

INTRODUCTION

Yudhishthir Raj Isar, Michael Hoelscher and Helmut K. Anheier



Cities as policy actors ...

This fifth volume in *The Cultures and Globalization Series* is devoted to issues of cultural policy and governance. This policy and governance perspective complements those adopted for the four preceding volumes of the *Series*, which as a whole addresses the complex and changing intersections between the various facets and forces of globalization on the one hand and cultural change on the other. It was implicit in these earlier volumes: in relation to cultural conflicts and tensions (2007); or to the discourses and practices of the cultural and creative industries (2008); to contemporary cultural expression and creativity (2010) and to collective engagements with heritage, memory and identity (2011). Yet none of these volumes explored as objects of analysis in and of themselves the governance and policy issues raised by cultures in a globalizing world.¹ At this stage of our long-term endeavour, therefore, we consider it appropriate to do so.²

The present volume, like its predecessors, also attempts to provide a global perspective. But this perspective will differ significantly from the one that dominates in the 'cultural policy' literature. We understand governance in today's world as a multi-level phenomenon, as a system that involves transnational, international, national and sub-national actors as well as governmental bodies, businesses and civil society institutions. The governance spaces these actors command have undergone significant changes in recent years, as has the influence of the latter on policy-making. While some, such as national governments, either as a matter of choice or of consequence, have lost either space or influence or both, others have gained. Among the latter we see corporations like Apple and Google, non-profit bodies like The Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN) or The International Federation of Arts Councils and Related Agencies (IFACCA), civil society organizations such as the European Cultural Foundation or the J.P. Getty Trust, and both the old and the new media, including movements such as Creative Commons.

We also observe a resurgence of the metropolis, where the local, national, regional and global crystallize (Sassen, 1994). It is in this sense as well that, along with Scott (2008a, 2008b) and other students of urban geography, we suggest that we live in a new metropolitan age: the world is undergoing massive urbanization; the number of megacities is increasing, particularly in the Global South, and well-established cities such as London and New York have experienced a renaissance of a kind few would have expected even as recently as in the 1980s (see the respective indicator suites in part 2 of this volume). That these cities, along with others, such as Shanghai, Singapore or Sydney, have become 'global' players hardly seems surprising. What does stand out, however, is that these cities and others, such as Cairo, Lagos, Mexico City or Mumbai, have gained considerable influence and stature in cultural terms. They appear to have seized the opportunities offered by a globalized world better than the countries in which they are

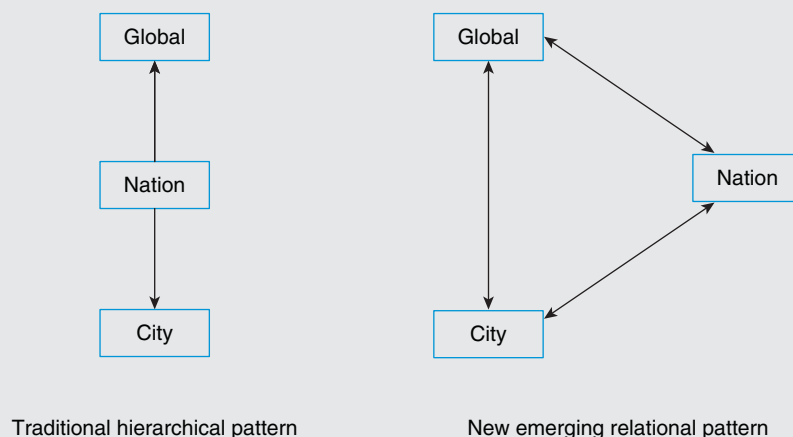
located. What is more, they appear better managed than their nation-states and seem to function more efficiently, even when their nation-states are unstable and have serious governance deficits. They are also becoming significant actors in terms of culture.

It is for this reason that the present volume is concerned with cities rather than nation-states or the international or supra-national policy actors created by them, such as UNESCO or the European Union. Most writers, most of the time, take nation-states as their principal units of analysis. Instead, the present volume will highlight cities as leading loci of cultural policy and governance. The shift from the international and the national to the regional and the local is warranted indirectly by a key finding of globalization research: rather than imposing a massive, seemingly stifling, layer of some standardized form of global culture of whatever provenance, globalization has, in many realms, led to diversity and a seemingly cacophonous *mélange* of cultural activities. These new patterns of cultural behaviour have led *inter alia* to new localisms, or to manifestations of the 'glocal' – hence the term 'glocalization' – that are hybrid forms, styles and patterns bringing together local and global elements and processes. There is a new 'city nationalism' abroad today that harks back to the city-states of the Italian Renaissance. Many cities

are creating their own imagined communities and aspiring to become part of a broader 'community of cities not marked or limited by state and/or national borders' (Paz Balibrea, 2004: 216). As shown in Figure I.1, the resulting dynamics no longer fit the conventional local-national-regional-international-transnational step function.

Yet this schematic representation should not hide the complexity of the relational pattern. First, cities are not directly part of transnational governance structures. They have neither seats nor votes at bodies such as the United Nations or the European Parliament; they do not necessarily have more voice than corporations or civil society actors in terms of advocacy. Second, they are unequally represented at national levels, and their *de jure* and *de facto* influence varies according to the type of legislative and administrative system in place. For example, Paris occupies a rather privileged position in this regard, while Los Angeles and even Berlin are less favoured by national policy frames and styles. Third, cities themselves have different governance structures that may either help or hinder their positioning in the local–global nexus. Many cities, among them Los Angeles, have highly fragmented administrative systems that make coordinated cultural policy action difficult even in the best of budgetary times. The Mayor of London has

Figure I.1 Dynamics of local and global relational patterns



far fewer policy tools and resources at his disposal than his counterparts in Berlin or Paris (see indicator suites in Part 2), not to speak of the mega-cities of the Indian sub-continent that have practically no such powers.

At the same time, there are striking similarities among cities that play a 'global' role. They are 'networked' in the sense that they form multiple intersections of movements of people, goods and services, finance, information, as well as talents and ideas. It is the density and reach of these multiplex networks that make such global cities stand out. It is also what makes their success contingent on economic, legal and social-cultural factors that emanate from both national and international sources. For this reason, they share one further characteristic: world cities often sit uncomfortably in the governance structures of nation-states and international regimes. So how do they address global governance problems, and why do some negotiate the cross-currents of globalization more successfully than others? In addressing that question, however, we must also be mindful of the diversity of the relationships between cities and globalization. As Stuart Hall wrote (2010: xi) in his Foreword to volume 3 of this *Series*:

Contemporary globalization in all its aspects is a process of 'combined and uneven development' – 'combined' because it draws huge differences, disparities, historical divergences and temporalities together; 'uneven' because it creates greater disparities and inequalities – in resources, wealth, income, health, welfare, material well-being and cultural power – greater even than the differences and inequalities it claims to be surpassing.

Yet all metropolitan areas, whether they are truly 'global' in their reach – New York, Los Angeles, London, Mexico City, Mumbai, Cairo, Rio de Janeiro, Paris – or significantly large and diverse – Berlin, Cape Town, Istanbul, Lagos or Sydney – or of medium size, relatively speaking – Torino, Singapore, Stockholm – have become the 'mixing bowls' in which all the combined and uneven processes of globalization play out, particularly in the cultural field. These cities are becoming protagonists in cultural policy and politics whose importance equals and sometimes exceeds that of national governments. There are different reasons

for this. The first is the sheer size of many of these cities, which have larger populations and greater economic power than many small nation-states. A second is the strong concentration of many globalization trends within cities, regardless of their size. The Chicago School of urban sociology saw the city of the early twentieth century as a laboratory of modernity; in like manner, the globalization issues of today seem to peak in cities. Immigration, for example, is at its greatest in cities, where immigrants build up strong networks and attempt to preserve their cultures of origin, while at the same time mixing with people from many other cultural backgrounds and contributing to new forms of ongoing cultural hybridization. Multinational corporations and INGOs alike are headquartered in cities. A third reason is the greater flexibility cities enjoy in order to react to such developments and search for solutions to the policy and governance issues that they generate. In this context, then, what are the key policy and governance issues and what patterns of policy-making are emerging, where, and with what implications?

Deepening the rationale

A focus on metropolitan cultural policy and governance issues does not mean that we neglect or abandon the nation-state. However, nation-states tend to articulate and enact cultural policies primarily in terms of identity-building and protection, obeying the imperatives of what Raymond Williams once referred to as cultural policy as 'display' (Williams, 1984). While these motivations are certainly present at the local level as well – see Therborn, 2002 on the role of national capitals – cities, when compared to nation-states, appear to be interacting more dynamically, even proactively, with the challenges and opportunities of globalization. Factors of scale, accessibility and participation combine increasingly to ensure that a great deal of innovative policy-making is being made at the city level. Many of the most exciting cultural visions, projects, exchanges and networks and developments of the day are to be found in or generated by cities rather by nations.

It is at the municipal level that the patterns, processes, and outcomes associated with the 'complex connectivity' (Tomlinson, 1999) of globalization are playing out in the most challenging ways. There is

increasing evidence to show that city actors – at once local governments, civil society entities and the business world – are engaging in more authentic international interactions at the policy level, in more mutual learning and exchange of experience, than are national actors (UNCHS, 2001). For example, recent debates (and many initiatives) about the economic role of the ‘creative economy’ and the ‘creative class’ have been primarily about urban policies and measures to attract and retain certain population and professional groups (see Florida, 2002; Scott, 2008a).

This city dimension was often present in the previous four volumes but was not tackled systematically. In the past few years, however, it has become abundantly clear that *the challenges and opportunities of globalization are ever more acutely perceived, felt, or actually lived at the local level*. At the same time, and in keeping with the notion of ‘glocalization’ referred to already, the ways in which the local interacts with the global often sidestep or contradict the so-called ‘national’ stances adopted by governments. Initiatives in each local community allow them to shape their own responses to cultural globalization pressures and opportunities. These responses bring up issues of governance as well. Who is in charge of cultural policy and what degree of autonomy do local actors really have in setting goals and targets?

One area of particular interest here is the *global governance* problem that affects many policy fields: the growing mismatch between the forces of globalization and the capacity of governments to steer, regulate and control. Both the 2008–09 global financial crisis and the often hapless responses to it in political capitals around the world testify to this. Unless the systemic failures of global governance are fixed through policies and institutions more adequate to the challenges of a globalized economy and global financial markets, can we do more than ‘tinker’ with the syndrome at best? What does this diagnosis, usually reached for financial markets or the environment, mean for cultural policy? How do metropolitan areas around the world address the global governance challenge? Could it be that the new cultural ‘glocalism’ is a response to governance weaknesses at national and international levels? Or is it just that, in the current ‘urban turn in spatial politics’, national governments are unnecessarily sacrificing regional cohesion for the ‘fuelling [of] national engines of growth’ (Van Winden, 2010: 103f.)?

City-level phenomena also largely confirm one of the key working hypotheses of the *Series*, which is that ever more frequently today, cultural processes play out independently of the nation-state and its policy frameworks. In some cases, of course, the nation-state has gained importance. Nevertheless, there can be little doubt that cultural processes today need to be seen through several lenses: the city or regional perspective has to be complemented by a national one, and of course both are being inflected by a transnational one as well. On the ground, however, clusterings of artists are associated with particular urban districts such as New York’s Soho, museums and cultural institutions are city-created and managed, and the challenges of living together with ethnic diversity are primarily urban ones. As several chapters will show, autonomous cultural policy frameworks are being shaped increasingly by city administrations. It is therefore appropriate to focus on the cultural dimension of municipal policy and politics in order to attain the two main aims of the *Series*, namely to unpack the relationships between cultural change and globalization and to enrich the evidence base needed for informed policy-making in the cultural arena.

To be sure, national governments still articulate broad policy frameworks for culture in the arts and heritage sense. We know of course that in the USA (as in Germany) the federal government does *not* do so, but in fact this makes the argument for a local-level perspective even more compelling there. Margaret Wyszomirski observed in a previous volume (2008: 203) that in the USA key policy decisions ‘are concentrated at the local level and are taking shape without the benefit of central government leadership, support, or linkage as they are in most other countries’. Everywhere, national governments put in place national administrative and institutional structures, and engage in international dialogue and cooperation. So the question is whether local actors merely imitate or emulate these visions, aims, regulatory frameworks and structures, or whether they offer alternatives to them that engage more creatively with the global. In many cases, cities *have to* interpret and apply often abstract broad national policy frameworks or, when very clearly formulated national policies exist, these provide inspiration for cultural action, but this needs to be adapted to local needs.

In other words, ‘local’ cultural policy-making – the tools that it employs and the relations between different

kinds of public intervention in the realm of culture that obtain at the local level – cannot be analyzed in isolation from the national level. Rather, these phenomena must be explored together with and in juxtaposition to the national policy dynamics. They must also be taken up in ways that encompass the new kinds of interactions that are occurring between the two levels. Indeed, several chapters in the volume attend to such interactions. In some cases, local initiatives may be taken to palliate nation-level insufficiencies, but in the majority of instances cities set their own agendas on the basis of local conditions, needs, and expectations. Often they must also react to national trends towards decentralization. Yet even here, there is a big difference between paternalistic decentralization, which is a reckless abdication of responsibility, without regard for the local-level outcomes, and reluctant decentralization that transfers some remit to the lower level but seeks to retain control, thus burdening the local authorities with various rules and conditions. Today we are probably also seeing ‘revindicated decentralization’, to coin a term. There are transnational drivers of decentralization as well, for example the efforts of the European Commission, whose disbursement of EU Structural Funds for regional development has been a major factor.

Moving now from the city–nation nexus to the level of transnational flows, we see that many of the reference points or nodes of such flows and spaces are now cities rather than nations. Indeed, some of these flows have been explored in previous volumes, for example, migrations, the emergence of hybrid art-forms, or new cross-sectoral partnerships for the creation of cultural institutions. Hollywood and Bollywood are cases in point for the movie industry, as are Paris and Milan for fashion or Silicon Valley and Silicon Alley for software. The borrowing and slight modification of the places’ names (Bollywood, Silicon Alley) themselves reveal the importance of the original location. Cultural forms of increasing diversity and innovativeness are emerging in transnational and transcultural space, transcending the limitations of the national imaginary in ways that suggest that ‘the national logic might now actually be inhibiting more innovative cultural possibilities’ (Robins, 2006: 19). Factors such as the ‘nichification’ attendant upon consumerist lifestyles or the demands of ethnic and linguistic pluralism are promoting frames of reference and engagement beyond as well as below nation-state

borders, such as global youth culture or diasporic communities. All these extend the horizons of collective identities and loyalties (Dahlgren, 2009), just as they also contain them within local settings as well. Cities of all sizes are now articulating visions of local culture as symbolic capital, particularly for place marketing and branding and the instrumental use of the cultural industries to boost local economic growth and employment. Even cities that do not even try to call themselves ‘global’ have to pay attention to global demand and information flows. Often, even if the city does not have a particularly strong cultural offer, the economic dimension of the city having become insufficient, a cultural component has to be integrated and marketed to a local audience as well as a global one. This cultural component tends increasingly to be embodied in carefully conceived events, hence the notion of ‘eventful cities’ (Richards and Palmer, 2010).

Hence there is a need for closer ethnographic attention to the local dynamics. For what is at stake are the size, health and diversity of the local cultural system as a whole, its very backbone. As Duxbury and Murray observed in volume 3 of the *Series* (2010: 209), ‘local cultural strategies need to balance entrepreneurship with a needs-based analysis, to seek “authentic” local differentiation, and recover a dimension of playfulness in cities, not as an experience of consumption and staged commercial production but a genuine expression of creativity and a process of intercultural education and re-discovery.’ It is both ‘good’ and ‘bad’ practice in relation to such issues that we shall seek to share with our readers.

While governance is not a synonym for policy, elaborating any policy in the public interest requires a strong emphasis on governance. The notion focuses on a specific aspect of policy and at the same time broadens the perspective. We understand the notion as ‘the set of institutions and structures that define how public goods (or public “bads”) are created and delivered to citizens and the private sector and how public policies are made’ (Wei, 2001: 1).³ On a second level, business usage in regard to the term is also relevant as the relationships between a company’s management, its board, its shareholders and other stakeholders that the corporate sector seeks to nurture are equally germane to the success of cultural organizations. Corporate governance frameworks may provide ‘the structure through which objectives are set and

the means of attaining those objectives and monitoring performance are determined' (OECD, 2004: 11). In the cultural sector, many boards are considered to be weak governance mechanisms and this is perhaps a critical issue in the context of the current recession; similarly, there are frequent weaknesses of governance in national-level, state-run cultural organizations, which impact on their interactions with the local level. In the urban context, governance issues may also arise with regard to the numerous private–public partnerships that are taking place for developmental and infrastructural investment. Finally, as regards arts and culture practice in general, as it is supported for reasons that are at once intrinsic and instrumental, the governance of this sector needs to be thought through in both intrinsic and instrumental terms.

Cultural policy, cultural politics, cultural governance

For analytical purposes we can distinguish between cultural 'policy' and 'politics', linking both notions to 'governance' in the different ways shown in the triangle diagram in Figure 1.1 above. The distinction between the terms 'policy' and 'politics' is explored more fully in Chapter 32 by Isar dealing with the policy implications of the multifaceted analysis brought together in this volume. Suffice it to say here that, broadly speaking, 'policy' falls more within the purview of a problem-solving, managerial approach used by a recognized community of 'cultural policy consultants', while a focus on the 'politics' – the articulation of different values and meanings – is more characteristic of critical academic perspectives on cultural policy-making. In a sense, the distinction between the two 'torn halves' (Bennett, 2004) is comparable to that between applied and fundamental research. The common understanding of *cultural policy* refers to any 'system of ultimate aims, practical objectives and means, pursued by a group and applied by an authority [and] ... combined in an explicitly coherent system' (Girard and Gentil, 1983: 13). The study of cultural policy is thus taken to be mainly what a public authority enacts in terms of cultural affairs, the latter being understood as relating to the arts and heritage. Many civil society actors – private foundations, cultural activist groups and networks and the like – also shape cultural policy in this sense; business corporations,

notably in the cultural industries, do so as well (cf. volume 2 in the *Series*, entitled *The Cultural Economy*) with impacts that rival if not exceed those of government. Cultural policy research in this universe tends to be essentially functionalist in nature, if not largely descriptive (Isar, 2009). It gathers empirical data, often but not always with the help of social science methodologies, in order to offer solutions to problems defined by a client and, consequently, its research questions rarely range beyond the delivery or non-delivery of *outputs* (in turn these are generally the outputs of institutional action). But the premises on the basis of which those outputs are defined, the values they embody, or the sometimes covert goals they pursue – in other words the *outcomes* – are rarely critiqued or called into question. There is, however, a relatively recent academic tradition also calling itself cultural policy research that does ask such questions, in a critical perspective, which leads it to focus on the subject matter rather more as cultural *politics*. Thus it targets 'the politics of culture in the most general sense: it is about the clash of ideas, institutional struggles and power relations in the production and circulation of symbolic meanings ...' (McGuigan, 1996: 1). Influenced largely by cultural studies (as well as by critical sociology, e.g. Pierre Bourdieu), this perspective is inherently contested and critical.⁴

The two camps operate in parallel, but with few mutual connections. As a result, culture is a public policy domain in which there exists a bifurcation between, to put it somewhat schematically, critical and uncritical (or instrumental) analytical stances. This divide has real implications for governance in terms of regulatory oversight and overall 'system control', and our purpose for the *Series* has been to help bridge it.⁵ Hence the chapters that follow in Part 1, whether in the first section on overarching themes, or in the second devoted to the experiences of individual cities, pursue this objective. With this aim in view, at the start of the project we therefore framed the issues for the benefit of our contributors on the following interconnected levels:⁶

- 1 the internal dynamics of cities (e.g. urban regeneration and renewal; cultural infrastructures; new modes of cultural work/employment);
- 2 city–city intersections (e.g., competition, branding, division of labour);
- 3 city–nation intersections (e.g., civil society groupings; balance between culture as economic

resource and culture as identity or difference); and

- 4 city–global intersections (e.g., global branding, international civil society interfaces; international organizations and transnational governments; and governance such as the EU, etc.).

Some key issues

Having set out the urban dimensions and domains of action in which *cultural policies* are being articulated and applied – or the debates around which the dynamics of *cultural politics* occur – in early 2010 we put forward a number of issues as a broad framework for the volume. As its purpose was to serve as a point of departure in soliciting contributions, our framework was not exclusive, nor was it to be a blueprint for the finished volume. It turned out to be germane and thought-provoking for our authors, however, which is why we reiterate it below:

1. Political and sociological issues

- 1.1. *Cultural diversity and pluralism*: as migratory flows transforming the ethnic and social heterogeneity of cities, how are city leaders devising new models of recognition, inclusion, conflict-prevention and mediation?
- 1.2. *Civil society entities and networks, local, regional and global*: what are the dynamics of grassroots cultural mobilization within cities as well as at the level of inter-city networks such as *United Cities and Local Governments* (UCLG)? What lessons can be learned from these diverse groupings and their interactions (or non-interactions)?
- 1.3. *Global organizations and city cultural policies*: how do cities interact as autonomous actors with bodies such as UNESCO, The Council of Europe or the EU?
- 1.4. *The tools of governance*: what hard and soft governance tools (and models underlying them) suggest themselves for policy actors in metropolitan regions? These could range from questions of budgeting and accountability to cultural audits and the use of performance measures and indicators for cultural sector organizations as well as recourse to the bridging functions of networks and platforms.

2. Socio-economic issues

- 2.1. *The political economy of urban cultures*: instrumental cultural and creative industries strategies were analyzed in depth in volume 2 and also to some extent in volume 3. What does today's 'state of the art' reveal that is new? What are the effects of the blurring of boundaries between for-profit and not-for-profit cultural activities, or between producers and consumers? Is there a new balance being found between city cultural development for tourists and city cultural development for (different groups of) local residents? Where are the chief investments being made: in production-centric policies or in favour of greater consumption? In institutions and infrastructure or in artistic life? What is the place of the community arts in city settings? What is their potential as a form of resistance or adaptation to globalization?
- 2.2. *Economic transformations and renewals (industrial decline, de-industrialization, etc.)*: how are cultural policies targeting urban regeneration and renewal in conditions of globalization. How diverse are these policies and practices? How effective are they? As regards the omnipresent trend towards gentrification as an outcome, what role do cultural organizations play? Are some of them willing accomplices? Are others merely victims, forced to move by the buzz they have created to boost the real-estate market?
- 2.3. *Branding*: What are the city branding formulae that are being followed and what are their impacts on the global positioning of cities, and as regards the identity, image and sense of place of their inhabitants?
- 2.4. *Local cultural policies and sustainable development*: how are the global dynamics of the environmental movement playing out at city level? How is the sustainability paradigm inflecting local cultural policies?

3. Urban planning issues

- 3.1. *City spaces and infrastructures*: how are global factors affecting policy as regards local cultural infrastructure, its nature, scale and location as well as the sustainability thereof?
- 3.2. *Culture in urban regeneration*: old wine in new bottles? But what exactly are these new bottles? How are heritage, the narratives of the

past, and contemporary monumental cultural infrastructure, such as flagship museums, theatres and concert halls, coming together with the global discourses of the creative industries as motors of urban regeneration?

- 3.3. *Cities and cyberspace:*** what models are emerging to create locally embedded cyberspaces and levels of connectedness across populations and professions? How do geographic space and cyberspace relate?

Responses

In keeping with the pattern established for the *Series*, Part 1 of the book is devoted to essays on issues that are overarching both conceptually and geo-politically and bring the findings of fresh research to bear. The opening chapter, by Katharine Sarikakis, looks at the cultural power of major cities in a perspective that is rather different from the usual focus on financial and trade flows. Her focus is on the political power that places certain cities at the 'commanding heights' of global cultural policy-making because they function as *centres of hegemonic political systems*. Particularly in relation to audiovisual and electronic culture policies, how do three cities – Brussels, Washington, DC, and Montevideo lead and shape both global and regional policy? The analysis focuses on the new types of concentrations of actors in these 'global cities of politics' and the processes through which they exercise control and influence on the world stage. In a similar vein, in the next chapter, Roman Lobato shifts the focus from the formal indicators of economic power to the *informal* or 'grey' and 'black' economies where we encounter a rather different map of global connectivity and cultural provision, which interacts with various 'mainstreams'. His exploration of the *circuits of media piracy* in Asia, Africa and Latin America reveals distinctive patterns at city level, often involving direct conflict with urban regeneration and city-branding initiatives, but also active support on the part of many cities to their informal economies for strategic reasons, which he argues will become more compelling for urban cultural policy in coming decades.

From such new ways of framing cultural governance issues we move to a set of key challenges facing contemporary cities. The most obvious one is *migratory flows and cultural diversity*. Phil Wood, on

the basis of his work for the Council of Europe's 'Intercultural Cities' programme as well as broad international observation, sets out the reasons for which cities can and must take a more proactive stance to forge diverse urban societies where citizens co-create their life-worlds. A selection of examples is offered to illustrate how local government, civil society and migrants themselves are now shaping this emerging movement. Another familiar challenge is that of incorporating the goals and the spirit of *sustainable development* into cultural policy-making at the city level. Nancy Duxbury, Catherine Cullen and Jordi Pascual make the intellectual case for this and show how this new paradigm is being advanced through a wide range of local initiatives, all rooted in a pervasive and heightened concern for grassroots public participation. Arguing that the ingredients needed to fully elaborate and impose it are all in play, the chapter describes how the United Cities and Local Government's *Agenda 21 for Culture* is playing a leadership role as an international connector in this regard and discusses the ways in which this Agenda is addressing the challenge of aligning efforts and advancing new thinking globally. While strengthening the connections between culture and sustainability is a universally recognized goal already, Dragan Klaić explores another not yet recognized objective: capitalizing for the sake of cultural policy on the *'town and gown' relationships* that he finds wanting in most contemporary cities. Universities do not yet figure in the cast of cultural policy and governance players, yet there are sound reasons a more structured and structural relationship as a new frontier in this area, one that optimizes the resources of institutions of higher learning beyond the status they already confer on the cities in which they are located.

From such 'programmatic' approaches, the discussion moves on to issues, tropes and practices that have dominated the discourse of culture in and for cities for several decades now. One of these is *city branding*: the strategy of identifying valuable assets that a city has to offer, developing these assets and delivering their value to attract investors, visitors and talent. Lily Kong traces the origins of city branding and explores what sorts of methods have succeeded or failed. In so doing, she stresses both positive and perverse outcomes. '*Spectacularization*' has already established itself squarely on that agenda, however, and Davide Ponzini explores how

buildings or urban regeneration projects designed by star architects have become spectacles designed to contribute to 'distinction' on the global stage but may well be leading precisely to another form of homogenization. The well-known narrative of the 'Bilbao effect' accompanying the proliferation of Guggenheim Museums – and now also of antennae of the august Louvre – now enjoys great purchase everywhere, particularly in cities such as Abu Dhabi that are positioning themselves as new players on the world stage. This trend has led cities to compete in the matter of 'collecting' new buildings and cultural facilities, often with scant regard for the functions of these infrastructures and edifices both in their urban context and in the global market.

We have in this *Series* amply explored the tropes of 'creativity' that are so dominant in cultural policy thinking today (see in particular Anheier and Isar, 2010) and indeed the notion is particularly germane at city level. It occupies a privileged place in this volume as well. Taking an analytical tack that he already deployed to good effect in volume 2 (2008), Stuart Cunningham argues here that the key tensions in discussions over what makes cities more conducive to and supportive of creativity revolve around perspectives that are either production-centric or consumption-centric. Scholars are increasingly prepared to claim priority for the city-region over the nation-state as an economic and cultural agent in the contemporary world, but are they ready to deal with major changes in the nature of cultural production and consumption themselves, he asks? Because the boundaries between the production and consumption of culture are blurring, tomorrow's citizens/consumers will expect the two to be much more interdependent. Finally, we bring our readers the most recent reflections of Charles Landry, one of the fathers of 'creativity' thinking, particular with regard to city cultural policy and governance. As Landry argues, 'everyone is in principle creative, but not equally creative, yet everyone can be more creative than they currently are'. He goes on to explore how this insight can be applied effectively to cities, where the question of creative organization takes on several layers of complexity.

The second section of Part 1 of the volume is devoted to 21 different 'City Experiences'. In each of the previous volumes, we illustrated the overarching issues from a wide range of geo-cultural perspectives as well as focus in this second section on a range of specific issues or domains with respect to

which key questions arise. In the present volume, the challenge was comparable, yet different: to illustrate the overarching issues through the very diverse experiences of a series of selected cities across the world. We started out with the idea of a set of 'City Profiles', but the notion of a profile implies that similar phenomena are being compared according to a shared analytical grid. Thus we sought initially to group cities together into clusters of shared characteristics. We thought we should have chapters on several 'global' or 'world' cities which are recognized as such in various existing classifications based on criteria such as financial and trade flows or population size. Most of these cities have also spun out cultural narratives and so we could have, say, grouped together the 'global cities' discussed in this volume – London, New York, Mexico City, Mumbai, Paris and Shanghai. But very challenging cultural issues, as well as front-edge methods of addressing them, emerge from many other cities as well, not just the 'global cities'. They emerge with equal force from cities of all shapes and sizes. We therefore sought to include analyses of the efforts and experience of metropolises already well-established in cultural terms (such as Amsterdam, Barcelona, Berlin or Istanbul), as well as of far less celebrated places whose international cultural profile is of recent origin or fabrication. We also thought it valuable to place the spotlight on the experiences of cities whose leaders and people have played the cultural card in response to dramatic urban traumas (as in Medellín, Colombia), or particular circumstances (Marseille, Torino and Venice), or through specific means of action (as in Fès or L'viv). Over and above this intrinsic diversity, however, even when urban characteristics are shared, our authors have highlighted very different sorts of achievements and challenges. This made it difficult to see the chapters as 'profiles', since each one concentrates on different facets of urban cultural policy-making and governance. For this reason, we decided to call these chapters 'City Experiences'. Also, after considering several possible ways of grouping them together, we opted in the end for a presentation in simple alphabetical order. Significantly, this ordering opens with a chapter that turns on the sustainability of a very new city – Abu Dhabi – that is creating great island cultural infrastructure practically *ex nihilo*, while it closes with a chapter that explores the severely threatened sustainability of a very old city – Venice – whose stock of cultural capital is as vast as it is ancient.

The variety of approaches is part and parcel of our editorial method, which is ecumenical in terms of both disciplines within the social sciences and the humanities and in terms of ideological preference. But the variety is above all a natural outcome of the differences between the cities themselves, whose respective cultural systems have emerged through strikingly different histories and contemporary situations. This heterogeneity is as marked in 'global cities' as it is in human settlements of less imposing proportions. In regard to cultural flourishing – or 'creativity' in cultural policy and governance – financial clout or population size are of secondary importance. Our selection represents a cross-section of germane city-based cultural issues. This is a highly plural worldscape.

Despite this plurality, however, several common threads run through all the overarching explorations and city profiles alike, and shared policy implications do emerge from them. All the chapters show that policy-making with regard to the cultural now mobilizes a broader cast of actors than ever before: not just the institutions of government, but also civil society organizations and movements, as well as the forces of the marketplace. And the dynamics of cooperation or competition between these different actors are significant in cities of all kinds. Another common thread is the powerful way in which urban development is transforming not just the urban fabric of cities, but also their cultural texture, their soul – this is evocatively presented in the photo essay of a young scholar, Mieka Ritsema, that is Chapter 33 in this volume. Part 2 of the volume, edited by Michael Hoelscher, presents quantitative data on eight of the cities and two overarching issues related to urbanization and city networks in the form of indicator suites (Anheier, 2007).

Finally, in closing, we wish to reiterate the abiding purpose of this *Series*, which is to address a range of expectations, anxieties and illusions that the encounter between cultures and globalization has generated right across the world. In the case of our cities, the expectations are tied to our current perceptions of the 'power of culture'. The anxieties arise from contradictory understandings of how cultures as resources are magnified or diminished by globalization. The illusions stem from overblown and instrumental visions of culture that simply ask it to do too much. We can only reiterate our conviction that the expectations can be justified, the anxieties allayed and the illusions dispelled by the

patient and methodical marshalling of evidence in informed and conceptually sensitive ways. It is our hope that this volume too, like its four predecessors, will contribute meaningfully to that task.

Notes

- 1 Our understanding of 'culture' for the *Series* encompasses both the 'arts and heritage' sense of the term and a broader social science reading based on meaning-making. Hence we see 'culture' as the social construction, articulation and reception of meaning. We take it to be both the lived and creative experience for individuals as well as a body of artefacts, symbols, texts and objects, both heritage and contemporary creation, involving both enactment and representation. This allows us to embrace art and art discourse, the cultural heritage and its preservation and enhancement, the symbolic world of meanings, the commodified output of the cultural industries as well as the spontaneous or enacted, organized or unorganized cultural expressions of everyday life, including social relations. 'Globalization' we understand in the sense of today's highly accelerated movement of objects (goods, services, finance and other resources, etc.), meanings (language, symbols, knowledge, identities, etc.) and people across regions and intercontinental space (Held et al., 1999). These processes of time-space compression have accompanied the entire human story, but today their pace, depth and breadth are unprecedented.
- 2 Following Zürn (1998), governance in a broad sense could be defined as the sum of all collective regulations that aim at a particular problem or circumstance that needs to be solved in relation to the collective interest of certain stakeholder groups. We could also extend it to 'the traditions and institutions that determine how authority is exercised in a particular country. This includes (1) the process by which governments are selected, held accountable, monitored and replaced; (2) the capacity of governments to manage resources efficiently and to formulate, implement, and enforce sound policies and regulations; and (3) the respect of citizens and the state for the institutions that govern economic and social interactions among them' (Kaufmann, Kraay, and Zoido-Lobaton, 2000: 10).
- 3 In European usages there is some slippage around and between 'cultural policy' and 'cultural politics'. While *politique culturelle* in the Francophone world concerns the taken-for-granted role of the public authorities in cultural provision, and their role alone, the German notion of *Kulturpolitik* is inherently ambiguous; it could involve just that, or bring in the critical dimension we are alluding to here.
- 4 Some sub-disciplines, however, appear to be bridging the gap. Cultural economics, for example, engaged as it is by necessity with market forces, is now beginning to

inform policy-making for culture in, to some extent, the same way as do economists who deal with monetary policy, employment or industrial development, or like sociologists and political scientists whose findings inspire

guidelines for the governance of various social and political sectors (see, for example, Throsby, 2010).

- 5 We are grateful to Lily Kong (see her chapter on city branding) for suggesting this choice of levels.

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