

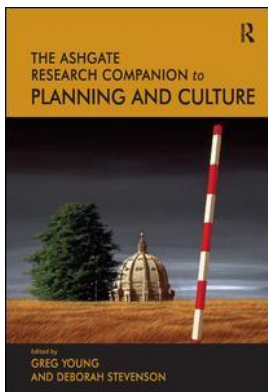
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PART 3

Culture and Its Dimensions

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Preface to Part 3

Deborah Stevenson

According to the influential work of Raymond Williams 'culture' refers variously to 'a general process of intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development; ... the works and practices of intellectual and especially artistic activity' and to 'particular way of life'. It was the third of these definitions – culture as a way of life – that gained currency in cultural studies, and the related field of cultural policy studies. Indeed, this expanded understanding of culture provided a language for talking about sites of struggle and forms of inequality that were cultural rather than economic. It also articulated with a democratic impulse to move away from narrowly conceived ideas of culture as 'art' to embrace and value a range of creative practices and forms from the popular to the multicultural. Significantly, too, this definitional shift also made it possible to conceptualize culture as also encompassing dynamic and pervasive processes.

In thinking about the dimensions of culture and its relationship to urban policy and planning attention also turns to the issue of urban culture which is usually understood as referring to the range of meanings, ways of life and social practices that are associated with the modern city. What emerges as important are the diversity and complexity of cities and the multiplicity of ways of living in and valuing them. Also, in studying urban cultures it is possible to discern regularities and commonalities, as well as the specificities and rhythms that mark a particular city as unique.

It is some of these themes, intersections and assumptions that are the focus of the chapters in this Part of the book, which begins with Deborah Stevenson's consideration of the way in which the idea of citizenship is mobilized or assumed within many of the most influential texts of cultural planning. The chapter argues that there are three key ways in which the idea of citizenship is invoked – the civic, social inclusion and cosmopolitanism. First, there is a view that cultural planning is a tool for reviving the 'lost' traditions, spaces and politics associated with the idea of the civic. The roots of this perspective lie in a shifting social democratic agenda, as do attempts to see cultural planning as a way to foster social inclusion. Citizenship understood in terms of social inclusion and the civic was part of a 'third way' intended to bridge the ideological Left and Right. Sitting slightly to one side of the civic and social inclusion strategies for citizenship is cosmopolitanism understood variously as a disposition and an ability to consume.

Justin O'Connor picks up on several of the themes and tensions discussed in Stevenson's chapter, notably the move within urban cultural policy from the cultural to the creative industries. O'Connor describes the emergence of the cultural industries in the 1970s as an 'opening up' of cultural policy to incorporate the products and experiences provided by the commercial sector. In the late 1990s, however, there was a

shift to talking about the creative industries which he says marked a profound change in the nature and rationale of cultural policy. First, he suggests the cultural industries were promoted as part of a social democratic agenda and not as an economic end in itself. In addition, where cultural industries frameworks used economic tools and the language of economics as strategies to 'protect against' the failures that are 'intrinsic to the market', creative industries models are focused on the 'failure to achieve market success'. Finally, O'Connor argues that cultural industries approaches embraced markets in the context of 'socio-cultural practices' and the mixed economy while the creative industries is the embrace of neoliberal rational choice.

An important dimension of culture and the agendas of urban and cultural planning and any reconfigured urban planning is heritage in its built, lived and landscape forms. Indeed, as G.J. Ashworth explains in his chapter, heritage planning as a sub-section of cultural planning is simultaneously a resource, process and outcome. In exploring the different ways in which heritage is used in place management Ashworth ponders whether or not heritage planning should be considered a special type of planning, bracketed off from the planning and management of place. In pointing out that all places are made at the intersection of history and culture, he argues that it is necessary for heritage to be fully integrated into urban planning processes in order to create places that are environmentally and economically sustainable as well as meaningful and valued by local communities.

Concluding this part of the book is a significant case study from Masayuki Sasaki on the use of creative city and cultural cluster policies in the provincial post-industrial Japanese cities of Kanazawa and Yokohama. In Kanazawa the clustering of museum and crafts is intended to create a unique space and the cultural and economic contribute to both local economic and social development and cultural value. Yokohama renovated a cluster of old bank buildings and warehouses on the waterfront that are now spaces for young artists and cultural workers. The need to support systems and processes that promote both individuality and creativity is highlighted in the chapter which concludes with a call for the development of an Asian Region creative city network as the impetus for the emergence of a new form of 'Creative Asia'.

The chapters in this section of the book combine to illustrate the multidimensional nature of culture and the extent to which culture and cultural practices are embedded in, and shaped by, cities and their spaces. In recent years, an increasing number of governments around the world have recognized the potential of culture and the arts to rejuvenate cities, create places and support local economies and have implemented a range of strategies intended to achieve these ends. Strategies may include building museums and art galleries and establishing designated cultural precincts; but they can also aim to foster creative industries and cities models or mobilize an expanded definition of culture to shape local citizenship and nurture built heritage. In probing some of these issues, this section contributes significant insights into the attempts to use culture and cultural practice instrumentally in the building of cities. What is clear is that it is no longer appropriate for urban cultural strategies to be separate not only from urban planning and the broader strategies of local government, but from local communities and significant global and regional policy processes.

Culture, Planning, Citizenship

Deborah Stevenson

Introduction

Cultural planning is a strategic approach to city building and reimagining, and community cultural development that, at its most modest, involves establishing arts precincts and nurturing local creativity. More ambitiously, it often also includes supporting a 'creative cities' agenda, repositioning and expanding the arts as the 'creative' or 'cultural industries', and advocating a range of initiatives to attract and satisfy footloose capital and the so-called 'creative class'. It would be misleading to represent cultural planning as a cohesive body of thought or set of policy interventions and, indeed, the name is not even universally used. Nevertheless, it is the case that worldwide since the late 1970s and early 1980s there have been various attempts by local governments to use the arts and cultural resources strategically in the development of precincts, cities and regions and the term cultural planning is often used generically to refer to such approaches (Evans 2001).

Against a background of varying political configurations and local histories, cultural planning has increasingly also been positioned as capable of achieving an extensive range of aesthetic, social, economic and urban outcomes. Of particular note are claims that such strategies can foster an ethic of mutual responsibility, rejuvenate cities, and rebuild local communities and economies. Woven through this expansive agenda is a recurring view that cultural planning also has the capacity, indeed, some would say, responsibility, to shape and create an urban citizenry. Unclear, however, is just who this citizenry is and what the complex of rights and responsibilities that defines membership might be. Indeed, the citizen of cultural planning is contradictory, multifaceted and numerous, variously forged in the lived and imaginative spaces of the local and the global, the urban and the transnational, the 'included' and the marginal.

Through a consideration of underpinning assumptions, discourses and inter-relationships, this chapter examines some of the ways in which influential cultural planning texts (and the texts that have influenced cultural planning) have directly and indirectly mobilized and engaged with citizenship as both concept and goal – this is citizenship as a category to be constituted, assumed or applied by government through its policy and planning processes. To this end, the chapter is organized around three central themes each of which is important to these conceptualizations of citizenship –

'the civic', 'cosmopolitanism' and 'social inclusion'. It argues that although each theme is discrete they contribute in different ways to a view of the citizen as being active and locally engaged. Finally, and mindful of Franco Bianchini and Jude Bloomfield's (1996) proposition that citizenship developed through urban cultural policy has the potential to bridge the divide between the political and ideological Left and Right (the collective and the individual), a thread running through the chapter is the extent to which the cultural planning agenda of the Left regarding citizenship not only interacts and connects with, but actually supports, that of the Right. In particular, the chapter suggests that the citizen that comes into focus within many of the texts of cultural planning is one that is defined in terms of a series of opposites that are not merged or transcended but involve the subjugation of one to the other.

Recreating the Civic

It is possibly because, as Nick Stevenson (2003: 57) puts it, 'the contours of citizenship are progressively shaped by the social and political fabric of the city' that cultural planning has been couched in the language of citizenship from the outset. Indeed, citizenship was a fundamental preoccupation of the original British exponents of cultural planning and traces of this concern remain, including in many derivative versions developed elsewhere. The centrality of citizenship to British cultural planning would appear in part to be an outcome of the tradition's origins within the British Labour Party (Bianchini et al. 1988, Mulgan and Worpole 1986, Worpole 1992) and notions of citizenship in early cultural planning treatises are imbued with a range of meanings which are grounded quite specifically in the history of the labour movement, an agenda for social justice, support for the welfare state, and a concern with local political configurations including the relationship between the tiers of British government. Also, as Bianchini and Bloomfield (1996) discuss, in the 1980s and 1990s many Labour local governments in the UK attempted deliberately to use cultural planning to strengthen civic identity, in part, in an effort to build a form of shared city identification. Significantly, this was a form of identification and citizenship that was understood as being forged in the city centre – the 'civic heart' of the city.

According to Ken Worpole (1992: 4), the city centre is the 'essence' of place, the 'focus of civic identity'. It is in this context that contemporary placemaking and urban revival strategies, such as the development of cultural precincts or 'quarters' become implicated in discussions of citizenship and democracy. In the balance is the belief that an empowering 'civic culture' (Montgomery 1990: 105) was once instrumental in shaping democratic politics and local citizenship (Bianchini and Bloomfield 1996) and has the potential to do so again. Notwithstanding Colin Mercer's (1991: 9) call for the 'nature and meaning of the ... civic realm' to be redefined, a task of cultural planning was (somewhat romantically) to facilitate or create the conditions for its revival.

The centrality of the 'civic' to foundational cultural planning thinking is illustrated by the following passage from Geoff Mulgan and Ken Worpole's (1986: 27) pioneering manifesto *Saturday Night or Sunday Morning? From Arts to Industry: New Forms of Cultural Policy*, which both links citizenship to the civic and points to the political tradition that underpins its original usage within British cultural planning:

The key word in post-war Labour Party vocabulary was 'civic'. It expressed the strong sense of active citizenship which came out of the war; it expressed a sense of there being such a thing as a 'civic culture' – the reciprocal responsibility between state and citizen, and amongst citizens towards each other. 'Civic responsibility' and 'civic pride' were transformed into 'civic halls', 'civic baths', 'civic gardens', 'civic theatres' and so on ... This is where the heart of such cultural policy as there was at a local government level was expressed: through very patrician forms of municipal provision.

This particular understanding of the citizen and the allied concept of the civic established a rationale that justified the scope and objectives of cultural planning as it came to be promoted first in Britain and then elsewhere. It is important also to note that this citizen is regarded as being 'active', which is a conception that, as discussed below, put the onus on the choices and decisions of individuals, and opened the way for subsequent pronouncements focused on social inclusion and access to opportunity. Importantly, active citizenship is also a discourse that was appropriated by the British Conservative Party during the Prime Ministership of Margaret Thatcher in a way that fused citizenship with the idea of the responsible consuming individual. This was the citizen of 'post-society' individualism and 'moral responsibility' (Bianchini and Schwengel 1991: 218).

Within the texts of cultural planning the civic is both a political and a physical space and many of the cultural strategies that were pivotal to reviving it and local citizenship were those devised to protect what was regarded as the integrity of public buildings and public space, in particular those in the inner city. (See also, Watson, Low, and Paddison, Chapters 1, 17 and 18, this volume.) Interventions such as the promotion of cultural activity and the development of cultural precincts and other leisure and recreational spaces, were expected to stimulate urban culture, animate the city and protect its spaces, at the same time as being conceptualized as part of an agenda to revive the core traditions and spaces of the civic, including local participatory democracy and fostering a 'collective morality' (Mulgan 1989: 263). The ideas of the civic and the citizen that were mobilized within cultural planning welded with those associated with city imaging and precinct development from the outset. They also became entangled with the idea of the morally responsible active citizen that was being conjured by the Right in Britain at the time as cultural planning was gaining currency.

Either as an element or a consequence of being integrated into an expanded nexus of interests and associations, the 'devolution of power to community groups' (Bianchini and Schwengel 1991: 233) – the revitalization of local democracy – was also seen within cultural planning as being important to nurturing the civic and building active citizens. Furthermore, the promotion of consultation and participation strategies and practices also became entwined with ideas of citizenship as being fermented in the spaces of the civic and grounded in assumptions about traditional working-class solidarity (Mulgan 1989). Mulgan's (1989: 276) advocacy of cultural planning was in part the result of his concern that the 'cultural roots of democratic, public life [were] withering' as a consequence of the privatization of public space. He warns that: 'Any plans for the creation of convivial, communicating cities inevitably find themselves struggling with a long erosion of the traditional political structure of the city within which people think, argue and organise' (1989: 275). A foundational goal of cultural planning, therefore, was

to address this demise by implementing strategies intended to redevelop and animate public space, and foster local community engagement and participation. Charles Landry (2003: np) talks about 'civic creativity' as being the application of, 'imaginative problem solving to objectives of public good. The aim is to generate a continual flow of innovative solutions to problems which have an impact on the public realm.' These opinions connect with the broader view that cities play a critical role as places of public debate and the exchange of ideas with Jurgen Habermas (1991) being one commentator who has documented in detail the link between political debate and the public sphere and changes to both over time (Stevenson 2013a). The public sphere is not coterminous with public space (although it is often treated as such), but it does contain components of spatiality.

Sitting uneasily within initial expositions of cultural planning and their pronouncements regarding the (re)animation of the civic, were a number of more conservative influences and discourses which were also deeply implicated in prescriptions to revive local citizenship and its precincts and spaces, and address what was regarded as the decline of civic life. In this context, neoliberal economics and idealized notions of the Roman *piazza* and the Greek *polis* emerged as important.

The Urban *Civitas*

In his influential book on urban culture, the American social commentator Richard Sennett (1990) explores the emergence of modern urbanism as a process of 'wall building' whereby urban life has become 'trivialized' to such an extent that it separates subjectivity from the experience of the outside world. At the root of this change, he argues, is fear. The desire to construct urban spaces in a way that protects (some) city dwellers from the threat posed – or perceived to be posed – by other users of the city, is an outcome of this fear. The result, says Sennett (1977: 338) in an earlier work, has been an eroding of the 'balance between public and private life, a balance between an impersonal realm in which men [sic] could invest one kind of passion and a personal realm in which they could invest another'. Sennett regards the Greek *polis* as a use of urban space and an acceptance of the 'reality' of urbanism that are superior to the current situation. He does not deny that the contemporary urban experience of difference and confusion is new, but argues that attempts to insulate people from the reality of this urbanism are. He calls for simpler urban spaces to again be designed and built that will 'produce ... more social complexity, more social interaction' (Ravlich 1988: 473).

Many early cultural planning commentators shared Sennett's concerns and some considered the Greek *polis* and its particular organization of (civic) space as being the archetype of urban life and politics. Mulgan (1989: 275) also has pointed out that there is an association between politics and city life that can be traced back to the Greek *polis*, and this, in turn, is a model for its revival in the political and physical spaces of the contemporary civic. It was by using Sennett's work as his point of departure that influential cultural planning exponent Colin Mercer (1991: 1) came to suggest that cultural planning was a tool capable of being used to revive the 'outside' as a 'dimension of human experience' and thereby addressing what he says Sennett had identified as a

fundamental urban problem – the disequilibrium between, ‘... *urbs* and *civitas*, stones and rituals, shelter and emotions, commerce and citizenship, outside and inside’.

Cultural planning based on the animation of the city and the revival of the civic came to be positioned as a means by which ‘the walls’ which separate urban dwellers could be removed and a ‘third way’ established that either reconciled or built connections between opposites. Mercer (1991: 2–3) suggests that this quest has several pivots including treating the city as a ‘stage’, utilizing and supporting local ‘cultural capital’ and, importantly, linking economic, social and cultural objectives. In a later work specifically on cultural policy, planning and citizenship, Mercer (2002: xix) argues that ‘citizenship is what cultural policy is – or should be – about’ because, as he explains, it is concerned with ‘... the resources which define, enable, constrain and shape (both positively and negatively) that most fundamental of human capacities: identity’. Evident here is also a subtle shift in focus if not away from the communal and the collective to the individual and identity, then surely their conflation. This repositioning is important because, as Bauman (2011: 15) has observed in a very different context, the idea of identity has become something of a ‘surrogate for community’ which in turn has led to the privileging of the individual over commonality, of autonomy over interdependence. It is in a society of individuals, Bauman suggests, that people increasingly come to fear (and actively seek to avoid) difference, diversity and the ‘other’, and herein lies the challenge for cultural planning, which is positioned as capable of achieving two competing outcomes – creating a citizenry through, and in, the spaces of the civic and the communal, whilst also fostering via the same processes and legitimizing discourses often very individualized forms of identity, cityscapes and conceptions of cultural diversity. Both the merging and balancing of opposites are inherently fraught and conflicting endeavours but they are at the core of the mission of cultural planning.

In the foundational texts of cultural planning, local cultural development and nurturing the civic or participatory realm and its spaces are central, as is the reconciliation of opposites, and the active citizen is imagined variously, often simultaneously, as being part of a local community and in terms of a shifting set of identities. The task thus becomes one of using cultural strategies to create new public or civic spaces that will be the crucibles for the emergence of reconfigured forms of civic identity and citizenship. This is a view of citizenship that floats free of idealized notions of working-class solidarity and community and their collective spaces (although, importantly, these themes and legitimizing discourses remain resonant), to foreground instead cultural identity and a reconceptualization of the space of the civic in terms of diversity, consumption and identity. It may be that cultural planning aims to foster community and identity simultaneously and to move beyond fear and wall building to celebration and engagement, but where one approach stresses homogeneity and commonality as the bases of civic identity and solidarity, the other is concerned with heterogeneity and difference, the individual rather than the communal. These are opposites that cannot readily be balanced or reconciled and, as a result, the civic increasingly is mobilized in the service of identity and the individual. In this regard, a theme that emerges as important is cosmopolitanism, which is understood in terms both of the city (its amenity and spaces) and the disposition of the urban citizen.

The Cosmopolitan Citizen

With the privileging of identity over community has come an associated concern to support the social, cultural, racial and ethnic diversity of 'citizens'. The spatial, and in particular the urban, dimensions of diversity are paramount because it is in the city and specifically in its public spaces that difference in all its expressions is most evident (D. Stevenson 2003). The city is where, as Simmel (1995/1903) famously argued at the start of the twentieth century, the freedom to be different is possible. To this end, cultural planning is positioned as being something of an instrument for fostering diversity through the creation and animation of public space and for negotiating and neutralizing the tensions that form in the context of the coexistence of difference. What is at stake is the linking of the 'universalism of individual human rights with the particular rights of minority groups' (Bianchini and Bloomfield 1996: 88) and the establishment and maintenance of spaces within which both commonality and diversity can be expressed and encouraged. The civic, as an idea and a space, again comes to prominence. The ideal places and spaces of cultural planning are increasingly conceptualized as intercultural sites of tolerance and understanding, while the ideal urban citizen is an individual who is cosmopolitan in outlook and taste.

A number of interesting concepts have developed to explain urban diversity with Leonie Sandercock's (2003) metaphor of the 'mongrel city' being perhaps the most evocative in pointing to the complexity of a '... new urban condition in which difference, otherness, fragmentation, splintering, multiplicity, heterogeneity, diversity, plurality prevail' (2003: 1). Cosmopolitanism 'understood as implying a particular stance towards difference in the world, one that involves an openness to, and tolerance of, diversity' (Young, Diep and Drabble 2006: 1687) is a recurring notion in recent attempts to theorize the contemporary city in terms of culture, identity and difference. And public space – its uses, purpose, design and management – is often at the centre of these discussions. Indeed, public space as the location of encounters with difference is often bracketed with cosmopolitanism as a 'foundational element of any city' (Sassen 2010: 490). It is where 'differing diversities' (Bennett 2001) are at their most obvious and, potentially, most volatile.

Cosmopolitanism is commonly understood as an orientation or ethos that transcends geopolitical borders and traditional social categories; it is a disposition (*habitus*) or set of dispositions associated with possessing the cultural capital to appreciate, and engage with, cultural difference and 'the global' (N. Stevenson 2003). It is in many ways the triumph of identity over community. The idea of cosmopolitan citizenship thus assumes a reworking, if not a rupturing, of the established taken-for-granted relationship between citizen and nation/place, because as is claimed repeatedly, the cosmopolitan is a 'citizen of the world'. Beck and Grande (2008: 11–12) suggest that the meanings ascribed to cosmopolitanism are simultaneously 'old' and forward pointing, combining an 'appreciation of difference and alterity with attempts to conceive of new democratic forms of political rule beyond the nation-state'. For them, cosmopolitanism describes a 'specific way of *dealing socially with difference*' (2008: 12) that is de-territorialized in that it transcends national or local contexts. In their survey of the field, Woodward, Skrbis and Bean (2008: 3) point out that conceptualizations of cosmopolitanism are fluid and 'can mean anything from an attitude or value, to a regime of international governance, or a set of epistemological assumptions about the nature of social structures'. It is a 'what'

and a 'who' (Woodward, Skrbis and Bean 2008: 2) – a form of politics and an openness of self that is premised on mobility, transnationalism and transience. Cosmopolitanism conceived thus also challenges the fixity and certainty of home, place and community – core ideals of traditional cultural planning.

If cosmopolitanism is beyond borders and geography then it must by implication exceed the city and associated understandings of urbanism and the civic which, as discussed above, reside at the centre of its imagined, active citizen. Like the notion of 'cosmopolitan citizenship', the 'cosmopolitan city' appears to be something of an oxymoron. But this is not so because, frequently, the city is regarded as being pivotal to the development and expression of cosmopolitanism, sometimes only because it is in the city that the cosmopolitan elite is said to reside. The cosmopolitan citizen invoked through cultural planning texts may be globally aware and mobile, but mobility is as much about stopping points and locations as it is about movement, and cities are critical stopping points. Their precincts are the locales where cosmopolitanism is lived, experienced and made meaningful. Everyday cosmopolitanism is regarded as 'multiple', fractured and shaped by local circumstances and a range of socio-cultural factors (Woodward, Skrbis and Bean 2008: 18). Not only are major cities the spaces of lived cosmopolitanism, but they are also seen as the fulcra of significant global networks and associations, including migration. So-called 'world' or 'global' cities are defined in terms of a myriad of interconnections and exchanges that are city-to-city and not nation-state-to-nation-state – cities are 'nodes within a network that is globally interconnected, while being simultaneously locally disconnected' (N. Stevenson 2003: 57). These observations point to important themes in understandings of cosmopolitanism and, in particular, cosmopolitan citizenship, that have resonance in cultural planning discourses, especially those that regard cosmopolitanism as a quality (disposition) of urbanism. There are two entwined dimensions that are relevant – one that emphasizes the need to accept that difference is a critical part of a lively and engaged intercultural city, and another that mobilizes the idea of the urban creative class.

Creative Citizenship

The starting point for a cultural planning approach to fostering cosmopolitanism is the recognition that cities are places of ethnic and racial diversity and so either are, or have the potential to be, sites of (inter)cultural tolerance, dialogue and innovation – the locales of active citizenship. Cultural planners Phil Wood and Charles Landry (2008: 317) claim that while '[d]ynamic cities have always attracted migrants', what matters is not their presence but attitudes towards them and the ways in which these attitudes are expressed in everyday routines and practices of engagement and avoidance. The presence of diversity does not necessarily foster an urban culture that is tolerant, or indeed, 'dynamic', because with cultural diversity comes the 'potential for conflict' (Wood and Landry 2008: 317) and as discussed, above, 'wall building'. Attitudes towards diversity vary from 'active hatred' to 'active interaction ... and co-creation' (Wood and Landry 2008: 16). The centrality of activity, elective engagement and initiative to this imagined citizen is again noteworthy.

The task of cultural planning according to its advocates is to find ways of promoting and constructing the spaces (physical and communicative) within which 'intercultural' meetings and exchanges can occur in order to foster understanding and tolerance, and create engaged, active citizens. (See also, Sasaki, and Evans, Chapters 12 and 13, this volume.) These are the spaces of the reimagined civic and the reconfigured public sphere. For Wood and Landry (2008: 319) a successful city is one that implements policies and processes that will promote and support intercultural mixing, exchange and understanding, with the most successful cities and urban cultures supposedly being those that embrace diversity as a resource to be nurtured and an opportunity to be grasped. (See also Bianchini, Chapter 22, this volume.) This success is described as multifaceted and evident across a range of indicators and it is actively played out in the spaces of the civic, which, increasingly, are understood as precincts that are sites of sociality and consumption.

As a place of engagement and interaction, the intercultural creative city framed within the discourses of cultural planning is thus at the forefront of a renegotiation of citizenship and urbanism, but this is a form of citizenship conceptualized not as transcending the local but as melding the local with the global. In other words, opposites are again being balanced/merged with location being understood in the context of the global. Wood and Landry (2008: 273) point out that there are some who argue that the intercultural citizen has (or should have) a status that is shaped in response to a set of local-global priorities. The more cogent point, however, is that the form of citizenship that emerges in relation to the intercultural is one that is cosmopolitan in outlook and disposition at the same time as being locally committed. Although having values that are formed through a global viewpoint, they are said, nevertheless, to identify strongly with the city in which they live, work and recreate. This commitment and identification is deeply political. Indeed, Wood and Landry (2008: 284) say that they 'cannot emphasize enough the importance of restoring the political (both formal and informal) to the heart of civic life' in the intercultural city.

The citizen of the intercultural city is conceived as being actively engaged in the local politics of everyday urban diversity and its consequences. This is diversity as it is encountered at the level of the street and the precinct and understood through a sensibility that is international (cosmopolitan). The intercultural city thus differs from the multicultural city, which Wood and Landry argue can be a place of ghettos and parallel coexistence. An intercultural conceptualization of citizenship and urban diversity also extends beyond more usual multicultural models in that its principal assumptions are not only that racial and cultural difference must be recognized, accepted and, indeed, encouraged, but that it is necessary to put in place mechanisms to foster mutual understanding, common aspirations and the sharing of space. Cultural planning is one such mechanism. Where multiculturalism emphasizes difference, the intercultural is concerned with where, through what processes, and in which spaces difference intersects. That said, it is difficult to imagine a situation where it might actually be possible to talk about an 'intercultural city' as opposed to 'intercultural spaces' within a city – particular parks, markets and precincts that 'work' as the locales for intermingling and cultural exchange. Even cities that contain enlivened and diverse public spaces will almost certainly also contain enclaves of homogeneity bordered by fences and gates, both real and imagined. The intercultural city is thus in effect about precincts and neighbourhoods and the activities that occur within them.

Discourses of diversity and cosmopolitanism are also present in the work of Richard Florida (2003) which has become influential within cultural planning, being key ingredients of those aspects of city life that supposedly appeal to the (cosmopolitan) creative class. Florida's is a formula for urban renewal and economic prosperity that pivots on adopting local cultural policies to 'attract, retain and even pamper a mobile and finicky class of "creatives", whose aggregate efforts have become the primary drivers of economic development' (Peck 2005: 740). This creative class is made up of a core group of people engaged in such fields as the arts, research and science, and a peripheral group that comprises those working in areas including law, health, business and finance (Florida 2003: 8). The creative class supposedly is defined by its ability to be innovative and flexible in its work and by having a disposition that is outward looking and cosmopolitan. In Florida's (2003: 226) schema the creative class chooses to live, work and consume in cities (and precincts within cities) that are demographically diverse and where variety 'of thought and open-mindedness' is accepted. Its members 'actively seek out places for diversity and look for signs of it when evaluating communities' (Florida 2003: 226). One could readily read this as the intercultural (creative) city, and Landry (2006) has certainly pointed to this connection. For Florida (2003: 227) '[d]iversity also means "excitement" and "energy" and creative-minded people enjoy a mix of influences. They want to hear different kinds of music and try different kinds of food. They want to meet and socialize with people unlike themselves, to trade views and spar over issues.' The extent, however, to which the result is fundamental cultural change and exchange or simply an expanded suite of food and consumption options remains an open question.

Following Florida's blueprint, in order to be economically prosperous cities are counselled to implement strategies and plans that will develop the urban, social, cultural and economic infrastructure that will attract the creative class. (See also, Miller, Chapter 3, this volume.) Cities must be cosmopolitan if they are to appeal to the cosmopolitans. In turn, the presence of the cosmopolitan creative class supposedly animates a city and makes it a place where businesses will want to locate. To this end, cities are encouraged to build art galleries, restaurants, cultural precincts and other forms of 'soft' creative infrastructure, including, public space, pedestrian zones, effective street lighting and 'appropriate' (in design and placement) street furniture, and cultural precincts are key sites in this regard. Jamie Peck (2005: 741) is not alone in suggesting that Florida, '... mixes cosmopolitan elitism and pop universalism, hedonism and responsibility, cultural radicalism and economic conservatism, casual and causal inference, and social libertarianism and business realism'. The creative class blueprint is, however, also implicitly a recipe for gentrification and the displacement of often-lower-income (apparently non-creative, non-cosmopolitan) residents because the spaces that the creative class is attracted to are often those in previously low socio-economic areas located in or near the city centre (Stevenson 2013a). Although a core aim is to foster urban diversity and cosmopolitanism, the result can also be the opposite – wall building, displacement and the reproduction of sameness.

The cultural planning approaches of Florida, and Wood and Landry and others grounded as they are in intriguing mixtures of urban planning, economics, sociology and motivational psychology, have proved to be seductive, accessible and highly marketable. Jim McGuigan (2009) is one of many to note the eagerness of local governments around the world to '[do] a Florida thing' and implement this approach

to cultural planning. These consultants and their blueprints have successfully captured the attention of city leaders, artists and urban planners alike and been influential in shaping not only local cultural planning approaches, but also debates about the idea of the city and what is meant by 'city-ness', civic culture and urban citizenship. Culture and creativity supposedly can be measured, developed and then traded in an international marketplace comprised of cities eager to compete with each other on the basis of image, amenity, liveability and cosmopolitanism (Richards and Palmer 2010). Also underpinning such cultural planning approaches is a promise of positive social outcomes and it is here that social inclusion emerges in cultural planning as a dominant theme in the imagining of the active citizen.

Including the Citizen

In order to understand social inclusion and its mobilization within cultural planning texts, it is necessary to return to the connection between British cultural planning and the Labour Party (discussed above) and specifically the 'third way' schema of the former Blair government. The third way was an ideological and pragmatic shift, a strategic response to the challenges seen to be posed by: globalization; individualism; the collapse of the political division of Left and Right; emerging forms of (niche) political affiliation; and ecological awareness (Giddens 1998). It was a hybrid position explicitly intended to transcend (or bridge) the divide between the traditional Left and the neoliberal Right (Rose 2001). According to David Byrne (2005: 151): 'The key themes of the third way are accommodation (seen as inevitable) with the agendas of globalizing corporate capitalism, equality of opportunity rather an outcome, and a concentration on the creation of wealth rather than its redistribution.' To this end, the third way reframed many of the core social and political assumptions and principles of the Left, including those associated with the role of the state, the nature of citizenship and community, the goal of social justice (Everingham 2003) and the civic and the public sphere. It privileged a form of participatory democracy and active citizenship that was highly individualized and framed in terms of reciprocity between citizen and state.

Significantly, the third way shifted away from a concern with social justice that was traditionally at the centre of the mission of the Left, its ideas of the civic and approach to building citizens, to mobilize the discourse of social inclusion, which assumes an active citizenry. Even though social inclusion and social justice are frequently used interchangeably including in cultural planning texts, they are grounded in different ideological assumptions. Where social justice is premised on a commitment to social equity, social inclusion is concerned with social order; social justice is understood in terms of a set of structural relationships that limit the ability of some social groups to access social, economic and cultural resources, while social inclusion refers to the desire of, and relative opportunities available to, individuals to 'participate' in society; social justice requires an interventionist state with a redistributive agenda and a concern with social outcomes, while social inclusion legitimizes mutual obligation, 'small' government and equal opportunity (Everingham 2003). The aim of the social inclusion agenda of the third way, therefore, was to put in place a range of policy initiatives intended to give the marginal(ized) the 'opportunity' to become full members of

society. In other words, citizenship within a social inclusion framework is conceived as active, not passive; it is about individuals not communities (Rose 2001).

As a third way strategy, cultural planning advocates fostering the creative industries and attracting the cosmopolitan creative class as a way to facilitate social inclusion and create active citizens by making it possible for people to participate in the cultural economy as producers and/or consumers. Indeed, social inclusion within the texts of cultural planning frequently privileges the economy to such an extent that participation in society (full citizenship) is often understood as being achieved through active participation in the economy. And if it does not explicitly privilege the economy its third way porousness creates the space for this outcome. Culture and creativity, therefore, are regarded as forms of capital, capacities that can be developed to ameliorate social exclusion with the core assumption being that through their active participation in the economy, the marginal have the opportunity to become integrated into society as 'full' citizens.

Woven through cultural planning strategies are prescriptions for addressing urban decline, creating public and quasi-public spaces (precincts and quarters) and supporting the creative industries in order to achieve social inclusion and foster active citizenship (Mercer 2002, Worpole 1992). As discussed above, there was a view within early cultural planning texts that the physical decline of the civic had led to an erosion of the core ingredients of active citizenship – the physical spaces of democracy and the 'free' exchange of ideas (Mercer 2002, Worpole 1992). These themes are also relevant to the related goal of social inclusion and with respect to the third way Giddens (1998: 79) has suggested that 'government can and must take a major part in renewing civic culture', 'civic liberalism', and in 'recapturing ... public space'. The reimagined civic is the physical and imaginative space of creativity, cosmopolitanism, consumption and citizenship. Cultural planner Lia Ghilardi (2001: 129) explains some of these connections and their importance to fostering social inclusion:

The cultural industries support services developed within those agencies focused on issues of access, social inclusion and participation as much as on business generation. Social inclusion here is understood as an incentive to cultural production and as a way of fostering civic pride, and a sense of local identity and ownership. ... The philosophy behind the above developments is that of a 'productive' use of diversity to create a sustainable skills base and a culture of innovation capable of yielding economic rewards for everybody. This is an approach that sees cultural diversity not as a problem to be controlled by top-down policies, but as an asset for the development of the local community.

The key themes are all here – inclusion, community, identity, the civic and diversity – mobilized in the service of the cultural economy and the facilitation of active citizenship.

Conclusion

Cultural planning is frequently promoted as a way of achieving a broad range of social, economic, artistic and urban goals. Significantly, too it is often positioned as a strategy

for reconciling opposites including, the global and the local, opportunity and outcome, and community and the individual. As an aspect or consequence of this expansive agenda, cultural planning is seen as playing an important role in creating citizens and the spaces within which citizenship forms. Indeed, citizenship within cultural planning is frequently understood as linking the individual and the collective – as capable of retaining the social concerns of the Left at the same time as embracing entrepreneurial approaches to urban, and cultural, development. Pivotal is a view of the citizen as actively participating in the spaces of local democracy, economy and society, with the role of cultural planning being to provide the context for within which this can occur. Often this means animating public space through the development of cultural precincts and the provision of ‘soft’ creative infrastructure, as well through gentrification and establishing entertainment and consumption zones. Cultural planning in its broadest and narrowest manifestations is framed as being a facilitator of opportunity, an invitation to citizenship. At the same time responsibility for cultural and public provision has shifted from the government to the private sector and understandings of citizenship have become entwined with the ability to consume. The chapter argued that it is possible to identify three separate but intersecting themes within the cultural planning literature and treatises that are important to this positioning of the citizen – the civic, cosmopolitanism and social inclusion.

Initially, a concern to use cultural planning as a tool to build local citizens was an outcome in part of its foundations within in the British Labour Party, which embedded in cultural planning the importance of the civic (as a physical and political space) and the provision of public spaces and facilities in the civic heart of the city; but this agenda also supports entrepreneurial and city-imaging strategies often focused on consumption. The citizen conceived in terms of the civic has become one that is constituted principally in the public and quasi-public precincts of the (gentrified) inner city and, in spite of being couched in the language of democracy and community, is highly individualized, mobile and middle class. The chapter goes on to say that the idea of cosmopolitanism has become particularly relevant in this context, emerging in recent years to be a key dimension of cultural planning including its invocation of the citizen. ‘Cosmopolitan citizenship’ is both a contradictory notion and shaped through a number of seemingly incongruous but, nevertheless, intersecting discourses including, in particular, those associated with the creative class and the ‘intercultural’ city. The citizenship of cosmopolitanism also speaks to themes of the global which are in tension with both a notion of citizenship framed in terms of the civic and the city, but also with the third dimension of a cultural planning conception of citizenship – social inclusion.

Citizenship imagined in terms of social inclusion is where cultural strategies and programmes are used to give marginal(ized) groups the opportunity to participate fully in society and by extension become ‘active’ citizens. Social inclusion is often understood as being something of a synonym for social justice, which was an original aim of British cultural planning; however, as the chapter argues the two have very different objectives and are grounded in very different ideological assumptions, with social inclusion being focused on providing individuals with opportunities to be active citizens while social justice is concerned with outcomes and communities. What is also pivotal is that the achievement of social inclusion is often premised on an engagement in the cultural economy.

At the heart of the way in which cultural planning evokes the citizen is a series of oppositions, including Left–Right, community–identity, global–local and opportunity–outcome, which are played out in relation to themes of the civic, cosmopolitanism and social inclusion. Rather than bridging the divide between opposites, however, all too often the outcome has been the subordination of one to the other with the idea of the active citizen being central. The terrain of citizenship with its overtones of the collective may once have been the province of the Left but this is no longer the case. Now through the language of the ‘active citizen’, citizenship is also coded individual and linked with the private sector, consumption and identity.

As I have argued elsewhere (Stevenson 2004) cultural planning is premised on a discursive pun. It aims to develop local cultural activity, attract the cosmopolitan creative class to the intercultural city and use the creative industries to fashion a lively economy in ways that will position a town or city as a ‘cultural capital’. At the same time, however, these very strategies and objectives are being positioned as fundamental to the development of the ‘cultural/creative capital’ of the local population in a way that will address social exclusion, foster participation in the economy and create active citizens. The need for an evaluation and reconceptualization of these relationships and goals and of what citizenship means within a cultural planning framework has clearly become urgent and much ground has already been given up. At stake is a fundamental challenge to the theories and the practices of cultural planning and many of its underpinning assumptions, particularly those grounded in the now outmoded third way compromise. Such a challenge is necessary, however, to make possible a reconceptualization that is more than superficial and for cultural planning to become a truly progressive approach to supporting local citizenship and providing the spaces within which this citizenship is expressed and affirmed.

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