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## **Dialogue on urban cultures: globalization and culture in an urbanizing world**

### **Abstract**

The present paper discusses the ways in which culture, in the context of globalization, is influencing social and economic patterns and processes within cities all over the world. The first section reviews the overall effects of globalization on urban culture, including the role of new information and communication technology. This is followed by a discussion of how a particular aspect of globalization, namely, international migration, is giving rise to culturally cosmopolitan cities in which urban ethnic spaces are emerging, often in the form of ethnic ghettos. The next section examines how cities all over the world are using culture as a central component of urban development strategies that are designed to capitalize on the economic benefits of globalization. The concluding section discusses the ways in which globalization is likely to shape urban culture in future, and some of the key issues with which planners and managers of so-called “globalizing cities” have to contend. The paper ends with a few points for discussion at the second session of the World Urban Forum.

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## Discussion points

- Y Globalization stimulates the symbolic economy as cities cash in on the economic value of culture;
- Y Ethnic minorities make an unquestionable contribution to urban culture but are not treated accordingly;
- Y Culture-related activities are powerful tools for urban redevelopment and revitalization;
- Y Global-type consumption spaces share a sense of enclosure, which represents a more limited form of citizenship for those outside;
- Y Creative cities use their cultural capital and heritage to attract innovative businesses and services.

## Dialogue on globalization and culture in an urbanizing world<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The paper is based on a draft prepared by Professor Sharon Zukin, Brooklyn College and City University Graduate Centre, New York, United States of America.

## **I. Introduction**

### **A. Culture in the urban context**

1. Culture has many meanings. As a practical human activity, it is an inherent part of both individual and collective development, from the education of a single child to the finest artistic expression of entire peoples and nations. Closely related both to the achievements of the past (history) and of the future (innovation), culture suggests the capacity to survive as well as to adapt to change. It is the culmination of collective human intellectual achievement of a given society at a particular time. Culture also refers to the customs of a given society, especially as reflected in its social institutions and practices, including social and political organization and religion. In cities, culture materializes in the built environment (palaces, temples, opera houses, museums) and even parks, memorials, and marketplaces which in turn become visual symbols of local identity.

2. In recent years, culture has taken on a more instrumental meaning in cities. It now represents the ideas and practices, sites and symbols, of what has been called the “symbolic economy”, i.e., the process through which wealth is created from cultural activities, including art, music, dance, crafts, museums, exhibitions, sports and creative design in various fields. This new concept of culture increasingly shapes city strategies in the face of both global competition and local tensions. The present paper focuses specifically on the ways in which culture has influenced city planning and management or has been deliberately used to shape them.

### **B. How technology shapes urban culture in a globalizing world**

3. Even in the nineteenth century, cities at the centre of media, financial, and manufacturing networks led the global symbolic economy of the time. Cultural innovations in those days spread by means of exports of new products and models, and of images published in newspapers and magazines. It took weeks or months for these images to reach distant regions. Today, innovations travel at much greater speed via aeroplane, satellite and the internet. Easier import and export of culture helps ethnic groups living away from their homes to maintain their cultural identity, while exposing those in their home countries to new cultural stimuli. Korean and Mexican soap operas are watched as eagerly in New York City as in Seoul or Guadalajara.

## **II. Overall impacts of globalization on urban culture**

4. Each city wants to sustain itself – its population, buildings, infrastructure, and culture as well as its relative sphere of influence – in a larger political territory, all the way from local to international levels. Accordingly, it must find a viable role in the current international division of labour, but this poses a dilemma: a city must open itself to free exchanges with other cities and cultures, while protecting residents from the negative aspects of such free flows.

5. Globalization both diversifies and enriches urban cultures. But the appearance of the seemingly “strange” cultures of international immigrants can cause fear, racial tension and polarization. Globalization also results in standardization, as people all over the world, increasingly, have access to the same cultural products, such as music and films, through the internet, satellite television and radio. Globalization facilitates the development of the symbolic economy, as cities seek to cash in on the economic value of culture.

## **A. Diversity and enrichment**

6. In earlier years, people moved between the relatively simple spaces of home, work and neighbourhood, all of which reinforced bonds based on ethnicity and social class. Networks and institutions of sociability directly shaped local cultures. Today, urban residents commute over great distances to go to work. Through television, film, the internet and popular magazines, rich and poor alike see images of affluence and modernity and compare them with their own lives. The inability to escape these multiple images and sources of information can be disconcerting and may sometimes lead to local resistance against what is termed “cultural globalization”.

7. Access to more images and information also enriches the cosmopolitan culture of cities. It encourages urban residents to become polymorphous cultural consumers, potentially making them both more tolerant of strangers in their own community and more closely connected to a distant homeland.

8. It is not known yet which attitude will prevail, in which place, and when. But the uncertainty that surrounds the effects of wider access to cultural diversity is emblematic of a larger problem of globalization: Does global culture – regardless of how apparently “strange” it initially is – displace the more familiar local culture?

## **B. Fear and polarization**

9. Despite their cosmopolitan façade, city dwellers fear strangers moving in among them, settling down and putting down roots. This happened, already, in the late nineteenth century, when Chinese sailors and workers came to New York and Vancouver, leading to the creation of the so-called “Chinatowns”. Urban people often close ranks against what may be termed the “truant proximity” of strangers, especially those with a different ethnic past. In recent years, closing ranks has included enlarging the metropolitan police force and hiring vast numbers of private security guards, mainly to control access to public space. In New York, Berlin, Budapest, and other cities, public parks have been privatized by turning their management over to park conservancies, business associations, or property owners that limit use of the park, especially by homeless people, or at night.

10. Globalization brings immigrants to cities all over the world. But current trends suggest that, if one of the great strengths of cities is their openness to the economic functions that strangers fulfil, their great weakness is a slowness to absorb them in the micro-politics of everyday life, in both public spaces and private institutions.

## **C. Standardization**

11. Continuous flows of immigrants, products and images are currently reducing absolute differences of space and time. The same music might be performed at a club in Kinshasa, in Paris and in New York City – or in Los Angeles, Shanghai, Cincinnati and Kingston. In recorded form, it may be listened to on the same brand of portable CD player. From this point of view, all cities are affected by globalization. The capacity of financial markets to shift capital rapidly around the world, the transfer of heavy manufacturing from the United States of America and western Europe to Asia and the outsourcing of many skilled jobs, even in the services and computer fields, link cities to the same projects and timeline. Music and other cultural products become just as global in their sources as so-called “global cars”. This also broadens the menu of economic and cultural choices that are available to even relatively poor consumers.

### III. International migration and the emergence of urban ethnic spaces

12. Although most cities have been officially multicultural since transnational migration began in the 1980s, they do not fully understand how to integrate ethnic minorities without fear of losing their historic cultural identity. In fact, for all their apparent tolerance and real social diversity, cities have always been flashpoints of ethnic hostility. The density of different minority populations makes it easy to target their homes and shops for persecution. Unfortunately, integrating immigrants into the dominant space and time dimensions of a given urban culture is not easy. As new immigrant workers settle, their lack of money and knowledge of the local language both pull and push them into ghettos with groups very much like themselves. In those places, they set up workshops that employ fellow immigrants as cheap, subcontracted labour, often working for co-ethnic managers and entrepreneurs; places of religious worship and instruction; and stores that cater to their special needs: halal or kosher meat, newspapers from home.

13. Often these new residents of the city are its true cosmopolitans. In fact, ethnic ghettos in advanced economy cities have a long history, as illustrated in urban ecology studies of Chicago, United States, in the 1920s and 1930s. It was during this period of significant international migration into United States cities that ethnic ghettos such as China Town and Little Sicily in Chicago were formed. In western European cities, migrants from eastern Europe, Asia and Africa now fill inner city streets that have ethnically diverse urban cultures: their food shops, clothing stalls and long-distance telephone calling centres seem uneasily placed in a different history, as illustrated by the presence of Africans and Chinese in Dublin, Ireland, described in box 1 below.

#### Box 1. Africans and Chinese in Dublin, Ireland

So many Africans have arrived since the 1990s that Moore Street, in Dublin, Ireland, is now called "Little Africa" - although the street is sacred to the history of Irish independence since nationalist insurgents surrendered to the British army in a house there. The African grocery stores along Moore Street are strange to Irish people because they look and have aromas different from the usual domestic shops. Their backrooms are set up for socializing rather than for commerce - they offer a place where Dublin's Africans can come together. The fact that so many Africans have established a community around the tenements and shops of Moore Street is a reminder of Bayoumi's comments about earlier Muslim immigrants to New York: "What we have always loved about this city is that we were never lost in it. By discovering each other, we found ourselves here".

But Little Africa is also the home of new Chinese immigrants - so many, that people estimate half of Ireland's Chinese population lives on Dublin's Northside. Like Spanish in Miami, Chinese has replaced Irish as the second language of the city. The Chinese are more visible than other ethnic groups because of their restaurants, shops, and market stalls.

Source: Spiller 2001; McGuire 2003; Bayoumi 2002, p. 138.

14. In developing economies, the formation of ethnic ghettos in urban areas is a relatively new phenomenon. Originally, migration flows in many developing countries were rural-urban, with people seeking better life opportunities. Now, however, migration across developing countries is on the increase, as people move from the least developed to those better off. Immigrant communities in Abidjan (mostly from francophone West Africa), in Johannesburg (from southern African countries and Nigeria) and in Bangkok (from Myanmar, Cambodia and China) exemplify this process. These new immigrants mostly live in marginal conditions - typically slums - on lower wages and with job insecurity. Their illegal status marginalizes them further as they are often denied access to social services. Examples of such ethnic ghettos can be found in Hillbrow - a squatter settlement in Johannesburg that is largely populated by Nigerians and French-speaking Africans - and in Burmese-dominated Klong Toey in Bangkok.

15. As migration increases, the number of foreign communities or ethnic enclaves is on the rise. In 2000, international migrants represented some 2.9 per cent of the world population of 6,057 million, as shown in table 1. This percentage has been rising steadily over the past 25 years.

**Table 1. World total population and international migrants: number and distribution, 2000**

|                         | Total population |                  | International migrants |          |                  |
|-------------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------------|----------|------------------|
|                         | Number (000)     | Distribution (%) | Number (000)           | Rate (%) | Distribution (%) |
| World                   | 6,056,715        | 100.00           | 174,781                | 2.9      | 100.00           |
| Developing economies    | 4,791,393        | 79.11            | 64,643                 | 1.3      | 36.99            |
| Economies in transition | 411,909          | 6.80             | 33,391                 | 8.1      | 19.10            |
| Advanced economies      | 853,408          | 14.09            | 76,747                 | 9.0      | 43.91            |

Source: United Nations Population Division, 2002a.

16. Migrants, these days, are concentrated in ethnic ghettos but less confined to them. New immigrant clusters expand the visible symbols of the old inner city over a broader geography. For example, the increase in Asian immigrants has given New York two new Chinatowns in the outer boroughs of Queens and Brooklyn, and many suburbs of Los Angeles are divided between Anglo, Mexican, and Asian populations, arousing intense debates as older majority populations mobilize local political institutions against new immigrants.

17. Immigrants fit into the urban economy in either ethnic enclaves, where they cater to the needs of their own community, or what may be termed “ethnic niches”, where they specialize in certain jobs and businesses in the mainstream economy, either according to their training or as opportunities arise. Immigrants do bring with them specific skills and experience, but to make a living they can only fill a need left open by market conditions and access to jobs and property in the city. In Cambodia, Vietnamese immigrants are engaged in jobs that require some expertise, such as fishing and fish processing, as well as machinery and electronic repair – filling a gap left vacant by Cambodians. These groups create an ethnic strand in urban culture by taking advantage of the city’s economic opportunities.

18. Immigrant groups help create a broader, more diverse urban culture, especially with regard to food. They serve the general public not only in so-called “ethnic” restaurants, but also in many mainstream stores and fast-food franchises. These are hallmarks of multicultural urbanity, although that multiculturalism is seriously compromised by the different positions into which different groups of immigrants are thrust in the ethnic and racial hierarchy.

19. Employers, the police and the public at large are often too ready to turn against immigrants. When ethnic minorities live in segregated areas, their music, slang, or look may inspire fear. Despite their unquestionable contribution to the culture of urban areas, there is a large gap between the cultural and social spaces available to these “ethnic others”. It is a rare situation where this gap has been narrowed, as illustrated by the experience of San José in Costa Rica described in box 2 below.

### Box 2. Migration and cultural identity: Nicaraguans in San José de Costa Rica

Among the various effects of Nicaraguan immigration in Costa Rica is the development of a “tico-nica” or Costa Rican–Nicaraguan culture in many family units, in particular in San José, where the concentration of Nicaraguan immigrants is higher. According to a household survey carried out there in 2000, Costa Ricans and Nicaraguans live together in five per cent of all households, which may be labelled as being “intercultural”. Nicaraguan immigrants have gradually created opportunities to preserve their traditions, such as the celebration of the *gritería*, on December 8. They also have their own programmes in the media. Nicaraguans participate in local boxing and baseball fixtures and among other special events a downtown disco broadcasts Nicaragua’s baseball championship.

*Source: IOM, 2001.*

## IV. Cultural strategies for urban development

20. Many city authorities and urban development agencies all over the world are increasingly using culture-related activities for redevelopment or revitalization. This strategy has been used to promote the civic identity of cities, to market cities internationally and, in particular, to boost the economic fortunes of cities experiencing industrial decline. Current trends, all over the world, suggest that culture will play an increasingly important role in the future of cities. Of particular significance among these trends have been the following: culture-based redevelopment of urban space and global branding of cities; cultural heritage preservation, including as a means of marketing cities abroad; and the development of urban cultural industries and districts.

### A. Redevelopment and global branding of cities

21. In the 1960s, Governments in Europe and the United States began to show an interest in redeveloping the centres of cities around cultural capital, passing new laws to support artists and historic preservation. When central Governments became more involved in regional redevelopment during the economic crisis of the 1980s, they took to linking economic and cultural strategies. Indeed, the more socially devastated a region appeared, and the less likely to experience new industrial growth, the more public authorities turned to marketing cities as centres of culture, in order to create a new business climate. This seemed ever more important with the growth of computer software, media, and consumer product industries, which gave priority to design innovation and access to the latest cultural trends.

22. France felt the need to do something that would reassert its prominence on the world stage – to devise a strategy that would respond to both economic competition with the United States and cultural competition between New York and Paris. This led to the construction of a contemporary art museum of global stature, the Centre Georges Pompidou, on the Plateau Beaubourg in Paris (see box 3 below).

23. Other European countries took notice. In the 1980s, with the decline of manufacturing and shipbuilding, Glasgow in Scotland devised a new urban development strategy to promote itself as a cultural centre. Its new role would include business services, higher education, media industries and the arts. A new museum was opened and an annual arts festival was started. Other cities in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (all former industrial centres: Manchester, Sheffield, and Liverpool) followed suit. So did Bilbao in Spain, with the Guggenheim Museum, a cultural masterpiece of international fame.

### Box 3. Plateau Beaubourg, Paris, France

In the 1970s, under President Georges Pompidou, the French Government decided to create a new museum of contemporary art in the centre of Paris, in the historic tradition of the “grands projets” set 200 years earlier by the Louvre, in order to demonstrate that the country had not lost its creative edge. This strategy had an educational as well as a promotional goal. A multipurpose museum of contemporary art would reach out to young people, especially those who had been most disaffected by the political protests of 1968, and foster their creativity. But it would also connect creativity to industrial design and encourage innovation in all fields, from the so-called “pure” to the commercial, and from atonal music to conceptual art. It was a foregone conclusion that such a great museum would only be built in Paris, the capital city.

Yet the Government envisaged the museum as not only revitalizing French creativity, but also as stimulating the redevelopment of a dilapidated part of the inner city. In fact, the buildings on the plateau Beaubourg that were torn down to build the Centre were shabby and lacked modern conveniences. With its boldly modern architecture, and the crowds of young people, both local and tourists, who came to ride the external elevators and congregate outside, the spectacular museum, immediately, infused this area with fresh cultural capital. Beaubourg quickly became a world-class tourist attraction and as potent a symbol of Paris as the Eiffel Tower. The Centre Pompidou’s success in “branding” Paris strongly suggested that large investments in flagship cultural projects could revitalize a city’s economy and reputation.

These redevelopment strategies have their own problems, however. The so-called “cultural cities” each claim distinctiveness but reproduce the same facilities in any number of places, echoing industrial globalization with its geographically widespread production but concentrated consumption. Critics complain that the many competitions to host special events, including the Olympics, exhaust a city’s resources as they prepare endless bids. Winning cities take the major share of regional and national funds, depriving smaller ones of grants and favouring products and performances that will attract the largest possible audience. This, too, suggests a parallel between economic and cultural globalization, for global products and imports are often seen as more competitive than domestic art and culture, as illustrated by the example of Singapore described in box 4. Moreover, the investment of so much money into the fixed capital of cultural facilities strikes an imbalance: it concentrates resources in the urban centre, while paying less attention to culturally underserved peripheries. In their own way, then, these cultural strategies create what may be termed “global districts” in large cities around the world, with their own modern art museums, luxury hotels, cafes, and shops – all promoting the same band of mobile architects, artists and designers.

### Box 4. Esplanade, Singapore: city branding in the South

Singapore in the 1990s decided to build the Esplanade, a new cultural complex for the performing arts. The focus was on creating large-scale facilities to host touring foreign artists. But this policy overlooked the city’s own considerable pool of talent. For all their liveliness and energy, native artists, musicians and theatrical performers lacked products that would attract a large, multinational audience. Singaporeans were expected to support blockbuster exhibitions and major imported attractions. They would profit eventually, city officials believed, from a new and broader climate of cultural consumption; like the European “cultural capitals”, Singapore would attract the attention of the multinational media and, eventually, more regional offices of multinational corporations. Although criticism of this import-oriented policy persuaded the city government to prod cultural institutions and international artistic groups to hire and train Singaporeans, the hardware of the new cultural infrastructure tended to support local citizens’ cultural consumption rather than their own cultural innovation and production.

Another dimension of the culture-driven redevelopment of urban space is what has been called “loft-living”. Beginning in the 1970s, the exodus of factories out of cities in the United States and western Europe left unused space in older buildings and opened manufacturing districts with their relatively cheap rents to alternative uses. Although zoning laws and building codes prohibited using industrial buildings for housing, visual and performing artists began to convert manufacturing sites covertly into live-work spaces. The experience of New York City (described in box 5) is a good illustration.



### Box 5. Loft living in New York, United States of America

In New York “loft living” became fairly common in the 1970s, as hundreds of artists and their prominent patrons pressed the City to legalize the situation. When two industrial districts of lower Manhattan were rezoned to permit artists’ housing and residential reuse in general, city authorities cast a vote for an “artistic mode of production” that would complement a post-industrial renewal of the local economy. And indeed art galleries and performance spaces began to flourish in those areas, followed by restaurants and design stores. Cultural production bloomed not only because American artists migrated to lower Manhattan, but also because artists, actors and musicians came to New York from other parts of the world, notably Europe and Asia. They created artworks, opened galleries and performance spaces and were written up in newspapers and magazines in other countries. This media coverage maintained the city’s reputation as the place to be – the global capital – for cutting-edge cultural creation.

During the city’s fiscal crisis in the late 1970s, the media promoted loft-living as a comfortable and sophisticated urban lifestyle. A steady exodus of manufacturing allowed supply to meet rising demand. Individuals with money to invest but little connection to the arts began to renovate lofts for both rental and purchase. Their entrepreneurial success in turn attracted professional real estate developers. Within a few years, loft-living sparked both a residential and a commercial revival of lower Manhattan and raised property values to historic heights.

*Source:* Zukin 1989; Guilbaut 1983.

## B. Preserving the cultural heritage

24. Culturally-driven models of redevelopment are succeeding partly because of new perceptions of the value of older buildings. In the 1960s in the United States, corporate sector growth and modernization destroyed older urban districts. Corporate headquarters, high-class hotels and expensive housing replaced them, often paid for by public subsidies for urban renewal. Other downtown districts were abandoned as businesses moved to the suburbs. By the mid-1960s, however, a broad-based movement had formed to preserve historic buildings from demolition, especially in the United States and western Europe. Community groups whose neighbourhoods were threatened by urban renewal joined more affluent, elite groups who felt that destruction of historically significant buildings and districts jeopardized the quality of life. For some people, this movement was a principled opposition to the bureaucratic modernism of city authorities and planners; for others, it was a last-ditch effort to preserve the cultural heritage, that is, to retain the built forms of the city’s collective memory. In addition, old buildings with their low rents became incubators for small-scale craftsmen and businesses, serving as a springboard of economic revival in many neighbourhoods. With their aesthetic and historic value, old buildings contribute to cultural capital.

25. By the early 1980s, this preservation movement had spread to many developing countries. For example, in the mid-1980s, Zanzibar in the United Republic of Tanzania established the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority to plan and coordinate conservation activities in the old town (see box 6 below). By the 1990s, with the growth of what we may term “cultural heritage tourism”, more and more cities in developing countries were investing in the conservation of old and historic buildings in a bid to make the most of their cultural capital.

26. Developing countries, increasingly, use traditional crafts – and important dimension of local traditional cultures – to enhance the capacity of cities to attract tourism. In Nairobi, Kenya, promoters of traditional textiles, jewellery and carvings have started using the internet for global marketing. The example of the Dakshinachitra crafts museum in Chennai, India, (described in box 7 below) further illustrates this approach.

### Box 6. Zanzibar, United Republic of Tanzania: Preserving the historic Stone Town

The Stone Town is the centre of the greater city of Zanzibar, an international tourist attraction, and houses much of the island's commercial and government activity. It is famous for its traditional coral stone buildings, intricate balconies, massive carved doors and narrow bazaar streets. With the rapid population growth in Zanzibar town, lack of maintenance and uncontrolled new constructions, the fabric of the Old Stone Town has come under increasing pressure. Not only are many historic buildings very dilapidated, but in some instances residents in traditional buildings have altered them substantially. In response to the need to preserve the old town, the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority was established in 1985 and a conservation plan approved in 1994. The scheme sets out a general planning framework and the broad conservation and development policies. It promotes controls on the use and development of land, measures to protect individual buildings, street elements and open areas, and others to develop and improve land and spaces in the central area, including improvements to parking and traffic. Thanks to concerted efforts, several buildings in the Stone Town have been gazetted as monuments, many others have been repaired and restored, and 80 per cent of the streets in the Stone Town have been paved.

### Box 7. Dakshinachitra, Chennai, India: Using traditional crafts for global marketing of cities

Chennai (formerly Madras), the capital of the southern Indian state of Tamil Nadu, does not aim to be a global city of finance and culture. But the city government and the local elite want to use the local heritage to develop the service sector and compete with other Indian cities as an international tourist landmark, as well as to integrate different ethnic groups in the urban population. Chennai deploys this strategy as India liberalizes markets and some cities, such as Hyderabad and Bangalore, have joined the global network of computer software production. Chennai has quite a different social and economic base.

Since the 1980s, cultural officials and non-profit groups have supported the development of the crafts museum of Dakshinachitra, which is located several miles outside Chennai. This cultural complex is both for tourism and education, with reconstructions of buildings that exemplify local and regional architectural styles, demonstrations of traditional crafts, and videos showing the region's rural past. The museum also promotes traditional craftwork, such as indigo dyeing, producing high-quality artefacts for affluent consumers. Dakshinachitra has received strong support from non-profit and pan-Indian cultural organizations, as well as from overseas foundations and philanthropies.

## C. Developing cultural industries and districts

27. The idea of using culture as a motor of urban economic growth reflects cities' transition from manufacturing to more flexible, design and knowledge-based production. Since massive industries like steel and automobiles based on standardized mass production have fallen, one by one, to competition from low-cost locations, attention has focused on cultural industries – flexible industries that value knowledge, information and technology. Most cultural industries are located in cities. A dense population and concentration of skills allow them to draw upon tangible human resources, and a city's usual history of tolerance and social diversity offers intangible sources of inspiration and experimentation.

28. In New York, both fashion and new information technology tend to concentrate in clusters of interrelated firms that form industrial districts. These may be created informally, including by the firms' workers and even clients. They may be visible from the street and recognized by street signs or zoning laws. Large global cities support many districts as specialized as New York's Silicon Alley (south of 23rd Street) and the Fashion Centre (south of Times Square). Some cultural industries develop in market centres in smaller cities – such as textiles in Lombardy and wine-making in Bordeaux – but the interrelations between different kinds of cultural districts in larger global cities expand their cultural capital.

29. The multiplicity of these districts makes for a richer urban culture but it is not clear to what degree they grow naturally, through artistic and entrepreneurial activity, nor to what degree they depend on public policy. Both types of growth matter. All industries develop and sustain themselves through networks for recruitment, training, sharing information and other resources, and collaborating on design and marketing; but they also work within a framework set by local, national, and regional government policies. Because the global competition between cities (and countries) heightens the authorities' interest in the success of cultural industries, many Governments now target subsidies to cultural districts, in the hope of persuading transnational companies to shift some of their production there, or at least of attracting tourists. These efforts rely on a synergy between the culture of the city and that of the district itself.

## **V. Looking ahead**

### **A. Globalization, cities and culture: likely future directions**

30. What is expected of the new global city? As noted earlier, globalization has introduced new cultures as well as fusion of old and new ones in cities. Already evident in many cities in advanced economies, these new urban cultures are likely to emerge more and more in the developing world. They provide new forms of what we may term "consumption spaces", including fusion in their design and architecture, partly under the influence of intensified shopping all over the world. A feature of these new spaces is their enclosure, which tends to reinforce social exclusion within cities. They also, increasingly, signal the transition of a city's status to global.

31. The influx of immigrants (who provide much of the fusion that is a hallmark of the new urban cultures) results in the creation of new consumption spaces. Immigrants bring with them new ideas and forms and turn these into products of cultural consumption, which in turn are shaped by the market provided by the city's whole population. A Haitian baker at the corner of a New York or London street may sell Caribbean meat pastries, French croissants, and – in a new synthesis for his low-carbohydrate diet customers – "healthy" whole-wheat croissants made with less butter, thus representing the globalization of urban culture. This quest for more varied consumption creates a fusion of cultures which a city may exploit to promote its global image – as Berlin has done after the collapse of the Wall, with the spectacular development of Potsdamerplatz, a multi-purpose complex in what used to be no man's land.

32. The cultural districts discussed earlier illustrate another sort of cultural fusion, in the design and architecture of consumption spaces. The districts symbolize the prestige of a global city not only through the financial investment that a local government is willing to make in culture, but also through the hiring of distinguished international architects. These districts pave the way for mixed-use developments – cultural facilities, shops, offices and luxury apartments – that are being built in every would-be global city, partly for use by overseas investors and well-paid employees of multinational firms, and partly for use by local, affluent entrepreneurs. Since the 1980s, for example, the London Docklands type of redevelopment project – combining financial and cultural centres with expensive housing on an old industrial waterfront – has spread from London to Singapore, and more such projects can be expected.

33. Supporting these redevelopments is the intense shopping trend that has affected most parts of the world. Shopping is both the common denominator and the public face of these globalization projects: everyone can "buy into" the symbolic economy, pursuing their private dreams in public spaces. These new, mixed-use shopping developments are consumption spaces where urban residents can act as modern – or global – consumers and display their savvy and wealth.

34. Global-type consumption spaces increasingly share a sense of “enclosure” that is new to traditional urban cultures. This enclosure is of a technical, social and cultural nature and contributes to the privatization of public space. Many of these indoor spaces have introduced air-conditioning, which requires closed windows and doors. In the shopping malls of São Paulo, the consumption spaces include a wall to allay shoppers’ fear of being robbed. In Shanghai, an international consortium has created a self-contained commercial district among old colonial-Chinese buildings. Enclosed consumption spaces are not a historic part of urban culture, but with globalization they are becoming a universal expression of privatized public space. The danger in this kind of globalization is that enclosed public spaces represent a more limited form of citizenship.

## **B. Planning and managing multicultural cities**

35. Multicultural cities must address the negative aspects associated with this status, particularly segregation and poverty. Failure to do so may result in violent outbursts caused by fear and anxiety on the part of both residents and immigrants. Although many cities are not actively addressing these issues, an increasing number recognize the positive economic, social and cultural contribution of immigrants and are now actively seeking to assimilate them, as shown in the examples of Singapore, Berlin and Johannesburg below.

### **1. Singapore**

36. In 2000, 29 per cent of Singapore’s workforce was foreigners. The city constantly needs to import foreign workers of all kinds to supplement the local workforce and support economic growth. Severe entry rules mean that migration to Singapore is not easy and illegal immigration is very scarce. But, once there, migrants enjoy the highest social and economic conditions in the region. Under its Employment Act, Singapore has a policy of equal treatment for local and foreign workers, including for prompt wage payment, overtime pay and other statutory non-wage related benefits. Foreign and local workers alike come under the Workmen’s Compensation Act and enjoy similar rights if injured at work on top of free access to all social facilities, including medical, transport and recreational. Foreigners have access to the high standards of medical care enjoyed by Singaporeans at the same subsidized rates. A special Foreign Workers Unit at the Ministry of Manpower handles the grievances of foreign workers, who have access to conciliation and advisory services free of charge.

### **2. Berlin**

37. In 1981, and with a growing immigrant population, Berlin established a commission for migration and integration, with a triple role: first, to develop policies and address issues regarding migration and integration; second, to provide information to all residents and campaign for, and publicly promote, integration, tolerance, and intercultural dialogue; and, third, to cooperate with partners in Germany and Europe, as well as with the migrants’ countries of origin. As a result of this institutional innovation, Berlin is now seen as a prototype for integration policy. Crucial to its success, the commission extended its scope beyond the migrant population and to local people. Berlin’s experience illustrates the importance of addressing local fears and anxieties when dealing with integration.

### **3. Johannesburg**

38. The Inner City Office of Johannesburg’s Metropolitan Council is widely praised as one of the most innovative segments of South Africa’s largest local government, as it grapples with widespread anti-immigrant sentiment. The Office’s role is project design and facilitation. Its scope includes urban environment upgrading, as well as social and economic development projects, most of which work with various business and community partners, with particular reference to the integration of migrants. Since inception in April 1998, the Inner City Office has configured several large-scale regeneration and development projects, regarding, for instance, informal street trading or the precarious living conditions of migrants in squatter settlements.

39. In conclusion, as cities grapple with managing the potentially explosive nature of their multicultural societies, they must remember to nurture creativity. Cities have the greatest concentrations of political power, trade, rich consumers, entertainment and cultural creativity. Developing creativity implies not only that a city can place new products on global markets, but also that it can quickly respond to changing competition and demand. A creative city is one that has learnt how to use its cultural capital to attract innovative businesses and services as well as members of the mobile “creative class”. The flows of people and money that pass through global cities continually replenish the supply of potential creators. But to nurture creativity, a city must have a generous and inclusive culture – it must have what we may term “an attitude”. It must have a nerve, it must value racial diversity, and it must have an impatient desire for new things, while valuing the old.

### **C. Issues for discussion**

40. The questions below are presented in order to trigger dialogue on the theme of “globalization and culture in an urbanizing world”:

- Y How should cities respond to the impacts of globalization on local cultures, especially with respect to the built environment?
- Y Are culture-driven urban revitalization projects conducive to the development of socially inclusive cities?
- Y What should cities do to promote inclusiveness and to capitalize on the positive dimensions of cultural diversity?
- Y What cultural strategies can cities in developing countries turn to in order to maximize the economic gains from globalization?

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