

# Creative Industries and the Creative City



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**Culture-led regeneration**

**The 'creative city'**

**Creative industries and the City**

# Culture-led Regeneration



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1980s city governments faced:  
contracting industrial base  
increasing globalisation  
erosion of the key traditional competitive functions of cities.

culture as the 'new fix'

# New role for culture



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Global image and attraction of 'footloose capital'

Highly mobile and highly skilled personnel

Cultural tourists

Culture-led regeneration: investment in the urban fabric.

# Property Led Regeneration



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Subsidised visual and performing arts, museums and heritage etc.

New build and 're-programming' of 19th and 20th century industrial structures

Anchor private sector investment into entertainment, leisure and shopping facilities; cafes and restaurants; new type of up-market accommodation, offices and apartments.



Regeneration viewed as physical regeneration at the expense of a more holistic vision.

The big regeneration projects about culture and consumption

Cultural consumption generates business, enhances property markets, has strong image effects, but has limits.

# Property-led development



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Tends to involve high capital investment often at the expense of the local

Blandness, homogeneity

Social exclusion (real and symbolic)

Privatisation of public space

City centre at expense of suburbs





Sustainability

Extent of Local Impact – economic and social

Question of wider benefits to the city - content frequently 'art', of 'international quality' – whose culture, whose image?

Used instrumentally with little feeling for the actual content.

Emphasis on cultural consumption rather than production

Can be destructive of spaces of creation and production

# The Creative City



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Culture-led regeneration attempt to re-image the city giving it a greater global profile.

Real creative vision involves much wider and deeper set of transformations.

Re-imaging must involve renegotiation of local identity - not just marketing exercise.



About building partnerships, inspiring visions, leadership, accepting painful change

About re-imagining the city, telling a different story about what it was and what it could become.



**Adorno** – culture as mass production for mass society.

Not commodification of culture but industrialisation – implicated art and popular culture alike.

Also about failure of the avant garde

Not acknowledge by National (and international) cultural policies which sought to defend a heritage against ‘the market’.

# The Cultural Industries



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**Cultural Studies: beyond high and low**

**Political economists: Cultural *Industries***

Different conditions of production and consumption: commodity and flow;  
public and private.

Need for innovation and authenticity - Risky business – dealing with  
unpredictability

Artists remain freelance 'Artisans'

Cultural Industries become cultural policy



1980s – specific context. New cultural democracy and local economic strategies

Break with artist centred cultural policy – value chains, access to production and distribution; industrial strategies for cultural purposes

What is a democratic cultural policy?

# Cultural industries as new economy



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Late 1980s/early 1990s

Fordism to Post - fordism – mass production to flexible specialisation;

National space to global/ local spaces

New economy – innovation, creativity, flexibility, reflexivity, responsiveness

**CI's no longer a remnant of the old but a template for the new**



‘Creative industry’ DCMS 1998 mapping document

DCMS: individual creativity and exploitation of intellectual property rights, ‘creative industries’ to forefront of ‘new economy’.

Key role of information and knowledge services within the new global system, services based on creativity and innovation.



# Creativity goes mainstream



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‘Creativity’ moved beyond classical cultural industries

Traditional attributes of (modernist) ‘artistic’ production - innovation, intuition, ‘out of the box’ thinking, rule breaking, rebellion – now crucial part of new economy as a whole.

# Why are they growing?



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**Education; leisure; disposable income**

**New technologies of creation, distribution and consumption**

**Consumption of cultural goods as part of lifestyle**

**Cultural component of material goods**

**Cultural component of service products**

**Information and communication now meshed with symbolic**

# Cultural consumption



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**1960s: 'Expressive revolution': transformation of western culture**

**Value shifts – collective to individual; from restraint to self-expression; from duty to self-realisation.**

**Creativity - reflexive construction of identity**

**Risk; responsibility for 'life choices'**



Break the 9-5

Doing it for yourself

Learning by doing (make it up as you go along)

Fluid boundaries of work and play

Portfolio careers

Reason and Intuition

*A new habitus*

# Why Cities?



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Global economy about networks and flows

– of capital, information, goods and services, people, ideas, images

Cities key nodes and command centres in global networks.

# Why Cities?



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Produce and process knowledge and information;

Harness R&D to new business opportunities;

Generate new skills and entrepreneurial energy;

Provide complex division of labour and institutional mix of dynamic post-industrial city.

# CIs and Cities



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Creativity, innovation, competitiveness at premium

Flexible, responsive, user-driven

Complex mix of large and small companies

Clusters and networks— ideas, information, support, trust

*'commodified cultural production'*  
(Scott)



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High levels of human input

Clusters of small companies operating on a project basis

Dense flows of information, goods and services

Economies of scale in skills sourcing and know-how

Complex divisions of labour tying people to places



# Why some cities not others?



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Embeddedness

Tacit knowledge

Traditions

Institutions

'Atmosphere'

Local identity

Urbanity



Artistic milieus: artists

Also intermediaries, impresarios, agents, gallery owners, lawyers, craftspeople, technicians, specialist material suppliers etc.

‘Cool places’, ‘atmosphere’, ‘buzz’, ‘scenes’

Could not just be created - organic quality.

# Independents



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Freelancers and micro businesses – part of a localised ‘scene’, ‘active consumers’, ‘near to the street’

Insider’s knowledge of the volatile and localised logic of cultural consumption

Creative milieus: active consumers became active producers of cultural products

Spaces, people, networks, exemplars, experiences, institutions – part of the creative assets of a city

# Independents



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New sense of cultural identity and purpose,

New mix of cultural and commercial knowledge

New mix of emotional investment and calculation, of creativity and routinisation, of making money and making meaning

Operating in risky environment, using networks of trust and of information

# Independents



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*New habitus*

Has to be learned - but tacit rather than formal learning.

Tacit, embedded knowledge is also part of the creative assets of a city

# The Independents



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*They thrive on easy access to local, tacit know-how – a style, a look, a sound – which is not accessible globally. Thus the cultural industries based on local know-how and skills show how cities can negotiate a new accommodation with the global market, in which cultural producers sell into much larger markets but rely on a distinctive and defensible local base.*

Leadbeater and Oakley



*'meanings adhere to the urban landscape'* - used as factors in the production of cultural commodities

Meanings re-assimilated into the *'urban landscape'*, acting as *'a source of inputs to new rounds of cultural production and commercialisation'*, and *'a further enrichment of the urban landscape'*



Cultural production and consumption transform the landscape of the city through its '*shopping malls, restaurants and cafés, clubs, theatres, galleries, boutiques*'.





This '*revitalisation of the symbolic content*' of cities draws in city governments,

Link these transformations with '*ambitious public efforts of urban rehabilitation in the attempt to enhance local prestige, increase property values and attract new investments and jobs*'.



*‘Their survival can be further assured where policy makers at production locals are able to work out effective systems for the provision of co-ordination and steering services directed to the amplification of these agglomeration economies’.*

# Creative City, Narratives of regeneration



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Scott links specific support for CIs with a wider management of the urban ecology - **the symbolic infrastructure of the city.**

**Also a mobilisation of local urban identity - 'creative cities' – a narrative, usually by the city development agencies of local identity as a cultural resource.**

# New Urban Visions



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These narratives draw on:

- Wider sense of urban identity
- City as a theatre of identity
- Wider sense of what the city is, what it might be
- Alternative spaces: Spaces of imagination and new narrative of City

# The Creative City (again)



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About building partnerships, inspiring visions, leadership, accepting painful change

About re-imagining the city, telling a different story about what it was and what it could become.



**What narrative resources does such a process mobilise?**

**What narratives does it use and transform?**

**How do such narratives resonate within the complexity and diversity of the city? (*whose culture, whose city*)**



## Successful case of culture-led regeneration

- **Image**
- **Cultural Industries growth**
- **City council understanding, promotion and investment as key aspect of economic growth**

# Manchester: Original Modern



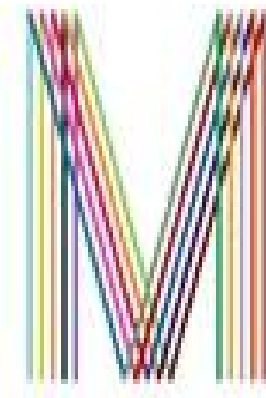
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Strong role of popular culture,  
especially music

Peter Saville – Factory  
Records and Hacienda

*Original modern* as organising  
concept not marketing slogan

Manchester  
original  
modern





# Manchester: Original Modern



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THE WORLD'S FIRST INDUSTRIAL CITY

THE UK'S LARGEST REGIONAL ECONOMY

HOME OF THE WORLD'S FIRST PURPOSE BUILT INDUSTRIAL ESTATE

SPINNINGFIELDS - ONE OF EUROPE'S LARGEST  
CITY CENTRE COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENTS

THE BIRTHPLACE OF THE WORLDWIDE  
CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

HOME TO ALMOST 2,000 INTERNATIONALLY  
OWNED COMPANIES



# Historical background



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- Manchester – shock city of industrialisation
- Challenge to London’s economic, political and cultural dominance
- Response to challenges – plugged into global transformations
- 1930s in decline – though still ‘city of Empire’
- 1960-80 - collapse

# Manchester: Narratives of Regeneration



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G-Mex/ Bridgewater Hall

Central Manchester Development Agency

Olympic bids

IRA bomb – tabula rasa

# Narratives of Regeneration



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- **Revitalised Retail and Commercial Core**
- **Commonwealth Games**
- **New Arts Infrastructure**
- **Events and Festivals**
- **Convention Centre and Hotels**
- **City Centre Living – Cosmopolitan City**



**Entrepreneurial City - 'Manchester Men'**

**Post -1987 – took different direction to Liverpool**

**From Confrontation to Co-operation**

**Public-Private Partnerships**



**Understanding Role of Culture**

**Prioritising Design Quality**

**Rediscovery of the Urbanistic...**

**Deeper Resources of Energy and Creativity**

*Manchester: Shock City....*



- CMDC: failure to attract large development Capital
- Emergence of smaller local development capital
- Small scale retail, arts and culture
- Larger developers – Tom Bloxham and Urban Splash.



- Zukin: artist-led gentrification recouped by property developers
- Manchester: peripheral city; small scale development grew out of cultural scene
- ‘Re-landscaping’ of city a work of cultural intermediation not at first recognised by City
- New kind of local growth coalition based around culture and creative industries





Olympic Bid – never went beyond traditional growth coalition networks

Newsweek – different worlds

Increasingly turned to Popular Culture and Music



Iconic representation of the City

Hatred and Despair – get out as soon as you can

(Love Will Tear us Apart )

*The Smiths*



These creative cities were *'societies troubled about themselves'*;

They were in a state of tension, of *'transition forward to new and unexplored modes of organisation... societies in the throes of a transformation in social relationships, in values and in views about the world'*;

Creative cities and creative milieux *'are places of great social and intellectual turbulence: not comfortable places at all'*.

# Structure of Feeling



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## Manchester: Transformation of *Habitus*

‘Structure of feeling’—a way of inhabiting a field of cultural production, linked to a local cultural field.

CIs in Manchester – ‘Thatcher’s children’ – oppositional, entrepreneurial by default, different sense to traditional idea of ‘the artist’, transposed to a more popular cultural notion of authenticity and ambition (neo-Bohemia?)

Manchester as a space where this emerged most clearly.



Wider resonances with history of city

Dave Haslam's Manchester England

Ian Taylor et al: *A Tale of Two Cities* – first global city, not mono-cultural

# Tale of Two Cities



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*'It is this restless flux of the utopias of organised labour and the utopian dreams of urban fortunes, won through free trade and enterprise, that defines the parameters of local mancurian "structure of feeling" – a culture that sees itself as connected up to a larger world and a larger set of possibilities, rather than simply an industrial city caught within a narrow labour metaphysic.'*

# Tale of Two Cities



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*‘The dominant image of the Mancunian of the 1990s, of the street-wise “scally” (scallywag) doing business across the world or profiting from local initiatives in the entertainment business (the pop groups of the 1980s “Madchester” or the Olympic bid in 1992), we would argue is no overnight invention.’*



Reworked narrative of past and future

Complex process of negotiation - draws on very real resources

Process not easy – negotiations, tactics - emergent rather than strategic logic



# You Cannot Be Serious



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- From *Best Club* to the *McEnroe Group*
- 1996 IRA bomb – Special Projects, new networks
- Urbis – Rediscovering the City
- ‘Original Modern’ – Return of Factory Record
- Tony Wilson 24 Hour Party People

# *Industrial City* to Industrial City



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Shift of emphasis from industrial to urbanistic innovation

Drew on long standing narratives (first global city, entrepreneurial, open to change)

Drew on popular culture as symbolic of wider vibrancy and creativity



# Peter Saville



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I felt that the Manchester brand had to build on its history, and of course the quintessential fact of that history is that it was the first industrial city.

This was the foundation of my original modern theme, I reinterpreted 'first industrial' as 'original modern' - the terms original and modern being very characteristic of Manchester.



Peter Saville



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The attitude there is original, there is a wilfulness of Mancunians to do things their own way and it is a city concerned with the now. It knows it has a history but it's not historically minded. Originality and modernity are values characteristic of Manchester, values which the city has epitomised. Original and modern thinking built it. My vision for the brand was the pursuit of the original and modern in this century.



Symbolic management of Urban Spaces (Scott) – urban landscape creates input to cultural production in virtuous circle

Expertise, Influence and Power – the solidification of networks (Urbis)

Property versus Creative Assets

Urban Democratic Space (Bernstein)

Managing the Margins...Compost cities



## Use and Abuse of Popular Culture

Selective use of popular culture: the excluded and the ignored

Literacy, Education and depression

Difficult traditions of popular culture

Venues and spaces under threat

Consumption not production

# Uses and Abuses



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Generated arts infrastructure

Chains not small retailers

Cultural Consumption rather than production

CIs not supported

# Creative Production and Space



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- CIs need space and place
- As much an issue of public policy as space for subsidised art
- Urban ecology increasingly threatened by culture-led regeneration
- Private spaces have a public function – spaces of innovation and experiment
- Creative cities about hard economic choices





Instrumentalisation of culture

Collapse of culture into economic policy

Homogenisation, globalisation and erosion of local production

New work culture



‘Benign narrative’ of culture and economics

Creative Milieus mobilised as economic policy

Creativity and culture about conflict, ‘unpopular culture’, the ‘dark side’: does not always sit well with policy makers



‘Creativity’ linked to the (urban) public sphere *and* to transformations of lifestyle and social structure

‘Creative Milieus’ involve cultural and political questions

Can you have creativity and innovation without a form of testing or contestation?

Are cities big enough to cope with this?

# Creativity ?



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Creativity based on modernism not ‘traditional’ cultural values – golden mean, middle way, balance, slow acquisition of skills, discipline etc.

These values stripped away by discourse of ‘creativity’

Endless innovation – mirror of capitalism (‘all that is solid melts into air’)

Ecology and waste – of materials, the environment and histories



Creativity is being used as a benign narrative but its has to be treated critically: cannot be uncoupled from social justice.

This a new cultural and political agenda