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creative communities and the making of place

Proceedings

International Conference
Arte-Polis 2

*Creative Communities
and the Making of Place:
Sharing Creative Experiences*

Bandung, 8-9 August 2008

Department of Architecture
School of Architecture, Planning,
and Policy Development
Institute of Technology, Bandung

Proceedings
Arte-Polis 2 International Conference
Creative Communities and the Making of Place: Sharing Creative Experiences

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INTRODUCTION

The second Arte-Polis International Conference taking place at the Institute of Technology Bandung (ITB) on 8-9 August 2008, underlines the importance of discourse on creative communities that puts significant impact on the making of places. Its aim is to critically debate and develop creative communities as the basis for a paradigm shift in the cultural economy that influences the formulation of policy in development. Under the main theme of "Creative Communities and the Making of Place", this two-day International Conference elaborates the praxis of place-making that reflects the potential of human creativity in the built environment.

A series of papers are presented, which elaborate this main theme within six parallel sessions. In this publication, the Keynote and Featured speeches along with Parallel Session papers are compiled to provide an insight for reflection and sharing of best practice experiences from over 16 countries. It offers an overview of the topics raised and a platform for discussion by Conference participants. We trust that you will find this second Arte-Polis International Conference on Creative Communities and the Making of Place, in our idyllic campus of ITB, a rewarding and enriching creative experience worth sharing.

The Arte-Polis 2 Organizing Committee

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LINEAGES OF THE CREATIVE CITY[1]

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Charles LANDRY

CREATIVITY IS LIKE A RASH

Everyone is now in the creativity game. Creativity has become a mantra of our age endowed almost exclusively with positive virtues. Twenty British cities at the last count call themselves creative. From Creative Manchester to Bristol to Plymouth to Norwich and of course Creative London. And ditto Canada. Toronto with its Culture Plan for the Creative City; Vancouver and the Creative City Task Force; or London, Ontario's similar task force and Ottawa's plan to be a creative city. In the States there is Creative Cincinnati, Creative Tampa Bay and the welter of creative regions such as Creative New England. In Australia we find the Brisbane Creative City strategy, there is Creative Auckland. Partners for Livable Communities launched a Creative Cities Initiative in 2001 and Osaka set up a Graduate School for Creative Cities in 2003 and launched a Japanese Creative Cities Network in 2005. Even the somewhat lumbering UNESCO through its Global Alliance for Cultural Diversity launched its Creative Cities Network in 2004 anointing Edinburgh as the first for its literary creativity.

On closer examination most of the strategies and plans are in fact concerned with strengthening the arts and cultural fabric, such as support for the arts and artists and the institutional infrastructure to match. In addition they focus on fostering the creative industries comprising those industries that "have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property," such as advertising, architecture, art, crafts, design, designer fashion, television, radio, film and video, interactive leisure software, music, the performing arts, publishing and software creation. However, this is not what the 'creative city' is exclusively concerned with it is merely an important aspect.

THE ORIGINAL IDEA

The idea of the Creative City emerged from the late 1980's onwards along a number of trajectories, which both enrich what the creative city means today, yet also confuse because of its diversity. When introduced in the early 1990's[2] it was seen as aspirational; a clarion call to encourage open-mindedness and imagination. This has a dramatic impact on organizational culture. The philosophy is that there is always more potential in any place than any of us would think at first sight, even though very few cities, perhaps London, New York or Amsterdam are comprehensively creative. It posits that conditions need to be

created for people to think, plan and act with imagination in harnessing opportunities or addressing seemingly intractable urban problems. These might range from addressing homelessness, to creating wealth or enhancing the visual environment. It is a positive concept, its assumption is that ordinary people can make the extra-ordinary happen if given the chance. Creativity in this context is applied imagination using qualities like intelligence, inventiveness and learning along the way. In the 'Creative City' it is not only artists and those involved in the creative economy that are creative, although they play an important role. Creativity can come from any source including anyone who addresses issues in an inventive way be it a social worker, a business person, a scientist or public servant. Yet creativity is legitimized in the arts and the organization of artistic creativity has specific qualities that chime well with the needs of the ideas driven economy.

It advocates the need for a culture of creativity to be embedded into how the urban stakeholders operate. By encouraging creativity and legitimising the use of imagination within the public, private and community spheres the ideasbank of possibilities and potential solutions to any urban problem will be broadened. This is the divergent thinking that generates multiple options, which needs to been aligned to convergent thinking that narrows down possibilities from which then urban innovations can emerge once they have passed the reality checker.

This requires infrastructures beyond the hardware - buildings, roads or sewage. Creative infrastructure is a combination of the hard and the soft including too the mental infrastructure, the way a city approaches opportunities and problems; the environmental conditions it creates to generate an atmosphere and the enabling devices it fosters generated through its incentives and regulatory structures.

To be a creative city the soft infrastructure needs to include: A highly skilled and flexible labour force; dynamic thinkers, creators and implementers as creativity is not only about having ideas; a large formal and informal intellectual infrastructure and the old-fashioned, empire building tendencies of universities that are more like production factories does not always help; being able to give maverick personalities space; strong communication linkages internally and with the external world and an overall culture of entrepreneurship whether this is applied to social or economic ends. This establishes a creative rub as the imaginative city stands at the cusp of a dynamic and tense equilibrium.

This creative city of imagination must identify, nurture, attract and sustain talent so it is able mobilize ideas, talents and creative organizations in order to keep their young and gifted. Being creative as an individual or organization is relatively easy, yet to be creative as a city is a different proposition given the amalgam of cultures and interests involved. The characteristics tend to include: Taking measured risks, wide-spread leadership, a sense of going somewhere, being determined but not deterministic, having the strength to go beyond the political cycle and crucially being strategically principled and tactically flexible. To maximize this requires a change in mindset, perception, ambition and will. It requires too an understanding of the new competitive urban tools such as a city's networking capacity, its cultural depth and richness, the quality of its governance, design awareness and understanding of how to use the symbolic and perceptual understanding and eco-awareness This transformation has a strong impact on organizational culture and will not be achieved within a business as usual approach.

It requires thousands of changes in mindset, creating the conditions for people to become agents of change rather than victims of change, seeing transformation as a lived experience not a one off event. It demands invigorated leadership.

The built environment the stage, the setting, the container - is crucial for establishing a milieu. It provides the physical pre-conditions or platform upon which the activity base or

atmosphere of a city can develop. A creative milieu is a place that contains the necessary requirements in terms of 'hard' and 'soft' infrastructure to generate a flow of ideas and inventions. A milieu can be a building, a street or an area, such as the Truman's Brewery in Brick Lane; Rundle Street East in Adelaide or Queen Street in Toronto; and Soho in New York an example of the last. Can we create such a milieu? Interestingly the instances usually cited work with the grain of the old inserting the new within it.

The need for creativity

Why did the popularity of creativity come about? There had been from the late 1980's onwards increased recognition that the world is changing dramatically that feels like a paradigm shift for those at the various receiving ends. Industries in the developed world already had to restructure from the mid-1970's onwards. The movement has taken time to unfold in its fullness, but its momentum has moved apace with the shift in the global terms of trade now apparent. This was eased and driven by new information technologies and the so-called internet based 'new economy' where we move from a focus on brawn to brain and value added is generated by ideas that are turned into innovations, inventions and copyrights.

This left many countries and cities flailing as they searched for new answers to creating a purpose for themselves and jobs, whilst their cities were physically locked into their past. This led to soul searching at different levels and many concluded that the old way of doing things did not work sufficiently well, including: Education which did not seem to prepare students for the demands of the 'new' world; organization, management and leadership which with its control ethos and hierarchical focus did not provide the flexibility, adaptability and resilience to cope in the emerging competitive environment; cities whose atmosphere, look and feel were seen as coming from the industrialized factory age and where quality of design was viewed as an add-on rather than as the core of what makes a city attractive and competitive.

Coping with these changes required a re-assessment of cities' resources and potential and a process of necessary re-invention on all fronts. This is an act of imagination and creation. Being creative thus seemed like the answer and the battle for greater creativity occurred on several fronts. First for example, the educational system with its then more rigid curriculum and tendency to rote like learning did not sufficiently prepare young people who were being asked to learn more subjects, but perhaps understood them less. Critics instead argued that students should acquire higher order skills such as learning how to learn, to create, to discover, innovate, problem solve and self-assess. This would trigger and activate wider ranges of intelligences; foster openness, exploration and adaptability and allow the transfer of knowledge between different contexts as students would learn how to understand the essence of arguments rather than recall out of context facts. Second, harnessing the motivation, talent and skills increasingly could not happen in top down organizational structures. Interesting people, often mavericks, increasingly were not willing to work within traditional structures. This led to new forms of managing and governance with titles such as matrix management or stakeholder democracy, whose purpose was to unleash creativity and bring greater fulfilment. The drive for innovations required working environments where people wanted to share and collaborate for mutual advantage. This was necessary outside the workplace and increasingly the notion of the creative milieu came into play, which is a physical urban setting where people feel encouraged to engage, communicate and share. Often these milieu were centred around redundant warehouses which had been turned into incubators for new companies.

Today we can talk of a creativity and even Creative City Movement, but back in the late 1980's when most of the constituent ideas were developed the key terms discussed were: culture, the arts, cultural planning, cultural resources, the cultural industries. Creativity as a broad based attribute only came into common, as distinct from specialist, currency, in the mid-1990's. For example Australia's 'Creative Nation' instigated in 1992 by Paul Keating spelt out the country's cultural policy. In the UK by contrast it was the publication

of Ken Robinson's a national commission on creativity, education and the economy for the UK Government 'All Our Future: Creativity, Culture and Education' [3] that put creativity onto the political agenda. Later some of the phraseology changed. The cultural industries became the creative industries and the creative economy and the notion of the creative class then emerged in 2002. The publication of Richard Florida's book 'The rise of the Creative Class'[4] gave the 'movement' a dramatic lift with the danger of hyping the concept out of favour.

STEPPING BACK IN TIME

Let's step back in time. In terms of appearance the main thinkers associated with seeing the city as a potential creative resource are: Robert McNulty, president of Partners for Livable Places (later Communities) founded in 1977 after a consortium was formed at the encouragement of the US National Endowment for the Arts. Partners initially focused on design and culture as resources for livability. In 1979 Harvey Perloff encouraged by Partners launched a programme to document the economic value of design and cultural amenities calculating initially in Los Angeles the value of cultural activities, excluding the film industry. Avoiding the word 'culture' the 'Economics of Amenity' programme illustrated how cultural amenities and the quality of life in a community are linked to economic development and job creation. It involved managing the social and physical changes that affect every community.

This started a significant array of economic impact studies of the arts. From the early 1980's onwards the arts community starting in the US began to justify their economic worth, [5] a short while later similar comprehensive studies were followed up in the UK[6] and Australia [7]. This work created a link between the arts and the city exemplified by conferences organized by the British American Arts Association such 'Arts and the Changing City: An Agenda for Urban Regeneration' (1988). The continuing underlying theme from then on was that arts and cultural activities are creative and the creativity of artists contributes to the vitality of cities making them more interesting and desirable. This includes public artists, street performers or those activities performed inside buildings. At the outset this rarely embraced artists working in modern media.

Over time Partners launched three programmes: Cities in Transition, The New Civics, and Celebrate the American City and during the early 1990s continued to broaden its definition of livability. 'The Shaping Growth in America' programme added a human dimension that involved social equity, children and families, minorities and the poor. Partners' core belief that social equity and human potential are the most important elements of a livable community understandably connected to its Creative City programme launched in 2001.

CULTURAL PLANNING AND CULTURAL RESOURCES

Core concepts used by Partners were the idea of cultural planning and cultural resources, which they saw as the planning of urban resources including design, architecture, parks, the natural environment, animation and especially arts activity within that and tourism. The terms were introduced into Europe by Franco Bianchini in 1990, who coming from Italy was acquainted with their notion of 'resorsi culturali' and into Australia by Colin Mercer in 1991. Bianchini based his notions on Wolf von Eckhardt, the architecture correspondent of the Washington Post who in 1980 in 'The Arts & City Planning' [8] noted that 'effective cultural planning involves all the arts, the art of urban design, the art of winning community support, the art of transportation planning and mastering the dynamics of community development', to which Bianchini added 'the art of forming partnerships between the public, private and voluntary sectors and ensuring the fair distribution of economic, social and cultural resources'[9]. Mercer[10] added cultural planning has to be "the strategic and integral use of cultural resources in urban

and community development.' And in particular focused on the idea of cultural mapping. Bianchini also elaborated on the term cultural resources which over time were refined in collaborative work with Landry.

Cultural resources are embodied in peoples' creativity, skills and talents. They are not only 'things' like buildings, but also symbols, activities and the repertoire of local products in crafts, manufacturing and services, like the intricate skills of violin makers in Cremona in Italy, the wood carvers of the Cracow region or the makers of ice sculptures in Northern Finland. Urban cultural resources include the historical, industrial and artistic heritage representing assets including architecture, urban landscapes or landmarks. Local and indigenous traditions of public life, festivals, rituals or stories as well as hobbies and enthusiasms. Amateur cultural activities can exist simply for enjoyment, but they can also be rethought to generate new products or services. Resources like language, food and cooking, leisure activities, clothing and sub-cultures or intellectual traditions that exist everywhere are often neglected, but can be used to express the specialness of a location. And, of course, cultural resources are the range and quality of skills in the performing and visual arts and the creative industries'. They added "Cultural resources are the raw materials of the city and its value base; its assets replacing coal, steel or gold. Creativity is the method of exploiting these resources and helping them grow. The task of urban planners is to recognize, manage and exploit these resources responsibly. An appreciation of culture should shape the technicalities of urban planning and development rather than being seen as a marginal add-on to be considered once the important planning questions like housing, transport and land-use have been dealt with. So a culturally informed perspective should condition how planning as well as economic development or social affairs should be addressed." Cultural resources reflect where a place is, why it is like it is and where its potential might lead it. This focus draws attention to the distinctive, the unique and the special in any place.

FROM CULTURAL INDUSTRIES TO CREATIVE INDUSTRIES AND THE CREATIVE ECONOMY

From the late 1970's onwards UNESCO[11] and the Council of Europe began to investigate the cultural industries. From the perspective of cities, however, it was Nick Garnham, later professor of communications at the University of Westminster, who when seconded to the Greater London Council in 1983/4 set up a cultural industries unit put the cultural industries on the agenda. Drawing on, re-reading and adapting the original work by Theodor Adorno and Walter Benjamin in the 1930's which had seen 'the culture industry' as a kind of monster and influenced too by Hans Magnus Enzensberger [12] he saw the cultural industries as a potentially liberating force. Garnham felt that whilst the alternative media movement, which had been a strong oppositional force in the 1970's, was important it tended to marginalize itself and speak to itself. Furthermore he was concerned that many of these activities were based on sweated labour and self-exploitation or reliant on grant funding. Instead he argued that focusing on commercial viability, the market and real audiences had positive benefits and potentially would have far greater impact on changing the media landscape. Coming from the left Garnham was concerned that it had some measure of control over its messages. The Cultural industries unit initiated some of the first studies of the creative industries and its two of its employers Ken Worpole, later to work with Comedia, and Geoff Mulgan [13], later to become the founder of Demos and Tony Blair's strategy advisor, in 1986 wrote the influential 'Saturday Night or Sunday Morning: from Arts to Industry'. This shifted thinking showing how the cultural industries could be both economic and political forces, by providing jobs and giving a voice to under-represented views.

Over time as cities such as Liverpool, Sheffield, Manchester or Birmingham struggle with industrial restructuring the cultural industries seemed a possible answer to a mixed conundrum of problems, such as the need for new jobs, how to anchor identity in a changing world, how to foster social inclusion. Thus throughout the 1980's and into the

1990's increasingly the industrial cities in the Midlands and North of Britain developed cultural industries strategies as part of their attempt to get into the new economy seeing it as part of their economic regeneration goals. This created the link between arts and regeneration. A few cities such as Sheffield, Birmingham or Manchester in addition tried to centre the cultural industries into the heart of the physical development of cities focusing on one area such as Digbeth Media Zone (designated in 1985) in Birmingham now called Eastside; the Sheffield Cultural Industries Quarter, the Manchester Northern Quarter or Glasgow' Merchant City programme.

When the Labour government returned in 1997 the Department of Culture, Media and Sports renamed the cultural industries the creative industries, perhaps trying to avoid is political connotations, and set up a Creative Industries Task Force. Meanwhile within European cities similar developments began to take place although with a time lapse that has now been overcome. Equally the recognition of the importance of the sector came late to the European Union with the first comprehensive assessment of the sector in 2001 called 'Exploitation and Development of the Job Potential in the Cultural Sector in the Age of Digitalisation'

An important player in this development was Comedia, founded in 1978 by Charles Landry, who are now associated with the idea of 'The Creative City'. The first detailed study of the concept was called 'Glasgow: The Creative City and its Cultural Economy' in 1990, this was followed in 1994 by a meeting in Glasgow of 5 German and 5 British cities (Cologne, Dresden, Unna, Essen, Karlsruhe and Bristol, Glasgow, Huddersfield, Leicester and Milton Keynes) to explore urban creativity, resulting in 'The Creative City in Britain and Germany'[14], followed up a short version of 'The Creative City' in 1995 and a far longer one called 'The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators' in 2000, which popularized the concept. Unknown to the author at the time in fact the first mention of the 'Creative City' as a concept was in a seminar of that title organized by the Australia Council, the City of Melbourne, the Ministry of Planning and Environment of Victoria and many other partners held between the 5th -7th September 1988. Its focus was how arts and cultural concerns could be better integrated into the planning process for city development. Whilst several speakers were arts practitioners the spread was broad including planners and architects. A keynote speech by David Yencken former Secretary for Planning and Environment for Victoria spelt out a broader agenda stating that whilst we give firm attention to the efficiency of cities and some focus on equity we should stress that the city is more. 'It should be emotionally satisfying and stimulate creativity amongst its citizens'. The city can trigger this given its complexity and variety especially when seen as an interconnected, whole and viewed holistically. This ecological perspective is reflected in Yencken later appointment as chairman of the Australian Conservation Foundation. This prefigured some of the key themes of the Creative City and how cities can make the most of their possibilities. "Creative planning is based on the idea of cultural resources and the holistic notion that every problem is merely an opportunity in disguise; every weakness has a potential strength and that even the seemingly 'invisible' can be made into something positive - that is something can be made out of nothing. These phrases might sound like trite sloganeering, but when full-heartedly believed can be powerful planning and ideas generating tools". [15]

THE EMERGENCE OF THE CREATIVE CLASS

The USA which had been so influential in getting the idea of the economic impact of the arts off the agenda had been very slow in seeing the link between the creative industries and the creative city. That in spite of the fact that renowned researchers such as Allen Scott [16] and Michael Storper[17] had been describing their dynamics and the popularity of books such as as well as publications such as John Howkins[18] 'The Creative Economy: How people make money from ideas'. One of the first studies similar to those being undertaken in Europe was the 'Blueprint for investment in New England's creative economy' of 2001. Then a combination of factors occurred: A recognition of

restructuring was hitting deep into the US as global terms of trade shifted production to South East Asia and the appearance of Richard Florida's 'The Rise of the Creative Class' in 2002. Its timing hit a nerve with its clever slogans such as 'talent, technology, tolerance the 3T's' and interesting sounding indicators like the 'gay index', that could give numbers to ideas. Importantly it connected the three areas: a creative class a novel idea, the creative economy and what conditions in cities attract the creative class. At the time writing his book he had not been aware of the creative city debate. At its core he argues that a new sector has emerged in communities the 'creative class' those employed in coming up with new ideas and better ways of doing things that represents some 38.3 million Americans, roughly 30 percent of the entire U.S. workforce up from less than 20 percent in 1980, whose income was nearly double the average norm. Places with large numbers of creative class members were also affluent and growing. To support his theory, Florida identified occupations he considered to be in the creative class, and measure their size and composition. Companies are attracted to places where creative people reside argued Florida and he found a strong correlation between places that are tolerant and diverse, as measured his Gay and Bohemian indices, and economic growth. He concluded that economic development is driven in large measure by lifestyle factors, such as tolerance and diversity, urban infrastructure and entertainment. His core includes people in science, engineering, architecture and design, education, arts, music and entertainment representing around 12% of employed people in the US. Around this core of the Creative Class is a broader group of creative professionals in business and finance, law, health care and related fields another 18% making 30% in total.

Florida developed a series of indices to compare regions and cities, such as: Creative Class index, which measures the percentage of people employed in Creative Class; the High Tech Indexbased on the percentage of national high-tech output and percentage of region's output that comes from high-tech; the Innovation Index measured as patents granted per capita; the Talent Index measured as percentage of people with a higher degree or above; the Gay Index, a measure of over- or under- representation of coupled gay people relative to nation as a whole; the Bohemian Index calculated similarly to the Gay Index based on occupations such as authors, designers, musicians, composers, actors, directors, painters, sculptors, artist printmakers, photographers, dancers, artists and performers; the Melting Pot Index, which measures the relative percentage of foreign-born people in region; the Composite Diversity Index, which combines the Gay, Bohemian and Melting Pot Index and finally the Creativity Index a composite measure based on the Innovation , High-Tech, Gay Index, and the Creative Class.

WHERE NEXT?

The Creative City has now become catch all phrase in danger of losing its bite and obliterating the reasons why the idea emerged in the first place which are essentially about unleashing, harnessing, empowering potential from whatever source. Cities instead tend to restrict its meaning to the arts and activities within the creative economy professions calling any cultural plan a 'creative city' plan, when this is only an aspect of a community's creativity. Overuse, hype and the tendency for cities to adopt the term without thinking through its real consequences could mean that the notion becomes hollowed out, chewed up and thrown out until the next big slogan comes along. The creative city notion is about a journey of becoming not a fixed state of affairs. It is a challenge, when taken seriously, to existing organizational structures, habitual ways of doing things and power configurations. It is concerned with enabling potential and creation to unfold so unleashing the ideas, imagination and implementation and delivery capacities of individuals and communities. It means overcoming some more deeply entrenched obstacles many of which are in the mind and mindset, including thinking and operating within silos and operating hierarchically in departmental ghettoes or preferring to think in reductionist ways that break opportunities and problems into fragments rather than seeing the holistic more interconnected picture. A pre-condition for good city making. The creativity of the creative city is about lateral and horizontal thinking, the

capacity to see parts and the whole simultaneously as well as the woods and the trees at once.

Notes

[1]   This article first appeared in Creativity and the City, Netherlands Architecture Institute, 2005

[2]   See Landry Charles Glasgow: The Creative City & its cultural economy, Glasgow Development Agency, 1990. Landry and Bianchini The Creative City, 1995, Demos, London   Landry, Charles (2000). The creative city a toolkit for urban innovators. London: Earthscan Publications

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[6]   Myerscough John The Economic Importance of the Arts in Britain, Policy Studies Institute, London 1988

[7]   Throsby David and Withers Glenn 'The Economics of the Performing Arts', 1979, Edward Arnold, London Reissued in 1993. His most recent book is 'Economics and Culture' (2001) Cambridge University Press.

[8]   'The Arts & City Planning' R Porter ed. American Council for the Arts Synopsis von Eckhardt 1980

[9]   Franco Bianchini Urban renaissance? The arts and the urban regeneration process tackling the inner cities ed. Susanne Macgregor & Ben Pimlott , OUP 1990

[10]   Colin Mercer, What is cultural planning? Community Arts Network SA, 1991. This was elaborated more systematically in 'The Cultural Planning Handbook: An essential Australian guide by David Grogan and Colin Mercer with David Engwicht pub. Allen Unwin, 1995 Mercer was director of Griffith University's Institute for Cultural Policy Studies from 1991-1995

[11]   UNESCO (1982) Cultural Industries: A challenge for the future of culture, UNESCO, Paris

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[14]   Landry Charles, Bianchini Franco, Ebert Ralph, Gnad Fritz, Kunzmann Klaus 'The Creative City in Britain and Germany' Anglo-German Foundation 1996

[15]   Landry Charles, Helsinki Towards a Creative City, Helsinki Urban Facts, 2001

[16]   Scott Allen, The Cultural Economy of Cities (Theory, Culture and Society Series), Sage, 1999

[17]   Storper Michael The Regional World: Territorial Development in a Global Economy The Guildford Press, 1997, New York

[18]   Howkins John 'The Creative Economy: How people make money from ideas'. Penguin, 2001

[19]

Charles LANDRY is Founder and Director of COMEDIA, Europe's leading cultural planning consultancy, which has worked in 35 countries since 1978. During that time, Charles Landry and COMEDIA have undertaken several hundred projects concerned with revitalizing public, social and economic life through cultural activity, quality of life studies, cultural industry development projects, as well as visionary city and regional strategies. Charles has been responsible for over 180 assignments for national and local authorities, and funding agencies both in the United Kingdom and abroad.

Charles Landry helps cities reach their potential by triggering their imagination and thinking. Working closely with decision makers and local leaders - acting as a critical friend - he

inspires, facilitates and stimulates so cities can transform for the better. Seen as an international authority on creativity and city futures, he focuses especially on how the culture of a place can invigorate and revitalize the economy, enhancing the sense of self and confidence.

Charles works collaboratively with clients by undertaking tailored research, participating in and helping to orchestrate events, through shorter and longer term residences, deeper involvement over extended time periods, and by undertaking specific tasks. He helps find original solutions to seemingly intractable urban dilemmas, such as marrying innovation and tradition, balancing wealth creation and social cohesiveness, or local distinctiveness and a global orientation.

Charles Landry's book "The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators" published in 2000 has been followed by the 2006 publication of "The Art of City Making", both to widespread acclaim. The latter book focuses on how cities can be more "creative for the world" so that the energies of individuals and companies can be brought into alignment with their global responsibilities. Charles has lectured widely all over the world and presented over 250 keynote addresses on a diversity of topics. He has been appointed as the "Thinker in Residence" for Perth in early 2007 having previously been "thinker" in South Australia during 2003, advising the Premier and State on greater Adelaide's future potential.

Arte-Polis 2 is honoured and very pleased to present Charles Landry as a Keynote Speaker in this international conference on "Creative Communities and the Making of Place", where he will share with us his extensive creative experiences on the art of creative city-making.
http://www.charleslandry.com/ AND   http://www.comedia.org.uk/

Featured Speakers

THE MAKING OF SUSTAINABLE CREATIVE/CULTURAL SPACE: CULTURAL INDIGENEITY, SOCIAL INCLUSION AND ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY

Lily KONG

ABSTRACT

Shanghai and Singapore are two economically vibrant Asian cities which have recently adopted creative/cultural economy strategies. This paper examines new spatial expressions of cultural and economic interests in the two cities: state-vaunted cultural edifices and organically evolved cultural spaces. The paper discusses the simultaneous precarity and sustainability of these spaces, focusing on Shanghai's Grand Theatre and Moganshan Lu, and Singapore's Esplanade Theatres by the Bay and Wessex Estate. Their cultural sustainability is understood as their ability to support the development of indigenous content and local idioms in artistic work. Their social sustainability is examined in terms of the social inclusion and community bonds they engender, while environmental sustainability refers to the articulation with the language of existing urban forms, and the preservation of or improvements to the landscape. While both Shanghai and Singapore demonstrate simultaneous precarity and sustainability, Singapore's city-state status places greater pressure on it to ensure sustainability than does Shanghai within a much larger China in which Beijng can quite well serve as the cultural hearth while Shanghai remains essentially a commercial centre.

Keywords: creative and cultural spaces, sustainability, Singapore, Shanghai

INTRODUCTION

Since the late 1990s and early 2000s, creative economy strategies have become attractive, even fashionable, in several cities in Asia, such as Hong Kong, Singapore, Shanghai, Taipei, and Seoul. A variety of factors motivated the diffusion to Asian cities of what was essentially the culture-driven strategies for urban regeneration popularly adopted in British, European and U.S. cities in the 1980s and 1990s (see Bianchini 1993; Kong 2000; Miles and Paddison 2005). The Asian financial crisis of the late 1990s prompted national and city governments to look for alternative economic strategies, particularly given their reluctance to abandon their aspirations to become global cities. At the same time, the culture-led strategies in the West had had "the most dramatic consequences both physically in transforming the urban landscape and in building their economic performance" (Miles and Paddison 2005, 833). While the exact manner in which knowledges about the creative economy have circulated and diffused has differed from destination to destination (Kong et al. 2006), it remains undoubted that a normative policy script has captured "official" imaginations within the Asian context. Such a policy script may be characterized as follows: to compete in the new creative economy, cities should seek to implement particular initiatives such as encouraging creative industry clusters, incubate learning and knowledge economies, maximize networks with other successful places and companies, value and reward innovation, and aggressively campaign to attract the "creative class" as residents (Gibson and Kong

2005). Such an approach has been most marked in cities, though policies promoting growth of the creative economy as a competitive strategy have emerged at various scales and in increasingly diverse places from municipalities to national and even multilateral trading regions (Yusuf and Nabeshima 2005).

This recent popularity and proliferation of creative economy discourses amongst policy makers (and academics) has prompted the concerns on which this paper is based, and they are, to examine issues surrounding the environmental, cultural, and social sustainability of creative/cultural policy. The paper explores whether and how cultural policy consciously attempts to ensure sustainability even while pursuing economic goals and global city aspirations. At the same time, it examines how policy less wittingly impacts the sustainability of creative work and places, often in negative ways. I examine these issues within the context of two predominantly Chinese cities in Asia which are simultaneously cosmopolitan in many ways, Singapore and Shanghai.

CULTURE-LED URBAN REGENERATION, THE CREATIVE CITY, AND SUSTAINABILITY

This paper contributes to the literature on culture-led urban regeneration, the creative city, and creative economy. Within that literature, the main focus has been on U.K. and U.S. cities. Writing in the context of U.S. cities, Richard Florida (2002) has argued that cities should focus on attracting creative people and promoting creativity as a way to successful regeneration. While severely criticized, his arguments have captured the attention of policy-makers in many different parts of the globe. In the context of the U.K., the British government's recognition of the value of cultural investment to urban regeneration is borne of a sense that culture is "a source of prosperity and cosmopolitanism in the process of international urban competitiveness, … a means of spreading the benefits of prosperity to all citizens, through its capacity to engender social and human capital, improve life skills and transform the organizational capacity to handle and respond to change … [and] a means of defining a rich shared identity … thus engender[ing] pride of place and inter-communal understanding, contributing to people's sense of anchoring and confidence" (Comedia 2003, no pp).

Just how much such strategies actually address local issues of identity, interaction, and understanding, apart from economic ones, is however often questionable. Stevenson (2004, 126) argues that "the 'social' of social inclusion has become synonymous with the economy to such an extent that participation in society (full citizenship) can only be achieved through participation in the economy." In this way, culture becomes implicated in reproducing inequalities as opposed to automatically revitalizing the public sphere (Miles and Paddison 2005, 836). In fact, Steven Miles and Ronan Paddison (2005, 837) go on to argue that "the most dangerous aspect of cultural investment is that it simply does not sit comfortably in the context for which it is intended." Others sounding caution include Graeme Evans (2005) who is concerned that the measures of impact are all too often focused on economic impacts rather than about long-term sustainability; Johnson and Thomas (2001) believe that effects such as enjoyment, appreciation and such "softer" aspects of the arts' impact are left insufficiently acknowledged and promoted. In fact, Keith Bassett (1993, 178) had made this argument as early as the 1990s, arguing that economic regeneration does not necessarily mean that there is also cultural regeneration, which involves community self-development and self-expression. In short, all of these critics argue for a sustainability that goes beyond economic terms, and considers issues such as social inclusion, social cohesion, and community development.

In this paper, I choose precisely to focus on notions of sustainability beyond the economic. Specifically, I am concerned with issues of environmental, cultural, and social sustainability. I treat environmental sustainability in terms of the sustainability of urban spaces as valuable repositories of human (personal and social) meaning, and simultaneously, liveable, rejuvenated spaces. For example, a pertinent issue would be how historical spaces may be preserved and re-used without compromising development. At the same time, it is also necessary to consider how new urban spaces are introduced into the landscape, and how they integrate into the fabric of existing urban environments, revitalizing the cityscape or standing as jarring new symbols of modernity that do not articulate with the language of existing urban forms.

Conventional wisdom about cultural sustainability emphasizes the ability of culture to "forge a productive diversity for the human species" as well as to "nurture the sources of cohesion and commonality," recognizing culture to be "the glue of similarity ('identity,' literally) that grounds our sociability" (IJECESS website, 8 Jun 2008). In turn, social sustainability calls for systems, structures and programs that allow "our participation as autonomous yet social beings" (IJECESS website, 8 Jun 2008). Social sustainability suggests healthy social interaction, protection of the vulnerable, and respect for social diversity.

Cultural and social sustainability are closely intertwined in the context of this paper. Here, I refer to cultural sustainability as the ability to create local cultural content and embed indigenous idioms in cultural "products," and the possibility of creating unique cultural forms that underscore a local sense of identity and indeed, nationhood, particularly in the face of globalizing and potentially homogenizing forces. Such cultural sustainability should be able to nurture cohesion and develop common identity, without suggesting a simultaneous xenophobic rejection of external influences. Closely related would be the idea of social sustainability, emphasizing the social dimension of cultural activities, whereby a socially sustainable cultural policy/activity is one which enables social inclusion and the building of community bonds. Such social sustainability is possible or achieved when cultural activity has a strong social basis to begin with, or when it has the desired social effect.

SHANGHAI AND SINGAPORE

To address my research questions, I analyze the case of Shanghai and Singapore, two dynamic cities in Asia selected for their similarities and simultaneous differences. Both are predominantly Chinese, despite having significant migrant (long-term and transient) populations. Both have reputations for being bustling commercial centers though neither city is well-known for cultural vibrancy and leadership. Shanghai invariably plays second fiddle to Beijing, which has the reputation of being the cultural capital of China, and Singapore has long struggled to shrug off its cultural desert image. Both have aspirations to develop their cultural depth and standing, not least to gain the symbolic cultural capital necessary to shore up their global city status/aspirations. Both have also recently discovered the potential of the creative/cultural industries, with both Singapore's national government and Shanghai's municipal government actively pursuing the economic potential of creative industries (see Kong et al. 2006). Both have fairly recently (re)constructed their cultural monuments or are in the process of doing so. Singapore's Esplanade, National Library, and National Museum, and Shanghai's Museum, Library, and Grand Theatre, have given the cities some iconic cultural structures.

Yet, these two cities have different nation-building imperatives and political ideologies. Singapore is a young nation, having gained independence only in 1965, and is a small city-state, with about 4.5 million residents. Shanghai has a rich history within the much longer traditions of the larger Chinese polity and nation, and is now confronted with an explosive population of well over 16 million. Issues of environmental, cultural, and social sustainability thus mean similar yet different things in these two fascinating cities.

In addressing issues of environmental, cultural, and social sustainability in these cities, I have picked two categories of creative/cultural spaces. The first comprises the state-vaunted edifices of Shanghai Grand Theatre and Singapore's EsplanadeTheatres by the Bay, which offer space for the performing arts in the respective cities. The second comprises more organically-evolved visual arts clusters: Moganshan Lu in Shanghai with its artists, photographers, designers and architects, and Wessex Estate in Singapore with a similar mix. While these spaces had begun organically, state agencies have come to recognize their potential and have intervened to "assist" their development. Although these are not the only spaces of creativity and arts in the two cities nor do they fully reflect the range of creative/cultural policies in these cities, they are selected because they represent two vastly different types of spaces the monumental versus the everyday; the state-initiated versus the organic.

I base my analysis mainly on primary data drawn from about sixty interviews in the four sites over two years (from 2005 to 2007, with artists, performers, playwrights, designers, photographers,

directors and others in the "artistic class," "ordinary" Singaporeans and Shanghainese, as well as with architects, managers, planners and developers responsible for the sites). I combine this with other primary textual data (mainly publicity material and annual reports from these sites) and from site observations. Secondary material in the form of newspaper reports also offered useful information.

PARADOXICAL SHANGHAI: A SIMULTANEITY OF (UN)SUSTAINABILITY

The contradictions of Shanghai's rapid development are multiple. Philip Bowring of the International Herald Tribune wrote in 2004, on the occasion of the debut of Formula One motor racing in China, that Shanghai was spending huge sums of public funding on infrastructures such as the Maglev and a grand prix track while China's many rural areas suffered (Bowring 2004). Indeed, within Shanghai itself, there is urban squalor alongside unprecedented prosperity. The contradictions are apparent too in cultural development and sustainability, manifest, for example, in the tensions between western liberal expectations of cultural freedom, on the one hand, and national practices of control and propaganda, on the other; the erection of grand cultural monuments as symbols of a global city with its requisite cultural sophistication, and simultaneous waning of interest in local cultural forms (such as the ping tan - 评弹 or traditional story telling) (Kong 2007). It is in this context that the two sites of analysis the Shanghai Grand Theatre and Moganshan Lu must be understood.

Shanghai Grand Theatre. Opened in 1998, the Shanghai Grand Theatre (Figure 1), a luminous structure of white steel and glass, offers state-of-the-art theaters and sound systems. It also occupies pride of place in 2.1 hectares in People's Square, centrally located in the older but still bustling Puxi (that part of old Shanghai, west of the Huangpu River). It sits by the side of the Shanghai Municipal Building, opposite the Shanghai Museum. The museum's and theater's location in People's Square is geographically and symbolically significant. They are situated very near the geographical heart of the city,1 and simultaneously occupy a symbolic political centrality, given the proximity to the Shanghai government's headquarters. That this is also one of the most expensive plots of land in Shanghai reflects the value placed on cultural development in Shanghai's quest for global city status. As Clément (2004, 148) suggests, this use of the city center is reminiscent of the placement of the "great public altars dedicated to the worship of the cult of ancestors and the gods of agriculture" in central sites, "consolidat[ing] the base of political power, accompanying and reinforcing it." That these cultural facilities enjoy this prominence of location is a message to the world that Shanghai's new urban planning policy recognizes the centrality of culture. Simultaneously, the readiness to engage foreign expertise in the construction of the Shanghai Grand Theatre (designed by ARTE-Charpentier Studio, France and ECADI, Shanghai) is a reflection of the growing collaboration between foreign architects and the architectural institutes of Shanghai the intertwining of global and local in the production of space and meaning.

How is the Shanghai Grand Theatre to be judged in relation to issues of cultural, social and environmental sustainability? I draw on a variety of evidences to conclude that the Grand Theatre project represents for Shanghai another contradiction of simultaneous sustainability and unsustainability.

While the earlier description of the physicality of the Shanghai Grand Theatre demonstrates the city's determined investment in a new urban landscape, evidence points to the concomitant absence of models of cultural and social sustainability. Two dimensions of the Shanghai Grand Theatre's everyday functioning demonstrate this: first, its program of performances; and second, its audience profile. Together, they demonstrate how the construction of a cultural monument does not occur concomitantly with a city's cultural development. If cultural sustainability entails the nurturing of a local cultural idiom and a sense of local identity and community, and if social sustainability requires social inclusion, the Grand Theatre does not yet herald sustainable social-cultural development in Shanghai.

Data was collected on the performances at the Shanghai Grand Theatre at quarterly intervals over about a year, straddling 2006 and 2007 (September and December 2006, April and July

2007).   In these various months, the vast majority of performances were foreign in origin, dominated by Carmen, Swan Lake, Beauty and the Beast, La Bayadere, the Spanish National Ballet, and Mamma Mia. Less frequent were performances with a more local flavor, such as that by the Shanghai Chinese Orchestra or a Chinese drama. In this sense, while the Grand Theatre may have been an achievement in some ways, it has nevertheless not had the effect of stimulating production of original creative content in Shanghai. Perhaps this was not even the intention of the cultural monument. Nevertheless, its presence has not helped to contribute to the nurturing and development of significant local cultural content. This is consistent with other evidence relating to Shanghai's cultural life. As a professor with the Shanghai Theatre Academy laments:

> For years the city hasn't had a film which could excite or convince an audience, and the situation is the same with TV dramas. Last year the city won only one prize out of a total of 58 "Five-One project" awards. This is a nationwide project for exemplary works in each of five cultural areas including essays, books, films and TV shows, songs and operas. More and more film stars, TV stars and producers are leaving Shanghai for other areas to find more opportunities. (Shanghai Star, 18 Mar 2004)

This lack of creative originality may be due to a lack of openness of cultural perspective, and the use of culture as propaganda tool for the nation (Yatsko 2001; Kong 2007), which has resulted in strict government control over cultural life. It is not yet clear that there is the necessary freedom to foster creative productions and sustain a vibrant cultural life, despite the existence of state-of-the-art cultural infrastructure. The Shanghai Grand Theatre is thus symbolic of the current paradox of cultural sustainability and unsustainability that accompanies the making of a grand cultural monument in Shanghai. On the one hand, Shanghai is able to boast of "world-class" acts, on par with many other global cities, and thus can claim a certain cultural capital for itself. On the other hand, because these performances essentially showcase imported cultural products, their contribution to the long term sustainability of an indigenous cultural life can be called to question.

The paradox which characterizes Shanghai recurs when considering issues of social sustainability. Given the types of performances at the Shanghai Grand Theatre, it is no surprise that the audiences are mainly expatriates and visitors to Shanghai, as well as "work groups." This quickly became evident from participant observation in September 2006 corroborated by interviews with audiences.   As an American and Singaporean couple living in Shanghai observed:

> As far as we can tell, every time we go to the Grand Theater, it is full. But if you look at the people there, 70% are the work groups. They work for the company and they get the tickets. But they don't necessarily relate to this. No way they will pay two, three hundred RMB for these performances … even though Swan Lake and all that is politically correct for this setting.

What are the implications for social sustainability under these conditions? On the one hand, the Grand Theatre's existence and its approach to cultural programming create the conditions for two kinds of social inclusion and networking.   First, it is one way in which the expatriate community in Shanghai is inserted into a global circuit of cultural consumption, and connected with cultural elites in other parts of the world, particularly other global cities. This is one kind of social inclusion, premised not on a local and "territorial" community, but on an imagined one made up of transnational elites connected via the cultural capital they share. Second, through the work groups, segments of the Shanghai population have access to cultural forms that they would not otherwise experience. This introduction to the global circuit of cultural consumption may be considered a form of social induction, if not yet full inclusion, and represents early tentative steps towards turning local Shanghainese to global cultural consumption practices and thence to a form of global citizenship
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On the other hand, for many Shanghainese, the Shanghai Grand Theatre remains an alien space in the new urban landscape. As Kong (2007) illustrated, even a new generation of

independent young workers are unlikely to have ever been in the Grand Theatre, demarking it as a place for the "high class." In fact, some even had difficulty telling apart the Grand Theatre from the other monumental buildings in People's Square, evidence that it was non-inclusive space to the city's ordinary people.

Separately, the erection of the Shanghai Grand Theatre in People's Square also raises questions about urban environmental sustainability.   Has this structure in the new urban landscape of Puxi become a jarring new symbol of modernity, or does it articulate with the language of existing urban forms? Is it a symbol of urban pride or a nemesis to local communities displaced? Has it contributed to the revitalization and regeneration of the city centre, or has it been imposed as an alien object, parasitically draining away the city's resources?

Unsurprisingly, from this perspective too, Shanghai's Grand Theatre is symbolic of a simultaneous sustainability and unsustainability. Its construction, together with that of the Shanghai Museum and the Shanghai Urban Planning Exhibition Hall, all in the vicinity of People's Square, has contributed to a sprucing up of the cityscape with open green spaces, clean, well-maintained structures, and interesting, imageable architectures. Despite the fact that many residents have not visited the Theatre, its mere existence seems to be an important symbol for some Shanghainese that their city is progressing and reclaiming some of its former glory. In the words of a private transport provider, "People's Square, with the museum and theatre, can be said to be a source of Shanghai people's pride as the city progresses." On the other hand, other interviewees were simply ignorant of the revitalization of the cityscape in that part of Shanghai. Reflecting a circumscribed habitus, a domestic helper living and working in the Jingan District to the west of People's Square seemed oblivious to these cultural developments of the last decade. At the same time, as with many other projects of urban regeneration in multiple parts of the world, displaced populations are reminders of the environmental costs incurred in the making of new urban landscapes (Kong 2007).

Moganshan Lu. In contrast to the Shanghai Grand Theatre, 50 Moganshan Lu is a cluster of old buildings along the banks of the Suzhou River in Shanghai's Puxi. The buildings span the 1930s to the 1990s. In the 1970s, they were mainly engineering and textile factories, the first mixed use industrial space in Shanghai. Today, the 41,000 square meter of space houses more than 130 studios and workshops, of which about 60 percent are art galleries, featuring artists and exhibitors from seventeen countries (e.g. France, U.S.A., Israel, England, Italy, Canada, Switzerland, Japan, China, and Taiwan). The rest of the space houses other kinds of design studios, e.g. media, fashion, and product design. There is also an advanced art education institution. Of the 60 percent of art galleries and design workshops/ studios, about 75 percent are purely workshops/studios while the rest are galleries. The leases are for two to three years, and rentals have increased particularly in the last two years.

These old factory spaces at 50 Moganshan Lu have become the creative spaces for avant-garde art in Shanghai. The first batch of artists set up their work studios here in 2001 because of the spaciousness and affordable rentals. There was no deliberate planning but rather, a natural evolution over time. Within two years, the area turned into an important site for contemporary art in Shanghai, with numerous art galleries, design firms, art organizations, and artists. The phenomenal transformation of these old warehouses caught the attention of local and foreign media. Through their extensive reporting, the fame of 50 Moganshan Lu has spread significantly. The growing phenomenon also attracted the attention of the municipal authorities and has led to the area being identified as one of the creative districts2 in Shanghai, and a new name "M50."

Questions about sustainability are inevitably asked whenever evidences of rapid economic growth in China are advertised. Like the Shanghai Grand Theatre, issues of cultural, social and environmental sustainability call for analysis and understanding in the context of Moganshan Lu.

From a cultural perspective, Moganshan Lu's art galleries mainly exhibit works by Chinese contemporary artists rather than foreign artists. To that extent, it supports the development of

indigenous art, and has the potential to contribute to the longer term sustainability of Chinese art and culture. In fact, some of the artists themselves believe that many of the cutting-edge artists in Shanghai are gathered at Moganshan Lu, testimony to the importance of this space to the development of Shanghai's world of art. The presence of art galleries and work studios in the former factories and warehouses form a critical mass, and the close proximity with one another affords opportunities for interaction and exchange of ideas. On various site visits, it was apparent that Bandu Music Café was an important site of social interaction, as discussed later.

Moganshan Lu is also thought to be a cluster that has "real content," as opposed to the many "creative clusters" that the Shanghai government has publicly identified, some of which are sites of consumption rather than artistic creation. As one gallery owner put it:

> *There is a discrepancy between using a creative cluster and having a creative cluster. I do not see many real creative clusters in Shanghai. A creative cluster is not something that you can name and it will come into being just like that. It needs serious content and most important, really creative people... something that is missing most of the time.* (Personal interview, 22 Nov. 2006)

Moganshan Lu represents for him a real space for artistic work. On the other hand, as another gallery owner indicated, its longer term contribution to cultural sustainability in Shanghai hangs on a fine balance between commerce and art. With its success in attracting artists has come a danger of excessive commercialization:

> *It is becoming a bit too commercial and the artistic levels are sometimes too extreme (including the very good and very bad stuff).* (Personal interview, 22 Nov. 2006)

An established artist in Moganshan Lu agreed about the dangers, citing the example of a site identified by the municipal authorities as a creative cluster at Pudong, which was in effect a commercial development rather than a creative cluster:

> *There are still arts-related activities, but these are more commercial than creative in nature, such as retail and trading of art works. Such commercialization further discourages artists from going to that area to set up work studios.* (Personal interview, 1 Nov. 2006)

Several artists and gallery owners have thus warned against a similar fate for Moganshan Lu.

However, from a new artist's perspective, the increasing popularity of Moganshan Lu as a site for visitors is a good thing precisely for the commercial opportunities that it represents. One of the pioneering artists in the area observed:

> *For the younger and lesser-known artists, being based here gives them more opportunities to meet potential buyers and sell their art works. They keep the doors of their work studios open and welcome visitors to walk-in. Although this can be a distraction to the artistic process, there is the possibility that one (or more) of these chance visitors may end up liking their work and buying it, and perhaps, even becoming a regular patron.* (1 Nov. 2006)

The sustainability of Moganshan Lu as an artistic cluster, and as a space for creative work and interaction among artists is thus double-edged. On the one hand, the clustering of artists, galleries, and related visual arts and design activities has given it an identity and momentum that augurs well for sustainability, attracting new artists and art lovers. On the other hand, the commercial activity (albeit arts-related) that has come from its very success poses a danger that can threaten to erode the cluster's cultural sustainability. And yet, paradoxically, for others, it is also this opportunity of incorporating cultural consumption that the site can be sustainably reproduced as one of artistic production.

The issue of social sustainability in Moganshan Lu centers on questions of the social symbiosis between the artists at Moganshan Lu and the larger community. One of the original artists in the

area offered insights into the search for work space that many of them undertook, and how location in the city became a critical factor in their work. He said:

> *As Shanghai develops and becomes more urbanized over time, the demand for more and more living and residential space keeps going up. Artists found that there were fewer and fewer spaces available in the city to use as independent work studios. In our search for bigger work spaces, we ended up looking for properties in the rural areas. In 1998, I bought a townhouse in the suburbs and used the 3rd-storey of the townhouse as my work studio. Although the problem of space constraint was resolved, there were other problems associated with living in the suburbs. We could not get used to the way of life there. Over time, we found themselves becoming more and more detached from city living. This sparked our "reverse migration" back to the city, where the abandoned warehouses and factory spaces became our solution.* (Personal interview, 26 Nov. 2006)

His comments draw attention to three issues of social sustainability that are significant to the artist community. First, the social integration with the city is an important factor that shapes the perspectives and work of these artists. While moving out of the city solved problems of space constraints, the relative detachment from the rhythm of city life posed a challenge to artistic production, particularly in post-reform Shanghai, where the rapid changes to the cityscape affect nearly every aspect of everyday life. The lack of stimulation from urban life affected the works produced, and sparked the "reverse migration" back to the city. It became evident that urban social and cultural integration was critical to social sustainability for these artists.

Besides the integration between artist and city, a second dimension of social sustainability relates to the interaction amongst artists within the cluster at Moganshan Lu. Reflecting some of the arguments that have emerged within the cluster literature (Mommas, 2004; O'Connor, 2004), artists and others in the area speak about the increased interactions amongst themselves by virtue of their proximate location. For example, some tenants were observed to gather at the open courtyard during exhibition openings. Many come together at Bandu Music Café set up within Moganshan Lu, and acting now as a gathering place for artists who are especially interested in traditional Chinese music to enjoy performances that are held there regularly. Artists also meet up to drink tea, chat, and have a meal.

A third dimension of social sustainability relates to the ways in which the larger community is brought into Moganshan Lu. Artists interviewed remarked that oftentimes, visitors would just push open their doors and enter their work studios. Some teachers visit with their students, others are tour guides bringing tourists, while yet others are passersby, seeking to satisfy their curiosity. Of course, there are also art lovers who frequent the area. When faced with all these pairs of curious eyes, the artists would often rest their paintbrushes to either answer the visitors' questions or accede to their request to pose for photographs. As one of the pioneer artists said, many of his fellow artists welcomed this exhibition to the general public of the birthplace of their artworks, testimony to recognition of their contributions to contemporary Chinese art. Insofar as Moganshan Lu had gained recognition as playing a pioneering role in (re)shaping the contemporary Chinese art scene in Shanghai, artists and others there were gratified to receive visitors. However, another pioneer artist also acknowledged that there was little interaction with the community immediately surrounding the artist cluster, though neither artists nor their neighbors seemed more socially impoverished by it. Social inclusion, social integration, and thus the possibility of social sustainability are thus not necessarily reliant on a locative sense of territorial community, but a broader possibility of engagement.

The transformation of Moganshan Lu into an arts enclave has also had positive implications for the environment. Several artists and gallery owners believe that the environment was saved from dereliction and possible demolition because the artist community moved there and lobbied to save the factory space. As one of the artists recalled,

> *When we first moved into M50, the factory spaces were dilapidated. We had to invest time and money to repair and do up our individual work studios. It was worth it because of the cheap rentals.* (Personal interview, 1 Nov. 2006)

Despite this positive contribution, three indicators do not augur well for the long term sustainability of the space. First, the uncertain lease and the short term tenure mean that tenants do not invest too much in renovation and refurbishment. As a pioneer artist revealed, the rental contract of his work studio was for two years when he first moved in. Subsequently, with uncertainties about whether the factory spaces would be preserved or demolished, his contract was renewed on an annual basis for the following two years. His latest contract, signed at the end of 2005, was for three years. He nevertheless was uncertain about the future of the area and did not invest too much into the refurbishment of his studio.

Second, in 2006, some of the external areas were spruced up and new landscape features added, such as a water feature at the entrance to the site and some renovation and conservation of the facades (Figure 2). This has not always elicited positive support in relation to the authenticity of the environment. One gallery owner lamented:

> They have made it a bit like Xintiandi ... This kind of fake old but stylish renovation is only conservation of old architecture in name. (Personal interview, 22 Nov. 2006)

Third, the increasing rentals may make for less sustainable long term existence as an artist cluster. Whereas the rental in 2002 was approximately RMB 0.4 per square foot (psf) per day, in 2006, this had multiplied to about RMB 2 psf per day, and even RMB 3 4 psf per day for some of the better locations. While there are concessions for the pioneer artists, the fact remains that they are likely to be the more established artists whose need for subsidy is less than for the newer artists. It is thus unclear how sustainable this environment for art is.

SINGAPORE'S EVOLVING BALANCE OF SUSTAINABILITY

In as much as Shanghai's development is one of contradictions, Singapore has long been characterized by a developmentalist philosophy, privileging economic development above other considerations. It is in this milieu that cultural policy must be understood, from the early post-independence days when artistic and cultural activities were considered good for nation-building purposes (if the negative influences associated with "yellow culture" of the "decadent West" could be avoided), to the more recent emphasis on creative industries and their potential contribution to a knowledge economy, and the place of cultural activities in the making of a vibrant global city (Kong 2000; Chang 2003; Kong et al. 2006). Certainly, the development of a "world-class" theatre space in the form of Esplanade Theatres on the Bay, and the development of "bohemian" Wessex Estate (Straits Times, 2 Mar. 2002) must be understood in the context of contemporary Singapore, hoping to compete with the most economically prosperous and culturally vibrant cities in the world.

Esplanade Theatres on the Bay. Esplanade Theatres on the Bay officially opened on 12 October 2002. Its iconic structure covers six hectares of prime waterfront land, and is made up of the two distinctive domes with spiked sunshades, which has earned it the favorite colloquial name of "Durian," for its likeness to this well-loved tropical fruit (Figure 3). It is sited within Singapore's civic district, just by Marina Bay at the mouth of the Singapore River.

The Esplanade's two main venues are the 1,600-seat Concert Hall, with acoustics by Russell Johnson of ARTEC Consultants, and the 2,000-seat theatre, which is an adaptation of traditional European opera houses in horseshoe form. It also has smaller spaces, such as a 245-seat recital studio (for chamber music and solo recitals, cabarets and jazz concerts), and a 220-seat theatre studio (for experimental theatre and dance presentations). The Esplanade's outdoor spaces are also available for use. The roof terrace, for example, may be hired for private performances or functions, and offers spectacular views of the bay and city skyline. Finally, the Esplanade also has a dedicated visual arts space (Jendela) for exhibitions.

The Esplanade probably represents the state's most ambitious and expensive venture into the production of spaces for the arts, and it represents what Singapore hopes to achieve: the vision of a global city, acting as a hub not only for banking, finance, manufacturing and commerce, but

also for the arts, thus helping to "create new ideas, opportunities and wealth" (George Yeo, Minister for Information and the Arts, quoted in Singapore: Global City for the Arts 1995, 5).

In its early stages of development, cultural practitioners in Singapore expressed serious reservations about the Esplanade (Kong 2000). These cultural practitioners playwrights, actors, directors, dancers, and other artists felt strongly about the need for "community self-development and self-expression" (Bassett 1993, 1785), privileging a cultural paradigm that celebrates indigenousness of expression. In seeking to develop a Singapore idiom and an original voice in their cultural products, they endeavor to draw from local cultural resources as well as to contribute to community life, so much so that artistic and cultural activities may become part of the warp and woof of daily life, generating a pulse and rhythm in the city. The cultural spaces that they seek are those in which "[a]rt, artists and art-lovers mingle, muse and meditate", and where there is room "for eloquent failures as for resounding successes" (T. Sasitharan, 8 June 2008). The Esplanade was not this kind of space, in their view.

In particular, the Esplanade did not sufficiently encourage Singapore art and local expression, as one playwright put it, because with such heavy financial investment in the infrastructure, there would be a need to "go for surefire successes" which will cover the cost of renting the spaces and eventually recovering the investment. He, along with other practitioners, all recognized that few local groups could afford to use the spaces because "profit-making theatre" will be favored above "exploratory, indigenous forms", with the result that "those creative artists willing to explore new forms will feel the pressure to abandon more of those projects and produce more audience-determined plays instead so that they can justify their work." (Kong 2007, 297).

There was anxiety therefore that urban cultural entrepreneurialism would create a city in which cultural substance was lacking while "aesthetics replace[d] ethics" (Harvey 1989, 102). What the artist community was seeking was support for local expression, and implicitly, an assurance of long term cultural sustainability.

The Esplanade has worked hard, after initial criticisms, to be inclusive. If "cultural entities - as places where people meet, talk, share ideas and desires, and where identities and lifestyles are formed" (Bianchini 1993, 12) should afford social inclusion of different communities, then the Esplanade has sought to create occasions for social participation and integration. In an explicit statement of intent, the Esplanade aims to be a performing arts centre for everyone, and its programs aim to cater to diverse audiences.

In concrete terms, two types of inclusive efforts have been introduced at the Esplanade, which contrast with the situation at the Shanghai Grand Theatre. First, in terms of programming, the early fears about exclusion of local groups have turned to their greater involvement over time. For example, the "Theatre Studio Season," which is held at Esplanade's Theatre Studio, features smaller-scale exploratory theatrical works by local and foreign theatre companies, involving local and international actors. There are also regular performances series such as "Coffee Mornings & Afternoon Tea" held at the Recital Studio, featuring local artists/performers; "Beautiful Sunday" held at the Concert Hall for free; "Lunchbox" (lunchtime concerts), also for free; and "At the Concourse," which provides new musical experiences provided by young musicians at the Esplanade Concourse.

Second, from the perspective of social inclusion, the Esplanade actively organizes activities for community groups held in and around its premises, which may incorporate elements of the performing and visual arts, though only as a part of larger events and activities. In other words, in turning itself into a site of social activity and interaction, the strategies do not always foreground the artistic and cultural. Two examples illustrate. Every year, the Mid-Autumn Festival is celebrated at the Esplanade with an annual Lantern Walkabout. About 1500 members from community clubs and voluntary welfare organizations will be invited, and families and friends will stroll with lanterns along the Esplanade's waterfront under the bright, full moon. The artistic element in the activity is provided in the form of music by two dizi and sheng musicians, while volunteers add to the festive mood by dressing in traditional Chinese costumes and mingling with the crowds. The event is one of several successful efforts to turn the

Esplanade into a site of active participation, even if the performing arts is not the primary reason for such participation.

Another example, which draws more firmly on artistic contributions is the invitation of various communities to performances. For example, the Performance of Calonarang in early 2007 was a collaboration between master of Javanese Bedaya dance, Retno Maruti, and internationally-renowned Balinese Legong dancer, Bulantrisna Dielantik. With the support of a philanthropic foundation, over 400 members of the nursing community, children as well as senior citizens from Jamiyah Home (a Muslim Home), were invited to enjoy the performance. In this sense, there is more commonality with the work groups in Shanghai whose attendance at the Shanghai Grand Theatre are sponsored.

Apart from the direct efforts by the Esplanade to bring people to its spaces and activities, for the general population, it is observable that many visit the venue for events and activities that are not related to the performing or visual arts. Instead, many are engaged in social activities, spending time with friends and family, which very often involve patronage of the F&B outlets there. Many in the local population also go there to enjoy the waterfront atmosphere and the scenery and sunset.   To that extent, the success of the venue in integrating the local community and stimulating social interaction and activity augurs well for social sustainability, even though the arts may be incidental to these activities.

Wessex Estate. Turning from the state-vaunted space of the Esplanade, a parallel to Shanghai's Moganshan Lu may be found in Singapore's Wessex Estate. This is a residential neighborhood located in undulating greenery on the southwestern part of Singapore. It comprises fifty-eight semi-detached houses and twenty-six blocks of three-storey walk-up apartments, all in a characteristic black-and-white style that marks a particular period in Singapore's colonial history (Figure 4). Indeed, the blocks share one feature they are each named after places such as Aden, Gaza, Gallipoli, and Khartoum, all of which refer to military feats of British history (de Koninck 2003). Wessex Estate is separated from public housing in Queenstown (one of the oldest Housing and Development Board satellite towns) by the Malayan railway track on which runs a slow train between peninsular Malaysia and Singapore a few times a day. Close by is Biopolis, a purpose-built biomedical research hub where researchers from the public and private sectors are co-located. Wessex Estate, Biopolis and various other educational and other institutions in the vicinity together constitute a planning and development area called one-north, a 200 hectare site that is envisaged to be an "intellectually stimulating and creative physical environment where a critical mass of talents, entrepreneurs, scientists and researchers would congregate, exchange ideas and interact" (JTC press release, 4 Dec. 2001).

Within Wessex are those who live there only, others who work there only, and yet others who live and work there. Many are engaged in the creative/cultural industries photographers, artists, designers, architects and the like, sufficient for the area to have the character of a cultural/artistic cluster. It was not always like this, but its character evolved as more and more from the "creative class" moved in. When the landlord JTC Corporation, a statutory board responsible for offering industrial and business facilities, noticed the growing agglomeration, it decided to support and develop the trend, and actively sought to fill vacant units with occupants from the creative industries. To further support the work of the cultural/creative workers, JTC Corporation even converted some of the apartments into worklofts by tearing down a wall between rooms to create a bigger space within the apartment.

Some locally well-known artists live and/or produce their art in Wessex Estate, for example, sculptor Han Sai Por, Cultural Medallion winner Tan Choh Tee, and young, budding artist David Chan. An amateur theatre group, The Stage Club, comprising British expatriates, also has its home and rehearsal space in two of the semi-detached houses (converted into one).

Evidence suggests that Wessex Estate is a community with a strong sense of identity and belonging. A long-time resident in one of the houses believes firmly that "there is an organic, naturally evolved sense of community here." (Interview, 5 February 2007). In part, this is built around ColBar (or Colonial Bar), a small eatery dating from1953, located at one edge of Wessex Estate. Several interviewees pointed out how ColBar offers opportunities for interaction. As one

resident said: "You will see the same groups of neighbours hanging around there. They will be in contact with one another, and call on one another to have drinks or a meal" (Personal interview, 11 Jan. 2007). Even a new resident observed, "At the informal level, I find the people living in the estate to be very friendly. When people meet one another when strolling around the estate or walking the dogs, they would wave at each other, or stop for a chit chat. There is a genuine curiosity about and interest in the neighborhood and the other people living here" (Personal interview, 16 Jan. 2007).

This sense of community not only marks the potential for social sustainability, but has cultural implications. One of the artists shared as follows: "It is great to have a group of creative people to do things with. All are supporting each other in a way. I enjoy the company of other artists. We could get together maybe once a month and look at each other's work. Artists tend to work alone a lot, and it's good to have the possibility of getting together" (Personal interview, 29 Dec. 2006). Another artist envisaged that "Wessex Estate could turn into a fully-functional artist village and a living support system for the entire local arts community." In fact, she thought that "it is better to concentrate all the local artists here at Wessex, instead of having them spread all over Singapore, such as in Little India, Telok Kurau etc.," (Personal interview, 20 Dec. 2006) to give it a critical mass, and a strong presence and impact.

Several artists also offered suggestions for greater interaction amongst artists within Wessex Estate, such as open houses, joint exhibitions, and art classes. One artist proposed: "What might be helpful would be weekends when people can come and see the art and interact with the artists, or a few open houses a year to get people to know the place. Most of the artists are open to that" (Personal interview, 20 Dec. 2006). Another artist suggested more joint exhibitions and professional exchanges with like-minded creative individuals to generate more awareness of and interest in the estate. A third artist felt that activities should be co-ordinated as an arts village and was keen to draw in other social groups. For example, she suggested that it was important "to inculcate in schoolchildren the understanding that art is about so much more and not merely a subject in school" (Personal interview, 21 Dec. 2006). She wanted to use Wessex Estate as an arts village to promote and enhance art appreciation amongst the youth in Singapore, because "the village setting is also more informal and less intimidating than, say, visiting a museum."

The potential for greater social and cultural integration with neighboring areas is not yet fully realized though the goodwill and willingness abounds. A photographer who works from his studio in Wessex Estate commented that the neighboring institutions (such as research institutes and schools) may need photography for their work, or the neighboring Temasek Club (a clubhouse for army men) may consider photography classes for its members. A theatre group located in Wessex Estate was also looking forward to the completion of Fusionopolis3 where a performance space would be available. The President of the group had already visited the developing Fusionopolis, and had received an invitation "to participate in their weeklong opening performances when they are finally open" (Personal interview, 18 Dec. 2006). Given the focus on media and ICT in Fusionopolis, the theatre group was excited about the possibilities of some of their productions using "a variety of media." To that extent, the real and potential social and cultural sustainability of Wessex Estate seem promising.

Turning from the social and cultural to questions of the environment, the draw of Wessex Estate is strong: all interviewees to the last person expressed the unequivocal attraction that the environment offers. A photographer revealed that his decision to locate in Wessex Estate was governed by "the unique features … its greenery and type of housing. People who come here are first amazed by the trees. It is a tranquil setting. I like that" (Personal interview, 18 Dec. 2006). An artist attributed her decision to locate in Wessex Estate to the green environment: "It is an inspiring space look at the space outside and the vista (waves towards the green rolling slopes and tall trees). There is so much green around" (Personal interview, 19 Dec. 2006). Another artist, a Dutch, compared Wessex's greenery to Bali, attributing her decision to locate in Wessex Estate to the salubrious environment: "Another reason is that we have lived in Bali previously and like the lush vegetation and greenery there. Wessex, although different from Bali, somehow evokes that same feel for us" (Personal interview, 17 Dec. 2006).

The heritage factor was also an attractive one for some residents. A new resident indicated that his decision to live in Wessex Estate stemmed from his desire "to live in a black and white bungalow4 because I like the heritage feel of these buildings" (Personal interview, 16 Jan. 2007). He felt that Wessex Estate was a unique place and deserved to be preserved for its heritage. Comparing the area with a museum ("To me, heritage should be living, rather than the construction of yet another museum"), he advocates that Wessex "should be about the heritage of the neighborhood where people used to live for generations, where people are still living now, and where they will continue to live in the future." In short, the environment in Wessex Estate serves as an important source of attraction to the cultural/creative workers and is a source of sustenance and inspiration for their work and life.

However, despite the positive attributes of the environment that drew these tenants to Wessex, several wondered whether those very factors were being destroyed. A long-time resident cited the environment as her prime motivating factor for locating there though she also recounted how the environment had changed over time:

> *It was very peaceful back then to sit outside in the evenings - much less so now that we are overlooked by huge buildings with their lights on at night and air conditioners humming. We enjoyed the green environment to the full. I feel that now we have maybe only half the birds that we used to have, but I'm glad for the ones that do still come here.* (Personal interview, 17 Dec. 2006)

Another long-time resident felt that the neighboring Biopolis was a "disastrous intrusion." The greater part of her fear arises from the feeling of being threatened by Biopolis' large-scale development impinging upon her property: "So long as our house is not demolished we won't want to move, even though we are right on the edge of all the new construction which made our lives rather hellish for 24 hours a day the past 21/2 years" (Personal interview, 7 Jan 2007). Another resident commented that "the best thing to do is to just leave the estate alone. By all means, put on new coats of paint, fix the internal fittings, modify the internal layout to create worklofts, but leave the rest as it is. Just keep the estate clean, and that will be great" (Personal interview, 3 Jan. 2007). Yet another tenant, an artist who works there only, spoke strongly against some of the Biopolis developments, stating that "in fact, when I think of Biopolis, I sense that the place kills art. To me, it is unlikely that the place will nurture art or allow it to blossom" (Personal interview, 18 Dec. 2006). In short, those at Wessex Estate believe the environment, while still attractive, have already been diminished by the encroaching construction near it and are concerned about further modifications in and around it.

CONCLUSIONS

In this paper, I have examined specific creative/cultural spaces for the performing and visual arts in two Asian cities, Shanghai and Singapore, particularly in terms of the environmental, cultural, and social sustainability of these sites. In both these cities, I have illustrated the paradoxical precarity and sustainability of creative/cultural space.
For Shanghai, the symbolic capital associated with global city status is translated in paradoxical ways, environmentally, culturally, and socially through the Shanghai Grand Theatre a centrally-located modern state-of-the-art edifice. While enabling the large transnational population in Shanghai to remain "connected" with global cultural consumption and drawing pockets of the local population into this aspect of "global citizenship," it is simultaneously alienating and displacing local populations. While introducing multiple and varied cultural performances "global" in origin and "world-class" in standards it is simultaneously neglecting (or at best, not stimulating) local arts and culture.

For Singapore, the same symbolic capital is sought through the Esplanade Theatres on the Bay. The same concerns about alienation of the local population and discouragement of local cultural development emerged strongly throughout its construction and in its early days of existence. Over time, things have evolved, and the Esplanade now stands as a more socially inclusive space and an icon on the landscape, with programs and strategies to facilitate local

performances within its theatres and other spaces. Not all the events and activities that bring the local population to the Esplanade are necessarily about the arts first, but a socially inclusive space is one in which there is support for and celebration of different aspects of social life.

While less obvious and probably less well-known as cultural/creative spaces in aspiring global cities, sites such as Moganshan Lu and Wessex Estate nevertheless form part of a growing phenomenon in cities such as Beijing, Hangzhou, Chongqing, Shanghai, Hong Kong, and Singapore. They are cultural and spatial expressions of changing conditions in prospering East Asian cities. These changing circumstances may be cultural or economic. In both Shanghai and Singapore, economic growth bolsters interest in artistic products and serves as encouragement to the cultural/creative class. Further, official interest in and support of the creative industries has served as added impetus to artistic activity. Simultaneously, as old manufacturing spaces (in the case of Moganshan Lu) or old residential space (in the case of Wessex Estate) become available with economic restructuring, they are taken over by the artist/creative class, and have evolved as organic expressions of changing urban cultural and economic interests. Indeed, they belie a certain depth and soul not quickly or easily observable in these rapidly transforming cities more commonly associated with commerce than culture.

What this paper has sought to explore is how sustainable such re-used spaces are in environmental, cultural, and social terms, and the likelihood of their continued presence as embodiments of these cities' deeper spirit and character. The case of Moganshan Lu suggests that the rapidly transforming circumstances in Shanghai significant rental hikes, demolition of large parts of the urbanscape, dramatic social change, and growing cultural consumption offer contradictory conditions for simultaneous sustainability and precarity. The only certainty under these circumstances is further environmental, cultural, and social change that will impact on the evolving complexion of spaces like Moganshan Lu. This matters less for Shanghai than for Singapore, given that it is part of a far larger country with many other commercial and cultural centers. Beijing's focus for Shanghai is to develop it as a symbol to the outside world of China's rapid growth and commercial successes, and far less so as the centre of China's cultural hearth. That, Beijing itself, can fulfil. The environmental, cultural, and social sustainability of Shanghai's arts and arts spaces are therefore unlikely to be too critical a part of Beijing's priorities for Shanghai.

In the case of Singapore, the feverish pace of change that characterizes Shanghai is behind the island-state now, but it can by no means be described as static or stagnating. Its historical landscapes such as Wessex Estate are occasional pockets -- reminders of times past -- that puncture new urban spaces often characterized by modern edifices to science, technology and economy, in a state that can best still be described as developmentalist. Under such circumstances, the sense of precarity and uncertainty remains. Even an organically evolved cultural/creative cluster with a socially cohesive community, matched by an enthusiasm for artistic and cultural production and collaboration, feels encroached upon and threatened by developmentalist ideals, despite support by state agencies willing to consider conservation alongside development, culture alongside commerce. In this regard, Shanghai and Singapore share common ground, despite different stages of development. But there are divergences. Whereas Shanghai is one of many cities in China - albeit a materially and symbolically important one - Singapore is a city-state. For Singapore, there is no other city within the Republic, and sustainable social and cultural development must take place alongside economic priorities. Thus, while the Shanghai Grand Theatre has a long way to go in terms of being a truly socially inclusive and integrative space, the Esplanade has gone a little way along in putting in place programs to promote social inclusion, and has met with some measure of success. While Singapore needs to ensure that Wessex Estate or places like it succeeds if it is serious about developing the arts, Shanghai's Moganshan Lu may fail, but there's still Beijing's 798 or Chongqing's Tank Loft or Hangzhou's Loft 49.

Whether it is state-vaunted space or organically evolved communities, the cases of Shanghai and Singapore illustrate the complexities of cultural/creative spaces. This paper has demonstrated that understanding their workings and analyzing their sustainability require that we move beyond the clusters themselves to examine the broader historical and contemporary

contexts of their cities and countries, for historical and place contingencies shape the relative urgency of the sustainability agenda and the relative importance and viability of environmental, cultural, and social sustainability.

Notes

[1] In November 1950, in order to unify Shanghai's surface coordinate system, Shanghai Bureau of Land Administration took a full survey of the whole city, and defined the central flag pole on top of Park Hotel as the Zero Center Point of Shanghai (Shanghai Surveying and Mapping Administration, Shanghai Park Hotel, April 1998 plaque). Park Hotel sits on Nanjing East Road by People's Square.

[2] Part of the push to develop creative industries in Shanghai has entailed the identification of creative districts, beginning in 2004 with eighteen, rising rapidly to thirty-six in 2005, fifty in 2006, and targeting more than seventy in 2007.

[3] Fusionopolis is currently under construction and scheduled to be ready in 2007. It is to house research institutes in the infocomm and media sector, as well as companies and start-ups to boost the science and technology capabilities of the country.

[4] The black and white bungalows are distinctive bungalows painted white with black trimmings. They used to house the British colonials when they were in Singapore. Many have been preserved, some for residential use, others for retail, dining or other commercial use.

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DEVELOPING CREATIVE CITIES THROUGH NETWORKING; CREATIVE CITIES IN JAPAN

Masayuki SASAKI

FROM GLOBAL CITIES TO CREATIVE CITIES

The global society of the 21st century is undergoing a major paradigm shift, "from the nation state to the city". The "century of the city" is starting.

The cities attracting attention in this process are not only the major urban centers known as "global cities" that monopolize global functions in economics, politics and culture, and which stand atop the global urban hierarchy system. People are also taking an interest in "creative cities" that cultivate creative art & culture and foster an innovative economic base. The terrorist attack of 11th September,2001 provided an opportunity to reconsider the trend of globalization based on market fundamentalism. As a result, many people have taken a more critical view of global cities like New York and expressed a preference for the alternative globalization based on mutual recognition of cultural and social diversity. Many cities are now attempting to stimulate and encourage their citizens by promoting creativity in art & culture and encouraging innovation in various areas to revive their economies.

Since the bursting of the Japan's economic bubble, Japanese cities have experienced difficulties emerging from a long period of economic stagnation, and this is one reason for the growing interest in "creative cities" and "urban regeneration through art and culture." Japanese cities that have moved in this direction are Kanazawa, where local business leaders and citizens have created the Kanazawa Creative City Council and begun promoting a grass-roots movement for the creative city , and Yokohama, where the new mayor adopted "the artistic creative city strategy" and established a bureau for promoting "Creative City Yokohama". Also in Osaka which has been suffering from a long-term recession, the Graduate School for Creative Cities has been established in Osaka City University in order to develop a problem-solving urban policy and to foster human capital to revive the city. Then in October 2007, the first World Creative City Forum was held in Osaka and the agenda "Developing Creative Cities through Networking" was adopted. (appendix 1)

WHY HAVE CULTURE AND CREATIVITY MOVED TO THE CENTER OF URBAN POLICY?

As the trend of globalization has progressed, advanced capitalist countries have lost manufacturing base and entered into a stage of becoming new knowledge and informational economies. The key driver of the new knowledge economy is creativity, especially artistic and technological creativity.

Therefore creativity has moved to the center of urban policy. If we go back far enough in the lineage of the creative city theory, we arrive at the

so-called founding fathers of "cultural economics", namely John Ruskin and William Morris. Ruskin, who was active in Victorian England, resisted the utilitarian economics of the times, and proposed "art economics", which placed emphasis on creative human activities and receptiveness.

According to him, not only artistic works, but all valuable goods have both a functional and artistic aspect, and help to support the lives of consumers and increase their sense of humanity. That which brings out this intrinsic value is "work," that is free creative human activity rather than "labour" forced upon one by another. He argued that this original, intrinsic value first became an effective value when it was met by a receptive consumer who could evaluate it. Morris, the successor to Ruskin's school of thought, criticized the mass production and consumption system by large mechanized industries as leading to an estrangement of labour and the de-humanization of life. He went on to coordinate the Arts and Crafts Movement, which aimed at "humanization of labour" and "atification of everyday life" by reintroducing craft-like production based upon the creative apply activities of artisans proposed by Ruskin. P. Geddes and L. Mumford were the ones who began to Ruskin and Morris' thoughts to urban studies. Mumford, especially, in his Culture of Cities, lambasted the monetary economics that dominated the megalopolis, and proposed "cultural economics" which places emphasis on human life and environment over anything else,emphasizing "reconstitution of cities to fulfill human consumption and creative activities." (Mumford, 1938)

Furthermore, looking at contemporary creative city research, we find ourselves arriving at the American urban researcher J. Jacobs, the person who called those cities that were especially good at industrial innovation and improvisation "creative cities." (Jacobs, 1984) contemporary researchers of creative cities, like C. Landry and F. Bianchini ware influenced by her, and has defined creativity as something more than fantasy and imagination, and placed it somewhere between intelligence and innovation, that is, the concept that acts as a mediator between art and culture and industry and technology. At present, they are continuing with their comparative research on cities, keeping in mind the question of what kind of role a creative culture has in reconstructing the urban economic base. They believe that cities that make much of the creativity of artistic activities and try to have massive "citizens' creative activities" and "creative cultural infrastructure," tend to embrace industries which specialize in innovation, and are able to develop an administrative capacity to deal with difficult problems. What is important for creative cities is creative problem solving in the areas of economics, culture, organization and finance, as well as the fluidity to change the existing system whenever chain reactions in such occur. (Landry and Bianchini, 1995)

> Furthermore, Landry specified the relations of creativity and heritage, as in the quotes below: "Cultural heritage is the sum of our past creativities and results of creativity is what keeps society going and moving forward." "Culture is the panoply of resources that show that a place is unique and distinctive. The resources of the past can help to inspire and give confidence for the future."

> "Even cultural heritage is reinvented daily whether this be a refurbished building or an adaptation of an old skill for modern times: today's classic was yesterday's innovation. Creativity is not only about a continuous invention of the new, but also how to deal appropriately with the old." (Landry, 2000)

POTENTIAL OF CREATIVE INDUSTRY AND CREATIVE PEOPLE

In the emerging knowledge society, creative and cultural industries become notable as the economic engine of urban and regional development. According to the definition of D. Throsby(2001), cultural goods and services involve creativity in their production, embody some degree of intellectual property and convey symbolic meaning. He formulates a concentric circle model of cultural industries, with the creative arts lying at the core, and other cultural industries (publishing, advertising, tourism, etc.) forming layers or circles around the core, extending further outwards as the use of creative idea move into a wider production context. Also Throsby

stressed that "culture may have a more pervasive role in urban regeneration through the fostering of community identity, creativity, cohesion and vitality via the cultural characteristics and practices which define the city and its inhabitants".

Additionally Throsby analyzed cultural heritage as cultural capital, as below:

"Consideration of heritage as cultural capital can provide a means of integrating the interests of conservationist, who are concerned with the protection of cultural value, and economist, who look at heritage project as problems of allocation of scarce resources between competing ends."

"Treatment of heritage as cultural capital parallels what has now became an accepted treatment of environmental resources and ecosystems as natural capital, and …..
Again the fact that cultural capital embodies and gives rise to cultural and economic value gives it a distinctive claim to attention and conditions the way analytical method should be used in evaluating it." (Throsby, 2001)

R. Florida, who was also influenced by Jacobs, advocates "the rise of the creative class" and insists that the new urban economy is driven by the location choices of creative people who prefer place that are rich in cultural diversity, enjoy appealing amenities, and have tolerance for the avant-garde and gay people. He emphasizes the "social structure of creativity", comprising new systems for technological creativity and entrepreneurship, new and more effective models for producing goods and services, and a broad social, cultural and geographic milieu conducive to creativity of all sorts. (Florida, 2002)

The British government and the Mayor of London have announced a policy promoting "creative industries", that is, "those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property." They include thirteen sectors such as advertising, architecture, crafts,design, designer fashion, film, fine arts and antique, game-software, music, performing arts,publishing, software and television and radio. These industries produced £120 billion and hired1,320,000 employees in 2000, and ranked second in GDP and s third in employment in London. (DCMS, 1998, 2001)

We estimated the size of Japanese creative industries and compared the results to the UK. According to Table 1, even though the Japanese figures are larger in absolute terms, considering that the total Japanese economy is about double that of the UK, Japanese creative industries, as contributors to the total national economy, reached only half employment and one-third of the total revenue of British creative industries. Therefore, there is positive potential for the growth of Japanese creative industries.

(In Japan, there are no equivalent government statistics for the "cultural industries", but data compiled by the author and provided in Table 1 show that the scale of the market for the thirteen industries listed above amounts to 38.834 trillion yen and the industries employ 1,408,780 people. Comparing Japan and the UK based on this data, Japan is higher in absolute terms in both employment and market scale, but when differences in the scale of GDP and total employment between the two countries are taken into account, employment in the UK cultural industries is roughly twice that of Japan and the scale of the market is roughly three times greater. This could be said to indicate the future potential of the creative industries in Japan. The only industries in which Japan has a superior market scale are the game software and craft industries. There is a large gap in the design and performing arts industries, and in the music and film and video industries there is an enormous difference in the scale of employment.）

THE DEFINITION AND SIX ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF CREATIVE CITIES

Bases on the work of Landry and Florida, the author defined creative cities as follows ; Cities that cultivate new trends in arts and culture and promote innovative and creative industries through the energetic creative activities of artists, creators and ordinary citizens, contain many diverse "creative milieus" and "innovative milieus", and have a regional, grass-roots capability to find

solutions to global environmental problems such as global warming Therefore the author summarized the Creative City with the following elements based on the above definitions.

Firstly, not only artists, scientists, workers and craftsmen should involve themselves with creative work, but also all citizens should devolve (or expand) their own free creative activity. As a result, they will be able to experience greater satisfaction with their lives. In order to creat this situation, it is necessary to encourage production of useful and culturally valuable goods and services, and to improve the environment of factories and offices. Secondly, the ordinary life of citizens should be artistic. To be so, it is necessary to ensure that there is enough income and free time to exercise a range of creative actions. In addition, high quality consumer goods should be available at reasonable prices and arts and culture such as the performing arts should be accessible for low price.

Thirdly, universities, technical schools, research institutes, theater, library, and cultural institutions which support creative activity of science and art in a city have to function as the creative support infrastructure.

Fourthly, the environmental policy is crucial. Successful environmental policies preserve historical heritage and a city's environment as well as improve all amenities. Consequently, citizens find their creativity and sensitivity enhanced.

Fifthly, a city has to have the well-balanced economic basis which supports sustainable and creative region.

Finally, in terms of public administration, the Creative City is based on an integrated urban creative policy and a cultural policy unified with industrial and environmental policies under democratically managed public finance. The author has given advice on developing specific urban policies to the cities of Kanazawa and Yokohama, among others.

CHALLENGES FOR CREATIVE CITIES IN JAPAN

An increasing number of cities in Japan are attempting to develop "creative milieu" and revitalize the city and region by utilizing cultural resources and fostering new creative industries.

Kanazawa
Kanazawa has been referred to for a long time as "the little Kyoto" with a richness of traditional arts and crafts, and a beautiful human-scale city which is attractive to tourists on the coast of Japan Sea. The textile industry, which previously was an engine of local economic growth in Kanazawa, has declined. Old warehouse and textile factory that are no longer used were utilized to create the Kanazawa Citizen's Art Center in September 1996. In response to public opinion, these facilities are designed to be used freely "24 hours a day, 365 days a year". Four warehouses were converted into studios, the "Drama Factory", "Music Factory", "Art Factory" and "Eco-life Factory". The buildings were remodeled to serve as space for performance as well as practices, and directors of these facilities were chosen from ordinary citizens. This example of a cultural center run and used by citizens is attracting attention throughout Japan.

A sleek new building resembling a flying saucer, the 21st Century Museum of Contemporary Art, Kanazawa, has suddenly appeared in an empty space in the center of the city left when the prefectural government office moved to the suburbs. This museum was built with the purpose of fusing contemporary art with local traditional crafts and performing arts. The museum collection and exhibitions focus on international contemporary art, and famous artists are invited to produce artworks in open demonstrations accessible to the public. According to former museum director, Yutaka Mino, "Art is an investment in the future, developing human resources for a future filled with creativity," and this ideal is being carried out through the "Museum Cruise" program, which brings all of the elementary and junior high school students in the city to the museum. With the help of such programs, the museum has received 1.5 million visitors, three times the population of the city, during the first year. The economic impact (without considering the construction investment) has surpassed 10 billion yen. The city of Kanazawa is starting new

programs to promote regional industries tied to contemporary art, beginning by establishing a Fashion Industry Creation Organization to support the creation of new fashion and digital contents industries in connection with the museum.

Kyoto

Stimulated by the success of the Kanazawa Citizen's Art Center, the historical city of Kyoto has produced its own "creative milieu", the Kyoto Art center, which opened in April 2000. It is housed in an old elementary school in the center of the city. Originally built in 1869, it features stainedglass in the entryway, a tea ceremony room, and a large Japanese style hall. Because it is located in a kimono wholesaler's district it has been used for both commercial and local cultural purposes. To take advantage of its value as a cultural property, the building was remodeled to create a gallery and studio spaces and is attracting attention as a facility that supports the creative work of young artists who need a place to rehearse or produce their work. In addition to these examples, there are also spontaneous grass-roots movements led by citizens and young artists.

The traditional crafts and industries that have been the pride and identity of Kyoto throughout its history have become a part of the lives of its citizens both economically and culturally. They have also had the function of preserving the unique urban cultural landscape. Now that these industries are declining, however, older wooden raw houses are being torn down and replaced by new apartments and parking lots, so the original urban landscape, "age-old scene" of Kyoto, is in danger of changing completely. In a counter-movement, artists are moving into vacant old residences and warehouses in the Nisijin area, a storied textile district, and an attempt is being made to restore the vitality of the city. The old wooden raw houses (called Machiya) in Nishijin are unique because they combine space for the artisan work involved in the production of Yuzen dying and Nisijin textiles with living space. These houses are creative spaces that provide stimulation to artists not found in ordinary residences, and almost 100 artists are now living and working in this area.

Osaka

Osaka was once the foremost industrial city in Japan as well as a national center of finance and commerce. Today, however, it has the highest unemployment rate in the country. The number of homeless people is increasing rapidly, factories are moving overseas, and headquarters of large corporations are moving to Tokyo. Osaka's economy is rapidly deteriorating, and the city is in a historical period of decline.

The Creative industries mentioned above, have become noteworthy for urban resurgence in Europe recently. How can such creative industries be promoted in Osaka? Creative industries rely greatly on the diversity and creativity of a city's culture, so cultural creativity is now an important issue for Osaka. There are many artists and creators in Osaka, but there is a shortage of talented producers and facilities for the incubation of creative industries (creative cultural infrastructure). A number of private theaters have closed after the bursting of the economic bubble, and the most capable television producers working in Osaka have been taken to Tokyo.

In spite of these trends, the author is monitoring two ventures that have value as creative infrastructure and "creative milieu". One is Outen-in temple, a Buddhist temple that supports a small nonprofit theater for young actors using the main temple building as a theater, and Mebic Ogimachi, a business incubator for creative business that opened 2003 in an old water bureau building in downtown Osaka. It is necessary to develop emergency programs to foster creative people and to builds "social structure of creativity" in Osaka.

Yokohama

Unlike the old traditional capital of Kyoto and Kanazawa, Yokohama is a modern city with a short history that began with the opening of the port 150 years ago. Yokohama carried out a large-scale waterfront development plan, "Minato Mirai (Yokohama port future plan)," during the time of the economic bubble in an attempt to change its former identity as a center of heavy industry. This effort was frustrated by the bursting of the bubble and a surge of new office building construction in central Tokyo, but a new vision for reactivation of the city was proposed in

January 2004, "Toward the Formation of the Creative City of Yokohama."

After making this proposal, Mayor Nakada established the Artistic and Cultural City Creation Division in April of the same year, initiating an effort to build the creative city of Yokohama involving the entire city government. A noteworthy result was "Creative Core . Working Toward Formation of a Creative Zone and Image Culture City," a project that included "BankART 1929." The old Fuji Bank and First Bank buildings of Yokohama were constructed in 1929, during the world economic crisis, and they are a valuable cultural heritage. In this project, the bank buildings as well as a number of warehouses and empty office buildings near the waterfront have been transformed into "creative milieu" for artistic creators and ordinary citizens. Two NPOs selected in an open competition are conducting a variety of exhibitions, chiefly of contemporary art, and other events including performances, workshops, and symposiums in these buildings over a period of two years.

What strikes me as most significant about the case of Yokohama is the reorganization of previously separate administrative units in charge of cultural, industrial, and urban policy to create two new core organizations, the Artistic and Cultural City Creation Division and the Creative City Promotion Section to promote the use of artistic and cultural creativity in urban revitalization. If this idea is effectively applied, Yokohama will take the lead in the movement to develop creative cities in Japan. Naturally, some conflict is to be expected between administrative units that previously had been vertically , but the best way to restore creativity to the city is to make the organization more creative, which in turn will bring out more creativity in individuals. Creative reform of the "culture of bureaucratic organization" will bring advance Yokohama toward its goal of becoming a creative city.

In Kanazawa, the business sector and individual citizens took the lead in starting the Kanazawa Creative City Council, making proposals that stimulated the city government to take steps toward making Kanazawa into a creative city. Meanwhile in Yokohama, setbacks in the Yokohama waterfront urban development project, "Minato Mirai," led the current mayor to criticize the failure of the project and propose a new strategy for the city. It seems that efforts to develop a creative city will vary with the historical background of the city.

CONCLUSION : DEVELOPING CREATIVE CITIES THROUGH NETWORKING

Following these well known examples, other cities, including Sapporo, Sendai, Nagoya, Kobe and Fukuoka, are also pushing to become creative cities. Below is a list of what I consider the necessary steps to achieve this goal.

Firstly, it is necessary to conduct an intensive analysis of the embedded culture of the city, increase the shared awareness of fusing contemporary arts with traditional culture, clarify the need to become a "creative city," and elaborate a creative city concept for the future, with an understanding of the historical context of the city.

Secondly, in developing concepts, "artistic and cultural creativity" must be recognized as factors that have an impact on many other areas, including industry, employment, the social system, education, medical care, and the environment. In order to link cultural policy to industrial policy, urban planning, and environmental policy, the vertical administrative structure must be made horizontal, ordinary bureaucratic thinking must be eliminated, and organizational culture must be changed.

Thirdly, art and culture must be recognized as central social infrastructures in the knowledge and informational society, and systematic planning must be carried out to bring out the creativity of the city's people. Specifically, diverse "creative milieu",and "space for industrial and cultural creation" must be established in the city and creative producers must be fostered to take charge of this task.

Fourthly, promotion of creative policy cannot be continued effectively if it is limited to the city's government. It is essential to obtain the cooperation of a broad selection of citizens, including

business leaders, and NPOs, perhaps in the form of a Creative City Promotion Council. The most important thing for the promotion of creative cities is the establishment of research and educational programs for developing the necessary human resources. In order to realize and to develop creative cities, not only do we need the global level inter-city partnerships promoted by UNESCO, but we also need to learn from partnerships seen at the Asian regional level or the
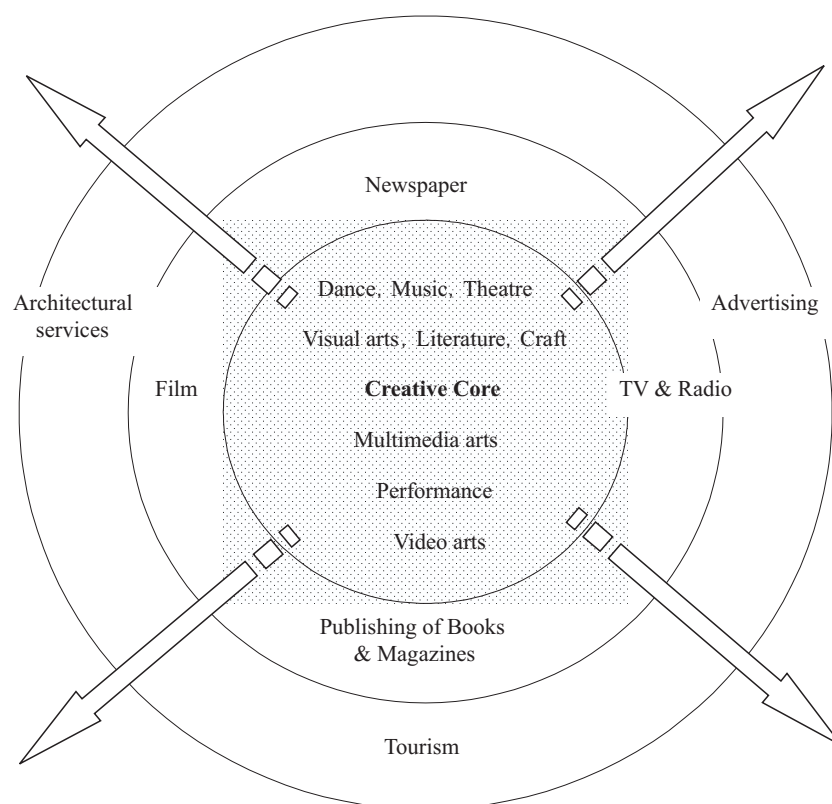

Figure 1．   Concentric circle model of creative industries

Table 1. Market Size and Employment of Creative Industries (UK v.s.Japan,2000)
Exchange rate £1＝￥185

	Market Size			Employment	
	UK £billion	UK ￥billion	Japan￥billion	UK	Japan
Publishing	18.5	3,422.5	4,815.0	140,800	169,395
TV&Radio	12.1	2,238.5	3,738.6	102,000	135,000
Film	3.6	666.0	1,806.6	44,500	75,288
Music	4.6	851.0	2,142.6	122,000	119,002
Advertising	16.0	2,960.0	10,189.9	92,800	154,382
Game-software	1.0	185.0	1,210.0	21,500	29,000
Software	36.4	6,734.0	10,722.8	555,000	555,253
Design	26.7	4,939.5	665.2	76,000	46,861
Designer-Fashion	0.6	111.0	25.0	11,500	4,500
Fine Arts	3.5	647.5	84.5	37,000	23,500
Crafts	0.4	74.0	384.6	23,700	25,900
Performing-Arts	0.5	92.5	48.8	74,300	58,200
Architecture	1.7	314.5	3,000.0	20,900	12,500
Total	125.6	23,236.0	38,833.6	1,322,000	1,408,780

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APPENDIX

Agenda "Developing Creative Cities through Networking"
We have participated in the World Creative City Forum 2007 in OSAKA, "Forum for Networking Creative Cities" (October 24th) and "International Symposium: The Age of the City . Developing Creative Cities through Networking" (October 25th and 26th). Based on the presentations and discussion in those three days we declare that we shall act with common objectives as regards the following points:

"Creative Cities" are becoming extremely important for urban citizens and urban policy administrators as well as academics as a model of a city in the society of twenty first century characterized by globalization and the progress of the knowledge based economy and also as a goal of urban polices.

In order to realize and to develop creative cities, not only do we need the global level inter-city partnerships promoted by UNESCO, but we also need to learn from partnerships seen at the Asian regional level or the national level as well. Collaboration among the public, private and civic sectors within the cities is also essential: We appeal for multilayered and multifaceted partnership formation and encourage each city to provide diversified platforms towards this end.

To develop creative cities further, we will continue research on success factors, conduct Evaluations, and discuss the following area to thus contribute to theoretical evolution of urban policies.
1) The development of creative cities based on their embedded culture and cultural diversity.
2) The role of creativity in helping cities to become more successful in the emerging economy.
3) How organizations in the public, private and NPO sectors need to rethink their role and purpose and how they are organized and how they are managed in order to help cities imaginatively seize opportunities and solve their problems.
4) The significance of cultural, social and economic roles that artists play in creative cities
5) The development of creative cultural industry as an economic engine of creative cities

We participants of world creative city forum 2007 in Osaka agreed the above and committed ourselves to progress in our respective areas.

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Issued by the participants of World Creative City Forum 2007 in OSAKA

WHO NEEDS TO LEARN & TO BE CREATIVE? (THE ROLE OF ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN EDUCATION)

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ABSTRACT

It should be an important aim of every government to endeavour to offer an existence consistent with human dignity to all the citizens of a country. Central to this aspiration is the need for every individual to have the possibility and the means to be gainfully employed i.e. to have a job! Unfortunately, under and unemployment prevail in many emerging and developing countries. This paper looks at the critical role that education can play to contribute to the development of young people who are more marketable, who can add value to a given job, or who can pursue an independent existence. It is argued that the full potential of a person can be enhanced by taking an enterprise approach to education. The paper will go on to look at what is enterprise education, how does it differ and indeed complement mainstream curricula, who needs to be cognisant of its value and importance, which methods can promote personal enterprise and what needs to be done to create an environment for enterprise education. The paper will emphasize that enterprise education is not the same as business planning or a start-up course but a means of developing mindsets with demonstrable enterprising attributes, behaviours and skills, useful in all spheres of life. This infers that such traits can be stimulated or further developed by an appropriate learning environment. The paper therefore urges a move towards personal enterprise development and asks educators to (re)think who really needs to learn and to be creative in this challenge.

Keywords: *Entrepreneurship education*

INTRODUCTION

Late in the last century a Dutch government policy document stated that some 1,400 million people would enter the labour market within a decade, but that there were only 500 million existing jobs. This meant that the world would have to find ways to create 900 million new jobs within the short space of ten years. This pressure to create new and sustainable jobs has not gone away, especially in many developing countries where unemployment and under-employment is rife. It goes without saying that every institution within a society can play a contributing role towards creating employment. However, this paper concentrates on education and the need to introduce entrepreneurship within a curriculum to enable young people to cope with an uncertain and complex world.

A first step in this paper is therefore to review briefly the concept of entrepreneurship, what it is and, importantly, what it is not. This represents the initial part of the paper. It is also important to reflect upon why the notion of entrepreneurship in education is currently important and why it will remain important for the future. This will involve reviewing some of the main characteristics of the 'life world' into which young people will progress and the influences upon this resulting from the impact of changing global circumstances upon the way we are governed, the design of organisations within which young people will work and personal and social circumstances. This is important in terms of understanding what we are preparing young people for and why there will be a need for more entrepreneurial behaviour of individuals, and through their efforts, of organisations. This constitutes the second part of the paper.

The third part of the paper considers the basic challenge of entrepreneurship to education, the design of schools, the organisation of the classroom and the skills of the teacher. The fourth and final part raises questions regarding the place of entrepreneurship in the curriculum, the needs of different groups within the school/college and in the transfer to work. Issues to do with progression through age, and school groups are raised as are points relating to assessment and accreditation.

The paper concludes with a comment on the need for the education system to address the issue of entrepreneurship education in the light of a fast changing, complex and uncertain world.

WHAT IS ENTREPRENEURSHIP?

Although there is no clear definition of the term Entrepreneurship, there is universal agreement that it is centrally concerned with the way that individuals and organisations create and implement new ideas and ways of doing things, respond proactively to the environment and thus provoke change involving various degrees of uncertainty.

In the educational context it is the behaviours, widely associated with the generic notion of an 'enterprising person', that are important. Behind these behaviours lie certain skills and attributes. There is however, much debate as to whether the attributes can be developed in individuals or are the product of genetics. The weight of opinion is that they can be considerably influenced.

Knowledge, as a basis for developing behaviours in education may be regarded as contextual. Thus it is possible to encourage entrepreneurial behaviour within the context of any standard curriculum subject e.g., mathematics, history, art, science, etc. In a business context the knowledge base will be substantially related to the immediate tasks and learning requirement. Skills in themselves, however, embody a knowledge base in the context of their application.

Accepting the above, entrepreneurship can therefore be defined as:
'Behaviours, attributes and skills applied individually and/or collectively to help individuals and organisations of all kinds, to create, cope with and enjoy change and innovation involving higher levels of uncertainty and complexity as a means of achieving personal fulfilment'.

It is important to note that the definition embraces organisations of all kinds. It is not a function of business activity alone.

The behaviours most commonly associated with the Entrepreneur in the literature are: opportunity seeking; taking initiative; working independently; taking responsibility and ownership; networking, managing interdependencies; seeing things through; and taking calculated risks. In general these behaviours support the notion of the active person, getting things done, thinking strategically and harnessing resources imaginatively.

Supporting these behaviours are a number of attributes which it is argued can be developed, although clearly nature endows some individuals with more, and different mixes, of these than others: achievement orientation; self confidence; perseverance; high internal locus of control; action orientation; learning by doing; hardworking; drive and creativity. These attributes support

the notion of an individual or team wanting to achieve and being capable of driving change through new ideas and innovations rather than waiting and responding to events.

It is possible to assert more positively that the skills commonly associated with entrepreneurship can be developed. These are tightly tied in with attributes and support the pursuit of behaviours as follows: creative problem solving; persuading; negotiating; selling; proposing; holistic task management; strategic thinking; and decision making under uncertainty.

Having briefly explained what the concept of entrepreneurship is, it is just as important to know what it is not. Crucially it is important not to confuse entrepreneurship with being 'business-like' or indeed 'professional' in the administrative management sense. This is a common mistake. It is possible that many of the mechanisms and associated values and beliefs of corporate and administrative management as shown in the left-hand column of Figure 1 can be brought into education under the 'entrepreneurship' label. They can indeed also be introduced into the management of schools on the same pretext. Yet in essence, especially in their extreme form, they can be construed as the antithesis of entrepreneurial organisation, and are likely to constrain entrepreneurial behaviour. In reality the entrepreneurial entity, particularly the small organisation, is likely to be much more akin to the right hand side of Figure 1. Large organisations have been dramatically downsizing and decentralizing over the past decades in the search for the flexibility associated with moving to the right. This is important in an educational context as the young person in the future is more likely to find him/herself in an organisation closer to the right than the left of Figure 1.

In the educational and management context it is critical to understand that entrepreneurship is embodied in sets of values and beliefs relating to:
> ways of doing things
> ways of seeing things
> ways of feeling things
> ways of communicating things
> ways of organizing things
> ways of learning, most importantly for education

It is also important not to think that entrepreneurial behaviours, attributes and skills are synonymous with interpersonal, transferable or core skills. For example, problem solving is very different from creative problem solving. Communication, presentation skills, numeracy, etc, underpin entrepreneurial skills but are not identical with them. It is perfectly possible to utilise these skills in 'bureaucratic' occupations.

Without clearer thinking it is therefore possible to confuse entrepreneurship with:
> business management skills
> economic awareness
> work experience
> project work in industry
> business start-up training
> skills development

As there are advocates for each of the above then confusion may be exacerbated by new 'entrepreneurship' initiatives unless there is a wider consensus as to its meaning. Significantly, this is not to deny that each of the above can be approached in an entrepreneurial way. It must be recognized, however, that it is perfectly possible to have work experience that is not entrepreneurial. One can participate in a start-up programme that is not entrepreneurial. Personal and transferable skills can be practiced and developed without using them entrepreneurially. Projects may be undertaken and business knowledge gained without any notion of being entrepreneurial, and so on.

In conclusion it must be stated that great care needs to be taken to ensure that the concept of entrepreneurship is clarified, embodied in our practice and related clearly to 'needs of the future' before programmes are developed and disseminated widely.

WHY IS ENTREPRENEURSHIP IMPORTANT?

Increasingly entrepreneurial behaviour is being demanded in all areas of society and certainly within education systems; much of this is to do with the need to create jobs but also to manage scarce resources and increased competition.

The argument for a greater emphasis upon entrepreneurial education rests on globalization and a world of much greater uncertainty and complexity. More specifically, the pressure for greater individual and collective entrepreneurial behaviour is evident in the impact of global demands upon society, organizations and individuals.

At the global level, political realignments, reducing trading barriers, the growing significance of information and communication technologies, higher rates of product and technological obsolescence, greater product differentiation, international standards for business, travel and personal transfer, the growth of the English language as an international medium of exchange, growing lifestyle choices and the impact of huge international capital flows combine to bring much great opportunity but also greater uncertainty and complexity to our lives.

At the societal level, the withdrawal of state boundaries, public spending pressures, privatization, de-regulation, the creation of 'markets' in public services, outsourcing of services, business involvement in more partnerships with governments, the rise of Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs), the growing use of business methods in all walks of life, standards setting and bench marking, the growing impact of pressure groups, concerns over the environment and the increasing propensity to challenge issues in courts of law, all confront the individual with greater uncertainty and complexity.

At the organisational level, downsizing, delayering, decentralization, re-engineering, subcontracting, purchasing partnerships and strategic alliances, capital mobility, international sourcing, spin outs and spin offs, the impact of software on virtual reality management, mergers/alliances and global company rationalizations, the demands for flexibility in the workforce and mobility of personnel and the growth of small and professional white collar small businesses linked substantially with the increasing dominance of the human knowledge base of the company over that of physical assets, all contribute to a climate of growing uncertainty and complexity.

Finally, reflecting the above, the individual is faced in the work environment with greater career, occupational, rewards and job uncertainty, with a greater probability of part-time and contract employment, with greater pressure for geographical mobility, with the greater prospects of having periods of self employment, more likely to end up with a portfolio of jobs, with greater pressure at work, wider responsibility and more stress. At home a person is increasingly likely to be independent, to have reduced public social security, to be faced with making own pension arrangements, to have responsibility for owning things and managing credit, and as a consumer to be faced with a wide choice of products about which there is growing information and with greater responsibility for, and demands upon individual choices in learning.

If these scenarios are projected into the future then it is evident that there will be a greater need for the kinds of entrepreneurial behaviours, attributes and skills as outlined earlier. Furthermore, if there is to be an educational response of value then it must embody an analysis of the needs to be met by probing more deeply into the factors identified above and the pressures this will place on the individual and the organization.

In conclusion it is clear that the objective of entrepreneurship education must be to help individuals cope with, and indeed enjoy, a changing way of life as outlined below:

> To have greater freedom and control over what goes on
> To have greater responsibility and autonomy to make things happen
> To have a wider range of tasks
> To have rewards linked more closely to personal effort

To operate with greater uncertainty and vulnerability to the environment

To manage a wide range of interdependencies

To focus more on 'knowing who' than 'knowing what'

To work longer and more variable hours

To have social, family and work life more highly integrated

To learn more by doing and taking responsibility for learning

It can be argued that the above produces a basic evaluation framework for any broad attempt to develop entrepreneurship in individual citizens.

THE ENTREPRENEURSHIP EDUCATION CHALLENGE

This section addresses the broader context issues of the 'school' as an entrepreneurial organisation, the 'classroom' as an entrepreneurial place and the 'teacher' as an entrepreneurial/enterprising person.

It is argued that the capacity to really take up the challenge of entrepreneurship in the school/college is a function of the organization and culture of the institution itself, the organization of the classroom and the ability of the instructor.

Educational institutions as entrepreneurial organisations
From what has been stated so far it should be clear that the entrepreneurial educational organisation is not necessarily the one that operates within the normal business paradigms. The real challenge of channeling entrepreneurial behaviour to maximize organisational effectiveness involves high degrees of decentralization and empowerment. It is indeed the antithesis of command and control. Therefore it may be difficult for a teacher to 'teach' entrepreneurship if the organisation of which s/he is a part restricts the scope for individual experiment and innovation.

To nurture enterprising behaviour, attributes and skills, the entrepreneurial educational organisation itself needs to be 'designed' to:

Create and reinforce a strong sense of individual ownership of activities

Reinforce associated feelings of personal control to make things happen

Require individuals to take responsibility for a wide and integrated range of tasks

Reinforce the notion of responsibility to see things through

Strongly focus the organisation on defining its excellence through the needs of the various stakeholders e.g. the learners, parents, staff, governors, feeder schools, colleges and universities, the local community, the employers, business associations, local/national government, etc.

Encourage staff to develop their own stakeholder networks in line with goals

Link rewards to satisfying stakeholder needs and thus institutional excellence

Allow mistake making and dealing with ambiguity as a basis for learning

Encourage strategic thinking rather than formal planning

Emphasize the importance of personal trust and 'know-who' as a basis for management rather than formalised relationships

Avoid strict demarcations and encourage informal overlap (cross-curriculum) between departments and groups as a basis for developing a common culture

Maximize the opportunity, through staff development, for building upon ways of learning in the context of the job

Ultimately, if the school/college 'lives' entrepreneurship then it is easier to teach it!

The classroom as an entrepreneurial environment
Much of the challenge in this respect is to organise the class around the 'structural' characteristics identified above, to allow learners to experience and 'feel' the concept rather than

just learn it in the conventional sense. The emphasis must therefore be upon pedagogies that encourage learning: by doing/experience; by exchange; by copying; by experiment; by risk taking and 'positive' mistake making; by creative problem solving; by feedback through social interaction; by dramatising and simulation; by exploring role models; and in particular by interacting with the outside/adult world.

The entrepreneurial/enterprising teacher

Generally, government education dictats impede teachers from fully engaging in the above methods. They are seen to be 'progressive' and 'trendy'. However, good teachers will always be able to use progressive methods of teaching to combine excellent exam results with the development of personal entrepreneurial skills for learners; s/he will mix progressive with more traditional methods as appropriate. Good teachers will take easily to the entrepreneurial concept, and once it is disengaged from too narrow a view of it being only about business, will see it as central to educational objectives.

Overall, any polarisation of views on pedagogies can be easily resolved if it is recognised that some things are best taught in certain ways and others in different ways; that learners themselves have preferences in the ways they like to learn; and that helping individuals learn to learn in different ways is an educational goal in itself. This is critical to the issue of preparing young persons for a future of life-long learning.

In conclusion to this section it can be argued that the entrepreneurial teacher will be one who is good at: knowing how much ownership and control of learning to give to students; achieving maximum social learning; encouraging student networking and be good at it him/herself; developing motivation and commitment of students to achieve goals; encouraging calculated risk taking; seeing/taking opportunities, especially to promote learning; involving students in taking/accepting own responsibility for development of their personal skills and attitudes.

KEY ISSUES TO INTRODUCE ENTREPRENEURSHIP EDUCATION

This section will address a range of issues that are significant for introducing entrepreneurship into the schools and college curriculum. These issues include: clarifying the desired objectives and outcomes; the needs of different learner groups; the gateways into the curriculum; and assessment and accreditation.

The objectives and outcomes of entrepreneurship education

This is an obvious starting point - what do we want to achieve from entrepreneurship education? Figure 2 sets out some of the choices available. In practice there is considerable overlap between the available choices. In terms of Outcomes for example, young persons entering the world of work are likely to be part of the increasingly flexible labour market. They will have to manage their lives in the world described earlier; many, but not all, will work in a small organisation, but only a minority will become self employed and/or start a new venture of some kind. The diagram is of importance however, in that it indicates different possible outcomes and therefore enables us to appraise objectives of particular initiatives against these. Importantly, it is worth noting that the outcomes are not necessarily business outcomes.

To achieve the outcomes there are a number of Objectives around which inputs can be designed. These again may be overlapping but nevertheless it is important to consider in any particular initiative which range of objectives will be targeted. Decisions in this respect will then dictate Process issues of location and curriculum place of entry. For example, entrepreneurial programmes with the objective of creating a 'real' venture to be pursued by an individual or team may be targeted particularly upon the vocational education system. On the other hand it can be argued that, given the fact that all students will work in the flexible labour market, and that the probability of finding themselves in a position where they are 'pulled' or 'pushed' into starting a venture of their own is high, then they should be prepared as part of their basic education to manage their own lives around their own venture. These examples raise many issues for discussion and debate.

The needs of different learner groups

Within any education system different learner groups will have different needs that might be served by entrepreneurship education. Within secondary schools, for example, there are: school leavers seeking employment; low academic achievers; high academic flyers; the potentially unemployed; those in transition to further and or higher education; those who because of their personal background are more likely to engage in family business activity; the disabled or special educational needs group; and gender and ethnic groups. Naturally there will also be different needs at primary, secondary and further education levels. Thus, primary school objectives are possibly more likely to concentrate upon personal development, cross curricula activity and socialization, whereas further education efforts may focus more upon 'hard' business practices and competences. Meeting the needs of the different learner groups would inevitably require sound co-ordination, which it turn would raise the issue of creating some form of progression through the various educational levels i.e. primary, secondary and tertiary.

Gateways into the curriculum

Entrepreneurship as defined earlier can find its way into all areas of curriculum. Indeed, it can be argued that it can be introduced anywhere as part of the teaching process. In this respect, however, much depends on the decisions taken regarding desired outcomes and inputs, the needs of different groups and priorities, the dictates of the existing curriculum, any notion of progression entered into and, most importantly, the degree to which it is regarded as an extra-curricula activity as opposed to being an intrinsic part of the school/college curriculum. Figure 3 delineates the potential areas of a curriculum where entrepreneurship can be introduced and thus the major decisions that need to be made in this respect.

Assessment and accreditation

If the objective of assessment is to support the entrepreneurial behaviours, attributes and skills, as set out earlier, then this is a formidable task. While there is some evidence that teachers can recognise entrepreneurial behaviours there is no common code for recognition, and no satisfactory current measurement system that allows them to code comparatively, and thus weigh behaviours and note development progress over time.

Nevertheless, there are proxies in terms of measuring and evaluating outcomes from entrepreneurial processes, such as progress in project development and completion. Another would be the production of a business plan. However, whilst a business plan can be produced in an entrepreneurial manner, it can also be the result of a very formal and uninspiring process. Setting up and running a venture would perhaps provide the best measure, but assessment of the degree of entrepreneurship involved in the process and the personal development thereof via the process is very subjective.

The competency based approach offers a way forward but when it comes to generic soft skills measurement there are many difficulties involved. Most of these are linked with the difficulty in assessing such skills in a range of different contexts each of which might demand a different combination for effective performance.

It follows, from the above, that without a robust method of assessment, any accreditation of entrepreneurship education would also not be possible.

It is evident from the key issues presented in this section that the introduction of entrepreneurship into the curriculum presents a formidable challenge. There are many stakeholders and several entrepreneurship education development models. In respect of both what is important is to establish the objectives and desired outcomes; to meet the needs of different learners; to find different ways in which to introduce the entrepreneurship philosophy within a curriculum; and to focus on the process rather than test entrepreneurship education.

CONCLUSION

This paper has sought to outline the importance and need for entrepreneurship in the schools and college curriculum. It has defined entrepreneurship in the context of education. It has pointed out the importance of not confusing entrepreneurship wholly with being 'business like' and not confusing core and personal skills with entrepreneurial skills and attributes. It has examined briefly the pressures on society, the organisation and individuals for more entrepreneurial behaviour. It has considered what entrepreneurship might mean for schools/college management, for classroom and curriculum organisation and teacher competence. It has then set out briefly a number of challenges for the future in terms of the need to think out carefully: objectives and desired outcomes; the needs of different student groups; the gateways into the curriculum; the progression over time between and within the primary, secondary and tertiary levels of education; and the key issues involved in assessment and accreditation.

All of these issues have been dealt with in a summary fashion. The main objective, however, has been to raise awareness, debate and discussion with respect to the need and the best ways in which to prepare young people for a complex and uncertain world. To achieve this goal some major challenges have been identified. The first is to be quite clear as to the concept of entrepreneurship education. The second is to be equally clear about the objectives of intervention and desired outcomes. The third is to reflect on how entrepreneurship relates to the culture of the school or college, the organisation of classroom activity (perhaps redefining the 'classroom' in the process) and the competencies and development needs of the teacher. The fourth is to consider how we can build upon what already exists and achieve a more coordinated approach taking the best of different appropriate practices. The fifth is to reflect on issues of assessment and accreditation particularly within the notion of competency frameworks.

Given the complexities and uncertainties created by a fast changing world, the education system is urged to respond to the challenges; and for educators to (re)think who really needs to learn and to be creative in meeting these challenges.

Figure 1

The Bureaucratic/Corporate V. Entrepreneurial Divide

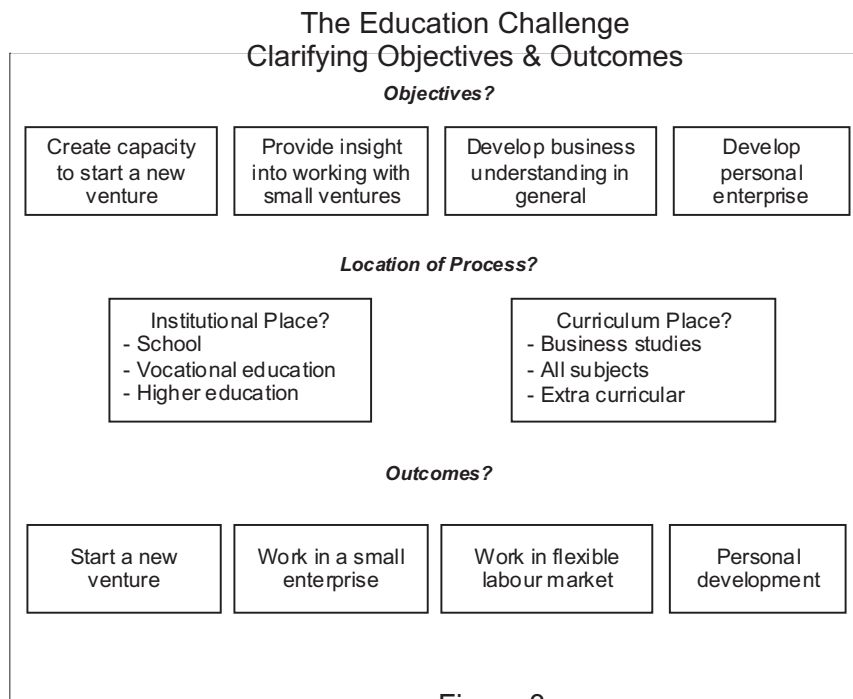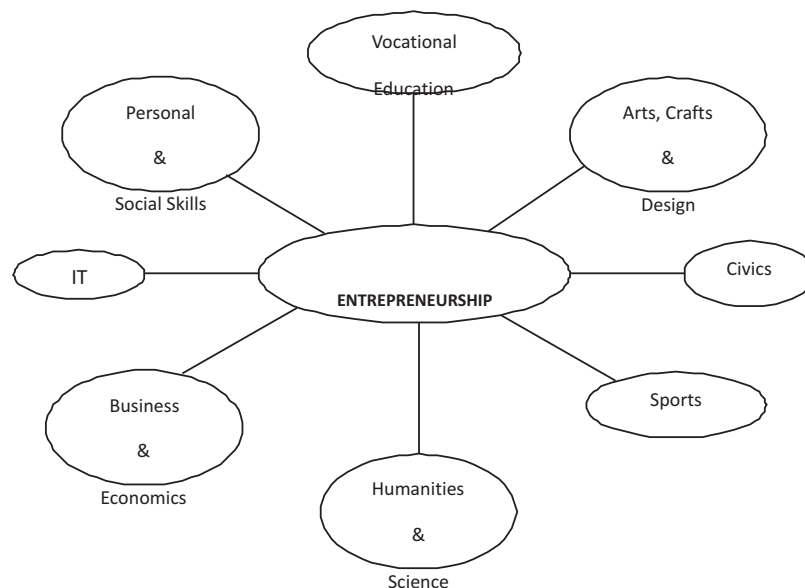| Government/Corporate (*looking for*)	Entrepreneurial small business (*as being*)
Order	Untidy
Formality	Informal
Accountability	Trusting
Information	Observing
Clear demarcation	Overlapping
Planning	Intuitive
Corporate strategy	Tactically strategic
Control measures	Free/open
Formal standards	Personally observed
Transparency	Ambiguous
Functional expertise	Holistic
Systems	Intuitive
Positional authority	Owner manage
Formal performance appraisal	Customer/stakeholder exposed

Figure 2

The Education Challenge
Clarifying Objectives & Outcomes

Objectives?

Create capacity to start a new venture	Provide insight into working with small ventures	Develop business understanding in general	Develop personal enterprise

Location of Process?

Institutional Place? - School - Vocational education - Higher education	Curriculum Place? - Business studies - All subjects - Extra curricular

Outcomes?

Start a new venture	Work in a small enterprise	Work in flexible labour market	Personal development

Figure 3

Gateways into the Curriculum

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Creative Capital and the Field of Culture:
Knowledge and Ideas in a Creative Environment

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ABSTRACTS

Creativity as a concept is generally understood as an mental and intellectual enterprise of generating something new that never existed before: ideas, compositions, arrangements, concepts, systems, forms, styles or products. However, creative works is not an absolute creation of 'individual genius'. Creativity is a 'social product', which has interrelation and dependence to other cultural texts. Creativity is a form of a 'dynamic repetition', in which one idea refers to and is intersected with previous ideas, to produce a new synthesis. Moreover, as a social product, creativity is generated in a particular 'creative field', in which there is an intensive struggle for newness and difference determined by the possession and distribution of different kinds of 'creative capital', in its relation to other kinds of capital: economic capital, social capital, and cultural capital.

__Keywords:__ creativity, difference, repetition, capital, field, culture

Introduction

Creativity is not a new concept or phenomena. It was a central concept in the development of the modern society. However, this concept has been 'reinventing' in what so called a post-industrial and global society, where the concept regains its central role in social, economic and cultural life of the society. Creativity has became a central concept of recent global economic development, which has been reformulated as a 'creative economy' propelled by a 'creative industry' and supported by a 'creative class'. Creativity has became a new 'key word' in recent socio-economic system of the global society.

Creativity has contextually been revitalized as the need for 'new ideas', 'innovations' and 'differences' in recent global economic system has became more intact, as a result of the higher competitive climate of globalisation. Economic actors should make endless efforts to find new ideas in order to be able to survive in a highly competitive climate of globalisation. On the other hand, there has been an incredible growth of economic sectors, in which 'creativity' is the main added value of their products, likes entertainment industry, information arts, media arts, consumer products, as conventional sectors have became more and more oversaturated.

In the context of the use of creative work, it can be argued that creativity is not an individual phenomena, but a 'social production'. Ideas are not

produced individually, but socially and culturally. Creative works are produced in certain 'social space' and 'cultural field', which is conducive for the development of creative impulses and the growth of creative ideas. However, creative works can only be produced if particular 'capitals' are available in certain cultural field, which includes 'cultural capital', 'social capital', 'economic capital' and 'creative capital'.

CREATIVITY, NEWNESS AND DIFFERENCE

Human has capacity to 'create something new', because of his/her dissatisfaction with what has already achieved. Most modern human activities are concerned with the 'creating new ideas' (product, thinking, concept, system): sciences, engineering, computer programming, architecture, design, education, arts, music, entertainment, business, finance, law, literature, poetry and entrepreneurship. Creativity is an enterprise of constructing a new 'possible worlds' that has never existed before, through which new horizons, habits, behaviours, values and meanings are constructed.

'Creativity is a specific human mental capacity to produce new ideas through a particular mental process. As remarked by Richard Florida, creativity ". . .involves the ability to synthesize. . .a matter of sifting though data, perceptions and materials to come up with combinations that are new and useful. (Italics by the writer). Creativity, in this sense, is a 'dialectical proces', through which a certain thesis (concept, system, product) is encountered by an antithesis to produce a new synthesis, which we call a creative synthesis. A creative synthesis is intended for a particular function, use or practice and to solve a particular problem, need or situation.

Creativity is a particular form of 'cultural subversion' or disruption. It is a ". . . process of destroying one's gestalt in favor of a better one". Creativity, according to Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi, refers to individual who expresses unusual thought; who experience the world in novel, fresh, enlightening and original ways; who change our culture radically. 'Creativity' is an exercise of thought that generate new and useful ideas. 'Innovation' is a product of creativity, which contains new and fresh ideas that disturb public mind and opinion: 'technological innovation', 'management innovation, 'market innovation, etc.

Creativity is a process of initiating certain face of 'change'. Creativity is needed in order to change the world. As remarked by Brewster Ghiselin, a creative process is ". . .the process of change, of development, of evolution, in in the organization of subjective life". Change means difference. In other word, through creativity a certain face of change is initiated, in order to produce a change from a particular tradition. There is a compromise between 'tradition' and 'change' in a particular society. As remarked by Jewkes, Sawersand and Stillerman, in every aspect of society there is a truggle ". . .to reconcile . . .authority and questioning, of tradition and novelty, conservatism and radicalism, stability and progress, continuity and change".

In arts, particularly the modern art, creativity is a way of producing 'newness' and 'difference'. The aim of modern art is to produce new forms, materials, compositions, idioms, styles, and meanings. Modern art produced something new to replace the old one. The essence of modern art, as remarked by Habermas, is ". . ."the new" which will be overcome and made obsolete through the novelty of the next style". The discourse of art is self-criticism, which its objective, according to Clement Greenberg, is ". . .to eliminate from the effects of each art any and every effects that might conceivably be borrow from or by the medium of any other art".

Newness and difference is also the essence of modern design. This can be concluded from several definitions of 'design', which regard 'newness' and 'difference' as their main motive. J.K. Page, for example, defines 'design' as "the imaginative jump from present facts to future possibilities". J.B. Reswick defines design as "a creative activityit involves bringing into being something new and useful that has not existed previously" In the same tension, Jones defines design as a process to "initiate change in man-made-things" It can be seen that newness or difference is the main indication of the progress of art, design, architecture and other creative activities. The need for design profession is the need for creating newness and differences.

CREATIVITY AND REPETITION

Ideas are not generated from 'nowhere', but from particular transcendental 'sources', both external and internal. In every process of ideas generation, one never starts from absolute 'zero point' or 'empty mind'. In the process of ideas generation, there is an intensive process of 'learning from the past'. One reuses, reactivates, revitalizes, reinvents, re-contextualizes or re-appropriates something from the past (ideas, knowledge, principles, experiences, systems, forms, norms, habits, and ideologies) in order to be able to produce new synthesis. We call this activity of 'back and forth' to the past and to the future, a 'repetition'.

However, there is a strong disavowal of the role of 'repetition' in the theory of creative process, because of the centrality of the concepts of 'originality' of ideas and the 'genius' of its creator. We have forgot that we always refer to existed (or past) knowledge and information, in order to develop new synthesis. Based on this repetitive character, 'creativity' can be defined in new way as "an activity of repetition, in order to change it to produce something different for the future". Repetition and different here should be acknowledged as an integral part of the creative process. There is a process 'recombination' of previous knowledge, concepts and ideas in order to produce new ideas. This is what called by Einstein as "combinatory play".

Creativity, in this sense, has to be seen as a process of creation of new ideas within the trajectory of time (past-present-future). This is, according to Bergson, because our basic psychological experience of time is that of durée, of a dynamic continuation of the past into the present and toward the future". Duration is a continuous movement of the past that erode the future, through which it increase and change itself. It is an 'enggine'of change, through which a continuous differentiation of forms, systems or styles is produced, but on the foundation of repetitioncontradictio in terminis.

Repetition, according to Ricoeur, is ". . .the anticipation of the future, the recovery of fallenness and the moment of vision". It ". . . opens potentialites that went unnoticed, were aborted, or were repressed in the past. Everything moves through time towards the future must repeat itself, in order to change itself. As also remarked by Deleuze, "we produce something new only on condition that we repeat . . .what is produced, the absolutely new itself, is in turn nothing but repetition: the third repetition, this time by excess, the repetition of the future as eternal return". This is what sois called a "dynamic repetition': to repeat in order to change, to step back to the past in order to project to the future.

'To produce difference through repetition' is also the main character of creative process in arts, design, architecture, sciences, technology and other creative activities. A painting, sculpture, machine or building with a 'genius' structure, arrangement, form or style has to be regarded as a form of 'repetition', because of particular repetitive contents inherent in its structure: of function, genre, form, structure, material, use, or meaning. In term of the definition of art and design, we can proudly propose that, art and design is "an activity of repetition or projecting to the past, in order to change it to produce something different for the future".
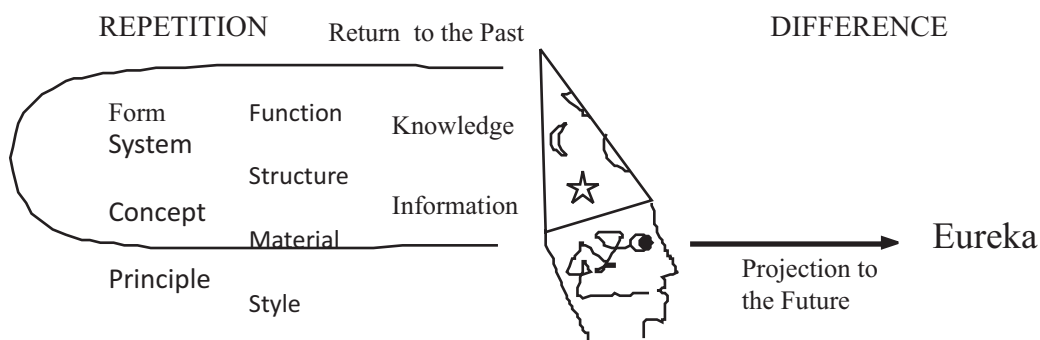

Figure 1:
Creative process as a process of 'repetition' in order to produce 'difference'

The repetitive character can also be identified in science and technology in general. All inventions 'refer to' or are 'repetition of' previous inventions, in order to improve or make them better. As bravely remarked by John Jewkes, Davis Sawers dan Richard Stillerman that invention today ". . .has become more automatic, less the result of intuition or flashes of genius and more a matter of deliberate design". They ". . .were merely improvements or adaptations of existing knowledge". However, this is not a claim that there is absolutely no 'newness or 'breakthrough' shown in any inventions, but only to emphasize that all inventions have certain repetitive contentscontradictio in terminis.

CULTURAL CAPITAL AND FIELD OF CREATIVITY

In term of creative production, creative works are product of a 'creative class', which is identified by Florida as ". . .people who add economic value through their creativity". However, Florida's notion of creative class here is too economic, that sees creative works as a peculiar form of 'economic capital'. It can be shown, that some forms of 'community arts', 'folk culture', 'sub-cultural arts', 'graffitti' or 'cultural festivals' produced by 'creative communities' are nothing to do with economic capital, but more social, political, cultural and religious 'capital'. In order to understand the concept of creativity more comprehensively, we need expanding the concept of 'capital' itself by referring to Bourdieu's sociological concept of 'field' or 'capital'.

A 'field' or 'market', according to Bourdieu, is ". . .a structured space of positions in which the positions and their interrelations are determined by the distribution of different kinds of resources or 'capital'". The structure of field can be understood as ". . .the structure of the distribution of the capital of specific properties which governs success in the field and the winning of the external or specific profits which are at stake in the field. In the context of creative works such as arts, 'artistic field' can be defined as ". . .a space of literary or artistic positions defined by by possession of a determinate quantity of specific capital (recognition) and, at the same time, by occupation of a determinate position in the structure of the distribution of this specific capital".

A struggle for positions, according to Bourdieu, is specifically determined by the kind of 'capital' owned and distributed. Bourdieu uses term 'capital' in a very broad way, which includes 'economic capital' or 'material capital' that comprices all material things that have value economically (money, gold, land); 'symbolic capital', which comprices all non-material things but have certain cultural values (prestise, status, authority); and 'cultural capital', which includes a broad range of goods or systems that shape cultural form and meaning (language, education, arts). There is only implicit description about 'social capital' in Bourdieu thinking, which has a particular relation to social ranks determined by the 'structure of relations' between classes or groups in a society, as well as all the pertinents properties which gives its specific value to each of them and to the effects they exert to practice.
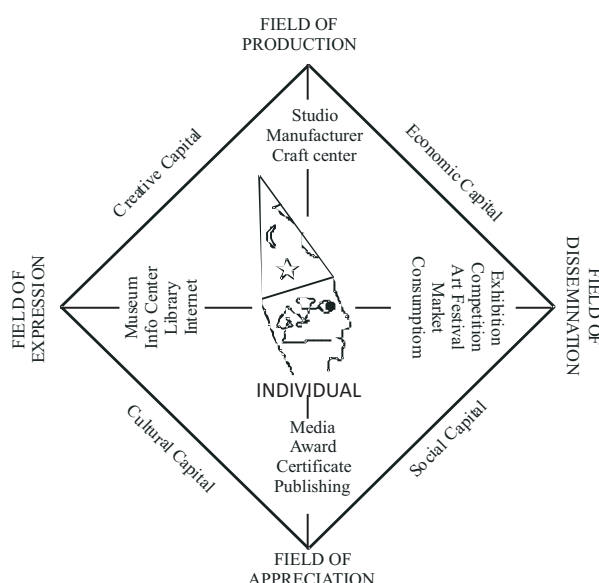

Figure 2:
Field of creativity and creative human environment that conducive for the production of new ideas or innovation

Based on Bourdieu's notion of 'field' and 'capital', we can propose a specific 'field' of creativity, of what is called a 'creative field'. A 'creative field' can be defined as "a structured space of creative struggles for difference and differentiation and their interrelations that are determined by the distribution of different kinds of 'creative capital'.
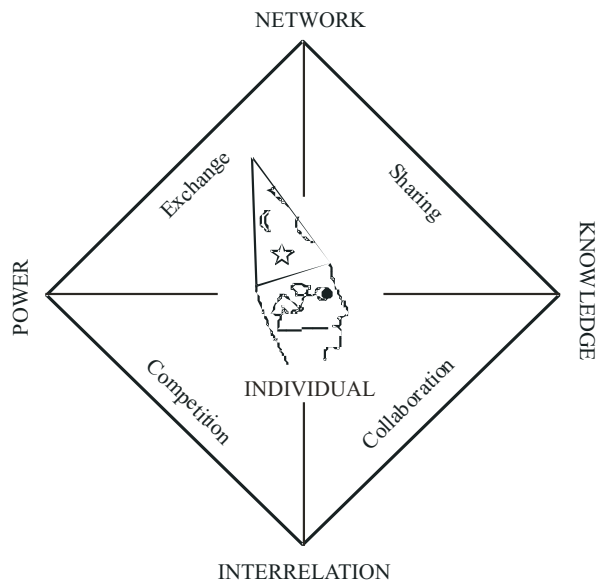
We can identify four fields that construct a

NETWORK

Exchange — Sharing

POWER ── INDIVIDUAL ── KNOWLEDGE

Competition — Collaboration

INTERRELATION

Figure 3:
The relation of 'kowledge' in a discouse formation, which is determined by the availability of knowledge, network, power relation and socio-economic relation conducive for a creative field

creative environment: 'field of expression' as a field in which new ideas or innovations are generated; 'field of production' as a field in which new ideas are produced in the various 'means of production' (which is not only an 'economic production', but also 'cultural production', 'social production' or 'religious production'); 'field of dissemination' as a field in which 'creative products' (which is not only an 'economic product', but also 'cultural', 'social', 'political' and 'religious product') are distributed and disseminated; and 'field of appreciation' as a field of 'discourse' in which creative works are appreciated and given value through a particular standard of judgment and value.

Because it is a social product, which is produced in a particular 'social space' or 'social field', creativity should be understood as a comprehensive process that involves all related fields ('field of expression', 'field of production', 'field of dissemination' and 'field of appreciation') as a total field that sinergetically reinforces creative impulse and encourages creative works. In a society, in which appreciation (interests, rewards, honour, awards) to creative works is relatively bad, motivation or impulse for creative works is unlikely to be strong. In a society, in which there is no demand or enthusiasm to produce creative ideas in a particular 'production system', creative individuals might be frustated, and try to find a more conducive environment. Moreover, without a good system of dissemination (socialisation, information, distribution) a creative appreciation is unlikely to be emerged.

A 'creative field' can be constructed at the level of community, society or all humanity. For example, despite a particular state is not capable of established a conducive social space for creativity, certain communities are still capable of developing their own 'creative space' by arranging their own 'creative network'. We can see this phenomena in creative classes in Bandung, who in mutual collaboration with cultural activist likes Common Room (CR), establish their own 'creative field': 'expressive system' (community information and knowledge system), 'production system' (independen production), 'dissemination system' (community exhibition, festival, special market) and 'appreciation system' (community journal, magazine and other media forms).

CREATIVE CAPITAL

As argued above, creativity is not an individual phenomena but a social production and cultural system. Creativity, according to Csikszentmihalyi, is an interrelations of three parts of a system. First, the domain, as a set of knowledge systems, symbols, rules and procedures shared by a particular society. Second, the field, which includes all members of a particular society who deals with and make judgement about creative works: teacher, collector, writer, critics, or goverment agency. Third, the individual person, who uses symbolic resources in particular domain to create particular creative works containing new ideas, systems, forms or patterns: artists, musicians, architects, designers, scientists, enggineers, entrepreneurs.

Based on Csikszentmihalyi's notion of creative system, we can identify more specifically four 'capitals' that are necessary for the creation of an environment conducive for the generation of creative ideas, as mentioned above: 'cultural capital', 'social capital' and 'economic capital'.

MINIMALIST
MENTALITY
silent majorities

follower

reactive

short term
looking

CREATIVE CAPITAL

MAXIMALIST
MENTALITY
critical
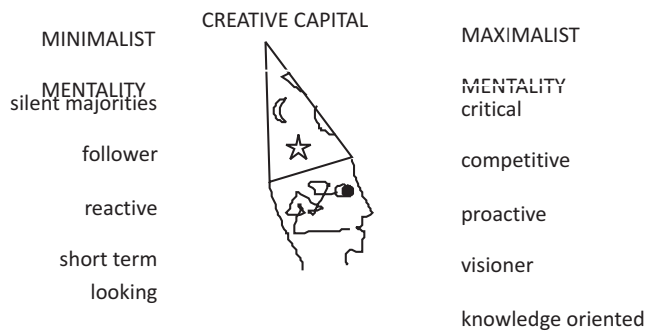
competitive

proactive

visioner

knowledge oriented

Figure 4:
Mentality as a form of creative capital.
'Minimalist mentality' is a mentality that block
Creative impuls, whereas a 'maximalist mentality'
motivate the impuls.

First, 'cultural capital', which includes a language, symbol, education and knowledge. Creativity, in this sense, is highly determined by 'knowledge capital': the availability of knowledge system, procedures, methods, rules, strategies, documentations and management system, which conducive for the creation of a creative environment. Based on Foucault's notion of 'discourse', it can be argued further that the structure of knowledge, power and social relation in a particular society determines the production of creative ideas and innovations. Four preconditions of discourse formation can be identified : the clearity of knowledge structure, accessibility, social relation and power relation behind knowledge production. For example, in a society in which knowledge (its source, access, and truth) is dominated by certain totalitarian power system, creative works will be centralized in certain creative elites.

Second, 'social capital', which includes all actors involved in the creative generation, production, consumption and appreciation. The quality of actors and their 'social field' will determine their creative production. First, whether the field is 'reactive' or 'proactive'. A reactive field blocks creative impulses, whereas a proactive field strenghtens the impulses. Second, whether the field is 'conservative' or 'progressive'. A conservative field is restrictive and tolerates only a very limited portion of change, which makes the duration of change is very slow and the generation of ideas are less intensive. In contrast, a 'proggresive field' is affirmative and highly tolerate a very bizzare or extreme ideas, which creates a relatively dynamic change and intensive generation of creative ideas. Third, whether the field is 'open' or 'closed'. An 'open field' is a field with a close and intimate relation between its system (social, cultural, economic, politic), which make possible a certain collaboration or exchange. A 'closed field' is a field with a very 'exclusive' and 'elitist' systems. For instance, a disconnection between manufacturers and university.

Third, 'creative capital', as a creative individual who continuously capable of producing new ideas, concepts, systems, forms or products in incessant change situations. A creative individual is a smart, open, playful, discipline, imaginative, and fantastic person, who has self-esteem, need of achievement, anti-establishment spirit, subversive motivation, passion, sensitivity, and love of what he/she does, spontaneous, playful and unusualness. According to Buzan, 'mind mapping' is an important capacity of creative individual, through which ". . .the mind should be left as 'free' as possible". There should be also an "intrinsic motivation", by which individuals are engaged or absorbed in certain activity. Csikszentmihalyi calls this situation 'flow', as "the state in which people are so involved in an activity that nothing else seem to matter; the experience itself is so enjoyable that people will do it even at great cost, for the sheer sake of doing it". The creative individual, according to Gardner, is ". . .a person who regularly solves problems, fashion products, or defines new questions in a domain in a way that is initially considered novel but that ultimately becomes accepted in a particular cultural setting". It means that besides an intrinsic capacity, a creative individual has to be a 'social man'.

Fourth, 'material capital' or 'economic capital', which comprices all material things that have value (money, gold, land). Creativity, in certain context and situation, is 'capital intensive', especialy creative activity in a particular research center of multinational corporation, which its objective is to produce new ideas, systems, or products for industrial purposes. In this kind of creative activity, a certain amount of money, instruments, softwares, hardwares, devices and infrastructures are highly demanded in order that a chain of experiments can be conducted.

CONCLUSION

The role of creative individuals in the social field is to build a healthy social milieu or a 'creative society', in which there is a good appreciation for innovation and creativity. Particularly, in a society in which imitation and pirating are part of social habit and the reward and appreciation for innovation is relatively bad, the creative individual can be positioned as a 'critical subject', who can build a critical and proactive self, as a main capital for a 'creative self'. Since the role of academic graduate is very important as 'creative agent' in a global creative economy and society, education has responsibility to create an academic climate, which is 'creative oriented'.

To create a 'creative society', all 'minimalist mentalities': a mentality of ignoring quality, ignoring process, a shortcut mentality, lack of self confidence, consumeristic, undisciplinary and irresponsible, as described by Koentjaraningrat has to be eliminated. As also argued by James L. Adams, all 'bloks''perceptual block', 'mental block', 'cultural block', 'intellectual block' and 'environment block', which are related to the lack of or minimalism of creative capital as described above (cultural capital, social capital, economic capital and creative capital) has also to be eliminated to create a healty social environment conducive for the generation of new ideas. In this sense, all capitals required in the creative field should be optimalized.

A 'creative society' can only be established if all 'fields'(field of expression, field of production, field of dissemination and field of appreciation) are also sinergetically optimalized. There should be also appropriated 'space of knowledge' (information center, museum, data bank) in which creative ideas can be expressed; a 'space of production', in which creative ideas are realized, produced or materialized; a 'space of dissemination', in which new ideas, concepts, forms and products are introduced, communicated and socialized; and a 'space of appreciation', in which new ideas, systems and products are appreciated, criticized or honoured based on certain value and meaning systems.

Notes
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Parallel Sesion A
Architecture & Environmental Design for Creative Communities

CREATING THE OPEN SPACE'S SENSE OF PLACE CASE-STUDY: DELI'S SULTANATE AREA

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ABSTRACT

Creating the open space that possesses sense of place is a creative process which involves user, designer and open space's management. The open space should be able to accommodate the daily activities, experiences and possess diversity. The open space should be context with the environment, give a special sense and safe for people.

In this paper, 'creating sense of place' means to establish and create a 'place' which possesses special sense belonging to the site (example: history, culture, tradition, aesthetic value, social, economy, function, climate and physical). It is also important to analyze the sense of the past, the interest of present day and its relation to the future.

The purpose of this paper is to improve and enhance the image of Deli's Sultanate area which has three significant objects, such as: Maimun Palace, Al Mashun Grand Mosque, and Sri Deli Park. To generate new open space elements and space order that could be a special 'place' for the user, author has carried out the identification, analysis, and re-arrangement study of the open space in the site of case study area.

Keyword: open space, sense of place, public space, place, Deli's Sultanate area

1.   INTRODUCTION

To maintain the identity and spirit of place of the region, it is necessary to identify the image of place, space, character and the sense of place itself (Norberg-Shulz, 1980). Image of place in the city is the first and strong image which belongs to the city and will not be discovered by another city. Image can be formed through the human settlement including its historical legend; architectural forms include its components such as: road pattern, road material, buildings and its environs, all of them are the unity of genius loci. This notion is based upon the belief that each city has its own individual special uniqueness, character, identity and spirit, which differs from all other places.

To understand the structure of city space, we can refer to geographic boundary toward encompass the region of the city which has bigger scale and sometimes the boundary do not appear with the physical feature, however it can be ethnic or another feature as a boundary. Structure of space order within the city can be shaped by public building, larger scale building, road, open space and square that becomes a force for people to be integrated within the city. In the

historical city context natural feature can emerged as a space order. Besides, road, bridge, landmark and townscape can be appearing as a structure of space order too.

2.   MAINTAINING IDENTITY AND SENSE OF PLACE

Norberg-Schulz (1980) defined the concept of place as a space that has special character. Trancik (1986) formulated more specific: "space is bounded or purposeful void with the potential of physically linking things, and it only becomes place when it is given a contextual meaning derived from cultural or regional context". According to Danisworo (1995), sense of place is the meaning of place, such as: the meaning of historical context, cultural, tradition, aesthetic value, social, economy, function, climate and physical. It is also important to analyze the sense of the past, the interest of present day and its relation to the future.

Character of place is often irretrievably altered by major growth and changes as well as minor, daily decisions. The loss of essential character of place, however, is often not noticed by local populations until it has occurred and until the impact of their daily decisions are compounded to forever change the very nature of the city they inhabit. The identification of unique character must precede change, and change must be designed to accommodate the preservation of that uniqueness. If this is done, tremendous superficial growth and change can occur without altering the major components which make up a city's baseline character.

Garnham (1985) defined; the spirit of place is non-physical power that can shape an impression and sense of belonging among a place's people. The ingredients which produce these attributes are based upon: (1) aspects of the existing natural environment such as land form and topography, vegetation, climate, and the presence of water; (2) cultural expressions such as bridges, forts, social history, physical location, human activities, and place as a cultural artifact; and (3) the sensory experiences, primarily visual, which result from the interaction of culture with the existing landscape. We must accept the notion that each place has definable character, spirit, and identity. The major components of identity have been found to be:
a. Physical features and appearance: the actual physical structure of a place, the reality of its buildings, landscape, climate and aesthetic quality.
b. Observable activities and functions: how a place's people interact with it, how their cultural institutions have affected it, and how the buildings and landscape are used.
c. Meanings or symbols: a more complex aspect, primarily the result of human intentions and experiences. Much of a place's character will be derived from peoples reaction to its physical and functional aspects.

3.   OPEN SPACE AS A PUBLIC SPACE

Carr (1992) defined public spaces as open, publicly accessible places where people go for group or individual activities. Public spaces can take many forms and many assume various names such as plazas, malls and playgrounds; they all share common ingredients. Public places generally contain public amenities such as walkways, benches, and water; physical and visual elements, such as paving or lawn, and vegetation that support activities. Whether planned or not, they are usually open space and accessible to the public.

The various open space that function as public spaces cover many aspects of human functioning. They include the physical comforts involved in relief from the elements, rest, and seating. Social needs address the stimulation surrounding people, escape from urban stress, and protection from the threats from others. People need to relax, to enjoy the respite offered by public places and have opportunities to enjoy natural elements with public places functioning as oases.

According to Carr (1992) there are three primarily values that guide the public space development, that public places should be responsive, democratic, and meaningful. Responsive spaces are those that are designed and managed to serve the needs of their user. Democratic spaces protect the rights of user groups and accessible for peoples. And the meaningful spaces are those that allow people to make strong connections between the places,

their personal lives, and the larger world. However, five types of reasons seem to account for people's needs in public spaces: comfort, relaxation, passive engagement with environment, active engagement with the environment, and discovery.

Comfort is a basic need, the need for food, drink, shelter from the elements, or a place to rest when tired all require some degree of comfort to be satisfied. Relaxation is distinguished from comfort by the level of release it describes. A sense of psychological comfort may be prerequisite of relaxation a lifting of physical strains, moving the person to a sense of repose. Passive engagement with the environment could lead to a sense of relaxation but it differs in that it involves the need for encounter with the setting, albeit without becoming actively involved. This category includes the frequently observed interest and enjoyment people derive from watching the passing scene. Active engagement represents a more direct experience with a place and the people within it. Discovery is the fifth reason for people presence in public spaces and represents the desire for stimulation and the delight we all have in new, pleasurable experiences.

4.   THE STRATEGY

Creating the open space which possesses sense of place is a creative process involving user, designer and open space's management. According to Carr (1992), the open space should be able to accommodate the daily activities, experiences and possess diversity. The open space should be context with the environment, give a special sense and safe for people.

The strategy to create sense of place in the open space basically is the strategy to strengthen the physical elements become a magnet and establish new magnet such as: new activities, new physical elements that function as catalyst to generate the brand new vitality. Then it follows with the re-arrangement of the open space to produce accessibilities between physical elements and activities. There are four details strategies as follows:
a. Determine the network of potential elements as a power of attraction and function as a generator. It can be the daily activities such as: commercial, retail, or cultural, and natural and man-made elements such as: vegetation or building.
b. Improve the accessibility between or direct to the elements that accessible and safe for all people including disability people, pedestrian and automobiles.
c. Improve the open space's visual quality through clarify the hierarchy of open space, and create experiences in the open space for people to enjoying the atmosphere.
d. Distribute open space base upon its functions, that is: as accessibility function, interaction function, communications and recreation.

5. CASE STUDY: DELI'S SULTANATE AREA

Deli's Sultanate area was located at the downtown or old Medan which known as a historical district and has 3 important objects such as: Maimun Palace, A-Mashun Grand Mosque and Sri Deli Park. Maimun Palace was the center of government administration of Deli's kingdom during the colonial period. The center of government administration has been moved out from Labuhan Deli by Sultan Makmun Al Rasyid Perkasa Alamsyah to Maimun Palace, the construction started at 1888 and finished at 1891. It is no doubt that Maimun Palace has the high architectural and building art value. The Al-Mashun Grand Mosque located about 200 meters in front of Maimun Palace, built in 1909 as a kingdom's mosque. The existence of Maimun Palace and Al-Mashun Grand Mosque is caused of Deli's Sultanate background that known as one of several Islamic kingdoms in Nusantara. Sultan Amaluddin Sani Perkasa Alamsyah (the next sultan after Sultan Makmun) built Sri Deli Park as a recreational place for the kingdom's families, main focus of this park is a wide pond with porticos around the pond.

a. Identification
The identification has been executed to find out the problems in general within the area, through observation and collecting secondary data. The findings are collected in three categories such as: (1) low activities in the open space, (2) inaccessible circulation, and (3) degradation of physical quality of the buildings and open space structure. These findings evoke degradation of

image of the place, such as:

1) The growth of building around the area that function as commercial, office and housing which physically didn't give an enrichment and context to the Deli's Sultanate area.
2) The buildings around the area have a bad façade.
3) Housing along the railway emerges as a slump area.
4) The placement of billboard, walkways overpass event traffic lights are cut off the view to the grand mosque and park.
5) Non-accessible pedestrian and walkways so that the people cannot access the object and elements by walking.

Fig 1: Maimun Palace's Landscape, around 1925
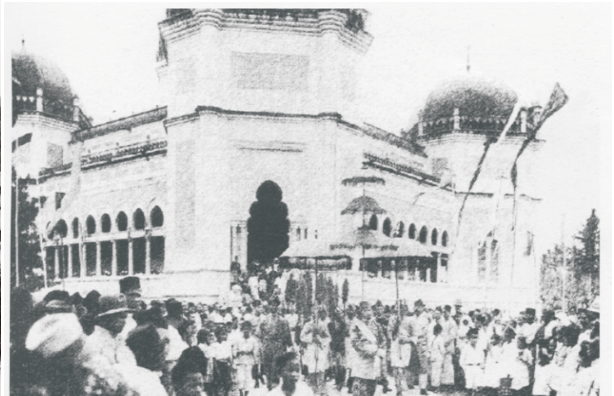(source: Badan Warisan Sumatera, 2000)

Fig 2: Sultan Amaluddin Sani Perkasa Alamsyah's ceremony at Al-Mashun Grand Mosque, 9th Feb 1925
(source: Badan Warisan Sumatera, 2000)

Fig 3: Sri Deli Park with the housing of sultan's families in the background; around 1931
(source: Badan Warisan Sumatera, 2000)

b. Analysis

Analyses tend to find out the potencies, problems and prospects of the area such as: new activities that can be function as generator and magnet, accessibility, and visual recreation in the open space. The result of analyses shows that Deli's Sultanate is potential to become city's cultural tourism area, city's recreational place (active, passive, and visual; which supported by commercial function such as: shopping place, hotel, restaurant, and sidewalk market) and full pedestrian mall. However, the problems of the area are the imbalance between land use and buildings function (commercial function and housing function). Other problems within the area are inaccessible pedestrian, walkways and degradation of buildings façade. The prospects within the area are to become mixed-function activities such as: commercial, housing; and to become cultural tourism and city's recreational center. Detail of the analyses can be seen in table 1.

c. The Concepts

The strategies that used to create the sense of place within open space in Deli's Sultanate area are by creating and enhancing new activities and physical elements that function as a magnet of the area. These strategies tend to establish vitality that is contextual to area. Then

Table 1: Potencies, Problems and Prospects of the Study Area

NO.	SUBJECTS	FINDINGS		
		POTENCIES	PROBLEMS	PROSPECTS
1.	Land use & buildings	Transferring land use & buildings	Discontinuity within the land use; relationship between various activities are not effective; the comparison between land use, commercial and housing are imbalance.	Land use & buildings for mixed use activities such as: office, commercial and housing
2.	Activity within the area	Several buildings have potencies as generator and magnet such as: palace and grand mosque.	No events can be a generator and magnet; access to the supporting facilities is too far away; bad visual quality and period of the activities is to short.	To be a city tourism & recreation destination; activities can be located in the open space
3.	Trend of activities	Local culture of the people within the area in the open space: dinner in the exterior atmosphere and sport in the morning.	Grouping the activities and place of activities are confused; several activities happen in the wrong places.	The area can be developed as pedestrian block with culinary activities as a main activity.
4.	Automobile circulation	Accessibilities from north-south and east-west direction to the study area from entire place in the city	Bad accessibilities quality; too many automobiles and road are too narrow; on street parking trigger a traffic jam in peak hour.	Sisingamangaraja & Katamso road are the main roads connecting the city in north-south and east-west direction
5.	Walkways circulation	To be pedestrian block	The existing pedestrians are not safe and comfortable; no zebra cross; conflict between pedestrian and automobiles.	Develop as a pedestrian block
6.	Usage of open space	Change private space becomes public space; vegetation and green soft cape is an aesthetic element.	Bad accessibility to public space; conflict between pedestrian and automobiles.	Create and change the private space become green space and linkage it into the public open space.
7.	Visual aspect of public space	Façade of the grand mosque with mughal-India style; Maimun Palace as a focal point.	The placement of billboard, and sign board cut off the view to the grand mosque and Maimun Palace; the height and façade of new buildings are not contextual.	Develop as a recreation area that adopts pedestrian concept and human scale.

it follows with the re-arrangement of the open space to produce accessibilities between physical elements and activities, also re-arrangement visual aspect within the open space. The breakdowns of the concepts are as follows:

1) Determination of the networking of potential elements as a power of attraction and functioning as an activity's generator in the area. The planning of potential elements is focused on activity's determination and artificial elements. The activity's planning in the open space is based on human needs in the public space such as: comfort, relaxation, passive engagement with environment, active engagement with the environment, and discovery. Activity's planning as a generator is categorizing into two groups such as: daytime generator and night generator, however artificial elements is planning to support the activities

2) Accessibility's concepts focus on arrangement the circulation direct to the area and between the activities that safe and comfortable for pedestrian, motorcycles and automobiles. There are four potential direct accesses to the area by using automobiles and pedestrian, as follows: Katamso road from the north and south also Sisingamangaraja road from north and south. Both roads have several problems such as: very minimum space could be used as parking lot for automobiles and the bad condition of walkways for pedestrian. The idea to build a vertical parking is emerged as an alternative to solve the parking problem. However the pedestrian way on both roads needs to be re-arranged to establish the safe and comfortable pedestrian.

3) Visual concepts through clarifying the space hierarchy to establish experiences in the open space with human scale facilities. Enhancing the orientation to the Maimun Palace and grand mosque is carried out by arrangement the axis and perspective principle. This principle is able to connect various space elements directly to one visual line so that establish a visual orientation system. Vegetation planting arranged into formal pattern at the Mesjid Raya road to generate perspective effect directing to Maimun Palace.

4) Open spaces distribution concepts according to its function that support the basic activities needs such as: human interaction, movement, communication and recreation.

6. CONCLUSION

After analyzing based upon several theories and findings, it is concluded that to create the sense of place within open space especially in the historical setting can be achieved through several effort such as: increasing new functions, activities and elements that contribute a new vitality; besides its appearance as a magnet and generator in the area. In Deli's Sultanate area, creating the sense of place is executed by creating new functions and activities which are based upon local daily activities of the people within the city. However, the consideration of pedestrian accessibilities in this case must be applied too. Besides, creating the linkage between various functions that exist in the study area or other functions around the study area through exploit several elements that already exist around the area such as: historical building and the daily life culture of the people within the city need to be considered as well.

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