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What role does a city's night-time cultural offer play in its image and regeneration? What are the constituent elements of a city's night time cultural scene?

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1. Introduction

1.1. Context for this study and what inspired it

This paper aims to look at the constituent parts of a city's cultural identity with particular reference to the activities and the entertainment that a city offers its residents and visitors in the evening. It reflects experiences I have had during my Clore Fellowship from 2008 - 2010 with specific reference to attending the SXSW Interactive conferences in 2009 and 2010 and a three month placement from March - June 2010 in Brooklyn, New York. My research seeks to combine the inspiration taken and lessons learned from those events and places and ultimately to apply them to the city of Birmingham, England, where I live and work.

The paper seeks to analyse those constituent parts by reference to an equation which was originally formulated in Austin Texas, by co-founders of "The Austin Equation"¹ Bijoy Goswami and Heather McKissick. They created the equation to, in their words, "*inform those of us who want to continue Austin's legacy of being the best place to live*". This paper forms the basis of an attempt to use the Austin Equation: "experience + community = scene" to inform those of us who want to make Birmingham a better, if not the best, place to live.

The scene I wish to evaluate in due course is Birmingham's night-time cultural offer. I will do so initially by way of comparative case-study of three established night-time events in Brooklyn. I was particularly interested in Brooklyn as it has an emerging cultural identity all its own as it operates (in an increasingly independent way) in the shadow of its mighty Manhattan neighbour. Ultimately, I think that there may be scope to take case studies from a second (probably European) city and from there to present a detailed set of recommendations for a series of projects as action-based research in Birmingham. In this article, I will start to apply the

¹ www.atxequation.com

findings of the case studies to Birmingham and indicate areas for further research.

As part of my Clore fellowship, I was a short-term resident in New York, living in Brooklyn. As well as spending time at my host organisation, St Ann's Warehouse (itself an inspiring and pioneering organisation) I was able to participate widely and enthusiastically in New York's extensive cultural scene.

Despite working during office hours and attending performances at St Ann's, I found that there was a rich and varied range of activities available in the evenings and at weekends. There was a huge choice of cultural activity available in Manhattan, as might be expected of a city packed with world-class organisations, institutions, a swarm of tourists together with a huge artistic population. And while Brooklyn may not have such a depth of artistic institutions or command a similar level of tourist numbers, the borough also boasted a thriving night-time offer.

It prompted me to devote one of my regular columns in the Birmingham Post to what I had experienced and the implications I felt it had for Birmingham's bid (at the time) to be first UK City of Culture.

“One of the biggest surprises of my recent stay in New York was the number of things to do in an evening that are free or low cost.

The New School recently launched its MA in Fashion with a programme of free film screenings featuring design and New York.

I saw Annie Hall introduced by Judith Thurman, Style writer for the New Yorker. Bookshops, even neighbourhood ones, frequently offer readings or music performances. Next week another university hosts the legendary Anna Wintour speaking about her career as editor of US Vogue.

The most important museums open late at least one night a week: last Friday I went to the Whitney for their famous biennial. It was “pay what you can” night and the queue at 7pm went round the block.

This Saturday I'll visit the Metropolitan Museum: it's open until nine. Niagara, a bar in the Bowery, hosts a fine art show every Thursday for young artists in a back room. The barman - a curator

and an artist himself - pulls it all together and the owner gets a different crowd in every Thursday.

My contention is that if Birmingham really wants to claim its crown as UK City of Culture - as I think it should and hope it will - we need to revamp the evening offer.

Our museums and galleries have toyed with late opening, but getting local people to engage with culture in the evening will take time.

Are we willing for galleries to stay open late for at least a year before we see any notable returns?

Our education institutions could really make a difference here - just by taking what they do already and putting it on in the evening and opening it to the public.

Other infrastructure is also required to create a more varied cultural landscape.

It's been said before - but the city really needs a listings magazine with a critical function.

And what really makes a difference in New York is the access to a variety of cafes which sell really good, cheap food (£5 and under).

We need a willingness from local venues to incorporate arts and culture into their business.

If we want to be City of Culture, culture has to stop keeping office hours.”

While Birmingham's bid to become UK City of Culture was ultimately unsuccessful, the opportunity to revamp its evening offer remains timely, if not urgent. This article seeks to start that process.

1.2. Overview of methodology

This paper will first define and discuss the key terms used by focussing on the individual components of the Austin equation (experience, community and scene) and the “night-time cultural scene”. Discussion of the Austin equation will refer to some of the writers who have influenced Goswami and McKissick, notably Jane Jacob and Richard Florida as well as discussion of Pine and Gilmour's “Experience Economy”, which is the cornerstone of the “experience” component of the equation.

Having established the tools that will be used to evaluate the night-time scene, this paper will also examine the role that a city's night-time cultural offer plays in its image and regeneration. The role of culture in urban regeneration, its ability to stimulate economic growth by tourism or nascent "creative industries" is a topic beyond the scope of this paper but I will review some of the academic literature that has specifically addressed night-time activity in this context. I will also introduce some models (Adizes' lifecycle, Csikszentmihalyi's systems model of creativity) that may become useful in evaluating the overall health and vibrancy of Birmingham's "night-time scene" once its parameters have been explored and identified.

The case studies of the evening events I attended in Brooklyn are:

- DUMBO First Thursday - a monthly event in the DUMBO area of Brooklyn where a number of small independent galleries, neighbourhood shops and bars stay open till 8pm on the first Thursday of each month and host visitors with drinks, refreshments, impromptu entertainment and art!
- Rooftop Cinema - a summer season of independent and art films shown on the rooftops of industrial and other buildings in Brooklyn, Manhattan and Queens. A modest entry fee often includes the film programme, live music, drinks and dance entertainment afterwards.
- Brooklyn Museum "Target" First Saturdays - a ten-year old initiative where sponsorship by retail outlet chain "Target" supports free entry to the museum from 5pm - 11pm on the first Saturday of every month. It offers free family events including films, guided tours, participatory workshops, live music, karaoke and a dance party.

Applying the Austin equation to the case-studies should uncover those elements of a "night-time scene" that could be replicable elsewhere. Specifically the paper will seek to evaluate the nature of the whole "experience" of the case-study events from a visitor's perspective. In considering the possible or likely members of the communities involved in

the Brooklyn night time “scene”, I will also speculate on who is or should be members of the community convening Birmingham’s “night-time scene”.

Building on both the Brooklyn experience and theories developed in the literature, the paper will conclude with observations on the desirability of developing Birmingham’s night-time cultural scene in a new direction. I will outline some of the private and public benefits this will bring. The nature of the development, the activities that must and might form part of it, the indispensable partners and initial and ongoing funding position will be important considerations. One critical factor will be the active encouragement of individual arts institutions in the city, some of whom have had real success in their audience development efforts, to move on to the next stage, “experience development”.

2. Discussion/definition of terms:

2.1. The Austin equation

The Austin equation first came to my attention at the South by Southwest Interactive conference 2010 in Austin, Texas. The core conversation entitled “Why Austin is the Killer App” introduced me to the work of Bijoy Goswami and Heather McKissick.

The session sought to de-construct the elements of the city of Austin that “worked” for residents, frequent and first time visitors. As a group with differing levels of experience of Austin, we mapped some of the features of the city that seemed particularly distinctive. The first-timers noticed: the weather, the thriving local businesses, that Austin did not seem to play to the Texas “stereotype”, that people seemed cultured, open and friendly. Residents and frequent visitors cited the fact that there were nearby lakes, rivers and mountains as well as the strong mix of types of businesses. “Type A industries, government, research and tech companies but in a laidback, fun, friendly and collaborative culture”, as one adopted Austinite put it.

Bijoy and Heather then introduced the model that they have created to evaluate “What makes Austin Austin?” in a more forensic fashion. In their words: “Not just the what, but the how”. The equation is:

EXPERIENCE + COMMUNITY = SCENE

It is the variety, depth and strength of a number of important “scenes” in Austin that, in Bijoy and Heather’s opinion, makes the city so vibrant. The interactive element of this project is that it is a piece of action research where participants contribute to the ongoing mapping of communities online. The website www.atxequation.com gives the following explanation

that the ultimate purpose of refining the equation is to support the future leadership of the city.

“For example, we believe that Austin’s uniquely-designed experiences and our rich, diverse communities combine to create lasting and powerful “scenes” that make Austin the thriving, vibrant city it is. Some say those scenes have just sprung up organically over time, that there is no method or science to how they’ve generated themselves. We think that scene-making can be deconstructed to inform those of us who want to continue Austin’s legacy of being the best place to live. We think the “how” is important for those Austinites (and others) who are investing themselves now, or will invest themselves as future stewards of our city. Stewards who understand that a strength like Austin’s isn’t about happenstance, but a unique and special combination that -- like any good recipe -- is improved with each chef that attempts it, but always begins with a set of key ingredients. Thus, the equation: Experience + Community = Scene.”

The session explored the components of the equation and concluded that rather than Austin being the “killer app”, it was the killer operating system, providing the perfect framework and resources for a number of strong scenes to establish and prosper.

Experience

In this context, “experience” relates to the work of Pine and Gilmore in “The Experience Economy” where they state:

*“An experience occurs when [an organisation] intentionally uses services as a stage and the goods as props, to engage individual customers in a way that creates a memorable event. While commodities are fungible, goods tangible, and services intangible, experiences are **memorable**.”*

The differences between these four different types of economy are summarized in the chart below:

Type of Economic Offering	Commodities	Goods	Services	Experiences
Economy	agrarian	manufacturing	service	experience

<i>Economic Function</i>	extract	make	deliver	stage
<i>Nature of Offering</i>	fungible	tangible	intangible	memorable
<i>Seller</i>	trader	manufacturer	provider	stager
<i>Buyer</i>	market	user	client	guest
<i>Factors Influencing Demand</i>	characteristics	features	benefits	sensations

Source: adapted from chart on pg. 6

Pine and Gilmore’s expound the theory in some detail, using theatre as a model for business operations. The ultimate aim for a business is to move up a “value chain” where higher fees and larger turnover and margins can be obtained by wrapping goods and services around an “experience”. Rather than a service provider ascertaining what benefit the client requires and delivering an intangible service, and experience “stager” produces memorable sensations for a “guest”. The highest value resides where that experience is ultimately transformative, where the customer/guest’s life is affected by the product or service and is guided towards their aspirations (or better still, where an aspiration the guest *did not even know they had* is fulfilled).

The authors present five principles that in their view are critical to the staging of a successful themed experience for a customer:

- 1 An engaging theme must alter a guest's sense of reality.
- 2 The richest experiences use themes that fully alter one’s sense of reality by affecting the experience of space, time and matter
- 3 Engaging themes integrate space, time and matter into a cohesive, realistic whole.
- 4 Themes are strengthened by creating multiple places within a place (for example: "The five biomes of the American Wilderness Experience

(an entertainment attraction in Ontario, California) leverage this principle. The change in scenery from Redwood to High Sierra to Desert to Coast to Valley extends the story introduced by a video and simulated ride. It puts the guests in motion in the experience." (p. 51).

- 5 A theme should fit the character of the enterprise staging the experience.

In relation to the Austin Equation - the strength of a scene can in part be assessed against its ability to alter the sense of reality for the participant in that scene. In other words, the stronger the scene, the more effectively it can alter your perception of Austin and, if the experience is transformative, of yourself.

By way of example, Austin's live music "scene" can be assessed in part by the calibre of experience available to the music fan in Austin.

Austin has a world-wide reputation for its music scene (the self-proclaimed "Live Music Capital of the World").

"Austin's eclectic music scene goes back to early in the city's history (from Mexican, German and colonial origins) and encompasses a wide variety of music including country, folk, jazz, blues and rock. Central Austin boasts more original music nightclubs in a concentrated area than any other city in the world." (SxSW Festival website, 2010)

The original South by Southwest Festival (of which SxSW Interactive is an off-shoot) is a live music event where every available bar, car park, open space and park is transformed into a music venue. Sixth Street in Downtown Austin is closed off to traffic and a carnival atmosphere prevails (it has ever been thus: 6th and 4th street nightspots and bars date back to the 19th century when they were populated by General Custer's troops after the Civil War.). Audiences spill onto the street, music pulsates everywhere and the setting is dynamic and exciting. The range and scope of music is huge (country and western, cosmic cowboy, punk, blues, rock, hard rock, dance, trance and rap to name but a few): promoters, music industry executives and music fans visit in their thousands from all over the world. The music

event has grown from 700 registrants in 1987 to nearly 12,000 registrants (as well as thousands of visitors who come for the live music not the conference). SXSW now has offices in Ireland, Germany, Australia and Japan who help bring SXSW registrants to Austin.

The first half of the equation can perhaps be applied therefore in this way: An experience occurs when SXSW intentionally uses the city of Austin as a stage and the music as props, to engage individual customers (delegates) in a way that creates a memorable event.

“SXSW’s original goal was to create an event that would act as a tool for creative people and the companies they work with to develop their careers, to bring together people from a wide area to meet and share ideas. That continues to be the goal today whether it is music, film or the internet. And Austin continues to be the perfect location.” (South by Southwest website)

Experience is half the equation. The other half is community. The relationship between the two is symbiotic. Memorable experiences grow both reputation and the participating community.

Community

An experience takes place in a scene when staged or experienced by members of that scene, by its community. Communities in this model are organic, self-organising phenomena.

In Austin, as part of the ATX equation work, a variety of communities are currently undergoing a process of being “mapped” or stewarded by self-proclaimed members of that society. In Heather McKissick’s words: *“Scene stewards are subject matter experts who have a desire to expand their awareness beyond their known communities and in so doing expand the awareness and capacity of others.”* (McKissick 2010). Stewarding a scene is both a generative and generous act.

It is these stewards that create the scene by declaring it into being. When speaking with Bijoy Goswami, he likened the act of declaration to the

“creation” of Silicon Valley in the 1970’s. There had long been a cluster of high-tech and innovative electronics and computer science companies co-located with Stamford University in Palo Alto. The scene reached wider consciousness and (now world-wide) reputation when the name “Silicon Valley” was coined by Ralph Vaerst, a Northern California entrepreneur. Its first published use is credited to Don Hoefler, a friend of Vaerst’s, who used the phrase as the title of a series of articles in the weekly trade newspaper Electronic News in early 1971. That the name stuck was due in part to the authenticity behind the claim and the strength of the high tech and computing community that resided in the former Valley of Heart’s Delight (“known for its apricots and walnuts rather than its Apples” (Rogers and Larsen, 1984).)

In the ATX equation, community building has three stages:

- Mapping - literally creating a visual representation of the organisations, participants and stakeholders in a scene and mapping the connections between them. The steward also researches the history of the scene to inform the current scenario. ATXeuation has protocols to ensure this takes place in a consistent fashion, and community maps are created using www.mindmeister.com so that they can easily be shared and edited. An screen grab from Austin’s sustainability map, from mindmeister, is at Figure 1 below.
- Convening the scene - calling the community together to build relationships and transfer ideas. The map then acts as a focal point for people to identify gaps, invite further participation (add in new companies and organisations) or fill in missing connections. The map is revised and re-revised. In doing so the community begins to identify itself as a “scene” in the wider context of the Austin equation initiative and collaborate as such.

- Evangelising the scene. *“Advocating the scene and its developments both to itself and to people and communities outside of the scene.”*

Scene stewards in this model appear to fulfil the role of what Jane Jacobs called “public characters”, people who have the social position and skills to orchestrate the movement of information and the creation of bonds of trust:

“A public character is anyone who is in frequent contact with a wide circle of people and who is sufficiently interested to make himself a public character. A public character need have no special talents or wisdom...He just needs to be present, and there need to be enough of his counter-parts. His main qualification is that he is public, that he talks to lots of different people...The director of a settlement on New York's Lower East Side, as an example, makes a regular round of stores. He learns from the cleaner who does his suits about the presence of dope pushers in the neighborhood. He learns from the grocer that the Dragons are working up to something and need attention. He learns from the candy store that two girls are agitating the Sportsmen toward a rumble.” (Jacobs, 1961)

A community was not solely built by the physical environment, it also relied on networked individuals with a high level of connection and a willingness to share. In Austin, the “public character” or scene steward uses a mixture of online protocols (mapping, blogging and social media) and offline meetings and gatherings to create the the virtual and physical environment in which the community gather and the scene can form.

The activity is cyclical: the mapping document is created and as it is shared, it draws more people to the community who are currently excluded. The community coalesces and a new map is drawn. And so on. The act of evangelism is both internal (as organisations and stakeholders come forward and get involved) and external. This might include providing information to publications and supporting surveys such as Kiplinger.com’s “10 Best Cities” (in which Austin was 8th in 2009). (Kiplinger is a Washington, D.C.-based publisher of business forecasts and personal finance advice. Its website receives over one million unique visitors each year).

An Austin example of an entrepreneur who has been active in building a community is Paul Carozza , owner of Run Tex.

Run Tex is a sports outfitters and running shoe shop with three locations in Austin. They were cited by Bijoy as an example of a business which had shifted from merely goods-based sales to purveyors of “experiences”. They have done this in part by building an active running community in Austin Texas.

Their reputation is that knowledgeable and helpful staff will not let a client leave without a perfect pair of running shoes that fits their personal requirements. This may involve running on one of the in-store treadmills and analysing the gait and average mileage of a runner to choose the perfect brand. One review is positively evangelical:

“I went to Run Tex because my daughter nagged me. It was the best thing that has happened to me in 10 yrs. I crushed both feet 10 yrs ago. Shoes hurt me, my ankle's hurt every day to the point I didn't want to stand. 10 minutes after I walked in Run Tex I was walking with no pain and have not had any ankle pain for 5 weeks. My wife immediatly (sic) asked them to fit her with shoes. I live 300 miles away but will return for my shoes.”

Their engagement in the community is not reserved to the sales experience wrapped around the supply of shoes. They have created and stocked water stations for runners around Town Lake and Mopac Bridge, popular running trails in the City. They created “Run Tex” university, an online forum and resources for runners at all experience levels. They have events and running clubs for beginners. They encourage all levels of running activity and the website is rich in useful resources including details of local races, fun runs, opportunities to download running programmes, log your times and ask questions of qualified coaches. Their staff (who are primarily sports people and athletes themselves) provide free exercise programmes for workers at the City of Austin and the company is a frequent sponsor of local running meets.

Interestingly, if recent online reviews of the shops are reliable, that reputation is slipping. There are complaints about indifferent customer service, reduced range and long wait times. But even those who criticize the service still admire Run Tex's contribution to - and even creation of - a "running community" in Austin, acknowledging its contribution to the image and reputation of the city. Comments include (my emphasis):

"I'm really sad to say this as Run Tex has given so much to Austin by developing such a strong running community." (Critical Review)

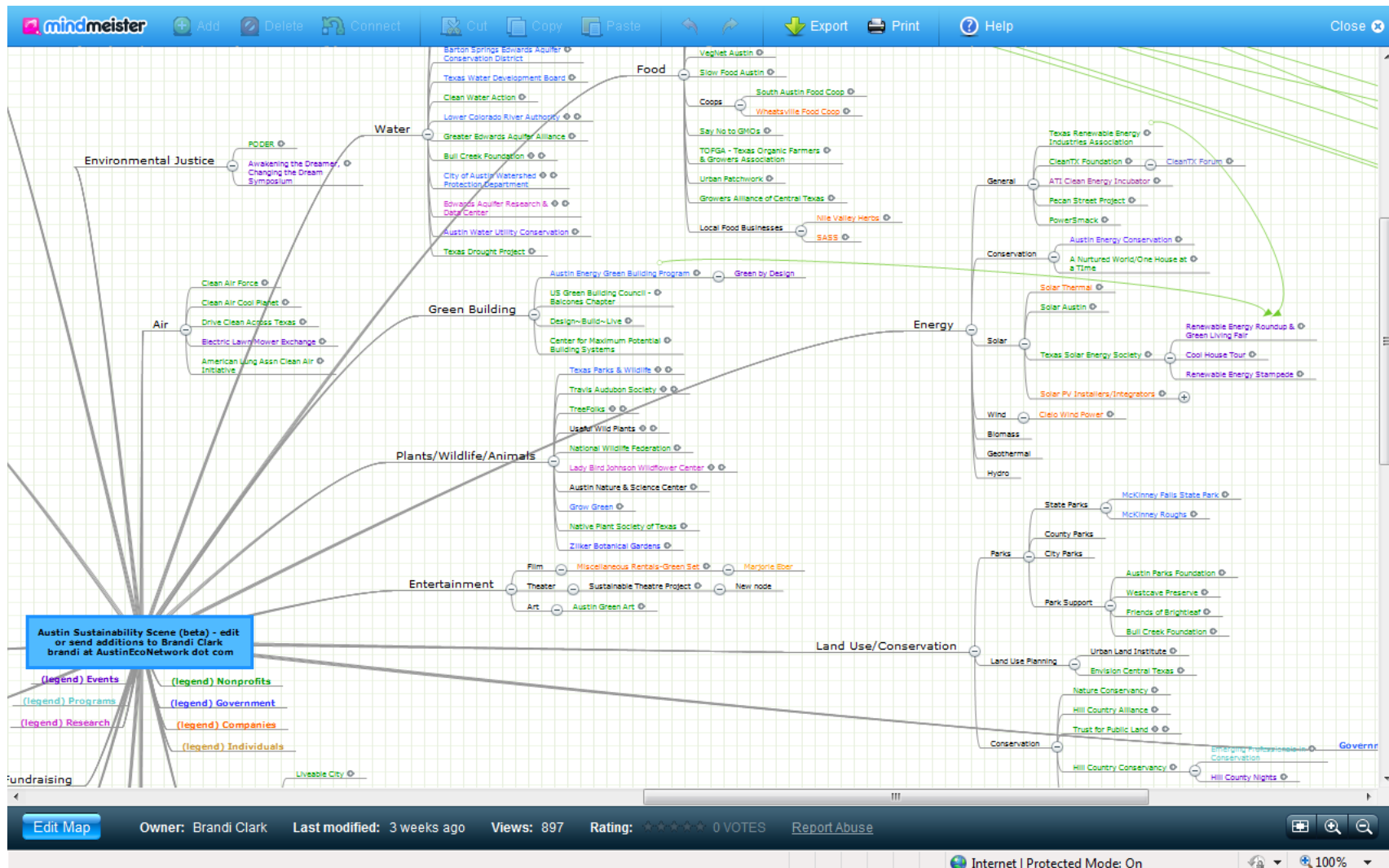
"I highly recommend RunTex for new or experienced runners. Plus, they are the ones who dole out the water everyday at Town Lake. Now that is service and why I love this town."

"...if that water station at town lake under the Mopac bridge wasn't there...I have no idea how fewer runners we'd have in this town."

The business model of Run Tex is straightforward: on one level they sell running shoes and equipment. But in Pine and Gilmore's lexicon they have moved from the commodity business of fitness equipment sales into staging "the running experience" in Austin. Austin provides the platform for their community of runners. The provision of water, tuition, support and experience is a contribution which builds "social capital" and loyal customers (who will drive 300 miles to buy shoes and recommend services to others) who appear to pay full retail price for their "perfect" shoe. At no point did any review mention that running shoes were cheap or heavily discounted. There is a \$10 rebate for recycling your old trainers, but this again was seen as a service. Run Tex is not competing on price, is presumably enjoying healthier retail margins and is building loyalty as they do so.

Contributing to or creating a community is not necessarily purely altruistic. It can be good business too. To co-opt Jane Jacob's description of public characters, Run Tex appears to "*spread the news and learn the news at retail, so to speak. They connect with each other and thus spread word wholesale, in effect.*" (Jacobs, 1961)

Figure 1 - The Austin Sustainability map



Scene

For Goswami, you can tell a lot about a city by looking at the scenes that proliferate in a city. Particularly strong scenes will flavour a city's reputation. Certain phrases will roll off the tongue, making some places enjoy almost a self-fulfilling prophecy about what you will find there. Consider "Berlin underground scene", "Manchester music scene" and "Ibiza club scene". It's an unfair test, but if you put "New York Arts Scene" into Google, you get around 11.7 million hits. Put in "Birmingham Arts Scene" and you get 290,000 (and who knows how many of those are for Alabama).

Furthermore, he cites Jane Jacobs work in "Death and Life" as showing us that innovation happens most frequently when scenes "bump up against" one another and communicate. The West Village that she evokes is a melting pot of intellectuals, workers, professionals of every class and colour. It is in the midst of this diversity and a physical environment that promotes frequent, serendipitous interactions without which,

"there is no public acquaintanceship, no foundation of public trust, no cross-connections with the necessary people--and no practice or ease in applying the most ordinary techniques of city public life at lowly levels." (Jacobs, 1961)

Thus the mapping of communities, the creation and analysis of scenes and the conversation that takes place around that endeavour leads to a similar serendipity: *"So far, the "ahas" of the scene mapping process have been many. "Oh really, you're doing that too?" "Why didn't we know about each other sooner!"*"(Mc Kissick, 2009)

And that activity in turn leads to a wider question. What is the city of Austin *about*? What are the scenes saying about Austin and its fundamental ambition? Essayist, programmer and investor Paul Graham, addresses the issue of city ambition in this way:

"Great cities attract ambitious people. You can sense it when you walk around one. In a hundred subtle ways, the city sends you a message: you could do more; you should try harder."

The surprising thing is how different these messages can be. New York tells you, above all: you should make more money. There are other messages too, of course. You should be hipper. You should be better looking. But the clearest message is that you should be richer.

What I like about Boston (or rather Cambridge) is that the message there is: you should be smarter. You really should get around to reading all those books you've been meaning to.” (Graham, 2008)

Austin’s ambition: to be an individual, to be yourself.

Austin’s many scenes combine to create an operating system that is designed to give you as many opportunities as possible for individual self-expression. Opportunities range from the quirky boutique and vintage shops on South Congress, to the independent businesses who coined the phrase “Keep Austin Weird”, the active citizenship of prominent individuals such as Willy Nelson, Lance Armstrong, Tom Ford and Mathew McConaughey and the proliferation of cultural festivals and live events.

The Austin equation provides a powerful model to begin an examination of a city. It is the work of many people to steward and evaluate all of a city’s scenes. For this article, I propose to start with a relatively small scene: Birmingham city-centre’s night-time cultural offer.

2.2. Birmingham city-centre's night-time cultural offer or "scene"

In order to clarify my use of the term "Birmingham city-centre's night-time cultural scene" I will set out in this section my working definition. If this scene were to be submitted to a full "atx equation" process, this map would represent an early draft that could subsequently be used for evangelising and then convening the scene.

Birmingham city-centre

With a population of just over 1 million, Birmingham is the UK's second most populous city after London. In the centre of the West Midlands conurbation (that includes the cities of Birmingham and Wolverhampton and the large towns of Dudley, Walsall, West Bromwich, Solihull, Stourbridge and Halesowen), with a population of 2.2 million in 2001. The population in 2001 of the metropolitan area (roughly speaking its "commuter belt" comprising Birmingham/Wolverhampton, Coventry, Nuneaton, Warwick/Leamington, Redditch, Bromsgrove and Tamworth) was 3.3 million.

The definition will concentrate on the city of Birmingham and in particular on key areas that have been identified in the "Big City Plan". The Big City Plan is the single spatial strategy for the "City Centre" and is currently in its second phase which includes developing the Master Plan, due for city council agreement in Autumn 2010. The Big City Plan will be a master plan, a business plan, a delivery plan and an area action plan. Initially based on a vision exercise overseen by Sir Michael Parkinson, the Big City Plan is heralded as process that will create the Birmingham in the next 20 years.

Figure 2 below shows the proposed "spatial structure" of the Big City Plan. In this article, I will take my working definition of the "city centre" as being the area called "The City Core" (indicated in Figure 2 in pink) together with the proposed area of expanded city centre uses (indicated in Figure 2 in yellow) which include parts of Eastside, Digbeth, Southside and Westside. In this article, this area shall be referred to as the "Expanded City Core".

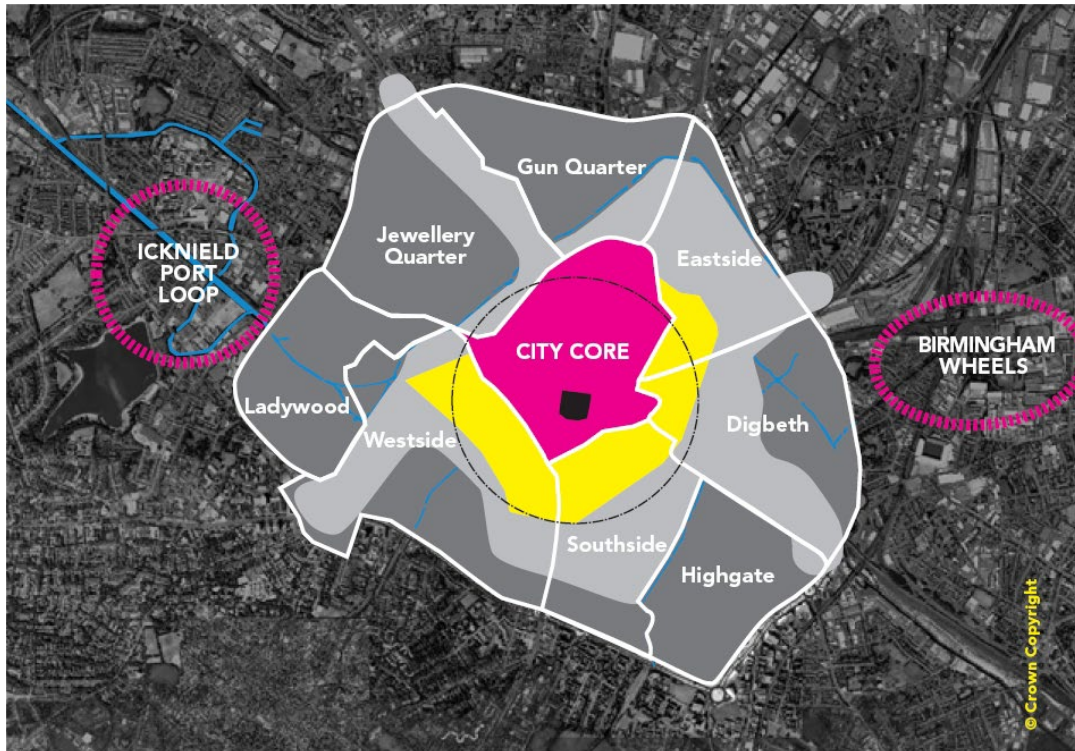


Figure 5.2: Proposed Spatial Structure of the city centre



Figure 2 - the Proposed Spatial Structure, courtesy of www.consult.birmingham.gov.uk

Night-time

I have defined “night-time” as being after 6pm, when the majority of office workers in the city centre finish work.

Cultural Scene

There are many definitions and usages of the word “culture”. Wikipedia outlines “*three basic senses*”:

- *Excellence of taste in the fine arts and humanities, also known as high culture*
- *An integrated pattern of human knowledge, belief, and behavior that depends upon the capacity for symbolic thought and social learning*

- *The set of shared attitudes, values, goals, and practices that characterizes an institution, organization or group.”*

But rather than a dictionary definition, my use of “culture” as it relates to the fine arts and humanities will reflect a governmental or policy use of the word, which seeks to be more objective than implying an “excellence of taste”. One EU definition, as quoted by Phil Redmond, is very wide:

“the European Union short form definition I found buried away within all the Directives surrounding the Capital of Culture programme - “Culture can be defined as arts, literature and shared lifestyle”” (Redmond, 2009)

In seeking to map activity in a given geographic area, this definition is too broad to be useful. Neither the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), nor any other branch of government, appears to have an “official” definition of culture. The DCMS portfolio of cultural services includes the following list. I have highlighted those areas of activity that I will seek to map as part of the night-time cultural scene in bold below:

- ***“the performing and visual arts, craft, and fashion***
- *media, film, television, video, and language*
- ***museums, artifacts, archives and design***
- ***libraries, literature, writing and publishing***
- *the built heritage, architecture, landscape and archaeology*
- *sports events, facilities and development*
- *parks, open spaces, wildlife habitats, water environment and countryside recreation*
- *children’s play, playgrounds and play activities*
- ***tourism, festivals and attractions***
- ***informal leisure pursuits***
- ***licensing of alcohol, entertainment and late night refreshment”***
(IdeA, 2006)

At Figure 3 below, I therefore have started to list the venues, organisations, institutions, artists, governmental and quasi-governmental and third sector agencies and organisations that, in my view, play a part in the night-time cultural scene in the Expanded City Core.

	City Core/City wide	Eastside	Digbeth	Southside	Westside
Venues/Institutions	Symphony Hall ICC Town Hall Alexandra Theatre Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery (BMAG) CBSO Centre	Eastside Projects Vivid Ikon Eastside Fazeley Studios Millennium Point (inc Thinktank and IMAX Theatre)	Custard Factory Grand Union The Rainbow	Birmingham Hippodrome Arcadian Centre DanceExchange	Birmingham Rep NIA Crescent Theatre Ikon Gallery
Organisations/Artists “Commercial”	CBSO BCMG		Rhubarb Radio	BRB	No 9 The Gallery
Government/Quasi government	Birmingham City Council (BCC) BCC Arts Team BCC Events Team BCC Big City Plan				BBC Birmingham British Waterways
Other		Aston University Aston Science Park	Irish Quarter The Irish Club	Chinese Quarter Gay Village New Street Station	Broad Street Brindley Place Mailbox
Third Sector			Polish Community Centre	Chinese Community Centre	

(inc City wide)					
Arts organisations working across the Extended City Core	Fierce! Festival	Birmingham Jazz	Capsule	Rhubarb-Rhubarb	7 inch cinema/ Flatpack Festival
	Writing West Midlands	Birmingham Jazz Festival			

3. The role of culture in city regeneration

3.1. A brief review of the role of wider culture in regeneration from the literature

The academic articles that I read as part of my research are set out in full in the bibliography, but they can be characterised as dealing with three main themes:

- the theory around culture-led urban regeneration and the experts who promoted that theory;
- a focus on the success (or failure) stories of high profile projects in certain cities
- the thorny issue of evaluating the impact of culture-led regeneration, what should be measured and how.

The rise and rise of the cultural regeneration expert - from the glorification of Glasgow to the destruction of Detroit

Culture-led urban regeneration is the subject of a great academic and critical discussion with contributions from the fields of urban planning, urban studies, leisure studies (including tourism) and cultural policy studies. Culture and cities became a perfect match around thirty years ago as cities looked to “recover” from a post-manufacturing era downturn and the arts strove to be less elitist and to move towards a more inclusive and democratic model of arts consumption, creation and participation. To the point where, in 2005, Miles and Paddison edited an entire edition of the *Urban Journal Studies* dedicated solely to this topic, stating:

“The idea that culture can be employed as a driver for urban economic growth has become part of the new orthodoxy by which cities seek to enhance their competitive position.” (Miles and Paddison, 2005)

This orthodoxy had its roots in a number of initiatives but gained ground initially with the work in Glasgow (Myerscough 1988). Alan Kay summarises the studies conclusions thus:

“This study was part of a national programme which concluded that investment in the arts can influence the regeneration of an area through creating opportunities for training, establishing jobs, attracting arts-related spending power, in creating the attractiveness of an area for business and consumers and encouraging arts facilities for commercial and non-arts uses” (Kay, 2000)

It is interesting to see that the main claims of increased prosperity and economic benefit were first being articulated during the Thatcher era. Popular myth would have it that arts/culture led regeneration was the poster-child of New Labour (with their early espousal of “Cool Britannia” and their alleged “invention” of the Creative Industries). Not so.

The city-scape was changing, the economic profile of the country was changing as jobs, in very broad terms, moved from manufacturing and distribution to service-oriented activities. Cities had to compete for central government funds, for talent, for tourists and for inward investment. “Quality of life” indicators, the Mercer Index of liveability and access to a range of arts and leisure facilities were all in the arsenal of the destination marketing agency. Culture (and latterly the rise of the creative industries which has either been lumped in with, or co-opted by, the cultural sector) became the means by which a city could obtain a “unique selling point”. As Andy Pratt points out, this quickly gave rise to the (now ubiquitous) “cultural quarter”:

“...what could be more unique than an historical heritage? So, cities have promoted what it is not possible to replicate: culture and/or heritage. Early efforts mimicked the tourist industry and turned to cultural tourism and heritage (Richards 1996); later that shifted to everyday culture: the cultural quarter.” (Pratt, 2008)

Andy C. Pratt evaluates by way of case-study the rise (and “fall”) of Hoxton in North London. In spite of its reputation for “hipness”, its role as a beacon of post-industrial cultural chic and the preponderance of galleries, shabby chic shops and nightlife, Hoxton is still one of the poorest wards in London (11th out of 624). His introduction neatly summarizes some of the key developments in post-industrial urban economics:

“...the first concerns the construction of mainly high culture facilities to make a city ‘attractive’ or simply ‘well-known’ (Bianchini and Parkinson, 1009; Paddison, 1993); the second concerns what has been termed the ‘experience economy’ where visitors and investors are drawn into unique place-based experiences either of a heritage or retail variety (Harvey, 1989; Pine and Gilmore, 1999). This latter dimension has been elaborated upon by Florida in his discussion of the ‘environments’ (physical and institutional) that attract the ‘creative class’ (Florida, 2004)” (Pratt, 2009).

“The Rise of the Creative Class” by Richard Florida is perhaps the most well-known (if not the most well-loved) work in this area, and builds on the legacy of Jane Jacob’s work as it creates a new spin on her take on the West Village. His fame (or as some would have it, notoriety) caused Fast Company magazine to suggest “Florida became an academic rock star by suggesting any city could be creative and prosper”. He is an engaging speaker who created a strong message which, if not academically very rigorous, then certainly readable and engaging. His mass-market appeal and sound-bite approach (even those who have not read it can usually tell you about “Talent, Tolerance and Technology”, his recipe for attracting the creative class), has led to consultancy appointments with a number of major cities and appearances on The Larry King Show on CNN. His approach has led to criticism, not least from the significantly lower profile Jim McGuigan, who characterises his ideas as “buzzwords” and posits (in a not entirely academic way):

“his work is not so much that of a social theorist or a cultural researcher as a knowledge entrepreneur, skilled at combining he ideas of others and artful at drawing attention to his not entirely original insights and marketing them as consultancy...some are inclined to view Florida as a busy, globetrotting trader in a good old American product, snake oil, instead of a serious scholar with some genuine wisdom to impart for cultural policy” (McGuigan, 2009)

Others with less of an axe to grind simply see Florida’s argument as a re-statement of an age-old economic theory, that jobs attract talent and vice versa. Florida isolates a number of factors that attract a skilled, creative workforce (including the “3T’s”). But the “creative class” encompasses a wide range of skills and job-types: from artists and software developers to management, legal and accountancy professionals. Florida’s creative class

has been re-cast by some (including Pratt) as the Bourgeois Bohemian (or Bo-Bo). Pratt re-states Florida's central arguments thus:

“The “3 T’s” do not make creativity, creative cities or work: they are simply posited as factors of attraction (or proxies of them)...Florida is making an argument for attracting particular labour, or occupations, to a place: which in turn, it is claimed, if they are in short supply, will cause high-tech industries to move to that location to be close to such a labour pool. Logically what is not being argued here is that there is an intrinsic value in culture that attracts the creatives. Nor, it may be argued, that there is intrinsic value in the cultural practices they (the creative class) are either engaged in, or attracted to...”

In short, it is an exercise in place marketing, except that now a Bo-Bo downtown is the magnet whose primary objective is to attract a labour pool, which will in turn attract hi-tech industries, and lead to growth.”

Of course the Creative Class was a mantra founded in the growth of a city and which flourished, first in the “dot com” boom and then in the “cool Britannia” era of early New Labour when culture was flush with UK Lottery money and increased grant programmes through schemes such as Grants for the Arts. This expansionist message is not useful in these times of austerity when major capital investment ground to a halt in the shadow of the international “banking crisis”. Florida new work, “The Great Reset” takes the themes born in “Rise of the Creative Class” and built on in “Who’s Your City” and cites the current recession as the time for a “spatial fix” - a make or break moment for numerous US cities:

“The Great Reset imagines a North America literally shaped by the needs of the creative class -- a new landscape of dense cities and their surrounding mega-regions, connected by broadband and high-speed rail. Where Florida’s last book explored the “personalities” of cities, this time he picks Darwinian winners and losers: New York, Silicon Valley, Toronto, and college towns will survive; Detroit and exurban Phoenix or Las Vegas will not. “The places that thrive today,” he writes, “are those with the highest velocity of ideas, the highest density of talented and creative people, and the highest rate of metabolism.” (Fast Forward magazine, 2010)

One particular focus of ‘The Great Reset’ is the promotion of renting, as opposed to buying, your home. Florida notes, “a house that can’t be sold

becomes an economic trap, preventing people from moving freely to economic opportunity.”

A focus on cities: Bilbao, Newcastle/Gateshead, Bristol and Dublin

The work of Charles Landry and Comedia was highly influential in shaping the policies of DCMS in the last Labour government from Chris Smith’s “Creative Britain” report in 2000, which practically christened the “creative industries” if not gave them birth, to the Core Cities initiative. Core Cities (the 2nd - 8th largest cities after London) work in partnership with a number of stakeholders to promote the role of the cities as drivers of growth. In 2003, the report “Releasing the cultural potential of our core cities; culture and the core cities” echoed the work of Myerscough some fifteen years earlier, only more so and with an added, democratic and inclusive twist:

“Culture is a source of prosperity and cosmopolitanism in the process of international urban competitiveness through hosting international events and centres of excellence, inspiring creativity and innovating, driving high growth business sectors such as creative industries, commercial leisure and tourism, and increasing profile and recognition...Culture is a means of speaking the benefits of prosperity to all citizens, though its capacity to engender social and human capital, improve life skills and transform the organisational capacity to handle and respond to change...Culture is a means of defining a rich, shared identity and thus engenders pride of place and inter-communal understanding, contributing to peoples’ sense of anchoring and confidence” (Commedia, 2003)

In the context of this, frankly, hyperbolic promotion of the miraculous capability of culture, proponents would readily seek out examples of regenerative success. The gentrification of Bilbao when it opened the Frank Gehry designed Guggenheim Museum, generating what was known as the “Bilbao bounce”. (Although its precise impact and the polarising nature of its gentrification is also debated). At the turn of the century, wags were to call Walsall the “Bilbao” of the Midlands following the opening of the Caruso St. John designed New Art Gallery. I have not found any academic literature assessing the economic impact of the museum on Walsall, but it has become a well-used and popular location for Walsall residents.

The New Art Gallery, Walsall was built in part with (then) new UK Lottery money which had a specific scheme for capital projects for the Millennium. Again, the creation of iconic arts and cultural spaces became the battering rams of regenerative forces: down with the disused warehouse and up with the art gallery, concert hall or media emporium. Shady watersides and dodgy docksides made way for “waterfront” developments with upscale shopping, commercial galleries, night-spots and restaurants.

Much has been written in this context about Gateshead (now Newcastle-Gateshead) and its development of four world-class cultural status symbols: The Angel of the North, The Sage, The Baltic and the Gateshead Quays re-development. The role of a piece of public art as “tipping point” and icon of a new city and a new sensibility around that city had great impact:

“Gateshead, once dismissed by JB Priestley as a town which appeared to have been invented ‘by an enemy of the human race’, decided 10 years ago that culture and the arts provided the key to a regeneration strategy...What is happening here is unique with a combination of cultural statements, thanks to a visionary and determined council.” (Heatherington, 2002)

Bristol too, with its Harbourside project:

“seemed to be offering clear confirmation that Bristol had transformed itself from being a laggard in cultural policy to a leading light. Other successes...added further weight to the narrative of Bristol’s cultural renaissance”.

“Top-down” projects may have the political heft and financial resource to bring about some measure of regeneration, if only to the buildings that that were being transformed, but the private sector also played a role which is (understandably), less well-documented in the literature. Property -led development by private developers such as Salt’s Mill in Bradford and Camden Lock in North London and Urban Splash’s work in Manchester, Liverpool and Birmingham were highlighted in the work of Guy, Henneberry and Rowley. They hailed the likes of Tom Bloxham and John Falkingham of Urban Splash as

“independent developers’ drawing on Leadbeater and Oakley’s (1999) exploration of “Britain’s new cultural entrepreneurs”. (Guy, Henneberry and Rowley, 2002).

They quote Charles Landry pointing out that

“such organic regeneration projects tend to “rely less on strategy than on intuition” and that “this approach is rare in mainstream development.(Landry et al, 1996).

Similarly, Pater Hall’s analysis of innovative cities notes “the continuing importance of bottom-up, individualistic innovation” (Hall, 1999)

But the recent economic down turn has seen a severe downturn of development activity, by independent or any other type of developer. Urban Splash’s most recent set of accounts showed a “narrowing” of losses for the year ending 31 March 2010 from £38.2 million to £10.3 million (including £6.3 million of non re-occurring exceptional items). And, in line with Florida’s predictions in ‘The Great Reset’, Urban Splash has diverted its activity from development to investment, and rental income rose from £10.6m to £12.7m and commercial rental increased from £9.1m to £10.6m.

In retrospect, it seems that the instrumental use of culture in relation to urban regeneration had to tick too many boxes: revive the reputation of a city, transform ugly or unsafe areas, attract inward investment and tourists with deep pockets, cure all manner of social ills and provide a powerhouse of skills and jobs for the economically disadvantaged. To what extent such claims can survive after the depth and severity of the current economic down-turn is not yet clear. But the ability of culture to truly deliver on the many promises that it made (or that were made on its behalf) leads to a consideration of the final limb of the literature, a consideration of evaluation and evaluative methods.

The problem of evaluation: rhetoric versus reality

There is no shortage of column inches devoted to the analysis of the policies, plans, practices and initiatives that have been carried out in the name of culture. What is less clear whether those policies, plans, practices

and initiatives have achieved their economic or social goals. In this regard, major events, such as hosting a European City of Culture, a sporting event like the Commonwealth Games or the Olympics provide sufficient “critical mass” of (broadly speaking) cultural activity and media attention to provide a meaningful test bed. The development of evaluation methodologies can be charted over the years from 1990.

In 1990, Glasgow as European City of Culture (ECOC) was to provide an initial focus for those who wished to test the hypothesis that arts and culture could be used instrumentally in urban settings to achieve economic outcomes.

Fifteen years after the event, Beatriz Garcia noted the difficulty of making a realistic assessment of the benefits, and that there was a marked difference between the internal and external perceptions of the legacy of ECOC:

“...it is worth noting that the complex nature of intangible cultural legacies makes it difficult to conclude whether they are a direct result of a particular event or culture-led regeneration strategy. In Glasgow, the most valuable cultural legacies interrelate with other elements that are inherent to the fabric of the city and result from many dimensions beyond 1990.” (Garcia, 2005)

Four years later again, Toby Miller is less equivocal:

“The European Commissions’ evaluation of 29 Cities of Culture disclosed that their principal goal - economic growth stimulated by the public subvention of culture to renew failed cities - had itself failed. Glasgow, for instance, was initially held a success: but many years after the rhetoric, there has been no sustained growth, while an endless pool of bureaucrats and consultants sought ever-more desperate claims in order to distinguish their candidates for the title, such as Bristol laying claim to Cary Grant as a native son (Linklater, Hoggart, 2004)” (Miller, 2009)

Sometimes, the root of the “failure” lies in the dilution of a project’s socio-economic aims, the failure adequately to consult or include relevant communities or the need to reduce the scope and artistic ambition of a project. John McCarthy’s assessment of the Temple Bar development in Dublin is that it failed to live up to its initial promise of urban renewal by

way of culture, residential and retail uses as well as environmental improvements.

“In general, therefore, ‘holistic’ regeneration, combining social, economic and environmental elements, would not seem to have been achieved in Temple Bar partly because the project’s social aims were downgraded in importance as the scheme progresses. Consequently, the diverse residential community which was anticipated had failed to materialise by 1997, and the sustainability of the diverse retail sector is in doubt” (McCarthy, 1998)

With each major initiative, lessons have been learned about the clear framing of the parameters of success and the need to build in a range of evaluative models from the outset.

Building on from her work in Beatriz Garcia has subsequently carried out a highly detailed analysis and evaluation of Liverpool as ECOC 2008 where its impact was assessed over five areas: Cultural access and participation, Economy and tourism, Cultural vibrancy and sustainability, Image and perceptions and Governance and delivery process. The process had begun at the time of Liverpool’s appointment and allowed for the development of a holistic evaluation model and a thematic approach. Crucially, it took a number of baseline measurements and recording in 2006-07. The results feature both quantitative and qualitative analysis, with the latter making extensive use of interviews with a broad range of people over time. The headline findings against each of these headings have been broadly positive.

“Liverpool ECoC stakeholders agreed that the year was seen as a success, that it had added value to existing regeneration programmes and that there was great potential associated with the its legacy.” (Garcia, Melville and Cox, 2010)

Impacts 08 was a well-thought through, well-resourced initiative that was championed by John Moore’s University and a host of partners, funders and associates. It sets the benchmark for future evaluative practice.

3.2. Where the night time scene has been specifically addressed in the literature

DUMBO FIRST THURSDAY

DUMBO is in Brooklyn, in the shadow of the Brooklyn and Manhattan Bridges. It stands by the East River, the river that separates Brooklyn from Manhattan (the ‘other borough’ as Brooklyn Borough President Marty Marcowitz would have it). The acronym has become a place name, as did SoHo (South of Houston) and NoLiTa (North of Little Italy) did in Manhattan. It’s never clear whether this was a genuine christening by the people of the area or an estate agent’s trick. But DUMBO, which stands for the District Under Manhattan Bridge Overpass, is now a thriving re-invention of what once was a “no-go” area. This mix of upscale shops and galleries, cultural spaces, apartments, industrial spaces and artists studios was named, it is said by the artists and pioneers who ‘discovered’ the areas when they had been priced out of studio spaces in ‘the other borough’s’ Soho, East and Greenwich Villages and Lower East Side following gentrification.

The name was apparently coined by those early adopters in the hope that “a silly ugly name would keep developers away”². It did not. Developer David Walentas founder and principal of the Two Trees Management Company was tipped off about DUMBO by an artist and loved what he saw in the shadow of the Bridges.

“We bought two million square feet 30 years ago for \$12 million, about \$6 a foot, which today seems incredibly cheap. But for 20 years everybody thought I was the dumb in Dumbo; now they think I’m a genius.”³

In the intervening 30 years, the warehouses and factories that made Brillo pads and cardboard boxes have been converted into luxury apartments (now

² “District Trying to Forge a New Identity” – Anne Barnard, 25 December 2007 New York Times
http://www.nytimes.com/2007/12/25/nyregion/25journal.html?pagewanted=1&_r=1

³ Interview with David. C. Walentas – Vivian Marino 21 January 2010 New York Times
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realising \$1000 a square foot), design-led shops, bars and restaurants. There are offices for digital and design based industries (60 of which have banded together to re-christen the area ‘New York’s Digital District’ ⁴) and highly regarded cultural spaces such as St Ann’s Warehouse, Galapagos Arts Space, Powerhouse Arena and A.I.R Gallery (Artists in Residence).

DUMBO can be seen to be a case-study in arts-lead regeneration. The Two Trees Management Company donated a variety of spaces to cultural organisations so that they could start to animate the area and put it on the map. Issue Project Room, St Ann’s Warehouse, Galapagos Arts Space and Smack Mellon are all supported by Two Trees. In addition, there are a significant number of galleries (number) who lease smaller gallery space at Two Tree’s owned 111 Front Street.

The area is young and vibrant. It has many of the hallmarks of the type of development that Richard Florida identified as being highly attractive to the creative class:

“The culture is “street-level” because it tends to cluster along certain streets lined with a multitude of small venues. These may include coffee shops, restaurants and bars, some of which offer performance or exhibits along with the food and drink; art galleries; bookstores and other stores; small to mid-sizes theatres for film or live performance or both; and various hybrid spaces like a bookstore/tearoom/little theatre or gallery/studio/live music space - often in storefronts or old buildings converted from other purposes. The scene may spill out onto the sidewalks...

It is not just *a* scene but many: a music scene, an art scene, a film scene, outdoor recreation scene, nightlife scene, and so on - all reinforcing one another... My interview subjects tell me that this kind of “scene of scenes”

⁴ <http://nydd.us/about.html>

provides another set of visual and aural cues they look for in a place to live and work.” (Florida, 2004)⁵

Dumbo First Thursday is the focal point for such a scene of scenes. On the first Thursday of each month, the galleries bars, cafes and bookstores all stay open til 8pm. The initiative is not unique to DUMBO, or even New York. There are any number of late openings on the “first” or “second” evening in the week in a number of galleries in the States [examples].

What is distinctive perhaps about the DUMBO initiative is that it was instigated by property developers Two Trees who are landlords to the many gallery owners in DUMBO. It is a condition of the lease that the gallerists open the gallery when they have work to exhibit until 8pm on the first Thursday of each month. The offices of Two Trees have a cultural co-ordinator who manages a variety of cultural initiatives including the curation and promotion of the DUMBO arts festival each September. It is a level of arts and cultural intervention and activity that is not as common from property developers in the UK, with the possible exception of Manchester based Urban Splash.

Two Trees maintain a website - www.culture411.com where regular news of the monthly First Thursday is posted. It describes the event as follows:

“A festive occasion each month for art lovers. A chance to visit many quality galleries at night in one artsy Brooklyn neighborhood - galleries showing works from artists of many disciplines while hosting receptions, producing live music performances, screenings and curator/artist talks among other highlights. Event is free to the public. No RSVP required. Attendees choose their own routes. Maps & location flyers on-site. Drink specials throughout the evening at local bars.”

⁵ Florida, Richard “The Rise of the Creative Class” p 183

The atmosphere is relaxed and easy going. The overall “management” of the event is minimal. Having been established in [date] attendance has gained a certain level of momentum. While clearly quieter in the summer months, attendance numbers typically exceed xxx from October through to May.

When I visited the galleries at 111 Front Street on the first Thursday of July 2010, there was a smaller crowd than on previous First Thursdays. This was due in part to the fact that it was the beginning of the 4th July holiday weekend and the temperature was in excess of 100 degrees. Even so, the area was alive with groups of people talking, laughing and spilling out of the galleries to crowd into nearby bars and restaurants. The local Powerhouse bookstore will have an event or signings. The Galapagos Arts Space is a distinctive space even in New York because the bar area has customer tables on big “lilly pads” while running water flows past beneath your pad. It will stage free music, cabaret or artists talks on a First Thursday. The “Re” bar has drinks and dinner specials and the staff there acknowledge it is their busiest night each month.

The event is marketed as taking place in an “artsy” neighbourhood and the crowd appears predominately, but not exclusively, younger “artsy” types. There are students, workers from the nearby offices and artists networking with gallery owners and potential buyers. Having worked in DUMBO for eight weeks while on secondment at St Ann’s Warehouse, the neighbourhood is noticeably more populous and lively on the first Thursday of each month. It makes a difference.

I conducted some informal research with a number of attendees about their reasons for attending First Thursday. Some were friends of the artists being exhibited, or of the gallerists. The majority were people who came specifically to the event and who had come to the event more than once. Almost without exception, the respondents felt that DUMBO First Thursdays let them feel part of a “scene” that they enjoyed.

[more comments here from the survey]

For the gallery owners, the motivation to participate seems mainly to be that they were required as a condition of their lease. None of the gallery owners I surveyed reported making any sales during their late night opening. None knew, when asked, if the First Thursday opening attracted people who later returned to make a purchase, although most thought it possible. Not all gallery owners were enthusiastic about having to stay open, but all admitted that it had helped create a scene, from which the ultimately benefitted.

The First Thursday initiative appears to be a successful attempt to create a “scene” by crystalising activity on one nominated date.

[bring in some of the academic stuff here from Hoxton]



Figure 4

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Section 2

Figure 1:

Figure 2: All maps within this document are reproduced from the Ordnance Survey Material with the permission of Ordnance Survey on behalf of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office © Crown Copyright.

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