Re-constructing Inner Cityscapes as Spaces of Consumption

Covering Statement by

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This document is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of

London Metropolitan University for the

Degree of Doctor of Philosophy by Prior Output

February 2010

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Abstract

The Covering Statement reviews the author's publications since 2000, and demonstrates his contribution to urban studies concerning leisure, tourism and regeneration. The work is discussed in three sections that represent the main stages in its development, with the following aims:

a) To investigate how place-marketing at the micro-scale can re-present cityscapes in disadvantaged areas as spaces for leisure and tourism consumption to desired target markets, especially higher-spending visitors;

b) To explain the processes that refashion inner cityscapes as 'ethnic cultural quarters', with critical examination of the effects on social inclusion and exclusion in the public realm, and how public engagement is incorporated into urban design;

c) To compare developments in areas fringing city centres in London and other European cities with their counterparts in North America from the mid-1990s.

A methodology derived from grounded theory was developed and applied through longitudinal studies that included Brick Lane, London EC1, and its reimaging as 'Banglatown'. Transcripts of interviews with practitioners responsible for implementation were compared with one another, and with the discourse of public policy. Further comparisons were made through observations and photography of changing urban landscapes, and through analysis of descriptions in guidebooks and promotional material. In the UK and in Canada, urban policy has encouraged leisure and tourism as a catalyst to urban regeneration, and the research confirmed that in both countries collaborations between local authorities and non-state agencies have facilitated rapid growth of urban visitor economies in some inner urban and inner suburban localities. However, it also revealed processes through which, contrary to the intention of public policy, small area-based and short-term structures of urban governance have allowed powerful agencies to influence re-imaging strategies as well as physical reconstruction of the public realm to their commercial advantage. In some cases, such processes have perverse and unintended consequences for less powerful groups. The research demonstrated how Geographic Information Systems for Participation (GIS-P) can be adapted and used to capture insights, views and preferences of people that public agencies consider disadvantaged and 'hard-to-reach' by more established forms of consultation, and who are the intended beneficiaries of regeneration programmes. Thus, it may be incorporated as a technique by urban authorities to accommodate a broader range of interests, and to inform solutions that support their policy aspirations.

A Brief Summary of the Author's Career Background

Following his postgraduate studies 1977-9, the author qualified as a Chartered Town Planner and worked in three local authorities 1979-1986. His responsibility for Industrial Improvement Areas in London Borough of Brent 1983-6 involved regular contact with small businesses, many of which were owned by recent immigrants. Interaction between such firms and public agencies raised issues that stimulated his initial interest in ethnic minority businesses and their exploitation of new market opportunities.

In 1986, he joined the Polytechnic of North London Business School, as Senior Lecturer. He has been course leader for: Postgraduate Diploma, Planning for Leisure 1987-90; Professional Studies Diploma in Transport 1995-2001; MA Leisure and Tourism Studies 1998-2000; and BA Travel Management 1998-2006. He was liaison tutor MA International and Tourism Studies, CHN Leeuwarden 1999-2002, and External Examiner: MA Tourism Management, University of Salford 2003-7; and BA Tourism, Dublin Institute of Technology 2007-10.

His initial research on regeneration and place-marketing was informed by the work of London Borough of Islington's Tourism Development Action Programme (TDAP), which he chaired from 1997 to 2000. He also chaired the Government's Advisory Group on Social Exclusion and Public Transport (DETR 2000). Since 2003, he has been Director of TRaC, a designated Research Centre that forms part of the Cities Institute at London Metropolitan University. Details are available at www.citiesinstitute.org/. His work has been included in three Research Assessment Exercises (RAEs), including 2008 with Cities Institute (Town Planning).

During this period he has been Principal Investigator for two research consortia funded by the Engineering and Physical Sciences Research Council (EPSRC), in 2003-4 and 2005-7 (total grants £310,000), both of which were rated 'Good' by EPSRC peer review. Available at www.aunt-sue.info/ and www.insitu.org.uk/. He has also been Co-investigator for three other EPSRC projects between 2004 and 2010. Research funding from the Canadian Government in 2001-3 and 2005-9 under the auspices of the British Association of Canadian Studies (BACS) enabled him to investigate comparable developments in Canadian cities, and to establish a 'Canada-UK Cities Research Group', a forum to discuss policy and practice, especially through seminars, conferences and publications.

Review of the Selected Publications

This Covering Statement discusses the development of the author's research, and his contribution to knowledge in the field of urban studies, especially with respect to leisure, tourism and regeneration in large cities. His published work is illustrated by three single-authored articles, three single-authored chapters (in three monographs) and four co-authored articles (as lead author). These are appended, and are referenced in the text as '[1] to [10]'.

Introduction

The initial research questions arose from two fields of scholarly inquiry, and conceptual links between them: (i) the significance of leisure and tourism practices for the social construction of heritage environments, and (ii) the role of public agencies in place-marketing. During the 1980s and 1990s, critics from a range of disciplines had drawn attention to the commercialization and touristification of historic sites, monuments and museums in the United Kingdom (UK) that had been encouraged by the Conservative Government, notably through English Heritage from 1984. Such discourses tended to obscure painful conflicts of the past, denying their continuity to the present day: narratives of time and place that supported the ideology of the New Right (Wright 1985; Hewison 1987; Goodey 1994). Over this same period, the transfer of place-marketing techniques from North America had been also the subject of considerable debate. Some questioned their appropriateness to the UK and other European states where more hierarchical and interventionist approaches to planning and development had prevailed. Where themes of heritage and the arts were used for competitive place-marketing, these also tended to support the status quo (Ashworth 1988; Ashworth and Voogt 1994).

As yet, however, most empirical evidence and analysis of how the past was being re-constructed through interpretation and promotion had focused on site-specific attractions (cf. Walsh 1992), as opposed to the more recent interest in historic environments that are experienced as part of everyday life (Pendlebury 2009). In contrast, most studies of place-marketing from business and management as well as from the social sciences had been at the geographical scale of towns, cities and states/provinces (cf. Kotler *et al* 1993; Kearns and Philo 1993; Ward 1998). Little attention had been given to the role of public agencies in place-marketing to encourage leisure and tourism in small areas that they re-defined as 'quarters'. The author drew attention to this gap in the literature, arguing that it was at this 'micro-scale' that local authorities and other public agencies could exert their greatest influence in the short to medium term, not only through promotion, but also by shaping the 'place-product' that is offered to desired target markets. In England, there was considerable scope for local authorities to do so using their powers as Local Planning and Local Highway Authorities. From the

early 1990s, place-marketing with a very *local* focus was given a further stimulus under City Challenge and the Single Regeneration Budget (SRB). Where bids for Government funding under these programmes were successful, local authorities formulated strategies with partners from the commercial, public and voluntary sectors, and some used associations with heritage and contemporary arts to encourage growth of leisure and tourism where this had potential to compensate for the decline of older industries. In inner city areas, such regeneration strategies generally required supportive programmes of intervention to create accessible, safe and attractive pedestrian environments, and in some cases to facilitate development of 'flagship' attractions, hospitality, speciality retailing and other features that public agencies considered appropriate to an emerging visitor economy.

Following the General Election in 1997, the Government set a new agenda for historic environments and regeneration, a significant turn in national policy that required reappraisal of previous academic critiques of the 'heritage industry' and its relationship with the state. Across a very broad range of public policy, New Labour gave a high priority to reducing social exclusion and to widening citizen participation[i]. The 'City Fringe Partnership' (CFP) provided evidence through which the author could examine the underlying rationale for public intervention to re-construct historic inner cityscapes, and how this might be influenced by the new national policy imperatives. CFP had received SRB funding for a programme of action to be implemented 1997-2000[ii], with just over £1m to designate, develop and promote three new 'cultural quarters' in a 'neglected swathe of inner London' (City Fringe Partnership 1996: 1). The aim was to create a more favourable place-image and locate the area on the visitor map of London. The author formulated the initial research questions with reference to Clerkenwell and Spitalfields, two of the cultural quarters that the CFP had designated:

> How and why is place-marketing being adapted to the micro-scale of streets and enclaves, and incorporated into strategies for heritage and arts-led regeneration?
>
> What benefits are anticipated in the rationale of public policy?
>
> What narratives and images of place are being projected and why?

The first phase of the research was mostly carried out between 1997 and 2000, with findings published in papers [1-3] appended. The studies reviewed in section a) below highlighted the contested meanings of these historic cityscapes: an illustration of the ambiguities of 'marginal' places and their residents (Shields 1991), in this case along the border between the City and inner London. The author considered the dominant concern of public policy over the past two decades to stimulate wealth creation, economic restructuring and investment in historic but run-down commercial property. These established policies would have to be reconciled with new objectives to address the needs of socially

excluded, disadvantaged and marginalized social groups. Initial comparison between the proposals for Clerkenwell and Spitalfields suggested a marked divergence of approach that to some degree reflected the differing priorities of the local authorities in which they were located. In the latter, the development of a visitor economy was further encouraged through 'Cityside', another SRB-funded partnership.

By the mid 2000s, the literature of leisure and tourism studies was giving greater prominence to the 'quartering' of North American and European cities: marking out and promotion to particular target markets, e.g. museum quarters, fashion districts, gay villages (Judd 2003; Hoffman, Fainstein and Judd 2003; Jayne 2006). Bell and Jayne (2004: 252) made reference to the development of 'ethnic quarters' where 'ethnic difference is packaged for the consumption of "non-ethnic" visitors'. As yet, however, few researchers had considered this phenomenon in any depth. Empirical evidence from the Spitalfields case study suggested an opportunity to investigate why particular local authorities were encouraging the refashioning of ethnic quarters, both physically and symbolically, and to examine the means through which desired outcomes were being achieved. Structures for delivery were in place, but little attention had been given to the power and influence of particular agents of change that operated within these localized and temporary structures. Furthermore, it was unclear how the 'public' was being consulted, in accordance with the broader national policy to widen citizen participation.

In papers [4-7], discussed in section b) below, the author developed the case of Brick Lane in Spitalfields as a longitudinal study with which others in the UK and elsewhere in Europe were compared, while in papers [8-10] in section c), further comparisons were made with cases in North America. The following questions were addressed in this research, which was carried out through to 2008:

> How and why are the local authorities supporting symbolic as well as functional transformation of selected cityscapes into 'ethnic cultural quarters'?
>
> Who are the key agents of change?
>
> How is public engagement informing decisions at street level?

Consideration of the social effects revealed by various challenges to proposals to redesign and reimage Brick Lane, by public engagement (where carried out), and by the author's interviews with key informants, led him to reflect on the broader implications of the findings for urban governance. UK

Research Council funding 2005-7 for the 'InSITU' project outlined below enabled him to broaden the investigation once again, as discussed in paper [7]:

> Where local authorities have a commitment to reduce social exclusion, how might they facilitate wider user involvement in the design of public spaces and walking routes?

The following section discusses the author's methodology for data collection and analysis to address his research questions.

Methodology

The investigation guided by the research questions (pp. 4-6 above) required a critical examination of interventions by local authorities and their partner organisations, where the intention of public policy was to re-construct selected streets and enclaves as visitor destinations. In localities that had been defined as 'ethnic cultural quarters', inner cityscapes were being refashioned to appeal to visitors from the majority culture, and in some cases international tourists, most of whom were considerably more affluent than established residents. Signifiers of ethnic and cultural difference were inscribed into the cityscape. As 'texts', they communicated meaning to members of a particular minority, but they were also being gazed upon by visitors who sought out goods and services they valued as 'exotic'[iii]. Article [4] and subsequent papers make reference to the work of anthropologist Arjun Appadurai (1997: 33), who uses the suffix *'-scape'* to consider how cityscapes are viewed from multiple perspectives, as opposed to one 'objective' viewpoint; these include the 'ethnoscapes' of those who 'constitute the shifting world in which we live'. Appadurai's conceptual framework has important implications for methodology, and it influenced the author's approach to collecting and analysing evidence of how public policy was being implemented at street level.

The research inquiry was located within an interpretive paradigm derived from philosophical phenomenology, with its distinctive emphasis on lived experience as the basis for constructing multiple social realities. This allowed a more reflexive approach to the phenomenon that was to be researched than would have been possible through the more established paradigm of positivism. In the comparable field of organizational studies, Sandberg (2005: 43-5) has argued that scepticism over the validity of claims to single 'objective knowable reality' leads to a wider appreciation that descriptions of reality are coloured by specific historical, cultural, ideological, gender-based and linguistic understandings of the researcher[iv]. Mindful of the differing, sometimes contested 'readings' of inner cityscapes, and the sensitivities of interventions to refashion them as visitor destinations, the author

developed an inductive approach derived from 'grounded theory' in which the researcher 'does not enter the field guided by a predefined theoretical formulation' (Corbin and Holt 2005: 49). Rather, as 'concepts evolve during analysis' from multiple sources of evidence, 'they are used as a basis for subsequent data collection' (ibid: 50). Initial questions are progressively narrowed, as concepts and their relationships are examined critically (Strauss and Corbin 1990: 37-8).

During the first phase of the research, carried out in the case study areas discussed in a) below, the re-construction of the City Fringe cultural quarters was at a formative stage. In the case of Clerkenwell, refashioning of the cityscape remained discreet and unobtrusive [2: 171]. However, the high profile development and promotion of Brick Lane as "Banglatown" raised questions that were addressed in the second and third phase of the research. By the early 2000s, aspects of the scheme that had been visualized in the original bid documents were at odds with observable outcomes, and in the papers discussed in b) below, the author investigated these anomalies. The approach included semi-structured in-depth interviews with practitioners who had been responsible for implementing the scheme with respect to urban design, place-promotion, land-use planning, regeneration, highway engineering and transport planning. Comparisons were made, not only between these various oral testaments on the changes that had taken place, but also between their accounts and other primary sources. The studies discussed in b) and c) compare and analyse the following sources of evidence:

> *Documents:* policies, plans, proposals, monitoring and review statements, travel literature, press coverage and place-promotion material;
>
> *Interviews with key informants* including: senior managers of regeneration partnerships, local authority officers and members, and in the Canadian case studies in (c) below, the managers and board members of Business Improvement Areas;
>
> *Observations:* site visits to observe and photograph the streets and enclaves in the process of development as ethnic cultural quarters, to compare with policies, plans and proposals and to record changes over time.

The development of a methodology drawn from grounded theory began with 'open coding': close reading of documents and interview transcripts to break down, examine, compare, conceptualize and categorize the data. This provided a useful method of analysis in that it helped the author to identify recurring patterns in the discourse of public policies and programmes, and interpretation of the outcomes by practitioners. Conceptual labels were attached to emerging 'concepts' that were subsequently grouped together under higher order 'categories' (Strauss and Corbin 1990: 61-74). Thus, the documentary evidence of public policies and programmes was compared with the

practitioners' interpretation of their 'brief', their explanation of the rationale for the action that was taken, and the resulting outcomes at street level. This, in turn was cross-checked through observations of the developments they discussed, and some analysis was carried out to determine how these changes in the urban landscape were represented in tourist guidebooks and press coverage.

To investigate the re-construction of inner cityscapes as spaces of consumption, the methodology derived from grounded theory was applied to area-based case studies. In the first phase of the research a), the newly established cultural quarters in Clerkenwell and Spitalfields were examined in more detail to shed light on the early stages of public intervention to aestheticize, shape and promote the 'place-product'[v]. As Yin (1984: 20) observes, the use of one or more case studies as a research strategy has a distinct advantage where 'a "how" or "why" question is being asked about a contemporary set of events, over which the investigator has little or no control'. A particular strength 'is the ability to deal with a full variety of evidence - documents, artefacts, interviews and observations' (ibid). Drawing on his previous discussion of method, Yin (2009: 18) offers the following definition:

> 'A case study is an empirical inquiry that: investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used'.

In the late 1990s, the outcomes of the proposals to develop cultural quarters in the City Fringe were far from certain. However, by the mid 2000s, the development of a visitor economy in Brick Lane and interventions by public agencies were much further advanced, and the ramifications were examined critically through a longitudinal case study.

In the second phase of the research b), the phenomenon was narrowed down to the *reimaging of inner cityscapes associated with ethnic and cultural minorities as spaces of consumption*. This phenomenon was closely related to its context: *intra- as well as inter-urban competition, and the supportive role of urban governance*[vi] in the UK. As Yin (1984) had emphasised, the boundaries between this phenomenon and its context were hard to distinguish. The case of Banglatown/Brick Lane was compared to Green Street, another ethnic cultural quarter, developed and promoted in a different London Borough under the same regeneration programme. It was also compared in some detail with development and promotion of the "Old Jewish Quarter" in Kazimierz, Cracow in the very different context of post-communist Poland[vii]. In the third phase c), the outcomes of policy interventions and developments in North America were evaluated and compared with cases in the UK and elsewhere in Europe. The evidence accumulated over the ten-year period from both continents was used to inform a critique of existing theory, and to develop alternative explanations.

a) Cityscapes as spaces of leisure and tourism consumption

The co-authored monograph **[1]** published in *Routledge Advances in Tourism,* 'drew on a range of interdisciplinary subject fields...to explore the significance of symbolic and material spaces and places in the production, representation and consumption of leisure and tourism' (Aitchison, MacLeod and Shaw 2000: 1). In the 1990s, across a range of academic disciplines, leisure, tourism, culture and heritage were becoming more widely acknowledged as significant mediators of spatial identity and meaning. In this context, commodification and consumption of place were often portrayed as top-down processes that were being controlled to an increasing degree by professional and commercial interests. A number of authors had described a protean "industry", albeit with national variations, cf. Hewison (1987) on heritage, Bunce (1994) on countryside, Hughes (1998) on tourism. While appreciating these insights, *Leisure and Tourism Landscapes* emphasised a greater range and complexity of influences on the social construction of spaces and places. As co-author Cara Aitchison argued, approaches that allow greater scope for agency enable places to be seen as 'continually evolving landscapes with space for resistance, contestation, disruption and transgression of dominant discourses and wider hegemonic social and cultural relations' (ibid: 1)[viii].

The author's input included three chapters[ix], one of which (chapter 8) is included as the first of the selected publications [1]. In this chapter, the author expanded on the theme of selective aestheticization and valorization of place with reference to historic urban landscapes, as well as historic references in contemporary building design. The Government-appointed Urban Task Force[x] had recently stressed the worth of historic buildings and streetscapes (DETR 1999: 251) and of the public realm as a 'valuable common good' (ibid: 56). They concluded that conservation bodies were playing an increasingly pivotal role as catalysts for regeneration, and expressed an optimistic view that such agencies would 'contribute proactively to the renewal process, in partnership with the communities they seek to represent' [1: 137]. While supporting this aspiration, the author highlighted the unequal relationships of power that might frustrate the desire to encourage more democratic participation in regeneration, renewal and conservation.

In a special issue of *Tourism, Culture and Communication*, article **[2]** was co-authored with Nicola MacLeod[xi], [2: 171-3]. Inter alia, it revisited the concept of 'place-image' [2: 168] that, from a marketing management perspective, Kotler *et al* (1993: 141) had defined as 'the sum of beliefs, ideas and impressions that people can have of a place', a simplification of a large number of associations and pieces of information[xii]. The paper considered the use of historic and artistic identities to reimage areas that were less well known, or had negative associations with poverty, so that they could be re-presented as spaces of consumption. To illustrate, it reflected further on the place-marketing

intentions of the City Fringe Partnership (CFP)[xiii], and Cityside (formerly Eastside) Partnership introduced above. The study focussed on the aspirations of CFP to reposition Clekenwell, Hoxton-Shoreditch and Spitalfields, and on Cityside to market Brick Lane within the latter 'cultural quarter'.

As the CFP bid made clear, the main reason for marketing these areas through its Cultural Quarters Project was to 'maximise economic and employment potential'[xiv] by capitalising on their historic and artistic associations. 'These cultural areas...on the doorstep of the City' would 'provide a resource for tourists as well as employees and business visitors, helping to enhance the City's reputation as a premiere European business location'[xv]. Thus, the paper drew attention to the rationale that linked local economic and property investment benefits with the global positioning of London as a whole, conveyed in CFP's overarching principle of 'Inner city action with a world city focus'[xvi]. To achieve this end, an alliance had been forged across administrative boundaries to support the consortium's bid for Government grant. It noted CFP's desire to counter negative associations, to create more coherent spatial and thematic narratives, and to develop a brand image for the Fringe[xvii]. CFP identified an opportunity to promote lesser-known, subaltern histories of an area, which for 'hundreds of years... has underpinned and complemented the City economy, while acting as a point of entry for immigrant communities and refugees'[xviii]. However, the aim to promote the place-brand as a single entity seemed problematic; the 'City Fringe' was, after all, a pragmatic spatial construct devised for the grant application [1: 156].

Article [2] commented upon the shift in popular perceptions of these localities that the re-imaging strategy sought to achieve [2: 169-171]. It considered how Clerkenwell and Spitalfields/Brick Lane were represented in popular guidebooks[xix], an issue that was of particular concern to CFP, given its desire to accentuate the positive[xx]. Reference [2: 170] was made to a survey commissioned to assess the opportunities for cultural tourism in the Fringe[xxi]. This had argued the need to address the potential preconceptions if not prejudices of visitors[xxii]. The area lacked 'must-see' attractions as well as tourist accommodation; it depended less on impressive buildings and public spaces than on historic and artistic associations. A critical challenge for place-marketers was that very little of this was obvious to the casual observer, e.g. 'hidden art' produced in local studios (Foord 1999). Many of the 'attractions and facilities'[xxiii] were for specialist audiences, and in general the public had limited access. Further, although the area was relatively well served by public transport and there was considerable potential to explore the area on foot, visitors might well be deterred by poor signposting, busy roads, and by concerns over personal safety, especially after dark. In Clerkenwell, the main initiative was a walking trail to reveal 'hidden' features and promote attractions, restaurants and other businesses *en route*[xxiv]. Opened in 1998 with an accompanying map-guide[xxv], it was marked out with

discreet plaques and temporary banners [2: 171]. In contrast, place-promotion and facilitation of a developing visitor economy by LB Tower Hamlets in Spitalfields/Brick Lane was far less restrained.

Paper **[3]** explored the theme of 'integrating cultural heritage into the living city' with reference to London's City Fringe. Presented to the *5th EC Conference on Cultural Heritage Research* in Cracow in 2002, it considered the opportunity to interpret built heritage associated with immigration and settlement, and promote it to target markets that would include business-people entertaining clients at lunchtime and evenings, as well as domestic and international tourists seeking a satisfying alternative to mainstream attractions. In [3: 148-9], the author argued that the development of an emerging visitor economy requires an approach to place-marketing that respects the rich and complex histories of former inhabitants, and at the same time draws strength from active involvement of the present-day population, whose ethnic and cultural mix may be diverse and changing. The case study raised issues for other European cities where cultural tourism was regarded as a catalyst for regeneration. In time, established residents and businesses might be displaced, leaving isolated visitor-oriented enclaves, contrasting sharply with the poverty of adjacent inner city areas. Nevertheless, in a more optimistic scenario 'a well-regulated, planning framework informed by the participation of local communities', emerging visitor economies might 'stimulate wealth creation that benefits ethnic minority residents and businesses without displacing them'.

Summary of Findings: These initial studies drew attention to the development during the 1990s of place-marketing at the micro-scale, and the exploitation of emerging visitor economies: a strategy that was regarded as something of a panacea. The CFP programme illustrated the competitive drive of the local authority-led partnership to promote positive but hitherto little known associations with heritage and the arts that had the potential to attract target audiences. These cultural quarters 'on the doorstep of the City' would provide what it described as a 'resource' for leisure and tourism consumption[xxvi]. CFP justified its proposals with reference to wider benefits of economic regeneration that would accrue, not only to the disadvantaged areas concerned, but also to London as a whole. It was anticipated that the latter would include spatial redistribution of tourism provision, diversification of the capital's tourism offering, and enhancement of its status as a 'world city'. To achieve this end, the Cultural Quarters Project sought to redress the inadequate representation and/or 'poor image' of the City Fringe[xxvii] and re-present it as a desirable destination. However, the proposal did not offer any detailed criteria to guide the selection of themes, sites and sights from this rich quarry of marketing possibilities. It did not address the possibility that the social impact of the visitor economy might have negative aspects. Nor was it made clear how local residents, businesses and community organisations would be consulted as proposals were worked up and implemented.

The papers discussed above suggested further scope to explore the relationships between micro-scale place-marketing and urban regeneration, where an expanding visitor economy is expected to compensate for the decline of older industries. In the early 2000s, intentions to deliver more inclusive solutions and to widen participation were high on the UK Government's agenda. As yet, however, it was far from clear how these relatively new policy aspirations would be reconciled with the competitive drive to secure local economic restructuring and property investment: desired outcomes that had been embedded in urban regeneration strategies for nearly two decades. These uncertainties concerning how national policy intentions would be implemented at the local scale provided the context for the papers discussed in b) below, in which the author narrowed the scope of the inquiry to focus on 'ethnic cultural quarters': a development that had not been examined in any depth in the literature of leisure and tourism studies. The principal aim of this subsequent phase of the research was to explain the processes that refashion inner cityscapes as 'ethnic cultural quarters', with critical examination of the effects on social inclusion and exclusion, and how public engagement is incorporated into urban design.

b) Refashioning inner cityscapes as 'ethnic cultural quarters'

Article **[4]** in *Urban Studies* examined a particular aspect of place-marketing observed in the Spitalfields Cultural Quarter: 'reimaging strategies that trade upon features of a "place-product" that include ethnic cuisine, street markets and festivals, set against the backdrop of an exoticized urban landscape' [4: 1983]. This was considered in the context of intensifying competition *within* as well as between cities, urban governance that for nearly two decades had been influenced by Neo-liberal policy in the UK, and the more recent expectation that policies introduced by New Labour would deliver social inclusion and involve 'local communities'. The article uses empirical evidence from Spitalfields/Brick Lane through the 1990s, with more detailed examination of developments between 1997 and 2002, especially intervention through Cityside regeneration programme. Co-author Susan Bagwell contributed a case study of 'Asian Fashions in Green Street, West Ham, LB Newham', with which it was compared over the same period [4: 1993-6]. Joanna Karmowska at the Jagiellonian University in Poland[xxviii] provided an international comparison with post-communist developments in Poland and made reference to the "Old Jewish Quarter" in Kazimierz, Cracow [4: 1987]. This was explored in much more detail as a comparative case study in a co-authored article for the *Journal of European Ethnology* **[5]**[xxix].

Article [4: 1984-5] and [5: 43] refer to Appadurai's (1997: 33) discussion of global cultural flows and their expression as disjunctive urban landscapes that he terms 'ethnoscapes'[xxx], and the multiple perspectives of those who gaze upon them[xxxi]. These papers highlight the tensions that may occur as functional and symbolic features of the streetscape are developed and marketed as 'exotic' spaces for visitors more affluent than the local population. In the case of Brick Lane[xxxii], the adaptation of local cafés to restaurants catering for non-Asian tastes was initiated by Bangladeshi entrepreneurs[xxxiii]. However, the rapid expansion[xxxiv] required public intervention, especially relaxation of land use policies through designation of a 'Restaurant Zone' that allowed conversion of other commercial premises[xxxv]. Other interventions included façade grants, business advice/training[xxxvi], and the street was re-branded as "Banglatown" through advertising and public relations, festivals and other events[xxxvii]. Papers [4] and [5] argue that the processes through which the territorial boundaries of ethnic cultural quarters are negotiated at the micro-level should be considered in the broader context of urban governance that may constrain, enable or encourage expressions of ethnic difference. Through longitudinal studies, the author highlighted circumstances that may allow more powerful stakeholders to influence the processes through which such spaces are refashioned.

At a certain level of abstraction, such state-supported commodification of ethnoscapes as spaces of upscale consumption may seem to demonstrate global as well as globalizing features. With reference

to emerging urban visitor economies, a number of authors have highlighted a tendency that they characterize as serial reproduction of the same 'difference' cf. Sorkin (1992), Zukin (1998). According to this argument, replication of similar 'place-products' is an outcome of top-down processes (p. 9 above), and an understandable tendency to copy a successful formula, cf. Richards and Wilson (2006), Maitland (2007)[xxxviii]. One might expect the re-presentation of ethnic cultural quarters to demonstrate such convergence. However, the study findings revealed marked differences in approach and outcome. For example, in the early 2000s, the Green Street SRB partnership in LB Newham was fully aware of the Banglatown model, and knowingly distanced itself from it[xxxix]. Further, the author's interview with the Director of Cityside highlighted his concern that the economic output measures required of SRB3 programmes were 'not always the same as the ones that local people might set', and differed from the 'less quantifiable social benefits' [6: 278].

In [4], [5] and [6], the author related the development of 'ethnic cultural quarters as spectacle' to broader theoretical arguments concerning place-competitiveness and local partnerships, participation and the significance for urban governance. The re-orientation of public policy towards urban entrepreneurialism[xl] had guided government policy from the early 1980s through to 1997. Under New Labour, local authorities continued to compete with one another for regeneration funding[xli], but were obliged to demonstrate how local communities had been involved in working up the bid, and what arrangements had been made to ensure they had a say in decisions. However, as Edwards (2003) observed, the guidance was loose and imprecise [4: 1989]. Further, applications for Government grant tend to project a narrative of success that plays down the very factors that necessitate intervention in the first place (Williams 2003: 24) [4: 1989][xlii]. If a bid is successful, arguments may re-emerge, not least over how the money is to be spent, who benefits and who does not. In the case of Brick Lane, the initial programme of interventions from the mid to late 1990s was advantageous to a powerful, well-connected commercial group of restaurants, bars and nightclubs. Until 2000, the local authority favoured a solution that would have pedestrianized the street to accommodate and expand this sector.

The possibility of unintended consequences at street level was amply demonstrated early in 2000, after LB Tower Hamlets and Cityside had jointly prepared an 'Environmental Improvement Scheme' that would have closed Brick Lane to motorized traffic 24/7. The proposal was presented as an unproblematic solution to the intrusion of through-traffic, but the disapproval of other businesses as well as residents was expressed at a stormy public meeting, and later confirmed by a wider poll. These objections led to withdrawal of the proposed scheme. The joint sponsors accepted that their approach to 'public consultation' had been flawed, and they commissioned new consultants to initiate a more wide-ranging and thorough set of consultations using a variety of methods. Article **[6]** in the

Journal of Urban Regeneration and Renewal reflected on how this was conducted and how it influenced the revised scheme that was eventually implemented 2002-6. The study included analysis of the original survey reports, interviews with the consultants who had carried out the public engagement[xliii], Council officers[xliv] and the Director of Cityside[xlv].

As other authors have observed, UK local authorities enjoy considerable latitude to interpret national guidelines concerning social equity and inclusion in planning and urban design (Greed and Roberts 1998; Carmona *et al* 2003; Burton and Mitchell 2006). Their policy responses to leisure and tourism vary considerably, but some authorities seek an acceptable balance between accommodation of an expanding local visitor economy and the 'everyday' needs of local users, and acknowledge the need to widen public engagement in planning and designing the public realm. Nevertheless, the case studies confirmed that some 'local stakeholders' - including disadvantaged residents and other intended beneficiaries - tend *not* to respond to more traditional forms of consultation, such as questionnaire surveys, exhibitions and public meetings. Thus they remain under-represented. A successful application to the EPSRC (Engineering and Physical Sciences Research Council) enabled the author to address the aspirations of such authorities and their partner agencies to widen consultation and respond to their varied requirements. As Principle Investigator (PI) for a programme called 'InSITU'[xlvi] (Inclusive and Sustainable Infrastructure for Tourism and Urban Regeneration), the author led a cross-disciplinary research team that piloted qualitative techniques for public engagement where opportunities arise to improve public spaces and walking routes.

Paper [7], presented in Prague at the *7th European Conference on Cultural Heritage Research,* shows how InSITU drew from the analysis in (b) above. More details are available at: www.insitu.org.uk/. Further, it built upon another EPSRC-funded study 'AUNT'[xlvii] (Accessibility and User Needs in Transport and Urban Design) for which the author was also PI (2003-4), available at: www.aunt-sue.info/ [xlviii]. InSITU adapted and developed 'Geographic Information Systems for Participation' (GIS-P)[xlix], a technique that hitherto had not been adapted to planning and urban design. A key aim was to operationalize Healey's (1997: 237-8) model of 'collaborative consensus-building', whereby 'technical knowledge' is woven together through discussion with the 'practical knowledge' and insights of local users[l]. Participants included residents that the project partners[li] considered 'hard-to-reach', and to some degree 'excluded'. The fieldwork tested a range of approaches using large-scale maps as a medium to help them frame issues, problems and suggest solutions in their own terms. These were piloted in five schemes[lii] chosen to represent different stages of the design process from conceptualisation, through detailed planning and negotiation to implementation and user satisfaction[liii].

Summary of Findings: The main case of Spitalfields/Brick Lane[liv] highlighted the significance of ethnic minority entrepreneurs as initiators of economic and physical regeneration based on exotically branded leisure and tourism. However, public intervention was required to create a quarter that would attract intended target markets of affluent non-Asian visitors. Rapid expansion of restaurants, bars and nightclubs was facilitated by relaxation of land use zoning, combined with façade grants, business advice/training and place-promotion. Further resources were secured through SRB3 1997-2002 to stimulate wealth creation, employment and investment in commercial premises. Nevertheless, the study revealed the difficulty of promoting social inclusion alongside the economic outputs required by SRB, as well as the inadequacies of 'consultation' with local interests. Both Banglatown and the Old Jewish Quarter in Kazimierz illustrated the sensitivity of simplified place-branding and symbolic marking out of associations with a particular ethnic and cultural group[lv]. However, comparison with other strategies, including Green Street under the same SRB programme as Cityside, did not suggest that serial reproduction of a 'racialised construct tuned to multicultural consumerism' (Jacobs 1996: 100) was an inevitable corollary. Where local authorities have explicit policy commitments to promote social inclusion and widen participation, approaches developed through InSITU, including 'Map-walks' and panels, can elicit valuable local insights from residents that public agencies consider 'hard-to-reach' and 'excluded' by more established consultation.

As Henderson (2008: 333-4) comments, tensions between leisure and tourism-led regeneration and its social ramifications 'are particularly acute in disadvantaged multicultural districts (Shaw *et al* 2004) that are packaged in Europe for "urban ethnic encounters" emulating examples in North America'. Scholarships awarded by the Canadian Government under the auspices of the British Association of Canadian Studies (BACS) enabled the author to observe first hand some of the models that inspired practitioners in the UK, and to extend his research to the role of urban governance and public policy interventions in the re-fashioning of commercial enclaves associated with ethnic and cultural minorities in Canadian cities. In the papers discussed in section c) below, he compared developments in areas fringing city centres in London and other European cities with their counterparts in North America from the mid-1990s.

c) Comparisons with developments in North America

Two scholarships awarded by the Canadian Government[lvi] to the author and his colleagues Graeme Evans, Joanna Foord and Michael Mason[lvii] for 2001/3[lviii] and 2005-9[lix], funded short study visits to Montréal (2001, 2009), Toronto (2001, 2005) and Vancouver (2002). The author's contribution built on the emerging concepts discussed in a) and b) above[lx], and focused on the growing sophistication of place-marketing, and its significance for urban visitor economies. To investigate these developments, he made reference to downtown fringe and inner suburban areas of Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver that have been redefined as ethnic cultural quarters. As in the UK, he combined interviews with key informants - including senior officers in all three city authorities, chairs and managers of Business Improvement Areas (BIAs)[lxi] - with analysis of policies, plans and programmes. Where appropriate, he also discussed evidence from the discourse of place-promotion, press coverage and travel guidebooks, with a photographic record of the localities to which they referred[lxii].

In a special issue the *British Journal of Canadian Studies* **[8]**, he discussed the aspirations of Ville de Montréal to position the city as a cultural as well as an economic pole in North America, and as a rising 'world city' during the period 1962-2002. In [8], he considered the relevance of Kotler *et al's* (1993: 76-9) model, which chronicled the 'evolution' of city-marketing from an initial stage of aggressive 'civic boosterism'[lxiii] to 'competitive niche thinking' in the 1990s, with greater involvement by private sector institutions in 'product development' (ibid: 77)[lxiv]. In Montréal, this strategic advance seems to have been instigated, not by a Neo-liberal civic leadership as the authors implied, but by a Left-libertarian coalition that emerged from urban social movements whose very *raison d'etre* was municipal reform and democratization: the Montréal Citizens Movement (MCM)[lxv]. Commitment to public intervention, especially to upgrade inner city environments, was continued by successor city governments to the mid 2000s. Notable programmes included *le Quartier international* [8: 370-1], together with promotion of cultural quarters on the fringe of downtown, e.g. *Petite Italie, Quartier latin, Le Village.* In the case of Montréal's historic *Quartier chinois*, Chinese business and community and residents' organizations had lobbied the Council requesting a comprehensive area-based action plan. In response, a 'Chinatown Development Consultative Committee', set up in 1990, agreed principles for action that required regulatory intervention by Ville de Montréal, especially through land use zoning, traffic and parking controls combined with urban design[lxvi] [8: 371-3].

The last two papers reviewed here were published in edited books: one **[9]** on *Tourism, Culture and Regeneration,* edited by M. Smith, the other **[10]** on *Tourism, Creativity and Development*, edited by G. Richards and J. Wilson. These chapters drew from the author's research in Canada, which he

compared with findings from the UK and elsewhere in Europe, and drew some general conclusions. These can be summarised with reference to the following themes:

Inner city competitiveness and the entrepreneurial city;

Ethnic cultural quarters and negotiation of their development as visitor attractions; and

Creative cosmopolitanism-from-below or glocalized ethnic branding?

Inner city competitiveness and the entrepreneurial city

Paper [9] develops the discussion [8] on the competitive drive of "entrepreneurial" city governments from the 1990s to capture local benefits from the global ebb and flow of capital and people of different cultures. Such aspirations may feature in strategies to regenerate inner cityscapes, and increase land values. In Canada as in the UK, against a background of public spending reductions, rivalry intensified not only between metropolitan centres[lxvii] but also between places within them [9: 52]. In his influential paper in the *Harvard Business Review,* Porter (1995: 55-7) argued that the principles of competitive advantage of nations[lxviii] are applicable to smaller areas such as the inner city. He advises the public sector in North America to help favourably-positioned firms exploit the 'genuine competitive advantage' of inner city location, and to address the factors that may otherwise inhibit their growth. Typically, these inhibitors include old and worn out infrastructure, poor security, and obstacles 'needlessly inflicted by government', including 'excessive regulation' (ibid: 62-4). If these can be overcome, a symbiotic commercial relationship can be developed between the Central Business District and an inner city neighbourhood, transformed from a welfare-supported 'island' into a well-connected asset to the city as a whole.

According to this meta-narrative, inner city areas can develop sustainable competitive advantage, but only through private, for-profit initiatives and investment based on economic self-interest, especially businesses that are capable of *exporting* goods and services to the surrounding economy (Porter, 1995: 55-6). In [9], the author highlights the inherent difficulty of applying this prescription to the revitalization of commercial enclaves in minority neighbourhoods, especially where the 'place-product' has complex and heterogeneous functions and meanings. In the cases discussed, the area continues to serve as a commercial, cultural and social hub for members of a minority group, some members of which live locally, while others are dispersed but make regular visits. In addition, particular commercial streets and enclaves are visited by members of the majority culture, and in some cases by tourists with varied demands for 'exotic' goods and services. Within areas redefined as ethnic cultural quarters, there is no single or simple form of place-consumption. Furthermore, a

particular quarter may have multiple associations with different minority groups, contemporary and historic, and its boundaries may well have changed over time. As demonstrated in the UK studies above [4-7], these issues have important ramifications for local government and its 'place-shaping' responsibilities to promote local wellbeing: a role that has somehow to be squared with the desire to capture local economic benefits as opportunities arise from the often volatile ebbs and flows of globalization [8: 363].

Ethnic cultural quarters and negotiation of their development as visitor attractions

Evidence from both the UK and Canadian examples highlights the significance of minority entrepreneurs as initiators and active agents of regeneration who overcome the disadvantages of inner city location [9: 56]. Although he makes no specific reference to ethnic cultural quarters, Porter (1995: 57) identifies the potential advantages of 'proximity to downtown business districts, entertainment and tourist centres' as well as the particular drive of ethnic minority firms in North American cities (ibid: 62) [6: 278]. From this Neo-liberal perspective, the removal of bureaucratic constraints will help such businesses develop niches in heterogeneous, post-industrial markets, including exports. If such entrepreneurial talent can be unlocked, business confidence in the locality will increase, encouraging a virtuous circle with further investment and restructuring of the local economy [9: 55]. As emphasised in [6: 283] urban tourism is, nevertheless, an 'export' that necessarily requires the consumers to come to the place of production, rather than the other way round. As shown in b) above, in the UK public funding of public realm improvements and transport combined with small area place-marketing and other supply-side support have been designed to pump-prime and nurture developing visitor economies[lxix], cf. Evans and Shaw (2001).

In Canada, a greater degree of 'self help' with regard to organisation and finance has been a feature of the Business Improvement Area (BIAs) model[lxx], first introduced in Toronto in the 1970s, which has greatly enhanced the ability of some (ethnic and cultural minority) 'neighborhoods' to attract visitors, e.g. *Greektown-on-the-Danforth*. With consent from commercial property owners, local business associations manage a supplementary levy that is collected by the municipality, and may be spent on initiatives[lxxi] that generally include upgrades to the public realm and place-promotion, e.g. in Toronto, BIAs commission street improvements that may attract 50% funding from the City [9: 52-3]. By contrast, the more 'European' model adopted by Ville de Montréal in the early 1990s [9: 53-5] used public money for streetscape enhancements negotiated with a range of business and non-business associations to revitalize its historic Chinatown in the context of a City Masterplan[lxxii]. Thus, the City has acknowledged the implications for those who live, work and enjoy their leisure time in the

locality, and ultimately for the sustainability of the urban visitor economy [6: 284]. Chapters [9, 10] argued that sensitivity to social impact and sustainability is critical to the outcomes, especially the balance between the various functions performed by ethnic cultural quarters. Thus, tools for urban governance may include land use planning, urban design, building control, licensing, traffic and parking regulation.

Creative cosmopolitanism-from-below or glocalized ethnic branding?

Paper [10] examines place-marketing narratives and planning strategies that espouse positive interpretations of cosmopolitanism[lxxiii] and creativity. The 'creative city' model proposed by Landry and Bianchini (1995: 28) welcomed opportunities for people with diverse cultures and lifestyles to interact productively, casually and without friction [10: 189]. This argument for *inter*-culturalism as opposed to multiculturalism[lxxiv], developed further by Bloomfield and Bianchini (2004), and by Wood and Landry (2008), resonates with Beck's (2002) egalitarian construct of a spontaneous clash of cultures which encourages 'creative reflexivity': an open-minded urbanity that allows creative intermediaries and merchants to move with relative ease, engage with and negotiate between the different 'worlds'. From this perspective, an international orientation, together with day-to-day interaction between diverse cultures and lifestyles should stimulate artistic innovation, while traders profit (cf. Henry *et al* 2002). However, Richards and Wilson (2007: 274-5), the editors of this volume, problematise the assumption that creativity is stimulated by diversity *per se*[lxxv]. If is accepted that power is distributed unequally[lxxvi], a more sceptical view is that responses to the demands of members of a privileged cosmopolitan elite may well lead to selection, appropriation and modification of particular elements that they value as objects and spaces of consumption, with little evidence of intercultural encounters that stimulate creativity[lxxvii].

A domesticated, safe and agreeable Otherness, reinforced through re-construction of external spaces may say more about the predilections and prejudices of the dominant culture than the minorities they purport to represent [10: 190], cf. Hannigan (2007) on 'the controlled edge'. There may be considerable pressure to create a spectacle that offers a misleading impression of homogeneity within boundaries, freeze framing a particular identity that can be readily absorbed by members of a fast-moving cosmopolitan elite [10: 200]. This carries with it the very real danger that the place-narrative becomes de-coupled from the bigger and less palatable experience of many recent immigrants. Such 'reductionist' place-branding highlighted in [4 and 5] may prove unsustainable if it loses credibility with external audiences, e.g. Ottawa's 'Chinatown'[lxxviii] [9: 53], and Toronto's 'Little Italy'[lxxix] [10: 195-6][lxxx]. However, it doesn't have to be that way. Elsewhere, Richards and Wilson (2006) emphasise the significance of 'creative tourism' in which visitors play an active role. Similarly,

Maitland (2007) concludes, 'we cannot simply see visitors as passively consuming a tourist product that has been constructed for them'. In practice, more pluralistic and inclusive place-shaping and place-marketing to stimulate the hybridization and 'creative reflexivity' envisaged by Beck (2002) and by Sandercock (2006), are conditional upon successful negotiation of the form and multiple functions of emerging ethnic cultural quarters by the diverse stakeholders, including those to whom Lyons (2007: 3) refers as the 'smaller voices', in this case people who experience the local impacts of a developing visitor economy, and who are the intended beneficiaries of regeneration programmes.

Summary of Findings: The case studies of localities within Canada's largest three cities highlight the significance of intra-urban competition that includes rivalry between post-war suburbs and 'neighborhoods' that surround historic downtowns. Unlike their counterparts in the UK, urban design schemes and promotional strategies for ethnic cultural quarters in inner city and inner suburban Toronto and Vancouver since the 1970s were initiated and funded by Business Improvement Area boards that represent commercial property owners and traders. Although proposals to redesign the public realm and cityscape have always been subject to approval by the municipality, there has been considerable variation in approach. In cases such as Toronto's 'Little Italy' and 'Greektown', strategies included hard-branding to promote the appeal of their themed restaurants, bars and speciality shopping to the majority culture and international tourists. Such 'self-help' initiatives fitted well with Neo-liberal ideologies and found particular favour with municipalities from the mid 1990s, when reductions in transfer payments from federal and provincial governments brought considerable pressure on local authority finance. Nevertheless, Montréal adopted a more interventionist and 'European' approach through which publicly-funded regeneration strategies were negotiated with a much wider range of local interests, including organisations representing, residents, community, and faith groups, exemplified in the Chinatown Plan that was implemented from the mid 1990s through to the early 2000s.

Conclusions

In the first phase of the research, the author's interest in the aestheticization of urban landscapes as spaces of leisure and tourism consumption led him to consider more closely how and why place-marketing was being adapted to the micro-scale of streets and enclaves within disadvantaged areas. Paper [1] examined the image-value of historic and artistic associations with urban landscapes in a competitive global market for inward investment, high-spending visitors and wealthy newcomers, and discussed the possibility that the identities and interests of less powerful and less articulate local stakeholders might be marginalized in the process of trying to create a favourable external gloss [ibid: 159]. Nevertheless, the author questioned the validity of conceptualizing a universal and unilinear process, and reification of a monolithic and ubiquitous "industry" designing small area place-products for passive and unreflective place-consumers. As yet, there was a paucity of literature concerned with place-marketing at street level. More recently, the 'quartering' of cities and its widespread incorporation into strategies for urban governance has become a significant field of research and debate (Bell and Jayne 2004; Miles 2005; Binnie *et al* 2006; Jayne 2006; Imrie *et al* 2009).

Papers [1-3] made reference to the policy turn in the UK from 1997, and to an optimism that social inclusion and wider participation would become critical features of urban governance and regeneration practices in the years to come (cf. Imrie 2009: 94)[lxxxi]. The recent designation of cultural quarters in disadvantaged areas bordering the City of London provided a test-bed to explore new initiatives that espoused more pluralistic narratives of place, including the intention to promote the lesser-known histories and contemporary arts in inner London. Such reimaging was expected to enhance the capital's international tourism offering, as well as benefit the localities concerned. However, at this stage the proposals were very broad brush, and did not explain what public engagement would take place, if any. The author's publications appended here and others (listed below pp. 39-42) identified some emerging issues for urban governance, especially tensions between New Labour's aspirations towards inclusive use of public space expressed in the Urban Renaissance agenda, and policy that continued to prioritise local economic restructuring and investment in commercial property.

In the second phase, the author narrowed the scope of the research. Intra-urban competition and the supportive role of urban governance provided the context for an enquiry into the phenomenon of the reimaging of inner cityscapes associated with ethnic and cultural minorities as spaces of consumption to attract more affluent members of the majority culture, and in some cases international tourists. The uncertainties over how policy intentions would be delivered at street level encouraged the author to develop a grounded theory-derived research strategy using case studies 'to explore situations in which

the intervention being evaluated has no clear, single set of outcomes' (Yin, 1984: 25). Papers [4-6] highlighted the role of minority entrepreneurs as prime instigators of this re-presentation. Nevertheless, in the case of Brick Lane, intervention by the local authority was required to facilitate development and marketing of the street, and in particular to convert other premises to restaurants, bars and nightclubs in its middle section, and to upgrade the public realm. The author examined these and other supportive measures, including its re-branding as Banglatown in the late 1990s. He then reviewed the circumstances that galvanized opposition from disparate local interests to a proposal to pedestrianize Brick Lane, the abandonment of this scheme in 2000, and how this led to more wide-ranging public engagement that informed streetscaping between 2002 and 2006. The ongoing longitudinal study confirmed the complexity of interaction between agents and opponents of change, both internal and external to Spitalfields, played out within the somewhat malleable small area-based and short-term structures of urban governance.

Papers [4] and [5] drew attention to Appadurai's (1977: 33) discussion of volatile cultural flows and their manifestation as disjunctive 'ethnoscapes'. From this 'helicopter' perspective, the re-construction of ethnoscapes as spaces of consumption might be interpreted as a global and globalizing phenomenon. However, the more grounded analytical framework of the research revealed a complex interplay between urban governance structures and agencies that negotiate outcomes at the micro-level of bounded space: the fine grain of buildings, streets and public spaces. The author argued that it is by no means inevitable that streets are re-presented as Disneyfied Latin Quarters (cf. Judd: 1999). The reimaging of ethnic minority neighbourhoods was taking various forms in different cities, even within the same city, and diverging models of policy and practice were emerging [4-6]. For some authorities, accommodation of diverse user needs was considered critical to the development of a sustainable urban visitor economy. As outlined in [7], the scope of the research broadened once again, when ESPRC funding enabled a cross-disciplinary research team led by the author to pilot innovative techniques for public engagement in street design in collaboration with local authorities whose policies confirmed their intention to widen participation by local users that they considered 'hard-to-reach', and 'excluded'; its five case studies reflected stages in public realm design from the initial concept stage, through detailed planning and negotiation to implementation and user satisfaction.

In the most recent phase of the author's research, further case studies of multicultural neighbourhoods fringing metropolitan centres in Canada facilitated international comparisons of approaches to the planning and management of ethnic cultural quarters. In Canada, policies designed to revitalize declining commercial enclaves in inner city and inner suburban areas - especially Business Improvement Areas (BIAs) - harmonized well with the 'liveable city' ideal that originated in radical

urban social movements of the 1970s and 1980s (Ley 1996). At the same time, BIAs initiated and part-funded by associations of commercial landlords and traders to facilitate this process, such as Toronto's *Greektown* and *Corso Italia,* fitted well with 'self help' approaches favoured by Neo-liberals. According to Michael Porter (1995: 55), the economic distress of North American inner cities could not be solved by the 'social model' of welfare support [9, 10]. Rather, public agencies should support 'economic self-interest' [ibid: 56]. In papers [8-10], the author questioned this normative model, and made reference to alternative approaches to the development of urban visitor economies.

In the case of Ville de Montréal's strategy to regenerate the city's historic Chinatown from the early 1990s, regulatory mechanisms were strengthened rather than liberalized[lxxxii]; policies and practices gave high priority to a balanced strategy that the city negotiated with a wide range of community as well as business associations in the context of the City Masterplan[lxxxiii]. Notwithstanding the desire to capture economic benefits from the expanding international conference centre nearby, the multi-functional nature of the area was acknowledged, and the likelihood of adverse social impact addressed through policy interventions. Paper [10] returned to the question of whether developments over the past decade have helped to promote more pluralistic narratives of place [1: 160]. In London, the Brick Lane Festival illustrates an interpretation of 'cosmopolitanism' tuned to consumption that was endorsed by the Prime Minister[lxxxiv] as 'a truly inclusive Britain that takes pride in its diversity' [10: 199]. A more critical reading is that thematic quartering may create a false impression of stability and homogeneity, freeze-framing particular identities [10: 200]. The fetishism of gritty street panorama resonates with Hannigan's (2007: 54) 'safe adventure' in a 'neo-bohemia', a strategy that denies the spontaneity, creativity and evolving hybridity advocated by Sandercock (2003, 2006) and by Wood and Landry (2008).

To summarise, the thesis problematised established theory through critical examination of place-marketing at the micro-scale, and developed alternative explanations of processes that drive the re-construction of inner cityscapes as spaces of consumption. The author challenged Porter's (1995) argument that public agencies should relax regulatory intervention, and focus their resources on enabling inner city firms to exploit 'sustainable competitive advantages', including market opportunities in nearby downtown and entertainment areas. This Neo-liberal thesis complemented Kotler *et al's* (1993) conceptualization of 'third stage' place-marketing, in which public agencies collaborate with for-profit organizations to develop niche products. These prescriptive models developed in the United States provided a policy rationale for regeneration strategies in the UK from the mid 1990s, including those that were the subject of the author's initial investigation. In this

context, authorities such as LB Tower Hamlets nurtured leisure and tourism enterprises, enabling them to attract more affluent visitors. However, after the election of a new Government in 1997, national policy gave high priority to social inclusion and wider citizen participation. The new social policy imperatives were superimposed on established policies and practices to facilitate local economic restructuring and property investment in a competitive spatial 'market' *within* as well as between cities. Closer analysis of emerging issues for implementation at street level highlighted tensions between policy objectives; the development and promotion of 'ethic cultural quarters' raised particular sensitivities.

Hitherto, in the literature of leisure and tourism studies, critics of Neo-liberal solutions to inner city problems had underlined the social impact of strategies to create isolated 'tourist bubbles' that simplified and stereotyped racial and cultural identities, especially in disadvantaged areas fringing downtowns in North America, cf. Judd (1999: 36). As yet, however, none had analysed in any depth, the implementation of regeneration strategies for small areas redefined as 'quarters' or compared particular cases. Few had challenged the assumption that local authorities should necessarily adopt a passive role to facilitate business-led regeneration. Further, critics had tended to assume the serial reproduction of successful commercial formula to commodify inner cityscapes and redesign the public realm to accommodate higher-spending visitors, a thesis of convergence that had been emphasised by Sorkin (1992). The evidence that emerged from comparison of case studies carried out by the author and in collaboration with his co-authors suggested diverging models of development. Some urban authorities were pro-active, and were championing a more balanced package of interventions to upgrade the local environment and amenities for disadvantaged residents as well as visitors

The author's earlier studies [1-3] had considered the broad 'context' for the reimaging of inner cityscapes as spaces of consumption (Strauss and Corbin, 1990: 101-2), and identified key drivers of change with reference to the case study areas of Clerkenwell and Spitalfields in the early 2000s:

- *The intensity of intra as well as inter-urban competition*. Competition within as well as between cities to attract and retain desired target markets that include: inward investment, employment and higher spending visitors, as well as to secure regeneration grants from central government.

- *The supportiveness of urban governance*: willingness or otherwise of public agencies to pump-prime an emerging visitor economy.

The author then examined, in more detail, the development and promotion of commercial streets associated with ethnic and cultural minorities to stimulate a visitor economy, with particular reference to his longitudinal case study of Brick Lane/Banglatown from the mid 1990s. The form and function of a locality designated as an ethnic cultural quarter is shaped by a set of 'intervening conditions' that facilitate or constrain a strategy for action/interaction (ibid. 1990: 102-6). The studies carried out in the UK and Canada identified these as:

- *The policy agenda of elected Councils, and resources available to them* to develop small area-based regeneration strategies, often in partnership with other agencies.

- *The favourability of market opportunity* to develop a visitor economy that may be based on: co-ethnic markets from a more dispersed co-ethnic community; demand from customers of the majority culture; and/or international tourists seeking goods and services that they value as exotic.

- *The negotiating power of local or external interest groups* that may favour a particular vision or plan, especially landowners and/or merchants.

- *The current social, ethnic or cultural mix* of the resident population, historic and contemporary associations with minority communities in the built environment, and the visitors' perceptions of these identities.

- *The juxtaposition of land uses and urban morphology,* including connectivity with areas generating demand, the pattern of streets, network of public spaces and walking routes, and its capacity to accommodate visitor flows without adverse impact on the 'host community'.

Local authorities have some significant 'levers to pull': legal powers conferred on them by central/federal or by provincial/state governments. In the UK, the framework of regeneration funding since the mid 1990s, especially the Single Regeneration Budget, encouraged local authority-led partnerships that developed small area-based, short-term strategies (typically 3-5 years) to coordinate interventions that included:

- *Zoning,* permissive or restrictive to particular land uses, e.g. restaurants, bars, nightclubs.

- *Complementary street works,* e.g. the creation of a pedestrian-priority thoroughfare with symbolic street furniture.

- *Business training and advice,* e.g. improving food hygiene, developing business plans.

- *Façade grants* to upgrade the street frontage of commercial premises.

- *Place promotion and branding,* including advertising and sales support, street festivals and other events.

The discourse of public policy over the past decade has emphasised the UK Government's enthusiasm to devolve decision-making to "communities". Nevertheless, none of the programmes examined in the case study areas could be regarded as wholly 'ground-up' initiatives. Rather, the evidence suggests more complex interaction between structures and agencies: processes through which outcomes are *negotiated.* In practice, local authority-led partnerships in the UK have enjoyed some discretion to decide who is to be consulted, and what action is to be taken in response. Given this degree of latitude, there is a very real possibility that decisions with far-reaching implications for the social and environmental character of the area concerned are influenced by more powerful local stakeholders to their particular commercial advantage. This may be to the disadvantage of others, including those who are the intended beneficiaries of regeneration strategies. Such negotiation may bring to the surface tensions between the economic and social objectives of intervention, and raise questions concerning social the equity in the distribution of benefits.

Thus, a particular set of conditions enable or constrain implementation of a programme of action within the broader context of intra- and inter-urban competition. This may lead to very different consequences in different cases. The research considered a range of outcomes, in particular:

i) Functional reconstruction of the public realm. Urban design interventions are required to improve safety and security for visitor access on foot and/or from public transport. Traffic-calming and pavement-widening along commercial thoroughfares may also support an emerging visitor economy. Such physical transformations are generally presented as 'better for everyone', and in some cases they may create a safer, more attractive street environment for local residents and workers as well as visitors. However, such interventions may lack sensitivity to conditions in a given locality, especially the social, ethnic or cultural mix of the local population and the urban morphology. Adverse effects may include: noise and nuisance to residents; drug dealing and prostitution in side streets; loss of local shops and community facilities; displacement of residents from public spaces; and inappropriate juxtaposition of land use, e.g. places of worship and bar-restaurants.

ii) Branding of ethnic and cultural identity through promotion. In some cases, the aim of a promotional strategy is to 'hard-brand' an ethnic cultural quarter, and associate the locality with a single ethnic or cultural group, past or present, e.g. Little Italy, Old Jewish Quarter, Punjabi Market. Such place promotion at the micro-scale of streets and commercial enclaves tends to convey a simplified 'monocultural' place image or narrative that, in some cases, is considerably at odds with contemporary social reality. Elsewhere, such branding is eschewed. Instead, more pluralistic images and narratives are projected, and some promotional strategies showcase more dynamic 'intercultural' interactions, fusion and hybridization.

iii) The marking out of these symbolic associations in the cityscape. Such differences in promotional strategies are reflected in symbolic re-construction of the urban landscape. In some cases, this is designed to create a permanent spectacle, e.g. pavement mosaics, statues in public spaces and themed street furniture to enhance the frontages of restaurants and other commercial premises. Such interpretations of cosmopolitanism may decouple the place-narrative from the bigger and less palatable picture of the hardships experienced by many recent immigrants. Nevertheless, in other cases, the 'quarter' designated and promoted as a space for leisure and tourism consumption is marked out with greater subtlety and sensitivity through features such as street banners and ephemeral public art that is sensitive to changing cultural identities and diversity in the area concerned.

Note on Subsequent Developments

Since completion of this body of research, the author has carried out further work in this field and disseminated findings. This has built on the conceptual analysis and research methods developed during the period under review. For example, in Phase 2 of the EPSRC-funded AUNT-SUE research programme (2008-10), he has further developed, tested and refined the GIS for Participation (GIS-P) transect walk technique to inform public realm improvements, with residents that LB Camden considers 'hard-to-reach' and excluded through more traditional forms of consultation, e.g. young Bangladeshi men, parents with young children. He developed another version of the technique to elicit the expert insights of accessibility auditors in LB Tower Hamlets. This has been presented in conference papers at INCLUDE 2009: International Inclusive Design Conference, Royal College of Art (awarded 'Reviewers' Choice'); and the Royal Geographical Society (RGS) International Conference, Manchester, 2009. Through his contribution to the cross-disciplinary Research Clusters 'Preserving Our Past: Consensus or Collision?' 2007/8, and 'Ecologies of Modern Heritage' 2009/10, both jointly funded by EPSRC and AHRC (Science & Heritage Programme), he has also been able to consider its adaptation and application to the interpretation and presentation of 'modern historic' environments. His participation with Susan Bagwell in an international comparative project to examine the development of 'Ethnic Neighbourhoods as Places of Leisure and Consumption', led by Professor Jan Rath, Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies of the University of Amsterdam[lxxxv], has enabled the Brick Lane and Green Street case studies to be revisited and compared with examples of ethnic cultural quarters across the world. The paper will be published in a special issue of the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* in 2010.

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List of Publications

N.B. the publications listed below are annotated (a), (b) and (c) where appropriate to indicate those arising from or related to the research outlined above.

Publications, Books:

Dennis, R., Morgan, C. and Shaw S. (eds.) (2010 forthcoming) *The Contemporary Canadian Metropolis,* London: ISA Series **(c).**

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Endnotes

[i] This is illustrated, for example, in the commitment by English Heritage (1998: 23) to new initiatives 'which by being grounded in existing character and meaning, and by involving a wide range of partners, including the communities themselves, can begin to address the problems identified by the Social Exclusion Unit'.

[ii] Funding under the Single Regeneration Budget SRB3, as a 'Demonstration Project'.

[iii] In an investigation of the social reality of cityscapes thus re-defined as 'quarters', it would be hard to justify an approach of 'objective detachment or value freedom to determine how things work' (Goodson and Phillimore 2004: 35). In other fields of inquiry, especially in natural and physical sciences, it might be argued that the specialist expertise of an 'objective', 'neutral' researcher is required.

[iv] Goodson and Phillimore (2004: 39) cite co-authored manuscript [1] as an illustration of '[r]ecent contributions [that] have generated increasing recognition of tourism spaces as socio-cultural constructions rather than physical locations', and Veal (2006: 28) refers to it as an example of more recent 'poststructural perspectives'.

[v] To use Stake's (1998: 88) terminology, these localities provided 'instrumental' case studies to facilitate insight into emerging issues and refine theory as real-world developments occurred.

[vi] Drawing on Newman (2001), Jones and Evans (2008: 30-1) have recently defined 'governance' as 'the process of delivering the aims of the state', in this case, to deliver the economic aims of Local Authorities through area-based initiatives that interpret the aims of central government in order to attract grant through SRB3.

[vii] As Veal (2006: 110) comments, case study outcomes may be evaluative, e.g. to confirm or raise doubts about policy intervention in one or more setting, or explanatory, e.g. to confirm or raise doubts about the applicability of theory in at least one setting.

[viii] Series editors Goodall and Ashworth (2000, preface, n.p.) introduced our monograph thus: '...leisure, tourism, culture and heritage are only now beginning to be located within the rapidly evolving discourses of poststructural geographies. Embracing postructuralist theory to develop analyses of space, place and landscape in everyday life, this book makes a vital contribution to these discourses'.

[ix] In chapter 3, 'Moving landscapes: leisure and tourism in time and space', the author brought together critical perspectives from historical, cultural and transport geographies. This chapter considered interpretations of long-term developments in personal mobility and in the social construction of landscape imagery. Representations of the journey, travel and discovery, and how these appear from contemporary sources to have been incorporated into consumption practices in former times, were examined with reference to the means of travel itself, including walking as a leisure activity[ix]. Chapter 4, 'Valuing the Countryside', considered the contribution of geographers and historians to knowledge and understanding of how selected rural landscapes have been idealised and valued as spaces for leisure and tourism consumption.

The chapter makes reference to Harvey Taylor's (1997: 1) critical examination of 'hitherto dominant assumptions' concerning the formative influences of the British outdoor movement. He argues that these tended to locate its generation 'within an intellectual milieu and predominantly upper-middle class anti-industrial' sentiment during the last quarter of the 19th century. Such hegemonic ideals, especially discourses of "Romanticism" and "rational leisure" may have exercised considerable influence, not only over leisure and tourism practices, but also over public policy, through to the 20th century. Nevertheless, as Cherry (1985) observes in his discussion of the shaping of postwar legislation that privileged protection of selected landscapes and modes of behaviour by visitors, the process characterised more by the relative strengths and tactics of the key actors than by the logic or force of a particular cause. This leads to discussion of the rising tide of criticism - in policy as well as academic debates from the mid 1980s (c.f. Harrison *et al* 1986) - which questioned the wisdom of directing the majority of recreation-seekers to managed sites and facilities, while designating areas of spectacular scenic beauty for "serious" users.

[x] The Urban Task Force's report subsequently informed the Urban White Paper (ODPM 2000) 'Our Towns and Cities: The Future', see especially 4.37-4.47.

[xi] Senior Lecturer in Arts and Heritage, University of North London, who contributed the section 'Interpretation: Museum Without Walls.

The approach was influenced by Burgess (1985) on media construction of the "inner city", and by the discussion of case studies edited by Gold and Ward (1994), especially Goodey (1994) on 'promoting the city as art object'.

[xiii] CFP was led by the City of London Corporation in partnership with three neighbouring inner London Boroughs (LBs):LB Islington (Clerkenwell Cultural Quarter), LB Hackney (Hoxton-Shoreditch Cultural Quarter) and LB Tower Hamlets (Spitalfields Cultural Quarter), together with a range of public, commercial and not-for-profit agencies. Examples of the latter (signed up to the 1986 bid for SRB funding) included the City and Inner London Training Council, The Mercers' Company, The Bank of England, London Electricity, Cable London, KPMG, Guinness Mahon Holdings, Debenham Property Trust, Thistle Tower Hotel, the London Tourist Board, and Discover Islington.

[xiv] City Fringe Partnership (1996: 17) *Revitalising the City fringe: Challenge fund proposals,* London: City Fringe Partnership. The Partnership explained that the purpose of this project was to 'maximise the economic and employment potential of the Fringe's emerging Cultural Quarters. It will help create a vibrant environment which does not cease to function when offices close and which will provide increased employment for local people'.

[xv] Ibid p. 17.

[xvi] Ibid. p. 1.

[xvii] As Ashworth (2001) observes, the urban past offers a quarry of possibilities: raw material from which heritage products can be extracted and assembled, usually in combination with contemporary themes.

[xviii] City Fringe Partnership op cit. (1996: 1).

[xix] This highlighted some re-cycling of well-worn stereotype 'Dickensian' images of areas to the east of the Fringe, and some confusion over the identity and location of Clerkenwell [2: 170].

[xx] Reference was made to the approach adopted by Burgess' chapter (1985) cited above in her examination of news media representation of the "inner city" and its "reclamation" by middle class residents and visitors in the early 1980s.

[xxi] Discover Islington and Mazorca (1997) *PR and marketing strategy for the City Fringe Partnership Cultural quarters Steering Group*, London.

[xxii] Although nearly all of it was within 30 minutes walk from the City, the area's 'psychological' distance seemed much greater. Further, of the 1000 or so attractions, facilities and organisations that it listed as significant to the area's identity, less than half were visible to the public gaze, and most attracted specialist and local audiences.

[xxiii] For example, the Marx Memorial Library, Clerkenwell Green, which provides an archive of communist and socialist literature.

[xxiv] Published by a voluntary agency, the *Towards Historic Clerkenwell Association* (1998) the Clerkenwell Historic Trail guidebook was sponsored by the City Fringe Partnership and included advertising by eight businesses that were located on the trail.

[xxv] N.B. although the 'Clerkenwell Trial' was opened with much publicity by the then Secretary of State for Culture and local Member of Parliament, Chris Smith in 1998, ten years later little remains except a notice board by St John's Gate.

[xxvi] City Fringe Partnership op cit (1996: 17) envisaged that 'these cultural areas, unique to the capital and on the doorstep of the City, will be developed to provide a resource for tourists as well as employees and business visitors'.

[xxvii] City Fringe Partnership op cit (1996: 17) emphasised the development of the City Fringe brand image and its niche markets 'through marketing to secure positive coverage in the press, media and travel guidebooks. Marketing activities will include the production of a media pack... and a programme of press visits. Co-ordinated promotional material will raise awareness of the cultural opportunities afforded by the area, link attractions to those in the City and make business aware of opportunities for co-location. As well as the traditional leaflet/trail approach, there are opportunities fro putting maps on the Internet and on underground and bus posters to emphasise its strategic transport links with the City'.

[xxviii] Much more recently, Dr. Joanna Karmowska has moved to England and she is now a Senior Lecturer at Oxford Brookes University (see co-author's letter appended).

Clearly, there were fundamental differences between the economic and social circumstances, agents of change, urban governance structures, strategies and outcomes in the two cases. Nevertheless, both highlighted the challenge of implementing their respective policy aspirations to promote ethnic and cultural diversity in a positive light [5: 42]. Both were the subject of revalorization in which streetscapes associated with minority groups - historic and present-day - were refurbished and showcased as attractions[xxix]. In Kazimierz, the "Old Jewish Quarter" within the World Heritage Site was promoted, and signposted, its separate identity made clear through distinctive street furniture.

In Spitalfields, the intention had been to nurture a visitor economy that drew from the rich and complex history of immigration to the present-day. In practice, however, streets associated with particular minorities and historic periods were also being marked out as distinct spatial entities: the 18th century built heritage of the Huguenots in the west[xxix], contemporary Bangladeshi culture in Brick Lane to the east. Both cases illustrated the tendency towards a reductive place-brand. Building on my conclusions on the evidence in [4: 1998], I argued that promotion of a 'monocultural' spectacle to create a strong unifying theme may reconfirm rather than challenge stereotypes; 'territorialisation' of the public realm may well alienate those who perceive little personal benefit. However, this did not imply global convergence. Policy-makers and planners can seldom predict with any certainty where, when or what type of investment will actually occur - far less its cumulative impact on the lives of local residents and communities' or how such local actors will respond [5: 54] - and they respond differently to the problems and opportunities that arise.

[xxx] As Appadurai (1997: 33) notes, the suffix '-scape' as with 'media-scapes', 'finance-scapes' and so on, conveys the idea that these are never viewed from a single perspective. Rather, they reflect the 'deeply perspectival constructs' of 'different sorts of actors'. These form the building blocks of the multiple worlds 'that are constituted by the historically situated imaginations of persons and groups spread around the globe' (ibid: 33).

[xxxi] More recently, with reference to 'ethnic precincts' such as *Little Turkey* and *Little Vietnam* in Sydney, Australia, Collins and Kunz (2007: 209) have drawn attention to the differential gaze of co-ethnic, co-cultural and 'Other' visitors. They conclude, for example, that co-ethnic shoppers dislike the highly visible façade of contrived ethnoscapes that they regard as kitsch and even offensive, along with the intrusion of Other customers who anger them by gawking, whereas the Others see the urban landscape and their own presence very differently.

[xxxii] This refers to the middle section of Brick Lane south of the junction with Cheshire Street and north of that with Chicksand Street.

[xxxiii] Carey, S. (2002) *Brick Lane, Banglatown: a study of the catering sector. Final Report,* prepared for the Ethnic Minority Enterprise Project and Cityside Regeneration, Research Works Ltd., Hendon, p. 12.

[xxxiv] From 25 in 1999 to 41 by 2002.

[xxxv] In the Restaurant Zone, Class A3 uses (restaurants, cafés, hot food outlets, public houses and bars) would be 'favourably considered', LB Tower Hamlets 1999, 'Brick Lane Retail and Restaurant Review', 1st March.

[xxxvi] According to Cityside (2002) *Cityside SRB3 Final Report 2002,* p. 10, £0.34 million was spent 1997-2002 on 'Restaurant Sector Support, out of the total £11.45 million of the SRB budget for the Cityside Partnership programme.

[xxxvii] Ibid, p. 10, £1.05 million was spent 1997-2002 on 'Raising the Profile', i.e. place promotion, including festivals.

[xxxviii] The branding of "urban villages" as destinations for leisure consumption, higher-income residents, and inward investment, has become a more widespread feature of contemporary urban governance (Evans 2001; Bell and Jayne 2004).

[xxxix] As was made clear in a recorded interview by Susan Bagwell and Stephen Shaw with lead Member for regeneration of Green Street, Councillor H. Virdee, 4th October 2002. This encouraged the author to revise his earlier assumption [3: 149] that reinforcement of cultural stereotypes could be interpreted as 'formulaic place-marketing models imposed by external agencies'

[xl] A 'permanent climate of enterprise in the inner city, led by industry and commerce' [4: 1988].

[xli] For SRB and then the Single Programme (2001-7).

[xlii] More recently, Jones and Evans (2008: 45) came to similar conclusions: where a partnership has been set up in response to particular funding stream, not all the actors can be considered equals; some 'community voices can end up simply being marginalised, leaving behind a rather ambiguous discourse of communities being "empowered"'.

[xliii] Richard Simon, Buro Happold in association with Community Consultants, transcription of personal interview with author on site visit with colleague in the Council's Highways Department 25th August 2005, and again on 3rd January 2006.

[xliv] In the Planning Department (including Andrea Ritchie, personal interview with author, 27th September 2002) and in the Highways Department of LB Tower Hamlets, who kindly provided access to their archives of policy statements, consultations reports and press coverage.

[xlv] Andrew Bramidge was Director of Cityside 1997-2002.

[xlvi] EPSRC Study EP/D011671/1.

[xlvii] EPSRC Study GR/S183040/01.

[xlviii] The research team included John Forrester and Steve Cinderby of the Stockholm Environmental Institute (SEI), University of York. Available http://www.sei.se/index.php?page=york

[xlix] For example, air quality management.

[l] Thus, in common with methodologies characteristic of grounded theory (Corbin and Holt, 2005: 49), events would be 'processed and interpreted through the eyes of both participant and observer.'

[li] These included City of York, LB Hackney, City of Salford, The National Trust, Groundwork Trust.

[lii] Two of the schemes were in York, two in Hackney, and one in Salford.

[liii] The latter category included a pedestrian route between a hospital and local railway station in LB Hackney, East London where, in collaboration with other members of the research team, the author developed a transect walk ('Map-walk') technique to enable participants to map their critical observations on street improvements that had recently been carried out to improve accessibility, legibility and personal security for residents, visitors and hospital staff. The participants were encouraged to identify any continuing problems and to suggest solutions that could be communicated to LB Hackney. Available at: www.insitu.org.uk/ (Project Reports/ Project Partners' Reports, pp. 8-12)

[liv] As well as in my co-author's study of Green Street, Newham.

[lv] As was also the case in the programme to regenerate Kazimierz in Cracow and to brand it as the city's 'Old Jewish Quarter'.

[lvi] Two scholarships were awarded under the 'Sustained Studies in Canadian Issues Program'. These focused on urban policy and practice in Canada, and the discursive turn in the 1990s towards the 'liveable city' ideal as the new paradigm for Canadian city planning (Ley 1996). This brought an increased emphasis on compact development, public transport and walking as opposed to car dependency, social justice issues and conservation of urban heritage.

[lvii] Michael Mason is now at London School of Economics, Department of Geography and Environment.

[lviii] Canadian High Commission, Sustained Studies in Canadian Issues Program, *Social Cohesion and Exclusion: Cultural Development and Diversity in Neighbourhood Renewal*, research project with Graeme Evans and Jo Foord, 2001/3.

[lix] Canadian High Commission, Sustained Studies in Canadian Issues Program, *Sustainable Cities,* research project with Graeme Evans and Jo Foord, 2005/9.

[lx] As well as his previous publications on municipal intervention and social equity in Canadian cities (Shaw 1995, 1997).

[lxi] For example on his visit to Toronto in 2007, he interviewed and recorded the following participants: 26th September 2007, 10am: Robert Eisenberg: Chair of Liberty Village BIA; 26th September 2007, 11.30am: Lynn Clay: Manager of Liberty Village BIA; 27th September 2007, 11am: Jeff Gillan: Chair of Corso Italia BIA; 27th September 2007, 10am: Henry Byers, City of Toronto, Economic Development, responsible for BIA development and liaison with BIA chairs/ managers; 27th September 2007, 2pm: George Milbrandt, Chair of St. Lawrence BIA; 29th September 2007, 11am: John Kiru: Chief Executive of Toronto Association of BIAs, whole day tour of BIAs and discussion together with West Bloor BIA and original founder of BIA concept (35 years ago) Alex Ling (proprietor acupuncture centre and other businesses), also visited range of BIAs across the city including Eglington Hill BIA; 29th September 2007, 10am: Tom Ostler, City of Toronto, Policy Planner.

[lxii] His work was also informed by related activities pertinent to developments in Canada, e.g. as *rapporteur* for the inter-governmental Canada-United Kingdom Colloquium the report arising (Shaw 2006) was widely disseminated in Canada and the UK. Further funding, under the auspices of the British Association of Canadian Studies, has enabled him to set up and convene a standing 'Canada-UK Cities Research Group' to facilitate critical discussion of policy and practice.

[lxiii] In this phase of civic boosterism, state-funded inducements were used to lure footloose investors from other locations. In the case of Montréal from the late 1950s, this phase was characterised by large-scale public investment in urban motorways to 'modernize' the city centre and *les Grands Projets* of the Civic Party led by Mayor Drapeau (Germain and Rose 2000). According to Kotler *et al's* chronology, in the 1970s and 1980s, place-marketing in North America moved towards a second stage in which greater emphasis was placed on initiatives to attract specified target sectors, based on competitive analysis.

[lxiv] As global competition intensified, a premium was placed on a *soft* infrastructure to support lifestyles enjoyed by more affluent and mobile groups, a differentiated offering that Montréal was well placed to provide for fashionable city-centre living and cultural tourism [8: 367].

[lxv] When in power 1986-1994, MCM lacked unity (Thomas 1995). Nevertheless, led by Mayor Doré, Ville de Montréal prepared a City Plan that promised (1992: iii-iv) 'a change in direction towards sustainable urban development'.

[lxvi] The three key principles were a) to define the boundaries of Chinatown; b) to produce clear land use and design guidelines within this area, and c) to improve its public spaces, and action on related issues, especially parking, rubbish collection and street cleansing. These guidelines were enshrined into the City Master Plan (1992) cited above.

[lxvii] Especially after 1993, in the wake of substantial reductions in Federal and Provincial transfer payments (Mason 2003). Furthermore, Canadian cities are more dependent that their UK counterparts on the tax base of commercial and residential property that they can attract and retain [10: 195).

[lxviii] Porter, M. (1990) *The Competitive Advantage of Nations*, New York: The Free Press.

[lxix] Cityside SRB (1997-2002) funded over £0.9m street market improvements, £0.6m on Whitechapel subways, £1m on Raising the Profile, i.e. place-promotion and festivals [6: 298] and £0.3m on restaurant sector support [ibid: 280] in 2002 a further £2m from Transport for London on traffic calming and improving the pedestrian environment of Brick Lane [ibid: 281].

[lxx] In 1970 the first BIA was 'Bloor West Village', a commercial strip associated with a community of Ukranian origin, but initiated by Alex Ling, a Chinese-Canadian entrepreneur whom the author was able to interview.

[lxxi] As specified in provincial legislation.

[lxxii] This led to an agreed policy framework enshrined in the City Masterplan (1992); these guidelines subsequently informed a 'Chinatown Development Plan' (1999) for detailed implementation.

[lxxiii] For example, in the preface to the official guide to the Brick Lane Festival (2004) Prime Minister Tony Blair wished the festival every success, highlighting its contribution to 'a truly inclusive Britain that takes pride in its diversity' [9: 199].

[lxxiv] In this analysis, multiculturalism with its emphasis on tolerance and equal opportunities has limited power to enrich quality of life for everyone through cultural renewal and innovation because of its 'tendency to reproduce separatism, to ossify and fix identities and communities as given and unchanging and marginalise them as "minority"' (Bloomfield and Bianchini 2004: 28). According to this argument, 'mono-culturally' branded enclaves, far from stimulating creative fusion may play their part in reinforcing static and outmoded stereotypes.

[lxxv] In doing so, they make an important distinction between scenarios where 'creative consumers', build on their skills, knowledge and imaginative powers to make cultural connections and draw their own comparisons ('diversity as muse') as opposed to passive consumption of a ready-mixed fusion culture, devised and presented by the destination. The latter is exemplified in Ooi's (2007) account of Singapore in the same volume.

[lxxvi] As Binnie *et al* (2006) argue.

[lxxvii] For example, in [9: 50] I argued that the role of ethnic restaurants and their internal spaces in the acceptance of diversity and difference by mainstream North American culture was more problematic and more contentious than Zelinski's (1985) pioneering study of 'the roving palate' implied. Cf. Anderson's (1995) account of Vancouver's Chinatown 1875-1980, and its racialized construct by the majority culture.

[lxxviii] Cf. Quadeer, M. (1994) 'Urban planning and multiculturalism in Ontario, Canada', in H. Thomas and V. Krishnarayan (Eds.) *Race Equality and Planning,* Aldershot: Avebury, pp. 187-200.

[lxxix] Cf. Hackworth, J. and Rekers, J. (2005) 'Ethnic packaging and Gentrification: The Case of Four Neighbourhoods in Toronto', *Urban Affairs Review,* Volume 41, Number 2, pp 211-266.

[lxxx] Indeed, the author found evidence that 'Corso Italia', another of Toronto's BIAs, was considering re-branding to establish a more accurately contemporary place-identity. Personal interview by the author with Geoff Gillan, chair *Corso Italia* BIA, Toronto, 27th September 2005, 11am.

[lxxxi] As Imrie (2009: 94) observes, the *Urban White Paper* (DETR 2000: 4) stressed that 'communities' would be 'engaged in the process from the start'.

[lxxxii] Especially land use zoning to protect uses such as low-rent accommodation from anticipated encroachment associated with the nearby conference centre.

[lxxxiii] Ville de Montreal (1998) Chinatown Development Plan, Sevice de l'urbanisme, outlined the consultation process from 1987-1990 which resulted in formation of the Chinatown Development Consultative Committee which led 'amongst other things...to certain principles for development' that were included in the Master Plan for the Secteur Ville-Marie (downtown), p. 5. Details of the membership of this committee (40 representatives) were given on p. 7.

[lxxxiv] Quotation from the introduction to Brick Lane Festival (2004) *Official Guide,* n.p.

[lxxxv] This research was undertaken for the Cities Innovation Program (StIP), and financed by the Netherlands Institute for City Innovation Studies (NICIS) and the Dutch Organization for Scientific Research (NWO).

Appendix

Statements by co-authors (five letters)

Copy of publications:

[1] Aitchison, C., MacLeod, N., and Shaw, S. (2000) *Leisure and Tourism Landscapes: Social and cultural geographies,* London and New York: Routledge, chapter 8, pp. 136-160.

[2] Shaw, S. and MacLeod N. (2000) 'Creativity and Conflict: Cultural Tourism in London's City Fringe', *Tourism, Culture and Communication*, Volume 2, Number 3, pp. 165-175.

[3] Shaw, S. (2003) 'Conservation and Conflict: Multicultural Heritage in London's City Fringe', in R. Kozlowski (Ed.), *Proceedings of the 5th. EC Conference on Cultural Heritage Research: A Pan-European Challenge,* Cracow, Polish Academy of Sciences, pp. 146-150.

[4] Shaw, S., Bagwell, S. and Karmowska, J. (2004) 'Ethnoscapes as Spectacle: Re-imaging Multicultural Districts as New Destinations for Leisure and Tourism Consumption', *Urban Studies,* 41, (10), pp. 1983-2000.

[5] Shaw, S. and Karmowska, J. (2004) 'Multicultural heritage of European cities and its re-presentation through regeneration programmes' *Journal of European Ethnology,* Volume 34, Number 2, pp. 41-56.

[6] Shaw, S. (2008) '"Ethnic Quarters" as Spaces for Leisure Consumption: Messages from London's Banglatown', *Journal of Urban Regeneration and Renewal,* Volume 1, Number 3, December/January, pp. 275-285.

[7] Shaw, S., Forrester, J. and Karmowska, J. (2006) 'Tourism and Multicultural Heritage in the Enlarged Europe: Tools for Participation by Low-Income Residents', *Proceedings of the 7th. European Conference on Cultural Heritage Research: Understanding & Viability for the Enlarged Europe*, Prague, Czech Republic, 31st May- 3rd June, pp. 345-353.

[8] Shaw, S. (2004) 'The Canadian "World City" and Sustainable Downtown Revitalisation: Messages from Montreal 1962-2002', *British Journal of Canadian Studies*, 16 (2), pp. 363-7.

[9] Shaw, S. (2007) 'Ethnoscapes as Cultural Attractions in Canadian "World Cities" in M. Smith (ed.), *Tourism, Culture and Regeneration,* pp. 49-58, London: CABI.

[10] Shaw, S. (2007) 'Designing Ethnic Quarters in the Cosmopolitan-Creative City', in G. Richards and J. Wilson (eds.), *Tourism, Creativity and Development,* pp. 189-200, London and New York: Routledge.

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Statement by co-author

May 2009

To: The Research Degrees Committee, London Metropolitan University

Publications Co-Authored with Stephen Shaw

With respect to the publication stated below, I confirm that Stephen Shaw was my co-author and that his contribution was as follows:

Chapter 3, Moving landscapes: leisure and tourism in time and space, pp. 29-49;

Chapter 4, Valuing the countryside: leisure, tourism and the rural landscape, pp. 50-71;

Chapter 8, Retrophilia and the urban landscape: reinterpreting the city, pp. 136-160.

Publication:

Aitchison, C., MacLeod, N., and Shaw, S. (2000) *Leisure and Tourism Landscapes: Social and cultural geographies,* London and New York: Routledge.

Professor Cara Aitchison

the UNIVERSITY of GREENWICH

Statement by co-author

23 April 2009

To: The Research Degrees Committee, London Metropolitan University

Publications Co-Authored with Stephen Shaw

With respect to the publications stated below, I confirm that Stephen Shaw's contribution was as follows:

Aitchison, C., MacLeod, N., and Shaw, S. (2000):

Chapter 3, Moving landscapes: leisure and tourism in time and space, pp. 29-49;

Chapter 4, Valuing the countryside: leisure, tourism and the rural landscape, pp. 50-71;

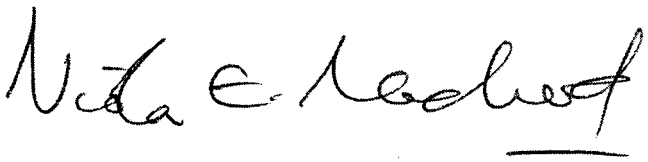
Chapter 8, Retrophilia and the urban landscape: reinterpreting the city, pp. 136-160.

Shaw, S. and MacLeod N. (2000): 70%

Publication:

Aitchison, C., MacLeod, N., and Shaw, S. (2000) *Leisure and Tourism Landscapes,* London and New York: Routledge.

Shaw, S. and MacLeod N. (2000) 'Creativity and Conflict: Cultural Tourism in London's City Fringe', *Tourism, Culture and Communication*, Volume 2, Number 3, pp. 165-175.



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Statement by co-author

April 2009

To: The Research Degrees Committee, London Metropolitan University

Publications Co-Authored with Stephen Shaw

With respect to the publications stated below, I confirm that Stephen Shaw's contribution was as follows:

Shaw, S. Bagwell, S. and Karmowska, J. (2004): 75%

Publication:

Shaw, S. Bagwell, S. and Karmowska, J. (2004) 'Ethnoscapes as Spectacle: Re-imaging Multicultural Districts as New Destinations for Leisure and Tourism Consumption', *Urban Studies,* 41, (10), pp. 1983-2000.

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Statement by co-author

21 April 2009

To: The Research Degrees Committee, London Metropolitan University

Publications Co-Authored with Stephen Shaw

With respect to the publications stated below, I confirm that Stephen Shaw's contribution was as follows:

Shaw, S. and Karmowska, J. (2004): 60%

Shaw, S., Bagwell, S. and Karmowska, J. (2004): 75%

Shaw, S., Forrester, J. and Karmowska, J. (2006); 75%

Publications:

Shaw, S. and Karmowska, J. (2004) 'Multicultural heritage of European cities and its re-presentation through regeneration programmes' *Journal of European Ethnology,* Volume 34, Number 2, pp. 41-56.

Shaw, S. Bagwell, S. and Karmowska, J. (2004) 'Ethnoscapes as Spectacle: Re-imaging Multicultural Districts as New Destinations for Leisure and Tourism Consumption', *Urban Studies,* 41, (10), pp. 1983-2000.

Shaw, S., Forrester, J. and Karmowska, J. (2006) 'Tourism and Multicultural Heritage in the Enlarged Europe: Tools for Participation by Low-Income Residents', *Proceedings of the 7th. European Conference on Cultural Heritage Research: Understanding & Viability for the Enlarged Europe*, Prague, Czech Republic, 31st May- 3rd June, pp. 345-353;

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SEI STOCKHOLM ENVIRONMENT INSTITUTE

To: The Research Degrees Committee, London Metropolitan University

Statement by co-author 23rd April 2009

Re Publications Co-Authored with Stephen Shaw

With respect to the publications stated below, I confirm that Stephen Shaw's contribution was as follows:

Shaw, S., Forrester, J. and Karmowska, J. (2006): 75%

I also confirm that the techniques explained in this article in the section 'Geographic Information Systems for Participation' (GIS-P) were developed and tested through the EPSRC-funded research programme for which Stephen was the Principal Investigator: EP/D011671/1: 'Inclusive and Sustainable Infrastructure for Tourism and Urban Regeneration' (InSITU, http://www.insitu.org.uk/).

This included the development of a 'transect walk and Panel' technique by Stephen Shaw, an innovation in methodology for public engagement in street design that allowed users and decision-makers to map their critical observations in a disadvantaged area of Hackney, East London on a route between a hospital and railway station, so that the findings could be re-presented to the Local Authority.

Publications:

Shaw, S., Forrester, J. and Karmowska, J. (2006) 'Tourism and Multicultural Heritage in the Enlarged Europe: Tools for Participation by Low-Income Residents', *Proceedings of the 7th. European Conference on Cultural Heritage Research: Understanding & Viability for the Enlarged Europe*, Prague, Czech Republic, 31st May- 3rd June, pp. 345-353.

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8 Retrophilia and the urban landscape

Reinterpreting the city

Introduction

Towns and cities cannot escape the need to modernise: to rebuild, adapt and refurbish ageing urban landscapes, or else stagnate. People and firms migrate, new activities seek accommodation and functions change, but how to manage the transition and deal with the 'valued legacy of the past' are challenging problems for urban authorities (Tiesdell, Oc and Heath 1996). The chance survivals of earlier phases of development, in the form of medieval walls and towers, historic buildings and street patterns, may acquire special significance to the onlooker. Selected features become objects of interest, if not veneration, and a case is made to save them from demolition or unsympathetic alteration. For insiders who live and work in the locality, they are landmarks that may convey a reassuring sense of belonging to a particular place with a distinct identity and permanence. For outsiders whose commitment is short term, they offer a pleasing backdrop for business and leisure activities. Moreover, some historic quarters deemed rich in 'heritage' attain distinction as places of cultural consumption: urban landscapes which become visitor attractions in their own right.

Value systems which elevate considerations of art, aesthetics and history have frequently come into conflict with the exploitation of land and property for capital gain (Larkham 1996). For over a hundred years preservationists have found themselves embattled in dispute with landowners, developers and other agents of change. Legislation to protect a small number of 'ancient monuments' emerged in the late nineteenth century, but statutory protection for buildings of historic or architectural interest was limited in scope and the legal bargaining position of preservationists remained weak until the post-war era. In the 1950s and 1960s, voluntary organisations campaigned with vigour and determination to save historic quarters threatened by schemes for comprehensive redevelopment. In time their call was answered and, in the wake of legislation passed in late 1960s, local authorities began to formulate policies and plans for area-based conservation.

As discussed in Chapter 6, initiatives to conserve and enhance the character of old and run-down areas are now warmly endorsed by local politicians. With increasing sophistication, heritage is used to cultivate place-image and attract inward investment: an urban renaissance to improve the environment and quality of life for local inhabitants and visitors alike. Conservation has thus become more closely linked with strategies for regeneration. The Urban Task Force (1999), chaired by Lord Rogers, stresses the worth of historic buildings and townscapes as 'important assets', and concludes:

> Conservation bodies are playing an increasingly pivotal role as catalysts for urban regeneration. The expertise of these bodies needs to be exploited to the full, providing them with opportunities to contribute proactively to the renewal process, in partnership with the communities they seek to represent.
>
> (Urban Task Force 1999: 251)

The apparent consensus in recent times may, however, hide a number of important issues and problems. Choices must be made concerning which elements of the urban landscape are to be conserved and interpreted and whose heritage is represented (Ashworth 1988, 1994). Pandering to the dream-images of prospective tourists can sometimes result in stage-managed presentations of a nostalgic past that never was. Real places become themed experiences, indistinguishable from heritage centres. The nation may, perhaps, be in the process of re-imaging itself as the site of one vast open-air museum, its economy dependent on the manufacture of heritage (Hewison 1987). Harvey (1989b) construes a darker side of heritage-led regeneration, which uses illusion to disguise the intensifying class and racial tension behind the carnival mask. Places engage in programmes of aesthetic reconstruction: 'City streets have become pedestrianized and "traditional" ironwork street furniture, resonant of Victorian England, "re"-introduced. Buildings are floodlit, lending the night-time streetscape a theatrical atmosphere, and their frontages historicized and conservation policy extended' (Hughes 1998: 21–2).

Some argue that indiscriminate protection of the past stifles the creativity of the present thereby compromising the future. Writing in the *Observer*, Meades (1997) advocates an iconoclastic approach in deference to the new millennium:

> demolition on symbolic rather than utile grounds, in order to lighten the load of history rather than free the space for new buildings – though that would be a peripheral benefit. There was a time when the old was unassailable because of what might replace it. Today the old is unassailable merely because it is old. Buildings are protected because they have achieved longevity, not because they are any good.
>
> (Meades 1997: 21)

This chapter traces the origins of retrophilia, a fond attachment to historic features of the built environment. It discusses the ways in which the voluntary organisations of a heritage 'movement' have gained influence over public policy, and the processes through which they have negotiated the boundaries of what the state deems worthy of protection. It discusses the concept of townscape and its association with the idea of local or civic pride, as well as the promotion of townscapes and streetscapes as desirable settings for leisure and tourism. Reference is made to a case study of a socially disadvantaged area of inner London, where the recent designation of 'cultural quarters' and interpretation of the hitherto undervalued legacy of multiculturalism in the historic urban landscape, raises some important questions concerning the relationship between insiders and outsiders and between host communities and visitors.

Antiquity, restoration and fake

It was noted in Chapter 3 that topographers of the seventeenth century felt it appropriate to include descriptions of ancient remains in their geographies of the British Isles. To the sons of the nobility and gentry who had undertaken the European Grand Tour, these generally bore poor comparison with the more impressive sites of classical civilisation. Nevertheless, by the early eighteenth century, a select circle of dilettantes, led by William Stukeley, Roger Gale and their Itinerant Society were conducting pioneering archaeological surveys and investigations. Their particular interest was the Roman period, but prehistoric, Anglo-Saxon, and medieval remains were also explored. By the late eighteenth century, there was a much wider interest in 'Gothic' antiquities, for the rise of Picturesque tourism coincided with a new taste for native traditions (Andrews 1989). Encouraged by the writings of Gilpin, there was a quest for ancient ruins whose crumbling arches inspired poetic reverie. Historic sites with aesthetic appeal became significant tourist attractions, their images reproduced in numerous sketches, paintings and prints. Thus, the early development of archaeology, with its scientific interpretation of the material culture of the past, coexisted with the more popular leisure activity of visiting ancient remains that pleased the eye.

Some came to believe that particular sites had importance as tangible reminders of the nation's history, but little could be done if a landowner decided to demolish or alter them in a Philistine manner. In 1786, Gilpin argued that owners of property might be answerable to 'the court of taste':

> The refined code of this court does not consider an elegant ruin as a man's property, on which he may exercise at will the irregular sallies of a wanton imagination: but as a deposit, of which he is only the

> guardian, for the amusement and admiration of posterity – a ruin is a sacred thing.
>
> (quoted in Ousby 1990: 116)

The new taste for the medieval was also expressed in replication. The construction of new buildings in the Gothic style was a manifest reaction against neo-classicism and its formal rules. Replication began with sham ruins that came into fashion as decorative features of English landscaped gardens from the 1720s. By the 1760s, Horace Walpole was entertaining guests in his whimsical neo-Gothic 'plaything house' at Strawberry Hill, near Twickenham. Over the next hundred years or so, the Gothic style was to be elevated from a novel and agreeable plaything to the very embodiment of architectural purity (Ousby 1990: 106).

An early apologist for the uplifting qualities of Gothic architecture, Augustus Pugin saw spiritual goodliness, not only in individual buildings, but in the medieval urban landscapes that he illustrated in imaginative reconstructions, juxtaposed with bleak views of the alienating and degenerate modern city. The resulting paired pictures are reminiscent of the before and after imagery of early advertising, except that here the moral judgement is reversed: his 'after' represents a moral and aesthetic regression, that is meant to lead us back to a better past (Graham-Dixon 1996: 172). For Pugin, a convert to Roman Catholicism, the medieval city embodied the ordered and purposeful society that flourished before the Reformation: the antithesis of what he saw as the spiritual impoverishment of contemporary urban life. In *Contrasts: Or a Parallel between the Noble Edifices of the Middle Ages and Corresponding Buildings of the Present Day, Shewing the Present Decay of Taste*, Pugin held that the art of building churches 'like all that was produced by zeal or art in ancient days, has dwindled down into a mere trade ... They are erected by men who ponder between a mortgage, a railroad, or a chapel as the best investment of their money' (Pugin 1836: 49–50). Pugin's passion for the architecture of the Middle Ages was not simply to commend it as one type or pattern from which a modern architect might choose in a repertoire of styles. Far more fundamentally, he considered it the physical expression of the religious doctrine in which he fervently believed (Williams 1961: 138).

The relationships between aesthetics, morality and society were further explored by John Ruskin who saw Art, not as illusionist representation, but as an embodiment and expression of a universal Truth. Williams (1961: 144) highlights Ruskin's radical criticism of nineteenth-century society, reflected in its art and architecture which lacked the 'organic' qualities that he deemed wholesome. As Cosgrove (1998: 248–9) comments, Ruskin admired the truthfulness of vernacular and medieval buildings that drew inspiration from handiwork of the Supreme Architect: from

natural landscape and the curving lines of flora and fauna. In *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849), he paid homage to fourteenth-century Venice where he found a correspondence between the harmonious structure of the built environment – from humble dwellings to the great palaces of the merchant patriciate – and a social hierarchy that he considered just and stable. In the same work, Ruskin expressed a purist and highly impractical view of the sacred qualities of ancient buildings. These should be protected: '[w]e have no right to touch them. They are not ours. They belong partly to those who built them, and partly to all the generations of mankind that follow us. The dead still have their right in them' (quoted in Larkham 1996: 12).

Deeply conservative though his moral and social philosophy might have been, Ruskin had a significant influence on the socialist ideals of William Morris. Leading exponent of the Arts and Crafts movement, which sought to revive the ideal of handcrafted objects, Morris was 'fairly steeped in medievalism' and declared his hatred of modern civilisation. Like Ruskin, Morris thought that the architecture of the Middle Ages revealed a collectivist spirit absent from the Victorian capitalist ethic. But, unlike Ruskin, he believed this would only be regained in a future socialist society (Lowe and Goyder 1983: 22). It is therefore something of an irony that the neo-Gothic style became the dominant form for the monumental architecture of an industrial age. Leading Victorian architects used the new construction techniques of mass production, but adapted medieval symbolism to create imposing superstructures and decoration. Gothic references were used for government, civic, ecclesiastical, and significant commercial buildings, exemplified in Sir Gilbert Scott's (1873) St Pancras Station and Midland Grand Hotel. Victorian politicians and businessmen appropriated medieval forms to legitimise their quest for hegemony (Walsh 1992). As yet, however, few expressed regret for the loss of genuine pre-industrial sites. The urban landscape was being transformed by triumphal engineering projects in the form of railways, new roads, and buildings that required deep foundations and destroyed the ancient remains beneath.

Reverence, worldliness and action

It was only in the last quarter of the nineteenth century that nostalgic sentiment was galvanised into action through an organised movement to protect places of historic or architectural interest. A small but influential group of concerned individuals expressed horror at the loss, not only through urban renewal and demolition, but through insensitive alteration of ancient buildings to please Victorian bourgeois taste. In 1877, Morris was moved to establish a Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) on learning that Sir Gilbert Scott, not content with plundering Gothic motifs for new buildings, had 'restored' Tewkesbury Minster. In a letter to the *Athenaeum*, Morris highlighted the need for an association

'for the purpose of watching over and protecting these relics, which, scanty as they are now become, are still wonderful treasures' (Briggs 1962: 81). The mood of optimism and belief in boundless prosperity that had characterised mid-nineteenth-century Britain was gone. Anxiety over the vicissitudes of the national economy, heightened by the great depression of the 1880s, was matched by a more equivocal attitude towards industry and progress (Lowe and Goyder 1983: 19–20). Tangible relics of previous epochs provided constants in a changing world. They could stand for continuity, stability and tradition, against the rootless stirrings of industrial capitalism: the antithesis of artificial creations and vulgar materialism in the modern age.

In the metropolis, for example, the Society for Photographing Relics of Old London was formed (1875) to record places that seemed most under threat, especially seventeenth-century houses and inns (Richardson 1995: 273). Later, the Committee for the Survey of the Memorials of Greater London (1894) was established by Charles Ashbee, a leading figure in the Arts and Crafts movement and a disciple of Morris. Its aim was 'to watch and register what still remains of beautiful or historic work in Greater London and to bring such influence to bear from time to time as shall save it from destruction or lead to its utilisation for public purpose'. The Survey Committee began a record of buildings that they deemed significant. They also published scholarly monographs, the first of which was concerned with a group of seventeenth-century alms houses in Mile End, East London that was due to be demolished (Ross 1991: 13). The survey was initially financed by voluntary contribution, but intervention by the London County Council later secured public funding and, in 1898, the Council obtained powers to spend money on the preservation of places of architectural or historic interest.

Legislation that affected the established privileges of those who owned land and property proved more controversial. The 1882 Ancient Monument Protection Act was a first step. Radical in concept but limited in scope, it gave statutory protection from demolition to fifty sites identified in a schedule. The Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England was set up in 1908 to make an inventory of sites 'connected with or illustrative of the contemporary culture, civilization and conditions of life of the people of England ... from the earliest times to the year 1700 and to specify those which seem most worthy of preservation'. A subsequent Act of 1913 extended the power to purchase ancient monuments (without compulsion) to all local authorities and the Commissioner of Works. The Act also established the principle of 'guardianship', whereby an ancient monument could be taken into the care of a public body without the necessity of purchase. It was, however, the voluntary sector that provided the main focus for practical conservation activity and, as previously discussed in Chapter 4, the foundation of the National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty in 1895 was a significant

landmark. Octavia Hill (1905), a key driving force within the organisation, expressed confidence that its leadership would consist of men and women 'free from the tendency to sacrifice such treasures to mercenary considerations, or to vulgarise them in accordance with popular cries' (quoted in Lowe and Goyder 1983: 20).

The formation of voluntary agencies and the commitment of public-spirited leaders was also the basis for a radical vision of how cities should develop. As a new century dawned, the Garden City Association was set up with an agenda to marry social reform with the creation of healthier living space. Based on the ideas of Ebenezer Howard (1898), the aim was to create a series of free-standing settlements, through investment by limited-dividend companies. These would be set in relatively open country on major transport routes, but far enough from established cities to utilise cheap land. Industrialists would relocate factories and house their workers so as to combine a semi-rural environment with the infrastructure and amenities of urban centres. The aims were forward looking, but the design of the Garden City, by architects Parker and Unwin in the early 1900s, was strongly influenced by the Arts and Crafts movement. References to a preindustrial age were strong, not only in the cottage-style dwellings, but also in site plans that featured village greens, as well as the integration of woodland, streams and other natural features (Creese 1966: 169–70; Hall 1988: 86–135; Miller 1981: 74). The city of tomorrow would be built in the image of a medieval English village.

Modernism, collective memory and amnesia

In the early years of the twentieth century, however, arguments emerged for a clean break with the past and all its physical trappings. In the ideological turmoil in Europe that followed the First World War, manifestos for a new social order demanded new structures for urban living. Swiss born architect-planner Le Corbusier was, perhaps, the most famous exponent of the Modern movement. His principles for architecture and city planning, set out in *The Radiant City* (1933) and other polemic writings, envisaged high-rise, high-density living in 'cells' within mass-produced, uniform house-machines. These monolithic towers would be set in a landscape of open parkland linked by a grid of transport arteries for a new motorised society. Within the central core and among office blocks, cultural and entertainment facilities would be rebuilt for the elite. For the lower orders, accommodated in satellite units on the urban periphery, there would be generous green space and sports and leisure provision. Reconstruction would be on a heroic scale, requiring the wholesale demolition of old quarters and starting again with a clean slate. A few historic monuments would be retained *in situ* or relocated and taken out of context and displayed as *objets d'art* in the new city.

In more recent times, critics of Modernism have expressed profound relief that Le Corbusier's totalitarian plans to rebuild cities such as Paris were never implemented. Commenting on the idea of preserving a handful of historic buildings as isolated monuments, Mumford (1968) notes that his vision of the future city completely overlooked the fact 'that no small part of their value and meaning would disappear, once they were cut off from the multitudinous activities and associations that surrounded them' (Mumford 1968: 120). For those who live and work in a city, such features of the built environment become imbued with personal meaning, linking memories with the present (Lowenthal 1982). Rossi (1982) has taken this critique further in his thesis that urban landscape should be regarded as 'the locus of collective memory': the soul of a city that can survive in historic features, landmarks and street names. As Chapter 2 suggested in relation to the monument and the spectacle, these landmarks provide essential clues through which a city can be understood and represented, orally as well as in maps and other visual images. Their loss, through redevelopment or neglect, may induce a state of collective amnesia.

In the United Kingdom, the clean lines and functionalism espoused by the Modernists had a fashionable appeal to the avant-garde, and influenced a generation of young British architects with a distaste for the 'style-mongering historicism' of the nineteenth century (Casson 1975: 220). In general, however, the Modernists failed to make a positive impression on public opinion. During the inter-war years over four million new dwellings were built but urban centres tended to expand horizontally rather then vertically. As building society mortgages became available to middle-class households, home ownership increased from just 10 per cent in 1914 to 32 per cent in 1939, and suburban development spread along transport corridors into the countryside. The advertising posters of building societies seldom portrayed the reality of semi-detached suburbia, but gave accurate expression to the dreams and aspirations of home-owners. Advertising imagery alluded to the 'traditional' English cottage and garden, with the symbolic representation of threshold, hearth, and red tiled roof that have acquired the patina of age. The nuclear family was a central feature and Gold and Gold (1994) draw our attention to images of a small girl playing happily and safely in an environment which is healthy and secure.

With increased mobility by train, coach and private car, the inter-war period saw a boom in domestic tourism, and historic towns and cities became popular destinations. Publishers responded to the vogue and helped to stimulate it through well-illustrated, popular guidebooks aimed at a middle-class audience and especially those discovering the joys of leisure motoring. Most notably, there was the Batsford British Heritage series, that included titles such as *The Old Towns of England*, *The Old Inns of England*, and *The Spirit of London*. John Betjeman, future Poet Laureate,

published a series of accessible and influential articles in *Architectural Review*, the *Spectator* and elsewhere, reflecting the author's fondness for Georgian and early Victorian architecture. And Betjeman reached an even wider audience through the *Shell County Guides*, which he founded in 1933. As well as the guidebook *genre*, popular themes of neo-Romantic prose included the championing of historic urban areas threatened by worldly materialism, as in Hilaire Belloc's essay 'The Crooked Streets':

> Why do they pull down and do away with the Crooked Streets, I wonder, which are my delight, and hurt no man living? ... It ought to be enough, surely, to drive the great broad ways which commerce needs and which are the life-channels of a modern city, without destroying all the history and all the humanity in between: the islands of the past. For note you, the Crooked Streets are packed with human experience and reflect in a lively manner all the chances and misfortunes and expectations and domesticity and wonderment of men.
>
> (cited in W. Williams 1942: 226)

The 1932 Town and Country Planning Act was a policy response, of sorts, to the argument for preservation. For the first time, protection was extended to occupied buildings as well as ancient monuments. Local Authorities were now empowered to make preservation orders for buildings with architectural or historic merit, but the legislation was timid, the procedures cumbersome, and it could entail compensation to owners. Parliament was reluctant to interfere with the rights of property, and little use was made of the Act (Ross 1991: 19). Controversial schemes that demolished architectural heritage captured media attention, and examples included the loss of John Nash's Regent Street to make way for new retail development, and Regency terraces in Park Lane for hotels and apartments. The cause of preservation continued to depend on lobbying, the occasional gesture by a rich person, and the vagaries of local authority intervention (Richardson 1995).

Paradoxically, in view of their intent, the Luftwaffe's 'Baedeker raids' on Britain's cultural heritage in the early 1940s provided the greatest spur to survey, evaluate and protect the nation's historic buildings. In the aftermath of enemy bombardment, the government sponsored an extensive photographic survey and an inventory of that which remained. Clive Rouse wrote in his preface to the 1943 edition of *The Old Towns of England* that many of the streets and buildings described in his pre-war guide had been destroyed:

> The destruction wrought by German bombs and fire in such places as Canterbury, Norwich, York, Exeter, Bath, Coventry, Southampton and Bristol ... is little short of a national disaster. The National Buildings Record under Mr. Walter Godfrey, though started fifty years

> too late, is doing what it can to record our architectural heritage. But it must be confessed that war-time German havoc is in some cases no worse than the destruction caused by ignorance, callousness and criminal apathy of local authorities. One hopes that the loss of so much may make people all the more appreciative of what is left and more zealous in its protection . . . Let us hope that wise preservation and restoration and far-seeing post-war planning may do something in the future to counteract the blow.
>
> (Rouse 1943: Preface)

In the post-war era, the resolve of policy-makers to create a better Britain had been bolstered by the adverse effects of pre-war laissez-faire, as well as the devastation wrought by the war itself. The 1947 Town and Country Planning Act enshrined the key principles of comprehensive planning through control of development. With regard to buildings of special architectural or historic interest, the Minister now had a statutory duty to compile a list that would guide local authorities in carrying out their planning functions. Owners would simply be informed that their property had been listed, after which demolition or alteration could not be carried out without consent. Policies for preservation were, however, overshadowed by the need to reconstruct bomb-damaged areas and rehouse their former residents. The post-war dream promised to relocate people and employment in more healthy, rational and orderly patterns, with green belts to contain urban sprawl and new free-standing settlements inspired by Ebenezer Howard but instigated by the state through New Town corporations. There was broad support for the idea of a military-like onslaught on an unsatisfactory and outmoded urban environment to improve conditions for the citizens of a more just society.

All too often, however, post-war austerity and lack of vision seemed to produce disappointing, debased versions of Modernist ideals. By the mid-1950s, there were some who dissented from the very idea of a leisured, sanitised, motorised utopia and expressed nostalgia for the harsher but slower pace of pre-war Britain. Writing for *Punch* magazine in 1954, Betjeman described a visit to Middlesex, contrasting his observations with personal memories of the place some 40 years before: 'our buildings say to us: "We once were civilized. We are so no more."' Thus, he wrote his impressions of the new urban landscape along the 'Great Worst Road':

> Warm air-conditioned world of beige and cream! Safe, labour-saving world of buff-tiled fireplaces, television sets and football pools! Hygienic world of community centres and culture, but not too much of it! There is no birth. There is no death. We will all go on for ever getting better and better. Break in, O bells of Brentford, from your fifteenth-century tower to remind us of the Truth.
>
> (quoted in Denton 1988: 75)

Collins and Collins (1981) discuss the development of a British townscape movement which emerged in architectural circles in the mid-1940s, and quickly gained momentum and popularity in the 1950s and 1960s. Its emphasis on incremental growth and democratic as opposed to technocratic planning was in pronounced contrast to the prevailing 'masterplan' approach exemplified in the Comprehensive Development Areas, the favoured policy instrument for town centre redevelopment until the late 1960s. The word 'townscape' seems first to have appeared in the architectural press of the late 1940s, but the philosophy and outlook owed something to Pugin and Ruskin. There was also a revived interest in the work of Camillo Sitte, champion of the vernacular ideal in architecture and planning. First published in French and German in the 1880s, but only recently discovered by the English-speaking world, Sitte's influential book *Stadtebau* opens with an affirmation of the pleasures of visiting historic towns and cities:

> Enchanting recollections of travel form part of our most pleasant reveries. Magnificent town views, monuments and public squares, beautiful vistas all parade before our musing eye, and we savour again the delights of those sublime and graceful things in whose presence we were once so happy.
>
> (Sitte 1965: 3)

Sitte held engineers and technicians responsible for the failure of the modern city. Hope resided in enlightened and artistic architect-planners who might recreate what had developed anonymously and incrementally over centuries. 'Sitte was attracted by the innate sense of place and scale in plazas and streets that had been created by those who were actually using these spaces and were adapted by them over periods of time to fit the changing needs' (Collins and Collins 1981: 69). Unlike Pugin and Ruskin, however, Sitte recognised that 'modern living as well as modern building techniques no longer permit the faithful imitation of old townscapes, a fact we cannot overlook without falling prey to barren fantasies' (Sitte 1965: 111).

Urban conservation and civic pride

Since the mid-twentieth century there has been a broadening appreciation of what might be worthy of conservation in the urban landscape. Buildings can be listed because of their 'special architectural or historic interest', but it has not been considered necessary to set out precise guidelines as to why a particular building should be included or excluded. It follows that a building is listed 'because expert opinion has decided that it has special character' (Pickard 1996: 1). It is important, therefore, to take account of the special-interest groups that emerged to proffer their

expertise. Such groups are voluntary organisations set up to promote appreciation of particular historic architectural styles or themes, and to advocate protection where threatened by redevelopment, unsympathetic restoration or neglect. These organisations, in turn, have influenced public taste and public policy.

The Georgian Group (1937), originally a section of SPAB, was established to lobby for protection and to promote scholarly research relating to Georgian and Regency buildings. The society emphasised the integrity of complete terraces, crescents and squares. The Vernacular Architecture Group (1952) helped to promote awareness of traditional, regional building techniques and styles. The Victorian Society (1958) championed the then less-than-fashionable art and architecture of that period, including municipal, industrial and commercial buildings. The desirability of advancing statutory protection beyond the preservation of individual sites to the conservation of groups of building and urban spaces was advocated by the Civic Trust: an organisation set up in 1957 by Duncan Sandys MP to promote 'civic pride and good design' in the built environment. The Trust gained favourable media coverage and scored an early success in opposing John Cotton's redevelopment scheme for Piccadilly. The civic amenities movement gained a broad base of support, especially in the South of England, with 700 local societies affiliated to the Civic Trust by the mid-1960s (Ross 1991: 26).

The Civic Trust emphasised new uses for older buildings as well as imagination and respect for locality. The impact of architecture and planning that ignored these principles, served to strengthen their argument and support for local amenity groups. In the 1960s, startling structures using modern construction techniques housed new functions including airports, shopping complexes, blocks of open-plan offices, leisure centres and polytechnics. In addition, high rise flats inspired by Le Corbusier were developed and urban motorways swept into inner city areas. Casson (1975) reflects on the driving force for change in the 1960s and the emotional reaction it often provoked:

> 'the image of a white-hot, quick-moving technological sprint with money as the prize. The nation seemed swept off its feet by the speed of change, as we bobbed helplessly about in its wake, we searched in vain for the reassurance of familiar landmarks'. This new architecture of mass solutions seemed 'over-large, repetitive, shiny-faced and hard-edged . . . to which we, the consumer, seemed powerless to contribute. Inevitably, public disenchantment with what they saw developed into public petulance'.
>
> (Casson 1975: 226–7)

A decade after the Civic Trust was founded, its chairman was able to instigate an important development in planning legislation which enshrined

the concept of area-based conservation. Duncan Sandys, by then an opposition MP, was fortunate enough to win the necessary ballot to introduce a Private Member's Bill, with government support. Under the 1967 Civic Amenities Act, local authorities were henceforth required 'to determine . . . areas of special architectural or historic interest, the character of which it is desirable to preserve or enhance'. The designation of conservation areas under the Act was subsequently applied in a wide range of contexts.

The case of Covent Garden provides an illustration of the remarkable shift in public policy that occurred between the mid-1960s and the mid-1970s. The area had an established resident population and contained many historic buildings, with a range of small businesses, including craft activities, printers, costumiers and specialist retailers. Nevertheless, relocation of the fruit and vegetable market to a new site in Nine Elms, Vauxhall provided a unique opportunity for the Greater London Council (GLC) to replan a large area in the centre of London. Proposals published in the Comprehensive Development Area Plan (1968) included office blocks, high-rise housing, hotels, sports and conference facilities, as well as two new roads. Public reaction was overwhelmingly hostile and the plan became the subject an acrimonious debate between the GLC and an alliance of conservationists and the Covent Garden Community Association (Inwood 1998: 883–4).

Those who opposed the plan gathered wide support and favourable media coverage. Eventually, Lady Dartmouth, chair of the GLC's Covent Garden Committee, bowed to public opinion and resigned in 1972, issuing a frank statement: 'No individuals or bodies who represent the general public have supported us, and I have felt increasingly that our proposals are out of tune with public opinion with fears that the area will become a faceless concrete jungle.' In the following year, the Secretary of State for the Environment announced that, whereas he endorsed the proposed redevelopment, a further 245 properties would be listed. The scheme thus became impossible to implement (Richardson 1995: 278–9). The Covent Garden Action Area Plan (1978), in marked contrast to its predecessor, stressed the need to respect the area's unique character, especially through Conservation Area designation.

The desire to defend architectural heritage was expressed in another wave of conservation groups, a notable example being the Thirties Society, set up in 1979. There was also a National Piers Society (1980), a Railway Heritage Trust (1985), a Historic Farm Buildings Trust (1985) and a Fountains Society (1985). Hewison (1987: 24–6) commented sardonically on this trend, noting that the number of listed buildings was approaching half a million, and that well over 5,000 conservation areas had been designated. Not only had the pace of the conservation movement quickened, but the object of its concern had come closer to the present day. How long would it be before a Fifties Foundation or a Sixties Society? In fact, concern for architecture of these periods was subsequently espoused by

the Twentieth Century Society, as the Thirties Society was renamed in 1992. Futhermore, a rolling '30 years rule', introduced by the then Department of the Environment, allowed any building of that age to be listed (Cullingworth and Nadin 1994: 161–2).

Commercialism, decadence and tourism

The prevailing mood of nostalgia was also to be exploited in new trends of contemporary building design. Postmodern architects of the 1980s combined an eclectic mix of historic references in pastiche: styles appropriate to the culture of private affluence, with scant regard for the squalor of public provision. 'Public space' was far less concerned with civic pride than with creating exclusive spaces conducive to hedonistic leisure consumption. The accent was on the design of individual buildings, rather than planning and this attitude to space was no longer shaped by the needs of the wider social project (Bianchini and Schwengel 1991: 214). Lord Rogers (1992) commented:

> Postmodern buildings are now decorated in pretty costumes: Neo-Classical, Gothic, Egyptian or Gipsy Vernacular. Post-Modernism, obsessed with money and fashion, has not produced a rigorous design or a better environment, for it cannot offer solutions to a world in need of an architecture that deals with the lack of public space, with the greening of the environment, with shelter for the less fortunate, with machines, flexibility and change.
>
> (R. Rogers 1992: 26)

In parallel with the exploitation of retro-styles in new buildings, a review of the historic built environment was to reveal the potential of the nation's heritage to generate revenue and earn its keep. In accordance with the philosophy of the Conservative government (1979–97), the 1983 National Heritage Act emphasised a market-led approach to the presentation and marketing of ancient monuments in state ownership or care. The Act established a new arm's-length agency: the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission. Better known as English Heritage, it was to encourage greater public awareness of the sites and a more commercial approach. The attraction of 'industrial heritage' was demonstrated in centres such as Ironbridge, Beamish and Wigan. The potential of 'maritime quarters' was seen in Liverpool, Bristol, Swansea and other former dockland areas. A cluster of attractions could help an area project a clear and positive image of itself, as evidenced in Manchester's Castlefield Basin, where an area rich in industrial heritage has developed a thriving visitor economy (Law 1994: 78–82).

Some criticised the contrived use of historicised urban landscapes to market places as leisure and tourism destinations. Brett (1993), for

example, refers to the Castle Museum in York, which in the early 1950s created a street and square of period shops and workplaces in the context of post-war reconstruction and modernisation. From the late 1970s:

> the toytown model ... spread outward into the town around the museum and come to bear down upon and to create a new civic reality. Central York is now dominated by the tourist economy and increasingly resembles its own museum; it is possible to walk through the sixteenth century alleys around the Minster and to think you are, indeed, within a museum, so antiquarian has the ambience become.
> (Brett 1993: 185–6)

Likewise Covent Garden, although saved from comprehensive redevelopment, underwent a fundamental change in character. Here, and in other schemes, regeneration involved an extensive rehabilitation of historic buildings and streets to present a clean, bright and cheerful face that would attract investors, visitors and new residents (Tiesdell, Oc and Heath 1996: 207–8). In some cases, refurbished heritage buildings could be hard to differentiate from their postmodern imitators. The overall effect of the new-old Covent Garden reminded York (1984: 46–7) of stage-craft such as the reconstructed shopfronts in museums such as the Museum of London or Disney World in Florida:

> If you look at the kinds of businesses that now predominate round there ... and the facilities – themed restaurants and wine bars which have *all been designed* – you realise that Covent Garden is the tip, the harbinger of the modern world, of real-life theme parks.
> (York 1984: 46–7)

Ashworth (1988) suggested that the construct of a 'historic city' was something more than the sum of its historic parts. Rather, it was created by the active intervention of institutions from the available stock of antiquities, using legal instruments and planning procedures in an attempt to conserve a particular interpretation of the past. At a deeper level, there was a 'conservational philosophy': an approach to urban governance which facilitated 'the functioning of the city for both residents and non-residents in such a way that the historical attributes are consciously exploited' (Ashworth 1988: 163). Although a symbiosis between urban conservation and tourism development was often assumed, Ashworth highlighted the possibility of tension between institutions whose accountability, practices and goals differed. This was manifest, for example, in the bowdlerisation of the historic city as a consequence of its attempts to meet the expectations of visitors who require a heritage experience that is simply, easily and quickly communicated. In general, few vistors have the time or inclination to accept the complications and subtleties of the city's historic

development and the generally confused mix of time periods and architectural styles that typify most urban landscapes.

In many cases, promotion of tourism in historic centres seemed to suggest an escape culture which denied present-day reality (Goodey 1994a: 153–79). Some argued that this was symptomatic of a deeper malaise: the reactionary social attitudes of a post-imperial, post-industrial nation that had failed to come to terms with the reality of its position in the world. Lowenthal (1985: xvii) characterised English attitudes to the arts and the built environment as 'permeated by antiquarianism' with a marked bias 'in favour of the old and traditional, even if less useful or beautiful than the new'. This obsession with past glories was, perhaps, a sign of decadence or an abdication of responsibility for the present and future. An ascendant mood of the 1980s, nostalgia bolstered the ideology of the New Right and offered a discourse that obscured the conflicts and tensions of the past and denied the continuity of history into the real world of the present. It presented 'a unifying spectacle, the settling of all disputes. Like the guided tour as it proceeds from site to sanctioned site, the national past occurs in a dimension of its own' (Wright 1985: 69). New museums and heritage centres were opening at a phenomenal rate and an increasing proportion of the built environment was being conserved because of its historic interest (Hewison 1987).

Others have viewed the growth of a heritage industry in a more positive light. In an 'old country', a large stock of historic buildings may dominate the urban landscape. As functions change, redundant structures must be demolished, or else adapted to new uses that generate sufficient resources for conservation and subsequent upkeep. Leisure and tourism cannot provide a panacea for dereliction and economic decline. Nevertheless, they can facilitate a more secure future for historic buildings and contribute to a balanced strategy for urban regeneration. Through town trails, museums and heritage centres, presentation of a wide range of historical themes has become more imaginative and available to a wider audience. The experience need not be superficial if visitors are allowed to ask questions and make their own judgments. As Lumley (1994: 66) comments, Hewison's presentation of a monolithic heritage industry tends to characterise the public as a credulous mass, easily seduced by the sirens of nostalgia. Urry (1995: 145–6) refers to the aesthetic reflexivity of the viewer, stressing the ability of people to evaluate their society and its place within the world, both historically and geographically.

In this context, the distinctiveness of localities acquires greater significance. Shields (1991: 207–51) discusses place-myths of 'the British North – Land of the Working Class' perpetuated through literature, film and television. He emphasises the way in which the image has been appropriated and reworked in indigenous narratives, that have translated this mythical North into their own place-identity, and have cherished the images first propounded in the literature of (southern-based) writers since

the nineteenth century. Robins (1991) notes a fascination with vernacular motifs, with reference to a cultural localism which reflects:

> deeper feelings about the inscription of human lives and identities in space and time. There is a growing interest in the embeddedness of life histories within the boundaries of place, and with the continuities of identity and community through local memory and heritage.
>
> (Robins 1991: 34)

The tourist's pursuit of authenticity (MacCannell 1976) may thus provide an opportunity for inner city areas and regions remote from the metropolis to break the cycle of disadvantage. It may encourage the rediscovery of long-neglected urban and industrial histories or a sense of local pride as advocated by the Civic Trust.

It cannot be assumed, however, that urban tourism will necessarily be informed by narratives told first hand by an 'indigenous' population. Goodey (1994b) comments on the development and marketing of historic quarters inspired by small-town and city core revitalisation programmes in the United States where partnerships between business, community and local authority were essential for success. He notes that in Britain the business–local authority linkages tend to be well established, but the wider community may be less involved:

> In the majority of cases residents are few (and getting fewer) and users, especially visitors, are seen as participating through the market mechanism alone. Concepts of participation and partnership are between the public authority and retail and development communities. As a result, use and manipulation of heritage tends to draw on an officially-recognised and/or marketable selection, abstracted from a more rooted community past.
>
> (Goodey 1994b: 20–1)

This recent expansion of leisure within, or associated with, spaces of retail and consumption activities raises issues concerning public leisure space and social exclusion as discussed in Chapter 2. Where commercial leisure provision and speciality retailing oriented towards visitors takes priority, some sections of society may be made to feel less than welcome and they may also form part of the very groups who rely most on the availability of public space to satisfy their social and/or leisure needs.

As Relph (1976: 55) emphasises, there is a fundamental distinction between the insider-participant and the external observer. The very idea of 'landscape' is associated with the gaze of the latter, since it implies a certain objectivisation of the scene and a distancing of subject from object. This way of seeing is also conveyed in the comparatively recent conceptualisation of 'townscapes'. In the context of historic quarters, townscape

or streetscape improvements involve partnerships between particular stakeholders, especially individual property owners and businesses, public authorities and civic amenity societies. Such agencies must necessarily collaborate in the wider social project to achieve a harmonious effect. Many local residents and other users of public space may not, however, own land or buildings, run a business, or belong to a civic amenity society. Few would find it easy to use words such as townscape or streetscape to describe their everyday environment although their attachment to place may be profound: 'The composition of their landscape is much more integrated with the diurnal course of life's events – with birth, death, festival, tragedy – all the occurrences that lock together human time and place' (Cosgrove 1998: 19).

A conflict of ideals may therefore occur between urban conservation to maintain a sense of identity for local communities, and conservation that manipulates the urban landscape to satisfy visitors' expectations. Historic buildings are chance remains that seldom provide clues to an area's social or economic history for the casual observer. Tiesdell, Oc and Heath (1996: 211) argue that to make a historic quarter attractive to visitors, attention should be paid to the *permeability* of urban space: the ease by which people find their way into the area, as well as *legibility*: the facility to 'read' the character and history of the locality and to navigate their way around. Nevertheless, a number of important questions need to be addressed. If the urban landscape is to be selectively conserved and enhanced, who should provide the necessary expertise? If it is to be interpreted, how to avoid the impression that one reading is unassailably correct? To what extent does a place-image created for external audiences correspond to the insiders' sense of place, if indeed there is a consensus among the latter?

The historic quarters of London's City Fringe

The City Fringe is an area of inner London adjacent to the Square Mile, one of the world's top three financial centres. It contains some of the capital's least 'discovered' historic quarters: neighbourhoods that survived air raids as well as comprehensive development area schemes in the post-war era. Over many centuries, the identity of the Fringe has been shaped through its symbiotic, if unequal, relationship with the City. For many centuries, it has been regarded as a 'place on the margin' (Shields 1991) not only in location, but also in social status. From medieval times, the 'liberties' north and east of the precincts of the City provided space for excluded social groups, activities and institutions, many of which were prohibited or restricted within the city walls. Thus, it accommodated successive waves of migrants from other parts of the British Isles, as well as foreigners, many of whom sought refuge from religious or political persecution. From the fourteenth century, Flemish clothmakers were invited to establish their

trade. From the sixteenth century, Sephardic Jews from Spain and Portugal set up businesses as merchants and moneylenders, while Protestant Huguenots from France brought their craft skills and business acumen (Porter 1996).

Its streets and open spaces provided the setting for some of London's most important fairs, festivals and markets and, a year after the proclamation of 1575 which banned plays within the City precincts, The Theatre opened in Shoreditch. This was England's first purpose-built playhouse on whose stage many of Shakespeare's plays were first performed (Cox 1994). Later, spas, pleasure gardens and other diversions attracted wealthy visitors to a relatively open landscape. From the early eighteenth century, however, its villages expanded rapidly, and much of the area became densely populated forming the squalid and overcrowded neighbourhoods that housed some of London's poorest inhabitants. Its public places now provided a platform for dissenters: nonconformists, trade unionists, reformists and revolutionaries. The spectacle of wealth and abject poverty juxtaposed was vividly described by novelists, including Defoe and Dickens, and portrayed in the engravings of artists such as Hogarth and Dore. The real-life horrors of the Jack the Ripper murders around Spitalfields and Whitechapel in the 1880s further reinforced the sinister side of the place-myth. Thus, the area became 'known' to many, evoking feelings of revulsion and fear as well as fascination.

By the early twentieth century, a wide range of manufacturing industries was located within the Fringe. Entrepreneurs made full use of the cheap labour of local residents, including thousands of recent Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe. Factories and workshops, many with oppressive working conditions, developed cheek by jowl with densely packed housing. Particular trades became associated with particular areas, such as furniture, leather and clothing manufacturers in Shoreditch. Traces of these industries have survived to the present day, but the post-war era has seen a steep decline in manufacturing. Most of the Jewish population moved away in the 1960s and 1970s, but new immigrant groups took their place, adapting the old building stock for their own use and acquiring small businesses. Spitalfields is now home to a large Bangladeshi community, as well as a growing Somali population. With a diminishing manufacturing base, these ethno-racial groups have experienced high levels of unemployment. Their disadvantage has been compounded by poor housing stock and ageing infrastructure. Like those who lived in the area before them, they have also suffered harassment and periodic violence from race-hate organisations.

In recent times, however, there has been significant restructuring of the local economy in some parts of the Fringe. In the 1980s and 1990s, spectacular growth of financial services and other key sectors spread beyond the City and West End. Much of this expansion resulted in relocation to the 'new city' of London Docklands, but there has also been redevelopment

at the borders of the Square Mile and the Fringe. Physical incursion into local communities and threats to familiar landmarks caused tension, a notable example being the proposed demolition and redevelopment of Spitalfields Market: a scheme successfully opposed by a local pressure group in the early 1990s (Woodward 1993). Some pockets of commercial and residential gentrification also emerged. As in other inner city neighbourhoods that have developed into 'urban villages' (Zukin 1982), the process was often initiated by artists and craftspeople acquiring studio and living space. In time, these areas attracted a cluster of design, public relations, media and other agencies servicing the City as well as wealthy residents. These, in turn, began to support a lively collection of bars, cafes and restaurants where the new service providers could entertain colleagues and clients: a nascent visitor economy.

In areas where Victorian industrial buildings and warehouses stood vacant, planning policies have encouraged refurbishment and conversion to new uses. These include studios for craft industries, as well as places for leisure and entertainment ranging from art exhibitions to live performances, recording studios and nightclubs. In Clerkenwell, within a conservation area and conveniently close to the City, a company called Manhattan Lofts began to convert older premises into fashionable apartments in the early 1990s. On the one hand, such investment generated new wealth, facilitated new uses for old buildings and led to the development of a complementary mix of activities. On the other hand, there was concern that established residents and firms would be displaced. Furthermore, the wave of new City-oriented businesses and residents locating in the Fringe had done little to enhance employment prospects among local communities. In the mid-1990s, 22 per cent of the resident workforce of around 30,000 people was registered as unemployed, with two-thirds out of work for six months or more. In general, local residents had not been able to participate in the boom. Fewer than 4 per cent of jobs in the Fringe, and only 1 per cent of City-based jobs were held by Fringe residents (City Fringe Partnership 1996: 5). As in other gentrified neighbourhoods, a white middle class with too much work has moved into an area with a high black and Asian population suffering from too little work (T. Butler 1996).

In order to tackle these problems strategically and across administrative boundaries and functions, the City Fringe Partnership (CFP) was set up with three other local authorities and other agencies in 1995 under the leadership of the Corporation of London. With funding from the government's Single Regeneration Budget (1996–9), a key feature of the programme of action was a 'Developing Cultural Quarters Project', the aim of which was to generate employment by encouraging visitors and marketing products. The project was designed to enhance the accessibility and appearance of key areas, including the historic quarters of Clerkenwell and Spitalfields/Brick Lane (City Fringe Partnership 1996). The Partnership highlighted the appeal of historical themes as well as its contemporary

cultural scene for target markets including City businesspeople in addition to domestic and international visitors seeking alternatives to 'mainstream' tourism attractions.

A study was subsequently commissioned to consider the prospects for marketing the Fringe as a destination for leisure and tourism to these audiences. The consultants (Discover Islington and Mazorca 1997) emphasised the barriers that inhibited access to and movement within the newly defined cultural quarters. The City Fringe is a recent administrative construct and did not appear as a coherent entity in guidebooks used by visitors. Underground and surface rail services connect key nodal points to the City and elsewhere in the capital but the cultural quarters do not feature as station names on the tube map which acts as an important influence on people's orientation. Furthermore, account should be taken of its perceived accessibility from the City and other parts of London. The cultural quarters are within half an hour's walk of the City boundary but, to many Londoners and other visitors, the psychological distance is much greater. The best way to explore the area is on foot, but traffic noise and poor air quality are not conducive to a casual stroll and pedestrians must negotiate busy roads. Furthermore, the boarded up buildings and vacant sites, visible neglect, dirt and shabbiness create an unwelcoming impression and some visitors may feel uneasy, especially at night.

As the study also noted, few aspects of the area's eventful past are obvious from the buildings or streetscape. Although significant features of historic buildings and streetscape remain, much has been altered to accommodate new uses and, to the casual observer, there are few indications of previous occupants and activities. A notable example is the Neuve Eglise in Spitalfields. This is one of eleven Protestant churches built by Huguenots who were an expanding minority group during the early eighteenth century. The original congregation declined as the French-speaking minority became absorbed and, in 1809, the building became the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews. Ironically, by the end of the nineteenth century it had become the Great Synagogue, used by Orthodox worshippers from Eastern Europe. As the local Jewish population declined in the 1960s it closed again, only to reopen in 1976 as the London Jamme Masjid: the great mosque for an expanding Muslim population (Hebbert 1998: 173). Such features of the streetscape may suggest the need for interpretation to reveal the area's rich history to onlookers, but there is also a need for sensitivity. In many cases, such as places of worship, the general public do not have right of access, and the host community may resent intrusion into their daily lives and culture.

At the time of writing, the development and marketing of the City Fringe and its cultural quarters is at an early stage, but some significant patterns and processes are emerging. In order to overcome the problems of accessibility highlighted above, programmes of action have prioritised improvements at 'gateways' and along the main thoroughfares. These have

been complemented by better pedestrian signage to guide visitors from public transport terminals to attractions, as well as improvements to street lighting. In the case of Clerkenwell, a walking tour devised by a local history society has been turned into a permanent feature inspired by the Boston Trail in the United States. In 1998, the Culture Secretary opened the Clerkenwell Trail, a pedestrian route just over three kilometres long, marked out by plaques and banners designed by a local artist whose illustrations feature on an accompanying map. These and other local guides are made available through a small visitor centre staffed by volunteers. The tone of the Trail is discreet and unobtrusive, in sympathy with the medieval pattern of winding streets and alleys, as well as accommodating views expressed by local residents and businesses.

In the Spitalfields/Brick Lane cultural quarter, there has been a similar emphasis on accessibility, but the approach has been less restrained. With additional funding from Eastside City Challenge programme, the area will become a 'showpiece for London'. Again, first impressions are being enhanced, in this case by features such as gateway arches and other street furniture inspired by Asian motifs. Signage is also being improved, especially through Brick Lane and Petticoat Lane markets, and grants have enabled shops and restaurants to upgrade the streetscape (City Fringe Partnership 1997: 6). There are proposals to refurbish a number of visually important sites that are currently derelict or underused, including a listed market building which could house a bazaar/souk. There are also plans to expand existing attractions and create new ones, most notably the London Cultural Heritage Centre as a 'flagship' to 'foster a sense of pride amongst the local community and promote an image of London as an exciting and vibrant multicultural city. It will form the perfect complement to the traditional English history embodied by the Tower of London' (London Borough of Tower Hamlets 1996: 14).

The regeneration strategy for the City Fringe highlights issues that have wider significance for place marketing. There is a need to overcome negative stereotyped images and to make visitors aware of the rich heritage associated with the area's immigrant communities both past and present. The Cultural Quarters Project is envisaged as an asset to London as a whole and its prestige should raise the self-confidence of its communities. But the new positive images presented to outsiders must harmonise with the population's sense of identity and take account of their cultural diversity. There is a danger that complex truth may be simplified to create a strong storyline, and that the area may be turned into something of a folk museum, with historic buildings signposted as exhibits. Local people may be viewed as resident actors to animate the scene, their festivals and other customs presented as tourist attractions. The idea of the Fringe as a marginal place, may thus be reinforced by an 'exotic spectacle' and one-way traffic between the viewers and the viewed. Much will depend on the sensitivity with which the neighbourhoods are presented to visitors.

As Ashworth (1994) has argued, the raw materials of heritage – historical events, personalities, folk memories, mythologies, literary associations and surviving physical relics, together with the places with which they are symbolically associated – are converted into products through selection and packaging. Interpretation is literally the product.

Overview

To identify, present and interpret the 'valued legacy of the past' requires the appointment of experts to exercise the discrimination of taste. The nineteenth-century intellectuals who appointed themselves arbiters of this taste appealed to the sensibilities of a wider middle-class audience for their approval. Ancient relics and historic monuments were to be viewed with respect. As symbols of cultural and national identity, their physical presence reminded the onlooker of the country's past achievements. They deserved protection, not only from demolition, but from insensitive alteration that would destroy their integrity. Despite the opposition of landowning interests, the first steps had been taken towards statutory protection by the end of the nineteenth century. Voluntary action to acquire and maintain them had also begun. Sites and buildings thus preserved would provide an invaluable source of evidence to advance the study of archaeology and architectural history. Furthermore, they would serve an important role in public education. As with museums, art galleries and libraries, the legacy would be made available to contemporary audiences and preserved to inspire future generations.

The surveying and classification of historic buildings was initiated by voluntary societies, organisations that conducted scholarly research within their particular period of interest as well as campaigning for preservation. Through their advice to agencies of the state, such groups exerted a strong influence in defining the boundaries of inclusion. In the post-war era, protection of historic features of the built environment broadened considerably in scope with an increasingly liberal interpretation of what should be included. This 'democratisation' of heritage owes much to special interest and amenity groups, with passive support from a much larger audience (Lowe and Goyder 1983). The impetus seems to have come, in part, from reaction against architectural expressions of Modernism. This is especially so in relation to reaction against large-scale schemes to redevelop town centres, an issue that galvanised public opinion and profoundly influenced public policy. Since the mid-1960s, support has been gained for the principles of area-based conservation, incorporating good design and valuing features of the urban landscape that may have deep significance for people living, working and enjoying their leisure time in the locality.

The aesthetic enjoyment of heritage sites as visitor attractions is an important theme. If authenticity is subservient to visual appeal, it matters little to the onlooker whether the subject is an untouched antiquity

enhanced by the patina of age, a thin facade or a replica (Larkham 1996). Most historic buildings have been renovated and altered many times, not only to accommodate new activities and functions, but also to satisfy changing tastes. Furthermore, Romantic sentiment has encouraged revivalism in the form of new buildings that make reference to historic styles. In some cases, it has also encouraged a rather cavalier approach to the renovation of genuine remains, conflicting with the purists' argument for preservation of relics in their original state, as well as their didactic role as evidence of the nation's cultural development. In recent times, whole streetscapes have been cleaned, renovated and represented to visitors as historic quarters. In the case of London's Covent Garden, a place that was threatened with large scale demolition, the rescued heritage now provides the setting for a commercially successful mix of cultural tourism, bars, restaurants and speciality retailing.

Such trends may be construed as part of a broader shift in leisure patterns and behaviour, where emphasis is placed on conspicuous consumption and pleasure, as demonstrated in shopping malls and theme parks. Consequently, the 'more traditional forms of high cultural consumption, such as museums and galleries, are revamped to cater for wider audiences through trading-in the canonical, auratic art and educative-formative pretensions for an emphasis upon the spectacular, the popular, the pleasurable and the immediately accessible' (Featherstone 1991: 96–7). Mindful of these developments in demand, and faced with rapid decline of manufacturing, economic strategies for many older industrial centres tended to focus on land and property, often through the creation of self-contained enclaves of leisure and tourism-related consumption (Bianchini and Schwengel 1991). In this context, full recognition was given to the image-value of historic urban landscapes in a competitive global market for inward investment, high-spending visitors and wealthy new residents. But, in the process of creating a favourable external gloss, the identity and interests of other stakeholders, including less powerful and less articulate local residents, small businesses and organisations, could easily be eclipsed.

In deference to the new millennium, some argue that morbid obsession with the past is best cured by destruction and reconstruction. There is, however, a more general desire to develop innovative ways of managing change in the urban landscape. According to Rossi's (1982) thesis, the built environment should link past and present, offering scope for future development in a pleasing mixture of forms and styles while avoiding the tyranny of a single present. The property and image-led strategies, characteristic of the 1980s and early 1990s, have been discredited and public policy now emphasises integration of conservation with the social objectives of regeneration. English Heritage (1998: 23) for example, will contribute to initiatives 'which by being grounded in existing character and meaning, and by involving a wide range of partners, including the

communities themselves, can begin to address the problems identified by the Social Exclusion Unit'. In the case of London's City Fringe, implementation of this policy is at a formative stage and many uncertainties remain. There is, however, a strong expectation that its initiatives will improve the quality of life for local communities as well as the quality of experience for visitors through celebration of a pluralistic heritage that has hitherto been hidden or denied.

Tourism, Culture & Communication, Vol. 2 pp. 165–175, 2000
Printed in the USA.

1098-304X/00 $20.00 + .00

www.cognizantcommunication.com

CREATIVITY AND CONFLICT: CULTURAL TOURISM IN LONDON'S CITY FRINGE

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This article examines the core periphery relationship between the City of London and the neighboring inner areas of the metropolis, with reference to a case study of the Cultural Quarters Programme of the City Fringe Partnership: an initiative recently launched by the area's four local authorities to alleviate the economic deprivation and physical dilapidation evident in the areas immediately surrounding the city. A key feature of the regeneration strategy will be the development of a visitor economy through interpretation of the area's multicultural history as well as its alternative arts and crafts, clubs and restaurants, street festivals, and other events that draw on the diversity and creativity of the area's communities. The study explores the issues and problems arising from the development of cultural tourism in disadvantaged urban areas through involvement of artists and local residents in the process of conservation, animation, and promotion of the built environment for leisure and tourism activities.

Urban tourism Urban renewal Urban cultural tourism

It came as something of a shock, though to witness this, the beginning perhaps of the transfiguration of shabby and wonderful Brick Lane. For most of us Brick Lane is the least likely of smart designer haunts. It is a rambling alley—of the kind guidebooks call Dickensian—lined with unforgettably spiced Bangladeshi restaurants, with Indian sweet shops and sari emporia. . . . What worries me most is that whenever the design scene moves in on an old London street. . . . Old businesses, shops where you can buy things for a song, restaurants where you can eat for a fiver vanish. Within a matter of months every second building is a bar or café with raw concrete walls, difficult chairs, effete middle class youth trying hard to look hard and hard up, and menus offering holiday food at imaginative prices. Flats become lofts. The poor are pushed out and the city as a whole loses out, loses the very mix of cultures and way of life that made its old and shabbier parts so very appealing in the first place. (Glancey, 1998, p. 16)

Introduction

Worpole and Greenhalgh (1996) have argued that the best of public spaces have rhythms and patterns

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of use of their own, being occupied at different times by quite different groups, occasionally by almost everybody. Their attractiveness, flexibility, and pluralist sense of ownership makes them very valuable features of urban life. Over the last 10–15 years in the UK, urban authorities have rediscovered the value of creating good quality public space in city centers, and the development of cultural tourism has been recognized as a desirable ingredient, not only to complement other economic activities such as retailing, but to help to revitalize a sense of local pride. Civic design and cultural policy have met in the creation of new city squares and other improvements to the public realm. Much of this has been driven by the economic imperative to attract inward investment and service employment to compensate for the decline of the manufacturing sector in postindustrial cities, further heightened by competition with new car-oriented out-of-town centers. As in other cities in Europe, North America and Australasia, heritage and the arts as a feature of the public domain have been given a high profile in the promotion of the livable city. Public spaces and streetscapes are presented as art object. City skylines, historic quarters, and architecture are thus appreciated by policy makers as key aspects of cultural investment in strategies for growth as cities "struggle to attract inward investment by amassing the correct mix of cultural or soft infrastructure" (Crilley, 1993, p. 233).

An urban renaissance to encourage the affluent professional classes to rediscover the attractions of living in or near the city center, an attractive mosaic of business and leisure activities, and democratic use of public space is often presented as an unproblematic ideal. In the UK, for example, the Urban Task Force (1999) chaired by Lord Rogers recommends that all local authorities should prepare a strategy for the public realm: "Safe, well maintained, attractive and uncluttered public spaces provide the vital glue between buildings, and play a crucial role in strengthening communities" (p. 57).

In practice, however, conflict may occur between use and possession of the public realm by local communities as insiders, and those who they regard as outsiders. Such tension may be particularly pronounced in areas of mixed land use around the edge of city centers. These neighborhoods may experience strong pressures for development—refurbishment of older buildings as well as demolition and reconstruction—to accommodate new activities and residents. Gentrification, the process whereby working class inner city areas become regenerated by the influx of middle class homeowners, seems first to have been named as such and discussed in academic literature by the British sociologist Glass (1963) with reference to neighborhoods in inner London (Butler, 1996).

Burgess (1985) highlights the idea of the inner city as a social construct, and explores the way in which the media in the UK—especially daily newspapers—have developed a vocabulary to describe the phenomenon of gentrification. The word colonization, for example, was frequently used in the early 1980s, suggesting reclamation of useful parts of the inner city back into civilized society by urban pioneers. With reference to her case study of loft living in SoHo, New York, Zukin (1982) analyzes the transformation of neighborhoods defined as urban villages. Enclaves of art and craft production emerge in areas of low-rent accommodation, notably redundant industrial buildings and warehouses, which provide studio and living space for people with little money but considerable creative talent. Later, the area may acquire prestige with young professionals—a fashionable address available to those who have plenty of money and who aspire to be consumers, rather than creators of the cultural product. Rising land values then displace both working class residents and artists.

Bourdieu (1984, pp. 354–371) discusses the role of a rising new *petite bourgeoisie* as cultural intermediaries. Typically, they are employed in professions such as marketing, public relations, fashion, education, medical and social services. This influential social group has a high level of cultural capital, and a fascination with experimentation, personal development, and new experiences. They are attracted to forms of artistic expression that defy establishment taste (e.g., in music, cinema, and strip cartoons). Inner city locations seem particularly suitable for this group, especially because many work long and unsociable hours in central business districts and travel between urban centers. A short distance to commute is thus a desirable commodity. Furthermore, older urban, industrial or waterfront areas may have a particular appeal in terms of atmosphere, as well as the opportunity to experiment and

to enjoy a diversity of experiences that satisfy their taste for symbolic defiance embracing all forms of culture that are, provisionally at least, on the (lower) boundaries of legitimate culture (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 360). Featherstone (1991, pp. 95–111) analyzes the aestheticization of the urban fabric and its role in drawing back the middle class into enclaves of the inner city. Sites formerly defined as low-life places may have a special *frisson*, although the process of gentrification and commodification means that, in time, they become redefined as respectable places—worthy objects of the tourist gaze.

Bianchini and Schwengel (1991, pp. 214–215) highlight two significant trends in the property-led regeneration schemes characteristic of the real estate boom in UK and the restructuring of urban economies during the 1980s. First, there was an emphasis on the design of individual buildings rather than planning the whole—a postmodern attitude to space that was no longer to be regarded as a totality to be shaped according to the needs of the wider social project aimed at a mass audience. This can also be understood, in part, as disillusionment with modernism expressed in the planning experience of the previous two decades. The second trend was the emerging art of place marketing as urban centers and regions repositioned themselves in national and international markets to appeal to specialized audiences, including public and private sector investors, developers, tourists, convention organizers, and specialty shoppers. Spectacular new shopping malls, conference and exhibition centers, museums, art galleries, and concert halls have been used as flagships in place marketing strategies to gain a competitive advantage in this global market place (Smyth, 1994). The creation and marketing of urban villages as cultural quarters have also featured in strategies where there is a lively arts scene. Thus, places known for their wealth of cultural production may become enclaves of leisure and tourism *consumption*.

During the 1980s, in the UK and elsewhere in Europe, there was a marked shift away from unquestioning faith in regulation of development through land use planning to facilitate regeneration of urban economies. In the context of industrial decline, which escalated during the recession in the late 1970s/early 1980s, planning systems that had been designed to constrain and control the developer's space seemed ill-suited to the stimulation of inward investment in areas of economic and social disadvantage (Ashworth & Voogt, 1994). In the UK, as in other European countries, the fundamental principles of the postwar planning system remain in place, in marked contrast with North America where vigorous competition between urban centers and civic boosterism has a long tradition. Nevertheless, there has been some loosening of land use regulation. Furthermore, there is now an explicit and widespread use of marketing techniques by urban planning and regeneration agencies on both sides of the Atlantic. Kotler, Haider, and Rein (1993, pp. 99–100) identify four key components in the marketing of a place:

a) sound design that enhances its attractiveness and more fully develops its aesthetic qualities and values (Place as *character*);
b) basic infrastructure that moves people and goods in ways compatible with the natural environment (Place as a fixed *environment*);
c) basic services of quality that meets business and public needs (Place as *service provider*);
d) a range of attractions for their local people and visitors (Place as *entertainment and recreation*).

The authors stress the point that strategies for place improvement should not be viewed in narrow terms as a promotion and image-building exercise. Nevertheless, the brand image may seem to develop a free-floating existence of its own. According to an article in *Design Week*, it was only a matter of time before cities came to be treated as commodities. A good marketing strategy has worked wonders with a whole range of goods and services, so why not with a city? A spokesperson for the agency, which designed Birminghams (1992) logo and strapline, the meeting place of Europe, commented. "We looked at Birmingham like we would any other brand, to find out what differentiated it from its competitors. Looking back on the campaign, we felt that while the logo was effective in itself, the brand had not been managed particularly successfully since" (Bawden, 1997, p. 17).

As Barke and Harrop (1994, pp. 94–95) argue, every place has an *identity* which may differ from its *image*. The identity may be regarded as an objective thing, "what a place is really like." They draw

on Fredorcio, Heaton, and Madden's (1991, p. 24) definition of corporate or personal identity as the projection of who you are and what you stand for, what you do and how you do it. In contrast, the image of a place is how it is perceived externally. Thus, an image may exist quite independently from the facts of objective reality. Kotler et al. (1993, p. 141) define a place image as the sum of beliefs, ideas, and impressions that people can have of a place. Images represent a simplification of a large number of associations and pieces of information connected with the place. The history of an area and the creativity of its artists, designers, and craftspeople can make a vital contribution to the spatial identity. Place marketers have an important role to play in marketing and interpreting marginal places as destinations for cultural tourism, making them more *accessible* in the widest sense of the word. The following case study raises some important issues concerning the tensions between the development of cultural tourism and spatial identity in the context of disadvantaged neighborhoods on the periphery of a central business district in a large city.

City Fringe: Attractions and Horrors of a Marginal Place

The identity of London's City Fringe has been shaped through its symbiotic, if unequal, relationship with the city. In Shields' (1991) phrase, it has remained a place on the margin, not only in terms of its peripheral location, but its social status. The liberties north and east of the precincts of the city developed as a refuge for excluded social groups, activities, and institutions. From medieval times, small settlements that grew just outside the city wall accommodated migrants from other parts of the British Isles and successive waves of foreigners, some fleeing political or religious persecution, and all offering skills and labor and resources needed by the host community. Many of the activities they performed were restricted or prohibited within the city itself, such as brewing, dyeing textiles, and tanning. In the 14th century, English monarchs invited cloth makers from Flanders. From the 16th century, Sephardic Jews from Spain and Portugal were needed as lenders of money and merchants. Protestant Huguenots from France brought their special skills as silk weavers, fine instrument makers, and entrepreneurs after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, large numbers of poor Jews from Eastern Europe came to the Fringe and East End of London, many finding work in the clothing or rag trade.

The public places of the Fringe were used for some of London's biggest fairs, festivals, and markets—diversions that attracted many wealthy visitors. In the reign of Elizabeth I, when plays were banned within the city walls, The Theatre was built at Shoreditch in 1576 as England's first purpose-built playhouse. Later attractions included pleasure gardens, circuses, and music halls. The area thus continued to offer a diversity of entertainment, but from the early 18th century the villages expanded and much of the area became built up and densely populated, providing squalid conditions for some of London's poorest residents, including the immigrant communities. The public places also provided platforms for protest and dissent: religious nonconformism, trade unions, reformists, and revolutionaries. The spectacle of wealth and grim poverty juxtaposed was described by novelists, including Defoe and Dickens, and portrayed in the engravings of artists, including Hogarth and Dore. The real-life horrors of the Jack the Ripper murders around Spitalfields and Whitechapel in the 1880s further reinforced the sinister side of the place-myth. It therefore became known to many who had never visited it, evoking feelings of revulsion and fear as well as fascination.

By the early part of the 20th century a range of manufacturing industries, including many small firms, was located in the Fringe. Entrepreneurs made full use of the availability of cheap labor and specialized skills, as well as the proximity of large industrial and consumer markets and access to transport by rail and sea. Factories and workshops, many with a very poor working environment, developed cheek by jowl with densely packed housing, shops, street markets, places of worship, entertainment, and other facilities. Particular areas were associated with particular trades and activities, such as furniture, leather goods, and clothing manufacture in Shoreditch. Some small pockets of these industries remain to this day, but the postwar era saw a decline in manufacturing as in other inner city areas. The Jewish population moved away from the area, especially in the 1960s and 1970s, but new immigrant groups took their place, adapting the

old building stock for their own use, and acquiring small businesses. Spitalfields now has the largest Bangladeshi population in the UK, as well as a growing Somali community. With a declining manufacturing base, however, ethno-racial minority groups and other residents have experienced low income and high levels of unemployment. Their disadvantage has been further compounded by poor housing stock, rundown infrastructure, and poor facilities. And, as with previous minority groups who lived in the area, they have unfortunately suffered harassment and periodic intimidation and violence from race-hate organizations.

In recent years, however, there has been some dramatic social and economic change in some areas within the Fringe, especially near the boundary with the city. During the 1980s and into the 1990s spectacular growth of financial services and other service industries spread beyond the city and West End. Much of this expansion resulted in relocation to the new city of London Docklands, but there was also some redevelopment and refurbishment of attractive older property at the borders between the city's Square Mile and the Fringe. Physical incursion into local communities and loss of familiar landmarks created tension, a notable example being the formation of a protest group opposing the proposed sale of the site of Spitalfields Market to a consortium of developers (Woodward, 1993). There were also some pockets of commercial and residential gentrification, especially around Smithfield Market and Clerkenwell. Small enclaves of prosperity were emerging through expansion of professional services with a clustering of advertising, graphic design, printing, and publishing firms, public relations, computer and media agencies. These, in turn, began to support a lively collection of bars, cafes, and restaurants where the new service providers could entertain colleagues and clients; a nascent visitor economy.

With local planning policies designed to encourage a mix of activities, new uses for redundant historic buildings were encouraged. This included the conversion of Victorian factories and warehouses into luxury apartments. In the early 1990s, a company called Manhattan Lofts began to create and sell highly fashionable loft shells conveniently close to the city and West End of London. On the one hand, such investment was generating new wealth and facilitating environmental improvements in particular areas of the Fringe. Furthermore, the influx of wealthy and articulate newcomers tends to encourage better care of public places and facilities. Nevertheless, there was concern that rising land values and rents would displace established residents and businesses. Moreover, it was apparent that wealth generation and the jobs created by the new firms servicing the city had brought little benefit to local communities, even where businesses servicing the Square Mile had located within the Fringe. A very high level of unemployment persisted among the resident population of around 30,000 people. In the mid-1990s, some 22% were registered unemployed, of whom two thirds had been out of work for more than 6 months. Local people had not been able to participate in the economic growth (City Fringe Partnership [CFP], 1996, p. 5).

City Fringe Partnership: Cultural Quarters Project 1996

By the mid-1990s, it was recognized that a strategic and coordinated approach to urban regeneration was needed, making links across administrative boundaries and between functions in tackling the problems and issues of the Fringe. The City Fringe Partnership (CFP) was established in 1995 under the leadership of the Corporation of London, with the London Boroughs of Islington, Hackney, and Tower Hamlets, other public agencies (including those concerned with training), and representatives of the private sector. The Partnership rightly stressed that the problems of the Fringe were not endemic to the area, and should not be treated in isolation from future development of the capital and, indeed, London's relationship with the global economy. The collaborative approach was designed to harness creativity, shared expertise, information, and resources (CFP, 1996, p. 2). The following year CFP secured funding through central government's Single Regeneration Budget for the period for demonstration projects. These included the Developing Cultural Quarters project to identify areas where visitors would be encouraged, and improvements would be carried out to enhance their accessibility and appearance. This would be complemented by skills training and other measures to enhance the competitiveness of businesses in the cultural industries.

The Partnership then commissioned a study to consider the potential for developing and marketing cultural tourism in the Fringe as a whole, and the work was carried out by consultants Discover Islington and Mazorca Ltd (1997). Target markets for cultural tourism would include city businesspeople in their lunchtimes and evenings as well as domestic and international visitors who may seek a creative ambience and satisfying cultural experience away from the major tourist attractions of central London. The study identified around 1000 attractions, facilities, and organizations whose work "contributed to the identity of the area," but only half of these were visible to the public gaze. Of those concerned with history and heritage, most were small-scale museums, libraries, and archives that attracted local or specialist audiences. Few considered themselves in the mainstream tourism business and their access and opening hours tended to be restricted. In Clerkenwell, for example, a cluster of small attractions included the Karl Marx Memorial Library, the Society of Genealogists, and the London Metropolitan Archives. In the Fringe as a whole, over 250 artists and craftspeople were identified. The consultants argued that many of these had the potential to attract visitors by opening their studios and participating in exhibitions and craft fairs. In recent years, this approach has been successfully demonstrated in an annual event known as the Hidden Art of the Fringe, where art and craft products are exhibited and sold directly to the public.

The visitors' mental geography and image of the area may, however, be somewhat confused. American *Newsweek*'s famous article (04/11/96) on the Capital of Cool had emphasized London's leading role in fashion, design, eating, and drinking. Subsequent articles had featured Hoxton and other places within the Fringe where innovative businesses in these sectors were strongly represented. For example, the Time Out's *Eating and Drinking* guide (Time Out Guides, 1998, p. 155) refers to it as "a hotbed of creativity. Young Hoxton artist-types emerge from Victorian studios, and pass sunny lunchtimes. . . ." While such publicity raises the profile, it might, nevertheless, give a misleading impression as to the volume of visible and accessible activity the visitor might encounter. Furthermore, the Fringe is seldom presented as a coherent entity in guidebooks used by visitors. Clerkenwell, in particular, is regarded as something of a geographical misfit, located in Islington to the west of the Fringe, but with characteristics similar to east London. The eastern side of the Fringe tends to get included in the East End, which often perpetuates stereotyped imagery; for example, in *London: The Rough Guide* (Humphreys, 1997):

> The name is synonymous with slums, sweatshops and crime, as epitomised by anti-heros such as Jack the Ripper and the Kray Twins, but also with the rags-to-riches careers of the likes of Harold Pinter and Vidal Sassoon, and whole generations of Jews who were born in the most notorious of London's cholera-ridden quarters and have now moved on to wealthier pastures. (p. 226)

The CFP's consultants commented that the real distances between central London and the Fringe were short, much of it being within 30-minutes' walk of the city, and public transport was relatively good. Nevertheless, the *psychological distance* seemed to be much greater. Managers of attractions and facilities felt that visitors often perceived their location to be difficult to find and further from the city and public transport than they really were. Circulation within the Fringe was more problematic than access to it. Walking was generally the most convenient option, but the area was severed by busy roads, with associated danger and delay in crossing, traffic noise, and poor air quality. Signs were often confusing and inconsistent, especially across local authority boundaries, and there was a general air of neglect with many vacant sites and derelict buildings, dirt, and shabbiness: an atmosphere that was not conducive to a casual stroll. The CFP (1996) therefore emphasized action to improve the accessibility of key Fringe cultural locations, and improve their appeal to visitors, including the area's ambience as a business location. Safety after dark would be achieved by enhanced street lighting, floodlights, and night sculptures. Improved pedestrian facilities and signs would link attractions and facilities to public transport terminals and routes, and help to break down barriers to access and movement.

In the areas designated as Cultural Quarters, there has therefore been an emphasis on accessibility and physical appearance, focusing especially on gateway public transport terminals and key thorough-

fares, in order to make them feel safer and more attractive and meaningful to visitors. At the time of writing, many proposals are still at a developmental stage, but a number of initiatives had been progressed. In the case of Clerkenwell Cultural Quarter in Islington, a walking tour devised by the local history society has been turned into a permanent feature just over 3 km long. In 1998, the Clerkenwell Trail was marked out by plaques and banners designed by a local artist, whose work also features on an accompanying map guide. The tone of the trail is discreet and unobtrusive, in keeping with the quiet atmosphere and medieval pattern of narrow winding streets and alleys in much of the area. Another initiative has been the temporary use of open spaces and buildings to display artworks. This has included a Victorian brewery for free exhibitions where visitors have an opportunity to meet the artists in an informal setting.

In the Spitalfields/Brick Lane Cultural Quarter there has been a similar accent on access and animation, but here the approach has been less restrained. With additional funding from other regeneration programs, the area is to be actively promoted as a high-profile showpiece for London. Again, first impressions are being enhanced by environmental improvements, especially around Underground stations and along Whitechapel Road, which leads through to the City. Signs and streetscape is being upgraded, especially around Brick Lane and Petticoat Lane markets, which are major attractions in their own right. Local businesses are also being encouraged to improve their shop signs with grant aid. In addition, there are proposals to refurbish a number of key sites that are currently derelict or underused. These include a Listed market building to house a bazaar/souk. It is proposed that this will act as a key motor to the local economy, providing the missing "ethnic" shopping experience, extending the length of stay of visitors and the income attracted. There are also plans to expand existing attractions and create new ones. A new London Cultural Heritage Centre will provide the essential flagship for the Cultural Quarter. This facility will encourage a sense of pride among the community and promote an image of London as an exciting and vibrant multicultural city. It will form the perfect complement to the traditional English history embodied by the Tower of London. It will further promote understanding and will break down cultural barriers between races and religions (London Borough of Tower Hamlets, 1996, p. 14).

Interpretation: Museum Without Walls

If successfully managed and marketed, cultural quarters such as the recently designated Spitalfields/Brick Lane area can be presented as something of a showpiece for the city of which it is a part, and in some cases for the region or nation. The history and current cultural activities are thus put into context with reference to the bigger picture of the more traditional heritage and arts scene. The prestige of a project can benefit the city as a whole and perhaps even become a national asset (e.g., Le Marais *Secteur Sauvegarde* in Paris, Barcelona's Barri Gotic, Dublin's Temple Bar, and Edinburgh's Old Town with its new flagship development of the National Museum of Scotland, which opened in November 1998).

It is understandable if the street scene of the cultural quarter is gazed upon as a series of exhibits—something like a living folk museum—as for the visitor, there is the potential excitement of coming upon artists, musicians, actors, and other characters who add color to the area and animate the scene. There may, however, be problems if the local population becomes part of the cultural fabric or spectacle of the area, as is perhaps suggested by the core–periphery nature of the relationship of the Fringe to the city and the one-way traffic between the viewers from the City and the viewed of the Fringe. Therefore, the manner in which the history and culture of these areas is interpreted, packaged, and marketed is vital to both the representation of local cultures and the visitor experience.

A useful way of analyzing the interpretation of urban heritage within the context of the cultural quarter is to examine the process of "museumization" discussed by Relph (1976, pp. 93–103) with reference to the landscapes of tourism where architecture is deliberately directed towards outsiders, spectators, passers-by, and consumers. This process relates to the spreading of the museum idiom throughout urban cultural life and is also clearly linked to Malraux's (1954) famous earlier essay on *The Museum Without Walls*. In this essay, Malraux concentrates on the prevalence of artistic reproduc-

tions (notably in photography) that serve to create museum spaces outside the classical ordering of the museum institution itself. Thus, the museum, which in its early stages sought to represent the world through universality and spectacle, and in its later incarnation attempted to order the world into a discourse of progress evidenced by the material residue of history, now effectively has broken the bounds of the institution and has started to inhabit public space. Hetherington (1996) suggests in his work on Stonehenge as a museum without walls that the site of this important monument has become a heterotopia—a site used in many different ways by various social groups with both a legitimate usage and a variety of alternative readings. Thus, the site has become an open museum space, outside the constraints of the institution.

The spatial trajectory in Malraux's account is one of ever more openness, from the private ownership of works of art, to private collections, to semi-public collections, to collections open to the public, to the final spilling out of cultural works into a generalized public over which the gatekeepers of the museum have less and less control (Hetherington, 1996, p. 155).

This spilling out of culture into the public domain can be seen in the light of the postmodern aestheticization of the urban experience (Featherstone, 1991) or the heritagization of our daily life (Walsh, 1992). The dawn of the social history and community arts movements in the 1970s created a society of cultural consumers who are keen not only to appropriate the grand stories of monarchy, church, and state but also to interact with the vernacular and the quotidien (McLean, 1997; Urry, 1990). Thus, Malraux's trajectory of the ever-increasing openness of the museum idiom suggests increased access to the hidden arts and cultures of minority groups not normally represented through the classical museum experience.

It has been suggested that the antecedents of the social history approach to heritage presentation are the folk parks and living museums of the 19th century that first began in Skansen near Stockholm (Hudson, 1987). Later attempts to create living heritage folk parks have been made in Indonesia, China, Ireland, and Scotland (Hitchcock, Stanley, & King Chiung, 1997). Commercially successful representations of past communities can be found at Wigan Pier, Beamish, County Durham, the Ironbridge Gorge in Telford, Jorvik in York, and the Albert Docks in Liverpool. But these representations, although purporting to demonstrate the social history of areas, have been criticized for the way in which they present an unquestioning approach to history. They are privatized heritage spaces attempting to be real but, as has been suggested, Beamish only looks real when it is being used as a film location (Hewison, 1987) and the Albert Docks are silent on issues such as the relationship between the city and its history of slavery (Agyeman, 1993; Walsh, 1992).

Despite the fact that cultural quarters, on the other hand, represent living cultures in residential areas, criticism of the presentation of cultural quarters has some concurrence with that of museums and the heritage industry. Dodd (1991, p. 29), for example, argues that museums have traditionally tended to dwell on a master narrative that necessarily excludes marginal and minority history—a seamless and unproblematical view of the world. There is little opportunity to stop and ask questions or consider alternative narratives or discourses. Historic theme parks, which make impressive use of new media to stimulate travel in space and time, allow even less time to question. A well-known example is Jorvik's 12-minute electric trolley ride (Hewison, 1987). The contemporary heritage consumer is confronted with a total heritage experience with sights, sounds, and even smells from the past recreated in the present.

It can also be argued that the very nature of heritage itself is disenfranchising and one-dimensional as Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) suggest in their work on dissonant heritage. The existence of heritage or inheritance also implies a disinheritance, and this may be on a trivial scale or damagingly widespread. If heritage has political and economic uses, then those cultures that do not contribute to the master narrative—the heritage message—"may be discounted, marginalised, distorted or ignored" (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996, p. 29). The Cultural Quarters project aims to address these issues by allowing the hidden histories and alternative cultures to come to the fore; for example, the London Cultural Heritage Centre and the Hidden Art projects will tell a story very different to that retold on the guided tour buses of central London.

The heritage trail is a popular means of interpreting urban culture and is perhaps another way in

which the museum idiom is imposed upon public space by the linking of places and sites of cultural interest and the interpretation of them by means of signs or literature. This phenomenon can be seen as another example of the master narrative of the museum, as visitors follow a predetermined route such as that literally marked onto the streets in the city of Boston. Bennett (1995) describes the organized tour through the classical museum in these terms: the role of the museum was that of backteller or detective, sorting out past clues to form an authoritative story of what happened—in this case the trajectory of progress.

> The museum as "backteller" . . . thus functioned and was experienced as a form of organised walking through evolutionary time. (Bennett, 1995, p. 186)

It has been argued that the authority and the selectivity of the heritage narrative or trail precludes any real investigation or questioning of social or historical issues as visitors are set on a prescribed route designed to convey a particular story or place image (Walsh, 1992). But away from the watchful eyes of the museum attendant and the ordering space of the museum building, the playful posttourist (Feifer, 1985; Urry, 1990) may perhaps sabotage the heritage trail, dipping in and out of the heritage experience in order to stop and compare with contemporary culture and issues. The low-key approach to the Clerkenwell Trail, for example, with discreet signs and a suggested route map illustrated by a local artist encourages this more flexible approach. Marginal places are traversed in order to access the highlighted heritage attractions, providing a valuable contemporary context within which to consider alternative histories. Other examples of heritage trails that take this more inclusive approach are described by Silbergh et al. (1994, p. 134), who outline the "Looking at Houses Trail" in Aberdeen, which includes rundown council housing in tandem with the city's more obviously attractive Georgian and Victorian villas. The authors also note that similar projects have been successful in places such as Harlem and Soweto.

As an urban regeneration project, the City Fringe Partnership aims to encourage visitor spending in local eating and drinking establishments, shops, markets, attractions, and facilities. Heritage developments that effectively privatize public space do not allow the economic impacts of cultural tourism to benefit the local community, and the heritage critique often emphasizes this commodification, as Hewison's (1987) *The Heritage Industry* amply demonstrates. Commentators have noted the link between commerce and culture in the postmodern city, in particular the links between theme parks, shopping malls, and museums (Featherstone, 1991; Schouten, 1995). McLean (1997, p. 26) has suggested that the public are consuming museum experiences daily in various museums without walls, with "shops, factories, and pubs becoming more like museums; either becoming museums themselves, or being museumified." In this context of commodification, it is significant, therefore, that initiatives such as the Cultural Quarters Project have recognized the importance of local cultural industries and the active participation of local artists and cultural representatives in the regeneration of the City Fringe.

Conclusion: Creativity and Conflict

The case study illustrates the pivotal role that consumption of heritage and the arts is now expected to play in the process of urban regeneration, through the development of what is loosely termed cultural tourism. London's City Fringe Partnership has an ambitious program that emphasizes not only the revitalization of the area itself, but its potential contribution to "the strength of London as a whole—Inner City Action with a World City Focus." However, if the area is to appeal as a destination for high-yield/low-impact visitors from the UK and overseas, the Fringe must overcome the negative aspects of its guidebook image. Notwithstanding the efforts of local tourism agencies to communicate its attractions to the desired target markets, long-standing stereotyped place-myths persist. In general, where the area appears at all on the tourist map, its representation remains fragmented, distorted, contradictory, and thus bewildering to the prospective visitor.

Like its counterparts in other large cosmopolitan cities, the special character of the area derives less from its buildings and public spaces, few of which are impressive in themselves, than from the past and present communities of immigrants and their contribution to the cultural life of the city over many centuries. As Landry and Bianchini (1995) comment:

> Settled immigrants are outsiders and insiders at the same time. Because of their backgrounds they have different ways of looking at problems and different priorities. They can give a creative impulse to a city. (p. 28)

The significant cultural legacy of the area's former inhabitants is, however, far from obvious to the casual observer. In most cases, the architecture and other historic features of the built environment leave few clues, and most of the area's heritage attractions are housed in places to which the general public has limited or no access. Likewise, much of the creativity of the present generation of producers and service providers is often hidden from view. If the recently designated cultural quarters are to fulfill their aims, the Fringe must become more legible and accessible to the visitor. In recent times, heritage plaques have commemorated people and events that have importance, for example, to the history of the former Jewish population. There are also signs, including an urban history trail, and the proposed Cultural Heritage Centre will provide an important centerpiece.

The development of a visitor economy that presents and interprets the cultural diversity of an area's current inhabitants requires an approach to place-marketing that originates from the host communities themselves: local residents, artists, craftspeople, and other businesses. The approach must also develop the capacity to appeal to a wide range of interests among the visitors themselves. In the case study area, there are now festivals that feature the performing arts of the black and Asian communities and that are promoted widely, attracting large, racially mixed audiences, while another allows local artists and designers to open their studios and sell their work direct to the public. In accordance with the aims of the Partnership, such initiatives and the associated expenditure by visitors have boosted commercial activity in the locality, justified improvements to the urban landscape, and helped to create a new confidence in the future for the disadvantaged neighborhoods.

With the new public policy agenda set by the New Labour government (1997), development-led models of urban regeneration have been discredited in favor of partnership structures with strategic collaboration between the public, private, and voluntary sectors working with local communities, and there is a strong emphasis on action to tackle social exclusion, especially in the designated New Deal areas. Nevertheless, as in most large cities, the core–periphery relationship between a central business district and surrounding inner urban neighborhoods is deeply entrenched. In this case, the marginal status of London's City Fringe has been expressed for many centuries in the cultural as well as the economic and political domination of the center: the financial core of the City of London.

An optimistic scenario is that the creativity of its residents and small businesses will be released to enhance a developing visitor economy that celebrates multiculturalism and provides the essential catalyst for an urban renaissance. In practice, however, it may not be easy to improve the area's image to would-be investors and visitors without destroying the area's special identity. It may also prove difficult to conserve the urban landscape without its historic cultural quarters ossifying into museum-like enclaves. The more pessimistic outlook is that rising property values will squeeze out established residents and small businesses, and local communities will lose ownership of public spaces and facilities, heightening tension between insiders and outsiders: conflict rather than creativity.

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Multicultural heritage and urban regeneration in London's City Fringe

Stephen J. SHAW

Summary

Leisure and tourism-led regeneration is regarded as something of a panacea to cure the ills of inner city neighbourhoods that are rich in cultural heritage, but poor in terms of the disadvantage and social exclusion of their residents. The paper critically examines an initiative to address these problems in an area of inner London where urban authorities have worked in partnership with private sector interests and community organisations 'to alleviate the economic deprivation and physical dilapidation evident in areas immediately surrounding the City'. It explores the scope for imaginative interpretation of the 'hidden' history of multiculturalism in European cities, through active involvement of artists and local residents in the process of conservation, animation and promotion of built heritage.

Introduction

This paper will discuss the little-known multicultural heritage of disadvantaged inner urban areas and their 'discovery' as new destinations for leisure and tourism. Over several centuries, certain districts of large European cities have accommodated successive waves of migrants, refugees and exiles, many escaping poverty or persecution in their previous homelands. Other diaspora are products of the colonial history of former imperial powers (HENRY, 2002). Known to their host societies as Little Italies, Little Polands, Latin Quarters, Arab Quarters, Jewish Quarters, Chinatowns, Punjabitowns and so on, cultural or ethnic enclaves establish themselves in particular neighbourhoods. In many cases, after a few generations, their inhabitants move on, leaving their imprint on the urban landscape and street names (TAYLOR, 2000). Nevertheless, new immigrants generally take their place, adapting the historic built environment to their own needs with limited resources. Thus, the locality retains its function and identity as a low-rent multicultural district.

Within such areas, there are often large groups of buildings deemed worthy of conservation because of their architectural or historic value, but many are derelict or poorly maintained. Public spaces, community facilities and infrastructure tend to be worn-out and neglected, since the local tax base is low. Older housing and premises for small businesses have a backlog of repairs. It is hard for owners to upgrade them to modern standards, and sensitive restoration of heritage buildings is seldom a priority. Dirt, shabbiness and neglect pervade the scene; the overall effect is depressing. A poor environment, however historic it might be, thus compounds the problems of local residents who may, with some justification, feel marginalised from nearby, wealthier parts of their city. Throughout Europe, the inhabitants of such areas have experienced attitudes that have swung, at various times, from toleration and peaceful co-existence to overt racism and violence.

In comparatively recent times, some historic multicultural areas, especially those adjacent to Central Business Districts, have become significant attractions for visitors who come to enjoy ethnic cuisine, to shop in local markets, stroll and absorb their distinctive ambience (ORBASLI, 2000). In general, urban authorities have encouraged this development, as expenditure by tourists is assumed to create wealth and help regenerate the local economy. Employment in new, clean service industries is expected to compensate for the loss of established manufacturing and distributive trades associated with the inner city. Public funding may be invested in the streetscape to make such neighbourhoods feel safe, accessible and visually appealing to visitors, including international tourists. Expressions of cultural heritage and identity in the built environment, along with markets, festivals and other events are presented and promoted as exotic spectacles (AITCHISON, 2002).

The 'hidden' history beyond London's city wall

Over many centuries, the identity of the 'City Fringe' area outside London's Roman/mediaeval wall has been shaped by its symbiotic, if unequal relationship with the centre that is now the 'Square Mile': one of the world's top financial centres (SHAW, 2000). The 'liberties' beyond the City precincts thus developed as a refuge for excluded social groups and activities. Although their skills were badly needed from the fourteenth century, many of their trades were illegal within the City, with its restrictive guild system. Examples included brewing, dyeing, tanning and cloth making carried out by artisans from Flanders and Germany. In the seventeenth century, Sephardic Jews from Spain and Portugal came as moneylenders and merchants, as did Protestant Huguenots from France, with their special skills as silk weavers

Figure 1. Clerkenwell Green's built heritage includes the Karl Marx Memorial Library.

and fine instrument makers. In the nineteenth century, Irish migrants escaping poverty and famine arrived, followed by large numbers of poor Jews from Poland and Russia, many of whom found work in the 'rag' or clothing trade.

By the early twentieth century, a wide range of manufacturing industries – many with poor working conditions – were located in the Fringe because of its pool of cheap labour as well as London's huge market, port and railways. Although some pockets remain, the 1970's saw their rapid decline. During this time, the Jewish population moved away, but new immigrants took their place, acquiring their small businesses, especially workshops, market stalls, shops and restaurants. Spitalfields in the east of the district now has the largest Bangladeshi community in the UK, and a growing Somali population. With the declining population base, however, these and other groups have experienced the highest unemployment rates in London. Their poverty is compounded by poor housing stock, run down infrastructure and poor facilities. Unfortunately, they have also suffered harassment and violent attacks by race-hate groups, most recently a nail bomb explosion in Brick Lane in 1999.

During the 1980's and 1990's, spectacular growth of financial services in the Square Mile led to redevelopment along the borders of the Fringe for office use. Community and heritage groups opposed threats to familiar landmarks such as Spitalfields Market and conflicts with developers continue to this day. Furthermore, Georgian Huguenot weavers' houses that were previously regarded as 'slum dwellings', along with Victorian warehouses converted into Manhatten-style 'loft' apartments, attracted wealthy new occupants. Clusters of graphic design, media and other services for the Square Mile also moved into refurbished heritage buildings. These, in turn, began to support a lively collection of bars, cafes and restaurants: a nascent visitor economy. On the one hand, the influx of new businesses and affluent newcomers led to better care of the historic built environment, and new uses for derelict property. On the other hand, the local authorities were concerned that rising values would displace low-income communities. Furthermore, few local people found jobs in the new service industries and unemployment among the 30,000 Fringe residents remained high at 22%. Small enclaves of prosperity thus emerged in a sea of poverty.

By mid 1990's, it had become clear that a strategic approach was needed to make links between functional departments of public services and across administrative boundaries. In 1996, the City Fringe Partnership (CFP) was set up to tackle inner city problems through a co-ordinated programme, led by the Corporation of London with three other local authorities, public, private and voluntary sector agencies. CFP rightly acknowledged that these problems were not endemic to the area and should not be treated in isolation from future development of London, and its relationship with the global economy. CFP's initiatives through to 2000 included investment in 'gateways' linking the Square Mile and the inner city as well as training and skills development to enable small businesses to become more competitive, especially through Information and Communications Technology. These were complemented by a 'Cultural Quarters' programme, and consultants were commissioned to identify areas where visitors would be encouraged and where improvements would be carried out to enhance accessibility and appearance.

Cultural heritage and arts-led regeneration?

The study concluded that the most promising target markets were business people entertaining clients at lunchtime and in the evenings, as well as domestic

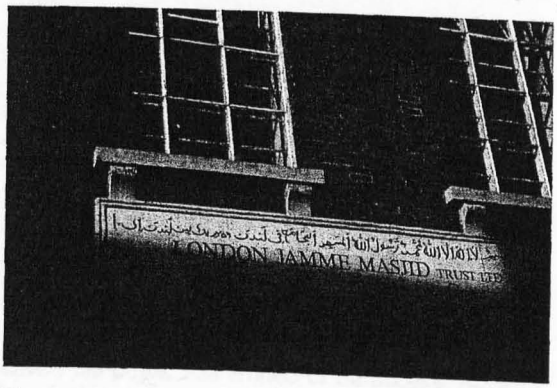

Figure 2. Brick Lane's 18th century Hugenot church became a synagogue and is now a mosque.

and international tourists seeking a satisfying alternative to the mainstream attractions of central London. It identified three areas – Clerkenwell, Hoxton/ Shoreditch and Spitalfields – where there were significant clusters of cultural facilities and organisations. These were designated as Cultural Quarters. However, as the consultants pointed out, only half of their 'attractions' were open to the general public or visible to the public gaze, as many were small-scale museums, galleries, libraries and archives for local or specialist audiences. In Clerkenwell, for example, these included the Karl Marx Memorial Library, the Society of Genealogists, and the London Metropolitan Archives. In the area as a whole, there were over 250 studios of artists, designers and craftspeople, many of which had potential to attract visitors by participating in exhibitions and craft fairs. Since the late 1990's, their appeal has been well demonstrated through an annual event known as 'Hidden Art of the City Fringe', where artwork and crafts are exhibited and sold direct to the public.

The real distances between the City and the Fringe are short, mostly within thirty minutes walk, but the psychological distances seem much greater. Until the mid 1990's, signposting was inadequate, and there was a general air of neglect that was not conducive to a casual stroll. The CFP thus addressed the issue of accessibility and security. Personal safety after dark was improved by better street and floodlighting, safe pedestrian routes and signage linking the Cultural Quarters with 'gateway' underground stations and bus stops. In Clerkenwell, to the west of the area, a local history society initiated a pedestrian route modelled on the Boston Freedom Trail with plaques, banners and a mapguide designed by a local artist. In Spitalfields, investment in the public realm has focussed on the famous street markets and the imagery of 'Banglatown' is affirmed in the design of street lamps and other amenities. Local restaurants

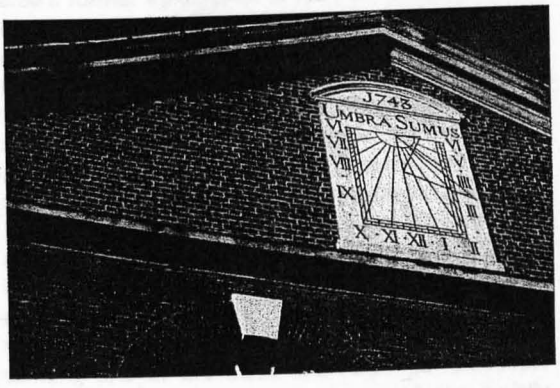

Figure 3. As fig. 2. another detail of the mosque.

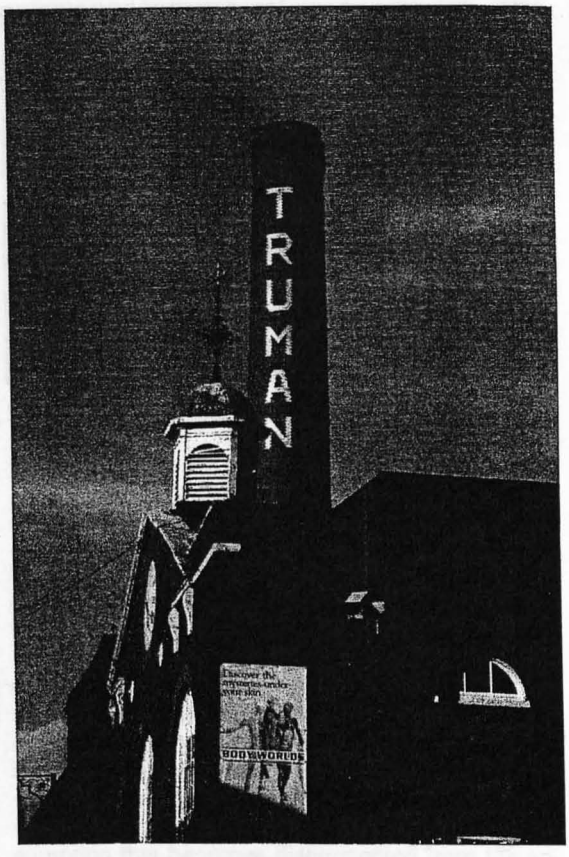

Figure 4. Brick Lane's historic brewery now accommodates designer studios and two night-clubs.

are encouraged to refurbish their frontages with grant aid. There are also proposals to restore a number of vacant historic buildings and a new 'London Cultural Heritage Centre' will be a flagship attraction to encourage 'a sense of pride amongst the community and promote an image of London as an exciting and vibrant multicultural city' (LB TOWER HAMLETS, 1996).

All this highlights the pivotal role that interpretation of heritage and the arts is now expected to play in the process of regeneration. The CFP initiative was established with ambitious aims concerned not only with revitalisation of the area itself, but with its potential contribution to 'the strength of London as a whole – Inner City Action with a World City Focus'. As yet, however, the significant cultural legacy of the locality's immigrant communities over the past four hundred years is hard to 'read', and many of its historic and artistic attractions are housed in places to which the public has limited or no access. Notwithstanding the efforts of local tourism and regeneration agencies to communicate its attractions to target

Figure 5. An old Jewish shop-front in Spitalfields is now restored as a desirable 18th century residence.

Figure 6. Other former Jewish shops are now Bangladeshi restaurants.

markets, long-standing stereotypes and place-myths will take some time to dispel. As yet, where the area appears on the tourist map at all, its representation in mainstream 'guidebook' tourism remains fragmented and off-putting to the prospective visitor. For example, *The Rough Guide* (HUMPHREYS, 2001) refers to the generic East End in the following terms:

'The name is synonymous with slums, sweatshops and crime, as epitomised by anti-heroes such as Jack the Ripper and the Kray Twins, but also with the rags-to-riches careers of the likes of Harold Pinter and Vidal Sassoon, and whole generations of Jews who were born in the most notorious of London's cholera-ridden quarters and have now moved on to wealthier pastures'.

Conclusion

The case study illustrates some important issues for urban authorities throughout Europe that see tourism as a catalyst for regeneration in multicultural neighbourhoods. The significant cultural legacy of the area's former inhabitants is far from obvious to the casual observer: the architecture and other features of the built environment offer few clues. Likewise, the creative activities of current inhabitants are, for the most part, hidden from view. The development of an emerging visitor economy thus requires an approach to place-marketing and interpretation that respects the rich and complex histories of former inhabitants, and at the same time draws strength from active involvement of the present-day population of local residents, artists, craftspeople, their small businesses and community organisations. In this case, there is now a series of festivals featuring the performing arts of the black and Asian communities. These are widely promoted and attract large, racially mixed audiences.

There are, however, justifiable concerns that, formulaic place-marketing models imposed by external agencies may reinforce rather than challenge cultural stereotypes, misrepresenting the internal diversity of place identities that are seldom simple, preserving as museum pieces situations that are seldom static. The one-way traffic and attention of visitors may become intrusive, disturbing the rhythm of people's everyday activities and adversely affecting their local environment. Ironically, the self-conscious designation and sign-posting of cultural pluralism may foster a homogenous culture of consumption that becomes disconnected from the social life of local population. In time, the 'success' of such programmes – in terms of economic and physical regeneration – may displace established residents and businesses, leaving isolated visitor-oriented enclaves contrasting sharply with the poverty of adjacent inner city areas.

A more optimistic scenario is that, through a well-regulated, planning framework informed by the participation of local communities, emerging visitor economies may stimulate wealth creation that benefits ethnic minority residents and businesses without displacing them. Public policy must address the spatial manifestations of social exclusion, whilst facilitating at new uses for old buildings that will finance sensitive refurbishment. The will to establish an attractive showpiece for urban tourism may provide the rationale to upgrade the public realm of the streetscape and amenities that can be enjoyed by local residents as well as visitors. The designation of such areas as cultural quarters serves to emphasise and to celebrate the present-day as well as historic contribution of immigrant communities to the creative life of European cities. The process will thus raise 'local pride' in areas where low self-esteem has long been reinforced by the negative perceptions of outsiders.

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Urban Studies, Vol. 41, No. 10, 1983–2000, September 2004

Carfax Publishing
Taylor & Francis Group

Ethnoscapes as Spectacle: Reimaging Multicultural Districts as New Destinations for Leisure and Tourism Consumption

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[Paper first received, January 2003; in final form, May 2004]

Summary. Neo-liberalism may intensify competition, not only between, but also within cities, as local authorities collaborate with commercial and third-sector organisations to nurture emerging visitor economies. This article considers reimaging strategies that trade upon features of the place-product that include ethnic cuisine, street markets and festivals, set against the backdrop of an exoticised urban landscape. Through longitudinal case studies of two multicultural districts in east London, the authors examine the public policy rationale for their selection and redefinition as new destinations for leisure and tourism, identifying the key agents of change and the range of techniques used to market ethnic and cultural difference. This leads to a critical discussion of the issues arising for urban governance and the reconciliation of their role as social and commercial hubs for minority groups, with the accommodation of high-spending leisure consumers from the dominant culture and, in some cases, international tourists.

Introduction

Over the past decade or so, disadvantaged, multicultural districts of cities in the UK and elsewhere in Europe have been selected, developed and marketed as new destinations for leisure and tourism. Gritty and characterful areas, usually on the fringe of city centres, are made accessible, safe and visually appealing to visitors who are considerably more affluent than the local population. Expressions of multiculturalism in the built environment, along with markets, festivals and other events in public spaces, are presented as picturesque back-drops for consumption. Streets and neighbourhoods, whose very names once signified the poverty of marginalised communities, are repositioned to attract people with sophisticated, cosmopolitan tastes. An emerging visitor economy can thus provide an essential catalyst: a model of market-led regeneration that draws from theory and practice in North America. Opinion is, however, deeply divided over the appropriateness of marketing such areas to high-spending visitors and there is uncertainty as to how the longer-term issues and problems should be addressed. This paper will critically examine the contributions of theorists and practitioners to this debate.

It will consider, in particular, the signifiers of ethnic or cultural difference that have been inscribed into urban landscapes. Not only do these 'texts' communicate meaning between people of a particular minority group; they are also gazed upon by visitors who seek out

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0042-0980 Print/1360-063X On-line/04/101983–18 © 2004 The Editors of Urban Studies
DOI: 10.1080/0042098042000256341

goods and services that they value as exotic. As with tourism in less developed countries, the responses of local entrepreneurs to the varied demands of visitors to multicultural districts may produce dissonant landscapes of multiple realities and contested meanings (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996; Aitchison *et al.*, 2002). The following section will investigate the processes through which such places are 're-constructed', both physically and socially. This leads to a critical assessment of the mediating role of urban authorities and regeneration agencies that use themes of ethnic or cultural identity to add value to the 'place-product' in commercial exchange with visitors. Such aestheticisation and promotion of inner-city streets as exotic landscapes of consumption is then discussed with reference to case studies of two multicultural districts in east London, neither of which had seemed likely candidates for leisure and tourism-led regeneration until the 1990s.

Ethnoscapes and the Entrepreneurial City

Accommodating the Majority Culture

Landry and Bianchini (1995, p. 28) highlight the special contribution of settled immigrants to the creative as well as economic life of cities: outsiders and insiders at the same time, they have different ways of looking at problems and different priorities. Historically, Jewish entrepreneurs reinvigorated areas of Amsterdam, Antwerp and Vienna, while more recently, their Asian counterparts established thriving evening and weekend economies in UK cities, serving diverse markets while maintaining a separate identity. In cities that are receptors of increasingly volatile cultural flows, people adapt, as well as adapt to their new-found urban environments, constructing what Appadurai (1997, p. 33) terms 'ethnoscapes': landscapes of those who "constitute the shifting world in which we live". Where property rights and planning regulations allow, they may recreate the architecture of former homelands with a marked emphasis on correct design and execution, most notably in their places of worship. Conversely, through 'ethnic' restaurants oriented to Western tastes, they may, in Valene Smith's (1989) terminology, play host to customers from 'host' societies, exploiting familiar if not clichéd images. Far more than a nourishing meal, they may offer total immersion in vicarious travel: "an effortless voyage into some distant enchantments" (Zelinski, 1985, p. 54).

Such fabrication of exotica may expand from the interior world of restaurants into the street. In her seminal study of Vancouver's 'Little Orient', Anderson (1995) uses a 'jeweller's eye view' to expose the workings of a powerful and protean cultural hegemony by European settlers in the New World. From the city's foundation in the 1870s and for over half a century, Chinatown was mythologised by European migrants as a place of sinful and sinister activities. By the mid 1930s, however, its shops and restaurants were accommodating trade from non-Chinese customers and deliberately accentuating the romance of Old Cathay through lanterns, dragons, pagodas and neon signs. Hitherto, such festive decorations had not been features of the street scene. In European cities, tourism-oriented Chinatowns are now as firmly established as their counterparts in North America. Places associated with other minorities, such as North Africans in French and Belgian cities, have attracted tourists less easily but, as Featherstone (1991, pp. 96–97) observes, some visitors are particularly drawn to 'low life places' as alternatives to more traditional forms of high cultural consumption such as museums and galleries. In West Berlin, after the wall was erected in 1961, the low-rent district of Kreuzberg became home to *Gastarbeiter* who migrated from Turkey and Yugoslavia to meet shortages of labour, as well as artists and young men from elsewhere in Germany avoiding conscription. By the 1990s, however, the area once associated with foreigners and dissenting radicals had entered mainstream guidebook culture as a 'bohemian quarter' of the new federal capital.

Everyday places and features of multicultural districts may thus be transformed into

objects of place-consumption, but there is considerable variation in the aesthetic prejudices and predilections of those who gaze upon them. In his influential historical analysis of the East in the European imagination, Said observed that

> Americans will not feel quite the same about the Orient, which for them is much more likely to be associated very differently with the Far East (China and Japan, mainly) (Said, 1978, p. 1).

Long after independence, Arabia and Indo-China have particular significance for French imagery of the exotic, Indonesia for the Dutch, India for the British—for, not only were they the domain of 'their' oldest and richest colonies, they defined the very notion of Europe as a contrasting image. In the second half of the 20th century, immigration from former colonies conferred the reality as well as the myths of post-imperialism to some European cities. Henry *et al.* (2002) describe a globalisation from below that brought imperial frontiers into the heart of Birmingham and other cities in the UK, reactivating discourses of Empire. To *Daily Telegraph* readers in the early 1980s, young White gentrifiers were 'colonisers', restoring civic pride to inner-city areas (Burgess, 1985), while Asian shops and restaurants could package romantic images of the British Raj in a racialised construct tuned to multicultural consumerism (Jacobs, 1996).

Post-imperial sentiment may thus play a part in the reimaging of some urban landscapes, but there is evidence that the gaze of place-consumers is becoming more diverse, complex and discerning (Aitchison *et al.*, 2002). Some forms of urban tourism have an educative dimension, some a social conscience. Recent studies have—for example, emphasised the discerning tastes of cultural omnivores for whom an appreciation of contemporary ethnic cuisine is regarded as a marker of distinction (Warde, 1995; Taylor, 2000). Far from seeking the reassurance of food adapted to European taste, they pursue 'authentic' food experiences as cultural capital. Rotterdam's 'City Safari' initiative encourages visitors to make their way on foot, by bicycle or public transport to deprived multicultural districts. Biles (2001) reports that itineraries are arranged to over 250 addresses that include a centre for asylum-seekers, a *halal* butcher, temples and mosques. The self-guided tours are designed to challenge people's preconceptions of the everyday lives of recent migrants to the Netherlands, and make a modest contribution to the local economy. Although the object of their quest is in the European inner city, the motivation of the participants has much in common with 'ethnic tourists' and their search for the "ethnically exotic in as untouched, pristine, authentic form" as can be found (van den Berghe, 1994; quoted in Hitchcock, 1999, p. 17).

In their discussion of the spatial consequences of 'urban ethnic encounters', Erdentug and Colombijn (2002, pp. 10–11) adapt Barth's (1994) three-level geographical hierarchy to investigate spatial expressions of the boundaries of ethnic difference. With reference to their analytical framework, the main focus of this paper is upon the 'meso level' of multicultural districts and how such areas are delineated on the tourist map. An understanding of the processes through which territorial boundaries are negotiated will also require reference to the 'macro level' of urban governance; for, the public policy framework of city planning, regeneration, place-marketing and other functions may constrain, enable or encourage expressions of ethnic difference in the built environment. Furthermore, the 'bird's eye view' should be counter-balanced and complemented by reference to the 'micro level' of bounded space. It is therefore necessary to consider the fine grain of buildings, streets, squares, parks and market-places, and the ramifications for ethnic minority residents, especially their use (or non-use) of private and public spaces within their immediate neighbourhood. In the context of this paper, the micro level will refer to their interaction with visitors and the economy that services visitor requirements, where ethnic and cultural difference features as a key element of the place-product.

Trading on Ethnic and Cultural Difference

The role of migrant communities as prime movers in the regeneration of areas where they have settled has a particular appeal from advocates of neo-liberalism. In his influential article in *Harvard Business Review*, Michael Porter (1995, p. 57) argues that inner-city authorities seeking to reduce dependence on government aid and welfare payments should capitalise on their strategic advantages. Thus, his locational principles previously outlined in *The Competitive Advantage of Nations* (Porter, 1990) are "just as relevant to smaller areas such as the inner city". Using illustrations drawn exclusively from North America, he recommends that public intervention should work in harmony with market forces and build upon the true competitive strengths of firms in inner-city areas. These include, in particular, proximity to downtowns, entertainment and tourist attractions, as well as the entrepreneurial talent and low-cost labour to be found within migrant communities. Kotler *et al.* (1993, p. 78) also use examples from the US to commend a new maturity in place-marketing that emerged in the 1990s, as enlightened city governments eschewed crude civic boosterism in favour of 'strategic image management' and competitive *niche* thinking. Rather than compete with other places on an undifferentiated 'me too' basis, such cities use strategic foresight to define their sustainable competitive advantage. Within large cities, districts where older industries are in decline can likewise cultivate *niche* products that create value for target audiences such as tourists and tourism investors.

As illustrated in the case studies below, some inner-city authorities in the UK have adopted versions of this model, exploiting their nearness to city centres and tourist honeypots, as well as the entrepreneurial talent of ethnic minority firms that respond to the growing demand for food, entertainment and other exoticised products. Nevertheless, critics on both sides of the Atlantic construe a darker side of leisure and tourism-led regeneration. Through reimaging of places as landscapes of consumption, such space 'transactions' may lead to displacement of established low-rent residents and small businesses (Zukin, 1991, 1999). Judd is also critical of Disneyfied 'Latin Quarters' and festivals associated with them, as "islands of pure consumption" for visitors who are wealthier than the local population: "when this is the case, tourist bubbles are more likely to contribute to racial, ethnic and class tensions than to an impulse towards local community" (Judd, 1999, p. 53). The development of urban tourism may lead to deepening alienation of those among the local population who are expected to service the visitors and play the role of resident actors to animate the scene (Shaw and MacLeod, 2000).

As Orbasli (2000) argues, in general local authorities have tended to *react* to the consequences of leisure and tourism, rather than establish workable objectives for sustainable community-based development to integrate the form and function of streetscapes and public spaces. In Granada, centre of Moorish rule in Spain until the 15th century, a large Muslim population still lives in the picturesque but poor historical district of Albaicin. For its close-knit communities, the area represents "a meaning apparent in neighbourly gatherings on summer evenings" and "lively fiestas" (Orbasli, 2000, p. 34). In 1989, a Conservation Area Plan was formulated for Grenada. However, the plan was unable to attract financial assistance, and heritage interests targeted resources, not on improving living conditions for residents, but on projects with tourism potential, such as preservation of the city walls. Over several decades, the condition of many residential buildings in the Albaicin Quarter had fallen into disrepair, as few of its low-income residents could afford even basic maintenance. Out-migration had relieved overcrowding, but had also led to abandonment and dereliction. From the early 1990s, the Albaicin began to change as wealthy newcomers acquired and converted property into fashionable holiday homes. Although this has enabled historical buildings to be restored in

conformity with 'traditional styles', the district's social mix has been profoundly transformed. And, through the influx of day visitors from the coastal resorts of Andalucia, its characteristic Islamic identity has been eroded; the routines of its established residents disturbed by visitors attracted to its romantic Otherness.

The inability of municipalities to regulate and guide the sustainable growth of urban tourism is equally apparent in post-communist central and eastern Europe (Ashworth, 1996; Hall, 2002). In Cracow, Poland, the World Heritage site of Kazimierz reflects the respective traditions of the Christian and Jewish communities that cohabited the district from the 14th century (Bogdanowski, 1985). At the beginning of the Second World War, the Jewish population of Cracow had been 63 000 (about a quarter of the city's inhabitants), with a high proportion living in Kazimierz, but tragically nearly all became victims of the Nazi genocide (Duda, 1991). During the communist era, the district lost much of its former identity. Although it remained one of the most densely populated districts of Cracow, much of its housing was rented to the city's poorest citizens, the buildings severely neglected by landlords who had little incentive to carry out repairs. With the demise of communism, there was considerable optimism concerning the 'virtues of tourism' and its ability to generate income and wealth in disadvantaged areas (see Paszucha, 1995) and Kazimierz became the subject of a European Union-funded regeneration strategy during 1993/94–2003/04. The Action Plan promised to revitalise this run-down but potentially attractive quarter through a balanced mix of residential, commercial and visitor uses to restore its distinctive cultural duality. In practice, however, hardly any of the strategy's recommendations have been implemented and market forces have displaced many of the former low-rent residents and craft industries (KIN, 2000).

Restoration of built heritage has been highly selective, focusing primarily on flagship sites in the streets now sign-posted to visitors as the 'Old Jewish Quarter'. These include a former 19th century prayerhouse, restored to provide a centre for Jewish culture with substantial finance from the US Congress, as well as from the municipality, province and Polish Ministry of Culture. There are also major festivals that celebrate Jewish traditions and which draw large international audiences. However, the most notable and unexpected agent of change was tourism inspired by cinema, as the area around Szeroka Street featured prominently in Spielberg's (1993) film *Schindler's List.* The place has thus attained celebrity status; a destination readily included in itineraries of Poland, especially those targeted at tourists from western Europe, Israel and North America. From the mid 1990s, some buildings in this part of Kazimierz found new commercial uses as 'Jewish-*style*' cafés, restaurants and hotels. Although prominently displaying signs in Hebrew and offering traditional food and musical entertainment, nearly all are managed and staffed by Polish Catholics. The district has also become highly attractive as a residential location for the city's rising middle class of young professionals and business people, with a proliferation of bars, nightclubs, contemporary arts and music venues, its somewhat studied theatricality juxtaposed with memorials to the Holocaust.

Place-consumption and Cultural Identity in Inner London

Place-marketing and the UK Context

There are, indeed, some fundamental difficulties with transplanting place-marketing philosophies and techniques from North America, with its long history of interurban and intraurban rivalry to attract settlers, investors and developers (Shaw, 2004). As Ward (1998, p. 234) stresses, post-industrial city marketing is "essentially an American invention", deeply rooted in a political agenda that eschews big government. In most countries in western Europe, as well as those in post-communist central and eastern Eu-

rope, the assumption that cities must compete in a 'market' sits uneasily with their more interventionist and hierarchical macro level structures for urban governance (Ashworth and Voogt 1994). Promotion by cities such as Lille, Rotterdam and Liège, and districts within them, take place in a far more co-ordinated, top–down framework, negotiated by cities with regional and national authorities. Municipalities in the UK also operate within a much tighter legal and fiscal system than those in the US, but in the wake of dramatic reductions in grants to local authorities, the Conservative government 1979–97 injected a spirit of urban entrepreneurship that, according to the rhetoric, would replace welfare dependency. Along with heightened competition for inward investment, skilled knowledge workers and tourism, it encouraged urban authorities to compete with one another for government funding to support regeneration programmes.

After the 1987 election and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's statement that she would "Do something about those inner cities", *Action for Cities* (Cabinet Office, 1988) announced the government's intention to reorient urban policy towards "a permanent climate of enterprise in the inner cities, led by industry and commerce" (quoted in Cullingworth, 2002, p. 298). From 1991 under 'City Challenge', the private sector was expected to play a significant role in competitive bidding for regeneration funding designed to encourage strategic thinking. Building on this approach, the Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) promised more flexible funding arrangements for programmes that could demonstrate a close working relationship between local agents of change in the commercial and voluntary sector to deliver the desired outputs. Colenutt and Cutten (1994, p. 239) characterise this partnership approach as a tool that obliges the actors to engage in consensus politics, silencing opposition in order to secure at least *some* benefits for the area concerned. Potts (2002) comments that in the UK, as in the US, the competitive advantage of 'social cohesion' has been an important catalyst for such collaboration. For cities nurturing an emerging visitor economy, the need to promote their ability to tackle crime and disorder is paramount. Such places must present positive images of themselves to the outside world. However, in doing so, they may well "underplay the social reality that necessitates renewal and regeneration programmes in the first place" (Williams, 2003, p. 24).

In a policy environment that required collaboration to secure competitive advantage, urban authorities in the UK readily adapted place-marketing models derived from North America. Some developed highly successful strategies for image reconstruction: Glasgow (Paddison, 1993), Birmingham (Lutz and Ryan, 1997) and Manchester (Schofield, 1996; Williams, 2003) being notable examples. Some cultivated a vibrant cosmopolitan image by promoting attractions and events that owed their existence to immigrant communities. Urban entrepreneurship could thus be reconciled with multicultural perspectives of social inclusion hitherto more associated with the Left. Urry (1990, p. 144) describes "cultural reinterpretation of racial difference" in Bradford's guide to the *Flavours of Asia* that promoted Asian restaurants and *sari* centres, accompanied by a brief history of Asian religions and immigration to the city. Birmingham's ethnic diversity is also celebrated in its promotion of music, food and drink offered by transnational communities that include Pakistanis, Chinese and Afro-Caribbeans (Henry *et al.*, 2002). Fine cuisine and the creative arts are also key attractions in the SRB-funded renaissance of Ancoats 'urban village'. In this case, the chosen theme is intraEuropean migration, interpreted from a *heritage* perspective, as the original inhabitants of 'Little Italy' have long moved away from this particular district of Manchester (Taylor, 2000).

With the election of the New Labour government in 1997, the SRB funding framework was kept, but the Challenge Fund is now administered through the Regional Development Agencies and is explicitly promoted as an instrument to tackle social exclusion. The overall priority is now to

improve quality of life for local people in areas of need by reducing the gap between deprived and other areas, and between different groups. Partnerships must therefore demonstrate how local communities were involved in working up the bid, what arrangements were in place to ensure they had a say in decisions and how local community projects will be funded (DETR, 1998). However, as Edwards (2003) points out, the definition of 'community' is problematic. On the one hand, guidance for applications suggests that it is a matter for partnerships to decide who or what the local community might be. On the other hand, communities include the "faith-based voluntary sector ... ethnic minorities and local volunteers" (DETR, 1998, p. 5). Whilst acknowledging the government's willingness to address previous criticism that the Challenge Fund favoured the commercial interests of property-led regeneration, North (2003, p. 121) highlights the somewhat tarnished reputation of a bureaucratic process that "emphasises number crunching rather than 'real' results or innovation" and places a particular burden on small, community-based organisations. A further source of concern is that no guidance was given on the relationship between SRB programmes and land use planning (Cullingworth, 2002). What if the vision of an SRB programme conflicts with a statutory development plan, and the wishes of the local 'community' previously expressed in the public participation required for its adoption?

The development of leisure and tourism consumption as a catalyst for the regeneration of inner urban areas has been the subject of a considerable volume of policy rhetoric. However, the longer-term social effects of interventions to stimulate urban visitor economies are poorly understood. As Maitland (2003, p. 49) concluded in his study of emerging cultural tourism destinations in the London Boroughs of Islington and Southwark, "we do not yet know enough about the processes to be confident that we can plan them thoroughly through public policy". The following section investigates area-based development and marketing of difference with reference to two emerging 'cultural quarters' in inner London: Brick Lane as 'Banglatown' in Spitalfields, Tower Hamlets and Green Street in West Ham, Newham. Through these case studies, the authors critically examine

1. the public policy rationale for selection and redefinition of multicultural districts as destinations for leisure and tourism consumption;
2. the key agents of change and range of techniques used to develop a visitor economy and to market ethnic and cultural difference; and
3. the sustainability of regeneration strategies and the issues arising for urban governance.

The authors assess the reimaging of the two areas through longuitudinal case studies from the 'entrepreneurial turn' of urban policy of the late 1980s, heralded by *Action for Cities*. This leads to a more detailed examination of regeneration programmes relating to the period 1997–2002. The approach includes analysis of 'regeneration discourse' articulated in bid applications, policy statements, monitoring and review documents published by SRB-funded partnerships and interviews with key informants, especially senior mangers of partnership agencies, local authority councillors and officers. This is supplemented by observations of the reorientation of urban landscapes towards a visitor economy and consideration of how these changes have been interpreted through media and guidebook coverage.

Brick Lane as 'Banglatown', Spitalfields, LB Tower Hamlets

The Rough Guide to London draws attention to images that still associate themselves with London's East End. The influential guidebook for more adventurous travellers describes a place once regarded as 'the hell of poverty'

Its name is synonymous with slums,

> sweatshops and crime, as epitomised by anti-heroes such as Jack the Ripper and the Kray Twins, but also with the rags-to-riches careers of the likes of Harold Pinter and Vidal Sassoon, and whole generations of Jews who were born in the most notorious of London's cholera-ridden quarters and have now moved to wealthier pastures ... The East End is constantly changing, as newly arrived immigrants assimilate and move out (Humphreys, 2002, p. 265).

In this place-narrative, Brick Lane, Spitalfields—'high street of the ghetto' in an area that was almost 100 per cent Jewish—is now the heart of the city's Bengali community. During the 1970s, it became the 'front line' of defence against violence orchestrated by the National Front and British National Party. Racist attacks have continued intermittently, but today there is little visible evidence of tension along the main thoroughfare. For the visitor who explores Brick Lane on foot, 'Banglatown' offers a remarkable assault on the senses

> The southern half of Brick Lane is the central focus of what is increasingly referred to a 'Banglatown'. Here, bright-coloured sari fabrics line clothes-shop windows, the heavy beat of bhangra music emanates from music shops and passing cars, and the smell of spices wafts from the numerous Bangladeshi cafés and restaurants (Humphreys, 2002, p. 272).

Only a decade ago, however, the very concept of 'Banglatown' stirred deep controversy. In 1989, the would-be developers of high-rise offices on a 27-acre site straddling Brick Lane—Truman's Brewery (Grand Metropolitan) and Bishopsgate Goodsyard (Railtrack)—were mindful of opposition to redevelopment of Spitalfields Market nearby (see Woodward, 1993). An association of Bengali-owned firms formed as the 'Community Development Group' (CDG) announced that they would not oppose redevelopment of the Brick Lane site, which they regarded as an opportunity to secure "maximum community influence" (CDG, 1989, p. 4). With funding from the Prince of Wales' Business in the Community scheme, CDG produced a 'community plan' and unilaterally opened negotiations with the developers for "community benefits" that included a 12-acre 'Banglatown' shopping centre to serve Bengalis and visitors wanting "ethnic food and crafts" (Fainstein, 2001, pp. 144–145). Jacobs (1996, p. 100) highlights the divisiveness of selective engagement of pressure-groups in bargaining for planning gain—for in this case, even within the Bengali population, there was opposition to the development and their Labour representatives on the Council expressed scepticism about the Banglatown idea.

As the property recession of the early 1990s began to bite, the scheme looked less viable, as did CDG's aspirations. Meanwhile, LB Tower Hamlets, with partners that included CDG, successfully bid for a City Challenge grant of £7.2 million to regenerate the Bethnal Green area, including Spitalfields 1992–97. In 1995, the programme team briefly revived 'Banglatown' to promote Brick Lane in a poster campaign on London Underground and supporting leaflets, but press coverage, especially in the *Evening Standard*, was less than favourable and the name was dropped again. Under SRB, which replaced City Challenge, a further bid secured £11.4 million 1997–2002 for regeneration projects to strengthen links with the City and encourage diversification of the local economy, especially leisure and tourism. The vision for what became the 'Cityside' programme would 'pioneer a new model of regeneration'. Its aims (LB Tower Hamlets, 1996, p. 1) were to

1. establish the area as one of the most attractive and accessible business locations in the capital;
2. develop opportunities between the corporate sector and micro and small firms;
3. expand the tourism potential of the area in order to stimulate economic activity, drawing on London's strength as a world city;

4. encourage greater integration of economic development in order both to harmonise and to add value to existing regeneration initiatives; and
5. break stereotypical images of local people by supporting their entry and progression into the corporate sector and related local employment fields.

In 1997, Cityside set up a 'town management' scheme whose remit included events: Bengali New Year, Brick Lane and Curry Festivals. Businesses and residents from the area's diverse 'communities' were represented on the steering group and it was through this more broadly based forum that the Banglatown 'brand' was reintroduced, especially to promote the new festivals. The *Evening Standard* remained unimpressed: "Has no one ever told the council that 'Banglatown' began life as a White-yob insult?" (Barker, 1998), but in general the name became accepted as a neutral place-descriptor as Cityside's Director Andrew Bramidge commented

> There was a lot of sensitivity about 'changing the name of the area', but it was never about renaming Spitalfields—a distinctive locality since medieval times. Rather, it was a marketing tool to get people to come and visit the area ... A minority of people probably did want that—comparing it to Chinatown in the West End—but our view is that this was never an appropriate model. I think that it was quite an effective strategy because today you regularly get references to things happening in Banglatown (personal interview, 7 October 2002).

A key aim of Cityside's vision was "to achieve a quantum leap in the area's status as a visitor/cultural destination" (LB Tower Hamlets, 1996, p. 13). Brick Lane was also identified as a 'Developing Cultural Quarter' by the City Fringe Partnership (SRB-funded 1997–2002). It would thus be promoted to "tourists as well as employees and business visitors, helping to enhance the City's reputation as the premier European business location" (City Corporation, 1996, p. 17). Re-presenting Brick Lane as a cultural quarter would, however, require attention to the main 'gateways' or access points, together with better lighting to improve perceptions of personal safety. Cityside continued work initiated under City Challenge, including refurbishment of pedestrian subways, signage and ornamental gateway arches complemented by new, brighter street lamps, custom-designed to incorporate 'Asian' motifs. Cityside also administered grants for shop and restaurant owners to carry out frontage improvements, with design guidance and a wide range of business support. The vision recognised that the area would need at least one 'must see' attraction

> A Cultural Heritage Centre will provide the area with its missing flagship attraction. It will foster a sense of pride amongst the local community and promote an image of London as an exciting and vibrant multicultural city ... The unique and beautiful listed building in Fashion Street, interconnected with the above, provides almost 100 000 square feet and could provide a major 'bazaar/souk'. This will act as a key motor to the local economy, providing the missing 'ethnic' shopping experience (City Corporation, 1996, p. 14).

These two proposals were soundly based, but neither materialised during Cityside's five-year programme as the site owners had plans for more profitable uses. Grand Metropolitan had sold the brewery in 1992 to an entrepreneur who was previously a tenant on the site. Diversifying his core import–export business, the new landlord turned developer, refurbishing the buildings and gradually converting them to a lively mix of uses that did not include a cultural heritage centre. Ten years later these feature around 250 design studios, two bars/nightclubs, cafés, galleries, speciality retailers and a large exhibition centre. The same businessman also acquired the Moorish Market and applied for planning permission to convert it to studios and loft-style apartments. Such developments have

contributed greatly to the 'vibrant visitor economy', but on emerging from the 'Designer's Block' exhibition at the former brewery, architectural journalist Jonathan Glancey expressed his anxieties for the future of 'shabby and wonderful' Brick Lane

> 'What worries me most is that whenever the design scene moves in on an old London street ... old businesses, shops where you can buy things for a song, restaurants where you can eat for a fiver vanish. Within a matter of months every second building is a café with raw concrete walls, difficult chairs, effete middle class youth trying to look hard and hard up, and menus offering holiday food at imaginative prices (Glancey, 1998, p. 16).

Notwithstanding the emphasis placed in the City Fringe 'Developing Cultural Quarters' programme (City Corporation, 1996, p. 17) on tourism that would help to raise the capital's international profile, Cityside's Director confirmed that their promotion has always been targeted at office workers, and "Londoners wanting to do something different in their own city" (personal interview, Bramidge, 7 October 2002). The Cityside Visitor Centre also responds to requests for literature from in-bound tour organisers, but there has been no proactive marketing to attract overseas or even domestic visitors. The influx of international tourists to the restaurant zone in recent years has therefore been something of a surprise. A notable example is the unexpected number of Japanese visitors to Brick Lane from 1999, a phenomenon that is attributed to guidebook and media coverage.

The success of Banglatown as a centre for ethnic cuisine has exceeded expectations, due mainly to the 'design scene' and other young White professionals from the nearby City. A survey of Brick Lane's catering sector carried out for Cityside noted that in 1989 there were only 8 cafés/restaurants in Brick Lane, with a few additions in the early 1990s. Between 1997 and 2002, this rose to 41, of which 16 had opened in 2000–02, making Banglatown "home to the largest cluster of Bangladeshi/'Indian' restaurants anywhere in the UK" (Carey, 2002, p. 12). All the restaurants (as opposed to cafés) reported that their clientele was 'overwhelmingly White', with a clear majority (70 per cent) in the 25-34 age-group and predominantly male, (Carey, 2002, p. 4). The boom was facilitated by relaxed planning policies that allowed shops to be converted to restaurants. Furthermore, the central area of Brick Lane was designated a 'Restaurant Zone' where Class A3 uses (restaurants, cafés, hot food outlets, public houses and bars) would be 'favourably considered' (LB Tower Hamlets 1999).

By 2001, however, the discounting of menu prices and street canvassing by waiters indicated an excess supply of an undifferentiated product, which became more pronounced with the downturn after 11 September and the reluctance of some international tourists to visit a predominantly Muslim neighbourhood. The Council called a public meeting on the issue at which some restaurant owners argued that licences should be extended beyond midnight to boost trade. However, a number of White, middle-class residents of the Conservation Area to the west of Brick Lane argued that litter and anti-social behaviour by late-night customers was already a serious nuisance. Others argued that conversion to restaurants that commanded higher rents contributed to the loss of local shops. Unfortunately, a stormy exchange led to physical blows and required police attendance. LB Tower Hamlets then commissioned a survey of over 1500 residents from 'all communities', which confirmed widespread opposition to the proliferation of Class A3 uses and to any extension of opening hours (Agroni, 2001). At the time of writing, the Restaurant Zone remains in force, but LB Tower Hamlets (2002) has recently used its planning powers to protect the southern section of Brick Lane as a 'Local Shopping Parade', a policy that is fully supported by Cityside.

Although restaurants have undoubtedly brought job opportunities, the problems identified in recent years shed doubt on the

wisdom of overreliance on this sector. Carey (2002) estimated that around 400 workers were employed in Brick Lane restaurants, of whom 96 per cent were of Bangladeshi origin, 92 per cent lived in the Borough and 99 per cent were men. A third of restaurant owners expressed concern over staff turnover and many felt that low pay and shifts made the work unattractive to younger Bengalis. Some said that it was risky to hire young local Bengali males who might be heroin or crack users, so they preferred to employ middle-aged men. Bengali women seemed extremely unwilling to work as waitresses, regarding restaurants as a largely male domain. Gender inequalities in the use of public space resulting from the visitor economy have also become apparent. LB Tower Hamlets Planning Officer Andrea Ritchie reported that in a recent focus group facilitated by the Borough

> Older Bengali women stressed the point that they had to be escorted by their husbands and that they could not walk along Brick Lane at all because there are just too many men there, with all the visitors and [restaurant] staff. So, although it is their area, they are socially excluded from it (personal interview, 27 September 2002).

Asian Fashions in Green Street, West Ham, LB Newham

Green Street is also a busy retail and commercial thoroughfare within a multicultural district of inner London but, unlike Brick Lane which has come to depend on casual visitors from the nearby City and international tourists, Green Street is 6 miles from central London. Less than 30 years ago, the local population was predominantly White British and the street was best known for its associations with the nearby West Ham Football Club. During the 1970s, however, closure of the docks, along with several large manufacturing plant created high unemployment as well as out-migration. This caused a sharp downturn in trade for Green Street retailers. Over the same decade, the population became more ethnically mixed with immigration from New Commonwealth countries, including several hundred Asian refugees from Uganda. Amongst West Ham's new residents, there were some experienced entrepreneurs who acquired retail businesses. Initially, they concentrated mainly on selling food and fabrics at low prices, especially to the local Asian market. By 1990, the Green Street traders served a population estimated (LB Newham, 1994) to number 22 000, of whom 25 per cent were of Indian origin, 12 per cent Afro-Caribbean, 11 per cent Pakistani and 7 per cent Bangladeshi. Nevertheless, many retailers struggled to survive in the recession of the early 1990s, as local unemployment rose to 23 per cent (twice the London average).

Green Street thus continued to suffer economic and social disadvantage, and was identified by the local authority as one of five target areas for regeneration. The early 1990s were, nevertheless, something of a turning-point; for one astute butcher (a former civil servant from Pakistan) decided to switch from selling *halal* meat to gold jewellery, and others began to realise the potential of selling high-value merchandise to the growing number of more affluent Asians in the London region. At the same time, LB Newham was revising its strategy for economic development. After some earlier difficulty in obtaining SRB funding for Green Street, in 1994 the Council led a successful bid for £8.5 million for a regeneration programme that brought forward proposals for business diversification and support, education and training, environmental improvements and community involvement. Its objectives (LB Newham, 1994) were to make Green Street a centre of regional significance for the largely Asian but multicultural community, providing a new dimension to east London's economy.

In accordance with this aim, over the next seven years (1994–2001) a range of "sensitively 'themed' environmental improvements celebrating the cultures represented in the area" (LB Newham, 1994, p. 2) were undertaken. These included shop-front improve-

ments, renovation of the Queen Street market, a millennium pavement mural (involving local schools and community groups), improved street lighting, CCTV to help reduce street crime, as well as training, community development and business support. Whilst the management of the programme was the responsibility of the Stratford Development Partnership (the local regeneration agency), a Partnership for Green Street that included a wide range of local agencies, businesses and community groups, helped to determine local priorities for funding. Alongside this public funding, Asian traders were also investing in the area. Although it was difficult to assess the extent to which the rejuvenation of Green Street would have occurred without pump priming, the consultants evaluating performance of the programme after three years of SRB funding (EDAW 1997) reported that progress over the past decade had been 'phenomenal'. The investment made by the Asian business community had managed to resurrect a declining High Street and had created a new and dynamic retail centre.

EDAW (1997) emphasised the particular contribution of younger and more innovative Asian traders prepared to invest in window displays and store layout to improve the shopping experience. There was now a greater awareness of the need to develop a broader customer-base and to attract visitors from outside the local area. Nevertheless, with a high dependence of visitors on cars rather than public transport, it also stressed that traffic congestion and parking problems meant that there were limits to local capacity. In the late 1990s, the Partnership supported further growth through 'This is Green Street': a campaign to raise awareness of the area, featuring branded merchandising, as well as advertising in magazines and on ethnic minority radio. Familiarisation tours for the national press, travel operators and local teachers were also organised and, in 2000, a Quality Endorsement Scheme was introduced to identify retailers that provided high-quality merchandise, exceptional customer service and a guarantee of satisfaction. A number of cultural events have been developed including 'Runga Rung': a winter celebration with live music and fireworks. Shopping in Green Street appears to have expanded and developed as a social experience for Asian families and trade remains buoyant. As Waldinger *et al.* suggest

> The ethnic market becomes a place that ethnic shoppers frequent both for the goods they find available and for the role it plays in maintaining ethnic identity (Waldinger *et al.*, 1990, p. 114).

As yet, no surveys have been carried out of the people who attend events such as Runga Rung to assess their ethnic origin or how far they have travelled. Nevertheless, interviews by the authors with officers and councillors suggest that Green Street is becoming well known amongst the dispersed Asian populations, not only within the London region, but throughout the UK and mainland Europe and North America (personal interview, Councillor H. Virdee, 4 October, 2002). It is therefore surprising that the 1994 application for SRB funding made no mention of the desirability or otherwise of developing a visitor economy. As the programme drew to a close, however, this was incorporated (Jacklin and Hughes, 1999; Hughes, 2000) and LB Newham (2001) subsequently announced a strategy to increase the number of out-Borough visitors and raise the profile of Green Street as a 'unique shopping centre'.

As their core market consists of customers of Asian origin, the traders in this area have had no reason to accommodate Western notions of the exotic East as some have done in North American and European Chinatowns and in 'Banglatown'. Furthermore, in its recent initiatives to promote the area as a visitor destination, LB Newham has been cautious about associating the 'Green Street brand' with any single community in an area that has such a rich mix of ethnicities and cultures. Leisure Services officer Ron Robinson commented that the Council was

> A bit reluctant to present it as a curiosity ... We were reluctant to go the whole hog such as Chinatown (personal interview, 30 October 2002).

Perhaps for similar reasons, LB Newham rejected proposals from consultants to set up Bradford-style 'curry trails'. In contrast to Brick Lane, the scene now presented to visitors features urban design that intentionally draws upon a broad range of cultural influences. For example, the lamp-post decorations and other street furniture have been designed to symbolise 'togetherness' and programme funding has also been used to commission a statue of the famous West Ham footballer Bobby Moore.

Although attracting an increasing number of people from outside the area, Green Street continues to function as a local shopping street. Fruit and vegetable stalls still stand alongside Asian fashion houses, but the upswing is inevitably causing rents to rise and, in future years, small shops catering for local needs may find it hard to survive in a location described by the *Evening Standard* (Jenkins, 2002) as the 'new Asian Bond Street'. It is uncertain how local residents will react to the worsening traffic and parking problems identified above, or to the Visitor Strategy proposals (LB Newham, 2001, p. 23) to "increase the quality, diversity and accessibility of eating places" and "further extend the trading day into the night". It is possible that Green Street may become more isolated from its local residential hinterland. In contrast to most of the Bengali residents in the area to the east of Brick Lane, however, the economic situation of many among the Asian communities around Green Street has improved. The development of a visitor economy is therefore balanced by increasing local demand for the type of luxury goods that are available in Green Street. The street is thus becoming a showcase for new Asian British designers offering clothes that draw on traditional Asian fashion but incorporate European influences, and which appeal to Asian British youth as well as White British and other ethic groups.

Overview and Summary

In the discourse of place marketing, Brick Lane and Green Street have been repositioned to take advantage of developments in London's globally oriented economy. An important element of this transformation has been diversification into luxury goods and services that are marketed to visitors from elsewhere in the capital and further afield. In both areas, the local state in partnership with commercial and not-for-profit organisations has initiated promotional campaigns that promote positive images of ethnic minorities as contributors to London as a 'world city'. Nevertheless, attempts to redefine and rename localities may well raise sensitive questions of identity and territory. The idea of promoting Brick Lane as Banglatown, first proposed by a consortium of Asian business-owners in the late 1980s, was contested by other ethnic groups and attracted hostile press coverage. Nearly a decade elapsed before the mainstream media accepted the Banglatown 'brand' as a theme to promote venues and events. Perhaps learning from this experience, LB Newham has eschewed the idea of associating Green Street with a single minority group; instead, the overarching theme of unity through diversity has been emphasised.

In both areas, ethnic minority entrepreneurs have capitalised on new market opportunities and the commercial success of leading individuals has encouraged others to follow. Where diversification involves land use change, it is highly likely that property owners and traders will lobby for relaxation of development control policies. In the case of Brick Lane, a recently adopted Unitary Development Plan was revised to allow conversion of older manufacturing and retail premises to restaurants, cafés and bars. Nevertheless, part of the street was later reinstated as a neighbourhood shopping parade to try and retain the few remaining local convenience stores. And, in both areas, pressures to extend licensed opening hours into the early morning have so far been resisted. Although minority businesses have been the

prime agents of change, an emerging visitor economy is unlikely to succeed without considerable infrastructure investment, especially to improve access and the public realm. In the case of Brick Lane, the local state with support from central government funded 'gateways' linking the main thoroughfare with public transport and offices in the nearby City of London, including measures to improve personal security after dark. In Green Street, greater dependence on private cars required traffic management and greater parking capacity. Discretionary grants have also been made available to encourage refurbishment of street façades and, in Green Street, an endorsement scheme was used to promote outstanding quality in goods and services offered.

In principle then, the local state, usually in partnership with other stakeholders, may create a framework of regulations and incentives to guide change. In both areas, the five-year SRB programmes were very successful in terms of the measurable outcomes that were set in the mid 1990s when their funding was awarded. The number of business start-ups and level of employment growth have been impressive; increases in property values and investment in the built environment have been significant. The longitudinal case studies suggest, however, that the development of an emerging visitor economy and its consequences for the local population, income, employment and the physical environment are hard to predict. In Brick Lane, the plans to develop a 'cultural quarter' based around a flagship multicultural heritage attraction were abandoned as the site owner converted the buildings to accommodate activities that include bar-restaurants, night-clubs and an exhibition centre: forms of leisure consumption that differ considerably from those envisaged at the outset. The quality job opportunities generated by this sector are now being questioned and tensions have emerged over its effects, including conflicts over the use of public space. In Green Street, the local partnership has been highly supportive of the fashion jewellery and clothing outlets. From the early 1990s, these attracted an increasing volume of shoppers from a wide catchment area, but it was not until the end of the decade that the need for a visitor strategy was formally acknowledged. Accommodation of the Urban Renaissance agenda of the late 1990s and the policy turn that embraces environmental quality, social inclusion and community benefit thus presents some challenging issues and problems to resolve at the local level.

Conclusion

The case studies discussed above highlight the need to understand the processes through which multicultural districts are selected and redefined as destinations for leisure and tourism consumption. As yet, the changing pattern of demand for the goods and services that they offer and the response of minority entrepreneurs have not been the subject of extensive empirical research. Traditionally, commercial thoroughfares of migrant enclaves in large cities have functioned as retail centres catering for the requirements of ethnic minorities, as well as social and economic hubs for dispersed members of expatriate communities. These functions continue, but their global linkages make them more fluid and dynamic ethnoscapes: places associated with immigrants, exiles, guest-workers and other mobile groups (Appadurai, 1997). Over the past two decades, dramatic reductions in air fares have increased opportunities for family and social ties as well as business contacts to be maintained through more frequent travel to and from distant homelands. Overseas Chinese in New York and Latin Americans in Los Angeles are notable examples (Urry, 2002), as are the migrants from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh in the areas of east London described above.

The same thoroughfares may also attract members of the majority culture, perhaps mainstream international tourists. The demand is highly diverse: quests for knowledge and understanding of other cultures co-exist

with more mundane quests for take-away food and drink. Some visitors are attracted by colourful street markets, festivals, world music and other performance art; others by bars, clubs and late-night entertainment in quasi-exotic settings. A positive interpretation is that, with appropriate business advice, entrepreneurs from ethnic and cultural minorities will prosper by developing *niches* in this heterogeneous market. With basic training in service-oriented skills, inner-city residents will find employment in a growing sector that compensates for decline in older trades. Low-skilled and low-paid work should be regarded as a temporary phenomenon, as more educated, second-generation migrants will gain access to professional work. With improving business confidence, new uses for old buildings will fund the restoration and conservation of neglected urban landscapes. Partnerships between public, private and not-for-profit organisations will provide the necessary commitment and resources to upgrade the public realm to the benefit of local users as well as the visitors who are being encouraged to enter inner-city streets.

A less optimistic prognosis is that, without effective planning and management that is accountable to the local electorate, 'success'—in terms of physical and economic regeneration—may create serious difficulties for the very communities that should gain most from the programme. At the micro level, with an increasing number of visitors, spontaneous interethnic and intercultural encounters will no longer occur. The one-way traffic and attention of onlookers will become intrusive, disturbing the rhythm of people's everyday lives, reducing rather than improving the quality of their local environment. At the macro level, the unleashing of market forces may well lead to an inequitable distribution of costs and benefits. The leisure and tourism sector may do little to improve employment mobility and the prospect of better-paid work. Where planning controls are weak, or where they have deliberately been relaxed, changing land use will raise property values. This will clearly benefit land owners that may include ethnic minority entrepreneurs. However, such commercial gentrification is likely to drive out small businesses, especially those serving local needs such as food shops. Low-income residents may also be displaced unless private-sector rents are controlled and/or suitable social housing is available. Ironically, the sign-posting of difference will produce an anodyne and relatively homogeneous culture of consumption, disconnected from the social life of the local population. In time, this will create an isolated, tourism-oriented enclave; a sharp and cruel contrast to the poverty of adjacent inner-city areas that are less appealing to the gaze of visitors.

Despite these concerns over the longer-term sustainability of this market for ethnic goods and services in an 'exotic' urban setting, a number of inner-city authorities in the UK and elsewhere in Europe are actively encouraging the processes that will establish such areas on the urban tourist map. The public policy discourse of regeneration programmes such as Cityside and City Fringe SRB programmes, with their emphasis on identification and realisation of opportunities to overcome the isolation of place and marginalisation of migrant communities, appear fully in tune with Porter's (1995) thesis on the competitive advantage of the inner city. The locational advantages of proximity to markets must be fully exploited, but a visitor economy is unusual in that the consumer must necessarily go to the product. In this context, the place is conceptualised as the 'product' to be repositioned. Differentiation from competing place-brands—in this case, through distinctive ethnic or cultural associations—must be highlighted and promoted to target audiences, following Kotler *et al.*'s (1993) advocacy of strategic image management to reposition destinations that may include small areas, such as districts within cities.

According to this North American model of regeneration, dependence on welfare and other state support can be reduced if entrepreneurial talent, especially that of ethnic minority businesses, can be unlocked and

connected more effectively with the 21st-century global economy. Regeneration programmes that adopt the 'Chinatown' model to achieve these aims, define and mark out commercial and cultural spaces associated with one minority group as a destination for visitors. As with the internal space of restaurants, exotic motifs are accentuated within the bounded enclave to create an ambience conducive to leisure and tourism consumption. This 'monocultural' approach helps to create a strong unifying theme that is easy to communicate to prospective place-consumers, but the imagery projected to visitors may reconfirm rather than challenge stereotypes. Furthermore, its *territorialisation* of the public realm may alienate those who perceive little personal benefit, marginalising if not excluding other minorities. The example of Green Street, nevertheless, provides a more inclusive model that is oriented to diverse markets, including wealthier Asian shoppers from a national and even international catchment area. Its deliberate use of *multi*cultural imagery may be less problematic and may gain support from a wider range of local as well as external stakeholders.

The development of visitor economies in disadvantaged, multicultural districts pays tribute to the active role of migrant entrepreneurs in the regeneration of European cities. The process may help raise 'local pride' in areas where low self-esteem has, for many years, been reinforced by the negative perceptions of outsiders. Decoupled from the established European systems of urban governance and land use planning, it may, however, take on a momentum of its own. As well as ethnic and cultural difference, there is an inherent imbalance of power, wealth and mobility between the visitors and the visited. Not only the exoticised urban landscapes, but the 'host' population itself becomes the object of curiosity. Urban authorities and regeneration agencies can offer a clear vision of desirable outcomes, but they can seldom predict with any certainty how these will impact on the everyday lives of local residents and small businesses. As Atkinson (2003) suggests, the process is inherently divisive, as it requires cities, local authorities and communities to demonstrate that they have internalised the particular discourses of competition promoted by neo-liberal ideology. Unwillingness to do so carries with it the risk of being identified as a 'failing' city or locality. Without a balanced and open dialogue between municipalities and the diverse communities who live and work in inner-city areas about the development of urban tourism, the process may exacerbate rather than defuse tensions in areas that, in many cases, have long and violent histories of intolerance towards minority groups.

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The Multicultural Heritage of European Cities and its Re-presentation through Regeneration Programmes

Stephen Shaw and Joanna Karmowska

In recent times, some cities in the UK and elsewhere in Europe have made explicit use of their 'multicultural heritage' as a theme to revitalise inner city areas. Places that were once regarded as forbidding and 'unsafe' for casual strollers are being re-imaged to attract visitors from the majority culture, and in some cases international tourists. Expressions of ethnic and cultural identity in the built environment, along with markets, festivals and other events in public spaces are being re-presented as testimonies to the historic contribution of immigrant groups to the life of the city. Commercial thoroughfares are being upgraded, refurbished and promoted as exotic backdrops for consumption, especially stylish restaurants, bars and nightclubs (Shaw, Bagwell & Karmowska 2004). From a Neo-liberal stance, this 'self-help' approach is a welcome development that enables ethnic minority and other entrepreneurs to capitalise on an expanding service economy, revitalising long-neglected urban landscapes. Nevertheless, others question the sustainability of initiatives to promote leisure and tourism as disadvantaged neighbourhoods become 'urban quarters': shop windows designed to appeal to the consumption practices of the emerging nouveau riche, their street culture commodified in contrived narratives of place (Zukin 1999; Bell & Jayne 2004; Chan 2004).

Such deliberate aestheticisation of places associated with past or present immigrant communities as an exotic spectacle can be seen in the broader context of 'place-marketing': an emerging body of theories and practices developed by city governments, especially in North America over the past decade (Ward 1998; Shaw 2004). From this perspective, the urban past offers a quarry of possibilities. In historic cities, the built environment and its associations with former residents provides raw material from which 'heritage products' can be extracted and assembled, usually in combination with contemporary themes. Through interpretation and promotion, diverse elements of urban life and urbanity are integrated to appeal to target audiences, positioned or re-positioned to establish a distinctive, if not unique brand (Ashworth 2001; Morgan, Pritchard & Pride 2002). In an increasingly volatile and globalized market, rival cities compete to attract target place-consumers that may include high-spending visitors, as well as investors, property developers and high-income residents (Karmowska 2003). Historic urban landscapes – chance survivals of earlier phases of a city's development – may be exploited as valuable resources that contribute to quality of life for urban elites.

In the early 1990s, some place-marketing theorists adopted a prescriptive, if not evangelistic approach, advising cities to formulate strategies that will secure them a sustainable competitive advantage. Notable advocates were Kotler, Haider and Rein (1993) who commended city governments in the United States that had demonstrated a flair for competitive niche thinking, defining or re-defining themselves as distinctive places with specific advantages to target stakeholders. The authors highlighted the importance of 'preserving the history of places, their buildings, their people and customs, the machinery, and other artefacts that

portray history' (ibid.:209) in establishing a distinctive place-identity or 'brand'. Even 'difficult destinations' such as Harlem, New York can be re-branded (Hoffman 2003). Cities in Western Europe, with their more hierarchical systems of governance, have generally been less than comfortable with the idea that cities – and districts within cities – should compete with one another without reference to a national or regional plan. However, over the past two decades, UK cities across a wide political spectrum found themselves in an increasingly competitive 'market place', as central government reduced grant aid and encouraged 'municipal entrepreneurship' (Begg 2002).

Faced with the decline of older industries – especially mining, manufacturing and distribution – urban authorities and development corporations in the UK looked to North American models of leisure and tourism-led revitalisation, especially for derelict industrial and waterfront areas in regions that had experienced rapidly rising unemployment. As Urry (2002:107) observes, de-industrialisation created a profound sense of loss, both for old technologies and the social life that went with them. Furthermore, since much of this industry had been based in premises dating from the 18th and 19th centuries, a large stock of buildings became available for refurbishment and conversion to facilitate a 'heritage industry' that would trade, in particular, on nostalgic and patriotic images of 'traditional' working class life (Hewison 1987). Contemporary critics argued that images of continuity and national unity were thus being manipulated and projected by the New Right to legitimise the status quo, the reification of a stable, untroubled social order that the viewer was not encouraged to question (cf. Wright 1985; Walsh 1992).

Many present-day residents of inner city areas in the UK are, however, first or second generation immigrants, especially from former colonies; some are recent refugees and asylum-seekers. With the election in 1997 of a New Labour government committed to the principles of 'social inclusion' through a wide range of public policies and programmes, the heritage industry was encouraged to present cultural diversity as a positive feature of history and contemporary life in the UK. Nevertheless, there still remains a considerable gap between this policy intent and its translation into the practices of museums and other interpreters of heritage (Maitland Gard'ner 2004; Mason 2004; Symonds 2004). More broadly, across Europe the ideological turn from nationalistic discourses towards acceptance of a more pluralistic common heritage has been challenging, nowhere less so than in the post-Communist states of Central and Eastern Europe. To what extent is it possible to reconcile Neo-liberal principles of market-led regeneration with a celebration of multicultural heritage and social inclusion?

Whose Place? What Time?

A decade ago, the European Union appeared to be making significant progress towards the pooling of national sovereignty; Ashworth and Larkham (1994) assessed the implications for the presentation of heritage by its twelve Member States that were soon to become fifteen. The authors argued that hitherto, the concept of the modern nation state had been underpinned by a national interpretation of cultural heritage that focussed in particular upon the built environment. An inherently selective process, some features had been selected for re-creation or preservation for the nation, some historical incidents emphasised, others forgotten. A more integrated Europe would, however, require a specifically European heritage interpretation. They noted, in particular, that little had been done to integrate the cultures of recent immigrants, from the Middle East, Africa, India and increasing numbers from other regions of Asia, all of whom were now citizens of Europe. Nevertheless, many were disinherited as their heritage was ignored, or not shown in a favourable light.

This article considers the implications of adopting a culturally and ethnically pluralist perspective at the *local* level, especially in the re-presentation of historic districts on the fringe of city centers as landscapes of leisure and tourism. In some cases, the very names of such localities have, for many years, signified the poverty of minority groups that have been

marginalized, not only in the physical-spatial sense, but also socially and psychologically distanced from the brighter lights of the city centre (Shaw & MacLeod 2000). In public policy, there is however an increasing recognition of the special contribution of migrants to creative life of European cities. Landry and Bianchini refer to the historic examples of Vienna, Antwerp and Amsterdam as cultural cross-roads, while more recently in some areas of UK cities Asian businesses have helped create a 24-hour/7-day economy. They observe that such communities are outsiders and insiders at the same time: '[b]ecause of their backgrounds they have different ways of looking at problems and different priorities' (1995:28).

Within the framework of the system of governance that has been created by the dominant culture, minority communities adapt and invest in the built environment. In Europe, settlements where foreigners were allowed to live, work and trade in commodities and services necessary to the urban economy were generally located in districts symbolically outside the fortifications that surrounded established towns and citadels. As Europeans colonised other continents, spatial-symbolic hierarchies were reasserted in the pattern of urban development. With reference to European and Asian migration to Canada, Kay Anderson's (1995) one hundred-year longitudinal study of Vancouver, critically examines the hegemony of European (mainly British) settlers over 'Chinatown'. In the discourse of public policy, as well as in the local press, the district had long been regarded as a place of sinful and sinister activities. By the mid 1930s, however, some representatives on the city government began to recognise its potential as an exotic destination for sightseeing, like its counterpart in San Francisco. Today, with many of its sites preserved as heritage buildings, Vancouver's Chinatown features as one of the city's 'must see' attractions for cruise-ship passengers and other international tourists.

Arjun Appadurai (1997:33) has described such urban environments as significant features of contemporary cities that are receptors of complex and volatile cultural flows. He refers to them as *ethnoscapes:*

"landscapes of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live: tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers and other moving groups constitute an essential feature of the world..."

Using the metaphor of weaving, he observes that the warp of stabilities is everywhere shot through with the woof of human motion. The suffix 'scape' indicates that multiple meanings are attached to such places through the subjective gaze of different actors. There are, of course, many historical examples of ethnoscapes: urban settings that were the product of diaspora that brought together diverse cultures and thus different ways of looking at the world, and two notable examples are given in the case studies of Spitalfields and Kazimierz below. What is new is the increasing ease with which people, capital, technologies, ideas and images can circulate on a global scale.

The self-conscious use of place-marketing to re-image urban landscapes such as those discussed above, is also a comparatively recent phenomenon. To make such areas accessible to visitors more affluent than local population, municipalities – often in partnership with central government, landowners, developers and not-for-profit stakeholders – need to make a considerable investment to upgrade the public realm. Especial attention is needed to make the 'gateway' entry points from the centre more inviting for strolling pedestrians; in the case of larger cities, routes from public transport or parking areas. The influential economist Michael Porter argued that the thesis he previously set out in *The Competitive Advantage of Nations* (Porter 1990) was 'just as relevant to smaller areas such as the inner city' (1995:57). The role of the public sector should therefore move away from direct involvement towards facilitation of a favourable environment for business. Since competitive markets for investment and development operate within as well as between cities, businesses should exploit the strategic advantages of inner city locations, prime examples being proximity to downtown areas, entertainment and tourist attractions, and the entrepreneurial talent among their

immigrant communities.

Porter's arguments had a particular resonance in the UK, where rising unemployment and the untenable financial circumstances of many inner city municipalities had encouraged them to nurture and attract expanding sectors of service industries, especially leisure and tourism. Built heritage and the vitality of contemporary cultural expression – for example in the creation of cultural quarters – could help to stimulate an urban renaissance (Evans 2001). Cities such as Glasgow (Paddison 1993) and Manchester (Schofield 1996; Williams 2003) adopted strategies for re-positioning that were widely acclaimed. Some aspiring world cities cultivated a cosmopolitan image through attractions and events that owed their existence to immigrants from elsewhere in Europe as well as from other world regions. Taylor (2000) discusses the development of Ancoats as an 'urban village' in Manchester's historic Little Italy. Urry (2002:144) describes a 'cultural reinterpretation of racial difference' in Bradford's *Flavours of Asia* to promote Asian restaurants and sari centres in tandem with wider understanding of Asian religions and the history of immigration to the city. Birmingham's ethnic diversity is celebrated in its promotion of music, food and drink offered by its Irish, Pakistani, Chinese and Afro-Caribbean communities (Henry, McEwan & Pollard 2002).

In post-Communist Central and Eastern Europe (CEE), the ideological shift from centralised master planning to place-marketing has been even more challenging. In Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic, cities with rising unemployment and world class but neglected urban heritage, have nevertheless identified tourism as an important catalyst for regeneration and re-positioning to international markets. Indeed, in the rationale of public policy it has often been regarded as something of a panacea. For example, in his speech to the United Nations International Council on Monuments and Sites, the former Tourism Minister of Poland, Marek Paszucha (1995:44) expressed optimism for cities such as Cracow: 'Opportunities will present themselves for the care of historic buildings the creation of a higher technical standard, and also the possibility of the revitalization of the whole historic complexes...' He cautioned, however, that a *firm plan* would be necessary, since 'some threats to the historic places originate from the new economic situation of the free market'.

In the turbulent decade after the demise of Communism, the regulatory powers of city governments were weakened, and municipal finances were not in a strong position. In practice, their ability to plan and manage the growth of local visitor economy was somewhat limited. For example, in the Czech Republic, the attractions of Prague's built heritage stimulated rapid growth of international tourism. Despite strong local opposition, the municipality could do little to prevent over-development of hotels and other tourism facilities that displaced residents from the Old Town and heightened social polarisation (Hoffman & Musil 1999). Hall (2002) observes that the 're-branding' of some CEE destinations has been informed by a desire to portray 'Europeanness': a safe, stable and welcoming environment conducive to foreign investment, membership of the EU and tourism. Conversely, the presentation of national heritage has, in some cases, been manipulated by agencies of the state to disinherit ethnic, religious and cultural minorities. In the more extreme cases of Bosnia, Croatia, Herzegovina, heritage sites and museums were targeted in systematic programmes of ethnic cleansing by opposing factions (Maroevic 1995; Newman & McLean 1998).

As the European Union has expanded once more to include twenty-five Member States (2004), it seems appropriate to consider how the multicultural reality of European cities can be communicated to visitors. The article examines the role of urban governance in facilitating a climate conducive to leisure and tourism in such areas. Will promotion of a visitor economy based on multicultural heritage themes benefit low-income residents and small firms? Or will it cause their displacement? Will the process of re-imaging be a celebration of cultural and ethnic diversity? Or will the simplification that may be deemed necessary to re-brand a locality require de-selection, editing out, disinheritance

of some cultures past or present? The authors reflect upon the continuity of migration in some historic European cities from medieval times to the present day, with reference to two case studies of Spitalfields in the East End of London, and the Kazimierz district of Cracow over decade 1992–2002.

Spitalfields, East London

In medieval London, the settlements beyond the boundary of the city wall were outside the jurisdiction of the mayor and burgesses, as well as the powerful guilds that regulated craft production and other trades. These 'Liberties' provided physical space for marginalized groups and institutions whose presence was unwelcome within the city precincts. Thus, they accommodated successive waves of migrants from other areas of the British Isles as well as foreigners. Among the latter, some came at the behest of the monarch, and were tolerated because of the economic functions they performed. As its name suggests, Spitalfields developed in open land around a monastic foundation that cared for the sick, its location being just to the East of the important approach road through Bishopsgate, the main thoroughfare from the North to the river crossing at London Bridge. From the 14th century, cloth-makers from the Low Countries settled, originally at the invitation of King Edward III (1327–77) to improve indigenous textile production, but in 1381 their economic success and foreign customs made them the object of mob violence during the Peasants' Revolt (Cox 1994).

In the centuries that followed, other migrants arrived in Spitalfields (Shaw 2003). Many were escaping political and religious persecution or extreme poverty elsewhere in Europe. From the 16th century, the Sephardic Jews escaping the Inquisition in Spain and Portugal included some who prospered as moneylenders and merchants, but their safety was not guaranteed until the Commonwealth in 1649 (Porter 1994). Protestant Huguenots, expelled from France, gave the word *refugee* to the English language, and Spitalfields became their largest settlement. Their numbers greatly increased after 1685, and their contribution to the urban economy included silk weaving and fine instrument-making (Museum of London 1985). By the early 1700s, the area was by far the greatest centre of the textile industry in the capital (Inwood 1998), and their wealth was invested in fine Georgian town houses. After two or three generations, however, they ceased to be distinguishable minority, and industrialization made their skills redundant. Most moved away, but others took their place. The expression ethnic and cultural succession is well illustrated by the *Neuve Eglise,* built in the early 1700s, a non-conforming church that stands at the corner of Brick Lane and Fournier Street (Hebbert 1998:173):

"The original congregation declined as the French-speaking minority intermarried and became absorbed, until in 1809 the church was taken over by the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews. In Victorian times, it served as a Methodist chapel until the influx of north European Jews to Spitalfields at the turn of the century. In 1898 it was converted into the Great Synagogue. From the 1960s, the Jewish congregation dwindled, and the building closed again. It was reopened in 1976 as the London Jamme Masjid, one of the largest mosques in the capital, with a capacity for 4000 worshippers in the prayer hall."

Until the 1950s, few architectural historians or preservationists acknowledged the merit of 18th century town houses (Delafons 1997). Nevertheless, the Survey of London (1957) reflected a growing recognition of the value of such built heritage in its assessment of *Spitalfields and Mile End Town.* It noted that the area's 'evil reputation' and lack of interest from developers meant that a remarkable number survived into the mid 20th century, albeit in a poor condition. Jacobs (1996:75) observes that these Georgian houses, with their trademark mansard roofs that accommodated silk weavers' looms, signified 'a more elegant, more prosperous and acceptably foreign' Spitalfields. Thus, it became desirable to recover something of the 'good society' of the Huguenots, known for their love of

flowers, caged birds and intellectual pursuits. In 1969, using its new powers under the *Civic Amenities Act 1967,* LB Tower Hamlets, the area's local authority, designated three Conservation Areas covering the heart of Spitalfields around (but not including) the late Victorian fruit and vegetable market building.

In 1976, the Secretary of State upgraded the heritage status of Fournier Street to an 'Outstanding Conservation Area', thus confirming its national importance (LB Tower Hamlets 1979). Nevertheless, the continuing loss of the 18th century Huguenot heritage outside the Conservation Areas, as well as the poor state of many within them, prompted the formation of the Spitalfields Historic Buildings Trust (1977). A not-for-profit organization, it was founded by the Marchioness of Dufferin and Ava, and other eminent supporters of the influential 'Georgian Group' of preservationists. Between 1977 and 1987, the Trust bought neatly forty houses to be re-sold or leased to 'appropriate' buyers, and refurbished. Acting as an 'unofficial inner city development organization', the Trust claimed credit for successful restoration of nearly 80 per cent of the nearly Georgian buildings (Blain 1989:9).

As the Jewish population which had been the dominant community in Spitalfields and adjacent Whitechapel from the late 19th century moved away in the 1970s, Bengalis acquired some Georgian and Victorian residences that had established use rights as workshops for the textile and leather trade. Jacobs (1996:86) comments that the other new community of white, middle class gentrifiers, who desired a nostalgic return to a restored Georgian enclave, 'produced an environment that was bathed in a rhetoric of co-habitation, but was antagonistic to the Bengali occupation of the area... It was not surprising that the Trust's activities worked to squeeze Bengali garment workshops out of Georgian houses and into more "suitable" premises and places', with the aim of 'restoring' them to residential use. The Trust was not, however, wholly successful in their attempt to draw this sharp spatial divide, and a number of Asian businesses still occupy Huguenot town houses. The graceful affluence of these enclaves, by now inhabited by 'bohemian' white gentrifiers was, however, increasingly at odds with the squalor and visible neglect of the public realm in adjacent streets along and to the East of Brick Lane.

According to the Government's social indicators, Spitalfields in the 1970s and 1980s remained one of the most deprived neighbourhoods in the whole of the UK. Racial tension increased as white male activists of the right-wing National Front harassed and assaulted Asians in conscious imitation of the anti-Semitic Blackshirts of the 1930s, and Brick Lane became the focus of intimidation, which continued into the mid 1990s. The majority of the new immigrants, escaping famine and poverty in their homeland, found accommodation in low quality, often high-rise social housing. To address the severe problems of its inner city neighborhoods, LB Tower Hamlets successfully bid for £7.2 million government funding for a programme to revitalise Spitalfields and adjacent Bethnal Green 1992–97. In 1995, a further bid secured £11.4 million 1997–2002 to 'strengthen links with the City and encourage diversification of the local economy', especially into leisure and tourism. The vision for the 'Cityside' program would 'pioneer a new model of regeneration'. Its aims (LB Tower Hamlets 1996:1) were to:

i) establish the area as one of the most attractive and accessible business locations in the capital;
ii) develop opportunities between the corporate sector and micro and small firms;
iii) expand the tourism potential of the area in order to stimulate economic activity, drawing on London's strength as a world city;
iv) encourage greater integration of economic development in order to both harmonise and add value to existing regeneration initiatives;
v) break stereotypical images of local people by supporting their entry and progression into the corporate sector and related local employment fields.

In 1997, Cityside set up a 'town management' scheme whose remit included the organization

and promotion of events associated with the local Asian population: Bengali New Year, Brick Lane and Curry Festivals. Businesses and residents from the area's diverse 'communities' were represented on the steering group, and it was through this more broadly-based forum that 'Banglatown' came to be used a brand for the area, especially to promote the new festivals and Asian restaurants. Although London's daily newspaper *Evening Standard* continued to run editorials and features that ridiculed the name (cf. Barker 1998), in time the name became accepted as a neutral place-descriptor, as Cityside's Director Andrew Bramidge (2002 personal communication) commented:

"There was a lot of sensitivity about 'changing the name of the area', but it was never about renaming Spitalfields – a distinctive locality since medieval times. Rather, it was marketing tool to get people to come and visit the area... A minority of people probably did want that – comparing it to Chinatown in the West End – but our view is that this was never an appropriate model. I think that it was quite an effective strategy because today you regularly get references to things happening in Banglatown."

A key aim of Cityside's vision was 'to achieve a quantum leap in the area's status as a visitor/ cultural destination' (LB Tower Hamlets 1996:13). Brick Lane was also identified as a 'Developing Cultural Quarter' by the City Fringe Partnership (1997–2002). It would thus be promoted to 'tourists as well as employees and business visitors, helping to enhance the City's reputation as the premier European business location' (City Corporation 1996:17). In this reimaging of Brick Lane, special attention would be paid to the main 'gateways' or access points, including its pedestrian subways to improve perceptions of personal safety. The programme thus included the erection of Eastern-style ornamental gateways, signage and brighter street lamps the design of which incorporated 'Asian' motifs. Brick Lane's restaurants would be imaginatively promoted to non-Asian customers, especially businesspeople from the City. The vision recognised that the area would need at least one 'must see' attraction and identified two vacant heritage buildings from the Victorian era as suitable sites: Truman's Brewery and the nearby 'Moorish Market' (ibid.:14):

"[A] Cultural Heritage Centre will provide the area with its missing flagship attraction. It will foster a sense of pride amongst the local community and promote an image of London as an exciting and vibrant multicultural city...The unique and beautiful Listed building in Fashion Street, inter-connected with the above, provides almost 100,000 square feet and could provide a major 'bazaar/ souk'. This will act as a key motor to the local economy, providing the missing 'ethnic' shopping experience."

These two proposals were soundly based, but neither materialised during Cityside's five-year programme as the site owner had plans for more profitable uses. In 1992, Grand Metropolitan sold its redundant brewery to a local entrepreneur, who refurbished the buildings, gradually converting them to a lively mix of uses. Ten years later these include 250 studios for cultural industries, two bars/nightclubs, cafés, galleries, speciality retailers and an exhibition centre. The same businessman acquired the Moorish Market in Fashion Street, and has recently applied for planning permission to convert it to studios and loft-style apartments. A recent study by Maitland Gard'ner (2004) suggests, however, that neither the Georgian townhouses of that had been the subject of the Spitalfields Historic Buildings Trust's campaign for protection and restoration, nor more recent attractions aimed mainly at non-Asian visitors have much significance for residents of Bangladeshi origin. The latter group identified a very different set of areas, sites and buildings as important to their sense of identity with the locality. This anomaly raises fundamental questions concerning the ability of the statutory system of heritage protection to address the needs and aspirations of ethnic minority groups.

The commercial success of the converted Truman's Brewery site nevertheless exceeded expectations, as did the rapid rise of 'Banglatown' Brick Lane as a centre for ethnic cuisine.

A survey carried out for Cityside noted that in 1989 there were only eight cafés/restaurants in Brick Lane, with a few additions in the early 1990s. Between 1997 and 2002, however, this rose to 41, of which 16 had opened 2000–02, making Banglatown 'home to the largest cluster of Bangladeshi/"Indian" restaurants anywhere in the UK' (Carey 2002:12). All the restaurants (as opposed to cafés) reported that their clientele was 'overwhelmingly white', with a clear majority (70%) in the 25–34 age group and predominantly male (ibid.:4). The boom was facilitated by relaxed planning policies that allowed local shops to be converted to restaurants. Furthermore, the central area of 19th century buildings at the heart of Brick Lane was designated a 'Restaurant Zone' where restaurants, cafés, hot food outlets, public houses and bars would be 'favourably considered' (LB Tower Hamlets 1999). By 2001, however, street canvassing by waiters indicated an excess supply, a problem that became even more pronounced with the downturn after 9/11 and the reluctance of some visitors to enter a predominantly Muslim neighbourhood.

The Council called a public meeting on the issue at which some restaurant owners argued that licences should be extended beyond midnight to boost trade. However, a number of the white, middle class residents of the Conservation Areas to the west of Brick Lane argued that litter and anti-social behaviour by late-night customers was already a serious nuisance. Others argued that conversion to restaurants that commanded higher rents contributed to the loss of local shops. Unfortunately, a stormy exchange led to physical blows and required police attendance. LB Tower Hamlets then commissioned consultants Agroni (2001) to carry out a survey of over 1500 residents from 'all communities', which confirmed widespread opposition to the proliferation of bars and restaurants and to any extension of opening hours At the time of writing, the Restaurant Zone remains in force, but LB Tower Hamlets (2002) has recently used its planning powers to protect the southern section of Brick Lane as a 'Local Shopping Parade', a policy that is fully supported by Cityside.

The conversion of the previously run-down, mainly 19th century streetscape of Brick Lane to nightclubs, bars and restaurants has undoubtedly brought wealth to Bengali-owned businesses and job opportunities. Carey (2002) estimated that around 400 workers were employed in Brick Lane restaurants, of whom 96% were of Bangladeshi origin, 92% lived in the Borough, and 99% were men. Nevertheless, some problems identified in recent years have shed doubt on the wisdom of over-reliance on this sector. A third of restaurant owners expressed concern over staff turnover, and many felt that low pay and shifts made the work unattractive to younger Bengalis. Some said that it was risky to hire young local Bengali males who might be heroin or crack cocaine users, so they preferred to employ middle-aged men. Bengali women seemed extremely unwilling to work as waitresses, regarding restaurants as a largely male domain. Gender inequalities in the use of public space resulting from the visitor economy have also become apparent. Planning Officer Andrea Ritchie reported (2002 personal communication) that in a recent focus group facilitated by the Borough:

"Older Bengali women stressed the point that they had to be escorted by their husbands and that they could not walk along Brick Lane at all because there are just too many men there, with all the visitors and [restaurant] staff. So, although it is their area, they are socially excluded from it."

Kazimierz, Cracow

Like Spitalfields in the East End of London, the present-day urban district of Kazimierz originated as a medieval settlement that lay outside the city wall of Cracow, Poland's former capital. However, in this case, it was a planned town in its own right. In 1335, King Kazimierz the Great founded the settlement that bears his name on a bend of the Vistula, physically separated from the royal citadel of Wawel and the established city only by an arm of the river. With all the privileges of a burgh including an impressive market, the monarch's

aim was to make it one of the great trading centres of Europe that could compete with other cities, including the adjacent Cracow. Over the turbulent centuries that followed, the place incorporated both Christian and Jewish cultures, for under the *Oppidum Iudaeorum* it became one of Europe's largest and oldest continuous districts of legalized Jewish settlement. Czech, German, Spanish and Italian Jews migrated to Kazimierz to live alongside Roman Catholic Poles, developing their trades and crafts, especially wood and metalworking. Thus, they contributed to the area's wealth, as well as to its unique identity. Under royal protection, they established their communities with synagogues and prayer-houses, a few of which survive to this day. Now a World Heritage site, the historic built environment of Kazimierz reflects the richness of both traditions that co-existed for six hundred years, as well as its economic vicissitudes, one its most stable and prosperous periods being the 16th and early 17th centuries. Eventually, the end of the 18th century incorporated it as a district within Cracow, with the town walls demolished and the river-arm drained, it was physically united as a continuous urban settlement

In 1939, the Jewish population of Cracow was over 63,000 (about a quarter of the city's population) with a high proportion living in the Kazimierz district (Duda 1991), a presence that was to be terminated abruptly and tragically by the Nazi invasion. Kazimierz has now become a memorial site to the atrocities of the Holocaust, but it is also an urban district whose residents have suffered poverty and social disadvantage. In the post-Communist era of the 1990s, its potential was recognized as a special district requiring physical as well as social and economic revitalization, although sensitivity would be required to reconcile this with its complex duality and memorialization of the former Jewish inhabitants. As Ashworth (1996:59) comments:

"If the atrocity element was the only consideration then it would be relatively easy to accord a paramount status to the national and international memorial function. It was however such a widespread phenomenon throughout European cities even containing a majority of the population in some Polish cases that it merges into more mundane issues of the local revitalisation and renovation problems of inner city districts. It is the clash of the sublime and mundane, the sacred and the secular, the international and the local that provides much of the complexity now facing the city planners as they embark upon renewal in such districts."

During the Communist era, Kazimierz lost much of its former identity, and its built heritage deteriorated. Although it remained one of the most densely populated districts of Cracow, much of its housing was rented to its poorest citizens. Through to the 1990s, its physical environment was in visible neglect, and with rents controlled and set at a very low level, landlords had little incentive to carry out even the most basic repairs. Soon after the end of the Communist period, the need for a strategic approach was recognised. With funding from the EU, a team of planners and other officers seconded from the cities of Cracow, Edinburgh and Berlin carried out the specially commissioned study in 1993–94. The team prepared a joint report on the urban renewal and conservation of the built environment of Kazimierz, helping to identify the necessary legal, administrative and financial framework. The aim was to formulate a comprehensive program to revive the run-down but potentially attractive area, and for creating an effective balance of residential, commercial and visitor uses (Cameron & Zuziak 1994). The team produced the *Kazimierz Action Plan,* with short and medium-term horizons:

- 0–2 years (mostly marketing, partnership building and first regeneration works).
- 0–5 years (completions of landscaping of the selected sites, finalising particular regeneration projects).

Unfortunately, there was considerable uncertainty over financial support from the municipality and other public bodies, and it was difficult to set measurable objectives and milestones. Furthermore, the *Detailed Local Master Plan for*

the Historic Quarter of Kazimierz (1987) adopted during the Communist era remained in force as the regulatory framework for land use planning. In practice, five years after publication of the Action Plan, few of its recommendations had been implemented (Brzeski 2000). Perhaps the main value of the project was to identify the potential factors that would be critical to the future development of the district, the role of public participation in this process, and the role which effective place-marketing would play. During the 1990s, several other EU-funded projects and proposals followed (including ECOS II and several seminars and conferences), but these had no more impact on the processes and pattern of development than ECOS I. As with Spitalfields, revitalization has occurred in particular enclaves within the district.

Over the past decade, organisations devoted to Jewish culture and heritage preservation have played an important role in re-establishing the district's former traditions, the 'Centre for Jewish Culture' being a notable example. Established in 1993 under auspices of Judaica Foundation, and with substantial financial support of the United States Congress, the local authorities and the Polish Ministry of Culture, this institute is housed in the former nineteenth-century prayer-house. The nearby Lauder Foundation was also established, its primary aim being to promote and cultivate the Jewish religion, traditions and celebrations in Poland. Unexpectedly, however, one of the most potent agents of change has been tourism inspired by cinema, as the area of Kazimierz around Szeroka featured prominently in Spielberg's (1993) film *Schindler's List.* In pre-war times, like Brick Lane, the high street of the Jewish quarter, Szeroka has thus attained celebrity status and readily included in itineraries of Poland from elsewhere in Europe and from North America, as well as independent travellers and participants in festivals and other events. Other sites and sights visited by international tourists include the Jewish cemetery, the synagogues and the mikveh (the old building of Jewish ritual baths).

Since the mid-90s, many other buildings in this part of Kazimierz, mostly dating from the 19th century, have found new commercial uses as 'Jewish-style' cafés, bookshops, restaurants and hotels. These prominently display signs in Hebrew, and some offer 'traditional Jewish entertainment'. Like the cultural institutions described above, however, nearly all are managed and staffed by Polish Catholics. A few minutes walk from Szeroka, the area around Plac Nowy has become a popular evening entertainment venue for younger Cracovians. With many bars and nightclubs, its somewhat studied decadence is therefore juxtaposed with memorialization of the 'Old Jewish Quarter'. A third sub-district of the World Heritage site has also been marked out on the contemporary tourist map around Plac Wolnica (the old market place of Kazimierz) and on the opposite side of Krakowska Street. Historically, the life of this predominantly Catholic part of Kazimierz took place around its splendid churches and the Old Town Hall (now ethnography and folk museum). Although these impressive urban landmarks feature in guidebooks, and are sign-posted by the municipality for the benefit of visitors, as yet there is little evidence of revitalisation in this area. Although this might be explained in rational terms, such as transport and relative accessibility, it appears that the development of urban tourism is subject to the vagaries of processes that are very difficult for city governments and other public agencies to anticipate or manage.

A key issue in the district is the number of heritage buildings that are of 'uncertain ownership' under the program of restitution. Most are properties that were owned by Jews who either died in the Holocaust, or else survived and left Poland, and whose descendants are entitled to reclaim them. As a result of disputed claims and uncertain ownership, some important historic buildings on prominent sites have not been maintained, and some are now in an unsafe condition. Despite this urban blight, and the district's previous reputation as a low-rent district, pockets of affluence emerged in the mid 1990s. Indeed, today some of the most expensive apartments in Cracow are in Kazimierz. Since the ECOS I report was published, there have been some significant changes in the social

mix of Kazimierz, as tenants on low, controlled rents – especially the elderly and poor are often forced to leave the area. In recent years, this has accelerated, and in 2005 the rent controls are due to end. To some extent, the valorization of older property in Kazimierz has been an unintended consequence of a state-funded renovation program administered by SKOZK (Social Committee for Cracow Monuments Preservation). However, gentrification has not always resulted in the renovation of older buildings, as some of the most sought-after accommodation is in new-build low-rise apartments built to a high standard in a retro-style on infill sites.

The process of commercial, as well as residential gentrification has also been boosted by the voluntary efforts to improve the area by a local association of small businesses. Its initiatives have included a 'clean up Kazimierz' campaign to reduce garbage on streets and pavements, late opening of shops and galleries every first Thursday of the month, and a summer soup festival. As in Spitalfields and other inner urban areas of West European cities, the new residents include a mix of artists, scientists and young professionals, who are attracted by the accessible location, ambience and now fashionable address. Most of the district's former craft industries have also been displaced. Traditionally famous for its metal and woodworking, these have rapidly declined. Without effective planning control over change of use, or support from the state, craftspeople are now unable to pay rents comparable to restaurants and souvenir shops that have located here because of tourism. Thus, the ECOS plan for Kazimierz, with its emphasis on maximizing social and economic benefits – especially to its disadvantaged residents and to the district's established craft industries – has held very little sway. The Detailed Local Master Plan appears increasingly irrelevant to a post-Communist urban economy; the vagaries of market forces prevail.

Despite the overall lack of progress, one notable achievement of ECOS I was establishment in 1994 of the Local Kazimierz Office: an agency that has worked closely with the local community. Its activities have focussed in particular on social revitalisation. Its main strength was as a stabile point of contact for residents of the districts, as well as for potential investors. With modest support from the municipality, and from the Prince of Wales Foundation in the UK, it instigated projects that have been widely recognised as important for the community life of Kazimierz during a difficult period of transition. These included promotional activities, surveys to gauge public opinion, and public consultation on key issues that affected community life, educational projects that drew from the area's rich history, such as 'Future for the Past' that encouraged participation from young adults, in particular. In the late 1990s, the activities of Kazimierz Office received very little support from the City Council. Walczak (2002) concluded that, unfortunately, the Kazimierz Office was not functioning effectively. Its staff considered the organisation to be largely powerless and ineffective, with a budget sufficient only to support its own staff overheads and minor promotional initiatives (including newsletter), but without the authority or political support to implement the Action Plan and to achieve its community objectives.

In 2002 the Kazimierz Office was forced to close, but some of its volunteers have set up 'Friends of Kazimierz', an organisation that attempts to continue some of the initiatives, including a quarterly magazine *Kazimierz,* published in English as well as Polish. Other publications discuss local issues and promote events to visitors and to the local community. One issue of increasing concern is the effect of the booming 'Old Jewish Town' and late-night economy on the everyday lives of residents. Some pavement cafés and restaurants in Kazimierz are open long after those in the Market Square in Cracow have closed, and on warm summer evenings their customers tend to stay outside all night. At weekends, the pavements are lined with parked cars, and young people stand around, drinking and listening to the loud music from the cafés. In the daytime, the public spaces are occupied by groups of weary tourists, and mothers from the local neighbourhood have

to walk some way from their homes to find a quiet area for their children to play. There are also wider concerns that the smartly renovated apartments and business premises will attract wealthy owners and internationally branded retail outlets, causing rents to rise well beyond the means of established residents. Those who are not displaced will also feel increasingly excluded, for example the new 'café society' will encroach upon and perhaps displace the area's local street markets. Ten years on, few of the objectives outlined in the ECOS I report have been achieved. Despite its status as a World Heritage site, and as a district identified for special treatment in the Master Plan, regulation has been ineffectual. And, as yet Cracow City Council has offered very little financial support for the local policies and initiatives that they, in principle, espouse. Market forces have thus prevailed, and the pace, location and type of investment by the private sector have been hard to predict. Only time will tell whether revitalization through leisure and tourism will renovate the historic urban landscape and provide the promised economic and social benefits for established residents and their small businesses.

The somewhat laissez-faire approach of the past decade has, however, produced a mosaic of 'scenes' within Kazimierz, sub-areas that cater for different segments of leisure demand: cheap bars for students, Jewish-style hotels and restaurants for international tourists, high class cuisine for the urban elite. Poland's unstable national economy and the current uncertainties over global tourism demand may also be compounded by the vagaries of fashion. The Friends of Kazimierz and other community groups express concern that at some stage, a downturn in some or all of these will leave the district's heritage buildings empty and neglected once again. Such concerns and doubts regarding the sustainability of leisure and tourism-led revitalization in the 'showpiece' district of Kazimierz had been partly addressed by the Mayor and City Council, elected on a programme of reform in November 2002. In the next few years, such concerns and doubts regarding the sustainability of leisure and tourism-led revitalization in the 'showpiece' district of Kazimierz will have to be addressed by the new Mayor and City Council, elected on a programme of reform in November 2002. By 2004, some preliminary work had been undertaken, most notably the submission of several projects for EU funding. A Task Team for revitalisation of the Kazimierz area has been established with five working groups: entrepreneurship and promotion; space of culture; social space; spatial economy; and housing. In the near future, the municipality plans to announce a competition for a 'complex and interdisciplinary study – conception for the revitalisation of the Kazimierz area, that would influence its economic and social activity' (Gorczyca 2004 personal communication). Whether or not this is the most appropriate way to address the problems of Kazimierz and its established residents and businesses will no doubt be the subject of considerable debate in the near future.

Conclusion

The present circumstances of the two case study areas seem very different, but there are also some significant common themes. Both Spitalfields and Kazimierz have medieval origins as urban quarters where immigrant communities were permitted to settle and establish their trades. Over the following centuries, through the early modern period to the present day, this rich multicultural heritage has left its imprint on the urban landscape. In these and other European cities, such places have complex place-identities that contrast with the 'mainstream' image of the national heritage industry. For many years associated with the poverty of other cultural and ethnic groups, they may contain a large stock of heritage buildings, deemed worthy of conservation because of their architectural merit and/or historic value. Typically, however, there are serious problems of dereliction and poor maintenance. The public realm of streets, community facilities and other infrastructure is also worn out and visibly neglected, as the local tax base is low, and city governments have other priorities. Over the last decade, the opportunity to market and promote an emerging

(ISBN 87-635-0437-5 / ISSN 1604-3030) e-Article in
Ethnologia Europaea – Journal of European Ethnology, volume 34:2 2004

visitor economy has been seen as something of a panacea to revitalize such areas. Their built heritage has thus been exploited as raw material from which a distinctive heritage 'product' can be developed, the buildings saved and restored.

In the examples described above, particular places associated with one minority of a particular historical period – or else an exotic theme built around the contemporary inhabitants – are marked out, and promoted to appeal to target audiences. Within each bounded enclave, considerable effort is invested to create a safe environment for visitors; a suitable ambience conducive to leisure and tourism consumption. This 'monocultural' approach may help to establish a strong unifying theme that can readily be communicated to prospective place-consumers. An optimistic scenario is that the development of a thriving visitor economy generates badly-needed income and jobs for inner city residents, compensating for the decline of older trades, and raising business confidence. New leisure and tourism-related uses for vacant or under-used heritage buildings may facilitate the restoration of neglected urban landscapes. The creation of a tourism enclave also provides the rationale, and resources to upgrade the public realm, to the benefit of local users and visitors alike (Orbasli & Shaw 2004). Less tangibly, the process may raise 'local pride' in areas where low self-esteem has long been reinforced by negative stereotypes of inner city neighborhoods and their minority residents.

The case studies also serve to illustrate some difficult issues and problems for municipalities that wish to raise the profile of such disadvantaged urban areas through micro-level place-marketing to visitors. The significant cultural legacy of such areas may be far from obvious to the casual observer, especially short-stay international tourists. Likewise, the creative activities of current inhabitants may be hidden from view. From a marketing perspective, a strong and simple theme may be the most effective way of establishing a positive place-brand and playing down less favourable associations. But, as Judd (1999, 2003) has emphasised, with reference to urban tourism in North America, an essentially false reality may be created through re-imaging inner city areas as constructed 'tourist bubbles' where visitors move, as in a theme park: a process described by Zukin (1995:28) as 'pacification by cappuccino'. In both case studies, there is now an emerging 'mosaic' of enclaves: places presented as 'of' a particular time or group of migrants. Thus, the visitor crosses from the Roman Catholic ecclesiastical heritage of Gothic churches to a re-presentation of a pre-war 'Jewish ghetto'; from elegant Georgian terraces of the Huguenot silk-weavers and merchants to vibrant 'Banglatown'.

A less benign view is that the transformation of public realm into such visitor-oriented enclaves alienates those among established local communities who perceive little personal benefit, marginalising if not excluding some groups. In historic cities that have a heritage of immigration, there are essential difficulties of interpreting complex urban place-histories and territorializing ethnic-geographies that are seldom static. Like holiday resorts in less developed countries that become the playgrounds of more affluent foreign tourists, visitors and wealthy residents may valorize historic inner city areas. In this aestheticized urban landscape of multiple realities, the 'host' population may itself become the object of curiosity, a theatre of extras: actors whose role is to animate the scene (Shaw & MacLeod 2000). Ironically, the sign-posting and marking out of cultural and ethnic difference creates an anodyne homogenous landscape of 'pure consumption', disconnected from life of the local population. The unleashing of market forces may result in an unequal distribution of costs and benefits, and rising property values will drive out low-income residents and small firms, including local shops and craft industries that once provided a sense of place as well as utility and employment.

De-coupled from established systems urban governance and land use planning, urban tourism may take on momentum of its own. City governments and other public agencies may offer a clear vision of desirable outcomes, and some may invest in facilitating infrastructure, including the 'soft' infrastructure of place-marketing

in its widest sense. Nevertheless today, in CEE as well as Western European countries, much depends on the commercial decisions of private-sector stakeholders, especially landowners and developers. In practice, policy-makers and planners can seldom predict with any certainty where, when or what type of investment will actually occur, far less its cumulative impact on the lives of local residents and communities. In a European Union of twenty-five Member States, the vision of an inclusive, pan-European heritage remains elusive. A culturally and ethnically pluralist perspective is far from straightforward, especially in divided cities where pasts as well as presents are deeply contested. However, without such sensitivity, there is a very real danger that urban tourism, while helping to save and conserve vulnerable built heritage, may exacerbate rather than de-fuse tensions in inner cities with turbulent social histories, where violent conflict has periodically re-surfaced.

Notes

1. This article is based on the paper presented by the authors to the US/International Council on Ancient Monuments and Sites (US/ICOMOS) 6th International Symposium, *Managing Conflict and Conservation in Historic Cities: Integrating Conservation with Tourism, Development and Politics,* Annapolis, Maryland, April 2003. The authors would like to thank US/ICOMOS for sponsoring their presentation.

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Hosting a sustainable visitor economy: Lessons from the regeneration of London's 'Banglatown'

Received (in revised form): 16th October, 2007

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Abstract In London, as in other large cities in OECD countries where immigrants have settled, ethnic minority entrepreneurs have successfully traded upon the appeal of particular streets as 'exotic' places of leisure and entertainment for high-spending visitors, especially through restaurants, bars, street markets, festivals and other events. In the case of Brick Lane in London's historic East End, Bangladeshi restaurateurs have stimulated the rejuvenation of a long-neglected inner-city street whose name was more commonly associated with a declining textile trade, the severe poverty of immigrant communities and recurring inter-racial tensions. Over the past decade, a fast-developing visitor economy has been supported by public investment, especially in infrastructure to accommodate an influx of visitors, and place-promotion to raise its profile as an asset to London's tourism offering. The underpinning philosophy of this self-proclaimed 'new model of regeneration' has been the creation of wealth — as opposed to ongoing subsidy — driven by local entrepreneurs who capitalise on the sustainable competitive advantages of an inner urban location, exploiting market opportunities through improved connectivity with more affluent areas of the city. In this case, the strategy required a significant upgrade of pedestrian links and an attractive street environment where high-spending customers would feel safe, especially after dark. Intervention to nurture leisure and tourism can help diversify and strengthen the local economy, generate employment and raise confidence in inner-city areas where low self-esteem has for many years been reinforced by the negative perceptions of outsiders. There may, however, be understandable fears that an increasing number of visitors will intrude upon the everyday activities of local residents and disrupt the operation of businesses in other sectors. In this example, in the early 2000s, opinions polarised over a proposal to pedestrianise the street and accommodate further expansion of the restaurant trade. The paper examines the underlying causes of bitter local opposition. This leads to discussion of how objections were addressed and design solutions developed through an innovative two-year programme of engagement and consultation, as representatives of the area's diverse communities became actively involved in shaping proposals to

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improve the pedestrian environment by means other than closure of the street to vehicles (scheme implemented 2002–2006).

Keywords: *Urban visitor economies, ethnic and cultural diversity, re-imaging, social inclusion, public realm.*

INTRODUCTION

Large cities that are gateways to immigration can offer an attractive mix of 'ethnic' cuisine, music, dance, festivals and other events that may be enjoyed by members of the majority culture and visitors from further afield. In North America, Australia and Northern Europe, minority entrepreneurs have capitalised on this appeal, promoting Little Vietnams, Punjabi Markets, Chinatowns and other 'ethnic quarters' as urban visitor destinations, some of which have become significant mainstream tourism attractions.[1] The streetscape is transformed into an exotic backdrop. If circumstances are favourable, this can provide a powerful catalyst to regenerate run-down and neglected neighbourhoods that are rich in expressions of cultural diversity, but poor in most other respects.[2]

Particular streets have been selected and promoted, their public spaces upgraded with support from Local Authorities and other public agencies. Such pump priming is generally expected to deliver a wide range of benefits: new business opportunities and badly needed jobs, re-use of redundant or under-used buildings and inward investment. Less tangibly, it may help raise local pride and increase the confidence of investors. Furthermore, the 'cosmopolitan' appeal of the city as a whole may be promoted to global audiences. In the UK, this has been amply demonstrated by cities that include London, Manchester and Birmingham.[3]

A positive take is that public investment and other intervention to support wealth creation by minority entrepreneurs can help transform inner-city streets and neighbourhoods whose very names were long associated with the poverty and marginalisation of immigrant communities. Deep concerns have been expressed, however, in both professional and academic literature regarding the longer-term social costs and distributional effects. In some cities, local residents experience noise and disturbance from people and traffic that continues late into the night. Without 24/7 policing, crime, anti-social behaviour and harassment of visitors may become problematic.[4] Disneyfied Latin Quarters may stereotype rather than challenge ethnic and cultural difference, accentuating tensions in areas less appealing to the gaze of tourists.[5]

This paper considers the transformation of Brick Lane, Spitalfields, in London's East End and its re-imaging as 'Banglatown — Curry Capital' over the past decade. It critically reviews the strategy to remodel its public realm and provide a more accessible, safe and attractive pedestrian environment for high-spending visitors and local residents alike. This longitudinal case study is considered in the broader context of a business-led model of regeneration that highlights the 'true competitive advantages' of inner-city areas. Ethnic minority firms are acknowledged as the prime movers, especially where improved connections with more affluent parts of

the metropolis — in this case the City of London — enable them to access new market opportunities. In the case study, expectations for economic and physical regeneration were exceeded, the formal objectives fully achieved.

Significant tensions emerged, nevertheless, over how the vision was to be implemented at street level. Opinions were deeply divided over key features of the strategy that included the staging of street festivals, place branding and the spectacular expansion of the Asian restaurant trade. This culminated in a very public row over a proposed 'Environmental Improvement Scheme' that threatened to undermine the credibility of the project. This paper reflects on the underlying reasons why these conflicts emerged. It then reviews an innovative approach to community engagement that was developed (2000–2002) to address the wide range of concerns, and assesses how this influenced the outcomes of the scheme that was eventually implemented (2002–2006).

STRATEGIES TO EXPLOIT CONNECTIONS WITH THE CITY

As Landry and Bianchini[6] observed, settled migrants have made a rich contribution, not only to urban economies but also to the cultural and creative life of gateway cities. In the case of Spitalfields, just outside London's historic city wall, these included Huguenots in the 1600s, and Jews (many from Central and Eastern Europe) from the late 1800s, whose entrepreneurs produced and sold textiles.[7] In the 1960s and 1970s, new immigrants took their place, many from Bangladesh. The majority found accommodation in low-quality social housing immediately to the East of Brick Lane. Unfortunately, like their predecessors, many suffered harassment and violence from race-hate groups, but some Bangladeshi businessmen acquired premises and continued the 'rag trade' until global competition forced its decline.[8]

Despite these negative associations, by the 1990s Brick Lane was attracting a rising trade from the nearby City, and from tourists who were increasingly aware of the area's built heritage, street markets and other engaging features. A growing community of artists and designers contributed to the 'bohemian' ambience, and further boosted custom for local curry restaurants. Building on this trend, from 1997 Spitalfields was identified as one of three 'Emerging Cultural Quarters' within the disadvantaged inner urban areas that fringed the City's Square Mile (the others being Clerkenwell and Hoxton–Shoreditch). This project was allocated £1m Single Regeneration Budget funding by the 'City Fringe Partnership', which brought together local authorities, public agencies, voluntary and commercial interests to exploit connections with the City.

City Fringe was set up to 'pioneer new ways of regenerating the inner city with a World City focus by building on the indigenous strengths, establishing new economic opportunities, improving the physical fabric, and creating new market relationships between the Fringe and the City'.[9] The Emerging Cultural Quarters would 'be developed to provide a resource for tourists as well as employees and business visitors, helping to enhance the City's reputation as the premier European business location' (ref. 9, p. 17). The identity or brand image of these historic areas would be developed and marketed to ensure positive coverage in the press, media and travel guidebooks. Visual impact and safety would be enhanced by street lighting and floodlighting; improved pedestrian

facilities would break down barriers to access and movement.

The nascent visitor economy was further encouraged through the initiatives of another programme called 'Cityside' 1997–2002, also funded under the Single Regeneration Budget (SRB3) for 'Building Business'. Led by the London Borough of Tower Hamlets and covering the western area of the borough, which borders the City of London, the overarching strategy would be to 'strengthen links with the City and encourage diversification of the local economy', especially into leisure and tourism. Cityside also proclaimed its intention to 'pioneer a new model of regeneration'[10] that would 'achieve a quantum leap in the area's status as a visitor/cultural destination' (ref. 10, p. 13). To this end, over £1m was allocated to 'Raising the Profile', 0.9m to street market improvements, and £0.6m to upgrade a key pedestrian link with the City.[11]

The interventions outlined above fit well with the influential business-led model for revitalisation of the inner city advocated by Michael Porter.[12] His thesis emphasises coherent strategies to support wealth creation by for-profit firms; a sustainable economic base that trades upon the true competitive advantages of an inner-city location, rather than fragmented, needs-based programmes that tend to treat the inner city as something of an island. Porter draws particular attention to African American and Hispanic entrepreneurs and managers as key drivers in US cities (ref. 12, p. 62). By forging connections with the surrounding urban and regional economies, inner-city firms can capitalise on their location and develop trade with customers from the city centre as well as local consumers. To realise this vision, local government and other public agencies must overcome critical barriers that include excessive regulation, fear of crime and poor transportation infrastructure (ref. 12, pp. 63–64).

BRICK LANE TO 'BANGLATOWN': IMPLEMENTING THE VISION

These principles were to be tried and tested in the case study area from the mid 1990s. Support through the SRB3 Building Business programmes — especially through place-promotion and infrastructure to create better connections with the City — would enable enterprising minority firms to 'export' their products and services. The Final Report of Cityside 2002 (ref. 11, p. 12) confirmed the key achievements of the five-year programme, which included 'approximately 1,100,000 new visitors brought to the area over five years' as a direct result of the programme, and the creation of over 1,000 jobs (70 per cent ethnic minorities), of which 100 were in Brick Lane restaurants (ref. 11, p. 7). Reflecting on these achievements, Andrew Bramidge, the Director of Cityside, nevertheless expressed some reservations that they were 'largely measured by the government in terms of "outputs" which are not always the same as the ones that local people might set' (ref. 11, p. 9).

Bramidge was keen to emphasise the crucial importance of outreach work to build relationships and 'buy-in' from local people and businesses (ref. 11, p. 11). In practice, this proved highly challenging, as some key initiatives to support the emerging visitor economy divided local opinion. For example, from 1998 Cityside facilitated the organisation and marketing of two street events — the Brick Lane Festival (see photograph) and *Baishakhi Mela* (Bengali New Year). The latter attracted 25,000 visitors to Brick Lane in its first year, rising to 60,000 in 2001 (see Figure 1). As John

Figure 1: The annual Brick Lane Festival has attracted many non-Bangladeshis from across London (Photo: Richard Simon)

Eade[13] observes, the festival was promoted as a 'multicultural' spectacle, but 'strict' Muslims frowned upon music and dancing, and there were particular sensitivities around places of worship on Fridays. Although supported by secular communities, the influential Imam of East London Mosque condemned the festival as an un-Islamic event that would lead young Bangladeshis astray.

The name 'Banglatown' was also introduced at this time as a brand to promote the festivals and restaurants. In this case, a negative campaign was led by London's newspaper *Evening Standard*, which criticised the place brand as the inappropriate reinforcement of a 'ghetto mentality': 'has no one ever told the council that "Banglatown" began life as a White-yob insult?'[14] Meanwhile, the rise of Banglatown as London's 'Curry Capital' greatly exceeded expectations. A survey commissioned by Cityside noted that, in 1989, there were only eight cafés and restaurants. Between 1997 and 2002, this rose to 41, making it 'the largest cluster of Bangladeshi/"Indian" restaurants anywhere in the UK'.[15] The restaurants all reported that their customers were 'overwhelmingly White', predominantly men and 70 per cent were in the 25–34 age group (ref. 15, p. 4).

This rapid expansion of Asian restaurants, along with fashionable bars, was greatly assisted by the local authority's decision to relax policies in its Unitary Development Plan. Thus, the central section of Brick Lane became a 'Restaurant Zone' where Class A3 uses

(restaurants, cafés, hot food outlets, public houses and bars) would be favourably considered.[16] Further encouragement was provided from Cityside's £0.3m Restaurant Sector Support, notably grants for frontage improvements, staff training and market development, together with promotion through a 'Bangla Bites' leaflet and www.BrickLaneRestaurants.com. Success led to replication rather than innovation, however, and, by 2000, discounting of menu prices and street canvassing by waiters suggested oversupply of an undifferentiated product.[17]

In accordance with the strategy to improve personal safety and reduce fear of crime, particular attention was paid to the main access points to Brick Lane. The upgrading of the subways from Aldgate Underground station under Whitechapel Road, a critical route from the City, was therefore a significant milestone. The ambience of the street itself had already been enhanced with Eastern-style ornamental arches at the City end, together with brighter streetlights that incorporated decorative 'Asian' motifs. Nevertheless, heavy through traffic and a poor pedestrian environment remained a major constraint to further development of the visitor economy. In response, in 2000 the London Borough of Tower Hamlets proposed an Environmental Improvement Scheme to exclude motorised traffic from Brick Lane: an idea that was presented as unproblematic.

A permanently pedestrianised street would attract more visitors and create more pleasant public spaces for local residents. Initial consultation suggested that public opinion favoured the proposal. Cityside and London Borough of Tower Hamlets thus appointed consultants Buro Happold to work up a detailed scheme. But the consultant urban designers were fully aware of the sensitivity of local feelings and that, over the previous decade, various proposals had floundered because of disagreements between opposing local interests or because of insufficient finance. And in the months that followed, it became increasingly apparent that many local residents, community organisations and businesses were sceptical. Some were deeply suspicious and strongly against the proposals.

Full-scale pedestrianisation was advocated most strongly by a group of restaurateurs, who anticipated new opportunities for *al fresco* dining (although not all restaurants were in favour). Understandably, other local firms — including some long-established wholesalers and manufacturers that needed access for collections and deliveries — were strongly opposed. Many residents, especially those from the Conservation Area to the West of Brick Lane, were also against any further expansion of the late-night 'party zone'. Unfortunately, a stormy public meeting led to physical blows, and the police were called to break up an unseemly brawl in the town hall. The consultant urban designers persuaded the London Borough of Tower Hamlets and Cityside (their joint client) that full pedestrianisation was undesirable and unworkable.

COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT: RE-THINKING THE SCHEME

The local authority and Regeneration Agency thus agreed that extensive consultation to review the proposed Environmental Improvement Scheme was now a priority. Wider consultation by the local authority revealed that encroachment of the visitor economy on public space was a concern of communities outside the gentrified areas of Spitalfields. Planning Officer Andrea

Ritchie reported (personal interview) on a focus group of older Bengali women:[18] '[They] stressed the point that they had to be escorted by their husbands and that they could not walk along Brick Lane at all because there were just too many men there, with all the visitors and [restaurant] staff. So, although it is their area, they are socially excluded from it.'

In the two-year programme of community engagement that followed (2000-2002), Buro Happold in association with Community Consultants set out to obtain a more comprehensive and balanced representation of local opinions. Those whose views were sought included:

— residents from the socially and ethnically diverse neighbourhoods around Brick Lane (interviewer-based questionnaire survey with a stratified random sample reflecting gender, age, ethnicity and tenure, $n = 231$)
— managers of restaurants and other businesses such as local shops and warehouses (interviewer-based questionnaire survey, workshops)
— representatives of community organisations, the Metropolitan Police and other public services (workshops)
— visitors to the Brick Lane Festival (interviewer-based intercept survey, $n = 270$).

Only among the festival visitors was a majority (62 per cent) in favour of closing the street to traffic. The opinion of residents was divided, with 41 per cent favouring the option 'no further traffic restrictions but to improve the environment' and 42 per cent favouring temporary closures on 'weekend evenings in the summer', the remainder expressing no opinion. This initial phase of consultation confirmed widespread rejection of permanent closure, but broad agreement on the need to improve the pedestrian environment. After the feasibility and basic design options had been determined, the second phase consulted the various stakeholder groups on the detailed and site-specific options. This included a one-week drop-in exhibition that was held in a vacant shop, with a multilingual facilitator. Over 700 people made their comments, for example on the choice of materials for the footway/carriageway, and 'tweaking' of the design and siting of street furniture, planting, crossings, delivery bays and parking spaces.

As with the workshops, the aim was to create an informal and constructive atmosphere in which local residents and businesses were given the opportunity to express their preferences, a process that seemed to engender renewed confidence that the views of 'ordinary' people would be taken seriously. When funding became available from Transport for London in 2002,[19] firm proposals had been drawn up. As anticipated by the consultants, there was little prospect of unanimity on how the broad objectives should be achieved. Nevertheless, a gradual process of negotiation and consultation informed the scheme that was eventually chosen. Eventually, it was possible to develop broad consensus on design solutions to minimise conflicts between pedestrians and traffic, bars/restaurants and other firms, visitors and local residents. The key features of the scheme that was implemented (2002–2006) can be summarised as follows.

Marking identity through streetscape

The 'theming up' of the street was an issue that was raised in the workshops, by both businesses and community organisations. Many considered it appropriate to celebrate its identity as the heart of the Bangladeshi community.

There was little enthusiasm to create permanent features, however, such as the brightly coloured paving that had previously been advocated by one group. It was therefore resolved that cultural identity would be reflected through more subtle means, especially public art and ephemeral markers such as street banners and decorations.

Traffic calming and the public realm

In accordance with the wishes of the majority, Brick Lane has not been permanently closed to traffic (although the option was kept open for timed closure of one section in the evenings at weekends 6 pm–2 am, during the summer). Instead, the pavement has been widened significantly and made flush with the carriageway. Junction designs and right-of-way priorities have been changed to slow down through traffic, so that the street is safe to cross at most places and at most times. Drop-kerbs make pedestrian crossings more accessible, especially for people using wheelchairs, others who are mobility impaired, and parents with small children in pushchairs.

Attention to detail

Yorkstone flags (a paving material that had been used in Spitalfields since the 18th century) were used for the footways, black tegula blocks for the road surface, with granite setts between. Public art, benches, street trees/planting and additional litterbins were located where appropriate, as guided by the consultation within the limits of physical constraints, such as utilities underground. Existing street lighting columns were kept if possible but complemented by feature lighting. Although the area is well served by public transport, there has been a shortage of parking spaces and places for delivery/collection of goods. Priority is given to short-term parking, and new restrictions have reduced maximum stay to two hours. Loading bays and parking spaces have been redesigned to make more use of the available space and to align them with premises.

Street management and upkeep

The consultants recommended a 'Brick Lane Charter'. Had it been adopted, its key features would have included:

1. effective street maintenance by the Borough and repairs after works by statutory services
2. coordination of refuse collection and street cleaning
3. an agreed strategy for parking, loading and deliveries, and enforcement of restrictions
4. a 'one stop shop' that would respond to day-to-day problems and champion further improvements.

Unfortunately, there has been a disappointing level of damage to the recent works described above, such as tegular blocks on the carriageway missing or loose where street repairs have been carried out, extensive fly-posting, new bicycle stands crushed, street trees dead, pavements stained with cooking oil. This lack of upkeep suggests the need for ongoing street management, perhaps enhanced by designation of a Business Improvement District if commercial owners are in favour.

In the years to come, it is anticipated that the London Olympics 2012 will be a key driver of economic development; local communities and small businesses in the 'host' authority areas will be integral to economic development associated with the Games. A further survey by

Carey and Ahmed in 2006[4] included in-depth interviews with 50 South Asian-owned businesses in Brick Lane and Green Street in the London Borough of Newham. Nearly three-quarters of all the businesses believed that the local residents would benefit from job opportunities. This might not benefit lower-income groups, such as the Bangladeshis, however. Those in Brick Lane expressed concerns that large retail and leisure chains such as Starbucks would establish outlets; they feared that this would displace South Asian firms and irretrievably change the character of the street.

Furthermore, a number of the firms in Brick Lane expressed disappointment that the momentum for place-promotion has been lost, and that the earlier successes facilitated by Cityside and other regeneration initiatives have not been followed through. The survey also revealed anxieties over security for two reasons. First, there was a need for routine on-street policing, particularly after dark, to deter groups of young Bangladeshi men from harassing visitors, as well as the occasional but regular occurrence of 'gang' fights. Secondly, there was concern that the Banglatown brand might be seriously affected in the event of any terrorist outrage before or during the Games. Restaurant owners had reported significant downturn in the aftermath of the London suicide bombings on 7th July, 2005; this cast doubt on its explicit identification as a Muslim area.

CONCLUSION

The idea that sustainable competitive advantages should be fully exploited by ethnic minority entrepreneurs that are well connected with wider urban and regional markets provides an attractive vision for the post-industrial inner city. No longer marginalised and limited by their isolation from wealthier areas of the metropolis, they can become key drivers of wealth creation that stimulates economic and physical regeneration. As demonstrated in Brick Lane, supportive interventions — especially place-marketing, favourable planning policies, business advice and the upgrading of streetscapes, public spaces and other critical infrastructure — can help create a more positive outlook, a process than can itself encourage capacity building and help raise confidence in the future prospects for the locality.

Further, public policy has given increasing recognition to the development and promotion of 'ethnic quarters' as a showcase for visitor attractions. Re-imaged and made accessible to city centres, it is acknowledged that they enhance the sustainable competitive advantage of the metropolis itself, helping to position a city in world markets as 'creative', 'vibrant' and 'cosmopolitan'.[20] Urban leisure and tourism is, nevertheless, an 'export' that necessarily requires the consumers to come to the product, rather than the other way round. The centre of a large metropolis such as London is, in general, well able to absorb the ebb and flow of visitors and accommodate major events. Beyond this core area, resentment towards the development of a visitor economy can sometimes erupt, especially where 'host' communities include low-income residents, many of whom are recent immigrants.[21]

In countries such as the UK, there may be justifiable concerns that the development and promotion of ethnic quarters as 'defended space that tourists ... safely inhabit'[22] may heighten rather than reduce social tensions through physical expression of an ever-widening gap between the haves and have-nots.[23]

As the programme drew to its close, Cityside emphasised the need for their successors to prioritise further environmental improvements, better facilities for young people, and action to tackle rising levels of crime and drug abuse. Continuing regeneration of the area would depend upon a much wider set of initiatives. Cityside had been keen to work closely with Neighbourhood Renewal Fund and Local Area Partnership programmes, but the 'artificial split between economic and social programmes is not ideal'.[24]

Proposals to re-design the public realm may have profound implications for the diverse communities who live, work and enjoy their own leisure time in the locality, and ultimately for the sustainability of the urban visitor economy. In principle, upgrading the public realm to accommodate visitors can provide the rationale for improvements to the pedestrian environment that offer a long-waited opportunity to deliver significant improvements that also benefit local users. However, the Environmental Improvement Scheme proposal for Brick Lane in the early 2000s illustrates how the benefits for one commercial interest group can be outweighed by the costs to other businesses and residents. It also demonstrates how the 'wishes of the local community' can be misread.

As Sir Michael Lyons put it in 'Place-shaping: a shared ambition'[25] a key strategic role for local government — in promoting the well-being of local communities — is to build and shape local identity. This cannot be achieved unless the authority can facilitate debate on what form this should take, and ensure that 'smaller voices are heard'. In the case study, this proved a significant challenge. The 're-thought' scheme for Brick Lane works well because it was informed by a thorough review that was guided by the following principles:

1. Do not allow one interest group to dominate and drive the scheme, and identify the full range of local stakeholders: residents, firms, community organizations etc.
2. Allow each to contribute on an equal footing and with practitioners who provide the specialist expertise, eg urban designers.
3. Create a calm and constructive setting so that points of conflict/consensus can be made transparent and discussed.
4. Local knowledge, insights and views may thus be used to inform solutions, scoping down from strategic options to the detailed and site-specific issues.
5. Encourage ongoing involvement in street management and championing of further improvements.

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Tourism and multicultural heritage: tools for participation by low-income residents

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Key words: tourism, geographic information systems for participation, urban design

1 Introduction

In cities throughout Europe, leisure and tourism provides a powerful catalyst for regeneration and renewal. Adjacent to city centres, there are run-down and neglected neighbourhoods that are rich in built heritage, but poor in most other respects. Public resources are often over-stretched. Nevertheless, city governments – sometimes with external support – select particular historic districts and invest in the public realm of streets and other public spaces to create an attractive setting that will accommodate visitors, including international tourists. Thus, they seek to pump-prime an emerging visitor economy that is expected to deliver a wide range of benefits, including the re-use, restoration and conservation of redundant or under-used historic buildings. More broadly, it is anticipated that it will stimulate the urban economy, create new jobs and enhance the city's appeal as a destination for cultural tourism.

Over the past ten to twenty years, there have been some remarkable transformations of neighbourhoods that seemed unlikely destinations for urban tourism. These include inner city areas whose very street names were once associated with the marginalisation of low-income residents, especially immigrant communities. The (re-)presentation of such areas as "cultural quarters" has generated new business opportunities, inward investment and badly-needed employment. However, in some cities, the increasing number of tourists may become intrusive. Disturbance and noise continues late into the night, crime and anti-social behaviour becomes problematic [1]. "Disneyfied Latin quarters" may displace established communities, accentuating social and ethnic tensions beyond the tourist bubble [2]. The authors reflect upon this pessimistic prognosis, and whether this process of "gentrification" is inevitable.

The paper considers the rejuvenation of a historic but disadvantaged inner city area close to the city centre of London, where a two-year long consultation project led to a profound re-think. Previous assumptions as to local preferences were questioned as the ethnically diverse local communities became actively involved in proposals to re-design and upgrade public spaces to make the area more accessible, safer and attractive for local users as well as visitors. It introduces a technique that will build upon this experience, through a pilot project that will test and develop an innovative use of Geographic Information Systems for Participation (GIS-P). The authors welcome discussion on the broader application of their methodology, especially in historic cities across the Enlarged Europe. They invite comments on its potential as a tool to support urban designers and other practitioners who are working to deliver significant improvements to the public realm of historic cities.

2 Regeneration and multicultural heritage in London's City Fringe

In countries such as the UK, there is concern that, despite the remarkable "urban renaissance" of recent years, within a short walk of rejuvenated city centres there are disturbing contrasts between rich and poor neighbourhoods [3]. Showpiece restoration of "urban quarters" may heighten rather than reduce the disparities between conspicuous consumption and poverty [4]. To what extent can low-income residents and small businesses influence and benefit from initiatives whose main priority is to accommodate visitors, especially through upgrading of streetscapes and public spaces that provide the focus for community life? In London, policy attention has focused upon an area of severe disadvantage that is located within a short walk of the "Square Mile": one of the world's leading financial centres.

In the mid 1990's, its potential appeal to visitors as an "emerging cultural quarter" was highlighted by the City Fringe Partnership that brought together Local Authorities, public agencies and commercial interests, and successfully bid for central government funding to rejuvenate "some of London's last historic quarters":

"These cultural areas, unique to the capital and on the doorstep of the City, will be developed to provide a resource for tourists as well as employees and business visitors, helping to enhance the City's reputation as the premier European business location" [5].

In medieval London, this area was known as the "Liberties". North and East of city walls, it was beyond the jurisdiction of the mayor and burgesses, as well as the powerful craft guilds. The area thus provided a home for marginalised groups and institutions whose presence was unwelcome within the city precincts. A short distance from the Port of London, it became home to immigrants from all parts of British Isles to successive waves of foreigners. For example, in the fourteenth century, a colony of cloth-makers from the Low Countries produced sailcloth for English vessels. In the centuries that followed others arrived, many fleeing religious persecution or poverty in their homelands.

From the sixteenth century, Sephardic Jews from Spain and Portugal prospered as moneylenders and merchants [6]. Protestant Huguenots expelled from France in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries gave the word *refugee* to the English language and the area known as Spitalfields became their largest settlement. Their particular contribution to the urban economy included silk weaving [7]. By the early 1700's, the area was by far the greatest centre of the textile industry in the capital, but industrialisation made their skills redundant. Most moved away, but others took their place. The expression ethnic and cultural succession is well illustrated by the *Neuve Eglise,* built in the early 1700's, a non-conforming church that stands at the corner of Brick Lane and Fournier Street [8]:

"The original congregation declined as the French-speaking minority intermarried and became absorbed, until in 1809 the church was taken over by the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews. In Victorian times, it served as a Methodist chapel until the influx of north European Jews to Spitalfields at the turn of the century. In 1898 it was converted into the Great Synagogue. From the 1960's, the Jewish congregation dwindled, and the building closed again. It was reopened in 1976 as the London Jamme Masjid, one of the largest mosques in the capital, with a capacity for 4000 worshippers in the prayer hall."

As the Jewish population, which had been the dominant community in Spitalfields and adjacent Whitechapel moved away in the 1970's, Bangaladeshi entrepreneurs acquired their former textile and leather workshops. The majority of the new immigrants found accommodation in low quality, often high-rise social housing, and the urban environment remained poor, with worn-out infrastructure and neglected streetscapes along roads where heavy through-traffic

added to noise and atmospheric pollution. Elsewhere in the City Fringe area, other immigrants experienced similar hardship; these included Vietnamese, Somalis and Afro-Caribbeans. However, by the 1990's Brick Lane – the main thoroughfare and high street for the Bangladeshi community – was attracting visitors from the nearby City and international tourists, who were increasingly aware of its fascinating heritage, its street markets, cafes and curry restaurants. Furthermore, a growing community of artists and designers contributed to the "bohemian" ambience.

This nascent visitor economy was given a significant boost by another regeneration programme called "Cityside" – (1997-2002), whose overarching strategy was to "strengthen links with the City and encourage diversification of the local economy", especially into leisure and tourism. Cityside's vision was to "achieve a quantum leap in the area's status as a visitor / cultural destination" [9]. Particular attention was therefore paid to the main access points to Brick Lane, including its pedestrian subways to improve perceptions of personal safety, and in 1997 Eastern-style gateways were erected, together with brighter street lamps, the design of which incorporated ornamental "Asian" motifs. In the same year, Cityside set up an initiative to enable street events – notably Bengali New Year and the Brick Lane Curry Festival – to attain a higher media profile, and "Banglatown" was adopted as a brand to promote Brick Lane as a mainstream visitor destination.

3 Visitors and contested "ownership" of public spaces

The rapid rise of Banglatown as a centre for ethnic cuisine greatly exceeded expectations. A survey carried out for Cityside noted that in 1989 there were only eight cafés / restaurants in Brick Lane, with a few additions in the early 1990's. Between 1997 and 2002 this rose to 41, of which 16 had opened 2000-2, making it "the largest cluster of Bangladeshi / 'Indian' restaurants anywhere in the UK" [10]. Meanwhile, a redundant Victorian brewery was converted to provide over 250 studios for artists and designers, bars, cafés, two nightclubs, specialist shops and an exhibition centre. This transformation of a run-down and somewhat shabby historic streetscape has undoubtedly brought wealth to ethnic minority-owned businesses, and has created significant employment opportunities; the same study estimated that the restaurants employed around 400 workers, of whom 96% were of Bangladeshi origin.

By 2000, the inadequate local infrastructure was highlighted as a key constraint to further development of the booming visitor economy. In response, an outline Environmental Improvement Scheme was drawn up that would close Brick Lane to motorised traffic: an idea that was presented as something of a "win-win" concept. Exclusion of vehicles would create a setting that would attract more visitors, as well as a more pleasant environment for local residents. Initial consultation suggested that public opinion favoured the proposal; Cityside and LB Tower Hamlets thus appointed consultants Buro Happold to design a detailed scheme to pedestrianise the street. The consultant urban designers were, however, fully aware of the sensitivity of local feelings and that over the previous decade, various proposals had floundered because of disagreements between opposing local interests or because of insufficient finance.

In the months that followed, it became increasingly apparent that many local residents, community organisations and businesses were sceptical; some were deeply suspicious and strongly opposed the proposals. Pedestrianisation had been advocated most strongly by a group of restaurateurs, who anticipated new opportunities for *al fresco* dining. However, the closing of access to goods vehicles would effectively mean that other local firms – especially those in manufacturing and wholesaling – would no longer be able to function. Some residents were against any further expansion of bars, clubs and restaurants, or late-night extension of their licenses. Unfortunately, a stormy public meeting led to physical blows and the police were called to break up an unseemly brawl in the town hall. It was anticipated that the overall aim of

reducing traffic intrusion would receive much wider support. However, the scheme would have to be acceptable to the diverse local communities that lived, worked, owned businesses, shopped, socialised, worshipped and enjoyed their leisure time in Brick Lane.

The consultant urban designers persuaded their client that full pedestrianisation would be undesirable and unworkable; a comprehensive programme of consultation was needed and all local stakeholders must be actively involved in the decisions affecting their neighbourhood. The two-year programme of consultation and participation (2000-2) that followed, yielded a far more accurate picture of local opinions, and prepared the way for a more satisfactory scheme that would deliver significant improvements to the public realm by means other than permanent closure. Those who took part included residents from the socially and ethnically diverse neighbourhoods around Brick Lane, restaurants as well as other established businesses such as local shops, workshops and warehouses that had different requirements for access, loading and parking, community organisations, the police and other public services, as well as visitors.

Consultation methods combined the use of workshops to elicit the in-depth views and priorities of these different stakeholders, and questionnaire-based surveys to establish whether these were shared by a statistically acceptable sample of these various "constituencies". Maintaining the momentum to ensuring that people were kept informed was an essential feature of the approach. The initial phase of the consultation programme sought broad agreement on the strategic principles of a scheme to create a more accessible, safe and attractive pedestrian environment. The second phase engaged the various stakeholder groups in detailed design work, including the choice of paving materials, design and siting of street furniture and landscaping, and the lay-out of crossings, loading bays and parking spaces. This included a drop-in exhibition that was held in a vacant shop, where a multilingual facilitator.

As with the workshops, the aim was to create an informal and constructive atmosphere in which a wide cross-section of the local population and all local businesses were given the opportunity to express their preferences. This process seemed to encourage a new spirit of optimism and confidence that the views of "ordinary" people would be taken seriously. When funding became available in 2002, firm proposals had been drawn up. As anticipated by the consultants, there was no unanimity on how the broad objectives should be achieved. Nevertheless, the scheme that was eventually chosen had been developed through a broad consensus that informed design solutions that would minimise conflicts between pedestrians and traffic, bars / restaurants and other firms, visitors and local residents. The key features of the scheme that was implemented (2002-6) can be summarised as follows:

Traffic management and traffic calming
In accordance with the wishes of the majority, Brick Lane was not permanently closed to traffic (although the option was kept open for timed closure of one section in the evenings at weekends 6 pm – 2 am, during the summer). The pavement has, however, been widened significantly, and made flush with the carriageway. Junction designs and priorities have been changed to slow down through traffic (the right of way now is now given to traffic emerging from some side streets). At most times, traffic is now sufficiently slow and the road narrow enough to make it safe to cross at many points along Brick Lane. Drop-kerbs make pedestrian crossings more accessible, especially for people using wheelchairs, others who are mobility impaired, and parents with pushchairs.

Local identity and street furniture
Banglatown's identity would be reflected through public art and choice of materials, not through overt branding. Yorkstone flags (a paving material that had been used in Spitalfields since the eighteenth century) were used for footpaths; black tegula blocks

for road surface, with granite setts to demarcate between footpath / road. Public art, benches, street trees / planting and additional litter bins were located where appropriate, as guided by the consultation. Existing street lighting columns were kept if possible but complemented by feature lighting.

Parking and loading, maintenance and responsibilities
Although the area is well served by public transport, there has been a shortage of parking spaces, and places for delivery / collection of goods. Priority is given to short-term parking, and new restrictions have reduced maximum stay to two hours. Loading bays and parking spaces have been redesigned to make more use of the available space and to align them with premises. The consultants recommended a 'Brick Lane charter': the Borough would maintain the street effectively and ensure that statutory services repair and make good street works, while business and residential communities would play their part in helping to look after the public spaces.

4 Geographic information systems for participation (GIS-P)

The profound re-think of the approach to public engagement and participation described above, suggests some fundamental principles:

(a) City governments and regeneration agencies must identify the full range of "stakeholders": residents, local firms and community organisations, they must not allow one interest group to drive the scheme;
(b) Each "stakeholder" group must be allowed to contribute to the design process in a calm setting, and on an equal footing: with each other, as well as with practitioners who provide specialist expertise in urban design;
(c) Differences between the priorities and preferences of the various stakeholder groups are thus made transparent, and local knowledge is used to inform the formulation of design solutions, working down from broad strategic options to the fine-tuning of proposals.

With these principles in mind, a new inter-disciplinary research project called "InSITU" (Inclusive and Sustainable Infrastructure for Tourism and Urban Regeneration) is currently being carried out as a pilot study. Funded by the Engineering and Physical Sciences Research Council (EPSRC), its aim is to develop and test new tools to deliver significant improvements to the streetscape of historic but disadvantaged urban areas, using an innovative application of Geographic Information Systems (GIS) called Geographic Information Systems for Participation (GIS-P). GIS-P differs from other participatory GIS (as often called in the American literature) in that it is designed to give participants control of creating the data, rather than just manipulating other people's data [11].

InSITU will thus address the specific needs of communities in three cities in the UK where there is significant leisure and tourism-regeneration associated with built heritage: London, Manchester and York. The GIS-P tool will enable local people to influence urban design, so that the benefits for the locality can be maximised. The aim is to allow all participants – regardless of their expertise – to frame the issues and problems in their own terms. Their preferences will be articulated through local "panels", composed of representatives of different interest groups. Through these workshops, points of conflict and consensus will be made transparent and represented on multi-layered maps and plans that can be interpreted by practitioners who are working to create safer, more accessible and attractive public spaces.

The tool will thus be developed for use by key regeneration specialists, especially transport planners and engineers, land use planners, urban designers, conservation officers and heritage attraction managers. In each of the case study areas, "roundtables" will be convened to ensure that these relevant service providers are able to set out the specific issues that they would like to be discussed by the panels. Thus, they will highlight any requirements concerning the form of the output maps and may be used, i.e. to provide a useful input to policies, plans and programmes. Roundtable participants will meet again to review the outcomes of the local panels. The technique will be used to complement other methods of consultation and participation, such as public meetings, exhibitions and questionnaires, and the intention is to compare the results with the outcomes from these more established methods.

Through the case studies, the GIS-P tool can be used to enable local stakeholders to contribute at the critical stages of the design process. If proposals are in the preliminary phase, there may be a broad range of options upon which the public can express their views. Where they are relatively well advanced, the budget will be known, as will the design constraints, e.g. statutory services, safety and accessibility requirements, planning and conservation guidelines. Nevertheless, there will be choices that affect local users. These might include paving materials, type / siting of street lighting, design / location of bus stops, signage and other street furniture, design / location of landscaping and public art. Where works have been completed, the tool can be used to enable users to evaluate the improvements, and to identify outstanding problems that have yet to be addressed, e.g. street cleaning, removal of graffiti, repair of damaged pavements and benches.

The research team anticipates that the following features of the GIS-P tool will enable it to make a valuable and distinctive contribution to street design:

1) Focus group / workshop discussion is integrated with spatial and temporal expression of participants' views and preferences (GIS-P mapping);
2) The GIS-P maps are multi-layered to compare the opinions and priorities of different local stakeholders, e.g. residents in different age or income groups, local shops versus tourism-oriented businesses;
3) This leads to spatial and temporal analysis of points of consensus or conflict, as a preliminary to the generation solutions that are feasible within the available budget, planning and conservation guidelines, etc.;
4) The process is re-iterative and progresses from strategic design principles through to detailed, site-specific issues, e.g. choice of paving materials, street lighting, landscaping;
5) The results are presented on high-quality digitised maps that can easily be interpreted by urban designers, conservationists and others who will implement the proposals.

5 Public space and democratic participation in the enlarged Europe?

As outlined in the section above, the research consortium will work in collaboration with city governments, regeneration and development agencies in the UK to widen participation in urban design. The aim is to enable participants – regardless of their expertise – to articulate views and preferences in their own terms. The authors therefore welcome critical discussion on whether their methodologies might be transferred and applied to other European cities, where a visitor economy is being nurtured to revitalise historic but disadvantaged urban areas. A decade ago, as the European Union was expanding from twelve to fifteen Member States, Ashworth and Larkham [12] highlighted the need for a pan-European approach to heritage presentation and interpretation that would embrace the diverse cultures of recent past and immigrants, all of whom are citizens of Europe. More recently, Sandercock [13] has argued the need to celebrate

the beauty of "mongrel cities": cosmopolitan places in which difference, otherness, multiplicity, heterogeneity, diversity and plurality prevail.

In practice, considerable tensions must be overcome if this explicitly inclusive "European" approach is to be accepted across the Expanded Europe of twenty-five Member States. This paper has examined critically the transformation of a 'historic quarter' at the heart of London's East End through a regeneration programme that gave recognition to the special contribution of immigrants to the creative as well as economic life to London. Its objectives emphasised the historic and continuing role of ethnic minorities in the development of London as a 'premier European business location'. However, despite these good intentions, some local residents felt threatened by an influx of visitors more affluent than their communities; visitors who were encouraged to regard Banglatown as a somewhat bohemian and hedonistic 'party zone'. It seemed to many that the requirements of the fast-expanding visitor economy – with its restaurants, bars and night-clubs – was taking precedence over established firms, including local shops and other businesses that serviced everyday needs.

The case study illustrates how serious mis-readings of the 'wishes of the local community' can occur. A very public argument over 'ownership' and use of the public realm did little to foster confidence in local democracy. There was understandable concern that leisure and tourism-led regeneration might alienate and ultimately displace the very people who were supposed to benefit. However, through the programme of engagement and participation that ensued (2000-2), the area's multicultural communities were actively engaged and participated in proposals to improve the streetscape of their neighbourhood. When funds became available, the revised scheme (2002-6) was informed by this involvement of diverse local stakeholders. Through this process of negotiation, the solutions achieved the key objectives of delivering significant improvements to the pedestrian environment for the benefit of diverse local communities as well as visitors. However, this profound re-think seems to be exceptional.

Throughout Europe, studies of urban tourism and its social impact stress the importance of an appropriate and robust planning framework to facilitate sustainable development. In the years that followed the demise of Communism, this proved to be a particular challenge for many historic towns and cities in Central Europe. Hoffman and Musil [14] highlight the influence of air transport and promotion of Prague's spectacular built heritage on the rapid growth of a short breaks market in the 1990's. They observe that despite strong local opposition, the municipality could do little to prevent over-development of hotels and other tourism facilities that displaced residents from the Old Town and heightened social polarisation. Poland's former Tourism Minister Paszucha [15] highlighted the potential of tourism to restore and revitalise whole historic complexes, but he also emphasised that a 'firm plan' would be essential, since free market forces would inevitably pose a number of threats.

In the early 1990's, leisure and tourism-led regeneration seemed to offer significant opportunities for the UNESCO-listed World Heritage site of Kazimierz: a remarkable district of Cracow that features both Christian and Jewish Heritage. Tragically, after more than five hundred years of continuous settlement, the Jewish presence was abruptly terminated by the Nazi invasion. Under Communism much of the area's housing was rented to the city's poorest citizens and historic streetscapes deteriorated. From the early 1990's, selected premises were renovated and found new uses as 'Jewish-style' cafes, bookshops, restaurants and hotels; culturally important sites were restored as memorials to the Holocaust. Thus, particular streets became objects of the international tourist gaze. A nearby square became a fashionable, late-night entertainment venue for young Cracovians.

Neither *the Detailed Local Master Plan for the Historic Quarter of Kazimierz* (1987) adopted during the Communist era, nor the EU-funded *Kazimierz Action Plan* (1994-9) achieved the

intended 'balance of residential, commercial and visitor uses' [16; 17]. Indeed, as residential and commercial premises became desirable, low-rent tenants and craft industries were displaced. In 2004, 'Friends of Kazimierz' was set up as a voluntary organisation, not only to promote events to visitors, but also to enable residents to discuss local issues. With regard to the public realm of Kazimierz, a number of key concerns are apparent. Many residents complain that pavement cafés and restaurants stay open too late, encouraging young people gather outside, drinking and listening to loud music on summer nights. In the daytime, tired tourists 'occupy' public squares, and parents complain that there is a shortage of space for children to play. There is anxiety that the new 'café society' will continue to expand and drive away the popular local markets that sell food, clothing and everyday items [18].

6 Conclusion

As Wolpole and Greenhalgh [19] observed, the best of public spaces have rhythms and patterns of their own, being occupied at different times by quite different groups, occasionally by almost everybody. Historic streets and other public spaces have the potential to provide a genuinely inclusive and pluralistic public realm for the benefit of local users as well as visitors. The examples discussed in this paper highlight their significance, and the strength of local opinions concerning their 'ownership' and use. Across the Enlarged Europe, city governments are increasingly aware that tourism-led regeneration does not provide a panacea to cure the ills of historic but disadvantaged areas. If the aim is to ensure that emerging visitor economy is sustainable and acceptable to 'host' communities, programmes of engagement and participation will be critical to success. The authors will be pleased to discuss with colleagues in other historic cities, how the proposed use of GIS-P might complement existing methods and techniques for consultation where city governments are encouraging an emerging visitor economy.

7 Acknowledgements

The authors acknowledge the contribution of Steve Cinderby by the development of GIS-P and thank him for his permission to use his material in this paper.

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Stephen J. Shaw

THE CANADIAN 'WORLD CITY' AND SUSTAINABLE DOWNTOWN REVITALISATION: MESSAGES FROM MONTREAL 1962–2002

THE CITY GOVERNMENTS OF CANADA's largest metropolitan centres have, in recent years, experienced some dramatic changes of civic leadership and policy agenda, as well as reductions in financial support, and reorganisations that include the controversial 'megacity' mergers in Toronto and Montreal. Nevertheless, city governments are permanent and relatively stable institutions in a 'world of flows', characterised by 'floating populations, transnational politics within national borders, and mobile configurations of technology and expertise' (Appadurai 2001: 5). In Canada, they are creations of Provincial statute with specified powers and duties to perform. Their democratic raison d'être is to serve local electors and promote their well-being: a role that has somehow to be reconciled with the ebbs and flows of globalisation.

In North America, there is a long history of 'civic boosterism'. For a century or more, Canadian city governments have fought hard to position themselves in global markets that are expected to deliver economic benefits and further enhance their competitive advantage. Over the past ten years or so, more sophisticated and subtle techniques of 'place marketing' have been developed and the goals have widened, so that the desired benefits now embrace improvements to the physical environment and amenities for disadvantaged communities, as well as well as local income and employment. In this context, a favourable international profile is considered critical to the success of strategies to revitalise downtown areas and adjacent inner city neighbourhoods as vibrant cosmopolitan centres.

In the early 1990s, Metropolitan Toronto (1992) and the City of Vancouver (1992) both adopted development plans for their Central Business Districts (CBDs) expressing their intention to nurture sustainable growth, and foster the ideal of the 'liveable city' (Shaw 1995; Marshall 2001). Likewise, Ville de Montréal wanted to be a 'modern city on a human scale':

> Montreal must make a change in direction towards sustainable urban development. The decisions made today affect future generations and must take into account the environmental, economic and social impacts, both in the short and long term. (1992: iii–iv)

The benefits would be distributed to improve 'quality of life' for all urban communities, including those in the most disadvantaged areas. With reference to the case of Montreal's central Ville-Marie District, this article discusses the changing discourse of promotion to international audiences and the emerging framework of public policy that espouses the principles of sustainable development and social equity.

Raising the international profile

For the past forty years, successive civic leaders of Montreal – like their counterparts in Toronto and Vancouver – have placed a very high priority, not only on competing successfully with other metropolitan centres in North America, but on attracting inward movement of capital, people and knowledge spanning all continents. Until comparatively recent times, most Canadian city governments focused their promotional efforts on luring investors with promises of hard infrastructure, tax concessions and development sites (Ward 1998). Economic growth through modernisation over-rode all other considerations. Grand civic projects that signified 'progress' were key indicators of success. Under the leadership of Mayor Jean Drapeau from the late 1950s, Ville de Montréal adopted a pragmatic approach and saw little need to consult local communities on the desirability of large-scale reconstruction in the CBD and surrounding inner-city areas to accommodate flagship commercial and public buildings.

Mayor Drapeau's vision was expressed very powerfully in the 'superblock' Place Ville-Marie (1962): symbolic centrepiece of downtown modernisation and prototype for subsequent complexes. Designed by signature architect I.M. Pei, circulation was separated on three levels – pedestrian, motor traffic and rail – with shopping and offices integrated in a monolithic structure that defied the traditional street. As Sewell (1993: 119–23) comments, this 'new state-of-the art planning', with wholesale clearance to make way for towers and plazas, was adopted with similar enthusiasm by Montreal's arch-rival, exemplified by Mies van der Rohe's contemporary design for the Toronto-Dominion centre.

Broadway (1993, 1997) highlights the importance given to tourism as a catalyst to speed the transformation of Montreal into 'the great cosmopolis of Canada' (Drapeau, quoted in Lanken 1986). Indeed, as the need to stimulate the new service economy to compensate for industrial decline became more pressing, tourism was identified as one of the city's key *axes* of development. Again, this was to be achieved through monumental facilities and attractions conceived as *grands projets.* La Place des Arts and le Palais de Congrès, along with other prestige public projects, were strategically and symbolically located in the francophone eastern sector of downtown to shift the centre of gravity from the anglophone west (Demers 1983). With funding from the Province, the city used its powers of compulsory purchase and land swaps, with little or no discussion by councillors on the fate of neighbourhoods or historic buildings that stood in their way (Gabeline 1975).

Drapeau's Civic Party also oversaw construction of the impressive metro and the unique 'underground city' network of enclosed pedestrian shopping routes. In 1967, the World Exposition proclaimed the new-found confidence of Quebec Province and Montreal to global audiences. Not everyone, however, shared the vision nor supported the methods of execution. An early critic of the mayor's marked antipathy to the idea of having a city-wide plan that could be publicly debated, was journalist Conrad Langois:

> Regrettably, no decision has yet been made as to the approach Montreal should take to development. If the city had a master urban plan, we would know if we are heading towards a gradual strengthening of the business and administrative centre and the displacement of residential neighbourhoods towards outlying areas and the suburbs, or if Montreal is destined to become a city divided into districts, each of which would be largely self-sufficient. (1959, translated by Germain and Rose 2000: 82)

As it became clear that the mayor favoured the former, but without the formal constraint of a City Plan, dissent was voiced at the City's unwillingness to consult its citizens before approving large-scale urban renewal. It was nearly a decade, however, before opposition crystallised around a proposed complex with a hotel, leisure, office and retail uses in 50-storey superblocks at Milton-Parc, near McGill University. The area had once been a genteel Victorian neighbourhood, but by the late 1960s many of its grand houses were subdivided and tenanted by students and recent immigrants. The proposal was stalled by an organised protest campaign that gained credibility when renowned architects and preservationists joined local residents. However, the threat of redevelopment was not lifted until the late 1970s, by which time the area was severely blighted and many of the buildings were in a poor condition.

As in other North American cities, urban motorways were then regarded as quintessential features of the modern city and, with funding from the Province, seven were built between 1960 and the mid-1970s. One scheme for the AutoRoute Ville-Marie, first proposed in the late 1950s, was for an elevated six-lane motorway routed between the harbourfront and CBD. This would have demolished much of Vieux-Montréal, the site of the original French citadel. An exception was to be made in the case of the famous Bonsecours Market, which was to have been preserved under the concrete piers as a landmark for motorists entering the city. In the event, the historic quarter's narrow cobbled streets were saved more by good fortune than good planning, as successful lobbying by the port authority meant that the motorway was routed to the north and sunk into a trench. Thus cut off from the city's commercial core, the area was largely overlooked by developers. Although extremely run-down and with many vacant buildings, Vieux-Montréal was designated as a heritage area in 1964 and received considerable attention from preservationists, especially with formation of Heritage Montreal in 1975. Later, it was to become a showpiece district and tourism attraction.

Whereas the Expo had been widely acclaimed as a success, both in commercial and public relations terms, Montreal's hosting of the 1976 Olympic Games proved far more controversial. In the period leading up to this spectacular event, there was criticism of the mounting cost as well the disruption. In the case of Goose Village, an entire neighbourhood in the inner city was demolished. Thus, the distributional effects were pronounced 'unnecessarily and willingly ruthless for the lower-income groups, particularly in the Central Area and its peripheral districts' (Ley 1996: 233). There was opposition to Olympic Village in view of

housing problems experienced by many local people. Furthermore, the Olympic Stadium, though an elegant edifice, used technology inappropriate to the city's winter climate and incurred huge public debts Montrealers continue to repay in the twenty-first century. As with the Mayor's other *Grands Projets*, the Olympics were staged to impress external audiences, while the mayor was a remarkably candid exponent of the principle of bread and circuses at home:

> The ugliness of the slums in which people live doesn't matter if we can make them stand wide-eyed in admiration of works of art they don't understand. (Drapeau, quoted in Auf der Maur 1976: 96)

Germain and Rose (2000) highlight the over-optimism, if not naivety, in the assumption that the short-term success of Expo and the Olympics would provide a basis for sustainable growth. For, reflecting shifts in the balance of world trade, some distribution activities had migrated to west-coast seaports, and branch-plant assembly to North America's industrial heartland to the south. Some tertiary industries flourished as the Québécois nationalist project gained ascendancy in the Province. This included higher education and hospitals, as well as consolidation of other state and non-profit organisations in a city that could now be regarded by the francophone population as their capital of culture. There was, however, a disturbing flight of capital as some internationally important headquarter offices moved to Toronto, most notably Canada Life. Not only did this result in the loss of local jobs, but it also diminished Montreal's position in Canada's commercial chain of command.

Meanwhile, the drift of the population from centre to the suburbs accelerated, with a disproportionate loss of higher-earning residents. In late 1970s, the Civic Party revised policies that led to displacement of housing in neighbourhoods close to downtown. Some 80 per cent of the City's income is obtained from property tax. With the loss of commercial contributors, the desire to restore tax revenue from residents, especially homeowners, is thus a powerful reason to stop the drift to suburban municipalities. During the 1980s, under 'Opération 20,000 Logements', the City's land bank of vacant sites was offered to developers to build new homes under sale by tender agreements. At first, wherever site conditions allowed, plots were sold to provide 'family housing' for young couples who might otherwise have settled in the sprawling low-density suburbs. Nevertheless, the development of middle-class suburban-style housing in established working-class neighbourhoods such as Pointe St-Charles was not without its critics (MacBurnie 1989).

In the wake of the Olympics controversy and mounting financial problems, the ruling Civic Party experienced electoral setbacks. Unlike its counterparts in Toronto and Vancouver, however, it remained in power. There had been opposition from working-class protest movements in early 1970s, especially over the City's failure to provide sufficient housing and over the inadequacies of social services. Opposition from middle-class voters had highlighted the uncontrolled development of downtown and loss of urban heritage (Thomas 1995). During the mid-1970s, two parties representing these respective

constituencies merged to form Montreal Citizens' Movement (MCM): a party whose very raison d'être was municipal reform and democratisation. As an opposition force they promoted sustainable urban environments and good design for streets and neighbourhoods. Writing in the *Montreal Gazette* Ingrid Peritz commented that after ten years in opposition, they might be loosing their radical tinge, nevertheless:

> The MCM, along with vocal community groups, can also share credit for improving the face of Montreal over the past decade: housing renovations have replaced rampant demolitions that scarred central city neighbourhoods in the 1970s. Beautification programmes have transformed nondescript areas into well-lit back lanes and mini-parks. (1984)

MCM did not gain control of Ville de Montréal until 1986, and once in power lacked unity and coherent policies. But, under the leadership of mayor Jean Dore significant decision of the new regime was to prepare Montreal's first City Plan in 1987. Its policies and proposals were formulated through lengthy public consultation and finally adopted in 1992. The City Plan for a more inclusive age expresses a willingness to reconcile the vision for Montreal as a centre for francophone culture in Quebec and the desire for 're-internationalisation':

> Montreal's influence on Quebec as well as on the continental and international levels, is . . . a source of collective wealth and an important condition for all future growth. Montreal's strength and vitality are intricately linked to the intensity and diversity of exchanges with the rest of the world. (Ville de Montréal 1992: 21)

The city government of Montreal, along with other metropolitan centres in Canada had, by now, decisively abandoned the growth-at-any-cost preoccupation of modernism. No longer was it politically tenable or financially feasible to clear large swathes of the inner city and displace whole communities to accommodate enlargement of the CBD, and make it accessible to an expanding city-region by building urban motorways. Meanwhile, in the UK, there was an equally decisive rejection of the growth-at-any-cost philosophy, as Healey (1997) and Vigar (2002) have emphasised with respect to urban planning and transport. Indeed, throughout the developed world during the 1990s, city governments were re-focusing their efforts on niche products that 'create value for target customers' (Kotler et al. 1993: 78). For, as global competition intensified, place-marketing was entering a new phase, with an emphasis on *soft* infrastructure to support life-styles enjoyed by the affluent and hyper-mobile. Now, a premium was placed on a differentiated offering, a distinctive ambience for fashionable city-centre living and cultural tourists.

In the 1980s and early 1990s, cities whose 'old' economies had relied on manufacturing and distribution had to address the problems manifest in a substantial amount of vacant land, redundant buildings and a neglected public realm of streets, open spaces and community facilities. Their inner-city neighbourhoods were often home to many low-income households, including a rich diversity of cultural and ethnic identities. These areas were conspicuously

juxtaposed with the affluence of downtowns, with their headquarter offices, retailing and 24-hour entertainment, as well as expanding pockets of gentrification accommodating younger, loft-living professionals. In Montreal, cultural and environmental revitalisation was expected simultaneously to attract inward investment and integrate diverse groups into the future envisaged for the city according to principles of social equity. Mayor Dore proclaimed that City Plan was to be:

> both an instrument to be used to improve Montrealers' quality of life as well as a social contract uniting them in a common goal: the economic and cultural development of our city. (Ville de Montréal 1992: iii)

By the mid-1990s, the urban economy of Montreal did indeed show some encouraging trends. These included growth of high technology sectors with specialised export markets, where research and development has often been linked to higher education: transport, telecommunications, aeronautics and biopharmaceuticals. The desire to position Montreal as 'the Geneva of North America' no longer seemed farfetched. For example, the fluency of the local population in two of the United Nations' five official languages, and over a hundred others, was now promoted as an important asset in the city's place-marketing strategy (Latouche 1994).

There was also encouragement of higher-density accommodation for households without young children across a wide range of income groups: a policy that is advocated in the UK by Lord Rogers and the Urban Taskforce (1999). In the 1990s, Ville de Montréal had signalled a break from the previous preoccupation with 'family housing' as it disposed of smaller infill housing sites. It acknowledged that accommodation on such sites would be more suited to singles and couples. The policy was to encourage higher-income professionals, but affordable housing would also be made available in a suitable mix. It also introduced more stringent planning controls, with an emphasis on the fine grain of civic design appropriate to neighbourhoods of mixed land use. The ideal of the 'liveable metropolis' – an expression coined by radical critics of modernity – had thus become the hegemonic doctrine of Canadian city planning (Ley 1996).

Soon after its election, the MCM council had established committees on community development, cultural development, planning, housing and public works, economic development, and administration and finance. These were required to conduct open public consultation before any major policy recommendation reached the executive and City council, while district advisory committees were set up to facilitate local debate. Although this seemed a step in the right direction, some MCM supporters felt that the reforms did not go nearly far enough (Thomas 1993). Furthermore, a development that threatened to displace low-income tenants to make way for a luxury apartments, the clearance of protected forest for a US military site, and the demolition of a significant heritage building brought disillusion. By 1994, MCM were in opposition again, and Pierre Bourque became mayor. By this time, interventionist planning was in retreat as governments and municipalities yielded authority to market forces

(Sancton 2000). Nevertheless, as the result of continuing activism of left-libertarian urban social movements in Montreal, and their concern with processes as well as issues, there is now much wider consultation over developments that shape the future of the city, as illustrated in the two case studies discussed below.

Capital of Culture and Global Village?

International festivals and other forms of cultural as well as business-related tourism have also been significant features of Montreal's urban renaissance (Evans 2001: 252-4). Urban planning over the past decade has encouraged the creation of new leisure space that is accessible to local residents and visitors alike, although this has been harder to achieve in practice than in theory. Notable examples include the regeneration and landscaping by Parks Canada of Canal-de-Lachine as a leisure and heritage corridor, a high profile project that has received support from the Federal government. Other projects have received substantial funding from Quebec Province: the Vieux-Port and the Expo site (Biodôme) on the waterfront, as well as downtown sites, including Place des Arts.

In recent years, Ville de Montréal has funded the enhancement of streets and districts on the fringe of downtown that have been promoted to visitors as 'cultural quarters'. These improvements have been facilitated through a variety of property tax concessions and grants for renovation as well as public infrastructure. Today's tourist map of Montreal thus features the 'bohemian' attractions of Petite Italie, Quartier latin, Le Village and Quartier chinois (discussed below) as well as the heritage district of Vieux-Montréal. Amenity improvements stimulate refurbishment of older buildings, and land values rise. The city's cosmopolitan ambience is eulogised in guide books, as well as in Montreal's confident self-promotion as an ascendant World City:

> Montreal can be proud of its remarkably vibrant urban culture, with its four universities, its huge international festivals (jazz, humour, film) and its creative strengths in sectors such as dance, theatre, circus, advertising and design. (Ville de Montréal 2000: 10)

For the established neighbourhoods of the inner city, however, the very success of this culture-led renaissance brings with it the threat of new forms of displacement. Although the processes may be subtler than wholesale clearance, gentrification may present problems that are no less real for lower-income residents and small local businesses. The public debate that preceded adoption of the City Plan thus gave considerable weight to the social ramifications of urban regeneration. Ville de Montréal strongly emphasised residents' opportunity to 'exert influence over the development of their city and their neighbourhoods', and the 'major orientations' include the 'equity principle' applied to those aspects of quality of life that land-use planning can influence and identifies:

> certain elements which contribute to the quality of life from which Montrealers should benefit: a variety of housing types matching all needs, safe and lively surroundings, access to green spaces, the presence of cultural, community and sports facilities. (Ville de Montréal 2000: 20)

The modern superblocks of the 1960s and 1970s had been designed as self-contained entities, conspicuously aloof from the surrounding streets. In contrast, the philosophy behind current area-based revitalisation programmes is one of integrating existing sites and activities, facilitating pedestrian movement and public spaces within the area and improving links with surrounding districts. This often involves remedial action to mitigate urban design problems that are the result of major schemes – both public and private sector – in the comparatively recent past. 'Retrofitting' the city requires re-thinking planning and transport policies to redefine the relationship between the CBD and the inner-city fringe. The following section examines the application of this new approach with reference to two key revitalisation programmes that are currently being implemented in the context of the City Plan for Ville-Marie: the Quartier international and the Quartier chinois.

Quartier international and the World City

The area covered by the Special Planning Programme for the Quartier international (Ville de Montréal 2000) already contains the largest concentration of international organisations in Canada. Recent major investments include the World Trade Centre of Montreal in 1991, and the headquarters of the International Civil Aviation Organisation in 1995. The goal of the project is to coordinate investment by all three levels of government with private sector initiatives to create a new district that will develop as a home for further international organisations. Integral to the programme is the principle of maximising opportunities to enhance the public realm and amenity for Montrealers. The scheme was prepared jointly by the City planning department and a special arms-length, non-profit organisation the 'Societé du Quartier international de Montréal' (QIM). It was informed by the previous public consultation of the City Plan secteur Ville-Marie, and then by a major design study and two years of further discussion with adjoining property owners, local organisations and individuals.

The programme area occupies a strategically important locale, just to the south of the CBD and to the north of the emerging cultural quarters: Vieux-Montréal, Vieux-Port, Cité Multimédia and Canal-de-Lachine. Nevertheless, the whole area has been severely blighted by the AutoRoute Ville-Marie, which creates a barrier between the attractive districts either side. And, within the area pedestrian routes do not link the existing major international institutions with one another. Although sunk into a trench, the motorway was not completely covered and the surrounding area suffers from noise and pollution. With many vacant sites and parking lots, it gives the impression of a no-man's land, uninviting if not forbidding. Humanising the area and transforming it into a prestigious extension of downtown will require large-scale civil engineering. The first phase will thus involve public infrastructure work to cover over the motorway and develop public spaces as well as new sites for development above, and private investment in new underground parking that will free up further sites. The

second phase will include expansion of the Palais de Congrès with funding from Quebec, and complementary improvements to the surrounding area and to Rue McGill, linking the Quartier international with Vieux-Montréal and Vieux-Port.

The emphasis will be on measures 'to create a more welcoming environment'. Pavements will be widened, trees planted and green spaces established for public enjoyment. Street furniture, improved lighting and signage will also enhance the quality of the urban environment. New developments will be planned to facilitate 'penetrable space' with attractive and safe surface routes for pedestrians criss-crossing the area, especially those that provide access to subway stations and other public transport. In particular, ground level retailing and other activities will 'add to the vibrancy of the District and help re-establish a better balance of urban activities' (Ville de Montréal op. cit.: 20). The scheme also proposes to link up the east and west networks of the underground city. Thus, the Programme is expected to play a pivotal role in the re-internationalisation of Montreal. The City acknowledges the dominance of global markets that will favour the 'select group' of New York, Paris, London and Tokyo. Nevertheless, a number of smaller cities displaying the 'requisite initiative, drive and originality' will 'carve out a place for themselves in the club of the leading twenty-first century cities':

> Environmental quality will be an important factor as well, particularly in large urban agglomerations, and the cities that make the best use of their existing resources to ensure attractive quality of life for residents and visitors will enjoy a key comparative advantage. (ibid: 9)

The vision expressed in the Programme compares Montreal with other cities that have successfully adopted this strategy. These include Boston, which is sinking its elevated motorway and Lyon, which is developing its own *Cité internationale* and creating public spaces in the city centre. Barcelona, which similarly opened up waterfront access by road tunnelling and upgrading its public spaces to help stimulate urban tourism, is looked upon as a model for Montreal to emulate.

Quartier chinois as neighbourhood and cultural attraction

In contrast to the 'new' district oriented to global markets and institutions, Montreal's Quartier chinois is a well-established 'ethnic commercial enclave' and neighbourhood that has for many decades been something of a leisure attraction in its own right. Since the late nineteenth century, it has developed in the liminal zone between the francophone and anglophone sectors of the city, along with other allophone communities such as the Italians. In this case, the request for a plan of action came from residents and businesses in the locality. Indeed, representatives of the Chinese community lobbied Ville de Montréal from the 1980s, and a number of significant projects have been carried out in collaboration with the city council. These have included: pedestrianisation of a main thoroughfare; creation of a Chinese park on a former parking lot; and a new community centre for Chinese Catholics. The 'Chinatown Development

Consultative Committee', set up in 1990, inter alia established certain principles for the development of the district. Incorporated in the City Masterplan for secteur Ville-Marie, the key issues identified by the local Chinese community were:

a) definition of the boundaries of Chinatown;
b) the need for land use and design guidelines within the district;
c) improving public spaces, and action on related issues, especially parking, rubbish collection and street cleansing.

Located just to the north east of Quartier international on the fringe of downtown, the area also requires remedial planning to soften the impact of development that took place on adjacent land in the 1960s and 1970s. The latter include the 'superblock' complexes Desjardins and Guy-Favreau, as well as the AutoRoute Ville-Marie to the south and Boulevard René-Lévesque to the north:

> [that] has profoundly changed the traditional urban fabric (streets, blocks and lots) underlying Chinatown's vital way of life, jeopardising the balance of the area threatened by the development of the City's business centre. (Ville de Montréal 1998: 11)

For, during the 'growth-at-any-cost' period of modernisation in Ville-Marie District, Montreal's Chinese community had suffered the threat and actuality of physical incursions into the neighbourhood that was both home and symbolic cultural centre. Similar threats to the very existence of downtown Chinatowns and organised opposition to resist redevelopment had occurred elsewhere in North America, for example in Vancouver (Anderson 1991; Ng 1999) and Philadelphia (Guan 2002). During the period 1980–96, the urban blight had some adverse effects on the commercial core of Montreal's Quartier chinois, and employment dropped from 1,600 to 1,050. Within the district, vacant lots and derelict buildings are visible signs of under-utilisation that detract from the image of the area, especially for visitors. More recent Asian migrants to Canada, such as the Vietnamese, have settled elsewhere in neighbourhoods such as Côte-des-Neiges, and there are concerns that its commercial importance may be waning.

Today, further growth in tourism in Montreal, along with expansion of downtown and the Quartier international, should provide commercial opportunities for Chinese traders to arrest this downward spiral and rejuvenate the district. The area owes its vitality to over a century of investment by Chinese businesses and it is anticipated that vacant sites and buildings may be brought back into use. Without appropriate management of the area, however, an upswing may also bring problems of traffic, parking and intrusion by visitors into the everyday life of the community, as well as pressure on residential accommodation through rising land values. In accordance with local opinion and the Masterplan guidelines, the 'Chinatown Development Plan' was adopted by the city council in 1999 as a framework for action by the various stakeholders:

> so that all efforts can be channelled in the same direction, and it is hoped, stimulate the growth of Chinatown and truly reflect the ever-growing

> importance of the Chinese community in Montreal and Quebec society. (Ville de Montréal, op. cit.: 13)

The plan will consolidate the commercial core of Quartier chinois astride the corridor of Boulevard Saint-Laurent, and access, parking and delivery times may be rationalised. Land-use controls may also be used to protect the character of the neighbourhoods to the east and west from incompatible activities, and to prevent displacement. Improvements to existing residential buildings will also be encouraged. The plan aims to enhance 'the quality of life, safety, comfort, image and urban design' (ibid.: 17). Proposed action thus includes extending and upgrading the public realm: refurbishing the pedestrian mall and widening pavements; murals, street trees and landscaping; conservation of heritage buildings. As in other cities, the entrances to the Quartier chinois are marked by impressive gateways, and these will be complemented by further 'traditional' and contemporary public art. The plan recognises that as well as being an attraction for all tourists, the Quartier chinois facilitates a wide range of trading, social and religious activities for the wider Chinese population, and is a potent symbol of their identity, since (ibid.: 11):

> it provides a major point where Chinese in Quebec can meet those from other areas in the northeastern part of North America (New York, Boston, Toronto), as well as other Quebecers. Chinatown is thus the heart of commercial and cultural exchanges within the community itself, and an eloquent statement of the dense, thriving urban culture that the Administration wishes to promote within downtown areas of Montreal.

Conclusion

Paradoxically enough, the controversial Bill 170 that established the One Island-One City 'megacity' – described by *Montreal Gazette's* columnist Henry Aubin as the 'slaughter of local governments' (quoted in Milner and Joncas 2002) – now promises greater decentralisation of services that were formerly run centrally from City Hall. From January 2002, municipalities were merged into a city of 1.8 million people divided into 27 boroughs, each responsible for delivery of local municipal services and controlling two-thirds of its budget. Land-use zoning also became a Borough responsibility. Since fiscal equity between the former Ville and its 'suburbs' was a major objective, the Boroughs do not have powers to raise taxes. Furthermore its first mayor is Gerald Tremblay, a moderate federalist Liberal who united opposition to Pierre Bourque and his team by merging with the weakened MCM to form the Union des Citoyens et Citoyennes de l'Isle de Montréal (UCIM): a new party with a multicultural constituency and a commitment to 'improved services, decentralisation and enhanced public consultation' (Milner and Joncas 2002: 59).

Although it is still unclear how this will be achieved, as linguistic tensions periodically resurface and city finance remains uncertain, the emphasis on citizen participation owes much to the urban reform 'movement' that emerged in the 1970s. MCM did not gain office at City Hall until 1987 – a decade after its counterparts in Toronto and Vancouver – and held power for only seven years.

Nevertheless, there has been a remarkable discursive turn in the agenda of civic politics. It is now conventional wisdom that sustainable competitive advantage will be achieved, less by *grands projets* than by international recognition of the high 'quality of life' that the city can offer. To stem the tide of suburbanisation that was formerly encouraged, there have been imaginative policies to re-establish the central city as an attractive and affordable place to live and accommodating a diversity of lifestyles. Civic design is now used to soften the impact of insensitive planning of the recent past, as demonstrated in the plan for Quartier international. The social goal of integrating Montreal's communities through a 'social contract' is thus reflected in physical planning of the urban landscape.

The new orthodoxy is demonstrated in policies and plans to reconnect the CBD with disadvantaged neighbourhoods and former industrial areas of the adjacent inner city to facilitate their rejuvenation. Until well into the 1970s, such areas were all too often characterised by civic leaders as 'revenue sinks'. Incongruous with the image of the modern, functional city, they were ripe for wholesale clearance to make way for expansion of the commercial core and improved access to the motorway network. As in Toronto and Vancouver and many other North American cities, such districts have, in more recent times, been revitalised and refurbished as 'vibrant' destinations for an emerging visitor economy (Zukin 1982, 1991; Ward 1998). Aestheticised as the backdrop for leisure consumption, such areas are now promoted as features complementary to the commercial core and its flagship attractions, made accessible by safe walking routes and public transport as designated cultural quarters and 'pleasure zones' of a cosmopolitan city (Shaw and MacLeod 2000).

Over the past decade or so, Montreal has positioned itself in niche markets that it is well-placed to develop (Kotler et al. 1993). It has also managed to combine its position as a great cultural pole of Quebec with its appeal to targeted international audiences, including the French-speaking world. Nevertheless, the ebbs and flows of globalisation are increasingly volatile as well as unpredictable in their local effects. As the economy improved following the Gulf War, Montreal attracted inward investment and developed its visitor economy, especially cultural, sport and business-related tourism. At the time of writing, however, North American and global markets for tourism appear highly uncertain. Furthermore, the city's long-term geographical, economic and political disadvantages of peripheral location identified by Germain and Rose (2000) are unlikely to disappear in the broader context of the North American Free Trade Area.

Conversely, the 'successes' of an upswing in the local urban economy may be problematic in its local distributional effects. A 'cosmopolitan outlook' has become an important asset in global competition, but the mixed blessings of urban rejuvenation are anticipated, for example, in the plan to rejuvenate Quartier chinois. In this case, a locally-based planning framework for zoning and management of projected growth in tourism was negotiated between Chinese community organisations and Ville de Montréal. The main aim of the plan is to

ensure that of expansion of the nearby Palais de Congrès and Quartier international does not displace Chinese residents, their small businesses and cultural facilities, and that the presence of visitors does not become over-intrusive.

The experiences of communities in a world of flows are thus rooted in the *local,* for it is here that power relationships and integrations of global forces are felt. But, if the international profile of the city is to be raised by means other than construction of new motorway infrastructure, monumental flagship attractions and by hosting one-off international mega-events, a range of measurable, reliable indicators of 'quality of life' will be required. These will be essential tools to monitor progress against international benchmarks and measurable objectives set by city governments in accordance with the priorities of the civic agenda. How, then, is the 'success' of revitalisation to be measured over time and with regard to the impact on targeted local areas? How to ensure that the benefits are reaching all the communities of a diverse and fast-changing World City? Are the desired economic, environmental and socio-cultural goals mutually compatible? Mason (2003) addresses these important questions for city governance in Canada and other urbanised societies in the companion article in this volume.

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5 Ethnoscapes as Cultural Attractions in Canadian 'World Cities'

Stephen J. Shaw

Introduction

In many North American and European cities that are gateways of immigration, ethnic 'quarters', 'enclaves' or 'neighbourhoods' are conspicuous features of the 21st century urban landscape. Particular streets and public spaces – usually on the fringe of the city centre – are gazed upon as the locus of 'exotic' commercial, religious and social practices. In some cases, the same streetscapes and thoroughfares have been home to successive waves of new migrants, the buildings adapted and reused. In recent times, some have been selected, developed and marketed with the support of city governments as new destinations for leisure and tourism consumption. Thus, they are being made accessible, safe and visually appealing to people who are generally more affluent than the local population. Places whose very names once signified the poverty of marginalized urban communities are now being promoted to appeal to visitors with sophisticated and cosmopolitan tastes.

Through such re-imaging strategies, expressions of multiculturalism in the built environment can be exploited as a picturesque backdrop, while 'ethnic' markets, festivals and other events are used to 'animate' the scene. Signifiers of ethnic and cultural difference inscribed into the urban landscape may thus assume a dual function. As 'texts' they communicate meaning between people of a minority group, but they are also 'read' by people of the dominant national culture, and in some cases international tourists. As with tourism development in less developed countries, the responses of local entrepreneurs to the varied demands of visitors may produce dissonant landscapes of multiple realities (Shaw and MacLeod, 2000; Shaw *et al.*, 2004). Both theorists and practitioners are deeply divided over the appropriateness of developing and promoting such areas to attract high-spending visitors, and how the longer-term issues for the 'host' communities should be addressed.

This chapter considers these debates with particular reference to multicultural districts in the gateway cities of Canada, where immigration has for over two centuries been regulated by the governing elite of settlers originating from Britain and France (Québec). Districts where minority groups settled were defined and socially constructed as *Chinatown*, *Greektown*, *Petite Italie*, *Quartier latin*, and so on. The following section introduces the processes through which such places have been aestheticized and transformed into attractions in the North American and European metropolis, highlighting the significance of urban landscapes and ethnic cuisine. The mediating role of city governments is then explored with reference to leisure and tourism-led regeneration. A case study of *Quartier chinois*, Montréal provides the context for critical discussion of the drivers of change and initiatives that

 Tourism, Culture and Regeneration (ed. M.K. Smith)

trade upon themes of diversity to add value to the place-product.

Host to Visitors from the Host Society

Immigrants adapt (as well as adapt *to*) their new urban environments in gateway cities. Where regulations allow, they may re-create the architecture of former homelands with a marked emphasis on correct design and execution, most notably in places of worship. Faithful maintenance of food preparation and customs associated with hospitality to family and friends may also constitute an important element of 'symbolic ethnicity': a nostalgic allegiance to cultural identity and the 'Old Country' (Gans, 1979). Conversely, through restaurants oriented to the tastes of customers from the dominant national culture, they may exploit familiar stereotypes. In his pioneering study of 'the roving palate' Zelinski (1985: 53–54) argues that ethnic restaurant cuisine has been an important factor in the transnationalization of North American urban culture. A welcome reprieve from workaday environments is provided, not only through the food itself, but also through exterior design, furniture, tablecloths, china, wall decorations, costumed staff and background entertainment: 'an effortless voyage into some distant enchantments'. In Valene Smith's (1989) terminology, ethnic minority restaurateurs may thus play host to visitors from the 'host society'.

Historical evidence suggests that the role of ethnic cuisine in the diffusion and acceptance of cultural diversity by mainstream North American society has been more contentious than Zelinski (1985) implies. In her longitudinal study of Chinatown in Vancouver 1875–1980, Anderson (1995) documents the social construction of the area by European settlers as a place of squalor and disease. From the city's foundation through to the Depression years, Chinese were treated as 'aliens' whose rights of citizenship were severely restricted. The area had an unsavoury reputation for its gambling and opium dens; the moral protection of European women prevented them from working as waitresses in Chinese cafés and restaurants. By the mid-1930s, however, as the economy picked up, restaurateurs in Vancouver's *Little Orient* were welcoming a rising trade from non-Chinese customers who viewed the area more positively. To encourage this trend, its merchants accentuated romantic images of Old Cathay through the building facades; their contribution to the city's Golden Jubilee celebrations in 1936 was an elaborate 'Chinese Village' (Anderson, 1995: 155–158). The official guidebook (Yip, 1936: 6) promised that the streets would be 'most artistically and becomingly decorated with . . . hundreds of Oriental splendours'. Major attractions included an ornate 24 m bamboo arch, a nine-tier pagoda and a Buddhist temple.

In the USA, the attitudes of White Anglo Saxon Protestant (WASP) society towards the inner city neighbourhoods of ethnic minorities also changed significantly over the course of the 20th century. As Lin (1998) observes, Chinatowns, Mexican barrios, Jewish and African–American *'ghettos'* – along with settlements of other minorities such as Southern Europeans – were features of an unstable 'zone-in-transition' (Burgess, 1925). Their very place names expressed the marginalization of their impoverished communities, for example in Los Angeles: *Sonora* 'Dogtown' and *Calle de los Negros* 'Nigger Alley' (Pearlstone, 1990: 72). In the 1950s and 1960s, as cities sought to modernize their downtown areas and improve motorway access, the bulldozing of low-rent non-WASP districts was prioritized. Nevertheless, as the Civil Rights and other urban social movements gathered strength and more broad-based support, such wholesale clearance was resisted (with varying success). By the 1976 Bicentennial, more inclusive attitudes prevailed, at least at Federal level, and 'ethnic heritage recovery' entered the political mainstream, with symbolic renovation of landmark buildings and the founding of museums that celebrated diversity. In New York, these included the Chinatown History Museum, the Eldridge Street Synagogue and Lower Eastside Tenement Museum; in Los Angeles, the *El Pueblo* Historical Monument and the Japanese American National Museum in Little Tokyo.

During the 1950s and 1960s, the UK government encouraged immigration from former colonies to satisfy industrial labour shortages. As Hall (1996: 79) observes, in the postcolonial city, memories of Empire are reactivated through the presence of transnational communities: a 'web of connections which have . . . never moved from "centre" to "periphery", but rather have

criss-crossed the globe'. In Birmingham – former 'Workshop of the World' – interracial tensions have resurfaced periodically (cf. Rex and Moore, 1967). Nevertheless, as Henry *et al.* (2002) demonstrate, postcolonial, post-industrial Birmingham now capitalizes on the wealth of cultural industries associated with its ethnic diversity, for example British *Bhangra* music and the 'Birmingham Balti'. These are promoted as cultural assets that complement the city's flagship projects. In London's East End in the 1980s, wide media coverage was given to ugly scenes of conflict in Brick Lane, where race-hate groups attacked and intimidated the local Bangladeshi population. By 2000, however, the *Banglatown* brand was being used to promote the area's restaurants and events such as the Bengali New Year (Shaw *et al.*, 2004).

Immigration from former colonies has also transformed gateway cities in the Netherlands. Rotterdam City Council has endorsed 'City Safaris', an initiative which encourages visitors to make their way to deprived multicultural districts. Itineraries are arranged to addresses that include a centre for asylum-seekers, a *halal* butcher and several mosques. These self-guided tours are designed to challenge the visitors' preconceptions of the everyday lives of recent migrants (Biles, 2001). Although the object of their quest is in the European inner city, they may have much in common with 'ethnic tourists' who search for the 'exotic in as untouched, pristine, authentic form' as can be found (Van den Berghe, 1994 quoted in Hitchcock 1999: 17). In post-war German cities, minority neighbourhoods have developed as a consequence of particular labour requirements, rather than a colonial heritage. In West Berlin, after the Wall was erected on 1961, *Gastarbeiter* from Turkey migrated to the working class district of Kreuzberg, along with artists and young Germans avoiding military service. By the 1990s, the area had entered mainstream tourist guidebooks as the colourful bohemian quarter of the new Federal capital.

The examples given above suggest considerable variation on the underlying theme of the exoticized Other, according to the predilections and prejudices of the dominant national culture: a point emphasized by Said (1978) in his historical analysis of the Orient in the Western imagination. The fabrication of exotica to appeal to particular national cultures has expanded from art objects and the interior world restaurants into the street. At this very local level, minority entrepreneurs have played an important role in creating communities that 'sit astride political borders and that, in a very real sense, are "neither here nor there" but in both places simultaneously' (Portes, 1997: 3). They have transformed everyday features of the North American and European metropolis. In more recent times, city governments have actively supported this process and promoted such areas as 'ethnic cultural quarters' (Taylor, 2000; Chan, 2004). It is therefore important to consider the relationship between global cultural flows and the policies and changing practices of urban governance.

Cultural Flows, 'Ethnoscapes' and Urban Governance

Arjun Appadurai (1997: 32) – social anthropologist and influential commentator on globalization – discusses the 'complex, overlapping, disjunctive order' of the 'new cultural economy'. Like Hall (1996), he argues that global cultural flows can no longer be understood in terms of existing centre–periphery models. In exploring such disjunctures, he highlights the concept of *ethnoscapes*: the landscapes of those who 'constitute the shifting world in which we live: tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers, and other moving groups' (Appadurai, 1997: 33). In a later work, Apparurai (2001: 5) expands upon the interplay of mobility, stability and governance in a world 'characterised by floating populations, transnational politics within national borders, and mobile configurations of technology and expertise'. The rising 'world cities' of Canada, and their inner urban ethnoscapes, provide some pertinent illustrations of these concepts as they position themselves to attract footloose industries, creative knowledge clusters, highly educated residents and discerning visitors.

The city governments of Canada's three largest metropolitan centres – Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver – have been the main receptors of immigration. For the past half-century, successive civic leaders of all three have placed a very high priority, not only on competing

successfully with other metropolitan centres in North America, but on attracting inward movement of capital, people and knowledge spanning all continents. Distinct phases are, however, apparent: stages that correspond fairly closely with Kotler *et al.*'s (1993) model chronicling the evolution of place-marketing in post-war North America. In the 1950s and 1960s, city governments preoccupied with crude civic boosterism lured industrialists and other inward investors. Such 'hard sell' place promotion emphasized the provision of hard infrastructure, fiscal incentives and the supply of sites for development for new plants that would provide employment and contribute to local tax revenues.

In the 1970s and 1980s, 'smoke-stack chasing' gave way to a multiplicity of goals, including an increasing concern with urban amenity. Informed by analysis of market positioning, cities began to adopt a more selective approach to encourage growth sectors that would generate jobs without adverse consequences for the urban environment. A third phase then emerged in the early 1990s, as they began to develop more sophisticated place-marketing strategies tailored to specific audiences such as entrepreneurs in knowledge-based industries, immigrants with managerial and professional skills, and high yield/low impact tourists. Their efforts began to focus on niche products that create value for target customers. In this context, a premium was placed on a distinctive and vibrant ambience for city-centre living, as well as a business-friendly and stable workforce, free from social and inter-ethnic tensions (Mason, 2003; Shaw, 2003).

In Canada, as in the USA (Judd and Fainstein, 1999), municipalities have striven to create an attractive built environment and a cohesive urban society against a background of falling Federal and Provincial transfer payments. According to Porter's (1995: 57) influential thesis, urban governance must capitalize on the inherent strategic advantages of inner city areas, rather than depend on government subsidy. For competitive markets for inward investment, desirable residents and visitors operate *within* as well as between cities. Public intervention should be minimized and municipalities should work in harmony with market forces to build upon the true competitive strengths of inner city firms, especially their proximity to downtowns, entertainment and tourist attractions. Further key advantages are identified as low-cost labour and the entrepreneurial drive of ethnic minority businesses. Through their symbiotic relationship with the Central Business District, inner city ethnoscapes can thus be seen as crucibles for wealth-creation that will benefit the city as a whole.

Neo-liberalism and the Canadian Cosmopolis

Municipalities in Canada have adopted regeneration strategies that reflect this neo-liberal model. Intervention through the 'bureaucracy' of city governments is eschewed, while every encouragement is given to entrepreneur-led, 'self-help' initiatives at the local or neighbourhood level. With suitable place-marketing support, minority business enclaves can build on their existing social capital and business networks to rejuvenate themselves. The astute response of minority entrepreneurs to business opportunity will thus provide badly needed, if low-paid jobs, helping to reduce local unemployment, especially among low-skilled residents. Some pump-priming through targeted public intervention may be required to create the necessary confidence for private investors to upgrade the built environment. The visitor appeal of the main thoroughfares will thus be developed and enhanced. Measures will generally include the creation of safe and attractive pedestrian routes from the city centre and public transport, parking and loading for traders, improved street lighting as well as business advice, training and marketing support. The staging and promotion of events may also be used to draw visitors to the locality.

Enabling legislation enacted by Canadian Provincial governments has encouraged a 'self-help' approach that builds upon the structures and resources of local business associations. In his discussion of urban planning and multiculturalism, Quadeer (1994) commends the Business Improvement Area (BIA) scheme in the Province of Ontario for its success as a tool for revitalizing ethnic business enclaves. With the consent of the majority of commercial property owners, a compulsory supplementary BIA levy is collected by the municipality, but managed by a non-profit board of local businesses. The levy can be spent on hiring staff and activities

that include place promotion, events, beautification, street furniture and other improvements to the spaces between buildings. Quadeer highlights the role of BIAs and other business-led initiatives in celebrating urban cultural identities. However, he notes that in Ottawa's 'Chinatown' identities were less straightforward as other (non-Chinese) groups reside in the locality. Planning guidelines therefore had to stress the 'multicultural identity of the area, instead of affirming it as the turf of any one group. Its design guidelines recognise cultural elements and allow for their architectural expression'.

In Toronto, where the BIA model was first developed, the appeal of the city's 'neighbourhoods' has been greatly enhanced through upgrading of the public realm, instigated and managed by commercial property owners. For example, in *Greektown on Danforth*, the streets are identified by Greek signage; public spaces are beautified by classical statues, other public art and stylized street furniture. Toronto's downtown 'Chinatown', once the city's Jewish Quarter, was narrowly saved from destruction in the early 1970s when an elevated expressway was proposed. The area has since been developed as a major attraction, through investment directed by a strong and well-established Chinese business association. The attractions of these areas on the fringe of downtown are described in a recent guidebook *Ethnic Toronto: a Complete Guide to the Many Faces and Cultures of Toronto* (Kasher, 1997). The would-be tourist is introduced to a place transformed in the past 30 years from 'one of the most narrow-minded and uncosmopolitan of the British colonial cities' (Kasher, 1997: ix–xi):

> Toronto has become an international microcosm of different cultures in its neighbourhoods. You can buy products from around the world in ethnic speciality shops, as well as find special foods, delight in unique and exotic entertainment, and just enjoy the ambience of being in a different world for a little while as you walk through neighbourhoods like Corso Italia or Little India.

Strategies for leisure and tourism-led urban 'makeovers' to regenerate multicultural neighbourhoods in the inner city have, however, attracted considerable scepticism, especially in the USA. With particular reference to initiatives in Baltimore and Detroit, Judd (1999: 53) highlights the development of 'Disneyfied Latin Quarters' where 'tourist bubbles are more likely to contribute to racial, ethnic and class tensions than to an impulse towards local community'. Urban tourism may lead to deepening alienation of those among local residents as it may lead to displacement of established low-rent residents and small businesses (Zukin, 1991, 1999). In their discussion of the regeneration strategies of post-industrial North American cities, Smith and Deksen (2003) concur that capital and culture have been interwoven in 'generalised gentrification' that excludes the urban poor and creates new cityscapes to accommodate the lifestyles of affluent consumers.

It can be argued, nevertheless, that in Canada, city governments have developed policies and practices that remain distinctive from their counterparts in the USA. In all three of the major gateway cities, urban social movements in the 1970s and 1980s led to the election of influential Councils that rejected the doctrine of 'growth at any cost'. Today, city governments across the political spectrum are acutely aware of the vulnerability of low-income and ethnic minority residents to the effects of redevelopment and rising real estate values in inner city areas. Issues relating to gentrification have been a major focus of debate in municipal politics, and some civic leaders have taken a strong position in support of zoning and other measures to protect communities from intrusion and displacement. The City of Vancouver – an important gateway between North America and the Pacific Rim – received a considerable boost in the mid-1990s from immigration and investment from South-east Asia, especially Hong Kong. This large-scale development of redundant industrial and waterfront land has been achieved within a discretionary though powerful regulatory framework and release of municipally-owned land that has produced important community gains, especially the provision of low-rent housing (Mason, 2003).

Montréal's Chinatown as Cultural Attraction

After a long period of highly centralized, 'growth machine politics' from the mid-1950s to the mid-1980s, Ville de Montréal has also adopted a distinctive approach to cultural integration,

planning and regeneration (Shaw, 2003). The reformist policies of the Montréal Citizens' Movement-led Council (1986–94) represented a new departure for the city. There was a strong emphasis on reconciliation, not only across the Francophone and Anglophone *solitudes* of the city, but also inclusion and active participation of residents from other long-established communities, notably Greek, Italian, Jewish and Chinese Montréalers. Neighbourhoods around the downtown area were now home to many low-income households that included a rich diversity of cultural and ethnic identities, for example new migrants from Vietnam. Mayor Doré (Ville de Montréal 1992: iii) introduced a new City Plan, which was to be: 'both an instrument to be used to improve Montréalers' quality of life as well as a social contract uniting them in a common goal: the economic and cultural development of our city'.

Montréal's *Quartier chinois*, which developed in the late 19th century in the liminal zone between the Francophone and Anglophone sectors of the city was a notable illustration of the new approach. As in many other Chinatowns in North America (Ng, 1999; Guan, 2002; Yan, 2002), it had lost customers and merchants as new car-oriented Chinese shopping and entertainment malls were built away from the traditional downtown core. This decline was further exacerbated by the isolating effects of an urban motorway, development on adjacent land and the urban blight that followed. Within the district, vacant lots and derelict buildings were visible signs of low investment. Following lobbying from various organizations of Chinese residents, merchants and voluntary societies, a 'Chinatown Development Consultative Committee' was set up by Ville de Montréal in 1990. *Inter alia*, this established certain principles for development. Incorporated in the City Masterplan for *secteur Ville-Marie* (city centre), the key issues identified by the local Chinese community were to:

1. Define the boundaries of Chinatown;
2. Produce clear land use and design guidelines within this area;
3. Improve its public spaces, and action on related issues, especially parking, rubbish collection and street cleansing.

By the late 1990s, the beginnings of recovery were apparent. Developments in downtown and the adjacent *Quartier international*, where prestigious headquarter offices have located, were creating significant opportunities for Chinatown merchants, especially in business and conference-related tourism. The city planners recognized, nevertheless, that without appropriate management of the area as an urban 'visitor destination', an upswing would also bring problems of traffic, parking and intrusion by visitors into the everyday life of the community, as well as pressure on residential accommodation through rising land values. In accordance with the guidelines of the Masterplan, the 'Chinatown Development Plan' was adopted to provide a framework for action:

> so that all efforts can be channelled in the same direction, and it is hoped, stimulate the growth of Chinatown and truly reflect the ever-growing importance of the Chinese community in Montréal and Québec society.
>
> (Ville de Montréal, 1998: 13)

The over-arching aim of the Chinatown Development Plan was to consolidate the commercial core of *Quartier chinois*. Where necessary, land use (zoning) controls would be used to protect the character of the neighbourhoods to the east and west from incompatible activities, and to prevent displacement. Improvements to existing residential buildings would also be encouraged, and it would be necessary to rationalize access, parking and delivery times.

Improvements carried out under the Action Plan have included extension and upgrading of the public realm: refurbishing the pedestrian mall and widening pavements; murals, street trees and landscaping; conservation of heritage buildings; and the creation of a new Sun Yat Sen Park for the local community. As in other cities, the entrances to the *Quartier chinois* are marked by impressive gateways, and these have been complemented by further 'traditional' and contemporary public art. The Plan stressed that as well as being an attraction for all tourists, the *Quartier chinois* would continue to serve as a venue for a broad range of trading, social and religious activities for the wider Chinese population, and a potent symbol of their identity, since:

> it provides a major point where Chinese in Québec can meet those from other areas in the north-eastern part of North America

> (New York, Boston, Toronto), as well as other Quebécers. Chinatown is thus the heart of commercial and cultural exchanges within the community itself, and an eloquent statement of the dense, thriving urban culture that the Administration wishes to promote within downtown areas of Montréal.
>
> (Ville de Montréal, 1998: 11)

Chinese businesses engaged in servicing the city's expanding visitor economy are thus regarded as prime movers in the regeneration of their locality. Nevertheless, Ville de Montréal rejects the notion that the interests of the area and of the city as a whole are best served by freeing landowners and traders from the 'burdens' of regulation and control by the municipality. Nor does it accept that improvements to streets and other public spaces should be financed, planned and managed by local business associations alone. Indeed, the pressures to redevelop sites associated with the expansion of the nearby city centre are seen as an important rationale for more stringent zoning, traffic and parking controls to ensure that Chinatown continues as a living mixed-use neighbourhood.

Conclusion

The cases discussed above do not suggest a single or simple type of place-consumption in ethnic quarters. First and foremost, established and often historic ethnoscapes – such as the downtown Chinatowns of Montréal, Vancouver and Toronto – continue to function as commercial, cultural and social hubs, not only for the 'neighbourhood', but also for visiting members of the minority group across the city-region, North America and overseas. Such areas may also appeal to members of the dominant national culture and international tourists. In any given city, such visitors will have diverse motivations and requirements. Some are attracted by colourful street markets, ethnic cuisine, festivals, world music and other performance art; some by the bars, clubs and late-night entertainment in quasi-exotic settings. Recent studies have highlighted the discerning tastes of 'cultural omnivores' for whom an appreciation of contemporary, fine ethnic cuisine is regarded as a marker of distinction (Warde, 1995). Some are curious to 'discover' the heritage of immigrant communities. Some quest for knowledge and understanding of other contemporary cultures.

Inner city municipalities have generally inherited worn-out and badly maintained public infrastructure. This, together with low levels of private investment contributes to a general air of neglect that contrasts sharply with the bright lights of the nearby city centre. In most cases, the majority of the 'host' population remains poor, with high levels of underemployment. From a neo-liberal perspective, welfare dependency does not provide a sustainable solution to the entrenched problems of the inner city. In place of subsidy from governments and municipalities, it is argued that removal of bureaucratic obstacles will enable minority businesses to develop niches in heterogeneous, post-industrial markets. If such entrepreneurial talent can be unlocked, business confidence in the locality will increase, encouraging restoration and care of urban landscapes. Astute responses to market opportunities that include a demand for exotic goods and services will thus create a virtuous circle. If they are willing to adapt to the demands of the new, globalized urban economy, inner city residents will find employment that compensates for decline in older trades.

According to this paradigm, the role of city government is to capture local benefits from the global ebb and flow of capital, people and their cultures so that the urban centre becomes a node of lucrative trans-national networks. As demonstrated in the BIA initiatives in Ontario, 'self-help' initiatives at the micro-level led by local associations of minority businesses can greatly enhance municipal investment and promotion. A mutually beneficial relationship is nurtured between knowledge industries located in the city centre and a visitor economy rooted in adjacent multicultural districts. Important components of such regeneration strategies are physical accessibility and improvements to urban design to make the public realm of public spaces attractive and safe for casual strollers. If such transformations are successful, inner city ethnoscapes will no longer be regarded as 'revenue sinks' that drain local taxes and discourage inward investors. Instead, they are promoted as cultural attractions that 'celebrate diversity', and complement the cosmopolitan 'buzz' of the nearby city Central Business District.

As with the internal space of restaurants, exotic motifs of the streetscape are accentuated to create an enclave conducive to leisure and tourism consumption. Critics may argue that this packaging of 'a racialized construct tuned to multicultural consumerism' (Jacobs, 1996: 100) denies the very essence of identity and place. A simplified, 'monocultural' approach helps to create a strong unifying theme that is easy to communicate, but the imagery projected to visitors may misrepresent complex and shifting ethnic geographies, as demonstrated in the proposals for Ottawa's 'Chinatown'. There are also justifiable concerns that formulaic development may reinforce rather than challenge stereotypes. As with the proliferation of festival malls, they may come to resemble 'glocalized' versions of a universal brand, with little sense of place or time (Hannington, 1998; Neill, 2004; Bell and Jayne, 2004). Ironically, the sign posting of difference may produce an anodyne and relatively homogenous culture of consumption, disconnected from the social life of the local population.

The successful development of visitor economies and cultural industries in disadvantaged, multicultural districts pays tribute to the active role of minority entrepreneurs as active agents of regeneration. The process may help to develop social capital and foster pride in areas where low self-esteem has, for many years, been reinforced by the negative perceptions of outsiders. However, few can predict with any certainty how it will impact on the everyday lives of local residents and small businesses. The attention of visitors may become intrusive. An evening economy may bring problems of noise and antisocial behaviour. In some cases, as wealthy visitors enter a relatively poor neighbourhood, it is associated with rising street crime and disorder, drug dealing and prostitution. Without interventions to ensure the continued availability of affordable accommodation – especially zoning, rent controls and social housing provision – the rising property values associated with gentrification may drive out low-income residents.

If city governments are to mediate between the tides of global capitalism and the sustainable regeneration of urban neighbourhoods, a balanced and continuing dialogue with the diverse communities of people who live and work in inner city areas must inform their strategies. The interventionist approach demonstrated in Montréal's *Quartier chinois* underlines the wisdom and long-term benefits of including a wider range of local stakeholders in plan formulation and management. It suggests the need to strengthen rather than relax regulation; it highlights the desirability of benefits such as public space and facilities for local community use. This model of cultural tourism development acknowledges the profound uncertainties over the impact of an emerging visitor economy, and the importance of the participation and goodwill of residents and small businesses. Without such involvement and the development of mutual trust, an emerging visitor economy may promote discord and conflict rather than harmony and cooperation.

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12 Ethnic quarters in the cosmopolitan-creative city

Stephen Shaw

Introduction

A decade ago, Charles Landry and Franco Bianchini (1995: 28) highlighted the contribution of immigrant communities to the cultural and artistic, as well as economic vitality of the creative city: outsiders and insiders at the same time, 'they have different ways of looking at problems and different perspectives'. Where diverse cultures and lifestyles interact productively and without friction, a city can capitalize upon the 'creative buzz' associated with an open-minded, cosmopolitan outlook, as well as upon the energy and drive of ethnic minority entrepreneurs. London, Birmingham, Manchester and other cities in the United Kingdom that are major gateways to immigration have fully embraced this discourse of inclusion and innovation. They highlight these competitive advantages as explicit features of their strategies for promotion. Their counterparts in Canada – especially Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver – have also positioned themselves as globally oriented, creative hubs that connect North America with Europe, Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean through networks that stimulate cultural as well as commercial exchange.

In both the United Kingdom and Canada, particular places associated with immigrants and transnational communities have been re-imaged and signposted as physical expressions of this new cosmopolitanism. Rejuvenated and re-branded as 'ethnic quarters', they are promoted to the majority culture, and in some cases to international tourists, as 'Chinatowns', 'Little Vietnams', 'Punjabi Villages' and so on, alongside other designations, such as fashion districts, museum quarters and theatrelands. Their core features include exotic cityscapes that are often complemented by flamboyant gateways and other public art. The streets and other public spaces are 'animated' by festivals, performance art and markets, but the main focus is generally upon eating, drinking and shopping. Ethnic minority entrepreneurs have played a leading role in such revitalization. Unlike the examples in Sydney, Australia examined by Collins and Kunz (Chapter 13 of this volume), the cases discussed below were, nevertheless, supported by significant public as well as private investment, through special-purpose agencies and partnerships. Collaboration between city governments and civic society – especially

ethnic minority business and cultural organizations – has made these spaces more accessible, safe and attractive for higher-spending visitors to stroll in, by day and after dark (thereby creating the 'controlled edge' referred to by Hannigan in Chapter 3).

Diversity is celebrated by showcasing selected streets within enclaves, a phenomenon that provides an interesting parallel with the valorization of 'gay villages' discussed by Hodes *et al.* (Chapter 11 of this volume) with reference to Amsterdam and other cities that espouse tolerance towards diverse sexual orientations (cf. Florida 2002). Acceptance of this new conventional wisdom resonates with Ulrich Beck's (2002) agenda for 'cosmopolitanism': internalized globalization in which rival ways of life co-exist in individual experience. In Beck's cosmopolis, the spontaneous clash of cultures encourages 'creative reflexivity': the comparison, reflection, criticism, understanding and combination of contradictory certainties. In the cosmopolitan-creative city, an urbane hybridization stimulates innovation. Sandercock (2006: 37) uses Salman Rushdie's (1992: 398) metaphor of a 'mongrel city' to describe a desirable urban condition in which difference, Otherness, multiplicity, heterogeneity, diversity and plurality prevail.

In this egalitarian construct of the 'cosmopolis', respect for difference nurtures creativity and economic success that enables immigrant communities to become established and to prosper in their new homeland. Creative intermediaries and merchants move with relative ease, engage with and negotiate between the different 'worlds'. In this context, an international orientation, together with day-to-day interaction between diverse cultures and lifestyles, stimulates artistic innovation, while traders profit from new commercial opportunities. However, as Binnie *et al.* (2006) argue, a more pessimistic view emphasizes the underlying truth that power and patronage still rest with the dominant culture. Privileged members of a 'cosmopolitan' elite appropriate cultural objects that they select as objects of consumption, features that signify a domesticated, safe and agreeable Otherness (see Hannigan, Chapter 3). Seen from this perspective, the cosmopolite is a voyeur, a parasite without lasting attachments or commitment to places or people (Featherstone 2002). As enclaves of conspicuous consumption, 'Disneyfied Latin Quarters' may say more about the predilections and prejudices of the dominant culture than those of the minority groups that they purport to represent. Segregated from the surrounding urban landscape, they seem 'more likely to contribute to racial, ethnic, and class tension than to an impulse toward local community' (Judd 1999: 53); behind the carnival mask, the less picturesque poverty of low-income groups is never far away.

This chapter considers the place-marketing narratives and urban planning strategies of 'creative cities' in the United Kingdom and Canada, and how they have incorporated the more positive interpretation of cosmopolitanism in a world of flows, characterized by 'floating populations, transnational politics within national borders, and mobile configurations of technology and expertise' (Appadurai 2001: 5). It relates these discourses to

the underlying structures of urban governance that accommodate such volatile flows and considers the key drivers of change, as competition between cities intensifies. Through longitudinal case studies, it explores the processes through which two neglected, run-down inner city areas have been transformed into showpiece attractions. The outcomes of these programmes over the past 10 years are then considered with reference to the normative ideal of a creative metropolis that values diversity and trades upon difference.

Trading upon difference: the United Kingdom

In the United Kingdom, the notion of immigrant communities as active agents of regeneration, as opposed to passive recipients of welfare support, has a strong appeal across a wide political and ideological spectrum. Neoliberals have been inspired by Michael Porter's (1995: 57) thesis that public intervention should work in harmony with market forces and build upon the true competitive strengths of firms in the inner city. According to Porter, the prime sources of competitive advantage for many inner city localities include proximity to downtown areas, entertainment and tourist attractions, as well as the entrepreneurial talent and the supply of low-cost labour within immigrant communities. Over the past 10 years, urban authorities and regeneration agencies in the United Kingdom have adopted versions of his model, emphasizing the scope to capitalize on the rising demand for 'ethnic' food, entertainment and other exotic products. The welcome contribution that minority businesses may make to the physical regeneration of a neglected cityscape can be presented as a potent statement of popular capitalism. Wider promotion of cultural spectacles such as Chinese New Year, and the creation of new events such as festivals of 'world' music and dance may provide niche market opportunities. They also offer a visible demonstration that the city as a whole is inclusive and 'cosmopolitan' in the positive sense of the word outlined above: a rhetoric that is more traditionally associated with the Left.

For example, Urry (1990: 144) describes 'cultural re-interpretation of racial difference' in Bradford's guide to the *Flavours of Asia*, a campaign that promoted Asian restaurants and sari centres, and provided visitors with a brief history of Asian religions and immigration to the city. Chan (2004: 184–85) highlights the ethnocentricity of proposals formulated in the 1980s for a 'China Court' in Birmingham. The new development was designed to create a 'comprehensive leisure complex with a genuine Chinese flavour': a unique attraction that would have a particular appeal to conference visitors. More recently, Birmingham's rich ethnic diversity has been promoted with reference to the wide range of music, food and drink offered by transnational communities, which include Pakistanis, Chinese and Afro-Caribbeans (Henry *et al.* 2002). The creation of visitor-oriented enclaves of consumption may, however, contrast sharply with adjacent areas where residents continue to live in a poor and depressingly neglected environment.

Policymakers are acutely aware that the aims of the 'Urban Renaissance' – to make cities more accessible, attractive and safer for everyone – remains unfinished business. 'Massive inequalities persist in our cities. Competition for space pushes up prices for housing, making access for lower income households much harder (Lord Rogers of Riverside, chair of the Urban Task Force 2005: 3). Even in the most economically buoyant UK cities, disturbing levels of deprivation persist in neighbourhoods less than 15 minutes walk from the centre (Shaw 2006: 7).

In some cases, the somewhat idealistic agenda of the cosmopolitan-creative city may be hard to reconcile with the outcomes of leisure- and tourism-led revitalization and promotion of ethnically mixed neighbourhoods. As Sennett (1994) observed with reference to New York, the absence of a common civic culture may produce a state of mutual withdrawal rather than creative interpenetration of cultures.

The tensions that may arise through the self-conscious creation of an ethnic quarter as a high-profile locale for consumption are illustrated in the case of 'Banglatown' in London's East End. Adjacent to the City of London's Square Mile – one of the world's leading financial centres – this initiative to breathe new life into a 'neglected swathe of inner city neighbourhoods' (Shaw and MacLeod 2000: 166) emphasizes the contribution of immigrant communities (both historical and contemporary) to the cultural vitality of the metropolis. In tune with the Government's strategic guidance, the 'City Fringe Partnership' set out to address the area's problems, while contributing to the strength of London as a whole: 'Inner City action with a World City Focus'. It was acknowledged that this symbiotic relationship had a long history (City Fringe Partnership 1997: 1): 'For hundreds of years, the Fringe has underpinned and complemented the City economy, whilst acting as a point of entry for immigrant communities and refugees.'

'Banglatown' as a cultural quarter in London's East End

Ten years ago, recognition was given to the potential appeal of certain areas on the boundary between the City and Inner London (City Fringe Partnership 1997: 17):

> These cultural areas, unique to the capital and on the doorstep of the City, will be developed to provide a resource for tourists as well as employees and business visitors, helping to enhance the City's reputation as the premier European business location.

Historically, these precincts, known as the 'Liberties', were beyond the jurisdiction of London's mayor, as well as the powerful craft guilds, and thus provided a home for marginalized groups and institutions whose presence was unwelcome inside the city gates. From the fourteenth century, this peripheral space accommodated successive waves of migrants from other

areas of the British Isles, along with foreigners that were – to varying degrees and at various times – tolerated and allowed to settle because of the functions they performed (cf. Porter 1996). Protestant Huguenots expelled from France in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries gave the word *refugee* to the English language, and the area known as Spitalfields became their largest settlement. Their particular creative skills included silk weaving and fine instrument making, and by the early 1700s the area was by far the greatest centre of the textile industry in the capital. However, after two or three generations they ceased to be a distinguishable minority and eventually industrialization made their skills redundant. Most moved away, but others took their place. These included many Irish Catholics, but by the early twentieth century, Brick Lane had become the high street of a large Jewish community that included many poor immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe.

In turn, as the Jewish population moved away in the 1970s, Bangladeshi entrepreneurs acquired their former textile workshops and other businesses. Some prospered and employed local staff, especially recent immigrants. Nevertheless, Spitalfields in the 1970s and 1980s remained one of the most deprived neighbourhoods in the whole of the United Kingdom. Tensions increased as racist groups harassed and assaulted Asians; Brick Lane became the focus of intimidation that was widely reported in the news media. The majority of the new immigrants, escaping famine and poverty in their homeland, found accommodation in low-quality, often high-rise social housing. To address the severe problems of its inner city neighbourhoods, the London Borough (LB) of Tower Hamlets successfully bid for government funding to help revitalize Spitalfields and adjacent Bethnal Green from 1992 to 1997. Then, in parallel with City Fringe, another Partnership called 'Cityside' initiated a programme (1997–2002) to 'strengthen links with the City and encourage diversification of the local economy', especially into leisure and tourism. Cityside's vision was thus 'to achieve a quantum leap in the area's status as a visitor/cultural destination' (LB Tower Hamlets 1996: 13).

Both the City Fringe and Cityside Partnerships recognized that the area would need at least one 'must see' attraction and identified two vacant heritage buildings as suitable sites (Shaw *et al.* 2004). The former Truman's Brewery was to provide the missing flagship attraction: a museum that would memorialize the area's rich multicultural history. Another landmark Victorian building – the 'Moorish' Market – would become 'an ethnic shopping experience' to promote an image of London as an exciting and vibrant multicultural city (LB Tower Hamlets 1996: 14). At the same time, Brick Lane's restaurants would be vigorously promoted to non-Asian customers, especially businesspeople and office staff from the nearby City. Special attention would therefore be paid to the main 'gateways' or access points. Public realm enhancement thus included Eastern-style ornamental entrances at the City end, signage and brighter street lamps, the design of

which incorporated 'Asian' motifs. In 1997, Cityside set up a 'town management' group, whose remit included the organization and promotion of events – notably Bengali New Year and the Brick Lane Curry Festival – and it was through this forum that 'Banglatown' came to be used as a brand for the area.

In practice, the regeneration of Brick Lane and the outcomes in terms of land use and functions diverged considerably from Cityside's initial vision. The brewery sold its redundant site to a local entrepreneur, and by 2002 the former industrial building housed over 250 studios for cultural industries, two bars/nightclubs, cafés, galleries, specialist retailers and an exhibition centre. By 2006, the former market building had been converted to studios and loft-style apartments. The rapid rise of 'Banglatown' as a centre for ethnic cuisine greatly exceeded expectations. A survey carried out for Cityside noted that in 1989 there were only eight cafés/restaurants in Brick Lane, with a few additions in the early 1990s. Between 1997 and 2002, however, this rose to 41, of which 16 had opened 2000–2002, making Banglatown 'home to the largest cluster of Bangladeshi/"Indian" restaurants anywhere in the UK' (Carey 2002: 12). All the restaurants reported that their clientele was 'overwhelmingly white', with a clear majority (70 per cent) in the 25–34 age group and predominantly male (ibid.: 4). The boom was facilitated by relaxed planning policies; the central section of Brick Lane was designated a 'Restaurant Zone', where applications for restaurants, cafés, hot food outlets, public houses and bars would be favourably considered (LB Tower Hamlets 1999).

The conversion of the previously run-down, mainly nineteenth-century streetscape of Brick Lane to nightclubs, bars and restaurants has undoubtedly brought wealth to a number of ethnic minority-owned businesses that have created some badly needed employment. Carey (2002) estimated that the Brick Lane restaurants employed around 400 workers, of whom 96 per cent were of Bangladeshi origin and 92 per cent lived in the Borough. Nevertheless, some significant issues and problems identified in recent years have shed doubt on the wisdom of continuing reliance on this sector. The study found that a third of the restaurants interviewed expressed concern over staff turnover, and many felt that low pay and shifts made the work unattractive to younger Bengalis. Thus, it appears that such second generation Bengalis cannot find satisfactory careers in the service economy of Banglatown, and many seek opportunities elsewhere. There is also evidence that Banglatown has displaced from the public realm of Brick Lane some members of the Bengali community who cannot move away from the area. Planning Officer Andrea Ritchie reported (2002) that in a focus group facilitated by the Borough:

> Older Bengali women stressed the point that they had to be escorted by their husbands and that they could not walk along Brick Lane at all because there are just too many men there, with all the visitors and

[restaurant] staff. So, although it is their area, they are socially excluded from it.

Trading upon difference: Canada

Porter's (1995) prescription for 'self-help' revitalization has also been embraced widely and with some enthusiasm in Canada. Since 1993, municipalities have suffered substantial cutbacks in transfer payments from higher levels of government, together with increased responsibilities, especially for transportation, social housing and the environment. Compared to their UK counterparts, the revenue stream of city governments in Canada is very heavily dependent upon the tax base of commercial and residential property that they can attract and retain. For the larger metropolitan authorities in particular, positioning in global markets to lure inward investment, wealthy immigrants and high-yield tourists is therefore an important function of city government. As Mason (2003: 349–50) points out, the neo-liberal agenda has intensified inter-city rivalry and boosterism. In Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver, quality of life – especially for mobile, high-income knowledge workers – has been framed as cultural creativity and social cohesion: a vision that feeds into world-class city aspirations, while emphasizing the 'unique' attributes of the city in question. For example, through the promotion of Toronto as 'Creative City' (City of Toronto 2001) liveability in the inner city has been conjoined with high-value cultural production and consumption that capitalizes on the growth of arts and media-related industries.

At neighbourhood level, encouragement has been given to initiatives in which ethnic minority businesses have been an important driving force, a notable example being Business Improvement Areas (BIAs). If the majority of commercial property owners approve, a compulsory supplementary BIA levy (collected by the municipality, but managed by the BIA board) can be used for place promotion, events, beautification, street furniture and other public realm improvements. In Toronto, the appeal of the city's 'neighbourhoods' – districts associated with particular immigrant groups – has been greatly enhanced through upgrading of the public realm, instigated by the representatives of commercial real estate owners and traders that govern the BIAs. In some cases, however, valorization of cultural identity may be at odds with present-day reality. Hackworth and Rekers (2005) assess the branding of 'Little Italy'; an area that had been Toronto's main *Via Italia* during the first half of the twentieth century. However, between 1971 and 2001, Italian-speaking residents declined from nearly a third to less than 10 per cent. Streetscape improvements (funded 50:50 by the City and the BIA) created an Italian 'café society' ambience that proved commercially successful, especially for restaurant owners. As a reporter for the *Toronto Star* wryly observed (Taylor 2003: B1, quoted in Hackworth and Rekers 2005: 222), '[m]ainly, what's left is Little Italy the

brand name, the trademark, the logo, the ethnic "swoosh". Very Little Italy.'

As Fowler and Siegel (2002) stress, Canadian cities operate within a hierarchical constitutional framework; legally they are corporations that can be created or abolished by the Provinces, and are sometimes regarded as 'mere administrative agents' of the higher government. Nevertheless, the civic leaders of the major gateway cities of Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver have demonstrated distinctiveness, with significant policy differences – from each other and from their counterparts in the United States – that owe a great deal to urban social movements that overturned the established order in the 1970s and 1980s. Their radical reform of city planning and cultural strategies abruptly halted expansion of urban motorways, and presented a far more participatory and inclusive vision of the new cultural metropolis than their predecessors. In the case of Montréal, the period of reform began in 1986, when the Montréal Citizens Movement (MCM) – a Left-libertarian coalition committed to democratizing urban governance – gained control of Ville de Montréal (Thomas 1995). Cultural and environmental revitalization was expected simultaneously to attract inward investment and integrate diverse groups into the futures envisaged for these cities according to principles of social equity endorsed by Mayor Jean Doré (1986–94). The desire to position Montréal as the 'Geneva of North America' no longer seemed farfetched; the fluency of the local population in two of the United Nations' five official languages, and over a hundred others, was now promoted as a valuable asset in the city's place marketing (Latouche 1994).

Quartier chinois as cultural quarter in Montréal's 'Ethnic Main'

Expressing this new emphasis on the city as a 'great cultural metropolis', Mayor Doré (Ville de Montréal 1992: iii) introduced a new City Plan that emphasized interventionism and pluralism. The Plan was formulated through extensive consultation with representatives of the city's diverse communities and was conceived as 'both an instrument to be used to improve Montréalers' quality of life as well as a social contract uniting them in a common goal: the economic and cultural development of our city'. In this new vision, explicit references were made, not only to Geneva, but also to other European cities that had developed a strong international outlook and an association with the creative arts, especially Lyon and Barcelona. In this context, the regeneration of Montréal's culturally diverse 'Main' and its public realm has been a priority. From the nineteenth century, Boulevard Saint Laurent – the thoroughfare which divided the Anglophone west and Francophone east of the city – became home to many who were neither of British nor French origin. These 'Allophones' included a Chinese community that established the *Quartier chinois* (Chinatown) in the 1860s, together with other groups, notably Italian, Greek, Portuguese and Jewish Montréalers. Although the total population of Allophones remained under

5 per cent of the city's population until 1900, their numbers increased substantially from the early twentieth century (Linteau 2000). From the 1980s – as with Canada's other two major gateway cities – immigrants from Europe became a minority. The population census indicates that Montréal's present-day immigrant population (permanent residents not born in Canada) is 28 per cent, compared with 49 per cent in Toronto and 46 per cent in Vancouver (Statistics Canada 2006), and confirms that many recent immigrants originate in countries where French is spoken as a first or second language, from developing countries in South East Asia, the Caribbean, North and West Africa.

As Germain and Radice (2006: 116) observe with particular reference to the Mile End area to the north of Boulevard Saint Laurent, the city's multi-ethnicity is now inscribed in the fabric of mixed neighbourhoods that have come to replace the old 'ethnic villages' or neighbourhoods. This means that most Montréalers cross paths daily with people from a great variety of cultures, both in the inner city neighbourhoods and in the inner suburbs. Through its policies and programmes, Ville de Montréal has placed a strong emphasis on 'interculturalism' that includes not only the Francophone and Anglophone *solitudes* of the city, but also the Allophone communities, both recent and long-established groups.

In contrast to Mile End and other districts that now have a rich cultural mix, Montréal's *Quartier chinois* has retained a distinctive identity as a 'heritage' area, both for the Chinese community in Québec and for other Montréalers (Shaw 2003). Its survival is, perhaps, more remarkable than it might appear from its visitor-oriented presentation today. As in many other Chinatowns in North America (Guan 2002; Lin 1998; Ng 1999; Yan 2002), it lost customers and merchants as new car-oriented Chinese shopping and entertainment malls were built away from the traditional downtown core. In Montréal, this decline was exacerbated by the isolating effects of an urban motorway in the 1960s, development on adjacent land and the urban blight that followed during the 1970s and 1980s. Within the district, vacant lots and derelict buildings were visible signs of low investment.

Following lobbying from various organizations of Chinese residents, merchants and voluntary societies, a 'Chinatown Development Consultative Committee' was set up by Ville de Montréal in 1990. Inter alia, this established certain principles for development. Incorporated in the City Masterplan for *secteur Ville-Marie* (city centre), the development goals identified by the local Chinese community had included: expansion of the boundaries of Chinatown; consolidation of its commercial core; strengthening housing development, as well as social, cultural and community services within the Chinese community; and improving the quality of life, safety, comfort, image and urban design in the district (Ville de Montréal, 1998: 16–17). By the late 1990s, the beginnings of recovery were apparent. Developments in downtown and the adjacent *Quartier international*, where prestigious headquarter offices had located, were creating significant opportunities for

Chinatown merchants, especially in business and conference-related tourism. The city planners recognized, nevertheless, that without appropriate management of the area as an urban visitor destination, an upswing would also bring problems of traffic, parking and intrusion by visitors into the everyday life of the community, as well as pressure on residential accommodation through rising land values. In accordance with the guidelines of the Masterplan, the 'Chinatown Development Plan' was adopted to provide a framework for action (Ville de Montréal, 1998: 13), 'so that all efforts can be channelled in the same direction, and it is hoped, stimulate the growth of Chinatown and truly reflect the ever-growing importance of the Chinese community in Montréal and Québec society'. The over-arching aim of the Chinatown Development Plan was to consolidate the commercial core of the *Quartier chinois*. Where necessary, land use (zoning) controls would be used to protect the character of the neighbourhoods to the east and west from incompatible activities, and to prevent displacement, while improvements to existing residential buildings would also be encouraged.

Important outcomes of work carried out under the Action Plan have included the extension and upgrading of the public realm: refurbishment of the pedestrian mall and widening of pavements; murals, street trees and landscaping; conservation of heritage buildings; and the creation of a new Sun Yat Sen Park for the local community. As in other cities, the entrances to the *Quartier chinois* are marked by impressive gateways, and these have been complemented by further 'traditional' and contemporary public art. The Plan stressed that as well as being an attraction for all tourists, the *Quartier chinois* would continue to serve as a venue for a broad range of trading, social and religious activities for the wider Chinese population, and as a potent symbol of their identity, since (Ville de Montréal 1998: 11):

> it provides a major point where Chinese in Québec can meet those from other areas in the north-eastern part of North America (New York, Boston, Toronto), as well as other Quebécers. Chinatown is thus the heart of commercial and cultural exchanges within the community itself, and an eloquent statement of the dense, thriving urban culture that the Administration wishes to promote within downtown areas of Montréal.

As with Banglatown and other UK examples above, minority businesses engaged in servicing the city's expanding visitor economy are thus regarded as prime movers in the regeneration of their locality. Nevertheless, Ville de Montréal rejects the notion that the interests of the area and of the city as a whole are best served by freeing landowners and traders from the 'burdens' of regulation and control by the municipality. Nor does it accept that improvements to streets and other public spaces should be financed, planned and managed by local business associations alone. Indeed, the pressures to redevelop sites associated with the expansion of the nearby city

centre are seen as an important rationale for more stringent zoning, traffic and parking controls to ensure that Chinatown continues as a living mixed-use neighbourhood. In 2002 a One Island–One City government was created, merging the 'old' Ville de Montréal with the suburbs into a city of 1.8 million. Since that time (despite the departure of some former Boroughs from the 'megacity' administration in 2005), the ruling party has been a coalition that includes members of the former MCM, and a renewed commitment to interculturalism and to 'improved services, decentralization and enhanced public consultation' (Milner and Joncas 2002: 59). With a markedly greater representation by Allophone Councillors, the symbolic significance of the neighbourhoods along the Boulevard Saint Laurent axis – including the *Quartier chinois* – has further increased in public policy and city promotion as an essential feature of Montréal as a cosmopolitan-creative city.

Conclusion

The more altruistic take on 'cosmopolitanism' is clearly manifest in the policy discourse that has justified the regeneration of Banglatown-Brick Lane in London's East End, and Montréal's historic Chinatown. In both cases, there is an explicit emphasis on celebrating the role of particular minority groups in the creative life of the city. This theme is used to raise the profile of selected streetscapes, and to promote them as new spaces of consumption, designed to attract high-spending visitors. Through a remarkable convergence of policies and practices drawn from very different ideologies, inner city areas are being re-branded as the sights and sites of a mainstream visitor economy in a way that would have seemed inconceivable just 20 years ago. If such transformations are economically successful, inner city neighbourhoods associated with immigrant communities will no longer be regarded as 'revenue sinks' that drain local taxes and discourage inward investors. Instead, they are promoted as cultural attractions that 'celebrate diversity', and complement the bright-lights attractions of the nearby city Central Business District.

A benign interpretation is that cosmopolitanism tuned to leisure and tourism consumption – most notably street festivals, 'ethnic' food, 'world' music and dance – provides a new lexicon of iconic images. In the case of London, such new themes promote the achievements of contemporary urban cultures and the performing arts of minority groups, rather than the more established post-imperial tourism narratives associated with Nelson's Column, Beefeaters, Buckingham Palace and so on. For example, in the preface to the Brick Lane Festival *Official Guide* (2004), Prime Minister Tony Blair wished the festival every success, highlighting its contribution to 'a truly inclusive Britain that takes pride in its diversity'. The attention of 'mass' audiences may provide a welcome boost, broadening their exposure, and bringing a new self-confidence to communities whose low self-esteem

has long been reinforced by their social as well as spatial marginalization. Such promotion requires a simple message that can be communicated quickly and effectively to wider audiences, including international tourists, some of whom may be on a relatively short itinerary and know little of the complex social, cultural and historical context of the place concerned.

A more critical reading is that such thematic 'quarterizing' of cities (Bell and Jayne 2004) attempts to stabilize the essential fluidity of urban immigration and to create a false impression of homogeneity within boundaries, freeze-framing a particular identity through signs that can readily be digested by a fast-moving cosmopolitan elite. This carries with it the very real danger that the narrative of a particular place is de-coupled from the bigger and less palatable picture of hardship and under-employment that has been experienced by many recent immigrants from less developed countries in both the United Kingdom and Canada (Shaw 2006). There are justifiable concerns that such formulaic development of ethnic quarters may reinforce rather than challenge historic stereotypes. Thus, they will fail to stimulate the evolving hybridization and 'creative reflexivity' that is the very essence of the mongrel city, a diversity of gaze, rather than a scene of discourse and interaction (Sandercock 2006: 40). Ironically, the signposting of difference may produce an anodyne and relatively homogenous culture of consumption, disconnected from the social life of the local population. As with the proliferation of festival malls and other urban visitor attractions (cf. Bell and Jayne 2004; Hannigan 1998; Neill 2004), in time they may come to resemble 'glocalized' (see Chapter 10 in this volume) versions of a universal brand.