *"The notion of 'regeneration' adopted was primarily property and land-based"* (Bianchini and Schwengel, 1991 p.219). Through a land use and arts planning and policy vacuum (local planning powers were taken from the incumbent boroughs and given to the ministerially-appointed Docklands Corporation in 1981 - LGPLA, 1980), this area of London now has less public arts provision than it had before the ten years of substantial public investment in the Docklands started (DCC, 1987 and 1990; Colenutt, 1988; ALA, 1990; Brownhill, 1990; Coupland, 1992), even though there were early warnings, eg: *"The docklands contains the most appalling mismatches between sites and buildings, needs and means, money and quality, aspirations and achievements"* (Wolmar, 1989 p.5)

7.4 Regeneration in London and Paris - A Tale of Two Cities

Limited comparisons have been made between London and Paris earlier in this and previous Chapters and a detailed analysis of the two world cities in terms of arts and urban policy and the regeneration process is beyond the scope of this thesis (but for example see Wachtel, 1987 and Girard, 1987; Biasni, 1989; Wangermée, 1991; Boylan, 1993; Newman and Thornley, 1994). However, it is relevant to make a direct comparison between the two major redevelopment projects on the urban fringes of both cities: London's Docklands and in outer Paris the La Défense office development quarter, and also at La Villette, with its park, City of Science and Industry and City of Music, and more recently the Bercy 'quartier' with the newly completed Finance Ministry and National Library under construction. Although La Défense was started in the 1960s and the Docklands only in the late 1970s:

"unlike its contemporary, the disastrous London Docklands, it [La Défense] was developed along carefully planned lines, using a mixture of public and private backing to generate prosperity and new life" (Stungo, 1994 p.18).

The shortcomings and the failings in both local democracy and planning, and reliance on a property-finance formula, has seen Docklands' viability undermined and efforts to develop cultural activity and mixed usage wind-down. Within two years of the LDDC's 'Arts and Tourism Plan' (LDDC, 1989), both programmes and staff support were cut, and as noted above, private development schemes which offered the prospect of arts amenity have been short-lived. The short time-span foreseen in Docklands in 1980 (10 to 15 years) contrasts with La Défense where the *Établissement Public D'Aménagement de la region de La Défense* (ÉPAD) was established in the mid-1960s with a 30-year life, which has been extended for a further ten years (ÉPAD, 1993). Both development agencies are centrally financed, with the aim of being self-financing once infrastructure investment is in place (following debts of fr680 million in 1968, ÉPAD now shows a profit; the LDDC still relies on government funding), however, significantly, the Paris project shares power equally between Government and local authorities, whilst the latter are disenfranchised in London Docklands. The ÉPAD has worked from master plans dating back to 1964 (op.cit.) while in the early Eighties, the Parisian planning authorities, alarmed by the loose sprawl of the city to the west, devised a massive plan to redevelop the east of the city and return Paris to its traditional tightly knit, high-density plan. In marked contrast, Docklands has offered a liberal planning-free environment, allowing developers to take the lead:

> *"Docklands started as a story of hope; a dream of opening up the area to meet the needs and aspirations of the East-Enders who have lived there for generations. Once hijacked by the private sector developers in league with a new market-led government-sponsored approach, it rapidly turned into a nightmare of deregulated planning and massive over-development"* (Coupland, 1992 p.160).

The key to the success of both areas, transport, also reveals the contrast. The French RER (high speed suburban railway) placed La Défense only four minutes from the Étoile, with further new Metro lines and stations plus increased (double-decker) train capacity from 1992, and a TGV station is now planned. Meanwhile in London, the failings of the fairly limited capacity and slow Docklands Light Railway (DLR) system have joined the ranks of London's transport folklore, while essential underground and cross-rail links are repeatedly

delayed by Government reluctance to invest public money and the private sector's 'cold feet' about funding something that the Government appears not to believe in (Bashall and Smith, 1992). Only a fraction of the hoped for private funding of the Jubilee Line to Canary Wharf has been forthcoming, while the private finance scheme required for the extension to the DLR across the Thames to Greenwich and onto Deptford and Lewisham has failed to attract private investors due to its non-viability. Public funding will consequently be needed for this project, and is an essential element in Greenwich's plans to host the Lottery-funded British Millennium Festival between 1999 and 2001.

The investment in public transport access to La Défense was integrated with a policy of providing pedestrianised areas and facilities: *"It is enough to walk through La Défense to see that here the pedestrian is king. The esplanade has done away with the car and strolling is once again real pleasure"* (ÉPAD, 1993 p.4). The high degree of pedestrianisation allows a wide range of public and indoor entertainment, exhibitions, festivals (eg. National Jazz Competition) and further plans include an omnimax cinema, the Colline de l'Automobile and the City of the Image, in addition to the Grand Arche itself which 'hosted' one of the key Bicentenary celebrations (by Jean-Michel Jarre) and which has become one of the city's most visited attractions. The support of public art, sculpture parks and the nearby park district which houses the Opera Ballet School and Théâtre des Amandiers, has created in this particular example of regeneration, a cultural policy that is not incompatible with a living and working environment now driven by commerce - a critical mass requiring the integration of design, planning and 'urban culture'. This cultural policy won the 1989 French award for patronage of the Arts and this experience and planning approach is not limited to the development of La Défense to the west of Paris:

> *"The plans for the eastern city are a model or urban design-led regeneration...[which] emphasizes the linkages in Paris between public patronage and modern architecture, urban design and cultural investment, and public education that seem non-existent in London"* (Punter, 1992 p.81).

Despite the obvious need for integration in urban policy and planning, London's response has appeared to rest heavily on the enterprise of individual boroughs: *"Local authorities should reassert their primary role; assume the initiative in planning for renewal. This should be done through local area-based initiatives, rather than what is seen as reliance on less responsive national and regional grant mechanisms"* (Lichfield, 1992

p.4).

7.5 Arts and Urban Regeneration in London - Borough Survey

For the present study, a special review was made of the position and recognition of the arts in urban regeneration by London local authorities, as landowners, planning authorities, development partners and as providers of arts and civic amenity. Questionnaires were sent to all 33 London Borough Councils (with separate copies addressed to Planning and to Arts/Leisure Officers) in each case seeking to assess the range of policy and support mechanisms that existed and the range of departments or services involved in the arts and urban regeneration process. The latter intended to test the co-ordination and integration of cultural policy and implementation with land-use and development policies at borough level.

Strategically the regeneration of London was also promoted by the London Planning Advisory Committee (LPAC) under their 'Structural Framework' which focussed on central London; East London/Thames and Lee Valley corridors; outer west and south London and specific town centres and sites. This network of town centres has been key to strategic planning in London (without a strategic planning power in the capital), including several issues and approaches which contribute to effective planning of arts and culture, such as: *"providing a sense of place and focus for communities...increase accessibility to a range of services, extend economic activity beyond daylight hours, and sustain and enhance...community and cultural features"* (LPAC, 1993 p.21-22).

The following summary (Table 7.4) and analysis therefore provides an indication of the extent of the involvement by local authorities in arts-related regeneration and development. This information, covering the period 1987 to 1990, is given in more detail below (Appendix III) and was provided in the returned questionnaires and from interviews with each authority planning and arts/leisure officers. Non-respondent boroughs were: Bexley, Brent, Ealing, Greenwich, Havering, Hounslow, Lambeth, Redbridge, Sutton, Tower Hamlets, Wandsworth and Westminster. Response rates from London boroughs are repeatedly below 75% as other surveys confirm (Marsh and White, 1995; Feist and Dix, 1994; Sports Council, 1994; CELTS, 1995). Secondary evidence and comparative arts spending is however noted for these boroughs where known.

The higher incidence of arts and urban regeneration projects and initiatives,

particularly planning gain and percent and public art policies, were to be expected from those boroughs eligible under the Inner Area Programmes (IAP) and hence access to additional capital investment and leverage, as well as in those boroughs experiencing significant commercial property development, notably those in west London's Heathrow/M4 corridor; Docklands - boroughs of Tower Hamlets, Newham and Southwark, and in the sub/urban fringe areas ('out-of-town'). The benefit of all these factors, for example underpinned by a higher arts spend in Labour-controlled Hammersmith, west London, is contrasted with the relatively inactive and low spending outer London boroughs of Enfield and Kingston. Most respondent boroughs (n=21 or 64% of all boroughs), where some recognition and policy objectives around arts and regeneration were acknowledged, had involved both planning and arts departments in the process and in several cases, education, economic development, estates and valuers and architects departments had also been involved. At this point in time only three boroughs had adopted public and percent for art policies and not necessarily both of these together (Camden and Southwark) (see Shaw, 1989 and 1991). Planning gain policies were also evident in three boroughs, significantly those subject to exceptional levels of property development, in west London - Hammersmith and Hillingdon, and the City of London/Clerkenwell area of Islington (Llewelyn-Davies Planning, 1990).

Examples of arts and urban regeneration projects, initiatives and plans provided by each respondent borough are also detailed in Appendix VII and these provide a picture of the type and level of activity within each borough and their interpretation of arts and urban regeneration, as distinct from purely arts amenity, or commercial arts and entertainment provision. Notwithstanding the examples and proposals provided by these boroughs, many, although not all of these arts schemes could be said to be opportunistic or reactive in nature, arising from external development activity, rather than a spatially or amenity-based plan (local or regional - GLA, 1990a), or an assessment of need. Few revealed evidence of the involvement of either artists, arts organisations or their local communities, or of cross-borough planning. The development of an ad hoc 'cultural planning' approach (Chapter 1) can be discerned during this period, notably in those boroughs where cross-department collaboration and infrastructure considerations were most developed, and where the profile and image benefits of urban art and design and the economic benefits of arts venues and facilities were recognised.

Table 7.4 Arts and Urban Regeneration - Policy and Mechanisms in London Boroughs

	POLICY & MECHANISMS (Key below)					DEPARTMENTS			
Sub-Policy BOROUGH	AUR	IAP/ICP	S.106 (S.52)	% for ART	PUBLIC ART	ARTS/ LEISURE	PLANNING	OTHER	RANK ARTS
BARKING &	✓					✓	✓	✓	12
BARNET	✓					✓	✓		17
BROMLEY	✓					✓	✓		13
CAMDEN	✓			✓		✓	✓	✓	N/A (14)
CITY	✓						✓		N/A
CROYDON	✓					✓	✓	✓	6
HACKNEY	✓	✓				✓		✓	5
HAMMERSMITH	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	2
HARROW	✓					✓	✓		1 8
HARINGEY	✓	✓							N/A
HILLINGDON	✓		✓			✓	✓	✓	16
ISLINGTON	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	N/A (15)
KENSINGTON & CHELSEA		✓					✓		9
KINGSTON UPON THAMES	✓						✓		15
LEWISHAM	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	N/A (6)
MERTON	✓						✓	✓	7
NEWHAM	✓	✓				✓	✓	✓	3
RICHMOND	✓					✓	✓	✓	15
SOUTHWARK		✓			✓	✓	✓	✓	N/A (14)
WALTHAM FOREST	✓					✓			9

Key:

1. **AUR** - Arts & Urban Regeneration policy, or initiative
2. **IAP/ICP** - Inner Area Programme/Inner City Programme borough
3. **S.106** - Section 106: *Planning Gain* -Town & Country Planning Act 1990 (formerly S.52 TCPA 1971)
4. **% for Arts** - Percent for Art Policy (voluntary)
5. **Public Art** - Policy, usually part of percent for Art policy to support public artworks in developments
6. **Other** Departments included: Education; Economic Development; Estates & Valuers and Architects
7. **Rank Arts £** - Ranking of borough arts expenditure (1-highest, 33-lowest ranked borough). Since arts spending is discretionary, there is no requirement to report such spending. N/A therefore indicates no return to CIPFA (Annual Leisure & Recreation Statistics), whilst a figure in brackets indicates previous or last reported ranking.

7.5 Summary of Borough Survey

The results of the above survey provide an analysis and overview of the policy and cross-departmental developments initiated in London boroughs, and their implementation in terms of arts and urban regeneration: a picture of the late 1980s which reflected a growing recognition of the value-added potential of arts and cultural input to urban and economic development. It also reflects the pragmatic acceptance by those boroughs of 'partnership' in cultural facility development, in the absence of adequate public capital funding. In the boroughs where this had been most developed, the movement towards more integrated policy and practice has begun to define both strategic and typologies of arts facility provision and their relationship to the cultural economy, in a way not formerly achieved in modern urban planning (Henry, 1980).

The period covered in this survey encompasses the effects of the property and general recession, although these were not universally evident or equally felt in all areas of London, as well as the cumulative impacts of local government spending decline: both capital and revenue. The liberalised planning regime was also working through in this dynamic situation, however boroughs were also looking towards the new Unitary Development Plan (UDP) and a return to a more comprehensive plan-led system in London, as in unitary authorities in other metropolitan areas and cities. The need for improved co-ordination of policy and land-use plans and control, both within and between local and development agencies, was highlighted in the Audit Commission's review of the Urban Programme (1989c; DoEn, 1988a) and this has been reaffirmed in terms of cultural planning by Town Planning (GLA, 1989a) and strategic agencies (LPAC, 1990a and b, 1991; GLA, 1990a; Arts Council, 1993a).

The developing examples of arts and urban regeneration investigated here, can be seen as an evolution towards a co-ordinated and multi-disciplinary approach, if not one of cultural democracy. Given the financial pressures on local authorities noted above and the weaknesses of a property market-led regime, the creative use of existing facilities and spaces and improvements to access and the promotion of cultural quarters, can be argued as providing a more lasting response to both local cultural provision needs and amenity planning, in the 'urban villages' that make up London (Evans, 1993a). In recognition of the importance of strategic town centres and cultural zones serving sub-regions of London, such

an approach also offers a response to the inner-outer London divide in the provision of arts resources:

> *"The inner and outer London boroughs could collaborate on pilot arts and cultural initiatives through an urban regeneration brief, to enhance the economy of their town centres. Such inter-borough initiatives could form the cornerstone of a more equitable distribution of arts resources in London as a whole"* (LAC, 1994 4.13).

This more positive view presupposes however, that 'urban regeneration' is an available option and potentially evenly spread throughout London, whilst in reality the incidence of development, planning gain and other funding mechanisms is clearly skewed geographically and economically, both in terms of the free-market development process and the competitive, selective public urban capital schemes. A longer term perspective might also counter this through the regeneration-degeneration cycle, where underdeveloped areas are matched with targeted public investment, as leverage to private investment (as in, say, Hackney and in other Urban Programme and City Challenge areas). The time-scale, impacts on local communities and the realities of this theoretical regeneration process begs the question, how 'low' must an area go before 'aid' and intervention can be justified? Questions over London Docklands (above) and reliance on private capital investment operating globally and footloose, again lead back to a rationale for planning - economic and land-use - within which arts and cultural planning now claims its part.

Whilst the opportunity and awareness of the arts in urban regeneration were negotiated and explored locally, often site/scheme by site/scheme, the integration of policy and planning (including land use and local area plans) was given further impetus through the opportunity of the Unitary Development Plan (UDP) process, required in all unitary local authorities (that is in London, all 32 'boroughs' and the City of London). Arts policy input to environmental planning and borough-wide land-use plans covering a ten-year horizon, can also be seen to underpin a more sustainable and integrated cultural planning strategy, perhaps avoiding many of the problems arising through the property-linked and shorter-term regeneration approach outlined above. The rationale for and adoption of arts planning policies and their interpretation and implementation in practice has therefore been studied further in the next chapter, through comparative analysis of borough development plans in the light of arts planning advocacy (GLA, 1990a; Arts Council, 1993a) and guidelines

(LPAC, 1990a and b) and in the context of infrastructure arguments expounded earlier in this thesis. The adoption and integration of arts policies and planning approaches within these borough plans is therefore assessed both at a strategic (borough-wide, regional) and at a local area level.

CHAPTER 8 PLANNING FOR THE ARTS, CULTURE AND ENTERTAINMENT IN LONDON'S UNITARY AUTHORITIES

8.0 Introduction

The planning of London and its arts amenities has been discussed earlier in this thesis in terms of urban policy and town planning practice and the increasing importance of the arts in urban regeneration and economic development strategies. However, as has also been established, there has been less success in the integration of arts amenity and cultural policies with local and regional development plans. This chapter reviews both the earlier attempts at regional planning in London and the first regional arts plan, which moved towards some of the arts planning approaches put forward in this thesis.

The return to a more plan-led regime in England & Wales and its implications for planning in London are further discussed, with a critique of the new Unitary Development Plan (UDP) system to be implemented by each local authority in London and other unitary (eg. city) authorities. The development of planning policies and strategies for the support of arts, culture and entertainment ("ACE")[1] is then detailed in policy and process terms - these form the basis of a comparative analysis of all thirty-three borough UDPs and their treatment and adoption of such arts planning policies - and includes a review of the growing arts audit and plan 'mapping' approach used by regional arts boards and boroughs. This UDP analysis is presented in a schedule showing the ACE planning policy framework which enables a comparative assessment of borough development plans to be made.

The relative integration and adoption of individual ACE planning policies is then summarised, followed by an evaluation of their rationales, convergence and divergence between authorities, with reference to earlier urban policy, leisure planning and regeneration strategies. This comparative analysis confirms a significant change in the recognition of arts and cultural planning in town planning and in enforceable development plans in London, when set against the historical position and relationship between arts policy, amenity and urban planning discussed throughout this thesis.

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[1] The acronym ACE now also stands for the Arts Council of England, established in 1994 under Royal Charter following the winding-up of the Arts Council of Great Britain and transfer of funding responsibility for the Scottish and Welsh Arts Councils to respective Scottish and Welsh Offices (COI, 1993)

8.1 Whilst arts and cultural provision is no longer completely ignored within the urban planning and development processes, it continues to be very peripheral, or at least that is the strong perception of those involved in the arts in London. For example in the recent report of the London Arts Conference (LAC - a standing collective group of independent arts organisations):

> *"Given the importance of the arts to the night-time economies of town centres and to the day-time economies of London-wide cultural tourism, it is perhaps surprising that the contribution of existing ACE resources and new facilities is not recognised in the broader planning process, which includes employment, housing, transport, tourism and above all, land use"* (1994)

Is it notable that the rationale here is overtly economic, even from representatives of the arts sector itself. This critique continues: *"London boroughs, in preparing and implementing their development plans, have a unique opportunity to harness the potential of arts activities and facilities to enhance the civic identity and economic strength of their town centres"* (LAC, 1994 para. 4.10).

In the decade or more between the adoption of the Greater London Development Plan in 1976 and the implementation of the Unitary Development Planning regime, there were however moves towards adopting a wider cultural planning approach. The regional Greater London Arts Plan (GLA, 1990a) and some local arts plans have been taken into consideration with the integration of arts amenity and cultural economy policies in several local authority land-use development plans, at both borough and area/site levels. This welcome trend is surprising, given that the Department of the Environment's official "Guidance" and 'model clauses' for borough UDPs cover amenity aspects such as archaeology, conservation and recreational open space, but not arts and culture (DoEn, 1985a and b; 1989c), reflecting the limited notion of amenity in planning guidance which has been frequently criticised over the years (eg. GLC, 1976; 1984b). Central government's partnership-led urban regeneration initiatives, manifesting themselves in City Challenge and Regional Development (Urban Development - UDCs, EC-ERDF) areas, have however demanded a cross-departmental and cross-sectoral (public, private, voluntary) response. City Challenge schemes such as at Dalston (City Challenge - Hackney, 1992), Stratford (City Challenge: Theatre Royal, Cinema, Salway Arts Centre) and North Kensington (Media quarter: NKCC, 1993) have begun to take arts and media activity into account as part of

their social and economic revitalisation policies as a whole, rather than as a cosmetic animation of a property valuation enhancement exercise, or as a sop to the local arts/community.

The tentative return to a plan-led system in London boroughs, following abolition of the GLC and embracing both the arts and regeneration schemes outlined in the previous chapter, emerged, ironically, as a result of the ensuing policy and planning vacuum in the capital. The unitary status of each of the thirty-three London boroughs gave them unambiguous authority over planning and therefore statutory duties to create and enforce borough plans for the decade ahead, alongside responsibility for Education, Social Services, Housing and non-mandatory local government services, including arts and leisure provision. (Under the two-tier Local Government structure that applied up to 1976 there was much uncertainty about planning responsibilities).

The proposed Greater London Development Plan first issued in 1969 was only partly adopted by 1976 and was further revised in 1984 (GLC, 1984b). Planning was both politicised and liberalised in the 1980s (Punter, 1992) and London experienced the extremes of a property development explosion and implosion towards the end of this decade. This property crash was not the first: a similar boom and bust occurred in the late 1960s to early 1970s. The difference then was that the rapid movement of capital in and out of the city was not seen to the same extent then as that experienced in the 1980s, due to the removal of exchange and credit controls by the new Conservative government in 1979 (King, 1990), although the impact of this previous office-led boom saw the first wave of de-industrialisation of workshop premises (Chapter 10 below). Planning powers were also greater at borough and London-wide level (GLC) in the 1970s, enabling intervention in the over and under supply and usage of premises, through mechanisms such as empty property rates (landowners were levied penalty rates for leaving property empty awaiting an 'upturn') and the ultimate sanction of compulsory purchase by local authorities of empty or under-used premises. Boroughs and the GLC were more able to influence the change-of-use of premises for the benefit of community groups and local economic development during this period (including making available premises for arts centre and managed workspace use and keeping rental and rateable values low - less than cost if the Council wished), whilst these powers were subsequently limited by the planning and local government financial laws and

policies imposed since 1980 (Chapter 3).

A sign of a greater political consensus in London, reflecting a balance of power (1989-1994) between Labour (15 members), Tory (13 to 14) and Liberal-Democrats (4 to 5), looks set to continue on the representative London Planning Advisory Committee (LPAC), even with the shift in power following Labour gains in the 1994 London Council elections: *"it is this all-party support that (we) want to retain"* ('Labour takes control of London planning body', *Building Design*, May 20th 1994 p.7). This unification is also seen in the merger of the two previously politically polarised local government bodies for London: the Association of London Authorities (ALA) set up by Labour authorities in the 1970s, and the Tory-dominated London Boroughs Association (LBA) into the non partisan Association for London Government (ALG) in 1994. Significantly the three national bodies in England and Wales, the associations for metropolitan (AMA), county (ACC) and district (ADC) councils, are also set to merge as the local government map is redrawn again towards more unitary and city authorities (including districts gaining unitary status, eg. Portsmouth - Chapter 6 above) at the expense of county councils.

The Unitary Development Plan (UDP) process and requisite policy and planning formulation of the different boroughs, has offered an opportunity for comparative research and a useful basis for an evaluation of arts planning in relation to public policy and practice, including the role of arts organisations and agencies. Given the socio-economic, spatial and political context within which this common exercise has been undertaken across the capital, it has offered a rare opportunity for the analysis of convergence and divergence, in the light of both longer-term evolution of amenity planning and notions of the city and urban cultural life: *"London boroughs, in preparing and implementing their unitary development plans, have a unique opportunity to harness the potential of arts activities and facilities to enhance the civic identity and economic strength of their town centres"* (LAC, 1994 para. 4.11)

8.2 Unitary Development Plans (UDPs) and the new Planning Acts

The creation in 1986 of unitary or single-tier authorities with the demise of the GLC ('Streamlining the Cities', DoEn, 1985b) coincided with a period of liberalisation, not least in the area of town planning, where the Conservative government was *"prompted by the*

concern for 'freeing' enterprise from unnecessary restraints" (Cullingworth and Nadin, 1994 p.57). However, by the time that individual boroughs had began to draft their new development plans in the context of the 'Strategic Planning Guidance for London' which was only issued in 1989 (DoEn, 1989), the land use and development scenario in London had radically changed. The property and general recession, exacerbated by an adversarial development control system (Cox, 1984) required a more plan-led system and consultative response. During the passage of the 1985 Local Government Act which abolished London's strategic authority, the Greater London Council, an amendment in the House of Lords established the London Planning Advisory Committee (LPAC), comprising all borough planning committee chairs with the statutory task of advising[2] the Secretary of State on London-wide planning matters (Cullingworth and Nadin, 1994). The Government's first limited ' Planning Guidance for London' was universally criticised by all parties and borough associations and *"It is extraordinary that the arts and culture have been completely omitted from* Strategic Guidance", since as Gavron asserted: *"The arts are a vital component of London's land use, economy and environment, in the widest sense"* (1989 pp.1-3). No reference or consideration was given to arts or cultural planning in the Secretary of State's 'Guidance', and little appeared in LPAC's own 'Advice': *"Art and culture have a significant role to play in achieving the overall four-fold vision which Advice sets out for London and that within the timescale available, LPAC has not been able so far to give these matters the consideration they merit"* (LPAC, 1988 p.60).

From the naive position of a liberal, 'light touch' planning system the Government was forced to acknowledge the strength of a local planning approach, as Cullingworth and Nadin comment (1994 p.59): *"There are high hopes for the new regime - It should reduce the resources devoted to planning appeals..The planning system should become simpler and more responsive...making it easier for people to be involved in the planning process"*. Planning legislation enacted subsequent to the UDP system (LGA, 1985) also reinforced this through the Planning and Compensation Act 1991 and the consolidating Town and Country Planning Act 1990. An Opposition amendment to the 1990 Act, accepted in the late stages of the bill, made the Unitary Development Plan the primary consideration in development control, effectively making it an enforceable blueprint for each borough: *"Sir George Young*

[2] LPAC's 'Advice' does not, however, have to be accepted or acted upon by the Secretary of State.

[*the local government Minister*] *coined a phrase in saying that 'the approach shall leave no doubt about the importance of the plan-led system"* (Cullingworth and Nadin, 1994 p.58)

This re-assertion of the planning function and process in the late 1980s and early 1990s also coincided with the growing recognition of the opportunities that the new economic and urban regeneration strategies offered for arts development in London, despite the grim reality of the prevailing political economy: the declining public funding for local government provision generally, and the rationalisation of arts funding post-Wilding (1989 and see Marsh and White, 1995). The absence of model planning policies for arts and culture in the government's weak Guidance document for London also spurred boroughs, particularly through the LPAC, to explore possibilities and to put forward their own policies in this area. In 1988 LPAC's 'Strategic Planning Advice for London' was submitted to the Secretary of State, and which took four over-arching 'Visions for London' (LPAC, 1988 and 1993) as a City with:

i. A Strong Economy
ii. A High Quality Environment
iii. A Sustainable Future
iv. Opportunities for All

Although the full potential of the arts were not to be incorporated until the later 'World City' initiative (LPAC, 1991), 'Strategic Advice' included three relevant statements:

> 8.45 *"States that Arts and Culture have a significant role to play in achieving the overall four-fold vision"* and acknowledging that further consideration of this matter was required, proposed to undertake further work and monitoring as the UDP preparation proceeds;
>
> 8.46 *"The Committee fully acknowledges the great importance of artistic, cultural and entertainment activity to the quality of life in London. Their importance in not only related to London's position as a world centre for the arts..; but also to the quality of life of all Londoners"*;
>
> 8.49 *"The Committee advises that... UDPs, ought to include policies and specific proposals for the maintenance, enhancement and expansion of London's artistic, entertainment and cultural life"* (LPAC, 1988, EN26 p.60 and see Gavron, 1989).

Those active in the arts in London recognised that 'Arts, Culture and Entertainment' (ACE) activities could be considered to contribute significantly to all four of the above

elements. For example by 1990 the Arts and Culture Planning Group formed by the regional arts association was arguing the case for the importance of the Arts (GLA, 1990e; 1991):

> i) as part of the definition of a 'civilised city', contributing to the quality of the environment in specific visual terms, as well as the wider ambience;
>
> ii) as major employers;
>
> iii) as a major component of London's invisible export trade and as an attraction to footloose business and commercial activities;
>
> iv) at the local level, providing opportunities for personal and community expression, fostering community development and enhancing the sense of place and reinforcing an area's unique character.

The collective term 'Arts, Culture and Entertainment' (ACE) was coined and used throughout subsequent policy and planning guidelines. This phrase now appears in most borough plans and serves as a useful compromise between the left and right-wing positions and disquiet with the use of the terms 'culture', the 'high arts' and the populist 'entertainment' (Chapter 5). In the planning context 'ACE' has thus been defined as:

> *"A complex range of creative, enlivening and recreational activities; ranging from fine arts to ice shows, publishing to the theatre, photography to steel bands. They may be actively creative or passively responsive. They contribute to the intellectual, artistic and social quality of life of those living, working or visiting London. Some require specifically allocated spaces or facilities, others take place in shared buildings or in public spaces. They may be public or private, non-profit making or commercial or professional, be independent entities in their own right or form part of other activities. They are heavily inter-linked and interdependent with other activities, including sport and recreation; and manufacturing, business and service industries - filming, television, advertising, fashion, retailing, catering, publishing etc."* (LPAC, 1990a p.4).

This definition also recognised the convergence between arts practice and consumption, from the popularisation of high arts (classical music, opera) and authentication of popular culture (eg. jazz, ethnic arts), and from 'pop classics', stadia opera to 'classical jazz' and the fusion a global cultural inter-action seen most vividly in youth culture, fashion and music:

> *"there is now a world culture. It is marked by an organisation of diversity rather than the replication of uniformity. It is created through the increasing interconnectedness of varied local cultures, as well as through the development of cultures without a clear anchorage in one territory"* (Hannerz, in King, 1991 p.16).

Whilst the post-GLC and mid-1980s boom-era saw a return to greater forward

planning, the arts advocates themselves had embraced the planning philosophy (or at least had opportunistically adopted the terminology as with the preceding 'economic importance' argument), in terms of the region's arts activities. The 'Arts Plan for London: 1990-95' (GLA, 1990a) also drew on a spatial and physical plan, where over and under-provision was matched with population concentration and growth, for example: *"as a result of major developments at Kings Cross and London Docklands, high projected population growths in Newham and Tower Hamlets"* (GLA, 1990d p.5), and with target group and policy interests. The 'Arts Plan' was therefore structured around 'issues' rather than 'art forms', placing stress on the needs of the consumer. This was based on market research undertaken as part the plan formulation, which concluded (GLA, 1990c, Appendix 2 p.5) that:

1. The typical arts user tends to be white, middle class and middle-aged, although demand was increasing;

2. Non use of the arts was highest amongst the working class, those on low or no incomes and people from ethnic minorities;

3. There was significant latent demand for arts activities amongst both users and non-users;

4. There are major physical and perceptual barriers which prevent people from attending arts events or participating in arts activities;

5. The views of the consumer are rarely sought by arts providers either in developing existing arts provision, or in determining what new provision should exist.

This research is borne out by previous audience and non-user studies undertaken at national (Arts Council, 1991) and local level (eg. Vaughan, 1992) and see Lewis *et al.* (1987). Perceived barriers to participation have also been discussed above (Chapter 6 and see Henley, 1985). The London 'Arts Plan' (GLA, 1990a) which made an important contribution to the resultant regional 'Strategy for the Arts 1990-1995' (GLA, 1990b), was therefore able to propose measures to reconcile audience development and access with a drive for improved consumer choice and 'efficiency' in their delivery. This was a typical pragmatic reflection of this period's political economy of the arts and public policy in general (Hewison, 1995) and could be seen as an attempt to balance an arts planning approach with the current national political imperative of emphasising the role of the marketplace - with the sovereignty of the consumer and market forces as the acid tests for the artist. The missing elements in such an approach were the creative process and the artists themselves. Whilst recognising the poor economic condition of the practitioner, the priority was seen as improved skill acquisition in the area of 'management', in order to compete more effectively in the marketplace and improve the 'quality' and delivery of their work. GLA's

'Arts Plan' therefore argued that:*"arts practitioners suffer low morale caused by low pay and poor conditions and lack of access to appropriate information and advice. They also suffer from skills shortages particularly in the areas of business, marketing and market research"* (GLA, 1990c, Appendix 2 p.5).

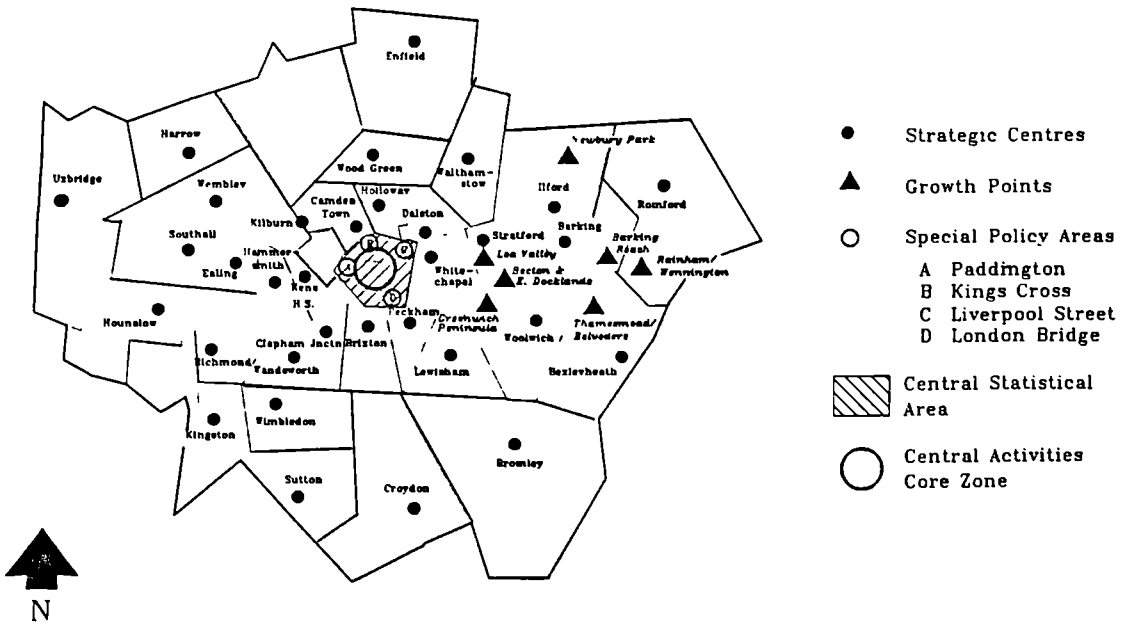
Rather than adopt the traditional art form based analysis, therefore, the London 'Arts Plan' used the approach developed by other regions and counties in a more norms-led distribution of cultural facility provision, and the promotion of access (equity - cultural and social, new audiences). This departed from an art form based approach following Arts Council panel structures and GLA altered their own administrative structure along the lines of a 'strategic view' of arts provision in the capital: *"structured around an examination of issues rather than art form or geography..*[which] *places stress on the needs of the consumer with equal weight of the arts providers"* (GLA, 1990c p.5). This also divided London into sub-regions, and taking a comparative and consumption ('gross demand') analysis, targeted those areas, such as North-East London and outer London boroughs, that had less cultural facilities and arts spending than other London areas. Issue-based strategies included the 'soft' infrastructure of marketing (effectiveness, new audiences), and economic development and urban regeneration. The focus was particularly on arts in education and training, the disabled and the concentration of development funds on under-provided areas of the capital, notably outer London and the North/North-East London boroughs: *"moving away from art form based strategies and guidelines into issue based strategies and function based guidelines"* (GLA, 1990d p.5). About the same time, much information began to become available on the experience from other cities in the UK and abroad, in terms of the potential for the arts from urban regeneration (and vice versa) and from a cultural planning approach (BAAA, 1988 and 1989; Bianchini, 1989b and 1990; Bianchini, Fisher *et al*, 1988). This led to collaboration between arts agencies and officers within planning, professional and other private and public agencies, in developing and advocating specific arts planning policies, particularly in the context of new urban planning strategies. The committees formed to pursue these goals are outlined in the previous chapter. Characteristically they aimed to develop a close relationship with LPAC, as the other regional strategic planning body. It is notable that during the period of the last GLC administration (1981-6) no such collaboration existed between the regional arts association (GLA) and the more proactive and populist GLC arts committees (Bianchini, 1987 and

1989a). Despite political allegiances, the London boroughs generally supported the abolition of the GLC: *"a metropolitan authority tends to have too little power to be effective, and too much to be acceptable"* (Young, 1984 p.5).

The main challenge to arts development agencies and advocates in this dialogue was the absence of definitions of arts and other 'amenity' standards that could be applied to the interpretation of arts and cultural facility needs, in land use and town planning terms (Cullingworth, 1979 and with Nadin 1994), coupled with a lack of any sort of defined cultural policy at borough or national levels. As in the town and country planning domain itself, Conservative ministers were overtly hostile to the very concept of 'planning' or even to the adoption of formal policies in the arts field. A strategic approach in the Greater London 'Arts Plan' (GLA, 1990a) had adopted specific 'urban planning' concepts and terminology (derived from town planning), moving closer to a human geographic analysis, and the concept and terminology of the 'Arts Plan' was made more accessible to borough planning officers (and Environment Ministry civil servants) as well as ward-based councillors. This was reinforced further by linking the Plan to the concept of *strategic town centres*, which had been developed by boroughs and LPAC and inherited and refined since the GLC's GLDP in 1976 (Figure 8.1 below).

Figure 8.1

LONDON'S STRUCTURE



Other town planning-based mechanisms inluded arts and urban regeneration strategies and projects such as cultural quarters, hierarchies of arts facilities and integration with urban design, transport and town centre revitalisation (Montgomery, 1990; Bianchini *et al*, 1988).

These strands converged in 1989-90 in joint initiatives between Arts interests and the official town planning structure, with the typology of planning issues and opportunities from arts, culture and entertainment activity being worked through in joint committees and initiatives (GLA, LPAC *et al*), and which produced three key policy guidelines:

Strategic Planning Policies for the Arts, Culture and Entertainment (LPAC, 1990a)

This policy paper took the recommendations detailed in *Space for the Arts*, and interpreted these in planning policy terms, in particular the strategic issues and preferred treatment of these in the Unitary Development Plan structure. This Policy Document was adopted by LPAC (27 February 1990) and forms part of the formal recommendation for borough plan preparation. These were also forwarded to the Secretary of State for Environment and the Minister for the Arts *"to inform their preparation of supplementary Strategic Guidance on this issue area and to Boroughs to assist in the preparation of UDPs"* (p.1);

Model UDP Policies for Arts, Culture and Entertainment Activities (LPAC, 1990b)

Whilst the above 'Strategic Planning Policies' dealt with the principles and structure, a further guidance paper was issued: *"Partly because this is a relatively novel issue for many planners, the translation of these strategic policies to the local level could be assisted by the preparation of model policies for incorporation, either in whole or in part in UDPs"* (p.1). This paper dealt with both methodological issues, the detailed inclusion in the UDP itself and provided key policy statements and wording which could be used directly or adapted by boroughs in their UDPs. This was a shrewd attempt by the arts advocates and sympathetic planners to talk planners-language and make it as easy as possible for them to recommend the adoption of arts planning policies in their UDPs, through the dissemination of these standard policy statements.

Space for the Arts in London: Planning for London's Arts, Culture and Entertainment (ACE) (GLA, 1991)

This joint-authored paper sought to reconcile the UDP and arts planning processes, in terms of both the 'Strategic Vision for London', above (LPAC, 1988) and summarised London's cultural economy in terms of strengths and problems. The paper outlined the need for integrating ACE policies with Housing, Transport, Geographic, Leisure and Tourism and Education policies. A number of mechanisms were then listed as means of implementing such policy measures. See Appendix II.

The new strengthened status of UDPs, above, was seen to offer the opportunity for the promotion of arts-specific policies and the possibility of integrated cultural policies, as well as the protection of cultural amenities through the development control process. This was to be achieved on the back of town planning and development control legislation, a remarkable goal given the poor relationship between planning and the arts, as evidenced throughout this thesis.

8.3 Borough Plans - UDP Process and Structure

In addition to its enhanced status and local-strategic scope, at least at a borough-wide level, each UDP would require a consultative exercise previously only available through major planning enquiries and appeals (Healey, 1988). In the past, local area plans were drawn up almost exclusively by planning officers and committees, with little or no involvement of other specialist officers or committees of the same authority, let alone arts organisations or local community members. Given the statutory standing of each borough UDP and its duration of ten years, opportunity for special interest and local community input and influence on the shaping of each plan would need to be ensured. The notion of community planning has not, however, been widely accepted outside of the formal planning consent/appeal procedures, and in instances of conflict and campaigns over particular sites, such as Coin Street, Southwark and Covent Garden (Thornley, 1992; Nicholson, 1988a, 1990 and 1992) and at Kings Cross (Kings Cross Team, 1991).

If the UDP was to fulfill these expectations and gain acceptance, a planning-led approach would therefore require a more open plan-making system. The response in both legislation (LGA 1985) and in planning guidelines (LPAC, 1992; DoEn, 1992a) was to require a five-stage process:

1. Initial public consultation on the draft Plan - strategic policies, borough-wide policies and local area/site proposals (eg. land-use, change, infrastructure), for a minimum period of six weeks;

2. Modified draft Unitary Development Plan (structure-below) to be placed 'on deposit', in libraries and for collection by residents for a minimum of six weeks, during which time objections can be made, negotiations with planning department and any minor changes made;

3. Public Local Enquiry - chaired by an external Inspector, approved by the Secretary of State for the Environment, which hears all unresolved registered objections and proposals from individuals, firms and organisations;

4. Inspector Reports with recommended changes to UDP, which Council then considers and redrafts the Plan;

5. Council then 'adopts' the revised Plan, after serving six weeks notice. Providing it is not challenged in the High Court, or the Secretary of State for the Environment directs otherwise, the Unitary Development Plan becomes the statutory plan for the borough, superseding all previous plans.

The form and extent of public access and consultation varies between council and council, within the above minimum guidelines and is dependant on the rate of change and development activity in the borough (particularly major or controversial sites/routes), public and private investment intentions, as well as the style and degree of 'openness' (bureaucratic v democratic model - Dunleavy, 1980 and 1991) of the council. The latter is also a function of the political control ('marginal' or 'safe') and social, economic and demographic change within each borough (Lee and Wolman, 1986). From the London boroughs surveyed, most held ward-based public meetings and specific site-based meetings around major development areas or projects. These were held in local libraries and community centres. Access to the UDP in whole or in extract was generally through libraries (reference only) or through the central planning office. In some cases copies of the UDP were available to residents for free, but most charged a fee of around £25, which all non-residents were also charged.

The form and structure of the Plan was required to be in two main sections (DoEn, 1985):

> Part I - Strategic overview: covering borough-wide planning policy and issues, allowing for integration of other policy areas, such as economic development, equity and quality, as well as policy on major planning considerations, such as transport, housing and amenity.
>
> Part II - Deals with the detailed planning policies under infrastructure and services (housing, employment, leisure, design), local area and site proposals, including land-use designation, conservation and transport.
>
> Appendices - Local Area maps; background research information (Section 5).

The strategic versus local distinction in the Plans raises an important methodological issue of whether the arts should be treated as a 'stand alone' topic area, or should policies to realise the benefits of arts, culture and entertainment be incorporated with broader mechanisms proposed in the Plan, such as town centres, urban design, employment, individual development sites and areas (LPAC, 1990b). This debate goes to the heart of the

development of a local *cultural* policy, as opposed to a narrower and separate *arts* policy (Challans, 1991), since defining arts provision through the typical art form and arts facility approach has failed to integrate wider policy and planning, including economic development, in the areas of education, housing, employment, land-use, transport and other social aspects. A unified urban regeneration strategy would require a holistic approach to incorporate all of these areas of provision, a cultural policy would therefore to look to the integration of arts and cultural need and opportunity within each area of provision, such as arts in education, arts and housing, public art/realm, the arts and cultural industries, employment and training and so on. As Bianchini notes: *"Local authorities would have to overcome 'departmentalisation' and move towards a more corporate, integrated approach to policy-making in order to implement a cultural planning strategy"* (1991a p.39).

One widely discussed example of this new approach is that of Birmingham City Council, whose Arts, Culture and Economy Sub-Committee is serviced by the Chief Executive and co-ordinates cultural policy across the Finance and Management, Leisure Services, Economic Development Planning and Education Committees (Bianchini, 1991 p.16; Sargent, in Challans and Sargent, 1991). In London boroughs no such policy co-ordination has been adopted, the closest being in development areas such as City Challenge or Objective 2 (ERDF) areas and Single Regeneration Budget bids, where cross-departmental teams have been established and even in these cases no arts officers have been transferred into these project units, which continue to be planning/economic development and policy officer-led. Through departmental rationalisation, Leisure Services departments (incorporating arts, libraries and museums sections) have also increasingly been subsumed into Education directorates in London (as in Hammersmith, Hackney, Lewisham, Westminster, Barnet). Two London boroughs (Islington and Haringey) have, however, adopted a specific urban regeneration brief, rather than one of purely economic development, and in the latter borough the cultural development function is located alongside an 'arts and urban regeneration officer' within the planning department, jointly funded by the regional arts board

A weakness of even these more progressive examples of departmental and policy collaborations is their council-officer dominance: no external representation, either from artists or arts and community groups, is evident. This mirrors the 'professionalisation' and

bureaucratisation of both arts and government policy and decision-making structures (Coalter, 1992; Henry, 1993 p.113) and what Laffin and Young (1985) refer to as the council officer as 'bureaucratic politician' and Dunleavy as 'ideological corporatism' (1980). A cultural policy which sacrifices cultural democracy, and particularly the voice of the artist, risks the worse aspects of municipal culture and 'planning', so feared by the libertarians, and a failure to meet cultural need and diversity. Birmingham's design award-winning city centre investment strategy has been questioned (Loftman and Nevin, 1992) and was subsequently attacked by senior Ministers who accused the Labour-controlled Council of 'underspending' on, for example, capital and revenue investment on education and housing, in order to pay for major new cultural, exhibition and visitor attractions. Such negative reactions and 'opportunity costs' illustrate the risk of such strategies. One might conclude that a cultural policy does not yet exist, just an economic and city centre strategy. Positive moves to address this weakness can be seen in the Birmingham Training and Enterprise Council (TEC) who have adopted Culture, Leisure and Tourism as one of the key economic sectors for training investment (Birmingham TEC, 1993; Arts Business, 1991) and recent training development work by the Council's economic development unit with arts venues in the city (BCC, 1995). Meanwhile public leisure amenity is threatened by expenditure cuts of over £1 million in 1995/6, necessitating the closure of 2 swimming pools and 3 libraries in the city (CELTS, 1995) and major staff cuts in the renown City Art Gallery and Museums, thus illustrating the difficult choices that Councils have to make between policy and provision in a restricted local authority budget.

London examples of a more open and democratic approach include the creation of local arts forums and networks made up of council arts, arts education, leisure officers and facility managers (such as the museum curator), plus representatives from local arts councils, arts development organisations, voluntary sector groups and artists (LAB, 1991a; 1994a). Artist input to arts policy and decision-making structures was contrasted with that in Toronto (TAC, 1992) where the city Arts Council is dominated by practising artists, and in the urban regeneration and development process, such as in Los Angeles where artists form part of planning and urban design action teams (UDATs) as an integral part of the design and commissioning process, rather than in the UK as a 'contractor' or as an 'add-on' to pre-planned facilities and design schemes: *"The artist is not treated as an intellectual contributor to development proposals...*(the artist is) *brought in late to 'decorate' rather*

than being integral to the process" (LAB, 1992a p.1). The attitude towards the artist has however 'softened' since the creation of the new regional arts body, the London Arts Board in 1991, in terms of a return to a more art form based policy, but retaining audience development (education and training) and targeted development policies (North/North-East London) and continued intervention in urban cultural policy and development: *"It is after all the artist and not the bureaucrat who provides the catalyst for much change in our city by colonising redundant buildings, informing and challenging the design of the urban environment, and animating the street or square with performance"* (LAB, 1993a p.26).

The reference to the arts within several UDP Part I borough strategies was also not seen as applying exclusively to the integration within other policy and infrastructure areas. A cultural planning approach (Bianchini, 1991a; Von Eckardt, 1988) would stress the over-riding importance of the arts to the quality of a borough's environment and economy, in the broadest sense. This was seen to meet local, regional and even international potential:

> *"In appropriate locations, to sustain and encourage the provision of arts facilities, to address the diverse needs of local communities and London's visitors, enhance the environment, widen and improve employment prospects and support the borough's contribution to London's role as a regional, national and international centre"* (recommended Part I policy for ACE: LPAC, 1990b p.2)

Whilst there is no restriction in terms of content, plans concentrate primarily on land-use, infrastructure and the built environment, and the implications for these of economic activity and social need. The extent to which planning authorities, both through internal integrated policy development and external consultation, translate planning policy and social and economic need in terms of the cultural economy and arts amenities, is evaluated here in a comparative analysis of each London borough UDP. In particular, the adoption of arts planning model policies outlined above, and the rationale for their inclusion, is summarised in Table 8.2 below. The integration and site-specific policies for arts planning cannot take place in a vacuum, however, least of all in the urban situation where existing, traditional and evolving arts and cultural provision and activity is both complex and dynamic, from city centre to urban fringe. The importance of a comprehensive 'map' of existing, redundant and prospective arts facilities and usage/participation has been stressed (Chapter 6), and is therefore an essential pre-requisite to planning for the arts and supporting infrastructure. Again at a strategic level (LPAC), such assessments needed to be underpinned by such

research and facility audits:

> *"Ideally UDPs should be supported by research into the demand for and supply of Arts, Culture and Entertainment* [ACE] *facilities. This is important not only to assess the level of provision needed within the Borough and its effective location, but also to ensure that it is reconciled with that in neighbouring Boroughs... It is further suggested that as soon as possible Boroughs carry out an audit of existing and potential ACE facilities"* (LPAC, 1990c p.3).

8.4 Arts Audits and Plans

The preparation of arts plans, based on audits of borough provision and participation profiles, has been a feature of regional arts (GLA, 1989d) and borough arts development since the late 1970s and early 1980s, with the regional arts agency acting as the catalyst to the encouragement of boroughs and districts in an arts audit exercise (SAB, 1990). These are normally followed by an arts policy and plan to promote certain art forms, to fill 'gaps' in provision and target specific locations (Chapter 6), as well as to signal an increase in local authority arts funding, often in partnership with regional arts and other funders. The weakness of such arts audits and plans has, however, been their top-down approach, and one that does not engage with the wider artistic, cultural community, or take sufficient account of the relationships with the 'soft' and 'hard' infrastructure, or the wider urban social and economic context within which local and regional artistic and cultural activity exists and operates. The audit of arts facilities may also be seen as an obvious, even a superfluous task, however a move towards a cultural policy and plan would require as much emphasis on cultural activity in non-arts and informal settings and locations, including education, youth and community, religious and 'amateur' centres, as well as commercial leisure, entertainment and work spaces. The profile of urban arts centres nationally provided in Hutchison and Forrester (1987) and similarly in London (Forrester, 1985), largely located in converted and second or third-use buildings, provides some indication of this, particularly when barriers to participation are most pronounced in institutionalised or elitist arts venues (Dobson and West, 1988).

The opportunity and imperative for local areas to adopt a plan-led approach also arises from the new National Lottery, since 75% of Lottery applications for funds are expected to emanate from boroughs (BID, 1994). The Voluntary Arts Network (VAN, 1994b) also carried out a survey in 1994 of 270 local authorities (Table 8.2 below), of which

71% planned to pursue a capital scheme or lottery application for a local arts facility over the next three years: exhibition (40%) and performance facilities (38%) being the most sought after, followed by rehearsal and meetings spaces (29%). At the same time nearly 60% of these authorities were in the process of establishing a local arts development plan or had agreed one in the previous three years; a further 10% expect to agree such a plan in the next year. The position on arts audits and plans from VAN's survey was as follows:

Table 8.1 Survey of Borough Arts Audits and Plans (VAN, 1994b)

Borough Arts Plan (n=270)	**Audit undertaken of local arts services, facilities and organisations**	**Development Plan for the support/facilities for the practice and enjoyment of the arts**
NO - Never, as far as known	22%	17%
YES - More than 3 years ago	20%	12%
YES - In the last 3 years	27%	29%
In progress now	18%	31%
Planned next year	11%	10%
No response	2%	1%

The poor state of land and property ownership records, public and private, also reinforces the argument for a detailed audit in relation to local authority planning and policies in general (Audit Commission, 1989a). The importance of a detailed database of available land was recognised by the Sports Council[3], who instigated a Registry of Recreational Land in England and Wales (and made this available to local authorities), and which now forms the basis of the demand assessment and judgement of adequate provision in the supply of pitches for specific sports ('standards' - Chapter 6 above). For arts and cultural activities such an audit should not be restricted to current usage: the opportunity value of unused and derelict land was also made clear from the failure to impact on the 94% of unreclaimed designated urban derelict land, despite central government funding to encourage such initiatives since 1981 (Audit Commission, 1989b):

> *"Experience has shown that there are still buildings with hitherto unknown, previous Arts Culture and Entertainment [ACE] uses which can be relatively easily*

[3] In conjunction with the National Playing Fields Association (NPFA) and Central Council for Physical Recreation (CCPR) (Earley, 1995 p.76)

be brought back into active ACE use..some of these may be of sufficient architectural interest to merit Listing and others may be of particular historic interest to a Borough's residents" (LPAC, 1990c p.3).

8.5 UDP Arts (ACE) Policy and Planning analysis

The main policy areas from which arts planning and other mechanisms can be extracted from the borough plans (UDP) follow the 'arts infrastructure' analysis explored in Chapter 5 and 6 above, as well as extending the arts and urban regeneration approaches and initiatives detailed in the previous chapter (and in Appendix III). In addition to specific arts policy statements within planning policies - general or area-specific - boroughs also had the opportunity to identify the arts as part of their strategic 'vision', and therefore included in Part I of their Plan.

Policies have been analysed under the following categories, which were based on the 'Model Policies for the Arts, Culture and Entertainment' (LPAC, 1990a; 1990b). Under each main heading, arts-specific sub-policies and mechanisms are analysed further.

Part I

1. Strategic and/or Local Context:

The arts are considered to be of strategic, borough-wide importance, not just activity and local or site-based, see LPAC 1990b above.

Part II

2. Economy and Employment:

Sub-policy: Maximise use of facilities through enhanced economic activity, employment, capacity/usage and market for the arts;

Policy implications, in addition to employment generation potential, include *"fostering voluntary and co-operative organisations which support the arts and to encourage the provision of affordable business premises and widening the use of open space"* (p.6)

3. Environment

Sub-policies: Replace existing facilities
Planning gain
Percent for Arts

Policy implications relate to town and 'strategic' centres, the regeneration of redundant and heritage buildings and their enhancement; security, particularly in town centres and fringe areas and urban design and landscaping

4. Image

Sub-policy: Designation of arts and cultural quarter(s)

Policy implications include the integration of design details, information displays amd environmental initiatives to *"develop a coherent image of ACE activities and in particular cultural quarters"* (p.7)

5. Accessibility

Sub-policies: Dual-use of facilities (community, arts and sports, education)
Public transport provision

Policy implications include liaison with transport operators, police and council departments to improve safety and security and to ensure adequate night-time services; car parking provision; disability access to arts facilities and pedestrianisation schemes and networks

6. Infrastructure

Sub-policies: Promotion/safeguard of facilities
Safety on public transport

Policy implications encompass the reconciliation of 'supply, demand and need for facilities'; cross-borough liaison and planning; the retention of socially-valuable mixed-use of land in central London and in strategic and growth centres

7. Equal Opportunity

Sub-Policy: Access for the disabled

8. Design

Sub-Policy: Good urban design

9. Arts, Culture and Entertainment

Sub-Policy: Separate chapter in Plan devoted to this topic area

Here a case is made to demonstrate the importance of the arts, sufficient to warrant a separate chapter in the UDP, *"However as planners involved in the UDP preparation, we also recognise that this view may not be universal"* (LPAC. 1990c p.3). The perception of 'special pleading' may also disadvantage the promotion of the arts over other competing resource or land-use claims. However, 30% of London borough UDPs have included separate chapters on the arts, culture and entertainment in their UDPs, including four outer London boroughs (Table 8.2 below).

The table below (8.2) gives a summary of each borough's Unitary Development Plan in terms of the above main and sub-policy areas. Each reference indicates a separate inclusion of the relevant arts ('ACE') policy, by chapter or section reference, in the UDP document. Abbreviations are those used in each UDP and in most cases indicate the chapter topic:

REC: recreation;
ACE: arts, culture and entertainment;
STRAT or **ST**: strategy;
L/A/R: leisure/arts/recreation;
ENV: environment;
TRANS: transport;
DES: design.

The first column (1) indicates that the 'arts' (ACE) have been mentioned in Part I of the UDP (S -'strategic'), as well as under local (L) planning policy consideration - in fact all thirty-three boroughs mentioned 'ACE' as a strategic issue in Part I, as well as in Part II under local planning topics - columns (2 to 13). The policy analysis has been taken from each borough Unitary Development Plan, from 'deposit' to 'adoption' stages (above), supplemented by interviews with all thirty-three borough planning officers responsible for the UDP (UDP lead officer) and corresponding principal arts officers. Attendance at four sub-regional seminars (SE, SW, NE, NW London) organised by the regional arts association (GLA) on arts input to borough UDPs during October 1990, also enabled discussion with these officers, local councillors and attending arts organisations, in an open forum situation. This gave boroughs exposure to approaches and policy formulation in neighbouring councils and in many cases was the first opportunity for arts and planning officers (and in a few cases elected members) to consider arts planning policy and rationales in direct collaboration.

The UDP consultation and development process in each borough was reviewed through local library search, local press and direct communication with borough planning departments. Data was also supplemented with monitoring undertaken by LPAC and GLA's strategy department, particularly the intervention by these agencies in advocating greater arts planning policy consideration during the UDP preparation and revision stages.

TABLE 8.2 POLICIES FOR THE ARTS, CULTURE & ENTERTAINMENT - BOROUGH UDP ANALYSIS
(Sources: Borough Unitary Development Plans; LPAC, 1990a and b; Horstman, 1994)

SUB- POLICY: BOROUGH:	Strategic or Local Context (S, L) [1]	Maximise Use of Facilities [2]	Replace Affected Facilities [3]	Designate Cultural Quarter [4]	Dual Uage of Facilities [5]	Promote / Safeguard Facilities [6]	Percent for Art [7]	Planning Gain provision [8]	Public Transport Provision [9]	Safety on Public Transport [10]	Good Urban Design [11]	Access for the Disabled [12]	Arts & Culture Chapter [13]
CITY OF LONDON	S, L	REC14 REC 4	REC12 REC10			STRAT11 REC 11/13 RIV 3	RIV 6 REC10		TRANS1		ENV5 RIV 1 RIV 6	REC11 SOC3	N/A
BARKING & DAGENHAM	S, L	STG 5 AT4	AT3	AT5 AT6		AT3 AT7 BTC 10	AT9	AT9	CHAP 11	CHAP 11	CHAP 7	E4 AT8 C14 LAR18	CHAP 10
BARNET	S, L		L5.1			L5.2		L5.3	M4.1			M4.2	N/A
BEXLEY	S, L			TAL 18 BTC9	TAL16	TAL4 TAL17&19	TAL23		CHAP 8		CHAP 5	TAL3	N/A
BRENT	S, L	STR27 ACE2	ACE1	STR19 EMP11 S40 WTC5 WTC8 HN3	HN24 - HN26	ACE5 ACE6 CF3 HN22/23	ACE3 E40 E25 WTC16 HN14/18	ACE4	STR28 STR33		STR4 STR5 E2	E16 E17 DS16	
BROMLEY	S, L	B/L.3	B/L.2 L17	B/L.1-B/L.3		B/L.1			CHAP 6		CHAP 9	APP. IV C6	N/A
CAMDEN	S, L	LC19 SLC2	LC16			LC16 LC17 SCE2 EC15 SKC1	LC23 SSH3	LC19	STR1 LC18	STR5	SEN4 EN7	LC6 LC21	CHAP 8
CROYDON	S, L	SP35	LR2 CC13	SP38 LR5 CC11 CC12	LR7	SP38 CC11 CC13 LR5 LR6	BE15	LR6 CC12	SP17	SP21	SP1 B19-20	BE29 BE30 LR8 CC20	N/A
EALING	S, L	CF18	CF10	E25	CF37	OL15 CF1 CF19 El.VII S24	P2 DEV37	P2	T7 T12		H30	T11	N/A
ENFIELD	S, L				AR2	AR1 AR4		AR5	T1 T2		GD4	GD12	CHAP 13
GREENWICH	S, L	ACE3	ACE11	ACE5	ACE7 C17	ACE1 ACE10 T23 W3	ACE8 ACE9 C6	ACE2 ACE4 ACE8	M10		D6 W4	ACE6	CHAP 10
HACKNEY	S, L	ACE6	ACE3	R1	ST39	ACE1 ST42	ACE4 ACE5	ACE2 ACE4 ACE5	ST28	CHAP 6	ST4 CHAP2 CHAP 11	ST6 ACE1 ACE8	CHAP 10
HAMMERSMITH & FULHAM	S, L	CS13	CS1		CS13	CS2 E12	EN13				EN8	EN11	N/A
HARINGEY	S, L	LE13.3	LE13.5 LE13.6	LE13.4		LE13.1 & .2 LE13.7	LE13.8 ENV1.19	LE13.8	TSP4		ENV1 STC4	CFS8	N/A
HARROW	S, L				S22	R2 S22			T15		E6 E44	A1 - A9	N/A
HAVERING	S, L	LAR2		LAR4	LAR3	LAR2 LAR4 STR33	ENV20		TRN3 TRN13	TRN14	ENV1		N/A
HILLINGDON	S, L	R6	R5	S1	R6	R9 R10 LE8		R10 LE8			BE8	AM1 AM14	N/A
HOUNSLOW	S, L		C6 1			C6.2	ENV1.8 ENV1.11	IMP3.1	T.1 T.3		ENV1.1	ENV1.8 ENV3.1 C4.3	N/A
ISLINGTON	S, L	STRAT R1	R23	IMP14	ED11	R21-22 V4	D9	D9	CHAP 6	CHAP 6	CHAP 12	ENV11	N/A
KENSINGTON & CHELSEA	S, L		LR23 LR24 LR26		LR27 SC10	STRAT34 LR28 LR33	CD para. 3.29 LR32	LR31 LR32	TR3		STRAT35 CD27	SC15 CD42	N/A
KINGSTON-UPON-THAMES	S, L	STR16	RL3 KTC15	KTC10 KTC15	RL4 STR12	LTC15	UD para. 5.37		STR16/19 CHAP 11		STR9/10	STR11	N/A
LAMBETH	S, L	G45	AT1 B8	AT2 AT4 B8 B9		AT2 B9	AT3 E19	E11-19 ED 2 S16-21	CHAP 5	CHAP 5	CHAP 6		CHAP 11
LEWISHAM	S, L			GEN39	GEN36	GEN35							
MERTON	S, L	L21	L22 (II)	WTC.11 WTC.22	L6	L21 L22	EB.27	L.22	M.1-M.3 M.6 M.8 M 10	M9	CHAP 3 CHAP 10 CHAP 11		N/A
NEWHAM	S, L		LR1	LR3	LR2.2	LR2	LR4	LR2.3 LR4				LR9 LR2.1	N/A
REDBRIDGE	S, L	LP.RL10	LP RL10	LP RL9		LP.LAR10					CHAP 9	LP.CS6	N/A
RICHMOND-UPON-THAMES	S, L	CET5 STG9	CET1		CET2	CET1CET3 CET5CET6 HEP4 HEP15	CET4	CET4	STG11 CHAP11	STG11	CHAP 4	CET2 (D)	CHAP 7
SOUTHWARK	S, L	ENV3.2 C4.1	C4.2			C4	ENV2.6		TRANS. CHAPTER		ENV. CHAPTER	C5.1	N/A
SUTTON	S, L	CLF21 CLF27		CLF29 STC5	CLF8 CLF9 CLF27	G/CLF2	CLF30	STC5	CHAP 9		CHAP 4	G/CLF6	N/A
TOWER HAMLETS	S, L	ST38	ART2	ST10 ART6 CHAP 12		ART1 ART6	ST40 ART5ART6 DEV19	ART5ART6 DEV3 DEV19	CHAP 5		CHAP 1	ST10	CHAP 8
WALTHAM FOREST	S, L		LAR14	SHP6	LAR14 (I) GSC11	LAR14		LAR14 (II)	CHAP 3	CHAP 3	CHAP 2		N/A
WANDSWORTH	S, L	LR2	LR1			LR3, 11-12	LR11		CHAP T		CHAP TBE	LR2 LR3	N/A
WESTMINSTER	S, L			THE6	THE3	THE5 CA2	DES17		STRAT17 TRANS9		STRAT22 DES1		N/A

8.6 Results of borough UDP analysis

The extent to which boroughs have incorporated arts and cultural policies and considered arts infrastructure issues in their borough development plans can be gauged from the above summary. In particular this shows the frequency that particular policy guidelines and mechanisms have been referenced under each main issue or topic area and those policies that have been more popular or more easily integrated into the borough planning process. The frequency of references and incidence of borough adoption of these is closely correlated, showing a clear bias towards those arts policies with obvious impact on the built environment and the land-use and development process, and vice versa:

Policy/mechanism	**Ranking (n=frequency of reference in UDP)**	**% Boroughs including in UDP**
Promote/Safeguard facilities	1 (n=84)	100%
Urban Design	2 (n=47)	94%
Access for the disabled	3 (n=45)	88%
Percent for Art	4 (n=44)	78%
Public transport	5 (n=41)	85%
Designate arts/cultural quarter	6 (n=38)	64%
Planning Gain	7 (n=35)	64%
Replace affected facilities	8 (n=34)	78%
Maximise use of facilities	9 (n=29)	70%
Dual-use of facilities	10 (n=28)	67%
Safety on public transport	11 (n=10)	58%
Separate 'arts' (ACE) chapter	12 (n=9)	27%

The boroughs with the fewest model arts policies in their UDPs were Lewisham (3), Barnet (5) and Harrow (5). Lewisham's lack of arts input to their borough plan is surprising given their earlier adoption of percent for art in 1988 and the incorporation of a town centre artist in residence, as part of the Lewisham town centre redevelopment (Chapter, 6; Shaw,

1991 p.48). This does emphasise that whilst boroughs may been willing to look to arts and urban regeneration initiatives as part of specific development sites, the adoption of borough-wide policies is still resisted and restricted by narrowly focussed, "territorial" planning departments and officers, unwilling to co-operate or share with other departments and officers. Percent for art and planning gain policies were not included in Lewisham's UDP, which refers only to the dual-use and safeguarding of existing arts facilities and the designation of a cultural quarter as part of the Lewisham town centre strategy. It was also clear in this borough that there had been little involvement of the Council's arts officer and none of artist/arts group involvement in the UDP preparation process, other than the "shopping list" approach.

All boroughs surveyed included policies for the *Promotion and Safeguarding of Arts Facilities*, whilst most made two or more separate references, and all but three boroughs (Barnet, Lewisham, Newham) had policies on *Urban Design*. The latter reflects the growing adoption of design policy guidelines as part of the development control procedure in their borough. Nearly all boroughs made references to the needs and requirements for *Disabled Access* to facilities and public areas, the exceptions being Lambeth, Lewisham, Merton, Waltham Forest and Westminster. The latter's neglect of this was the most surprising, given the concentration of core zone arts and entertainment (West End) facilities and tourism visits, although the transport and physical access problems are also most acute in this situation.

Percent for Art and *Planning Gain* policies were included by the majority of boroughs, but with the outer London boroughs of Barnet, Bromley, Harrow and Redbridge adopting neither of these, unlike those outer London boroughs where building development is more buoyant: Barking & Dagenham (north-east), Brent (City Challenge in Harlesden), Croydon and Haringey (town centre redevelopments), Hounslow (west), Newham (Docklands) and in the south-west, Merton, Richmond and Sutton. Given the ten year duration of the UDPs, those boroughs not developing planning gain and percent for arts policies in their statutory plans could be seen to be short-sighted given the continued drift of commerce and industry to outer London. In all of these cases, boroughs (officers and members) were reluctant to specify prescriptive policies that would constrain or deter would-be developers (private and public), preferring a more free-market and site by site

planning review, in the tradition of the British discretionary and negotiable planning system (Sharp *et al*, 1992).

Two thirds of boroughs had included policies to support the designation of *Cultural Quarters*, focussed on specific locations and centres. Such policies were generally proposed where a cluster or critical mass of cultural facilities were linked to the public realm (town squares, pedestrianised areas, mix of uses, such as shops, cafes and so on). These policies in plans included continued support of existing cultural quarters, particularly in town and strategic centres and prospective areas in redeveloped areas or schemes. In contrast, the absence of such designations in some boroughs where they could have been expected revealed a lack of policy and planning co-ordination. Examples included Camden, where the redevelopment of the Kings Cross railway lands and over-stressed Camden Town/Lock areas are undergoing de facto cultural zoning and development; Hammersmith, where the area around the Lyric Theatre is undergoing a cultural public realm initiative (Building Design, 1994 p.19); Kensington, despite the fact that an arts and media strategy has been used as a focus in the North Kensington City Challenge proposals (NKCC, 1993) and in the City of London, where the Barbican Arts Centre and surrounding area is under renovation. In contrast, some other 'non-designating' boroughs are those with sparse public arts facilities or resources, hence probably having little opportunity or vision in terms of cultural 'zoning' (viz Barnet, Enfield, Southwark, Wandsworth).

Whilst most boroughs had also adopted policies for the *Replacement* (78%) and *Maximisation* (70%) of arts facilities within their UDPs, the outer London boroughs of Bexley, Enfield, Harrow and inner-London Lewisham and - more surprisingly - Westminister did not feel it important to include either policy. In such former suburban boroughs, the shortage of arts facilities was used to justify this omission, however with only one public arts centre in each and declining commercial entertainment, the fact that these large boroughs had the most to lose from the closure or under-use of their local arts facilities, has not carried weight. This laissez-faire attitude is also remarkable in Westminster which has the highest concentration of theatres in Europe: despite the fall-back provided by the Theatres Trust and the protection of theatre buildings (mostly "listed") from change of use. Whilst policies to safeguard existing arts buildings is provided under separate references in these UDPs, the potential for loss through disrepair, disuse and changes of ownership, is a very

real one in a depressed, possibly 'over-supplied' West End theatre industry (Earl, 1993 p.3).

Again, this study shows that the majority of boroughs recognised the importance of *Public Transport Provision* in providing access to arts provision, though fewer adopted policies focussed on the improvement of safety and environmental 'barriers' to wider arts participation and visits. These included several of the more urban, inner-city boroughs (including the key cultural tourism boroughs of Greenwich, Kensington and Westminster).

The extent to which borough's have embraced the arts, culture and entertainment in their Unitary Development Plans, whilst not revealing a clear pattern, certainly indicates a considerable move towards valuing the input of the arts to town planning and to urban regeneration and policy development generally. This is in contrast with the situation a decade before, when borough-wide and local area plans made no mention of the arts, either directly or indirectly, except for policies aimed at the safeguarding of cinemas (Steele, 1983), below, and this is still a specific concern given the decline in traditional town centre cinemas. In the north east borough of Enfield where a multiplex cinema recently opened, this has not compensated for the loss of accessible cinema screens and this has been noted as part of the borough's Unitary Development Plan 'ACE' policy (L.B.Enfield UDP, 1991 p.117): *"there has been a loss of certain facilities. Cinemas have been particularly affected; the Borough is now served by only one cinema where previously there were seven"*

This multiplex in fact was located within the Lee Valley Regional Park, a statutory authority in its own right, straddling six London boroughs and district councils of East Hertfordshire and Essex County Council. This development fell outside of both Enfield borough and the Park's own development plan, however the multiplex was approved without major resistance or appeal, in the absence of a strategic arts or cultural plan for the area (the potential loss and accelerated decline of town centre cinemas was not deemed a sufficiently planning development control matter). The Park authority itself adopted an arts policy for the first time in 1991 and as part of its own ten year plan currently under preparation (1995-2005) will include an Arts, Culture and Entertainment strategy alongside traditional park planning, recreation and conservation issues. This is felt to be necessary not only to develop arts and related uses for this unique urban/country park which includes former industrial heritage sites and buildings, but in order to resist further multiplex and commercial entertainment applications and complement existing borough provision and gaps in facilities.

Leisure planning in the early eighties was limited to sports and recreation provision and participation (Veal, 1982; Stark, 1994). The above analysis does reinforce an outer-inner London divergence, but this difference is not comprehensive nor a simple split on party-political lines, *viz* inner London Lewisham and outer London Brent and Croydon. The key interacting factors influencing the penetration of arts policies in borough Plans have been the scope and scale of recent development and of land-use change in a borough, the relative importance of economic development (a function of unemployment, social/'areas of community need' and consequent regeneration initiatives) and the concentration of existing cultural facilities.

Borough plans of the late 1970s and early 1980s contained little or no references to arts and cultural facilities and certainly no consideration of their contribution in urban and economic development. This is not surprising, since such consideration was neither encouraged nor prescribed through government planning rules and guidelines. From an analysis of borough-wide and local area plans between 1976 (GLDP) and 1983, arts, culture and entertainment facilities were generally listed in terms of facilities and in a minority of cases (Camden, Ealing, Haringey), an assessment of usage, demand and need in relation to current private and public provision. This took the form of a norms-led assessment of provision: *"the need for a new central library, lack of community centres and play facilities"* (Ealing Borough plan, 1982) and a degree of demand determination: *"demand for facilities is seen in terms of time and money; demand for activities by workers, residents, visitors"* (*Camden Scene: Planning Survey*, 1975, in Steele, 1983 p.29). Existing provision is matched against such latent and expressed demand, to reveal deficiencies in provision and distribution. The basis of needs assessment and norms during this period was the GLC's 'Recreation Study' (1975) which modelled demand, participant profiles and supply of recreation facilities. These were dominated by sports, play and municipal amenities (libraries) and as detailed in Chapter 6, drew on the use of standards and comparatives in planning amenity, for example:

> *"From a survey of arts facilities, Harrow is aware also that it has the second lowest expenditure of the outer London Boroughs..having outlined its problems, Harrow then proceeds in its final Chapter to take each area individually and outlines its proposals for creating and improving facilities in the Borough"* (Steele, 1983 p.47).

This traditional town and amenity planning approach was the basis of the "shopping list" of arts and cultural facility "need" that persists fifteen years later - a mix of expressed need (local interest groups), local councillor support/resistance, and intervention by entrepreneurs - social or commercial. The former can be identified by the community/arts centre movement which provided much of the impetus to growth in local arts provision and animation during the 1970s. As concluded earlier, this was not the result of arts or borough planning, while the pursuit of minimum standards in provision has also largely failed. For example in the case of Harrow, above, ten years later this borough was still ranked fifteenth out of twenty-one outer London boroughs in terms of arts expenditure (CIPFA, 1992/3) and still lacks both professional and community performance and visual arts facilities (GLA, 1989d; Comedia, 1992; LFVDA, 1993) to serve a multi-cultural population of 205,000 (OPCS, 1991).

It is clear therefore, that through the UDP regime, planning departments for the first time were able to propose policies that dealt with the physical and built environment, through the development control (granting of planning permission, design, access) process and provision of 'hard' infrastructure, such as disabled access, urban design and safeguarding of facilities, as well as public transport provision. These policies fulfil wider policy objectives and social need, not limited to the arts 'special needs' and reflect the traditional concern of town planning. Less confidence has been expressed by planners, judging by their proposals in the borough UDPs, in the more proactive and operational areas of the maximisation and dual-use of arts and cultural facilities, promoting greater safety on transport and the public realm. The recognition of urban design and the mechanism of percent for art (and to a lesser extent, planning gain used to enhance public art and design elements) is now well-established, if not universal: *"Concern was expressed about the lack of urban design training for British town planners, whereas it is a central element in European professional training"* (LAB, 1992a p.1). From discussion with planners, this represents the heightened awareness amongst both the public and elected members of architecture and urban design (modernist and post-modernist debates) and a public and professional reaction to the post-War mass-building, particularly high-rise housing and offices and belatedly to large-scale shopping and retail malls and centres.

The importance of 'good' design (quality of building/materials, public realm, aesthetics, variety) was also recognised by planning and arts officers in 'quality of life' and borough image-improvement and also the expectation that European planning guidelines ('Environmental Impact Assessment') would require design and aesthetic standards. The greater harmonisation between European Union planning legislation (Davies, 1989; Davies and Gosling, 1992) was felt to result in an even greater plan-led regime, which had encouraged the wider scope and interpretation of borough UDPs, and which would hold good into the next millennium.

8.7 Summary

The creation of detailed master plans for London boroughs has, for the first time in British urban planning history[4], established policies and infrastructure needed for arts facilities and participation. In particular, the role of the arts in urban regeneration and public amenity has been recognised, in theory giving the artist and artistic 'centres' greater protection and involvement in the urban and community development process. This at least is the intention of the new arts planning policies and guidelines and their inclusion in borough development plans. The expectation is that plan policies will be enforced and maintained even against unforeseen political and economic pressures, which may develop over a ten year plan period (equivalent to two full Parliaments and over 2 Council election cycles). This commitment and time-span has at the same time limited the adoption of the full range of model arts planning policies and more overtly proactive cultural planning and policy measures. The latter approaches are likely to require a continuing interventionist role, less achievable in the new 'enabling', low-budget authority (Carter, 1991): *"a vision of the future in which elected local government becomes a largely residual category, dependent on the centre for finance and overshadowed by other agencies dominated by business interests"* (Cochrane, 1991 p.297), unless benefiting from the leverage offered by national or European capital investment schemes. This can be seen in the borough of Hackney, where arts officers have used the borough UDP 'ACE' policy in negotiating the inclusion of arts projects in the redevelopment of a council housing estate (Holly Street), through the Central government's 'Estate Action' programme (Horstman, 1994 p.4).

[4] In the mid-1980s arts policies were included in the Structure Plans of shire counties

The return to a plan-led urban policy has also taken place after a prolonged recession, and in London exacerbated by an extreme boom-bust cycle in property development and values, and significant changes in both the urban landscape and in cultural participation and consumption. This situation has required a planning response, but at the same time the public and cultural structures that are needed to deliver a sustainable urban renaissance have been weakened. Individual boroughs, in several cases, have not been able to maintain arts planning and regeneration policies during this period, and direct arts spending and regional funding in London is in decline (NCA, 1994 pp.3-5, Marsh and White, 1995).

The effective application of arts policy and cultural planning approaches in this context has therefore been one of pragmatism and damage-limitation, amidst calls for greater 'vision' and partnership, whilst strategic (including arts) planning in London and the pursuit of cultural democracy continue to be largely absent (Edwards *et al*, 1992; Tomkins, 1993). The traditional borough planning process reinforces this in that it is largely officer-led and prescriptive in style. Inter-quango negotiations over UDP policies reinforce this bureaucratic approach and in most cases to date, this has excluded the views of the arts sector. Strategically, no London-wide assessment of the arts facility and cultural planning needs has been undertaken. This explains the inconsistency and fragmentation of borough UDPs, despite the highly artificial pattern of current borough boundaries in London in terms of arts participation, economic and urban development: *"Most urban areas are legally defined by administrative boundaries, but these only accidentally reflect the range of everyday social intercourse"* (Smith, 1993 p.107). A case in point is the large re-development area of Kings Cross/St.Pancras (Kings Cross Team, 1991), which straddles two boroughs, Camden and Islington and where an arts/technology development 'Crossmillennia' scheme is planned (L.B.Camden, 1994), alongside existing provision (eg. new British Library, Shaw Theatre, Scala cinema, performing arts college). However, Camden has no "cultural quarter" designation policy, although it has been designated the sole planning authority for the proposed re-development. In contrast with this, Islington borough, which has more developed cultural policies (Chapter 9 below) is virtually a by-stander in the planning process. Throughout the 'unitary' planning authority system, there is effectively 'ring-fencing' of planning, development and decision-making and no requirement to act jointly with neighbouring authorities, other than through obligatory advice once proposals

are formulated and published. The absence of a regional planning authority also accentuates this fragmentation. The impact of large-scale entertainment complexes on adjoining borough provision has already been noted ('multiplex' - Chapter 6).

This *macro-analysis* of arts and related policy within London borough UDPs provides a comparison between boroughs and the extent of 'arts in town planning' consideration borough-wide. A more detailed analysis of the UDP process and policy formulation and the application of policy into practice, is provided in the following two chapters, taking a single borough, Islington and therein, the cultural industry and crafts quarter of Clerkenwell.

CHAPTER 9 ARTS PLANNING IN PRACTICE: AN URBAN VILLAGE REVISITED

9.0 Introduction

Following the comparative analysis of arts planning policies within London unitary development plans, this chapter looks more closely at one of these boroughs - Islington - as a case study in terms of the impact and formation of arts policy, planning and UDP strategies, and in the context of the local cultural economy. The latter is presented in terms of a typology of arts and cultural industries organisations and artists and their employment profile. This employment survey forms the basis of an assessment of the scope and scale of a single borough's arts facility base and cultural industry sector and the planning issues and needs arising in the period from the mid-1970s to the early-1990s and the socio-economic, arts policy, planning and political changes taking place during this time. This includes in the case of this inner London borough, the influence on arts provision and policy of both the GLC and the ILEA. The borough's unitary development planning process is then assessed in respect of arts and cultural policies and the interpretation of arts ('ACE') planning approaches summarised in the comparative UDP analysis in the previous chapter. As the evaluation concludes, there was little or no input to the plan formulation from local arts organisations or arts officers, but significantly, representations were made from a community development trust and London arts and planning agencies, with some effect on ACE planning policies.

The key UDP arts and related planning policies adopted in the plan are then detailed, including workspace, cultural quarter and conservation area policies which are the subject of the local area study in the next chapter. Finally, the extent to which a cultural planning approach was adopted and the rationales for the arts planning policies incorporated in this borough's UDP are assessed. There was in this case a lack of arts policy and planning consideration, whilst physical planning (conservation, infrastructure, public and percent for art and design, cultural quarters, transport) was more easily adopted through this town planner-led exercise.

9.1 An important part of this study has been the investigation of an individual borough's threefold responsibilities: as landowner, as planning authority and as service provider, to test the arts planning thesis further, and to measure how urban cultural policy has operated in

practice, particularly during the UDP process. These three borough roles offer clear opportunities for integration in promoting cultural policy in the context of urban regeneration. However in practice the different roles are frequently in conflict, as the following case study reveals. The borough selected for this 'micro-study' is the Borough of Islington, an inner-north London, urban authority.

> *"In the 1950s W G Hoskins defined local history as the rise and fall of a parish, and for many inner city areas this still applies. Islington, paradoxically, is an example of an inner borough which has experienced a fall followed by a rise...Islington provides an archetypal view of a London borough's development"* (Cosh, 1990 p.iii)

This borough has incorporated all the recommended 'Arts, Culture and Entertainment' (ACE) model policies into its UDP (LPAC, 1990b), which was adopted in 1993, and has offered the largest range of development schemes as part of its arts and urban regeneration proposals (Chapter 7 and Appendix III). Located next to the City of London, but outside of the recognised central 'cultural zone', Islington has been subject to intensive property development and speculation (Llewelyn-Davies, 1990) and as an eligible Urban Programme area, has had access to targeted capital and revenue investment funds (though at diminishing levels over the 1980s - Chapter 3) for social and economic, including arts and recreation programmes. The decline in urban programme funding (Audit Commission, 1989) has also been preceded by a rapid reduction in revenue support under the Central government's block ('rate support') grant. Between 1981-2 and 1984-5 this had declined by 100% in the borough, compared with 40% in Newcastle and 30% in Manchester. Following the 1980 Local Government Planning and Land Act (LGPLA) which restricted local authority capital spending, the Local Government Finance Act of 1982 further restricted councils from raising finance through additional rate (local tax) precepts and the 1984 Rates Act empowered the Secretary of State to limit the rates of local authorities. Eighteen councils were 'rate-capped' in 1985/86, all were Labour-controlled. The Local Government Acts of 1985 and 1986 also restricted the sale of local authority mortgage debt, 'sale and leaseback' arrangements and withdrew the right of appeal to the courts on ministerial decisions about central government grant allocations or other ministerial financial controls. This also had a negative impact on local employment: *"In addition the combination of grant reduction, penalties for overspending and rate-capping has resulted in declines in public sector employment, thus exacerbating the unemployment problems of urban areas"* (Lee

and Wolman, 1986 p.100)

In 1990 the borough took over responsibility for primary and secondary education provision, previously the responsibility of the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA), which was wound-up by Central government under the Education Reform Act (ERA) 1988 (Chapter 2); higher, further and adult education being transferred to Government quangos. Before its 1990 abolition, the ILEA was estimated to spend £1 million annually on the arts in Islington. This provision included adult education in the arts and crafts, a creative arts centre, youth arts and a resource centre, in addition to school-based arts in education, and regular funding of several voluntary arts education organisations, such as the Theatre Centre, a national theatre-in-education company (GLA, 1989 p.2). Prior to its abolition ILEA funding was greater than the combined Borough Council and Regional Arts Association (GLA) support for arts activity in Islington.

Unlike other London boroughs, such as Camden and Croydon, when Islington was 'created' in 1967 it inherited few civic arts facilities which it directly owned or managed: it has no council museum, gallery, theatre or local arts council. However there had been some provision in the voluntary and independent sectors, and over the next two decades these were further developed through grants to community arts, festival and touring arts groups. The borough's cultural assets range from well-known venues such as Sadlers Wells (opera in the Borough's early days, but now mainly dance), the Baylis and Almeida theatres (contemporary drama and music) to several small-scale and pub theatres (Tower, Kings Head, St.George's [Elizabethan] and Little Angel Marionette theatres).

Today Islington has a mix of community arts centres, small independent museums and galleries, the headquarters of several touring companies and commercial entertainment and exhibition centres, from cinemas (chains and independent) to clubs (IIF, 1993: GLA, 1989 and see 'cultural map' - Appendix Vii). The borough has a long-established cultural industry base, particularly in design, publishing and printing and a high concentration of visual and craft artists and designer-makers in Clerkenwell and in the east of the borough, reflecting a four century tradition (Evans, 1989; Worpole, 1991). The communities forming the present Borough have been important for theatrical arts since Elizabethan times and for music hall in the late Victorian era. This "cultural quarter" has supported crafts practice since

Norman times (Cosh, 1987; LBI, 1992a p.C173) and is examined in more detail in the following chapter in terms of the impact of economic changes and land-use and of the Borough's evolving arts policy and their planning responses to conflicting demands.

As noted in the Introduction to this thesis (Chapter 1), Islington is a particular example of both urban and land-use change, one of the first boroughs to experience post-war "gentrification" of the working-class inner-city in London (along with Pimlico in Westminster). These changes were perceived as creating a gulf between a wealthy middle-class and low-income social housing areas, often in close proximity in this densely populated and built environment[1]: *"The renaissance in the last generation of its rich crop of Regency-style streets, with the influx of a well-to-do professional population, might suggest a return to prosperity, but this is a deceptive icing to the cake"* (Cosh, 1990, p.iii).

The borough is ranked the fifth most deprived out of the thirty-three London boroughs, in terms of the Department of the Environment's 'Z-scores' of deprivation (LCCI, 1992 and see Chapter 4 above). A summary of the borough's demographic profile and main arts and cultural venues is attached as Appendix V.

9.2 Arts Policy and Town Planning in Islington

From the mid-1970s to the mid-1980s a period of growth in arts expenditure in Islington, as in other Labour-controlled boroughs (Henry, 1993), was underwritten by increased rate levy, prior to subsequent 'capping' and centralisation of local government financing (SSA, UBR): *"By 1976 most London Boroughs had established structures through which the arts could be supported, most had acquired experience of dealing with the arts, and some had achieved a considerable track record in imaginative arts provision"* (GLA, 1979 p.3). This was reinforced by increased funding of arts activity through the GLC's Arts and Recreation and other committees (ethnic arts, community arts, women's *et al*) and through the ILEA's arts in education intervention (Feist and Hutchison, 1989 p.56), as well as continued Urban Programme funding, capital and revenue.

Islington's growing expenditure and policy priority given to the arts is reflected in the numbers of staff in the Borough's Arts and Entertainment section under the Recreation

[1] Population 171,000, (OPCS, 1991); area 3 x 1.5 miles (GLA, 1989b).

Committee. In 1977 there were three full-time officers: one 'arts', two 'entertainment' (GLA, 1979), but by 1990 this has risen to were seven staff, including two Arts and Disability Workers (partly funded through the voluntary sector organisation - SHAPE) and a Community Arts Officer responsible for Ethnic Minorities (LRC, 1991). In addition, following the abolition of the ILEA in 1989, the borough took responsibility for education and as a result appointed an Arts Education Co-ordinator with joint responsibility for arts in education development between Education and Arts and Entertainment departments.

Prior to the national planning liberalisation policies enacted between 1980 and 1987 which saw the planning control over the change of use of commercial and industrial premises all but disappear (LGPLA 1980; UCO, 1987), and prior the period before Islington gained unitary status (1986), plans and policies for arts and recreation in the borough included a number of considerations of local area concern and of strategic relevance in the light of the extant Greater London Development ('structure') Plan (1976). During this period of two-tier local government in London, local plans were of three types (MHLG, 1972):

1. District Plans - concerned with the detailed planning of the whole or large part of a borough;

2. Action Area plans - prepared for areas subject to intensive change and redevelopment, and requiring comprehensive planning;

3. Subject Plans - dealing with specific areas of planning, such as housing, leisure, conservation.

In Islington, a traditional Development Plan for the whole borough was published for consultation in 1980 and formally adopted in 1981, following the publication by a series of non-statutory local area studies. For example a Topic paper on Recreational Open Space was produced as early as 1973 and the 'Islington Plan Fact Pack - Leisure' (1975) presented background information on recreation and leisure in the borough. Research studies into the use of open space, children's play and swimming baths were also completed between 1974 and 1980. All of these earlier planning initiatives in the recreation area were drawn up with reference to standards and recommended levels of provision proposed in the GLC's Structure Plan (GLDP, 1976).

There were however some references to cultural provision in earlier initiatives. For example in 1978 the draft Borough Plan included a supplement for the Nags Head area, which proposed that no change of use leading to loss of either of two cinemas in the locality would be allowed. This was strengthened in the Development Plan (1980) with the encouragement of the development of leisure and entertainment in this area, though such developments were expected to rely on voluntary or commercial sector efforts and multi-use of existing buildings. Financial constraints on public spending were already a factor at this time and no other reference or specific planning statements considered the arts, culture or entertainment, either as a borough-wide strategy, or as a local area issue. This was a typical position of the boroughs throughout London in the period of two-tier government, prior to the new GLC 'regime' and its 'campaign for a popular culture' (GLC, 1986).

As noted above, given the lack of local authority-owned or managed arts facilities, the majority of borough arts support was directed at existing arts organisations, for both maintenance and in some cases to extend facilities. Voluntary sector capital schemes supported by this council included Sadlers Wells Theatre, where an additional studio theatre was built (Baylis Theatre), upgrading at the Almeida Theatre and conversion of a disused Victorian theatre space to create the Holloway Theatre. A number of new projects were supported through direct and London-wide funding (Regional Arts Association and GLC), including several music-based projects (Grand Union Music; Islington Music Workshop) and most significantly, reflecting the GLC's ethnic arts policy, an increasing number of Islington-based black arts projects (Adzido; Black Music Archives; Black Theatre Forum; Black Arts gallery; Keskidee Centre) and women's arts organisations (Women's Theatre Group/ Jazz network/ Film & Video Bulletin; Cinema of Women): *"The high profile initiative of the GLC's community arts programme, and indeed of the GLC's cultural programme overall, must have had some influence on these developments"* (GLC, 1986 p.125).

A further survey of arts and leisure provision and usage in the Borough was commissioned in 1987 (Comedia, 1987). Audience surveys were undertaken at pub theatres, a cinema and music club and a record shop. These revealed the now predictable profiles of participation in and support of 'serious' and popular culture: 70% of theatre audiences had a degree or diploma, compared with only 19% at the Odeon cinema, 14% at the black record shop and 8% at an Irish music venue, and as Lewis notes on this survey's findings:

"The only venue with an audience characterized by a high level of education was also the only one to receive public funding. It is not thought appropriate to fund more popular and accessible venues, whose work is not legitimated by the dominant cultural aesthetics" (Lewis, 1990 p.18, and see Bourdieu, 1984; Lewis *et al* 1987).

Growth during this period of local arts activity and investment has largely been reversed during the ten year anticipated 'shelf-life' of the Arts Council's 'Glory of the Garden' strategy (1984). Although only partly adopted there had been some devolution and increased Arts Council grant allocations to the Regional Arts Associations, especially those outside London (Chapter 7). However, rather than the national redistribution of arts resources from the capital, it has been the drastic changes in local and regional government and of local authority and urban assistance funds that has restricted overall arts support in the borough. Moreover, these restrictions began to bite most severely at the point that unitary status was conferred. By the time that the borough planning (UDP) process had commenced, the map and range of arts facilities and organisations had been reduced, accelerated by a narrowing of arts clients by the regional arts board (LAB): 'artistic versus social arts' (Wilding, 1989), which also created tensions at borough level: *"Local arts officers are torn between loyalty to municipal politicians and the artist practitioners"* (Tait, 1992). While the Borough's larger building-based arts centres and venues at least survived, a disproportionate number of black and women's arts groups either left the borough or closed down completely between 1986 and 1992 and most remaining groups have had to operate with reduced subsidy. As the Minority Arts Advisory Service (MAAS) commented in 1993: *"we shall see a nationwide repetition of the situation in the early 1970s, when most of the of the leading black arts organisations in London had their funding withdrawn. Many 'mainstream' organisations, on the other hand, were protected and secured"* (MAAS, 1993 p.1).

The development of local arts provision in Islington over the 1970s and 1980s had not, however, been based on an arts plan, or even a clear arts policy. It developed more reactively, influenced by regional and national factors and interventions, as well as parochial Councillor involvement. The initiatives and activities of the GLC and ILEA, above, regional arts (GLA), Urban Programme, European Social Fund and the Arts Council (funding larger building-based clients), were all far more important than the Borough Council, as was the expressed demand for resources from under-represented artists and arts groups. These

artistic minority and community arts groups undeniably had their expectations and aspirations raised by the GLC's cultural policies, which began to be articulated very clearly after the 1981 GLC elections, in marked contrast with previous laissez-faire stances of the previous GLC administration and its predecessor the London County Council: *"If the influence of the GLC on other funding bodies can be summed up in one sentence then it would be that arts funding bodies can longer say, and get away with it - as many did for so many years - 'We have no policies - we simply fund the best'"* (GLC, 1986 p.125).

With the majority of the inner London boroughs, including Islington, of the same political persuasion as the GLC, borough arts policy responded to these external influences, whilst balancing local socio-economic and community demands and the ongoing infrastructure needs. (So far as the latter was concerned, the Borough was increasingly reacting to changes in urban land and transport changes, including travel-to-work patterns, as a result of de-urbanisation and central government property-use liberalisation and employment change).

Consequently in Islington whilst arts policy was largely reactive, an evolving economic development policy in the borough had focused strongly on the potential of urban regeneration schemes, through both the cultural industries and through greater visitor-based activity (Bramwell and Broom, 1989; DoEn, 1990) and reflecting the availability of central government funds for such projects. The latter was manifested through a borough tourism strategy, which culminated in a Tourism Action Development Programme (TDAP), the first in London, developed jointly by the Council and the English Tourist Board and which proposed a major focus on urban cultural tourism through the development and promotion of a mix of arts and heritage venues, crafts/markets and specialist retail and food (Discover Islington, 1992). As an eligible Urban Programme borough, Islington submitted a bid under the competitive 'City Challenge' development of the Urban Programme in 1992. Media developments formed a considerable element of the borough's bid for capital funds, to be centred on the Nags Head (1980 Plan, above). The Borough arts department proposed a "planning gain" scheme to achieve a single screen municipal art house cinema facility and the redevelopment of the Rainbow theatre (owned by the Rank organisation and disused for fifteen years) as a commercial multi-screen cinema (LBI, 1992c). The borough's City Challenge bid was unsuccessful and *"although these plans still form part of the borough's*

cultural aspirations, as and when finances or partnerships allow" (LFVDA, 1993 p.28), the chances of public finance to realise these are negligible in the forseeable future. Furthermore, no mention of these plans or site proposals were made subsequently in the borough's UDP (below). Again this epitomises the gambles played out in urban areas for 'gains' largely outside of their control (except for the reactive granting of planning permission) and outside of an equitable arts plan, where *"winner takes lots, loser gets less and less"* (LAB, 1992 p.1).

Because of the perceived economic development and, specifically, job creation opportunities offered by arts and media production, in Islington - a borough with strong locational and historic advantages - this led to collaboration between arts and planning (economic development) departments and the regional arts association (GLA) in 1988. The first phase was a detailed 'mapping' of arts organisations and cultural industry firms operating in the borough. In 1989, as part of research for their 'Arts Plan', Greater London Arts had commissioned an audit of arts organisations in London by borough (GLA, 1989). In Islington this audit had revealed 200 arts and media bodies and community organisations engaged in arts activity and production. As discussed in Chapter 4 and 5 however, the range, status and location of cultural production, whether public amenity or private enterprise, is far broader and more eclectic than definitions normally used in public policy research, whether arts or economic.

Therefore a more comprehensive survey of such economic activity was carried out for this thesis between 1989 and 1990, with the intention of revealing both the scope and scale of arts and cultural activity in the borough, against which future cultural planning and related policy mechanisms might be measured. A specific aim of this new research was to facilitate the practical evaluation of the implementation and impact of economic, planning and arts policy at local and regional levels.

9.3 The cultural economy of Islington

The primary technique used in order to assess the scope and scale of the cultural sector in Islington was a questionnaire-based survey of artists and arts and cultural organisations (Evans, 1989; see Appendix IV). The preparation of this drew on existing 'audits' (GLA, above, Comedia, 1987), client grant-aid data (Borough, GLA, LBGC) and a recent employment survey of all firms in the borough (CAITS, 1988). Additional sources used

included artist, trade and membership information seeking details of 'practitioners' in performing and visual arts, including those active in arts education (such as peripatetic music, dance teachers), literature and media (print and broadcast) and crafts trades. These groups were the most poorly represented on both general employment surveys and in arts audits, as the typical solo-cultural worker or small business fitted neither into mainstream local industry profiles, nor did they figure on "arts" grant-aid lists. Often operating from home, in managed workspaces, or peripatetic, earning a living from several different activities (eg. teaching, performance/exhibition, production/commission), individuals in these groups represent a growing though hidden aspect of the cultural industries. Growth in this area has been fuelled by recent changes in employment structures, such as contracting-out, freelancing, homeworking and mobility (DE, 1993; Evans, 1993) and through changes in information communication technology (desk-top publishing, multi-media, tele/commuting, *online* etc).

This survey also sought to profile arts-related employment (full and part-time, freelance, employed, gender) and to distinguish between those professional-level with arts and cultural skills and the ancillary or support staff. Information was also sought on premises ownership and legal status in order to to establish a typology of firm/artist 'trader' and the balance between public, commercial and voluntary arts and cultural organisations. Address and postcode analysis (Appendix IV) made possible the mapping of arts activity by location with a view to assessing "critical mass" and concentration tendencies, including "cultural quarter" and market access phenomena (such as town centre, 'nodal' points).

The nature of the cultural industries and their inter-relationships (eg. production chain - Montgomery, 1990; 1991; Comedia, 1991) have implications for both cultural policy and planning. In recent times both concepts have been dominated by the notions of amenity, the built environment and an emphasis on the larger firm and 'flagship' facilities and enterprises. These represent in all respects the higher, physical profile of the arts and cultural economy. However the realities of post-industrial employment and economic activity identified in this study, whilst polarising in the local-global divide (King, 1991; Featherstone, 1993) are increasingly represented by small-scale activity, flexible working (post-Fordist production - *short runs*, from theatre production to cultural 'products') and highly specialised markets (eg. niche, ethnic).

9.3.1 Employment Profile

The full results of the Islington cultural industries survey are analysed in detail in Appendix IV, but may be summarised as follows. There is a significant 'sector' within the local economy, and ten times as many arts organisations and firms were identified compared with the narrower arts audit carried out by the Arts Business Ltd. (GLA, 1989) a year before:

Main activity	Number of firms	Artists/Sole Traders	Total
Performing arts	279	531	810
Visual arts	83	25	108
Crafts	162	51	213
Literature/Publishing	138	4	142
Audio-Visual	165	74	239
Print and design	453	49	502
Total	**1,280**	**734**	**2,014**

The majority of firms/artists were independent and operated solely from within the borough (90%), whether private, not-for-profit or community businesses (Evans, 1989 p.25). However 74% of respondents were not owners of the premises that they occupied and access and affordability of premises are a key factor and barrier to growth:

> *"There was no 'branch economy' for which the major decisions were made in board rooms hundreds or thousands of miles away, but a vital local growth with roots deep in the history and topography of the area - but which remained in need, as do all economies, of continuing strategic support, monitoring and encouragement"* (*Trading Places*, Worpole, 1991 p.149, on the Islington and Clerkenwell studies by the author).

A follow-up sample of 187 of the firms responding was carried out to examine staffing and employment details. This revealed substantial differences in labour-intensity and gender profiles, as well as between arts-specific and support or ancillary staff within each sub-sector:

	Average no. of Employees	Male: Female	Full-time: Part-time	Ratio of arts to support staff
Performing arts	11	55 : 45	70 : 30	1.7 : 1
Visual arts	5	53 : 47	59 : 41	1.1 : 1
Crafts	10	68 : 32	87 : 13	2.1 : 1
Literature/Publishing	21	57 : 43	83 : 17	1.1 : 1
Audio-visual	10	67 : 33	46 : 54	1.1 : 1
Print and design	11	64 : 46	91 : 9	4.2 : 1
Total	**12**	**60 : 40**	**79 : 21**	**1.7 : 1**

Whilst predominately comprising small firms, cultural organisations on average were larger employers than the majority of businesses in the borough, 73% of whom employed ten or less people (CAITS, 1992). Publishing and literature firms were the most labour-intensive and had the largest average full-time workforce. Whilst male employment was consistently higher than female in all sectors; this was most pronounced in the crafts, audio-visual and print sectors, while the male:female ratio was closest in visual and performing arts. The male bias in the crafts sector in Islington differs from the Crafts Council's profile and trend of crafts people working in the London region as a whole where the male:female ratio was 31:69 (Knott, 1993 and see Bruce & Filmer, 1983), the reverse of the Islington figures, though the London-wide ratio reflects the much higher part-time crafts employment by women. In the case of Islington the difference is explained by the high concentration of traditional jewellery and metal crafts firms staffed full-time by men and by the low incidence of part-time working. The contrasts in the ratio of full to part-time employment was particularly marked between audio-visual (film/video, radio) where a majority were part-time, and in the traditional print and design sector, where over 90% were in full-time employment. The ratio of arts-skilled to support staff was also markedly higher in the print industry and also in crafts trades, reflecting traditional, holistic 'craft' skills in these areas.

9.4 Cultural planning needs

The survey also asked arts organisations and artists what measures they would like in terms of help or support from official bodies (Evans, 1989 p.30):

38%	sought assistance with training, primarily in marketing (33%), computing (20%), technical (20%);
36%	required help or improvement to their premises and access position, including quantity and quality of workspace; parking; exhibition display (visual arts/crafts) and rent and rate controls;
20%	looked to improved information and communication on local services, events, training and recruitment, and;
6%	sought direct grant-aid to support their operation and growth, including premises needs.

The survey of arts and cultural firms in the borough, whilst measuring the economic importance of the cultural industries, confirmed a gap between local and economic development policy mechanisms and the perceived needs and constraints of the sector itself. This is partly the result of the fragmented nature of the disparate sectors that make up the

cultural economy: *"the cultural industries were not homogenous and the relationship with the subsidised arts and cultural sectors was not sufficiently understood"* (LAB, 1992 p.6). Islington's grant-aid schemes under its economic development policy were targeted at co-operative enterprises, but only 2% of the surveyed cultural organisations were legally co-operatives. Most commercial firms preferred private company, partnership or sole trader structures, while the subsidised sector mainly used the charitable company model. The very nature of cultural production itself, both pre and post-industrial, is no longer adequately reflected in regular employment statistics, from which economic and employment policy (and related planning infrastructure) is drawn: *"standard industry classifications (SIC) were outdated and did not reflect the reality of the new service/information sectors, including much arts and cultural activity. Consequently their value and economic contribution has been understated"* (LAB, 1992 p.6 and ref. Feist and O'Brien, 1995).

The policy implications of these research findings were clear: both hard and soft infrastructure support was sought, both to retain existing cultural activity, under recessionary and cost pressures and to stimulate new or expanded activity. Better premises and access (transport, parking, loading, public) were the recurrent environmental needs, whilst marketing and communication, education and training ('technology transfer') were seen as important in order to meet the changing employment and post-industrial demands. Skills, technology and market intelligence were seen as at a premium in responses from the craft-jeweller to the theatre programmer. The identification of an organic, local cultural economy was also seen to require an integrated response and the sort of positive cultural policy previously absent, while: *"the functional divide within local authorities meant a lack of integrated policy and planning, which frustrates much economic development"* (LAB, 1992 p.11).

The Unitary Development Plan therefore presents the Borough with an opportunity to identify and incorporate the arts and culture into the borough planning process in a more integrated way. The evaluation of its success and and the extent of its arts and cultural planning measures is therefore assessed as follows.

9.5 The UDP and Arts, Culture & Entertainment in Islington

Islington issued its Deposit-stage draft Plan in November 1990. Relevant Plan policies proposed included:

> **Part 1 - Strategic Objective - Arts and Entertainment**
>
> To support the provision and maintenance of a variety of accessible arts and entertainment activities, and in partnership with the commercial and voluntary sectors, ensure that the development of facilities enable all residents to participate in the arts, music, theatre, crafts and other similar pursuits if they wish;
>
> **Part II - Policies** (Chapter reference):
>
> (R19) - The Council will encourage the development of arts and other leisure and cultural activities at accessible locations, particularly where there are limited venues and facilities at present. It will also assess the artistic potential of larger site developments, and seek the inclusion of more works of Public art whenever possible;
>
> (R20) - Favourable consideration will normally be given to proposal for entertainment or general leisure facilities where the proposal does not conflict with other policies in this plan and is of a form suitable to the area concerned;
>
> (R21) - Permission will not normally be granted for development which would involve the loss of a public cinema or theatre, unless it is replaced with a similar facility.

Several other policy proposals also relevant to employment and tourist facilities in relation to arts provision included:

> *"to encourage the creation and continuation of a wide range of employment opportunities in the Borough...As a Local Planning Authority it can judge planning applications in the light of their effect on employment and on whether they help to maintain a full range of types and size of business premises"* (Chapter 5 p.2),

and:

> *"encourage investment in existing facilities, services and the Arts...where additional income will result in increased use by residents"* (V4).

Negative aspects of the policy of increased visitor activity were also anticipated, particularly in restrictive policies on traffic, parking and minimising the impact on public bus transport (V6-V8). By the time that the statutory Public Inquiry into the Draft UDP opened on 9th July 1991, over 100 'objections' to aspects of the draft Plan had been lodged with the planning authority. The Inquiry, held at the Islington Town Hall, was conducted by a

Department of the Environment Inspector (K.G.Smith BSc), with the borough represented by legal counsel and eight nominated 'witnesses', all of them planning officers, including the Department Head and Conservation Officer. The Inquiry was timetabled to last two weeks and was of course open to the public, the sequence following the main planning issues represented by Chapters of the UDP: Housing (2 days); Transport (1.5 days); Hotels and 'various' (1 day); Employment (4 days); Design and conservation (2 days); Shopping and Town Centres (½ day); Recreation (½ day); Environment (½ day).

The majority of objections to Plan policies registered in advance were against the Housing (25%); Employment (25%); Design & Conservation (15%) and Shopping/Town Centre (15%) proposals. The remainder of the objections were on Transport, Environment and implementation issues: there were none concerning arts or leisure policies, however several arts-related questions were raised concerning the sensitive conservation and development areas of Clerkenwell and Smithfield. There were no individual objectors and those objecting fell into two distinct 'special interest' groups, firstly those involved in the property development and construction industry, including their 'representatives' - such as estate agents, surveyors and the shopping chains (Tesco, Sainsbury) - and campaigning or other local action groups. This reflected the normal response to such Inquiries: *"developments within the UK are likely to mean that political debate at local level will in future mainly focus on disagreements between property developers and other business interests"* (Cochrane, 1991 p.297). Local groups included Friends of the Earth; Chamber of Commerce; Finsbury Park Action Group; London Cycling campaign; Islington Park Walk Action Committee and the Islington Society. The local groups were usually concerned with access and environmental protection, whilst the commercial sector were responding to what they perceived as restrictions on their prospective developments through what they categorised as 'costly' design constraints (layout, density, usage), transport and access restrictions, and designation of certain areas for specific single use development, such as housing, offices and retailing.

Whilst there was no direct response from arts organisations at the Public Inquiry stage, the advocacy role of the regional arts and London planning bodies (LAB, LPAC) had been felt through written representations to the Borough at the earlier consultation stage. A meeting was also called by the Clerkenwell Trust, a local community development trust

concerned with local employment and workspace issues in the Clerkenwell area, which lobbied for "cultural quarter" designation (Minutes of meeting, 'Clerkenwell as a possible cultural quarter' held on 26th April 1991, Islington Planning Department). These representations encouraged the Council to incorporate more ACE-specific policies, in order to strengthen the existing policies, above. In particular a new policy on public art and the proposed designation of cultural quarters were added to the Plan. The final borough UDP, revised after the Inquiry, therefore expanded on the arts planning policies (LBI, 1992a):

Part 1 - Strategy
The Council will protect and expand existing facilities for both leisure and cultural activities in the Borough, concentrating resources on those areas and population groups that currently have least choice, or suffer from particular problems due to lack of income, poor access, or other disadvantages. It will encourage the maximum co-operation and joint action with both private and voluntary sectors, and will pursue all opportunities for the dual use and alternative use of suitable buildings and spaces, including the retention, development and increased use of strategically important facilities outside the borough.

Part II - Policies
(R23) - *Replacement of affected facilities*: Permission will not normally be granted for development which would involve the loss of a public cinema or theatre or any other building suitable for public entertainment, arts or cultural use, unless it is replaced with a similar facility;

(IMI14) *Designated arts cultural quarter*: Designates Clerkenwell/Smithfield area as one of special character and applies special design policy guidelines to it;

(ED11) *Maximise existing facilities*: Access to educational facilities by local residents for recreational and community activities should be maximised;

(R21) *Promote Safeguard facilities*: The Council will encourage the development of arts, cultural and entertainment activities at accessible locations both centrally and where there are limited venues and facilities at present. It will also assess the artistic potential of larger site developments and seek the inclusion of more works of public art whenever possible;

(R22) *Promote/Safeguard facilities*: Favourable consideration will normally be given to proposals for arts and entertainment or general leisure facilities where the proposal does not conflict with other policies in this plan and is a form suitable to the area concerned;

(V4) *Promote/Safeguard facilities*: The Council will promote schemes which enable positive benefits to be derived from an increased number of visitors to the Borough. It will encourage investment in existing facilities, services and the arts that can most benefit from such support, and where additional income will result in increased use by residents;

(D9) *Percent for Arts*: The Council will encourage the provision of public art and craft work as part of development schemes and, in determining applications for planning permission, will have regard to the contribution made by such works to both the appearance of the scheme and the amenity of the surrounding environment;

(ENV11) *Access for disabled people*: Appropriate access, parking and facilities for people with disabilities will be included in all developments which disabled people use, either as members of the general public or for the purpose of employment.

A number of proposed employment and premises policies also addressed some of the issues arising from the author's cultural industries survey, detailed above (Evans, 1989). These included the encouragement of homeworking and worker-homes (E13), the protection of designated industrial accommodation (including studios), and specific design guidelines relating to the cultural and conservation quarters of Clerkenwell and Smithfield (UDP - IM15; 13.6.5 and see Chapter 10, below). Particularly important, given the pressures on artist and designer crafts studio premises because of the office development and conversion of property at that time, a policy to protect such usage was included: *"There will be a presumption against the loss of premises which remain capable of use by firms with strong linkages with local markets or providing services required in the locality"* and *"the need to protect low-cost opportunities to set up in business"* (E11).

The UDP preparation planning exercise shows a degree of cultural planning, in place of the previous vacuum. The adoption of such policies was primarily the result of direct intervention and advocacy by arts agencies and local interest groups, with the Borough planning staff in response. However, the Borough did not see evidence or any other input from local arts organisations and resident artists at either preparation or Public Inquiry stages, despite the cultural importance of some known development areas (Nags Head) and the availability of disused cultural buildings (such as the Rainbow Theatre, Coronet Bingo Hall, Hornsey Road and Merlin Street Baths[2] - LBI 1992c): *"Closely related to this structural issue was the low level of informed input from the community which should be pressing for a more integrated and comprehensive approach. It was clear that the complexity and rigidity of the decision-making process was a major deterrent to community*

[2] Disused Victorian swimming baths have been usefully converted in to managed workspaces for artists and for arts & media usage (Eastway Baths, Hackney; Mile End Baths, Tower Hamlets - Aldous, 1994)

involvement" (LAB, 1992 p.2)

This again raises the problem of lack of community involvement in the London planning process, and the lack of planning awareness amongst arts groups. Borough Planning officers not only took a paternalistic approach to town planning, reduced here to the intimidation of a professional Inquiry, in the style of a 'trial', in contrast with the more corporate management approach elsewhere in the country. There seemed to be little or no real involvement of other Chief Officers and Departments, whereas in some other boroughs advocates elsewhere have been able to contribute and engage in the UDP process, for example in Croydon:

> *"We can influence the UDP, but in knowing about it and what it contains, we can actually use it as well. I would encourage arts organisations - professional, amateur and grass-roots - to know what a UDP is. Don't be tempted to say 'it's nothing to me'. It does have a significance for you"* (N.Bashall, Croydon's community dance worker - LAB, 1994 p.5).

Because of the lack of a corporate approach to the UDP, the role of the Arts and Entertainment Department in this planning exercise was therefore minimal. The Department was also preoccupied with managing a diminishing revenue budget, which reduced by over 30% in real terms between 1987 and 1993 (CIPFA, 1987/88 to 1993/4; LIAD, 1993 p.17) while crucially the Borough stressed: *"The council does not have an arts strategy"* (LIAD, 1993 p.20). This reflects the norm in local authorities (Audit Commission, 1991), despite the increasing focus on arts and cultural industries in local authority policies and the 'gains' in target group, economic and urban development policies during the 1980s:

> *"the majority of councils investigated had no specific arts policy, no rationale for whether they spent all the budget on light opera, museums, or work with young people, no way of monitoring what they did was of any value or reached the people it was intended to, and no way of finding out if the money could have been more usefully spent elsewhere"* (Worpole, 1994 pp.159-160).

In fact the problem seems to suggest more of a lack of continuity in policy-making, since Islington, in common with many urban boroughs and districts councils, has not lacked policy-formulation (AMA, 1990; ADC, 1990) though many have had great difficulty in sustaining them against the dynamic of fiscal and political change. This has been exacerbated by the shift in power and policy direction through the 1980s, away from arts provision as

such towards the development of a broader leisure service. Economic planning, regeneration and employment initiatives have also become highly important in many local authorities, accompanied by a shift in internal power towards planning and similar departments and resulting in a growing tension between traditional departments and services, eg. between arts facility and programming (events) and the cultural and tourist economy (see Chapter 5). In Islington such trends were perhaps reflected in the change of name of the Arts and Entertainment Department to: "Arts and Heritage": the frivolity of 'entertainment' no longer fitted in with the pursuit of cultural tourists and the economic rationales of Council provision, thus mirroring the national policy emphasis.

Increasingly these days, the role of the borough Arts Officer (or local arts development agency) in planning advocacy, is moving, of necessity, from that of provider to that of *broker*:

1. In the UDP policy formulation and revision;

2. As a resource for planning departments over policy conflicts and demonstration of 'need';

3. As a reference point for planning applications and development briefs, to ensure 'ACE' policy adherence and maximum opportunity for arts development;

4. As agent between developer, creative entrepreneur and arts/community ('producer without a budget').

This calls for skills and expertise that, to date, have not been generally regarded as part of arts, leisure or amenity management, whilst the shortcomings in town planning training, noted previously, are exacerbated by a *"similar concern...about the lack of 'visual literacy' among developers and the public. The community is not demanding a well-designed built environment, hence developers are not providing it"* (LAB 1992 p.10).

The new reality of the 1990s require an understanding of the planning, design and development processes among local authority arts and leisure officers, and indeed by national and regional Arts Council and Board staff, who have to date relied on a facility-led and programming approach. It is not surprising that these brokerage roles have initially generally been filled by consultants (Evans, 1991), but this is unlikely to be a sustainable or

desirable solution for either profession. Instead arts and leisure professionals need to be involved in the planning process, and for this a greater mutual appreciation is required, as Rustin maintains:

> *"Many local authorities have realised long ago the need to offer services which are comparable in quality and diversity to those of the market..If differentiated and responsive forms of public provision are to exist, then more flexible and entrepreneurial forms of organisation are also going to be needed...if design, sensitivity, innovation and responsiveness to the wishes of consumers or citizens are wanted, then quite different kinds of institutional practices are necessary"* (1994 pp.84-5).

The foregoing case study analysis of Islington Borough Council's experience of urban planning and cultural policy gives an insight into the imperfections of both the planning system and the local authority administrative systems in relation to the support, benign or otherwise, of the cultural economy. The application and 'cause and effect' of planning and economic development policies on local arts activity was therefore taken one stage further by carrying out a more detailed local area ('micro-level') investigation within this case study borough. Focusing on arts, cultural industry and craft-based studio production in the cultural quarter of Clerkenwell, this study offers a microcosm of both the impact of land-use and property change and cultural and urban (eg. UDP 'ACE' policy) planning responses, as detailed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 10 CLERKENWELL: CASE STUDY OF A CULTURAL QUARTER

10.0 Introduction

This penultimate chapter takes the arts and cultural planning analysis within the urban planning process to the final stage, focusing on a local, neighbourhood area researched in detail between 1989 and 1993. The area chosen is the cultural quarter of Clerkenwell in the south of the case study borough of Islington - the subject of the investigation in the previous chapter. An historic profile of the formation and urban development of Clerkenwell reveals a long tradition and continuity in crafts activity and trade, in both the sixteenth and earlier centuries; through the development of crafts guilds and mercantilism and later industrial urbanisation periods; to the modern day "urban renaissance". Small-scale crafts production and more recent cultural industries activity therefore persist in this area to the present day, despite the pressures from property development and (macro and micro) economic change. The area presents an example of a high concentration of arts and cultural activity; the presence of managed and shared workspaces and the practical impact of the production chain concept outlined earlier in the thesis. This is explored in the case of two community property trusts (Clerkenwell Green Association and Clerkenwell Workshops) formed in the 1970s to develop managed workspaces and support craftspeople and artists in the area. The development and decline of such studio spaces is documented in respect of the planning liberalisation allowing the premises change-of-use from light industrial (eg. small scale arts and crafts production) to commercial offices, during the office boom period of the mid to late-1980s.

The impact on the cultural quarter as a living and working zone is also explored against the failure of town planning law and its application to control the loss of workspace and mixed use of premises - as is shown graphically by the area maps (below) comparing the late-1970s and early-1990s. The cultural economy of this quarter is then profiled in detail, based on the borough arts employment survey (Chapter 9 above) and a further survey of Clerkenwell crafts and arts organisations carried out for this study. This data shows the decline in certain traditional handicrafts firms during this short but hyperactive period of office conversion, and the substantial loss of workspace in the borough as a whole and in the Clerkenwell area in particular. The survey findings also show the impact on the smaller studios spaces and the survival measures taken by arts and crafts firms to manage rising rent

and rates, and go on to outline the premises and related problems and needs that might be addressed through arts and cultural planning and protection. The borough's land-use planning policies and response to these changes are then analysed in terms of local and cultural quarter strategies, and these are further developed through the formulation of the borough UDP and ACE policies outlined in the previous chapter. The absence of a cultural policy or plan is judged to be a significant factor in the failure to protect this cultural quarter, or meet the specific needs of artists and crafts firms based in Clerkenwell. In contrast, the planning and provision of artists workspaces in the case of several North American and Continental cities, and documented in Appendix VII, provides evidence of the greater use of zoning, mixed-use development (live-work premises) and the designation of studio spaces for artists and artist communities.

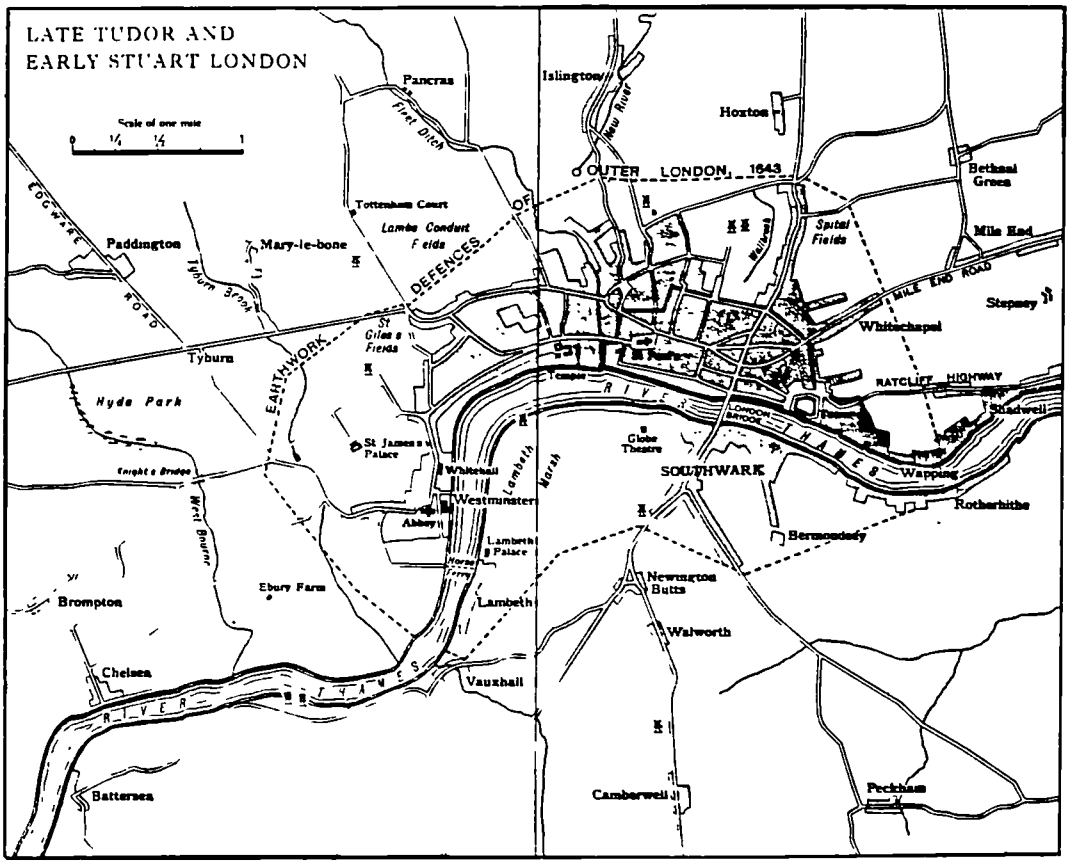
Whilst Clerkenwell is often used as a model and regarded as an admirable 'urban village' by external bodies and commentators, the planning policies of the recent past have largely failed to protect and support the cultural economy, or the production chain linkages and economies of scale, in contrast with the urban conservation policies which have at least provided reasonable protection of the built form and environment. Again, the absence of arts input (eg. from local arts officers and organisations) to Islington's development plan formulation, or cultural planning policies linking arts amenity, cultural industries and the built environment, has proved to be critical in these two periods - the late 1970s and 1980s - of workspace, economic and employment change. The subsequent adoption of these and other ACE policies in the borough UDP and local area plan, suggest that these lessons have been heeded, however the past decline in the area's cultural economy is not likely to be reversed.

10.1 The district of Clerkenwell, in the borough of Islington, represents an archetypal area of both historic and contemporary change and continuity, within the urban metropolis. Here, literally a meeting ground (host to 16th and 17th century immigrant craft workers and 18th century radical and progressive groups - Davis, 1989) between the industrial and post-industrial service economy and craft trades; between urban population and social and economic class movements and consequent changes of use of domestic and industrial premises. Here also, the not so invisible hand of the market has been pitched against an incumbent and residual artist and crafts community with conflicting pressures of urban

regeneration, conservation and economic development movements.

A residential occupation and gentrification of the area by the sixteenth century nobility had in fact preceded these industrial and suburban movements. The area had attracted City-dwellers due to Clerkenwell's topography: its relative height above low-lying London and its hillside springs (Sadlers Wells, Islington Spa): *"Among the many springs, the Clerks' Well gave its name to the district...it was the spot where the Company of Parish Clerks in London came every year to enact mystery plays"* (Cosh, 1987 p.1). Its desirability therefore attracted monasteries as early as the 12th century and following their dissolution in 1539-40, the Court secured much of the confiscated land for its own use. From the 17th century Clerkenwell gradually became industrialised, particularly after the Great Fire of 1666, when London's homeless fled to temporary shelter in the open spaces outside the City (Figure 10.1, below).

Figure 10.1



Freedom from the City's guild[1] restrictions and levies also attracted craftsmen, including Huguenot weavers and other Continental protestants (Trevelyan, 1967) who came to England to escape persecution after King Louis XIV's revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. Crafts established outside of the City boundary (10.1 above) included printing, clock and watch-making and the ancillary jewellery and metal-crafts trades.

These crafts practices have been supplemented with derivations of jewellery, glass and metal-based designer-making, photographers and processors, working in traditional and new materials and manufactures and with costumiers, milliners, weavers, ceremonial ropemaking, to musical instrument-making. More recently, the new technology-driven cultural industries of graphic design and related services of architecture, audio-visual, agents and promoters, publishing and advertising, have joined the traditional manual crafts trades (below).

Its proximity to Smithfield market also brought butchers and cowkeepers, as well as brewers and distillers attracted by the good water supply. Industrialisation also brought rapid population growth and consequent density of living and working conditions, to the detriment of the environment and appeal of this small area: the Court moved westwards *"a phenomenon common in capital cities"* (Cosh, 1987 p.2). Their town houses were taken over for industrial manufacture and owner-occupation, whilst an emerging merchant class built new residencies, which also saw the creation of a number of squares and gardens in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Cosh, 1990). Outside of these gentrified havens, Clerkenwell deteriorated during and after the industrial revolution, with growth of an urban poor and crime and disease ridden conditions, only exacerbated by the building of railways and broad streets (Farringdon and Clerkenwell Roads), displacing residents and putting further pressure on the remaining areas of accommodation. The actions of estate landlords in the late nineteenth century was a precursor to the office developers a century later (below). In the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes (1884-85) the (Lord) Northampton estate was charged with refusing renewals to occupying tenants, preferring to deal with middlemen:

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[1] *"The government of London during the [15th and 16th centuries] was conducted, not by the democracy of the great manufacturing crafts, but by members of the great merchant companies. The Mercers, Grocers, Drapers...Fishmongers and Goldsmiths supplied nearly all the mayors and aldermen"* (Trevelyan, 1967 p.99)

"in many of the (Clerkenwell) houses the old tenants do not seem to get the offer of the houses, and that the rents are considerably increased. In consequence the old tenants have left the parish...and the houses are let out in tenements..I am referring to small houses...where there have been in the past...men such as a postman...or a policeman...or small tradesmen, jewellers, and men of that class" (Samuel Brighty, member of the Clerkenwell parish sanitary committee, in Olsen, 1982 pp.163-4).

Clerkenwell's population exploded from 23,000 in 1801 to a peak of 65,000 in 1861 and alongside much innovation and skill in design and crafts manufacture, unskilled sweatshop employment flourished. These circumstances explain the growth of radical movements and civil unrest (such as the Spa Fields Riots of 1816) while in the early twentieth century Lenin edited a socialist newspaper in Clerkenwell (Cosh, 1987). In response to such urban stress, Clerkenwell also saw early examples of urban renewal in the late nineteenth century, with the erection of model lodging houses for example by the 'Society for Improving the Condition on the Labouring Classes', while a thirty-room lodging house for single women was also built (Olsen, 1982 p.191). The census of 1861 showed a male population totalling 17,831. Among these were 877 clock and watch makers, 725 goldsmiths, 720 printers, 314 bookbinders, 164 engravers, 97 musical instrument makers and 20 surgical instrument makers. Out of the 19,672 women registered, 1,477 were milliners/dressmakers, 267 bookbinders and 33 embroiderers. In 1894 the Northampton Institute (now City University) opened nearby, to provide technical and general education for this substantial community.

Whilst society evolved and social change took place around them, a core of crafts activity was maintained throughout this three hundred year period, with evidence of skill transfer from generation to generation, through family and apprenticeship. Work practices changed in some respects, craftsmen no longer live above the (work)shop (Owens, 1987), but the predominant form is still the small firm, the method handcraft and sales are made through commission/wholesale (as opposed to retail) and more recently, exhibition and 'fairs' (Bagwell and Boulton, 1993). This cultural quarter continues to be active and still has a large working population, but nowadays: *"residents are relatively few. Many of the industries have gone and schools have closed for lack of pupils"* (Cosh, 1987 p.4).

10.2 Crafts renaissance

The demand for crafts pieces grew from the traditional court and ecclesiastical commissions, fuelled by the 'consumer revolution' of Georgian England. Crafts trade was also key to the urban renaissance of city and town architecture and interiors:

> *"the essential economic foundations for a change in the* quality *of urban life...a transformation that was symbolised by the clock-makers and luxury craftsmen who came to ornament the shopping streets of eighteenth century towns..contributed to a revival in its cultural prestige"* (Borsay p.37).

The role of crafts in the 17th and 18th century urban renaissance is echoed in the eclecticism of the late twentieth century and rejection of mass produced objects and decoration, previously hoped for by the influential, but short-lived arts and crafts movement earlier this century (Naylor, 1987).

Whilst the residual jewellery, metalcrafts and traditional print and design firms had survived the successive urban/suburbanisation movements in employment and land-use and had began to be supplemented with younger practitioners in the post-War period, the latest form of urban land change threatened to finish-off this cultural industry quarter. Where before craftsmen had adapted to changing circumstances, including a rapid decline in clock-making and related crafts as the UK lost its colonial dominance to Switzerland, the United States and more recently post-Fordist production in the far-East, the deregulated financial services sector saw an expansion in demand for office accommodation beyond the costly confines of the City of London, much as the first craftsmen had done three hundred years earlier.

The gradual encroachment of the City and financial and ancillary services had began to be felt from the early 1970s (see Maps 1 and 2 below). The recession of the mid-1970s and increasing imports of cheaper precious metal goods, jewellery and clocks had seen the break-up of larger jewellery firms and silver and goldsmiths. A number of individual craftsmen left these declining firms and set up as sole traders in the area, which continued to attract new crafts artists and contemporary cultural industries, some, ironically, 'refugees' from higher cost areas of London, notably Covent Garden and Soho. At the same time, the identification of an artist and craft community in the area, in part filling a vacuum between industrial and post-industrialisation of premises, brought together an otherwise independent

group of craftspeople in the late 1960s to form Clerkenwell Craftsmen and a charitable community trust, the Clerkenwell Green Association (CGA), in 1971. This alliance had two main aims, the promotion of crafts activity and the protection of the cultural quarter against higher use-value property development. Specifically, in its Memorandum of Association, its principal object was: *"to encourage the exercise and maintain the standards of crafts both ancient and modern, preserve and improve craftsmanship and further promote and increase the interest of the public therein"* (CGA, 1979 p.1). A chronology of this crafts organisation is as follows:

1970	A small group of craftspeople form the Clerkenwell Green Association for craftsmen
1971	Group is constituted (above)
1972	Charitable status for CGA obtained
1973	CGA commissions refurbishment of Cornwell House, Clerkenwell Green to provide four floors of workshops, but financing not secured
1977	L.B.Islington, having acquired this and Pennybank Chambers properties in St.John's Square, funds their refurbishment from the Urban Programme. Together schemes provide 80 small workshops
1979	CGA forms management company and takes over the lease and management of the workspaces. 90% let to 200 practitioners from over forty different crafts skills
1980	CGA Ltd. management company is granted charitable status, having been rejected the by Charity Commissioners, but overturned in a High Court appeal (this opens the way for other craft guilds and the Crafts Council, to gain charitable status)
1981	Exhibition space opened at Pennybank Chambers
1985	Both workshops are fully let
1986/7	Additional crafts premises are sought to meet excess demand for studios
1987/8	*Use Class Order* (DoEn, 1987b) simplifies 'classes', followed by *General Development Order* (DoEn, 1988b) which relaxes the planning control over 'change of use' of workshop (light industrial) premises to office and other uses
1989	Design Policy Guidelines issued by Borough planning, including the Clerkenwell conservation area
1990	Unified Business rate (UBR) introduced, based on revaluations carried out at the peak of the office 'boom'; Draft Unitary Development Plan issued (November) for the borough, includes Clerkenwell as a Special Policy Area

The importance of starter-workshops was recognised by the Clerkenwell Green Association from the outset, with a policy of keeping up to 25% of studio space available for new craftspeople at subsidised rents (subsidised effectively by more established tenants). Cross-subsidy in this case was made possible by the charitable-model of operation and management, as opposed to direct artist management and ownership. Charitable objects in the case of Clerkenwell in fact required the support of incoming and start-up craftspeople, as an essential part of its education and economic development role. The provision of subsidised workshops to an essentially trading activity, however precarious, would have prevented charitable status, and the consequent fiscal benefits, from being obtained.

10.3 Managed Workspaces

During this period other managed workspace developments, semi-commercial/private and

not-for-profit, were established in Clerkenwell and elsewhere in the borough for the accommodation of small businesses and artists. All of these were based in refurbished, redundant industrial premises, or upgraded workshops that had fallen into disrepair. The Clerkenwell Workshops, the largest of these dedicated to crafts and related shared-use, was established by Urban Small Spaces Ltd. in 1976, with the GLC as landlord. Others included the Finsbury Business Centre (Regeneration Ltd.) and in 1981, the Omnibus workshops (a former coach building factory for the London Omnibus Company - Jackson *et al*, 1987). The latter developments were reflections of both local and regional (GLC) government intervention in local economic development and regeneration of declining industrial areas, not restricted by subsequent local taxation and capital expenditure controls, and of a growing number of 'social entrepreneurs', often creative 'professionals' (landscape/architects, designers). Thus a new post-industrial 'merchant class' found favour with municipal enterprise development, which was able to target both investment and exercise planning and landowning powers, for mutual benefit.

The development of the managed workplace concept had gained force from the 1960s, although precedents can be seen in the Victorian commodity exchanges and the (medieval) Inns of Court in London. The shared occupation by visual artists and craftspeople of former merchant, industrial and warehousing buildings, has been a feature of the regeneration of former manufacturing areas of cities in the UK and elsewhere. In London, the scarcity of small business premises generally (identified, for example in a study by Coopers & Lybrand, 1980) and the prohibitive cost of most private studio space, had encouraged the development of managed studios (URBED, 1981) and community development trusts (Warburton and Wilcox, 1988) to manage and develop these spaces on behalf of artists and others. Three basic characteristics of managed workspaces are provided (Jackson *et al*, 1987):

i) they are made up of small units, from 100 sq feet to over 2,500 sq.feet
ii) they operate flexible letting, with a minimum of commitment for the licensee/tenant
iii) they offer shared support services, and often all-inclusive rents

Such workspaces have developed to serve working communities, where the emphasis is on bringing together compatible professions, often design or craft-based, for practical and

mutual support. Specific craft and artist workshops provide studio space with similar shared services and opportunities, sometimes including a retail or exhibition (annual 'open') element. The Clerkenwell Green and Clerkenwell Workshops fall into these categories. In London, organisations such as ACME Ltd., whose first house-studio development took place in 1973 (ACME, 1991), Dandelion and Space Studios have led the development and management of studio workspaces across London (Goldman, 1989), with particular concentration in East London, where 75% of all practising artists in the United Kingdom are located (boroughs of Hackney, Newham, Islington, Tower Hamlets and in the south-east, Southwark). Indeed as Dahl and Irvin state: *"East London probably has the largest concentration of artists working anywhere in Europe"* (1990). These are predominantly based in former industrial buildings, but Victorian swimming baths, pumphouses and municipal premises have also been converted.

As well as artists and crafts studios, such workspaces can now be seen in the cultural industries of audio-visual media, design and computer technology ('technoparks') (Evans, 1991a; Sheffield Media, 1991; Bianchini, 1991a). These range from community-based, self-help schemes, local authority enterprise workshops and youth and training workshops, through to the new business parks and innovation centres (Jackson, 1987). Involvement in development by the GLC and other local authorities has been a key element of local economic development policies, utilising borough land-owning, planning and investment powers, the Urban Programme in its various forms and, where allowable, grant-aid and support services (Kemp, 1985). In Clerkenwell, this had taken the form of the provision of council premises and conversion (Clerkenwell Green Association), GLC premises and conversion (Clerkenwell Workshops) and zoning and conservation policies for the area as a whole, which sought to conserve the built environment and ensure a mix of premises uses, specifically the small business and traditional crafts activity.

10.4 Change of Use - *Office City* (or to B1 or not to B1)

The revival of a cultural quarter in Clerkenwell had evolved from the effects of continued urban drift from an increasingly non-residential area, although gentrification had revived remaining town houses in the area, with the dual appeal of proximity to the City of London and the quality of buildings and squares (Cosh, 1990). The importance of a critical mass of crafts activities was not lost on the craftspeople and remaining firms, whose work practices had relied on cross-trading and shared craft processes - a production chain in action, with

metal, glass and ceramics skills linked in a symbiotic process of production. This Community of independent artists and craftspeople benefited from savings in time, transport and distribution and sheer convenience of having the widest range of skills, trades and services in close proximity (Baker Associates, 1992). As well as the traditional supply and trade links to Hatton Garden, Fleet Street and Livery companies/guilds, good transport links to the West End provided a convenient satellite service to theatres, concert halls, galleries and auction houses, which supported costumiers, set designers, instrument-makers, restorers and repairers. Growth of design and media firms also supplemented this with new services required to compete and reach niche and specialist markets for craft products and services. However, rare craft skills such as flute-making, ceremonial ropemaking, were also threatened by the gradual decline and break-up of the area and traditional apprenticeship systems.

Planning and development control during the 1970s and early 1980s was able to provide a measure of protection of land and premises uses, although unable to stem the declining industrial and craft trade markets, in terms of business use. This included the power of an 'empty property rate', which could be levied by local authorities on properties left vacant, with 'hope value' for future commercial development or change of use. This prevented the planning blight syndrome and consequent decline in image and local economic activity now seen in the over-supply of office space scarring city centres, most acutely in London (LPAC, 1993; Doak, 1993). In Coupland's words:

> *"London, with no obvious planned intention, has ended up with a highly volatile and unbalanced economy. Many local services are either no longer obtainable, or very expensive to provide, as land values rise and manufacturing and low-value service jobs disappear. The growth of office development has pushed expected land values to remarkable levels, ensuring that a diversity of employment opportunities is no longer available"* (1993 p.29).

Whilst the intervention in local economic development was effectively dealt an almost fatal blow by the combined effects of rate capping, capital controls and penalties for council funding of community enterprise (LGHA, 1989[2]), it was the liberalisation of planning

[2] The Local Government and Housing Act, 1989 restricted the involvement of local authorities in economic development through controlled companies. Grant-aid and loans to 'associated' companies, including voluntary, may be deemed to be direct spending and therefore included in SSA-limited budgets (Hayton, 1989). Although no Commencement Order has been brought in to make these clauses effective, local authority arrangements have been influenced by their potential enforcement.

control that removed the last power for local authorities to influence the mix and scale of land use and property development in their borough. It was the exercise of such planning and conservation policies in urban authorities that had created such conflict and resistance from private and institutional landowners and development companies, who saw this action as both restrictive to their business interests and a barrier to growth in the inner city. They also saw such policies as causing an artificial depression of property values through the preservation of traditional lower value uses (local firms, small workspaces, 'indigenous' production). The oppositional nature of the planning and development control system fuelled this conflict in macro and micro-economic policy.

The potential windfall from the unlocking of development values also created substantial pressure and conflict of interest within local authorities themselves, particularly when they were also in the role of landowner, and beneficiary of capital receipts from releasing property and land for commercial development. When presented with the opportunity to expand on the provision of in Clerkenwell, with the Borough Engineer's premises becoming surplus to requirements, the Council in fact sold the property for commercial office development, despite an application by the CGA for a mixed-use development. This cast doubt on the authority's intentions as expressed in its subsequent UDP policy, and this created a credibility gap between policy and practice. The Council explained its policy thus: *"As a landowner, it will attempt to strike the correct balance between on the one hand its legal duty to obtain the best return from its commercial land and property holdings and on the other hand their use to further its broader objectives for the Islington economy"* (LBI, 1992a UDP 5.2.6).

Here the Borough's commercial 'policy' (or rather imperative) of raising capital, overrode local economic policy, to the detriment of the Clerkenwell cultural quarter. This contrasts with the responses to the parallel demand for such for workspace provision, seen in, for example, Paris and Toronto (Appendix VII).

The market pressure which underpinned this growth in demand for office space in particular, was known as the 'Big Bang': the national deregulation of financial services, preceded by the removal of credit and exchange controls during the Conservative

government's first term between 1979 and 1983 (King, 1990). Islington lies immediately to the north of the City of London and Clerkenwell has continually been its southern buffer. Three hundred years from its first urbanisation, Clerkenwell was to undergo another process of urban transformation, at the hands of the late twentieth century, nouveau riche equivalents of the 'nobility', the office developer (epitomised by patron-developers: 'renaissance men' such as Arts Council chairman Lord Palumbo, Arts Council member Sir Ernest Hall and the Reichmann brothers, owners of the Canadian property developer Olympia & York's, *et al*).

The planning change which opened this particular gate was not enacted through wholesale new planning legislation, but through discretionary powers wielded through guidance 'Orders' (TCPA, 1971) issued by the Environment Ministry. In 1987, the Use Class Order (UCO) was issued to all planning authorities and represented the government's response to the above conflict and to what was seen in a free-market ideology as a restraint to trade and growth. This was consistent with the liberalisation of development policy, which created the first Urban Development Corporations in London and Merseyside (disempowering local planning authorities), where the overriding policy was the regeneration of each area, not for the benefit of the local and incumbent community, but of the economy as a whole. In the case of theses Orders, a more subtle, but no less critical alteration in the 'small print' of planning guidance allowed owners and developers to change the use ('Class') of their premises, from light industrial (including crafts, artist and print studios), to office and other services uses. This effectively removed the statutory planning-powers that boroughs had been able to invoke to retain studio and mixed-use workshops and to resist single-use, higher density and the highest rental value, office development.

Use Classes[3] as from 1.6.87. (previous Classes I to X, 1972) (Oatley, 1991)

A1	Shops
A2	Financial and professional services
A3	Food and drink
B1	Business
B2	General industrial
B3-B7	Special industrial groups
B8	Storage or distribution

[3] In order to relieve the planning system of a large number of planning applications, the 1971 Town and Country Planning Act excludes from the definition of development, and hence from planning control, any changes of use where both existing and proposed uses fall within one class of the Use Classes Order (UCO) (Waters, 1989a and b p.75)

Permitted Changes of use without planning permission (GDO, 1988, TCPA, 1971)

A3	Food and drink to A1 Shops
B1	Offices, Research and Development, Light industrial to B8 Storage/distribution
B2	General industry to B1 Business and B8 Storage
B8	Storage or distribution to B1 business (total floor space not exceeding 235m^2)

The combined effect of the Use Class Order (UCO), 1987 and General Development Order (GDO), 1988 was to permit the change of use of 'General industrial' workshop and studio premises, to any office usage (B2 to B1); the conversion of Office or workshop spaces ('Light industrial') to Storage and Distribution (B1 to B8) and the change from Storage and Distribution premises to Offices (B8 to B1), without planning permission, and therefore with no planning power to direct or control the change and mix of uses of the area. Rental and capital valuations consequently increased substantially, even where the activity of 'sitting tenants' remained unchanged.

Also, the A-class of permitted development similarly allowed the unrestricted change of use from food and drink to shops, and for financial and professional services (such as solicitors) with a display at ground-floor level, to be classified as shop use also. This relaxation of planning control was therefore not limited to encroaching office development, but to the potential loss of communal and public amenities, such as public houses, cafes and restaurants, and local professional services, while office space could be converted to unwelcome storage and distribution usage. The combined effects of the planning "liberalisation" therefore threatened not only crafts and arts businesses, but much of the everyday life of the cultural quarter as a living and working entity.

The principle behind these changes was to render obsolete the distinctions between employment-generating uses across the range, from general manufacturing, through research and development to office uses. This was, in the government's eyes, a realistic reflection of the trend away from an industrial craft economy to a service economy. This is most clearly seen in the relocation from industrial estates on the edge of towns, toward high-tech parks in landscaped settings (Doak, 1993) and in the refurbishment of flatted factories and warehouses into studio/offices in the inner-city, as in Clerkenwell:

"Many local authorities have seen the UCO as an attack on their employment policies which have aimed to preserve traditional and semi-skilled employment for their local populations. These they see as surviving in low-cost, old industrial premises, historically threatened by the higher land values of office development" (Waters, 1989a p.77)

Where local economic development policies looked to the cultural industries as a prime component of their strategies, as witnessed in Sheffield (Sheffield Media, 1991), Bradford (Little Germany Action, 1992) and Birmingham (Jewellery and Arts and Media quarters; BCC, 1992 and 1993), the infrastructure required to support this in London lost its planning framework and first line of defence.

The impact of this planning liberalisation, particularly on the control of change of use, was felt acutely in the borough of Islington as a whole, and particularly on Clerkenwell and adjoining City-fringe areas. Between 1987 and 1990, 34% of all industrial units and 28% of floor space were affected by this change of use opportunity and contrary to the rationale for such relaxation of controls, *"There is no evidence that the relaxed planning regime has brought vacant floor space into productive use...Changes in the use of buildings have taken place, but at the same time the overall vacancy rate has increased"* (my emphasis, Llewelyn Davies, 1990 p.20).

This trend is confirmed by the Islington experience. In 1987, 18.5% of units (25.2% of floor space) were classified as vacant, but in 1990, after intense office development and conversion, 19.9% were still vacant (40.2% of floor space). In fact, 25% of all office space in the borough was vacant in 1990, representing 49% of office floor space. The differential between units and the amount of floor space is also significant, since this represents the development of larger unit areas (and conversely, the disproportionate loss of studio/workshop floor space), whilst the crafts and other cultural industry usages were predominantly occupying smaller units, with consequent diseconomies of scale and were sole/occupier-owned (Butt, 1988): *"many by long-established companies..the tenure pattern of the area was very fragmented"* (Llewelyn Davies, 1990 p.30).

The impact, borough-wide, of this office expansion on crafts and other light industrial trades, is evident during this critical period. An analysis of economic activity in the borough in 1987 and in 1990, by standard industry classification (SIC), is as follows:

TABLE 10.1 ANALYSIS OF BOROUGH INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITY BY SIC CODE			
Standard Industry Classification (SIC)	**1987**	**1990**	**%Change+/-**
Division 2 (metal/manufactures, jewellery)	2.4	1.8	-0.6%
Division 3 (other metalwork, silver/gold)	9.8	8.4	-1.4%
Division 8 (banking, finance, business services)	1.2	24.0	+22.8%
Class 45 (clothing, footwear)	19.6	9.0	-10.6%
Class 46 (furniture, wood)	12.2	7.8	-4.6%
Group 475 (printing and publishing)	18.4	9.0	-9.4%
Activity 8370 (other professional services)	0.6	19.8	+19.2%

(Source: Employment Census, 1989 and 1991, OPCS and LBI)

This sample of the economic activities most affected by the change of premises use, reveals clear increases in financial and professional services, and decreases in all crafts manufacturing, including jewellery, wood, metal and textiles-based activity, and also in printing and publishing in the borough.

It is estimated that Islington lost over 140,000 square metres of industrial floor space; 8% of its total stock (Llewelyn Davies, 1990), the majority of the losses being in the Finsbury and Clerkenwell areas where 66% of this lost industrial premises lay. Over 55% of planning approvals for office (B1) conversion in the area were for developments of over 1,000 m^2, again creating spaces too large and expensive for small arts and crafts businesses, with an average need for spaces of 100 m^2 (Llewelyn Davies, 1990; Butt, 1988).

10.5 Crafts and arts employment in Clerkenwell

In 1991 arts and cultural employment activity in the Clerkenwell area was the highest within the borough as a whole: 45% of Islington's "cultural firms", including artists/sole traders, were located in the EC1 postcode area encompassing Clerkenwell (Appendix IV). This represented two-thirds of all firms in the comparable area (Neighbourhood Office areas of Clerkenwell and Finsbury, CAITS, 1990). These figures were taken from my borough-wide employment survey undertaken and summarised in the previous chapter (and see Evans, 1989). The presence of the cultural industries in the Clerkenwell area were therefore substantial and wide-ranging, as the following data illustrates (Appendix IV):

Category	Number of firms and artists/sole traders
Performing Arts	143
Visual Arts	26
Crafts	174
Literature/Publishing	76
Audio-Visual	131
Printing and Design	254
Total	904

Apart from crafts, the most frequent art form within the above main categories were music (70% of Performing Arts); commercial arts/galleries (61% of Visual Arts); publishing (80% of Literature); photography (82% of Audio-visual) and graphic design and printers (42% and 35% respectively of Printing and Design). The predominant activities of printing, photography and publishing, as well as the other traditional 'crafts', had been joined by music, graphic design/commercial art and new crafts and cultural services, though after print and design, crafts were still the highest category of creative activity in the area.

These were further analysed through the 1989 survey responses and the 1990 managed workspace occupancy registers (CGA and Clerkenwell Workshops). A postal questionnaire to craftspeople/firms identified from the borough-wide survey sought further details of premises needs and issues (summarised below), and semi-structured interviews were also held with managed workspace managers and CGA trustees. This crafts group is not fully representative of the occupancy of the managed workspaces, since these are shared with the full range of cultural practices listed above. Also the distinction between art form and craft practice continues to blur, through the adoption, for instance, of desk-top publishing, multi-media, computer aided design and manufacture. There is, for example, a self-styled 'multi-media furniture maker' (CGA workshop Unit B02).

In order to assess the impact of recent changes to land and premises usage in Clerkenwell, these same craft firms were again contacted, three years later (1993). This sought to measure the impact, if any, from the office developments 'in the pipeline' in 1990 arising from the relaxation in the planning change of use regulations, which had worked through in the post-boom period, and from the borough's unitary development plan (UDP) which had been drafted in 1991, signalling a return to a plan-led regime (Chapter 9 above).

TABLE 10.2 Clerkenwell Crafts Firms by Type, 1990 & 1993			
YEAR	1990	1993	% Change
Silversmiths	33	13	-60%
Jeweller	119	87	-27%
Metalwork	8	3	-62%
Goldsmith	7	7	
Weaver	1	4	+300%
Ceramics/Potter	9	5	- 45%
Engraver	2	5	+150%
Picture framer	2	-	
Other	11	42	-14%
TOTAL	**199**	**166**	**-14%**

(*Other* includes restorers, milliners, bookbinding, musical instrument-making and repairers).

Ten crafts firms identified from the Borough-wide survey (Evans, 1989) had already ceased to trade or had moved from the area (letters returned "gone away"), between 1989 and the 1990 Clerkenwell study, 5% of the crafts category. Three years later there had been a further 14% reduction in craft firms, however this masked changes in the nature of crafts activity. Traditional jewellery and metalcraft activity had decreased significantly, partially offset by increases in 'soft' crafts, particularly costume/textile and theatrical design, milliners and restorers. These changes reflect a shift in cultural consumption, price sensitivity and growing niche markets, a hardening recession, and the impact of office encroachment on Clerkenwell with consequent rent and business rate rises. As stated by a report by managed workspace company ACME: *"One can chart the migration of artists across London's map over the last two hundred years, driven not by pleasant environments or fashion, but simply in pursuit of cheap space"* (1990 p.7). From interviews undertaken with crafts firms and workspace managers, there was also evidence of an older craft worker/owner in the traditional jewellery and metal crafts and this group appears to have been most prone to early retirement, or at least to 'giving up' and closing their base in Clerkenwell in the face of such increasing premises costs and/or the other negative factors. This decline in this highly concentrated area of crafts trade is reflected in national surveys of the distribution of craftspeople - in the Crafts Council census of England and Wales (Knott, 1993), the proportion of registered craftspeople in London decreased from 18.3% in 1981 to 13.9% in 1991, with gains in Wales (6.5% to 11.8%) and the Northern region (3.4% to 7.2%).

10.6 The impact on Clerkenwell and artist/crafts studios

The office-based gentrification and speculation detailed above, had a detrimental and

disproportionate impact on land and premises use with a high proportion of arts and cultural organisations, including small crafts firms located in Clerkenwell. A number of connected factors contributed to this detrimental effect, which were not seriously resisted by Islington Borough as planning authority, or by arts and crafts agencies. Notable among these assaults on the traditional land use and employment patterns were:

1. The change of use (Classes) from workshop/studio accommodation to office (above)

2. The introduction of the Unified Business Rate, including business premises revaluation (Cmnd 9714, 1986; Bailey and Paddison, 1988)

3. Major increases in capital values/expectations due to actual or hoped-for change of use to more profitable categories (see Figure 7.2 - Chapter 7)

4. Substantial rent increases as a consequence of higher capital values or expectations. (As office use became a possible alternative, rental values were assessed accordingly at lease renewals or periodic rent reviews).

5. The pressure on local authority to maximise its own capital receipts and rental income, by selling off land and property holdings, and by maximising rents on properties retained (Indeed some would argue that current local government law makes the maximising of rents mandatory - Audit Commission, 1989a)

6. The higher unit costs of small premises such as workshops - capital, rental and running costs (Figure 10.2 below)

7. The lack of capital finance, capitalisation or funding for arts/crafts firms (LAB, 1992a)

In order to assess the extent of rent/rate increases on crafts firms, and their ability to withstand them, the survey (postal and interview) carried out in 1990 (n=180), also sought details of premises occupation, with the following results:

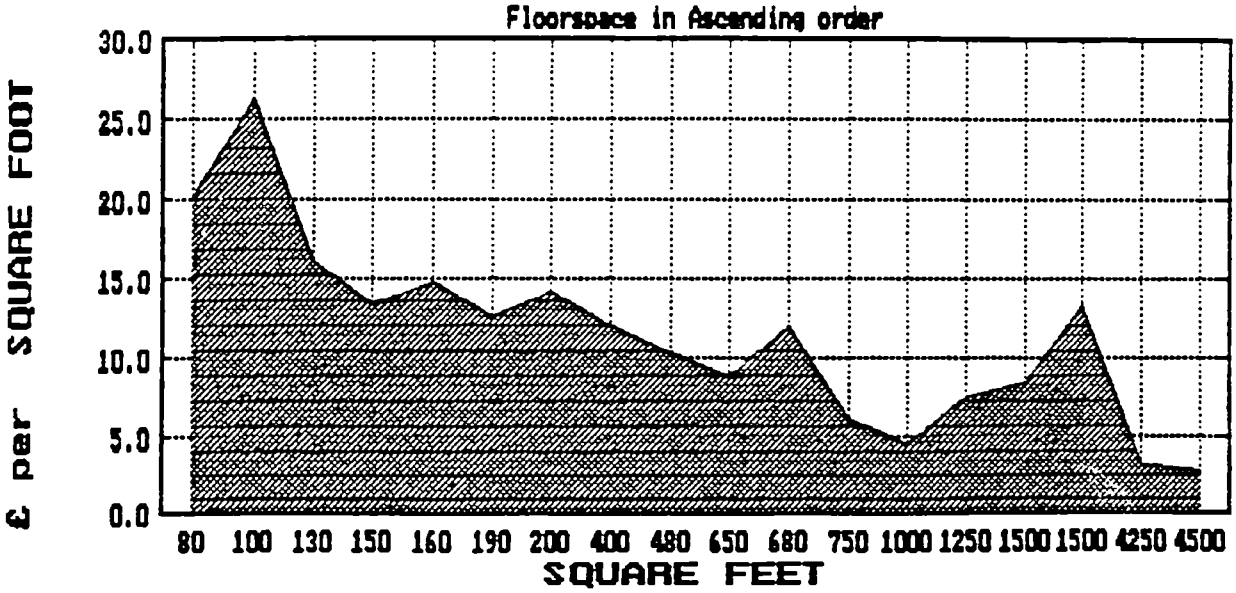
i. Duration of occupation - the average occupation of premises was thirteen years; two craft firms had occupied the same premises for 53 and 30 years respectively. Over half of firms had occupied their premises for ten years or more.

ii. Security of tenure - Only one craft firm (an established jewellery-maker) owned their freehold. 90 firms (50% of craft firms responding) held formal leases for their premises, while the rest had only short term licences for occupation. On average the period left to run for those on formal leases was 3 to 5 years, signalling further insecurity, given the change of use and rent rises applied by landlords at the first opportunity. The remainder on short-term (1 to 3 months) licences were usually subject to 1 to 3 months notice, a reflection of the managed workspace terms which offered the greatest flexibility to occupants. This encourages new and transferring craft artists, and enabled firms to grow and contract

according to their needs, without penalty or occurring costs of relocation. Managed craft workspaces offered a range of studio sizes to accommodate different space usages and production flexibility. On the other hand such tenure can produce a sense of both general insecurity and - especially - financial instability, the latter significantly affecting access to working or development capital from banks, who look for longer-term security ('collateral') for their lending.

iii. Studio Rental Rates - The average rent of workshop and studio space, expressed as pound per square foot per year, was £6.15 in 1990. This figure masks, however, the wide divergence in rental levels and the disproportionately high unit cost of small workshops, compared with the cheaper unit cost of larger premises:

Figure 10.2 Studio Unit Rentals by size of Workshop (180 plus 3 managed workspaces)



(Source - Evans, 1990; Managed Workspaces - Clerkenwell Green Association x 2; Clerkenwell Workshops)

The majority of studio rents, including all managed workspaces, were inclusive of rates, heating and electricity, insurance and security. Stand-alone units tended to pay separately for heating, electricity and services. The average size of premises occupied was 1,000 square feet, with a range of 80 square feet to 4,500 square feet (Figure 10.2, above). Most firms were located on one floor, with six occupying between two and six floors. No craft firms in the survey sample had live-in accommodation and only one operated a retail outlet on the premises.

iv. Rental increases - potential and impact

The impact of rent and business rate increases and enforced relocation, had threatened all craft firms, particularly those not under the limited protection of the charitable Clerkenwell Green Association's managed workspaces. In the 1990 survey, firms assessed their ability to meet increased premises costs as follows:

52% maintained that they could absorb no increase in rent
21% maintained that they could absorb a 10% increase in rent
13% maintained that they could absorb 20%
8% maintained that they could absorb 30%
4% maintained that they could absorb 50%

Of those surveyed:

45% planned to pass on all or most of the rent and rates increases, via price increases to customers;

55% would not increase their prices and would either reduce other costs or their own earnings, since they considered the market could not absorb any increase in costs

v. Business Rates

Craft firms surveyed, who were located in commercial, as opposed to managed workspaces, reported typical increases in rateable values of 30% with the introduction of the UBR, despite the temporary "safety net" measures adopted by the government, and UBR payments were between 15% and 30% of total rent and rates payable. The effect on workspace premises were on average greater: for example the Clerkenwell Workshops had a rateable revaluation based on 4.5 times the previous capital value.

During the period of the survey, the new business rating system was implemented (with effect from 1.4.90.). This replaced of the Non-domestic rate (NDR) which was traditionally set and collected at a Borough level, with the Unified Business rate (UBR), set and pooled nationally. The introduction of the UBR necessitated property revaluations, something which had not been fully undertaken since 1973 in London. This centralisation of local taxation had two major effects: substantial increases in business rate levies on London firms and a massive loss of rate income to local authorities in London. The financial incentive for local authorities to engage in economic development and attract and retain employers in their area was therefore removed: *"The symbiotic relationship between local authority services and the local economy will be severed"* (Bailey, 1988 p.3).

The change to the UBR system (part of the introduction of Community Charge or "Poll Tax") brought about a massive redistribution of resources nationally from industrialised urban areas, with static or declining populations, to semi-rural areas, with increasing, affluent populations. This change was even resisted by private sector groups (IOD, 1986) and was seen as a retrograde step in terms of local economic development:

"The UBR pooling arrangement will discourage local economic development policies. An authority which is successful in regenerating its local economy through the provision of services to local businesses will be deprived of the resulting increase in revenue from its local non-domestic tax base" (Bailey and Paddison, 1988 p.4).

In 1987 It was estimated that in inner London alone, there would be a net cost increase to firms under the UBR system of £640 million, with local businesses paying some £1,800 million more into the national pool than will be redistributed back to London authorities on the new per capita basis (CIPFA, in Bennet and Fearnhough, 1987).

vi. Premises Needs and Issues

Finally, the survey sought the ranking by respondents of their premises needs and issues with the following results (1 = most important and so on):

1. The retention of Clerkenwell as an area for crafts-based activity

The over-riding concern was for the survival of the cultural quarter itself, and in particular maintaining a critical mass of crafts and cultural activity in which the whole is more than the sum of the constituent parts. Internal markets, skills exchange and cross-trading all were felt to enhance the area as a place to both set-up and become established.

2. Pressure to move out of the area due to cost and workshop loss

Despite the advantages recognised in (1) above, cost increases and losses of workshop space were seen as threatening the viability of craft and arts organisations remaining in the area. Lower cost premises in East/South-East London, and outside of London altogether were also seen as attracting firms under financial pressure.

3. Access to workshops - parking and loading

Very limited availability of off-street parking, restrictions on street parking, and poor loading facilities all contributed to identified problems in operations. This was confirmed by the borough-wide employment survey (CAITS, 1990). Jewellers and those dealing in precious metals felt particularly vulnerable transporting such high value on foot, though the proximity of various workshops was one advantage of the area, just a short distance from Hatton Garden, Fleet Street and the nearby Assaye Office. However, other workshops in less densely built and traffic-congested areas were increasingly attractive to those not so reliant on such local trades or activities.

4. Expansion - improved quality and size of studio premises

The fourth identified priority was a demand for larger spaces, improved facilities - light, lay-out space, access etc. Such needs were not able to be accommodated as single-use office conversions swallowed up available premises and as rents increased beyond the reach of

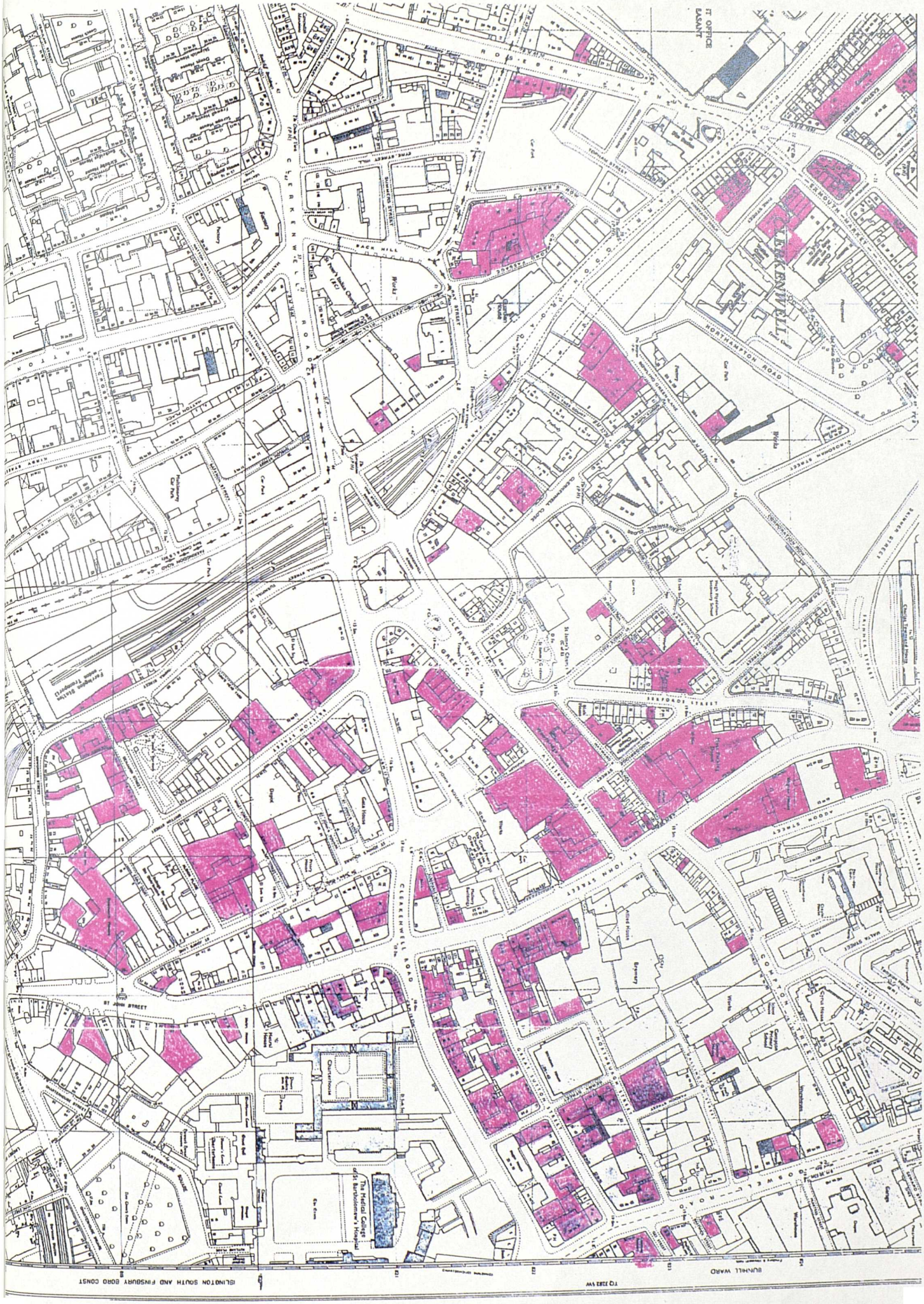
most craft businesses and other artists in the area.

5. Pressure to wind-up business

In some cases, the respondents reported that the viability of the business was in question as a result of progressive financial and space pressures and the narrowing of the mix of activity and skills in the area. This particularly affected older crafts people who were most reliant on traditional customs and trade links in the area, and these were not felt to be transferable elsewhere.

The demise of the GLC in 1986 had threatened the future of the largest managed workspace in Islington, the Clerkenwell Workshops, since on transfer to the London Residuary Body (LRB) the premises were sold commercially to a private developer for £3 million. As the existing use (as small crafts workshops) the capital value was only £1.3 million, the new owner's purchase price clearly included a very substantial speculative 'hope value' based on the prospect of rapidly converting the workshop premises to office usage. The GLC's 1975 lease had been set at a rent of £18,000 per annum for 25 years (to 2000 AD) but at the first rent review the new commercial owner proposed an annual rent of £240,000 - a thirteenfold increase, reduced to £120,000 after arbitration. Only two years later, in 1988, the rental value was re-assessed at £600,000 p.a., equivalent to a capital value of £6 million and a five-fold increase from the GLC's earlier valuation. These rental valuation increases reflect the potential rents for the new BI classification of usage (ie. including office use) despite the fact that the premises continued to be used for crafts and cultural services, such as rehearsal studios, not as offices. The planning system has been powerless to limit the excesses and deeply negative effects brought about by the change of ownership from public to private landlord and the Government's merging of the light industrial/crafts workshops and office premises use categories.

In Clerkenwell, the dual effects of rent and rates increases and a local authority powerless to intervene either financially or through the planning process, left a cultural industry quarter highly exposed after already having been in steady decline since the early 1970s. Further losses of crafts activity has been demonstrated during the prolonged period of post-industrial office development and the mix of traditional and new crafts activity and trades has clearly suffered, particularly in the case of the former. A longer-term perspective on the change of land use in Clerkenwell is shown visually by the changing map of the area, in terms of light industrial/crafts workshop occupation comparing the late 1970s (Map 1)



INDUSTRIAL PREMISES IN THE CLERKENWELL AREA - LATE 1970s

Map 1

(Source: Islington Planning Department; Baker Associates, 1993)

CRAFT PREMISES OCCUPIED - END 1991 (circled areas denote managed workspaces/studios)

OTHER INDUSTRIAL PREMISES OCCUPIED - END 1991

Map 2

(Source: Islington Planning Department; Baker Associates, 1993; Evans, 1989 & 1990)

with 1991, after the office expansion following the changes in use classifications (Map 2).

10.6 Islington Borough's response - cultural planning?

Clerkenwell had been designated a conservation area by the planning authority in 1969, with boundary extensions in 1976 and 1989 to create a contiguous area in the south-west corner of the Borough (Map 3). In 1989 design policy guidelines had been issued, aimed at the conservation of the built fabric, the quality of urban design and retention of architectural frontages and features (LBI, 1989). At the beginning of the 1980s property boom, the current statutory planning policy was set out in the 'Islington Development Plan First Review' (1986). The main thrust of this was to protect and encourage industrial use fairly widely throughout the borough, whilst maintaining a more restrictive and selective attitude to office development (Llewelyn-Davies, 1990).

This Plan stated that the strategy was to be implemented by:

1. Identifying sites and opportunities, assembling land, preparing briefs and non-planning support (para.5.6.2)

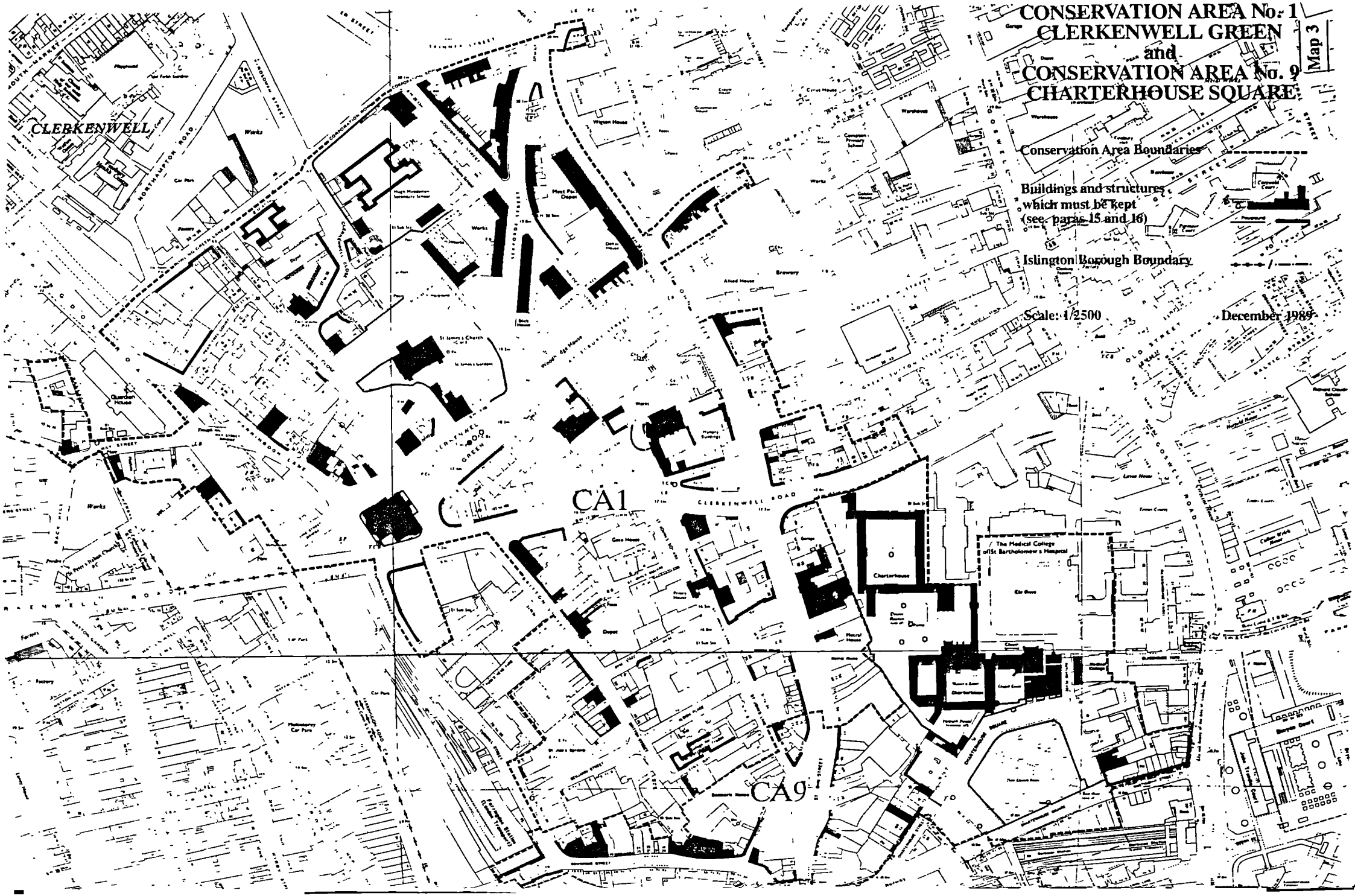
2. Preventing loss of industry through development (5.6.6)

3. Treating individual development proposals for industry sympathetically (5.6.11)

4. Improving industrial areas (5.7.3)

5. Only allowing office developments when they do not jeopardise other planning objectives, particularly regarding the displacement of other uses including industry (5.8.3)

The Plan also contained detailed guidance on the requirement to expect or seek planning benefits associated with office schemes, including the provision of industrial space within new office developments. Guidance notes specifically required community benefits (planning gain) in office schemes over 1,000 m^2, and in some cases for smaller schemes also. Finally, a specific policy for the Clerkenwell and Smithfield areas included the designation of two conservation zones (see Map 3). This sought to retain a mix of activities in the area in recognition of the contribution which the traditional diversity makes to the overall character of the locality. The policy also sought to resist the wholesale conversion of the area to an office centre and the encouragement of light industrial uses within this mix.



CONSERVATION AREA No. 1 CLERKENWELL GREEN and CONSERVATION AREA No. 9 CHARTERHOUSE SQUARE

Map 3

Conservation Area Boundaries

Buildings and structures which must be kept (see paras 15 and 16)

Islington Borough Boundary

Scale: 1/2500

December 1989

No Borough arts plan or specific cultural industries strategy existed alongside this planning policy, which therefore concentrated its attention on broad economic activity issues, the use of premises, and general policies for the built environment. The marked contraction in crafts and industrial premises between the adoption of the Plan in 1986 and 1991 clearly showed that these planning goals had largely failed to stem the tide of office development and upward rent and rate revaluations, as the members of the Barbican Artists Group complained: *"Despite the local council's declared policy of supporting the arts, crafts and small workshop character of the Clerkenwell area, the developers had managed to get the building re-classified from 'light industrial' to redevelopment as 'offices'"* (Dahl and Irvin, 1990 p.32).

10.8 Unitary Development Plan

The preparation of the Unitary Development Plan (UDP) in the hothouse atmosphere created by intense office development and speculation presented Islington with a further opportunity for addressing the decline in the Borough's cultural industries. Despite the growing acceptance that there was oversupply of office space in the Capital, the lead-time for, and vested interests in, further development meant that office conversions in progress continued. Other premises acquired for office development had also passed the point of no return: properties and sites purchased and financed on the basis of inflated values were usually subject to equally inflated loans which could only be paid back if there was a successful office development. At a presentation held in 1990 by the Clerkenwell Heritage Centre entitled *Islington Planning: Visions and Opportunities*, property developers and their agents outnumbered tenants/firms by three to one and at the meeting property interests made it clear that their sole concern was the delay in the granting of planning permission and the Planning Department's resistance to 'over development' (higher density/occupation than laid down in the Borough Plan). An example cited concerned the former Allied-Lyons site, in Clerkenwell: the official planning development brief specified a maximum of 300,000 square feet of office space, but the first planning application submitted by the developer was based on 1 million square feet. This was rejected, but a second application for 600,000 square feet was then submitted. Plans, policies and development briefs were repeatedly ignored by development companies, intent on capital maximisation, in many other cases.

Three years later, on 23rd September 1993, the Borough's Chief Planner again addressed a Clerkenwell audience at the launch of a *Promotion Strategy by the Clerkenwell*

Community Trust. No office or property developers were present at this event. In the Chief Planner's view, much of the substantial amount of vacant office property in Clerkenwell, all formerly industrial buildings, would never be let in their present form, given the level of oversupply in London, and he suggests that alternative uses such as conversion into housing apartments and possible worker-homes were the only viable uses in the foreseeable future! Meanwhile the blight caused by so many unoccupied premises was seen as a serious barrier to the regeneration of Clerkenwell, the proponents of which now looked to heritage tourism, cultural animation and in particular the models of Dublin's Temple Bar and Bradford's Little Germany quarters (Urban Cultures Ltd., 1993). It is ironic that 'regeneration strategies' are now being proposed for an area that has successfully regenerated itself several times over in the pre and post-renaissance and industrial periods, not through control (whether by medieval guilds or modern town planning), but through organic growth and the self-sufficiency of an independent cultural workshop community. Indeed the mix of activity and land-use occupation in Clerkenwell was recognised as an excellent model for other areas by the *Urban Villages Group*, as:

> *"a concept for creating mixed-use urban developments on a sustainable scale a degree of compactness with variety, so that there are shops, pubs and cafes or restaurants round the corner; a cinema, a sports centre, a swimming pool or even a theatre a few blocks away...All these are in Clerkenwell"* (Aldous, 1992, pp.19-20).

Clerkenwell was selected by this report as one of six UK locations as 'Urban Village Precedents', and was the only one in London, because of its 'Form of streets'; 'Position of Public Buildings'; 'Urban Industries' and 'Shop Fronts' (Aldous, 1992 p.93). In fact by that date all these key aspects were under active threat or had been subject to actual loss in the previous twenty year period (eg. there is no longer a public pool, or cinema and few shops).

In the Borough's UDP (LBI, 1992a), protection policies were at last included, building on the existing conservation status and the objective of the retention of the mix of premises uses:

> The Council will normally permit development for uses falling within Class B1 of that UCO, provided that it does not involve:-
>
> v) Conflict with the Clerkenwell design policy guidelines for Conservation area No.1 (Clerkenwell Green) (5.1.1)

Under Special Policy Areas, Strategic Objectives included:-

> IMI5 - The Clerkenwell/Smithfield area has special architectural and historic character, and is particularly at threat from redevelopment pressures. In order to protect this character, the Council has prepared Design Policy guidelines to which all future development schemes must conform (13.6.2).

This special policy area was further defined:

> ii) Clerkenwell/Smithfield - The Clerkenwell and Smithfield area has the longest history of any part of the borough and has a very special character and appearance, which the Council considers essential both to preserve and enhance. The fabric of the area derives from incremental development over many centuries, from Norman times to the present day. This has ensured a varied and small scale built form, the retention to a large extent of the medieval street pattern, and in the survival of a great variety of uses. The juxtaposition of different uses and activities, cheek-by-jowl, gives Clerkenwell and Smithfield a very unusual character, which set it apart from more homogenous business or residential areas. The area is currently subject to immense pressure for change and the Council has therefore prepared guidelines and policies to protect and enhance the area. The main objectives are (13.6.5):
>
> - to retain the historical fabric and street pattern;
> - to ensure that new buildings and spaces respect and positively enhance the traditional character of the area;
> - to retain a genuine variety of land uses and activities to avoid an over-domination of office use and to retain and improve street level vitality;
> - to ensure that development and change in the area make adequate provision for the needs of the local community'.

During the Public Local Enquiry in 1991, representations were made by the Clerkenwell Community Trust (Baker Associates, 1993), which sought stronger policies in terms of the protection and promotion of Clerkenwell's established crafts community. This was the only objection at the UDP Inquiry stage seeking tighter restrictions on office development: in contrast with this all other objections (mainly from property interests) sought greater freedom for development (Chapter 9). The Trust emphasised the importance of the mixed use character of the area, arguing in its evidence:

- the occupiers of the industrial and warehouse premises which provide a resource for the miscellaneous inner city uses requiring cheap, flexible and often small, premises; in Clerkenwell there is particular concentration of craft activities, and of printing/publishing/photographers/graphics ranging in space requirements from office-style to light industrial, and;

- associated services such as shops, restaurants and pubs (Baker Associates, 1993 2.2).

The Inspector holding the UDP Inquiry, in his report accepted the principle of seeking to support a mixture of uses in the area (DoEn, 1992), although he did not accept the Trust's recommendation of setting ceilings on building sizes or the percentages of office space in the area. The Trust suggested an alternative mechanism to restrain further loss of crafts premises to office conversion, through the designation of special areas within the Clerkenwell conservation zone, which would require planning permission to be granted for such change of use. This special area status was not allowed by the Department of the Environment in Islington's case. This is allowable, in theory, under the GDO, 1988 and with the benefit of hindsight, government had recognised the damage caused by blanket office development:

> *"local authorities may be concerned to protect certain locations such as historic commercial centres or small industrial estates from pressure to convert to offices. In such circumstances, policies may be proposed for particular locations if the land use planning reasons for doing so are spelt out explicitly"* (DoEn: *Development Plans: A Good Practice Guide*, 1992a).

Thus the combined effects of the conservation area status requiring aesthetic quality control and reinstated planning permission would be able to:

1. enable different rent levels to attach to different kinds of space;
2. by acting as a brake on the tendency for mixed use buildings to be refurbished to one specification and let entirely as office or warehousing space.

Another example of a special policy area, with planning control outside of the flexible change of use policy, was sought in the case of the Savile Row tailors, whose West End/Soho premises were similarly under threat from higher use-value conversion. Here this indigenous working community sought protection under the A1 Class (above). This group was able to generate publicity and the attention of both Houses of Parliament (many of them customers!). In 1990 the London Boroughs (excluding the City of London) sought, through a clause in the draft London Local Authorities (Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill, to counter the effects of the B1 Use Class. This was considered by a House of Lords Committee in May 1990 and evidence was given by Westminster City Council in respect of the Savile Row

tailors and their Soho workshops and by Tower Hamlets in respect of Spitalfields. Despite sympathy for the case put forward for special area status, they declined to support a protective clause, because they did not believe that the type of special area concerned was confined to London, so that the matter should be considered on a national, rather than a local basis: *"The irony here of course is that when the Minister did come to consider the matter he found that, whatever the situation in these special areas, their isolation and size did not justify wholesale change to national legislation"* (Baker Associates, 1992 6.22).

This 'no win' situation contrasts with the protection afforded the built heritage, for instance, through conservation area and listed building status: whilst the architectural features of the built environment is recognised in terms of protection from other uses, the cultural heritage represented by arts and crafts skills and production is not so. In Clerkenwell, cases of rare craft practices, such as flute-making, glass and ropemaking were expected to die out, as practitioners retired or wound-up, with little prospect of handing-on these skills through family, apprenticeship and younger craftspeople, who no longer saw a viable future in the area.

On the other hand had there been a cultural plan encompassing arts, economic and environmental policies this could have influenced the interpretation and application of planning issues and policies at a local level. As the Clerkenwell Community Trust's planning consultants put it in their report: *"The value of a plan-led system is that up-to-date statutory development plans can contain effective policies which address localised issues without the need to wait for concern to be sufficient to justify a change in an Order, or for national guidance to emerge on a particular issue"* (Baker Associates, 1993 p.22).

In the case of Islington in general, and Clerkenwell in particular, the absence of a cultural policy or plan, or an integrated approach to arts and economic development planning in the Borough, has manifestly weakened the defence against the various economic and other pressures, especially those of the property market and hence the prospects of long-term survival of Clerkenwell as a thriving cultural quarter. This contrasts with integrated policy co-ordination seen in Birmingham, where planning had an active partnership with Arts, Culture and Employment, and in Sheffield (planning in partnership with Arts, Employment and Economic Development).

The damage has now been done in Clerkenwell, and further measures and mechanisms now seem unlikely to lift cultural activity back to its level a decade ago. Another factor which appears to have contributed to this damaging vacuum is the fragmentation of planning policies in terms of the mix of activities carried on in the area. These encompassed crafts, visual arts, performing arts and media: interests which are represented nationally and regionally by the Arts Council, Crafts Council, regional arts and film agencies (LAB, LFVDA) and the community business and commercial sectors. One commentator argued: *"Whilst [the RAA] was not covering the crafts, the opportunity was lost for growth in some areas of policy which are taken for granted in other parts of the country. The crafts also missed the opportunity to develop in tandem with the other visual arts"* (Taylor, 1992 p.41).

A strategy to identify and meet the needs of seemingly disparate, but clearly connected cultural industry groups, would have required Islington to adopt an integrated corporate policy (proactive), not just a planning response (reactive), as has been discussed earlier in this thesis. This is hardly achieved at a strategic level (nationally, regionally, sectorally), let alone in a local area; small in size, but culturally, clearly 'strategic' (LPAC, 1990a) in both heritage and local economic terms.

10.9 Creating arts and cultural workspaces

Whilst the demand for affordable studio space in Clerkenwell was increasingly limited from the 1970s and particularly during the late 1980s change of use period, by diminishing floorspace and excessive rental levels, the Islington Council had at the same time investigated the opportunities for converting unused basement and parking areas in council housing estates for workspace use. The advantage of such developments include:

1. Low cost and valuation, due to housing status and locations
2. Worker-homes, or 'living above the workshop'
3. Re-use of 'dead' space

Poor natural lighting was the main disadvantage in some cases and other problems include restrictions on health and safety grounds (ventilation, chemicals, inks, machinery noise). Such proposed conversions were not targeted specifically at crafts or artists, but under general Council policy the priority was local employment and enterprise development, including disadvantaged groups such as women/returners, disabled and ethnic minority

groups (LBI, 1992a 5.3). A creative combination of funding was to be applied in a way that was not available in Clerkenwell with funding from Urban Programme, housing maintenance and Estates Improvement funds, which were all used to create an initial 20,000 square feet of workshop space in two housing estates in the borough. Further conversions are planned by the Council in other housing estates. Other London boroughs have similarly pursued the re-use of poorly designed housing estate basements and car parks, some of which had never been used for their original purpose, mainly for security reasons (eg. Lewisham - Pepys Estate; Greenwich - Woolwich Common Estate: 'Car spaces to work places', *Voluntary Housing*, June 1992 pp.10-11).

The development of worker-homes was also a specific planning policy contained in Islington Borough Council's UDP adopted in 1992: *"The Council will consider sympathetically proposals to redevelop or convert non-residential sites or properties as purpose-designed 'worker-homes' (workspaces linked to residential accommodation and designed for dual occupation)"* (LBI, 1992a 5.2.7)

Combined living and working premises ('worker-homes') have traditionally been resisted by planners for many decades. The separation of all industry and working spaces to the east of the main London-Edinburgh railway line with living and community space only to the west of the railway was part of the original master plan for Welwyn Garden City in the early 1920s, and this became the accepted orthodoxy of the postwar Development Plan system (Abercrombie *et al*). Planners still generally see workspace/production and domestic areas as fundamentally separate spaces and uses (Owens, 1987), and leisure and recreation was no exception to this industrial planning and separation approach: *"Those who would represent leisure as liberation do so in the context of a Britain in which place was virtually synonymous with function"* (Seabrook, 1988 p.45). However, with modern services and communications, computer-based working, especially in creative practices and 'flexible specialisation' now dominating the new employment patterns, a large-scale return to homeworking would be a low-cost and sustainable response to the Fordist separation of work, play and home (Evans, 1993e; DE, 1993). Zukin (1988) found that studio facilities attached to living accommodation attracted artists and others to former industrial buildings, although this trend does not seem to have been sustained in the second wave of gentrification followed by commercial development in New York or in London. Commenting on the way in which the first examples of such developments had been victims of their own

success, Dahl and Irvin commented (1990 p.32): *"Artists move into the areas they can afford, an artistic community of sorts is established, to be followed by smaller businesses, private individuals, looking for 'arty' locations, and offices. Rents rise, the artists move, and the process starts all over again".*

This demand and supply cycle of regeneration through artist occupation has been played out in a number of major cities in Europe and North America (BAAA, 1993), moving towards the post-industrial services model of the city. However, planning and intervention policies differ markedly from place to place, in terms of both urban cultural policy and arts planning approaches and the degree of recognition given to the relative importance of the artist in cultural and city life (see Appendix VII - Planning Artists Workspaces in North America and Europe).

The provision of subsidised artist accommodation, through planning and zoning powers, and through direct grant-aid, both capital and revenue, raises the fundamental issue of arts funding policy and practice and the secondary one of economic development (and regional) policy. The situation is further complicated by the traditional distinctions between fine art and crafts activity, which have been reinforced since the first European Renaissance, and subsequently between machine-produced and handcrafted products: *"the two having been disastrously separated by the industrial revolution"* (Worpole, 1991 p.142). The divide between functionalism and art-object has led to the separations, in both policy and subsidy, between the fine artist, the artisan and the craftsman (see Chapter 5). The resurgence in crafts and design, seen firstly through the arts and crafts movement: *"a great social movement (made) a narrow and tiresome little aristocracy working with great skills for the very rich"* (Ashbee, writing to William Morris, quoted in Worpole, 1991 p.142), and the anti machine-made sentiments of Ruskin and Morris, is now represented by a blurring of the distinctions, with the 'artist-craftsman' (as opposed to a 'traditional' craftsman) and 'designer-craftsman' (as opposed to the 'technical' designer) (Summerton, 1990).

Whilst the arts funding of performing and visual arts venues typically deals with organisations (outside of a small proportion of commissioning and bursary grants), artist and craft studio provision relates more directly to individual artists, who, by the nature of the arts and crafts markets in which they operate, ambiguously straddle the private, traded sector and the non-commercial sector. The latter argues for public funding for start-up (such

as Crafts Council equipment/studio grants), for development and for 'risk-taking', on the same basis as the playwright, composer or arts venue (Frey and Pommerehne, 1989). However, this begs the question of how decisions should be made in the allocation of public funding for artist accommodation and the position of beneficiaries. Whilst a general argument in favour of support for the arts infrastructure can be applied here as with other investment in cultural resources (hard and soft, eg.education and training), if subsidy is to meet basic equity aims (distributive, meeting 'need'), successful artists who secure sufficient income from their own art and craft work sales and commissions could arguably be no longer in need of such subsidy, much as a musician, author and actor who achieves success in commercial terms.

The management of artist and 'cultural producer' premises and facilities, would therefore require a degree of evaluation, and possibly means-testing of residents or fixed-term tenancies (as operate in French and German municipal studios), in order to ensure both equity and the continuing opportunity for new artists to benefit from such subsidised provision. The permanence and models of artist co-operatives, evident in Philadelphia and elsewhere, implies that these groups will always require financial support, or at least preferential consideration in planning and zoning. However, such policies would run counter to the libertarian arguments in favour of free trade (*sic*) and that of a "level-playing field", both within and across economic sectors. (Why should an artists studio complex occupied by 'successful' artists receive subsidy, while a publishing house, or recording studio does not?). More recent international competition policy, at European and global (GATT Uruguay Round, 1993) levels, restricting the intervention in cultural and commercial practice nationally, is likely to further limit the ability of national and city governments to manipulate the 'free-market' in land and price valuation in selected sectors in favour of their local artists and cultural industries. Thus indirect mechanisms, such as planning and conservation, may therefore become one the few ways left to influence the make-up of the physical fabric and cultural economy.

10.10 Conclusion

The case of Clerkenwell, a microcosm of 'culture and capital in urban change' (Zukin, 1988), demonstrates the conflicts of interest and the very real limitations of the current British planning law and practice in the protection of cultural industries, as well as the vulnerable position of the artist and craftsperson. With no discernable cultural policy, nor any co-ordinated approach to arts and economic development at a local or regional level (including local and regional arts and crafts officers), such policy and planning responses as have emerged, have been of only limited success. In Clerkenwell, for instance, there have been measures for the conservation of the built heritage/exterior, but a failure to recognise let alone 'conserve' the human economic and creative activity contained therein, though this is just as much part of Clerkenwell's 'heritage'.

The pressure from office development and for the capitalisation of rising property values, whilst acute in London, seemingly a price for London's 'world city' status in financial services terms, has been more successfully resisted, or at least negotiated, in other major cities around the world (see Appendix VII). This has been most successfully seen where the artist and arts resource are accepted to be a 'merit good' and where there is a reconciliation of town planning, development control and cultural policy, embracing both arts and economic development. This is being achieved in other 'world cities' and cultural capitals such as Paris, Toronto and elsewhere, as Worpole maintains: *"a new dynamism...is strongest where inventiveness and industry combine, as they do in Milan, Frankfurt and Paris"* (1991 p.144). In such cases there has been artist input to the decision-making process in urban planning (*cf.* Shaw, 1990; Evans, 1991a; BAAA, 1993) whereas in London, it is clearly absent. Here, it is the professional bureaucrat and arts administrator and above all the town planning officer who rules, ie: *"the professional sub-cultures of museology, of architecture, or urban planning"* (King, 1991 p.152). However, as the 1993 British American Arts Association (BAAA) conference *The Artist in the Changing City* concluded (1993 p.47):

> *"Planning at all levels of government can greatly assist the development of flexible working and living spaces for artists. The crucial thing is that artists should be visible, that they should be consulted directly, and that the solutions to their needs should be designed to be long-term and integral to all urban cultural planning"*

The present-day challenge in Clerkenwell is to take advantage of the current hiatus in commercial development and the accumulation of vacant and devaluing properties, using

the combined effects of UDP planning policies and heightened awareness created by community trust, tourism development and arts and crafts agencies, to exploit this situation for the benefit of existing and prospective artistic communities. Jonathan Harvey, Director of ACME, the largest London-based studio/housing developer and operator, suggested at the same BAAA conference the following four aims for workspace provision in London over the next ten years:

> i) while permanent space should remain the principal goal, short-term municipally owned stock should be expanded;
>
> ii) the depressed state of the property market at the start of the 1990s has given rise to the opportunity for artists to negotiate cheaper long-term leases, and artists must act now to make the most of the opportunity;
>
> iii) combined work and living space in ex-industrial sites should be developed;
>
> iv) new funding sources should be identified and approached (BAAA, 1993 p.47).
>
> *"Ideally each community should develop a planning framework that takes full account of the importance of space for cultural production and the individualistic nature of the cultural producer. Collaborative planning, flexible strategies and effective lobbying that work in the context of local conditions must be utilised"* BAAA, 1993 p.47).

In this way, Clerkenwell as a living cultural quarter could prosper as a place of urban continuity and change as a 'trading place and city workshop', maintaining: "*the complex urban ecology that successfully sustains both working and residential communities in city centres* [which is] *is clearly evident in London's Clerkenwell district"* (Worpole, 1991 p.148). One fear, however, is that a prolonged period of blight will occur, implying a frustrating and destructive process of degeneration such has been witnessed in other inner city areas, before the regeneration cycle finally engages once again. A clear national or devolved planning and cultural policy could have avoided the recent loss of economic and cultural activity in Clerkenwell that is going to be very hard to recreate. Arguably attempts to artificially develop cultural quarters suffer from a lack of 'authenticity' on one hand, and from difficulties in capturing the spirit and historical evolution of artistic communities over time: relationships which defy 'management' or quick replication. Parallels exist between the 'community' arts centre and new arts venue built into major city and dockland development sites and regeneration zones: the latter were seldom 'planned' in the sense of community or artistic need, but are components (though perhaps only tokens) of a wider property and

place regeneration. As Jennifer Williams, Director of the British American Arts Association observes in an upbeat comment: *"It is rare to find a scheme in any city, whether this be a City Challenge bid, a new shopping centre or a private sector development, which does not include arts and culture in some way or other"* (Williams, 1992 p.1).

However, in Clerkenwell it has been hard to find any significant development scheme since the 1980s that has not directly or indirectly caused the loss of arts activity or the arts infrastructure needed to support the traditional mix of cultural industries in the area. There is a serious credibility gap between policy and practice, between the degree of hype and reinforcement of the hegemony of arts and cultural agencies, particularly in their partnership with the urban development process, which serves to confuse the role and practice of arts planning. Only a formal "Cultural Plan" incorporated into all aspects of the Borough's policies and into the Unitary Development Plan itself would have ensured Clerkenwell's continuity as a cultural quarter (the 1980s premises change and loss of amenity occurred *prior* to the adoption of the Borough's UDP and integration of *ACE* policies - above), making the area more able to resist crude national planning measures which were designed to push the remnants of manufacturing zones over to service industries and distribution. This perpetuation of the narrow function of land-use planning therefore ignored the wider implications, effectively marginalised by the liberal planning system: *"These...changes have led to local concerns arising from side-effects which are more often economic or environmental than directly related to planning and land use"* (Waters, 1995 p.38).

National "policy" - if such a term may be used for such un-planned and debated measures - has ignored the complexity of London's trade, manufacture and commerce in arts and culture (King, 1990), and underestimated the scope and scale both locally and regionally of the cultural industries, in their pre and post-industrial forms (Evans, 1994a; Comedia, 1991a). This same borough has also begun to look at initiatives in other cities, following the "Evening Economy" action research (Comedia, 1991b) and case studies (eg. Edinburgh, Manchester, Leeds, Cardiff), and linked to Islington's urban regeneration strategies which focus on the development areas of Kings Cross and Clerkenwell 'City Fringe' (recent recipients of Single Regeneration Budget bids) and the town centre (arts venues, exhibition centre and international festival site).

Islington's Urban Regeneration Committee Chair, Councillor Winston, recognises the limitations of traditional town planning and the entrenched profession itself, anticipating resistance to the development and promotion of a "24-hour economy": *"I think it is time that we allowed ideas to flow and younger planners to get involved in the process..At the moment we're not using their talents, while some of those making decisions tend to be stuck in the past"* (LBI, 1995 p.4). However, the UDP arts, culture and entertainment planning policies which have now been formulated and which are analysed in this and the previous two chapters, offer a regional, borough-wide and local area framework for policy development, control and practical implementation. These offer perhaps a final opportunity (in the absence of radical local democratic, planning and fiscal change) for local cultural planning and arts development, and a measure of resistance to short-term market pressures that in this case study have proved to be unsustainable in economic as well as in community terms.

As the following concluding chapter maintains, greater integration and understanding between arts policy and town planning and the adoption of planning norms for arts provision and wider cultural planning approaches outlined in this thesis, provide a response to this unsustainable cycle. The UDP arts ('ACE') planning policies and the approaches required to achieve such integration, arguably also provide a viable response to an adversarial planning system and to what have been largely ineffectual national arts funding policies and practice evident in the 'pre-arts planning' regimes in force during the above borough and local area case studies.

CHAPTER 11 CONCLUSION

11.0 Introduction

The foregoing chapters report and analyse the results of this investigation into the relationships between the arts and town planning and arts input to urban regeneration. In particular they provide London-wide, individual borough and finally local 'cultural quarter' analyses of planning for the arts in the urban context. Examples presented of other UK and other overseas experiences point to a marked under-use in London of planning, both as a concept and a process to achieve cultural (and indeed economic) objectives in comparison.

Since the late-1980s however, the adoption of model policies for the arts ("ACE") in London borough development plans (UDPs) does indicate an innovative approach to arts and cultural planning by many of these same boroughs, under the influence of regional arts and other agencies and in a reaction to London's perceived decline and uncompetitiveness. The impact in terms of arts provision, development and the cultural economy from these planning policies cannot be fully assessed, however, until borough plans have run their course (ten years) and policies implemented in practice and their robustness tested over a period of continuing social, political and economic change. The reasons for the marked differences within and between London and other cities are complex and historic, not least the skewed under and over provision of facilities between central and outer London/fringe areas; London's world city role and the presence of national 'flagship' cultural centres, but also the extreme competitive and valuation pressures experienced in the 1980s in parts of Inner London (especially but not exclusively the Clerkenwell case study area - Chapter 10). The lack of any form of democratic, strategic level, regional government structure for London since the abolition of the Greater London Council (announced in 1984 and implemented in March 1986) has probably been a further significant factor, exacerbated by conflicting central government/quango intervention: *"In the case of London the tensions between a city which elected a socialist government in 1981 and a right wing national government have affected the development of the city and the South East region"* (Burtenshaw, Bateman and Ashworth, 1991 p.265).

Another factor is the tradition of strong independent (and hierarchical) departments and committees within many London boroughs, with little authority-wide strategic corporate

management or inter-departmental cooperation, again in marked contrast with policy and practice in many metropolitan local authorities outside of London and abroad, which have been able to integrate much more successfully physical planning, economic development and arts provision and cultural development over recent years (viz Sheffield, Birmingham and Barcelona, Paris, Toronto). In London specifically, the inheritance of Abercrombie's decentralisation, and the Garden City and anti-urban sentiments which have informed modern town planning (Chapter 3) have been most ingrained, when compared with these other cities.

Where a more integrated and inclusive cultural industries/policy and plan is in existence, social (welfare and educational) and economic rationales are deliberately blurred and are no longer seen as incompatible. In this respect Worpole contends: *"Urban policy is now inseparable from cultural policy. The one informs the other. Both will depend on creating a working economic base"* (Worpole, 1991 p.143). In the United Kingdom however, and especially in London, social and economic investment and policies are too often regarded as exclusive (or at least, *social* is subsidiary to the *economic*), and even oppositional, as the 'crowding out' arguments force private and public sectors to compete for finite resources (land, capital, labour), and in consequence this colours the political ideology underlying urban and economic policy and therefore social and arts policy. Comedia argue, although this is perhaps an overgeneralisation, that: *"In the rest of Europe, the view is held that culture creates wealth in all sorts of ways. In the UK by contrast the public perception is that wealth creates culture"* (1991 p.9). Under this prevailing ideology, the arts and wider cultural activities are forced to choose between presenting themselves as either in the welfarist social sphere (and therefore not 'economic' or 'worthy' of arts sponsorship, other than in the compensatory sense - Wilding, 1989; Pick, 1988), or in the economic domain, based on quantifiable wealth creation benefits, or externalities - direct, indirect and induced. The economic impact assessment method may be neo-Keynesian (multipliers, inward investment), but the system of measurement is financial ('performance': Bouvaird, 1991 and 1992; Clarke, 1992), rather than socio-cultural (Audit Commission, 1989 and 1993). There are serious implications in this adoption of market economics as a prime rationale for the arts, since to do so risks placing arts and cultural organisations in a point of no return when the market turns down: *"Linking arts policy to economic policy may have short-term benefits...but it also leaves the arts to the mercy of the economy - for*

better or, more likely, for worse" (Editorial, Museums Journal, 1994 p.7).

Public intervention through planning, public landholding and targeted arts policies and investment can be seen to offer the greatest security to arts practice and the promotion of a local cultural economy. This assertion rests on the rationale for the living and working creative activities as essential parts of a city's makeup, not merely as representations of heritage, as staged or faked authenticity (MacCannell, 1984 and 1976), or as offerings by the cultural tourism industry. The simplistic separation between social and economic arguments (and between artistic excellence and arts development) both ignores the inter-action between economic, urban and socio-cultural policy and the models offered by the arts planning approach. As Weiner argued in a 1982 American Council for the Arts study: *"It would be a severe distortion to ignore the creative and spiritual value of the arts for their economic value...But to ignore their usefulness in promoting balanced economic growth would also be a serious mistake...Cultural resources serve as 'people magnets'"* (in Von Eckardt, 1982 p.24).

In London and in aspiring international cities elsewhere in Britain (Borsay, 1989), the flagship arts and conference venue - whether an opera house, theatre, concert or exhibition hall - has tended towards a pragmatic and in some cases, conspiratorial engagement with market forces. Willis confronts this trend from the standpoint of popular and everyday ('common') culture, and argues that:

> *"the new temples of High Art...may enjoy some corporate popularity, but as a public spectacle not private passion, as places to be seen rather than to be in. The prestige flagships are in reality no more than aesthetic ironclads heaving against the growing swell of Common Culture. Let's follow the swell"* (1991 p.13)

Willis also suggests more constructively that these mainstream cultural institutions should also be focal points (*cf.* 'arts centres' - Chapter 5) and facilitate partnerships and collaborations with local arts and cultural activities and networks (see below). For example, the development of local museums, arts in education and popularisation of historic interpretation (below), could be seen to offer a bridge between the sterile high and popular culture dialectic. Willis, again, suggests a more cultural democratic approach:

"The recent successes of certain museums and arts galleries in appealing to a wide range of people and communicating with new audiences, and the continuing success of many libraries in providing an ever wider range of symbolic materials, rest not upon extending an old idea to new people, but on allowing new people and their informal meanings and communications to colonise...the institutions" (1991 p.12).

An example of this is seen at the Tate Gallery, Liverpool ("Tate of the North"), where a Mobile Art Programme aimed to create innovative and effective ways of engaging young people who do not normally attend galleries (Willis, 1991 p.16 and see also Evans 1994b). Another example is provided by a survey of non-visitors to London museums (Trevelyan, 1992): Afro-Caribbean and Asian respondents wanted coverage of their cultures to show the contribution made by these immigrant communities to local and national history. As Said argues in 'Culture and Imperialism': *"Most histories of European aesthetic modernism leave out the massive infusion of non-European cultures into the metropolitan heartland during the early years of this century"* (1994 p.292). London museums consequently responded to the survey's sentiment in 1993, when 12 local museums each mounted their jointly promoted "Londoners from Overseas" exhibition reflecting the history and influence of immigrant communities. There was also an exhibition at the London Transport Museum covering the period of the policy of direct recruitment from the Caribbean from 1956-1970 and the Museum of London offered as its major 1993-4 exhibition "The Peopling of London" covering 2,000 years of immigration and reviews of the major present-day communities. It was significant that this celebratory example of responsive arts planning was undertaken by local and nationally-designated museums, rather than through a solely national or marginalised local initiative.

Outside the central cultural zone and island of culture and entertainment (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1990) several of London's "urban villages" have revealed a resurgence in civic pride in local and municipal culture, with their revamping of town centres, and recognition of the cultural and crafts economy as increasingly significant elements of the local economy and the production chain. Town centre revitalisation strategies, more so outside than within London, have attempted to deal neatly with the issues of modern urban living based on cultural consumption and participation, by seeking to overcome 'barriers' and develop more sustainable urban policies (transport, economic, employment, housing, leisure). The recognised shortcomings in the planning and land-use system, however, point not only to dilemmas in political economy (for example, defending the rationale for

public/merit goods, the mixed economy, mixed-use of buildings, space and the public realm, and recognising pluralism and diversity), but also to a widening and (cultural) democratisation of the planning function and plan formulation. As the Brick Lane Community Development Trust commented in June 1994:

> *"Participation must continue beyond the planning stage of developments to their implementation and management...'We did not want simple results like planning permission granted or denied, or one-off planning gains, like money or a community centre..what we wanted was to join in designing strategy for the economic development of the area over the next 20 years'"* (quoted in Kate, 1994 p.16).

In the broader context, in his contribution to the 'Mapping the Futures' volume (Bird, 1993), Harvey argued:

> *"The historical geography of place construction is full of examples of struggles fought for socially just investment (to meet community need); for the development of 'community'; expressive of values other than those of money and exchange; or against deindustrialization"* (1993 p.8)

With this history in mind, a return to a more plan-led system offers opportunities and responses to the previously oppositional planning process that was based on power and conflict ('development control', planning permission or refusal, appeal, inquiry etc), and provides some possible openings that parallel those successfully explored by the Continental and Canadian systems also discussed in this thesis (and detailed further in Appendix VII). In such models for example, the artist, cultural worker and the 'changing city' and economy interact on more equal and planned terms than experienced in London and in other UK cities. In these other countries the higher value placed on the local arts amenity and infrastructure in supporting contemporary arts activity, whether "community," amateur, professional or workplace based, is seen as an essential function of public (cultural) policy and town planning, and is manifested in examples of urban regeneration which are not solely reliant on "flagship," city centre strategies or on inward investment and the contribution of the major employers (Evans, 1994a). In fact the profile of the cultural economy detailed in Chapters 9 and 10 (and see Evans, 1993e; STTEC, 1993) reveals the significance of the small firm in local economies as a whole in British cities (DfEE, 1996), which suggests that urban economic development, cultural and planning strategies (such as UDP 'ACE' policies) will increasingly need to consider the needs and impact of the arts and cultural industries,

if the decline seen in Clerkenwell's crafts and artists quarter is not to be repeated elsewhere.

The relative importance placed (sometimes belatedly) on the contribution of the arts and artistic input to the economic and renewal strategies of urban areas has clearly influenced both decisions on continued investment in relevant infrastructure and measures to protect cultural 'assets', whether scarce, at risk, or footloose and liable to move elsewhere (Chapter 8 - ACE input to UDP policies). This is emphasised in the growing competition between different towns, regions and even countries (and 'trading blocs' - EU, NAFTA etc), which uses the arts as image-builder, but also as a means of community self-expression, mediation and pride. Sharon Zukin (1995) links the 'cultures of cities' (after Mumford, 1945) to their economic and physical development through notions of ethnicity, aesthetics and as a marketing tool - a 'symbolic economy' based on tourism, media and entertainment.

Where a simple market mechanism is applied even benignly (the 'invisible hand'), that is, where no public/merit good argument rules, there can be a rapid and irrevocable unravelling of the cultural production chain, even where, in the case of Clerkenwell, the full extent of the production chain was not present. This begins with the removal of the stepping-stones in the hierarchy of cultural provision and the break-up of artistic communities and workplaces which have evolved through such inter-reliance of skills, expertise and facilities evident for instance in crafts and designer-making, and leads to a consequent loss of synergy and critical mass. Once this has happened, as in the case of Clerkenwell and other areas of development 'gain', it is very questionable whether the reversal of such trends, or their re-creation as some form of planned formula, can be achieved.

A reconciliation of heritage interests (the built environment, artefacts, performing and visual arts' 'classics') and the living culture inter-connected through a common history and cultural development would therefore appear to be essential (Evans, 1993c). As the Clerkenwell and Islington borough case studies revealed, whilst conservation area status protected facades and exteriors, no such protection was afforded artists, cultural production or the cultural economy and mix of building uses in the area. The inheritance of cultural and other amenities in our towns and cities reflects the British experience of both political consensus and control evolving since the Victorian rational recreation movement. These dual

ideologies reflect the attempts from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries onwards to reconcile class conflicts through civic, urban arts and recreation provision (Yeo, 1981; Harris, 1994). In a 'Discussion Document' for the National Arts & Media Strategy, Willis again responds to this traditional heritage and classical art position and extends the theme of cultural re-mapping, proposing a new cultural 'history':

> *"We need to think of ourselves as only at the beginning of civilisation's historical clock. The best of what is thought, spoken, written, composed and made, must be yet to come, and come it must from our living culture and not from a backwards looking, self-propagating 'art' "* (1991 p.8-9).

Tensions caused through cultural change and re-evaluation would be a natural part of this process. Stark also offers a vision of a future balance between the arts of the past, the present and the future:

> *"Our argument...is that the culture to which we should aspire in the next century is one that balances more carefully the availability of the best of the world's artistic heritage in these islands with investment in the production of the arts by professionals and with investment in facilities and opportunities for the population of all ages, cultures and traditions to enjoy, explore and celebrate the arts through active participation"* (Stark, 1994 p.3).

The urban renaissance as described in the Introduction to this thesis, may also be presented as the reinterpretation of the local. The arts and cultural industries, contrary to the views of King (1991 and see 1990), distinguish themselves by 'restoring identities' (Hough, 1990), though in an eclectic urban society which is conscious of not just the traditional, but also of 'other' cultures (and lifestyles), whether also local, or experienced globally through the mass media, by exchange/fusion and particularly these days through tourism in all its forms. The multi-cultural and pluralist state of contemporary London (and other 'World Cities') suggests that neither a reductive 'public culture' (Horne, 1986) nor reactive arts planning are adequate or equitable (46% of England's ethnic minority population reside in London and half of these were British born, according to the 1991 census - LRC, 1994). Cultural planning based on identified local needs and profiles would need to reflect the cultural make-up of local, borough or even sub-regional areas and thus extend to contemporary groups as well as traditional art forms. Ethnic communities that have been well-established in London still exist within urban systems that ignore their own personality

and aspirations, as British-Asian architect, Rajan Gujral comments from London's South Asian 'heartland' of Southall:

> *"Ethnic communities are a permanent part of the society in the major cities of the country. There is no mistaking the areas favoured by the various ethnic groups; the writing on the shops, the rhythm in the streets, the faces, the dress. But somehow the communities live in spite of their environment rather than shaping it....Instead of a conventional shopping mall..this could recreate a traditional bazaar. Museums and emporiums could replace anchor stores and the whole development could be designed to enhance the cultural and moral values of the local ethnic communities"* (Gujral, 1994 pp.7-8).

The social, economic and cultural polarisation now familiar in 'world cities' (King, 1990; 1991) demands that established systems of cultural provision and amenity planning are superseded, if Castells' concept of 'dual cities' (1989) and Gorz's post-Marxist scenario of a divided society, of leisure *haves* and *have nots,* are to be avoided:

> *"The division of society into classes involved in intense economic activity on the one hand, and a mass of people who are marginalized or excluded from the economic sphere on the other, will allow a sub-system to develop, in which the economic elite will buy leisure time by getting their own personal tasks done for them at low cost, by other people...(which) makes more time available for this elite and improves their quality of life; the leisure time of this economic elite provides jobs, which are in most cases insecure and underpaid, for a section of the masses excluded from the economic sphere"* (Gorz, 1989 p.5).

For instance, in 1987 the average gross weekly income of the poorest 10% of households in London was £57, having increased by 30% since 1980; the equivalent for the top 10% was £670, an increase over the same period of 118%. The geographical differentiation typified in economic, amenity and property terms by gentrification, suburbanisation and effective ghettoisation, is also apparent within London, as the comparative surveys of London borough arts and urban regeneration and development planning reveal (Chapters 8 and 9). Social and economic 'divides' within cities, and the consequent imbalance in amenity and cultural provision, are a major challenge for urban policy and cultural planning, no less in London where unemployment rates in "inner city" boroughs of Hackney, Tower Hamlets and Lambeth are four times those in outer London Boroughs such as Kingston, Hillingdon and Richmond (OPCS, 1991 and see LRC, 1989; Harrison, 1983 and Wright, 1992). Somewhat surprisingly, even the Arts Council

commented in its 1993 National Arts and Media Strategy report: *"Serving London both as world city and as a series of neighbourhoods and communities is a challenging and difficult task. The needs of London's diverse neighbourhoods must be addressed"* (Arts Council, 1993 p.116), although there has been little or no practical intervention to meet this need. This is again evident in the surveys of arts and urban regeneration and arts input to unitary development plans (UDP) detailed in Chapters 7 and 8. In the former, investment in arts facilities was frequently a function of commercial or property-led development activity - irrespective of arts planning prerogatives - or in the UDP process, dominated by environmental planning and infrastructure concerns, and less with cultural diversity or the assessment of need.

The opportunity arising from central government (including European and Arts Council) urban assistance schemes was also a feature of both regeneration and planning policies in London boroughs, however again this competitive system creates winners and losers, including an over-concentration of development with little consideration of future sustainability, 'demand' or whether local arts and cultural aspirations are most effectively being met - the alternative allocation of such development funds and resources is seldom countenanced (competitive site and area eligibility rules established by central government also disallow this). Strategically and spatially, meeting equity in arts facilities and reflecting the relationships and flows which make up urban society is generally absent in these case studies - an argument for an arts planning framework, and in London and other urban regions, requiring an integrated and co-ordinating system of planning and resource allocation.

11.1 Planning for the Arts

The range of planning approaches within both the town planning and arts domains, and the influences and ideologies underpinning them, which have been presented in this thesis, have encompassed arts amenity and cultural production in the urban situation. These examples of social welfare ('subsidised arts') and economic ('cultural industry') policy and practice have been largely separate in post-War planning and pubic policy, but can be seen to increasingly inter-relate through production chain and economic relationships, not last in the urban situation. The historic separation is seen functionally in the public administration of the arts (and of film/media, design, crafts), urban and economic policy, and the persistence

of the traditional separation of spaces and environments for work, home and play in the English planning system, especially in the capital (Jencks, 1996 p26).

London, as the metropolis, offers a schizophrenic case: a 'global city' and cultural capital laid over a resident community that is deeply fragmented and differentiated socially and economically and at the same time, inter-reliant (conscious or unconsciously) and historically bound. Tensions between these states are mirrored in arts policy (or the lack of it) and arts funding and not least in the government of London and the capital's lack of regional and strategic planning. Negative reactions to the notions of planning cultural facilities have been rehearsed since W.E.Williams' naive attempt to develop a network of cultural centres at the formation of the Arts Council. This was seen when Arts Council chairman, Maynard Keynes reacted to *Plans for an Arts centre* - by asking the Secretary-General, Mary Glasgow (1946-50), *"who has foisted this rubbish on us"* (in Stark, 1994 p.12).

Some argue that the earlier period of intense globalisation which occurred in the late nineteenth/early twentieth century, brought about national alliances and power structures and a consequent nationalism of 'wilful nostalgia', requiring homogenised and integrated, so-called common cultures and the elimination of ethnic and regional identities (Robertson, 1990 and see Adorno and Horkheimer, 1972; Adorno, 1991). As early as 1926 a caption in Fritz Lang's silent film *Metropolis*, which in fact presents the legend of the Tower of Babel in terms of the construction of the modern city, warned, *Those who toiled knew nothing of the dreams of those who planned.* The notion of 'planning' used here, says nothing of the infrastructure, access and 'rights' to cultural expression, recognised in the post-war reconstruction and welfare state era (Henry, 1993 pp.15-25; Sinfield, 1989) and therefore of the resources required for a balanced civic and urban existence. The investment in human capital, the opportunities for the acquisition of skills and cultural experiences, both professional and amateur, and the creation and maintenance of places where these experiences and inter-actions can take place (formal, designated, or private and informal) are arguably essential components of both cultural democracy and sensible resource planning, whether the prevailing rationale is amenity or production based. The libertarian presupposition seems to be that 'planning art into being' is an unavoidable outcome of arts and cultural planning or a plan <u>for</u> the arts.

Arguments for the planning model for arts provision also come up against the simplistic dialectic: *"the two approaches to cultural production; the commercial culture governed by the free market, and the subsidized culture governed by an elitist aesthetic"* (Lewis, 1990 p.110 and see Wiesand, 1991). Planning in this latter approach falls foul of the 'New Right' agenda - non-interventionist, and focusing on an anti-elitist meritocracy (Henry, 1993; Pick, 1988). It also fails to achieve genuine distributive aims in terms of the subsidy system (Lee, 1965). Lewis, in his critique of this policy failure in practice (and see Le Grand, 1982 and Lewis *et al*, 1987) maintains that:

> *"Neither* [market or subsidy] *are conducive to a number of cultural values. They suppress, in their very different ways, diversity and innovation in any popular cultural sense and they are only marginally concerned with creating a more harmonious or stimulating environment"* (Lewis, 1990 p.110).

Whilst Lewis adds to the resistance to 'planning the arts' noted in the Introduction to this thesis, by seeing the subsidy system as essentially 'anti-creative', the place of the arts within local amenity has also lacked recognition. In current British town planning law and practice, "amenity" has no definition, and as has been demonstrated, the arts are the exception to other types of leisure and recreation because of the lack of funding norms and standards of provision and consequently in the provision of infrastructure whether "hard" or "soft" (Chapters 5 and 6). The arts and urban regeneration initiatives of the 1980s and the 1990s taking place in this planning vacuum have tended to perpetuate and accentuate the old divides, effectively reinforcing the hegemonies of the 'market' and the 'state'.

Land-use planning and the recognition of infrastructure and 'production chain' arguments outlined in Chapters 5 and 6, are unlikely in themselves to guarantee greater provision, certainly not better 'art', let alone a greater cultural democracy: *"a society where people are free to come together to produce, distribute, and receive the cultures they choose"* (Shelton Trust, 1986 p.111). However, without an equitable level of arts resources and the recognition of the *facilitation* of arts development through an adequate infrastructure such as adequate venues for touring, production and education, and an accessible hierarchy ('scale') of facilities in order to achieve cultural development and enhanced participation - such provision is likely to fall short of national and local access and equity objectives. Planning, including establishing to some degree norms and minimum levels of provision based on existing facilities, activity and consumption patterns and local/regional

'needs', is one mechanism suggested by this thesis, likely to overcome the imbalance seen in London (and in other major cities and regions) and avoid the danger of what Horne sees as: *"a fabricated public culture that purports to be the culture not only of the rulers, but of all the people"* (1986 p.184). Other approaches include the integration of arts and urban planning through the adoption of arts, culture and entertainment policies and consideration in unitary development plans, as detailed in Chapters 7,8 and 9.

An arts and urban planning approach to cultural amenity and production may also engage, more naturally, a cultural policy and could also avoid the marked city centre/core and suburban fringe imbalance revealed in this study's examination of disparity of arts facilities both spatially and per capita in outer London Boroughs and in other conurbations. The absence of such policies in the "urban renaissance" strategies by local authorities in the 1980s and 1990s and the examples of regeneration already referred to, suggests that the problems of sustaining the levels of public intervention required for many arts schemes and facilities, and extending such investment to under-developed areas, have been underestimated. This could also be presented as a failure of urban policy itself, and notions of 'trickle down' and multiplier effects and the concept of public and private 'partnership': *"the new right ideology is that of leverage, the use of minimal public resources to prime the private sector pump"* (Shurmer-Smith and Burtenshaw, 1990 p.41).

Some of the most widely discussed British arts and urban regeneration schemes celebrated in the late 1980s have also proved not to be robust or sustainable. Neither Newcastle's Theatre Village (a failed 'flagship' Arts centre and quarter), nor Liverpool's cultural industry strategy (Liverpool City Council, 1987; Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993), have delivered or sustained what was promised. Some which are built upon underlying property development, or substantial local authority funding and continued investment, such as the so far still surviving schemes in Sheffield and Birmingham, are not yet secure nor guaranteed further investment. (Indeed both of these cities propose major cuts to their arts and leisure expenditure budgets in 1995/6 and the following year - CELTS, 1995). Cultural policies and plans for prospective "cities of culture" under the Arts Council's *Arts 2000* and 'Millennium Cities' initiative (p.60 above), as with those which focused solely or primarily on specific sites, city-centres or marginal activities, have so far failed to have an impact on broader policy objectives, or more generally in borough/district and representative

community terms (they are largely 'top-down' in conception and execution). Many of the arts and related regeneration schemes proposed by London local authorities in recent years have been dated and short-term in nature, confirming not only the cultural policy and cultural plan vacuum in London, but also the reactive, initiative-led, rather than active policy and planning environment, within which most London councils operate. This is a trend that has been exacerbated over the past decade due to the lack of either a strategic local or regional authority for London as a whole, or any sort of national cultural policy (or plan - whether distributive or resource-based).

Notwithstanding this hostile political, fiscal and environmental context and the concurrent (and connected) moves towards the privatisation of 'leisure' (Henley Centre, 1990a and 1990b; Martin and Mason, 1993) and a general trend towards: *"social atomisation and the domesticisation of cultural consumption"* (Bianchini, 1993 p.10), the extent of the urban cultural renaissance is perhaps surprising. (Advocacy agencies such as regional arts boards and national arts councils overtly exaggerate and 'hype' its importance and impacts however, in part as a necessary stance in keeping the non-mandatory and 'non-normative' arts activities on policy and resource agendas). The degree to which arts amenity is now considered in regeneration strategies and the level of input to the statutory Development Plan process, reveals a significant impact on London local authority actions, as the study of borough initiatives and 'Arts Culture and Entertainment' (ACE) planning policies detailed in Chapters 7 and 8 show. These responses and policy considerations are nonetheless pragmatic, frequently arbitrary and opportunistic in nature, but are largely a function of the withdrawal of control over local destinies: local taxation and spending powers and the centralisation of urban policy and regional assistance. The current political imperatives of enforced competition and challenge funding for arts and urban investment are anti-planning ('winners and losers') by definition, but demand local planning responses that by their nature require integrated, inter-departmental co-ordination. Within this new agenda the role of the arts officer becomes that of broker: an intermediary in often uneasy private-public partnerships.

From an extremely limited base, and lacking in the quantitative norms of local provision accepted eg. for sports and play facilities, the local economic and planning importance of Arts, Culture and Entertainment - *ACE* - has clearly permeated the town

planning and recreation planning processes in London and in other cities. Rationales are largely environmental (built environment, conservation, transport, access) and economic, as befits the town planning function and concerns. Where attempts to create co-ordinated and integrated policy (or ideally a more comprehensive local cultural policy) are reasonably successful, involving arts and community development, concerns widen to include the cultural brief, to cover for example matters of education and training, cultural diversity and operational issues relevant to cultural facilities and access. These require proper co-ordination at the planning level based on knowledge of existing assets and resources (cultural 'audit' - Steele, 1983) and research into activity, usage, as well as community preferences and 'needs', even competition and change factors (such as demographic, technological and comparatives). This assessment should then be fed into the plan formulation and land-use designation process and regularly reviewed along with revisions to plan policies and evaluation. Such an approach is more evident in some boroughs (as seen in their UDP 'ACE' policies - Chapters 8 and 9), and nationally, in some areas than others (Sheffield, Leeds versus say, Liverpool). There is some convergence developing in the arguments for the establishment of regional and local cultural policies and arts plans, often under the influence of regional arts boards and helped by some successful models in UK regional cities and European and North American case studies (even the short-lived and as yet unproven), and the dissemination and celebration of their impact. This can be seen in the extent of penetration of the Arts Plan concept and of local economic impact studies undertaken elsewhere since the Myerscough and other national and regional studies of the late 1980s (Myerscough, 1989; 1988a-1988d; PSI 1986, Gilhespy, 1991; Arts Business, 1991) as well as similar work in other countries (Comedia, 1991 pp.94-5; Cummings and Katz, 1987 and see also Appendix I). The arts planning process has received validation by both central government and local government associations - the Heritage Department's Guidance for Local Authorities speaks of *"encouraging a planned and strategic approach to arts provision"* (DNH, 1995), whilst the creation of new unitary authorities from within County Councils has suggested that an arts plan and strategy should be drawn up for each authority. As well as the familiar audit and mapping of existing arts activity and resources, including those in non-arts settings (Chapter 6), consideration of the infrastructure for support of local cultural industries is also recommended by the Association for District Councils (ADC, 1995). A wider cultural planning approach is not however expressed in these recent offerings, whilst the opportunities for integrating borough development planning

and arts policies have not been recognised in these cases.

11.2 Evaluation and Impact Measurement - towards a new paradigm

The recognition of the wider impact of, and inter-relationships ('production chain') within the cultural economy, have also informed post-Myerscough research at the national level, for example a newly-commissioned 'Cultural Economy Survey' for the Department of National Heritage (PSI, 1994), the brief for which is much wider than Myerscough's more limited and confused definition of the arts economy and reflecting to some extent past criticism, and for example the wider brief of the study of 'Changing Places: The Arts in Scotland's Urban Areas' (Shaw, 1992). This wider consideration of the impact of the arts also reflects a reassertion of its importance other than in a narrow economic sense, as Hutchison maintains: *"The artistic importance of the arts should provide the keynote for research in the arts in the 1990"* (1990, p.52 and see Hughes, 1989). Reflecting the wider acceptance of the importance of the arts and media industries in economic and planning terms, in recent years two London studies have been commissioned by otherwise unlikely official agencies: the various London Training and Enterprise Councils (STTEC, 1993) and the London Planning Advisory Committee (Urban Cultures Ltd., 1994).

These broad brush assessments of London's arts and cultural industries in social, economic and employment terms are unlikely to adequately reflect local-spatial profiles, as revealed in more general or narrower arts audits (GLA, 1989). Conversely the wider local 'cultural' micro-assessments carried out for this thesis (Islington - Chapter 9; Clerkenwell - Chapter 10) have been recognised for their more catholic approach and significance given to the cultural economy - Worpole considered the initial results of the Islington and Clerkenwell research undertaken for this thesis (Chapters 9 and 10) as: *"to date...the best detailed and quantified analyses we have of just how important the cultural industries are to the successful urban economies"* (Worpole, 1991 p.148[1] and see also Evans, 1994a on Haringey 'Arts and Cultural Industries'). Traditional economic and employment profiles have been shown to understate both the informal arts economy and the fragmented, but industrious work practices which increasingly typify the urban arts and cultural *locale* (Evans, 1994a). As the 1994 report commissioned by the LPAC argues:

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[1] *Trading Places: The City Workshop - Clerkenwell Effect: A Case Study*, on Clerkenwell Crafts Premises and Islington Arts Employment studies undertaken by the author (Evans, 1989; 1990)

"There is a very strong case for conducting primary qualitative research in order to establish, once and for all, a sensitive but rigorous methodology, to define the (creative industries) sub-sectors in ways which reflect their day to day workings, and to achieve fully reliable estimates of turnover and employment which can be reassessed at intervals in the future" (Urban Cultures Ltd., 1994 pp.12-13).

National arts participation surveys also produce confusing and conflicting data, apparently under-stating (General Household Surveys-GHS) or over-stating (Arts Council, 1991) levels of participation and support (see Willis, 1991). The under-recording and under-valuing of participatory, home-based and 'amateur' activity partly explains these differences in the case of the Arts Council methodology: *"Being a member of a choir, taking part in a community play, making pottery, performing in a carnival or religious festival, or being on the planning committee of an arts centre would be...invisible"* (Brinson, 1992 p.73). The GHS's use of household spending as its key criterion under-records both such personal participation (including children) in the arts and attendances at free admission venues and events ('Households' also exclude those in institutions and 'non-domestic' residences, eg. student halls, hostels, barracks etc). Local patterns of participation and attendance will therefore need to be assessed and understood in order to develop local amenity and arts plans, rather than using macro and regional comparative data as the basis for planning.

The unique opportunity provided by the Unitary Development Plan process has seen London authorities focus their attention on both strategic and local planning issues to an extent not previously seen in other urban authorities and cities (for example 'ACE' policies have not featured in the UDPs of provincial cities such as Liverpool, Newcastle or Sheffield). This process, developed out of necessity following the abolition of the GLC, has made possible the interpretation of arts, culture and entertainment policy and provision in land-use planning terms. As Jean Horstman, then Deputy Director of the London Arts Board (and former Project Director of the British American Arts Association 'Urban Regeneration' initiative) argued in 1994:

"Studying a UDP is one way of understanding a borough's long-term goals, UDP 'ACE' policies, along with those policies that impact upon the arts, provide artists and arts organisations with new tools to create opportunities for themselves in a changing local government environment" (Horstman, 1994 p.5).

Although still being developed in practice and biased towards the discipline and mechanisms of environmental planning, a cultural planning approach, at least at a local or town centre level, is now evident in many London boroughs. This situation was unlikely to have come about to the same extent without the intervention and advocacy of the London Planning Advisory Committee and the new regional London Arts Board (with the groundwork undertaken by its predecessor, Greater London Arts) and individual proponents (Appendix VI). This response, as has been described earlier, was as much a reaction to London's diminishing 'world city' position nationally and internationally and to the inroads being made by other cities (UK, Continent, North America) in relation to urban regeneration, tourism and cultural industries policies.

Further evaluative research will be required to monitor and assess the implementation and robustness of these UDP arts and related policies over the life of the plan. Bianchini (1993 p.207) notes the *"dearth of comparative knowledge and research on the richness of policy-making experiences and traditions at city level"* and calls for *"new methodologies and indicators...to measure the impact of cultural policies and activities in terms of quality of life, social cohesion and community development"* (Bianchini, 1993 p.212; and see Bianchini, 1994 p.16). Such approaches and measurements require a more sophisticated range of methods than the short-term or quantitative economic impact techniques traditionally used, but which are still the pre-requisites for political and financial evaluation of 'success' and 'returns': *"The cost-benefit equation is easier when culture itself is turned into an industry"* (Von Eckardt, 1982 p.125). Attempts at creating a more holistic "quality of life index", including "culture", have been developed by 'green think tank' the New Economics Foundation. Their recent survey of Britain ranked Greater London as lowest in overall quality of life terms, though for "Culture" it ranked highest (because of London's concentration of national cultural facilities). The difficulty in integrating culture into quality of life indicators was however acknowledged (including problems of defining cultural activity), with such league-table comparisons looking to the 'lowest common denominator', the number of traditional cultural facilities, such as exhibition spaces, cinemas, theatres and concert halls (see Focas et al, 1995).

Techniques such as environmental impact assessment (though widened to include aesthetic and cultural impacts), social enterprise audit, alternative economics (Daly and

Cobb, 1989) and local ('citizen') accountability, may in future offer more holistic models of measurement and evaluation of cultural-inspired urban regeneration and planning. The problems involved in cross-cultural (and even inter-regional) comparison also require greater consideration, against convergence theory and league-table comparisons: what are the effects of Britain's historic, high density of urbanisation for instance, when compared with other European countries (Aitchison, 1992; Evans, 1993b). The influence of English as the de facto 'official' world language has been noted earlier, as has the Anglo-American concentration of global cultural trade in advertising, publishing and the music industries (King, 1990). These differences inform and constrain cultural planning approaches, alongside socio-cultural and historical evolutions and inherited facilities and patterns, as demonstrated in Clerkenwell and other urban areas. London's new and old communities, its continuing diaspora; nationally and internationally, and London's position as a cultural capital and centre for 'sub-cultures' and media and cultural production, alongside the ebb and flow of visitor activity and global capital formation, all resist traditional British 'spatial' planning, as well as Continental or North American planning approaches (based on much lower density of population), although successful aspects of both of these can be adapted and straightforward mechanisms applied (eg. in areas such as licensing hours and urban design).

Outside of the globalised, post-modern analysis and macro arts and social policies, this study has attempted to provide a critique of the primacy that should be given to local planning, within a strategic framework, and drawing on spatial 'human geography', and on notions of both cultural democracy and of production and consumption combined (versus an exclusive view of one or the other, or an oppositional view of the two, whether Marxist or market oriented). A return to greater local democracy and fiscal powers, through local government reorganisation that is now being called for, and the establishment of Trust Councils[2], may offer hope for the more successful delivery and survival of arts policy and plans, which have generally not proven to be sustainable in the decade of the 'Glory of the Garden' (1984 to 1994).

The lack of a strategic policy and planning dimension in London still persists,

[2] Confidential Whitehall papers leaked to the Local Government Chronicle planned *"to reinvigorate local government"*. Criteria for Trust Council status include winning a City Challenge competition; the existence of a development plan for the whole Borough and budgets kept below Standard Spending Assessments between 1991 and 1994 (*Ministers to give councils greater freedom*, Travis, A., The Guardian 16th July 1994)

however, and notwithstanding a greater plan-led land-use and resource allocation system, this absence weakens these new foundations and opportunities. This perhaps confirms the anti-urban tradition perpetuated in modern British town planning and design. As Bird comments in 1993, this is in continued contrast to cities in other countries:

> *"City life in Britain has never conveyed the alluring resonances of the great centres of European modernism-Paris, Barcelona, Madrid, Milan, Hamburg, or the glittering but brittle spectacles of American urbanization. Neither the left or the right has laid claim to the city as a site for the construction of subjectivity and political identity other than as the backdrop for the enactment of ritual and tradition: the ceremonial commemoration of privilege, national identity or loss"* (p.121).

The plethora of ad hoc London-wide governmental agencies, consortia and interest groups (an estimated sixty quangos and committees - Cowan, 1990 p.30) attests to the need for strategic (or in town planning terms 'structure') planning in the capital, and for this to be under democratic control, not that of: *"the 'new magistracy', the great and the good whose honourable intentions do not somehow need to be tested at the ballot box, or though periodic re-election"* (Worpole, 1991 pp.164-5). Indeed, London is already disadvantaged with regard to the adoption of the master-planning that had driven land-use and cultural planning in Paris, Toronto, Frankfurt, and to a certain extent in unitary authorities elsewhere in the UK (especially Birmingham, Manchester and Sheffield). The present government has however consistently denied the need for such reforms: *"'It is for the Government to provide guidance on those matters which must be dealt with on a London-wide basis'* (DoEn, 1989a p.21), though as Cowan retorted: *"But no-one has yet come up with a convincing justification of why this should be so"* (1990 p.30). The market-led policy that has accelerated the loss of amenity and cultural production at the micro-level is likely to be both inefficient and fragmented in the allocation of scarce resources (an example of market *and* public policy failures), notwithstanding the benefits to local planning afforded by unitary status in individual London Boroughs.

The need for an overview of London's arts planning needs was recognised by Greater London Arts in launching the 'Arts Plan for London' (GLA, 1990) and in the development of planning guidelines for arts, culture and entertainment facilities by the London Planning Advisory Committee (LPAC, 1990). The former now sits pigeon-holed in the twilight zone occupied by virtually all post-war arts strategies all-too-quickly superseded by reactive

administrative and policy change (Wilding, 1989). The abolition of first the GLC and then ILEA in London, and the new political attitudes that marked the use of a more Right-wing arts policy agenda (Marwick, 1991; Pick, 1991), contributed to the failure of 'The Glory of the Garden' strategy to loosen the metropolis' grip on arts funding and attention. The outgoing Chief Executive of the London Arts Board also decries this flood of bureaucratic 'plans':

> *"Although the great warhorse, **A Creative Future**, has already been confined to barracks, marauding regiments of mission statements, common aims, strategies, plans and reports still beset the arts funding system. No one can be against responsible planning, but not infrequently over the past four years, it has seemed that procedures have almost become an end in themselves"* (Mason, 1995 p.5).

These shifting sands of arts (from 'The Glory of the Garden' 1984 onwards) and urban policy initiatives undermine a planning framework which, by definition, requires at least a medium term period and scheme of implementation to be both effective and adequately assessed.

The same lesson can be learnt at the national level in relation to the National Arts and Media Strategy. Carried out between 1990 and 1993, the Strategy team's final report 'A Creative Future', took a comprehensive view of the needs and opportunities for arts development and promotion[3], and at least acknowledged the value of local arts planning, notably the London *ACE* approach (Arts Council, 1993 p.115). However, the document's impact has been marginalised and again superseded by political expediency and change, as new policy prerogatives and financial constraints persist and avoidance of a zero base budget exercise is again ensured. Such an exercise would require the justification of the disproportionate share of arts subsidy to a few national venues and established art forms, despite declining audiences. For the remainder of the decade the arts are being encouraged to look towards the National Lottery - Arts, Heritage and Millennium Funds, as the panacea for arts capital funding, for leaking roofs, library books (eg. National Theatre, V & A Museum, British Museum and Library) and unfulfilled plans. The allocation of arts and heritage Lottery funds, via the Arts Council, (including film and crafts), the National Heritage Memorial Fund and the Millennium Commission, lacks any planning or distributive

[3] On its own admission, 'A Creative Future' was a *"Statement (of) an agreed policy framework rather than a strategy in the technical sense. It answers questions 'Where to?' and 'Why', not..'How'?"* (Arts Council, 1993 p.2)

framework, other than an unwritten political 'spreading of the cake', and ignores the revenue implications of new and expanded facilities[4] (see *Postscript* below). Both the London and other regional and County arts plans, and the policy statements of the Arts Council, have all been 'top down' in approach and generally prescriptive in form. Stark (1994 p.12) notes that the Arts Council *"has usually called its own documents (such as)* ***The Glory of the Garden and A Creative Future*** *- strategies not plans. The distinction, whilst not always easy to grasp, has been argued to be of great significance"*. In the definitions of 'planning' outlined in the Introduction to this thesis (Chapter 1), strategic planning infers both the development of a macro-level strategy (in terms of policy and resources needed to meet strategic aims) and a plan by which arts resources are then allocated and distributed. The arts and cultural planning approaches expounded in this thesis also seek to link the macro and micro-levels (national and regional, local) and widen the scope of facility provision and arts development to areas of infrastructure ('hard' and 'soft', eg. training). This encompasses matters of urban design - artists input and public realm, safety and access; the relationships between arts and cultural activities through the 'production chain', participation and consumption/attendance, and the distribution of arts facilities and 'scale hierarchies' of provision. The susceptibility of the limited 'strategic' documents which have been forthcoming from the arts policy-makers and establishment, to being overtaken or ignored by both political and artistic communities, is a measure of this fundamental flaw, as Torkildsen also notes: *"Strategic Planning invites the response that much planning is not strategic. Indeed, the way in which many leisure facilities have been developed has been ad hoc, opportunistic, or by legislative enabling"* (1994 p.34)

11.3 A case for arts planning norms and standards?

A central objective of this thesis has been to critically examine the arguments and rationales in favour of recognising planning norms in relation to the provision of arts facilities, which can be recognised and used in both town planning and arts planning contexts, parallel to those long accepted for recreation and other amenities. In this context the examination of different models of arts planning also includes the related but wider notion of urban cultural

[4] The final Policy Directions (June 1994) for the National Lottery allow the distributing bodies to set up, in some circumstances, endowments for Lottery-funded projects to cover the running costs and maintenance of new/extended facilities though this was apparently included to cover the National Heritage Memorial Fund's traditional funding of maintenance endowments for National Trust property and land purchases, rather than for any extension of such practice (Arts Council, 1994)

planning, as defined in the Introduction to this thesis. The system of targeted planning norms and controls have been reaffirmed under the new (ie. post-GLC abolition) planning regime, with Planning Policy Guidance (PPG) Notes issued by the Environment Department for Sport and Recreation; Tourism; Archaeology and Town Centres[5]. Different methodologies used for amenity planning have been detailed in Chapter 6, which draw on spatial, 'gross demand' and other modelling and forecasting techniques. In particular the *hierarchy* and *production chain* concepts have been developed over the years in relation to both local and strategic arts amenity and facilities, and in cultural production and distribution. The development of 'model policies' for the Arts, Culture and Entertainment ('ACE') for borough land-use plans has also been assessed.

Borough plans, whilst recognising and accepting arts facilities as essential elements of local amenity (and this has not always been the case in the past), have in some cases extended this argument to encompass cultural industries, production/services and other economic (eg. tourism) development considerations. Related to these are the underlying public/merit good rationales for such provision, although arguably private 'ownership' and operation of arts and entertainment facilities and resources in no way precludes the need for planning. In this sense planning is neutral since a balanced and sustainable distribution of arts, culture and entertainment for a given area must encompass all provision and land-use, irrespective of provider or owner. Matters of equity and access will continue to be the prime concern of social and arts policy (at central and local government levels) through subsidy, pricing and other mechanisms, since planning alone cannot ensure or provide for this. However the town planning and related economic development system has a role through development planning and zoning, in protecting and promoting public use of spaces and mixed-use of buildings (eg.cultural quarters, conservation areas) and consequently mediating in land and property-valuations (eg. public recreational land, managed work spaces, live-work studios), as well the creative use of infrastructure, arts and cultural planning approaches detailed in this thesis (Chapters 9 and 10).

Reconciling public provision, arts amenity and commercial development imperatives

[5] Revision to Planning Policy Guidance 6 by the Department of the Environment (1996) seeks to revitalise town centres, discouraging cars and checking further out-of-town development. The PPG says that local authorities should plan for nearly all new development, offices and leisure schemes as well as retail, to be located in town centres and where there is still a case for outside sites, tests on the availability of public transport should be applied by planners.

is a difficult task, even within a robust planning framework. Where planning and public intervention is weakened, the dominance of the market through commercial property development and global capital flows, is at the cost of small business, including artist and crafts person and public amenity. This was evident in Clerkenwell and in other areas of London (Chapter 10), including high profile urban development areas of London Docklands and other UK cities. The market model of 'cultural consumption' (ie. commodification), by definition emphasises market catchment and penetration, increasingly predicated on travel 'drive-time' estimates (and car ownership) together with visitor spending profiles and propensities, while in the case of cultural products (such as records, CDS, arts and crafts, broadcast and print media) it emphasises distribution channels and networks. 'Market failure' in such models is assessed and focused not just in the economic sense of failure to meet public policy and equity goals (such as discernable 'public good', disability or 'minority' group access and the "quality" of the cultural experience itself), but also failure to develop a sustainable strategy to counter the effects and cycle of economic recession, property values, fickle changes in fashion and the footloose nature of capital investment.

Such arguments are used from public service broadcasting to museums, from opera to ethnic arts, as well as in the efficiency and distributive sense, where critical mass/synergy and image-promotion benefits both private and public sector organisations through audience development (as in the concepts of 'marketing' and community development in the Arts - Arts Council, 1993 pp.64-71). These 'public' and 'private' sectors, although driven by different rationales and ethos, are not however exclusive or necessarily in opposition. Indeed, an integrated cultural planning approach would seek to develop the synergy between the two (*viz* production chain links). For example private-public partnerships or joint promotions which benefit private as well as subsidised organisations, although they are predominantly publicly funded, include arts marketing consortia[6], Tourism Board initiatives (Tourist Information Centres; cultural tourism strategies, eg. Bradford - Arts Council, 1991; Humberside - YHTB, 1990; Discover Islington, 1992) and town and city promotion efforts, including town centre managers (LPAC, 1993 pp.21-22, LTB, 1991; Greene Belfield-Smith, 1991).

[6]For example: *Arts about Manchester*; *Cardiff Arts Marketing*; *Solent Arts Marketing*, *Scottish Arts Marketing*, London Arts and Tourist Boards' *Beyond the West End* and cf. Amsterdam's *Uit* Bureau (Evans, 1993a)

Equating arts planning with equalisation of provision, as epitomised in 'The Glory of the Garden' and both earlier and subsequent 'Every Town should Have One' proponents, continues to draw severe criticism however. *"Liverpool is not London"* says Pick (1991 p.81) and 'more means less' (Amis) while the fundamental distinction between *loisir* and other social welfare provision persists: *"leisure cannot be equated with education, medicine and shelter as a state function because there is an inherent contradiction in the planning on which the welfare state must depend on the one hand and the freedom necessarily entailed in true leisure on the other"* (Wilson, 1988 p.118). For 'leisure' here one could also substitute 'culture' or 'artistic creativity', however again this resistance to the notion of 'welfare planning' misses the point. For example the provision of venues for performing and visual arts, both to host local and touring productions and exhibitions and the opportunity for local cultural production (*viz* Sheffield's arts and media quarter), are non-controversial aims, if the amenity and 'rights' arguments are accepted. Why should a Liverpudlian not have local access to symphonic music, international art exhibitions, 32-track recording studio and more: all things a Londoner takes for granted?

Ten years on from the 'Glory of the Garden', the timespan of its 'strategic' horizon, the Arts Council was still distributing 27% of its total expenditure to the London-based 'nationals', a reduction of only 2%, compared with 29% in 1971-72. Though Regional Arts Board allocations now account for 18%, compared with 3% in 1971-72 (Arts Council Annual Reports, 1971-72; 1993-94), much the greater part of this change has been the "devolution" of funding for larger regional theatres, orchestras and other "clients" from the Arts Council to the RABs, though usually with "ring-fenced" grants. Devolution therefore has been largely at the cost of directly funded drama and music, rather than a shift of existing or "new" money to the regions. The development of regional cultural capitals in major conurbations (eg. Manchester, Birmingham - Arts Council, 1993 p.113) and the resurgence of theatres and museums, presupposes further audience development and participation. A purely expansionist policy, fuelled by Lottery and Challenge bids, risks over-supply, or at least an imbalance between the supply and demand for arts venues and facilities, with growing competition for both artistic 'product' and audiences. The testing of the location and viability of new and restored 'flagships' will be played out largely beyond the reach and concern of all but a small minority of 'actors', mainly footloose artists, administrators and city bureaucrats. However, it is at the local level and in the 'hierarchy' of arts provision that

the need for arts planning and norms is most compelling.

In this thesis parallels have been drawn between the planning and development of sports and arts facilities, contrasting the former's benefits from planning standards, including norms of provision. There are however differences in the impact of spatial considerations in sports provision: *"People make longer journeys to specialist facilities such as theatres, leisure pools and ice rinks, than to libraries, traditional swimming pools and sports halls"* (Torkildsen, 1994 p.35 and see Veal, 1982 and Chapter 6 above). Whilst demand motivation and influences on the usage of arts and other amenities is complex and varied, these appear to include prior exposure and education (Morrison and West, 1986), the influence of the availability and the 'supply-led' nature of local participation ('You cannot play golf without access to a golf course' - Stark, 1993 p.14). However, much of this appears to be lost on traditional leisure and town planners: *"planners tend to deal with land and leisure managers tend to deal with people"* (Torkildsen, 1994 p.34). More accurately, leisure managers have traditionally concentrated on *facilities* (Veal, 1982).

The absence of arts norms and the consequent patchy distribution of facilities both between different regions and within them, has contributed to participation patterns and expectations that are in contrast with those in Sports. Perhaps the basic policy difference lies in the fact that in sport there is traditionally equal focus on excellence and on participation and amateur activity, whilst as Stark recently argued: *"The roots of the absence of a national policy for participation in the arts can be found in the decision of the Arts Council, shortly after it was founded, to focus exclusively on the professional in the arts"* (Stark, 1994 p.8).

Stark continues by rejecting the idea of a 'single model' of arts provision, but argues instead for a 'mix of opportunities, facilities, services and equipment to be available in every locality and accessible to all'. The concept of a national map (*Millennial Map*, Arts Council, 1993b) or plan for the location of concert halls, repertory theatres, independently curated galleries or national dance agencies is <u>not</u> supported (rejecting the ill-fated Arts Council and later RAA models), instead the hierarchy argument is put forward: *"the importance of such facilities and their place in the pyramid of opportunity"* (Stark, 1994 p.16).

Whilst rigid standards are also rejected, flexible guidelines on levels of cultural activity for each 'family' of authorities, to achieve a level playing field within authorities, are suggested by Stark and others, including local government associations (eg. Association of Metropolitan Authorities - AMA) with the specification of minimum standards which should be acceptable in any chosen development. The support for a range of arts planning standards is closely linked (although not exclusively) to calls for mandatory levels of arts provision and local authority spending: *"The creation of a statutory responsibility [of local authorities] would ensure that people are not denied arts opportunities merely because of where they live"* (Arts Council, 1993 p.40). Brinson in his inquiry into 'Arts in Communities' takes up this point, but says more realistically: *"It means establishing not necessarily direct provision but the obligation to ensure that there is adequate provision...using a wide variety of providers, and encouraging the sharing of resources"* (Brinson, 1992 p.74). Over a decade ago the House of Commons Select Committee on Education, Science and the Arts concluded thus:

> *"evidence to the Committee overwhelmingly supported the imposition of a statutory duty on the local authorities with respect to the arts...we recommend that local authorities should be given a statutory responsibility to ensure that all levels and ages of the community shall have access to the arts in regard to both to need and to expressed interest"* (House of Commons Paper 49, Vol.I , 1982)

Critics of the establishment of mandatory levels and typologies of arts provision maintain that the adoption of minimum standards will result in a "levelling down" of local authority arts provision and spending (a view held by the Association of County Councils - ACC and see Feist, 1995). Arguably, minimum levels of provision such as those established for more than 30 years for Libraries by the Public Libraries and Museums Act 1964[7], and even National Curriculum standards, are not in fact being met by some library authorities: this has increasingly been the case over the period of public spending decline through the 1980s and 1990s, hence in practice such 'standards' afford no protection (since they are not enforced by the Secretary of State in whom the statutory default powers rest). The Library

[7] This charged local authorities in England and Wales with a duty to provide: *"a comprehensive and efficient [Library] service for all persons who live, work or study in an authority's area"*. Guidelines on levels of provision were established in the late 1960s by the Department of Education on the advice of an official Advisory Council. The funding of public libraries is taken into account in the 'Other Services' block of the government's Standard Spending Assessment (SSA), and allocations are supposed to be based on these minimum levels of provision, which cover both spatial (library distribution) and service level (eg. book stock, opening hours) criteria of provision.

Association (1995) point to the decline in opening hours, the falling number of public libraries and decline in book purchase budgets - down 8% between 1983 and 1993. The capital needs of public libraries in England and Wales are estimated at £611 million by the Federation of Local Authority Chief Librarians (op.cit.). In schools the minimum required level of Physical Education (including 'Dance') of 2 hours per week up the age of 14 years is not being met in 75% of secondary schools in England and Wales (Secondary Heads Association, 1994).

However, based on the distribution of local authority spending patterns for 1992/93 in practice almost half of total English local government revenue spending on the Arts is concentrated in just 10% of authorities (Feist and Dix, 1994). A similar survey of local authority arts spending the following year stressed the vulnerability of discretionary areas of expenditure in terms of declining budgets and led some respondent authorities to argue that the adoption of a statutory duty for the arts would bring about a more secure funding environment within the context of local decision making (Marsh and White, 1995). A statutory duty, it was argued, would therefore result, in their opinion, in a "levelling up" of arts spending by the current large majority of "under-spending" authorities. This would then reinforce planning norms of arts provision in each area as for other recreation amenities.

The exposed position of discretionary arts funding in difficult financial times has been noted, not least in London Boroughs, and the central government Standard Spending Assessment (SSA) no longer identifies or recognises either actual or notional local government arts spending as such: arts spending is now grouped in an "Other Services Block" covering an extra-ordinary range of services, totalling more than £5 billion per year. The lack of norms of provision also lowers expectations and accountability. The draft Performance Indicators for leisure provision proposed under the Citizens Charter (Audit Commission, 1993) cover all forms of recreation, play and museums. However, arts provision (other than art galleries) is not mentioned - the absence of norms and targets appears to confirm the view of the arts as strictly peripheral and therefore denies their local amenity status.

One variation on the campaign for the introduction of a statutory duty to fund the arts has been to link it explicitly to an imperative for authorities to develop effective arts policies and plans (DNH, 1995; ADC, 1995). A recent call for a planning-based statutory

duty recommended the development of a local leisure plan (Cooper, 1995). This suggestion would fit with the promotion of an urban cultural planning approach, with such a Leisure Plan forming a component part of the local development plan (UDP) and including an authority's policies on the arts both in terms of facilities and services. The absence of coherent arts policies in many authorities was noted in the Audit Commission's report on 'Local Authorities, Entertainment and the Arts' (1991 and see Worpole, 1994) and the inconsistency in local arts planning has also been mentioned (VAN, 1994 - Chapter 8 above).

Similarly the Museums and Galleries Commission (MGC) originally addressed the issue of museum services becoming a mandatory service (MGC, 1991) but at that time the Working Party held the view that it would not be practicable to impose on all local authorities a mandatory duty to provide and maintain museums. Since then the Commission has adopted an approach which emphasises that authorities should be given a statutory duty to develop formal museum policies: *"Local authorities should have a duty to ensure adequate cultural provision and they should be required to publish museum policies which are subject to formal review at least every three years"* (MGC, 1994). The differing position on arts provision in Scotland has also been mentioned. The 1982 Local Government and Planning (Scotland) Act states that: "[a] *district council shall ensure that there is adequate provision for facilities for the inhabitants of their area for...cultural and social activities"* (Part II Section 14-19). 'Adequate', as in library and other statutory provision duties is not, however, defined or prescribed. Under the restructuring of local government and introduction of single-tier ("unitary") authorities in Scotland, the Local Government Scotland Act (1994) restated that councils shall have a duty to ensure adequate provision of cultural activities and library services in their areas. Significantly the original use of the word 'facilities' was not used since this was felt by local authorities to suggest a solely building-based approach to provision (touring and outreach work being particularly important for remoter areas: highlands and islands of Scotland), as distinct from an imperative to encourage activities, or support performance or participation. The new Act also allowed local authorities to fund regional or national bodies which exist to promote 'strategic' cultural facilities or activities (Chapter 6) irrespective of whether located inside or outside the local authority area concerned.

What is emerging here, from various sources and interests and in the light of the planning approaches assessed and developed in this thesis, is an integrated approach and inter-dependency between arts and cultural *policy*, *provision* and *planning*, both in principle and in practice. None of these in isolation is likely (or has in the past) managed to achieve or sustain their potential for cultural equity and development, or reached an efficient and effective solution in resource terms. The extension of the notion of arts and cultural planning also widens the definition and consideration of the arts within modern urban social, environmental and economic spheres.

11.4 Planning for the Arts - Cultural Democracy

In London the main focus for arts input to urban regeneration and local plans has been the Borough, within a regional, 'strategic' and national framework (if not *policy* or *plan*), and which is still the level at which planning control, development and amenity is administered, despite centralisation of spending powers over the past 15 years. However, defining *local* is problematic, particularly where arts facility planning, and concepts such as cultural democracy and consumption and communities of interest/neighbourhood are concerned. Stark (1994) proposes planning on the basis of the catchment area of a Secondary School, or a population of no more than, say, 8,000 in an urban area. Hierarchies of provision as developed in Chapter 6 (and see Evans, 1994a; Evans and Shaw, 1992; Veal, 1982) offer a model of a local *production chain* that may be used as a basis for local cultural planning, incorporating education, community, commercial factors and other resources, in relation to both existing provision (formal and informal) and to unmet needs and aspirations. A more flexible resource base, as developed by arts and media centres and managed work spaces, also avoids the prescription and limitations of the single-use, designated arts venue, and are more suitable for production and participation, technological and artistic development and a degree of mobility and outreach (eg. expertise and equipment).

Whilst policy and planning approaches have been assessed and arguments for a greater spatial and integration of arts and town planning put forward, the notion of equity in access and participation in the arts and cultural expression also presupposes a democratic system capable of responding to and meeting local needs - community and artistic. An early twentieth century 'consociational democratic' model is provided by the Law of Cultural Self-Government for national minorities adopted in Estonia in 1925. This gave any 'minority'

larger than 3,000 the right to claim cultural autonomy and to set up elected Councils, which had the right to legislate in the educational and cultural fields (schools, libraries, 'heritage') and to raise taxes (Lipjhart, 1977). Whilst such a unilateral declaration of cultural independence may be unrealistic (although cultural and regional independence is a late-20th century phenomenon), a reassertion of ownership of cultural amenity through policy and planning is possible, and indeed a goal which arts planning standards may facilitate. Simon Jenkins (1995 p.257), writing on the centralisation of British government from the 1980s, notes that the French central-state example is: *"no longer relevant...Communes and mayors enjoy wide discretion in planning and local budgets...The same is true in Italy, Spain and Portugal"*, and he also compares the Scandinavian "free commune" system and German länder, with power of veto and 'opt out' from national legislation - that is, subsidiarity in action. The adoption of greater plan-led national and regional land-use and economic development systems on the Continent was noted earlier in this thesis in Chapter 3.

At the micro level, where resource allocation processes impact on both short term and crucial investment decisions, a *zero base budget* (ZBB) exercise by a local authority or regional arts board may appear pointless and a recipe for trouble. The attempt at rationalising London's four revenue-funded symphony orchestras in 1993 produced the classic compromise: *"Clearly there is no planning for our music provision at all"* (Tait, 1993 p.1). However, only such an exercise, even if initially hypothetical, may genuinely assess artistic and community 'need' against resources and provision, and the formulation of plans. Without this we are otherwise stuck with the inheritance of past preferences (moral judgements - 'public good', externalities) and paternalism, and which act as a block to responsive planning and living culture. As Roberts observed over twenty years ago (1974):

> *"The justification of the choice of activities undertaken by authorities is little more than historical accident plus the concept of 'worthy' leisure...private enterprise has offered us the frisbee, grouse shooting and Summerland, while Epping Forest, the Festival Hall and our local tennis courts are by courtesy of the public purse"* (p.10)

Starting with a clean sheet in the resource allocation process ("zero base budget") may of course be threatening to existing interests and grant recipients. However the exercise itself may require and produce a more serious evaluation of commitments and interests whose status is otherwise unquestioned and who effectively block new initiatives and needs ('heritage and classics' versus contemporary and popular culture). The attempts to reduce

their client portfolio has led some regional arts boards (including London) to use more rigorous assessment (including social versus artistic and economic criteria) based on arts planning rather than inherited arts provision and levels of grant aid:

> *"Despite the technical difficulties of setting up Zero Base Budgeting, its virtues compare favourably with the old style planning in local authorities...Perhaps the most regrettable weakness of traditional budgets is that they pay no regard to alternative ways in which resources could be used and, as such, many valuable developments are passed by as the budgeting juggernaut rolls on"* (Johnson and Scholes, 1989 p.250)

There is plainly a widening gap between public arts/good and private 'urban' consumption: failure to address this risks arts policy and agency being passed over in the continued trend towards the polarisation of participation and for example the focus on "fortress home" (MINTEL, 1994; Henley 1985 and 1990b). The irony of the position of the London-based orchestras, above, should not be lost, since the hegemony and 'Glory' arguments (Pick, after Titmus, 1988) for state support are pitched against this trend away from public participation to private consumption: *"Orchestras 'lack audiences not fans'...Average classical music lover prefers to listen at home...Can new means be found to lure them from their couches?"* (Ellison, 1994 p.3 on the joint Arts Council/BBC report into orchestral provision).

Mumford, writing at the 'birth' of the modern town and arts planning systems at the end of World War II argues that the fundamental issue of needs must be resolved before plans can be developed. Half a century later, perhaps urban arts and cultural planning in the post-industrial era should look first at the "life-needs" of the arts and cultural expression in the urban situation. Only then will it be possible to develop strategic plans and achieve more equitable resource allocation for the arts and create urban policies and local plans that are cultural in scope, but human in dimension. Mumford's plea of 1945 is still applicable today:

> *"The technical and economic studies that have engrossed city planners to the exclusion of every other element in life, must in the coming era take second place to primary studies of the needs of persons and groups. Subordinate questions - the spatial separation of industry and domestic life, or the number of houses per acre-cannot be settled intelligently until more fundamental problems are answered;* ***What sort of personality do we seek to foster and nurture? What kind of common life? What is the order of preference in our life-needs?"*** **(my emphasis,** quoted in Olsen, 1982, p.12)

The separation of social, cultural and economic activities has been a feature of modern town and master planning, which too neatly split into functional categories 'working, living, recreation and circulation' ('infrastructure'). This machine model was in retrospect too coarse; its geometry too crude to aid the fine-grained growth, decline and renaissance of urban life (Jencks, 1996). The notion of planning for the arts within a town, and specifically urban planning framework as presented in this thesis, places social and cultural needs at the centre of the physical planning process. Fifty years from the foundation of both modern town planning and the creation of the Arts Council and formalised policies for the support of the arts, the importance of a strategic and more integrated approach to the provision of cultural amenity should not be underestimated. Such models offer the realisation and retention of opportunities for collective participation and consumption and the improved equity and access to arts provision and experience. Arts development, cultural democracy and recognition of the urban social and economic context therefore equally underpin the arts planning approach presented in this thesis, against social, economic and technological change that renders traditional town planning and prescriptive arts policy ineffective. As the *fin de siècle* approaches, Eric Hobsbawm, in 'The Short Twentieth Century', writes on the "triumph" of the individual over a more organised and collective society, where *"roles were prescribed if not always written"* (1995 p.334):

> *"The cultural revolution of the later twentieth century can...be understood as the triumph of the individual over society, or rather, the breaking of the threads which in the past had woven human beings into social textures..such textures had consisted not only of the actual relations between human beings and their forms of organization but also of the general models of such relations and the expected patterns of people's behaviour...".*

This thesis has presented an arts planning paradigm applicable to urban planning, having critiqued both town planning and arts policy impacts, rationales and relationships. The effectiveness and formulation of policy and intervention, and the external forces and political economy that have dictated and shaped the urban environment (Castells, 1977), have been evaluated in the responses to the contemporary urban renaissance from local authorities, arts agencies and organisations. If arts and cultural expression are "rights" and their provision and practice are to be of continued importance to urban society, the planning of arts and culture to meet community needs, and the responses and understanding of the "threads" of human relations in this fragmented scenario, surely warrant recognition and support.