

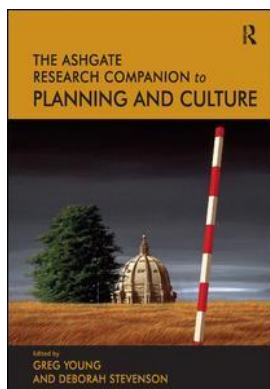
This article was downloaded by: 10.3.97.143

On: 08 Dec 2023

Access details: *subscription number*

Publisher: *Routledge*

Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: 5 Howick Place, London SW1P 1WG, UK



The Ashgate Research Companion to Planning and Culture

Greg Young, Deborah Stevenson

Case Study Window – Cultural Quarters and Urban Regeneration

Publication details

<https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9781315613390.ch20>

John Montgomery

Published online on: 30 Sep 2013

How to cite :- John Montgomery. 30 Sep 2013, *Case Study Window – Cultural Quarters and Urban Regeneration from: The Ashgate Research Companion to Planning and Culture* Routledge

Accessed on: 08 Dec 2023

<https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9781315613390.ch20>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR DOCUMENT

Full terms and conditions of use: <https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/legal-notices/terms>

This Document PDF may be used for research, teaching and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproductions, re-distribution, re-selling, loan or sub-licensing, systematic supply or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden.

The publisher does not give any warranty express or implied or make any representation that the contents will be complete or accurate or up to date. The publisher shall not be liable for an loss, actions, claims, proceedings, demand or costs or damages whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with or arising out of the use of this material.

Case Study Window – Cultural Quarters and Urban Regeneration

John Montgomery

Cultural Quarters

The urban quarter is a city-within-a-city ... it contains the qualities and features of the whole. The urban quarter provides for all the periodic local (daily and weekly) urban functions within a limited piece of land dimensioned on the comfort of a walking citizen, not exceeding 33 hectares in surface and 10,000 inhabitants. Urban functions are zoned block-wise, plot-wise or floor-wise. An urban quarter must have a centre and a well-defined, readable limit. (Krier 1995)

Cities, their economies and artistic development are inextricably interlinked. Without new work, a diverse division of labour, networks of exporting and producer services and technological innovation, cities become stagnant and may even die. To innovate, however, cities must be creative, in the development and application of new technologies, in bringing new goods and services to the market, and in the wider culture and artistic development (Bontje, Musterd and Pelzer 2011, Montgomery 2007).

Economic prosperity in the future will be dominated by city regions, larger cities but also smaller cities that are 'smart' and which 'punch above their weight'. Many cities and their regions are gearing up to compete as international centres for culture, fashion, finance and innovation. A major weapon in this battle is the quality of life, sense of place and way of living in a city. The cultural life of the city is thus not an add-on but a key point of difference, a specialism. For culture is the means by which cities express identity, character, uniqueness, make positive statements about themselves, what they are, what they do and where they are going. It also, increasingly, is one of the ways they make their living (Florida 2002, Landry 2000). Without a serious commitment to developing its creative economy, a city will be lacking one of the determinants of success (Montgomery 2007). (See also, Miller, and O'Connor, Chapters 3 and 10, this volume.) Cultural quarters are one means of helping to achieve this. (See also, Stevenson, and Sasaki, Chapters 9 and 12, this volume.)

The more recent meaning of the term cultural quarter dates from the early 1980s in the United States, for example in Pittsburgh and Lexington, MA (see Florida 2002: 304–14, and Whitt 1987). Cultural Quarters were proposed in the UK as long ago as 1987 by organizations such as the British American Arts Association (BAAA 1989) and the cultural consultancy Comedia (Bianchini et al. 1988). Culturally-led urban development began to appear as a concept in the urban planning literature from the late 1980s (see Boogarts 1990, Griffiths 1991, Montgomery 1990). Internationally, Sydney is now beginning to get in on the act, with creative industries only recently being taken seriously as economic sectors. The NSW Business Sector Growth Plan (2010) sets out a strategy for developing the creative industries economy in Sydney and across New South Wales. This includes promoting Sydney as a ‘digital hub’, a *Digital Media Initiative*, financial and business support for small creative enterprises, and the development of creative precincts at Walsh Bay, Ultimo and Sydney’s Inner West. In Europe, examples now include the Cable Factory in Helsinki, the Westergasfabriek in Amsterdam, Circus Space in Belfast (Figure 20.1), Wood Green’s chocolate factory, Marseilles’s cigarette factory, Berlin’s Brueri and more. Boston has its MASS MoCA, opened in 1999, and there is now even a similar complex at Factory 798 in Beijing.



Figure 20.1 Circus Space in Belfast

Source: John Montgomery.

Table 20.1 is a summary of the elements one would expect to find in a successful cultural quarter. These are presented under three sub-headings: *Activity*, *Form and Meaning*. It is important to stress that a good cultural quarter would contain a unique mixture of these elements. Thus a place which has good *Activity* but an inappropriate *Urban Form* will not be a cultural quarter in the sense of being a good place which attracts

Table 20.1 Cultural quarters: necessary conditions and success factors

Activity
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • diversity of primary and secondary land uses • extent and variety of cultural venues • presence of an evening economy, including café culture • strength of small-firm economy, including creative businesses • access to education providers • presence of festivals and events • availability of workspaces for artists and low-cost cultural producers • small-firm economic development in the cultural sectors • managed workspaces for office and studio users • location of arts development agencies and companies • arts and media training and education • complementary day-time and evening uses
Built Form
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • fine grain urban morphology • variety and adaptability of building stock • permeability of streetscape • legibility • amount and quality of public space • active street frontages • people attractors
Meaning
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • important meeting and gathering spaces • sense of history and progress • area identity and imagery • knowledgeability • environmental signifiers

Source: John Montgomery 2003.

everyday users and visitors, but rather a place (most likely) of cultural production removed from the arena of consumption. This means that cultural quarters and indeed the wider notion of city creative economies cannot be considered in isolation from the geography and characteristics of urban places. Similarly, a cultural quarter without *Meaning* will not be much of a place. Nor will it tend to be contemporary, avant-garde or particularly innovative. More than this, a cultural quarter which produces no ‘new’ *Meaning* – in the form of new work, ideas and concepts – is all the more likely to be a pastiche of other places in other times, or perhaps of itself in an earlier life. A good cultural quarter, then, will be authentic, but also innovative and changing.

To remain successful, a city economy, even an individual enterprise will need to maintain what it is good at but also to be flexible, highly adaptive and embrace change, new ideas, new ways of doing things and new work. Failure to do so will mean that the cultural quarter will disappear entirely, or become simply a collection of publicly-

funded venues and facilities, or else an emblem of former culture – ‘heritage’. (See Ashworth, Chapter 11, this volume.) Some cultural quarters will, no doubt, deserve to ossify or disappear altogether, to be taken over by other competing uses (offices, apartments) or to become part of the heritage industry. Others might well continue to develop and grow. This brings us to a conundrum, in that at least a proportion of the activity found in cultural quarters might well require governmental support in order to survive *in situ*.

Cultural quarters ought to be places where artists and designers create *new work*, for it is only through the ongoing process of adding new work to old work that culture develops, and that economies grow. Second, cultural quarters will tend to offer a variety of *opportunities for artistic work to be consumed* – in galleries, theatres, music halls and other venues, including public spaces. (See also Bianchini, Chapter 22, this volume.) The work available will tend to cover a range of art forms, through visual and performing arts. The ‘products’ will be texts, performances, objects, images and sounds. These will be distributed to markets, both locally and globally, via more traditional means as well as IT. They will be delivered within a mixed economy, ranging from fully commercial work, products and services, to varying degrees of government subsidy. Customers can therefore be found *in situ*, across the wider city region, inter-state and internationally. Very often, there will be close links with formal *education institutions* which provide education and training, a flow of new artists and entrepreneurs, research and development.

Table 20.2 Indicators of good cultural activity

- cultural venues at a variety of scales, including small and medium
 - festivals and events
 - available workspaces for artists and low-cost cultural producers
 - small-firm economic development in the cultural sectors
 - managed workspaces for office and studio users
 - location of arts development agencies and companies
 - arts and media training and education
 - art in the environment
 - community arts development initiatives
 - complementary day-time uses
 - complementary evening uses
 - stable arts funding
-

Source: John Montgomery 2003.

Cultural quarters also tend to be places of mixed use, providing a range of *complementary activities during the day-time and at night*. Good day-time uses include speciality retailing (book stores, music shops, avant-garde fashion), private galleries and venues, cafes and restaurants. Good evening and night time uses can include all of these, plus music clubs. Cultural quarters are places where art and creative activity is produced and consumed, where people (artists and customers) may be educated and entertained, and where the ambience is such that people come *simply to hang out*

and be seen. Cultural quarters will tend to have a lively street life, with varied comings and goings across various times of the day, and will offer a *public realm* or set of spaces which people are attracted to and spend time in. Table 20.2 is a fairly straightforward listing of the types and range of cultural activity (deemed necessary success factors in a cultural quarter). Headings under which the comparisons are made focus mainly on the presence or otherwise of cultural activity, and include those listed in the table.

Temple Bar, Dublin

Temple Bar is sandwiched between O'Connell Bridge to the east, Dame Street to the south and the River Liffey to the north, in central Dublin. The area dates largely from the eighteenth century when cargo was loaded and unloaded on ships docking at the quays on the south side of the Liffey. The future of Temple Bar was under doubt for many years, not least because the state bus company (CIE) proposed to redevelop most of it as a new transportation centre, linking bus and rail. CIE began to buy up property in 1981, paving the way for demolition and redevelopment. Paradoxically, the fall in property and rental values which resulted triggered off a process of revitalization. Activities which could afford only low rents on short licences – or no rent at all – moved into the area. These included artists' studios, galleries, recording and rehearsal studios, pubs and cafes and restaurants, second hand and young designer clothes shops, books and record stores, as well as a number of centres for a range of 'third sector' organizations. They added an exciting mix of ingredients to those remaining existing businesses which had not yet been bought out or evicted by the CIE – the printers, cutlery shops and seedy hotels. During the mid-1980s, networks of small and medium-sized enterprises became established, feeding off each other and larger cultural players such as the Project Arts Centre and the Olympia Theatre. Here we had a rare example of planning blight breathing life into an urban area through low-rent arts activities.

By 1990, Temple Bar had many disused industrial buildings, gap sites, problems of poor east/west permeability, a residue of entrepreneurial activity, and many buildings which were simply falling down. Paradoxically, Temple Bar also had a reputation as a place of discovery, vitality and a wide range of social and economic exchange. It was frequently referred to as 'Dublin's Left Bank', on account of its relatively high density, a mixture of architectural styles, close proximity to the quay, narrow streets and a lively atmosphere deriving mainly from youth culture – recording studios, video companies, artists' studios, theatres and pubs, cafes and restaurants.

It was important that this alternative culture should not be lost by wholesale redevelopment of the area or by adopting a property value-led approach to urban renewal. Much needed to be done in Temple Bar, not least to prevent the building stock falling into greater disrepair. But great care had to be taken not to destroy the sense of place that had already been created by the mix of activities that were based there. Businesses and arts organizations in the area organized themselves to form the Temple Bar Development Council as early as 1989, and began to lobby for the area to be regenerated as a cultural quarter.

The strategy that was adopted to achieve this was, accordingly, a combination of culturally-led urban renewal, physical renewal and local enterprise development,

particularly in connection with the cultural industries and the evening economy (Urban Cultures Ltd 1991/2). This was based on:

- adoption of a stewardship ethos and management approach to knitting back together the urban area;
- adoption of 12 cultural projects to act as urban 'chess pieces': localized strategic interventions to create activity and interest – these include a Film House, sculpture gallery, photography gallery, music venues and the old Olympia Theatre;
- provision of business grants and loans to help young cultural and other entrepreneurs set up in business; this was accompanied by a survey of existing businesses in the area;
- a major training initiative in business skills and the various cultural industries, but also in catering and venue operation;
- promotion and stimulation of an evening economy;
- a major initiative to improve permeability and pedestrian flow through the area, involving the creation of two new public spaces, outdoor venues, niche gardens, corners to sit and watch the world go by, culminating in the design of two new public squares;
- a major programme of public art and cultural animation, designed to reclaim and give meaning to the area's public realm
- an overall approach to property management and upgrading based on balancing the need to improve the area's environment with the need to retain existing activity;
- the introduction of vertical zoning linked to the provision of grants and tax relief status;
- design of new buildings by young Irish architects, with the accent on modern design within the context of the historic street pattern;
- a major marketing and information campaign using good modern design.

This strategy, in the form of a flexible framework plan (Temple Bar Properties Ltd 1992) was largely implemented by Temple Bar Properties Limited, a state-owned development company established in 1991. Temple Bar Properties engaged in acquiring properties, renewing them and negotiating rents with occupiers and by undertaking development schemes on its own volition or as joint ventures with private owners and developers. To do this, it was granted an initial £4m from the EC and leave to borrow £25 million privately but with a state guarantee. Monies generated from rental income were ploughed back into the property renewal programme and environmental action, and used to cross-subsidize cultural projects. In the final analysis, a total of public funding for Temple Bar was some IR£40.6 million, the bulk of which (£37 million) was spent on the Cultural Development Programme 1991–2001. A further £60 million has been borrowed and repaid through TBPL's commercial programme. Over 1991–2001, the private sector is estimated to have invested over £100 million in the area.

In 1992 there were 27 restaurants, 100 shops, half a dozen arts buildings (some of them falling down), 16 public houses, two hotels, 200 residents, 70 cultural industry businesses and 80 other businesses in Temple Bar. By 1996, when most of TBPL's own development schemes had been completed, there were five hotels, 200 shops, 40 restaurants, 12 cultural centres and a resident population of 2,000 people. During the

construction phase, some 5,000 yearly full-time equivalent jobs had been created in the building industry (most sub-contracted to Dublin companies). By the end of 1996, there were an estimated 2,000 people employed in Temple Bar, an increase of 300 per cent. The final major commercial development to be undertaken by Temple Bar Properties was the Old City, designed to create a significant retail and residential cluster in the area between Parliament Street and Fishamble Street in the western end of Temple Bar. Situated around a new pedestrian street, Cow's Lane, the development consists of 191 apartments, 24 retail units, a crèche and landscaped gardens.

Temple Bar Properties Ltd as a property development company was effectively wound up in 2001. However, an area management body has been left in place to maintain the cultural venues, continue the animation programme and undertake area-focused services such as street cleaning. By that time, Temple Bar was home to some 3,000 residents, some 450 businesses employing close on 2,500, and 12 high quality cultural venues. The whole area had become a showcase for urban design, architecture, design and style (see Figure 20.2).



Figure 20.2 Temple Bar Gallery

Source: John Montgomery.

Success, however, brings its own problems. By the late 1990s, Temple Bar had developed a reputation as the 'Stag Night' capital of Europe. Research commissioned by Temple Bar Properties at that time revealed that these visitors – largely groups of young women and men from England – were beginning to cause other visitors to stay away. This problem was addressed by a coordinated management response by landlords

and hoteliers in the area, essentially by refusing accommodation to large same-sex groups. There is also the temptation to assume that the redevelopment of Temple Bar was all plain sailing, more or less straightforward instalments of commercial property development. This view rather conveniently over-looks the fact that the area's other future could have been as a glorified bus depot. Moreover, it is not readily understood that the recession of the early 1990s and the high interest rates of that time, almost led to Temple Bar Properties going into liquidation before it had made much of an impact. The later boom in Ireland's economy certainly played a large part in the success of Temple Bar, but in the early days there was no boom. Just risk.

Cultural writers acknowledge the importance of Temple Bar as an example of using creativity and design to re-establish an area's economy and sense of place. Florida, for example, writing in 2002, refers to Temple Bar as a 'clever and far-reaching strategy of leveraging authentic cultural assets to attract people and spur economic revitalisation' (2002: 302). That said, it is also true that many artists have left the area to find cheaper rents elsewhere in Dublin, although many remain in the area, notably at Temple Bar Gallery and Studios (Figure 20.2) and other cultural centres.

Sheffield Cultural Industries Quarter

The area of the Sheffield Cultural Industries Quarter is defined in Sheffield City Council's *CIQ Area Action Plan* as extending to some 30 hectares and located just to the southeast of the city's administrative, retail and commercial core. Since 1984 the area has been undergoing a transformation. By the mid-1980s, the CIQ had become a classic *zone of transition*: a marginal area of the city centre which was once a thriving industrial and workshop centre, but had become characterized by vacant and derelict buildings and gap sites. Slowly at first, but with a marked quickening in the pace of development from the mid-1990s, the CIQ is now recognized as a centre for a wide range of cultural production. This includes fine arts, photography, film making, music recording, graphic and product design. Important initiatives within this spectrum include the Yorkshire Arts Space Studios, the Audio Visual Enterprise Centre, the Leadmill night club, Red Tape Studios, the Sheffield Science Park, the Site Photography Gallery, the Workstation managed workspace, and the Showroom Cinema complex. The Quarter is also home to the Yorkshire Art Space Society, the Untitled Photographic (now the Site) Gallery and a cluster of some 300 small businesses related to film, music and TV, design and computers. Important links have been established between the Cultural Industries Quarter and the adjacent Science Park, particularly with regard to the development of new technology in film, photography and recording, while there are now proposals to develop a Culture Campus in the area which would house Sheffield Hallam University's fine art, media studies and design departments.

In the early 1980s the City Council started to develop a cultural industry policy, aimed at supporting these activities and assisting the economic regeneration of a former car showroom. Two resultant building-based projects – The Workstation (Figure 20.3) and The Showroom – are seen as central to the development of the CIQ. The buildings are owned by Sheffield City Council and were developed by a specially formed registered charity, Sheffield Media and Exhibition Centre Limited (SMEC). The Charity

set up a development subsidiary, Paternoster Limited, which took a 125-year lease on the building. Paternoster Limited runs The Workstation as a commercial enterprise, charged with operating the building for the benefit of its tenants, and covenants profits to the parent charity (SMEC) for the benefit of the Showroom Cinema operation. The Showroom also receives revenue grant support from Sheffield Arts Department, the British Film Institute and Yorkshire and Humberside Arts.



Figure 20.3 The Workstation, Sheffield

Source: John Montgomery.

Over 70 organizations now occupy units in the building ranging from the Northern Media School, graphic designers The Designers Republic, the Community Media Association, the Yorkshire Screen Commission, and various film production companies such as Picture Palace North and Dream Factory. Typical of the sector, tenant companies are small to medium size, employing from two to six staff members, although certain companies employ 25 and upwards. By 1997, despite the impressive growth of new organizations, facilities and venues, the CIQ lacked a strong sense of place. There were very few shops in the area, and few bars other than some traditional pubs catering for students of Hallam University. An important strand of both the 1998 *CIQ Vision and Development Strategy* and the *Action Plan* for the CIQ (EDAW and Urban Cultures Ltd 1998) was to encourage secondary mixed-use, particularly along ground floor frontages. This was to include small shops, alternative retail, cafes, bars and restaurants.

In early 1999 the CIQ Agency was established to promote and implement an agreed Development Strategy for the CIQ over a five-year period. The Agency's

mission was further to develop the CIQ, building on the successes and, importantly, the broad character and nature of the CIQ as a cultural production centre and as an urban place. The aim was to create a thriving cultural production zone with large numbers of small and medium-sized enterprises, a centre for excellence in knowledge creation and creativity, a visitor destination and a largely mixed-use area with various complementary activities throughout the area generating pedestrian flow throughout the day and into the evening, including residences. The Agency was comprised of a non-executive board with members being drawn from local businesses, Sheffield Hallam University, the Science Park and Sheffield City Council. The board is supported by a small, full-time management team.

The Agency's five-year strategy (to 2004) had the following targets:

- 50 active exporting firms in the cultural industries and an overall doubling of the businesses base within the area;
- an additional 350,000 sq. ft of workspace for the cultural industries;
- 4,200 jobs (3,000 direct, 1,200 indirect), of which 2,500 would be net additional jobs;
- 50 new retail, catering and entertainment outlets provided by private investment;
- 500 additional permanent residents;
- completion of a new urban culture campus for Sheffield Hallam University;
- completion of a number of cultural projects, including a Photography Gallery, Fine Art Gallery and Centre for Performing Arts;
- continuation of a two-pronged training and education strategy aimed both at enterprise development and community access to new technologies and the cultural industries;
- considerable upgrading of the urban public realm to provide a more pedestrian-friendly environment, including established access points and routeways and two new urban squares.

Substantial private sector investment has been attracted into the area in the form of bars, night-clubs, restaurants and student apartments. A major visitor attraction, the National Centre for Popular Music, opened in 1999, although this turned out to be a failure, the only one of such a high-profile nature in the area. The SCIQ as a whole continued to grow. A new 1,000-capacity bar and live music venue opened in the summer of 2000, Red Tape Studios launched a new Internet School, Modal's National Music Convention has been attracted to the Quarter, as has the International Documentary Film Festival. Yorkshire Artspace developed a new building, the old Roberts and Belk cutlery factory was developed as a managed workspace with ground floor cafe bar, and the former Leadmill Bus Garage was redeveloped as offices and apartments. Mixed live-work units were also developed, notably The Cube. Estimates by the CIQ Agency revealed that the CIQ was by 2002 home to some 270 businesses and organizations, including film, TV, radio, science and technology, new media, training and education, live performance, music, arts, crafts, metalworking and a range of support producer and consumer services. By 2006 the CIQ was almost completely developed.

Manchester Northern Quarter

Manchester's Northern Quarter lies just to the north and east of the main shopping area around Market Street and the former Arndale Centre. For many years its major streets – notably Oldham Street – were the most fashionable of all shopping streets in the city. Tib Street was once renowned for its choice of pet shops; Smithfield market was once the largest fish and poultry market outside of London. The area began to take shape in the late eighteenth century at which time Stevenson Square was laid out as a mirror to the fashionable St Anne's Square to the west. Oldham Street developed initially as a mix of private dwelling houses and small businesses, but by the late nineteenth century had become a fashionable destination offering shopping and tea rooms which were popular with ladies. By the early twentieth century Oldham Street had two large department stores (Affleck and Brown, and Lomas) as well as a Marks and Spencer penny bazaar and a Woolworths. There was also a range of popular pubs and eating places, including a Yates's Teetotal Tavern.

The area began to lose vitality and meaning from the late 1940s. Initially, two processes were at work: first, the onset of decline in the textiles industry meant that parts of the area and – equally important – Ancoats to the east, began to lose economic activity, businesses and jobs. This had a knock-on effect on the economy of Oldham Street and environs. Second, the wholesale slum clearance of the northern quadrant of the area and much of Ancoats and other adjacent areas effectively removed the resident population that had sustained many businesses in the area. Smithfield Market was relocated to the outskirts of Manchester in the 1970s, at about which time the Arndale Centre was built. The effect was to tear the remaining life out of what had been one of the most vibrant quarters within the city. Many businesses closed or moved away, and few people remained living locally.

By the late 1980s, the area had few businesses left, mainly fashion wholesalers, some specialist shops (prams, pets and pianos) and a few drinking and transvestite clubs. Manchester City Council became concerned that the area was not regenerating as other parts of the city were at that time, notably Castlefield and the Whitworth Street Corridor. This was despite the fact that the area had been granted Commercial Improvement Area status, allowing landlords and shopkeepers to apply for shop-front improvement grants. By 1993, 27 per cent of the floor space in the area was vacant, many gap sites had appeared and a large proportion of the building stock was in serious disrepair. By 1991 only 345 people were living in the area. However, several interesting things *were* happening across the city. Tony Wilson,¹ an executive at Granada Television and music industry entrepreneur, established Factory Records, a recording label for what would become the Manchester Bands: the Happy Mondays, Joy Division, New Order. Wilson also opened the Hacienda nightclub and Dry Bar, a 'new generation' urban bar. There was also the beginnings of regeneration in Castlefield, led by local bookmaker Jim Ramsbottom and a team of young development professionals and architects. As well as the redevelopment itself, this would lead to the emergence of a network of design professionals and architects. The setting up of the Manchester Institute for Popular Culture (MIPC) with a brief to research popular culture, was also important.

¹ Tony Wilson was the founder of Factory Records, and also a TV producer at Granada. The film *24 Hour Party People* is about him.

Amongst other things, an early contribution was a major study of 'The Culture Industry' (Manchester Institute for Popular Culture 1990).² There was also a timely recognition of the audio/visual industries (film, television, photography, video) as an important sector in a study by Comedia in 1988.³ All of these events were of crucial importance in what was to follow.

From about the late 1980s, a number of new businesses moved into Oldham Street in particular, including the Afflecks Palace (fashion emporium), the Dry Bar (Figure 20.4), PJ's Jazz Club and others, while some of the other clubs and venues had remained in the area, including Band On The Wall. These businesses formed the Eastside Association in the early 1990s to lobby for improvements in the area.



Figure 20.4 Dry Bar, Manchester

Source: John Montgomery.

² It was later re-published by Derek Wynne as *The Culture Industry: The Arts in Urban Regeneration*.

³ *Film, Video and Television: The Audio-visual Economy in the North-west*, December 1988, Comedia Consultancy, for the Independent Film Video and Photography Association, North West Arts, Manchester City Council, the British Film Institute, Channel 4 and Lancashire County Council.

In November 1991 Manchester City Council commissioned a major study of the arts and cultural policy of the city (Urban Cultures Ltd 1992). This study proposed a drive towards mixed use and the creation of distinctive quarters, one of which was the Northern Quarter. In late 1993 a development strategy for the area was commissioned jointly by the Eastside Association and Manchester City Council.⁴ The main thrust of the report was to retain the existing rag trade but also to grow new businesses in creative activities, alternative shopping and the evening economy. In addition, a major programme of residential conversion of upper floors was advocated. In analysing property ownership in the area it was recommended that the implementation vehicle for the area should be an alliance of landowners, developers and the City Council with a much better resourced Eastside Association (renamed the Northern Quarter Association) having a prominent role in crafting development schemes for the area. A system of sticks and carrots was put in place to help convince developers and property owners to engage with the overall area master plan; these included a series of small and large grants, and sophisticated application of planning controls up to and including detailed design briefs for key sites and properties.

The MNQ development strategy was specifically aimed at encouraging business start-ups and growth in the creative industries, largely as market-based enterprises. Partly to this end the Cultural Industries Development Service (CIDS) was formed in 2000 to help develop sustainable cultural and creative enterprises in Manchester's metropolitan core, including the MNQ and Ancoats (see Blanchard 1999). CIDS' services included: an information and referral service, a student and graduate placement service, business start-up and expansion grants, industry marketing grants, network development, and professional development programmes. CIDS has now been wound up (O'Connor and Gu 2010), but it can point to many successes. The Creative Industries and Digital Media sector in Greater Manchester now employs around 53,000 people with more than 7,000 businesses. This sector is forecast to grow by 19 per cent during the next decade (NESTA 2009). Manchester is now the UK's largest 'creative hub' outside London. The creative industries now account for 6 per cent of all jobs in Manchester.

It took almost ten years for larger projects such as Smithfield to get underway. Even so, many new schemes were successfully completed by 1999, including several mixed-use retail and residential schemes along Oldham Street and individual four- and five-storey buildings throughout the area. By 2002, the Northern Quarter was the location for over 550 businesses and organizations, although a good proportion of these were already trading in the area before 1995. It had become a place for shopping, music, food and drink, entertainment, fashion, living and working. This included 100 clothing and fashion outlets; 70 cafes, pubs, bars, restaurants and clubs; 50 voluntary organizations; 40 arts, crafts and jewellery shops; 20 vinyl, tape and CD shops; ten hairdressers/barbers; seven newsagents; and another 200-plus unique specialist shops, services and suppliers.

The MNQ is an example where public intervention and monies have tended to be focused on building improvements (via grants), environmental works (including public art) and improving transport, parking and access.

⁴ The report was prepared by Urbanistics, a consortium of Johnson UDC, Urban Cultures Ltd, Stevenson Architects and the Manchester Institute for Popular Culture.

Comparatively little additional money has been found for new venues or events. Rather, the tack has been to encourage enterprise development of the creative industries, to help bring properties into active use and to invest in area marketing. This has meant that the MNQ is more a fashionable residential neighbourhood than a cultural industries quarter (Brown, Cohen and O'Connor 2000). There is a sense then that the MNQ did not fully deliver on its early promise as an urban cultural quarter.

Comparisons and Lessons

The development and maintenance of *cultural venues* has been most ambitious and consistent in Temple Bar, with some successes also in Sheffield. The weakest performer is Manchester MNQ, where comparatively few new venues that are open to the public for viewings, screenings or performances have been established. Temple Bar also offers the most varied programme of *festivals and events*. The Northern Quarter Festival in Manchester operates for only three weeks of the year. Sheffield Cultural Industries Quarters has a poor programme of cultural animation. As for *workspace for artists*, the most impressive achievements have been in the Sheffield Cultural Industries Quarter (recording studios, artists' studios, film companies' centre, live/work units) which deliberately focused on cultural production more than on venues. With the exception of Temple Bar Gallery and Studios, the approach in Dublin has favoured cultural venues over workspaces, while Manchester MNQ has been less successful in securing any low-cost spaces available for artists and crafts workers. In Manchester there has also been very little public sector involvement in developing *managed workspaces* for micro and small studio and office-based businesses. This contrasts markedly with the approach in Sheffield, with the development of The Workstation and other developments. Of the quarters, only in Sheffield and Manchester were there active programmes of *arts and cultural industry* business development, and in the case of MNQ this was effectively the cultural programme for the area.

What most if not all the cultural quarters have in common is the presence either within the quarter, or very close to it, of a major *arts education* and/or training institution, whether it's the Northern Media School in Sheffield, or the fact that Temple Bar is adjacent to Trinity College, and the Manchester Institute for Popular Culture has an office in the MNQ. In the case of Sheffield this outcome was quite deliberate, as part of a strategy to strengthen the links between formal education and enterprise development. All the quarters researched had a *public art* policy, and a programme for securing new work, although not always by direct commission. Although to some extent a subjective judgement, the public art programmes in Manchester and Dublin are the most impressive.

The extent to which the various cultural quarters actively promoted *community arts development* was patchy. As in other matters, the approach in Temple Bar is to build a responsibility for community development into the overall remit for several of the cultural venues, particularly in the case of the Ark (a children's art centre). Sheffield CIQ took a more direct approach to this issue, with a cross-programme emphasis on access and participation. Manchester MNQ is weak on this indicator.

Temple Bar from the outset encouraged a fine-grained mix of uses, and especially fashion and other alternative shops, cafes, restaurants and galleries. This has included maintaining low rent levels for certain types of uses. The early aspiration to become a '24-hour city' was toned down, and new residential developments in the Old City are sited away from bars and pubs in particular. One of the problems in Sheffield CIQ was a lack of street life, largely because of a lack of good active street frontages; this problem was addressed by the *CIQ Vision and Development Study* (EDAW/Urban Cultures Ltd 1998), and reasonable progress was made. Manchester's MNQ has more complementary activities – both day and night – than cultural activity *per se*. In Manchester MNQ, the aspiration to develop an evening economy and greater mixed use remains largely just that, an aspiration. With only a few exceptions, most of the new property investment in the area in the past five years has been for mainstream offices and apartments.

All of the cultural quarters discussed here have good *urban place* characteristics. That is to say, they are relatively compact and walkable urban districts, are more intensely developed than suburban neighbourhoods, have a stock of adaptable buildings, of varying ages, are highly permeable, easy to read and range in scale from two-storey to at least five-storey buildings. The Sheffield CIQ had more gap sites awaiting development than the other cultural quarters. The main route remains Paternoster Row, yet good pedestrian traffic is found on Howard Street and Charles Street. The Manchester MNQ offers perhaps the grandest stock of buildings of all the quarters researched. Oldham Street remains the main thoroughfare, although Tib Street has become a more prominent location for design businesses. Temple Bar remains the cultural quarter where the most effort has been invested in improving permeability (to the extent of creating at least one new street and a new pedestrian bridge), while traditional street patterns and build-to lines have been respected and adhered to.

Temple Bar is also the only quarter to have invested positively and quite deliberately in new *public spaces*, Temple Bar Square and Meeting House Square, even where some demolition of existing properties was required. In Sheffield, there are admittedly two new squares, one adjoining the NCPM and the other at the top of Howard Street adjacent to Hallam University. The former was under-funded and is poorly realized; the latter, named Hallam Square, has more to do with the university calling attention to itself than any strategic intervention in the public realm. The Manchester MNQ has seen little in the way of new public space, and even the long-mooted re-design of Stevenson Square has remained on paper. What new public space there is has usually been an adjunct or planning gain from a commercial office or residential development permission. There is no real strategic approach to new public space in the MNQ. What all of the quarters have generated is much improvement in the quality of their main streets and in street life more generally. This is clearly partly to do with the wider acceptance in planning terms of the value of cafe culture and cuisine, and also to the 24-Hour City concept, albeit it (sensibly) watered down in most cases.

Lastly, all of the quarters have succeeded in accommodating *new activity*, some of it cultural, because of the availability of premises at low rent and offering variety in building styles and types, and in floor spaces and layouts. In Temple Bar old warehouses and town houses were converted to new uses; in Sheffield it has been car showrooms and old cutlery works. In Manchester, buildings originally designed as retail stores with apartments above have converted to showrooms, galleries, studios, offices and residential apartments. None of this is perhaps especially surprising, yet there are

still towns and cities which make the mistake of developing all-new cultural precincts away from traditionally laid-out urban areas (or indeed demolished traditional street patterns to make way for large architectural envisionings). The lesson here is that people respond better to mixed use areas, with a human scale and a legible townscape; while if there is no cheap property available, there will be no space for artists and start-up businesses to occupy.

Urban Policy, Market Forces and Management Mechanisms

There are clearly some major differences between the case study examples, not just between the places themselves but also in terms of the *types of intervention* (physical, planning, economic development, cultural) pursued by public agencies, and in the level of public funding. Temple Bar is clearly a direct intervention model where a bespoke, state-owned, development company was established – with a strong cultural remit – to drive forward the area regeneration. The result includes 12 new or fully refurbished cultural venues in the middle of the city. If anything, Temple Bar attracts criticism for having succeeded too well, although such an outcome was not guaranteed, certainly in the early years.

Progress in the Sheffield Cultural Industries Quarter has been less spectacular (and over a longer period) but has also been impressive. Here the early emphasis was on economic development of the cultural industries supported by access, training and education programmes: a strategy for increasing cultural production. This has been achieved through a more selective programme of property acquisition and development, notably of The Showroom and The Workstation, but also AVEC and YASS. In later years, attention extended to cultural consumption in the form of encouraging the private sector to invest in retail units, bars and clubs, and also residential accommodation. The commitment to small firm development and training, however, has not been diluted.

The example of Manchester's MNQ reveals that where property market failure can be shown to be temporary (1993 was, after all, the depths of the then property crash and economic slump) then area regeneration can proceed by a process of planned and brief-led development, backed by some modest area branding, public art and a small events programme. Progress in the MNQ was much slower than in Temple Bar and SCIQ, certainly as regards development of cultural facilities and venues. Rather, efforts focused on micro and small-firm development of the creative and media businesses across Manchester. Development in the MNQ has progressed, although some of the larger schemes have taken a long time to get started. MNQ is arguably more successful as a city centre residential and retail neighbourhood than as a cultural quarter *per se*. The most market-oriented example, MNQ, is probably the least successful culturally. The most interventionist initiative was Temple Bar, yet it curiously also seems the most organic and natural. SCIQ took many years to achieve greater diversity, although private sector investment is now at unprecedented levels. The bottom line is that it is possible to plan a cultural quarter, but resources will also need to be committed to a cultural programme, low-cost studio and business space and public realm improvements. Otherwise the cultural life of any such quarter is in danger of being undermined by rising rents.

The overall conclusion is that all of these examples have been strategic in nature. Whether directly intervening in the property market, or opting to self-build particular strategic projects; whether directing the property market through development briefs and planning permissions, or employing a property leasing plan – all have had a vision and a strategic goal to become a cultural quarter. The type of cultural quarter may have varied (mostly consumption led in Temple Bar, production led in Sheffield, design and fashion led in Manchester) but all three explored the relationships between regeneration, creativity and the cultural economy. All these places have succeeded beyond initial expectations. Yet, all too face the problems of success, notably in the guise of land value colonization and gentrification.

Finally, it must be stressed that not every urban area can or should be a cultural quarter. (See also Sasaki, Chapter 12, this volume.) Cultural quarters only work where there are venues, workplaces for cultural producers and working artists. There is little doubt that cultural activity, urban characteristics of place and a little style add greatly to the urban and economic mix. More than this, cities that do not offer lively small business and cultural districts will be left behind. There are complex dynamics at work in such places; they are not all clones of each other.

References

- Bianchini, F., Fisher, M., Montgomery, J. and Worpole, K. 1988. *City Centres, City Cultures: The Role of the Arts in Urban Revitalisation*. Manchester: CLES.
- Blanchard, S. 1999. *The Northern Quarter Network: A Case Study of Internet-based Cultural Business Support*. Manchester: Manchester Institute for Popular Culture.
- Bontje, M., Musterd, S. and Pelzer, P. 2011. *Inventive City Regions: Path Dependence and Creative Knowledge Strategies*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Boogarts, I. 1990. *A New Urban Planning Tool Kit: Are Investments in the Arts and Culture New Tools for Revitalising the City?* Paper presented at the 6th International Conference on Cultural Economics. Umea, Sweden, June 1990.
- British American Arts Association (BAAA). 1989. *Arts and the Changing City*. London: British American Arts Association.
- Brown, A., Cohen, S. and O'Connor, J. 2000. Local music policies within a global music industry: cultural quarters in Manchester and Sheffield. *Geoforum*, 31(4), 437–51.
- EDAW/Urban Cultures Ltd. 1998. *Sheffield CIQ Strategic Vision and Development Study*. Sheffield: Sheffield City Council.
- Florida, R. 2002. *The Rise of the Creative Class*. New York: Basic Books.
- Griffiths, R. 1991. *The Role of the Arts in Urban Regeneration*. Paper presented at a seminar on Revitalizing City Centres and Restructuring Industrial Cities, University of Lodz, Poland.
- Krier, L. 1995. Charter of the European City. Paper presented to the conference, The European City – Sustaining Urban Quality, Copenhagen, 24–28 April 1995.
- Landry, C. 2000. *The Creative City*. London: Earthscan.
- Manchester Institute for Popular Culture. 1990. *The Culture Industry*. Manchester: Manchester Institute for Popular Culture.

- Montgomery, J.R. 1990. Cities and the art of cultural planning. *Planning Practice and Research*, 5(3), 17–24.
- . 2003. Cultural quarters as mechanisms for urban regeneration: conceptualising cultural quarters. *Planning Practice and Research*, 18(4), 293–306.
- . 2007. *The New Wealth of Cities: City Dynamics and the Fifth Wave*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- NESTA (National Endowment for Science, Technology and the Arts). 2009. *Original Modern: Manchester's Journey to Innovation and Growth*. London: NESTA.
- New South Wales State Government. 2010. NSW Business Sector Growth Plan. [Online]. Available at: <https://www.opengov.nsw.gov.au/publication/11140> [accessed 19 May 2013].
- O'Connor, J. and Gu, X. 2010. Developing a creative cluster in a postindustrial city: CIDS and Manchester. *The Information Society*, 26(2), 124–36.
- Sheffield City Council. 1998. *SCIQ Area Action Plan*. Sheffield: Sheffield City Council.
- Temple Bar Properties Ltd. 1992. *Development Programme for Temple Bar*. Dublin: Temple Bar Properties Ltd.
- Urban Cultures Ltd. 1991/2. *Manchester First: How to Become a Cultured City; Arts and Cultural Strategy for Manchester City Council*. Manchester: Urban Cultures Ltd.
- . 1992. *Temple Bar: Creating Dublin's Cultural Quarter*, prepared for the Irish Government. UK: Urban Cultures Ltd.
- Whitt, J.A. 1987. Mozart in the metropolis: the arts coalition and the urban growth machine. *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, 23(1), 15–36.
- Wynne, D. 1992. *The Culture Industry: The Arts in Urban Regeneration*. Aldershot: Avebury.