

The Role of Museums and the Arts in the Urban Regeneration of Liverpool

Edited by Pedro Lorente



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Introduction.

J.-Pedro LORENTE

Liverpool is undoubtedly one of the best study cases one could choose to discuss the role of museums and the arts in the regeneration of deprived urban areas. Previous work on this topic had shown very interesting examples in districts of New York, Baltimore, Paris, Dublin, Barcelona, Berlin or London. But obviously in such rich and burgeoning cities urban revitalisation has been boosted by an array of vested interests, among which the arts sector was just one component -and not necessarily the most consequential. No matter the size and history of the arts presence in particular districts, it seems obvious that any derelict area in the heart of a prosperous city is bound to be revitalised by urban developers anyway. However, the prospects of redevelopment are less likely when dereliction lays in the middle of a declining city facing economic recession, unemployment, depopulation, social/ethnic unrest, and physical decay. If we can show that even in such adverse circumstances, arts-led regeneration can prosper, then we would have demonstrated its deeds beyond doubt. Liverpool is such a case: in the last decades everything seems to have gone wrong there, except the arts, which constitute the most world-known winning asset of the city's limited resources.

I shall never forget my deep impression during my first long visit to the hometown of the Beatles. I admired the Walker Art Gallery, the Sudley, the Lady Lever and the Tate of the North, but I was struck by the contrast between the appalling physical decay of the city and those testimonies of past riches, which together with the astonishing collections of the Liverpool Museum, the Museum of Liverpool Life and the Maritime Museum, make of Liverpool the second museum capital of England. Moreover, as I soon was to learn as well, there are in Liverpool 'more artists per head of its multicultural population than anywhere else in the country' (Brady, 1993). I was then about to start my present research on the role of museums and the arts in urban regeneration: thus Liverpool was naturally my first choice, followed by Marseilles -Glasgow and Genoa might have equally qualify as appropriate study cases. But Liverpool has also an added personal appeal to researchers on urban studies, for it was

there that Leslie P. Abercrombie, one of our most revered pioneers in the discipline, started his career in town planning firstly thanks to a research fellowship established at the University of Liverpool by the soap tycoon William Lever and from 1914 as Professor of Civic Design, succeeding Albert Stanley Ashfield in the chair. Following on his footsteps, other famous urban planning scholars have come to study and work in Liverpool.

At first I hesitated a bit on the approach and method most appropriate for my work. Being myself an historian, I was prepared for long days of archive research; but urban renewal, as distinct from urban expansion, is a recent phenomenon, particularly in the case of arts-led boosting and redevelopment of derelict city areas. More than a social historian of art and culture, the job needed an art sociologist, ready to analyse an ongoing phenomenon. Thus I started with a mailing to museums and commercial galleries, followed by interviews with prominent agents and enablers of arts-led regeneration; then for two years I have tried to keep an open eye and ear, looking for related news in the press, chatting with the well-informed and trying to infiltrate the local art-scene by making my presence ubiquitous in the social ceremonies which bring its members together: prize-award ceremonies, festivals, private views and exhibition openings, etc. Such local contacts gathered momentum on the occasion of the one-day symposium 'The Role of Museums and the Arts in the Urban Renewal of Liverpool' (Tate Gallery, Liverpool, 21st October 1995). That was an extremely enriching meeting, where major analysts and enablers of arts developments in Liverpool came together, some of them as speakers and others in the audience.

That symposium originated this book, with some variations. To start with, the title is slightly different, at the suggestion of Andrew Green, who proposed to use 'urban regeneration' instead of 'urban renewal'. The change is not just about replacing an already worn-out stickword by the one which is more fashionable now. It is about being accurate and, at the same time, paying homage here to the teaching of Chris Couch, a senior Liverpool scholar who argued for a clear differentiation between the two terms in the introduction to his renowned handbook on urban renewal: 'A distinction should be made between this process of essentially physical change, which is referred to here as **urban renewal**, and the wider process of **urban regeneration**', in which the state or local community is seeking to bring back investment and consumption and enhance the quality of life within an urban area' (Couch, 1990: 2-3; the emphasis is mine). This definition of 'urban regeneration' as revitalising not just dilapidated buildings but also a

deteriorated quality of life, describes very well the main thrust of most of the papers gathered here.

Actually, physical urban renewal features very little in the contents of this book, most unlike the symposium programme, where it was the main topic for the papers commissioned from architect Ken Martin, who was a most brilliant speaker in that event, but has now excused himself from writing a paper due to overwork. As a result, this publication is not much about the urban renewal of Liverpool but about the renaissance of the city's culture, image and self-esteem, which is in fact a most popular stand-point in our times. In the eighties, when the arts failed victim to the cuts in public budgets, analysts adopted arguments according to the prevailing business mood of the decade, trying to show the economic importance of the arts (Myerscough, 1988; Arts Council of Great Britain, 1989). These were years of hardship for art institutions, artists and community arts, but golden years for consultancies required to measure with quantifiable 'returns' that money given to arts was not a mere 'expenditure' but also a good 'investment', which would 'trickle down' -a favourite Thatcherite term- jobs creation and economic benefits. But now we know better (on present cultural policies cf. Bianchini, 1993; Landry & Greene, 1995; Langsted, 1990). Culture and the related business of the so-called symbolic economy provide many jobs, but they are mostly part-time, insecure or low-wage. It is not with the arts budget that politicians are going to solve all the problems of unemployment and poverty in Liverpool. Too many expectations for economic boosting and tourism attraction were raised on the arrival of a new branch of the Tate to Albert Dock. Only now this junior sibling of the national gallery of modern art is starting to be judged for questions really related to contemporary art encouragement and curatorship (the same happened with the creation of MASS MoCa in North Adams, Massachusetts, cf. Zukin, 1995: 79-108). This led to disappointments and, most dangerously, to a feeling of estrangement between some Liverpudlians and the lavishly converted wharf, which was seen locally as a sort of horse of Troy, sheltering officials sent by the right-wing government in London for the conquest of left-wing Liverpool. It has taken much effort and some time to normalise relations between this national museum and the local citizens.

Increasingly, dialogue and the pursuit of social consensus seem to become now pervading attitudes in world politics as well as in Liverpool. Years ago, it might have been unthinkable a symposium bringing together in non-confrontational discussions scholars, planning consultants, city officials, art mediators and artists. But now this has

proven possible and, furthermore, some of the accusations criss-crossed between the different parties on the day of the symposium have softened in the pages of this book. This publication is therefore not a definitive account on the role of museums and the arts in the urban renewal of Liverpool, but just one more step in the discussion and, most importantly, in the process of networking and making local connections. Everybody agreed that similar events should be more and more customary, so that all parts involved or interested in arts-led regeneration could have a say and be heard.

I am extremely happy that two senior curators from the National Museums and Galleries of Merseyside (NMGM), not represented in the symposium programme, have now joined the discussion in the public platform offered by this book. On the other hand, I am very sorry that number of Liverpool urban developers, owners of independent galleries, artists, artists associations and community arts groups who have been most collaborative from the start, declined to participate here for a series of reasons: firstly because they all tend to be creatively busy 'doing' all sort of extremely interesting things and have very little time or patience to describe what they do; second because although most of them are professional communicators using visual media, they are not equally at ease using words; finally in some cases personal reasons or health problems detached from the project excellent speakers like Bill Harpe -from de Blackie- or Bill Callaghan -editor of *Artspool North West*. In view of that, using my notes from interviews with them and their pairs in Marseilles, I have written one extra paper giving a historic survey and a general picture of all the recent urban regeneration initiatives emerged hand in hand with the new burgeoning of the arts scene in both cities.

The structure of this book is only slightly different from the order of interventions followed in the symposium. The order of papers has been arranged to advance from general surveys to particular points. Indeed, it seemed most fitting to start with the broad review of recent urban regeneration and heritage revitalisation policies written by Richard Evans and Susan Carmichael, whose analyses embrace the whole of Liverpool, without stopping in any specific district. Still general in character, but already focusing in some museums as study cases, are the three following contributions, by myself, Lewis Biggs and Patrick Dudbury/Jim Forrester. Then, my second paper and a battery of three articles by Andrew Green, Terry Duffy and Kate Stewart discuss the so-called 'Creative Quarter' of Liverpool from very different points of view. Finally, Ibrahim Thompson explains the work of LARCAA, an example of community art

working for the defence of ethnic minorities rights, which leads the way to the aforementioned closing remarks by Franco Bianchini. For reasons of budget, the pages of this book have no illustrations, which is really a shame for a publication on art matters. I wish I could have included views of Liverpool's architectural landmarks converted in galleries or artists studios, and some of the slides of public art installed in derelict areas, which were shown at the symposium. Or even better, art-works like those of the exhibition *Making It* at the Tate Gallery on the day of the symposium, among which that installation with melting sugar blocks by Janet Hodgson, which I found particularly touching as an artist's response to creating art in Liverpool, in a former dock-store of colonial goods, and for a gallery which bears the name of a sugar magnate. But I am very proud of the book's cover, which features a drawing generously offered by Liverpool artist Ken Allen. It reminds me of the initial confrontation between highbrow nationally sponsored modern art and the down-to-earth social housing policies of Liverpool, which are humorously evoked by a van of City Council workers reclaiming the bricks of Carl Andre's installation, one of the most controversial exhibits in the collection of the Tate Gallery.

Visual puns aside, it is obvious that the debates on the role of museums and the arts in the urban regeneration of Liverpool are not all played out here: the cool-headed dialogue should continue with more voices joining in. I must insist that the papers reunited here do not encompass but a few single positions and discourses, which are their authors opinions, not necessarily those of their organisations or the editor. I tried my best to get in the symposium and in this book a full representation of all different views, although I cannot claim to have been completely successful. Some official instances approached did not even bother to respond. Most discouragingly, this nonchalant attitude was also found among some artists' groups. Happily, however, the common experience was some degree of positive response in all quarters. Therefore, I would like to end this introduction on a cheerful note, expressing my acknowledgements to those who helped in many different ways for the success of this project. My most hearty thanks in particular to the contributors, and in general to all the new friends I have made in Liverpool in the last two years. The list would be too long to attempt mentioning everyone by name, and then I should also add many friends in Marseilles, who tried to help me organising a similar symposium there, although that project eventually did not go ahead. Nevertheless, I feel I could not possibly omit making here a special mention to Anne MacPhee and John Vaughan, the two persons

who acted for me in Liverpool as amphitriions and introducers to the local worlds of art and academia. This book is specially dedicated to them because they immediately befriended me and backed my project since the very first time we met, and it is thanks to them that I, who had arrived there as a total stranger, came to love Liverpool as a second home-town.

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**Liverpool's urban renewal initiatives and the arts:
a review of policy development and strategic issues.**

Richard EVANS

Introduction

The contrast between Liverpool's continued economic and demographic decline over the last decade and the contemporaneous rapid growth of its arts and cultural industries has been marked. While employment in the latter has virtually doubled in that period from 2,100 to 3,900, total employment in the city plummeted from about 230,000 to 200,000. This discrepancy can, however, be interpreted in opposing ways. Some view the arts and cultural industries as a booming sector and a potential lifeline for the city. Alternatively, sceptics argue that the sector has not made an appreciable economic impact overall and continues to experience problems of external control and low employee income. Liverpool's superabundance of artistic traditions and cultural riches counterposed by its dearth of, and desperate search for, economic growth sectors and continuing social, physical and associated image problems heightens the significance of this issue. This raises important related questions:

Viewing the arts-urban renewal relationship in a physical sense, is it realistic to expect arts businesses to have an appreciable collective impact on the local property market given that many have low profit margins? And can the development of local cultural industries create more opportunities for animating the city using street events, local sculpture, festivals etc.? Can these industries engender a sense of ownership of the built environment amongst Liverpool residents, especially the unemployed and poor and other marginalised groups? More generally, could these activities effectively counteract the frequently negative media messages about Liverpool and improve its attractiveness to inward investment and as a place to live? Could the combination of indigenous development and attraction of new inward investment of arts businesses, associated skilled labour, capital and other resources result in the city's arts and cultural industries reaching a critical mass so that the economic benefits are increasingly internalised and loss of talent and contractual opportunities to other areas minimised? Or will Liverpool continue to suffer from competition with Manchester, London and other cities, especially overseas?

This paper seeks to inform such debates by:

- clarifying the terms "urban renewal" and "the arts".
- investigating the convergence of the arts and urban renewal policy spheres in Liverpool over the last ten years and associated process issues of policy formulation and implementation.
- discussing the merits of selective recent arts-oriented urban renewal initiatives
- reviewing the main issues arising and future challenges.

-Definitional issues.

Over the last decade, urban renewal initiatives have repeatedly been criticised for incorrectly assuming that the renewal of physical infrastructure will automatically lead to wider economic regeneration and improvements to quality of life of urban areas and that additional economic activity will benefit, or "trickle down", to all sections of the community. Consequently, urban policymakers have recently placed much greater emphasis upon ensuring that the renewal of "hard infrastructure" such as land, buildings and transport systems relates to, and is preferably complemented by, improvements in, "soft infrastructure" such as training, education, various business support services and social infrastructure such as housing and health. Hence, urban renewal is here construed in this wider, multi-faceted sense. Having said that, later discussion of particular arts-related urban renewal initiatives does concentrate upon the connection between arts and cultural industries and the quality of the urban environment and the vitality of streetscene in order to narrow down what is an enormous subject.

The term "the arts" is similarly wide-ranging and elusive because of its multi-sectoral nature and variation in the ethos of arts organisations. Here, I have adopted the definition employed by Liverpool City Council which encompasses printing and publishing; broadcasting; live and recorded music; film, video and photography; advertising, performing arts, but also included visual arts, design and fashion and museums and heritage houses (Liverpool City Council 1987). The distinction between those organisations which primarily perform a social, educational or cultural role, those

which are self-financing and those enabling others to improve their business performance is also relevant in this context (Booth & White, 1995).

The contribution of the arts and cultural industries to urban renewal has attracted interest for varied reasons. In an economic sense, they create wealth both directly through sales, jobs, exports, and indirectly because of the spinoffs for the tourism industry and retailing and from multiplier effects. In environmental terms, they can have a dramatic visual impact and add to the variety of streetscene. Finally, they may have a positive impact upon the quality of life, image and vitality of a place due to their social, educational and entertainment value. Such relationships are examined further in section 2.

1. What a difference a decade makes - the convergence of arts and cultural and urban renewal policies 1985-95¹.

-The policy context pre-1987

While some commentators have in the recent past berated both Liverpool arts organisations and urban policymakers for failing to grasp quickly the potential of the arts and cultural industries in forging a new future for the city, it is easy to forget that only a decade ago the city was still in the dark ages in this respect. The militant-controlled labour council had precipitated confrontation with the government over local authority expenditure cuts by pursuing a costly and unsustainable, if partially effective, urban regeneration strategy involving housing, recreational and associated environmental improvements in the most deprived parts of the city. Such tactics brought Liverpool to the verge of bankruptcy. The workerist character of the party meant that jobs and services in working class heartlands received priority whereas the city centre, where not just the majority of business interests but also most arts activities were concentrated, continued to be neglected, just as it had been by the directionless hung councils of the 1970s. Hostility to business hastened the departure of many firms and the tendency for many professionals to look to other more prosperous towns in the region for retailing, arts and entertainment and leisure purposes. This placed the arts sector under further pressure. The nightmare ended, however, in 1987 when labour councillors were disqualified from office and in many

cases expelled from the labour party and replaced by a more moderate administration committed to rethinking policy priorities, especially in the economic development sphere, and rebuilding relationships with the private sector. Since then, the arts and cultural industries have steadily moved up the political agenda.

-1987-90 Moving arts up the agenda - advocacy and cultural flagships.

The realisation that the arts could significantly contribute to urban renewal stemmed from a mixture of good reasoning, default and opportunism. Two related reports on the economic importance of tourism and the arts, co-funded by Merseyside County Council, Merseyside Arts and others in 1986, clearly demonstrated that the arts were not just a major source of turnover (£12.2m) and direct employment (c.2,100) but also a crucial pull to almost a third of the 18m day-tourists and a significant contributor to the quality of life of middle managers (Merseyside Arts, 1986). Merseyside Development Corporation's (MDC) incorporation of major cultural "flagship" projects such as the Tate Gallery of the North and the Maritime Museum in its plans to refurbish Albert Dock provided further proof of the regenerative potential of the arts, although it should be noted that the MDC only resorted to a tourism/arts/leisure led strategy for reviving the waterfront when it became obvious that marketing waterfront sites for mixed commercial and industrial purposes was a non-starter.

The success of the waterfront proved an important element in the City Councils' renewed strategic thinking. Since the city centre already provided 40% of jobs in the city, it was becoming clear to council officials and politicians that harnessing its commercial and cultural importance should form a crucial component of a new economic development strategy for the city and that the regeneration of the neighbouring waterfront zone could prove a key catalyst. A quartet of inter-related strategy reports on the arts and cultural industries, tourism, the city centre and the overarching economic development framework soon followed. The arts document rehearsed the economic importance of the arts in terms of job and wealth creation, image building, tourism appeal but also stressed its contribution to social well-being through encouragement of community participation (Liverpool City Council, 1987). Key components included the promotion of new arts activity, supporting a major annual arts festival, business

¹ The first part of this section draws upon Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993.

support, training and marketing, ensuring universal accessibility to major facilities and events and support for community arts and carrying out related environmental improvements. The City Council recognised, however, that a host of funding sources would have to be tapped to supplement its own meagre contributions if the strategy was to be realised.

Although the strategy was approved in 1987, and the Council soon after set up an Arts and Cultural Industries Unit to take forward its policies, implementation occurred at a slow pace as new sets of problems and tensions emerged. The Council generally found it difficult to cope with burgeoning funding requirements of major arts institutions such as the Liverpool Philharmonic, Everyman and Playhouse, particularly after the Arts Councils' adoption of the parity funding principle, let alone satisfy the demands of a multitude of other smaller organisations from different arts sectors deprived of funds and resources during the militant era. Abolition of Merseyside County Council in 1986 meant that the cost of supporting regional arts attractions could no longer be spread throughout the metropolitan area and the financial burdens upon the city council consequently grew. Having launched a ground breaking but ambitious strategy, the council found it impossible to advance on all fronts to everybody's satisfaction. If it gave the impression of favouring the major institutions on the grounds of their prestige and positive contribution to the city's image, they were accused by some arts activists of being elitist. Alternatively, if they were more inclined to satisfying the community arts lobby, they were accused of dissipating resources and effort and neglecting prime cultural assets. Similarly, they faced the risk of favouring city centre arts concerns at the expense of those in outlying parts of the city. The heart of their dilemma was how to balance and prioritise economic and social arguments for supporting different arts activities. Purists took the line that constantly seeking an economic justification was effectively debasing and marginalising the community arts. Another tension was the difficulty of striking a balance between tangible "bricks and mortar" improvements in infrastructure popular in planning and economic development circles with the less visible, but arguably more critical developments in information networks, training infrastructure, and support for arts businesses.

On the more specific theme of this paper, other difficulties emerged. While contemporary experience elsewhere suggested that arts activities such as street

sculpture, festivals were a vital part of attempts to animate the streetscene and improve urban quality of life, other factors such as environmental maintenance, lighting, quality of street furniture, attractive eating and drinking venues, safe car parking and public transport were equally essential. In those respects, the city centre environment left much to be desired and such shortcomings were only slowly dealt with given the scale of the task and limited resources. These environmental problems both limited the popularity of the city centre and imposed limits upon what could be expected from arts activity. Another fashionable concept of the late 1980s was that expanding arts and cultural businesses might act as a catalyst in regenerating formerly run down portions of real estate. With this broad philosophy in mind, the City Council sold to a London-based developers Charterhouse Estates in 1989 its freehold interest in the Duke Street area, situated on the edge of the central shopping district and incorporating Chinatown and the night-time entertainment area, so that it might create a "Creative Industries Quarter" combining residential, office, 'speciality' shopping, restaurants and cultural uses. The latter were to include places for cultural consumption and a range of production-oriented activities in such fields as crafts, design, fashion, electronic music and the media. However, the vision only slowly materialised. Stagnating land and property values in the area, failure to secure the massive resources needed to refurbish many of its buildings, contraction of public subsidies for small arts and media enterprises, the limited appeal and to some, seedy character of clubland, and insufficient critical mass in the arts and cultural industries given the considerable physical extent of the area all slowed progress and later in 1992 Charterhouse went into liquidation, though mainly because of the national property downturn and its portfolio of investments in London.

Most progress in developing the potential of arts and cultural industries in the late 1980s was made in two spheres: film, video and broadcasting and music. The City Council exploited the city's growing popularity with the film industry owing to its fine townscape and unique popular culture by establishing Britain's first ever Film Liaison Office (FLO), with the support of the Liverpool-based Mersey Television Company. The FLO was given a wide remit: to provide location assistance to attract film-makers to the city; to assess the needs of Liverpool's indigenous film industry; to encourage inward investment in film; to co-ordinate the City Council's policy on film funding; and to assist Liverpool's campaign for Channel 5, a new television channel to be created

under the Government's Broadcasting Bill. Although the latter did not materialise, the FLO was instrumental in further enhancing Liverpool's reputation both as a film location and centre of film production.

In the popular music sphere, ways and means were explored of ensuring that the Liverpool economy benefited from the talent and success of a stream of well-known rock bands of local origins to prevent the profits being reaped mainly by established centres of the music business such as London and US. To this end, the Council commissioned a consultancy study in 1989 to: audit the Liverpool music industry in terms of its scope, economic impact, training, finance and other business support requirements; to formulate a strategy for the promotion of music festivals in the city and investigate the feasibility of creating a local music information centre and network to identify local talent, provide resources for its effective commercial development locally in liaison with the local private sector and act as a publishing company training and advisory service (Ark consultants, 1991). Besides recommending how such a centre might be formed and the need for a major international music festival, the study also backed the concurrent proposal to establish a Liverpool Institute for Performing Arts. This involved a partnership between Paul McCartney and representatives (School for Performing Arts Trust) and the City Council to convert his now disused former school, the Liverpool Institute for Boys into a national and international training centre for music and other performing arts, offering full-time diploma courses, facilities for open learning and related rehearsal, performance and informational facilities. These early attempts to develop the arts infrastructure prefigured more extensive developments during the 1990's.

-1991-95 Emergence of sectoral strategies and development of arts infrastructure.

Liverpool has many of the virtues of a great city that many of its comparable cities do not possess. It has a superb urban seascape. It has marvellous Victorian architecture. It has handsome public parks. It has a vibrant cultural scene of artists, playwrights, musicians, popular entertainers. The city has style and authenticity. In other words, it has the physical inheritance and the cultural diversity, as well as the economic dilemmas, of the great seafaring city it once was. But those assets need to be exploited - and soon - if Liverpool is not to fall

behind other cities who are forcefully developing and implementing regeneration strategies. And if the city did not achieve this in the relatively benign national economic environment of the second part of the 1980s, the prospects of doing it in the harsher economic climate of the 1990s look increasingly problematic. (Bianchini and Parkinson, 1990).

This view summarising the situation at the turn of the decade was broadly echoed in a consultancy study by Comedia commissioned by Merseyside Task Force which investigated the scale and scope of the cultural industries in the Liverpool economy, their economic impact, the prospects for further growth and barriers to be overcome (Comedia, 1991). Although Comedia found that the city's cultural industries' directly employed about 3,100 people and about 5,000 further as a result of multiplier effects, thereby generating an income of about £97m for the city, they concluded that the cultural assets of the city were collectively undervalued, poorly managed and co-ordinated. In their view, the potential of the sector to transform the city's economy and image was not being fully exploited due to the lack of an overarching vision of how cultural industries, tourism, inward investment and city centre agendas should fit together. Fragmentation of responsibility within the Council and lack of influence of the Cultural Industries Unit were viewed as symptomatic of these problems.

Whether or not Comedia's criticisms were entirely fair and justified in the circumstances, their study proved invaluable in specifically focussing on Liverpool, in systematically collecting information about specific sectors, highlighting relative strengths and weaknesses and the need for more strategic thinking. Further strategies for particular sectors such as theatre, public art have since been prepared which have proved useful in directing efforts and highlighting future opportunities and threats. Detailed auditing of potential growth areas such as the film industry and the viability of launching a production fund has continued. Merseyside TEC has also mapped the educational and training infrastructure within the arts and cultural industries as a guide to future planning and development of training programmes (Merseyside TEC, 1993). Most positively, the creation of different kinds of enabling agencies in specific sectors (eg. Moving Image Development Agency, Liverpool Design Initiative, Business in the Arts North West, LIPA) and the emergence of new funding sources such as City Challenge, City Action Team monies, Objective 1 and Arts and Cultural Industries

Development Fund for small businesses, coupled with the realisation of a number of large scale arts projects (Liverpool Philharmonic refurbishment, LIPA, Conservation Centre for the National Galleries and Museums on Merseyside) has significantly raised the profile and credibility of the arts and cultural industries and increased their commercial potential. This all suggests that Liverpool is at last beginning to realise its capitalise upon its cultural importance. The integration of arts, tourism and leisure functions within a new super-department known of the City Council known as the Tourism, Arts and Heritage Services Directorate, has also helped raised the profile of the arts, even though separation of economic development and planning and transportation functions in different directorates continues to make co-ordination of arts/urban renewal projects difficult.

2. Recent arts-oriented urban renewal initiatives.

Rather than attempt to cover an enormous field superficially, four case studies selectively illustrate some of the main opportunities and challenges associated with arts-related urban renewal projects. Together, they illustrate that the city's built form and character and its arts and cultural activities do benefit and complement one another.

1. Liverpool as a film location.

Liverpool's success in this sense stems from apparent problems as well as assets being turned into competitive advantages. Liverpool has a chameleon-like character enabling it to mimic most other cities. This stems from its extremely varied architecture -it contains over 2,500 listed buildings which span five centuries-associated with its past prosperity as an international port. Ironically, however, its depressed property market post-war has saved much of its built heritage from redevelopment, and its freedom from congestion, low cost base and quantity of vacant but visually impressive buildings (eg St George's Hall) have all enhanced its appeal as a film location. These natural advantages have been systematically exploited. First, the FLO fulfilled the need for a "one-stop" information and support service to ensure that film companies are properly hosted and also encouraged to use specialist local services such as aerial filming, set design, cosmetics and experienced local extras. Subsequently, the Moving Image Development Agency (MIDA), a public-private sector initiative, has taken matters a stage further by stimulating home-based production. MIDA has helped new producers to gain skills, experience and production

opportunities and very recently established a Merseyside Production Fund. Moviola's growing national reputation in the field of video art and their successful Video-Positive festival have proved a further boost to the sector. In 1992/3 the film, video, tv/radio/cable industry supported 720 (FTE) jobs and had a turnover of £62m. Over the last year, 60 productions have been filmed in the city and the amount of local scripting and producing is increasing. This is a classic case of progressive import substitution, thereby boosting local economic returns and the image and reputation of the city. The main outstanding challenges are to satisfy the industry's needs without turning parts of the city into a museum (eg. Canning Street area), to develop specialist production resources, trained personnel, and decide to what extent to collaborate rather than compete at this stage with more important centres, especially neighbouring Manchester. Future prospects look good. Currently, the City Council, the Rosemary Goup and BDO Stoy Hayward are seeking to exploit Liverpool's existing strengths in media production, recent developments in telecommunications, Sony's decision to base a software production facility at Wavertree Technology Park by proposing to develop a £32m multi-media factory on the Chavasse Park site between Albert Dock and the city centre.

2. Arts and cultural industries and the future of Liverpool City Centre.

Most town centres face significant threats associated with growth of out-of-town shopping, decentralisation of population and business, lack of convenient access and most recently, teleshopping and telebanking. If town centres are to remain viable, constituent interests will have to give greater attention to ensuring that the shopping experience is interesting and worthwhile. In this respect arts and cultural activities have a crucial role to play. Although falling inner property values have caused problems, they offer scope for the introduction of a much wider mix of activities into town and city centres, such as housing, arts and entertainment uses which could contribute to their survival and enhance their distinctiveness and appeal to shoppers and other patrons. Attempts to inject new confidence and investment into the city centre can benefit considerably from new arts and cultural activity. Following Leeds' example, the Council is considering how to promote usage of the city centre around the clock. Provided key organisations pursue a range of environmental, accessibility, safety and lighting measures in conjunction with changes in licensing arrangements and opening hours, development of arts activities, including public art, public performances, the

arts and cultural industries could do much to animate the city centre and complement attempts to reintroduce more city centre living. As already noted, the city centre still has an image problem and a range of practical problems to overcome. However, good design could play its part if street furniture and other street features were redesigned in distinctive but popular ways. The city's recent bid to become City of Architecture and Design, 1999 and the establishment of a Liverpool Design Initiative to improve information about local designers, commissions, offer business advice and marketing opportunities and growing practical involvement in public art projects, have drawn together local designers and highlighted their civic importance.

3. Training and urban renewal.

One of the fundamental problems afflicting Liverpool is its continued loss of population and economic activity. This particularly affects sectors reliant on local audience numbers. Decline in patronage and private sponsorship also makes it difficult for the city's arts organisations to retain local talent. One solution is to raise the city's national and international profile as a centre for arts training to draw in fresh talent and ideas, use local arts infrastructural resources, improve the city's image, and attract inward investment especially in cultural industries. Liverpool Institute for Performing Arts (LIPA) perfectly illustrates this philosophy and since it is a performing arts training establishment closely associated with Paul McCartney and other key interests, there is reasonable prospect of success in this sense, provided it is well run and staffed. Having received generous funding from the European Commission (£4.6m), City Challenge (£3.4m), and a range of private sponsors, principally Paul McCartney, Grundig and EMI, the project is nearing completion. The degree programme, validated by John Moores University combines training in core and specialist subjects with business and finance skills. When fully operational, LIPA expects to offer 590 full-time places to students and 2,250 places on short or part-time courses, about 1,500 of which will be available to local people (Positive Solutions, 1993). A business support unit has also been set up to provide valuable training, financial, marketing and management advice to local arts businesses. Facilities include an auditorium, workshops, rehearsal and teaching rooms, recording studios and a library. Regular public performances and conferences are planned which should further enliven the Hope Street area which is already the scene of a number of other major projects such as the refurbishment of the Philharmonic Hall and Blackburne House Centre for Women. The project should also

benefit the tourism industry and enable local people to appreciate new talent. The scale of investment represents an important opportunity for Liverpool to become a centre of excellence in the performing arts. On the debit side, reports that some related courses within Liverpool Community College have had to close because of LIPA and of tensions with other local training and education providers show the danger of creating and implanting a new institution within a crowded arena and the imperative for extensive local dialogue and collaboration. A key future challenge will be whether local arts and cultural industries can develop sufficient critical mass to provide sufficient local employment opportunities to retain the talent. Secondly, LIPA may find it difficult for financial reasons to remain faithful to the fame school concept which, for example, typifies the nearby Hope Street drama training project for the unemployed. Issues about local access and relevance therefore remain firmly on the agenda.

4. The city-wide perspective.

Recent research commissioned by the city council which analyses arts activities in the residential neighborhoods of Speke and Vauxhall raises many important questions, not least, urban renewal for whom (Liverpool City Council, 1994)? Since the study showed that most cultural interests were pursued in the home and that there was scant evidence of public celebration through arts and cultural activities and little regard for images and landmarks which purport to express a wider identity, professional assumptions about the impact of flagship arts projects and public sculpture in the city centre upon the wider community may not be valid since they do not necessarily impinge upon the perceptions and lives of many city residents. If arts-related urban renewal initiatives are to capture fully the popular imagination, thought needs to be given, as the report implies, to linking public art initiatives and infrastructural improvements in the core and residential areas through a comprehensive programme of renewal of public space throughout the city and where possible linking public transport concessions and key civic events, though deregulation militates against this. A sense of ownership might also be engendered by encouraging participation in the design of public art, celebrating local as well as civic identity and leading arts institutions' pursuit of community and outreach programmes. The report also rightly suggests that media will need to be utilised which can reach the home, (eg. newspapers, cable, satellite,

internet) to raise awareness of community and civic events and counter the growing disconnection between individuals and the urban environment and also re-integrate different parts of the city.

3. Future issues and challenges

Debates about the relationship between the arts and urban renewal frequently suffer from a lack of clarity for these are two wide ranging subjects which are interpreted in distinctive ways by different types of arts organisations and the various stakeholders in the urban regeneration process. Furthermore, there is a great danger in elevating arts and cultural activities as a property regeneration tool to an unrealistic degree given that many arts professionals suffer from low pay, episodic work and low operating margins. Different activities within the art and cultural industries sphere have differential potential to raise local gdp and/or employment. The distinction also needs to be made between the direct economic impact of the arts and cultural industries where control of production and distribution as well as consumption is critical to maximising local economic impact, the indirect economic effects such as image enhancement, liveliness of streetscene, improved quality of life which may lead to inward investment and attraction of skilled personnel and finally, the non-economic aspects such as community identity, confidence and self-worth. Regrettably, Government policy has obfuscated matters further by forcing arts organisations to present many requests for financial assistance in sometimes spurious economic language when there may be good social grounds for the project receiving approval. There is a further need to recognise that arts and cultural industries are invariably one element in a larger urban renewal package and that each needs to complement the other. As already noted, this especially applies to the contribution of the arts to city centre renewal. It is clearly unrealistic to expect arts and tourism projects to spearhead image promotion initiatives successfully without tackling many other facets of quality of life.

In Liverpool, as elsewhere, many misunderstandings have arisen as a result of the convergence of arts and urban policies. Mutual expectations of the arts world and urban planners and economists have probably grown unrealistically. Resources for renewal are scant and selectively available given the competitive basis upon which urban funding is increasingly disbursed, meaning there will be winners and losers in locational terms and according to the economic and visual impact of different types of

arts body. Given Liverpool's problematic economic circumstances, demographic decline, past neglect of the arts, and multifarious types of arts organisation, tensions in organisational philosophy never lie much below the surface. Such structural and systemic weaknesses calls for realism, patience but above all, incentives and sanctions to persuade arts organisations to collaborate rather than compete with each other and think more strategically about their potential contribution to urban renewal. External stimuli such as the bid for the City of Architecture and Design award and, on balance Objective 1 funding opportunities have, for example, served to bring together local institutions.

There is more generally a growing conviction that the continued development of "flagship" projects in the city centre such as LIPA, the National Conservation Centre and the growing importance of arts organisations with international standing which both export and attract inward investment does contribute to the economic base of the city. Painstaking efforts have been made to gradually build up the local knowledge and production base in potentially high value-added activities such as music, film and multi-media production. This has meant that physical projects sit within broader development strategies which should prevent them from becoming expensive white elephants. That said, difficult choices in terms of sectors, location, indigenous or exogenous, and type of infrastructure will continue to have to be made, especially given shortage of resources and this may slow overall progress. Retaining local talent, stemming population loss, building up a regional perspective and striving for better leadership in this fragmented field remain key challenges. There is now at least, however, a broad acceptance that the arts and cultural industries deserve support as they form a vital part of the economic future of the city. Combined arts/urban renewal initiatives which successfully weld together different sectoral resources within an urban renewal context, such as the Media Factory proposal illustrate this. Perhaps an Urban Arts Challenge budget run less competitively and over a longer timescale than City Challenge and more on the basis of a mixture of need, opportunity and partnership working would facilitate this process.

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'Making Creative Connections- Our architectural townscape and its re-use potential for museums and the arts'

Susan CARMICHAEL

Architecture is the most public of all the arts. Architecture and townscape, in fact the whole built environment is the framework within which we 'live rest and play' every day of our lives. It is the very stage set in which the daily theatre of our lives is acted; it is also the practical functional art - the 'firmness and commodity'. We need to ensure our buildings keep the rain out and achieve many other performance criteria; even as I speak new regulations are being created and higher standards set. We must also 'make sure that architecture is presented to schoolchildren and the British public as the achievable key to a better world' (Dr Frank Duffy: RIBA Past President)

I have preceded my given topic: 'Our architectural townscape and its re-use potential for museums and the arts' with 'Making creative connections'.

While I believe that the re use of architecture for many purposes is valid on sustainability grounds alone, for major public use such as arts and museums our ambitions should be much higher. We must therefore exploit the wider opportunities at our disposal. Ways must be found to celebrate the arrival of a new born 'phoenix' of a recycled building from its 'ashes' of redundancy and dereliction; to welcome it back into the social and cultural fabric of the city so that regeneration has real long term impact. I believe that process should be through 'making creative connections' between the art of architecture interacting with the other arts to the widest possible public. Landry and Bianchini (Guardian 20.2.95) have indicated that the benefits could be more far reaching: ' Renewed emphasis on the arts is just one component of the new urban regeneration strategies. A vibrant cultural life is seen as one signal to indicate other creative potential in science, advanced technology or social innovation'

The philosophy, vision and central role that can and should be played by the cultural sector in urban regeneration is being covered by other speakers; I am sure there will be inevitable overlap and, indeed, perhaps some contradictions. I will focus my paper primarily around Liverpool's shortlisted bid to host the Arts Council's Year of Architecture in 1999 and the creative connections that were made during the two years of bidding.

It seems extraordinary to me that in the first place it took the Arts Council so long to recognise architecture as an art form at all when they at last decided to establish an Architecture Unit. When the Arts 2000 initiative was first launched by Lord Palumbo he described it as 'an inspiration to artistic vision; a spur to partnerships and collaborations; a catalyst for change in our cities and regions'. He also said that the arts 'have the power to revitalise our environment and enhance our lives'. It was surely no accident that the Year of Architecture and Design (including civil engineering and landscape) should be chosen to be the final Arts 2000 Year; to be the 'Year of Years' on the threshold of the Millennium with its potential to provide a framework for the celebration of every kind of art form.

Liverpool's architectural heritage:

Liverpool has a unique array of splendid examples of historic architectural excellence, including over 1000 Listed Buildings which are ripe for re use. It already has a strong track record for their imaginative regeneration (cf. Annex 1). Former warehouses, religious, legal and educational buildings are finding new life as the homes of museums, galleries, theatre, community arts and arts educational buildings. Thus, architectural magnificence is able to be retained as significant landmark structures within the city's visual fabric; at another level the new or re housed cultural activity can also inspire and invigorate the daily life of residents and visitors alike. The interaction between these parallel and mutually enhancing events have the potential to be a powerful force in the regeneration of Liverpool.

Liverpool's regenerated buildings for museums and the arts:

Mark Girouard believes that 'keeping and understanding the past makes for tolerance; it also makes for creativity in devising ways of altering and adding to towns, for nothing comes out of a vacuum' (Girouard, 1990). Liverpool's oldest example of a building successfully re-used for the arts is Bluecoat Chambers which originally opened as a boys school in 1717. It found new life early this century as the UK's oldest arts centre. Located in the heart of the city it houses exhibition and performance spaces, office spaces for arts organisations consultants and tutors, a lively cafe bar, a display centre for crafts and jewelry. It also has stone masons workshops and shops selling art materials, books, cards and posters; its entrance courtyard and its almost secret rear garden are small but highly significant public spaces within the grain of the city centre.

In the 1960's a former non conformist chapel on Hope Street first became an avant garde cinema club and soon was taken over by a group of now nationally known actors and directors to become the Everyman Theatre and basement bistro; this was later followed by a radical conversion to form a more flexible theatre in the round performance space together with better 'front of house' areas to meet the growing needs of this more informal accessible and experimental addition to the city's range of performance spaces. The original form of the chapel coupled with the entrepreneurial vision of its new theatrical operators enabled innovative theatre to take place which in turn created the demand for improved foyer spaces and an enlarged Bistro which, while not in itself being primarily for arts activity considerably enhanced the theatre's attraction and viability.

Further along the street is the Unity Theatre an influential venue for experimental and fringe touring theatre which is housed in a former synagogue; it started modestly and finally created an enhanced flexible performance space with an ingenious two level foyer. Other alternative spaces include 'The Flying Picket' a small fringe venue along with recording studios as part of the conversion of a former police station. Another religious building converted for community arts is the long established 'Blackie' in the converted Great George Street Chapel on the edge of the city's Chinatown and Cathedral Park.

In Jesse Hartley's remarkable feat of engineering and ruggedly functional architecture at the Albert Dock, Grade 1 Listed buildings had lain empty and increasingly derelict after they had ceased active use as bonded warehouses. These have now been transformed together with other commercial uses into award winning conversions; the Tate Gallery and the Merseyside Maritime Museum. The former by Stirling Wilford, a bold and radical solution which is most apt for a leading gallery for modern art. The latter, by Brock

Carmichael Associates designed in a more understated way with the new elements clearly articulated so that the original form and structure would be clearly revealed as the building was considered by the architects to be the museum's most important exhibit. The former Pilotage Building now houses the Museum of Liverpool Life and the Piermaster's House and Cooperage are restored with experiential exhibits enabling aspects of daily life on the historic dockside to be appreciated by visitors.

The most recent examples of buildings converted for arts use are; the Grade 2 Listed former Liverpool Institute for Boys which will soon open as Liverpool Institute for Performing Arts complete with two main performance spaces; National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside's new Conservation Centre in the former Midland Goods Depot building which forms a grand sweep along Crosshall Street.

Waiting for their chance to be rediscovered as homes for cultural purposes are many more Victorian warehouses, some of which are already converted for popular cultural uses in the form of bars and clubs which have live performances and provide a vital contribution to the broad cultural spectrum of the city. The Royal Institution, originally designed as a house and was later established by William Roscoe for the cultivation of literature, science and the arts, is still awaiting a substantial long term use.

In the meantime smaller buildings on the city street frontages have been simply transformed into independent exhibition spaces; the 'Open Eye' photographic Gallery on Bold Street, the Merkmal on Faulkner Street, the Acorn Gallery on Newington and the Hanover Gallery on Hanover Street are cheek by jowl with shops and restaurants making themselves highly informal and accessible as a natural part of daily life.

Connecting the 'cultural cores' creatively:

' It is important to keep a balance of activities in the central area, the last thing a city needs is to have its theatres, concert halls and the like in a place set aside for them. Not only do they become cultural ghettos (like London's South Bank) which makes them disappointing in themselves, but they also deprive the central area of one of its major ingredients for success' (Sherlock, 1991: p. 162). At least Liverpool's main cultural spaces primarily housed in recycled buildings are well distributed across the city centre. What of the linking spaces between the buildings which house our cultural activities - the streets and squares through which we move between them - the tangible physical connections. These have a vital function as accessible, safe, stimulating and pleasurable routes to follow, places to pause, observe; to share and enjoy the exhilarating everyday 'theatre of life' as well as providing the sites for public art, for festivals, street theatre and informal busking.

Bianchini & Landry in 'The Creative City' refer to Barcelona's 'imaginative network of over 150 interlinked public spaces, often etched out of the interstices between existing buildings and roads. They comprise pocket parks and squares often punctuated by fountains, mosaics and sculptures. They lighten up the townscape, reduce the claustrophobia of the densely packed city and provide much needed breathing space and recreation areas. They make people feel more relaxed, more motivated and more loyal to their city' (Landry & Bianchini 1995: p 28). Harvey Sherlock reinforces this issue by referring back to Jane Jacob's thesis about cities over thirty years ago: 'nothing enhances a city's reputation more than friendly streets where there is plenty happening. It is therefore imperative that the central area of our cities have a diversity of activities which, because they take place at different times, ensure that there is always something going on' (Sherlock, 1991: p161).

Liverpool's 'cultural cores' containing the majority of her arts, museum and gallery buildings are broadly: St Georges Cultural Quarter, Hope Street Corridor, Duke Street & Bold Street Creative & Cultural Industries Quarter, and the Albert Dock (Table 2). While several of these are the subject of current or recent studies, what is needed is a city centre wide analysis and proposal to make the experience of moving through the connecting spaces of equal importance so that the whole can truly become greater than the sum of its parts in both a visual and perceptual sense.

Public Art as a creative connector:

Liverpool has commissioned a public art consultancy to develop a Public Art policy; this has now been completed and the formation of a policy is awaited. The impetus stimulated by the Year of Architecture bidding process has, however, generated several new public art initiatives. A limited competition for the redevelopment of Williamson Square included the welcome requirement for a public artist to be an integral part of the design team and for the space to be seen as a focal point of creative interaction at this connecting point of many routes. A further competition for Church Street generated among the shortlisted entries an interesting proposal by 'Site' for a public art idea which would form a mini trail to surprise and 'lead' pedestrians through several spaces. The winning entry in a further international public art competition sponsored through Merseyside Development Corporation is shortly to be implemented, alongside a major renewal of the Pierhead landscape area which in turn was a national architectural competition. One of the award winning entries in the Chavasse Park competition which was run during the Year of Architecture Bid proposed a sculpture park in this crucial connecting space between city and waterfront whose potential awaits full exploitation.

Creatively connecting the public realm

Liverpool is thus beginning to acknowledge, albeit on a relatively ad hoc basis, the need to weld together different parts of the City centre by more than

just functional routes. A Barcelona style initiative is called for to give city wide scale, significance and coherence to the whole city centre while enabling each area to capitalise on its special characteristics. The idea of creating a distinctive ambience in each of the central areas using signage and special landscape elements is to be welcomed. But while there is a need to define and describe, there should also be an overriding visual cohesion, a sense of the whole, within which local variations can readily occur. Sir Richard Rogers echoes this need with reference to London 'Major public benefits could be achieved by weaving together and strengthening the existing public realm' (1991 p29).

Creative Connections - What are the Benefits ?

The full benefits of making creative connections between the regeneration of architecture and townscape the cultural activities they house and the widest community are perhaps difficult to measure in the literal economic outputs required by major funders. This is because most are primarily qualitative factors relating to perception, positive attitudes and action, image, and mutual added value (some of these could be listed as seen in Table 3).

The Year of Architecture and Design Bid to the Arts Council was 'to host a year long arts festival of international significance'. It required proposals that were 'adventurous yet practical; demonstrate flair and scope; and which will have both short and long term impact on the cultural life of the locality'. This is very much the theme of this paper- the mutual added value- the physical act of regeneration and the generation of new architecture as an artistic event in its own right in resonant partnership with other temporary and permanent cultural activity for long lasting impact on the City.

The Year of Architecture Bid- main Themes and Seasons

The themes were determined to provide for the greatest flexibility and lasting impact with the intention of promoting a linked programme of events, festivals, building openings etc; these were to start with a series of milestone events during the 'paving' years 1996-8. The underlying motivation throughout was to find new and imaginative ways to explore and appreciate architecture by making creative connections between architecture, design in the built environment, landscape, civil engineering and all the other art forms which had been celebrated in the earlier Arts 2000 Years. The main themes chosen were: Connections; Pioneers; New Technology; 21st Century Cities; and Cultural Identity. It was proposed that the Year be divided into the natural seasons focussing during each on appropriate activities to give definition and pace to the year while allowing the themes to be pursued throughout, giving the benefits of variety and continuity. (Table 4)

The two year bidding process itself prompted innovative activity in a city which had already had exploited the opportunity of artistic activity against architecture; 'Man for all Seasons' play and the Liverpool Philharmonic concert

season in the Anglican Cathedral; Moviola's Videopositive festival using galleries and public spaces across the city; Bluecoat Arts Centre, inside and outside 'Summer in the City' and the 'Milap Festival'. During the Bid process the use of the sleek, sharp, white, award winning ARC centre at Liverpool John Moore's University enhanced the BBC Design Awards Exhibition; Visionfest's 'Signification' exhibition had international artist designed flags hoisted on city centre architecture; 'Staying on the Map's' life sized board game raised the awareness of disabled access in cities; the Chinese New Year celebrations include lively processions, lanterns and fireworks linking the streets and spaces in Chinatown to those in the rest of the city.

During the judging panel week Radio Merseyside ran a series of half hour programmes called 'Building Visions' where architects spoke vividly about historic and new architecture 'painting pictures' with their words. The finale and highlight of the Judging Panel visit was an event interpreting the architecture of St Georges Hall through a creative music, dance fashion and performance art experience.

Since then the Tate Gallery has hosted a 'Looking Both Ways' installation with video links by 'Those Environmental Artists' based on the Royal Liver Building as a popular symbol of the city. 'Images'- Andreas Gursky's photographs had abstract images of 'architecture and the city'. Visionfest created a temporary public art 'hoardings' project for building sites and the Concert Square regeneration project completion was launched by a performance art installation and pavement art competition. All these have maintained and extended the groundswell of energy and creativity cultivated during the Bid process to celebrate the art of the architecture of the City with other art forms.

How can more creative connections be made between architecture and the arts in Liverpool?

One of the major opportunities is undoubtedly to make dynamic links between the four central cultural cores referred to above by strengthening the interlinking public spaces and perhaps with a public art trail. Creating generous and well designed traffic free ante spaces to arts, museums and other cultural buildings can make them natural meeting points for public gathering, performance and other activity. Interpreting both the architecture of an original structure together with the design principles and process of regenerated arts buildings through permanent exhibits, tours, models, and multi media can be a revelation in unexpected ways and complement and enrich the building's primary function. Making the design and building process more accessible and transparent could also include an 'architect in residence'. The opening of new buildings and open spaces are also surely an opportunity for wider celebration using one art form to interact with another, namely the architecture. More imaginative temporary use can also be made of site specific installations, 'happenings' which can sharpen our perception of what is possible in a future permanent project.

Community and educational connections:

Community involvement and access to the arts is now a key driver in most funding organisations' requirements. This is to be welcomed as it increases the focus on arts for all rather than for them to be only in the ownership of a privileged elite. The Arts of Life Foundation's 'Houses & Homes' project which developed during the bid process was initiated in the very localities in which people live: the 'House of Speke', 'House of Toxteth' etc were to develop a network of very individual approaches which in turn would link back to the cultural activities in the city centre. It is equally, if not more important to reach out to and involve children as individuals and primarily through schools. The 'Virtual School' initiative within the Year of Architecture Bid planned to build a linking series of environment based activities around the key stage elements in the national curriculum and in turn to the themes and seasons culminating in the Festival Year of 1999. Not only are our children the future citizens of Liverpool who can contribute to shaping and sharing in a collective vision, but also it becomes a natural way of reaching involving the wider population as parents and grandparents. During and since the bid process, a small company, Environmental Education Projects have developed a series of school based projects. The way is open for many more; architecture and design in the built environment coupled with the other arts in Liverpool provides an endlessly rich resource for use in almost all aspects of the curriculum.

Creative connecting themes:

Themes can be created with the interactive potential to link architecture and design to the main art form or theme of the cultural building such as the idea for a 'Frozen Music' season at the Philharmonic Concert Hall, and a 'Nautical Style' exhibition at the Maritime Museum. The possibilities are endless for making innovative links which should stimulate new interest by a public which is constantly being offered a plethora of exciting and well designed images from the media; those with an enthusiasm in one area can become excited into another avenue of the arts by this means, with architecture and design acting as the connecting vehicle.

Creative connections as a cultural force

Others too, have recognised the potent force of the cultural industry in successful regeneration. 'the museum industry is being co-opted into playing a substantial role in the attempt to breathe new life into sinking cities and to give ascendant ones more of an edge over their competitors' (Deyan Sudjic 'The 100 mile city' p141). Sudjic, now, incidentally, appointed as Director for Glasgow's Year of Architecture and Design, also argues that 'the museum has developed a new role- as an urban landmark' with the ultimate example being the Pompidou Centre where it was designed 'as a focus for people and spectacle as much as a place of instruction and enlightenment' it was seen from the outset as a magnet for the social life of a city and it has been designed as a crowd please

attracting countless thousands of visitors who never have any intention of looking at the art contained within its walls' . A seminal example of 'making creative connections' between regenerated townscape, arts activity and the public, it has also had enormous and lasting impact on the quarter in which it was the trailblazing flagship project, and also on the wider cultural life of Paris; it has certainly become more popular as a tourist destination than the ultimate symbol of Paris, the Eiffel Tower.

Liverpool has already shown its commitment and ingenuity in re using its architectural heritage for the arts and museums. There is considerable scope for more; historic buildings of great quality, and challenging vacant sites are available in abundance; the further opportunity to weld these into the cultural fabric of the city is also implicit.

I have demonstrated that there is already much interaction between the arts. The Year of Architecture Bid developed and extended these creative connections to include architecture. That opportunity puts us on the starting blocks for much more in creating; 'a vision of of a city made whole'. The UK premiere of Invisible Cities, a major European performance project, will be presented on the banks of the River Mersey in the first week of September 1996'. It will promises to be a unique collaborative performance that explores the hidden 'cities' in which we live, basing its name on Italo Calvino's book. Teams of international and local artists will work with students and local groups in this specially chosen area responding in any art form they choose. The public will then be invited 'to explore for themselves...to discover secrets about their own city and see a familiar place through new eyes.' (Invisible Cities River project brochure 1995). In spite of being transient this event promises to be the ultimate creative connection of regeneration between the arts and our townscape with the river as the symbolic connecting medium.

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Museums as catalysts for the revitalisation of ports in decline: Liverpool and Marseilles.

J.-Pedro LORENTE

This paper will discuss how the restoration of Marseilles' Hospice de la Vieille Charité and Liverpool's Albert Dock complex, followed by their re-opening as mixed-use centres (featuring museums prominently), has had a decisive impact upon their urban contexts and in boosting their local art-worlds. Both examples have attained great media coverage and have already featured in some publications concerning comparative cross-European studies of urban regeneration through the arts. However, most of the bibliography available presents the installation of these museums in such historical sites as the **culmination** of a long coveted recuperation by the citizens of some highlights of their old heritage. At the most, some researchers in urban studies have paid tribute to the role of these new museums as 'flagships' of some processes of image-betterment and urban regeneration. My aim here is to point out that the inauguration of these museums was not merely the end of a renewal process but also a decisive **catalyst** for the further re-use of other nearby derelict buildings for art purposes, such as art centres, independent art-galleries and artists' studios. Thus this is not yet another study of the trickle-down economic benefits created by new museums in distressed areas; but a plea for investments in new museums to be wisely devised, aiming also at producing some knock-on impact in cultural targets, like stimulating further heritage revitalisation and boosting the local arts community.

Museums in deserted buildings. Historical hindsight.

As it is well-known, the re-use of abandoned buildings for museums has been one of the key cultural policies ever since the French Revolution, when many deserted aristocratic palaces and deconsecrated churches and monasteries were turned into art galleries. Of course, that was mainly a political move, by which spaces hitherto closed to the general public were opened to the citizens (Poulot, 1986). Nevertheless, it is clear that such policy contributed the conservation of historic buildings threatened by ruin and disrepair. Such was the case of Alexandre Lenoir's Musée des Monuments Français at the Petits-Augustins, and also of the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers at the abbey

of St. Martin-des-Champs, the art galleries of the Louvre, Versailles and the Luxembourg Palaces, or the Musée Cluny in Paris. This was soon emulated in the provinces in the locating of other well-known art museums. For example in Strasbourg the palace of the prince-bishops, in Dijon the palace of the earls of Bourgogne, in Lille the Recollets convent, in Toulouse the Augustins, in Reims the abbey of St. Denis, in Arras that of St. Waast, in Lyon the abbey St. Pierre, in Aix the Hospitaliers priory (Monnier, 1995: p. 104; Sallois, 1995: p. 70). In nineteenth-century France alone the list seems inexhaustible! But soon the neighbouring countries followed suit, installing some of their most prestigious art museums in forlorn palaces -like the Fine Arts Museum of Brussels at the Ancienne Cour or the National Museum of Sculpture at the Barghello in Florence- or in ex-religious buildings -e.g. the Museo Nacional de la Trinidad in Madrid and the Germanisches Museum of Nüremberg.

As much as this museographical vogue was grounded on what Alois Riegl called the monument value of some architectural heritage, this was perhaps a corollary of the fact that such buildings were in many cases the only sites available at affordable price in the city centres. Whatever the case, a pendulum change of view later altered the paradigm of a museum's most suitable building and ideal urban setting. At the turn of the century the museographical policies of the French Revolution already seemed old-fashioned and in many capitals, including Paris, art amateurs admired the purpose-built museum-buildings of London, some of which had been erected in less-favoured city suburbs (Lorente, 1995a). Thus, from the First World War onwards, during the fifty years or so marking the age of the global triumph of the Modern Movement in architecture, new museums were typically created in modern buildings erected on new ground, preferably near the bourgeois green-belts -e.g. in 1953 the Kröller-Müller Museum in Otterlo, in 1959 the Guggenheim Museum by Central Park in New York, in 1969 the Musée National des Arts et Traditions Populaires at the Parisian Bois de Boulogne, or Malraux' project of a museum of 20th century art to be built by Le Corbusier in la Défense.

Post-Modernism and the recovery of 'industrial archaeology'.

It has taken another pendulum change in the cultural scene, Post-Modernism, to bring the newest museums back to the city fabric and into previously existing buildings. Some developments have returned to the old policy of re-using grand historic houses: old palaces (like the refurbishment in the early 1980s of both the hôtel Salé in the

Marais of Paris and the palacio Berenguer in the Gothic Quarter of Barcelona as Picasso Museums), convents (a branch of Valencia's IVAM -Instituto Valenciano de Arte Moderno- inaugurated in 1989, is situated in the ex-cloister of the Carmes), aristocratic castles (since 1984 the Museo d'Arte Contemporanea in Castello di Rivoli; the Musée Départemental d'Art Contemporain in the Château de Rochechouart since 1985; or the Contemporary Art Centre of the Château d'Oiron since 1987), charity hospitals (in 1973-76 a 19th century hospital of Berlin was transformed into Künstlerhaus Bethanien, a cultural centre and studios for artists; in Edinburgh the Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art has, since 1984 been housed on the site of a former school originally built as a hospital in 1820; in Madrid, the Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Moderno 'Reina Sofia' opened in 1986 in an ex-hospital; whilst in Barcelona and Marseilles two hospices for the poor called *Casa de la Caritat* and *Vielle Charité* have been transformed in museums/exhibition centres in the late 1980s; and in Dublin the Irish Museum of Modern Art opened in 1991 at the old Royal Hospital Kilmainham).

A step forward in this way has been the musealisation of some of the most typical city landmarks of a more recent architectural heritage called 'industrial archaeology' (Alfrey & Putnam, 1992). It seems an irony of History that our post-modern/post-industrial age treats the inherited architectural emblems of the industrial era in the same way as the revolutionaires used the empty palaces and convents, symbolic legacy of the Ancien Régime! A dramatic milestone in this new tendency was the refurbishment of Orsay train station in 1986 for the display of nineteenth-century art (as a matter of fact, the Musée d'Orsay can be considered in many ways as a banner of post-modern policies: cf. Lorente, 1994). In Paris this museological vogue arrived too late for Baltard's food-market halls... But one could speculate that, had the urban renewal of Les Halles and the 'plateau Beaubourg' taken place some years later, the Centre d'Art et Culture George Pompidou might have been housed there instead. In fact, in the general come-back of art galleries to old city districts, cast-iron market-halls have served suitably in other French cities². Since 1985 Rennes' Halle d'Art Contemporain has revived the former Criée aux Poissons, whilst the Centre d'Art Contemporain 'La Halle' of Pont-en-Royans opened in 1986 in a covered market-hall

² I only know two cases out of France, the Halles de Schaerbeek in Brussels and the Fruitmarket Gallery in Edinburgh.

and the Centre National d'Art Contemporain 'Le Magasin' in Grenoble exhibits art since 1986 in a former covered market, built in 1900 by the workshops of Gustave Eiffel.

Other 19th-century structures have been similarly used. Most remarkably, defunct train stations: in Liverpool the former Midland Railways Goods Depot is now being restored to house the Conservation Centre of the National Museums and Galleries of Merseyside, in Berlin the new Museum of Contemporary art will open in 1996 at Hamburger-Bahnhof, an abandoned train station. But practically any other civic landmark of our grandparents' time can now become a museum, be it a theatre -in 1974 that of Figueres opened as Museo Dali-, an inhabited bridge -London's Institute of Contemporary Arts has unveiled plans to move by the year 2000 into either Blackfriars Bridge or Hungerford Bridge-, a water-tower -like Toulouse's Château d'Eau which is since 1974 a municipal gallery of photography or the old and picturesque water-tower in the Scottish town of Perth now home to the Fergusson Gallery-, municipal bath-houses -e.g. the Galerie Municipal of Vitry-sur-Seine since 1982, and more recently the Espace Départemental d'Art Contemporain of Chauvigny-, ex-slaughter-houses -in 1984 the Grande Halle de La Villette in Paris became a mixed-use space for exhibitions, fairs, music venues, etc... and soon a similar place in Toulouse will open as its Musée d'Art Moderne- or even an old gendarmerie, prison and municipal laundrette - Céret Musée d'Art Moderne.

In short, during the 1980s and 90s museums have become everywhere a favourite tool for the preservation of deserted heartlands of our urban heritage (Ballé, 1984; Green, 1987; Minissi, 1988; Neyret, 1992: p. 9; Jiménez-Blanco, 1993). Furthermore, Post-Modernism has brought along a complete desacralisation of the ideal of heritage able to be turned into museums. It now includes aesthetically unpretentious buildings, like abandoned factories or derelict warehouses, whose destruction is nowadays opposed by conservation movements. These had not been thought of as 'historical' city landmarks, yet it is undeniable that their history is interwoven with the social history of the place and, in many cases, they are rather attractive spaces.

New wine in old barrels. Industrial monuments revitalised by institutions of contemporary art.

Some of the most successful interventions in bringing back to modern life these 'industrial archaeology' monuments have been museums/centres of modern and contemporary art. Most celebrated, internationally, have been for example some of the newest U.S. museums of contemporary art like the Temporary/Contemporary (TC) of Los Angeles, a branch of the 'L.A. MOCA' opened in 1983 in an old warehouse and police garage, the 'Mass MOCA', in a former textile warehouse of North Adams, Massachusetts, or above all the new branch of the Guggenheim Museum New York, opened in 1992 in downtown Manhattan, re-using a characteristic 19th-century SoHo warehouse built out of cast-iron and brick. But, for once, Europe has also been in the lead on this matter. In France, a pioneering example of this has been the Centre d'Arts Plastiques Contemporain (CAPC) de Bordeaux, which was opened at the entrepôts Lainé as early as 1979. Liverpool followed in 1984 with another astonishing example, the restoration of a huge nineteenth-century dock-warehouse, the Albert Dock, as a mixed-use complex featuring the 'Tate Gallery of the North'. We shall soon discuss this example in particular, but an international list of similar examples could really be inexhaustible.

First of all, could be quoted the resurrection of derelict warehouses. In Seville the Museo de Arte Contemporáneo was founded in a former granary in 1972 and now has been absorbed by an enormous new cultural complex, the Andalusian Contemporary Art Centre located in the city's old 'Atarazanas' (ship-yards). In the old port of Bristol, the Arnolfini Arts Centre was established in 1976 within a former tea warehouse dating from 1830. In Newport, the main town of the Isle of Wight, the Quay Arts Centre opened in 1982 in a former warehouse on the docks. In Edinburgh, the City Art Centre opened in 1980 in a 19th century warehouse. Ostend's Provinciaal Museum voor Moderne Kunst was established in 1986 in a former warehouse-workshop built in the 1940s. Antwerp's contemporary art museum -Museum Van Hedendaagse Kunst Antwerpen- was inaugurated in 1987 in a renovated grain silo. Also in Antwerp the Photography Museum -Museum voor Fotografie- has recently been situated in a former warehouse dating from 1911. In Poitiers the Centre for Contemporary Art and Music has kept the building of a household appliance warehouse and also its name: 'Le confort moderne'. A former wine cellar is now the new L.A.C. (Lieu d'Art Contemporain) of Sigean.

Second come the old factories, foremost symbol of the past industrial era. These austere buildings of brick, metal and glass have become most cherished settings for the

leisure of visitors in our post-Fordist age. It is already a long time since Oxford's Museum of Modern Art was located in a 19th-century brewery building. Similarly, in Thiers the Centre d'Art Contemporain 'Le Creux de l'Enfer' was set up in the former cutlery factory. Since 1991, the Ludwig Forum für Internationale Kunst in Aachen, has been located in a vast umbrella factory. A former workshops building in Zaragoza, Spain, has been since 1994 the Museo Pablo Serrano. In Schaffhausen, Switzerland, the contemporary art collector Urs Rausmuller remodelled in 1982-83 a former textile factory from the beginning of the century, in order to create a new museum, the Hallen für Neue Kunst. Established between 1976 and 1980 in a renovated area of Basel, the Contemporary Art Museum -Museum für Gegenwartskunst- occupies two old industrial buildings. Created in 1991 the F.A.E. Musée d'Art Contemporain de Pully, Lausanne, enjoys about 1500 square meters of exhibit space in the former Teintureries Lyonnaises -Lyon dye works. In Tilburg, South of the Netherlands, an abandoned factory has recently been reopened by the Foundation de Pont for Contemporary Art. In 1995 the city of Maastricht has reopened the Wiebengahal, an old factory now listed as the first Dutch construction in reinforced concrete, which now houses the Bonnefantenmuseum. In Malmö, the largest city in southern Sweden, the local businessman Fredrik Roos opened in 1988 a museum of contemporary art called Rooseum, installed in a former electric power-station. Similarly, in London the new extension of the Tate Gallery will open soon after the year 2000 in a former electric power-station. Thus, public funded museums/centres of modern art are now often conceived as a symbolic reappropriation by the citizens in general of work-sites of the industrial age which used to be closed to outsiders and were emblematic of the absolute dominion exerted on the premises by the private businessmen who owned them.

Most interestingly, modern artists and art critics love these new museographical spaces, considering them as challenges to contemporary creation. Hence, since 'industrial archaeology' sites with their huge brick-made vaults are so much in vogue for art institutions and public museums featuring modern/contemporary art³, it is not surprising that commercial galleries specialising in avantgarde works are migrating from 'banal' bourgeois environments to 'historic' quarters too. The most striking case is the world's art capital, New York: the old warehouses of SoHo have been bursting

³ Or, in the absence of real factories, new houses imitating the buildings of old factories might be erected from scratch! E.g. the edifice built in Marseilles in the 1980s by Dr. Rau, a German art-collector -which houses since 1994 the MAC-Galeries Contemporaines des Musées de Marseille.

with galleries of modern art since Leo Castelli moved there in 1971, however antiques dealers have remained in the rich midtown district further North. In Paris this cleavage is less clear, but it is still more or less true that the classic distribution of the art market in the central rive droite/rive gauche areas is not so popular now for 'marchands' of modern art, who tend to concentrate in two urban renewal districts, the Marais and the Bastille. In London too, a young alternative to the traditional dealers in antiques and old masters of the luxurious West-End is emerging with the modern art galleries installed in the old warehouses of Charlotte Road, the Surrey Docks and the Covent Garden area. It seems that even private art collectors have been lured by the appeal of such buildings. Many an art-patron likes gathering modern art-works on store/display in an old structure, as proof the case of the famous Saatchi Collection in London, installed in an ex-factory of paintings.

Last but not least in this discussion comes the contribution of real estate companies and urban developers. There are some sociological considerations to be made at this point. Long past are the times when living and working in converted buildings in ex-industrial districts was left to the social outcasts. There is no place here to undertake a general review of this fascinating social phenomenon. But the fact is that, ironically enough, whole urban districts of warehouses, factories and 'industrial archaeology' heritage are today very sought after by the fashionable and wealthy. Now 'loft-living' is socially in vogue and enjoys great popularity with young people and business people.

Thus, catering for this new social market, both private and public developers are more and more seeking for market-halls, ex-churches, factories, mills and warehouses to convert them into small studio-apartments for singles, shopping malls and festival markets. Essentially the new use tends to be an extravagant offer of business centres, shops, hotels, office suites and loft-apartments for yuppies, although other usual services also include recreational sites, sport facilities, leisure amenities, community workshops, research/higher education centres, workspace for small firms (Hall, 1988: p. 264; Colquhoun, 1995: p. 21-23). But it is becoming ever more clear that the presence of art venues can attract occupants and activities which also require large areas of cheap, flexible space (Keens et al., 1989). This formula of cultural amenities in mixed-use developments has been widely experienced and studied in America (Porter, 1980; Snedcof, 1985). Perhaps the best known and most studied cases are major

redevelopments of run-down port areas: Baltimore's waterfront, Chicago's North Pier, Boston's Quincy Market, Fisherman's Wharf in San Francisco.

In Europe, other port-cities have experienced similar initiatives: Thessalonica's port, Genoa's water-front, Barcelona's Port Vell, Lisbon's Belém district, Antwerp Docklands, Amsterdam's Neumarkt, Hamburg old port, Temple Bar in Dublin, Cardiff Bay, the Docklands and the Covent Garden area in London all feature new museums and illustrious art amenities or will do so in a near future. But as we shall now see, perhaps the most outstanding examples have come out in the two cities brought here as case-studies.

A tale of two cities: Liverpool and Marseilles.

The urban fabric of Liverpool and Marseilles is different from that of most European metropolises. A geographer consulting modern maps will find they are the capitals of two densely urbanised regions called Merseyside and Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, but these correspond to the new administrative boundaries put into effect in Britain and France since the 1970s; in fact, neither Liverpool nor Marseilles had historically a subordinated hinterland, for the one was part of Lancashire and the other used to depend on Aix. Similarly, a traveller approaching them by land or by sea, will be misled by the typical silhouettes towering over their respective cityscapes, the Anglican and the Catholic cathedrals in one case, the Major cathedral and the Basilica of Notre-Dame de la Garde in the other: actually, these are quite recent monuments. Liverpool received a charter as early as 1207 and Marseilles, established in 600 B.C., can boast to be the oldest city in France, but neither of the two was an historic cathedral-city. Only in the 17th and 18th centuries did they both become booming and massive cities. Subsequently, at the peak of British and French colonialism, they became the main ports for those embarking to the colonies, for the importation of raw materials from these colonies, and for the exportation of manufactured goods to them. Liverpool was designated, during the 19th and early 20th century, with the sobriquet 'Gateway to Empire' and Marseilles was then nicknamed 'Porte de l'Orient'. Accordingly, their most characteristic urban landmarks are on the one hand the stone façades lavishly built on the main waterfront to accommodate the central headquarters of the navigation or insurance companies, and on the other hand the functional brick-architecture of the docks and numerous warehouses which mushroomed in the vicinity of the port to keep stocks of cotton, timber, tobacco, sugar, food (Smith, 1953; Bailey

& Millington, 1957; Sammarco & Morel, 1985 & 1988; Roncayolo, 1990; Drocourt & Culot, 1991; Aughton, 1993; Hughes, 1993).

Most of these facilities became obsolete in the aftermath of World War II. The docks and railway goods terminals and warehouses were shut down by modern ways for the transportation of goods, particularly containerisation. The once long and labour intensive loading and offloading of cargoes was replaced by a direct transit of containers between lorries and ships. Deeper waters, larger hangars and parking-sites were required instead of the old linear docks to locate bulk terminals, container ports and roll-on/roll-off methods of loading and unloading ships. Hence, in the 1960s and early 70s, the MDHC (Mersey Docks and Harbour Company) and the DATAR (Délégation à l'Aménagement du Territoire et à l'Action Régionale) created concrete-made ports, gaining new space to the sea, in Seaforth and Fox-sur-Mer respectively (Hyde, 1971; Al Naib, 1991; Bonillo, 1991; Borruey, 1992; Borruey & Fabbre, 1992; Brunier, 1993; Hughes, 1993; De Roo, 1994). Moreover, not only was the bulk of port-related activities transferred out of Liverpool's and Marseilles' city centres, but also the ownership of their merchant, industrial and food-processing business was taken over by international corporations based elsewhere. This became of great consequence for the present physical decay of both cities, which starkly contrasts with their past situation -speculation in the building industry and in real estate was a secure investment for the local elites in case of ruinous disasters at sea. Finally, the new political and economic realities in Europe had done the rest. With the decolonisation process and the launching of the European Community, both cities, have found themselves far from the new routes of wealth. Since Rotterdam acts as the central port of Europe, its more peripheral competitors have been condemned to languish in the backwaters and the urban effects of this are especially manifest in Liverpool and Marseilles, although this is also true in Catania, Genoa, Vigo, Bilbao, Bristol, Glasgow, Antwerp and Hamburg. Economic decline, unemployment, crime, depopulation, urban dereliction, political radicalism and social violence have been endemic in Liverpool and Marseilles since the world economic crisis of 1974 -with particular virulence perhaps in the early 1980s (Cousins et al., 1980; O'Connor, 1986 & 1990; Donzel, 1992; Becquart, 1994).

However, the shifting geography of macroeconomics does not explain all the recent misfortunes of Liverpool and Marseilles. Neighbouring towns like Blackpool, Southport and Chester on the one hand, or Nice, Cannes and Arles on the other, enjoy a better fate related to their popularity as tourism resorts and, increasingly, as retailing

centres -the middle classes living in wealthy suburbs of the Wirral drive for their shopping to Chester instead of the centre of Liverpool, and the well-to-do inhabitants of the terraced chalets near Marseilles' Prado-beach favour Aix or Cassis. But the counterpoint is still more striking when contrasting Liverpool and Marseilles to their great rivals, Manchester and Lyons⁴; these traditional hubs of textile manufacturing have successfully overcome their post-industrial crisis to become fashionable for their tertiary sector. Thus, Liverpool and Marseilles are mainly suffering from a bad image, which is to a great extent a problem of poor self-image. Yet, no matter how strong the criticisms, it is nevertheless curious the level of attraction and personal attachment the two cities provoke amongst both locals and foreigners. They certainly have a special charm; people might find them environmentally degraded, dirty, strident, dangerous, but never unattractive. There is a cultural dimension to this. Liverpool and Marseilles are vastly proletarian, cosmopolitan and multicultural cities. Their people are renowned in their respective countries for their vivacity, humour, strong clans linkages... and because they speak a very peculiar English and French. All this is just commonplace, but is part of their glamour and cultural image (Cornelius, 1982; Baillon, 1989).

Synergism museums/urban boosting: the Albert Dock and the Vieille Charité.

Indeed, it is their cultural glamour which makes Liverpool and Marseilles especially interesting amongst many other cases of recent urban decay. As if to compensate for their worse fate in economic statistics, both cities passionately support the high profile of their football teams, and both rank very high in the arts. As it is well known, the two cities have become famous in modern times for the performing arts and popular music, which has no doubt played a part in encouraging people to take a pride in their local life. Less celebrated is perhaps another common cultural characteristic that I have chosen to discuss here: Liverpool has the most notable network of museums in England after London, whilst Marseilles is in France second only to Paris.

⁴ I find particularly interesting this double comparison of Liverpool/Manchester with Marseille/Lyon; but of course the most natural points of comparison in previous studies have been other port-cities in general. Cf. for example the counterpoint Marseille-Montreal (Gasquy-Resch, 1991), the proceedings of two colloquia held in Marseille (VV.AA., 1989), Merseyside (Judd & Parkinson, 1990), and Le Havre (Marks, 1993 & Dufay, 1993 from the book edited by Cantal Dupart & Chaline), the special issue of the *Annales de la Recherche Urbaine* on "Grandes Villes et Ports de Mer" (septembre 1992), etc.

Tellingly, the oldest and most prominent of these museum sites in Liverpool and Marseilles could perhaps be seen as nineteenth century antecedents of the modern use of museums as 'flagships' of urban renewal interventions, for which both cities are now leading cases. It was just on the site of some modest 18th century pottery kilns that Victorian Liverpool raised its museum-district of the William Brown Street area, where the Walker Art Gallery, the Liverpool Museum, the City Library and St. George's Hall are situated (Boney, 1989: p. 22-23). Similarly, on another promontory which was then situated in the outskirts of Marseilles, just behind the city's water reservoir, the Palais Longchamp was built and lavishly decorated with stairs of typical 19th century grandeur, to house the Municipal Art Gallery and the Museum of Natural Science (Vial, 1991). Curiously enough, both cities will in a very near future have new extensions for those institutions in the wake of their respective policies of urban renewal in the city centre: namely the Conservation Centre, which will open in 1995-96 at the former Midland Railway Goods Offices, and the Musée César, a Sculpture Gallery, mainly devoted to a local artist and his colleagues, which is expected to open at Marseilles' Vieux Port towards 1997 (Legrand, 1994). Between these future developments and the former, a range of many other cases could be cited. A gallery of arts and crafts -Maison de l'Artisanat et des Métiers d'Art- was created in 1983 and located in Marseilles' newly restored 17th century naval dockyard of galleys (Boisseau, 1980). Also in Marseilles, as recently as 1993, a new Gallery of Contemporary Art opened in a modern building aping an industrial architecture (Álvarez de Toledo, 1994; Blistène, 1994). But I want to concentrate now on the two most important examples, both of them of great symbolic value: the Albert Dock in Liverpool and the Hospice de la Vieille Charité in Marseilles. The state of dereliction of these monuments, two of the most neglected landmarks of their heritage, was a most depressing sight at the very heart of Liverpool and Marseilles. Their restoration and opening to the public for mixed-use amenities, including several museums, has turned them into a proud shop window for the cities' image and has been consequential in the urban renewal of the surrounding area.

Liverpool's Albert Dock was designed by Jesse Hartley as the first enclosed dock warehouse in the world made entirely out of incombustible materials: cast, iron, brick and granite. It opened in 1846 and closed in 1972 -but it was defunct long before that time (Ritchie-Noakes, 1984: p. 49-56; Cockcroft, 1994; Newell, s.d.). With its five

blocks, each of five storeys, it is Britain's largest Grade I listed building. Its restoration, which cost circa £30m, was conducted by the MDC (Merseyside Development Corporation), one of the Urban Development Corporations created by the Government of Margaret Thatcher in 1980 in fierce opposition to some Labour-led local councils (Parkinson & Evans, 1988 & 1992). The riots of 1981 prompted the MDC to seek quickly a highly visible physical regeneration in part of the 865 depopulated acres under their command in Liverpool, Sefton, and the Wirral. Therefore, after largely unsuccessful attempts to redevelop the South Docks for industrial and commercial purposes, they turned towards a tourism and leisure-led strategy. The models for this strategy were the famous urban renewal developments based on leisure events like festivals, aquariums and museums, in the former decaying waterfront areas of the great American port cities: Boston, Baltimore, San Francisco in the 1970s, and more recently, New York's old port warehouses -South Street and Seaport Museum- and Chicago -with the opening of the Maritime Museum and a Children's Museum. So, in 1984 an area of 50 ha of derelict oil installations, naphtha tanks and a domestic rubbish tip was developed to a greenhouse and theme gardens at a cost of £30m to hold an 'International Garden Festival' which attracted 2 million visitors -but the site has remained underused since then. However, the best 'flagship' of MDC's achievements in developing the tourism industry in the city is the Albert Dock, which attracts between 2 and 3.5 million visitors annually.

Tourists are the most usual customers of the *Beatles Story* and the other public entertainments there, but it is worth pointing out that the Albert Dock's main leisure amenities are two major museums that are extremely popular amongst Liverpoolians too: the Maritime Museum and the Tate Gallery. The Merseyside Maritime Museum was inaugurated in 1984 at Block D of Albert Dock and other adjacent buildings. The Tate Gallery, opened in May 1988 based on designs of the celebrated Liverpool-trained architect James Stirling. These two centres of excellence, which often organise free exhibitions, have contributed a great deal to bridge the initial gulf of the MDC with the local community -unlike the London Development Corporation, whose investment in London's Isle of Dogs just created private offices. The Tate Gallery in particular has upgraded artistic life in Liverpool mitigating out-migration of local artists to the capital. Consequently, Liverpool is now becoming a new Mecca for artists from other places, including London or foreign countries: the local organisations offering studio-spaces for artists (the Bluecoats, Bridewell, Arena, Off Stage, Quiggins, the Arts

Palace) have waiting lists. Also, it is no coincidence that many small independent art galleries and studios have flourished since 1988 in the derelict warehouses of the Duke Street area: the part of the city between the Anglican Cathedral and the Albert Dock now known as 'the Creative Quarter'.

Marseilles' poor-house, La Vieille Charité, was built in 1671-1745 based on plans by the local architect, sculptor and painter Pierre Puget at the heart of the city's most popular district, Le Panier. It lost its original function in 1883 subsequently becoming military barracks, tenants houses, improvised shelter for the homeless and then finally remaining empty and derelict. The building basically consists of a three-store patio with porticoes and, in the middle of it, an oblong chapel crowned by an astonishing dome. The works of restoration carried out from 1970 to 1986, at a cost of 99m francs were paid for by the city council, helped by the governments of the nation, the region and the province (Paire, 1991). Now the site houses several university institutions, four galleries for temporary exhibitions, a videotheque, the Maison de la Poesie, the Museum of Mediterranean Archaeology, and the Museum of African, Oceanian and American-Indian Arts (the latter seems a particularly happy choice, considering the number of non-European citizens nearby).

The 'trickledown' effect on the physical renewal of the quarter has been immediate. First to follow suit were the public powers: the regional government restored another Baroque building just in front, an ex-convent, in which was installed the Fond Régional d'Art Contemporain, whilst the municipality refurbished old derelict houses nearby to open there the Maison de la Poesie and studios for artists. Now, many rundown houses in the area have been refurbished and reopened by private business catering for culture consumers. For example, in 1994 alone four independent art galleries have opened in the vicinity of the Vieille Charité. It is true that, since they cannot afford costly architectural repairs, their contribution to urban renewal has just consisted in redecorating the premises. Yet the mere presence of art-dealers and artists is in itself a great enhancement of the urban milieu. The Panier quarter was becoming a ghetto for social and ethnic minorities who had come to seek homes left empty by the departure of many of the quartier traditional inhabitants, port-workers and sea-folk. Now this process is slowing down because of the arrival of art-professionals, and the presence on the streets of a number of university students and tourists going to the Vieille Charité to attend classes or to see the latest exhibition. Certainly this is not

happening without traumas; only last year some locals, headed by a group of artists, attacked with eggs a convoy of tourists. At the justice court Marc Boucherot, the main leader, cunningly justified this not only as an act of social protest but also as an ‘art-happening’ (in one of my visits to Marseilles’ Gallery of Contemporary Art in January 1995, a video-recording of the attack was shown in a room as an ‘art-installation’ and the museum-shop offered for sale T-shirts supporting it). Probably that was simply an act of ‘initiation’ to prove his allegiance to the neighbourhood: like if Boucherot yelled ‘I am hostile to *they*’ -the tourists- ‘I am part of *us*’ -the destitute inhabitants of the Panier quarter. Whatever the legal outcome, this has strengthened the integration amongst them of this artist -a white, educated man, well-cared for by the local art institutions.

Presenting this as a success of urban regeneration might seem perverse, but the municipality of Marseilles already has a long experience in favouring the arts in deprived districts and getting into trouble for it. When they commissioned ‘L’aventure’, a public art work from Richard Baquié, the famous conceptual artist, to be placed in Quartier Nord Malpassé, a disadvantaged suburb, they found a resentful response from the local communities who thought that the money could have been better spent in more useful ways, which resulted in the art-works being tagged or vandalised (C. Ayard, 1988). When they opened a national theatre for contemporary plays in the depressed Northern district of Merlan, they found few customers in the neighbourhood, while people from richer areas were afraid to use their cars to go there or would have difficulties in finding a taxi-driver prepared to do so by night -and not for nothing are theatre-performances called ‘soirées’.

A new approach to the ‘knock-on’ effect.

What this and the Albert-Dock example demonstrate, is that the level of success of urban regeneration policies cannot be adequately measured in solely physical terms⁵. So much so that it is very debatable whether a boom of new building-developments always constitutes a success: from my point of view this is not the case when real estate pressure scratches out the ‘spirit of the place’, transforming historic

⁵ A similar conclusion arises, from another perspective, in other studies on urban renewal through the arts (Cf. especially Bianchini et al 1988; Bianchini, 1991; as well as Bianchini & Parkinson, 1993).

ports into a jungle of office-buildings, commercial stores and hotels, like in the London Docklands, New York's Battery Park City, the harbourfront of Toronto, or the port of Tokyo. Urban developers should be encouraged to introduce more and more public spaces in their projects. Many European cities like Antwerp, Brest or Genoa have learned from the celebrated examples of the ports of Boston and Baltimore that in the case of port cities some of the more appropriate urban renewal developments are maritime museums, aquariums and leisure waterfronts (Baudoin & Collin, 1994). They help urban sightseers get some personal approach to a seaside experience and they create jobs for which unemployed local workers qualify very well: they are enthusiastic interpreters of maritime displays, they have first hand knowledge of many aquatic species, and they are the most proficient in the manoeuvring and maintenance of boats. Thus historic preservation of port waterfronts can go beyond merely keeping some old buildings, rescuing the neighbourhood too; saving not only the buildings, but also their utility and the morale of the people.

Now Liverpool and Marseilles have shown that art galleries are also a very successful investment, for they can become catalysts of further urban regeneration when an 'arts district' emerges closeby (Lorente, 1995b). Obviously this is not a medicine suitable for every city with problems of urban decay, because not every place has the artistic background and the cultural glamour of Liverpool and Marseilles. But there are plenty of declining ports in Europe whose pedigree as artistic metropolises qualifies them for a similar cure expecting the same results. It is surely no coincidence if some of the most successful examples of the 'Cultural Capital of Europe' festival, like Glasgow (1990), Antwerp (1993) and Lisbon (1994) have produced arts-led rehabilitation of decayed waterfronts. The same happened in the old ports of Barcelona and Genoa, two historic art-capitals again, whose renewal started following the occasion of the Olympic games and the Columbus celebrations in 1992 and it is now well-advanced, with brand new aquariums and new museums about to open. To this list we could add the old artistic sea-side colony of St. Ives in Cornwall, which is hosting a new section of the Tate Gallery since 1993, the Greek city of Thessalonica, cultural hub of Macedonia, whose port-quays feature since 1994 a Museum of Byzantine Arts, and the docks of Bilbao, capital of the Basque arts avantgarde, where a branch of the Guggenheim Museum is due to open in 1997. I have surely forgotten some relevant examples, but these are more than enough to illustrate my argument. Museums in

general and art galleries in particular are not a panacea able to heal ailing ports everywhere; but in the presence of professionals of the arts world they can work as catalysts of urban regeneration of port-cities in decline .

The main conclusion I would draw from the above is that, in order to accelerate such knock-on reaction, urban developers should be encouraged in some cases to assure the presence of art professionals. It is good to create multipurpose public spaces, mixed-use centres with shops, offices and different kinds of leisure provision, including museums and galleries. It is even better to provide lodgings or, if urban planning regulations do not allow it, working spaces for artists. This gives the area some life after business hours, and attracts a nocturnal *dolce vita*. The whole Albert Dock complex is terribly dark and hollow after 6:00 p.m., when the shops and museums are closed; even the restaurants and pubs are shut by then. Would this be so if, as initially intended, the MDC had provided artists' studios on the top floor? Not very dissimilar is the case of Marseilles' Vieille Charité, where, according to the original plans, some artists should regularly have studios, but this has not really occurred. Yet there is still some hope that these studios might one day be delivered, because both places have kept the spaces previewed for these projects unused. Their managers have not completely ruled them out, but they need perhaps a little more social encouragement to regain interest in art provision: I hope this paper will be a useful contribution to it.

Another conclusion to be drawn from Marseilles and Liverpool is the existence of a second pattern of arts-led urban renewal processes, diametrically opposed to the general scheme taken for granted regarding the development of art-districts in the inner-cities. Examples like Montmartre and Montparnasse in the Paris of the Belle Époque, the SoHo district in New York between 1971 and 1981 or the Temple Bar area of Dublin in the 1980s, have lead to the assumption that art districts come into existence in deprived neighbourhoods following this typical format. Firstly some non-established artists discover the existence of cheap atelier-spaces to rent in derelict unused buildings (the Bateau-Lavoir in Paris, the Victorian storehouses of downtown Manhattan, etc). Then art-dealers follow suit installing their galleries in the area while other private entrepreneurs come with alternative/youth amenities like fashion shops, trendy bars, restaurants, dancings, etc. Eventually, there is the arrival there of museums, national theatres and public arts centres marks of the 'officialisation' of such arts districts. The fatal culmination of this is the installation of apartments for yuppies,

while artists have to move out little by little, because the rents have become too high in that district.

I am not intending to refute that scheme or even to contradict its final output (namely that the arts are victims of their own success and act as instruments of a gentrification process), but I believe that another scheme is also possible, where museums arrive first as a consequence of a political decision to bring derelict landmarks of city heritage into new life, then in a knock-on domino-effect other derelict buildings in the district become cultural centres or art galleries, and finally also artists move their studios in creating a lively atmosphere in what used to be a no-go area. Such has been the process, as we have seen, in the cases of Liverpool and Marseilles.

As a consequence of the above, one could thus conclude that arts-led urban regeneration is not always a spontaneous process originated by ‘bohemians’ and finally benefiting speculators dealing in the housing-market. In some cases the process can start following the political decision to open a museum in a derelict area. This is of great interest in the realm of contemporary politics towards sustainable cities. In this respect cultural politics in Liverpool and Marseilles are succeeding where more celebrated cases like London and Dublin have failed. This is mainly due to the hurried urban renewal of the docklands areas in these and other capitals which is led -and ultimately undermined- by real estate interests dictated by speculation in the local housing-market. Contrariwise, the scarceness of land speculators investing in the ‘industrial heritage’ buildings of Liverpool and Marseilles, due to the hard economic crisis affecting both cities, has given an exceptional chance to their re-use for the arts.

But this is not all. Admitting to the leading role of museums and art galleries in the interest for preservation and revival of ‘industrial heritage’ conservation areas is not paying the lesson all their due. For artists and animators of the arts world have also proved instrumental in sustainable revitalisation of Liverpool and Marseilles, contributing to the transformation of declining districts in fashionable foci of urban renewal. This, however, will be my topic for another paper.

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Museums and Welfare: Shared space.

Lewis BIGGS

When Tate Gallery Liverpool opened in May 1988 there was an astonishing volume of press coverage, but very little of it was concerned with the Gallery's objective (introducing people to the Tate's collection of modern art), and much of it was written, of course, by people who had never visited Liverpool. The press focused instead on the apparently controversial issue of using art for the regeneration of a city. The surprising thing was not the reluctance of the press to make any serious comment on art. The surprise is that anyone could find anything controversial about linking culture and renewal, and that we should still have to be asking to-day what those links are. Implicitly, on some conscious or unconscious level, a wedge has been driven between economics and culture: as if economic renewal could somehow be separated from the purpose of renewal, which is for people to have a better quality of life; as if money had any value before it is exchanged for things which are good in themselves. And it is a sad fact, secondly, that a wedge has also been driven between the museum and performing arts and other forms of culture, such as popular music and sport.

I shall use the concept of welfare to explore the purpose of economic activity, to remind us of what turns activity into renewal or regeneration. Welfare not only links economics and culture, but produces a generous and inclusive vision of culture. It is culture broadly which should be the issue, even though Liverpool may be extraordinarily well endowed with the museum and exhibition arts in particular. I am going to say little about statistics or performance indicators, which are there in growing abundance for anyone who wants them. They tend to generate arguments of ever increasing complexity and self-reference rather than a consensus about aims. I intend instead to suggest two kinds of creative contribution made by museums and galleries to the renewal of a city

Let me be clear. Culture is not a means to an end. It is an end in itself. Much research has been undertaken to demonstrate that culture is a peculiarly successful means of furthering renewal or regeneration, but it misses the point if it regards culture as one means to renewal among other economics-driven options. Culture is a successful

regenerator because it is an end in itself: the activity is inseparable from the achievement.

In any other country which subscribes to the idea of the welfare state, 'welfare' encompasses cultural care as much as health care or job creation. And with the welfare state under attack all over the western world, it is necessary to point out that welfare itself is not a mechanism. Mechanisms can be tampered with or abandoned. Welfare, as opposed to the welfare state, is an end in itself, both a value-base and a way of living, not a means of making good a deficit.

Maynard Keynes was not only a major theorist of the post war welfare state in Britain, but chief architect of the Arts Council as it emerged from the Council for Education in Music and the Arts (CEMA) after the war. He saw culture as essential to life, and therefore state patronage of culture as an essential part of the welfare state. Unfortunately he took a narrow view of the culture to be recognised as essential to the welfare of the nation, excluding popular music for instance. When drafting the Arts Council's Charter, he wrote that he was worried that 'the welfare side was to be developed at the expense of the artistic side'. (Note 1.) Some people would argue that the Arts Council has always chosen to support - in Keynes' terms - 'artistic' activity (professional artists, and professional standards) rather than 'welfare' activity (amateur artists, education, finding common denominators).

If this is true, as I think it may be, the benefit has been that professional artists in Britain have achieved enormous international recognition. The cost has been that the arts are practised by too few amateurs to generate a critically supportive culture for the professionals, and the professionals are severely undervalued in their own country. The Arts Council leaves arts education to the education system and the education system leaves it to the Arts Council. But the real tragedy is that it should have been necessary to make a choice between 'art' and 'welfare' instead of supporting the whole seamless activity by an adequate level of funding, as has been the case in countries like Holland or Denmark. Shrinking resources on a national scale create competition and mistrust between different interest groups - a process all too familiar on a smaller scale within the North West Region, and within the city of Liverpool. What I have to say about the Tate (because it is my experience) can I know be said about smaller museums and galleries within their own communities.

The idea of 'welfare' applied to museums might conjure up the image of those underprivileged citizens who habitually use museums and libraries for shelter, warmth and a sense of social participation which they can find nowhere else. For people who have either abandoned, or been abandoned by, their communities this is a very real service, and one which is not underestimated by anyone who has worked in a library or museum. But I hope that what I said earlier made clear that the welfare I have in mind is not the one which has come to be characterised as a safety net for individuals who are less fortunate than others. Instead, I would define welfare as a state of health, wealth and attitude (or culture) to which whole communities aspire.

I suggest 'attitude or culture' because culture is something which exists in peoples' heads, in the collective attitude of a community. It is not something which is produced by Hollywood studios, by artists living in garrets, by television companies or Weekend magazines or galleries and museums, although it may be influenced by all these things. The Tate converted a building and brought a collection of objects to Liverpool, but Tate Gallery Liverpool's culture is what is created by the people who visit it as well as the people who work here. Arguments are made too glibly about support for art 'producers' or for art 'consumers', when these are indissolubly linked.

Let me briefly rehearse Tate Gallery Liverpool's contribution to the economic wealth of the city (as one part of the city's welfare). The Gallery has 70 full-time employees, plus around 60 part-time employees and helps to maintain many other people in work through the £2.5m per annum that it spends on Merseyside. Not including the start-up costs, £20m has now been spent since the Gallery arrived in Liverpool. This £20m, I must emphasise, has been pure gain for the local economy, since it is allocated by the Trustees of the Tate and is in no way related either to local government spending on Merseyside or to other central government spending. In addition, the Gallery attracts approximately 60,000 tourist bed-nights per annum, bringing in a further £2.5m since opening. Many of the employees of the Gallery are themselves artists, who are enabled to continue to live and practise in Liverpool through their earnings provided by the Gallery.

The impact of these sums on Liverpool's urban renewal is harder to define. In St. Ives, where the research is easier, we know that the opening of the new Tate Gallery increased turnover in the local economy by a minimum of 6%, and possibly by as much as 12%.

There are other, soft indicators for Tate Gallery Liverpool's impact on urban renewal. It continues to attract around 600 thousand visits each year - that's three visits for every job currently available in Liverpool - and direct employment in (all) the arts has risen from 2 to 4 thousand since the Gallery opened. Although many artists are still leaving Liverpool after completing their training, some are staying and artists are now moving to Liverpool from, for instance, Glasgow. Smaller organisations have benefitted: the Bluecoat Gallery's attendances rise with visitors drawn to Tate exhibitions; Moviola, which was founded on, and has grown through, the opportunity presented by the Gallery's presence, has now become an organisation of sufficient strength to be able to plan for the construction of MICE - The Moving Image Centre for Exhibition.

But I want to focus on the cultural contribution museums and galleries generally - and Tate Gallery Liverpool in particular - can make to the welfare of communities, and to look at culture first as recreation and then as ceremony.

I quote from *You Magazine*, Mail on Sunday 20.8.95: where it was reported that the 'singer, actress and comedienne Kate Robbins' had this to say about Tate Gallery Liverpool: "When I'm visiting my parents and want peace of mind, this is where I go ... It has the flavour of Liverpool, the talent of the Universe and nice architecture, too, which, in Liverpool, is becoming increasingly rare." Peace of mind, or relaxation, or the restoration of a sense of balance - in fact the 're-creation' of our sense of self - is one part of recreation, and perhaps ultimately the most important part. But often it is the end of a process which also involves stimulation, challenge possibly disorientation and the testing of skills different from those used in working or everyday lives. Clearly, 're-creation' is about creativity. 'Re-creation' is also inextricably linked to pleasure: 're-created' - as in the phrase to be 'made up'.

Visitors to Tate Gallery Liverpool pursue different kinds of recreation there. Some people choose to use the Gallery as if it were a walk in the country, an opportunity to meditate or dream in a creative way induced by the surroundings. The fact that a Gallery is a specifically cultural arena, means that it is possible to 'play' there safely, like an adventure playground: we can throw our prejudices up in the air like a pack of cards and try to make a different sense of them when they come down again. Others prefer to find the challenges in the gallery environment and to do so in company, through organised events. Challenge and stimulation are in the eye of the beholder just

as much as beauty or pleasure are, but the Gallery believes in encouraging debate as a part of recreation.

I was recently sent the catalogue of an exhibition called 'Welfare' by an acquaintance in Denmark. The introduction says: 'In Denmark, art bears the mark of the welfare system.. art somehow plays out the predicament of welfare, creating a special amalgam of artistic idiosyncrasy and institutional awareness. Art becomes a possible observation point for the predicaments of the welfare system. Art is increasingly called upon to establish a framework for cultural and societal identity in the welfare society.' (Note 2)

This description seems to fit well some exhibitions at Tate Gallery Liverpool, like Joseph Beuys' installation, 'The End of the Twentieth Century', which enabled the Gallery to introduce a new audience to the work of this artist, who was a founder member of the German Green Party and coined the slogan 'Creativity is capital'. Seminars were organised with the Mersey Basin Trust, and it is arguable that at least some people's attitudes if not lives were changed by the experience. Another exhibition, called 'Moral Tales', concentrated on art made in the 1980s in Britain. The show provided a reflection on 'Margaret Thatcher's Britain'. Prominent use was made of commentary provided by named individuals and by the visiting public.

When the Gallery made an exhibition with Antony Gormley recently, it worked with two schools and a brick factory in St. Helen's to make a new sculpture. The sculpture consisted of 43,000 hand-sized brick figures, and it took 60 people a week's work to make. Again, there are no satisfactory performance indicators for the effect of this recreation on the people who took part, but the event is remembered with great enthusiasm and pride by those who were there.

There are more examples of an opportunity for 'recreation' present in the Gallery at this moment: 'Looking Both Ways' is a collaborative exhibition devised for the Gallery by Those Environmental Artists. It explores and in a very real sense 're-creates' the Liver Building both as a physical environment for those who work there and as a symbol in the lives of local people and visitors to Liverpool. The content of the exhibition consists of written and oral evidence collected from the people who work in the building and from visitors to the Gallery. This evidence is displayed alongside the 'evidence' of postcard images and the broadcast images of the Liver Building in the title sequence of 'Brookside' and 'The Liver Birds'. The artists themselves make no

comment, but act as facilitators for the play of association and fantasy that rubs shoulders with the sometimes grim and sometimes humorous reality of the building as it is

experienced by its inmates. Any community is built on the currency of shared experiences, shared perceptions and shared values. What the exhibition has done is to take a two-dimensional symbol and project on to it, like a screen, the actual experiences, perceptions and values of the people in the office building and in the art gallery. It has deepened the shared experience of a community. Approximately fourteen thousand people have actively participated in the exhibition, and in doing so have been led to share a physical and perceptual space.

Last year the Gallery hosted the only British showing of an exhibition called Africa Explores, organised by the Museum for African Art in New York. It was an over-ambitious survey, but we wanted to raise through it some of the issues concerning the western perception of art from Africa which are currently being addressed more widely through the large-scale festival 'Africa '95'. Our own contribution to Africa '95, called 'VITAL', focuses on the work of just three artists: Cyprien Tokoudagba, Farid Belkahia and Touhami Ennadre.

The most interesting thing about the exhibition, apart from the superb quality of the art, is the fact that all three artists - from very different backgrounds - refer in their work to states of trance: Ennadre and Tokoudagba refer to the states of trance in Voodoo ritual, and Belkahia refers to the trance attained by Sufi initiates in the so-called Whirling Dervish dance. People in a trance look much the same whether they are Sufi, Voudun or Christian Baptists, and in particular they share the sense of being reborn, or 're-created'. We have not been attempting to induce states of trance in our visitors, but by asking them to enter into the spirit of different religions - and by sharing in the recreational qualities of the art - the Gallery can contribute to the fight against the racism and sectarianism which still undermine the welfare of the city. For this exhibition, as well as for 'Africa Explores' numbers of groups from Liverpool's African communities have visited the Gallery and the Tate's partnership with the Charles Wootton College has been nourished.

Two years ago the Gallery organised a national conference for youth workers and young people. One outcome of that weekend has been the formation of a group of

young people - called Young Tate - in order to advise the Gallery on its work targeted at young people. The exhibition 'Testing the Water' on the entrance level is one result of the Young Tate initiative. It consists of items from the national collection of modern art selected and presented by the Young Tate display group, who also designed and wrote the catalogue, wrote the labels, designed the layout of the exhibition and held a press conference at the opening. From their point of view the process - and the end result - have been fun. It has also been recreation in the sense that it has changed those involved. I believe it can also change the visitors who see the exhibition, when they see the art on view through the eyes of the young people.

Any good art has the potential to change people, simply by virtue of the fact that art has a conceptual frame around it, as does a gallery. So far I have been describing the opportunities for recreation enjoyed by individuals and groups visiting the Gallery, recreation being something which can change or restore. Now I want to look at the more simply affirmative function of museums and galleries.

By offering a window or a mirror in which a community can study itself, art galleries perform a ritual or ceremonial function. This social function of the museum first occurred to me when I first visited the Guggenheim Museum in New York and was puzzled by the fact that Frank Lloyd Wright had apparently forgotten to design anywhere to put the art. The famous spiral ramp is clearly intended as a stage set for the visitors, in the same way that theatre boxes are where you sit if you want to be seen going to the theatre. The affirmation of being an actor on the stage of the art gallery was formerly reserved for people who could afford it or were invited to. But art galleries belonging to a community, a city or a nation are there for the affirmation of the community, the city or the nation, and in this country they are free, unlike theatres, to anyone.

Despite the fact that Tate Gallery Liverpool is a relatively small building, at present very poorly provided for in terms of ceremonial spaces, it has already shown surprising potential as a ceremonial site for the City of Liverpool as a whole. The organising committee for Liverpool's bid to be City of Architecture in 1999 took the judges to the three buildings which they felt symbolised the city: the Liver Building, the Tate and St. George's Hall. It was a moment at which the many communities which make up the whole community of the city were united in a single aspiration within a single ceremony. The opening party for the exhibition Africa Explores, despite the fact that

perhaps only 90 people were there, was remarkable in the view of many of the guests for the fact that representatives of so many of Liverpool's diverse communities sat down to eat together.

A colleague of mine staying in a hotel in St. Ives overheard a bride and groom discussing what they were going to do after the marriage ceremony. Their plan was to go surfing and then visit the Tate and have their photos taken. The ritual of post-marriage photos is fundamentally a public announcement. It normally takes place outside the church, in front of some historic building, or in a public park. These are all shared spaces, common ground, places recognised as belonging to the community at large and symbolising some common value - even if no more than a sentimental attachment to old things or nature. The fact that people should want their photos taken, or that they should want to have a reception after a conference, in a museum signals the fact that a museum has a ceremonial function within a community.

The idea of self-affirmation by seeing oneself within a cultural frame can function equally on an individual as on a communal level. The archaeologist Andre Friedmann on an expedition to the Peruvian highlands came upon a curious ritual in a village called Zurite. Each year the inhabitants make a construction that is like a three dimensional drawing of a house: four long sticks tied together to create corners, four horizontals to create the outline of walls and five more to suggest a sloping roof. On each side there is a door-like opening, used indiscriminately as entrance or exit. The building is called a 'posa'. It is built to no particular design, and although it is placed to one side of the village square, it is not necessarily on the same side each year. Later the same year it is burnt. There is no formality attached either to its use or to its burning. It is used in a casual and haphazard fashion. Someone will enter it, linger for a while in silence, and then walk out of it again. The experience is described by the village inhabitants as 'It's like being in a dark room. Like standing still in a dark room.' I believe that this is the same experience as that described by Kate Robbins.

I am fascinated by 'el paseo', the evening walk in public taken by the citizens of most mediterranean cities. It seems to me to be an expression of community similar to our own street parties, but on a larger scale and on a daily basis. I don't know if there is an element of social obligation involved in the 'paseo', to be on the street and to be recognised at a particular time, or to what extent it is dictated purely by the physical pleasure of getting out into the fresh air after the heat of the day. Where is the civic

space which could form the stage set for such an activity in Liverpool? If there were a 'paseo', where would it happen? Just recently, the artistic community has perhaps begun its 'paseo' in Concert Square by the Arena Bar. The process of social recognition which is part of the self-respect of any citizen, requires public spaces where people can look at each other and confirm their sense of being and belonging. If the renewal of mediterranean cities is an example of success, perhaps it is has been helped by the shared public spaces of those cities, their pathways and 'paseos.'

Public spaces by their existence tend to generate social rituals and ceremonies, and the qualities of the space and activity that happens there influence the rituals. Shopping malls are public spaces which, obviously enough, reinforce consumer culture. On the other hand, a football ground, a theatre, a church, a club, a pub, a concert hall, a museum or a gallery are the shared spaces in which culture is created through people using them for recreation. They are the public spaces which have traditionally been built with wealth which private citizens wished to put back into the community, to create a focus for pride (Liverpool's Walker Public Houses no less than its Walker Art Gallery). But of these spaces, it is only the museums and galleries (sometimes the churches) which tend to be truly public, in the sense that they are freely accessible. Being an active participant in a social ritual in a shared space can and does change peoples' lives. We know that a person who has been through shock requires recreation in order to bring about rehabilitation. It is equally clear to me that a community that has suffered trauma requires the recreation of culture to bring about renewal.

Some museum developments in Liverpool.

Their benefits to the community.

Patrick SUDBURY
and Jim FORRESTER*

Liverpool's first local museums and the urban renewal of the city.

The public museum service in Liverpool began with the passing of the *Liverpool Public Library, Museum and Gallery of Art Act 1852* which allowed Liverpool Corporation to open a museum and library in the Duke Street news rooms. The main focus of the museum display was the magnificent collection that the 13th Earl of Derby had been bequeathed to the City the year before. The news rooms were seen as a temporary home and the popularity of the new museum and the size of the collection led to plans for a larger and more ambitious building. The site chosen was Shaw's Brow (later renamed William Brown Street) close to the new railway terminus at Lime Street (opened 1836) and St. George's Hall (inaugurated 1854). The site was where the London Road climbed the steep slope from Townsend Bridge. The site also overlooked Scotland Road which ran north from Townsend Bridge. The new museum and library and St. George's Hall thus formed a landward 'gateway' and a powerful symbol of the cultural eminence of a great seaport.

St George's Hall and the Brown Museum and Library illustrate the first era of Liverpool's post-industrial renewal by the arts and museums. At the end of the eighteenth century the area where they now stand contained lime kilns, potteries and windmills. By the 1830's these industrial buildings were falling into disuse or had been converted to secondary uses such as soap works and coach builders. The lime kilns were demolished to bring the railway into town at Lime Street which thus became a key arrival point at the landward side of the city. Every three years the city held a music

* The range of developments described in this paper would not have been possible without the work of a wide range of past and present colleagues on Merseyside too

festival in a church, but it was decided that a new concert hall was needed. St George's Hall was designed to provide such a hall (and law courts to match) and work started in 1842. It was a magnificent structure, 490 feet in length and now considered one of the finest neo-classical buildings in Europe.

The demolition of the soap works and coach builders to make way for the museum and library in the 1850's continued the renewal of the urban fabric. During the 19th century more major buildings were added to William Brown Street including the Walker Art Gallery(1877), the Picton Reading Room and Hornby Library (1879), and the County Sessions House (1884). By the end of the century the original museum was overflowing with collections and displays and a new extension including further galleries and a technical school was being built to form what is now the Mountford Building (1906).

The scale, activities and public appeal of the museum made it pre-eminent amongst the museums outside London and it remained so through the early decades of the 20th century. By 1936, plans were being made for a maritime museum extension but in 1941 the entire museum and library complex was badly damaged following an air-raid. During the 1950s repairs were carried out to allow the least damaged areas to be re-opened in 1956 and by the end of the 1960s a new interior had been built behind the original 1860 facade. Within this building some five floors of displays were created between 1970 and 1975 using a 'war damage' fund.

Administrative responsibility for the museum service passed from the City Council to the newly formed Merseyside County Council in 1974. The decision to transfer the museum to the larger authority (population 1.6 million) reflected the 'more than local significance' of the cultural facilities with 50% of visitors coming from outside the Liverpool City boundary. During the last five years of the City administration the museums department had acquired responsibility for an historic house (Speke Hall) and some 500 acres of the former estate of the Earl of Sefton (Croxteth Park).

Developing the Croxteth Country Park

numerous to name individually. We apologise for any errors or omissions that may have arisen from dealing with such a complex topic in such a short paper.

The new county authority had the power to create and designate country parks and the museum was charged with the task of managing the transition of Croxteth from a closed private estate with a mansion house, stable yard, home farm, parkland, farmland and woodland into a public facility serving the half million population of Liverpool and the wider county beyond. Over the period from 1974 to 1986 the County Council, with generous help from the Countryside Commission, developed displays in Croxteth Hall, a cafe in the stable yard, a rare breeds farm unit in the home farm, restored greenhouses and the walled garden and created a nature reserve and opened footpaths and bridleways through the woodland and parkland. By 1980 attendances at the charging facilities amounted to 200,000 while many thousands more enjoyed the parkland, the footpaths and the bridle ways free of charge. The park, less than 4 miles from the city centre was described as ‘a lung for Liverpool’.

Prescot Museum

During the 1970s there were discussions between the museums department and Knowsley Borough Council about the future development of the Prescot town centre. Prescot is a small township some fifteen miles east of the Liverpool City Centre which has historically been involved in craft industries and light engineering, such as the manufacture of high precision parts for the mass production of clocks and watches. The town centre was in decline and as part of the regeneration package a joint scheme was set up between the museum and Knowsley Borough Council Libraries Department to develop and operate a museum of clock and watchmaking and a temporary exhibition area. The museum was completed in 1980 and rapidly became a focus of local interest and new development.

Merseyside Maritime Museum

The idea of a Maritime Museum for Merseyside was first discussed in the 19th century and seriously planned in the 1930s. However, the war time destruction of the museum meant that plans were in abeyance for more than 25 years. In 1941 the museum had received a generous bequest to set up a maritime museum on the waterfront site and, in 1963, the City Council acquired land for that purpose. The City Council took the view that the museum could best be developed as part of a comprehensive scheme involving adjoining landowners. Several such schemes were put forward during the 1960s and early 1970s but all failed to deliver the result.

By 1977 the whole of the south docks had fallen into disuse and the Mersey Docks and Harbour Company had ceased to control the water regime allowing the docks to become tidal and silted. Following the 1977 local government elections, the new administration within the County Council decided that the regeneration of the south docks held the key to the future economic prosperity of the county and set to work with the Mersey Docks and Harbour Company to make that a reality. During 1977 a number of possibilities for land exchange and the use of job creation schemes to start the process were discussed. In 1978 the County Council declared its firm intention to develop a Maritime Museum and the necessary studies were set in hand. This yielded a proposal for restoring quaysides, land, buildings and part of Albert Dock warehouse within a total budget of some £12m.

The first phase of the museum opened in the former pilotage building in May 1980 and attracted 60,000 visitors during its first short season. By then the Merseyside Development Corporation had been created and it took on the task of restoring the water regime and carrying out the basic stabilisation works to the Albert Dock warehouse. The museum continued to open on a seasonal basis from 1980. until the main physical works were completed in 1986. Attendances are now 350,000 per year with an admission charge of £2.50 for an annual local residents pass. (The key factors in the Maritime Museum development are given in table 1).

Conservation Centre Development 1992-1996

The main museum and gallery collections on Merseyside were designated as national collections in 1986 and the assets of the former County Museum and County Art Gallery Services were transferred to a new body of Trustees. The funding was henceforth from grant-in-aid voted by Parliament and provided by central government.

This had the effect of removing the burden of meeting the recurrent operating costs from local ratepayers and reflected the regional and national significance of the institutions concerned.

This new Trustee body, the National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside (NMGM) came into being at a time when concern was being expressed about the care and condition of museum and gallery collections generally and of national collections in particular. Part of this concern was with the state of documentation and the inventories that allow the museum to tell the wider world what they have got in their stores and on display. The second concern was with the physical care of the collections that are, of course, subject to continual degradation and decay. Because basic inventory level documentation was already fairly complete on Merseyside, the Trustees decided to concentrate first on improving condition and slowing the rate of deterioration of the collections by increasing the resources that they allocated to conservation.

Initial plans were laid in 1989 to increase the number of conservation staff employed and to create a purpose-built centre that would allow the many highly specialised processes of conservation to be carried out within a single building. Conservation is the process by which collections are, as far as possible, stabilised and put into a condition where they can be satisfactorily handled, viewed and studied. With diverse collections such as those on Merseyside there are powerful advantages in having a range of conservation specialists working together in a single building. Specialists in such diverse materials as stone, metal, textile, wood, plastics and ceramics and thus able to deal with the many problems that composite materials present.

Originally, plans were made for creating a new centre on land in the Trustees' ownership immediately south of the Liverpool Pierhead and by 1992 a scheme had been developed and costed. However, in the course of that year the Liverpool City Challenge urban regeneration agency was bought into being with a five year lifetime and the task of regenerating some of the run down areas to the east of the city centre. One particularly prominent zone of derelict buildings and underused land around the area known as Queen Square. A number of attempts to secure redevelopment for the area over the previous 20 years had failed for a variety of reasons and discussions with potential developers suggested that a public sector led kick-start was needed.

A pivotal building was the Midland Railway Goods Offices, a prominent grade 2 listed building which had been unable to find a satisfactory long term use during the preceding 25 years. The NMGM Trustees therefore recast their plans with the help of a local developer in order to undertake the restoration of the building and its conversion to a Conservation Centre. The Conservation Centre would aim to be a centre of excellence in its special field with a strong emphasis on the technology required for the conservation discipline; a range of training programmes and with public access to displays about conservation.

The scheme received approval from HM Treasury and secured grants from the Department of National Heritage, City Challenge, the European Regional Development Fund This was supplemented by contributions from private benefactors totalling £1.5 million. The Centre was opened in 1986. (The key outputs of the Centre are given in Table 2.)

There seems every prospect that the key economic targets of the Conservation Centre will be met over the next four years. Perhaps the most important factor was the way that it helped to catalyse other adjoining developments in that before construction was complete, fresh tower cranes were in place on Whitechapel, new road schemes were being undertaken, and plans were well advanced for a new hotel complex on Queen Square.

The development of the Merseyside Maritime Museum and the Conservation Centre has yielded two sets of benefits. The first relates to the service itself and its ability to meet public needs and preserve the country's heritage. This has throughout been the fundamental driver for the museum body itself. The second set of benefits have been to the local economy. Over the period from 1974 to 1995 the number of staff employed in the museum and gallery service has increased from fewer than 150 to over 500. In developing a national role on Merseyside the museums and galleries now have a turnover of some £14m a year which is mainly derived from public sources outside Merseyside and thus a substantial gain to the local economy.

The benefits of the capital developments to the delivery of the service, its employment potential, and the quality of life on Merseyside are thus substantial. But what further benefits accrue in support of regeneration?

The first and most oft quoted benefit is in terms of tourism. A substantial fraction of the visits to a national museum are by day trippers and overnight tourists who also spend money on shopping, travel and hotels. The second benefit is in education where the presence of national museums and galleries which hold and display a superb variety of natural history objects and human artefacts is a marvellous modern resource for the City and its major educational institutions just as it has been for the public and schools over the past century.

A special activity associated with the regeneration of the City has been the outreach programmes to the inner city. During the 1970s three programmes were proposed: a classroom service to inner city schools, a mobile exhibition service to inner city schools and an outreach to the adult non-school population. In the event it was possible to fund only part of the first two programmes and this led to the creation of the mobile exhibition and school service that operated on behalf of the museums and galleries from 1977 until 1992.

The aim of the programme was to deliver a sense of the excitement of the interest of museum and gallery materials to primary school children in the age range 6-10. The mobile caravan would be set up in the school playground and a member of staff would work with the class teacher on the topics in the mobile exhibition. The service was in great demand and was extended to the City Centre areas of Birkenhead. However, loss of grant and other financial shortages led to re-focusing of activities onto national curriculum targets and encouraging more visits to the main museum and gallery buildings where existing capital assets and staff could be better used.

A final area of activity has been in the fostering of cognate societies including two 'Friends' organisations with aggregate membership of some 2,000 people and a range of learned societies that meet on NMGM premises in the evenings and during the weekends. This is supplemented by a range of courses and seminars and conferences for adults.

The museums and galleries have a long tradition of training their own staff and have recently achieved the Investor in People standard. This gives NMGM added confidence in operating a programme of training attachments both for young people and for professionals seeking to improve their skills in the many professional areas that the museum touches. These span the fields of art, history and science and specialisms

such as curation, conservation, design, finance, personnel, property management and visitor services.

Plans for the future are more precisely targeted. There remain substantial sectors of the population on Merseyside who do not use the opportunities that the museums and galleries offer. These range from a casual visit through voluntary work to full-time paid employment. These opportunities are now being considered in terms of further developments of the already extensive volunteer programme and an outreach programme specifically targeted at local resident groups.

The Next Step. The ‘Flagship’ concept

The achievement of the Maritime Museum and Conservation Centre development anticipate an even more demanding development in the next decade. The buildings that led the arts-based urban regeneration a century and a half ago are themselves in need of renewal. The opportunity presented by the refurbishment of the Liverpool Museum in particular is greater than the earlier developments combined. Here we have the chance to recreate an attraction which, despite its continuing popularity at 500,000 visitors per year, needs to be adapted for 21st century use if it is not to fall victim in time to obsolescence and decay. The idea of regenerating an existing arts and museum buildings on this scale has not been attempted before in Liverpool but is a necessary step if the benefits achieved elsewhere are not simply to be lost in the traditional cultural heart of the City (cf. Table 3).

One of the key questions surrounding these major capital developments (‘Flagships’) is the benefits they bring when compared with the effects of a similar sum spent on the arts in Liverpool in some other way. The question is partly to do with the size of the initial investment and partly to do with the subsequent management regime (see Table 4).

Flagships museums are essential for housing the bulk of the collections and the complex displays and services that make those collections accessible to the public. However, major capital developments can sometimes become remote from the community they serve. Often impressive and large-scale, they can appear daunting to potential users and partners in the cultural industries. The remainder of this paper deals

with the ways in which the inherent inertia of large organisations can be overcome and focused precisely on specific local needs.

Altering the cultural map

The development of new 'flagships' (or the renewal of existing ones) offers exciting opportunities to help and support community initiatives in new ways. NMGM already has a large range of 'cognate societies' covering subjects from archaeology to zoology. Each new development offers new scope for meeting these needs but can be seen as a threatening change to the established pattern of cultural provision. Since the cultural map is re-drawn by every flagship development, it is important that the project staff are aware of its effect and that appropriate consultation takes place during the design stages and continues after the development is completed.

A project may be conceived in terms of its regional economic and image benefits. However its role in influencing local cultural activity and in building public confidence comes more through the day-to-day operations. If the project is to be perceived as more than regional window-dressing, the staff involved need to be mindful of the variety of sources from which the project draws its support and that part of the local support is won by providing a service pitched at the expectations of the people who have watched it develop.

In the case of Merseyside Maritime Museum (which has included the Museum of Liverpool Life since 1993 and the Transatlantic Slavery Gallery since 1994), it has had a clear role as a major source of information on Liverpool's maritime, industrial and social history. Whether this was for visitors to the area or for local people has depended on the degree to which the museum has made itself a centre for local activities and initiatives as well as the interpreter of artefacts and related research knowledge. Similarly, the Conservation Centre will be seeking to establish its local relevance once its doors are opened in 1996. In both cases it is by means of an imaginative, varied public programme and by pro-active outreach work that the local role can be achieved. Both these areas of work, however, are dependent upon access to the core collections and research information which is mainly provided through displays, resource centres, publications or contact with experts.

Creating the means of access

The major developments described above occurred during a period in which the communication and interpretation strategies of museums and galleries have come under careful scrutiny. Hard on the heels of sharpening public awareness comes the revolution in information technology which, for those with access to the equipment, already offers reams of information at the click of a mouse. Whilst presenting opportunities for the layering and stacking of information for visitors to consult on-screen, it also puts pressure on museums to employ the technology in a comparable way to the suppliers of other educational software. Faced with a curious and articulate public who require more explanation and less doctrine, museums were obliged to re-assess their front-line: the displays. The last fifteen years have seen demonstrators and explainers working with interactive displays, a revision of the style and language used in labels and texts, and regular analysis of factors such as dwell-time and holding-power in relation to the design of individual exhibits.

New displays always present the opportunity to review existing styles of interpretation but such efforts to improve the quality of the message have often been hampered by a lack of data to support a new rationale. Conscious of this, NMGM built up a substantial body of market research since 1986. Recent visitor surveys aimed partly at building up a picture of the current demographic profile of the existing audience. The surveys also sought to establish the preferences and expectations of the audience and questioned non-users of the service (in the vicinity but not on the premises) to establish why they did not see museums as a priority. In most cases this proved to be that museums were seen as worthy places of learning but were perceived as lacking the entertainment quotient required of leisure options.

The surveys have reinforced the subjective impression that, compared with the population at large, the service was attracting a higher proportion of visitors from the A,B, C1 socio-economic groups. It produced a clear picture of the different visitor profiles between, for example, the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool Museum and the Museum of Liverpool Life (within the Maritime Museum development). It also gave currency to the view that, in a society exposed to many hours of fast-changing multi-media each day, people are becoming less tolerant of static, didactic displays unless there is an element of change built into them. There was evidence that visitors wanted to become more closely involved and even take control at certain points: levels of

interactivity, whether by encountering a demonstrator, by pressing buttons and levers, or by consulting a resource centre.

The analysis of people's reasons for visiting and the distances travelled led to a growing awareness that NMGM must regard itself as firmly in the leisure market, albeit at the educational end of it. Visitors judge a museum in terms of satisfaction for the individual (or for a group, usually of mixed ages and abilities), stimulation and 'new' experiences. They seek value for the time and money they expend.

The survey work led to the use of further research during the creation of new displays. Focus groups are used to try out broad concepts and draft texts, often leading to the adjustment of the way the intended message is expressed. Specific surveys are commissioned to establish the success of displays and a degree of flexibility is built in to the design to allow changes to be made as appropriate.

Activity Programmes for the Public at the Venues

Whilst considerable resources had traditionally been ploughed into formal education programmes for schools, colleges and other groups, relatively small amounts had been devoted to creating programmes for the 80% of visitors who visit NMGM on an informal basis. In order to create a programme of events and short-courses which could broaden the support for the museum and add value to a visit, specific posts were created at Merseyside Maritime Museum to develop public programmes.

Merseyside Maritime Museum was originally envisaged as a semi-industrial museum with regular demonstrations of boatbuilding, coopering, rope-making and ship-bottling. Further enhanced by a series of occasional events organised by a Visitors Services Officer, it functioned as a small seasonal museum from 1980 until 1984 when the refurbished Albert Dock site became available and the expansion phase outlined above followed on.

The 12,000 sq metres of building space demanded considerable resources for the creation of new displays but the established supplementary programme of live displays continued with the added dimension of a small theatre company. This grew out of the design of 'Emigrants to the New World' which, when created in 1984, was an early example of how displays could be transformed into dramatic experiences. In 1989 the devising and managing of the public programme became the responsibility of the Public Programmes Officer, who also recruited and trained a seasonal corps of demonstrators

to work with various interactive exhibitions or specific aspects of the public programme.

Once the Museum of Liverpool Life and the National Museum of Customs & Excise were established on site in 1993 & 1994 respectively, the theatre company expanded its work into these subject areas. Enhanced by occasional larger dramatic pieces and by regular music performances, the public programme could now also offer activities, films, videos, short presentations and talks on subjects ranging from the illegal importation of weapons, through marine life in the river Mersey to the historic ships beached in the Falkland Islands.

As a result of a partnership with a project from the USA, NMGM became the European venue for pioneering work in scientific exploration by means of video and satellite links. Electronic field trips to different parts of the world have been seen live by a series of audiences over a two week period during each of the last three years. To complement this, the public programme has been able to stage live TV shows looking at the underwater life in the Albert Dock by means of a remote operated vehicle (ROV). Live video-links have also been trialled at the Liverpool Museum, looking at the stores and archive areas behind the scenes. These 'telepresence' links are rehearsed and stage-managed to bring them to a standard that can compare favourably with professional TV and so engage the visitors through a familiar medium.

It is intended that similar live links will be used in The Conservation Centre where it is not possible to tour all visitors around the studios for reasons of safety, security and productivity. A carefully stage-managed event will 'take' the audience seated in the display area into a selected studio to look over the shoulder of the conservator and ask questions via two-way links. Once fibre-optic links are further developed, it should be possible to achieve the same links with other buildings, stores and workshops. The aim in every case is to use new technology to improve access to the collections, the organisation and the work of its staff.

One area of programming which can broaden interest in the museum is to stage either activities or exhibitions of art, music, dance or theatre which are inspired by the collections but which are not necessarily seeking to give out information about them. This can work successfully at both professional and amateur levels. Merseyside Maritime Museum is now the venue for a biennial exhibition of contemporary art

inspired by the sea for which submissions are gathered nationally. At other times, art activity days are led by professional artists. The key aim here is to allow people not on the staff of the museum an opportunity to interpret parts of the collection. Their comments may not be grounded in scholarship but they must inevitably be closer to some of the responses generated in onlookers. It all serves to suggest that the museum is a resource for public use, a stage for public cultural activities of all kinds.

Any public programme is limited more by the resources available to create it than by the flow of suitable ideas and material. As with all productions runs, however, it is far more cost effective to repeat any performance or event a number of times since a significant part of the cost will be in its research and development or in the setting-up of the event. The feasibility of any particular event can be calculated in terms of the cost per head of staging it. Bringing staff time into the equation will greatly increase the cost since there is virtually no event which can run without close management by staff who know the infrastructure. Such departures from the 'normal' running of the museum are, by their very nature, highly disruptive and so call for diplomacy and persuasiveness. The fact that they are out of the ordinary is, of course, what makes them attractive to the visitor.

By diversifying into new areas, the public programme reveals a loyal following of specialists or enthusiasts drawn from quite separate fields who then view the museum in a positive light. If each of those people then carries that positive message forward to others, it adds up to a steady broadening of the visitor base and an increase in the number of people who see the museum as useful or supportive to them and their endeavours. The opportunity to benefit from visitor experience, good or bad, has recently led to the revision of the complaints procedure (part of the Citizen Charter initiative for public sector bodies).

Outreach Programmes to the Community

Outreach is a flexible term used to describe a range of services. At one end of the spectrum it can be an extension of the museum service whereby collection items and educational sessions are relocated to schools, centres, hospitals or meeting rooms to substitute for a visit to the museum's premises. At the other end, it can mean active marketing and awareness raising designed to encourage more visits to the museum

itself. In between there are various degrees of liaison, service provision and advice offered to groups and individuals who are developing their own exhibition, archive or performance.

The most common subject area in which outreach is practised as a matter of course is in local and regional history. By its very nature, the subject lends itself to consultation with local groups and frequently to the giving of advice and assistance over local exhibitions, reminiscence sessions, oral history work and even therapy for older people. Staff from the Regional History Department at NMGM, now located within the Maritime Museum development, have been offering this kind of service for many years, making contact with as many community groups as possible within a defined catchment area. Occasionally the result of their outreach work will result in a public programme event at the museum, a useful means of putting a local endeavour in touch with a wider audience.

It was with the advent of the Transatlantic Slavery Gallery (TSG) at Merseyside Maritime Museum that the first full time Outreach Officer was appointed to work on raising awareness of the gallery, extending the work of the museum out to other groups and organisations and generating ideas and projects suitable for the public programme within the museum itself.

Opened in October 1994, the TSG is a substantial permanent display and is therefore of great significance to people of African descent everywhere and to anyone who is concerned with human behaviour over the centuries. The subject inevitably arouses strong feelings and the outreach officer assists in channelling the responses into an appropriate framework. The gallery was always intended as a starting point for discussion and debate rather than a definitive statement on transatlantic slavery. To foster this, the outreach officer encourages and supports a series of courses, seminars, activities and events, some of which are held outside the museum.

The Conservation Centre will have a relevance to people's lives of a different kind. Conservation in museums is a relatively unknown subject area usually kept behind the scenes. In creating a Centre which will have permanent public displays, training courses and public programmes, NMGM is both providing improved access to the service and is opening up new lines of consultation and advice.

In view of the unique subject area and in order to exploit the common ground between domestic and museum collecting, an outreach officer has been appointed to make contact with a range of groups, societies and education providers. The aim is to raise awareness of the Centre and its subject area and, at the same time, to gather information on local expectations. This in turn will shape the final education, training and public programmes.

Seeing the outreach officer as a conduit through which information is channelled in both directions is important. The data received, albeit of a subjective nature, is extremely useful in shaping educational and display strategies and the outreach officer should be regarded within the organisation as a well-informed adviser who can represent the views of potential users of the service. Briefing one individual to gather opinions does not replace formal consultation or research channels but certainly complements them and is a cost-effective method of bringing views into the organisation.

Conclusion

This paper has described some large museum developments in over the past 150 years Liverpool and outlined the cultural, social and economic benefits of the more recent examples. The scale of these developments is such that they have been able to make a real difference to in terms of employment, catalysing development and in the national (and international) perception of the cultural richness of the region. The paper has also discussed the weaknesses inherent in creating developments on a scale large enough to make a difference. It is suggested that these weaknesses can be overcome by a responsive activity and outreach programme that is informed by determined efforts to understand the needs of local people.

**TABLE 1: MERSEYSIDE MARITIME MUSEUM DEVELOPMENT
1978-86**

Cultural reasons for development

- outstanding maritime collections
- long-standing aim to create a maritime museum
- historic maritime site becoming derelict

Regeneration reasons for development

- improvement of a run down environment
- economic benefits during construction
- operating jobs on completion
- direct and indirect tourism benefit
- catalyst to other investment, e.g. Albert Dock, Tate Gallery

Sources of funds

- European Regional Development Fund (ERDF)
- Urban Programme (UP)
- English Tourist Board (ETB)
- Historic Buildings Council (HBC)
- Merseyside Development Corporation
- Gladstone Bequest
- Private gifts, grants and sponsorship
- County Council rates

Some estimated outputs

- 12,000 sq m of grade 1 listed buildings restored
- historic quaysides and graving docks repaired
- turnover £1.9m per year
- 130 full-time staff
- 28 seasonal staff

- ancillary local jobs 39
- Attendances 350,000 per year
- Residents 50%
- Day trips 20% at £5.54 = £0.39m ancillary spending
- Overnight 30% at £56.94 = £5.98m ancillary spending

TABLE 2: CONSERVATION CENTRE DEVELOPMENT : 1992-1996

Cultural reasons for development

- outstanding collections requiring conservation
- public accounts committee concern about care of national collections
- need for modern facilities

Regeneration reasons for development

- historic building becoming derelict
- improvement of a run down area
- economic benefits during construction
- operating jobs on completion
- direct and indirect effects of research, training and public use
- catalyst to other investment, e.g. Williamson Square, Queen Square
- outreach to popular understanding and enjoyment of conservation and associated arts, crafts and sciences

Sources of funds

- European Regional Development Fund
- Urban Programme via City Challenge
- Department of National Heritage
- Private gifts, grants and sponsorship

Some estimated outputs

- 5000 sq m of City Centre listed building refurbished

- 2000 sq m of museum space released for public use
- 250 person-years of work during construction
- 28 extra full-time staff
- 8 ancillary jobs
- 12 student placements per year
- 10 work experience internships per year
- 250 placements per year for short term courses
- 1250 day places per year for local people
- Attendances 100,000 per year
- Residents 50%
- Day trips 20% at £5.54 = £0.11m ancillary spending
- Overnight 10% at £56.94 = £0.57m ancillary spending

TABLE 3: LIVERPOOL MUSEUM DEVELOPMENT : 1998-2004

Cultural reasons for development

- popular institution 150 years old
- outstanding collections dispersed since 1940
- listed building complex requiring adaptation to modern use
- response to the information age
- response to Agenda 21 and quality of life issues
- response to the public understanding of science
- response to multi-ethnic city society
- response to accessibility in the 'city village'

Regeneration reasons for development

- economic benefits during development
- operating jobs on completion
- direct and indirect effects of research, training and tourism
- catalyst to other investment, e.g. Dale Street, Commutation Row
- centre for popular learning

Sources of funds

- European Union Objective 1 Funds
- National Lottery
- Department of National Heritage
- Private gifts, grants and sponsorship

Some estimated outputs

- 16,000 sq m of City Centre listed building refurbished
- 1000 person-years of work during construction
- 20 extra full-time staff
- 8 ancillary jobs
- 36 student placements per year

- 30 work experience internships per year
- 750 placements per year for short term courses
- 3750 day places per year for local people
- Extra attendances 200,000 per year
- Residents 50%
- Day trips 20% at £5.54 = £0.22m ancillary spending
- Overnight 30% at £56.94 = £3.42m ancillary spending

TABLE 4: WHY BUILD MUSEUM FLAGSHIPS?

Reasons for building ‘flagships’:

- to meet operational needs for arts and museum services to the public
- to make a highly visible statement of public commitment to cultural development
- to provide continuity over decades and centuries
- to provide the stability in which some kinds of excellence flourish

Some management dangers of ‘flagships’ :

- flagships can stagnate if they are not managed for innovation and renewal
- flagships can seem remote and unapproachable unless managed to be open and accessible
- flagships can become introverted unless managed as a base for outreach
- flagships can become ‘dead’ out of hours unless managed to support the ‘24-hour city’.

The contribution of the arts scene to the revitalisation of declining inner-city areas in Liverpool and Marseilles.

J. Pedro LORENTE

The installation of artists in deserted urban spaces is by no means a new phenomenon peculiar of our time. Ancien Regime Courts used to accommodate scholars and artists in garrets and attic rooms of aristocratic palaces, or in disused buildings. For example, when Versailles became the official dwelling of the French Court, two Parisian palaces deserted by the royal family were gradually handed over to artists and craftspeople: a number of studio apartments for *pensionnaires du Roi* were allowed between 1608 and 1806 in the Louvre, some of them near the stables, others on the top floor above the Grande Galerie, while part of the abandoned Luxembourg Palace was offered to the painter Charles Parrocel in 1745. This practice became an established policy after the French Revolution. The church of Cluny, the chapel of the Sorbonne, the convents of the Petits-Augustins, Carmes and Capucins, the Louvre and many empty palaces abandoned in their flight into exile by the enemies of the new Republic, were partly given to artists -one hundred years later, the Bolshevik Revolution did the same in Russia. During the nineteenth and early twentieth century it became in vogue in some great capitals like Rome to restore derelict religious or aristocratic buildings, installing there communities of artists subsidised by different European governments, whilst populous colonies of fashionable artists gathered in picturesque but declining fishing ports like Pont-Aven, Etretat, l'Estaque, Anzio or St. Ives, finding accommodation and workspace in converted fishermen-homes or store-rooms.

At the turn of the century, Marseilles and Liverpool counted themselves among such picturesque seaside towns attracting colonies of artists. Liverpool's artistic life then knew golden years, stirred by eccentric communities like the famous Sandon Studios Society, a group of artists and musicians animated for some time by the flamboyant Welsh painter Augustus John. The name Sandon Studios came from their first location, at 9 Sandon Terrace, but after the demolition of that house in 1907, they moved to an abandoned seventeenth-century edifice, originally built for a charitable institution for the education of poor and orphan children, the Bluecoat -so called because of the blue uniforms of the pupils. It was thus, thanks to the initiative of the

Sandon Group, led by the painter dame Hamel Calder, that the Bluecoat Chambers escaped demolition: today this precious milestone in Liverpool's rich architectonic heritage, is a mixe-use arts centre, featuring retailing spaces, galleries for temporary exhibitions, cafeteria, meeting rooms and, of course, artists' studios -thirteen studios for artists and craftspeople.

As for Marseilles, whose 'Belle Époque' vivacity was second only to Paris in the early decades of twentieth-century France, it was no coincidence that its artistic life flourished mainly in the district near the old port. There, where today tourists are attracted by the lure of the cafes and restaurants of a grand *piazza* called Cours Estienne-d'Orves, was in former days a harbour offering shelter to fishermen's boats and warehouses for the merchants to stock their goods. But the so-called Canal de la Douane and its adjacent area were filled up in 1925, to create a square for an open-air market. The buildings in the district then became cheap enough for small businesses, modest craftspeople and poor artists to rent the premises, especially the garrets: the painters Ambrogiani, Quilici, Margaritis, Ferrari, Briata, Sylvander, Autard, Fernand Nègre -who doubled as part-time art dealer and frame maker-, Jacky Catoni, Richard Jaubert, etc... Those were the happy years of a *vie de bohème* under the roofs: in the nights, when the cries and crowds of the open-air market had disappeared, the ebullience of the area continued, agitated by artists, poets and journalists, a lively small world which somehow survived up to the 1960s (Boissieu, 1980; Veer, 1994).

Nevertheless, interesting as the above examples might be as historic precedents, it seems clear that the history of artists' appropriation and animation of disused buildings really started with the post-industrial economic restructuring which took place after World War II. Entire inner-city industrial quarters born on the wake of early capitalism, then became obsolete and redundant; but their brick and cast iron buildings infested with rats, lacking of baths, terribly cold in winter, revealed themselves to be immensely attractive to modern artists because the rent was cheap. These converted factories, workhouses, slaughterhouses, hangars, silos and warehouses allowed a modern return to the role of the artist as host of meetings, parties, debates and artistic 'happenings' -future social historians should compare such places to the usually huge and equally convivial artists' studios of the 19th century. Even art historians will perhaps one day pay due homage to the determinant role played by these vast spaces

which made possible the creation of large-scale art-works. No wonder that some of the pioneers in the re-occupation, legal or not, of such buildings during the 1950s and early 60s produced mammoth paintings and art-installations: e.g. the artists of Abstract Expressionism, Pop Art and Minimalism! New York, then emerging as world artistic Mecca, produced the most influential examples, like Andy Warhol's *Factory* or the co-operatives of artists living in SoHo lofts promoted by George Maciunas and the Fluxus movement (Zukin, 1982; Simpson, 1981; Broner, 1986).

Thus, thanks to the initiative and vision of some social outcasts, jewels of a then devalued heritage of 'industrial archaeology' escaped destruction. The agitated new life of these places embodied the alternative culture of the late 1960s and early 70s. In Europe, like in the U.S.A., former commercial/industrial capitals also hosted famous examples of this urban fashion for art venues in alternative places: London (Albany Empire, Arts Lab, Middle Earth, Oval House, Round House), Amsterdam (Melkweg, Paradiso, Kosmos), Hamburg (Die Fabrik), Copenhagen (Huset) and Brussels (Ferme V). The re-use of warehouses and similar industrial edifices for artists' studios became a common policy; especially in London, allegedly the city with the largest population of artists in Europe, where during the last twenty years hundreds of buildings have been converted by developers, artists' co-operatives, and artists' associations like SPACE, Art Services, created in 1968, or ACME Studio, established in 1972, which provide cheap apartments and studio spaces (Williams, 1993; Jones, 1995). But in Marseilles and Liverpool too, penniless artists triggered a new social fortune for many derelict buildings situated in declining inner-city areas. Those were the years when Michel Fontaine directed the Théâtre Quotidien de Marseille for audiences stuck in a granary, when Liverpool's Everyman Theatre opened in a former chapel and crowds of youngsters queued up to see the Beatles playing in a packed cellar called 'The Cavern', one of the many venues of pop culture mushrooming in a district of derelict warehouses at the heart of the city. The other focus of Liverpoolian artistic animation was Toxteth (Liverpool 8), a popular suburb on a hill towering above the South Docks. Crews of seamen with fresh cash sustained a rough nightlife of Babelian pubs, notorious hotels, street prostitutes and drug dealers on the lower part of the district, whilst working-class terrace houses lined up the hill, giving shelter to a cosmopolitan population alarmingly decreasing because the port offered them ever fewer jobs. It became a cheap and attractive place for modern artists-bohemians, as Pop artist Adrian Henri has recently avowed:

I went back to Liverpool in 1957 because it was very much an artists' town: we all went to the same pubs, visited each other's studios at the weekend; most of us lived in Liverpool 8, a Georgian/Victorian, once-genteel area then host to immigrants and other indigents like me. Gradually, because the place is essentially a big village, I met poets like Roger McGough and would-be rock musicians like John Lennon and Stuart Sutcliffe, a brilliant young painter destined for a tragically short life. Later, in the Bistro under the Everyman Theatre, I met playwrights like Willy Russell, actors like Bernard Hill and Julie Walters, and later-to-be filmmakers like the Clarke family /.../ Liverpool 8 (or Toxteth, to give it its post-riots name) is an area of largely cheap apartments on the edge of the town centre; this, and its general liveliness, has attracted artists who come here not merely to teach, but simply to live and work. Walsh, from Dublin, John Clem Clarke from New York and James Howie from Scotland, for example, were here for a time in the early Sixties. (Henri, 1994; cf. also Willett, 1967: 173-177; Davies, 1992: p. 49 & 124; and especially Cornelius, 1982 -the humorous memoirs of life in Toxteth [Liverpool 8] by an artist-bohemian).

Towards 1970, Adrian Henri and some of his friends set up the *Bridewell Studios* in a former police station -'Bridewell' being the traditional name in Liverpool for police stations. Now they own the edifice, which features a gallery for temporary exhibitions and thirty-two studios. Other local artists followed suit. Amongst them the sculptor Jean Powell, who in the 1970s went to work in a former brewery. Even the venerable Liverpool Academy, founded in 1769 by William Roscoe, the most famous patron of the arts in the history of Liverpool, in 1972 moved into a former shop, from which it moved again six years later into a warehouse in Pilgrim Street, where the society continued active until its definitive end in 1981. Another groundbreaking landmark arose in 1984, when the artist Terry Duffy founded *Arena Studios* in a warehouse on Duke Street, providing studio spaces for more than 40 artists and craftspeople. In 1988 another established artist, the painter Peter Corbett, formed with a group of friends *Merseyside Contemporary Artists* to assist artists in obtaining places to work and exhibit in Liverpool.

That led the way to the present process of arts-led renewal and revitalisation of the Bold Street/Duke Street district, a Victorian quarter near the city shopping centre and the old Docks, between Chinatown and Hanover Street. Soon, many individual

artists, designers, architects and other artists' associations installed themselves in derelict buildings, which seemed condemned to demolition. Although they cannot afford but minimal investments, the presence of creative people has assured skilled repairs and a degree of maintenance for those warehouses which once were archetypal of the cityscape. Moreover, in some cases the buildings in question were architectonic relics of the city's heritage and history. That was the case of an imposing neoclassic Congregational Church, which was abandoned and suffering rapid dereliction: its once white stones were so blackened by air pollution that the monument was popularly nicknamed 'The Blackie'. But in 1987 about twenty social workers and artists led by Bill Horpe brought it to new life as *Great George Street Arts Centre*. Matching local, national and European funds, the façade is now clean and the vast spaces inside have been recovered for artists' studios, rehearsal rooms, exhibition galleries, cafeteria, meeting rooms, etc... catering for the social and cultural welfare of the communities and racial minorities of its neighbourhood: Chinatown and Toxteth.

Same is the case of nearby Cornwallis Hall, a great Victorian edifice off Duke Street, built in 1867 as the first school/workshop for the blind in Great Britain, used by its present owner to store bric-a-brac and furniture. But in 1992 most of the building was rented by *Off Stage*, a multidisciplinary arts-association of theatre people, dancers and visual artists with a belief in social work. Thus, like in the Blackie, outsiders are welcome to come and use the facilities offered -art-studios, rehearsing rooms and a gallery for exhibitions, called 'The Art Cellar' because of its location- possibly by contributing a small fee.

Other new social-minded arts organisations active in Liverpool's multicultural inner-city include Liverpool Anti-Racist Community Arts Association, doing research and community-work for the integration of black people in a Grade II listed building in Clarence Street, and the neighbouring Centre for Arts Development Training, in a converted industrial building in Franceys Street, organising courses to train young art graduates or individuals possessing artistic skills for arts employment and community development jobs.

However, art-production spaces such as artist studios and community centres were not the only prime movers for the revitalisation of derelict areas of Liverpool's city centre. Consumption-oriented art businesses have also been actively involved from the very beginning. In the immediate years after the opening of the Tate Gallery in

Albert Dock, a number of empty Victorian warehouses of the Bold Street/Duke Street area were snapped up by commercial art galleries run by alternative art dealers or by art professionals turned 'mediators'. There was already an historic presence of art material suppliers in the area plus the shops and galleries of the *Bluecoat Chambers*, but the forerunner to the post-modern arrival of art-dealing hubbub in the area was the *Hanover Galleries*, founded by the painter Susan Prescott in 1983 in a charming Victorian building on 11-13 Hanover Street -originally a cap and hat factory. Then, in 1984, an enterprising artist from Northern Ireland who studied at the Liverpool College of Art and was living in Toxteth, Janine Pinion, opened *Acorn Gallery & Cafe* in her own studio/kitchen, on the top floor of a former warehouse off Bold Street: this soon became the favourite meeting place in the Liverpool arts-scene for a vegetarian meal and a coffee.

The next step of the burgeoning Liverpool art scene on the wake of the birth of the Tate of the North, came in 1989 when sculptor Arthur Dooley and garage owner Alan Johnson, established their own gallery, *The Liverpool Academy of Arts* -no connection with the historic institution of that name founded by William Roscoe. The gallery, which, since 1990, has doubled as a theatre is located in a Seel Street warehouse provided by Exhaust Supplies: the house was already home to the *Liver Sketching Club*, a cafe, a shop, a studio of two sculptors and the workshop of a clothes designer... Such a neighbourhood offered a natural habitat to the new gallery, whose exhibitions feature mainly artists starting their professional careers. The new *Merkmal Gallery*, on the other hand, specialises in well-known national and continental modern artists and was opened in 1992 by Martin Ainscough and Wera von Reden-Hobhouse in a former shop and a semi-derelict city council property, at 5-9-11 Falkner Street -since 1995 it has become the *Ainscough Gallery* and also runs a trendy pavement cafe. Further, in 1994 the architect Ken Martin refurbished at his own expense the two top floors of a large warehouse building at 32-36 Hanover Street to install his studio and a gallery for private views of modern architecture and visual art displays, *The View Gallery*, which is somehow shrinking but still a very active part of the vibrant artistic life now animating the district.

This is not to say that every commercial venture has been a success story in the reconquest and recovery of derelict buildings in the area; that would be quite strange in this kind of business which is marked by many short-lived ventures. Less fortunate have been other recent commercial ventures such as the Campbell Street Gallery, in a

former warehouse, or the church in Charlotte Street converted by Jo Farragh to an alternative space for artists studios/exhibition called The Gallery, and a former shop on Bold Street which became Liverpool's only gallery specialised in photography, Open Eye: all three of them have closed to the great regret of artists and art amateurs. But the strength of the local arts-scene remains a great asset for the regeneration of the quarter as can be tested every-year in October on the occasion of the *Visionfest Festival*. This started as a series of open studio events arranged by the local community of artists and dazzying private views in alternative galleries, but since 1992 it has become a unique national event, partly funded by the North West Arts Board and the City of Liverpool, collaborating with galleries, universities, communities artists' co-ops and individuals. As any other biennial or annual arts-festival, it works primarily as a public showcase for the latest art; but with the peculiarity that, on the other hand, Visionfest wants to work also as a hothouse for innovative art-making in new places: pubs, street billboards, warehouses, alternative galleries, ferries, schools, etc.

From the very beginning, this booming of places for art production and consumption in a part of town containing many dilapidated landmarks of the Victorian splendour of Liverpool, has inevitably conjured up reminiscences of other famous art districts like SoHo in New York, that quarter of derelict Victorian warehouses in Manhattan turned a hot-spot for arts in the 1970s, which is now a luxurious area for tourists and celebrities. Such comparison is only brandished with anger and menace by Liverpool artists, who fear a similar process of gentrification will eventually substitute trendy yuppies for poor artists, but amongst other Liverpoolians outside the arts-scene the analogy only came as a wishful inspiration for promoting urban renewal. Policy makers and urban developers hoped for a massive arrival of creative people, acknowledging the tremendous appeal for young socialites entailed by a lively arts-scene. Liverpool City Council, the regional art administration and private developers started a publicity campaign claiming a new image for Liverpool, formerly a 'city of merchants', as a 'city of artists'.

Thus in 1989-90 Charterhouse Estates, a private London company with a vision for Liverpool, bought from the city corporation most of the properties of the area: more than three hundred buildings. It was hoped that, like in the Marais quarter of Paris, SoHo in New York, or Temple Bar in Dublin, a market-led renewal of these run-down buildings would succeed in attracting a young population of squandering urbanites to

this district, which was thus optimistically renamed 'The Creative Quarter'. The idea was good, however selling the city properties to London-based urban developers instead of choosing local firms soon proved problematic, because as is well-known, the massive wreck of London Docklands truncated the London developers' investments in Liverpool. That was the case of Charterhouse Estates and the CZWG developing company, run by Roger Zogolovitch. The renewal of the 'Creative Quarter' came to a stand-still.

But now other developers of the Northern region are increasingly active in Liverpool's 'Creative Quarter'. Most remarkable is Urban Splash, a Manchester architects' partnership -based in a converted Victorian factory behind Piccadilly Station- run by two associates, Jonathan Falkingham and Tom Bloxham. They specialise in upgrading run-down inner areas by developing apartments, offices, pubs, clubs and young-life retailing. In Liverpool they have turned a number of Georgian warehouses in Slater Street and Wood Street into offices, tapas bars, youth shops (designer clothes, computer games, music, tattoos, etc). Often, as in The Liverpool Palace, they provide studio spaces for creative people (architects, designers, artists) or, as in Baaba Bar, they arrange temporary art exhibitions on the premises. Their strategy is to nurture a lively artist' presence as a means to enhance their establishments with an atmosphere of youth and alternative culture. In 1995 Tom Bloxham has just culminated the urban renewal operation of 'Concert Square' with the opening of a Victorian building, originally built for a chemical company, as loft studio apartments and bistros. Nevertheless, the most interesting part of his activity as far as the topic of this paper is concern, remains the opening of a nearby Victorian building ten years ago, as the first great department store for clubwear, alternative shopping and second-hand bric-a-brac, called 'Quiggins' (a very successful business; so much so that Mr. Bloxham has repeated the operation in a similar building in Manchester). Quiggins' of Liverpool is expanding, and the latest development in the premises has been the opening of the top floor by a group of artists, *Merseyside Arts Base*, who run an exhibitions gallery and five artists' studios. Thus even the private market of urban developers and business people sees great benefits in nurturing artists and arts venues in terms of bettering the image of an urban area and attracting people to it. Hosting art exhibitions, inviting musicians and using designers is now becoming the new tune generally cheered by equally artist-friendly developers, like Urban Strategies, or other mixed-use centres for fashion shopping, like Trading Places or the Cream Shops. Furthermore, the burgeoning

array of new night-life venues in the area, like Largo Bistro, Eve Bistro, The Jazz Club, The Gallery, Beluga Bar, and countless dance and music clubs (rock, jazz, house, dance, etc.) is making the 'Creative Quarter' Liverpool's 'Clubland' ... once again popular music is doing the miracle of rejuvenating and regenerating the city centre of Liverpool!

Less developed is, for the time being, the nightlife economy of the old quarter of Le Panier in Marseilles, probably because this is still considered a dangerous area by night but also because the noise and agitation would be a disturbance to the inhabitants of this predominantly residential district. (By contrast, the warehouses around Duke Street constituted a non-dwelling area in the zoning of Liverpool). Artists started to move into Le Panier during the 1980s, because the neighbourhood was outmigrating and the rents were extremely cheap: some painters like Guy Ibañez, François Mezzapelle or Gérard Fabre, from the Association Lorette, have been in the area for twenty years. But arts presence in the area started to grow and become noticeable only after the opening of the Vieille Charité cultural complex. Consequently, in the 1990s the art scene in Marseille has been torn in two halves: South of the Cannebiere Boulevard, in the well-to-do district, have remained professional art dealers, like the *Galerie Roger Pailhas* or the *Galerie Athanor* and the historic hub of well-established galleries (Veer, 1994), whilst the less favoured North districts and the Panier in particular have experienced a booming of fringe art flourishing in alternative places. Alas, the botanical terminology describes too well this phenomenon because of the ephemeral life of many such initiatives. Le Moulin du Panier and the Chapelle des Penitents, two business combining art shows with restaurant/cabaret did not last long. The art galleries of 25 and 27 rue St. Antoine -one of them in a converted bedding store-, and the new Galerie Le Centaure in 49 rue du Panier are all struggling to survive. But many others are emerging, most of them run by artists doubling as amateur dealers, and the thriving art trade in the Panier is now actively supported and well-publicised by a lobbying association, chaired by painter Hubert Oddo, who in 1994 opened in front of the Vieille Charité a shop called 'Pigment 186' which he uses as his studio and as commercial gallery for his works and those of his friends.

However in Marseilles, hometown of Pagnol and other national glories of the French theatrical tradition, the leadership in arts-led revitalisation of derelict buildings

has historically been galvanised by avant-garde theatre companies -a bit like pop music gigs in the case of Liverpool. The epitome of this kind of intervention has been the establishment of *Théâtre National de la Criée Aux Poissons* in the old port's fish-market, constructed in 1909. This cast-iron structure had become redundant in 1976 when the local fishing float was transferred to Saumaty and a modern fish market opened in a newly developed urban district. But the old building was spared thanks to the passionate polemics raised in those years by the destruction of the old market halls of Paris: a new national theatre was inaugurated there on the 22nd May, 1981, under the lead of the famous actor and director, Marcel Maréchal.

Just a few blocks down the portfront, at number 16 quai de Rive-Neuve, in a courtyard of warehouses, Anne-Marie and Frédéric Ortiz have created the 'Passage des Arts' with the establishment there, since 1983, of two theatres *Théâtre Off* and *Badaboum*. Today the site is a true Passage of Arts, fully deserving that name, because the association Arts Parallèles runs an art gallery there and the painter Jean Triolet has also moved in, installing his own studio and a reprographic business.

A similar venture has also come to life in the area of the port de la Joliette, where, since 1985, the *Compagnie Théâtre Provisoire* has used a former silo and mill as the *Théâtre de la Minoterie*: two theatre-rooms of capacities of two hundred and one hundred respectively, a bar, and a specialised library which also doubles as an art exhibitions gallery.

Another type of redundant building brought back to life is the churches, chapels and convents. During the last two decades, countless religious edifices have been converted into theatres in Marseilles. In 1978 Jacques Durbec established his company of *Mime Théâtre de Marseille* in a deconsecrated Benedictine church and convent in rue d'Aubagne, which was already partially occupied by the *Théâtre Mazenod* and the *Salle Escoutille*. This process of conversion culminated in 1981, with the inauguration of the *Théâtre la Nef* at the site. Contemporaneously, not too far away from there, in boulevard Garibaldi, the ex-church of the Bernardines, was reopened as a theatre under the direction of Alain Fourneau.

In 1990 the aforementioned Alain Fourneau, from *the Théâtre des Bernardines*, and Philippe Foulquié from *Massalia Théâtre de Marionnettes*, with the backing of Christian Poitevin, then Head of Cultural Affairs of Marseilles City Council, founded *Système Friche Théâtre*, a structure of interdisciplinary vocation, the first location of which was a grain silo in the suburban boulevard Magallon. But the following year,

with help from the Municipality, the Direction Régionale d'Art Contemporain (DRAC) and the Ministère de la Culture, the team moved into an immense site of 40 000 m², the former tobacco factory in the Belle-de-Mai quarter, a central working-class city district. Its capacity of one-hundred seats makes the Massalia the biggest permanent marionettes theatre in France, but apart from this attraction other venues came to the Friche de la Belle-de-Mai in 1993: e.g. the Association des Musiques Innovatrices, led by Ferdinand Richard, and ten studios for visual artists administered by the Association Astérides. Then, in 1994, some music studios -Euphonia-, as well as workshops for photography and video creation -Aye Aye Production-, a gig hall for up to 700 people, a *nouvelle cuisine* restaurant, a bistro, and various mass-communication ventures catering for the young and alternative multicultural audiences of the great metropolitan area of Marseilles: radio Grenouille, and the newspapers/magazines *Taktik*, *Tk2* and *Régie Bleue*.

The Friche Belle-de-Mai is perhaps a very special case of public funds pouring generously into a grass-roots artist-led initiative, but regardless of the amount invested there, it has to be seen within the context of political practices in France, where shapers of cultural policy (with some exceptions, e.g. Fumaroli, 1992) are not reluctant to taxpayer money being spent supporting artists and encouraging art production. The Direction des Arts Plastiques of the Culture Ministry regularly bestows a considerable part of its budget on promoting new artists' studios, co-financing repair works undertaken by artists in their studios (up to 50% of the total expenditure) and subsidising urban developers who built artists' studios (between 80,000 and 100,000 FF. for every studio). As Catherine Millet has pointed out, the contemporary arts-scene in France has evolved from slumming anti-establishment art communities to associations of tenants working in subsidised sites:

La nouveauté de notre époque, c'est que les contemporains, mieux informés et plus tolérants, veulent bien mettre de plus en plus d'espaces collectifs à la disposition des artistes. Alors, le modèle du marginal ou du maudit s'estompe. Le suicidé de la société fait place au subventionné de la société [The novelty of our time is that today's people, better informed and more tolerant, are keen on offering more and more places for artists. Hence, the role model of the artist as social outcast is blurring. The suicidal subversive is being substituted by the subvention-benefited.] (Millet, 1994: p. 280).

Happily enough, this growing concern to reintegrate artists back into the heart of our cities seems to be pervading beyond political or social divides (for specialised literature on studio provision cf. Lansmark, 1981; Lipske, 1988; Keens, 1989; Lawless, 1990; Kartes, 1993; Williams, 1993 ; Colin, 1994). The return of the right to power in France has brought some cuts in arts spending, but not a significant change in cultural policies. Besides, tax-payer money is not the only source of support for provision of artists' studios in our modern society. Corporate patronage often comes forth with synergetic partnerships with artists: some companies see the presence of artists on their premises as an enhancement and revalorisation of their property. This is the case of the Port Autonome de Marseille, the company in charge of Marseilles' port infrastructures, which often holds art exhibitions along the main pier and every Summer it hosts some of the events of the *Fête des Suds* festival in one of its hangars (besides, sculptor Harmut Bosbach has been graciously granted the use of a redundant hangar as his studio). Another local example is the Societé SARI-SEERI, administrator of the Docks de la Joliette, where every year a new block of these typically Victorian warehouses has been restored and converted into offices. Before the new spaces are offered for sale however, the company temporarily offers some parts for artists' studios and/or art exhibitions -this works well as publicity bait, because on the occasions of 'private view' and 'exhibition inauguration' parties the development company rallies a social gathering of wealthy socialites who might be potential clients of the art-works... and the property's future development as offices!

Yet, in spite of the above, it is undeniable that the main promoter of the reuse of redundant buildings in Marseilles by artists remains the City Council. Firstly because a number of artists, chosen by established application procedures, can benefit from a free lease of about twenty-three months of a modern studio in one of the converted buildings administered by the *Ateliers d'Artistes de la Ville de Marseille*, a new municipal service created in 1990. Its headquarters are based in a former textile factory in the Lorette district (there is a space for exhibitions on the ground floor, usually featuring works by the tenants above). The other main site they own is a former furniture workshop in the central Panier quarter, where two other buildings are now in refurbishment and will soon become artists' houses as well.

Secondly, the Cultural Affairs Bureau of the Marseilles City Council has, in the last decade, run an ambitious programme of art commissions, some of which have consisted of artistic interventions on derelict sites. For example, in April-September 1990, two local artists -Claude Caillol and Judith Bartolani- and two invited guests -Yvan Daumas and Jean-Jacques SURIANDU- worked as artists in residence at the former Longchamp Zoo -definitively closed since 1987, after 133 years of activity.

Third, the Office de la Culture, a semi-independent organ financed by the City Council, seeks the co-ordination of public patronage of the arts in Marseille, giving special attention to art developments in derelict or less-favoured city areas. Thus, in contrast to the usual situation in Liverpool, it is rare to find in Marseilles inner-city slums artists' associations which have not sometimes benefited from public money -usually matching funds from the Ville de Marseille Council, the Conseil Général of the province, the Region Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, and the Ministry of Culture. This is generally the case of almost any organisation aiming at converting buildings into artists' studios: the list is inexhaustible. For example five visual artists, headed by Sylvie Reyno, who installed themselves in the former Pâtes-Bonhomme factory of La Calade. Or the exhibition/studio space created by Mary Pupet and Louis-Daniel Jouve, in a former silo not far from the port hangars -in the distressed 15th city district. Or again the ex-priory of Le Canet, a nearby modest working-class area, transformed into artists' studios and an art-exhibitions centre in 1995 by the association *Hors-Là*. Or also the old Public Baths of the rue de la Palud, refurbished for public art in 1992 by the group *Avanti Rapido* -the space is now animated by the association *New Baz'Art*. The same as other former Public Baths, the Grands Bains Douches de la Plaine, which have been converted into studios by François Bazzoli and the other members of the association *Art-Cade* in 1993.

A very special case should be added to this long list: the old slaughter houses of the chemin de la Madrague. Since 1989, several collectives of artists animate parts of that enclave of the populous 15th urban district. Notably *Lézard Plastic Production*, a group of practitioners of public art constituted by Didier Boisgard, Jean-François Marc and Philippe Poudra, who every two years organise a *Biennale d'Art de Groupe*, the fourth edition of which took place in 1995. Other art structures have burgeoned in the premises with the acquiescence of the site owner, the City Council. The street-theatre company *Générik Vapeur*, the Cabaret 'Fou volant' of the company *Inflammable*, and two music bands, *Bird in Shell* and *Edmonds*, camped there early on to use some halls

as rehearsal spaces. Later, other organisations joined in, such as Casa Factori (graphic design and photography studio), Les Filles Latines (a fashion workshop), Les Arts Sauts (agency for the production of spectacles), Sud Side (industrial design and care of historic motorbikes). However, the future of the place as an alternative arts community is now in jeopardy. The present occupants have been asked to leave because the City Council, which has now renamed the site *Cité du Cinéma*, intends to use the former slaughter houses as a sort of Cinecittà, i.e. film setting and studios for film-making. The project is, for the time being, paralysed due to financial constraints in the municipal treasury and, in part, because of some political embarrassment in having to violently expel the artists-squatters. But it is obvious that Marseilles' artists cannot afford confronting the municipality, their main patron; that would be like killing their hen of gold eggs. Therefore, since September 1995 Lézard-Plastic-Production have opened new headquarters in the city centre, converting a forlorn furniture warehouse near the port into an exhibition and performance space: the Centre international d' Arts Visuels *Cargo*. They still hope to retain their premises in the Madrague as a space for art creation, while this new site is more consumer-oriented, featuring a shop specialising in art books, prints and crafts, a conference room, a bistro, an internet terminal, and two galleries for exhibitions of international contemporary art.

In short, the most ambitious examples of revitalisation of derelict industrial sites by art groups in Marseilles are the Friche Belle-de-Mai and the Abattoirs. Actually, both are prominent cases in a European network called *Trans Europe Halles*, linking independent art centres installed in warehouses, market-halls, factories, etc * . Membership now stands at around twenty members: Bloom (in Mezzago, near Milan), City Arts Centre (Dublin), Confort Moderne (Poitiers), Halles de Schaerbeek (Brussels), Huset (Aarhus), Kaapelitehdas (Helsinki), Kultur Fabrik (Luxembourg), Kultur Fabrik (Koblenz), Kulturhuset (Bergen), L'Usine (Geneve), Mejeriet (Lund),

* This cross-European network supported by the European Union and backed by the Council of Europe was born in March 1983, during a weekend festival of seminars, exhibitions, films, and performances celebrating the recuperation of several derelict buildings by independent cultural centres. This festival, entitled 'Les aventuriers de l'arche retrouvée' was organised by the Halles de Schaerbeek (Brussels), inviting similar centres from seven European cities. That was the start of more than thirty similar meetings elsewhere in the following ten years, in which time new associates joined from all around Europe. However, as any association, *Trans Europe Halles* has also experienced, with time, some withdrawals. There is, as a result, also a list of ex-members: Ny Scen (Göteborg), Huset (Copenhagen), Albany Empire (London), Transformadors (Barcelona).

Melkweg (Amsterdam), Moritzbastei (Leipzig), Retina (Ljubljana), Rote Fabrik (Zürich), The Junction (Cambridge), Ufa-Fabrik (Berlin), Vooruit (Gent), Waterfront (Norwich), W.U.K. (Vienna). A number of associated-members complement this register: Hôpital Ephemere (Paris), La Friche Belle de Mai (Marseilles), Ileana Tounta Art Center (Athens), Kaapelitehdas (Helsinki), Kulturhuset USF (Bergen), Mylos (Tessalonica), Multihus Tobaksfabrikken (Esbjerg), Noorderligt (Tilburg), Petöfi Csarnok (Budapest), Retina-Metelkova (Ljubljana), Tranway (Glasgow).

This brings us back to the general European context. But in fact it would be a daunting and impossible task to discuss here the vast number of initiatives whereby grass-roots communities of artists are animating derelict buildings -usually backed by some degree of public encouragement and funds. One can only try to complement the above list of *Trans Europe Halles* members with names of other historic art centres similarly installed in former warehouses or industrial buildings. In Rotterdam, for example, the veteran 'Witte de With' is a contemporary art complex installed in a converted warehouse/workshop. At the end of the 1980s, a contemporary art centre, 'Tinglado 2', opened in a rebuilt warehouse on Tarragona's port waterfront. The Centre d'Art 'Usine Fromage' in Darnétal, near Rouen, is installed in a former cheese factory. Since 1994, a co-operative of artists in Liège have occupied the 'Space 251 Nord', the 19th-century building of a coal mining company. In the North of England, the model village of Saltaire built by the industrialist Titus Salt in 1853 to become the main site of the textile belt of Bradford, has been brought back to life by the painter Jonathan Silver, who has developed in a huge mill complex he bought in 1987 a combination of shopping, performing arts and art exhibition activities -including a permanent gallery featuring works by Bradford-born pop artist David Hockney.

This is by no means a comprehensive and closed list, because there are increasingly more and more redevelopments like these. The secret of their success consists in a mixed formula: restaurants, salad bars, cafes, bistros, alternative shops, young radio broadcasting, art exhibitions, art studios, nightlife, festivals, live music, cinema, theatre, dance... all within one complex of buildings in a former industrial estate. The atmosphere in such places is usually a cosy mingling of fringe artists and thriving alternative multi-cultural social groups -hippies, punks, gays, Blacks, Arabs, Sub-Americans. Every year, new examples of these kinds of grassroots initiatives are mushrooming all over Europe. In a recent visit to East Berlin, I was struck by the lively

atmosphere of two former breweries of the Prenzlauerberg district, which are now very popular drinking, shopping and art places for the urban flaneurs and night socialites.

But in their success also lays a great danger. If artists and art communities become successful redevelopers, they can be tempted to resign from their initial vocation and pursue a new career as urban developers. In Britain this has been a notorious phenomenon during the urban boom of the 1980s, when so many business-minded artists left the tools of their craft, realising that their ability to discover and revitalise derelict buildings could earn them more money, more quickly (Seligman, 1986; Lawson, 1988). At another level, this is still the case of some very successful London organisations, such as 'SPACE Art Services', 'ACME', the 'Limehouse Foundation' or other similar ventures for studio provision in converted buildings (Williams, 1993; Jones, 1995): they are doing a fine job both in regenerating abandoned buildings and in ensuring some regular income to the artists employed in their management. But it can sometimes be embarrassing when visiting these artists organisations if one asks the managers about their latest art creations, because in many cases their bureaucratic job has completely taken over and they are not any more practising artists. This is not so much the case in Liverpool and Marseilles, probably due to the more modest scale of the artists' studio organisations, where all my interlocutors have always been practising artists, yet some of them would easily avow that at least half of their labour time is spent as curators, mediators, administrators. An old solution for this problem is to establish a rota: in Paris in the 1830s a group of five painters -Trimolet, Steinheil, Meissonier, Daubigny, and Dechaumes- tried such a deal, forming a sort of co-operative, agreeing that each in turn would work at his art for a year at the expense of the others (Pelles, 1963: p. 30 and 166, footnote 21). However, in my opinion the best solution would be that urban developers came forward producing affordable artists' studios instead of systematically 'office-ificating' ex-industrial buildings. A paradigmatic case, combining galleries, studios, apartments, cafes and dancing spaces, is Birmingham's Custard Factory Quarter, opened in 1994 by a London-based businessman on the former premises of Birds, once a world leader Victorian firm in custard production (Cox et al., 1995).

Truly enough, these business-led initiatives are no arts charity: clever property developers are now very aware of the glamorous appeal of artists studios and thriving alternative life as an attraction for customers. I have already pointed out this

while discussing some examples of artist-friendly developers from Marseilles and Liverpool, like the Société SARI-SEERI, which is refurbishing the *Docks de la Joliette* and Urban Splash, the entrepreneurs for *The Arts-Palace* and *Concert Square* -and promoters of the conversion of number of Victorian warehouses in Manchester city centre into alternative shopping complexes, loft living apartments, spaces for independent theatre groups and other young cultural venues and art galleries (Boyle et al., 1992). Thus, ironically, artists and the arts have become a kind of bait: an attractive packaging for mega-projects aiming at the renewal of entire derelict districts for sale/hire as mixed-use estates in the housing market. Actually, in the publicity campaigns of urban renewal operations launched either by city planning authorities or by real estate agencies, one often finds catch phrases boasting about the involvement of the arts sector in the area to be developed. This is a modern phenomenon which now fascinates some urban historians:

Areas of cities become, for the first time, colonies of creativity, islands of visionaries and experimentation, social as well as artistic, which in turn transformed the urban environment. Artists created a 'myth of place' in bohemia: magnets for the heroes of the time and glasshouses for the bourgeoisie in search of emotions (Ghilardi Santacatterina, 1995: p.14; cf. also Landry & Bianchini, 1995: p. 26 and 47).

Nevertheless, the spirit of independence and revolt inherent in the personality of artists makes them, in general, undomesticated citizens, more often eager to confront urban developers than to collaborate with them. Proof of this is the fact that artists and artists' organisations often have headed urban revolts. In America, the most notorious case took place two decades ago when passionate campaigns for the preservation of New York's SoHo occurred through public demonstrations, political lobbying and anarchist hostility to the law. There are also some well-known European cases. In Berlin, during the riots of 1981, artists and young students featured prominently in the world media as the squatters who radically opposed their eviction from the district of Kreuzberg (Colquhoun, 1995: p. 128). Great criticism as well, by both artists and scholars, has met the renewal of the Temple Bar quarter in Dublin, which has lost its artistic soul and is now a trendy commercial district where most of the new housing is apartments for singles (Simms, 1995). Many other famous examples could be quoted, not all finishing with happy endings. Such was the case in London,

where recently, artists led the local communities in protests unsuccessfully opposing the transformation of the Docklands into a jungle of offices towers (Bird, 1993). On these matters, the natural place where art activism belongs is with grassroots movements and communities, not with developers (Kelly, 1984; Felshin, 1995).

On the other hand, it is quite comprehensible if artists are often diffident and critical towards property developers and urban planners. Nobody would like to be used and abused as an attraction for other tenants, whose presence might eventually outnumber and undermine the initial high concentration of creative people. The typical story of this gentrification process goes like this: redundant buildings with stagnating rents in a deprived city area get resuscitated thanks to the presence of artists, this attracts developers who transform the district into an 'arts quarter', which brings in a lot of people, institutions, and money but, eventually, will inevitably expel the artists, because they cannot afford the growing rents.

This typical storyline, as it goes, does not quite fit the dynamics behind the rise of trendy art quarters in some inner-city areas of Liverpool and Marseilles -because in both places art institutions and city art planners acted as catalysts triggering the origin of such arts quarters (cf. my first paper in this book). But, regardless of the order followed in the process, there is a risk that the end might be the same for artists in Liverpool and Marseilles as in New York's SoHo, Paris' Latin Quarter, Montmartre, Montparnasse and Marais, London's Chelsea, Covent Garden, St. Katharine's Dock and Butlers Wharf, or Dublin's Temple Bar. The recent recession has halted or slowed down the process until now. But I everytime I visit Liverpool and Marseilles, I get mixed feelings of joy and concern when I see the bistros, ragtrade and nightlife increasing around Duke Street/Seel Street and in the narrow hilly lanes of the Panier quarter. I do not want to sound like a raging Jesus chasing the merchants from the temple, but it would be a pity if these districts lose their soul. The solution to the problem might come from a new spirit of collaboration between the arts communities and the public powers, so that instead of just helping creative people to convert buildings (if at all), grants are also directed at helping artists' co-ops to get affordable mortgages so that they can buy the buildings they have refurbished as studios and galleries.

Finally, it also would be very helpful if all the players involved adopted a more realistic and compromising approach regarding the funding of arts and urban regeneration. In an ideal world, the arts budget of a local, regional or national government should be used for nurturing the arts, whilst the budgets for city planning

and urban renewal should be invested in housing and urban betterment schemes. Yet in times of hardship and cuts in arts expenditure, I see no harm in blurring these artificial limits, fostering synergetic collaborations between artists and urban planners. It is sometimes discouraging to do research on the arts scene and be permanently confronted with the bitter accusations of artists, always complaining that too much money is expended in consultants, curators, mediators..., even if the fact is that the grant sponsoring the research in question is not squandering funds from the arts budget. But if artists need to give up their plaintive stance, city planners should also show a more co-operative attitude towards creative people. It is most saddening to see that the most ambitious projects for inner-city urban renewal now being implemented in Liverpool - 'Liverpool City Challenge'- and Marseilles -'Euromediterranée'- both financed with very generous European, national and local funding, and both steered by interdisciplinary teams of smartly clothed specialists, have had no position to offer for down-dressed artists to have their say. These agencies are doing an admirable job in restoring the old hearts of the two cities to their former splendour, providing decent housing to some of the most deprived citizens who were cramped in derelict unhealthy houses. But it seems ludicrous that none of the two agencies has plans to co-operate and give support to the lively arts scene, which has always been, as I hope to have showed in this paper, the historic harbinger of the urban regeneration of Liverpool and Marseilles.

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Liverpool City Council and the Evolution of the "Creative Quarter"

Andrew GREEN

It is a little alarming to focus on a presentation title hastily agreed some months ago. It seemed quite innocent at the time, yet I suppose it is a microcosm of the economic, political, social and organisational issues associated with economic restructuring, its impact on the built environment and approaches to public sector intervention. With such an agenda, this paper will, not surprisingly, be highly selective in what it says!

First, there are two points of clarification. The first is to remind ourselves that the symposium is about the role of Liverpool in developing museums and the arts in the Urban Renewal of Liverpool; it is not so much about the role of Liverpool in developing museums and the arts, though in a City with such a rich heritage, it could be! However, in order to respond properly to the symposium title we need to keep our eye firmly on the ball of some sort of cause and effect relationship between museum and arts development, and Urban Renewal. My second point of clarification relates to the title of the symposium and the use of the term "Urban Renewal", which implies a renewal of physical fabric. But I think our discussion should be entitled "Urban Regeneration", which is a sustainable process embracing social, cultural, economic and physical development. In the case of Liverpool it is about reinforcing the self esteem of the City, establishing standards of quality, projecting a positive image, helping the City position itself positively in the competitive world of cities. Above all, its about the role of museums and the arts in the economic development of the City, in which people have a stake. At its crudest, its about creating wealth for the City, because without wealth the City cannot maintain its fabric.

Does wealth generate creatively - or does creativity generate wealth? History certainly suggests that wealth has allowed societies to take time out to develop arts. I am not so sure that in themselves the arts have triggered wealth when basic economic processes are a bit rocky.

In Liverpool, the great wealth of the 19th century has left us legacies in terms of built fabric, artistic collections, networks with the "establishment", networks with the world, a creativity within the population. For thirty years post 1945, the City institutionally, forgot about them. The challenge now is to use them constructively to help regenerate Liverpool for the next century. A couple of minutes ago I said that I was not sure that in themselves the arts have triggered wealth creation when the economic processes are not working. The thing about Liverpool at the moment is that there is a feeling that the basic economic process are beginning to work better, and that the arts are well placed to contribute to a revival. Over the past 10-15 years there has arisen a set of circumstances - part fortuitous, part planned, which really gives us a window of opportunity. Those circumstances are complex, embracing things as varied as institutional changes, poor historic local economic performance leading to low land values (which means that the price of "buying into" land and premises for regeneration is relatively low), national recession, improved local political stability. In 20 minutes, I cannot go into them all, so lets start in 1987, and get down to specifics.

In 1987, the City Council produced 3 policy documents. They were:-

1. The City Centre Strategy Review
2. The Tourism Policy
3. The Arts and Cultural Industries Policy

Maybe I put too much emphasis on them, but I do regard them as a trio of documents which really shifted thinking within the City Council as an institution. They arose partly out of the County Council Structure Planning Process, and the County's responsibilities for tourism and arts, and from them fell a cascade of work and reports which are still shaping action now.

The City Centre Strategy Review was a new kind of document so far as the City was concerned, because it looked at the City Centre functionally instead of just in land use allocation terms -and it acknowledged the role of tourism, and arts and cultural industries in the City Centre.

One of the areas identified in the Strategy Review was that part of the City broadly bounded by Bold Street and Duke Street, running from Chavasse Park to Chinatown. In many ways, this area was the foundation of modern Liverpool. Many of you will know its history. At the bottom of Duke Street was the Liver Pool - the original Dock. The surrounding area became a favoured location for residential and commercial uses. Rich merchants constructed houses there, often in association with warehouses. Buildings such as the Bluecoat Charity School and the Lyceum gentlemen's club went up - but before long the wealthier people had moved out.

Heavier industries such as foundries moved in, along with lighter trades - watchmaking and cabinet making for example. Working class housing was established. Over the years the area declined, and as dock activity moved further away, so the area became more marginal. It was a backwater with no real role in life. You all know the estate agent's view of the three most important factors in the value of a site or building - location, location and location. In the case of this area, the location was wrong wrong wrong, and its misfortune was made worse by the fundamental and long term restructuring of Liverpool's economy. Such wealth generating activities as there were did not favour the area; buildings did not generate enough value to justify maintenance; the built fabric deteriorated over a period of many years. The underlying architectural quality of the area was overshadowed by increasing dereliction, and also by a post 1945 Zeitgeist which was perhaps less open to acknowledging that quality.

Cheap rents? Characterful buildings? Proximity to the core of the City -but not quite part of it. Is that a cue for a mass occupation of garrets by impecunious artists? I doubt if it was quite like that, but the area did provide cheap accommodation for those engaged in the "creative sector", so that by the time the City Planners came to cast their gaze over it, one of its those were long established like the picture framers and french polishers; some were more associated with 60's scene, and what grew out of it; some were associated with the growing importance of higher education in the City.

I came to Liverpool in 1972, and soon had a surreal Kent meets Scouse experience - a lecture from the late Arthur Dooley. I remember it for 2 reasons. The first is that throughout my education to date, Arthur has been the only person who has given a formal lecture with a Hollands meat pie in one hand and a pint in the other. The second was his almost evangelical promotion of the Albert Dock - and the creative quarter - though he did not call it that. As an artist he recognised its value, though the City and the development industry generally were at best largely ignoring it.

So in 1987, a particularly difficult few years later, the City Council recognised it too, in the context of a document which was intended to shape policy for the City Centre. I always say that policy is the easy bit. I know that there is a view in some quarters that planners are some sort of control freaks, with an armoury of draconian powers. You cannot do this; you must do that. Not quite. There are obviously statutory processes which give weight, and sometimes substantial authority, to a particular course of action, but particularly in circumstances where public resources are so scarce, much can only be achieved by creating a vision and by getting enough people to buy into making it a reality. The people who need to buy into it include politicians of the day and their successors, other technical departments of the Council, people already based in the area, people who might invest, or who command investment decisions, other agencies. It is not a one off event, it is an ongoing process.

For example in 1988 and 1989, the Council received more than 20 reports, establishing a way forward for the area, marshalling resources, focusing on specific action. From the outset the Council acknowledged that this was a long term process -- you do not turn around 40 years decline in a week. It was also embarking on something of a journey of discovery. There was no prescriptive model for achieving a desired end product and, if I can misquote Oscar Wilde --everything was predictable except the future.

Early in 1988 a report snappily titled Area Based Initiatives Bold Street/Duke Street was produced by City Planners. It developed the 1987 work, and reviewed the area's problems and potential. If you like, it got the thing on the agenda. The report specifically identified the strength of the area as a focus for so called cultural industries. It also suggested that a Conservation Area should be established, and a Town Scheme

set up. These two items -Conservation Area status and Town Scheme were devices first to recognise the architectural quality of the area- and put in place statutory support for it, and second to try to get money from English Heritage. The report hazards a guess that public funding of 500,000 a year for each of 10 years would begin to make an impact. The report also acknowledged a fundamental conflict which I am sure we shall return to in the course of the afternoon. It is this. When an area declines, part of the process of decline is a downward spiral of building value and building maintenance.

Cheap rents are okay if you are not very demanding about the quality of space you occupy - but not so good if you own an old building which now needs a new roof. You cannot afford the roof, so you patch it as cheaply as possible. Soon the patching fails, the water gets in, the roof rots, rentals go down more and so on. A sweeping and challengeable statement I know, but artists are not renowned for their ability to pay high rentals, and I suggest that the cheap accommodation was one reason for artists and crafts people to establish themselves in the area. But if you are going to regenerate the area, you have to create enough value to justify investment in the fabric of the buildings. That implies higher rents and it also implies that the very people who have moved in to the area giving it a role and a future, may be displaced. They will not be able to afford it any more.

So in 1988 we acknowledged the dilemma - but did not have a solution to it other than a belief that the rate of change would be relatively slow, allowing members of the "creative sector" time to adapt, and also a belief that "something needed to be done" to strengthen the sector.

Concurrently, thought was being given to the "something needs to be done" issue. A Design Council report suggested that nationally the "creative sector" was particularly active in spawning new businesses -which were then notable for their high failure rate.

The old art college was busy producing art and design graduates most of whom were going elsewhere. Could we capture some of that output from the college by providing managed workspace as a focus for that enterprise, providing a supportive environment, reducing business failures, and strengthening Liverpool's Creative Quarter? Consultants were commissioned to research the idea. Their report sticks in my mind. I have never before or since received a consultants report prefaced with a

quotation from that quintessential piece of writing 'Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance'.

"We have artists with no scientific knowledge and scientists with no artistic awareness, and both with no spiritual sense of gravity at all, and the result is not just bad, it is ghastly. The time for real unification of Art and Technology is really long overdue".

More importantly the report suggested a focus on the Bold Street/Duke Street area, and a three element strategy.

First - a design awareness strategy

Second - a small batch production strategy

Third - a marketing and information strategy

Although the report maintained and developed the idea of workspace as part of a Design Centre, resources were not available to implement the idea. Instead, the City Council, Merseyside Arts and the developer Charterhouse Estates agreed to co-fund the Liverpool Design Initiative. The idea behind the LDI was to take forward that approach focusing particularly, but not exclusively on the Creative Industries Quarter. Liverpool Design Initiative was established as an 'enabling' agency, to help stimulate and "professionalise" the creative industries. The LDI is still here active and functioning well; Charterhouse Estates and Merseyside Arts are not - though North West Arts Board became and remain pivotal co-funders of LDI with the City Council.

I mentioned Charterhouse Estates, and I guess I cannot ignore them even though - or perhaps because - passions run high when they are mentioned. Many people here will know that in March 1990, the City Council sold its corporate estate in the area - 309 properties - to a small London based developer, Charterhouse Estates. Charterhouse saw a future for the area which seemed very much in accord with the way in which the City saw it, and vigorously promoted the Bold Street/Duke Street area nationally and internationally. However, they bought at the top of the market just before the property slump. With the recession, their London portfolio was substantially

devalued, their backers got cold feet and pulled the plug, the London based operation folded - taking the Liverpool project with it. A major setback - but benefits did flow from the Charterhouse interlude; a number of important ideas about the future of the area were formulated or strengthened at the time, and some sacred cows which were barriers to the positive evolution of the area were challenged. New ideas, new perspectives are rarely a waste of time, and much of the thrust of action established in association with Charterhouse remain current. At the time, the decision with regard to Charterhouse was the right one; right now with new agencies in place and a glimmer of fire in the market, it would have been useful to have had the property under a unified control.

Despite the Charterhouse problem, work has continued in improving the public realm in the area. Bold Street, one of the routes linking the universities and entertainment area with the core of the City Centre and formerly known as Liverpool's 'Bond Street' has been remodelled, doing away with the tired shared surface 1970's design and reintroducing the idea of a street with defined carriageway and uncluttered views. Details like kerb heights (high enough to be obvious, low enough not to be a problem for wheelchairs etc) and surface materials were critical. Vehicular access in the evenings is now clearly acknowledged, and being reflected by increased levels of activity. Just off Bold Street, a vacant building was demolished and a new public space created in partnership with developer Urban Splash who have refurbished an adjoining building for use as offices, bars and studio accommodation. The name of the space 'Concert Square' recognises its role as a performance space.

Bold Street and Concert Square are components of an "Activity Strip" which arose out of the debate with Charterhouse. It is not so much a strip, more of an 'H' shape with Bold Street being the left hand vertical, and Duke Street - linking the Albert Dock with Chinatown and the Cathedral being the right hand verticle, and the Concert Street/Slater Street corridor being the cross member. In recent years buildings on the Activity Strip which have been unused for many years have begun to be refurbished and occupied.

Over the next few months, the pace of change is likely to increase with the creation of a new vehicle for delivering the regeneration of the area through a Joint Venture Company in partnership with the Urban Regeneration quango English Partnerships. The availability of targeted funding through this source matched with European money through Objective 1 should have significant impact.

In general, the position with regard to public funding is more acute than ever, but attempts to get our sticky fingers on what resources there are retain the focus on arts, creativity, media. European funding has for example allowed for the development of the concept of a media factory, proposed for the Canning Place site at the bottom of Duke Street. Building on the strengths of the City this would create a major facility important in itself, but also important in terms of gateway function - or perhaps more of a bridge between the Liverpool Waterfront, the City Centre and the Creative Quarter. Earlier I said that part of the problem of Bold Street/Duke Street was that its location was wrong, wrong, wrong.

One of the reasons why I am very bullish about it is that its location has if you like, changed - its surroundings are different. There has been significant investment in the Waterfront, in the shopping core and in adjacent areas of housing. More and more people are being drawn to the area by day and night. Will it survive as a creative quarter, or will success force out the artists, designers, musicians, crafts people? I am optimistic; I think success breeds success, and that those in the creative sector will have a chance to grow with the area. But there is still some way to go yet.

The Leap frog effect

Terry DUFFY

I will start by giving some background information about Arena Studios and the British Art and Design Association.

Arena Studios is a 4 storey building in the centre of Duke Street with approximately 10,000 square feet of working space and storage. It is one of the largest artists run studio complexes in the country with over 40 artists, designers and craftspeople. It was established in 1984 by Terry Duffy and opened its doors to artists and the public in November of that year. Since 1986 Arena has been governed and managed by the registered charity the British Art and Design Association, commonly known as BADA. To this day, Arena has received no financial assistance from the City Council or the Regional Arts organisations even though their assistance and support was sought from its earliest conception, apart that is from a grant of £500 from North West Arts Board to fit a shower for 5 Hungarian artists who used the studio for a week in 1992, during the Visionfest Arts Festival of that year.

Arena is in itself a perfect example, if not a stereotypical one, of artistic endeavour, human spirit, vision and the will to change things.

It is also a perfect example, if not a stereotypical one of how a group of artists can radically change the nature of a building, a place and contribute to urban renewal

It is also a perfect example, if not a stereotypical one, of how a major artistic centre such as this becomes established, grows and flourishes without any moral or financial support from the city it is in, or its local Regional Arts Board.

It is also a typical example of how a group of artists bring energy, regeneration, attention, vision and potential to a derelict, disowned and forgotten place only to find that they have contributed to making the place acceptable, liveable and gentrifiable.

However, unfortunately for us, it is also a typical and stereotypical example of how a derelict, low rent, low rate area of a city becomes regenerated by artists only to find that property developers and the City Council want them out and replaced by high rent, high rate commercial premises and gentrified apartments.

This is my "Leap frog effect", the scenario where artists take over and use empty, unwanted buildings, breathing life and vitality into a dying area until those very same buildings increase in value, become attractive to and are taken over again by the very commercial interests which abandoned them in the first place.

This has happened time and time again in city after city all over the world, from London's East End docklands and Temple Bar in Dublin to New York's SoHo district, and I ask you:

Is it right? Is it wrong? Is this what we want for Liverpool?

Do you think?: That's life! Hard luck! Go and find somewhere else!

O do you say: Hold on, let's think about this. Do we develop a strategy and policy for the area that encourages multiple usage; that keeps the independent artists in the city centre by major art galleries; that keeps a lone designer or craftsperson close to retail outlets; that keeps a small struggling company of actors and dancers close to the theatres; that allows the musicians and singers to create a racket with the hope that one day they will be famous pop stars, or do we sanitise the place for financial gain and lose the opportunity to create something unique, something special, something alive, something that could achieve long term urban regeneration and renewal?

However, if you take the present Duke Street Partnership as a very good and relevant example of Urban Planning, with the aim of creating a Creative Arts Quarter, then why is it that there has been no formal request for consultation with any representatives from Arena or BADA? After all, Arena Studios is at the centre of Duke Street and was the first Creative Centre in the area.

In contrast however, the present owners of the Arena building have been in the Partnership from its inception and therefore Arena artists can only assume that plans for Arena have been discussed if not agreed within the Partnership.

Therefore, if this is the method by which a directly relevant strategic planning partnership develops plans for an area that also includes arts development and involves the premises of the City's largest organisation of independent artists, then the artists can only assume that:

1. They are not part of the plan.
2. They are at best only pawns in it.
3. This is a perfect example of the City Council approved "Leap frog effect" in action.

Therefore, I conclude that the arts culture of the City is not formed by major Museums or exists because of them, and although the Museums and Galleries are doing an excellent job in contributing to urban renewal, we have to remember that the arts culture of the City is primarily formed by many hundreds of individual practitioners working within single or group studios and workshops. Therefore and because of this, I bring into question the methods by which the Planners and Developers of this great City are handling its potential for Arts Renewal and ask you the audience to advocate and support methods by which ALL parties are involved in the consultation and developmental processes, from the major Museums to the individual artist

I hope you will agree with me that any serious attempt at urban renewal through the arts must have practising artists at the heart of the process AND at the heart of the solution.

We are ALL part of the City's artistic and Creative Culture and its potential for renewal and because of this, artists should be given our place at the Planning table.

Communities of art

by Kate STEWART

Beginnings.

In 1990 I was a member of a Steering Group consisting of 5 individuals which began work on a feasibility study for a 'community arts resource centre'. The members of this group were professionals from various artistic and administrative backgrounds and gave their time on a voluntary basis.

The group came together through a desire to promote self-help within the arts community. It was, in essence, a formalisation of discussions that go on in cafes and bars throughout Liverpool (and no doubt other cities with indigenous cultural communities).

This Steering Group carried out a consultation process with over 40 organisations representative of the arts and voluntary sectors on Merseyside. The most common resources that were required and were currently in short supply were:

- λ Financially and physically accessible workspaces for weekdays, evening and weekend use (permanent and ad hoc use)
- λ Short and long term office spaces
- λ Formal and informal meeting spaces
- λ Access to photocopiers, phones and fax machines
- λ Suitable spaces to rehearse dance, drama and amplified music
- λ Gallery and studio space for visual artists and crafts workers
- λ Participation in non-vocational workshops
- λ Information and advice on funding

The Steering Group then set about locating a property which met the above needs. With the assistance of architects (Paul Gregory Associates) and solicitors (Shufflebottoms), the following criteria were applied to the process:

- λ Ease of access by public transport
- λ Proximity of parking facilities
- λ Suitability for improving disabled access
- λ Flexible terms of lease to enable expansion
- λ Low running costs
- λ Suitable size and layout of available floor space

By October 1992 the building chosen was Cornwallis Hall, 4 Cornwallis Street, Liverpool L1.

The building

Cornwallis Hall was built in 1867 specifically as the country's first Workshops For The Blind. We currently (December 1995), occupy 45% (10,000 sq ft) of the whole property on a relatively short-term lease; the remainder is used by our landlord for storage.

Having been purpose built for the blind and partially sighted, this property (having a lift) was more accessible than most of its age. However, by working with the Planning and Development Department of Liverpool City Council we were able to make considerable improvements, including:

- λ A new, fully-accessible disabled toilet facility (basement)
- λ Modification of an existing toilet to make it more accessible (2nd floor)
- λ Use of contrast banding for the partially sighted
- λ Provision of switches/sockets at waist height
- λ Provision of a Supercom phone for the hearing impaired
- λ Widening of doorways to at least 900mm
- λ Upgrading of fire evacuation facilities, including provision of 'safe areas' and Evac Chairs

Funding the project

As a Steering Group (by 1992 a Limited Company) who were in reality, just a group of freelance artswriters with no collective track record, it was extremely difficult to raise the funds to conduct a full feasibility study and carry out work to adapt a building for our needs.

We were certainly unable to convince the public sector, nationally or locally, that this project was born out of need or that it represented anything like economic regeneration. In these pre-Objective One days, the value of 'communities of interest' such as ours was not ready to be exploited. The voices of individual artswriters who were not seen to be officially contributing in economic terms to the region were not being 'heard'.

It was also difficult to convince trust funds and companies that a project with no track record and without the revenue support of the Local Authority was a good investment.

Some strategic negotiating enticed a conditional offer of £10,000 from The Baring Foundation which began to ease open the gates to something of a trickle rather than a flood of funding. (The condition imposed - at our request - was that Baring's grant was matched by grant(s) from one or more trust funds - which, given the kudos placed upon Baring's assessment process within the charitable sector, it quickly was).

The cost of improvements to disabled access and the costs associated with the location of a building, including solicitors and architects, were raised from: The Baring Foundation (now a revenue funder until 1997), P H Holt Trust, Francis C Scott Trust, Royal Institute for British Architects, Rathbone Trusts, BT, Barclays Bank and other trust funds and small businesses. The improvements to disabled access eventually attracted a grant from Liverpool City Council (which ultimately appeared to cost us more than its value). The scheme was awarded the David McLean 'Build A Better Environment' award for the standard of these adaptations to a historically important building.

Local community

Off Stage is situated in the heart of the Chinatown/Cornwallis area, less than a mile from the city centre. It is sited close to the Hope Street corridor, Liverpool Institute of Performing Arts (colloquially known as Paul McCartney's Fame School - after its Patron) and at the heart of the newly defined 'cultural quarter' and the Duke

Street Regeneration area. The immediate residential area comprises 95% council housing. On its boundaries are the Anglican Cathedral site, Duke Street, the city centre and the Parliament Street industrial area. The residential community is part of one of the oldest mixed cultural areas in Great Britain, and many of its resident families have lived here for five or more generations. The housing has been and is currently undergoing considerable improvement with many houses and bungalows replacing walk-up tenements.

Economic growth has yet to make an impact here with few jobs going to local people. Consequently, unemployment is very high, with at least 40% of adult population without work, whilst 80% of young people under 25 are either unemployed or on a government training scheme. There is a high number of young mothers with children under school age and there has previously been little provision for activities in the locality.

Objectives and strategy of organisation

Off Stage aims to encourage and support arts and community based economic development and employment throughout the region by providing accessible resources including work space, skills workshops and business support to cultural SMEs (small to medium sized enterprises).

Our objectives are to:

- λ Provide quality premises and resources for the cultural SMEs
- λ Market the economic and social value of the cultural industries
- λ Increase employment opportunities and growth in cultural industries and in particular the survival rate of cultural SMEs
- λ Improve networking between cultural organisations and other sectors
- λ Work as a catalyst in the revitalisation of the Chinatown/Cornwallis area of Liverpool 1

Since opening the building in July 1993 we have met these objectives through the provision of the resources identified above (page 1) and by employing a Development Manager and a team of Volunteers.

Once open, we were constantly asked to provide a resource identified in our original consultation process, but not yet formally provided: that of 'information and

advice on funding, business training and information on other training'. In response to this apparent need of our clients, Off Stage conducted a specific survey of our existing and potential users and compared our findings with the Positive Solutions report; *An Occupational Mapping of the Cultural Industries on Merseyside* (Commissioned by Merseyside Training and Enterprise Council and published in May 1993). The results are discussed in the Appendix 1 -*RESULTS OF OFF STAGE SURVEY INTO BUSINESS SUPPORT NEEDS OF CULTURAL SMEs - MARCH 1994*. One of our responses to these findings was the development of an enterprise support and training package - the generator - which was part-funded by MTEC in September 1995 and is described in Appendix 2. This will form the basis of an ongoing provision from April 1996.

In Liverpool a number of surveys and reports have been carried out as a result of the recent opportunities through European Objective One funding for Merseyside. These have included the *Merseyside Economic Assessment* led by the *labour market strategy group* of Government Office for Merseyside; and perhaps most significantly *Objective 1: Arts & Cultural Industries Study* by Geoff White and Peter Booth - (March 1995).

Our clients most frequently request business support and information regarding: funding, business planning and project management, seeking freelance contracts and networking opportunities with others at a similar stage of development.

Off Stage currently works with up to 30 cultural SMEs (involving 30-80 freelance cultural workers) each week. Many of these existing clients are well established with their own customer base, providing employment and indirect outputs in terms of ticket sales, increased use of city centre transport etc. The growth potential of the newer cultural SMEs and the work of freelancers is a major asset to the region. *Objective 1: Arts & Cultural Industries Study* by Geoff White and Peter Booth (March 1995) includes the following findings for Merseyside.

- λ Direct employment in the cultural sector is 4747, having grown from 2648 in 1985/86
- λ Indirect employment totals 12,000 in the region - twice as many people as are lost to outward migration from Merseyside each year

- λ Employment is concentrated in Liverpool (82.5%) where direct and indirect employment represents 4.9% of the total workforce in the city
- λ The sector is dominated by micro-businesses and SMEs: 1381 of the total of 1486 cultural enterprises have under 5 staff, and only one has over 250 staff
- λ The total turnover in the sector is estimated at £92.6m; some 65% of this (£60m) is spent within Merseyside
- λ Public sector revenue investment into the sector totalled £15.8m (or just over 20% of turnover) provided primarily for cultural or social reasons rather than economic

Our clients' requirements in terms of business support and advice are not being fully or adequately met elsewhere at present, and Off Stage's reactive support is an important (and often sole) lifeline. In responding to the needs of these clients, it is vital to consider the working patterns within the sector. The Booth/White states: "...there is also a high degree of flexibility of working patterns in the sector; a visual artist, for example, may be taking a workshop in the Tate one day, teaching the next day, creating their own work the next day, and offering basic skill training to a group of disabled people the next. Not all of that work takes place, necessarily, within Merseyside. These flexible work patterns occur throughout the industry - in commercial television production as much as in the design or fine arts sub-sectors."

Recent examples of the effects of Off Stage's business support include: a first-time user has exhibited and sold 4 works of art; a theatre company using Off Stage's rehearsal facilities plus marketing, business and funding advice, was able to transfer a studio show to a middle scale venue with a sponsorship package - resulting in the direct employment of 11 people, plus indirect increases in transport use and ticket purchases; and a college leaver has set up in business, attracting media coverage including national TV and won several commercial design contracts, all resulting from advice and introductions through Off Stage prior to an exhibition here.

Development?

Though enabling agencies such as Off Stage may successfully - or at least partially - address many of the particular needs of arts workers, there are also more general problems that we alone cannot solve. These are problems of infrastructure.

Arts workers are repeatedly being exploited by planners and developers; and in the general process of things, are constantly being “done to” rather than “enabled to do”.

There is a strong parallel here with the way that housing was developed in the 1960’s, with little or no reference to the wants and needs of the residents themselves. At a symposium titled *Investing In The Changing City* held by the British American Arts Association in 1990, David Hunt MP told a story with which we are all probably familiar.

‘When I was at school, myself and one of my friends made a film about the inner city of Liverpool. We went out to interview people from the inner city community. The project took us down to the Docks area from Goodison, through rows of closely packed back-to-back houses. The whole area was on the verge of being demolished as part of a huge slum clearance programme.

The official story was; ‘There’s no need to worry, you’re going to go to a new paradise. You’ve got damp now, you’ve got an outside loo. We will take you to a beautiful flat in a wonderful tower block where you’ll have marvellous views of the countryside, out in a marvellous place in the country called Kirkby.’

Of course, none of the residents wanted to move. They wanted to stay where they had been living all their lives and where their families had lived for generations before that. They wanted their homes revamped and repaired, of course, but they did not want to be moved. And these were good areas; crime rates were low, unemployment was low, there was a lot of support between families, and a real depth of community feeling.

It made a very deep impression on me that these people were really being picked up and thrown into tower blocks with very little thought for the consequences and implications. I realise that at that time there was a tremendous surge forward in slum clearance and everybody thought it was right to clear the slums. BUT NOT ENOUGH ATTENTION WAS PAID TO THE COMMUNITIES.”

Planners would profess to have learnt from such mistakes; but in a more general sense and in particular in Liverpool with regard to the cultural sector, I think it is time to question what is happening to today’s communities. And in Liverpool’s case it is

time to regard the *community of interest* which is made up of freelance arts workers as of crucial importance to the future regeneration of this city. Off Stage aims to lead and contribute to this process. We are a membership organisation: 73% of our Members live in Liverpool City Centre, and all our Members are encouraged to take part in the planning processes and running of the organisation.

It has become attractive to developers and planners to include space for artists in new development plans, perhaps it is attractive primarily because the funders make it so.

Artists have always gathered in cities - to exchange ideas and stimulate their own and one another's creativity. Cities also provide artists with a critical mass of audience - and also perhaps a mass of potential funders - in a way that rural areas cannot. - The bulk of my own work is in supporting freelance arts workers in Liverpool, very much a city environment. However in our work with arts organisations based on the Wirral, we are aware that the same methods cannot be used there, as there is less of an indigenous community of arts workers. In Liverpool, it has always been possible to locate a mass of cultural activity and its generators. Off Stage recently ran an advertisement in the Liverpool Echo to recruit freelancers onto an enterprise support programme. We had no replies. Yet despite this, the course was over subscribed, because of the large response from photocopied posters we placed in cafes and bars.

While arts workers have always found Liverpool important to them, they have also been important to the city: long before the days of Urban Programme, Single Regeneration Budgets or Objective One. Arts workers have long contributed to the development and regeneration of all cities, helping to design and create their physical fabric, as well as recording or interpreting and influencing or initiating change.

Arts workers tend to colonise in old industrial buildings in neglected parts of cities - in Liverpool's case the Bold Street and Duke Street area - where rents are cheap. This begins a process whereby they are breathing new life into redundant areas. This revitalisation ultimately attracts developers and the resulting refurbishment pushes up property values and forces artists out - often to regroup in other derelict areas. Ultimately, there may no longer be a market for property in that original area and rents may have to come back down to attract the very people who were pushed out.

This is quite clearly what has happened in Dublin's Temple Bar, which many planners (mistakenly, in my opinion) hold in reverence. Its a very attractive, vibrant and economically successful project, and well worth a visit for the tourist and

consumer of culture (take lots of cash). But it has casualties: and those casualties are the very people that inspired the development of a 'creative quarter' in the first place.

They have been pushed out, by rising rents and by having been what I earlier described as 'done to' instead of being 'enabled to do'. They have had their residential and commercial community re-shaped by outsiders and they have reacted in the only logical way - by regrouping elsewhere to recreate their own community. In Temple Bar's case, on the north of the Liffey.

An aspect where the so called 'flagship' projects such as Temple Bar or the Custard Factory fall down - but also one that, if addressed as the first stage of the development, may make them more likely to succeed - is that of enterprise support and infrastructure for arts workers. If we are effectively going to concentrate markets thereby increasing competition, we should ensure that the community can cope. I don't deny that Temple Bar has brought in a lot of much needed investment and revenue for the city of Dublin and I would not wish to be part of a policy which denied Liverpool that opportunity - we all know it needs it - but, if we are going to put up rents why not pre-empt this by investing in support systems which enhance business skills, and in opportunities which will enable arts workers to pay the increased rents?

The Custard Factory, and other workspaces like it, are ideal for some, but for those who actually suffer as a result of being in a more competitive market place and who lose identity through its enormity, what is the price? If you can't pay the price, then you have to get out! If there is no accompanying arts development strategy, and there is no support system, this is what will happen to most of the tenants in the long run.. At Off Stage or The Quiggins Centre in Liverpool and at workspaces in other cities, notably Sheffield and Scotland, if you can't pay the rent, the support staff try to work out why. We are user led and we have a responsibility to our Members. Obviously, we are not going to accept tenants who simply cannot pay over those who can, but if a tenant gets into difficulty, we are more likely to offer to reduce rent for a short period, give some business advice and set some objectives in order to increase that tenant's earning potential. Ultimately, some months later, we will have our rent and the tenant will have increased the viability of his or her business. If we were to respond by throwing out every tenant who fell behind with their rent we would be breaking down not developing the community we serve.

Liverpool has an abundance of art-form training opportunities, particularly in the realms of further and higher education. However, these courses do not equip students for self-employment - which is the most popular route for artists. In recent years, the creation and development of support organisations has begun - initiatives such as, Liverpool Design Initiative, Theatre Resource Centre and Off Stage - but they are under-resourced themselves.

At Off Stage we work with a minimum of 30 freelancers per week (a record of 90 has been recorded!) We produce massive quantifiable outputs in terms of increasing business potential and providing and creating employment in the sector. But surely the next step in regeneration is for these enabling organisations to receive more support themselves, in order that they can provide more support. A healthier arts community will have a greater long-term impact on regenerating any city than improvements to the buildings occupied by cultural organisations ever will.

In Liverpool, arts workers have already become sceptical of the developers after the saga of Charterhouse Estates and the Cultural Quarter proposals of the early 1990s. The result is that arts workers are having to develop new skills equivalent to those of the developers, estate agents and planners in order to 'hold their own'. Worse still, they are choosing to leave the city. Those that choose to stand and fight, are effectively giving up their cultural activity to represent the views of others in their community. I can think of two groups of artists studios where this has had to happen recently. (Those based at Arena House and the Bridewell Studios).

In my own organisation, we continue to fight the threat of a Compulsory Purchase Order on the building we occupy, in order that a developer may knock it down and build something else. We are considering moving, but having found somewhere, we are too terrified to tell architects, funders and even our own staff which property it is - not because of paranoia, but because of the very real threat that a property developer with the ability to write a cheque tomorrow will come along and turn it into accommodation for students (or whatever the trend is this month). But in the present climate, that property developer would probably feel obliged, or even be encouraged, to include some work space for artists. The words 'partnership' and 'community consultation' will open so many funders wallets, and yet the processes of validating claims of such are not adequate.

According to the Oxford English Dictionary, a partner is a *person associated with others in business of which he shares risks and profits.*

There is no sharing of risks and profits, when developers are approaching local authorities and funders with proposals to develop artists studios and multi-use projects in buildings which are currently occupied by artists.

More and more public money is being spent paying consultants to write reports and conduct feasibility studies for arts managed-workspaces and studios, yet no public money is being spent on implementing the findings. All the feasibility studies show that such workspaces are needed, that's why they've been here for years. If the public bodies want a report, why don't they read the last one they commissioned and filed away without action? This money could be invested in enabling arts workers to own the property that they have been renting and managing for years. If you free them from the fear of the developer; if you stop forcing them to attend 'partnership' meetings where their views will never be considered, but where they are an essential part of the process; if they are allowed to continue creating their art, they will begin once more to contribute greatly to the redevelopment of this city.

If these words sound angry, I take no pleasure in such anger, it is born out of the informed and frustrating experience of working 12 hour days supporting dynamic and talented arts workers (themselves working equally long hours), who are being exploited in their environment: and working with staff and volunteers who are being exploited by a system which does not fund an organisation enough to pay them and yet still takes credit for raising a cultural region.

And finally, it is often stated that the benefits system is the greatest subsidisers of the arts on Merseyside, I would disagree, the greatest subsidy comes from the arts workers themselves. It is the arts workers who are subsidising the start of the regeneration process in Liverpool through their hard work and low wages (or benefits). And it is ultimately those workers who will lose out at the end of the process if we do not decide to do something to change the process now.

APPENDIX 1

Results of Off Stage survey into business support needs of cultural SMEs (March, 1994)

101 Our evaluation questionnaires completed by first time users and every 6 months by long term users began to show a need for a formalised business advice service for the cultural industries.

As a result, in March 1994 Off Stage conducted a survey sent to 120 identified freelancers and organisations. Results of this survey were analysed and compared with the findings of the MTEC report *Occupational Mapping of the Cultural Industries on Merseyside* (May 1993):

- λ Our survey showed that of the 68% who had attended some sort of business advice course, 48% did not find the course contents or delivery relevant to their needs. Of this 48%, 100% said they would be prepared to attend further business training courses if they were aimed at and run by professionals experienced within the cultural sector. [See Conclusion 2.2 xxiii and Recommendation N of MTEC report]

- λ Of the 32% who have not attended any form of businesses training course, 82% indicated that they would if they felt it relevant to their sector and conducted by someone with experience of cultural industries. [See Conclusion 2.2 xxiii]

- λ When asked would they make use of a central drop-in facility to access business advice and information on training, 80% said they would. Of these, 90% conduct some of their work outside office hours during the week and 40% also work at weekends. Of Off Stage's current users, 40% said that the availability outside office hours was the number one reason for choosing to work at Off Stage. [See Conclusion 2.2 xxiii "non traditional work-patterns that dominate the industry (evening work and periods of intense work followed by periods of under or unemployment)...suggest that traditional programme delivery methods are not the most appropriate for the cultural sector."]

λ 60% of freelancers taking part in our survey currently receive state benefits which they use to subsidise any income from their cultural work. [See Conclusion 2.1 xiv]

λ 30% of our current users stated that the availability of disabled access was a priority for them in choosing to work at Off Stage [See Recommendation C]

102 MTEC’s conclusion was that in order to ensure the survival of cultural SMEs “a specific and specialist careers advice and training follow-up service offered through a mechanism or mechanisms which involves professionals from within the cultural industries” is essential.

103 In October/November in partnership with The Artsworks (Wirral) and freelance consultancy Productive Ideas, Off Stage hosted a pilot project in *Professional Development* for freelance cultural workers. This offered 6 weekly sessions to 10 participants from Liverpool and Wirral and covered confidence building and business presentation skills. It also offered 2 individual one to one sessions in the following 6 months should participants require them. One aim of the project was to encourage support networks amongst freelancers and for this reason, the group was chosen to represent a number of art forms rather than one specific discipline.

104 No local organisation provides drop-in facilities for cultural business advice by workers experienced in the sector, across the creative spectrum. There is no centralised agency in Liverpool entirely marketing and acting on behalf of individuals working in the arts to commercial users of artists.

105 Off Stage has become a reference point for arts, public and commercial organisations seeking project and permanent workers and project management services. Examples of this include local schools programming ‘arts weeks’, community groups arranging festivals, residents groups wanting to paint or commission murals etc, alongside our on-going arts partners and clients seeking lists of names and references for freelance and long term staff.

106 In July 1995 this service began a more advanced stage with the launch of our 'Arts Workers Database' and an associated marketing strategy which accompanies it. This service not only provides cultural SMEs with more work, but puts more of them in touch with Off Stage where their on-going support needs can be assessed.

107 The recent establishment of 'ACID' also provides an on-going referral system with Off Stage becoming one of the agencies applicants will be referred to for further support. In addition a key member of staff has been invited on to the technical panel to help assess applications.

APPENDIX 2

A. Report on views of freelancers from workshops Off Stage, 30.3.94, by Danny Sheehan

1.1 The concept of collaboration, freelancers sharing information skills etc. was automatically accepted by those present as a good thing; attendance of the conference was taken as evidence of the will that exists amongst cultural producers to help each other and promote the sector as a whole.

1.2 There was agreement in the group that there is a need for more approachable and greater resourced points of contact for freelancers: an agency or agencies that are responsible for, and capable of, meeting the needs of individual freelancers and groups, in the non-production, selling part of their work.

1.3 Providing also assistance in the presentation of their business/projects and guiding their approaches, working through applications etc, to public and private bodies. The standard of presentation package that is regarded as the bare minimum was felt to be beyond the means of most freelancers.

B. Summary of workshop group, 30.3.94, by Janine Pinion

1.1 Only 25% of the group had business know-how and previous freelance experience. Around half were considering becoming self-employed and were attending the conference to see if they were making the right decision. The remainder were already freelance but felt disillusioned and had only vague plans.

They hoped to get a positive response to the day.

1.2 People shared very personal ambitions, such as confidence, security and support.

1.3 Everyone wanted recognition, information, practical support and some business skills, eg. time management.

1.4 People felt they had no access to the information needed about grants, etc. (who to contact and where). Also, with regard to marketing, no-one was sure what was the accepted standard, or even where to buy point-of-sale goods. Some people started sharing advice, but time was short and it was noted that regular meetings would be beneficial.

1.5 Self-esteem was low as people felt outside the business world, outside the buying public and outside the art world. Again, a network would help.

1.6 Also identified was a need for a “drop-in” advice surgery: somewhere people could get free advice, leaflets, etc. and discuss their projects.

C. Summary of performing art & media workshops Off Stage, 30.3.95, by Dinesh Allirajah

1st Session (amalgamation of Sue Wong, Eugene Lange, Jennifer John and Dinesh Allirajah)

1.1 There was a certain amount of scepticism expressed within the group about the outlook for freelancers, in terms of acquiring funding and “growing” as businesses, when present realities show artists to be crippled by a lack of money and equipment, denial of equal opportunities, and an insecure legal status (eg. squatted arts spaces, pirate radio, “fiddling” the dole).

1.2 In addition to these external complaints, members of the group cited a lack of information and training about PR, marketing, accounting, grant applications, and networks.

1.3 There were calls for access to space; an end to Eurocentric definitions of art; and an arena in which artists can negotiate; and assured crèche facilities for all activities.

1.4 Overall, there was a positive reaction to the opportunity to get together as freelancers and discuss various problems and experiences.

APPENDIX 3

1 - the generator - AN ENTERPRISE DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR CULTURAL ENTREPRENEURS

Summary of proposed training programme

101 This is a pilot scheme which will point a way towards Off Stage's long-term development strategy for supporting enterprises within the cultural industries.

It has been developed as a means of enhancing the activities of some of the existing cultural business in the area, in keeping with the overall aims and objectives of Off Stage namely:

- λ Provide quality premises and resources for the cultural SMEs
- λ Increase employment opportunities and growth in the cultural industries and in particular the survival rate of cultural SMEs

102 It is designed and delivered by a consortium of industry specialists and trainers in response to the needs of the sector as defined by a "Business Support Needs Survey" carried out by Off Stage in March 1994 - see Appendix 1 for results.

Goals of project

103 The overall strategy of The Generator is to put in place a combined training and business development structure which addresses the specifics of creating and developing sustainable employment in the cultural industries.

The ultimate aim, therefore, is to create employment and self-employment within the indigenous cultural industries in the region.

104 The specific objectives are as follows:

- i) Provide enterprise training and practical support for 12 individuals who are about to embark upon a freelance career or who have been involved in such for less than 2 years
- ii) Impact upon the careers & employment patterns of participants over the coming 3 years - increasing time spent working and income from that work
- iii) Facilitate participants developing a network of professional contacts and on going support structure for their work

105 Strengths of project

- developed in response to direct requests to host organisation
- the partnership of cultural and private sector providers
- successful integration of vocational opportunities and business training
- customising training to cater for specialised sector needs
- emphasis on development of practical entrepreneurial skills
- collective experience of the group developing a support network
- on going support and provision by same personnel - not a hit and run solution!

106 Target group.

The Generator is targeted at individuals who are unemployed or under-employed in the cultural sector.

No minimum educational standard will be set.

Selection for the project will be based upon a commitment to a career in the sector and the quality and clarity of the applicants goals for project development.

Prior training and/or demonstrable experience in their specialised area of the sector will be mandatory.

Applicants will be targeted through advertisements in specialist publications, notice-boards of relevant industry organisations , direct mail and referrals from Department of Employment, PYBT, TEC Advisors, Liverpool City Council Economic Initiatives Unit, NWAB and the newly formed ACID trust.

(ACID - Arts and Cultural Industries Development trust, will give start up grants to cultural businesses and freelancers. They will make referrals to advice agencies and creating bodies including Off Stage. These referrals will be both successful and unsuccessful applicants).

Selection will be by a panel comprising of representatives of arts funding bodies, trainers, and established cultural businesses.

After an initial sift, interviews will be offered to a maximum of 24 applicants.

2. FULL DESCRIPTION OF PROJECT

201 There are 4 distinct areas of training/support in the structure of The Generator.

- I) Core training
- ii) Optional training modules
- iii) Optional one to one project development sessions - (Mentor support)
- iv) Practical resources

202 Core training.

Facilities are required for creative professionals to exchange skills and foster employment between themselves - therefore the Core training element of The Generator

will be workshops relying on input from participants as well as Facilitators. The sessions are:

Introduction	Self Analysis As An Artist
Ways Of Applying Your Art Form	Being A Professional Freelancer
Developing And Idea Into A Project	Developing A Project Into Reality
Exploring Image + Presentation	Business Planning
Review Of Presentation Skills	Basic Computer Introduction
+ Project Structures	

203 Optional training modules

This list has been compiled in response to requests during our survey March 1994 and our User Evaluation Forms. Those subjects chosen had a 50% or greater request rate from various art form sub sectors . See Appendix 1.

Advanced Computer	Book-Keeping 1 & 2
Market Research	Spreadsheets Introduction
Fundraising 1,2,3	Business Planning
Time Management	Stress Management
Marketing and Publicity	Negotiation Skills
Relaxation Workshop	Monitoring and Evaluation
Organisational Structures	Sourcing Services and Support/ Networking

204 One to one project development sessions

These allow participants to spend time with a Mentor looking at specifics of their own work. (See Appendix 3 C1.6)

205 Practical resources

73% of our survey respondents requested library and office resources. (See Appendix 3 B1.6 and C1.3: Conclusion 2.2 xxiii MTEC report and survey, Appendix 1).

Access to facilities is one of the Key factors of the Generator project. There are 2 types of subsidised facilities available to participants in addition to the training sessions.

a) Administrative facilities.

This consists of access to a desk, phone, computer, printer, fax and photocopier.

As it is acknowledged that many cultural workers are claiming benefit prior to setting up a viable business, there is an allowance of up to £10 postage and £15 phone per week for each participant.

This will be used to develop marketing opportunities for their future employment.

b) Work space.

2 large rooms have been allocated to the project and these can be used for a number of activities depending upon participants art forms.

For example: up to 6 visual artists could use one room, another is suitable for performance, photography, media related work.

Additionally the budget allows some hiring of specialised spaces such as sound proofed rehearsal, facilities, dark - room, metal workshop etc.

Course specifics

206 HOURS OF ATTENDANCE - It is expected that participants will make use of facilities on a half to full-time basis. However, applicants are expected to attend Compulsory sessions in order to receive access to practical facilities associated with the whole project. A training day runs from 10:30 to 5:30 with 1 hour for lunch, access to additional space may continue into evenings by arrangement.

207 TOTAL NUMBER OF PLACES - 12 places.

208 START-DATE - 2nd October 1995

209 DURATION -8 weeks

210 DETAILS OF ANY ENTRY REQUIREMENTS - There are no formal entry requirements in the way of qualifications.

211 DETAILS OF ELIGIBILITY CRITERIA -It is vital that applicants have either recently (last 2 years) embarked upon a freelance career or are considering doing so in the cultural industries. There are no age restrictions.

212 OUTLINE OF PHYSICAL RESOURCES MADE AVAILABLE FOR DELIVERY OF COURSE -

6 computers	Fax machine
Photo Copier	Desk space
Use of rehearsal space	Library resource
or workshop space	
Telephone	Postage/Stationery/arts Materials

213 The Compulsory sessions will be designed and led by BRENDA WHORMSLEY of Productive Ideas vocational training. This is the company responsible for a joint pilot project run by Off Stage and the Artsworks (Birkenhead) in 1994 for 8 freelancers over 6 weeks. A similar course has just been delivered for Manchester Dance Initiative. Monitoring and evaluation results from both courses have shown a significant increase in employment and income in 75% of those taking part, others have gone on to further training provision. Full reports on both projects can be made available.

214 The Optional sessions will be delivered by industry specialists, including Kate Stewart of Off Stage.

215 One to one advice sessions will be with Kate Stewart of Off Stage, Brenda Whormsley of Productive Ideas or a member of staff from LIPA or Urban Strategy Associates depending upon the specific needs of the session.

216 MONITORING AND EVALUATION SYSTEMS AND PROCEDURES - A comprehensive evaluation system will record information about participants work patterns prior to the course and in the following 2 months, 6 months and 12, 24 and 36 months.

217 This will include (not exclusively) the following information:

DO YOU CURRENTLY RECEIVE ANY STATE BENEFITS?

DO YOU CLASS YOURSELF AS SELF-EMPLOYED?

DO YOU EARN ANY INCOME FROM YOUR WORK IN THE CULTURAL SECTOR?

IS THIS A REGULAR WAGE?

DOES IT VARY ACCORDING TO SALES?

DOES IT VARY ACCORDING TO GRANTS / SPONSORSHIP?

HOW MUCH IS YOUR AVERAGE TOTAL INCOME

INCLUDING BENEFITS? (exclude other part-time job)

___ UP TO £50 weekly

___ £50 - £100

___ £100 - £150

___ £150 plus

HOW MANY DAYS PER WEEK ARE YOU INVOLVED IN CULTURAL INDUSTRIES WORK?

DO YOU INTEND TO PAY YOURSELF REGULARLY WITHIN THE NEXT TWO YEARS?

218 In addition, participants will be asked to evaluate the presentation, content and usefulness of each core and optional training session. This will be by completion of a simple questionnaire.

219 Session and core tutors will also be asked to evaluate the project as a whole and by session by completing questionnaires.

220 As a whole the following criteria will be applied to the evaluation process:

- λ Number of 'graduates' gaining increased paid employment
- λ Number and type of additional cultural activities created in the region as a result of the generator
- λ Increased use of workspace at Off Stage
- λ Reduction in 'graduates' dependence on State Benefits
- λ Increase in 'graduates' time devoted to cultural work
- λ Number of participants referred to other agencies and for further training
- λ Number of 'graduates' returning to access further training or support at Off Stage

221 The goals and target set for the above include (not exclusively):

- λ A 25% increase in 'graduates' income from cultural work within 18 months, resulting from:
 - λ A 20% increase in amount of 'graduates' time devoted to this work within 6 months
 - λ A reduction in dependence on State Benefits by 15% of 'graduates' within 18 months
 - λ 100% of 'graduates' choosing to access training, support, information through Off Stage or other recognised sector agency

**ARTS & COMMUNITY :
REGENERATION OR GENTRIFICATION.**

Ibrahim Brian THOMPSON

First of all, we wish to thank Pedro Lorente for inviting us to make a contribution to this important study and to Liverpool University and the Tate Gallery, Liverpool for hosting the event.

LARCAA has been a pioneering organisation, a launchpad, a platform and a place of first opportunities for many currently recognised Black artists and cultural industries practitioners. It is a unique community based Black majority organisation, a Visual Arts Learning and Resource Centre which is a Registered Charity and is what its name says it is. It is about Liverpool, which is a unique city in its racialised history having controlled 5/6ths of the 'African trade' (Slave Trade) of the 18th century (Encyclopaedia Britannica 1947ed) and currently being the most 'multi-national' city on earth, for its size. It is about Anti-Racism using the organisation's corporate expertise to address issues of racism, racial inequality and colour prejudice in its various forms including institutionalised, cultural, ideological and in the rise of racist political organisations and propaganda. It is about Community, mainly the Black communities in Liverpool which have been here for more than 300 years and currently represent at least 4% but more probably about 8% of the total population of just over 400,000, but also the white communities and their responses to Black presence. It is about Arts, mainly the visual arts but also interacting with other art forms and with media, cultural studies and industries and education, and it is about Association, with Black organisations and individuals locally, regionally, nationally and internationally and with white organisations in the statutory, voluntary and private sector which support LARCAA aims.

The organisation was formally established in 1988, registered as a Company Limited by Guarantee in 1991, recognised and authorised by the Department of Trade & Industry in 1993 and registered as a Charity in 1994. LARCAA has provided work experience and employment opportunities for more than 50 individuals as artists, photographers, tutors, administrators, consultants and researchers. About 90% of whom are Black and 40% women. The vast majority are indigenous to Liverpool with several family generations resident in the city.

It was our intention to make this presentation consist only of selected video clips with an appropriate introduction for each and a number of hand outs. However, the non-attendance of two preceding speakers gave the opportunity to respond to some of the earlier, eminent contributors.

What is clear within the arts and regeneration programmes are the unjust and unequal outcomes or outputs in terms of race and colour. This is bad for race relations and probably breaks the current law, being section 71 of the Race Relations Act 1976. This act stipulates, making it a duty that all planners, developers, policy makers and implementers should ensure that they include racial minorities and that they improve race relations. If you acknowledge that our legacy is one of several centuries of racialisation and the racial inequalities in Liverpool are worse than anywhere else in Britain, then we must also acknowledge that the local, national and international funding which the city accrues off the back of that has a double imperative, ie legal and moral, to be managed and to benefit racial minorities. However, there is not a level playing field and even the rules are unfair, stacked in favour of those who already have the wealth, infrastructures and experience to benefit immediately. In many cases the very same institutions and representatives of the same elites which have caused and contributed to the racial inequalities. They have been part of the problem, they still are, yet they are funded to be part of the solution. In the same way that slave trading shipping companies were in a position to bid for 'legal' contracts after slavery was abolished in the 19th century. After all when it came to transatlantic crossings, who had the most experience of moving large numbers of people? Generally speaking, the existing order does not understand the issues, often appear to be wilfully ignorant, have not even begun to address the issues seriously and seem to be blinded in a gold rush for public funding and private investment. We should re-examine the motives behind so-called regeneration projects and be led less by market forces and more by morality.

There is a widening gap in perception between mainstream white and mainstream Black communities. What connections and relationships, direct and indirect, do white individuals and organisations have with Black individuals and organisations?

Consider the role of museums and the arts. Should they be echoes and agents of the dominant bourgeois culture or forces for change, educators of the truth, an avant garde of civic consciousness? Surely what is necessary is a two part strategy; to expose racism but also to present a true picture of Africa and Africans. The typical attitudes of

the white masses to Africans and Black people has been determined by the history of the last 500 years and the present media stereotypes. These include fear, antipathy, ignorance, compassion, tolerance but little respect or appreciation which will only develop when people learn the truth. We have examples of local reporters, authors and publishers who deny the scale, significance and legacy of the African holocaust. Many curators are uncomfortable about the artifacts which they are contracted to manage and feel trapped by circumstances and at risk career wise if they speak out or organise for change. LARCAA has had good relations and successful collaborations with different departments of National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside, including 'Staying Power' with the Labour History Museum/Museum of Liverpool Life in 1988-89 - an exhibition about the history of Black communities in Liverpool; Liverpool Museum in 1993-94 when we produced the exhibition 'Out of Africa' which complemented the museums 'Expressions of Belief' on loan from Rotterdam. LARCAA's exhibition revealed how African arts had been appropriated by Western artists, arts movements and manufacturers. This was the first time in the NMGM's 150 year history that editorial control had been given to an outside organisation. Most recent is LARCAA's relationship with the Maritime Museum Transatlantic Slavery Gallery, a permanent display housed in the Albert Dock. LARCAA was chosen as the first exhibitor in the temporary exhibition space and showed 'work in progress' of the exhibition 'Aspects of African Presence in Liverpool'. Along with representatives from LARCAA, Liverpool Education Directorate's Race Equality Management Team and City Arts & Libraries, the outreach worker from the Transatlantic Slavery Gallery is a member of the Black History Resources Working Group and collectively the group was the author of 'Slavery: An Introduction to the African Holocaust' which was published in March 1995. Having established a reasonable track record we have had good collaborations with individuals in these departments who along with the Walker Art Gallery have been prepared to work as partners on specific projects and release images for reproduction in our exhibitions, free of charge. We are working on the establishment of a community based exhibition space which meets the standards necessary for NMGM curators to release artifacts for external display in joint programming for the future. These positive developments, thanks to a few individuals and funding by the Peter Moores Foundation do not excuse the poor track record which NMGM has as an institution regarding Black communities. For example out of a workforce of about 500 the number of Black employees is only in single figures.

Pedro Lorente traced recent histories of Liverpool and Marseilles with regard to urban regeneration and the arts. It must be pointed out that in Liverpool, following the 1981 uprising of Black and white youth against police harassment of Black people, various initiatives brought money to the city but very little has reached Black communities. Local politicians largely ignored 'Black issues' and Liverpool's first Black councillor was not elected until 1987. In 1981 there were just 30 Black teachers out of 5000 in Liverpool schools. After 15 years of policy making and so called anti-racist initiatives there are still only 30 Black teachers in Liverpool schools. This means that about 300 Black families in Liverpool are denied the income and relative security they would have if there was racial equality. This amounts to several million pounds every year re-directed to white communities and it means that the potential of a powerful lobby group for educational reform, is denied. Three years ago two mature Liverpool Black women fine arts graduates with teaching certificates tried to find work in Liverpool but were not accepted. One went to Australia and the other to Africa, where they are both in full-time employment. The message that is sent out is that if you are Black you have a better chance of finding a job in Africa than in Liverpool. Faced with such obvious inequalities you would imagine that senior officers in the local authority would take their responsibilities seriously. However, only three years ago one said to me, quite confidently,

"Oh, I think enough's been done on Black issues. I'm concerned about the position of women."

I suggest that having previously worked in all-white environments, her perception came from finding herself promoted and working in a building in which she sees a relatively large number of Black people who work there as a Race Equality Management Team. So there is apparent progress. That person now heads up an important unit dealing with economic development issues in education. The same misperceptions and inadequate responses to inequalities in other areas, including the arts and cultural industries, suggest that Liverpool's white tradition, that Black people are of little or no consequence except as commodities, is continuing. In the tourist industry potential markets are being overlooked because of 'blind spots' on the part of management. A senior officer for the local Tourist Board when approached about plans

and exhibitions we have for attracting Black tourists to Liverpool, admitted that they had never thought of Black people when developing strategies. We know that there are a lot of African Americans who would include Liverpool on the itinerary when touring Europe, but we cannot get the local agencies to assist us with the remaining funds necessary to get our exhibition into the “States”. However, many white people are not only ignorant but wilfully ignorant. In Marseilles and surrounding districts racist right wing parties are increasing their vote and representation in councils. What realistic prospects are there for Black and other minority arts organisations to receive support from such councils in terms of project funding or control of buildings?

In Britain a Conservative hegemony has been imposed over the last 15 years, with quangos (quasi-autonomous nongovernmental organisations) a key ingredient. The Independent newspaper has described it as,

“the quango phenomenon - 73,000 ministerial appointees on 5,000 unelected bodies which control one-third of public expenditure.”

More alarming is the Guardian newspaper’s estimation that in 1996 there will be 7,700 quangos dispersing some £54 billion. Some write of a hegemony, in the literal meaning of the word: a system of supremacy over others, constructed by the Conservative Party that has infected the impartiality of the Civil Service and confused the boundaries between public, government and party interest with senior officials as committed to partisan policies as their ministerial bosses.

“Partisanship, executive discretion and secrecy saturate the public domain “ writes Will Hutton in ‘The State We’re In’ p 188. He goes on to say,

“the state is regressing to a system of patronage and carelessness with public money such as existed prior to the Northcote-Trevelyan reforms of the late nineteenth century.”

Lord Nolan’s inquiry into standards in public life commissioned an examination of quangos in Britain and according to the Independent newspaper,

“concludes that most of them have excessive numbers of Tory appointees or have been “captured” by interest groups sympathetic to the Conservatives.”

Secrecy makes for a fertile breeding ground for more insidious developments. A politician honoured by Liverpool has said,

“The governments of the present day have to deal not merely with other governments, with emperors, kings and ministers, but also with the secret societies which have everywhere their unscrupulous agents and can at the last moment upset all the governments’ plans.”

The statesman was Benjamin Disraeli, who the city honours with a statue on St Georges Hall plateau, and he spoke those words at Aylesbury, Sept. 10th 1876. These words apply with even greater force today not only in international and national contexts.

In Liverpool the Anglo-Saxon-Judeo Freemasons have been in the city for over 200 years and have, according to the Liverpool Echo, 147 lodges operative, in a city of just over 400,000. Rev. Cahill explains in ‘Freemasonry and the Anti-Christian Movement’ that the freemasons are linked up directly or indirectly by a community of principles, aims and methods, with the great international Masonic Order. It is a community that is exclusive, a gentry which for the last two years has targeted women for the first time in its history. Is this an attempt to hijack the gains of the ‘womens movement’ ?

With so many lodges operating in secret and members pledged to help each other, identifying themselves by handshakes and secret codes it inevitably induces suspicions of favouritism, unfair competition when funding bids are processed, inside information where knowledge is power, power brokering and threats to democracy, whatever the political persuasion of individual members, whose identities are usually kept hidden.

These are national and local political and social realities which must be considered when we consider issues and principles of regeneration - when public and private funding for so-called regeneration projects are considered and prioritised. Regeneration for who?

As you would expect anyone or any organisation which publicly criticises such oligarchies as the quangos, freemasons or right wing political groups in Liverpool or Marseilles are likely to be victimised. Such is likely to have been the experience of

LARCAA and most other Black organisations in Liverpool. It was Michael Heseltine who was the first minister for Merseyside and workers who were supposedly neutral when working for the local task forces which he established post 1981, were later promoted to Whitehall to work directly for him. It is reported that at a public meeting in Toxteth, Task Force representatives were insistent that things had improved until a woman stood up and explained that before they arrived the community organisations would meet and sort out what was needed, then tackle the public funding agencies as a united body. However, the situation has changed and people have been encouraged to think of each other as competitors in the business plan mentality and enterprise culture that has been promoted by the Government and their ideologues. Another example of divide and rule.

Richard Evans stated that the arts and cultural industries are a growth area in terms of jobs and offers much for white organisations to be optimistic and positive about. Sadly we must point out that again this has not benefited Black people in the city. He highlighted a turning point in 1987 when the ruling political group, dominated by the so called 'Militant Tendency', were brought down. It should be pointed out that the catalyst for their downfall was when they applied their confrontational style to the Black community and Black organisations during 1986. Their offices were occupied by Black people and a few white allies and a movement mobilised and developed into a different political administration. However, yet again, only a few Black individuals have benefited and no large scale initiatives for Black communities have been forthcoming. Several local arts flagship projects were described including Liverpool Philharmonic and Liverpool Institute of Performing Arts. Although these have received millions from the public kitty their track record with the local Black community, which is on their doorstep, is very bad and so far as public and private funders are concerned, either a blind eye is turned or a head in the sand ostrich position is assumed. So far only token gestures have been made and major developments benefiting from Objective One funding do not address the neglect of previous decades towards Black presence in the city. This is especially ironic given the fact that without the Black community in the city, especially the Granby Toxteth area, the poorest district in Europe, Objective One status would probably not have been granted. It is part of the massive and growing rift between mainstream Black and mainstream white perceptions. It is part of the legacy of the African holocaust, more of this later on.

Sue Carmichael highlighted a slogan which had captured the imaginations of those involved in Liverpool's bid to be City of Architecture in 1999. It was

'a vision of a city made whole'.

She also emphasised education, empowerment, active participation, cultivating a world perspective and forward vision. These are all sentiments which were crystallised into an artwork by LARCAA's artistic director. A painting which was selected from tens of thousands of entries from more than a hundred countries, adopted by Brahma Kumaris World Spiritual University and published by the United Nations as 'Visions of a Better World'. For a while it was almost a Liverpool City logo. However, for the artist who has lived and worked in Liverpool for the last 26 years, the vision is still a dream to be pursued with active solidarity and merely to project the image of racial harmony in the midst of gross racial inequality is to collude with injustice and inevitably, corruption.

Andrew Green pointed out, quite rightly the importance of generating wealth and economic development. However, we must remember that Liverpool's original wealth or capital base was from the slave trade in the 18th century. The Encyclopaedia Britannica states that by the end of the 18th century, Liverpool controlled 5/6ths of what they called 'the African trade'. In the 19th century this wealth was increased during the city's role as 'gateway to empire'. Liverpool was the city that cashed in on the 'crime of the millennium' and talk about 'regeneration' with European grants is ominous when we consider the factors which have brought this about.

It is the large white establishments and rich white individuals, supported by municipal officers and non-elected quangos which are in the driving seats with little apparent concern for the spiritual and moral aspects of true regeneration which would give credit where credit is due and address issues of reparation towards Africa and Africans. The dilemma is that there are too few, if any, Black property developers as well as organisations with the necessary track record to benefit from large public grants which would not be available were it not for Black presence in Liverpool. This strengthens the argument for the moral imperative of a 'ring fence' around key buildings and substantial funds while Black businesses, local, national and international are brought on board. This will mean generously assisting those local groups, who have

the intention, desire and something of a track record, in a strategic and targeted way to enable them to become major players for the sake of achieving the ideal of 'a city made whole' and an example to the world of reparations in action.

Art and Community: Regeneration or Gentrification?

Why this title?

Our art focus is the visual arts but we recognise that all good art and artists crystallise ideas, feelings, experiences into a form, be it an image, a poem, a play and so on, which is memorable and has the power to move people. We would urge artists to address the significant social issues of our time, such as race and identification. Art is about production but it is also about criticism and it is about culture, therefore we need to consider processes, outlets, management and media, cultural industries, entertainment, heritage, tourism, education.

Community is about identity and identification, a sense of belonging. It is about loyalty, location, being in touch with people from the street to the elite and dealing with more than lifestyles - life chances. It is about social sharing, social cohesion, responsibility and partnership. There is only one race - the human race - but we have to acknowledge that we live in a racialised society and deal with the consequences. The way people see things depends not only on what they know and believe but also on what they want to know and are willing to believe. In our experience we know that there are many people who are wilfully ignorant when it comes to so-called 'race relations'.

Regeneration is more than physical. There are moral and spiritual aspects to renewal. The original generation of wealth in Liverpool was centred on the slave trade and established wealthy white families and institutions from 1700. The legacy of that trade is evident in all aspects of life. Reparations recognises wrong doings and sets about making amends.

Gentrification is about class, top down governance, bourgeois and elitist cultural values and lack of commitment to the social and communal welfare of the masses. It is also a cynical, hypocritical process which Liverpool is experiencing, whereby rich white elites, including property developers, construction companies and major private companies are benefiting at the expense of Black communities and some white working classes. How well do we know ourselves?

The key feature of LARCAA's presentation is a video compilation of five clips which have been chosen and edited to explore aspects of the chosen title.

1.

A scene from the film 'Boyz N the Hood' which starred Laurence Fishburne as a parent and estate agent. In this scene he is at work in his office when he is visited by his son (who is aged about 17yrs) and his son's friend, Ric. They have just completed a school or college end of term examination and it is their lunch break. As they enter the office we hear the father on the phone,

"Tell them not to worry about the interest rate. The interest rate hasn't changed in 5 years."

The young men sit down.

(Father) "So how do you guys think you did on the test."

(Son) "OK, I guess."

(Father) "Most of those tests are culturally biased to begin with. The only part that's universal is the math. You boys must be hungry, I'm real surprised to see you down here."

(Son) "Came to see you. See how you're doin'. How's business going?"

(Father) "Well, there's always business. It's just that it's not always in here."

(Ric) "So like, what do you do here. Do you help people to get money for their houses, or what?"

(Father) "There is no, or what. That's what I do Ric....You boys want to see something?"

(Son) "Do we have a choice?"

(Father) After a thoughtful pause

“No.”

The scene cuts to a downtown area, The houses are mainly bungalows and groups of Black youth sit around listening to heavy rap music. The three of them arrive in a car and are watched as they get out and walk over to a large billboard next to a piece of empty land.

(Ric) Looks around at the youths who are watching them and says nervously,

“Hey man, I don’t know about this.”

(Father) “Ric, it’s the nineties. We can’t afford to be afraid of our own people anymore, man. Would you two knuckleheads c’mon. I want you to take a look at the sign up there. See what it says, ‘Cash for your home’. You know what that is?”

The boys mutter something unintelligible.

(Father) “What are y’all. Amos and Andy? You steppin’ and he’s fetchin’? I’m talking about the message and what it stands for. It’s called gentrification. It’s what happens when the property value of a certain area is brought down. You listening? They bring the property value down. They can buy the land at a lower price. Then they move all the people out, raise the property value and sell it at a profit. Now what we need to do is we need to keep everything in our neighbourhood, everything, Black. Black owned, with Black money. Just like the Jews, the Italians, the Mexicans and the Koreans do.”

We have witnessed various so called urban programmes in Liverpool and yet again it seems that those most likely to benefit are property developers and speculators as well as rich business interests with no sense of community except as a public relations exercise. From the ‘Garden Festival’ in the early 80’s (“£30 million quid down the drain” from the poem ‘City Full A Roses” by Levi Tafari, Liverpool Experience p75), the Albert Dock and Tate Gallery Development and the sell off of over 300 major city centre buildings in 80 acres of land to ‘Charterhouse Estates’ for a paltry

£10million in the late 80's - soon to benefit from public grants from the government's 'English heritage' funds (£15 million), pledges from the leaders of the local task forces to match that with £15m of European Objective 1 money and the City Council donating another £3m, regardless of the fact that the development company now owning the properties appear to be led by soulless market forces. They recently squeezed out the North's best known photographic Gallery, 'Open Eye' in order to re-let to a small goods retailer. This was a building on which large sums of public money had been spent refurbishing as a major exhibition space only a few years earlier. One which Sue Carmichael had included as highly significant in her presentation and planning for the City of Architecture bid. Now we have the highly touted 'Media Factory', development. There are no mechanisms in place to guarantee jobs or benefits for local people, especially Black people. Criteria are established as if in tablets of stone with the odds heavily stacked in favour of the 'nouveau gentry'. When the 'City Challenge' initiative was established LARCAA was hopeful that community arts groups would benefit and volunteered to co-ordinate and facilitate the arts, media and cultural industries sub-committee. We soon increased membership from the original contact list they gave us of 37 organisations (3 Black) to over 100 organisations and individuals (over 50% Black). Meeting regularly the group developed an arts policy which went to 5 drafts only to be hijacked and re-written by City Challenge staff. In the format which the sub-committee proposed, key flagships would not have qualified for funding because of their poor record and employment practices. Those same flagships soaked up so much of the available funds that there was very little left for grassroots organisations.

2.

The Reichstag in Berlin is being renovated. How do you feel Jewish people and their allies would feel if the plans included replacing swastika symbols? Can you imagine, sometime in the future, in the name of academic freedom, a school of 'Reichian Studies' being established in Berlin with students and arts institutions re-establishing the arts symbolism of that despicable era? God forbid!

A section of a BBC TV Newsnight programme feature, in October 1995, concerning the re-building of a sculptural relief to St Georges Hall, Liverpool. It has been proposed by a local group of sculptors with backing from American philanthropists to restore a piece of sculpture and open a school of classical studies, a 3

to 4 million pound enterprise. The proposed sculpture is in a prominent public place and has Britannia as the central figure with Greek and Roman gods bowing down to her. Others pay homage to her, including in an extreme corner an African on his knees with chains around his wrists. When asked by the media, LARCAA and others, raised objections. It was featured in the press and TV. Following video footage of LARCAA's objections a studio 'debate' ensued.

(TV Presenter)

"So to show Britain as breaking the chains of slavery is not true."

(Professor John Charmley - Professor of History, East Anglia University)

"One of the problems about political correctness is that it knows no history, or at least it's re-written it in its own image and it's forgotten the real version. The fact is that this idea that Britain, the British State (a) was behind the slave trade is an utter nonsense. In the best traditions of capitalism it was individual capitalists who were behind the slave trade. British Government didn't sit down in Whitehall and say, I say chaps, lets copy what the Arabs have been doing for a thousand years on the East Coast of Africa (b). What happened was that individual people made money out of it and the fact is that the first of the states of the western world to abolish slavery was the British Empire (c) and the reason that the slave trade was destroyed in the 19th century was because the Royal Navy put down that slave trade and a lot of those ships came out of Liverpool (d) and that statue is there to commemorate the upside, yes, no-ones hiding that there was a downside, this actually captures a moment and a period of British History which I think we actually have some right to be proud of."

(TV Presenter)

"Donald Brown, a period to be proud of?"

(Donald Brown - an international sculptor objecting to the proposals)

"I would argue with that."

To set the record straight.

Professor John Charmley when he attacks those he accuses of ‘political correctness’, as having no sense of history, of forgetting and rewriting it, consider the following points which can all be checked out for veracity:

(a.) The British State, through Parliament signed an agreement with Spain in 1713, the ‘Assiento’, guaranteeing to provide several thousand Africans as slaves every year. The British State had an exclusive company called the Royal Africa Company, established in the 17th century, which was dealing with the Slavery Trade, but after signing the ‘Assiento’, Parliament allowed another company to be formed, the South Sea Company, whilst it continued to give grants to the Africa Company. Masses of people invested in the South Sea Company and the ‘South Sea Bubble’, which burst, is a well documented event. The ‘Assiento’ agreement carried on for many years until the Spanish insisted on boarding British ships carrying enslaved Africans, as they suspected the British of smuggling contraband goods into Spain. The British State declared war on Spain to protect the interests of the Slave Traders in 1739 when Robert Walpole was PM. The war lasted 9 years. Various aspects of the ‘British State’ including the Aristocracy, Armed Forces, Civil Service, Churches, Judiciary, Media and Parliament, were partners and supported and benefited from ‘Big Business’, Merchant Capitalism’s obnoxious and shameful activities. Furthermore they sought to justify it with an ideological and active conspiracy, the legacy of which we see today. Liverpool became involved in the Slavery Trade in 1700 and became the world’s leading slave port a few years later when the docks were purpose built for the ‘crime of the millennium’.

(b.) Comparing the European Slavery with so-called Arab Slavery is very misleading and an attempt to deflect and divide. This needs to be understood. Much is lost in translation and it may be better to understand the Arab and African situation by using the word ‘servant’ to describe what happened to prisoners of war. The servants were able to earn their ‘freedom’ (manumission), allowed to marry into their ‘masters’ families and many of the servants became rulers, Kings and Queens. Compare this with European Chattel Slavery which designated Africans as sub-human cargo and implemented a centuries long systematic dehumanising process to justify it, which has meant that it is a universal phenomenon that wherever white communities have lived alongside black communities, the whites have oppressed the Blacks. Africa was robbed

of between 50 and 150 million people, their families, names, languages, religions and culture destroyed, the land and its resources was stolen and colonised. We have inherited this today and racial inequalities and colour prejudice is alive in British and European languages, stereotypes, attitudes and life chances.

(c.) The first nation state to pass laws to abolish slavery was Denmark in 1807. The British Empire abolished legal slavery in 1834, but we have yet to cleanse our hearts and minds.

(d.) Liverpool has built many ships, those for the Royal Navy imposed Colonial Empire on so-called foreigners. In the years when St Georges Hall was establishing itself the city was building ships to support the confederates in America. Confederate agents were based in Liverpool, most notably James Bullock who was made to feel so welcome that he made the city his home (Stanhope St), and is buried in Toxteth cemetery. The most notorious of these ships being the 'Alabama' which, carrying a Liverpool crew (1862-64) sank 68 of Lincoln's ships and led to the British state (taxpayers) having to pay compensation of more than \$15m, in today's terms probably more than a billion£'s.

Why would a Professor of History, who presumably knows about the above, set out to mislead and lie to the British public through the mainstream media, whilst also supporting an abominable sculpture of St Georges Hall ? Incidentally, the BBC2 presenter had named a figure of 3million Africans enslaved. A local historian who publishes educational packs about slavery quotes hundreds of thousands. Early this century W.E.Dubois concluded there were over 100million and more recent studies suggest a figure of 150million. Part of the different perceptions between white and Black. These are important issues to be resolved by museums and academics, and some moves have been made thanks to the patronage of Peter Moores and the establishment of the Transatlantic Slavery Gallery in Liverpool.

LARCAA was moved to make a formal complaint to the City Council Tourism and Heritage Committee with regard to the 'Britannia Sculpture', St. Georges Hall and the proposed 'Classical School' and advise against the proposals on ethical, moral and spiritual grounds.

First, we were obliged to express our disappointment in the professional advisers of the Tourism, Arts & Heritage Services to the city council who provided little advice other than on financial grounds and misleading information regarding sections of the community who may be offended by the proposals.

In fact, the proposals are potentially offensive to a very broad section of the community, Black and White, especially practising Christians, Jews and Muslims. The iconography is clearly degenerate and repulsive in its polytheism and perpetuation of historical and racialised myths, therefore offending non-believers who adopt a principled position as humanists, anti-racists or simply applying common sense in an objective way.

We believe that it would be very damaging to the city's image and counter to the visionary slogan 'A city made whole'. In the context of Liverpool's history ie 18th century - 'Capital of the Slavery Trade', 19th century - 'Gateway to Empire' and 20th century - 'Most Racist City in Britain', we can see that reproducing a relief sculpture of the kind proposed would be a retrograde step, whereas we would wish Liverpool of the 21st century to be part of the avant garde of the 'Reparations' movement in the moral, economic and cultural responses to the 'African Holocaust'.

Let us consider further one or two points relative to art, community and genuine regeneration to place the original sculptural relief in its true historical context.

How was Britannia recognised in 1850? What was the symbolism and ideology behind the image? In 1852 the first edition of Rogets Thesaurus was published listing words according to their place in ideas and synonyms. Britannia was listed, and this was consistent until at least the beginning of world war two, under the heading "Whiteness" and synonymous with "white man" and "Caucasian race". To place Britannia at the top of a triangular relief with Greco-Roman gods, including Neptune, Mercury and Apollo paying homage to her is to place 'white power' or 'white supremacy' as a recognised fact and objective. Given that this was in the middle of the imperialist expansion of Britain along with several other European nations culminating in the 'carve up' of Africa in 1874 it is apparent that the sculpture was an affirmation of an ideology which still bears down on us with a legacy which legitimises and divides in order to rule. The depiction of an African on his knees supposedly thankful to the symbol of white supremacy which turned from the economics of Slavery to Empire and accepting the oppressor as a liberator is to misrepresent either by ignorance or desire the true history of events. In fact, African people fought valiantly against slavery and

European domination, and a few honourable white people ‘broke ranks’ to support that struggle - in Liverpool we have the record of some of them. There may be a place for a scale model of such a sculpture in some kind of ‘Museum of the African Holocaust’ as a development of the ‘Transatlantic Slavery Gallery’, Maritime Museum, with full documentation of the original concept and carried out with a proper dialogue and involvement of relevant people, but certainly not in a public place.

The idea of establishing a school to promote classical values in sculpture and the related arts would again be a retrograde step and can only be seen in its true political and historical context. Such architecture, sculpture and values were appreciated by Hitler and others who pay homage to ancient Greece and Rome as the beginning of civilisation. They ignore and reject Egyptian and African heritage which laid the foundations for Greek language and culture. Classical values of beauty and form are of a style considered ‘conservative’, Eurocentric and in the final analysis, racist. They have spawned racist intellectuals and movements in Europe from Winkelmann, the 18th century art historian to Cyril Burt the 20th century educationalist and geneticist, and one of the so-called ‘godfathers’ of the classical school in Britain is Enoch Powell. Such a school of thought is elitist and has been used by the gentry and aristocracy to illustrate their concepts of the pinnacle of human development in the framework of Darwinian theories. As such they are without doubt anti-African.

The ‘Freemen’ of Liverpool whose ‘vision’ and wealth formed this city, inherited much of both from Liverpool’s role in the 18th century, as outlined above. That capital formed the basis for their activities in the 19th century producing more millionaires than any three cities outside London. These ‘freemen’ were the instigators of the public buildings and their architectural style in the complex around William Brown St/Lime St. Certain interpretations of the imagery adorning the buildings repeats the self deception of the city’s elites.

Professor Charmley does what he accuses us of doing. He says that those he accuses of ‘political correctness’ have no sense of history and try to rewrite it, then makes several assertions, all of which are untrue and can be objectively assessed. It is not surprising that he writes regularly for the right wing media including the Daily Express.

3.

Imagine that Colonel Gaddafi sent a task force to London and they stole the crown jewels, took them back to Libya and put them in a museum. Then they passed a law saying that curators could not return them. What would the reaction of the British state be ?

Dr Stephen Small, Lecturer in Sociology at Leicester University, appearing in a recent BBC 2 TV programme regarding reparations for Africa and Africans for the African Holocaust.

(Dr Small) “In 1897 several hundred British people went to the kingdom of Benin, massacred the population and stole several thousand pieces of precious and sacred jewellery.

If you, today, go to the Museum of Mankind in London, it doesn't describe any of that history. So we need to control these artifacts and get access to them so that we can tell the full history. We also need to control them as African people because they benefit British museums, they give praise and credit and they bring money to British Museums and they were acquired illegitimately, illegally through acts of plunder and death.”

(Linda Bellos - programme presenter)

“It is not only in museums that the true interpretations are missing. Education in Britain for instance, constantly undervalues and denies Africa's contribution to the world and the damage done to it by Europeans.”

(Dr Small)

“I think we can benefit by challenging the representations of inferiority, by challenging the assumptions that we are inferior. If white people are shown a range of the things that Africans have achieved, a range of African accomplishments, then we can begin to challenge some of their crude stereotypes.”

4.

A second clip from the reparations footage focussed on Liverpool, with shots of the pierhead and Dr Small's voice over:

“Only a fool would say forget the past or that we ought to forget the past. We live in the past at the present moment. I'm from Liverpool and Liverpool built its wealth on the

exploitation of African men and women. White people have convinced themselves and one another that they are superior. That Black people in some way pollute them. That's why Black people are denied jobs and opportunities because after several hundred years of exploitation and convincing themselves that they are superior, they don't want anything to do with us."

So there are hardly any Black people employed in any art galleries or museums in Liverpool and there are no Black galleries or galleries with a Black majority ownership or management. LARCAA uses other organisations galleries and at the time of the seminar were holding an exhibition entitled 'Skin Dis Order' in Toxteth Library. Earlier in 1995 we also used the library as a venue for an exhibition and an event we featured in the next video clip.

The final piece reflects issues raised by Lewis Biggs when he refers to "trauma and renewal". This was also recognised by the European Commission which at the time of the seminar was inviting bids from organisations which were challenging racism in European cities, which they recognise is rising at an alarming rate. One category for application was the commemoration of a racist crime by holding a public event to consider the issues and plan to prevent its repetition. LARCAA submitted a bid related to Liverpool's role in the African Holocaust, the crime of the millennium. However, afterwards we discovered that the entire European budget for the whole scheme was merely 2 million Ecus, about £1.85 million pounds. When you consider that City Challenge in Liverpool was able to give £3million each to Liverpool Philharmonic and the NMGM Conservation Centre, £3.4 million to Liverpool Institute of Performing Arts and £1million to the renovation of a Pub, none of which genuinely address issues of racial exclusion, and all of which have poor track records as far as Black communities are concerned, then you can see that white responses to racialised realities are inadequate. Part of the widening gap in perception.

5.

As an example of what we mean by regenerative art we included a clip from a video we made at the launch of our book 'SLAVERY:AN INTRODUCTION TO THE AFRICAN HOLOCAUST' which was held in Toxteth Library in Spring 1995. The

book was co-authored by members of LARCAA, Liverpool Education Directorate's 'Race Equality Management Team', National Museums & Galleries on Merseyside's Transatlantic Slavery Museum and the City Arts and Libraries. After TV soap star Louis Emerick had read a poem by LARCAA worker Abdul Salam ('Born To Be Sold' - "the most moving poem I have ever read"), local singer and teacher 'Ebony' read a speech by Sojourner Truth and then sang a song of her choice, to a record breaking full house in a room filled with visually stimulating, educational and uplifting posters.

"That man over there, he says, women need to be helped into carriages, lifted over ditches and they need to have a special place.

Well, ain't I a woman? Look at me, look at my arm. I have ploughed and I have planted and I have gathered into the barn and no man could beat me. And ain't I a woman?

I have worked as much as many a man, when I could get it and I bear the lashes. And ain't I a woman?

I have bore five children; and I have watched almost all of them sold off into slavery. And when I cried out with a mother's grief, none but Jesus hear me. And ain't I a woman?"

The speech was delivered with such feeling and passion that the whole audience (50% Black/50%White) was touched and rose to applaud. However, better was still to come. With a backing tape Ebony sang a song by Labi Siffre,

"The higher you build your barriers, the taller I become.

The further you take my rights away, the faster I will run.

You can be near me, you can decide to turn your face away.

No matter.

There's something inside so strong

I know that I can make it, though you're doing me wrong, so wrong

You thought that my pride was gone, oh no.

There's something inside so strong.

The more you refuse to hear my voice, the louder I will sing.

You hide behind walls of Jericho, your lives will come tumbling.

You can be near me, you can decide to turn your face away.

Oh.

There's something inside so strong

I know that I can make it, though you're doing me wrong, so wrong.

You thought that my pride was gone, oh no.

Something inside so strong.....Yes, I was honoured when I was asked to read a poem by Sojourner Truth, mainly, if I may say this Sojourner, because I could identify with this woman before I knew who she was. I could speak mostly from books and words and I can speak from my soul. It's time to speak out and say what you feel.....

Brothers and sisters, though they insist we are not good enough

But we know better, just look them in the eyes and say

We're gonna do it anyway, we're gonna do it anyway

We're gonna do it anyway.

There's something inside so strong

I know that I can make it, though you're doing me wrong, so wrong.

You thought that my pride was gone, oh no.

Something inside so strong, something inside so strong.”

This brought the house down with applause, whistles, shouts and screams as almost everyone stood to honour a great song and a great performance.

From the local to the global there is a universal phenomenon experienced by Black communities. Wherever and whenever white communities have lived alongside Black communities, whether in the majority or minority, the whites have oppressed the Blacks.

From the USA especially, where some of the most economically advanced Black communities live, paradoxically co-existing with some of the most oppressed Black communities, a common legacy is reflected in rap poetry from The Last Poets, the grandfathers of rap since the 60's to Ice T in the 90's, or songs from James Brown to Stevie Wonder, the films of Spike Lee and Mario van Peebles, the literature of Maya Angelou, Alice Walker and James Baldwin or the visual art of Adrian Piper. They

reveal historical and current issues of white racism crystallised into art forms that are memorable. These are products of our social culture and among those things that we need to experience and understand if we are to make sense of our society. They are specially significant because they are intimately concerned with problems of perception. Occasionally there is a 'crossover' and white artists join the struggle. Much came out of US Civil Rights movements of the 60's and similar cultural struggles against apartheid in South Africa. To come to know them is to grapple with the ideas and values which they represent.

However, for Black people in Liverpool, the arts venues are a cultural barrier rather than a platform. There is a paramount need for large scale Black managed, Black owned cultural developments to match the major white Eurocentric flagships which have been in the forefront of recent city planning. This is not to argue for apartheid but for spaces that are user friendly from a Black perspective to enhance a participatory democracy where large numbers of Black artists and audiences can meet, socialise and plan in order to entertain, train and educate without having to go through selection and approval by white elites from the 'comfortable or chattering classes', with a Eurocentric mentality.

What is European Culture ?

"What determines and characterises European culture?...Europe is formed by the...community of nations which are largely characterised by the inherited civilisation whose most important sources are: the Judaeo-Christian religion, the Greek-Hellenistic ideas in the fields of government, philosophy, arts and science and finally, the Roman views concerning law"

(from a lecture given at the Yorkshire Arts Council in Bradford, November 1990, by the Netherlands Ambassador for International Cultural Cooperation, Mr. M.Mourik and quoted in 'Race & Class' Volume 32, Number 3, page 3))

Jan Pieterse, author of 'Empire and Emancipation: power and liberation on a world scale' (London, Pluto, 1989) describes this 'official' definition in the following way 'Race & Class' p. 4:

“We are taken past the familiar stations of Europe: Greece-Rome-Christianity. This is a well-known entity in the United States also, where it is often referred to as ‘western civilisation’, which may be summed up as ‘from Plato to Nato’.

This is the usual facade of Europe, so familiar that it is boring. This is the Europe that is now being resurrected in the discourses of the official magisters of culture. The problem is that in addition to being chauvinistic, elitist, pernicious and alienating, it is wrong.

It is wrong as regards the origins of European culture; it is wrong in so representing European culture that European regional cultures and subcultures are overlooked; it is wrong in representing elite culture as culture ‘tout court’ and in denying popular culture; it is wrong in defining European culture in terms of the past (‘inherited civilisation’) and in totally ignoring Europe’s contemporary multicultural realities.

This old culture is presently being revived in the context of the ‘new Europe’. Many of the political and economic negotiations and virtually all of the debate on culture focus on Europe and the nations. The usual questions are whether Europe will be dominated by the largest national European cultures, Germany and France. What about Britain? What about the identities of the smaller European cultures? What about central Europe, Mitteleuropa? Will European cultures be steamrollered into a continent-wide pattern of uniformity, propelled by market forces and media magnates and directives from a few Europe metropolises?

The continent that pioneered nationalism pioneers the transcendence of nationalism, and in this context these questions are very meaningful. Yet, this is essentially a discussion about ‘Europe and Europe’. There is another question on the horizon which is both larger and potentially more incisive in its implications, and that is Europe and the continents. This is infrequently talked about, except in the context of decolonisation and the critique of eurocentrism, topics which are not particularly high on the agenda.

We are living in a post-imperial Europe which still maintains an imperial culture. Official European culture, reproduced in declarations, textbooks, media programmes, continues to be the culture of imperial Europe.

Another issue is that Europe, from the point of view of the many migrants in Europe of non-European origin, is now a New World, yet its self-image, its dominant culture, is still that of an Old World - that is, a world from which people emigrate.

Certain key experiences are missing from this new old European culture: the experience of decolonisation, of migrations, post-imperial ('we are here because you were there') and otherwise, and of globalisation.

Walk in any street of any European city and ask yourself - is this 'European culture'? Is this 'Greece-Rome and Judeo-Christianity'? Ask contemporary citizens of Europe about their ancestors, their origins - how many of you hail from non-European worlds? Or, to use nineteenth-century racist language, how many of you are 'half-caste'? How many of you were never represented in this elite European project in the first place - as members of the working class or living in the countryside, or in regional cultures such as the 'Celtic fringe'?

What is being recycled as 'European culture' is nineteenth-century elite imperial myth formation. Is it not high time then to open up the imperial facade of European culture, to place it under an X-ray and ask, what here is really Europe and what is not?"

This has been part of LARCAA's intentions from the start and an exhibition we researched and produced in response to National Museums & Galleries 'Expressions of Belief' revealed the way European artists like Picasso, Matisse and Epstein, arts movements such as Art Nouveau, German Expressionism, Cubism and Fauvism, and Greek and Roman cultures were heavily influenced and even 'inspired' by African and African Islamic arts and culture, usually without acknowledgement. Furthermore, so-called European artists were misrepresented in the history books. Beethoven, Dumas and Pushkin are studied as giants in European arts, but their African origins and colour are not widely known or referred to. During LARCAA's research for the 'Out of Africa' exhibition, we found the following text,

"Cezanne, it was the Negro blood of his mother that gave his canvasses most of their qualities."

It was credited to Robert Coady, Art Editor and New York Gallery Director and featured in exhibition notes to a display he organised in 1917, quoted by J.Zilczer in 1975 and appeared as a reference in the footnotes of a rare and expensive volume, 'Primitivism in 20th Century Art' by William Rubin 1984. We have since found the following text, in Ambroise Vollard's book 'Cezanne', p 16,

“Elizabeth Aubert, Cezanne’s mother, was born at Aix of a family of remote Creole origin. She was vivacious and romantic, carefree in spirit, but endowed with a disposition at once restless, passionate, and quick to take offence. It was from her that Paul got his conception and vision of life.”

Countless other books refer only to Cezanne’s father and art courses in schools and universities make no reference to his racial origins. A photograph of him when he was about 20 appears typical of say a North African and a self portrait when he was 50 looks like a lighter skinned Darcus Howe. Considering his racial origins allows us to understand him and his situation more fully when we read references to his ‘violent and sensitive nature’ when he was a youngster, children throwing stones at him in the streets when he was an adult and attitudes towards European society which he shared with his friend, South American, Paul Gauguin of whom Dennis Sporre in ‘A History of the Arts’ said

“a nomad who believed that all European society and its works were sick.”

Clearly racial harassment was operating in 19th century France, and Cezanne experienced it, but how many Art teachers and Gallery curators know or have even considered Cezanne, the ‘founding father of modern art in Europe’, as Black? Not even the press officer for the London Tate, who are promoting the great Cezanne exhibition in 1996 which is set to break all records for attendance at £7 a ticket. Along with unprecedented merchandising, record profits will be accrued. It would be remarkable if the Tate donated the proceeds to a reparations fund to establish an African Holocaust Resource Museum Gallery, run by Black people in Liverpool. A significant millennium project.

During LARCAA’s lifetime we have seen white Eurocentric projects emerge, some in or on the edge of Toxteth where most Black people live, such as Project Rosemary, Liverpool Institute for the Performing Arts, Liverpool Royal Philharmonic Hall, others in the town centre like the Albert Dock, Tate Gallery, and the Midlands Goods Depot as National Museums & Galleries on Merseysides’ Conservation Centre, collectively attracting between £100m and £200m, of public and ‘private’ funds including European, National and City Challenge grants, providing employment for hundreds of white people, not least through construction companies such as Wimpeys

(major benefactors of the Tory Party). There is a case for a public inquiry into the massive appropriation of funds which are supposed to benefit local people, especially Black communities, but which instead are going to established white institutions which are dysfunctional with regard to improving 'race relations' with respect to Section 71 'Race Relations Act 1976. This is heralded as a leading European example of arts-led urban regeneration soon to be further developed by the so-called 'Creative Quarter', LJMU's 'Student Village' and St. Georges Hall. Hundreds of millions of pounds which should have been managed by Liverpool communities for Liverpool people are instead controlled by Central Government bureaucrats and their private and municipal brothers and sisters.

Where do Black people and Black projects figure in all of this ? - a fundamental issue, considering that without the significant presence and exploitation of Black communities in Liverpool, local and national grants and Objective 1 status and funding would not have been available.

It seems sinister that two key local organisations which could have mobilised local Black people and the Arts community around policy led rather than market led developments were removed by 'top down governance'. These were the Merseyside Community Relations Council (closed in 1992/3) which had been formed in 1973 and a major organising base post 1981 uprising, and Merseyside Arts (closed in 1991/92) who for example had objected to the Task Force directing a £50,000 feasibility study grant to a London company to report on the arts and cultural industries in Liverpool, without going out to tender.

Flagship projects, absorb a lions share of the funding available before 'ordinary' people and grassroots organisations are given a chance. Within the current Conservative hegemony established over the last 15 years they already have the establishment backing them and it is immoral for them to fish with their trawlers in the same pools as community groups with their fishing rods. Recent research into the Single Regeneration Budget allocation for Merseyside reveals that not a single existing Black organisation has been included in any 'partnership'. Only the not yet functioning but soon to be re-established, Merseyside Community Relations Council, are named as bedfellows with a police led project to reduce crime.

There is a moral imperative for Black managed infrastructures paving the way for Liverpool as a really international and internationalist City. If Liverpool, for its size, the world's most multi-national and multi-cultural city, is truly to show the way forward then major Black majority projects need to be fostered, nurtured and properly supported ie. funded to succeed. What about a 'Museum of the African Holocaust', Black Arts and Cultural Centres and Galleries, a Transnational Arts and Cultural Research Institute, performance spaces for live and film presentations, restaurants, or LARCAA's humble proposals for its Visual Arts and Learning Resources Centre. Such ventures will service local communities as well as national, European and Transnational groups including cultural industries, progressive businesses committed to racial equality, educational institutions, visitors and so on. We have already seen how successful an attraction the Transatlantic Slavery Gallery has been in the Maritime Museum basement, thanks to the patronage of Peter Moores, and that was 'only' a £500,000 investment - small change for the likes of Liverpool Philharmonic, LIPA/McArtney, Tate, et al.

If 'ebony and ivory' are to live side by side in perfect harmony then we need more than token gestures. We need to reduce Eurocentric greed and purely physical 'regeneration'. We need to address those other aspects to regeneration ie. spiritual and moral renewal. The approaching millennium and the much needed European funding needs to go to local people who have a vested interest. The legacy of past neglect and felonies has resulted in an insufficient infrastructures within Black communities in terms of mainstream educational provision, employment, politics, institutional power, ownership, wealth, experience and so on at levels which can compete with the ruling white elites.

During one of the plenary sessions, of the day seminar, having criticised flagship projects citing studies by Professor Michael Parkinson's Urban Studies team, now based in Liverpool John Moores University, I was challenged to name a flagship project which had developed at the expense of community or 'grassroots' arts organisations. Further incensed by the exhibition which was on display in the Tate at the time of the seminar, a detailed response was drafted, the substantive part follows.

October 1995 sees two vastly contrasting exhibitions in the city. One is at the Government sponsored gallery that is the Tate, on the off-shore island that is called the Albert Dock. The other is in a public library in Toxteth, (the poorest district in Europe

where most of Liverpool's Black community live) because the organisers, Liverpool Anti-Racist Community Arts Association, have been persistently denied an exhibition space of their own, as have other Black initiatives to establish Black majority infrastructures and managed workspaces.

Coincidentally, Octobers' 'Visionfest' (an annual Visual Arts Festival on Merseyside) theme is 'SKIN' and this year is nationally designated 'AFRICA 95. An appeal for financial support from Visionfest was rejected but LARCAA did it anyway and produced an exhibition entitled 'SKIN DIS ORDER' .

“

Most analyses of white-black relationships overlook the influence of images in mass culture, upon racism in society. The conscious or unconscious acceptance of the stereotyped image of Black people is partly responsible for the persistence of prejudices and racism. The Black sector of the population is daily confronted by the negative consequences of these images which are not of their own making.”

[From the introductory notes to the exhibition 'White on Black - Images of Black People in Western Popular Culture' 1990]

No-one could accuse LARCAA of overlooking the influence of racist imagery in society today. The exhibition 'SKIN DIS ORDER' draws on extensive specialist archives which have been accumulated since the organisation was formed in 1988.

From the organisation's vast collection and on display in Toxteth Library, throughout October's Visionfest were selected images and texts covering the history and legacy of racial stereotyping from the 4th century AD, aspects of colour prejudice from subliminal racial bias to overt fascist propaganda, mainstream religious and cultural icons, children's literature, fictions of 'European Culture', video compilations exposing current TV advertising, book displays, and posters which crystallise ideas on race and racism into a visual form, celebrates cultural diversity and promotes African identity and presence in a way that uplifts the spirit. There were practical exercises which those with a personal or professional interest in dealing with issues of race and racism in the education or training spheres could take away.

LARCAA's research, archive and operational base is in a Grade II listed building in Clarence Street, Liverpool. The organisation is currently going through its third attempt to have the building restored and refurbished in order to provide a more user friendly environment for the students, teachers, artists, media and cultural

organisations which call on LARCAA's services. The struggle for appropriate premises is the same as for other Black managed organisations in Liverpool, psychologically unappealing to the white majority. After all, art and cultural production comes out of human reflection on the sum total of experience and this often challenges those who control the funds.

A poem by Abdul Salam Gayle, who is also Development Officer in LARCAA, provided verses earlier this year, which were the seeds of the display, long before anyone knew what was going to be shown in the Tate. As usual the Tate approached LARCAA members for some advice and consultation, but they did not reveal the content of the show.

Little did we know how prophetic Abdul's poem would be. Consider the first two lines:

“THEY told the story, and I listened, of how African people lived,
deeming AFRICAN CULTURE to be primitive, paganistic and obscene.”

He was writing of his experiences as a child in Liverpool's schools. How little has changed in 40 years. Is it wise for the Tate to select and exhibit, artworks which reinforce and repeat centuries old racial myths, stereotypes and propaganda, and make money out of it?

Voodoo art, some of which is vicious and pornographic portraits of Africans were on display, promoted and funded by the rich white establishment, which is the Government's Department of National Heritage. Even obscene films on satellite TV, censored by Virginia Bottomley, Minister for Heritage, draw the line at images of male erections, whereas the Tate exhibits such decadence, and grossly exaggerated, at that. They ran adult workshops, carried out in-service training for teachers and focused on GCSE and A level students with project work. Would this happen in any gallery, anywhere if the images were of say Jewish Rabbis and the sponsors were African or Arab businessmen? Our familiarity with the Jewish holocaust and the derogatory images of Jews which paved the way lead us to understand the cultural and racial contexts and consequences. However, there is no such familiarity with the African holocaust and the abiding legacy.

This is reminiscent of a project which another white flagship, Liverpool Philharmonic, tried to foist on the citizens of Toxteth, a few years ago. It is worth

recalling. A newly appointed Community Development Officer in 'The Phil' wanted to link up with the neighbouring Black communities and called on LARCAA and the Community Relations Council to help him. We went to a meeting and he explained that he'd looked at their programme and noticed that they had a performance of 'Porgy and Bess' scheduled in a few months. He wanted us to work with local schools to produce artworks for the building to establish an atmosphere to reflect the times and to enable him to visit local Black organisations to recruit a 'community choir' who would participate in an additional performance of the 'Opera'. The event would be filmed by the local TV station and sold to America. In the process community barriers would be broken down, a new audience established for 'The Phil' and LARCAA would receive £10,000. LARCAA's musical consultant, a local Black teacher, produced a five page paper explaining why it was inappropriate and how Gershwin had diluted a Black musical form to please white audiences and filled the Opera with racial stereotypes and dialogue. The Phil's Community Development Officer believed that Gershwin's art and culture transcended context. While this was happening, the Gifford Inquiry into 'race relations' in Liverpool was reaching some alarming conclusions. The idea of a Black majority Toxteth choir cheerfully singing,

"I got plenty of nottin' an' nottin's plenty for me",

at the same time as Lord Gifford and his team were concluding that racism in Liverpool was "uniquely horrific", and Toxteth was the poorest district in Europe was adding insult to injury. Something to refer to an 'Arts and Cultural Injuries Unit' had one existed. The community officer would not accept our recommendations and insisted on proceeding. He would find a choir from elsewhere, possibly St Helens. Some discrete lobbying put a stop it.

And therein lies the problem. We have a city and a community being led by the rich and manipulative white elites and their employees, rather than the wise. Curators, Arts Management and Art Directors with a narrow, elitist and distorted sense of right and wrong, more a case of 'anything goes', after all its 'business.'

Images which reinforce centuries old racist propaganda are openly on display to a paying public and children are formally drawn into this world.

The Tate arrived in Liverpool in the mid 80's. Were they lured by the so called regeneration funds to set up shop on Government land managed by a non-elected

quango the Merseyside Development Corporation (the same quango who promoted the discredited Quincentenary event in 1992)? When the first director of the Tate invited me to a meeting with several other arts practitioners in the mid 80's as the building was nearing completion he was perplexed when I inquired how many Black workers were employed on the project. Later, over sandwiches, he outlined the galleries proposals for their first show. It was to be the Surrealists and he asked us what we thought might be shown alongside. I suggested the work of John Heartfield, a contemporary whose anti-fascist photomontages exposed totalitarianism directly in the 30's whereas most of the surrealists sidestepped their social and political responsibilities. My suggestion was enthusiastically supported by a fellow artist and a recently retired lecturer at Liverpool art college who had been present when Heartfield had lectured in Liverpool in 1968. In fact he offered some previously unexhibited works by John Heartfield which the art college had in its collection. The Tate director seemed most uncomfortable with the idea and asked what we thought about Mark Rothko's work. Not much, was the consensus. However, we were ignored and it was Rothko's depressing canvases which were displayed in a room next to the Surrealists. At one point during the afternoon after I had inquired about employment and race relations policies I was sharply spoken to by the director who accused me of attempting to hijack the meeting with minority issues. It's not surprising that 10 years later out of a staff of 70 only one worker is Black.

The Tate family made its fortune from slave plantation sugar crop profits. With an empire of the arts developed from this wealth the recent Tate speculation, was more of a 'sure thing' in the Albert Dock development.

Since the uprising of 1981 and the establishment of a Minister for Merseyside with considerable grants, bloodsuckers have arrived like sharks sniffing a drop of blood, only in Liverpool it was provided by the bucketful. The local fish, however, were treated as small fry by the new ministry, the local Task Forces which gathered information on every community organisation and acted as a clearing house for funding allocation. Various names have been given to schemes to develop initiatives with changes in criteria and priorities ("moving the goal posts") whenever it seems that local community groups, especially Black ones get close to scoring. Corporations with bureaucracies and lawyers are so well prepared it's as if they had inside information. This has gone on throughout the 80's culminating in the 90's with City Challenge and Objective 1 -one of only 2 or 3 regions in the UK given such a status, largely because of the poverty of the Black community in Liverpool 8 and what some would call white

ghettos elsewhere in the city. It is reported that the Tate has already been promised Objective 1 money for its next development phase, as were other Eurocentric arts flagships such as the Liverpool Philharmonic (£10.3 m - 3m from City Challenge) and Liverpool Institute of Performing Arts (£3 m from City Challenge, £4m from Europe).

Money has poured into Liverpool to address deep and serious social and economic issues and absorbed by organisations which have little sense of community spirit or responsibility. Will Hutton asserts that Quangos and Training and Enterprise Councils operate as private organisations with a majority of businessmen on their boards. Membership is voluntary,

“relying on appeals to social responsibility and civic duty wrapped up with covert promises of honours for those who co-operated.”

(‘The State We’re In’, Hutton, 1995, p189)

Decisions appear to be made long before the long suffering communities get a sniff of the funds and then communities are set up in competition with one another as in the ‘Pathways’ Euro funds programme of 11 competing districts.

The scant resources that trickle down are never enough for successful growth because the lions share has been bitten off and used in elitist, wasteful schemes which exclude local people.

In Liverpool the people want to make a living while ‘outsiders’ want to make a killing. ‘Sure things’ on the stockmarket are illegal but we witness the obscenity of council officers working for private developers, paving the way for them to cream off guaranteed millions before they will dip their toes in the Mersey or develop the city and even then, with no guarantees that local unemployed people, Black or white will benefit.

The Tate’s plush environment (built as a £10m scheme without employing Black workers) and overstaffing is an embarrassment in a city without a single Black managed Gallery or Theatre. Liverpool Philharmonic has just spent £10.3m (inc. £3m City Challenge) on internal refurbishment and employs some 130 full-time workers, all white, though their equal opportunities policy is glossy, high profile and ‘multi-racial’. Liverpool Institute for the Performing Arts - LIPA, has completed its re-building programme (including two roofs as the first one was put on the wrong way round, something which the local funders have tried to cover up) with £7m of public money

(£3m City Challenge and £4m from Europe). A local resident reported that they have employed building contractors from Sunderland and Derbyshire and the 1 Black worker seen on the site was from Manchester. A study by Liverpool Black Music Association, 'Out of Tune - an interim report on Black people and the music industry in Liverpool', to be published in February 1996, reveals that not only does LIPA have an all white staff but of its intake of over 200 students in January 1996, only 2 are Black (from London) and only 17 from Liverpool. National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside employ about 500 full time staff and it is reported that Black workers can be counted in single figures. They have just secured £3.5m from City Challenge for their conversion of a Railway Goods Depot into a Conversation Centre which will include an exhibition hall and restaurant but no new jobs as they will be moving 60 of their current staff. Lest we forget, it was one of Liverpools finest historians, Ramsay Muir who wrote:

“Beyond a doubt it was the slave trade which raised Liverpool from a struggling port to be one of the richest and most prosperous trading centres in the world.”

‘A History of Liverpool’ 1907

The African Holocaust was the crime of the millennium and in the 18th century Liverpool was the Capital of the Slave Trade, in the 19th century the Gateway to Empire and the 20th century, the most racist city in Britain. White attitudes to African people has been influenced by systematic cultural and institutionalised racism resulting in antipathy, fear or tolerance. Even if racism and suffering is exposed white people generally do not pass beyond pity and compassion, though there are notable exceptions. In order for people to respect others they must know of their achievements. People have been kept ignorant of African heritage and current affairs other than misrepresentations and stereotypes over many centuries. The issues and the legacies have not been fully considered and people are therefore not able to respond as sensitively as they do towards anti-semitism.

In 1995 we can say beyond a doubt that over the last 15 years, the so called flagship projects, business interests and property speculators have siphoned off public funds, buying into Liverpool where the market price has been brought down (gentrification) and they are busy now boosting the citys image and market value in order to make a killing. For many of them it seems as cynical as that. Unfortunately some of the city’s spiritual leaders are involved and have been drawn into allegedly

corrupt dealings. A leading member of the Church of England has fronted some 'regeneration' projects including areas of Toxteth and Black people have not only been excluded but lied to. When this so-called spiritual leader was addressing a meeting of around 200 Toxteth citizens (mostly Black) in a Liverpool 8 Methodist Centre, he deliberately lied to the people to cover up some unpleasant results from a market survey. It was left to a fellow panelist to reveal the truth to the meeting. The churchman left not in a state of grace but of disgrace. Events like this leave impoverished communities asking, if boards headed by Churchleaders cannot be trusted to tell the truth then who can? This same leader has since been 'honoured' in the Queen's civic list and a building named after him.

The massive rift in perception between Black and white communities has also been exposed recently in the USA with the O.J.Simpson trial and the Million Man March. President Bill Clinton is calling on good white folks to deal with racism, whether by intent or effect. The so called 'race card' has been played by some of the popular national British press with regard to recent paltry sums awarded through Lottery funding to Black organisations. They are suggesting that these small sums are at the expense of old 'British' institutions such as Barnados. Worse than that, consider this quote from the Sia Information Bulletin No. 15 (Sia - The National Development Agency for the Black Voluntary Sector),

"These attacks were not limited to the press. In a BBC 5 radio interview, David Mellor also supported such views by questioning whether these 'exotic' charities would be able to spend the funds sensibly and indicated that the Charities Board could expect some scandals with the money that was allocated to Black groups."

David Mellor, Tory MP, lest we forget, was recently Minister for Culture and Heritage. With such racialised attitudes what hope is there for Black groups in Britain?

It is time for us all to stand up for what is right and eradicate what is wrong.

Recently, Linda McCartney's vegetarian burgers were revealed to have twice the content of fat as the pack advertises. She has done the right thing and had them taken off the shelf, after all a £35m turn over is at risk. Her husband, Paul McCartney

(the former Beatle) has put his name to the LIPA Project in his former school. He penned a song called 'Ebony and Ivory' and the publicity material advertising the project was very 'multi-racial', but if all the students enrolled in the school for its start in January 1996 were notes on a piano there would be very little harmony.

Will he follow his wife's lead? After all he got the original idea from a Black Liverpudlian who was occupying a Black majority community centre in Liverpool 8 called 'Stanley House' in the early 80's to try to save it from decay and demolition and revive it as a Black Arts Centre. His vision was relayed by a colleague to Mr. McCartney at a party in London. In better days, locals had seen visiting artists such as the US star Paul Robeson and local groups such as 'The Real Thing', begin their careers in Stanley House.

Sadly, local politicians reneged on pledges of support, the listed building deteriorated and collapsed. Stanley House is now only a fond memory for local Black and White people whose recollections will soon be published in a book, part of the 'Hidden History' series by the 'Race Equality Management Team' in Liverpool. Meanwhile, LIPA aspires to be an international 'Fame School'.

The White led and almost exclusive flagships in the arts & cultural industries (The Tate, The Liverpool Philharmonic, Liverpool Institute of Performing Arts, NMGM Conservation Centre, St. Georges Hall) employ full-time about 800 workers of whom only 10 are Black in a city with the oldest Black community in the country. There is also on the cards, a £35m 'Media Factory' project involving Granada, Sanyo and Mersey TV. There are no guarantees that any of the 600+ jobs will go to local people.

Can the major funding bodies put their hands on their hearts and say that they have invested wisely in those flagship arts and cultural industries projects? Do those projects truly support the economic and social objectives of urban regeneration strategies?

Do those cultural initiatives really contribute to social cohesion, racial harmony and community empowerment?

Private property developers and housing trusts are cashing in on public funds which were made available because of the suffering of poor, especially Black people, in Liverpool. The collective greed and market led policies are on a scale which delegitimises the existing order of businesses, finance, private and self regulated elites have a confidence that comes from being developed over generations. Opportunities are not equal. Competition and boardroom dealings are veiled in secrecy. Project Rosemary failed to benefit the Black communities in the way their leaders said it would. Now 'Rosemary Duke St' developments and property developers in the Bold St., Duke St area to be developed as Liverpool's creative quarter are to embark on tens of millions of pounds worth of plans using public money.

In Liverpool, as in the nation generally, we are at a turning point that demands policies and practices of inclusion, participation and partnership. It is not enough to argue that white organisations such as the 'flagships' should implement a just equal opportunities policy or implement a 'positive action' programme, thereby forcing young and new Black workers to run the gauntlet of white racism whilst outnumbered by 80 to 1.

The irrefutable argument is for Black majority and managed infrastructures, on an appropriate level to meet the above flagships and dozens of other similar but smaller enterprises on an equal basis. There needs to be a 'ring fence' policy of 'positive action' to include buildings, funds and political will to nurture Black organisations, for the sake of justice, to encourage a participatory democracy and promote social cohesion - a 'stakeholding' in the current development opportunities for significant numbers of Black people.

This could be developed as an all party alliance publicising the nature of a common project honestly, providing a democratic mandate for the renewal of Liverpool for the common good.

Only action on such a scale will enable us to address Liverpool's historical legacies and deal with vision and purpose in planning for the future of 'a city made whole'

Century

Liverpool as

18th	Capital of the	Slavery Trade
19th	Gateway to	Empire
20th	Most racist	city in Britain
21st	'A city made (Reparations)	whole'

If anyone should think of giving up hope on those in the ruling elites of funding and flagship management, let us recall and reflect on the experience of a bloodsucker who came to Liverpool from London in the mid 18th century to make his fortune out of enslaving and selling Africans as captain on some of the ships. He suddenly received a blessing from God, who purified his heart and the man, John Newton wrote the following verse and became a preacher,

“Amazing grace! How sweet the sound,
that saved a wretch like me.
I once was lost but now I’m found,
was blind, but now I see.
‘Twas grace that taught my heart to fear,
and grace my fears relieved.
How precious did that grace appear
the hour I first believed.”

We pray for God’s grace to bless those in the white power elites to have a change of heart, to admit their errors, to expose the Mark Fuhrman’s in their organisations, operate some form of censorship and restraint on their profit making gentrified activities and set a course for racial justice, reparations and equality for fear of God, for human rights and for the sake of future generations in Liverpool, the most multi-cultural city, for its size, on earth.