Tourism, Culture and Regeneration

To my dearest husband, Laci and my gorgeous son, Levi

Tourism, Culture and Regeneration

Edited by

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Preface

The decision to edit this volume was prompted by a number of factors. A fascination with the increasingly prominent phenomenon of cultural regeneration seemed like a logical progression from earlier work undertaken in the field of cultural tourism (e.g. Smith, M.K. (2003) *Issues in Cultural Tourism Studies*. Routledge, London.). One small chapter in that publication hardly seemed to do justice to the diversity of projects that have been developing on a global scale in recent years. The government agenda in the UK and a large number of other countries worldwide has been focused on the potential of regeneration to transform cities. Whilst it is certainly not a panacea, it is exciting to watch relatively unknown and under-visited cities being transformed into well-known centres for culture, leisure and tourism. I knew that once I started choosing to holiday in former industrial rather than traditional historic cities, my interest in regeneration had gone way beyond academic!

Cultural regeneration is a diverse and exciting subject for academic research, as well as being a challenging field for practitioners. My own PhD work has been testimony to that. It is multidisciplinary and requires holistic or joined-up thinking. No one field can claim to 'own' this subject as it arguably sits equally comfortably in urban studies, planning, architecture, cultural geography or sociology. One can also draw upon cultural studies, anthropology, economics, environmental studies, leisure and tourism, heritage studies (and more) to shed further light on the complexity of the phenomenon. The fact that the subject is in its relative infancy means that many of the issues are still open to debate, but the sharing of good practice through interesting and innovative case studies can help to disseminate knowledge.

This volume therefore aims to contribute further to the latest discussions about cultural regeneration (theoretical and academic, as well as practitioner dilemmas), in addition to providing examples of contemporary practice. It was thought that a single-authored text could not do justice to the range of contexts, case studies and perspectives that could be encompassed in an edited volume. I am therefore grateful to the diverse range of authors for their valuable contributions to this project.

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Introduction

Melanie K. Smith

The phenomenon of urban regeneration has become increasingly prominent on government agendas in recent years, particularly in those countries that have suffered a significant level of economic or industrial decline. Whilst there has been some confusion about definitional parameters, attempts have been made to clarify the concept and its remit, for example, the UK Government's consultation document entitled *Culture at the Heart of Regeneration* (DCMS, 2004). Here it is argued that 'culture' (howsoever defined) is pivotal to the success of regeneration strategies. Without a consideration of culture and (it is also argued) communities, it is not possible to achieve sustainable and integrated regeneration. This volume explores the extent to which this perspective is a valid one, emphasizing also the significant role played by tourism. This does not in any way subvert the importance of economics or business investment to the regeneration process, which are clearly baselines for any form of urban redevelopment. However, they have sometimes been viewed as uneasy bedfellows for cultural and community development, a perspective that needs to be redressed.

The Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) (2004) described regeneration as 'the positive transformation of a place – whether residential, commercial or open space – that has previously displayed symptoms of physical, social and/or economic decline'. This definition makes the point that the concept of regeneration can only be applied to areas that are being *re*-developed after industrial decline, and does not really apply to those that are in the first throes of industrial development. Thus the term has generally been used in the context of developed Western countries (e.g. Europe, the USA, Canada, Australasia). Similar case studies abound, documenting the apparent 'success' of waterfront or dockland developments or landmark buildings, icons or 'mega-events' that have been used as catalysts for regeneration. Increasingly, the remit of regeneration appears to have been broadened, focusing also on the role that festivals and smaller community arts projects can play in regeneration. Indeed, in cities like New York, regeneration appeared to be driven initially by clusters of artists and creative communities.

In his much-lauded book *The Rise of the Creative Class*, Richard Florida (2002) demonstrates how the creative classes have contributed enormously to urban transformation and (re)development in the USA. His research shows that those cities that have the highest level of economic growth and innovation are those that score highest on what he calls the 'Bohemian Index' (the relative concentration of artists, writers, musicians and other artistic professionals), as well as the 'Gay Index' (the relative concentration of gays). He suggests that such people are open-minded, diverse and are

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therefore conducive to creativity. For a long time now too, economists have found it difficult to deny the strength of the 'pink pound'! The links between culture, creativity and new technology are also paramount in encouraging economic growth, and therefore many cities that claim to have successful cultural regeneration have based their strategies on the so-called 'creative industries' (e.g. media, design, music, film, advertising).

The main message that comes out of Florida's work is that cities need to have a 'people climate' as well as a 'business climate'. This means addressing issues of inequality, intolerance, safety, as well as creating a vibrant atmosphere and an experiential economy. It also means 'community-building' and engaging in civic action, perhaps dealing with some of the more intangible issues relating to a sense of place, identity or integration. It is worth noting that many artists and creative projects have done far more for social inclusion than politics or business development could ever do. This aspect of regeneration is therefore a major focus of this volume.

In addition to the interesting and exciting projects taking place in the USA (many of which are referred to in detail in this volume), many of the most innovative approaches can also be seen in the oft-cited examples of European cities such as Barcelona, Bilbao, Glasgow, Liverpool, Rotterdam, Lisbon. What many of these cities have done is to build incrementally on a series of initiatives, usually starting with one major catalyst or 'flagship' project (e.g. the Olympic Games, European Cultural Capital status, a major museum, gallery or conference centre that puts it on the map). An interesting recent example of this is Liverpool, which will be European Cultural Capital in 2008. The day after the decision was announced, house prices had risen by around 25%! Investors were also waiting in the wings, ready to seize their opportunity. However, the main reason that this city was chosen over the other candidates was that it had led a bidding campaign that had involved numerous community groups, fostering local pride in the city. Similarly, Olympic bidding cities now have to demonstrate that there is local support for the event. Care must be taken that large iconic structures or 'flagship' projects connect with local people. For example, it should reflect some aspects of their history, heritage, traditions, or contemporary cultures if it is to be accepted and visited.

A further problem that has been identified in the process of regeneration is the standardization of architectural and attractions development. Short (1989) refers to these as 'international blandscapes'. Florida (2002) also notes the proliferation of 'generica' – that is, heavily packaged commercial venues like chain restaurants and nightclubs. He notes that creative people tend to prefer more authentic, indigenous or organic venues. Questions should also be raised about how far tourists will want to visit a venue that reflects little or nothing of local culture or heritage. For example, why go to the waterfront development in Cape Town when it looks so similar to that of Cardiff or Vancouver? Do people travel to visit a shopping mall full of global brands that could just as well be in their own high street? Judging by the success of growing destinations like Dubai, it is possible that they do! However, this development of what Augé (1995) describes as 'non-places' arguably needs to be limited and offset by complementary developments that have their own individual identity, or reflect that of the location and its communities. Mixed-use or multifunctional developments may help to solve some of these dilemmas.

It is not just new attractions that have been criticized for their standardizing and homogenizing effect, however. Walsh (1992) suggests that many regeneration schemes create what he describes as a 'heritagisation' of space – that is, the original significance of history and place is overwritten by developments that reflect little of what was originally there, or what is important to local communities. Heritage is already an interpretation of history, which is already an interpretation of the past, therefore it can represent a third-hand representation of a place and its people. This can also be problematic in cases where heritage interpretation is 'hijacked' by politicians, who may use it as a tool for oppression, exclusion or manipulation.

Regeneration clearly does not happen overnight. It is an incremental process, and many former industrial, perhaps less aesthetically pleasing cities have had to accept that tourism may be a relatively late addition to their strategy. The phasing of regeneration is crucial, and often enforced, not least because

public sector or business investment is hard to come by. Businesses are unlikely to invest in cities that do not already show signs of economic growth or potential, just as tourists will only visit those cities that have significant attractions and ideally an infrastructure to match. Firstly, the local economy must be diversified and strengthened, especially where there has been industrial decline. Jobs may be created in the service sector or creative industries, as advocated by Florida (2002). But this may require government incentives for start-up companies or training to encourage entrepreneurship in the first place. If regeneration is to be led by artists to boost the 'Bohemian Index', there may be a need for rent subsidies or affordable housing schemes (e.g. the UK Government's pledge to provide 20% affordable housing in all new residential developments). A common by-product of even the most successful regeneration schemes is that local people become displaced from their place of residence due to gentrification (e.g. rent increases and rising costs). The whole character of town centres (especially historic towns) can be completely eroded if rent increases are not curtailed. For example, small, independent shops and businesses can be priced out and replaced by ubiquitous global chains (e.g. McDonald's and Starbucks).

If tourism is to be encouraged, there may be a requirement for new infrastructural developments, such as transport and accommodation, especially if landmark buildings or 'mega-events' are not located centrally. Opportunities to increase length of stay and expenditure may be needed. Cities such as Bilbao struggled in the initial stages of regeneration and tourism development, despite the apparent 'success' of the Guggenheim Museum, as there was little else for tourists to see or do once they had visited this one attraction. Smaller, supporting attractions may be needed, even if these are only related to shopping (a major motivating factor for most tourists!), as well as a flourishing evening economy. However, animation is difficult to create in remote locations, especially if they are not frequented by local people either. Incentives may be needed like more frequent public transport connections, guaranteed taxi services, or closer links between hotels and attractions.

Once product development, diversification, or enhancement has taken place, then a city can work on its branding and image, positioning itself in relation to its competitors. This is, of course, much easier to do if a city has a unique selling point (e.g. a Guggenheim Museum). It is less easy to do if a city has implemented a range of copy-cat schemes based on other cities' successes. Indeed, research has shown that many such venues fail because they do not consider the links with their own local heritage and communities (e.g. Cardiff tried to develop a modern art museum similar to London's Tate Modern, but there was little local interest; and Sheffield's National Centre for Popular Music proved to be unpopular, unlike similar music-based initiatives in Liverpool and Manchester). Similarly, serial monotony (e.g. standardized developments that could be anywhere) do not constitute original attractions. Although ephemeral events like festivals and events are tourist magnets, they are of temporary duration and may not have such a long lasting impact as permanent attractions or iconic buildings. Having said that, Olympic and European Cultural Capital bids are required to include a detailed strategy for legacy and reuse. Barcelona is an example of a city that has managed this legacy admirably, constantly building new attractions in the former Olympic site. These days, with growing competition and changing consumer tastes, tourist destinations cannot afford to rest on their laurels. They must be constantly creative and innovative in their approach to attractions development and (re)branding. Some authors have suggested that there need to be more creative approaches to regeneration and tourism development. For example, Richards and Wilson (2006) advocate increasing the development of experiential creative spaces, creative spectacles and creative tourism.

Many academics and practitioners have been referring to the concept of 'cultural planning' in the context of regeneration for over 10 years now (e.g. Mercer, 1991; Bianchini, 1999, 2000; Evans, 2001; Ghilardi, 2001). This approach incorporates many of the issues and principles mentioned so far. That is, that culture should be central to the regeneration process, rather than a mere 'add-on' or appendage. This is clearly reflected in the DCMS (2004) document where the Secretary of State for Culture, Tessa Jowell, states that: 'Most people now

accept that you cannot breathe new life into cities, towns and communities without culture.' Culture should be defined in the broadest sense as heritage, arts and creative industries, as well as incorporating peoples' everyday lifestyles into the equation (e.g. leisure, shopping, eating, drinking). Bianchini (2000) emphasizes the need to approach cultural regeneration in an integrated and socially inclusive way through joined-up policy. He also stresses the need to plan in creative ways, taking account of cultural diversity. Ghilardi (2001) highlights diversity and difference as key resources in cultural planning in terms of social inclusion (and often unique selling points for those cities that want to encourage tourism).

Recent analyses and evaluation of the true role of culture in regeneration (e.g. Evans and Shaw, 2004; Evans, 2005) have clearly moved the debates forward in terms of research, planning and management. Evans (2005) distinguishes between examples of locations where cultural activity is fully integrated into strategic planning and development, cases where culture is a catalyst for regeneration, and examples where it is more of an 'add-on'. Impacts therefore vary considerably from significant to marginal. Proving that culture really *does* matter is often problematic because of its elusive and intangible nature. Nevertheless, what is increasingly required by governments is evidence-based research on the role of culture in regeneration, an excellent starting point for which is given by Evans and Shaw (2004). This subject is also given some coverage in this volume. This is mainly presented in the form of case studies, where examples of good practice are offered.

It should be stated that regeneration strategies have often been overly ambitious in the past, trying to be all things to all people, or alternatively, over-promising and under-delivering. Some of the most 'successful' schemes have been limited to physical transformation and economic and business development (e.g. the Docklands development in the 1980s in London). Cultural attractions and tourism are only recent additions to the process, and the original local communities were largely excluded. This is not perhaps an ideal scenario, and it is arguably better to be aspirational and progressive in one's thinking. However, regeneration projects need to be realistic and incremental, implemented in stages as and when investment becomes available, or where creative leadership becomes a driving force. A summary of responses to the DCMS's (2004) consultation document demonstrated that there is still a long way to go in terms of achieving the perfect model for cultural regeneration. There is a need for a better base of evidence for research and the development of toolkits of best practice. A combination of government support and regulation, and private sector innovation and investment is essential. Too much emphasis is still placed on buildings rather than more intangible, but equally important aspects of regeneration (e.g. social and community issues). A tourism imperative may not be the best starting point for a regeneration strategy, but it may follow naturally if a creative and innovative approach is taken. Overall, it is clear that regeneration is the new 'buzzword' in the transformation of urban environments. However, taking it from strategy to reality is the real challenge.

The authors in this volume therefore take up this challenge. The focus of the publication is on the destinations and sites that are being created for tourists, as well as for local people within a regeneration context. The volume's originality lies in its focus on tourism's relationship to regeneration and cultural developments, a subject that has so far only been given a cursory glance in other literature. The tourist gaze (Urry, 1990, 2002) is constantly being redirected towards new cultural attractions, venues and events; however, questions about standardization and 'authenticity' should be raised. What are the impacts of such developments on a local sense of place, heritage and identity? How far are the arts and artistic quality/integrity compromised by being used as a tool for regeneration? Can global/local debates be resolved within the context of regeneration, and if so, how?

These issues and others will provide the framework for the volume, and will be exemplified using a number of international case studies in North and South America, as well as in Europe and the UK. Authors will address a wide range of issues, including many of the contradictions and complexities inherent within this multidisciplinary field. Regeneration has featured regularly on the agenda of many governments in

recent years, but the extent to which this phenomenon and its implications are truly understood is open to debate. It will be argued that there needs to be a shift away from the tokenism of 'buzzwords' towards a more practical and realistic approach to planning and strategic development.

The theoretical framework for the volume will be derived from a number of different fields including sociology, cultural geography and urban planning. The authors involved in the project have a wide range of experience within cultural tourism, regeneration and planning. Many of them are or have been practitioners within these areas of activity, as well as academics and researchers. They therefore have a keen awareness of both theoretical and practical concerns.

In Chapter 1 Melanie Smith provides a framework for the rest of the volume, outlining some of the issues and problems inherent in implementing regeneration projects. She highlights the increasingly important role that culture and tourism are playing in the process, focusing in particular on global and local tensions, standardization versus place-making, preservation of heritage compared to the promotion of contemporary cultures, and local community involvement. The chapter ends with a brief overview and discussion of a cultural planning approach, arguably the way forward for an integrated, democratic and creative future for regeneration.

In Chapter 2 Greg Richards and Julie Wilson examine the increasing importance of creative strategies for cities wishing to avoid the pitfalls of homogenization and serial monotony. Following an analysis of four main types of regeneration (e.g. using iconic structures, heritage mining, mega-events and thematization), they advocate models of creative development. Many of these are based on more experiential and interactive activities within the contexts of creative spectacles, creative spaces, and creative tourism. Using a range of examples, they demonstrate good practice and the positive effects of a more creative approach to regeneration.

In Chapter 3 Robert Maitland focuses on the regeneration of new or less familiar areas of cities, and their development for tourism purposes. Although many tourists seek a familiar 'bubble', others are keen to experience something more 'real' or authentic. Often, the areas that such tourists seek tend to grow organically, rather than being specifically planned for. Indeed, it could be argued that too much planning can stifle creativity, spontaneity and authenticity. Robert examines how the quality of places, their distinctiveness and sometimes even their 'ordinariness' can create tourist satisfaction. He also explores the role that tourists themselves can play in the process of discovery and re-invention.

In Chapter 4 Graeme Evans and Rosita Aiesha introduce the theme of mixed-use developments in city fringe areas, especially those with culturally diverse or ethnic populations. Visitors and locals share common space, and usage is complex and varied. The sustainability of such projects is questioned, given that problems of gentrification and congestion often abound. Mixed temporal use of space can result in significant social problems, particularly at night. The authors examine the policy and planning implications for the management of such regeneration zones using a case study of Clerkenwell in North London (UK).

In Chapter 5 Stephen Shaw looks at the development of ethnoscapes (those areas of cities with a high concentration of ethnic minorities). He analyses the way in which multiculturalism has become an increasingly attractive selling point for city tourism. Ethnic and cultural difference is frequently seen as being 'exotic', colourful and animated. He focuses in particular on examples from Canada, examining the role of Canadian provincial and city governments in supporting the redevelopment of ethnic minority residential areas. He advocates more creative and less formulaic approaches to both regeneration and tourism promotion in such culturally diverse contexts.

Chapter 6 by Daina Cheyenne Harvey focuses on the theme of black heritage sites in New Jersey (USA), examining some of the difficulties of interpreting and commemorating spaces of dissonant heritage. The re-imagining of such spaces for regeneration or tourism purposes can be problematic, especially where the past has been sanitized, distorted or only partially represented (e.g. the history of slavery). The emotional nature of such heritage for both residents and visitors alike requires careful

planning and management, and is thus as much a political as a social issue. Daina makes the important point that whilst many sites can work as spaces for tourism, they can ultimately fail as instruments of cultural regeneration if they exclude or alienate the very minorities that they are supposed to serve.

In Chapter 7 Meiko Murayama and Gavin Parker use the example of Tokyo to illustrate many of the complexities that exist within large-scale, mixed-use development projects. They highlight tensions between the development of tourism facilities and provision for local residents, indicating the need for more integrated approaches to planning. A model is proposed wherein a balance between living, working and playing is suggested in accordance with principles of sustainability and the enhancement of quality of life.

Chapter 8 focuses on the role of major sporting events in regeneration. Andrew Smith questions the extent to which such events can truly boost tourism development, image enhancement and social inclusion. He looks at solutions for integrating sporting events into wider regeneration schemes, as well as ensuring a long-term legacy after the events. Using case studies of Manchester and London in the UK, he examines these issues and others in context, taking a refreshingly critical view of sports-led regeneration.

Following on from the theme of Chapter 8, Charles Heying, Matthew Burbank and Greg Andranovich focus specifically on the role of the Olympic Games in the regeneration of US cities in Chapter 9. Using a case study of Atlanta, they illustrate how multiple consumption-based strategies such as sports, public space, education, arts, heritage, and infrastructure development can be used to develop a comprehensive regeneration package. They also question the political, economic and social implications of the event. In addition, they consider the potential implications of the New York 2012 Olympic bid, demonstrating the complexity of the contemporary bidding process for mega-events.

Myrna Breitbart and Cathy Stanton in Chapter 10 discuss the role of the cultural industries in the regeneration of former industrial cities, focusing in particular on Lowell, Massachusetts in New England (USA). They examine the problems of addressing industrial decay, economic decline and negative images through the arts and culture. The widespread adoption of a cultural planning approach focusing on the cultural and creative industries is gently questioned. Contrary to good intentions, such approaches can lead to standardization and inadvertent marginalization of the 'local' if care is not taken to maximize community participation for the complete duration of projects. They also suggest that the dynamism of the arts and contemporary culture(s) can sometimes be more engaging than heritage-based initiatives.

Chapter 11 by Costas Spirou introduces an in-depth case study of Chicago (USA), a city that has engaged in regeneration following the decline of its manufacturing industry. Under the creative and dynamic leadership of the city's Mayor, many large-scale urban redevelopment projects have been constructed with tourism in mind. The outcomes have clearly been successful in this respect. However, less attention has been paid to the city's poverty stricken, unemployed and illiterate populations, despite political rhetoric. As in many similar examples, this imbalance needs to be redressed if urban restructuring is to be truly balanced.

In Chapter 12, Anna Maria Bounds looks at the example of the Avenue of the Arts in Philadelphia (USA), which was created to boost tourism development and the local economy. It is an example of a project that has been largely successful due to charismatic leadership, dynamic fund-raising campaigns and coordinated public and private partnerships. Despite the failure of some projects within the wider scheme, the case study demonstrates the power and potential success of aspirational and ambitious cultural regeneration projects.

Chapter 13 by Andrew Jones takes a balanced view of waterfront developments in the context of regeneration, examining both the problems and the potential benefits of such schemes. This critique enables the author to take the debates further, discussing models of good practice that are comprehensive and integrated. He contrasts the more commercially orientated examples of waterfront developments in the USA with the more publicly spirited approaches in Continental Europe and elsewhere, advocating a combination of the two, in which culture plays an increasingly important role.

Following on from the theme of the previous chapter, Patricia Avery in Chapter 14 examines the changing role of dockland cities and urban regeneration strategies, focusing in particular on case studies of Liverpool and Cardiff (UK). She includes within this a discussion of the European Cultural Capital initiative, a title won by Liverpool for 2008, and for which Cardiff was also bidding. Liverpool and Cardiff can be largely seen as 'success stories' in terms of cultural regeneration, as both cities have managed to engage in extensive redevelopment and image transformation. Liverpool's winning of the European Cultural Capital bid was mainly based on its consideration of local community issues (both social and economic), though there are still concerns about gentrification and commercialization. The bidding process for Cardiff also provided a catalyst to develop further cultural and community-based initiatives. Despite the inclusion of such positive examples, Patricia is also critical of many aspects of the cultural regeneration process in the context of dockland cities, highlighting the need for further research.

The final chapter, Chapter 15, by Brian Bath and Paula Goncalves discusses the use of interpretative planning in the context of Recife, Brazil. The case study looks at the interface between tourism, culture and regeneration, and emphasis is placed on the need to protect heritage and respect local cultures. Community consultation and involvement is seen as a prerequisite for successful regeneration planning.

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1 Towards a Cultural Planning Approach to Regeneration

Melanie K. Smith

> Cities are cultural entities. The texture of social and economic life in them is defined by their cultural energy or lack of it, and cities all over the world – Glasgow, Barcelona, Seattle – have demonstrated that by changing the way their cultural life is perceived you can change everything about them.
>
> (Jones, 2000)

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide a framework for the volume as a whole, discussing some of the key issues in regeneration and examining the role of culture and tourism in the process. The concept of regeneration has become something of a 'buzzword' in the field of urban studies and planning in recent years. Its meaning is usually associated with the redevelopment of cities or areas of cities that have declined industrially, physically and economically. Numerous publications have been devoted to the process of urban regeneration documenting housing, welfare, environmental and economic policies, but surprisingly few have focused specifically on the role of culture within regeneration. It is perhaps true to say that the term regeneration was traditionally associated predominantly with an economic imperative, which may or may not have included cultural development. This volume therefore redresses this imbalance.

The term regeneration is not so much contentious as vague. It is often viewed as being synonymous with 'revitalization' (bringing new life to) or 'renaissance' (being reborn). It necessarily implies an initial *de*-generation. Bianchini (1993: 211) describes urban regeneration as 'a composite concept, encompassing economic, environmental, social, cultural, symbolic and political dimensions'. It is a process that aims to revitalize areas of cities that have declined using a range of tools (e.g. property, business, retail or arts development) to enhance the area physically, economically, socially or culturally. Urban regeneration strategies were largely developed initially in response to the post-war decline of cities, and the rising inequality, poverty, crime and unemployment that blighted inner cities, in particular. The deindustrialization process and subsequent global economic restructuring in the late 1970s and 1980s also acted as a catalyst for the development of urban regeneration strategies for many cities in the USA and Western Europe.

Many policy and strategy documents for regeneration would still suggest that regeneration is synonymous with economic development. The process often tends to be measured in economic terms, such as employment creation, multiplier effects or visitor expenditure. However, as concern for the supposed beneficiaries (i.e. the people living within target areas) of regeneration strategies has increased, the term

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appears to be more closely linked to the concept of 'community development'. Regeneration agencies are starting to consider the socio-economic or even socio-cultural impacts of regeneration, and although standardized measures for evaluation and monitoring have not yet fully emerged, there has clearly been a shift in priorities (at least in political rhetoric!).

The urban regeneration process is a complex one, and the motivations for embarking on large-scale regeneration projects are varied. They may form part of the government's agenda for the economic or cultural redevelopment of former industrial cities that have fallen into decline; the enhancement of external image may be viewed as a means of attracting inward investment and tourism; or projects may be a way of initiating wider environmental improvements and infrastructure developments. A key factor in all of these motivations is that initial funding will hopefully have a cumulative effect, acting as a catalyst for further inward investment and the development of other initiatives. There has been increasing interest in the role that culture can play in the urban regeneration process. Zukin (1995) describes how many cities in America and Europe started using culture as an instrument in the entrepreneurial strategies of local governments and business alliances from the 1970s onwards.

The Role of Culture in Urban Regeneration

In the context of urban regeneration, culture can refer to anything from architecture, heritage buildings and attractions, to the visual and performing arts, festivals and events, to entertainment and leisure complexes, as well as culture as the way of life of people. In many cases, culture is used as a tool to enhance or aestheticize declining areas of cities. Old buildings may be reused (e.g. power stations, factories and railway stations can be converted into museums and galleries); new spaces of consumption may be constructed on decontaminated wasteland (e.g. shopping malls, Olympic villages, Expo sites); industrial areas may be cleaned up and redeveloped (e.g. waterfronts). In some cases, close links are maintained with the history and heritage of place and local communities. In others, developments seem to be divorced from any sense of locality.

Culture and commerce have clearly become intertwined in the postmodern world of global consumption. Culture has become a commodity to be packaged and sold much like any other. Many regeneration projects therefore have a strong economic and business imperative, despite their apparent 'cultural' focus. Evans (2001: 226) argues that this is not a phenomenon that is any more prevalent in Western cities; in fact, the reverse might be true:

> The juxtaposition of commerce with culture, alongside or even in place of public culture ('realm') in the form of cultural venues, facilities and monuments appears more intense in New World cities undergoing modernisation than in the old cities.

Thus cities like Hong Kong, Singapore, Kuala Lumpur and others compete to construct 'monumental edifices' in the form of international hotels, shopping malls, entertainment complexes and such like. This has engendered debates about the problems of homogenization, serial monotony and placelessness (e.g. Relph, 1976; Short, 1989; Augé, 1995; Smith, 2005; Richards and Wilson, 2006). Some cities appear to be constructing similar 'global' landscapes, which could arguably be anywhere. They have little connection to a local sense of heritage or place. Many theorists are in agreement that 'place' must have a human dimension (e.g. Entrikin, 1991; Rotenberg and McDonogh, 1993; Lippard, 1997) therefore the role of communities in the development of cultural regeneration is pivotal if local or indigenous character and uniqueness are to be maintained. More recent theories are also focusing on the role of 'creativity' as well as culture in the regeneration of cities (e.g. Florida, 2002; Richards and Wilson, 2006). Florida (2002) also notes the close connections between place, community and a strong, creative economy.

Evans (2005) differentiates between approaches to regeneration, demonstrating examples of 'cultural regeneration', where cultural activities are integrated into a wider strategy; 'culture-led' regeneration, where culture provides a catalyst for further developments; and 'culture *and* regeneration', where cultural activities are less integrated and therefore play a more marginal

role, often as a mere 'add-on'. This volume focuses on examples of all of these, but the majority of regeneration projects appear to be increasingly aspiring towards 'cultural regeneration', where cultural provision and its planning and management are fully integrated into wider urban strategies.

The following sections introduce some of the examples of culture-led regeneration that will be discussed further by the authors in this volume, highlighting in particular some of the inherent complexities and contradictions that frequently need to be addressed.

Cultural and Ethnic Quarters

Many cities create integrated 'cultural districts' or 'cultural quarters' as part of regeneration strategies. Wynne (1992: 19) describes a 'cultural quarter' as being 'that geographical area which contains the highest concentration of cultural and entertainment facilities in a city or town'. In many cases, these will be mixed-use development areas, which aim to provide attractions and facilities for locals and tourists alike. This may include entertainment facilities, retail outlets, eating and drinking establishments, as well as cultural venues or attractions (e.g. museums, galleries or theatres). Increasingly, its meaning can also include clusters of creative industries (e.g. media, design, technology) and creative individuals and groups. It is important in any cultural regeneration project that cultural and creative developments are integrated into mixed-use districts designated also for office space, residential, hotel, catering, retail and recreational use, rather than constructing isolated arts centres or cultural landmarks which fail to generate further economic and social benefits for the local communities.

Some cultural quarters develop more 'organically', for example, so-called 'ethnic quarters' or 'ethnoscapes' like 'China Towns', 'Arab Quarters' or 'Little Italies'. Such areas often become so popular with residents and visitors alike, that they regularly feature in tourist brochures as cultural attractions, with gastronomy, shopping and festivals topping the list of activities. However, there have been fears that such developments are leading to an appropriation or invasion of social space. For example, in London, many Asian women increasingly fear going out unaccompanied in Brick Lane as there are now so many (white) men frequenting curry houses there. Residents of Notting Hill are facing displacement from their homes as gentrification of the area increases and the Carnival becomes more of a 'white' spectacle.

Similar criticisms of appropriation have been directed at the development of gay quarters in cities. It is interesting to note that many gay areas of cities are becoming more gentrified, no doubt to capitalize on the strength of the 'pink pound'. This is certainly true of London's Compton Street (Soho) or Manchester's 'Gay Village' in the UK. Florida (2002) emphasizes the strong links between a high 'Gay Index' and clusters of creative and technological activities. The Gay Pride event or Mardi Gras is increasingly being used as a means of asserting gay identity, but also of attracting visitors. Manchester and Brighton Gay Pride events are becoming almost as popular as London's, and cities like Birmingham, Leicester and Sheffield in the UK are following suit. However, this event has recently been criticized for becoming depoliticized, mainly due to the growing number of heterosexual revellers 'crashing' the party. There are also concerns amongst the homosexual community about the 'de-gaying' of certain spaces as heterosexuals are becoming more frequent visitors to such areas and venues.

The 2005 riots in Paris and elsewhere in France also perhaps reflected some of the social and racial inequalities omnipresent in quarters where the concentration of ethnic minorities is high. This demonstrates only too clearly that regeneration sometimes needs to focus on economic and community issues, rather than being sidetracked into cultural and tourism development.

The Arts, Festivals and Community Development

In Britain, the USA and most other Western countries, there has been an emergence of 'arts-led' urban regeneration strategies in recent decades. It was hoped that such strategies would serve to reconstruct cities' external image, making

them attractive to potential investors and visitors, as well as triggering a process of physical and environmental revitalization. Inspiration was drawn from the American experience of the 1970s in cities like Pittsburgh, Boston and Baltimore. Mayors in these cities were keen to relaunch the image of downtown areas, develop cultural districts and mixed-use areas, and to boost the local economy through art-related activities (Bianchini, 1993).

Jacobs (1961: 386) emphasized the importance of a thriving cultural life for American cities: 'We need art, in the arrangement of cities as well as in other realms of life, to help explain life to us, to show us meanings, to illuminate the relationship between the life that each of us embodies and the life outside us.' She later added that 'lively, diverse, intense cities contain the seeds of their own regeneration' (Jacobs, 1961: 462). Arts activities can make a positive contribution to community life, attracting people to an area, creating a lively ambience and improving safety on the streets. As noted by Fisher and Owen (1991), the arts are just as essential for a city's identity as any other civic services. Sharp *et al*. (2005) suggest that public art can contribute to local distinctiveness, attract investment, boost cultural tourism, enhance land values, create employment, increase use of urban space and reduce vandalism. However, the arts typically suffer from problems of under-funding and under-valorization. Governments frequently take a rather tokenistic approach to the arts, exploiting their economic and social potential, but without adequate reinvestment and support. More research and evaluation is therefore needed to prove the true worth of the arts to the process of regeneration (unfortunately, often a time-consuming, difficult and expensive process).

Clearly, large, cosmopolitan cities have become more culturally diverse over the past few decades. The consequence has been a proliferation of exciting and colourful festivals, events and spectacles, many of which have global appeal. As stated by Sandercock (1998: 213): 'Our deepest feelings about city and community are expressed on special occasions such as carnivals and festivals.' Tourism has helped to raise the profile of ethnic festivals, and tourists are clearly motivated by an interest in the cultural origins of festivals. Quinn (2005) outlines the benefits of festivals in the context of regeneration. These include contributing to the democratization of culture, celebrating diversity, animating and empowering communities, and improving quality of life. However, she notes the need for better research and more holistic management if festivals are to succeed in providing such benefits.

The 'Heritagisation' of Urban Space

Many theorists have been somewhat cynical about the way in which heritage has been used as a tool for regeneration. Sudjic (1992: 166) states that 'When there is nothing else left to sustain their economies, cities start to rediscover their own history, or at least the history that they would like to have had. They use it as a catalyst for their attempts at regeneration.' Soja (2000: 246) suggests that this is linked to a sense of urban nostalgia 'a longing for what is called the "historical city", a once more clearly definable urbanism that is believed to have been civilized, urbane, and richly creative'. This may be true, but it is difficult for many cities (especially former industrial cities) to sell themselves otherwise, given that the urban landscape has often been blighted by heavy industry. The alternative is perhaps to develop a series of new, global attractions, only then to be accused of creating 'blandscapes' (Short, 1989) or 'placeless' environments. However, there is perhaps a need to take into consideration local connections and meanings. Walsh (1992) complains of a phenomenon which he calls 'heritagisation', whereby the past is transformed by a process of 'ahistoric aestheticization' creating fantasy spaces, which are home to no one and have few local associations or affiliations. Similarly, Hughes (1998) suggests that care must be taken not to 'overwrite' the original significance of heritage spaces when developing tourism, and Middleton (1987) comments on the problems of towns becoming too sanitized in insidious attempts to clean up and prettify. Regeneration initiatives arguably need not only to conserve as much local heritage as possible, but to encourage the representation of hidden or alternative histories, especially those of local or diasporic communities. The reuse of heritage buildings (e.g. former

factories, railway stations) for modern purposes is a common regeneration strategy, but this can be problematic as the original workers may feel no affiliation with the new structure (and not all ex-factory workers can or want to be retrained as curators or retail managers!).

'Grand Projects' and 'Flagships'

Some cities use cultural flagship projects or events as catalysts for the environmental, social, economic and cultural regeneration of an area. This may include the development of new cultural attractions, such as museums, galleries or theatres, or cultural events, such as festivals and exhibitions.

Cities clamour to host the next Olympic Games, the Expo, or the European Cultural Capital initiative. However, the legacy of 'mega-events' and their contribution to urban regeneration is a subject that has concerned a number of researchers. Sandercock (1998) suggests that many governments have fast-tracked mega-projects, often short-circuiting established planning processes and isolating such developments from public scrutiny and democratic politics. Sudjic (1999) states that cities and governments are unfortunately not very good at hosting mega-events. The legacy is often one of high levels of debt, redundant buildings and a community that has been displaced or bypassed. However, they are high profile events that generate international publicity, therefore the host city often considers the prestige to outweigh other considerations.

Sudjic (1992: 201) is fairly scathing about the standardization of such large events, stating that 'The Expo is Disneyland's alter ego, an insight into the gaudy mixture of the mundane and the fantastical that lies close to the surface under the banality of the modern city.' Such developments could technically take place in almost any city in the world, and their attempts at engaging local people rather than tourists or visitors are often tokenistic. But in some ways, perhaps they are simply 'external' rather than 'internal' events, aiming to put cities on the tourist map or the international stage. And tourists generally find them rather fun! However, once the event is over the question of legacy needs to be considered if 'white elephant' status is to be avoided. Olympic bids, for example, now have to include detailed plans for future legacy as part of the application criteria.

Jones (2000) suggests that a number of projects have failed for financial reasons, but also because they are largely inappropriate for the local community and cultural infrastructure. He cites the example of the Centre for Visual Art in Cardiff, which has not met with the same success as the flagship rugby stadium or Cardiff Bay Waterfront Development. He attributes this to a local lack of interest in modern art, suggesting that popular culture and sport generally tend to strike more of a chord with local audiences in Cardiff than high arts. Sheffield's National Centre for Popular Music perhaps failed because it does not have a particularly strong musical heritage in the way that Liverpool or Manchester does. Whereas Tate Modern has appealed to London audiences and international tourists alike, it should not be assumed that it is possible to reproduce such an effect elsewhere. The same is true of the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao. Although many cities are now hankering after their very own Guggenheim, it is the uniqueness of the structure, its location and cultural context that partly shape its success.

However, the Guggenheim was developed specifically to attract international tourists and to raise the city's profile, rather than attracting local people or promoting their heritage. Sudjic (1999: 180) cynically suggests that this development was symptomatic of 'the neurotic difficulties of small nations attempting to be noticed on an international level'. He notes that an American architect was imported to design the building and a collection was franchised from the Guggenheim, and he highlights the tensions between 'metropolitan culture and a people's distinctive local sense of self and identity'.

But can and should such developments and attractions attempt to be all things to all people? They are essentially icons and tourist attractions, perhaps, but there are mechanisms that can be used to enhance local attendance and engagement. International art galleries such as Tate Modern in London have fairly extensive outreach and educational programmes, for example. Differential pricing or free passes for locals can encourage visitation. Residents may

benefit indirectly from big events like Expos and Olympic Games if infrastructural improvements are made or new (affordable) housing is created. However, all of this needs to be taken into consideration at the planning and consultation stages.

Waterfront Development Schemes

Sieber (1993) describes how the revitalization of urban waterfronts is a seemingly ubiquitous process in North America, Europe and Australasia, and is one that inevitably seems to involve gentrification. Despite the intentions of developers and planners to create integrated mixed-used development, combining residential, recreational and cultural developments, the result is often a gentrified space largely occupied by strangers to the city (e.g. urban professionals, suburban communities and tourists). The failure to provide access for locals or, worse still, the displacement and exclusion of local communities is an issue that needs to be addressed by governments in their regulation of private sector development and planning.

Cooper (1993) suggests that geographers liken waterfronts to 'urban frontiers'. They have largely become isolated 'landscapes of consumption' awash with gentrified cultural and recreational activities, which often fail to reflect the diverse cultural traditions of local people. Cooper claims that this is true of Toronto. It is also starkly in evidence in Cape Town, where the commercialized, internationalized, 'could-be-anywhere' sense of space experienced at the waterfront stands in sharp contrast to the troubled heritage of the Black and Coloured Townships. Given the city's history of spatial and racial segregation, it is surprising to encounter a contemporary version of a similar process. Cooper suggests that whatever diversity exists at the waterfront, it is certainly not local heritage. Nevertheless, the waterfront is immensely popular with international tourists arguably *because* of its cosmopolitan environment and its rather safe and sanitized atmosphere!

Edwards (1996: 93) states that many waterfront developments have been criticized because of their 'poor design, lack of character and generally unimpressive environments'. Hoyle (2002) discusses different models of waterfront regeneration, some of which create bland standardization, globalization and gentrification, and others which focus more on heritage renaissance, community development or contemporary culture. Such conflicts are not easily resolved within the context of urban (re)development. Similarly, the resolution of global/local tensions is a key dilemma as discussed earlier in the context of 'flagship' projects.

Tourism and the Globalization of Urban Space

Hughes (1998) describes how tourism is a spatially differentiating activity, which can lead to the homogenization of culture, but which can also help to 're-vision' or 're-imagine' space:

> Tourism [. . .] differentiates space in a ceaseless attempt to attract and keep its market share. In the face of growing global cultural homogenisation, local tourist agencies strive to assert their spatial distinctiveness and cultural particularities in a bid to market each place as an attractive tourist destination.
>
> (Hughes, 1998: 30)

Something similar could be said of the regeneration process. Various destinations are actively engaging in the reconfiguration of their identity in an attempt to reposition themselves or to put themselves on the tourist map. However, Walsh's (1992) fears about bland standardization and the 'heritagisation' of public space are not unfounded. It is evident that numerous town centres, particularly in Britain, are starting to rely on inward investment from global businesses, which render them at best homogenous, and at worst, soulless. The same is true of some rural areas, which are becoming more standardized and losing their character (see Campaign for the Protection of Rural England (CPRE), 2003). Although it is clear that former industrial cities often have little option but to court such investment, it can quite feasibly be channelled into the development of innovative new projects, initiatives and attractions, rather than bland retail developments. Tourism development is likely to be threatened if all places start to look the same (Ritzer, 2004).

Nevertheless, the tastes of the postmodern tourist or 'post-tourist' are clearly changing, and

increasing numbers of tourists are drawn to the excitement of 'hyper-real' experiences, often within enclavic bubbles, such as shopping malls, theme parks or leisure complexes. This is part of the 'playfulness' of tourism (Rojek, 1993). The production of such spaces therefore appears to be a prominent characteristic of postmodern urban planning, and thus an inherent part of regeneration.

Planning for Cultural Regeneration and Tourism Development

Planning must take into consideration local structures of meaning and experience if it is to avoid the aforementioned problems of serial monotony, blandscapes, placelessness, etc. Philo (2000) suggests that we should emphasize the particular, the local and the specific over the general, the universal and the eternal. Destinations clearly need to be unique in order to place themselves on the tourist map, but they also need to offer certain levels of familiarity, comfort and security. Enclavic bubbles are often the favoured retreat of both the masses and the 'cosmopolitan elite' (Bauman, 2001), even if they appear to be characteristic of 'non-place' (Augé, 1995).

Planning for the regeneration of tourist destinations and spaces is a complex process. As demonstrated by failed 'flagship' projects, it is not simply enough to 'beam in' an attraction of supposed international significance and acclaim. It must have some local resonance and connections with a sense of place and identity; otherwise, dissent becomes inevitable. The same is true of World Heritage Sites, which promote themselves as panaceas for the regeneration of industrial or rural areas. Local people should be involved in their interpretation and representation as national or global icons. As stated by Evans (2001: 226):

> The focus on world and symbolic heritage sites in the cities of both developed and developing countries requires that a balance be struck between local and national imperatives – qualities of life, economic and physical access, minimising gentrification effects . . .

A postmodern approach to planning appears to favour more integrated approaches and mixed-use developments, which cater for numerous social and cultural needs simultaneously. There is also more emphasis on the entertainment function of cities and the creation of 'hyper-real' environments and themed spaces, which generally seem to appeal to the masses, especially the young. Jacobs and Appleyard in Gates and Stout (1996: 169) advocate less traditional approaches to urban planning and design:

> A city should have magical places where fantasy is possible, a counter to and an escape from the mundaneness of everyday work and living. Architects and planners take cities and themselves too seriously; the result too often is deadliness and boredom, no imagination, no humour, alienating places.

Despite earlier critiques of standardization and 'placelessness', it is interesting to note the increasing proliferation of unique and fantastical architectural features and public art across the urban landscape in recent years. Although local people may not immediately engage with new architectural features, familiarity and frequent usage help to break down barriers. Such unique selling points, however controversial, can also aid promotional campaigns for tourism.

Evans (2001) describes how place and culture are inextricably intertwined, with culture helping to shape local character and place differentiation. However, he suggests that geographers and urban planners have often failed to appreciate the significance of culture and arts practice and participation in urban planning. He therefore redresses this imbalance, advocating a cultural planning approach. He describes it as a means of integrating cultural resources into strategic urban development. If a sense of place is to be maintained or enhanced, a balance must be struck between the emphasis that is placed on heritage and the celebration of contemporary culture and the arts. Care must be taken not to 'overwrite' the significance of heritage with new developments, whilst adequately representing the diversity of both indigenous and non-indigenous local community cultures. If it is to have any resonance with local communities, urban planning needs to take into consideration peoples' lifestyles, cultural associations and identity. A more 'discursive' form of planning may help to ensure that the true

meaning and significance of city space are not overlooked. Ploger (2001: 64) looks at planning as a 'discursive practice', which 'produces a sense of place, place-identity and common cultural schemes'.

Sandercock (1998: 183) strongly advocates that 'the cities and regions of the future must nurture difference and diversity through democratic cultural pluralism'. She describes how the foundations of postmodern planning praxis should be built on the acknowledgement of multiple publics. She describes how the 'voices from the borderlands' – i.e. those of the marginalized, displaced, oppressed or dominated – are increasingly being listened to. Cultural differences should not simply be tolerated, they must be valorized, which requires a new kind of 'multicultural literacy'. An important part of this is a familiarity with the multiple histories of urban communities, especially where these intersect with struggles over space and place claiming. This includes the histories of 'imagined communities' such as gays and lesbians, and women, as well as ethnic and diasporic communities. Sandercock (1998: 54) suggests that we have moved from 'planning history to planning's histories', thus challenging familiar notions of culture, difference and identity.

Box 1.1 offers a summary of the main principles of a cultural planning approach to urban regeneration, based on an in-depth analysis of both theory and practice in a range of contexts. Here, we are reminded of many of the complex issues discussed so far in this chapter.

Box 1.1 demonstrates that the role of creativity in the development of cities and tourist spaces is of increasing importance. Many destinations can no longer compete simply on the strength of their heritage attractions, especially where repeat visitation is desirable. Many cities (e.g. industrial or global) have relatively few heritage attractions to develop and promote, thus the emphasis on contemporary, experiential and creative tourism becomes of pivotal importance. Csikszentmihalyi (1996: 28) notes the potential of creativity: 'Creativity is any act, idea, or product that changes an existing domain, or that transforms an existing domain into a new one.' Creative cities arguably need creative governments and creative leadership (Florida, 2002). They also need creative communities, who depend on that leadership for encouragement and support.

Box 1.1. Key principles of cultural planning.

- Culture at the centre of and integral to planning
- Democratic and community-orientated (Mercer, 1991)
- 'Bottom-up' approach
- Pluralist, multi-stakeholder approach (Evans, 2005)
- Predominantly 'anthropological' in approach (Bianchini and Ghilardi, 1997)
- Local participation in the arts and cultural activities
- Emphasis on 'quality of life'
- Takes account of cultural diversity (Ghilardi, 2001)
- Negotiation of the local versus the national and the global (Evans, 2001; Richards, 2005)
- Recognition of multiple histories/heritages (Sandercock, 1998; Graham *et al*., 2000)
- Multiple representations
- Recognition of hybrid and multiple identities (Bhabha, 1994; Sarup, 1996)
- Fostering civic pride, a sense of local identity and ownership (DCMS, 1999)
- Awareness of intangible aspects of culture (Mercer, 1991)
- Animation of the cities through culture and creativity (Landry and Bianchini, 1995)
- High 'Creative' and 'Bohemian' Indices (Florida, 2002)
- Access to public spaces (physical and psychological)
- New, more 'tolerant' spaces for social interaction (Ghilardi, 2001)
- Spiritual and 'sacred' spaces (Sandercock, 1998)
- 'Aesthetics discourse' (Ploger, 2001)
- Space for fantasy (Sandercock, 1998)
- 'Place' and culture inextricably intertwined (Evans, 2001)
- Emphasis on place-identity and place marketing (Ploger, 2001)
- Retention of local 'authenticity' (Gibson, 2005)
- Creative approaches to development (Richards and Wilson, 2006)

Many theorists and practitioners advocate an anthropological or community-based approach to cultural planning, and it is true that an area's people are often its most unique asset. A sense of place and animation is arguably created

through and by the people resident in an area, coupled with the social and cultural programmes that are provided for and supported by them. Public spaces need animation, perhaps through the development of cultural festivals or the presence of public art. Increasingly, areas of high ethnic concentration and cultural diversity are becoming the most popular areas of cities (e.g. see Shaw *et al*., 2004). Areas become attractive to creative practitioners because of their unique atmosphere or character (and of course, affordable rents and property). Florida's (2002) seminal work shows clearly that the most attractive and economically successful cities tend to be those with the highest concentration of creative and bohemian people, including gay residents.

Sandercock (1998) suggests that spaces for fantasy are essential to a city. Often fear of public dissent leads to conservative approaches to architectural development, but evidence suggests that the long-term benefits of iconic and unique structures far outweigh concerns for 'aesthetics' or social convention. In a competitive market, tourism destinations rely heavily on unique features as selling points. These need not erode a local sense of history or 'authenticity' – they can be complementary juxtapositions.

Rojek (1993) emphasizes the importance of 'playfulness' in tourism and leisure. Many tourists enjoy fantastical spaces with high levels of technological interaction (the enduring popularity of theme parks is testimony to that). New global destinations that might be described as 'hyper-real' (e.g. Dubai) are currently some of the most appealing, because of their innovative and creative approaches to architectural and attractions development, and their clear understanding of the 'experience economy' (Pine and Gilmore, 1999).

Conclusion

The common characteristic of both the tourism development and the regeneration process is that they seek to transform old spaces whilst recreating new ones. Tourism lifecycle models often imply that old destinations rarely die, they simply rejuvenate. Whilst it is seldom possible to rectify environmental damage and the destruction of natural resources, culture is arguably more resilient and can withstand changes of fortune. Cultures rarely disappear; they simply evolve. Ideally a balance should be maintained between the conservation of heritage, the promotion of the arts and festivals, and the development of new entertainment complexes. Notwithstanding the sweep of globalization, many destinations are exploring innovative and creative ways of expressing or representing regional or local cultures, all of which serve as unique reminders of their individualism and identity. A cultural planning framework that adopts a creative approach is arguably the most effective way forward. Sometimes all of this is easier said than done. As stated by Kunzmann (2004), planners are often restricted by legal, financial and political regulations, as well as social resistance. Nevertheless, it is arguably better to be aspirational in one's approach to regeneration, albeit keeping a realistic eye on what is actually achievable. The authors in this volume outline some examples of positive and innovative practice, which suggest that the future potential of cultural regeneration is truly inspirational.

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