

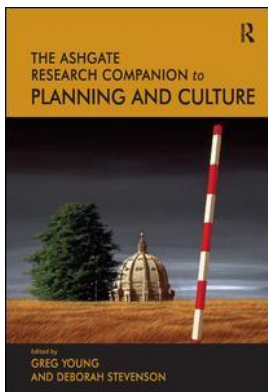
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Introduction: Culture and Planning in a Grain of Sand

Greg Young

I ... am the gazer and the land I stare on.

Judith Wright, *For New England*, 1994

In an era commonly viewed through the lenses of culture as much as those of the environment, ideology or politics a publication tackling the twin themes of culture and planning in conceptual, theoretical and practical terms would seem to be an essential requirement for academics, graduate students, public policy makers and planners. This volume is designed to address the challenge through its relevance to multiple disciplines, roles and sectors. In this introductory framing, however, while I present a brief outline of the book's contents and refer to the theoretical and conceptual perspectives of the contributors' chapters, my principal goal is to indicate an overall point of view on culture and planning. This not only serves to illustrate the perspective that shaped the volume from its inception, but also accommodates the considerable diversity, as well as inevitable similarities in points of view, that characterize an edited collection.

In proposing to present an overall point of view on culture and planning, I also note that the shaping vision for the volume is most rooted in the theory, concepts and practices of the global North and in the experience of Anglophone cultures. Yet at the same time, it is also clear that these elements themselves include postcolonial understanding as well as three other key aspects closely related to universality. The first of these is the fact that in planning 'the issues of power, transparency, flexibility, objective standards, accountability and commitment to negotiating competing interests transcend national boundaries' (Shmueli 2005: 512). The second is the contradiction that exists between the practical and the utopian and abstract in planning and in geography that according to Phelps and Tewdwr-Jones is a function 'of the impossibility of separating an understanding of space and time in the social sciences' (Phelps and Tewdwr-Jones 2008: 573). The third aspect is what Glacken described in 1967 as the 'expression of ever-recurring form of the quest for meaning in man, in nature, and in the relationship between the two' (Phelps and Tewdwr-Jones 2008: 572). Subsequently, this perspective is added to by material in the Prefaces to each of the book's six Parts

and in an Afterword reflecting on the themes and issues raised in the contributors' chapters.

Culture in a Grain of Sand

Sketching a brief profile of culture requires perhaps as a point of departure, a resonant metaphor, such as that of the epigraph from the poem by Judith Wright – infused with an Australian Aboriginal perspective on place and 'country' – or a familiar story or observation known to most readers. One such observation, is Raymond Williams's description of culture in *Keywords*, as 'one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language' (1983: 87). Like other keywords, Williams viewed the word 'culture' as charting the course of significant social and intellectual changes in history, a role that has not been surrendered since first publication of the book in 1976, although it has been added to in ever more problematical terms. In a more recent opinion, for example, in a prominent dictionary of human geography, culture is described as 'one of the most influential, yet elusive, concepts in the humanities and social sciences' (Barnett 2009: 135). Under these circumstances, little is it to be wondered how and why culture has so often eluded planning conceptualization, or planning inclusion, whether in terms of culture's tangible and intangible dimensions or across the full spectrum of its social, environmental and historical axes. In addition, while there is a key body of writing on planning and culture there are few texts that take a comprehensive perspective on their entanglement, although arguably such holism may be the most likely opportunity for the creative development of planning as a practice.

Yet since the late nineteenth century, a number of key conceptualizations of culture have crystallized and perhaps more importantly have assumed a practical social dominance at different times and places, including in planning (Young 2005) and these are variously characterized throughout the volume. (See Miller, Greed, O'Connor, Bianchini and Young, Chapters 3, 5, 10, 22 and 23.) For the most part, however, the picture is frequently one of a number of concepts jockeying for priority at any one point in time, such that culture may be seen as dialectically related – as the relationship between culture and international development is nowadays widely perceived (Radcliffe 2006) – or alternatively, as a form or indeed chain of hegemonic and counter-hegemonic interplay. Added to this, over the twentieth century, broad trends and perspectives on culture have ranged far and wide, including those associated with the cultural norms of architectural and planning modernism, the dogmas of communist and fascist ideologies, the Frankfurt School's critique of the cultural industries, the approach of British Marxism and the influential Birmingham School of Cultural Studies, post-structural and postmodern approaches to culture and the impact on scholarship of the so-called 'cultural turn' identified by sociologists in the late twentieth century.

Typically, however, in contemporary terms cultural knowledge and understanding is applied across diverse sectors, disciplines and practices and a cultural perspective is increasingly embedded in considerations of economic development, institutional and organizational capacity-building and in the characterization of social well-being. In these contexts, culture can be variously seen as a foundational research resource and planning tool, as the hinge of power and identity and as a key index of social development. While

the relationships between these sectoral paradigms may not be mutually supportive – as for example in the case of the historical relationship ‘between classical economics and utilitarian philosophy’ (Archer 2005: 27) – similar preoccupations and the potential for theoretical and methodological exchange, joint learning, and ultimately points of convergence are possibilities in each case.

The Dynamics of Culture

In order to set the conceptual scene for this discussion I begin with a brief sketch of the key trends I see operating in global culture followed by an outline of the main concepts of culture that can be distinguished historically and in contemporary usage. The goal here is to indicate why culture has come to be viewed by many as ‘humanity’s most important intellectual resource’ (Chaney 1994). To begin with, culture has long been recognized as an expanding phenomenon (Williams 1966) and this expansion is accelerating as a result of the convergence of the economic and cultural spheres (Scott 2000, Soja 1996, 1993). Within the context of late capitalist civilization, this includes the shift from liberal to monopoly capitalism identified by Horkheimer and Adorno (1997: ix). As a defining aspect of the cultural economy, Scott describes a double process in which culture becomes more of a commodity at the same time as commodities themselves acquire greater cultural and symbolic content (Scott 2000). As a result ‘economic and organizational life is increasingly “culturalized”’ (du Gay and Pryke 2000: 6) and in urban terms great metropolitan cities become ‘the flagships of a new global capitalist cultural economy’ (Scott 2000: 3; see also O’Connor, Chapter 10, this volume). In spite of this, a range of the more positive aspect of culture’s dialectic can be found in the chapters to follow, including for example in respect of global cultural governance policy (see Duxbury and Jeannotte, Chapter 21, this volume), in the assertion of the social and ethical dimensions of culture (see O’Connor, Chapter 10), in more inclusive and holistic levels of place reinvention (see Nyseth, Chapter 19) and through the concept of ‘culturization’ and culturized planning based on the ethical, critical and reflective appreciation and utilization of culture in discourse, governance and planning (Young, 2008a, 2008b, see also Young, Chapter 23).

The antinomies of economic culturalization, as a form of late capitalist commodification, and culturization as an approach to humane governance and planning, both however reflect what Jameson described as a pattern in which everything in our social life ‘from economic value and state power ... to the very structure of the psyche itself – can be said to have become “cultural” in some original and yet untheorized sense’ (1984: 87). In addition to Jameson’s over-arching framing, sociologists in the late twentieth century identified the presence of a ‘cultural turn’ (Chaney 1994) referencing a new focus on everyday experience and the practicalities of lived social life, the impact of which continues to be felt on scholarship in the social sciences and humanities.

In the case of planning, however, I single out six factors in terms of the dynamics of culture as they together reflect the themes that run through the book’s chapters as well as current and potential impacts on planning viewed both as opportunities and threats.

Six cultural factors and planning

The six factors consist of 1) cultural diversity, 2) local place and global flows, 3) the cultural and creative industries, 4) public space and citizenship, 5) cultural planning and sustainability perspectives, and 6) social and cultural theories and concepts of culture, history and heritage.

First, cultural diversity is recognized in the UNESCO *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* (2001) in terms that encompass respect for differences based on ethnicity, race, religion, gender, age and sexual preference, and varied combinations of these. At the same time the Declaration recognizes that 'cultural diversity is necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature' (UNESCO 2001: 11). This presents the growing multicultural cities of the world with many opportunities and challenges, including the opportunity for planning to contribute to living with difference and to the reduction of fear and bias. At the same time, cultural diversity is continuously constituted and re-constituted in a kaleidoscope of new and hybrid phenomena around the globe. Not only is this the case, but also the 'Internet Galaxy' (Castells 2001) and other media give direct experience of both contemporary manifestations of diversity as well as its historical expressions in many civilizations including Arabic, Chinese, Indian and Western.

Second, local place and global flows are co-configured in an era described by Castells (1991: 350) as a global 'space of flows' generated by the Information Economy. Under this pattern, local societies are obliged to 'preserve their identities, and build upon their historical roots regardless of their economic and functional dependence on the space of flows' (Castells 1991: 350). In the process, however, local places may reimagine themselves to induce the flow of globalization's favours. (See also Nyseth, Chapter 19, this volume.) At the same time, commodities and the products of lightly remunerated labour flow northwards from the global South, while industrial wastes including e-wastes are re-exported south. (See Miller, Chapter 3, this volume.)

Third, the cultural and creative industries have become self-perpetuating. According to Sassoon, for example, the cultural industry 'feeds on itself and is limitless' (2006: xvi). Similarly, creativity is seen as a key driver of the modern economy (Florida 2004, see also Sasaki, and Montgomery, Chapters 12 and 20, this volume) and is widely recognized by writers on urbanism and cultural planning such as Landry (2006). All the while, the information economy expands through online culture, with Internet research and creative web practices fostering the creation of new knowledge. The potential to place 'everything we call knowledge' (McNeely and Wolverton 2009: xi) on the World Wide Web encourages creativity, with planning benefiting from online research and through tools such as citizens' data banks that are able 'to enhance citizen participation' (Castells 1991: 353).

Fourth, public space and citizenship are theorized in terms tantamount to each being viewed as the proxy of the other, with the dynamic between them the site of competing theory, practice and discourse. Public space is seen to have negative and positive potentialities for citizenship and identity formation according to the degree to which it is shaped in democratic and equitable terms. (See Stevenson, Dovey, Low, Paddison, Chapters 9, 15, 17 and 18, this volume.)

Fifth, cultural planning and sustainability perspectives have significant potential as well as possibilities for alignment. Cultural planning and cultural policy have the opportunity to assist in the co-production of broader public policy and to 'play the public policy game' recognized by Bianchini (see Chapter 22, this volume). At the

same time, sustainability policy, for example, is increasingly perceived in cultural terms, to the extent that culture has become the 'core question' (UNESCO 2009: 6) for sustainability and its framing. The *Agenda 21 for Culture* places culture at the centre of sustainability and argues that 'the role of culture in sustainable development is mainly about including a cultural perspective in all public policy' (UNESCO 2009: 6). Most recently in 2010, the global United Cities and Local Governments organization (UCLG 2010) adopted culture as 'The Fourth Pillar of Sustainability', adding it as a term to the earlier social, economic and environmental dimensions of the sustainability equation.

Sixth, social and cultural theories and concepts of culture, history and heritage are the contexts in which planning evolves. These include theories about the nature and role of culture as well as of planning and varied concepts of culture, history and heritage such as in Ashworth's chapter in this volume (see Chapter 11) where a concept of heritage is defined as 'the contemporary uses of the past'. Social theories including structural, post-structural and postmodern theories have all had an impact on planning understanding and new theory in the social sciences and humanities develops as if in chains of ongoing hegemonic and counter-hegemonic iteration. This is reflected in Harvey's argument, in the need to develop new concepts where old are found wanting, and to the priority maintained by Marx, to use concepts and categories, rather than be used by them (Harvey 1988: 298). In these senses perhaps theoretical and conceptual developments are a form of soft power (Nye 2004), heightened by the elevation of the cognitive dimension in contemporary social and economic life. I would include here concepts of recent origin described in this volume such as those of planning cultures (Newman and Thornley, Chapter 4), place reinvention (Nyseth, Chapter 19) and culturized planning and governance (Young, Chapter 23).

The six factors I have cited above are a narrative to facilitate interpreting, comprehending and characterizing planning's operating environment as much as that of other key social technologies.

Concepts of Culture

I believe the main conceptualizations of culture may be seen in terms of three dominant approaches relating to first, the arts and high culture, second, an anthropological conception of culture and third, a concept of culture based on ontological holism.

The first concept of culture, as comprising the arts, views culture in aesthetic terms. This is nowadays frequently allied with the view that 'artistic output emerges from creative people' (Miller and Yudice 2002: 1), an idea taken further in the concept of the cultural economy and the creative city. Similarly, the nineteenth-century concept of high culture based on the arts was most famously defined by Matthew Arnold as 'contact with the best that has been thought and said' (1979: 6) in his 1882 book *Culture and Anarchy*.

The second concept is that of an anthropological conception of culture, first developed in the nineteenth century by Edward Tylor, who defined culture in his influential *Primitive Culture* published in 1871 to mean in its broad ethnographic sense 'that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society' (Tylor 1903: 1). Tylor concluded his book by famously asserting that 'in aiding progress and in

removing hindrance, the science of culture is essentially a reformer's science' (Tylor 1924: 453). Tylor's metaphor reverberated in the twentieth century where it was utilized by the most prominent British cultural theorist Raymond Williams and later adopted as the name of a well-known book *Culture: A Reformer's Science* (Bennet 1998). I am of the opinion, however, that such a striking and suggestive metaphor may also be applied to a strand in the history and theory of planning itself. On one level at least, planning also originated as a reformer's science late in the nineteenth century, designed to address the impacts of industrialization, rapid urbanization and the emergence of modern mass society. A number of writers such as Dear have also called for planning theory to be better connected with its 'progressive utopian roots' (2000: 135). These utopian roots, however, sit alongside planning's darker role. This was manifest in European colonial rule and the conduct of a 'civilizing mission' that led to the usurpation of indigenous cultures in the process of implanting foreign governance and urbanism and an extractive developmental infrastructure. (See also Ward, Chapter 2, this volume.)

In the twentieth century Raymond Williams built on Tylor's pioneering perspective and furnished key disciplines such as cultural studies with the modern definitional tools to approach culture. Williams's description of culture as 'a whole way of life, material, intellectual and spiritual' (1966: 16) became the shorthand definition of choice woven through the disciplines of the humanities and the social sciences. In viewing culture as a 'reformer's science' Williams and other writers from the Birmingham School of Cultural Studies proposed that through new intellectual and conceptual tools, culture could be a means to promote social justice and development. In a sense this approach recapitulated Tylor's goal to use humanity's history and prehistory as a basis for the reform of British society (Lewis 1998: 727).

In this vein, Williams (1966) also recognized the gaps between what he described as 'dominant', 'residual' and 'emergent' forms of culture as opportunities for the reformer's social project. Interpreted in today's terms examples of these contrasts and inequalities include those that exist between middle-class culture and mainstream lifestyles as against the multicultural complexities of less powerful groups, between the male gender and heterosexuality and women and sexual minorities and in post-colonial settings between 'settler' culture and indigenous cultures and values. I also note that Williams's concept of 'emergent culture' is close to the idea and practices the planning theorist Leonie Sandercock (1998) identifies as 'insurgent culture'.

The third approach to culture is based on an analysis of its ontological structure. The French philosopher Henri Lefèbvre (1992) identified a 'trialectics of being' based on a cultural triad of 'spatiality', 'historicality' and 'sociality' that equates to the environmental, historical and social categories of culture and the key related disciplines of geography, history and sociology. This holistic approach to culture has the advantage of accommodating all aspects of culture, including its tangible and intangible dimensions and historical and contemporary axes. (See also Young, Chapter 23, this volume.) As an approach it is consistent with the idea of culture as 'the very medium of lived experience' (Jacobs and Hanrahan 2005: 1) although it is weaker in conveying the idea that Barnett (2009) argues, that culture is 'best thought of as a process, not a thing'. In spite of this, it is also the case that the embodied and material aspects of culture are important in each of the three concepts of culture I describe and play a key role in planning. In respect of the first two approaches to culture, viewed as the arts and in anthropological terms, Miller and Yudice recognize

that these are brought together in cultural policy through the 'institutional supports that channel both aesthetic creativity and collective ways of life' (2002: 1).

The Global, National and Local State

The role of the international state in relation to culture in the period following the Second World War needs to be singled out for its historical relevance and growing contemporary importance. In terms of global governance, culture is espoused in multiple contexts and considered in both basic ethical terms and as a resource. Culture as a human right received its categorical expression in the 1947 *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (United Nations 1948). In the 1990s the 'Agenda 21' of the UNCED 'Rio Summit' of 1992 nominated local cultural awareness as the foundation for sustainable strategies for cultures and their environments (United Nations 1993), and in 1995 the World Commission on Culture (WCC) in its report *Our Creative Diversity* argued that 'the relationship between culture and development should be clarified and deepened, in practical and constructive ways' (WCC 1996: 8). In 2010, as a further example of local and supranational policy coordination, the United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG 2010) – representing cities with populations totalling several billion inhabitants – adopted culture as 'The Fourth Pillar of Sustainability'.

In terms of national cultural policy and planning I single out Australia as an example and illustrate it for each of the three tiers of Australia's federal system of government. In 1994 the Australian Government released the country's first national cultural policy *Creative Nation: Commonwealth Cultural Policy* (DOCA 1994) and in 1995 published an influential model for cultural mapping under the title *Mapping Culture: A Guide for Cultural and Economic Development in Communities* (Young et al. 1995). Both documents featured a holistic approach to culture, referencing among other definitions that of Raymond Williams. The cultural mapping model spelt out in detail cultural and ethical criteria for mapping that included intellectual property and confidentiality guidelines, and provided proposals for recommendations for cultural integration across governance and business functions and activities. In general, it operated in a spirit that celebrated cultural diversity and the power and relevance of local place. At the Australian state level in the 2000s, the development of cultural plans was mandated by the New South Wales Government, as a precondition for state funding for local government cultural facilities (Young 2008b: 22), and at the local government level cultural diversity and the recognition of cultural holism were embedded in the policy of many local councils. For example, the City of Fairfield in Sydney described its culture as consisting of 'personal histories and stories, relationships with people and places, diverse communities, interesting shopping centres, waterways and wetlands, heritage, stories of migration, places of worship, Aboriginal heritage, arts, sport, rural lands, celebrations, hotted up cars and distinctive architecture' (Fairfield City Council 2005: 6)

In respect of these approaches Yudice points out that 'The notion of culture as a resource entails its management, a view that was not characteristic of either high culture or everyday culture in the anthropological sense and to further complicate matters, culture as a resource circulates globally, with ever increasing velocity' (2003: 4). The governance of the international, national and local states all play their parts in

this pattern of circulation, but in the process may also contribute to the safeguarding of cultural standards in land use, conservation and community empowerment.

Creativity and the Arts

The arts play many social roles. They help to reduce and soften our instrumental sense of the world, they are a source of social distinction and preferment, based on what Pierre Bourdieu (2001) termed 'cultural capital', and they are the basis of the growth and development of the cultural industries, often promoted as the key to regional economic and social development. The cultural industries, however, are ultimately based upon the creativity of individual artists whose artistic creativity spills or is diffused outwards (Throsby 2008) into dependent industries, where it has the potential to promote employment and wealth creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property (Johnson 2006). Thus the arts have profound urban and regional implications, not only in terms of city economies, but also in respect of urban lifestyles and in the competitive marketing of place. Recognition of the role of the arts and of creativity in the urban sector has at times resulted in quixotic attempts to replicate their urban preconditions. Beyond this, as Hall notes (1998) in the process of generating a cultural economy, cultivated cities and nations sell their cultural products as much as their own virtue and aesthetics to the rest of the world.

Planning in a Grain of Sand

Planning has had a complex history since its modern inception in the late nineteenth century. In a heady span of history, congested with radical social, economic, political and intellectual changes, the role of the planner and the nature of planning have varied widely. Key influences on planning have ranged from modernism before the Second World War, cybernetics systems thinking in the 1960s, Marxist-inspired political economy and equity and advocacy planning movements in the 1970s, the impacts of communicative theory and postmodern philosophies in the 1980s and 1990s, post-structural approaches in the 1990s and the current and ongoing impacts of neoliberal economics and complexity theory. As against this, for much of the twentieth century the culture of planning was rooted in the Western Enlightenment of the eighteenth century, with Healey arguing in the 1990s that planning had been "'trapped" inside a modernist instrumental rationalism for many years' (1997: 7). In addition, Sandercock recognized that modernist planning 'whether socialist or capitalist came from the same epistemological roots' (Sandercock 1998: 21). Contemporary planning instrumentalism, however, is probably best represented in the marketing and promotion of global cities and their cultures and economies through the development of architectural icons and pliant planning regimes as urban mega-regions compete internationally and assume a powerful role in national affairs. (See also Newman and Thornley, and Searle, Chapters 4 and 8 this volume.)

In political administration a stronger instrumentalism was represented by the rescaling of governance that occurred in many countries in the 1980s and 1990s, such

as the United Kingdom, the United States and Australia, as neo-liberal doctrines came increasingly into fashion. Under the rescaling process, the shift from government to governance shaped a greater role for government as a developer, and this was implemented through regional strategic planning and partnerships with private corporations and non-government organizations (NGOs). Ironically, this rescaling of governance led frequently not only to a reduced role for planning, but also repressed community knowledge and subtler possibilities for culture. For example, in the case of the role of tangible and intangible heritage in large-scale redevelopments by the state, such as at Darling Harbour, Sydney, Australia (see Searle, Chapter 8, this volume) and the Isle of Dogs, London, UK, heritage items, historical images and nomenclature, and representations of intangible social history, such as community memories, images and attachments to place, were transformed into developmental commodities for the purposes of design, branding and promotional 'collateral'. Opportunities for culturally responsive planning were downplayed.

At the same time, alongside such developments more traditional urban planning co-existed taking less instrumental and more domesticated forms. As an example of these traditional horizons, the American Planning Association (APA) describes planning as bringing together 'data, citizens' ideas and opinions, civic leaders' goals, and good planning practice into a deliberative process of community decision making' (APA 2012). Contemporary planning has come to dwell, on the whole, on rather modest and circumspect beliefs 'fuelled not only by the neo-liberal disdain for planning, but also by postmodernist scepticism, both of which tend to view progress as something which, if it happens, cannot be planned' (Albrechts 2010: 216). On a larger and more inspirational note, however, Hillier has defined the broad mission of spatial planning, while recognizing the potential and limitation of such a mission, as being 'stewardship of the future well-being of the planet – comprising humans, non-humans and their natural and constructed environments' (Hillier 2010: 2). This holistic perspective sits alongside a consensus on planning monopolized by the concept of sustainable development. Not for the first time perhaps, a specific planning doctrine has come to be viewed as the optimal goal for planning. Gunder and Hillier describe sustainable development as the now dominant spatial planning narrative, although they argue that it is 'perhaps implicitly trumped in achievement at the city-region level by the desire to be a "globally competitive city"' (Gunder and Hillier 2009: 20).

In spite of this narrowing, planning stubbornly retains 'dimensions of both art and science' (Gunder and Hillier 2009: 2). On this basis, viewed as an expression of technical, political, artistic and scientific contributions and processes, Sandercock (2004) proposes a different sensibility for planning from the regulatory planning that dominated twentieth-century practice. Planning as Sandercock (2004: 134) describes it would be based on a sensibility as much alert to the emotional economy of the city as to its political economy, as aware of the sensory landscape of the city as of the city census, as much alert to the desires of its citizens as to the need for hard infrastructure, able to see the ludic as inseparable from the city's productive spaces, capable of being critical of capitalist excesses and able collectively to forge new hybrid cultures and places.

In short, this is a planning alert to all of the registers and dimensions of culture, with the potential to challenge and modify the impacts of neo-liberal governmentalities that limit the possibilities for cultural integrity and planning coherence. A perspective such

as this would play a part in beneficially modulating the dialectic between culturized planning and economic culturalization.

Cultural Planning, Culturized Planning and Planning with Culture

Over the last several decades cultural planning by name, has been a significant trend in planning notably in Australia, Canada, Spain, the United Kingdom and the United States, although it has a proto-history in the early twentieth century most notably in the work of Patrick Geddes. Emerging from developments in cultural theory and cultural studies in the 1970s, and from pressures for participatory democracy cultural planning was conceived as a means of improving the public realm, often hand in hand with initiatives to empower local communities (Bianchini and Schwengel 1991, see also Bianchini, Chapter 22, this volume). In Australia, for example, cultural plans have been developed as strategic planning exercises by local authorities, and are the vehicles for assessing or mapping local culture in qualitative and quantitative terms through a facilitated process of structured community engagement. Cultural plans typically set out administrative responsibilities, resource needs and timelines for implementation and are intended for integration with other planning undertaken by a local authority. Planning for the culture of cities and regions is emphasized, for example, by the parliaments of Scotland (Scottish Executive 2002) and Wales, and numerous Australian and Canadian local governments.

More recently, however, cultural planning and planning for the arts have grown to reflect 'the growing attention paid to the cultural economy and the commodification of the arts as urban cultural assets' (Evans 2001: 16) and are bolstered by the agenda of the 'creative city' and the 'creative class'. Cultural planning has been criticized in an Australian context, for example, for the fact that its 'central assumptions are not about using the arts or cultural activity to achieve social justice, but are concerned with social control, place management, and the achievement of conservative forms of citizenship and community' (Stevenson 2004: 125).

In contrast to the all too frequently arts-biased interventions of cultural planning is the concept of culturized planning, in which the goal is to 'mainstream' the use and consideration of culture throughout all spatial and non-spatial strategic planning using planning approaches that are specifically creative, critical, ethical and reflective in their techniques (Young 2008b). In this perspective, culture is theorized as a contested arena and set of practices, but with a focus on the cultural enrichment and sensitization of planning while recognizing the risks of its uptake in processes of state legitimation, in the economy of spectacle and in the differentiation of urban products for the market place. In common with 'planning culturally' the objective of culturized planning is to put culture on the table first in all planning projects regardless of type. Culturized planning reflects the safeguards inbuilt in the Australian model for community cultural mapping (Young et al. 1995) that acknowledge the right of each community and subgroup to define its own culture, and to protect it in the mapping process through an ethical system based on confidentiality, the protection of intellectual property and copyright and related measures. Regardless of the source of its inspiration perhaps, a revitalized and re-thought cultural planning has numerous strands, models and practices to draw on for further development.

Planning Theory

It has been claimed that planning has no endogenous body of theory 'unlike other areas of the social sciences or other professions including medicine' (Allmendinger 2002a: 6). Yet planning requires and utilizes theoretical systems and insights in order to develop and refine its own versions of theory and practice. Campbell and Fainstein have described the role of planning theory as intended to include the updating of planning thinking in order to accommodate new 'urban phenomena ... or social theories from other fields' (2003: 12). The examples of new urban phenomena the authors cite include globalization and cyberspace, while their examples of relevant social theories include postmodernism and critical theory. As Sandercock has succinctly observed, 'the need for different kinds of theories shifts as societies change' (Sandercock 1998: 104) and this is no less so for planning than for other sectors.

In characterizing and accessing planning theory Allmendinger has helpfully divided it into neo-modern and postmodern wings. In addition (Allmendinger 2002b: 7) he has neatly condensed a general characterization of the postmodern wing in social theory around five principles: the breakdown of transcendental meaning; the existence of a discursively created subject; the role of cultural influences in ordering society; considerations of fragmentation and dispersal; and Foucault's and Baudrillard's notions of power. In this diverse context, operating with an 'eclectic "pick and mix" basis to theory development and planning practice' (Allmendinger 2002a: 84) would seem to be appropriate, with the goal to locate the right theory according to the research, planning and community contexts and purposes in mind. As an example, Flyvbjerg and Richardson in searching for the dark side of planning theory contrast the use of a Foucauldian perspective as against that of 'Habermasian normativism' (2002: 61). They argue that Foucault's emphasis on conflict and power is more relevant to an understanding of planning that is 'practical, committed and ready for conflict' and provides a superior paradigm to 'planning theory that is discursive, detached and consensus-dependent' (2002: 62).

Depending on context and contextualization, these and other cultural and social theories are capable of infusing the planning imagination with fresh inspiration and new opportunities. At the same time, theory is challenged to consider cultural issues and cultural framing and to develop creative approaches for a 'transformative practice' (Albrechts 2010: 216). Albrechts argues that such practice is required, as the challenges that places face cannot be adequately addressed 'either with the neo-liberal perspective or with the intellectual technical-legal apparatus and mind-set of traditional land use planning' (2010: 216).

I myself perceive limitations in most current planning approaches, but consider that these could be ameliorated through the greater integration and assimilation of culture in critical, ethical and reflective terms. This may be best indicated by using four key planning theories and planning practices as examples, consisting of 'planning physicalism', collaborative planning, postmodern theories and approaches, and the creative city approach. First, 'planning physicalism', or a dominant physical approach to planning, identifies the provision of hard infrastructure as the overriding economic and social priority to provide planning with a panacea. This approach can be de-cultured and socially unresponsive. In spite of this, it is possible to re-conceptualize hard infrastructure in more balanced terms and to re-frame its delivery and urban and

social interface in more socially sensitive and responsive terms. Second, collaborative planning often focuses on local issues and micro-perspectives, at the expense of broader issues, and involves unrealistic levels of social engagement, yet it has the potential for enlargement to address wicked problems and the 'big picture' in cultural terms. Third, postmodern social and cultural theories are often constrained by high levels of abstraction, elite accessibility and the need for specialist interpretation. In spite of this, the interpretive 'unpacking' of such theories and insights into accessible themes and practical linkages to planning reasoning and planning techniques could result in a re-worked theory for planning action. Fourth, the 'creative city' approach focuses on the arts and technology and exhibits a bias to 'cool' aesthetics, social winners and private and privatized heritage, but could learn to accommodate broader considerations in the mix, such as intercultural and non-mainstream forms of cultural capital and issues of cultural equity.

To achieve a repositioning, in each of the four examples I cite, would be to develop a more sensitive and nuanced approach to culture, regardless of the spatial scale, planning mode or type. It would also be to repudiate what Gunder and Hillier (2009: 194) term 'copy-paste planning templates' which are all too often based on the 'mechanistic pre-shaping of planning issues – through application of universal planning master signifiers (or those of economic development) and their dominant supporting knowledge sets', the effects of which are to frame discussion in a predetermined way (2009: 194).

Outline of the Book

The book consists of six Parts with this Introduction and an Afterword. Each Part is divided into four chapters and concludes with a Case Study Window. The six Parts are 'Global Contexts', 'Planning and Its Dimensions', 'Culture and Its Dimensions', 'Planning Practices', 'Cultural Practices' and 'Cultural and Planning Dynamics'. Each Case Study Window is a concrete case study with illustrations.

Themes of the Chapters and Book

In this section I relate the key overall themes of the book to its individual chapters. While most chapters inevitably reference a number of themes in most cases a single theme dominates. As set out previously, the six themes consist of 1) cultural diversity, 2) local place and global flows, 3) the cultural and creative industries, 4) public space and citizenship, 5) cultural planning and sustainability perspectives, and 6) social and cultural theories and concepts of culture, history and heritage.

First, cultural diversity is considered as reflected in urban and especially metropolitan populations and in planning policy and practices. In this way, cultural diversity is encompassed in chapters on:

- living with difference in multicultural cities including the expression of street markets and religious sites as discussed by Sophie Watson in Chapter 1;

- the various national strands contributing to the history of Western planning practice documented by Ward in Chapter 2;
- the diverse, specific national planning cultures of global cities outlined by Newman and Thornley in Chapter 4;
- the fundamental dimension of gender diversity and historically gendered planning approaches to citizenship and public and private space discussed by Greed in Chapter 5.

Second, local places and global flows can be seen as presenting an interpenetrated dynamic with consequences reflected in:

- the dynamics of the theoretical and practical bridges that exist between global cultural governance and cultural planning practices at the local level traced by Duxbury and Jeannotte in Chapter 21;
- the varied cultural needs and uses for public parks including the cultural rights of migrant groups identified in New York by Low in Chapter 17;
- the complexities of place reinvention in Nordic and other cultures described by Nyseth in Chapter 19;
- the limited relevance of the transfer of Western planning theory to the global South argued by Vanessa Watson in Chapter 7.

Third, the cultural and creative industries are self-perpetuating and exist as highly mobile frontiers. Their impacts cycle through many dimensions discussed in terms of:

- toxic e-wastes shipped to the global South, comprising a dark side to the cultural economy, targeted by Miller in Chapter 3;
- favouring the new economy in inner urban redevelopment in planning discourse in Sydney, and the use of cultural theory in understanding the process, as discussed by Searle in Chapter 8;
- the sometimes regressive signifier of the cultural industries argued by O'Connor in Chapter 10;
- a Japanese perspective on the creative city and its cultural economy illustrated by Sasaki in Chapter 12;
- the planned role of cultural quarters in urban redevelopment models presented by Montgomery in Chapter 20.

Fourth, public space and citizenship are intertwined in normative terms and find reflection in each other as illustrated through:

- evocations of citizenship as they occur in cultural planning and their specific privileging explored by Stevenson in Chapter 9;
- contradictions and ambiguities contained in the concept of place and in its social mobilization discussed by Dovey in Chapter 15;
- the re-aestheticization of the city, as a threat and opportunity to the material and symbolic meaning public space gives to urban life, discussed by Paddison in Chapter 18.

Fifth, the further development of cultural planning and sustainability perspectives has great potential including cross-fertilization illustrated through:

- the possibilities for cultural planning to contribute to sustainable development in communities through a whole population approach and mainstream embedding in planning, outlined by Evans in Chapter 13;
- recognition of the fundamental need in the global South to address the crisis of urban life through a radically democratic planning recast with cultural understanding, discussed by Pieterse in Chapter 14;
- the growth of the slow city movement as a cultural movement in civil society, with the objectives of local sustainable development and the promotion of a global manifesto, outlined by Baycan and Girard in Chapter 16;
- expansion of the concept and role of cultural planning across public policy in broad terms and in political and global terms through an international perspective critically considered by Bianchini in Chapter 22.

Sixth, social and cultural theories and concepts of culture, history and heritage in relation to planning encompass a range of ideas and perspectives including:

- the social and planning role of heritage as a construct observed by Ashworth in Chapter 11;
- the limitations of the model of communicative planning rationality in the context of the contemporary United States as perceived by Throgmorton in Chapter 6;
- the value of a new cultural paradigm for governance in widespread terms and specifically for culturized governance and planning developed by Young in Chapter 23;
- a Deleuzean inspired re-theorization and reconceptualization of planning activities and practices outlined by Hillier in Chapter 24.

Conclusion

The extensive series of essays in this volume illustrate the fact that the place of culture is highlighted in contemporary planning practice and theory as never before, whether in the spatial expressions and planning implications of cultural practices and cultural diversity, the role of cultural equity in just urban development, the place of creativity and the cultural industries in urban development, and through culturally sensitive and responsive planning concepts of place reinvention and culturized planning. In all of these modes the role of culture and of imagination is to deepen and sensitize planning theory and planning practice to assist planning in its development and transformation.

In an age characterized by cultural diversity, global flows, environmental stress and planning scepticism, there is a heightened need to recognize that local and regional patterns of ways-of-life, histories, and cultural landscapes are dynamic cultural constellations created by people 'suspended in webs of significance spun by themselves' (Geertz 1973: 5). Planning sustainable cultures rests, therefore, on discovering, interpreting and building the mosaics of these lives, landscapes and

legacies with the soft power of culture. In this task, our very ideas about culture are themselves constitutive of the planning and governance fields, as through a positive governmentality reconstituted from the progressive elements of the 'reformer's science'. For culture is the home of being and the foundation of the planner's house.

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