The London School of Economics and Political Science

Establishing the Tate Modern Cultural Quarter: Social and Cultural Regeneration through Art and Architecture

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A thesis submitted to the Department of Sociology of the London School of Economics for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, London, June 2014.

Declaration

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Abstract

The focus of my PhD is to examine the role of cultural regeneration through arts and architecture using Tate Modern as the principal case study. My analysis questions the role of culture in acting as an urban regeneration tool in north Southwark and in London more widely and how cultural output connects with those who influence the urban environment of Tate Modern.

I begin by examining the ways in which the establishment of Tate Modern as an internationally acclaimed gallery of art has influenced the cultural regeneration of Bankside and London more broadly. I discuss local planning policy in which the former Power Station was situated, in order to understand the impact of the subsequent gallery of art socially and economically. I then discuss the wider ramifications of the establishment of Tate Modern by examining the recent history of developments around Tate Modern, in relation to the changing urban environment, as well as the jostling for urban 'imaginaries' that potentially prioritises one direction of urban growth over another.

In discussing how the regeneration affected the social conditions and concepts of community I consider how the institution adopted and implemented a strategy of inclusion towards the local community prior to its opening in 2000. Through my research I embedded myself within key grass roots organisations working directly or alongside Tate Modern (Better Bankside and Bankside Open Space Trust) and the local community in order to gain close access and observation of and into the field.

Key to this project is identifying how the public interact with the gallery, and the ability of the building to act as a key urban element by knitting the hitherto underused North Southwark site into the surrounding urban fabric, whilst at the same time enabling key connections through and across the site. The focus of

my research narrows from a micro to the macro-analysis in which, central to resolving the debate about the unique urban potential of the site and the building and institution's ability to extend a definition of public within the urban environment, I focus on the spatial condition of the Turbine Hall. My analysis of the Turbine Hall as a public space, mediated through a major arts institution, enables me to arrive at a definition of public, which transgresses the urban and art sphere. This research is supported by an architectural theoretical analysis combined with art theory, and examines primary research material made up of photographic images posted on the social networking site Flickr as well as my own photographic images of the area.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1 SETTING THE SCENE

1.1	Introduction	12
1.2	Situating Regeneration Referencing Existing Literature & Reports	14
1.3	Literature Review	17
1.4	Literature Review (On Definitions of Public)	34
1.5	Literature Review (The Turbine Hall Scale and Spectacle)	40
1.6	Methodology (Visual Methodology & Interview Process)	50

CHAPTER 2 SOCIAL & CULTURAL REGENERATION IN SOUTHWARK

SECTION A

2.1	Introduction	64
2.2	The Origins of the Project	68
2.3	The Existing Power Station Building	73
2.4	Acquisition	75
2.5	Bankside and its Context	78
2.6	Defining a role, addressing the local and global	83
2.7	The McKinsey Report	86
2.8	Conclusion	89

SECTION B

2.9	Background to Policy	93
2.10	Recent Planning History	96
2.11	Bankside Residents' Forum	106
2.12	Conclusion	110

CHAPTER 3 WHAT WERE THE KEY FACTORS THAT INFLUENCED THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT AT BANKSIDE?

3.1	Introduction	114
3.2	The Urban Environment at Bankside	117
3.3	The Positioning of LBS in relation to Bankside's Regeneration	118
3.4	Urban Governance	125
3.5	High-Rise Policy	135
3.6	The Tate Tower	136
3.7	Conclusion	141

CHAPTER 4 VOICES FROM THE STREET

4.1	Introduction	146
4.2	Contextualising the social within the public at Bankside, Tate Modern & the wider community	149
4.3	Policy, arts and the community	158
4.4	Community and the Local	166
4.5	Conclusion	186

CHAPTER 5 THE VISUAL LANGUAGE OF THE CULTURAL QUARTER

5.1	Introduction	191
5.2	Background to the Establishment of the Cultural Quarter	194
5.3	The Spatialisation of Cultural Production	207
5.4	An Architectural Promenade-	213
5.5	Conclusion	244

CHAPTER 6 SECTION A ON PUBLIC SPACE, SPECTACLE &THE TURBINE HALL

6.1	Introduction	250
6.2	The Competition	253
6.3	Turbine Hall a place to restructure social space or to reproduce a familiar spatial structure	270
6.4	Interior, scale and urban dialogue, visibility/transparency	279
6.5	Conclusion	294

CHAPTER 6 SECTION B OBSERVING THE TURBINE HALL THROUGH FLICKR

6.6	Introduction	298
6.7	A public place?	306
6.8	Flickr, folksonomy and use	311
6.9	Play	314
	Behaviour	319
	Scale	324
6.10	Conclusion	328

CHAPTER 7 CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction 332
7.2 Micro/Macro focus 333
7.3 Methodology 334
7.4 Local Narratives 337
7.5 An Architectural Promenade 339
7.6 Situating the Design 343
7.7 Future of data mining in research 347
7.8 Forms of representation, the Turbine Hall & Flickr: a space for social transformation 348

REFERENCES

appendix 1: Tate Modern competition 372

appendix 2: Bankside-On-Call poster 377

Catalogue of interviews 378

appendix 3: Interview List 379

appendix 4: Time-lapse images taken from Smith's funeral parlour on Great Suffolk Street. 383

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1 Illustration of the Macro to Micro Analysis
Figure 1.2 Turbine Hall
Figure 2.1 H&dM Architects' drawing of Turbine Hall
Figure 2.2 Map of urban interior from Bankside Urban Forest Study
Figure 2.3 Map of Borough and Bankside 1870, shows the site at its most densely populated and the recently completed railway extensions to Cannon Street, Charing Cross and Blackfriars: source Historic Maps of Southwark
Figure 3.1 Crossbones Graveyard, Redcross Street
Figure 3.2 Map of Bankside Regeneration Area September 1994
Figure 3.3 Map of Bankside area
Figure 3.4 Map of Central Activity Zones
Figure 3.5 Bankside Urban Study Roger's vision
Figure 3.6 Housing Tenure Patterns
Figure 3.7 Neo Bankside site plan
Figure 3.8 Hopton Street Tower architectural render
Figure 4.1 Comparison of art galleries
Figure 4.2 Map of current land uses
Figure 4.3 Portrait of Jess Snellman
Figure 4.4 View of 'portacabins'
Figure 5.1 Map of increase in hotels in the area (1990 and 2011)
Figure 5.2 Time Out Supplement promoting the Cultural Quarter, 2005
Figure 5.3 Map of tourist A promenade
Images of Travelodge/Poured Lines/The White Hart/Bankside Mix Advertising/Tate Two/Millennium Bridge
Figure 5.4 A walk from Southwark tube to the Millennium Bridge, past the Palestra Building
Figure 5.5 Travelodge Hotel
Figure 5.6 Poured Lines
Figure 5.7 The White Hart pub
Figure 5.8 *Monument to the Unknown Artist* and diagramme
Figure 5.9 Bankside Mix advertisements
Figure 5.10 Temporary Eyesore Hoarding
Figure 5.11 Promenade of Resident B
Figure 5.12 Church of the Precious Blood
Figure 5.13 Cross Bones Graveyard
Figure 5.14 Pickles café
Figure 5.15 The Green Hut Kiosk
Figure 5.16 *Bankside-on-Call* venue Chancel Street
Figure 5.17 Hanging Baskets
Figure 6.1 Guardian image of Tony Blair with Carsten Holler's installation in the Turbine Hall in the background, March 7, 2007
Figure 6.2 *Maman* at The Guggenheim, Bilbao
Figure 6.3 Figure 6.3 Illustration of HdM's collage of the Turbine Hall submitted for Stage 1
Figure 6.4 HdM submission for Tate 2. The top right hand row illustrates the existing flow of visitors with the plan of the proposed flow of visitors.
Figure 6.5 Nolli Plan of Rome (1748)
Figure 6.6 HdM's submission for Tate Two
Figure 6.7 Remy Zaug's studio, exterior and interior
Figure 6.8 Annotated photograph of Turbine Hall
Figure 6.9 Thomas Struth, *Making Time* Source El Prado
Figure 6.10 Time-lapse photographs of the Turbine Hall
Figure 6.11 Ronan Ondak *It Will All Turn Out Right in the End* (2005-06)

Figure 6.12 Turbine Hall during the excavation process of the turbines
Figure 6.13 Paul McCarthy, *Blockhead & Daddies Bighead* (2003)
Figure 6.14 Spectator in Turbine Hall
Figure 6.15 Tag pool for Tate modern
Turbine Hall Shibboleth Installation
Figure 6.16 Turbine Hall, Shibboleth Installation
Figure 6.17 Turbine Hall Shibboleth installation Source *flickr* contributor MaxO, 2008
Figure 6.18 Erwin Wurm
Figure 6.19 Images of a Time Traveller Source *flickr* contributor Lady Vevaine, 2009
Figure 6.20 Image of *Marsyas* installation Source *flickr* contributor CityWalker, 2002
Figure 6.21 Image of *Shibboleth* installation Source *flickr* contributor CityWalker, 2002
Figure 6.22 Image of Turbine Hall installation Source *flickr* contributor
Figure 6.23 Image of light boxes. Source *flickr* contributor
Figure 6.24 Image of First Steps, Ollie in the Turbine Hall' Source contributor
Figure 6.25 Image of *Test Site* installation Source *flickr* contributor Ads, 2007
Figure 6.26 Image of *Test Site* installation Source *flickr* contributor Orhan Tsolak, 2007
Figure 6.27 Image of *Shibboleth* Installation Source *flickr* contributor Mat Gibson, 2008
Figure 6.28 Image of *Shibboleth* installation Source *flickr* contributor Conorwhiteone, 2009
Figure 6.29 Image of London Weekend Source *flickr* contributor Bardolph, 2007
Figure 6.30 Image of *The Weather Project* Source *flickr* contributorplatdujour, 2007
Figure 6.31 Image of Santa invasion during the Weather Project Source *flickr* contributor Patchwork, 2007
Figure 6.32 Image of Turbine Hall Source c *flickr* ontributor Jan 2006
Figure 6.33 Image of Turbine Hall Absorption Source *flickr* contributorb. Kiem Tang 2009
Figure 6.34 Image of a visitor in the Turbine Hall Source *flickr* contributorTom2 2004
Figure 6.35 Image of *Marysas* installation Source *flickr* contributor aqui-ali, 2002.
Figure 6.36 Image of *Shibboleth* installation Source *flickr* contributor escobart 2007
Figure 6.37 Image of *Shibboleth* Source *flickr* contributor lightplays 2008
Figure 6.38 Image of *Weather Project* Source *flickr* contributor Oobrian 2004
Figure 6.39 Image of *The Weather Project* Source *flickr* contributor Vicar 2004
Figure 6.40 Image of *Shibboleth* Source *flickr* contributor DanTassel, 2008



Figure 1.1 Illustration of Macro to Micro Analysis: source Dean/National/Gallery/Caruso St John. This illustration provides an overview of how my thesis describes the urban environment and its influences from a micro to a macro scale.

CHAPTER ONE
1.1 Introduction

This doctoral thesis examines the role of cultural regeneration through the arts and architecture using Tate Modern as the principal case study. My analysis questions the role of culture, art and architecture as brought together in Tate Modern, which I argue has been instrumental in driving urban regeneration in north Southwark and in London more widely.

There is no doubt that the concept of 'culture-led regeneration' is now a major influence in driving forward national policies and credibility (Vickery 2007: 7). In defining the term, I demonstrate that cultural regeneration is manifest in many different ways and cannot be read as a blanket term. Rather it performs under many different guises and interpretations (Vickery 2007; Amin et al. 2002).

The extraordinary opportunity to regenerate Bankside was derived from the unique positioning of the power station in north Southwark directly opposite the City of London and facing the long southern elevation of St Paul's Cathedral on Ludgate Hill. The regeneration of the area was made possible through three key factors: the ambition of Tate's trustees and directors (herewith referred to as the directors when discussing the collective decisions made regarding Tate's structure) to create a gallery for the twenty-first century; the site of the proposed gallery within the under-funded and deprived London Borough of Southwark; and the potential of the building itself. This redundant industrial building, through imagination and vision, offered enormous flexibility for an alternative use. In particular, the Turbine Hall, which at the time of acquisition in 1995 was filled with oil-fired turbines, had the potential to provide a controlled space within north Southwark close to the river frontage. I will consider the effectiveness of the Turbine Hall in creating a unique and significant model of public urban space through the relationship between an institution, architecture, the public and art.

For the purpose of this thesis, regeneration has been defined as the transformation of place (residential, commercial or open space) that has suffered social and economic decline, and subsequently has displayed the positive symptoms of environmental improvement. Evans & Shaw (2004: 5) sum up the assessment of evidence of cultural-led regeneration, when culture is used as 'the catalyst and engine of regeneration'.[1]

The former power station at Bankside was converted by Tate, from a disused industrial building into Britain's leading public art gallery, which opened to the public in May 2000. It has become the second largest UK visitor attraction after the British Museum. Since the opening of Tate Modern, the area has changed dramatically. My thesis seeks to demonstrate the role that the directors of Tate Modern played in driving the cultural regeneration of the area. In examining this paradigm, I situate my case study within the wider debate of cultural regeneration. My thesis explores the relationship between the directors of Tate Modern and the London Borough of Southwark (LBS), as well as the wider city governance of London. It was clear from the outset that Nicholas Serota (knighted in 1999), Director of Tate Galleries and his fellow directors were intent on creating a building that would contribute to the new urban quarter and lead the regeneration of Southwark. I will demonstrate in the thesis that the local authority, LBS, significantly did not have the financial or intellectual capacity to initiate such a project.

The thesis is the result of a collaborative PhD programme supervised jointly by the LSE and Tate Modern and supported by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC), which seeks to encourage inter-institutional relationships. Donald Hyslop, Director of Regeneration and Community Partnerships, who

[1] For an in-depth analysis of the concept of 'culture-led regeneration' and how it has been applied to national policies and policy frameworks between 1997-2007 see Jonathan Vickery's paper The Emergence of Culture-led Regeneration: A policy concept and its discontents for the Centre for Cultural Policy Studies, 2007.

oversees the community relations and regeneration across all four Tate Galleries, is the non-academic supervisor and Professor Robert Tavernor, LSE Cities Programme is the academic supervisor. The Department of Regeneration at Tate Modern has fostered many partnerships with community and business-led organisations within Bankside, the result of which has enabled me to have access to these organisations.

Key to the success of the building in acting as a catalyst for urban regeneration in Bankside was Serota's expression of his ambition to 'give life and energy to the city by aligning the interior and exterior spaces to make connections between the museum and the world outside' (TG12/4/7/7/1). This physical ambition was mirrored in the institution's curatorial programme for the Turbine Hall.

1.2 Situating Regeneration: Referencing Existing Literature and Reports

The thesis asks the following questions:

The key question that I set out to answer is, what role was played by the directors of Tate Modern, in shaping and driving the cultural regeneration of Bankside. It was clear that Tate played a significant part in establishing Bankside as a cultural quarter, but I question to what degree was this, a single vision or was it aligned to existing planning policy. My initial research demonstrated that Serota was intent on establishing an urban context for the new museum open to all, I therefore explore ways in which the Turbine Hall can be read as instrumental in pushing a new definition of public space in the city: a democratic space that also provides an urban transformation of a neglected part of the city. My starting point will be to examine definitions of cultural regeneration in relation to policy and urbanism. In the 1970s, regeneration was defined as a combination of economic, environmental and social programmes, with a strong emphasis on the economic (Gibson & Langstaff 1982; Lawless 1988). In the 1990s, the cultural dimension had moved to the fore of regeneration (Evans, 2004). Cultural

regeneration was upheld as a model for regenerating European Cities (Rogers & Fisher, 1992; Bianchini & Parkinson 1993) and was viewed as a potentially transferable model to Britain.

Ideas surrounding definitions of creativity are broad and analysis of the outcomes and benefits of creative regeneration, which are linked to government policy surrounding creative cities and creative quarters, are still overly generalised. Evans (2004: 58) for example cites a list of 'Gaps in Evidence' when evaluating the hierarchy of types of information available in this field in his reports to the DCMS analysing the contribution of culture to regeneration in the UK. One of the main problems in assessing this contribution is that culture in cities is not usually recognised in social policy and quality of life indicators (QOI), and is therefore either absent from regeneration measurement criteria or subsumed into general outcome measurements, such as the *New Deal for Communities* or Single Regeneration Bid (SRB). Evans claims that regeneration is typically more concerned with community self-development and self-expression, whereas economic regeneration focuses on growth and property development, finding expression in prestige projects and place marketing (Evans & Shaw 2004). My analysis of Tate Modern dissects the relationships between the existing communities and the rapidly accelerated urbanism and how this has affected the identity of the area. Brindley notes the benefits of regeneration in repositioning localities in a competitive global economy (2000).

Pratt has written extensively on cultural regeneration and policy and, in particular, his research investigates the relationship between governance, the cultural economy and urbanization, arguing that context, history and regulatory forms play a large part in influencing outcomes in terms of assessing investment in these models of regeneration. In questioning the assumption that we can automatically draw wider lessons based on policy transfer Pratt, as a consequence, criticises the underlining assumption of a bias towards the

instrumental use of culture and creativity. He therefore calls for a re-balance of policy and academic concern with greater focus on the intrinsic value of culture (2008, 2009). Pratt's concerns are central to my research in focusing on the broader outcomes of culture rather than an emphasis on its instrumental outputs.

In exploring the process of regeneration at Bankside I will refer to other key precedents of arts and cultural institutions affecting urban regeneration, such as the Guggenheim Museum, Bilbao (GMB) completed in 1997, and the Pompidou Centre, Paris, completed in 1977. A key research paper on the economic effects of the GMB on its urban context, titled *The Return of Investment of the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao* (Plaza 2006*),* provides an analysis that aims to quantify the museum's impact on tourism and employment. Plaza cites the unique condition of the GMB which presented an almost 'perfect laboratory for testing the impact of this cultural investment' (ibid: 4), as the city contained only one other arts museum, in contrast to cities such as London, New York, and Paris, which have a diverse range of museums and tourist attractions.

Bilbao was in the process of a regeneration programme after the collapse of its shipbuilding industries during the 1980s. The project was supported by the Basque regional government paying 123 million euros, to cover all project costs. Previous to the construction of the GMB, finance from the Basque regional government was invested to clean up the polluted river and to introduce an extensive transportation system, designed by Foster & Partners in 1988, following an international competition: the first part of the line opened in 1995. The paper concluded that the final outcome of the GMB was positive, despite original cautious estimates. However, Evans in his study of the preliminary effect of the GMB on the local economy was rather less positive: 'The economic impact of the museum, always notoriously hard to attribute, has declined within three years of opening and generated growth of only 0.47% to the Basque GNP in 1997' (Evans 2003: 433). Plaza concludes that despite the museum's success

over the long-term, it should not be employed as a means to legitimise the instrumentalisation of signature architecture or large amounts of capital investment. Plaza upholds as key to GMB's success, the vernacular context and the constant efforts of the museum director to innovate and generate activities of interest to keep the public coming, both of which are difficult to factor into any graphic analysis of a museum's Return of Investment (ROI) (Plaza 2006: 10). Thus despite the perception of the success of the Guggenheim, from which the euphemism the 'Guggenheim Effect' has been used to describe the economic success of a previously deprived area or city, the analysis and factors contributing or detracting from the perceived success are far more complex. In my analysis to answer how effective Tate Modern has been in creating an urban catalyst, how sustainable and what effects have been created and for whom, it is key to examine the critiques leveled at the GMB in order to formulate my analysis. With reference to the publication *Learning from the Bilbao Guggenheim* (ed Guasch & Zulaika 2005), the analysis of the architecture of the gallery centres around the physical representation of the architecture as 'an ambitious aesthetic mechanism' or 'an example of how art and architecture critically operate within the museum itself' (ibid: 15). My focus is to expand on the critique of the architecture beyond the representational and to explore the space constituent within Tate Modern, in relation to debates on public space.

1.3 Literature Review

In order to situate my research within current debate and analysis of cultural regeneration I will consider the key texts of Evans (1990–2009), who has written widely on this subject and draws attention to what, in his opinion, is a lack of evidence as to how far flagship and major cultural projects can contribute to a range of regeneration objectives. Evans questions the evidence supporting the Labour government's (1997-2010) belief that cultural regeneration can have a positive effect on areas in decline and assist in ameliorating multiple social

problems. I have illustrated Plaza's caution in identifying success with one model using the example of the quantitative analysis of the GMB. Matarasso backs this perspective by stating that 'over-zealous pursuit of scientific objectivity and the internal validity of evaluation programmes are inappropriate and unhelpful approaches to the evaluation of social programmes and especially arts projects' (Matarasso 1996: 24).

The directors of Tate Modern realised the potential of the gallery in terms of up-lift of property values in the area prior to the opening of the gallery, but the principal document to pursue an economic forecast of the effect of Tate Modern, as well as situate the benefits of cultural industries across this area, was commissioned by the directors with LBS and Westminster City Council, titled *Cultural Industries – Economic Benefit & Growth Analysis in South Westminster, Bankside and Bermondsey* (2004) by DTZ Consulting with Tony Travers. Stage Two of the document set out to analyse the potential growth prospects for the cultural industries in Bankside, Bermondsey and South Westminster and to build on the analysis of the current economic impact of the sector in Stage One. What the DTZ report does conclude, is that their analysis demonstrates that visitor attractions such as Tate Modern have a significant effect in terms of the overall net economic impact of the cultural industries in the study area, but that other sub-sectors of the cultural industries (most notably radio and television activities) are more significant. The major benefit of Tate Modern stated in the report, is its 'catalytic effect in enhancing the area's profile and image as a 'creative location', rather than through direct employment (2004: 2). The table below demonstrates the three varying spatial scales at which the analysis is made demonstrating the overall net economic impact figures of the cultural industries in the study area:

Geographical area	Net economic impact
Study area (South Westminster, Bermondsey and Bankside)	£160 million (equivalent to 5,600 jobs)
Inner London	£394 million (equivalent to 13,700 jobs)
London as a whole	£927 million (equivalent to 32,200 jobs). This is considered to be the most robust figure within a range from £859 million (29,900 jobs) and £1,020 million (35,400 jobs)

DTZ Pieda Consulting and Tony Travers[2]

Therefore I conclude that there are inherent difficulties in isolating the economic outputs of one cultural institution within a capital city with a diverse range of cultural attractions, as well as in making an accurate analysis of 'the trickle -down effect'. Additionally, cultural institutions create benefits beyond the purely economic.

In addressing the qualitative effects of cultural processes, in contrast to the quantative, the quotation below supports the belief that culture can have an ameliorating effect on communities. I will discuss this strategy in relation to Tate Modern's relationship to its local community and how it sought to engage the locality in the activities of Tate Modern:

> Culture […] can make communities. It can be a critical focus for effective and sustainable urban regeneration. The task is to develop an understanding (including methods of study) of the ways – cultural and ethical – in which the 'worst estates' can take part in and help shape the relics of their city (and society) as well as their locality. This is a massive challenge to academics, professionals, business, and to local and ultimately national government and of course-citizens. But nothing less

[2] DTZ obtained figures from the Annual Business Inquiry (ABI) survey data, modified by DTZ assumptions and primary research to address shortcomings in the ABI data.

can work […] (Catterall 1998: 4).

I will examine the ability of Tate Modern as an institution to embed itself within the locality, and how the locality has rapidly changed as a result of the regeneration of Bankside. Recent literature (Butler & Robson 2003; Lees 2008; Lees et al 2006), points to the dislocation of the lower middle class from their locality as a result of gentrification and urban regeneration. I demonstrate that the somewhat rapid urban transformations in the area have changed the value of familiar points of reference for long-term residents.

In addressing Tate Modern's role in acting as a model for cultural regeneration I have used the frame of the recent social history of LBS and its drive to capitalise on the up-lift of the area in order to finance the poorer parts of the borough (a transfer of investments to the south of the borough). Additionally, the council focused on promoting conditions for development and tourism. In considering the jostling for development around the perimeter of Tate Modern I examine the role that the institution played in influencing this agenda, both from the perspective of the original goals set out in the Millennium Commission application, that of promoting regeneration, as well Tate Modern's goal to exert long-term influence over the urban development and social and cultural agenda of the area. I argue that as a consequence of the establishment of Tate Modern there is a potential exclusion of certain levels of society, which reduces diversity in the area. I refer to Harvey's debate on 'the right to the city', which discusses how cities have become the forum onto which we act out our social politics and is key in situating my research. I demonstrated that the driving influence over the construction of large-scale developments locally, was the desire to invest global capital on the part of the developers and the introduction of financial real estate products such as REITs. Their investments have led to the city becoming 'too narrowly confined, [and] restricted in most cases to a small political and economic elite' (Harvey 2008: 24). Thus, once the immediate area around Tate Modern became

a significant site, increased pressure was placed on its limited infrastructure. In this context Harvey helpfully, situates his debate in relation to the city as a site for political expression and enactment over struggles for representation. Another key author I discuss is Doreen Massey, who examines space and politics in relation to the everyday. In addressing the changing condition of the urban environment the texts of Zukin were useful in that she focuses much of her research on the direct impact of cultural processes in the city through architectural expression and urbanism. Below I return to the collection of essays that discuss the much-quoted Guggenheim and its context and how the iconic building per se has raised the international profile of the city, Bilbao. With reference to how contemporary art museums have shifted in order to reflect responses to contemporary displays of art, I draw on literature that seeks to map the shift in museum or gallery typology that is concomitant with cultural practices. The key collection of essays titled *Learning from the Bilbao Guggenheim* (eds. Guasch & Zulaika 2005) situates the GMB as a cultural tool and provides a critical analysis of the hegemonic practice of the American organisation, the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, over a consideration for the interests of the locality. In addition, the gallery is questioned in terms of its role in creating a new model for the convergence of culture and economics in terms of its franchise model and whether the museum has created a paradigm that can be replicated or emulated. This book of essays provides a critical, political, social and economic analysis of what was widely held to be one of the first and most successful examples of cultural regeneration, albeit in a city that is not comparable in size and position with London. The essayists describe the repositioning of the museum as a 'powerful instrument' (2005: 8) in a new version of the cultural industry, a new paradigm of contemporary culture, so no longer about a collection of objects, but a powerful model for different discourses relative to the displays, collections and installations.

Existing literature on Tate Modern has predominantly focused on the project itself as it underwent the conversion process. There is very little focus on the effect of the institution on the social, political and economic conditions that surround it. The documentary filmmaker Karl Sabbagh wrote *Power into Art: Creating the Tate Modern* (2000) to accompany his series of television programmes with the same title, about the construction of Tate Modern (2000). The 'fly on the wall' documentary presented the dynamics between Nicholas Serota, Jacques Herzog (Herzog & de Meuron) and the construction members leading the project. In 2000, the architectural critic Rowan Moore and curator Raymond Ryan co-authored *Building Tate Modern: Herzog & de Meuron with Giles Gilbert Scott,* which included a series of interviews with the architects and Nicholas Serota. The focus of the book was to contextualise the building within the wider environment, unraveling the ambitions for the building and institution to operate on an urban level beyond that of offering a conventional gallery experience.

In 2005, Tate directors commissioned a series of more broadly based essays published internally titled *The First Five Years* (2005) in association with Demos[3] and LSE. The publication was produced to provide an overview of the successes of the institution and its relationship with the wider political, social and cultural sphere. The essays were written by external commentators Martin Gayford (art critic), John Holden (Head of Culture at Demos), Rowan Moore (architectural critic), the Rt Hon Chris Smith (Labour culture minister), Jon Snow (TV presenter) and Tony Travers (LSE economist). The publication set out to examine various aspects of the impact of Tate Modern, with each contributor 'analysing Tate Modern's distinctive contribution to the nation's cultural life' (2005: 2). Smith equates the arrival of Tate Modern with driving through two policies that he had advocated: one to bring in free admission and the other to address the theory of

[3] Demos is a think-tank focused on power and politics with an agenda centred on empowering citizens. Their research includes citizen's juries, workshops, focus groups and ethnographic research.

concentrated areas of creative industries, whilst he held the position as Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport (1997-2001):

> Because the building itself is so commanding, the scale so breathtaking, and the concept so clear, it has had the effect of creating a 'halo' of activities around it, and this in turn has lifted the area environmentally and financially. The mapping exercise we had put in place revealed the astonishing truth that these creative industries amount to well over £100 billion of economic value each year, employ over a million people, and are growing at twice the rate of growth of the economy as a whole (Smith 2005: 20).

Smith clearly sets out the assumption that the creation of Tate Modern is aligned with the growth of the creative industries and the positive economic outcome in terms of culture's instrumental effect. In the DTZ document (2004), the figures are considerably different, stating that overall net economic impact figures of the cultural industries total £927 million for London as a whole. By highlighting the discrepancy in quoted figures it demonstrates the unreliability of statistics to illustrate the success of a project in economic terms. The figures quoted by Smith relate to the amount of employment generated in terms of an annual income for London. Essentially, it shows that the economic rationale is often vague, providing a selective perspective whilst demonstrating the limitations of quantitative analysis to illustrate a holistic perspective on cultural regeneration.

In situating cultural regeneration within the wider government policy, recent urban policy statements have invoked 'a discourse of urban renaissance that interweaves calls for urban sustainability with a prescription of concepts and ways of living that are closely tied to gentrification practices' (Lees 2003: 61). The government's Urban Task Force (UTF) report, *Towards an Urban Renaissance* (DETR 1999c) led by Lord Richard Rogers, and the subsequent Urban White

Paper (UWP) on urban policy, *Our towns and cities–The Future: Delivering an urban renaissance* (DETR 2000d) both accentuate a move 'back to the city'. Rogers is known for promoting an agenda of sustainability in relation to the growth of cities and performed the role as chairman of the UTF at the invitation of the Labour government. Lees (2008) draws attention to the use of positive terms such as 'urban regeneration' and 'urban sustainability' instead of 'gentrification', as those who are able to move back into the city are predominantly the affluent middle-classes or global elite who look to invest in what is viewed as a stable property market. In addressing the role of cultural regeneration I analyse government policy documents in order to dissect the power structures that enabled the urban environment at Bankside to develop in the way that it did. Additionally, the construct of 'urban imaginaries' in promoting a selective vision of space is key to how the image of Bankside has been developed to reposition the area. The imaginaries constructed around world cities frame the national and local institutions of urban governance pertaining to various 'going-global' discourses (Paul 2005: 2105). Alongside this debate of establishing a presence on the global platform is the trajectory of 'flagship' mega projects attracting global investors. Paul contends: 'World cities are not simply born of the froth of the global economy. They are made by social agents [….] who stimulate and shape their growth' (2005: 2106), thereby promoting the diversity of actors that make up a city.

In assessing cultural regeneration, the value of cultural production and the language of culture are often overlooked, misunderstood or, at worst, trivialised in relation to the assessment of regeneration in economic and urban terms (de Certeau 1988; Pratt 2010). I explore how cultural processes are interpreted to create a particular visual vocabulary executed through urban interventions at Bankside, such as way-finding signage and public sculpture. The reinterpretation of cultural production as a branding tool and codified language that selects what is on display is central to my analysis of the recent labeling of the area as a

cultural quarter. The contemporary use of the term, cultural quarter, itself signifies a concentration of cultural activities. De Frantz describes the 'Museumsquartier' in Vienna as comprising 'a concentration of cultural flagship architecture of competing images of economic regeneration and social-cultural cohesion within a shared urban symbol of civic pride' (2005: 50). The concentration of cultural activities is normally part of a larger urban strategy. As part of Barcelona's 'exemplar' cultural sites, the rundown industrial district, Poblanou, on the fringe of Barcelona, was designated a Cultural Industries Quarter, by the Mayor of Barcelona. In this case, cultural policy assisted in the regeneration of a rundown industrial area in the form of 'how cultural production can flourish in a marginal area' (Evans 2005: 968). Therefore, a cultural quarter is often part of a wider strategy that includes cultural planning and urban design. In addressing the intrinsic value of culture I discuss how it has potentially been compromised in light of its use as an instrumental tool in the field of regeneration.

The American cultural theorist Sharon Zukin, has written extensively on the uses of cultural values as a form of exclusion in the urbanisation of cities and views cultural capital as aligned to the debate on gentrification. Zukin extends the theory of Harvey to look specifically at creativity and cities as sites of cultural commodification and in her book, *The Culture of Cities* (1995), she explicitly builds on Mumford's interest in urban design, democracy and the market economy, by exploring what she calls the symbolic economy of Manhattan. Zukin identifies certain key locations of symbolic capital singling out museums as attractors of consumers of cultural capital that coincide with attracting city-elites which city governments believe they need to attract in order to secure their economic future. Zukin argues that tourists are sold a coherent visual representation of a city (1995). In discussing how the city can be shaped to attract increasing levels of commodification, Zukin critiques the concept of 'authenticity' as well as looking at cultural strategies of redevelopment and how

their common element is to create a ‘cultural space connecting tourism, consumption and style of life’ (Zukin, 1995: 83).

The questions Zukin raises are relevant in terms of setting up a symbolic analysis of the language of the urban landscape. But, unique to my analysis of Tate Modern is that the project was largely self-directed, therefore the shaping of its local and outreach strategy was very much steered by the institution, rather than based on empirical models. This I explore in Chapter Three and in relation to the role played by LBS. To explore this concept of the symbolic representation of cultural capital or visual representation, in Chapter Five my analysis of two promenades Tourist A and Resident B, draws attention to the different types of relationships and aesthetic encounters from two different perspectives. In citing these examples, I am drawing attention to the evidence that it is the importance of the ‘other’ that enforces an acknowledgment that complex identities exist; by closing down the opportunities of multiple experiences of an area, different and varied encounters are limited. It is exactly its uniqueness that attracts developers to Bankside, but in turn there is a risk that that very uniqueness will dilute the cultural capital. The addition to the urban landscape of public art installations and advertising messages that play on the cultural language by reinterpreting it to create a landscape of commodification threatens the intrinsic nature of cultural processes and the ability to expand more complex interpretations. Through my analysis of the cultural quarter I argue that its prevailing identity promotes a limited agenda, which privileges sites of development.

Managing or imposing a particular vision, which is often an example of urban or ‘geographical imaginations’, with a powerful political and economic agenda can be used to drive an area’s urban development (Massey 2007: 24). In Chapter Three I illustrate the urban interventions that improve Southwark’s image organised by LBS (led by Fred Manson) and the Architecture Foundation, who invited architectural practices to propose interventions to raise the profile of the

street environment as part of a drive to begin to reimagine Bankside. The *Southwark Urban Design Initiative* was criticised for its overt agenda to promote the area as predominantly a tourist destination. In expanding the debate on steering the aesthetic language of the urban environment, Zukin proposes that any expressions of counter-culture or forms of dissent are prey to co-option and commodification. This view suggests a tension or exploitation of sub-culture into the mainstream. An example of this is the Tate Modern curators introduction of activities that originated as street culture, such as street graffiti organised as part of the BMX weekend (2009), with graffiti applied to the north facade of the building. Another example of co-option is the commissioned artwork, *Temporary Eyesore* (2008), by Land Securities, the largest property owner in the UK, to act as a hoarding to hide the construction works whilst the temporary Neo Bankside sales pavilion was being constructed. In my opinion, this artwork's message was confused by co-opting the language of the protesters by the artist Scott King. Zukin points to how culture is seen as an exhilarating, educating, experience but it is also 'a powerful means of controlling cities. As a source of images and memories, it symbolises who belongs in specific places' (1995: 1). I demonstrate how there is an introduction of a language that uses the cultural capital of Bankside to promote concepts of 'lifestyle' largely dominated by consumption.

This duality of positive and negative interpretations is a constant and I draw on this split reading of the visual language of culture to examine the influence of Tate Modern on the branding of Bankside. In order to situate this analysis of repositioning Bankside predominantly as a cultural quarter, I analyse how the directors engaged with the existing community framework and their intention to create a new paradigm for public interaction with the gallery's physical structure and programmatic strategy in Chapter Four. I will place this within the framework of the concept of a cultural quarter and will examine Tate Modern's influence on the creation of the quarter and the mechanisms used to promote the area. I will

examine if this is an artificially driven process to attract tourism or whether its objectives are to support cultural production and practicing artists.

Zukin argues that one way of dealing with material inequalities of city life has been to aestheticise diversity and fear. Controlling the various cultures of cities suggests the possibility of controlling all sorts of urban ills, from violence to hate crime and economic decline. In response to Zukin's emphasis on the potential of cultural power to create and frame a vision or image, I question how this premise has potentially created a homogenised vision in relation to the rebranding of Bankside. I also examine the strategy to create a cultural vision and to what extent this was engineered by the activities of the Tate directors, LBS and private parties. Zukin argues that the power of a cultural vision to create an identity is caused by both social classes and political parties becoming less relevant mechanisms to express identity. My research at Bankside has led me to explore how the regeneration triggered by the arrival of Tate Modern has led to long-term residents questioning the currency of their relationship to the area and the shifts in identity manifest on the high street on Great Suffolk Street. The strategy of Tate Modern to embed itself within the existing networks and community organisations is also examined.

In addressing the multiple influences that converge in the urban landscape, I have attempted to incorporate as broad a platform of voices as possible, through narratives of residents, which inflect and shape the rapidly changing society and in turn, influences the urban fabric. The use of the word 'narrative' here refers to a told story, and is intended as temporal. An analysis of the urban regeneration in the area needs to be balanced against the multiple strands of residents' and commercial interests and a questioning of the assumptions that are normally associated with each one. The former is aligned to local interests, the latter global. This is often more nuanced than a direct delineation between the two, since they often overlap. To return to Massey's proposal for a reading of space

that opens up possibilities rather than closing them down, I will explore a plurality of trajectories, which could be described as multiple stories, and demonstrate their relevance in the recent history of the area and their on-going importance. During my site surveys of the locality, I photographed and interviewed the owner of establishments such as *Terry's* Café,[4] which opened in 1982 on Great Suffolk Street. Realising the uplift in the area, Austin, the owner of *Terry's* began to cater for the new demographic of clients. By shifting his focus to attract new customers, he expressed his concern over potentially alienating existing clients. This repositioning of the business exemplifies the expansion of cultural capital created through Tate Modern and the changing demographic of the clientele in the area.

Building a city is dependent on traditional economic factors of land, labour and capital, but Zukin argues that urbanisation is also dependent on how symbolic languages of exclusion and entitlement are manipulated. A city's public spaces reflect decisions on who or what should be visible or not visible, on concepts of order and disorder and on uses of aesthetic power. Zukin raises the question: what does it mean to aestheticise, rather than represent, urban 'diversity'? (Zukin 1998). The promotion of living in the inner city no longer denotes deprivation but has been surpassed by concepts of cosmopolitanism, attracting urban elites or older couples looking for a convenient central London base from which to commute to a weekend rural retreat. The area around Bankside and Borough Market appears to have a high number of retired couples (anecdotal evidence from interview with BRF chairman A. Richardson).

In adding to the significance of the visual signs of investment signifying a particular lifestyle Molotch (1996) states that cities owe their existence to a

[4] Terry was widely known in the community before his death in 2009 and is described on the Terry's web site 'as an ambassador for local shops and community spirit'. Terry's is now run by Austin, Terry's son, 'Terry passed on 'his values and experience to his son, Austin who has worked there since he was a young boy.

second, more abstract symbolic economy constructed by place entrepreneurs. I dissect the language used to promote a cultural agenda prominent in Bankside by analysing the branding exercise to promote the area as a cultural quarter, and in Chapter Five, *The Cultural Quarter – a question of identity,* I demonstrate the interaction of power relations that are promoting a new urban identity. I will demonstrate that Tate Modern played a constructive role in creating a sense of place, but, in tandem with the impact of the gallery, key developers significantly influenced the shaping of the urban development. In particular, I examine the part played by the development company Land Securities in steering the urban agenda and methods used to create a reimagining of the area through the promotion of lifestyle material to promote the high-end residential development, Neo-Bankside, adjacent to Tate Modern (hereafter TM). Zukin argues that what is new about the symbolic economy is a symbiosis of image and product in speaking for, or representing, the city (1995: 8).

Zukin (2011) writes specifically on the physical changes in the environment as a result of the restructuring of products of symbolic capital, such as the promotion of lifestyles. In contrast, the urban geographer David Harvey bases his theory of the effects of cultural capital on the urban condition, starting from a foundation of traditional Marxist theory of land values and exploitation. By reworking Marxist theory he places the city at the forefront of generating capital accumulation, replacing the traditional Marxist view of the factory as the key driver of capital. Zukin's argument is relevant to my research in identifying this symbolic order, which translates concepts of capital and land values. This is manifest in aspects of the built environment, which I critique in the photographs I have taken in Bankside.

In addressing the influences of the process of urbanisation and private development around Tate Modern and how this relates to the locality, I will look at how contemporary processes of economic globalisation respond to localities

and cultural forms specifically through Harvey's writings on the significance of 'monopoly rents' (2012: 90 [2002]). Harvey introduces the term 'monopoly rent', an abstraction from the language of political economy to describe the relationship of cultural capital on the property market, surmising that the activity creates a contradictory form. Developers are attracted to the uniqueness that is created through cultural capital, but the homogenising nature of capital that is a product of the monopolies created through capitalism reduces diversity. In struggling to define what are the conditions of uniqueness, Pratt argues there is an increasing homogeneity of cultural projects that often adhere to a list of very similar conditions; they are often cited adjacent to a river and designed by a signature architect, reiterating that cultural projects are becoming formulaic (Pratt 2010: 79). Adorno discusses capital culture in terms of losing its authenticity (Adorno 1991) and Zukin believes that authenticity is difficult to quantify and asks what qualifies as an authentic neighbourhood and to whom (1995). Lastly, Bourdieu in this debate on the monopolistic drive that influences the urban environment, discusses culture in terms of a search for 'distinctiveness' (1984).

I discuss this problematic model of a monopolistic framework in relation to the goal of Tate's directors to create a gallery that responds to the existing condition of the locality as well as creating a significant contribution to enhancing the urban framework. This is a complex issue as it could be argued that the building has created a unique condition in relation to a new paradigm for public space, but equally, or because of the building, developers have profited by commissioning high-end residential developments that have sprung up around its perimeter, providing services and financial industries with tenants such as IPC Magazines and the Royal Bank of Scotland, thereby potentially compromising the creation of public space around Tate. Another factor that has led to the build-up and density of private development is the low percentage of land belonging to LBS.

Tate has had a direct influence on the uplift of the area. The battle over Tate Tower demonstrates the opposing views regarding the manifestations of development surrounding TM. The residential development as well as Bankside 123, which I discuss in Chapter Three demonstrates the maximising of space for profit, as discussed two proposals by the local community put forwards as part of Section 106 were reneged on. The first being the provision of a swimming pool within Bankside 123, which would be open to the public and secondly the provision of low income housing within Neo Bankside.

Citing the role of an area's success in terms of its ability to generate high incomes, Harvey draws attention to the potential synchronicity of local urban governance and its attempt to put in place infrastructural apparatus, which will facilitate private investment. Here Harvey criticises what he views as a form of collusion between state powers and private investment. Harvey questions how to assemble monopoly powers in a situation where the protections afforded by the so-called 'natural monopolies' of space and location, and the political protections of national boundaries and tariffs have been seriously diminished if not eliminated. He is referring here to the loss of local forms of protection that many industries and services used to rely on, but which were diminished or dismantled with the arrival of advanced capitalism and the 'annihilation of space through time' (Harvey 2000: 100). This could be applied to the global roster of iconic art galleries and the creeping presence of a global circuit of art works that rotate around the top visited galleries. Although it is undeniable that culture has become a commodity, there is still widespread belief that some cultural products such as collective memories, architecture and the arts are set apart from other commodities. Harvey argues that once a cultural entity is stripped of its residues, such as powerful ideologies, we are still left with something special and questions how the commodity status of these phenomena can be reconciled with their special character. In the case of TM, the context and conversion of the existing industrial building contributed to its perceived uniqueness, comprised of

setting, the architecture and the Herzog & de Meuron's and the directors' response to an exploration of space which resulted in a dynamic spatial programme. I argue that cultural capital, established by Tate has been compromised by the types of aggressive urbanisation of the area often at odds with the urban context. Returning to the phenomena of global galleries and their agendas of addressing both local and global interests, the hierarchies of interests operating within TM are apparent from the debates surrounding the programming of the TH. On the community level strategies to embed the project were carried out by the curators of Tate Learning, whilst TM's global positioning is addressed by the curators of Tate International.

In addressing the issue as to whether TM has been a successful catalyst in the regeneration of the area, Pratt in his analysis of existing critiques of cultural regeneration as predominantly for an elite-mobile class and for economic development, calls for an acknowledgment of the subtleties of historical and locally specific practices of cultural and creative activities (Pratt 2010; de Frantz 2005). Focusing on the locality of specific practices is relevant in framing an analysis of how TM positioned itself. At the forefront of the agenda was the contextualisation of the building and the realisation of the potential of the power station to unlock an integral piece of urbanism. On the global scale, the agenda of city identity-making was key, as London lagged behind its competitor cities, having no major contemporary art gallery. Its success in part relied on the use of a piece of historical architecture, as well as its positioning adjacent to the Globe Theatre, a very significant geographical location since it reinstated the axis with St Paul's Cathedral. With reference to the relevance of an adequate policy for fostering cultural regeneration, Pratt argues for a conceptual realignment as well as policy innovation. In assessing what we mean by the adjective 'creative' as used in creative quarter and creative cities, Pratt argues that it is often viewed as humanistic as well as being inclusive, so performing a role of social cohesion. Counter to this view of creativity is the view that culture is about the

representation of excellence. In addressing what is the intrinsic value of culture, I examine the values underpinning the external public art as well as the Unilever Series. This is explored in Chapter Five when I analyse the use of public art in the context of Tate Modern. In writing about the type of experience a gallery can offer its visitors, Serota points to the growing awareness on the part of the artists of the machinations of the gallery, apparent in the following statement, '[There is] an ever greater awareness by the artist of the conventions of the museum itself' (Serota 2005: 20).

So far I have discussed the key questions of my thesis and the context in which I will respond as well as which key texts and authors I will refer to. I now move from a macro analysis of TM's establishment within LBS, its effect on the wider context of Bankside, as well as the parallel narrative of the institution's relationship to London-wide policy and the positioning of the gallery in relation to London's status as a global city, to a micro analysis which draws my focus to the TH.

1.4 Literature Review (On Definitions of Public)

In narrowing my focus of analysis to the micro, I examine the institutional position of the TH as a new paradigm for public interaction and the different experiences of interacting with an institution and its artefacts. The focus on the TH contextualises the critique of the arguably new spatial typology within that of a public space in the city, and I question the agency of the TH to provide a new paradigm of public space in the city.

This narrowing of focus moves from the macro to the micro through a discussion of the TH and how the space presents new possibilities of interaction, a platform for micro-politics, and questions how an institution responds to its public, as well as its curatorial strategies. The questioning of public space in twentieth-century

analysis, from sociologists to urbanists, has been a question of critical debate and enlightenment (Habermas 1974). Frisby's *Cityscapes of Modernity* (2001) traces the position of modernity and the citizen, from flâneur to consumer, whilst in Held's (2001: 339) definition of the global or 'cosmopolitan citizen', citizenship is likely to involve a growing mediating role: a role that encompasses dialogue with the traditional discourse and the aim of expanding the horizons of one's own framework of meaning and prejudice. The TH could be viewed as a legitimate representation of a privileged order of power in the city as it is associated with TM's galleries, but arguably it could act as a site for micro-politics of urban life representing social inclusion, exclusion and urban order (Tonkiss 2006: 59). The final chapter of the thesis, Chapters Six (divided into two Sections, A and B) will explore these mediations on the TH in relation to definitions of public and spectacle and will provide a definition of the two terms.

It is necessary to look at how the Turbine Hall relates to its immediate urban context (public space as mediated through the everyday). Central to the thesis is an analysis of the ability of the TH to act as a public space and to arrive at a new definition framed within the institutional workings of a cultural agenda.[5] Key to this debate is the need to address the seemingly obvious: why is public space such an important component of cities?

In order to examine the TH's ability to create public space it is vital to undertake a contemporary analysis and an acknowledgement of the contribution of various disciplines to debates on public space, to understand the complexity of structure and interpretation. My analysis of this subject has stemmed from the work of urban sociologists, architects, historians and cultural theorists. The physical nature of the public realm is contested in the face of increasing privatisation of

[5] Public Space Management in London 4.4 There are numerous models of public space management. They include 1. Entirely public management (e.g. Trafalgar Square) 2. Entirely private management (e.g. Westfield shopping centre) 3. Business Improvement Districts (BID) 4. Town centre management schemes 5. Land development trusts 6. Publicly owned sites but a range of managerial or service tasks are contracted out to private sector providers (Greater London Authority document 2010

public places and the rise of the virtual public realm. In referring to public space in the behavioural sense, public life offers a degree of anonymity which allows personal development, whereas the breakdown of the public/private delineations, often mediated through the press has led to privacy spilling into the public sphere. The implicit effects of this trend influence how our identity is shaped. Key to urban sociology is the relevance of everyday life in the public sphere (Arendt 1998; Habermas 1974; Sennett 1977). Public space is also bound up with that which is represented and experienced. When experiencing a city, there is a disjuncture between the map or representations of the city and how the city is experienced and lived in. One critical approach to how these different ways of conceiving space is through the work of Henri Lefebvre ([1974]1991). Lefebvre treats space as a social product, in that it is primarily the outcome of spatial practice, which is based on relations and location of production. Additionally, space is represented as diagrammatic, such as the architectural or governmental ordering through maps, plans, and projects, which are viewed as ways of rationalising space in order to exert power. Lefebvre's argument is that urban forms are not merely physical constructs, but are given meaning through language, symbols and visual clues. In my argument about the construction of a visual language promoting a tourist agenda at Bankside, I discuss the form of layering on to the city a dominant language, which predominantly promotes Bankside as a tourist quarter through its branding as a cultural quarter. Space is a complex set of inter-relationships, which, allow democratic behaviour to be acted out in public, and is key to a representational society. This reflects inclusiveness, inter-relationships and heterogeneity, which, in turn represents the diversity and complexity of a city's structural relationships. Massey sums up the potential for space as 'an attempt to constitute society, not to state what it is' (Massey quoting Laclau 2005: 27).

Issues surrounding public space and the public realm are widely debated, often centred in relation to the private sphere in terms of access, use and

representation. Current concerns are focused on the increasing restrictions on the use of public space, as well as its over-commercialisation, which will in turn lead to a disenfranchisement of certain sections of society. Through my fieldwork with diverse groups of residents, I demonstrate how certain sites are viewed as non-inclusive to long–term residents, some of whom have been born in the area (interviews through Bankside Open Space Trust, BOST, Memory Garden, 2009). Harvey criticises what he views as a preoccupation with the use of space in terms of its exchange value relating to its ability to generate revenue for developers, as opposed to the intrinsic value of space. It is often when public space in the city is potentially being reduced or threatened that debates regarding public space come to the fore. Business Interest Districts (BID), to name one form of organised dominance of interest within a city, have antagonised perspectives on 'the right to the city' a term used by David Harvey (2008), which I will explore in Chapter Three.

In focusing on the potential of the TH to expand concepts of public space in the city, Chapter Six examines issues surrounding behaviour often embedded in the breakdown between the distinction between public and private. If the concept of public space is difficult to define, it is not because it is lost but because the idea of it is constantly being redefined, reprogrammed and debated, essentially providing a platform on which the public interact with society. If we are to interpret space as flowing and intermediary, its potential could be described as existing as an imaginary concept, dependent on the imaginaries of others for it to evolve (Massey 2005). Understanding space as imaginary is to infer that it is the very power of our convictions that forms reality; it seems to take part in a basic structuring of society, such as the difference between public and private and what is visible (Sennett 1977, Gabrielsson 2007).

In Chapter Six, Sections A and B, I argue that TM has contributed to creating the conditions within which the exploration of public imaginations is encouraged. The

remodeled TH can be interpreted as a space that emboldens a 'reimagining' of the space removed from previous social rituals associated with visiting a gallery. Crucial to the existence and development of public space in democratic societies is the capacity for public expression, whether cultural or political, and the possibility of expanding public space within the public arena, as opposed to reducing its possibilities for shared activities, representation, appropriation and interpretation. It is our ability to imagine a concept of public space, whether as an alternative to what exists or as an expansion of the existing, that potentially creates new models; attempts to tame public space are detrimental to opening up different possibilities to interact with others (Massey 2005).

Lefebvre's canonic interpretation of space constructed as representative and representational is useful when analysing the remodeling of TM, a former industrial building, built for a very different purpose than its current use. This demonstrates that, despite its very specific function, it has the potential to be creatively reinterpreted, demonstrating the power of social interaction to reimagine the space. Originally built to house the machinery of the oil-powered power station, a structure that represents the values of an industrious past, some would argue that the choice of an industrial building has become such a symbolic typology in the execution of contemporary gallery space 'that it has become as much the conventional gallery form as the Greek temple used to be' (quote by Sudjic in Williams, 2005: 121) Williams situates the use of the former industrial space at Tate within the recent historical narrative of the appropriation of industrial typologies. The early examples of which were the conversion of lofts by artists in New York in the 1970s. The typology of the converted industrial buildings has now been interpreted as over familiar and a reversal of what it signified previously; Williams describes the industrial typology as 'poised between hegemony and collapse' (Williams 2005: 122)

In Chapter Six I examine the process, led by Serota, to survey opinions from the

professional arena by asking artists about their preferences for building typologies. This provides an interesting insight into the relation of artists to contemporary display methods. As I argue in the thesis, although the use of industrial structures is viewed as a positive analogy imbued with the transference of values underpinning the industrial ethic, it was also a combination of contextual factors that informed the dynamism of the power station to act as a fitting structure for a twenty-first century gallery. The building's presence within the city, the ability to unlock a set of urban elements and a wider urban vision that could see the potential of the scale of the building to function as both an urban route and container for art, all contributed to the success of TM in terms of its popularity as a gallery.

Increasingly, the concept of time/space compression is being attributed to the ability of spaces to operate simultaneously, regardless of geographical distance; we are experiencing mobilisations of space, largely through financial restructuring, as well as the expansion of social media. In the light of these re-evaluations of space, it appears even more pertinent to re-examine ordinary physical space. Although today's social media and technologies have radically altered our sense of place, Sennett (2010) proposes that the public realm can be found equally in cyber-space as much as physically on the ground. Additionally, the continuing prevalence of the physical as sites of protest against global issues is prevalent in debates on the city. Recent sites of occupation in London and New York (for example the forecourt of St Paul's Cathedral, London for the 'Anti-Capital Protests' (2010-11) and the 'Occupy Wall Street Protest' (2011-2012) held in Zuccotti Park, New York), demonstrate the power of public space as a site of protest against the backdrop of iconographic and symbolic architecture, in this case, St Paul's Cathedral and Zuccotti Park in Lower Manhattan, which sits across the street from Four World Trade Center, popular with financial workers and tourists (Zukin 2010).

What is consistent in the theoretical approach discussed above is the importance of a right to be able to access and appropriate urban space, for space to offer up opportunities to be engaged with, and to experience a diversity of ways of living. Harvey argues the importance of the democratic right that citizens have to shape their identity through the city. The city is viewed as an integral element that provides a possibility for individuals to change themselves by changing the city, and is therefore much more than an individual's right to access urban resources. This, he views as a common right for transformation, which inevitably depends on the exercise of a collective power, to reshape the processes of urbanisation. Thus through drawing attention to the contestations over how the urban context surrounding TM were drawn out with a focus on the debacle over Tate Tower as well as the development driven by Land Securities, namely Bankside 123, I discuss the protracted process of the building and how the new urban landscape around Bankside was driven by a dominant narrative that arguably restricts diversity.

1.5 Literature Review (Turbine Hall Scale and Spectacle)

The previous section dealt with the concept of public space and its relevance to the thesis in terms of TM's role as an urban regenerator, I now introduce an examination of the TH and a narrowing of the focus of the thesis, to engage with debates surrounding spectacle as this is key to discussing the TH and the Unilever Series. This analysis expands on the question if the space can offer a new paradigm for the public to interact with and a platform for public engagement mediated through the institutional operations of Tate.

In order to analyse the many potential roles of the TH, and what it has grown to symbolise within the programme of Tate Modern, its mediation through media coverage and its significance as a powerful place; I will refer to Massey's analysis of space. Massey argues that space has particularly been straight-

jacketed by its association with ‘stasis, closure, representation’ and another set of ideas needs to be questioned in relation to spaces such as ‘heterogeneity, relationally, coevalness’ (Massey 2005: 13). Public space is discussed as integral to civic life and with it, ideas around urban planning, but its definition varies enormously, as previously discussed. Massey attempts to widen the discourse around space with the objective that our conceptualisation of it is crucial to our understanding of the world, our attitude to others, and our politics. Drawing attention to how spatial assumptions inflect our politics, I will dissect the influences that are inputted from the institution, the visitor, and the architecture itself, that contributes to a restructuring of public space and optimistically a re-imagining of the public realm. Massey draws on philosophical debate to situate her critique. Her propositions in addressing space are spelled out as a clear set of ideas: ‘it is necessary to recognise space as the product of interrelations, from the global to the intimately local; that heterogeneity is essential to the creation of space and without this, space does not exist; that space is always under construction as a product of relations which are necessarily embedded material practices’ (2005: 9). The obvious conclusion is that space is political and once this is acknowledged it leads to the asking of reformulated questions pertaining to the political. In the case of my analysis of TM, I ask if the public can shape and take ownership over the TH. The current position of an art institution is, I would argue, by its nature, schizophrenic. It creates a set of binaries aiming to question cultural conventions whilst at the same time perpetuating them, as well as creating issues in relation to access to the galleries that are viewed as simultaneously inaccessible and accessible (the Unilever Series aims to set up a dialogue of institutional critique whilst the disparity between intentionality and outcome of the installations is considerable e.g. Olafur Eliasson’s intentions appeared removed from the actual experiential quality of the *Weather Project* 2005 in the TH). Massey’s call for opening up debate about public space as non-static and ever changing informs my research in balancing a plurality of research sources as well as viewing regeneration as a process.

In examining the condition of public space in the TH, I look at how it offers a potential for a nuanced reading of the ability to open up public interaction. Incumbent on its role as an institution are curatorial directives programmed for the TH that are intended to exploit the potential of its physical space and the concept of an emergent public through the programming and ambitions steered through the TM directors and curators.

Many critics condemn the increasing use of monumentality in the new museum experience, and the drive to create an iconic architectural statement. Hal Foster describes the scaling up of gallery spaces and the implied complicity of the artist as a 'global pond of spectacle culture' (Foster 2003: 27) and singles out the Canadian architect Frank Gehry's Guggenheim as a 'site of spectacular spectatorship, of touristic awe' (2003: 41)

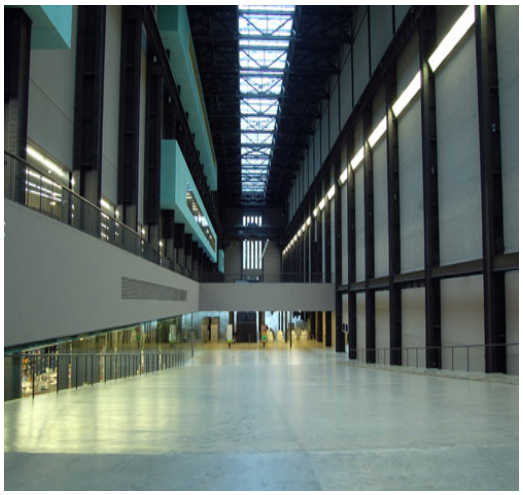

Figure 1.2 Turbine Hall: source Dean

The size of the TH is vast equaling the dimensions of St Paul's Cathedral (152 metres long and 32 metres high). The Swiss architects Herzog & de Meuron, in fact, increased the spatial volume in the TH by removing the ground floor level to bring visitors into the building at the former basement level. The issue of scale within the TH has been discussed extensively and the programming of the space

as a continuation of the urban context (Smith 2004; Meyer 2004; Davidts 2007). The size of the TH was largely dictated by a previous programme, that of industrialisation, and this was responded to by Herzog & de Meuron, who accommodated the potential of an open programme of spatial activities, made possible by stripping back the building to its steel frame envelope.

In addition to Massey's work on public space I argue in Chapter Six, with reference to the writing of the Dutch architect Rem Koolhaas (principal architect of the Office for Metropolitan Architecture), who was short-listed for the TM competition, that the institution was at a critical point as to how best to respond to the programme of the galleries through architecture. This was in light of contentious debates surrounding what kind of space is constitutive of cultural projects in the city. I have selected Koolhaas's writings as he explores the concept of the open programme and has written extensively on the relationship between culture and architecture.

In addressing the contemporary interpretation of the increasing use of monumental structures Koolhaas's mediations of public space were firstly visited through his retroactive manifesto on New York, *Delirious New York* and further in his essay titled *Bigness or the problem of the large* (Koolhaas 1995). A critical analysis of the concept of *Bigness* as defined by Koolhaas examines the relation of scale in architecture and its urban impact. As a response to the influence of Neo-liberalism on global financial flows of commerce and capital, current urban trends are manifest in the creation of large iconographic buildings (e.g. Euralille complex, 1994) that impact on the city network. Koolhaas based his theory upon five principles: the consideration of *Bigness* as a quantum of scale in architecture that goes well beyond monumentality; the programmatic complexity implied in *Bigness,* which cannot reveal to the exterior a single image; the new technologies of the machine age introduced in architecture which have made *Bigness* functionally and tectonically possible; the impact on the city, and a

rejection of context. The enormity of the structure means that it becomes independent of 'any urban tissue' and therefore rejects context as an urban consideration.

Koolhaas questions the relation of architecture and urbanism by examining what is the threshold size at which architecture becomes urbanism. The problems addressed here are those of scale, which is common to both disciplines architecture and urbanism. In addressing this problematic relationship Koolhaas states:

> Beyond a certain critical mass, a building becomes a Big Building. Such a mass can no longer be controlled by a single architectural gesture, or even by any combination of architectural gestures (Koolhaas 1995: 499).

Koolhaas's position on the relationship of architecture to urbanism is relevant to my thesis in that it relates to the struggle of the institution, Tate to express its ambitions in relation to the architectural framework and wider urban environment. The directors had to respond to the physical restrictions of the building in being housed in a single architectural building as well as its problematic relation to its context. The institution's scope of ambition is debatably limited in part by the building. It has been argued that it struggles to build a connection to the external realm, operating outside of the city as an object located in the realm of the 'uncanny' (Williams 2005: 130). The directors' ambition to respond to the urban condition to enable the building to be integrated into its context was problematic, due to its original function. The urban condition surrounding TM has undergone rapid transformation, occupied by large-scale buildings, which has, in turn, increased the density of the immediate area around the gallery. TM has been remodeled on all of its elevations save its north façade, which has been maintained, largely due to its impact on the setting of the heritage of the City of London. Although the building was exempted from listing, its chimney was

regarded as a local landmark, which is a key reason why Chipperfield's scheme was rejected from the competition, as his entry proposed removing the chimney (see appendix for details of short-listed competition entries). Potentially, with the introduction of TM's extension on the south side titled Tate Two, a building with a strong formal language also designed by Herzog & de Meuron, the visitor might begin to lose the relationship between ground level and building. The drive to fill Bankside with structures and volume to profit on the cultural capital generated through TM's arrival will potentially create a density of structures at odds with the small-scale street layout on the south side of the site. As a result of this the area will result in a fragmented urban plan with limited consideration of the public spaces, thus leading to a mass of over-scaled buildings in relation to the street plan, impacting on the ability to read the buildings in a gradual unfolding of perspectives.

Despite the industrial architecture of the power station, the directors of TM sought to create a permeable structure, which would allow a fluidity of movement through the space. Serota described the visitor potential of the space as acting 'as a promenade and if they [the visitors] stopped to look at the art, this would be a bonus' (TG 12/3/2/3). The ambition of stage two of TM's development, which was outlined in the original competition brief was that TM would become a duct allowing people to move from the south of the site bringing them through TM and across to the City over the proposed pedestrian bridge (later named the Millennium Bridge). The undefined nature of the TH in the opening brief allowed for a flexibility of programme, which has led to the adventurous and challenging installations in the TH, their popularity reflected in the increased visitor numbers. This is coupled with criticism that their nature is more about crowd pleasing and the scaling up of installations, reducing the critical position of the artist in order to create a level of awe for the spectator.

Spectacle, in relation to a critique of the Unilever Series has a dual relationship to scale and Debord's theory has been aligned to the debate on identity and localism in relation to the attempt of international gallery directors' desire to compete for visitors. In increasing the scale of exhibits, as in the case of mega exhibitions, Enwezor (2004) argues that it is too simplistic to imagine an ideal viewer homogenised by the institutional rules of display, but that 'a general viewer exists who represents an unknown demographic in the fragmented network of global cultural exchange' (ibid: 442). The concept of scale within architecture encompasses ideas of monumentalism and spectacle, and this leads me to introduce in Chapter Six, Section A, the debate on these issues that have been particularly directed at a critique of the Unilever Series. Within contemporary art criticism, the term 'the spectacle' has been often cited in describing works in a negative way. The choice of the word to denigrate the supremacy of the image, inferring that the works create a passive and perhaps immersive nature, can be traced back to the discourse of the French Situationist, Guy Debord, presented in his book *The Society of the Spectacle* (1967). The use of spectacle has historical connotations and was widely introduced in theatre from the twentieth-century by leading directors such as Bertolt Brecht (1898-1956).

I will introduce Debord's comments on spectacle and how they are relevant to contemporary theory, such as the concept of the passive spectator and passive consumption and a sense of artificiality against an authentic experience. Debord's work has been discussed as having universal relevance in that it stands for the recent atomisation of society, and as a consequence can be applied to art, as art is essentially a visual practice which interprets and comments on the political, the social and cultural. The importance of readdressing the critique surrounding spectacle, post-Debord, was the subject of a TM symposium held in 2007 titled *Rethinking Spectacle.* The symposium addressed recent claims that contemporary art is 'spectacularised', and increasingly inseparable from the

marketing of large-scale galleries, raising issues such as what is really meant by spectacle today and how useful are Debord's ideas for analysing new conditions of the display of contemporary art.

Claire Bishop, an academic at the City University of New York who presented at the Tate symposium *Rethinking Spectacle* (2007), examined issues surrounding spectacle and participation by introducing Debord's original theory which centered around a critique of post-Marxist ideology resulting in a force of fragmentation, pacification and stasis. In attempting to redress this condition, she argues that artists have presented participatory works which are interpreted as active, collective and dynamic. Examples at TM might be *Clap In Time,*[6] *24 Hour weekend, UBS Tate Weekend* events, to name a few. In a contemporary reanalysis of spectacle, aside from the legacy of the Frankfurt School as being irremediably negative and encouraging passivity on the part of the viewer, Bishop questions whether alternative positions are available, by discussing the recent collapse of this dialectical opposition and its implications for contemporary art. I extend this argument to illustrate how multiple experiences are possible within the TH through a debate on the Unilever Series. My focus on the TH demonstrates the complex layering of input and interpretations of the space, in light of the often too simplistic use of the term spectacle to describe the works, which, in turn, closes down debate rather than progresses it.

The use of spectacle in an artist's work is often viewed as a device to employ a medium, mainly moving image (television, DVD, video) without actually engaging with its qualities solely for the sake of creating sensual or arresting visual

[6] Works by Nina Jan Beier & Marie Jan Lund, Dora García, Jií Kovanda, Roman Ondák and Mario Garcia Torres, in various ways, investigate the museum as a 'situation' that involves particular ways of behaving that are agreed to be appropriate, a set of inclusions and exclusions that form a kind of cultural code: from the prohibition on running or touching the art objects in order to ensure their preservation – to the way that people speak to each other or stroll around. The five artists in this programme treat the idea of 'performance' as a latent potential for disruption of the prevailing expectations taken into the museum, or for the insertion of fictional episodes that erupt within ordinary reality. UBS Openings: Saturday Live Actions and Interruptions Saturday 10 March 2007.

imagery. This criticism has been leveled at artists such as (the American artist) Jeff Koons, who worked for a period on Wall Street and video artist Bill Viola. Or, conversely, as art museum architecture is scaled up, curators argue that artists need to engage strategies of spectacle in order to compete with the iconographic nature of the architecture. Participating in the *Rethinking Spectacle* symposium, Frances Morris, Head of Collections set out the gallery's strategy for the Unilever Series as being one that forced the Tate curators to engage constantly with institutional critique and to actively engage cultural debate. This would provide a reflection on history, whilst having a proactive stance in relation to the present and the future. Morris claims that the commissions in the Unilever Series were the outcome of an opportunity that was instigated by Unilever,[7] which initially proposed a permanent sculpture park from Southwark tube station to TM. The idea of creating a permanent intervention was viewed as an anathema to the directors' way of working which was to continuously question the role of the art in relation to its surroundings thereby creating a changing programme of installations. At this time there was no fixed strategy for the TH but it was discussed that a mid-career artist would be invited to respond to the space. This was presented to Unilever who agreed funding for the series over a twelve-year period.

In light of the above, Morris describes what benefits Unilever felt they were gaining by sponsoring the project which was 'an association with democratic appeal, a position within a cultural institution, to do with learning, ethically sound project, access, learning, and the democratic' (Morris 2007 www.tate.org.uk/context-comment/audio/rethinking-spectacle).

I examine the Unilever Series installations (2000 – 2012) within the framework of questioning contemporary interpretations of spectacle. In framing my argument

[7] Unilever have been a major sponsor of the TM's annual commissions from 2000 – 2012) The brand owners of PG Tips, Vaseline, Lynx Effect are suggested to offer a suitable fit aligning Unilever's creativity with that of the commissioned artists.

about how an active spectator can engage with the works as they increase in scale and more dramatic forms, I refer to the debate between the two art critics Dan Smith, writing for *Art Monthly,* and James Meyer, whose article appeared in *Artforum* (2004*).* Meyer traces the use of scaled-up art works and their interpretation in relation to the spectator and the institution from early minimalism to a thorough analysis of Eliasson's *The Weather Project* (2003).

Finally, debates surrounding spectacle have focused around Baudrillard's theories beyond the active/passive behaviour focusing on simulated performativity, which is not automatically emancipatory. In my final Chapter Six, Section B, I discuss this by introducing Flickr images to argue that a new mediating relationship between the user/spectator, image and institution has been established.

The most salient points deriving from Debord's thesis of the impact of spectacle are the waneing of historical knowledge and promotion of novelty and passivity without agency.

In Chapter Six I narrow my focus to explore how the TH was laid bare for new imaginations and new practice, removed from the historical social ritual or rational behavior more commonly associated with museums and galleries. I discussed the original intentions of Serota and the gallery directors, which was to create a piece of urbanism. My framing of the debate of public space and the TH brings together the intentions of the trustees in developing an art gallery that would address the twenty-first century, as well as issues of spectacle and in turn the relationship between the artworks and audience. The term spectacle raises issues of entertainment, as well as passive and active engagement on the part of the audience. As I will explain the ambitions of Serota and the directors were to draw in a more pluralist audience under the term 'New Institutionalism' a term which addresses the disappearance of social bonds, the erosion of the welfare

state, the privatisation of public space and the global hegemony of Neo-liberal economics (Farquharson 2006). The underlying concept of this ideology is the belief in the transformative power of public institutions and this, I have demonstrated, led the institution to create the conditions to engage in an open programmatic agenda for the TH.

In assessing progressive forms of public space, a recurring theme is the prominence of the visual as a structuralising force. The TH can be described as defined by openness, accessibility and visibility. Visibility has been enforced and debated through imagery, art practice, and architecture (with reference to the ability of a building's façade to communicate its internal workings); TM's exterior largely denotes Britain's industrial period as well as the global trend over the last forty years to convert industrial space into gallery spaces. The latter arguably reinforces values of comfort and reassurance linked to the past, signifying values and norms that are supposedly destroyed in modern mass society; the conception of public space is impregnated with a longing for the past, Williams sums up this schizophrenic nature of the space: 'The industrial gallery space [therefore] presents a scenario of simultaneous remembering and forgetting' (2005: 132).

1.6 Methodology

Visual methodology Substantiating Visual Methodologies

The research for my thesis is supported by a number of fieldwork strategies and secondary research. The fieldwork strategies were comprised of five methods: participant observation (as a volunteer for BOST, and making regular visits to the site over a period of four years). Secondly, I carried out a series of photographic recordings of the site, which were conducted using a shooting script (Suchar 1997). Thirdly I carried out interviews with key protagonists such as Tim Makower (senior architect at Allies and Morrison), Peter Williams (Head of Better

Bankside), and Jeremy Fraser (former Leader of Southwark Council 1993-97). Fourthly, I carried out interviews with residents and small business owners and a sample of visitors to the TH. To expand my research to explore the potential of the TH as a new model of public space in the city, my research strategy involved accessing the Flickr website to 'data mine' the content, in order to examine the images for evidence of behavioural characteristics, as well as attempting to arrive at a better understanding of 'the active viewer'. Further to this, I will discuss the use of Flickr as the research topic, a description of the website Flickr and its opportunities and limitations.

Visual research methodologies played a key role in my fieldwork. Here, I present my methodology for integrating visual representations of social and cultural situations into my analysis. There appears to be an agreement that there is a lack of established frameworks for discussing the uses of photography in social science research (Becker 198-89; Knowles & Sweetman 2004). Suchar (1997) devotes a paper to the use of visual methodology by linking fieldwork with documentary photography, raising the problem of the lack of detailed guides to using photography as data in ethnographic fieldwork stating that sociologists have been forced to improvise appropriate research procedures and to use ad-hoc methods. In an analysis of visual material, it is important to reiterate that both seeing and social theory are socially constructed and culturally located.

In response to the above I demonstrate a sound method of using visual data not merely to back up my findings but to provide an additional lens and area of investigation into the visual landscape. The importance and availability of this method of research is emphasised by Suchar, who draws attention to patterns in visual material, such as seeing rhythms, which reveal the 'essential nature' of place and situations (1997: 35). In Chapters Four and Five I introduce the photographs that I have taken that communicate a closer observation of the surrounding urban environment and which led me to engage with the physical environment principally through observation. A process of post-analysis led me to

create a system of descriptions and categorisations of the images, which in turn led to a deeper engagement with my site.

In using visual material, it is relevant to ask what can be achieved through the use of photographs and I demonstrate how this material assists to answer the main research questions of the thesis. In order to do this I listed how the photographs related to the key research questions and I accompanied them with a table of descriptions, as well as feeding the findings into the main body of text.

I will now consider the precedents in the field of visual methodology. In situating the importance of seeing and the visual component, Berger's dictum, 'Seeing comes before words' (1972: 7) is a powerful statement and this opportunity of the dominance of the visual has to be appropriately given a methodology in order to augment the research questions rather than merely illustrate them. Berger's words, 'To look is an act of choice' (1972: 8) signal that all images have been mediated through a personal lens, and here in my thesis I acknowledge that I have directed and framed the images to reveal a greater understanding of the environment. It seems particularly pertinent when analysing the symbolic nature of visual representation to engage with the field on a visual level.

The visual theorist, Gillian Rose quotes John Grady's concise proclamation about the ability to syncopate concept and visual representation: 'Pictures are valuable because they encode an enormous amount of information in a single representation' (2010: 20). Rose quotes the social scientists Blinn & Harris (1991); Holliday (2004); and Latham (2003) as relaying the importance of images, as they can carry or evoke three things: 'information, affect and reflection-particularly well' (Rose 2010: 238). What is clear from the above is that there is a range of interpretations and methodologies to locate visual material in order to answer a research question. Rose conceptualises two methods of discussing how the qualities attributed to photographs are put to work in a

research project. The first being that photographs are subordinated in some way to the researcher's interpretation; *supporting* and photo-documentation are worked over for what they offer in the way of evidence to answer a research question. In the second, *supplemental* (2004: 239), they are used because they are seen as excessive to the researcher's interpretative work. The images only become meaningful through the interpretive work of the researcher in the former, a form of photo-elicitation (Collier & Collier 1986).

The use of visual material was central to the work of the French cultural theorist Bourdieu. In his second study of Algerian culture *Travail et Travailleurs en Algerie* (1963), his analysis was accompanied by a series of photographs that supported his research findings. The photographs have been described as poignantly capturing the material and spatial dimensions of a people 'floating between two cultures' (Webster 2011: 15). Bourdieu took over 1200 photographs and described their purpose as having two functions 'a documentary function, to remember something, later to be able to describe it' and a 'way of looking. It was a way of sharpening my gaze, of looking more closely at something, of finding a way into the subject' (quoted in Schultheis, 2007: 24) Referencing Bourdieu's work, I have attempted to illustrate the interrelation between the social, cultural, spatial and material, by engaging with the subject on a visual level of analysis accompanied by interviews.

The photographs I took often describe more succinctly the materiality, the inflections of change in the environment and the pace of everyday observations that can be communicated straightforwardly in a photograph. In analysing my photographs, I created a 'shooting script', a term borrowed from the method of the sociologist Suchar. Suchar referenced the example of Roy E. Stryer's Farm Security Administration (FSA) photographic project of staff documented during the 1930s and 1940s, in which photographers Walker Evans and Dorethea Lange were given shooting scripts for their assignments. Suchar claims that the

FSA project, which was devised by the Columbian University sociologist Robert Lynd work is one of the most important shooting scripts to be undertaken (Hurley 1972). Shooting scripts are a means for photographs to be grounded in a strategic and focused exploration of answers to particular theoretically generated questions (Suchar 1997). In addition to a shooting script, Suchar would add field notes, factual information and a paragraph that illustrates how the photographs relate to the shooting script questions. Suchar attached his own codified interpretations, which allowed him to compare photographs drawing attention to advertising, clientele and storefronts. From this process of comparison, facilitated by the first stage of coding, further codes begin to emerge. The photos might throw up interesting questions not initially raised in the shooting script.

Key to the successful use of photo-documentation, as Jon Rieger (1996) makes clear, is the careful conceptualisation of the link between the research topic and the photographs; i.e. in Suchar's case, those changes associated with gentrification and how this could be analysed through visual material. By accumulating detailed field evidence through photography, often accompanied by interviews, Suchar uses photographs as evidence, stating 'that reference to very detailed visual documents and the information they contain, allows for closer links between the abstractive process of conceptualising and experientially derived observations' (1997: 52).

Suchar believes that photography's documentary potential is not inherent in the photos, but lies in an interactive process whereby photos are used as a way of answering or expanding on questions (1997: 34). This he calls the interrogatory principle of documentary photography.

Central to the use of visual data is the development of a keen sense of observation or 'seeing' (Suchar 2004) in visual sociology. This can be described as a function of our ability to find patterns in our photographic data. Seeing in

photography involves the ability to reveal patterns, features or details in a research setting or topic, such as aspects of material culture, subjects' characteristics or behaviour that are not readily apparent in less acute observations.

The photographs that I have taken were aligned to a shooting script that focused on how I would respond to the questions of whether the landscape is altered and designed to be read as constituting the symbolic value of cultural capital (Zukin 1995). In my reference to the investigations of how the environment is shaped by processes of gentrification leading to symbolic contestations I construct the following questions:

- How do people interact and use shared spaces of everyday encounter such as the pavement?
- What types of shops are clustered together? What type of design language can be used to describe these shops?
- What signs are there of personal interventions into the urban environment?
- How is public art manifest in the area?
- What signs of branding are introduced into the area?

Additionally, my visual exploration was led by references and terminology about the environment described in urban reports, urban documents, and planning documents such as the *urban triangle,* referred to in Witherford Watson Mann's design document, the Urban Forest (2005). In following the shooting script, this led me to photograph and set up a fixed camera within the Funeral Parlour on Great Suffolk Street, as this was a shopping parade that had supported the community and local residents with a café, funeral parlour, florist, hairdresser and locksmith. I carried out extensive interviews with the owner of *Terry's* Café and additionally Terry's son Austin, who took over after the death of his father, and the evidence that I gained from the interviews in relation to the changing

demographic and services informed my choice of photographic subjects. This permitted me to read into my images a stronger conceptualistion of the environment and the significance of interactions, and materiality of the site.

I also took time-lapse photographs in the TH. Seeking permission from the photography department at TM, I set up my camera on the ledge above the west ramp entrance in order to record the activities during a day in the space. During my activities as a volunteer for BOST and placing myself in the field during the curation of *Bankside-on-Call* (2010), I drew on the relationship that I had established during the initial years of my research with letters of support from TM and Better Bankside, although I acted as an independent agent in instigating the project.

The next step in the interrogatory process was to identify concepts or categories in the photographs 'the process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualising data' (Strauss & Corbin 1990: 61). This is essentially a labeling process, whereby the descriptive and interpretive materials were summarised as usable and retrievable for comparative purposes, acting as units of information. Researchers use labeling to pull together what might appear as disparate or unconnected observations, which are identified in the data.

Writing in 1970 before the advent of digital photography, the social theorist Sontag drew attention to the alienating nature of the relationship between the photographer and his/her subject, describing the act of taking photos as one of non-intervention and non-participatory (Sontag 1977). Sontag focuses on the idea of appropriation of the object/scene photographed, and presupposes that the photographer is creating a relationship between themselves and the world, which denotes power, and with that knowledge. With the rise of photo-sharing web sites such as Flickr, I would argue that the act of photographing and the photographs produced are not about representing power. Instead, the action of

taking the photo is a democratic act, and explores on the part of the photographer an engagement with place within a public and open dialogue. This is interestingly assisted by the method of categorising the photographs on Flickr, which are given tags in order to classify the images. Thus, as Suchar talks about the necessity to classify images, a metadata is applied where the images can appear across a range of classifications, or perhaps more importantly, an analysis of the context in which the photo is taken. Sontag refers to the 'tacit imperatives of taste' (Sontag: 2006: 175 [Ed. Crowley]) and it is clear that the photographs selected or posted on Flickr have a creative and aesthetic concern in their execution.

Sontag's description of the ubiquity of the photographic image is pertinent, not, as she says in its aggression, but, as I argue, in creating a new paradigm between place, ubiquity of the action of photographing and a new platform for public debate. It is this triangle that begins to create a sense of public through an interpretation of the subject matter and then a shared participation in a reading of this image, as related to place. Does photography, as Sontag would have argued, allow people to take possession of space of which they are insecure, or, assist people to familiarise themselves and reinterpret space, so as to extend dialogues of interpretation rather than a prescription of what that space intends to be as directed through the curator? My analysis is founded on the latter. A certain multi-valence of space is manifest. In citing Sontag, I demonstrate the difficult and multi-interpretational readings of the relationship between the photograph, the act of photographing and place.

Lastly, Sontag argues that photography gives the appearance of participation, implying that this is anathema to the reality. I hope to demonstrate that participation is extended through this triangular relationship between space, activity and the Flickr site of sharing, which allows an interconnected model of participation, and to a certain degree, is self-direction.

In order to construct an original visual methodology, I attempted to use the photographs to instruct an analysis of the site rather than to merely support an argument in my thesis. With the Flickr images I first discuss the importance and relevance of Flickr as a social networking photographic site, its limitations and its role in social media and its position in potentially developing new methods of visualising and sharing space. I then discuss the structure of the website and the syntax in relation to the site. Finally, I discuss the content and composition of the photographs and what can be interpreted from the images.

In describing the attributes of Flickr, it is important to draw attention to the fact that it is open source and with that user-driven, thereby allowing a degree of independence of constructing the way the photos are organised and interacted with. Photo submitters or photographers are asked to organise their images using tags, which is a form of metadata, which, in turn, enables searchers to find images related to particular topics; for example, particular places or subject matter. Flickr also allows users to organise their photos into sets or groups of photos that can be categorized, under one subject, place or heading. These sets can be displayed as a slide show and also shared by embedding them into websites. Sets are described as representing a form of categorical metadata, rather than a physical hierarchy, as they can belong to many sets and are seen as more flexible than the traditional folder-based method of organising photographs. Photographers have the option to geo-tag their images, which can be related to 'imapflickr', and I will cite an example of a survey that drew on this information of 'geo-tagging' Flickr images to create a research basis of the most visited places, through using Flickr data.

Launched in 2004, Flickr was relevant in social media's more fragmented, less software compatible period, when its main function was to allow photo pools and to exchange points of view, whereas earlier photo-sharing services charged fees, and were targeted at the professional photographer, or had limited size and

upload of photos. Flickr Pro, a subscription based service, allowed higher resolution uploads and unlimited storage. Its main focus therefore was for photo sharing. But the essence of Flickr, which has been revived is that it is easy to manage and exchange metadata, and the ability for individuals to upload large images up to 50 MB is straightforward.

To conclude, I have introduced two very different types of visual representation: firstly, the photographs which I have taken during my field work, which are guided by shooting scripts, and secondly the Flickr images which I have obtained by data mining the website.

The limitations of drawing on Flickr are that in my sampling of the images I am making certain assumptions or reinterpretations of the photographer's intentions without consulting the photographer. Therefore, there might be a degree of misinterpretation of the intentions of photographer. I also acknowledge that my interaction with the website and selection of data could be criticised for exclusion and over-selection. Therefore there is a grey area of interpretation between the conceptual and the empirical, which I would describe as a dynamic process not a linear activity. Bechhofer describes this situation as 'a messy interaction between the conceptual and empirical world, deduction and induction occurring at the same time' (1994: 73 quoted by Bryman & Burgess).

The method of categorising postings or method of collaboratively creating and managing tags to annotate and categorise content on Flickr, is called 'folksonomy' (also known as collaborative tagging, social classification, social indexing and social tagging). This method is interesting, as it allows users to set up their own language of classification. In contrast to traditional subject indexing, metadata is generated not only by experts, but also by creators and consumers

of the content. [8] Usually, freely chosen keywords are used instead of a controlled vocabulary therefore adding the potential for interpretation of a more self-reflexive nature. This expands on the argument the gallery provides the potential for adding a layer of interpretation and appropriation between the space, object and visitor.

The interview process.

In order to research issues surrounding local shifts in social patterns as a result of regeneration around Bankside I have been conducting interviews under the role as a volunteer for Bankside Open Space Trust (BOST). A charitable trust, based in Southwark, BOST encourages locals to participate in improving and maintaining their sustainable environments in the area. The trust carries out extensive consultation to ensure that locals engage in the development and planning of communal spaces. The organisation has close links to Tate Modern and runs family days, as well as the Tate community garden, that is located on the north of Tate Modern, close to the river frontage.

During my fieldwork I was a volunteer in the project *Memory Gardening*, led by BOST to engage older people as active citizens in and around Bankside. The project focuses on three local housing estates: Scovell Estate, Lancaster Street Estate, and the Peabody Estate on Sumner Street. It provides opportunities to talk to older residents, particularly those who are more isolated, about their past experiences and start to engage older people towards a more active future, particularly in the parks and gardens around them. These interviews are structured around an oral history framework on which I attended a workshop at

[8] Metadata (metacontent) is traditionally found in the card catalogues of libraries. As information has become increasingly digital, metadata is also used to describe digital data using metadata standards specific to a particular discipline. By describing the contents and context of data files, the quality of the original data/files is greatly increased. For example, a webpage may include metadata specifying what language it's written in, what tools were used to create it, and where to go for more on the subject, allowing browsers to automatically improve the experience of users.

the British Library Oral History department. The oral history model or narrative interview builds up a sense of confidence on the part of the interviewee, which goes beyond a question and answer interview (Holloway & Jefferson 2000: 44). The structure allows the interviewees to narrate their description of the past with little intrusion or prompting by the interviewer. This approach seeks rich descriptions from the interview as they exist and unfold in their natural habitats. The selected estates are directly related to the borough's history of industrialisation and social housing and lie within 1.5 miles of Tate Modern. The Scovell Estate replaced the slum conditions of the Queen's Building, which was demolished in 1970. Some of the unique areas of Southwark are being preserved and restored, such as Octavia Hill's Redcross Gardens, of which five workers' cottages were built for long term residents, one of whom I have interviewed. The tenure of the estates is shifting from public to private, and I will comment on this in connection with local government policy on housing in Southwark, which consciously moved away from a high percentage of public housing to private. Adjacent to the estates are the small shopkeepers. I have studied Great Suffolk Street shopping area as an example of shops that serve the local community, and have interviewed local shopkeepers for their views on regeneration in the area. In addition to the interviews, I have carried out structured interviews with actors who have performed key roles in the establishment of Tate Modern (see appendix).

I acknowledge that my position in direct contact with the community meant that I was party to reactions to the urban regeneration that favored a less accelerated programme of development. I attempted to balance out this engagement through selecting a wide range of interviewees so that I gained a balanced insight in terms of representations of influences over the area.

In Chapter Five I set up a strategy for a symbolic reading of space in Bankside through a promenade of two hypothetical actors. Promenade A is constructed

through the interpretation of space through a constructed tourist's experience drawing on sites highlighted on tourist maps, as well as key cultural buildings. The other, Promenade B, is that of a resident and highlights the buildings that would be relevant to a local resident. The buildings included have been selected through discussions and interviews with residents. The purpose of the comparative perspective on the site is to draw attention to how a cultural agenda has influenced the aesthetic language of Bankside.

I have used the research facilities at the Hyman Kreitman Research Centre, Tate Britain, which holds the archive files for Tate Modern. These files are accessible to the general public under the Freedom of Information Act (2000). The collection relates to the discussion, development and building of Tate Modern (formerly named the Tate Gallery of Modern Art) from early discussions on splitting the Tate's collection up to the opening of Tate Modern in May 2000. With reference to this type of material I have identified two central themes; regarding the interpretative context, it is relevant to consider the intended audience of the documents and secondly, the sequence is often interrupted, as around the exchange of documents there would have been informal discussion; occasionally these are alluded to in note form. The archive contains the competition brief and its preparation, which I will discuss.

Secondly, my supervisor, Donald Hyslop, Head of Regeneration and Community Partnerships at Tate Gallery, who was employed by the institution that I was researching, could potentially lead to a degree of partiality on my part. I hope that I have been able to respond in a balanced way to the information that I received. As a successful recipient of the award from the Arts Council of England, to fund my exhibition *Bankside-on-Call* I was potentially profiting from my association with the Tate. The award application was accompanied with a letter of support from Tate, and Better Bankside provided the exhibition site. The support of the exhibition could be interpreted as an example of large-scale institutions assisting

in permitting the playing out of cultural processes that explore a different agenda to the goals of the large-scale investors. My agenda was to represent the less represented voices as well as collect their experiences of past narratives or alternative ones to the dominant cultural programme.

In terms of defining an audience for my thesis I imagine a varied academic readership, from cultural theorists to sociologists working in the field of creative industries with an interest in expanding qualitative methods of analysing cultural regeneration.

Chapter 2

Social and Cultural Regeneration in Southwark

Section A
2.1 Introduction
2.2 The Origins of the Project
2.3 The Existing Power Station Building
2.4 Acquisition
2.5 Bankside and its Context
2.6 Defining a role, addressing the local and global
2.7 The McKinsey Report
2.8 Conclusion

Section B
2.9 Background to Policy
2.9a Recent Planning History
2.9b Bankside Residents' Forum
2.9c Conclusion

Section A

2.1 Introduction

> Museums have got above themselves, touting for funds, when they should remember their origins as mere cabinets of curiosities. Boxes of tricks, bits of animal skin, fossils, plant freaks, blood cargo. You can't make this pillage respectable by enclosing it in a fancy public building – with an outhouse for the sale of postcards and embossed pencils (Sinclair 1997: 176).

> The museum is not just a neutral container where an art collection is stored and presented, but it also becomes a 'place' where the institution itself reconsiders its relationship with the public to the extent that its exhibits are transformed into the most powerful legitimising discursive practice within the art system (Guasch & Zulaika 2005: 14).

The two statements by the cultural writer Ian Sinclair and the cultural theorists Guasch and Zulaika demonstrate the wider resonance of the museum, contention over the role of the museum in the twenty-first century and its contribution to a city's identity: 'what is being branded in these cities is not just the immediate institution or anything as arcane as a collection, but the city itself. The museum becomes an icon and magnet for post-industrial urbanity' (Ryan 2000: 91 quoted by Evans 2003). For many critics the public art museum is no longer identified primarily by its collection, but by its architecture; the 'dominant image is the container, rather that the content' (Guasch & Zulaika 2005: 16). The opening of Tate Modern, in May 2000, within the refurbished Bankside power station, situated in the economically deprived area of north Southwark, has had an enormous effect on the large-scale regeneration of the surrounding area.[9] But regenerating a poor borough with specific social, political and economic issues required a complex strategic positioning of the institution in relation to the local authorities as well as the existing community. Until the early nineties the London Borough of Southwark (LBS) had the largest number of social tenants, with 60% of its housing defined as social housing, had poor transport links and little evidence of investment in infrastructure. Tony Travers, director of the Greater London Group, LSE, summed up the borough's extreme position: 'As long as the borough was seen as Councilville, however much money was spent, there'd be no regeneration. Southwark is more than 60% public housing, the largest landlord in London, responsible for 59,019 properties' (Barker 1999 accessed on-line). The establishment of Tate Modern in north Southwark demonstrates that a high profile institution, contrary to Sinclair's dismissive statement, can be instrumental in transforming a poor area, through what is known more favourably as 'cultural regeneration'.

[9] North Southwark, which is coupled with Bermondsey, is a Parliamentary Constituency in the House of Commons. As the name suggests, the seat incorporates large parts of the old Metropolitan Borough of Bermondsey and Metropolitan Borough of Southwark, within the modern London Borough of Southwark (which is much larger than historic Southwark).

The opportunity to regenerate this area, whose potential was vast because of the power station's position directly opposite the City of London and St Paul's Cathedral, within north Southwark and close to London's river frontage, was made possible through three key factors: the ambition of Tate's trustees to create a gallery for the twenty-first century, the site of the gallery within an under-funded and deprived borough, and the physical, economic and social potential of the power station itself. This redundant industrial building offered flexibility through imagination and vision.

In order to understand fully the extent and process of the recent regeneration in north Southwark, which was accelerated by Tate Modern's arrival in the area, I will introduce in this chapter the origins of the establishment of Tate Modern at Bankside and the political and social conditions inherent in the local borough. In order to narrate the urban transformations in which Tate Modern acted as a catalyst, I will describe the physical conditions of the surrounding environment.

I will provide a brief summary of the recent political history of north Southwark to illustrate the gravity of Southwark's political and poor economic condition, which impacted severely on its lack of infrastructure, and to give some of the background to the conflict of political opinions held within the council. This led to near bankruptcy of the council when Labour had overall control during the term (1964-98). The effect that Tate Modern has had on the area is significant, and the building has been cited as a successful example of culture-led regeneration (Holden 2005: 33). In the second part of this chapter, Section B, I will demonstrate how, under the banner of regeneration through art and architecture, this policy was met by local residents and embraced by LBS, which gave it priority over social housing.

It has been argued that a move towards a regeneration policy, the effects of which have introduced a level of gentrification into the area (Harris 2008), was

encouraged by the Conservative Government's market-led approach to the regeneration of inner London and its former docks. Harris describes the redevelopment of Bankside as being part of the process of connecting cultural relations, practices and networks to maintain London's global city-ness (Harris: 165), as Baeten traces the displacement of community planning on the South Bank, manifest in the organisation of community cohesion in the successful campaign led by the Coin Street Community Builders (CSCB) to preserve the Oxo Tower Wharf, Barge House Street and provide community housing on the neighbouring site. This model of community planning was replaced by the political-institutional power dynamics, which restored the power of the local, cultural, political and business élites over the local regeneration agenda, thus putting an end to a spell of 'community power' (Baeten 2000: 293). This chapter addresses the political and social situation into which Tate Modern entered and the political dynamics at play. Jeremy Fraser, LBS's new leader at the time, describes the volatility of the period from 1983-90 as one of conflict, 'a politics of revolution' (Fraser interview, 2011). The Unions and Labour movement were crushed and fought back in the only way they could, by plotting and protesting. Labour opposed the right-to-buy, the Conservative legislation which gave tenants the right to purchase their council houses. Many of these new home-owners felt that they could no longer vote labour, and this gave rise to greater Liberal support. Fraser continues: 'We needed government cash and we needed a strategy that would help our residents, we needed a radical rethink. The idea was to use our riverside to connect our people to jobs, to fight for the Jubilee Line and to basically get our act together' (Fraser interview, 2011). With these words Fraser reinforces the need for a severe policy shift. Due to the dire conditions in the borough, extreme actions were needed embracing new funding models, including private finance initiatives.

2.2 The Origins of the Project

Tate Modern was conceived because the Tate Gallery at Millbank wished to expand its reputation as a modern art museum, and this was impossible within the confines of its original site. Nicholas Serota, who was appointed Director of Tate Gallery in 1988, after building a reputation for himself as director of the Whitechapel Gallery in London's east end, commissioned a study of the future space requirements of the Tate Gallery at Milbank.[10] A scheme, commissioned under the previous director, Sir Alan Bowness (1980-88), for the development of the Tate site, was deemed impractical, as it provided too little additional space. The conclusions of Serota's study were two-fold: the two collections, the National Collections of British Arts and International Contemporary Art were predicted to grow and could not be housed at the Millbank site due to lack of space.[11] This led to the recommendation by Serota that the collections should be split and a new gallery of modern art established.

I have obtained useful written and verbal accounts of the establishment of Tate Modern. Francis Carnwath, deputy director of Tate Gallery (1990–98), was invited by Serota, to write a brief account of his memories of how the selection of Bankside power station was made and the events leading up to the choice of site. The account provides a concise history of the selection process, since Carnwath had been charged with directing the project up to the point of the site selection.

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[10] In 1984-5 Serota took the bold step of shutting down the Whitechapel Gallery for over 12 months for extensive refurbishment. A strip of land had been acquired, which allowed a design by architects Colquhoun and Miller for a first-floor gallery, restaurant, lecture theatre and other rooms. Although receiving wide approbation, the scheme was in deficit by £250,000. In 1987 Serota raised £1.4m in an auction of work, which he had asked artists to donate, thus not only paying off the debt, but also creating an endowment fund to allow future exhibitions of more unconventional work, unlikely to attract a commercial sponsor. The success of this was instrumental in Serota's appointment in 1988 as Director of the Tate Gallery (www.guardian.co.uk/profile/nicholasserota).

[11] Tate Gallery had begun an expansionist programme with the aim to bring a wider audience to its collection. Tate Galleries, by 1995 included Tate Liverpool (1988) housed in an old industrial building in Liverpool's Albert Docks, the conversion undertaken by Stirling, Wilford and Associates and Tate St Ives (1993) which was a free-standing structure in a highly visible location designed by Evans and Shalev Architects.

Having received the trustees' full support for the project to create a new gallery of modern art, the executive staff at Tate began to search for a suitable site. During the preliminary stages it was envisaged that a new building would be commissioned. Carnwath recounts the focus of Serota: 'I felt that that was what Nick [Serota], who was very interested in contemporary architecture and already had considerable experience of gallery design, wanted. The question was where?' (TG 12/1/1/6).

As an interim project, Carnwath proposed that a branch of the Tate might be established in the City of London, in the old Billingsgate Fish Market building. Situated on the north bank of the River Thames, close to the Tower of London, the building had been modernised and refurbished by Citicorp employing the Richard Rogers Partnership, as a foreign dealing centre, but was then abandoned. As a major building would require substantial funding, the temporary base was deemed ideal for displaying parts of Tate's modern art collection to potential financial supporters in the City. The project titled 'Moby Dick' was pursued in 1992 with the active support of the new Secretary of State for National Heritage, David Mellor and the City Corporation. This project was abandoned, due to Mellor's departure from office and a vote by the City of London's Policy and Resources Committee, against providing financial support.

Site selection criteria focused on the context of the new gallery and the possibility of related development potential. Carnwath outlined the specific criteria:

1. It had to be somewhere the public could easily get to. This meant that it would need to have good public transport [connections] and almost certainly be near the central area of London.
2. It had to be acquired on favourable terms. These were most likely to be available in a development area, such as the Docklands, which would probably not meet criteria 1. At that time we did not believe that a museum

of modern art by itself could be the principal stimulant to regeneration in an area, which was not otherwise frequented by the public.

3. It would have the potential for a building, which was large enough to meet the requirements for what would be the National Gallery of Modern Art. I think we recognised that around £50 million would be needed to realise the project, quite apart from ongoing running costs (TG 12/1/1/6).

Initial investigation focused on two sites: a site at Effra, an undeveloped site with permission for building on the south side of the River Thames immediately across from Vauxhall Bridge and close to the Tate Gallery at Millbank, on the edge of central London. A second site was proposed in south-east London, at Deptford Reach, Greenwich, about which Carnwath received a presentation from the leader and chief executive of the London Borough of Greenwich. However, although Tate Gallery was located on the edge of central London and had been successful in attracting large visitor numbers, it was preferred that the new site would be nearer to the main cultural tourist centres in the West End of London. The Effra site was viewed unfavourably as being owned by a commercial developer, who would expect to receive a market rate for the site. Additionally, being such a prominent site, it was predicted that planning considerations would be protracted. The site at Greenwich was considered too far from the centre of London with poor public access.

The urban design consultant, Alan Baxter first informed Carnwath of the potential of Bankside power station in 1994. Both Baxter and Carnwath had a specific interest in historic buildings and were members of the London Advisory Committee (LAC) of English Heritage. Baxter had been consulted about possible uses for the building by the Twentieth Century Society, which specialised in the conservation of buildings built after 1914. Its director, Gavin Stamp, an architectural historian with a particular interest in the architecture of Giles Gilbert Scott, sought to save the former power station from demolition, as well as to

overturn a decision by the government (contrary to advice from English Heritage), to give the building a five-year exemption from listing. This was against the background of the collapse of John Broom's plans for Battersea power station. Both Bankside and Battersea power stations had been designed by Giles Gilbert Scott, who was already well known for his design of Liverpool Anglican Cathedral. The developer John Broom had gained planning permission to develop the Battersea power station as a theme park, but he went bankrupt in the early eighties, partly due to escalating costs; the Grade II listing and renovation constraints imposed on developing the building were partly to blame for the increased costs. The government was worried that London would be left with another decaying power station, hence the five-year exemption of Bankside power station against listing. Baxter expressed his opinion on the scale of the building and suggested that 'such a splendid space might be able to accommodate a number of arts organisations or community activities' (TG 12/1/1/6).

Baxter's emphasis in his report on the potential of the site in terms of its unexploited urban connectivity to the rest of London was highly pertinent. The vacant power station had a hugely negative impact, referred to by one respondent to a Regeneration Survey carried out by the Bankside Employers' Regeneration Forum in 1993, as 'that oppressive neighbour' and 'its emptiness as a blight on the area'. With reference to an early discussion of a footbridge across the River Thames to St Paul's Cathedral and the City, Baxter discussed the merits and development possibilities of the site: 'Being exactly opposite St Paul's Steps I thought that a footbridge, the cost of which might be defrayed by the City Bridge Fund, would help to open up the site' (TG 12/1/1/6).

The former power station had been the subject of an earlier report commissioned by SAVE Britain's Heritage,[12] written by the architectural historian Marcus

[12] SAVE is a campaigning conservation group established in 1975 to document and campaign for preserving historical buildings at risk of demolition in the UK. It plays an active role in developing preservation policies.

Binney, after a visit to the site on 19 May 1980. It was still operational at the time of his report, but rarely used for generating, ‘witnessed by the fact that smoke only very occasionally emerges from its splendid chimney’ (Binney 1980). Binney provided an assessment of possible future uses for the building. At the time of writing the report, it was predicted that the power station would cease to operate between 1982 and 1984. The report set out the legal parameters of transferring a building from its current status of ownership under Nuclear Electric to an art-based organisation with charitable status. The report demonstrated clarity of vision, predicting that the reuse of the building would trigger regeneration in the area: ‘If Bankside is to find a new use, and to play a major part in developing life and activity along the Thames, it is necessary to think big’ (TG 12/1/1/7). In discussing future uses, Binney took into account the leader of the LBS in his focus on increasing housing and industrial uses in the areas, by proposing the Turbine Hall as an exhibition hall, in addition to proposing the introduction of an industrial element ‘which could provide local employment’ (TG 12/1/1/8). The view of the leader of the council in promoting the South Bank of the River Thames as a potential industrial area reflects the unyielding and backward position of the Labour council at that time. The proposal for plans to establish industrial uses in this highly prominent riverside site was out-ofstep with the more progressive ideas on revitalising inner city areas, not least as it is situated immediately across from the City of London a premier, global financial location.

With reference to the acquisition of the building, Binney stated: ‘If the best value could be offered rather than the highest price, in return for some gain to the community, this could be viewed as favourable’ (TG12/1/15). Binney drew attention to particular features of the building such as its roof terrace, ‘until now only brought into use for special occasions like the Silver Jubilee fireworks. But the opportunity is there for a roof top restaurant and garden, with a matchless view across to St Paul’s Cathedral’ (TG12/1/15). Herzog & de Meuron’s proposal for a light box maximizing on the views across the Thames and running the

length of the building was one of the key elements of the winning scheme in the competition to select an architect to transform the power station into a gallery of modern art.

2.3 The Existing Power Station Building

Designed by Giles Gilbert Scott in two phases between 1948 and 1963, with Mott, Hay and Anderson Engineers, the building is symmetrically arranged around a 99-metre tall chimney. The power station is laid out slightly off axis from the south transept of St Paul's Cathedral. The monumentality and scale of the two buildings creates a positive urban dialogue across the river, with the dome of St Paul's and the *campanile*-like chimney of the power station creating strong visual landmarks and marking the distinctive significance of each building. The grand working of the brick façade, with its large vertical openings, illustrates Scott's interest in early Dutch Modernism. The construction consists of a steel frame wrapped in a brick skin that rises the full length of the main volume on the north façade concealing the coal-fired engines and transformers within. The majority of the site was occupied by the power station. Below ground level there is a basement of 8.5 metres, which encompassed three vast oil storage tanks below ground in the southwest corner of the site. The retaining wall that housed the oil tanks remains will be integrated in a future scheme, as part of Tate Modern Two.

Interestingly, Ricky Burdett, one of the members of the competition jury drew attention to the specific architectural form of the power station, which posed a challenge to any future architectural approach to converting the building: 'the inward-looking structure, designed to keep people away from its power-generating and polluting activities, forms a barrier to its urban surroundings' (Burdett 2000). The internal layout of the building enhanced this barrier effect; constituted of three layers of operating systems parallel to the river. The northern section contained the boiler rooms, the middle section the Turbine Hall within the

single full-height covered space that ran the full-length of the building, and the southern section contained a still operational switching and substation with underground cables connecting the substation to the national grid.

The decommissioning of Bankside power station was significant in that it marked the very end of the predominance of industrial and manufacturing-based employment in the area and in the UK. The power station was the result of the growth of London from the start of the nineteenth-century. London was one of the largest industrial metropolises in the world, and as a result the city grew in an ad-hoc fashion, with dominant industrial buildings in prominent sites. Thus 'unlike [London's] continental counterparts, London is an accretion of urban villages, this aggregative, polycentric, ad-hoc growth allowed large industrial and transport structures to be located at the geographic centre of the city – often distributed along the Thames, London's major mercantile artery until the late 1960's' (Burdett 1998 TG12/).

At the time of privatising the electricity industry in the 1980s Bankside was transferred into the ownership of Nuclear Electric, a private utilities company. It was felt that the site was a valuable property asset, and it was believed that it would be a more profitable site if the power station were demolished. Carnwath contacted the representatives responsible for selling the site whilst at the same time in April 1993 Nuclear Electric had agreed that BBC2 would allow the historian Gavin Stamp to make a film that described the building's history. Carnwath describes his unfettered vision of the site which was three times the 200,000 square feet of space that Tate were looking for: 'Unless one organisation alone was responsible for taking on its development, that would be a receipe for confusion' (TG/12/). Stamp, whose documentary *One Foot in the Past* for BBC 2 drove the campaign for the building's preservation, interviewed Carnwath for the programme, anticipating that Carnwarth would express how ideal the space would be as a new gallery of modern art. Carnwath, anecdotally,

describes his caution when pressed on the matter: 'I was slightly forced into the defensive and, if I remember, stressed its enormous size and the fact that Nuclear Electric were required, as I understood it, to sell for a commercial price, likely to be above what Tate could afford' (TG/12/).

2.4 Acquisition

Immediately after Stamp's documentary was screened, Fraser, Carnwath and David Hall of Nuclear Electric, encouraged Tate to purchase the site. Fraser made known to Carnwath that the Council had planning gain money linked to the Bankside site, which they would be prepared to use to help Tate to move there. Both stressed their preference for the demolition of the power station and the provision of a site for a new gallery in part of the space released. Carnwath stated his opposition to this position, reinforced by the stance of English Heritage and many other opponents to the demolition of the power station. There were difficulties too in moving the electricity substation, to free up the south side of the site for the construction of Tate Modern Two, it would continue to operate in its new position when moved to the east corner of the building.

On the afternoon of 8 July 1993, Serota visited the site. Undaunted by the size of the building, he believed that it presented a unique opportunity to the Tate, as it would offer scope for the long-term development of Tate's needs (Interview with Peter Wilson).

Stanhope Properties, led by Stuart Lipton, who were assisting as property consultants in the assessment and feasibility studies of the various sites in question, stated that before it could be considered as a serious proposition, the terms had to be established as to what Nuclear Electric would expect in transferring the freehold to the Tate. Treasury requirements stipulated that the site had to be sold on 'commercial' terms. Here the Tate was aided by having

'friends' in key positions. Nuclear Electric had sponsored Turner exhibitions at the Tate and the chairmen John Collier, who was particularly fond of Turner, 'was well disposed to the Tate and let Nick [Serota] know that if treasury criteria could be satisfied, he would be supportive of the site passing to the Tate' (TG 12/1/1/5).

Tate bought an option on the site for £1,000,000 and in return Nuclear Electric would cease to market the property. Serota and Carnwath approached Fraser and his chief executive, who in due course voted up to £1,500,000 to help initiate the project.

In May 1994 a press conference was held announcing Tate's plans to house the Tate Gallery of Modern Art (TGMA) within the former power station.[13] Three months later an international competition was held to select an architect to transform the power station. The competition brief stated that the aim was to select an architect, rather than a specific design solution. From 148 entrants a shortlist of 13 was chosen in September, and then reduced to a final shortlist of six in November. On 24 January 1995, the Swiss practice, Herzog & de Meuron was selected from a shortlist of practices which consisted of David Chipperfield Architects (UK), Renzo Piano Building Workshop (Italy), Tado Ando Architect & Associates (Japan), OMA with Richard Gluckman (Netherlands) and Rafael Moneo Architects (Italy).

Key to Herzog & de Meuron's winning scheme was the strategy to enhance the huge cavernous space of the Turbine Hall by removing the ground floor, creating a 25-metre high hall and introducing into the void the concept of a covered street or 'galleria'. In an assessment of the architects' second submission, the competition jury commented on the ingenuity of the scheme for addressing the 'impermeability and inscrutability of the building'. The scheme showed that the

[13] The archives refer to the project as the Tate Gallery of Modern Art (TGMA) until 1998 when it is named Tate Modern.

building was accessible on all axes. In section ‘the Turbine Hall is annotated in yellow, the same colour as the other circulation spaces whilst the galleries are in museum grey’, thus hinting at the open programme of use for the Turbine Hall (TG12/4/6). Additionally, the architects’ sensitivity to the building’s style and form was aligned to Serota’s appreciation of the building.

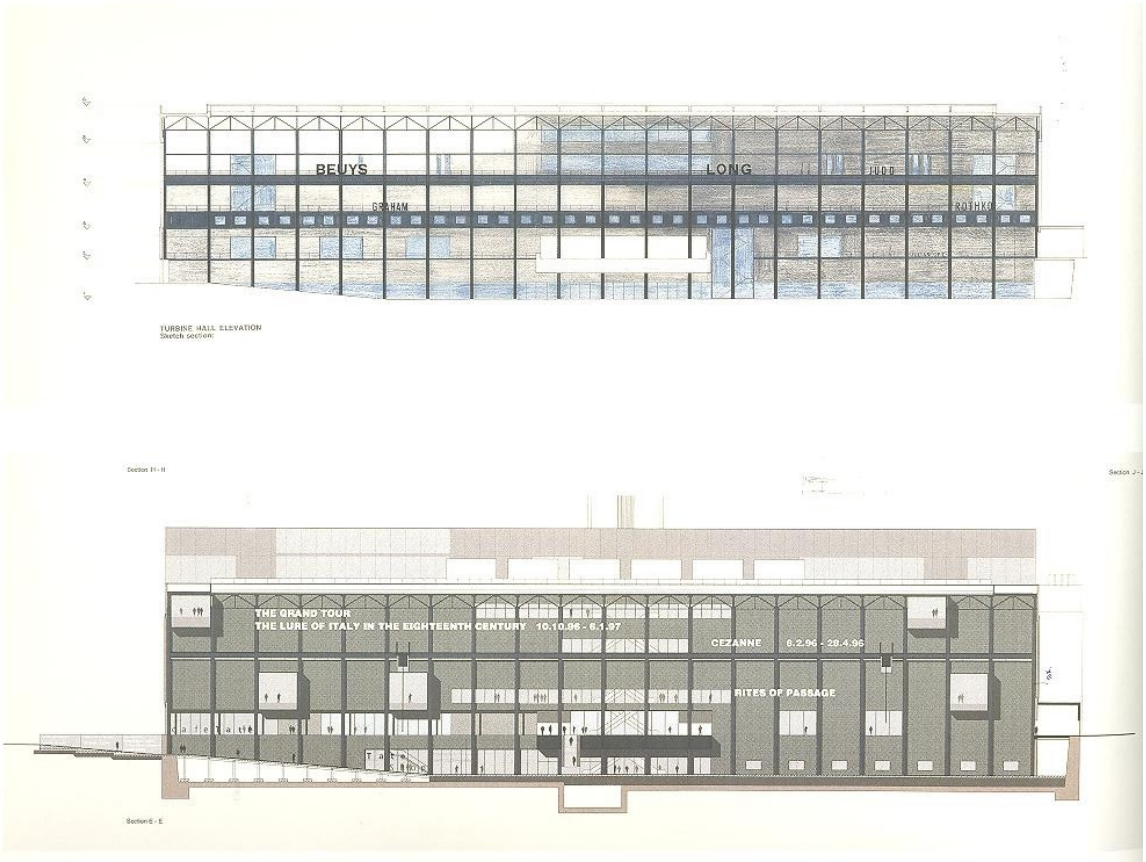

Fig. 2.1 H&dM’s cross section of the Turbine Hall: source *Transforming Tate Modern*

The other elements that were viewed as enhancing the monumentality of Gilbert Scott’s building, was the insertion of a raised light box on the building’s roof and the installation of gallery spaces on the third, fourth and fifth floors. Herzog & de Meuron’s entry appeared to work modestly within the structural framework of the building, extracting the apparatus of its industrial past, creating an enormous void, which the architects compared to Milan’s nineteenth-century covered shopping avenue, the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele, built in 1877 (Ryan & Moore 2000).

2.5 Bankside and its Context

The project was, from the beginning, viewed as a very significant urban intervention in the larger urban field and was to play an integral part in the reconfiguration of Southwark's and consequently London's urban morphology. 'The choice of Bankside was almost a choice of urbanism', commented Jacques Herzog in summing up Serota's selection of the Bankside site: 'This building will aim to act as a filter which people can walk through in all directions, we want to attract people who aren't necessarily going to the museum, to turn this once hermetically sealed power station into an urban, totally contemporary landscape where both art and people are embodied within the architecture' (Ryan & Moore 2000: 38). The design intention was to create an urban mesh linking the gallery with other enclaves within the surrounding area and to link it to London's South Bank and the City. The intentions of Serota and the architects were to create a fluid space which would extend the building's reach north to the City and southwards towards the Elephant and Castle. The competition brief included the caveat that Tate had ambitions to introduce phase two at a later stage. This second phase would address the more deprived area south of the power station stretching to the Elephant and Castle.

The urban context of the power station, dominated by railway viaducts have created an enclosed area hemmed in by the walled structure, this particular condition has led to the term 'urban interior' being applied immediately south of Southwark Street (Bankside Urban Forest, Witherford Watson Mann 2009: 9). Bankside's isolated condition in relation to the rest of the borough has been accentuated by being locked in to the north front by the River Thames and to the east, west and south by the railway viaducts, creating a physical barrier. This dominant piece of infrastructure, built in the early 1860s, which carries the railway lines from London Bridge to Charing Cross or Cannon Street and from Elephant and Castle to Blackfriars, still influences the urban layout to this day. It

has been said that at a local level these railway viaducts caused as much destruction and disruption as the two fires of the seventeenth-century or bomb damage during World War II. The railway tracks often ran through residential rather than industrial areas, as land values were cheaper and the poor had little chance or resources to protest. In general new arterial roads were built to feed into London as a whole, but were disruptive to the existing local population. Southwark Street, was built by the Metropolitan Board of Works in 1864, to link Borough High Street and Blackfriars Road, replacing Union Street, which had become congested. It also acted as a cover for a subway that carried water and gas pipes and the main sewer. Four hundred houses were demolished to make room for Southwark Street, which became the new commercial centre of Southwark. The streets, which consist of an agglomeration of interconnecting patterns often creating interstitial spaces as they meet the arches at street level, appear to be at odds with the strategies for creating strong arterial routes to link the poorer parts of the borough at Elephant and Castle with Tate Modern.

Tate Modern commissioned the study Bankside Urban Study (2001), under the sub heading ‘Richard Rogers's vision for Bankside’. The specially commissioned urban study of the Bankside area led Rogers to recommend that: 'all the key partners should work together to develop and implement a shared vision for the area’ (Rogers 2001, in Tate online Press Release posted 11 May 2001). Tate’s direction for the report was to create a vision for positive and realistic change. The study focused on two key areas: the quarter known as the ‘Bankside Triangle, which is bounded on the north side by the river, on the west by Blackfriars Road, on the east by Borough High Street and its southern point by the Elephant and Castle; and the vicinity immediately to the south of Tate Modern. The study makes a number of key recommendations: to improve key routes and access, to enhance the public realm and streetscape, to reinforce neighbourhood identity and to encourage pedestrian links throughout the area. It also suggests that new community facilities are created and retail opportunities

are increased (Tate Modern web-site).

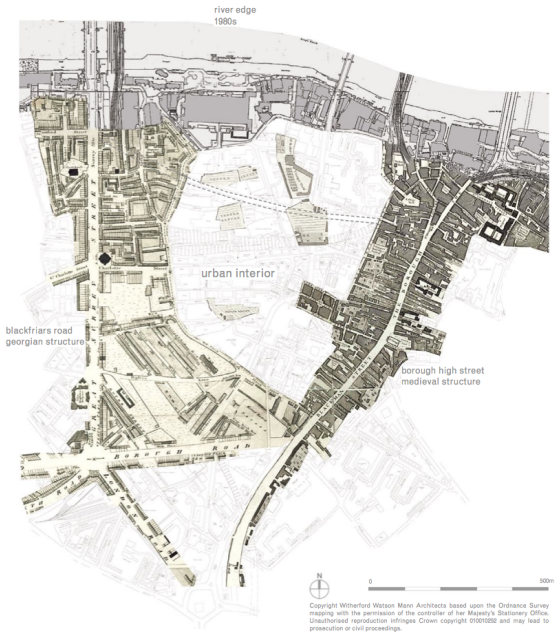

Figure 2.2 Map of urban interior from Bankside Urban Forest Study: source Witherford Watson Mann.

The name Bankside originally applied to a minor street running east-west along the riverfront from the wharf Moulstrand, which is where the power station now stands. Bankside was one of Southwark's oldest streets and was first mentioned in 1218 AD. Bankside's borders have been redefined and the new territory has been branded by the LBS's, Department of Regeneration and the Environment under the Southwark Design Initiative (1996), in an effort to overlay the area with a specific identity. The branding or place-making exercise was intended to disassociate Bankside from its previous reputation as a run-down post-industrial area.

North Southwark's recent history was blighted by its negative visual image and perception, as identified in a report carried out by The Bankside Employers'

Forum in 1993. The borough's poor transport infrastructure was the result of little investment, due to the recent decline in industry from the seventies and the drain on council resources due to the higher than average amount of council tenancy in the borough, and the cost of maintaining these properties. It was viewed historically as London's backwater or what Massey termed the 'metropolitan underside' to the City of London (2000: 26), which controlled the finances of the nation and empire whilst Southwark provided some of its manufacturing and trade base.



Figure 2.3 Map of Borough and Bankside 1870, shows the site at its most densely populated and the recently completed railway extensions to Cannon Street, Charing Cross and Blackfriars: source Historic Maps of Southwark.

Ironically, this entrenched attitude of the City authorities still has echoes in Bankside's recent past. The City was reluctant to support the Tate Gallery's move to Bankside favouring support for the London Docklands Development Corporation (LDDC) and the development of London's Docklands area. The area's most recent history demonstrates this unbalanced relation. The post-war London-wide Abercrombie plan named as the Greater London Plan (1944) was

ignored. But, due to extreme shortages in power the plans for the oil powered power station were pushed ahead despite opposition from the LCC, the City Corporation (City of London) Southwark Borough Council and the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's Cathedral. Lewis Silkin, Minister for Town and Country Planning (1945-50), granted permission for the construction with the proviso that to reduce smoke emissions, oil be used to fire the station instead of coal.

More recently, in the 1980s, with rising real estate prices, the area's low rental office space created fringe offices for the City. The lack of investment from the City investment companies which had relocated their offices over to Bankside was implicit in activities such as employers providing shuttle buses back to the City for lunch breaks, thereby contributing very little to the local economy. It is largely accepted that Southwark has been neglected in favour of the City, Westminster and the West End, as it was viewed as making a minimal contribution to London's world of affluence and power.

In my analysis of the existing urban fabric and the demands being make on it by regeneration and development I discuss the inevitable consequences and pressures on the public realm. The area, prior to the regeneration strategy supported a weak infrastructure and poor transportation links. Tate Modern's arrival led to a build-up of activities in the area, producing a creative cluster and strengthening of the critical mass of established arts venues in the South Bank. It has also increased the amount of private residential property available, leading to a less diverse population in the area. Tate Modern's decision to locate within north Southwark was viewed as progressive by some of the London based architectural press. *Blueprint* summed up Tate Gallery's move as 'a deliberate shift into a community far removed from the conventional notion of a museum district' (*Blueprint* Issue on TGMA, 1995).

2.6 Defining a role, addressing the local and global

The lack of a major art gallery in London displaying the UK's contemporary art collection for UK residents and overseas visitors was a major flaw in London's reputation as a world-class global city. The representation of London's competitiveness and assessment of its ability to attract financial investment and global employees is often analysed in the mainstream media. The quotation below emphasizes the competitiveness between New York and London:

> To understand why London thinks it's beating New York in a race to become the financial capital of the world, walk across the Millennium Bridge toward St. Paul's Cathedral and count the number of cranes that clutter the skyline. The City, London's financial district, is in the midst of its biggest redevelopment boom since the Blitz. (Gumbel 2007)

This global exchange of finance is linked to the potential of the global citizen, summed up in Serota's quote in his introduction to the *Global Cities*[14] exhibition installed within Tate Modern's Turbine Hall in 2007:

> Tate Modern, as a building and an institution, is inextricably linked to London's changing urban culture. London and its cultural institutions build on the social and intellectual capital generated by the flows of people and ideas that constitute city life (Serota 2007: 1)

In examining what the terminology 'flows of people and ideas' refers to, Ley (2004) criticises the assumptions that are made about financial investment streams and the ease of locating them in an abstracted interpretation dislocated

[14] The exhibition *Global Cities* examined the changing faces of ten dynamic international cities: Cairo, Istanbul, Johannesburg, London, Los Angeles, Mexico City, Mumbai, São Paulo, Shanghai and Tokyo. Exploring each city through five thematic lenses, speed, size, density, diversity and form, the exhibition drew on data originally assembled for the 10th International Architecture Exhibition at the 2006 Venice Biennale.

from the everyday operations of the city. Ley addresses the assumption that global businesses create a trickle-down effect on the local environment. There is an implication that the global directly benefits the local. Ley goes on to outline the differentiations often ascribed to the global and the local: 'Separation of the global and the local and the ascription of mobility and universalism to the global and stasis and parochialism to the local' (2004: 151). A particular result of globalizing capital is the rise in house prices, Massey describes the implication of this: '[….] through the dynamics of place the high incomes for some, and the fact of inequality in itself, create extra difficulties for less well-off Londoners' (Massey 2007: 68).

In framing the ambitions behind Tate Modern's philosophy, advocacy reports and promotional literature were steered towards aligning the focus of the organisation to bridge the local (which suggests community interests, local employment trainee) and global (to provide an international arts profile which will enhance London's position as a world city). The draft speech written by the LBS chief executive Anna Whyatt, to be delivered on the occasion of announcing Tate's arrival at Bankside, emphasised Tate's diverse ambitions:

> I look forward very much to standing, not in front of a disused power station, but a living Gallery of Modern Art which will not only be an international institution of high regard but a place of hope and inspiration to London and those who live and work here. (TG 12/1/)

The executive summary of the report carried out by the consultants McKinsey, refers to the gallery's embracement of its local context but within the wider ambitions of London as a global city: 'The nature of the cultural activities which will take place in the gallery will support, maintain and refocus the cultural and heritage nature of its immediate environs within a vibrant and increasingly international commercial urban setting' (TG Archive 12/1/3/1).

Acutely aware that London lacked a landmark contemporary public art gallery, which left it behind its European and American counterparts, the report goes on to situate the gallery in an international framework. In this it was intended to emulate the Centre Pompidou, Paris. However, Tate would seek to maximize this role, creating a new urban model distinct from those already established in other countries, offering facilities to teachers and academics, as much as to artists and the international arts world. The ambition of both Serota and the trustees was to create an institution of major global outreach and a distinctive cultural landmark, which would play a significant role in elevating London's position as a global city. Prior to the establishment of Tate Modern, Tate Gallery, Milbank was viewed as almost provincial in its identity. Located on the periphery of the city's centre, its building lacked a strong visible identity.

Citing *The London Pride Prospectus*, (London Pride Partnership) 1995, which extols London's position as a world city at the heart of a global economy, Whyatt responded when asked by Seorta to write a consultation paper on the establishment of the then named TGMA, that London's position as a World City now depends critically upon remaining a magnet for international culture and tourism (Whyatt Interview, 1998). Amongst all debate on London's need to compete, accompanied by the familiar vocabulary of terms such as global community and diversity, TM was attempting to position itself as an institution that could respond to this new paradigm of culture, finance and city supremacy.

Tate Modern was established against a backdrop of deregulation of financial markets and new models of public private partnership, as exemplified in the London Dockland Development. We can see this in Anna Whyatt's commissioned paper by Tate, *Achieving a Key Role in Regeneration for the Tate Gallery of Modern Art at Bankside* (1998), in which she contextualizes the establishment of the gallery in the new financial optimism and the importance of the position that London's City financiers and private institutions were having in

steering London's political and economic policies.

2.7 The McKinsey Report

In planning their arrival in Bankside, Tate directors began to address how the new gallery would be defined in relation to the overall gallery structure. Issues such as management structure and individual sponsorship strategies remained unresolved when the project was formulated in 1994 prior to the announcement of the competition. The consultants McKinsey were appointed by the Tate to assist in defining the structure of Tate Gallery and how the organisation would operate with two bases in London. The commissioning of a 'project assessment' report was aimed at internal (management) and external (funders) use. The report titled, *Creating a landmark building and public space for London,* resulted in some key perspectives which highlighted the following concerns. The gallery did not want to be perceived as 'empire building' (TG 12/1/3/1), a reference to the potential spread of the Tate Gallery organisation and imposition of its influence on the display and direction of contemporary art in the capital. What was considered the most positive outcome with the establishment of a new building in the capital was that it could start with a clean slate (interview with George Cochrane, Community Development Officer 1996 - 2000). The principal factor is that the four Tate Galleries should be linked through the sharing of its contemporary art collection.

The McKinsey report emphasised the economic viability of the project, identifying potential revenue of between £16 million and £35 million within Southwark from the projected total of 1.5 million visitors annually. This could create between 430 and 1,000 jobs in the borough. In addition, TGMA was predicted to have a broader regenerative effect on the area by attracting public investment, business and residents. The report stated that this could not be quantified, but should be comparable with the impact of the Tate in Liverpool, the Burrell Collection in

Glasgow or the National Museum of Film, Photography and TV in Bradford. Key to the report's findings was that the TGMA would create a landmark building and public space for London.

Finally, the emphasis on cultural tourism was made, citing that the TGMA would 'act as a magnet for first time visitors from abroad and help meet the declared aim of the British Tourist Authority and English Tourist Board to restore London as a prime destination for first time visitors to Europe (from Draft Document, for discussion, executive summary 0ct 6 1994, TG 12/1/3/2).

McKinsey was clear in setting out TGMA's future in economic terms and as a location for tourism. I will now define the institution's intentions and ambitions both culturally and socially by documenting and critiquing the methodology that Tate used in structuring itself as a progressive model for a museum of the twenty-first century.

The mission of the Tate Gallery is drawn from the 1992 Museums and Galleries Act; it aims 'to increase public knowledge, understanding and appreciation of British art from the sixteenth century to the present day and of international modern and contemporary art' (Tate Gallery 2012, 2011-2012:3). Tate Britain's programme emphasises its collection, and target to 'strengthen its position and extend its influence as the world centre for British art from the Renaissance to the present day'. Whilst the programme of Tate Modern seeks to promote its dual position in relation to the local and global: 'our aim is to advance its local, national and international position and to secure its future development. We will seek planning permission for the development of completing Tate Modern and we will begin raising the money required to realise the project' (TG Archives).

Tate Modern's objectives were multiple; a modern art gallery, a social institution and an educational platform. How Tate Modern has manifested this agenda

through the physical expression of its architecture will be discussed in relation to the Turbine Hall, which was designated a 'publicly accessible' space by LBS, in Chapter Six. Patrick Robinson, a planning lawyer and partner at Herbert Smith, who represented Tate Modern at the planning stage, cites the balance between providing a space that is designated 'public' and the practice of balancing the requirements of the institution with their business plan, as the trustees are recipients of public funding from a combination of Lottery, Arts Council and London Development Agency sources. Robinson states that it is a condition of this that the gallery performs to a series of standards in terms of thresholds of public accessibility (Robinson e-mail interview, 2009). The Pompidou Centre (Piano and Rogers) is another cultural building that offers a public space that can be viewed as urban rather than purely an architectural intervention where, in this case the building's facade frames a new urban square which has become a cultural landmark and the public space of the Museum Court, as part of the British Museum, London (Foster & Partners). It was of considerable importance that Tate Modern would be within close walking distance of the South Bank, which had established a strong cultural heritage spanning the visual and performing arts.

The arrival of the TGMA would be significant as to how the organisation would mediate on the ground within the surrounding context; with the South Bank centre to the west of the site, they joined a group of twenty other cultural organisations on the South Bank. Reports started to discuss the formation of a recognised cultural quarter to formalise this creative clustering. In reality, one of the first formal expressions of a cultural quarter had been formed was published in 2008 in the *Time Out* supplement, *A Guide to the Cultural Quarter.* This leads to a definition of what exactly this cultural quarter comprises and who drives it. The twenty organisations have been working in partnership with local government, the business sector and the creative industries. In defining the vision for Tate Modern the importance of the cultural activities programmed for

the gallery space were seen to have the role of supporting and maintaining the refocus of the cultural and heritage nature of its immediate environment which was believed to be an increasingly international commercial urban setting.

2.8 Conclusion to Section A Cultural and Social Regeneration

In considering the impact that Tate Modern has had on the regeneration of the area, Evans (2004) has drawn attention to three models through which cultural activity is incorporated into the regeneration process. The model most relevant to Tate Modern is that of 'culture-led regeneration', where cultural activity is seen as the catalyst and engine of regeneration. The activity is likely to have a high profile and frequently to be cited as the sign of regeneration. The activity will principally focus on the design and construction (or re-use) of a building such as the Baltic Centre for Contemporary Art (previously a Mill Building) in Newcastle, MIMA in Middlesborough, Turner Contemporary in Margate and Peckham Library in Southwark. In outlining the contribution or role of a cultural activity the term 'impact study' is now widely used. Studies that look beyond the project itself traditionally use more than one of the following research areas: environmental impact, such as urban transformations; design quality; economic impact, such as land values, multipliers (jobs income/expenditure, visitor numbers, inward investment and leverage); and social-cohesion, inclusion/exclusion and identity. Evans identifies a further area, that of the impact of cultural activity on the culture of place or community. Here he refers to how the impact might affect identity, representation, participation and diversity and what is termed 'cultural governance'.

In assessing the economic benefits resulting from the regenerative effect of Tate Modern, various studies have been carried out by the accountants and consultants KPMG, which focus on the increase in land values in the vicinity of Tate Modern (1998). Tate Modern saw its role partly as overseeing the

regeneration effects and urban planning of the area. The establishment of the Department for Regeneration and Community Partnerships at Tate Gallery to oversee the regeneration effects of each site demonstrates Tate Gallery's on-going interest in influencing the regeneration agenda and objective to liaise with the community.

On the international scale, governments have turned to cultural regeneration projects as ways of creating iconic landmarks to attract investment and tourism (De Frantz 2005; Gospodini 2002). De Frantz argues that there has been a shift in what drives urban form. Historically the form of cities was shaped by an outcome of economic growth, but in a period of globalisation, the reverse has happened, and urban design is consciously used as a means of economic development of cities largely competing for global finance, cultural activities and status.

This debate accompanies a shift in addressing local interests. As I mentioned earlier, Baeten (2000) suggested that 'urban elites' have contributed to the further disempowerment of the already disempowered groups in inner cities through urban regeneration policies. By observing best practice in urban regeneration, cities are attempting to replicate each other's formulas and specific characteristics, potentially at the expense of ignoring city's identities. The currency of economic competitiveness between cities that use cultural flagship projects is a well-researched area. De Frantz (2005) for example, on discussing the 'Museumsquartier' in Vienna, argues that 'under pressure from increased competition with neighbouring cities such as Prague and Budapest, the need for 'self-representation as a 'European metropolis' turned cultural investment into an 'interest of the republic' (2005: 60). The Pompidou Centre in Paris (1977) took on the role of creating a vibrant new public realm where the building's mechanical, electrical and circulation functions were articulated on the exterior of the building. This design feature resonated with the building's programme to merge the

building's interior with the exterior public space. The Pompidou Centre aimed to establish a new model for the interaction of creative disciplines in the twentieth-century. The building was built adjacent to a centre for industrial creation, a public information library and a music centre. The acting director Pontus Hulten[15] advocated an 'open museum' which should not be read as 'anti-mausoleum', but one that breaks down the boundaries between creativity, art and spectator. 'Such a museum is not simply a place to conserve works which have completely lost their individual, social, religious or public function but a place where artists meet their public and where the public themselves become creators' (Hultén 1977).

In the present thesis I argue that Tate Modern played a key role in introducing a culture- led regeneration policy to the area, which was part of a larger scale global initiative to promote London as a world-class city. Thornley (2006) reiterates this global focus of London's policy agenda by London's business and economic representatives, which was reinforced by the establishment of *London First* in 1992. The policy group's key objective was that the future London Authority would prioritise working with business and focus on improvements to promote London. The awareness of this agenda is apparent in feasibility reports such as the McKinsey paper commissioned by Tate management to support their bid for Millennium Lottery funding. Subsequently, and as we have seen above, Nicholas Serota commissioned the aforementioned report from the former chief executive of LBS, Anna Whyatt, titled *Achieving a Key Role in Regeneration for the Tate Gallery of Modern Art at Bankside,* a confidential discussion paper in January 1998, which outlines key roles in which the 'Tate Gallery of Modern Art at Bankside intends to contribute in five major ways to London's role as a World City' (Whyatt 1998).

[15] In 1973 Pontus Hulten became director of the Musée National d'Art Moderne, Paris, in which role he supervised the inauguration of the Pompidou Centre.

Unusually for such an international cultural project, the small team comprised of Serota,[16] and his trustees, drove Tate Modern to a successful reality. Serota summarises the initiative:

> Britain is not organized in the way that France is organised. It is not a great public project, an initiative by government. It is an initiative taken by a small group of people [Tate trustees] whose powers are limited, but one of the powers that we did have was to try and put it on a site where it would have a public presence and in a part of the city where its arrival would make a difference (Serota quoted in Ryan & Moore 2000: 37).

Stephen Hepworth, the director of the Jerwood Art Space, a contemporary arts centre and rehearsal space set up by the Jerwood Foundation, based on Union Street near Tate Modern, made an astute prognosis on the impact of Tate Modern. The arrival of Tate Modern 'will first and foremost alter the art geography of London. Then over a five-year period, it will impact nationally and internationally and cause other institutions to redefine their roles' (Time Out 2000:37). Hepworth's prophecy was largely accurate. Other institutions, and especially the government, stood up and took notice and Tate Modern became a principal player in the global contemporary art world.

[16] Nicholas Serota was awarded a knighthood in the New Years Honours list in 1999.

CHAPTER TWO SECTION B

2.9 Background to Policy

The second section of this chapter will set out the background to local and city-wide policy, which framed regeneration programmes, and affected Tate Modern's strategy when planning its arrival into Bankside. I will argue that Tate Modern attempted to create its own regeneration plan leading and accelerating a regeneration agenda that had little momentum within LBS. LBS did their upmost to encourage TGMA to move into the borough, but aside from transport developments there was little attempt to encourage a planning strategy for the area. This was apparent in reports from one of the local residents' associations that tenants were dissatisfied at being unable to respond to any planning agenda, and also in the first appearance of high-end housing in the area (TG12/4). An early example of the latter was the development of loft living space by the so-called pioneers of fashionable living, the Manhattan Loft Company (MLC), often credited with identifying a latent area with potential up-lift of land and property values. The Manhattan Loft Company run by Harry Handelsman, whose interest in the arts and culture have set him apart from the archetypal developer, sits on the board of the experimental London arts organisation, Artangel. MLC built Bankside Lofts, alongside a refurbished former cocoa mill and 1950s building, adding a new five-storey brick office building and spiral tower, adjacent to Tate Modern's west façade. The project was begun before planning permission had been granted for Tate Modern.

On a London-wide scale, I will illustrate how some of the central government strategies were beginning to affect the cultural and economic climate. Through 1993 and 1994, a new Arts Strategy was developed that recognised that 'the development of the cultural sector in Southwark will not only provide enhanced cultural and educational opportunities, but will also create jobs and help stimulate the local economy' (LBS, 1995). However, Newman and Smith point out that LBS

refocused their attention on other parts of the borough, due to the large amount of private cultural investors and producers coming into the area (Newman & Smith 2000).

On the whole, LBS did not develop a cohesive regeneration policy to accompany the master planning of the locality around Tate Modern. LBS limped through, following, rather than leading the regeneration plans, and the City was slow in realising the full potential of having a thriving cultural quarter across the river, virtually on its doorstep. Serota and Tate's trustees had a strong degree of autonomy in structuring, planning and directing the project for a gallery of modern art, in contrast to the planning of the Guggenheim Museum, chaired by Bilbao's mayor, or the Pompidou Centre (1977), in Paris, a significant programme of modern architecture instigated by President George Pompidou.

In the next section I discuss some recent policy narratives centred on regeneration debates in order to illustrate and provide a comparative study as to how Serota and the trustees steered the project. Recent literature has pointed towards what is described as power shifts with regards to influencing planning decisions. For example, Baeten discusses how urban regeneration policies are embedded in 'peculiar political-institutional power dynamics' (Baeten 2001: 293) with reference to London's South Bank Coin Street Development. Additionally, Harris talks about 'power relations' when describing the recent changes in Bankside's cultural landscape. Harris argues that Tate Modern, with its funding from the National Lottery, LBS and many of London's trans-national corporate elites, such as UBS and Unilever, and its emphasis on cultural activities and 'urban imaginaries' favours the middle-classes and the cultural demands of the City over Bankside's working-class populations (2008: 208). This, he argues, was partly due to the City's realisation that it needed to bolster its global status as a result of competition from the newly formed European Union and the rise of

cultural programmes in other global capitals offering attractive lifestyles within leading financial centres such as New York, Frankfurt and Paris.

Predicting the significant impact that the introduction of a contemporary gallery of art would have on London's status as a global city, Serota set out his vision for the new Tate Gallery. The extract below demonstrates the wider ambitions of the organisation, which would make a contribution to the social and cultural fabric of the city:

> We've always had the ambition of building not only a Museum of Modern Art, but also a great civic building. A building that would actually add something to the city (Serota quoted in Sabbagh 2000: 41).

Serota is clear in this statement about emphasising the power of architecture as an attractor. Obviously it is the characteristic of such a building that draws its own audience. In the following statement Serota reiterates the building's democratic nature, as a space that will primarily draw people in for its architecture and then secondly for its collection of art:

> It's a place that people feel they can share in. It's a place that people will want to go and meet others, and then perhaps go and look at some modern or contemporary art. It's a place that should become part of the social fabric as well as the cultural fabric (Serota quoted in Sabbagh 2000: 41).

Serota realised at an early stage the potential for the architecture to create an impact beyond its institutional role, signalling his ambition to contribute to urban city-making: 'We always looked at sites that could give something back to the city as well as being a fortress of modern art in its own building, firing outwards' (ibid: 41).

2.10 Recent Planning History

The Greater London Council (GLC) was set up in 1963 with responsibility for strategic issues covering the whole metropolitan area within the Green Belt. In the 1980s the GLC, led by Ken Livingstone, introduced reforms that were viewed as a direct challenge to central government policy, led by the then Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher. The GLC was abolished in 1986 due to policy conflicts between its leader Ken Livingstone and the Conservative government; in particular the government was pursuing policies to promote minimal political intervention. The prevailing ideology of the government's policy was towards deregulation, which was executed as a policy by the London Docklands Development Corporation (LDDC). The powers of the old GLC were reallocated to central government and to the London Boroughs and to the London Planning Advisory Committee (LPAC), an advisory body, made up of representatives of the boroughs, which prepared strategic planning reports in the absence of a regional authority. LPAC's role was to advise the government on matters that spread across boroughs.

The business alliance, London First, established London's international competitiveness as a central policy issue and produced a series of London-wide strategies. Following a government initiative in 1995, London First cooperated with the London boroughs to produce a London Pride Prospectus identifying policy priorities, with business competitiveness at the forefront (Thornley 2000). London First's strategy focused on London's prosperity and competitiveness, which was dependent on business and a coherent voice to articulate its needs. This took the form of the Greater London Authority (GLA), but the limitations of this perspective were that business interests would not influence all areas of strategic policy. Focus would also be on local economic policy and land-use planning. The London Development Partnership (LDP) was set up with the aim of establishing a business-led board that would work to fill the strategic gap in the

economic development of London. Parallel to London First, the London Chamber of Commerce and Industry (LCCI) had been developing their approach to the new London government. The LCCI commissioned a report from Ernst & Young (1997) to enquire how business might best interact with the new London government. It recommended that 'private sector expertise should be deployed at the highest level in the GLA to help develop and implement strategies' and laid out the role for the GLA, 'for business to have an effective role in the GLA, it must be able to speak with a single voice' (Ernst & Young 1997).

In 2000 the London Business Board, promoted by the LCCI and joined by the Confederation of British Industries and London First, produced a document called *The Business Manifesto for the Mayor and the Greater London Authority*, suggesting that competitiveness should be the key focus for the mayor: 'The health and global competitiveness of London's economy must be at the heart of the GLA as the pre-requisite for achieving all other explicit aims. All the GLA's policies must be tested against the aim of promoting a strong, stable, diverse, competitive, sustainable and flexible economy' (London Business Board 2000).

When the restructuring or fragmentation of responsibilities in strategic planning policy was allocated to the 32 London Boroughs and the Corporation of London, each individual borough set out the planning framework within the new Unitary Development Plan (UDP). Because of the diversity of the boroughs in terms of political representation, there have been doubts about the ability of the London boroughs to take on a positive co-ordinating role (Biggs and Travers 1995). LBS had an overall Labour majority from its inception in 1964 up until 1998. In 2002 a Liberal Democrat/Conservative coalition was formed and ran Southwark Council through the next period. In the 1997 general election, Labour candidate Jeremy Fraser (1993-98) lost out to Simon Hughes who became the Liberal MP for North Southwark.

At the time Tate Modern was negotiating its relationship with LBS. The key actors within LBS who keenly negotiated Tate Modern's arrival into Bankside were the leader of the council, Jeremy Fraser, the aforementioned chief executive Anna Whyatt and architect and planner, Fred Manson, who became the director of the Department of Regeneration and Environment in 1995. The council then underwent a restructuring exercise, which saw the chief executive's position being dissolved, and various departments merged. It was clear that the local borough was shifting from an emphasis on social policies, in the form of large social housing projects modeled on modernist tenets, to an enterprise-led culture. In an interview I carried out with Fraser he outlined the particularly fraught and politically tense situation which LBS's local council and policy leaders had propagated through what was widely viewed as a period of conflict: 'The period of 82-90 was a period of conflict, the politics of revolution. The unions and Labour movement were crushed and fought back in the only way they could, by plotting and protesting' (Fraser interview 2009).

The closure of the docks in the late seventies and a period of industrial unrest resulted in a considerable reduction in the Labour party's paternalistic approach. The unions had been unsuccessful in keeping industries open, and former dockers, print workers and union officials ran the LBS council. The Left-wing councilors who strongly opposed Thatcher's policies, responded to the failure of the unions to maintain an industrialsed sector, with radical political policies. These radical polices were accompanied by accusations of strong 'macho' tendencies and undercurrents of homophobia. The scenario is described in Thatchell's account of his treatment as a gay activist Labour candidate standing for local election in Bermondsey in 1982 (*Battle for Bermondsey*, 1990). The Labour Party was taken over by a largely young, politically active group, many from community politics, 'but others frankly straight out of college or university' (Fraser 2009). The old councilors stood as SDP or independent, with the election of 1982 bringing in a new set of councilors. The previous regime was viewed as

racist and paternalistic, especially towards issues such as housing allocation (significant within a borough with 70% social housing): ‘The only way you got to move was to see your councilor and they would arrange it; your loyalty was bought for a set of keys’ (Fraser interview 2009).

Fraser laments that the ‘old guard’ finally realised that the council had to implement a progressive strategy to combat the mass unemployment as a result of the closure of the docks and post-industrial economy. The council was in danger of losing support from its constituents because of its inability to fund basic services. Two principal protagonists in spear-heading a progressive attitude in planning and development opportunities were led by, the then chair of planning, Nick Snow and a local authority planner previously working in Camden, Geoff Williams, who was Southwark’s chair of the development committee. They were both professional middle class and radical Labour councilors, and they approached Fraser to ask him to take over the development committee. Fraser states that his first task after the election (1982) ‘was to sit down with Sam Wannamaker and apologise’, referring to the debacle over LBS’s withdrawl of planning consent for the Globe project expanded on later in this chapter (see below).

Fraser lists the other protagonists in addition to himself who speared-headed the change; Fred Manson, Anna Whyatt, Sally Keeble and Johnny Johnson. Fraser, in explaining why they radically changed policy direction, stated that in their unsuccessful opposition to the Thatcher government, they had lost votes and could see that the electorate had moved but their views had not. Fraser highlights their hackneyed image: ‘We were the loony left. We had cut ourselves off from a lot of our voters who saw our political correctness as hollow, when we could not deliver on basic services. We had to radically change and become more professional’ (ibid).

In a bid to identify potential financial revenue, the council admitted that a radical rethink was necessary. One policy was directed towards using the riverside to connect residents and visitors. The other major policy was to fight for the location of a Jubilee Line station in the borough. Fraser acknowledges the continuing entrenched views within the council, leading him to dress up culture and tourism policies as pertaining to promoting the history of the borough. The council further pursued the beginning of a cultural policy in promoting the activities of the South London Gallery, Dulwich Picture Gallery, the Imperial War Museum and the Design Museum, all in Southwark.

Other funding revenues were identified in the private sector. The economist Tony Travers highlighted the need to bring in the private sector, which would not be attracted to any form of regeneration until the borough reduced its dependency on council tenancy: ‘So long as the borough was seen as Councilville - however much public money was spent - there'd be no regeneration’ (Travers quoted by Barker, 1999). During the 1990s LBS was the largest landlord in London, responsible for 59,019 properties. Sixty per cent of housing stock in Southwark was social housing.

By means of material gained via an interview with LBS’s Chief Executive Anna Whyatt (1985–1994), I obtained an insight into how the council moved towards promoting a regeneration agenda. Whyatt played an instrumental role as Chief Executive of LBS in facilitating Tate Modern’s decision to move to Bankside’

A new administration was appointed with a group of city managers, chief officers and Anna Whyatt as Chief Executive. One of the principal aims was to shift the public housing policy to 40% public and 60% private ownership. In addition, regeneration was to be encouraged across the borough and a cross-departmental team was established from housing and employment, which was deemed an unconventional model in the 1980s. The Southwark managerial team

identified four hotspots that cut across planning and focused on economic development. These areas were Peckham, Bermondsey, the Elephant and Castle and the Northside of Elephant and Castle. They were identified as suffering from inner city deprivation and its associated criminal activities. Whyatt describes the approach as the 'silo effect', referring to targeting mainly housing sites; the work to improve the sites was described as enabling rather than providing fixed public services.

Whyatt describes three significant events that helped transform LBS from a borough tainted by mismanagement and a leaning towards extreme left-wing policies to a borough supporting development. These events, which were prior to the establishment of Tate Modern, included environmental improvements to the Elephant and Castle, as part of a designated regeneration scheme in 1990. The Department of the Environment contributed £750,000 to the scheme and the existing underpasses were improved and a market area was provided for small traders bringing the market stalls outside the shopping centre to create a sense of visible activity. The developer UK Land attempted a facelift by painting the 1960s concrete façade at the Elephant and Castle shopping centre[17] a shocking pink, while the entrance was adorned with a tension fabric pavilion. Although modest in its ambitions, the effect on the area was fairly rapid with the Department of Health and Social Security expanding its office space around the Elephant and Castle. The shopping centre experienced a 25% increase in visitors (*Minister Sees Elephant Stampeding to Success,* The Southwark Sparrow, 22 February, 1991).

The second event marked a victory over the unions' influence on the council. The founder of the Shakespeare Globe Company, Sam Wannamaker, took LBS to court over his planning application to build on the original Globe site. It had been turned down, due to opposition over removing the Waste Depot on site.

[17] 1965 architects Boissenvain & Osmond for the Willets Group.

Wannamaker and the Globe Trust launched a £13 million lawsuit for non-performance of agreement. On their last day in power the old Labour councilors in 1982 had signed a deal with the Globe Trust to grant the titles for the 1.2-acre site. A few days later, elections ejected the Labour councilors who had made the deal and the new officials reneged on it. At the centre of the dispute was the battle to maintain a road-sweepers depot, which was situated on the site. The council settled out of court in 1986 and was ordered to pay Wannamaker £13 million in compensation and reintroduce the 125-year lease, which they had withdrawn in 1981. Fraser remembers that as a new Southwark councilor he had to sign a £13 million cheque in 1990 for the borough's legal costs in defending a ludicrous local plan. This had designated the entire riverside for industry and warehousing. Wanamaker's proposed new Globe Theatre had been initially rejected as a bourgeois indulgence. ‘If that was a socialist victory’ Fraser says, ‘I was determined it would be the last’ (Fraser quoted by Barker, 13 Dec 1999, New Statesman accessed on line June 2011).

The third event, which made a considerable impact on the decision of Tate Gallery to move to the Bankside site, was the lobbying to bring the Jubilee Line to the area, which in initial plans, was not scheduled to stop in Southwark. Simon Hughes, MP for North Southwark and Bermondsey since 1983, intervened, paying £50,000 to interrupt the progress of the Bill at constitutional stage to demonstrate that it was crucial to bring it to the area as part of Southwark’s regeneration programme. Reflecting on the potential history of the Jubilee Line Extension (JLE) Hughes is credited in Mitchell’s account of the history of the line in *JLE*: *From Concept to Completion*, as turning the line form a purely developers interest to that of a community line. As the Bill was debated in the House of Commons (July 1990) the Government suggested that the two stations at Southwark and Bermondsey should be dropped from the Bill to cut costs, whereas Hughes undertook the task to ensure that the Bill did not reach its final stage unless these two stations were included (Mitchell 2003).

Summarising these three significant steps, which essentially saw the victory of introducing a more culturally led agenda, as well as the new direction of Southwark towards embracing 'corporate centered social policy', Whyatt indicates that it fuelled the direction for more public private partnerships: 'With all these things coming into the mix, we partnered up with the City to do the walk and underpass under Blackfriars Bridge' states Whyatt, 'the Single Regeneration Budget meant that you could apply for money for individual projects'. Blackfriars Bridge Pedestrian Underpass, completed in April 1995, won £800,000 from the SRB and was constructed in partnership with the Corporation of London and the private sector.

The SRB, which was introduced in 1994, brought together a number of programmes from several Government Departments with the aim of simplifying and streamlining the assistance available for regeneration. The emphasis was to provide resources to support regeneration initiatives in England carried out by local regeneration partnerships, prioritising the enhancement of quality for local people through regeneration, improving employment prospects, education, addressing social exclusion, and promoting growth in local economies. Partnerships are expected to involve a diverse range of local organisations in the management of their scheme.

In December 1994 the Government Office for London (GOL) announced the successful bids for the SRB. Four of them were in the heart of London: the Cross River Partnership (CRP), the South Bank Employers' Group, the Riverside Bid and the Groundwork Trust Bid. The series of bids is of particular importance with reference to the commonality of their goals, which were to produce a cohesive and comprehensive strategy to boost the economy and to improve the area for tourists, residents and workers through planning and regeneration projects. The CRP was pivotal in promoting the co-ordinated framework and common vision for the area, which consolidated the momentum for the four SRB bids.

Together with their partners, the four Thameside authorities aimed to improve and protect the environment of the area, to reinforce London's status as a world-class centre for leisure, the arts and business, to offer education and training and create job opportunities for local people and improve the quality of life. The SRB proposals stressed that the successful bid would provide the support framework for the significant schemes and proposals to be undertaken by other major players in the area including Railtrack, European passenger services and Tate Gallery. The aim of the bid was to capture the interest of potential contributors and investors and to form the basis for public/private sector co-operation and for regeneration at the heart of London.

Simultaneously, a number of organisations were addressing the poor environmental conditions in the borough and the lack of infrastructure. In October 1993 members of Bankside Employers Regeneration Forum (BERF)[18] had funded a report on key issues and concerns by the international design consultancy, Llewellyn-Davies and the engineering consultancy, Sir Frederick Snow and Partners in 1993.

The area covered by the report was bounded by Blackfriars Bridge to the west, London Bridge to the east, Southwark Street to the south and the River Thames to the North. The report represents the conclusions derived from a series of in-depth interviews and open ended questions with selected representatives from Bankside business and resident communities. The purpose of the report was to establish the key issues that concern both companies and residents. The organisations range from Metropolitan Police to Borough Market trustees.

[18] The Bankside Employers Forum consisted of the Daily Express FT, MORI, Sea Containers, Midland Bank, Southwark Cathedral, Borough Market Trustees, Shakespeare Globe Trust, Southwark Environmental Trust, London Underground, London Buses, Cluttons, Sir Frederick Snow International, Metropolitan Police, South Council and Local Ward Council.

A key issue to arise was the conception of the area as having a negative image. It was identified that 'Bankside has an improving yet still rather indifferent image. To effectively improve this, a common vision and a design and development framework for the whole area is essential. This needs to be accompanied by a marketing exercise to put Bankside on the map'. Secondly, the issue of the power station site was prevalent in residents' and employees' impression of the area's image: The development of the power station will have an enormous impact on the whole of north Southwark. This needs to be recognised and assessed. An overall urban design brief for both sites should be considered as part of the development framework of the area. (TG/12/2)

Another prominent site and contributor to the area, Borough Market was identified as crucial to the area's future. The wholesale market was contracting at the time and it was proposed that changes could include a retail element, which would have a positive impact on the area. In assessing the area's image and location mainly in relation to the City, the report stressed the importance of attempting to understand why Bankside has grown in importance as an office location over the last 10-15 years and whether the reasons were relevant at the time of the report (1993) (TG/12/4/6).

The report concluded that developers and investors considered Bankside as the poor relation of the City of London. The heat of the 1980s property boom was given as a reason for the City's reluctant but necessary, jump across the psychological divide of the River Thames. If firms were to relocate it was for the following reasons: cheap land, rates, proximity to the City and the opportunity to create a landmark building on the riverside with views of St Paul's. It was therefore for a closed set of reasons, not for what the area itself had to offer, that companies originally moved there. One of the major reasons for the uncertain development plans amongst the public and business perspectives were doubts about the timescale of development and the status of the power station.

2.11 Bankside Residents' Forum

In order to represent residents' issues in this area, the Bankside Residents' Forum (BRF) was established in 1995 after a consultation exercise has been carried out in the Bankside area by the LBS. The forum was set up by LBS in March 1995 as a means to promote the flow of information on regeneration proposals to residents and to promote their feedback on these proposals. In May 1995 LBS asked Southwark Community Planning and Education Centre (SCPEC), an independent group, to take over the servicing of the forum. SCPEC are an independent planning and environmental advice centre, grant-aided by Southwark Council, which focuses on regeneration support (TG 12/7/4/2). The forum has a chairperson, who is elected from the community, a steering group of local residents and a series of working groups looking at specific issues. Significant issues raised at the meetings looked at how the area would react to the establishment of Tate Modern, what role the forum would play in creating a vision for the area, whether residents wanted it to be an arts and cultural quarter of London and asked for their views on the future of Borough Market (TG 12/7/4/2).

At one of the early meetings of the BRF in March 1995, predicting the effects of regeneration on house prices, the local residential community raised the issue of supporting bodies such as the Peabody Trust in bringing more housing into the area, the aim being to create a more balanced community within Bankside. LBS's response to this was to produce a base plan of the area to demonstrate who owned which pieces of land and to identify opportunity sites. A previous example of the ability of a community to influence the process of urban development had already taken place on London's South Bank. Coin Street Community Builders (CSCB) based on London's South Bank operated as an independent local community group, which successfully transformed itself from a grassroots group of resistance into a housing development organisation. It had had a major effect

upon local community politics in the 1970s and 1980s. The group successfully prevented the implementation of office development schemes, in favour of affordable housing and improved public spaces, and acquired a series of valuable development sites on which they built 400 affordable homes for 1,300 people.

Backed by the GLC Community Area Policy, Baeten (2000) argues that the success of the CSCB would have been impossible under the new regeneration policies, introduced by the Conservative government, which abolished the GLC, along with the Community Area Policy. The SRB policy abolished centrally-controlled allocation of regeneration budgets in favour of a method of open competition for the budgets. This indicated a shift of community and government focused control to semi private bodies. In addition, the Thatcher government redefined regeneration areas such as Urban Development Corporation and Enterprise Zones. Areas of deprivation not included in the above zones suffered from lack of funding. Beaten argues that a shift of existing local power relations occurred to the detriment of community politics, through the formation of such partnerships between actors and the private sector, the community, the voluntary sector, local authorities and others. On the other hand, the Conservative government initiated a more fluid agenda between cross-denominational bodies; CSCB set up partnerships with others groups such as the South Bank Employers Group, local authorities, and the Cross River Partnerships. Beaten writes that the shift from community-based regeneration in the 1970s and early 1980s (which appears to have had mixed results and impact), together with the dominance of the new Right throughout the 1980s has had a significant impact on the creation of new power relationships and most notably ‘an ambivalent record of democratic accountability’ (Beaten 2000: 299).

It is relevant to consider these shifts in assessing the location of Tate Modern and the political and social framework into which Tate Modern entered in

negotiating its presence in Bankside. It is worth asking on what models LBS base its consultations ? Minutes from an early BRF meeting (June 1995) indicate the type of consultation exercises that were in operation. A series of workshops was carried out and a transport study commissioned to look at transport infrastructure in the area. The purpose was to put in place an effective mechanism to bring the local community together in partnership, to examine concerns and identify solutions. The process was intended to improve the chances of government funding in the area. What was clear to councilors was that there was going to be an accelerated momentum of change in Bankside, and this is what drove the council to establish residents' consultation groups. When asked by one member why the council had suddenly decided to consult when 'they had not been bothered before' (minutes from the BRF meeting May 1995), the council responded that issues expressed by the council had been fed into the Planning and Design Framework paper. One of the members cited the success of Coin Street Community Builders as 'giving them the confidence to speak up'. What was clear was that the council realised that they needed to formulate a structured response to the rapid shifts in the physical, social and economic environment that were about to take place.

Lessons had been learnt from the earlier mismanagement on the part of LBS when, as a result of the 1980s property boom, Bankside as a location became attractive to developers due to the low cost of land. The council had lost a string of planning appeals relating to proposed office buildings, due to the absence of a coherent strategy. It was agreed to establish a strategic context, of which consultation and partnership would be part of the process (minutes from the BRF 21 June 1995). The influence of CSCB as a community planning success is apparent as an exemplar of community enfranchisement, but the policy agenda in the mid-1990s had shifted to mixed partnerships of which the SRB was an example of the requirement of powerful actors in influencing the chances of a successful bid, as they could demonstrate experience and influence. Later I will

demonstrate the role played in Southwark by diverse and prominent organisations such as Better Bankside, a business members group and Bankside Open Space Trust which acts in a transparent fashion to represent the diverse needs and identities of Bankside.

Baeten argues that the stress on competitive partnership bidding on the South Bank has resulted in a lack of strategic thinking or co-ordination on any level of government, which is said to lead to the fragmentation of regeneration efforts. CSCB, in order to bid for regeneration funds under the Conservative government had to form regeneration partners with the local business community and other London institutions. It is now a member of the South Bank Partnership which is linked to the Cross River Partnership,[19] a powerful coalition of major London power brokers, which has been successful in gaining major funds from the SRB. In relation to Tate Modern and their involvement in the regeneration policy of LBS, again the SRB has been instrumental in improving the area by opening up the river. But as has been voiced by the residents of the BRF, the lack of strategic policy driven by the council meant that there was little information or strategies for the residents to react to, and in addition the council was slow to improve transport infrastructure. The lack of leadership to improve what was geographically a prime site allowed Bankside to fall prey to piecemeal development and the power station, a white elephant that occupied a large part of the riverfront lay empty since its decommissioning in 1981. All this contributed to Bankside becoming a run-down area, with poor infrastructure, lack of a shared urban vision and prey to being divided up by opportunistic landowners.

[19] Cross River Partnership is an alliance of some major London Institutions such as London Transport, Government Office for London, Port of London Authority, London Tourist Board and local governments, Westminster, the City, Lambeth and Southwark.

2.12 Conclusion

This chapter has illustrated the background to the policy shift in Southwark and how the borough's strategies related to London-wide policy. This policy underwent a restructuring process in the attempt to bolster London's position as a world-class city. The extent to which Tate Modern would realise its potential impact on the area was not anticipated (to the degree that it actually achieved on the scale of regeneration projects). The significance of Tate Modern as a world-class cultural icon and landmark was also not fully anticipated. As a consequence, the building has difficulty accommodating current visitor numbers. Initial predictions were 2 million visitors a year, whereas, instead, 5 million visitors came in the first year (MORI 2005). One of the trustees' objectives was to create a high quality piece of civic architecture, which would attract visitors from footfall, as well as other means, which Tate Britain had failed to do.

Evidently there are many narratives unfolding on the local and national level that describe and reflect the social and cultural background into which Tate Modern entered. The case study of Tate Modern can be viewed as a clear example of culture-led regeneration. Evans discussed how the assessment of the cultural impact on the regeneration of areas and neighbourhoods in a state of economic decline, is a central concern of governments and regeneration bodies. I have expanded on this in relation to the new funding model of the Single Regeneration Bid introduced by the Thatcher Government, which, while facilitating major joint projects, deterred smaller community groups from galvanising action to improve their environment.

Focusing on the change in policy within LBS, which reflected the wider shift in economies with the collapse of traditional industry and a move towards a service-based economy, I have argued that LBS was able to facilitate the arrival of Tate Modern. The benefits of improving the area and attracting tourism into the

borough were clearly stated and viewed as a means to raise revenue, after a near collapse of service provision. Although strategies for implementing urban improvements were being formulated, these were often diluted or multi-dimensional. Within LBS, opinions on the direction of the urban development were diverse. Fred Manson, with his background as a planner in Canada, was keen to push a dynamic urban agenda, whilst Whyatt championed a focus on employment training in tandem with environmental improvements. Fraser had to deal with the task of financially stabilising the borough and introducing a cultural strategy. LBS, under Fraser's leadership, was keen to embrace the new models of public private financing, 'partnership planning' to push forward a model of 'corporate centred social policy' (Fraser Interview). Baeten is more critical of this, as demonstrated above. He predicts the insurgence of new power relations in response to the restructuring of regeneration funding. This would be at the expense of replacing the model of community-based regeneration. To be able to qualify for public regeneration funds, organisations such as CSCB had to create regeneration partnerships, forming coalitions with major power players such as Cross River Partnerships, thereby shifting the focus from the local social fabric and being susceptible to market instabilities. Community-based social housing in the area is being reduced due to the demand from private residents to purchase former local authority properties in the area. In addition the introduction of the 'right to buy policy' by Thatcher's Conservative government, affected the demographic, all leading to a reduced mixed community led by market forces.

Travers carried out detailed research evaluating the impact of museums. In particular, his report, *Valuing Museums: Impact and Innovation Among National Museums*, 2004, was intended to analyse the UK's national museums and galleries and to assess their place within the wider social and economic framework of society. In the report, he places a particular focus on Tate Modern (Travers & Glaister 2004). Travers describes the ripple effect of Tate Modern on the rest of the borough: 'Not only has it become a major new venue in its own

right, it has anchored the wholesale regeneration of Bankside and allowed economic development to spread deep into inner south London. By global standards, the new institution has been a hugely successful example of economic and social renewal' (2004: 23). Travers refers to the survey by consultants McKinsey, who were invited to carry out the feasibility study for Tate Modern before applying for Millennium Lottery funding. McKinsey revisited its 1994 study, which had assessed the potential economic impact of Tate Modern. The survey concluded that the gallery's effect on the local economy had significantly exceeded expectations. In response to this type of quantitative analysis Massey responds that there is an oversimplification of the effects of the regeneration at Bankside on the local environment and economy. I have examined the issue of this method of assessing the overly positive economic effects of cultural regeneration, as it supports a somewhat linear interpretation where citizenship and identity formation are not addressed. Travers's statement about the trickle-down effect highlights the simplistic evaluation of geographical space. Evans makes a case for a longer view of evidence to avoid being caught up in this somewhat narrow assessment of perceived successful projects such as in the regeneration of Bilbao with the franchise of the Guggenheim Museum. This limited focus of reading a city and its geographical status in terms of business networks potentially promotes a hegemonic view which is criticised as an over-simplified reading of space where the physicality of a city is interpreted as 'surface across which/investments/migrants/connections flow and forces march' thereby ignoring the ability of space to exist as a dimensional space made up of coexisting actors (Massey 2008: 22). Massey argues that there is a field of actors that co-exist who question whether there is a pyramid where finance is at the pinnacle, on which we all depend. It is the condition of coexisting actors, which precisely enables a multiplicity of identities and a pluralist reading of space. London is a complex city, a construct of layered activities and multiple identities. The presence of local bodies such as BOST and BRF contributes to the agenda and discourse on the transformation of the public spaces at Bankside and the

accelerated urbanism. They are both vital, in that they provide a platform for participation. Although these organisations are realistic about the limitations of their influence, Richardson refers to their work as a watching brief, which demonstrates the limitations of the community influence. It is often more of a 'political construct', in which developers demonstrate their referral to the community as a mandatory exercise and not on a level of long-term engagement.

To conclude, after the abolition of the GLC, London suffered from fragmented planning structures. This was addressed through the arrival of the London mayor and the Greater London Authority. Since then the agenda has significantly shifted. Through organisations such as London First, the focus has turned to promoting the city within the framework of a 'World City Agenda'. Tate Modern directors successfully aligned themselves to strategically promoting the gallery as a project that would help to promote a regeneration agenda at Southwark. As I have demonstrated, the regeneration strategies are problematic in terms of who they are really benefiting, and the next chapter will demonstrate the contention surrounding how space is used around Tate Modern and the ability of the individual voice to influence the way the environment is shaped.

Chapter Three What were the key factors that influenced the development of the urban environment at Bankside?

3.1 Introduction
3.2 The Urban Environment at Bankside
3.3 The Positioning of LBS in relation to Bankside's Regeneration
3.4 Urban Governance
3.5 High-Rise Policy
3.6 The Tate Tower
3.7 Conclusion

3.1 Introduction

The rapid pace of regeneration in Bankside after the arrival of Tate Modern, is undisputed. In this chapter I will unpick the diverging layers of influence that steered the urban development, alongside Tate Modern in order to understand the use of culture in urban renewal. I will also consider the role of Southwark Council (SC), in the promotion of a cultural strategy. I will examine the practice of various actors and identify what roles they played in influencing the built environment in relation to Tate Modern's role and any possible contestations over the direction of regeneration. This process will draw out to what extent TM was able to influence the shaping of the urban fabric at Bankside.

The diversity of influences ranges far, from the major stakeholders such as developers to local actors. I aim in this chapter to demonstrate their influence in shaping the physical area around TM, which has had a direct impact on the provision and interpretation of public space. Additionally, the refocusing of the area as a tourist district, instigated by Southwark Council through the promotion of the area as a cultural quarter is pivotal in shaping the environment. In terms of an official cultural policy led by the council, by 1995 the Southwark UDP demonstrated a wish 'to facilitate the provision of new arts, cultural and entertainment and visitor facilities which maximise benefit and minimize disbenefit to Southwark's residents' (LBS, 1995b: Policy C6) but in general the council viewed the concentration of cultural producers such as The Globe, the

Jerwood Centre, and of course TM as independently driving through cultural provision as well as creative employment. In terms of basic public provision, planning policy was narrowly confined 'to push through public access to toilets and cafeteria' (Policy C.6.1.vii).

To illustrate the influence of developers, I use the case study of the proposal for the construction of the Tate Tower and comment on the developments of Neo Bankside and Bankside 123. My focus on the influence of the major stakeholders in shaping Bankside, particularly the developers Land Securities,[20] will be commented on in relation to concepts surrounding democratic access to the city, as discussed in Harvey's polemical essay in *The Right to the City* (2008*)* and Massey's concepts of space. Examining the link between urbanisation and capitalism, Harvey suggests that today's explosive growth of cities is a response to the systematic crises of accumulation and issues calls to democratise the power to shape the urban experience. Harvey quotes from the urban sociologist Robert Park to illustrate the point that cities are developed as an expression of our social ties, relationship to nature (here he is referring to the relationship between the urban and the rural), lifestyles, technologies and aesthetic values, and to this list could be added our political values, as beyond a right to urban resources we can progress ideologically, by influencing political change in the city. Historically, Harvey contends that cities have arisen through geographical and social concentrations of surplus products. However, he focuses on political neo-liberal market logics, citing the increasing complexities and obfuscations of financial products, which lead to disproportionate capital surpluses, reinvested into the speculative property market. Thus, certain urbanisation is shaped through a desire to invest global finance, leading to decisions regarding the shaping of the city as being 'too narrowly confined, restricted in most cases to a small political and economic elite' (Harvey 2008: 38). Massey, in applying this

[20] Land Securities is a public listed company and indexed in the FTSE 100. Its portfolio value in 31 March 2013 was valued at £11.45bn which included their share of joint ventures.

argument to London, upholds the dominance of the city by global financial industries. This accelerates its dominance as a world city, which, in turn, leads to inflated land prices thus out-pricing any light industrial use. Additionally, the disproportionate high salaries of those in financial sectors mean that public sector workers are priced out of the market, meaning that those lower income workers who carry out the service work, are often subject to travelling long distances from home to the sites of employment. Massey equates London's success and growth with actually contributing to poverty, and questions the continuous promotion of growth. These issues bring into question what direction London's economic strategy will take.



Figure 3.1 *Crossbones Graveyard*, Redcross Street: source Dean

3.2 The Urban Environment at Bankside

By examining the complexities as to who has the right to space, there is often a disconnect between a vision of place of the developer, looking for short term gain, over that of a longer relationship to place as experienced by long term residents. I hope to provide a more layered approach to defining the urban narrative in Bankside, by examining developers' visions against those of local narratives in the following chapter. In order to examine the concepts driving forward new policy against which developments were taking place, I examine London planning policy and the conceptual backdrop to its formation through a desire to reposition London as a global city. In analysing the development of the physical urban structure that evolved in Bankside which was triggered by the establishment of TM, I demonstrate that there was very little strategic overall master-planning of the area to provide a vision that addressed comprehensively, the diversity of needs in Bankside. The pace of development at Bankside has widely been acknowledged as unprecedented in comparison to other London districts. LBS state clearly that residents are exposed to high levels of construction in the area, which was a key factor in disrupting residents' daily lives (LBS/OSC report on BRF accessed on-line 20/4/11). Without an overall master plan for the area, this has permitted personal visions and objectives to be pursued, which has resulted in the creation of what Teedon identifies as a landscape that prioritises private development and commodification (Teedon 2000). The urban geographer Harris argues that the commodified landscape replaced that of a functioning area of light industry, drawing attention to the paper factory in operation until 2000, and then sold as a development site bought by London Town Plc. (Harris 2008).

I will demonstrate how the council's attempt at a coherent strategy for development was ineffective in light of the dynamic property market. This in turn, I argue has led to a compromise of public spaces, over the prioritisation of developers and piecemeal urban interventions. The unravelling of the urban

narrative was largely shaped by the strategy of the council to principally focus on the provision of infrastructure to create a landscape conducive to private investment and not to intervene in the broader master planning of the area. The council's role in prioritising developers' interests was, I argue, in line with their motivation to use north Southwark principally as a 'cash cow' which would fund the poorer areas of the borough. In mapping the role of public policy making in relation to cultural policy, Newman & Thornley acknowledge the complexity of stakeholders in decision-making in London, which they highlight as fragmented (1997), adding that the proposed London Mayor and elected Greater London Assembly (DETR 1998) would add to already complex arrangements, concluding that cultural policy-making is likely to be the outcome of networked urban governance. Some put the role of local government down to securing networks and resources. Additionally, public policy would be seen as distributing benefits of cultural production.

3.3 The Positioning of LBS in relation to Bankside's Regeneration

As a result of changes to thinking towards area based regeneration, the City Challenge initiatives of the early 1990s introduced by the Conservative government led to local authorities adjusting their policies to concentrate attention on defined areas of the borough as opposed to the borough-wide perspective that had fueled previous council policy (TG/2). In 1995, Whyatt, Chief Executive of LBS, wrote to Serota with the intention of increasing public/private sector partnerships, a relatively new model for the council. She stressed the urgency to submit a SRB bid to raise the profile of the area and establish a claim on the budget from year one. This would also be sent to the South Bank Employers' Forum (SBEG), Financial Times, London First and the Conran Group (TG 12/7/1/5). The council recognised the potential for further private sector investment, and saw its role as encouraging that to take place. As was clear, the majority of projects proposed by the council for Bankside were enabling works to

create the right environment for private sector investment. Essentially the cultural policy was to play a marketing role to support initiatives and that of image-making; one example was the recent hotel prospectus presented by the council for certain sites. As the urban fabric evolved, it was recognised that a marketing exercise was needed (SBEG archive) to put Bankside on the map. LBS designated Bankside as a regeneration area in 1992, identifying the potential for development that had previously been directed towards the South Bank of the Thames in Lambeth and in the London Bridge and Tower Bridge area, although the area had witnessed limited investment in the 1980s with a number of firms relocating to Bankside such as Express Newspapers, The Financial Times, Midland Bank and Lloyds Bank (TG 12/7/1/5/). The Greater London Council (GLC) encouraged a re-zoning of the riverside area, to hotel and office development use, in the late 1960s (Ambrose & Colenutt 1975), which led to the introduction of large-scale commercial building around the Riverside from the 1980s. The Council positioned itself in the role of balancing local economic development interests with property speculation and community interests all vying for arts funding, property speculation and urban regeneration funds.

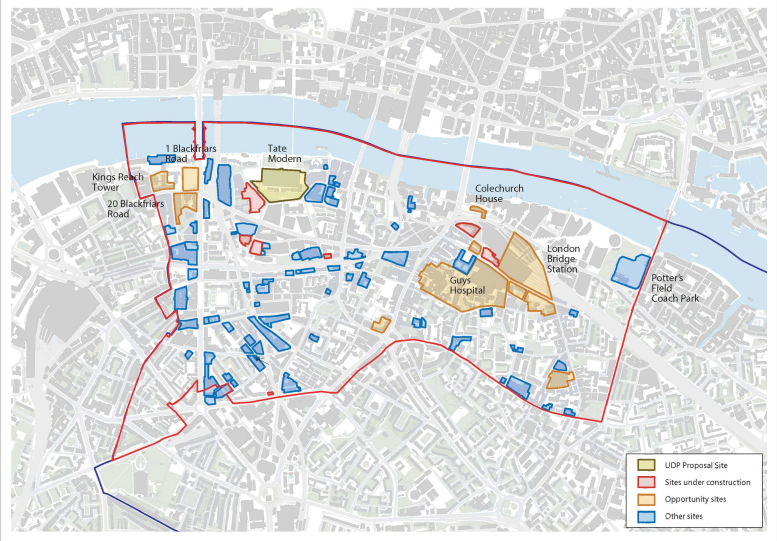

Figure 3.2 Map of Bankside Regeneration Area September 1994: source LBS

Before the opening of TM in 2000, LBS sought to define Bankside as a location with a clear identity. In one report it was argued, 'Bankside should have its own character and identity' (LBS/CRP 1997, appendix 1). Fred Manson, Head of Regeneration at LBS, explained that he was determined to stamp the identity of Bankside on a wider London and that to be noticed: 'we need to reinforce the identity of the place, and get across that this is Bankside, Bankside, and Bankside' (Manson interview 2008). Local groups were less enthused by Manson's input in applying what was effectively a branding exercise. There was scepticism amongst residents that the lack of vision would reduce the opportunities for the benefits of regeneration to be shared by all. Yet Manson was right, as the lack of vision for the whole area was seen as a negative element by London businesses looking to relocate to the area. At the BRF's inaugural meeting with LBS, representatives requested a map of opportunity sites in the area, in order to stimulate a debate within the forum as to the direction of development in Bankside (George Nicholson BRF, minutes 14 March 1995). The direction of development became more focused with the council channeling attention to obtaining funding for environmental improvements. This branding of the area was viewed cautiously by some with reference to the SRB funding application and the creation of the Cross River Partnership (CRP) with one official stating that, by defining the extent of Bankside, it was 'an SRB fiction', (meeting minutes, 1995), inferring that the legitimacy of this resetting of boundaries was an artificial construction that had little basis in history or place (Teedon 2000).

The process of the branding of Bankside can be seen as paradigmatic in describing the evolution of its recent urban shaping. Within the 'urban triangle', buildings had been demolished and new structures put up that are largely a result of a gain on the cultural capital, due to the 're-imagineering' of the area as a cultural quarter and the siting of TM and the Globe. With reference to the positioning of cultural regeneration in relation to economic results, Serota and the

trustees commissioned Whyatt, to produce a confidential paper, which would cover a more in-depth analysis than the previous McKinsey report, outlining the role of cultural regeneration relating to London's position in a growing neo-liberal economy. The document titled *Achieving a Key Role in Regeneration for the Tate Gallery of Modern Art at Bankside* (draft January 1998) was commissioned by Serota, due to dissatisfaction with the perceived limitations of the previously mentioned McKinsey report (1994). The document is ambitious in its reach to position the gallery within a social, cultural and economic framework, and relate to London's changing role in responding to world economics. The stress is on how private stakeholders respond to and are responsible for a changing society, thus embracing the need for the public sector to fully embrace the private:

> The abyss between the emerging imperatives and society's capacity to adapt presents a raft of new challenges: to individuals, to organisations, to communities and to society as a whole […] first in understanding and managing change; second, in discovering and implementing solutions to immediate problems; third, in anticipating future developments and fourth in being effective in a new world (quoted in the report from the National Commission on Education Report 1995, Report in Tate Archive).

Remarkably, Southwark did not appoint its first tourism officer until 1995 and only developed a Tourism Strategy in 1998, because of previously mentioned resistance to tourist-based development. This shift in direction in Southwark began with attempts at a marketing campaign, an unconventional urban initiative led by Fred Manson and the Architecture Foundation, which the design press embraced, but was met more sceptically by local residents. The Southwark Urban Design Initiative (SUDI) (1996) led to a series of discreet interventions, save for one building, the *Southwark Visitors Centre*, designed by the London based architect Eric Parry. Eight teams of architects were asked to consider what might be done to improve public spaces and form the basis of a masterplan for

regeneration of the locality. The artist Michael Craig-Martin produced a mural that adorned the underside of one of the railway viaducts in a disused car wash, which played host to the exhibition of the various schemes, marking the entrance to the exhibition, titled *Future Southwark*. In an attempt to describe the negative and positive conditions of the area in one report LBS identified amongst residents the difficulty in navigating the area, with one interviewee describing the areas as having 'an incoherent urban character' (LBS 1997: 1-2). MUF, one of the commissioned practices to take part in the SUDI, identified in their street improvement project the area as 'vague territory' (MUF 1998: 129). The journalist Ellis Woodman's review of the scheme uses the example of Parry's visitors' centre, which was completed in 1999 as the real indicator of the future of the borough: 'Despite the widespread talk of community consultation, £700,000 worth of visitor centre asserts a pretty incontestable truth: the area's future lies in the hands of the outsiders' (Woodman 5 April 1999, accessed on-line). The building titled *Southwark Gateway* incorporated a new public space, a tourist information centre with a tilted oblique structure ending in a sharp point, somewhat crudely announcing the building's purpose, surrounded by hard landscaping, adjacent to London Bridge. The building was closed down due to a decision that the site was misplaced, as few tourists actually entered Southwark from this point.

The *Future Southwark* initiative represented a key stage in the transformation to gentrification and tourism. What this project identified was the lack of identity of the area in defining its urban characteristics. For many people Bankside was a completely new part of London (LBS, 1998) and this was matched with an objective to create clear gateways or points of entry into the area; specifically London Bridge, Southwark Bridge, Blackfriars Bridge; Southwark Station; the Thames Path; Bankside Pier and the new Millennium Bridge, [see map]. Further projects that seemed to define Bankside in relation to the rest of the borough was a signage exercise in which the name Bankside was reinforced by over-scaled

signage marking various entry points. These were designed by the British architectural practice Caruso St John. In addition to designing the larger scale signage, the standard turquoise LBS signs were removed and replaced with conservation style signs in red on black and white.

Arguably, although the intentions of LBS's team led by Manson were helpful in addressing the difficulty of orientation in the area and the positive outcome of the SUDI resulting in the LBS's Bankside Street Improvement Programme, their stated aim of improving the image of Bankside would ultimately lead to greater commercial activity (LBS/CRP 1997).



Figure 3.3 Map of Bankside area: source Digimap

Another initiative, which was undertaken by LBS regeneration department with Whyatt and Manson was the opening of the Blackfriars Bridge Pedestrian Underpass (1995), together with the central Government funding costing £800,000 with cross borough and organisational funding.

In summing up the impact of LBS in promoting Bankside's regeneration, the council identified the urgency to create an identity for the area which involved a reimagining of Bankside from that of a diverse urban landscape, with an air of dereliction reinforced by its poor transport links and limited evening economy, to that of a cultural quarter. This was assisted by classifying its boundaries with unique street signage from the rest of the borough and environmental improvements. The fact that the council owned no land in this area (in contrast to Lambeth, whose council land ownership was and remains considerable and who are therefore able to steer and control development in some areas), meant that they had little direct influence on the area. The council largely attempted to manage cultural investments and to promote the collaborations of private organisations such as CRP for transport and environmental improvements.

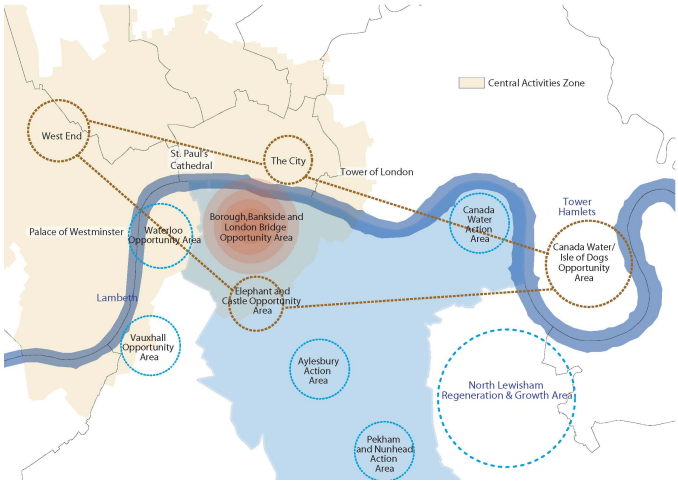

Figure 3.4 Map of Central Activity Zones: source LBS

In assessing the area's development, Bankside was defined as a Central Activity Zone by the London Plan (2004) which identifies it alongside Borough and London Bridge as Opportunity Areas (CAZ), as well as having its boundaries redefined. This designation identifies the area as having the capacity for significant growth in order to support the provision of new homes, new jobs and supporting infrastructure.

3.4 Urban Governance

A recurring issue in addressing the theme of London's urbanism was the under-use of the river, (Rogers 1986). A member of BOST quoted from community consultations that some of the residents were not even aware that the river was on her doorstep (Wright interview June 2009). The architect Richard Rogers had long been a proponent of integrating the river into the urban fabric of London, and this was explored in the Royal Academy exhibition, *London As It Could Be* (1986). The exhibition was a response to the large-scale redevelopment of part of London under the Conservative government at Canary Wharf. Rogers felt that great opportunities to improve the capital were being ignored, in favour of a piecemeal approach to planning led by market forces, rather than by any consideration of the wider public interest. 'In Britain,' states Rogers 'the highest bidder wins', whereas in other European cities urban life was undergoing an urban renaissance using public finance and often under the guidance of innovative politicians, one such example being the Mayor of Barcelona, Pasqual Maragall who regenerated parts of the city to celebrate the 1992 Olympic Games held in the City. The exhibition, *London As It Could Be*, featured the work of Rogers, Foster and Stirling, giving the practices the opportunity to propose visionary but plausible proposals for transforming large areas of London. It focused on two axes: the Embankment along the Thames from Westminster to Blackfriars Bridge and the route across the Thames from Waterloo station to Trafalgar Square. Rogers's proposal, in the spirit of the Embankment's creator Sir Joseph Bazalgette, proposed to place the road underground, thus freeing the Victorian riverside to become a linear park. Central to Roger's proposition was his frustration at the lack of any central planning authority for London. In the 1992 general election campaign, Rogers backed the Labour Party and co-authored the book *A New London* (1992), with the Shadow Culture Minister, Mark Fisher MP.

During this period of the late nineties, a number of key ideologies were surfacing in relation to London; first was a move to repopulate the urban centre; second

was to address the number of Brownfield sites, and third was the proposal to increase densities of building around transport hubs. Rogers, who was given a peerage when New Labour came to power in 1999, was invited by the Deputy Prime Minister John Prescott in 1998 to identify key causes of urban decline and 'to create a vision for our cities'. The Urban Task Force (UTF), was commissioned by the Labour government with Rogers in the chair, to address the issue of revitalising urban centres and Brownfield sites; the desertion of urban centres, the result of inner city deprivation compounded in the seventies by mass unemployment and underinvestment in cities and transportation; the latter, Brownfield sites, the result of a shift from manufacturing to service industries. The UTF produced the influential report *Towards an Urban Renaissance* (1999), which addressed key areas in London. It contained a strong argument that tasked institutions such as the Regional Development Agencies, Urban Development Corporations, Urban Regeneration Companies and English Partnerships to deliver the 'urban renaissance'. This was directed at placing the quality of the built environment at the heart of their mission. Rogers was critical of the paucity of design playing a role in development. Rogers' emphasis is very much focused on the quality of design and the need for architectural professionals to be present in the design evaluation process, as demonstrated in his statement below:

> Too many delivery agencies focus on site delivery rather than quality of design, so will never deliver the quality and variety of urban communities championed by the Urban Task Force. At the delivery end, design culture is not yet embedded in the procurement and management process (1999: 6).

The UTF recommended that public funds should only be invested in significant urban projects that are subject to design competitions and that all major schemes should be conceived as three-dimensional spatial master plans.

From the commissioning of the UTF report and its recommendation to integrate design into planning legislation, London has witnessed a greater intervention from design-led bodies that influence the decision-making of major projects. As a result of recommendations by the UTF, the Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE), was founded in September 1999, acting as the government's advisor for urban design and public space, to formalise and expand the role of design. Additionally, Southwark set up the Southwark Design Review Panel (SDRP 2006). The SDRP includes architects in its membership and advises on major projects within Southwark, recognising the necessity for expertise in the architectural field. In addition to these organisations, the importance of securing high quality sustainable design was outlined in a policy document from the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM) through Planning Policy Statement PPS1. Crucially and surprisingly, Planning Policy Guidance Note 1, General Policy and Principles (PPG1) published in February 1997 'contained the first legal definition of the role of design in planning' (Tavernor 2007: 2); this was updated by the Labour administration with Delivering Sustainable Development (PPS1) in February 2005.

With reference to planning strategy and guidelines for 'better urban design', the document *By Design* (2000) set out, with reference to the UTF, the need for a comprehensive understanding of the existing urban context for any future developments. The four key factors that the report points to in achieving this is a clear policy depicted through a framework of development plans and supplementary guidance: a sensitive response to context; feasibility in terms of the economic success and, lastly an imaginative and appropriate design approach (*By Design* 2000). The report places these factors within a tradition of urban development that refers to classical urban values, which were attributed to the Austrian urbanist and architect, Camillo Sitte (1843–1903), who emphasised European historical precedents of space as place, connected by a hierarchy of traditional squares and streets for the pedestrian, rather than dominated by

traffic. Tavernor explains this in terms of a counter movement to the modernist planning experiments of the continent, due to their very visible failures. The authors of *By Design* are said to combine the ethics of the various key urban design visions; that of processes of urban renewal and the stylistic debates between traditionalists and modernists. The document referred to classic urban devices such as legibility as tools for describing readable urban spaces, as devised by Kevin Lynch in *The Image of the City* (1960*)*. It contains little reference to the programming of space, but considers key programming devices for the dynamic city to create diversity (By Design 2000: 39). Again, this plays scant attention to the complexities of public space.

The above illustrates how debate and legislation were beginning to address issues such as the importance of public space and the role of design in enhancing the urban environment. Foreseeing the lack of coherent urban planning in the area, the Tate directors commissioned Rogers & Partners to look at a creative vision for the future of Bankside, which resulted in the *Bankside Urban Study* (BUS) May, 2000. Rogers has been a significant figure in expounding the importance of design, as previously described. His vision for London has been significant but not without controversy. Additionally, his role as a government advisor and his commercial interest as an architect have led some to question his impartiality, and whether he favoured commercial interests, including his own, over the democratic system.

TM had just opened in the year the study was commissioned and it was clear that its popularity had been underestimated with visitor numbers five times that predicted (*Tate Five Years On* 2005). Additionally, Serota was keen to maintain an influence over the direction of the immediate context. One of the main objectives, which concentrated on the triangle of land bounded by the River Thames to the north, Blackfriars Road to the west, and Borough High Street to the east, with Elephant and Castle at the southern apex, was to create a vision

for the development of sites around TM. The existing UDP provided the framework for the development of the BUS and aimed to contribute to the review of the plan. Consultation with key stakeholders was carried out in the context of the changes undergone in Bankside since the UDP was adopted. The study states that there is a strong desire within the area to create an agreed framework to inform the future of Bankside. Key questions posed by the Bankside Urban Study were: 1. How can the public realm be enhanced and improved? 2. In what ways can the strategic proposal for the wider Bankside context inform and strengthen the development of the area around Tate Modern? and 3. Is there the opportunity for co-ordinated development and, if so, what could the benefits be? Largely the study made cursory inroads into the complexity of the area, with a focus on Tate Modern as the main object around which other developments would respond. Three proposals were made of differing degrees of intervention, proposed using illustrations. The disadvantage of this type of presentation is that it promotes a fixed concept rather that an open programmatic proposal that encourages a plurality of ideas. In addition since the curators of Tate Modern had been very active in proposing broad uses and installations in and around Tate Modern, it would have been appropriate to open the consultation to this group in respect to the usage of the open spaces.

In assessing the nature of urban planning or the absence of an overriding urban plan, Tim Makower, project architect at Allies and Morisson for Bankside 123 described the outcome of the Bankside Urban Study:

> It (Bankside) has worked really well as one of the best examples of the power of the decentralised. You know it is not Argent at Kings Cross or Canary Wharf it is [an example] of the mega agglomerations easily as big as Broadgate or Paddington Basin but not as big as Canary Wharf. This is a bigger agglomeration but it is not a master plan and if Richard Rogers

thought they were doing a master plan back then they weren't. It has really only been adopted in or as a stitching study, (Interview 20 March 2010).

Makower reinforces the very idiosyncratic nature of Bankside and the approach to shaping the urban fabric using a 'stitching' or 'patch working' method, referring to the more piecemeal approach of linking existing sites, on a site by site basis as opposed to an overarching urban masterplan. The BUS proposed 'a great public piazza, a new south open face and strong linkages to the existing community, through to the Elephant and Castle as the key drivers to the scheme' (Davies 2000). In addressing a site of such importance, a detailed focus on how the area connects would have been of vital importance. The plan remained a consultation document with no further investigation of the concepts proposed within the document, save the clear need to link the building with the poorer parts of the Elephant and Castle which was already on the agenda of LBS (Manson 1996).



Figure 3.5 Bankside Urban Study Roger's vision, 2000: source Richard Rogers & Partners.

Roger's relation to the site reinforces the grey area surrounding his problematic dual role as government advisor and prominent architect competing for high profile commissions. In the study's executive summary it advocated 'business, tourism and residential development [is] to be developed in tandem with meeting the needs of local communities'. In terms of the balance between development

initiatives and the interests of local communities (as I will illustrate with the example of the Tate Tower), enormous controversy was generated over agreeing a vision for the area. Rogers in turn was commissioned to design one of the largest residential developments in Bankside, Neo Bankside for the developers GC Estates, a joint initiative between Grovsenor Estate and Native Land. The project appeared not to adhere to his recommendations as outlined in the study.

What is unusual is that Bankside did not undergo the standard process of gentrification, that of old housing stock, normally Victorian or Georgian terraced houses taken over by the middle-class families. Instead, the housing typologies are diverse: Falcon Point, a local council block built in the seventies on the Thames riverbank, and a large amount of social housing by the LCC or Peabody Cooperation. Additionally, its Labour leaders used housing policy to prevent gentrification from flowing across its northern boundaries. The lack of gentrification was also due to the unusual amount of light industrial spaces in operation up until shortly before the opening of Tate Modern. In other parts of London such as the East End, a large amount of industrial space was made available at low rents to artists. The unusual situation meant that this model did not apply to Bankside, except for the seventy painters, dancers, sculptors and filmmakers, amongst whom was the experimental film maker Derek Jarman. Jarman had formed the Butler's Wharf Association, and had been living and working in an old Victorian warehouse complex originally used by spice importers. Interestingly, when they first moved to the building in 1971, the Arts Council were so in favour that they paid conversion grants to create artist studios (News Magazine, J. Thirlwell, 14 Dec 1979). An early example of isolated gentrification in the area, the artists were protesting against plans by the developer Town and City Properties who in 1979 were proposing to redevelop the area for a 180 bedroom hotel shopping and leisure complex with a floating pub, coach park and two blocks of luxury flats overlooking Tower Bridge. LBS eventually blocked the plans, although this was not indicative of their general

strategy for North Southwark, as the entire area was made over to West End uses allowing large-scale demolition of the Thameside docks to make way for office building.

At Bankside early consultation with residents voiced their hope for more social housing with key bodies such as the Peabody Housing Trust. The London County Council (LCC) had provided a large percentage of homes, actually owned by the City of London. The Falcon Point flats were built under the Labour Government in the 1970s, with prime views overlooking the River Thames, but were a rare example of social housing in the area, as since the seventies very few social houses had been built. The reverse has occurred with social housing being let commercially to subsidise the percentage of key worker flats on the Peabody Estate, and in the case of Falcon Point, Conservative legislation to allow tenants to buy their flats. The 'right to buy' came into effect in 1980. The flats were originally built to house workers from the City. Ironically the flats are now fly posted by City workers wishing to buy in what is now a desirable location (from interview notes with Bruce Owen, tenant of Falcon Point, 2009).

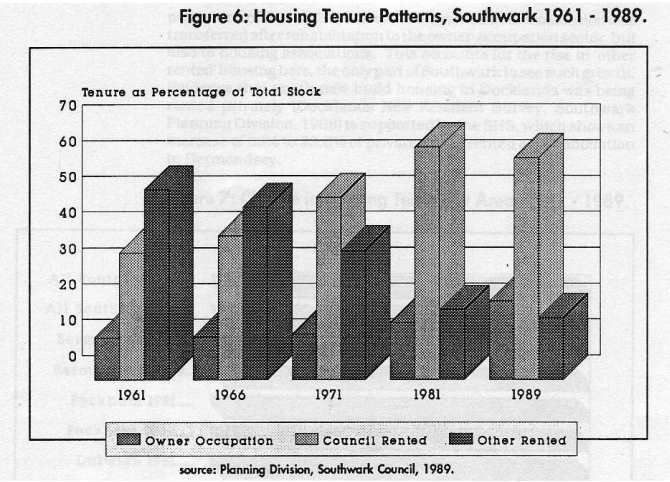

Figure 3.6 Housing Tenure Pattern: source LBS 1989

The residential scheme, Neo Bankside which was awarded planning permission in 2007 consists of four towers varying from 12 to 24 storey floors. The relatively straightforward granting of permission for the scheme, in contrast to the debacle over the Hopton Street Tower was viewed as being eased through GC

Bankside's purchase of the former Tate Tower site for public designation. Targeted marketing of the flats was directed at the East Asian market, a niche market of investors in global cities. The 1.75-acre site was purchased from Land Securities for £24.2 million on the calculation that the 227 flats could be sold for £725 per square foot. The first group of 67 flats far exceeded that sum, selling at £1250 per square foot.



Figure 3.7 Neo Bankside site plan: source GC Bankside 2003.

Controversially, when the Neo Bankside planning application was approved by councilors, the developer was able to persuade the council to allow it to meet its social rented housing obligations off-site in cheaper areas, but in addition, 34 intermediate affordable (shared ownership) homes were to be provided alongside the luxury apartments. Contrary to that initial decision, GC Bankside applied to LBS to vary the planning permission and replace the shared ownership homes with a £9 million cash payment for housing elsewhere in the borough. The reason for this was that prospective residents wanting to purchase a minimum 25% equity share would need to have an income between £55,000 and £93,000 a year. This falls well above LBS's target income group for shared ownership

homes which is in the region of £29,000-£35,000 a year. Additionally, councilors were told that the high service charges for the Neo Bankside apartments (£3,400-£4,000 a year for a one-bedroom flat) would also flout guidelines for affordable housing. The council calculated that they would gain 44 homes, which would replace the originally allocated 34 homes. Richardson, coordinator of BRF, stated that this would set a worrying precedent for future planning applications whilst Cathedrals ward councilor Adele Morris provided an alarmist perspective on the reworking of the original agreement: 'We are losing out in Borough and Bankside; it's social cleansing and inequality, because our residents are being discriminated against they are not being given the opportunity of new social housing' (London SE1 Community website, 19 June 2011).

The rhetoric of Rogers' proposal to reignite the centres of cities and bring vibrancy back to the heart, is one that can be afforded by only a minority of high earners and in the case of Neo Bankside, overseas money, to the exclusion of a large majority of the population. MacLeod and Ward go so far as to suggest that gentrification has taken on board a political legitimacy, in that it has become a feature of encouraging middle–classes back to 'urban living' which in turn creates an alignment with the politics of 'Blairism'[21] (MacLeod & Ward 2002). Lees (2004) quotes Rogers' report *Towards an Urban Renaissance* (DETR 1999), as interweaving urban regeneration policy with gentrification and environmental renewal. Smith argues that regeneration and gentrification are interchangeable:

> Not only does urban regeneration represent the next wave of gentrification, planned and financed on an unprecedented scale, but also the victory of this language in anaesthetising our critical understanding of gentrification in Europe represents a considerable ideological victory for neo-liberal vision of the city (Smith 2002: 446).

[21] With the emphasis on 'New Labour', the politics accepted the free-market ideology of Thatcherism such as deregulation, privatization of key national industries, maintaining a flexible labour market.

3.5 High-Rise Policy

Livingstone's high-rise policy prompted a clash of strategies between Westminster and the City of London. Westminster which houses the most office space, objected in principle to high-rise buildings, because they were left disadvantaged by the borough's conservation policy on height, which challenged the medium density of Kensington and Chelsea. The City of London was desperate to introduce high-rise, because of the limit of new sites and constrained mediaeval street patterns. LBS were drawn into the debate on high-rise policy with the controversial planning application for a high-rise proposed south of the river, the London Bridge Tower, designed by the Renzo Piano Building Workshop, known as The Shard. The proposal was viewed as meeting Livingstone's requirements for integration with a transport node at its base, as it was proposed to be built directly over London Bridge station, but this was opposed vehemently by the statutory conservation body English Heritage. Another high-rise that I will explore in detail that ignited a battle over development issues and public space was the proposal for the originally titled Tate Tower by the developers London Town Plc that was to be built directly adjacent to Tate Modern's west entrance. The fiasco over the planning process is an example of all the intersections of London's diverse array of interests and illustrates how the area around the periphery of Tate Modern was being shaped. The example of Tate Tower (renamed the Hopton Street Tower) will demonstrate the variety of imaginations and visions for Bankside. This complexity of representation, or what Massey refers to as reading the spatial dimension of London as a mere two-dimensional surface, disregards the interpretation and greater understanding of the complexity of spatial territory through its social and local context. Although granted planning permission from the Office for the Deputy Prime Minster (ODPM); the scheme was eventually withdrawn by the developer.

3.6 The Tate Tower



Figure 3.8 Tate Tower architectural render, 2003: source Gumuchdjian Architects.

The site in question is 44-47 Hopton Street, which until 2004 housed the Hopton Street paper merchant building, remaining operational during the 1990s as a warehouse and wholesale distribution centre. The proposal for the original 32-storey residential tower adjacent to Tate Modern's ramp entrance by Kevin Dash Architects with Gumuchdjian Associates, could be viewed as a laissez-faire attitude to Tate Modern's peripheral space. Equally, its supporters argued that it constituted appropriate development in view of Tate Modern's remit to act as a catalyst for high quality development at Bankside as highlighted through the Millennium Funding it was awarded. Some architectural critics denounced LBS for permitting the construction of what was viewed as a mediocre development in front of one of London's cultural landmarks, although CABE praised the scheme. A ping-pong battle ensued between the notoriously strong residents group, Bankside Residents Against Development, (BROAD) complaining of a reduction of light and privacy and the impact the tower would have on the 'townscape' of Bankside. The new building was also viewed as detrimental to Tate Modern, blocking visual access to the Western entrance. The tower was to be 28 metres taller than the former power station's chimney topped with its light beacon. Serota argued that the tower's presence, which would be within 50 metres of the entrance, would 'inevitably diminish the quality and value of the public space for millions of visitors'. In their opposition to the scheme, Tate trustees lodged a

formal complaint to the planning authorities. A funding campaign was started, with local contributions ranging from £5 from a pensioner to cheques of thousands of pounds from business people living in the area. Although, as a charity, Tate was not allowed to contribute, Serota carried a protest placard and joined residents in a campaign against the building. The case of the tower demonstrates the contradictions and complexities of how urban space is formed with multiple agendas for imagining the space and, in particular, its symbolic representation.

To return to the recent history of Bankside, in negotiating Tate Modern's arrival through the refurbishment of the former power station and LBS's positive stance manifest in their creating amenable conditions for encouraging regeneration in the area, the leader of the council Jeremy Fraser (1993-97) stated in a letter to Serota (24 March, 1994):

> As part of the process we would want to give you every assurance that our main priority for the borough as a whole and for the area of the South Bank and hinterland in particular is to develop the cultural industries, tourism, and leisure facilities that are available in the borough for London. (TG 12/7/1/6).

Serota and the directors worked to demonstrate the expected economic up-lift of the area. In support of their bid for the Lottery Funding, they asked Fred Manson, to provide evidence of an increase in property prices and interest in the area since the announcement of Tate Modern's purchase of the former power station (TG 12/7/1/5). The economic benefits were the driving force for the agenda, in terms of qualifying for the lottery funding; the application was explicit in that the building would instigate other regeneration schemes and developments. In one correspondence between LBS and Serota, one of the objectives of bringing Tate Modern to the area was to encourage a level of a 'high standard for development'

(TG 12/7/1/6). To confirm this, CABE in their positive assessment for Hopton Street reiterated the case for funding: 'We note that part of the case for putting public money into the creation of Tate Modern was that it would stimulate regeneration and investment in the surrounding area. Proposals such as this, and others nearby, are evidence that this strategy is succeeding. We think that the relationship [,] which this scheme proposes between it and the Tate [,] could be a positive thing for both. It also appears in principle to be compatible with the Tate's emerging masterplan for the area' (CABE 29 May 2001). The proposal for the Tate Tower was a clear example of one of Livingstone's strategies for the City to increase density in Central Activity Zones, as well as financial gain from Section 106. The proposal demonstrated a clash between the Mayor's vision and the local agenda.

The saga continued with Serota adamantly opposing the building and stating that only if the ground floor and basement areas were used as public related uses would they accept the plan (Building Design 2003). Serota described the building as 'the equivalent of building a tower block in the forecourt of the British Museum' (Kenneday, The Guardian, 5 September, 2003). To summarise the process, the Tower was rejected by LBS planning. It was argued by the developer London Town that it was rejected for 'emotional' reasons. Therefore an appeal was lodged against Southwark before an inspector appointed by John Prescott, Deputy Prime Minister. The inspector praised the merit of the tower's elegance and the planning inspector decided to reverse LBS's initial refusal of the scheme, and finally planning permission was granted. At this point, such was Serota's dismay at the proposal that he took the radical position of proposing a concrete wall with galvanised metal to demarcate the Tate from the structure. It was confirmed by LBS that it would not require planning permission, as the wall formed part of the Tate's plans to extend the area around the Herzog & de Meuron west entrance despite it having a detrimental effect on public space. The

concrete or galvanised metal wall was viewed as an attempt to prevent customer flow to the retail space on the tower's ground floor.

The representatives of the residents' group, with support from Tate Modern, took the scheme to the High Court where it was again approved in favour of the developer. Further to this, BROAD proposed taking the case to the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg, filing for the unacceptable loss of light. At that point the developer withdrew due to lack of funds, and the site was consequently sold for £10.8 million to a Dutch developer. Work for the tower did start, but was stopped in response to GC Bankside who had submitted a planning application for the demolition of the existing buildings at Bankside Industrial Estate, south of the Hopton Street site and the development of Neo Bankside, as previously mentioned. As part of the Section 106 agreement, GC Bankside proposed to buy the Tate Tower site and to dedicate it as open space. The debacle caused by the proposal to build adjacent to the Tate and profit from the cultural capital is evidenced through the wrangling over planning permission, but in this case the developers with the greatest power and ability to trade off appear to ultimately lay claim to the site. Tate was happy with the decision, as initially when buying the power station they attempted to purchase the paper merchant's site, but lacked the funding. So, despite no objection from even the conservative urban watchdog, English Heritage (there were no listed buildings nearby), and from CABE the scheme was prevented from going ahead due in part to the lack of funds to continue to fight the planning application. CABE's closing statement outlined the difficulty in adjudicating over the matter: 'The difficult question is whether such a building is right in principle for this site. We think that the arguments about whether or not it should go ahead are very finely balanced' (CABE Design Review 29 May, 2001).

There was considerable interest from both the professional and mainstream press in charting the controversial case between the residents and Tate

representatives and the developer, which confirmed that Bankside's profile and future were being observed by the international press as a test case for London's public space, the role of a public institution and its ability to influence the city and that of the developer. The press had mainly chosen to use key landmark buildings to draw comparisons to Tate Modern's surrounding area. Descriptions of the potential urban condition likened the proposal to that of an eyesore marring a building of civic and public pride: Vicente Todoli, Director of Tate Modern (2003-2010) compared the Tower to 'building a skyscraper next to the Eiffel Tower' (Graff, The Independent, 9 July 2003). Lastly in defence of the tower at a planning enquiry, the expert witness Blee described it as a local beacon, and compared it to the Campanile of San Marco in Venice. Moore, the architectural journalist, scoffed at Blee for not acknowledging the disparity of values represented through the buildings: 'Blee does not notice that as a symbol of civic and religious pride, rather than private gain, the Campanile might be entitled to its prominence' (Moore 2003). In opposition to this view, Millard, BBC Arts correspondent, wrote in the New Statesman that a year previously she had quoted in an article the support of CABE for the Tate Modern and its benefits, as 'part of the case for putting money into the creation of Tate Modern was that it would stimulate regeneration in the surrounding area' (Millard, New Statesman 2 February 2004).

Here we can see the contest for clashing visions for the area and as the battle ensued, not even the intervention of London's major was able to consolidate a clear line of vision. As demonstrated, the power of the residents with backing from Tate, finally contributed to the proposal being stopped.

In concluding, through a study of the diversity of influences which all contributed to the urban transformation of the area, I have illustrated the role that Tate played in influencing the urban environment and the regeneration agenda. The case of LBS's initial refusal to allow the building against all statutory bodies before the

judicial review in which permission was granted by the ODPM, in turn allowed a larger developer to maximise on the site, illustrates the influence of Tate in managing to disrupt the planning process and influence the agenda for the area. Tate Modern is in the difficult position of having to justify its funding in terms of its ability to regenerate the city, as evident in its application for Lottery Funding. The problem comes when the pace of regeneration is viewed as significantly impacting on the value to the public organisation, of being able to provide public space around the perimeter of the building and the original intention of creating a route to allow public accessibility.

3.7 Conclusion

In questioning TM's role in influencing the agenda of cultural regeneration I have demonstrated that TM's regenerative effect on the area was highly contingent on local contextual factors and land ownership, as well as the new direction in government policy as manifest through the Mayor's drive to promote London as a global business capital. The Mayor promoted a strategy for promoting high-rise buildings in CAZ zones essentially to achieve planning gain. Underlying the regeneration at Bankside is a rise of the business agenda, as exemplified in the strategy of London First to promote London as a global city. Key to the balanced result of cultural regeneration is progressive urban governance, so that the benefits are spread equally. Tate acted as a catalyst in promoting regeneration, but as in the case of Neo Bankside, LBS reneged on the initial planning agreement, by not assessing the situation and its complexities. As a result, the developer has made maximum profits, in addition to decreasing the diversity around the TM site, highlighting the condition of limited accountability on the part of developers.

Through an analysis of the diversity of players who have influenced the urban transformation of the area I have drawn attention to TM's role in opposing the

Tate Tower. Their intervention demonstrates the power of the institution over the democratic planning system (Serota wrote a personal letter to Cllr James Gurling, on 13 Nov 2006 to raise objections to the proposal). The lack of a coherent vision for this part of Bankside, I have argued, has led to TM attempting to defend the public spaces around the gallery. This action by Tate was viewed as heavy-handed, however due to its lottery funding of £50 million awarded on the premise that the establishment of TM would encourage regeneration in the area, precisely what the Tate Tower proposal engendered. TM's intentions to provide public space around the perimeter of the building and the original intention of creating a flow of movement through the site have to be balanced against the competing interests of a strong development agenda.

This chapter has demonstrated the complexity of hierarchies and stakeholders each vying for a stake in how the environment would materialise, and how the democratic planning process, was in fact overturned because of the power of local interest demonstrated through the protests of BROAD and other residents in their opposition to the Tate Tower. Although this draws into question the ability of planning officers to mediate a strong urban vision within the planning structure, it also demonstrates the lip service often paid to government documents and reports and the difficulty of putting them into practice. In this case Rogers and his comments on good design and the priority of public space and mixed communities was marginalised in his very own design for the Neo Bankside pavilions, illustrating the contentiousness of his position as government advisor and architect.

As this chapter has demonstrated, the drive to profit from the cultural capital, as mediated through the status of TM and its reputation as a world-class cultural institution, has been illustrated by the contentious process of development around its perimeter. In drawing on the issues of authenticity, as discussed by Zukin, in which she equates the rise of the effects of regeneration with a loss of

authenticity, as neighbourhoods increasingly become indistinguishable, or the vocabulary of large-scale development creating an architecture of bland internationalism, the marketable quality of TM is that it creates a unique experience which is ideally difficult to replicate. If there is an encroaching amount of commercial retail outlets dominated by corporate chains, better able to afford the rents over small scale business, this in turn will lead to a lack of diversity at street level, and the very conditions that have contributed to this concept of uniqueness being eroded.

Formerly Bankside was discussed in terms of its position within the City fringes. It is now viewed as a lively city quarter with a distinct image, but one increasingly geared to the commodification of city living, communicated through a codified lifestyle. The lack of a master plan for the area which has encouraged visions of private development and objectives to be pursued, for short term gain, I argue, will lead to an unbalanced single vision for the area at the expense of allowing it to evolve with a consideration for the local narratives. I have discussed that the transformation of the area to that of promoting tourism was identified by giving priority to this agenda over other issues explicit in the Future Southwark initiative. Additionally, The McKinsey feasibility study focused on the role that TM would play in promoting London as a global cultural city as well as a tourist attraction.

In assessing the lack of coherent vision for Bankside, I have discussed the Bankside Urban Study in 2000, which states that there is a strong desire to create an agreed framework to inform the future of Bankside. The study highlights the opportunity for co-ordinated development, but demonstrates the limitations of its impact in driving a cohesive development plan. I have illustrated the rivalries at play in staking out a claim in shaping the urban environment. It is questionable whether there really has been the potential for coordinated development, although the arrival of the Bankside Urban Forest (2009) sought to

create a sensitive strategic framework in plan to address the area south of Southwark Street.

Harvey, views the city as an integral element which sets a platform on which we can change ourselves by changing the city, and is therefore beyond purely our individual right to access urban resources. This he views as a common right, as transformation inevitably depends on the exercise of a collective power to reshape the processes of urbanisation. Here he advocates the strength of individuals and residents who feel a strong connection to place, or who are motivated to influence the urban agenda. This motivation is exercised through residents' groups, although in the case of large scale development the uses are largely focused on 'west end' uses and high-end residences, thus restricting a diversity of use. The site on which Neo Bankside was built was not a Brownfield site in need of development, as described in Rogers UTF document arguing for a revitalisation of city centres, but a functioning paper-wholesaler in operation until the 1990s.

The investors GC Bankside's promotion of Neo Bankside to the Asian market demonstrated their trajectory to attract investors keen to put their money into a secure market. This has severe local repercussions, with the radical expansion of the urban process. Quality of urban life has become a commodity as has the city itself, in a system where consumerism, tourism, cultural and knowledge based industries have become major aspects of the urban political economy. As I have demonstrated, rivalry and jostling of interest are explicit in urban governance. Here I demonstrate the balance between the ability of the residents and institutions to exercise influence over place-making, alongside the developers who prioritise the creation of profit in influencing the regeneration.

Harvey's conclusions that Neo-liberalism promotes an ethic of intense possessive individualism and withdrawal from collective forms of action all signal

a withdrawal of political possibilities experienced at street level (Harvey 2008). Under these conditions, issues such as urban identity, citizenship and belonging become harder to sustain, but nevertheless expressions of collective activity are still acted out. Tate's intervention in the planning system, although viewed as interfering with the democratic system or at odds with the agenda it promoted when bidding for funding, also demonstrates that issues such as dialogue, trust and informal knowledge exchange as well as providing a platform for political expression of claims over space, are required to drive through a planning agenda that attempts to address the social, cultural and economic issues.

Attempts at representing the existing and incoming residents are channelled through the grass roots organisations such as the Bankside Residents' Forum (BRF) which has been paradigmatic in constructing informed consultation, and Bankside Open Spaces Trust (BOST*)* which, with limited funding, attempted to address the concerns of long-term and low income residents in their 'right to the city', by improving and protecting the open green spaces in the borough. Both organisations have aimed to redress or mediate issues surrounding the urbanisation of the area between residents and developers, so as to ensure those residents' perspectives are addressed.

Chapter Four
Voices from the Street

4.1 Introduction
4.2 Contextualising the social within the public at Bankside, Tate Modern and the wider community
4.3 Policy, arts and the community
4.4 Community and the Local
4.5 Conclusion

4.1 Introduction

I will examine the ambitions of the directors of Tate Modern to create an open porous spatial structure by expanding the Turbine Hall into the fabric of the city and to provide a site, which offers a dynamic basis for public interaction. The aim of the directors was to provide the potential for an expansion of socio-spatial relationships in response to the institution. Recently, galleries have started to reconstruct their role in relation to cultural values, earning them titles such as 'social condensers' that expand the remit of traditional ways of viewing art. The term 'New Institutionalism',[22] borrowed from economics and sociology, was coined to describe the expanded practices carried out by institutions to engage audiences with the content and process of art making, and ambitiously to engage viewers on a democratic level in questioning the current political climate. Massey argues that in order to create a platform onto which new forms of politics can be acted out, architecture and space should strive to be open, in order to create the possibility of new social structures (2005). The Turbine Hall is a key element in representing a new paradigm of public interaction within the city and here the city

[22] In some senses 'new institutionalism' represents the absorption of institutional critique as theorized and practiced by artists since the 1970s. But to most artists of the 1970s the idea of an institutional critique being practiced by institutions themselves would have been oxymoronic: institutional critique, by definition, was something conducted from the outside (often literally so: artists closed galleries, wrapped them, plastered paper over their façades and so on). This mythical outside, which assumed that the institution lay in buildings not discourse, led to a negative dialectic that essentially left art institutions unchanged, the white cube serving as a foil for critical installations. Vanguard artists of the 1970s abandoned the high Modernist doctrine of medium-specificity, but discipline-specificity remained mostly unchallenged (Farquharson, Frieze, Sept 2006)

is interpreted as a complex and multidimensional social agent, rather than a fixed tourist representation. I will examine the motivations of Tate's directors to create a dynamic model of urbanism and how potentially the institution has enabled a platform of micro politics in response to how space is managed by new social models, such as Better Bankside, BOST and BRF.

In order to examine how Tate Modern attempted to integrate its activities within the locality of Bankside, I will explore the networking of governance that operated within the borough. Massey focuses on how a critique of space 'as a product of interrelations' (2005: 10) can lead to new democratic possibilities and here, I argue, opened up the possibility for new social partnerships in Bankside. In embedding itself within the community, Tate Modern engaged with existing networks and community organisations, in order to understand and collaborate with the existing infrastructure. Tate Modern's role in mediating between the community and the institution was carried out by exerting a certain influence in managing development in the area, which will be demonstrated through their community strategy programme.

In the previous chapter I drew attention to the closing down of possibilities through the highly prescriptive ways of living at Neo Bankside and the limited possibility of traversing the site due to the development Bankside 123, contrary to the architects' original intentions to make the ground floor a porous structure allowing the flow of trajectories from the south of the site to Tate Modern. Massey argues that to understand space fully we need to recognise it as always under construction; relations to space are embedded material practices in the process of being made. In the latter half of this chapter I introduce narratives from residents to examine how memories and identity can inform a relationship to place. In analysing how shifting identities are informed through the changing nature of social space, Hoelscher & Alderman (2004) draw attention to how social memory and social space conjoin to produce much of the context for

modern identities. If we are to believe that space is viewed as a product of interrelations (and here relations are understood as embedded practices) such politics stress relational structures i.e. how a person's identity is constructed through social factors.

I will focus on how social relationships have been affected by the changes in the urban environment in response to the establishment of Tate Modern. This will demonstrate a sense of a build-up of social capital amongst the less conspicuous players whom I interviewed. It also demonstrates a dislocation from the area as a result of the branding strategy to create Bankside as a cultural quarter. This exemplifies the ambiguity of benefits of uplift and the reshaping of the community against the rapid urban transformation. In addressing how Tate Modern interacted with the local community, I will illustrate the process that the institution underwent in engaging with local businesses and residential communities. The chapter will describe the layering of the social linked to community and memory, as essential to place, and demonstrate an interwoven process that defines the specific urban context.

The prevailing identity of a cultural quarter allows at times a limited agenda to come to the fore. Bankside was designated part of the wider cultural quarter in 2005, linking it with the cultural activities of the South Bank. Harvey questions whose narrative or identity is dominant in the promotion of an area's image and how is it historically defined. Referring to the case of the recent promotion of Barcelona, the whole city was awarded the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) Gold Medal in 1999, Harvey describes the most prominent values that constitute a city's reimagining of place: '[…]the knowledge and heritage industries, the vitality and ferment of cultural production, signature architecture and the cultivation of distinctive aesthetic judgements have become powerful constitutive elements in the politics of urban regeneration' (2002: 106). This leads Harvey to question, with relation to the local sphere, whose collective memory,

whose aesthetics or whose narrative of the city is prioritised. This chapter aims, through analysing residents' and employees' relationship to place, to demonstrate how the space is being lived and reshaped, both by local, internal and broader economic influences. Harvey's argument suggests that one visible identity is favoured over another. If space is allowed to embrace change and plurality, then different actors can exist in a cohesive manner contributing to a multi-dimensional reading of space. In the case of Bankside, I argue that a prominent visual language is evident that promotes an emphasis on a cultural agenda prevalent in the branding of Bankside which I explore in Chapter Five. I will also however highlight how some of the residents feel distanced from this reimagining of the area and how it has little relevance to them.

In this chapter I use individual interviews to demonstrate issues of place attachment, residential pride or dissatisfaction, which is associated with the physical. On a social level I look at individual community attachment played out through social organisations such as BOST or BRF. On the political domain I look at citizen participation and empowerment. In this case I look at the objectives of BRF and their relationship to a network of decision makers in the area.

4.2 Contextualising the public at Bankside, Tate Modern and the wider community

Tate Modern's relationship with the community is outlined in its strategy development objectives as described below in an internal Tate Modern document: 'to progress the dialogue and thinking of the long term relationship between the community and the TGMA; to stimulate discussion of the role of the community in the development process and to create a definition of community' (TG 12/2/15/8).

The word ‘community’ here is interpreted by the Tate to describe residents in estates and the organisations operating them: ‘demographic issues, particular communities, and employees in Bankside, community organisations in SE1 and key players in the regeneration process’ (TG 12/2/15/8).

It is worth pausing to unpick the broad interpretations of community in recent sociology. Due to the demise of a British manufacturing base, community is often associated with a strong working-class based on support and social bonds, demonstrating solidarity and compassion against this restructuring of British industry (Blokland 2001). The demise of manufacturing in Bankside was marked by the dramatic reduction of the wharfs and dockers’ jobs from the 1950s onwards. This decline was hastened by the closure of the Port of London, due to the use of much larger ships, containerisation and alternative means of transport and storage, and the contraction of the hop trade. The Hop Exchange at Bankside finally closed in 1972. A wider interpretation of community is that of relating primarily to cohesion, common bond or togetherness. Nisbet interpreted community as any relations with a strong sense of personal intimacy, emotional depth, moral involvement, social cohesion and sustainability (1980: 49). Others relate it solely to location; the nostalgic perspective is that of a working-class tightly knit community being displaced by middle-class values and with economic instability as a result. In assessing what were the objectives of Tate Modern in their courting of the community and their objectives behind integrating the institution into the locality, I will discuss Tate Modern’s strategy of engagement with the locality.

In undertaking the role of steering a relationship between the gallery and its community it could be argued that Tate Modern’s socio-political impact was carried out through the vehicle of architecture, creating a dynamic programme of interaction made possible through the original approach to the building’s conversion. This is exemplified in the rhetoric of dynamic urbanism, in which the

building was viewed as an urban passage, creating links from the south side, which represents the poorer area of the borough through the Turbine Hall as a linking element to the north side of the site. In addressing the role of the cultural organisation and its relationship to the public, Walsh and Philips (2009) reiterate the new role of the museum, 'the foundation and dynamic of the museum is essentially that of a politics of the public' (Tate Encounters Project Report 2010).

Recent planning guidelines have emphasised the improvement of public space, but with little analysis of what role public space plays in contemporary society. Drawing attention to the report *Towards an Urban Renaissance* (Urban Task Force 1999*)* chaired by Rogers, Massey highlights how the document promotes visions of cities resplendent with squares and piazzas, 'unproblematically open to all' (2005: 152). Massey stresses that the public nature of space needs to be held up to scrutiny, as it offers too narrow a perspective of who the public are. Massey is critical of how a vision of public space is condensed to a canopied café area, demonstrating a one-dimensional engagement and disengagement with architecture as a more complex social structure (2005: 152).

To reiterate Massey's point that the democratic can be achieved through social negotiation in space, she proposes that places pose the question of our living together, which she argues is central to the political. There is an emphasis on the need for instability as well as an acceptance of the status of a necessary combination of order and chance, 'chaos is at once a risk and a chance' (Massey quoting Derrida: ibid 151). Derrida suggests that where there is no room for 'that inevitable contingency' (2005: 151), an unquestioning role of a provisional hegemony is established which is executed through the coding of space. If I examine Massey's proposal to encourage a loose frame of order, she suggests that structures that look chaotic such as street markets are often in reality regulated with underlying organisational structures. It is only their temporary nature which allows the city to take on different roles during the timeframe of a

day. In constructing a new model from which its public could interact with the institution, whether chaotic or unregimented, Tate Modern aimed to expand the possibilities of how the public interact within the gallery. Tate Modern has attempted to give itself a distinct identity from that of Tate Britain, which houses the national British collection, and is therefore viewed as a representation of British art with its associated values of the past. Tate Britain is 'a practice of the political representation of the nation', (Walsh & Philips, Tate Encounters internal doc. 2009) which raises issues of the impact of Britain's colonial heritage and cultural legacy. The institution's relationship to its recent history is associated through its apparatus, a term that Foucault uses to describe the structures of an institution, such as methods of display and codes of behaviour. In Chapter Six I will discuss this in relation to the codes of behaviour within the Turbine Hall through interviews with the Head of Visitor Services to unpick which are the inevitable restrictions imposed within the institution. Some of the questions raised within this analysis look at how architecture frames the social gaze through structured realms of visibility; the buildings we inhabit reproduce our social world. In relation to the Turbine Hall I ask what kind of agency is enabled and constrained by the particular building typology.

In discussing the architecture of TGMA (as the building was named up until 1998), Serota, in an article in the Italian architectural journal *Domus*, describes the remodelling of the power station as 'one of transformation rather than conversion,' (TG archives press file 2000) and singles out the two principal elements that would externally communicate the image of the gallery, both of which he describes as simple gestures. The first is the glass 'light beam', which runs the length of the building's roof, and the second 'the former Turbine Hall now open to its full height of more than thirty metres' (ibid). He goes on to describe the Turbine Hall as potentially acting as a great public street for congregation. Thirdly, Serota describes the condition of the Hall as serving 'as a stimulus rather than as a constraint and the ultimate beneficiaries will be artists

and their many different public' (ibid). Of interest here is the use of the word *public* rather than visitors or spectators. Serota's use of the word to describe the gallery's audience refers to his intention to create an urban paradigm of a social place where users can congregate, discuss, debate and exchange. Culture has become an increasingly integrated element used to construct a concept of a lifestyle, with souvenirs, cafes and consumer merchandise. Members' clubs are termed 'friends of', and the use of a public space promotes a democratic representation of the institution with values removed from an exclusive high cultural agenda to one that reflects a diverse society. For while this unity aspires to a democratising element, the right to the space, as formed through the institution is not wholly a public space, but a publicly accessible space with limitations. The space is also an adjunct to the gallery, a form of urban bypass or thoroughfare through a building. Reading it as a democratising social platform is therefore problematic, as it cannot be fully dislocated from the codes of behaviour as communicated through a gallery and the necessary security regulations, as well as social rituals. Serota's aim was to dislocate the space of the Turbine Hall from the conventions of the art gallery so that the space can act as an urban element that helps to redefine the role of the gallery in the twenty-first century. However in the same issue of the aforementioned *Domus* magazine, Burdett comments on the ambition of the Tate directors to invert the power station's industrial typology to push it further than a hollowed industrial relic to a outward looking building, drawing attention to the impenetrability of the building's physicality: 'Designed as an inward-looking structure to keep people away from its power generating and polluting activities, the building forms a barrier to its urban surroundings' (TG archives press file 2000). The building had to be turned inside out in order to create a sense of openness. The intention at the competition stage was to extend the Turbine Hall and internal bridge to create an access path directed towards the south of the site. One of Serota's principal objectives when devising the building's programmes was to emphasise

the institution's democratic nature, as a space that will primarily draw people in for its architecture, and then secondly for its collection of art:

> It's a place that people feel they can share in. It's a place that people will want to go and meet others, and then perhaps go and look at some modern or contemporary art. It's a place that should become part of the social fabric, as well as the cultural fabric (Sabbagh 2000: 41).

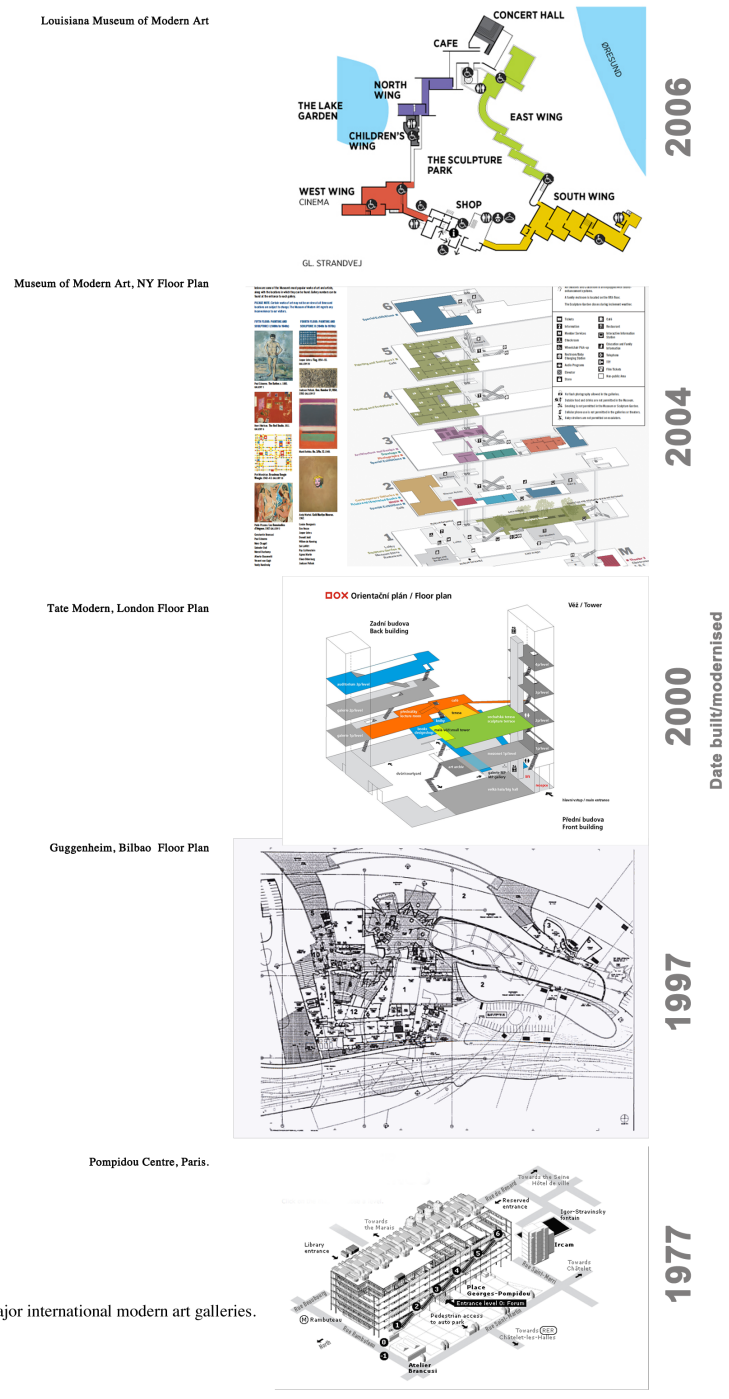

Figure 4.1 Major international modern art galleries.

Figure 4.1 Comparison of art galleries, MOMA, CGP, Tate Modern, Louisiana MMA: source individual galleries.

When analysing museum typologies, Serota listed three archetypal models of museums: one the Museum of Modern Art in New York (Philip Johnson), an elegant box with a sequence of artificially lit galleries; the second, the iconic signature piece of architecture as in the examples of the Guggenheim, New York, Bilbao (Frank Lloyd Wright, Gehry) and the Pompidou Centre, Paris (Piano and Rogers), a hangar-type space which can be compared to Cedric Price's concept of the Fun Palace (1963) (see figure 4.1 for a comparison of art galleries). Tate Modern was none of these, being housed within a shell of London's manufacturing past, and Serota realised very early on the huge potential of this building in unlocking a series of local urban events; new connections within Southwark to the City and across the River Thames to the City Millennium Bridge (Foster & Partners 2000). Here I stress Serota's intentions, 'the decision was urban' (Gugger interview transcript, 2009). But what did Serota intend by Tate Modern becoming part of the social fabric? How does an institution fulfill this aim as well as one that is embedded in a cultural discourse that struggles to expand its values and avant-garde practice? The trustees awarded the contract to Herzog & de Meuron who clarified their ambitions for the Turbine Hall in their competition winning drawing:

> Pictures speak a visual language not a conceptual language. The ramp, the bridge and parts of the Turbine Hall will be characterised by public life, the museum visitors will be able to stroll about and communicate as they would do on an ordinary street (TG/12/4/)

In my research using the on-line photo-sharing site Flickr to explore the interaction between public exchange and physical space, many of the comments focused on experiencing the installations, especially Olafur Eliasson's *Weather Project* (2006-07). One Flickr user commented on his ritualistic walk past the never setting sun on his way to work. Often, familiarity is cited as comfort, a form of stability within the city, familiarity breeds a sense of trust through regularity. In

the case of the Turbine Hall, which could be described as mirroring that of a stage set, the space is constantly reinventing itself through the annual programming of installations and temporary projects, leading to excitement and confusion, both dislocating but stirring emotions within the city. I carried out a series of interviews with members of the public in the Turbine Hall to canvas perception of the space and to enquire what feelings or impressions were emoted on visiting the hall. The interviews were carried out during the installation of Miroslaw Balka (2009). From a sample of 20 interviews conducted between June and July 2009, the predominant result was the drawing of analogies with public spaces such as parks and that of a cathedral. The scale of such a place is unusual within a gallery and its changing programme creates a sense of uneasiness of categorisation as a spatial typology, which can be viewed positively, in that its identity is constantly shifting. Serota describes the architecture of the building as 'a set of instruments that will be played in different ways by artists and curators' (TG archives press file, 2000). Personally, I felt that the most successful installation with the least intervention in the space was the American artist Bruce Nauman's Unilever Series titled *Raw Materials* (2005). This installation consisted of speakers positioned along the length of the walls, broadcasting different audio pieces, overlapping to create the impression that the spectator/listener is over hearing an intimate conversation in the city, creating a sense of anonymity and intimacy. The Turbine Hall is a successful example of non-over-determined form becoming an urban thoroughfare where people would traverse the site, thereby becoming a place to linger, but not first and foremost a destination to view art. Its constant appraisal during the design process and in documentation for Tate Modern Two, demonstrates its superiority or hierarchy in relation to the rest of the building, acting as a fulcrum around which axis, paths, connectivity and flows would be brought through the building. This has given it a presence beyond the limitation of its site boundaries.

4.3 Policy, arts and the community

In framing Serota's agenda to embrace the social, I will describe the role of cultural policy which contextualises the gallery within the wider framework of the former Labour government's policy (1997–2010). The policy was devised to impact on an increased accessibility of the arts and to question traditional methods of experiencing art. It was widely acknowledged that the government's commitment to Tate Modern reaffirmed its alignment with Creative Britain,[23] whereas the debacle over the Millennium Dome emphasised the limits of its understanding of cultural values versus accessibility, due to the poor quality of the Dome's content (Art Monthly, no. 241 11 2000).

New Labour's backing of the cultural industries and policy, under Labour's ideological mantra the *Third Way*, is viewed as predominantly aimed at economic and social regeneration. Critics have raised concern over the use of the arts as a substitute for economic policy (Charlesworth 2000). Heartfield, on writing about the creative industries and the new economy, commented on the department of Trade and Industry's shift, in its 1998 report, to an investment in ideas surrounding the knowledge economy, due to the lack of ideas to fuel industrial policy. The Creative Britain model had been imported by the DCMS under the Culture Minister Chris Smith, which provided political justification of support for this policy. It was intended as a shift from what was viewed by some as alignment with the highly subsidised traditional arts to one of 'seamless integration in the inclusive and non-hierarchical world of the cultural industries' (Charlesworth 2000: 8). In a press release from the DCMS in 1998 Smith announced the provision of an extra £290 million over three years (1998-2002),

[23]In the arts policy documents produced by the British Labour Party prior to its 1997 election victory, it used the term 'cultural industries' to describe the range of activities with which it was principally concerned (Labour Party 1997). In the government policy documents it produced after victory in that election, the organising term shifted to the 'creative Industries' (DCMS 1998). International Journal of Cultural Policy, Vol. 11, No. 1, 2005.

whilst affirming the arts' new role of targeting broader audiences and its potential for social impact:

> The new investment, announced today, places a clear responsibility on funding bodies for agreed improvements in efficiency, access and private sector sponsorship. It is a new contract with the arts. The aim is reform for the benefit of the many, not just the few. Museums and Galleries New Investment will widen access to the UK's museums and galleries, recognising their potential for enhancing education, combating social exclusion and promoting urban regeneration (archive.treasury.gov.uk 1997).

Smith, who agreed additional funding for Tate Modern, also managed to overhaul Conservative policy and remove admission charges to public galleries and museums. Subsidies for the traditional arts were no longer justified in their own right, hence the drive to move away from a bureaucratic funding system and encourage arts organisations to run themselves autonomously along the structure of a self-funding business. Additionally, the *New Audiences* initiative by Arts Council of England (ACE) from 1999, sought to examine barriers of access due to social, economic or psychological reasons and introduce high arts into everyday spaces, such as Shakespeare into nightclubs (The Reduced Shakespeare Company or Opera in football stadiums). The DCMS's Social Exclusion Unit Policy Action Team 10 Report (PAT 10) 1991 aimed to push the agenda for arts to match their funding with other sources, whilst taking the arts into the realm of social policy. The promotion of the creative industries would be key to this and the interventionist role in steering the arts came directly out of Smith's policy as administered by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS). Along with this new model of integration of the high-arts within a non-hierarchical culture was the belief that government could demand ever greater returns from the subsidised arts. DCMS's Social Exclusion Unit (Policy Action

Team 10) aimed to assess investment directly with social policy. PAT 10 set out its agenda clearly as an agent for social regeneration, focusing on how the arts and sports could 'help neighbourhood's renewal by improving community's performance on the four key indicators of health, crime, employment [and] education' (quoted by Charlesworth 2000: 22).

The Museums and Libraries Archive (MLA), a national development agency for museums which advises the government on policy and priorities for the sector, published the document *New Directions in Social Policy: Cultural Diversity for museums, libraries and archives* (2004), which aimed to act as a mapping exercise to provide an overview of policies concerning the process and outcomes of the term cultural diversity, both within and outside the sector. The report underlined the need to align the arts with cultural diversity, as well to attempt a new definition of the relationship between culture and high art. The ambitious claims being made were that 'community cohesion is crucial to promoting greater knowledge, respect and contact between various cultures and to establish a greater sense of citizenship' (Hylton 2004: 9). The impact and aim of cultural activities were expanded to notions of citizenship and into the broader debate about improving communities through shared cultural activities as offered by institutions. But underlining the claims was a sense of establishing and coaxing an establishment of citizenship which would previously have been shaped through institutions such as the church, social club, and or educational establishments (Museums Libraries Archives, New Directions in Social Policy: Cultural Diversity for Museums, libraries and archives, Hylton 2004). Here I argue that the problem with social exclusion is that responsibility is directed from the Government to the realm of culture and therefore restricts the scope of the arts if aligned to government policy. In assessing the potential of PAT 10, the Public Art Journal examined the potential of cultural policy in advancing the model of art as an integrated social practice. The art theorist Thakara traces the lineage of an ideology that celebrated the supremacy of the artist as an individual from the

birth of Modernism with 'authors of art' creating a grand narrative with figureheads such as Jackson Pollock and Pablo Picasso. In so doing she traces the art object as a unique product reinforcing issue of authenticity and authorship, to a new paradigm within art institutions of 'a broader cultural representation and an altered notion of the public as active and direct participants within cultural production' (Thakara, 2000: 2).

Therefore, in identifying art's relationship or responsibility to the society which it questionably mirrors, we have moved from tenets that underpinned the Modernist movement within the arts, that upheld authenticity and that was largely driven by white male western artists, to an art form that is expected to appeal to the widest common denominator, as well as being instrumental in playing a role in creating a sense of identity. The damaging effect on viewing art as largely an ameliorating force is that, by appealing to as wide an audience as possible, there will be a forfeiting of difficult issues and uncomfortable subjects. Charlesworth argues that the current preoccupation with integrating art into the everyday potentially limits artistic imagination, as well as the spheres of the social and political (Charlesworth, 2000). With reference to the Tate Modern, the curators and educational departments, in devising their *Four Year Strategy for Community Education and Learning* (1996) authored by George Cochrane, Tate Modern's Community Officer appointed in 1995, set out their ambitions, as well as identify their limitations. In assessing their approach to addressing the community, it was decided that a dynamic approach be taken, concentrating on the concept of those who can benefit directly from the gallery. To counteract what they saw as a broad definition of community, it was agreed that there could be overwhelming demands on the programme. The community was analysed as consisting of 'a high degree of residential stability at this stage, increasing unemployment, an increasingly aged population, a recently increasing racial mix and overall poverty. Bankside can be viewed as a classic white working class inner city area' (TG 12/4). The following statement from the same document illustrates the

department's desire not to become too much of a dominant presence within the area: 'The relationship between the future educational programme and the exhibition's programme will need to be considered. It would be inappropriate to think that it could be overly influential, as it would lead to duplication and a feeling that the gallery was using its position to take over and hence become overly powerful in the area' (TG/12/4). Here the curators and educators were aware of the limitations of the potential of their influence in the area.

To return to Serota's principal aim to create a public space within the gallery, this ambition for integrating culture and the social into the public was balanced against the demands on Serota in his role as director of a leading contemporary gallery. With this role is the obligation to maintain a degree of autonomy from government and to retain credibility amongst the art establishment in operating a dynamic and innovative cultural programme. This was quite a balancing act. To return to Massey's concept of imagining the city, she draws attention to our imaginations of the city, and in respect of London it is perceived as a city of parks, public spaces, and galleries largely without admission fees, freely accessible but against this perception it is increasingly led by prioritising its financial status and ability to attract global investors (Massey 2008). In relation to these two interpretations Tate Modern oscillates between the two camps, one as a global attraction drawing global finance, the other operating on a local scale providing local community amenities such as access to a monthly film club, community garden situated adjacent to the north entrance of Tate Modern and Tate Local events. Additionally, its ambitions to engage residents of the poorer areas in Southwark were mapped out in Phase 2 of the Tate Modern expansion programme. Inevitably an institution will prioritise one agenda over the other dependent on resources at various times of its development. In light of the government's increasing intention to integrate culture and policy as outlined above, many of the concepts regarding the application of intervention with local

communities, outreach programmes and accessibility to a greater public were driven through, independently of government policy.

Finally, to return to the DCMS, a document was sent to LBS to comment on the role of culture in regeneration, raising the issue as to what can be done to encourage developers and planners to include culture in regeneration strategies and programmers. The proposals in 'Culture at the Heart of Regeneration' (DCMS 2005), regarding best practice and publicising the benefits of culture, were intended to result in increased awareness of the regeneration benefits attached to culture led activities. The report concluded that this should be reflected in the planning system, and influence the future preparation of development plans. It was raised 'that local community pressure and expertise can also be an influence and can be encouraged and supported' (ibid), citing the Bankside 123 development. This includes, through the section 106 planning obligations, the requirement to include 10-15% cultural floor space within the development. This requirement came about as a direct result of the adjacent Tate Modern and the involvement of Bankside Residents Forum (BRF), a local community group set up by residents with the support of Tate and Southwark Council, during the conversion of Bankside power station. BRF produced a brief for the development, and elements of this have been incorporated into the final design of Bankside 123. This includes a community space for BRF and other local groups and the provision of public art and a new pedestrian axis through the development site.

In examining how the recent establishment of cultural organisations have influenced the public realm, I refer to literature that examines how regeneration and culture have now become familiar rhetoric amongst city policy making: 'Culture, it would seem, can be viewed not just as a challenge to the ability of cities to combine social justice with economic growth, but also source-ground around which the amelioration of such problems can be sought' (Miles &

Paddison 2005: 833). The importance of the rise of the cultural sphere in the contemporary urban economy directs itself towards promoting cultural forms of urban tourism and a commodification of culture.

In *The Rise and Rise of Cultural Led Urban Regeneration*, Miles & Paddison (2005) discuss whether we can ever really assess the complex nature of the impact of cultural investment on our cities, and how far such decisions are based on an informed analysis of how investment might change a city. In other words what do cultural projects actually mean in terms of the lives of those people who live in the city? I have previously highlighted the McKinsey Report, which was criticised for not engaging sufficiently in an in-depth analysis with the broader issues of the area and the limitations of the scope of enquiry did not reach beyond the economic and tourist assessment. In the document *Creative Britain* (2000), Smith extols the virtues and potential of culture, citing, 'cultures are seen as at the heart of regeneration' (DCMS *Culture at the Heart of Regeneration* Smith: 2004, 834). Ambitious claims are made, but it is argued that numerous models of regeneration are of a rapidly gentrifying urban core, surrounded by a ring of intensely disadvantaged residential areas (Lees, 2003). Ward states that the conventional notion that culture has to be a good thing and that there may be money in it is widely believed. Counter to this, Wilks-Heeg & North (2004) state that local economic development strategies have increasingly identified cultural and creative industries as key growth sectors in urban and regional economies, pointing out that the Tate Modern is estimated to be worth £100 million, whilst supporting 3000 jobs in London. The increased visitor numbers to the area since the opening in 2000 of Tate Modern demonstrate this. Trying to separate out the economic effect of these cultural activities has proved difficult. Southwark, along with Tate Modern and Westminster City Council commissioned DTZ Pieda and Tony Travers to carry out research into this effect. In analysing the effects of cultural regeneration, the argument arises that cultural planning is more about achieving outcomes that relate to the concept of culture as a civilising force

rather than a practice that questions the tenets of society. Thus, if culture is becoming overly associated with lifestyles and visual transformation, rather than its ability to encourage a questioning of culture and society, its benefits as an educating device will become diluted and potentially eroded if too aligned with instrumental outcomes. Evans makes a case for a longer view of evidence to avoid being caught up in this over simplification of assessment of perceived successful projects exemplified in the regeneration of Bilbao in the Basque capital with the franchise of the Guggenheim Museum.

In the language of the *Third Way,* social inclusion has become synonymous with the economy of full citizenship, which can only be achieved through participation in the economy. There is no scope in the rhetoric of the *Third Way* to assess or address the causes of social exclusion or disadvantage; Stevenson goes so far as to suggest that culture is implicit in the reproduction of inequality (2000). In order to address the relevance of the Tate's collection to an increasing multi-ethnic audience in Britain, the Tate Education department completed the research project titled *Tate Encounters: Diasporas, Identities and Migrations* (2009). In defence of Tate, Tate Encounters set out a number of research aims, which explicitly located the project within a social and cultural context. Here I have brought to light the positioning of a cultural agenda partly motivated through government policy, but demonstrate the limitations of assessment. The argument centres on the sensitive issue of culture being instrumental in having a direct economic impact. The implication is that an expectation of culture in this role is at the expense of acknowledging the root of social exclusion. The benefit of culture in providing community focus and cohesion lies in bringing residents together to respond to issues that they can affect or engage with collectively, whether in a negative or positive manner, if a platform for engagement is provided.

4.4 Community and the Local

In order to address the existing social context and the role that the directors of Tate Modern took in addressing the context, I draw on interview material with residents and employees whom I have encountered in my research, as well as my work as a volunteer for Bankside Open Space Trust (BOST). The sample for my research is a selection of both long term and midterm residents. The theme of the interviews focused on how the establishment of Tate Modern has influenced the urban environment. Issues relating to the gentrification debate arose in terms of feelings of isolation as the area witnessed an influx of middle class residents.

In commenting on the authenticity of Tate Modern's approach to addressing the community Sabbagh outlines the level of commitment in these terms:

> The Tate's community activities were too widespread and went on for too long for them to be just window dressing. There was a genuine sense that from Serota downwards the Tate team was willing to give all the time necessary to reassure the Borough of Southwark that it was going to be a socially responsible organization rather than a cultural flying saucer landing on the riverside. (Sabbagh 2000: 84).

Evans (2004), who has consulted widely for the DCMS on evaluating the impact of culture, is critical of an overt focus on assessing evidence and indicators used to measure the impacts, concluding that gaps in evidence persist. Recalling the ongoing spread of iconic and flagship projects that continue to be emulated, Evans calls for a selective learning from the 'evidence', and that a more pluralist rather than a standardised approach is appropriate. Through my own research on an educational visit to the Guggenheim Museum GM), Bilbao as part of the European funded Leonardo Exchange (*Regeneration Through Heritage* educational exchange programme, 2008), it was clear that the success of the GM relied heavily on major infrastructural support, such as the light rail system designed by the British architectural practice Foster & Partners, implemented to

provide the backbone of improving the run down industrial areas. Accompanying this was a major project to clean up the polluted River Nervion upon which the GM sits.

In focusing on communities, Hughes calls for their mobilisation and need for acknowledgement in the ensuing disruption that regeneration will entail:

> My own blunt evaluation of regeneration programmes that don't have a cultural component is they won't work. Communities have to be energised, they have to be given some hope, they have to have the creative spirit released (Hughes 1998: 2).

The issue of creating a platform of trust within communities is something that is identified throughout the literature around communities and neighbourhoods (Jacobs 1961, Sennett 1977). Trust can be achieved through a process of negotiation, or instigating a sense of ownership over the project, exchange, a bartering of acceptance for the disruption that will inevitably result. Alternatively, the consultation and community focus can be read as a decoy masking the manifest power of the developer. In examining the community, it is misleading to imagine it as a fixed entity and theorists have questioned what is the exact definition of the word in relation to whether those working in the area have as strong a sense of community as residents; therefore, it is a term that needs to be treated cautiously. Bankside has long been fragmented with disjointed street patterns, leading to little cohesion at street level. When interviewing the chairman of the BRF Andrew Richardson (2010-12), he remarked on the isolation of each housing estate, which have few community ties. Since the Second World War, the population of Bankside has witnessed extremes in fluctuation. In 1951 the population was approximately 22,000, in 1961 it was 17,000 and by 1991 it had fallen to about 6,500, a density of about 54 to the hectare (Reilly & Marshall 2001: 36). In the last fifteen years the population has increased dramatically, as a

result of the new build housing responding to the regeneration in the area. Richardson emphasises the intention of LBS to provide a representational platform for the community to comment on the regeneration plans. The statement below outlines the aim of the BRF to provide an understanding of the process and ability to intervene in planning decisions:

> Our main role is to comment on development issues, it is a watching brief on the developers – it is about empowering the residents giving information about how they can challenge people in a sensible way. It is not about how we don't want development, it is not about nimbyism, it is about asking the right questions (Richardson interview 2010).

Here Richardson emphasises that the role of the BRF is not as opponents to the development as in many cases the initial residents who moved to Bankside prior to the opening of Tate Modern, bought flats in the Manhattan Loft Building development completed in 1997. These residents welcomed the increased amenities in the area and the influx of development, except when it encroached directly on their 'right to light' as recounted in the planning debacle over Tate Tower (see Chapter Three).

On asking Richardson what tools are provided for residents to enable them to engage in the planning processes he outlines the various mechanisms, drawing attention to the number of residents present within the forum who work in the architecture or planning professions:

> My predecessors have put this in place rough guides to planning, consultation, dealing with building control. These residents are probably some of the most astute residents in the country when it comes to planning issues not just because they are private sector residents; the social housing residents are equally astute (Richardson interview 2010).

Richardson took up the position of Chairman in 2010, after which the BRF have grown to be a significant organisation with a strong presence in affecting the area; LBS consulted the forum for their input in the SPG document and at other consultation stages. However I will demonstrate how the lack of the knowledge of the planning system in the early part of the BRF's establishment hampered plans to provide a public swimming pool in the area. Richardson cites the number of residential properties between Blackfriars Bridge and London Bridge, which increased 100% in comparison with that of London as a whole, which is 20%. The breakdown of social housing to private in 1990 was 60/40% compared to current percentages 60% private and 40% social housing.

LBS provide funding for the BRF (up until 2012, when the budget was withdrawn by the coalition government), which supported a part-time salaried co-ordinator. Richardson cites the breadth of the remit of the BRF. Although autonomous from the Business Interest District organisation Better Bankside (BB), [24] BRF rents an office space in the same floor as at the organisation. Two residents sit on the BB boards but Richardson raises the issue that there is 'suspicion on either side', but acknowledges that 'it is in everyone's interest to work together' (ibid). Richardson states that the indigenous residential population has helped to maintain a residential core, implying working class, but he admits that the BRF attract more private sector residents who come to the Forum meetings.

The interaction between Tate Modern and the community created a strengthening of social agency by linking communities with place through the BOST schemes and raised awareness of the democratisation of the planning process. This is evidenced through the BRF to consolidate actions to drive

[24] What emerged from the Bankside Business Forum was the Business Interest Bid (BID) for Bankside, a model that was transposed from America. Cochrane was relatively sanguine about the BID, stating that 'it is a fantastic model for how a business and traders forum can move together and create a long lasting relationship that has long lasting value.' The BID is one of five pilots that were delivered through central London partnership, Paddington, Lower Marsh, Holborn, Piccadilly and Bankside. The legislation to create Business Improvement Districts was approved by parliament in September 2004.

through residents' interests, the dissemination of planning information through initiatives driven by BRF and the creation of relationships between Tate Modern and the community through initiatives such as Tate Local (a series of events to engage the community and newsletters to inform residents of community related activities). This has established a degree of political energy linked to place, albeit one that is largely driven through the interests of residents within the private sector keen to maintain the balance of residential properties over excessive development. This was the case of the opposition to the Hopton Street development.

Tate Modern's directors set out to establish a relationship with the existing infrastructure of local businesses and residents, in order to demonstrate long-term commitment to the area. In 1995 Serota and the directors appointed George Cochrane as the Community Officer. Cochrane is an affable, hands-on man who had worked on many government community liaison projects before taking up this role. Experienced in the process of community consultation, he stated that the council were clear that they would give the project planning permission, so it was not a strategic political manoeuvre to get the community on their side. Tate Modern directors were sensitive to developers whereby 'pay-offs' are made to the community:

> To be quite cynical we didn't need to get the local community on our side. What appeared to drive the activity was the tabula rasa to create a new relationship between the institution and the surrounding community. If you created something at Tate Britain it is much more difficult to do something new, as it is steeped in culture and it has a relationship, most of it not good, with the surrounding community. (Cochrane, Interview transcript 2009).

Cochrane opens his summary of events with the perceived notion that there

would be objections from the community. In reality the majority of residents who attended the community meetings to discuss the progress of the building were in support of the project having moved into the area for its potential already signified through the opening of the Globe and the increasing vibrancy of the Borough Market which shifted from wholesale to a public market.

As described previously by Richardson, the lack of a strong interconnected residential hub led to a disjointed representation of local communities in relation to local political issues and accelerated urbanism.

Cochrane set up a visitors' centre on the south side of the Tate Modern construction site, financed by Ernest and Young, City auditors. This acted as his office and also a space for community meetings for the BRF. The physical activity and presence of Tate Modern contributed to the sense of participation on the ground. Cochrane was pragmatic about what could be achieved through this courting of the community and the intentions behind the community strategy of engagement:

> That is what it was about here, building a level of trust, a level of dialogue, a level of transparency and once you have got those, you have got the ability to take things on together. And I always say that you will judge us by what we do. Whatever you do, do not judge us by what we say. (Cochrane, Interview transcript 2009).

Cochrane clearly states here the intended longevity of Tate Modern's relationship to Bankside. He unapologetically admits that the area will change dramatically, and that development is inevitable. Despite this admission, he reiterated the aim of the institution to be as inclusive as possible. Cochrane describes the role of Tate's positioning in Bankside as part of a social process, which would be activated not solely through the physical expression of the building, but through the relationship of the institution to manage the change.

Addressing the balance between the role of local government and the active grass-roots organisation BRF, Cochrane outlines the limitations of vision by the local government, as due to their size and other commitments across the borough their relationship to managing the development was inevitably less engaged. As the changes and dynamics in the area began to occur, Cochrane identified the need for a layering of different inputs: 'The council is one [such input], but should never be the overruling one, as in my view it does not have the expertise to micro manage the situation' (Cochrane interview). The momentum of associations set up can be seen in the list of business interest groups and forums, which identified the various levels of business interests in the area, such as the South Bank Employees Group (SBEG), which has pushed forward many environmental issues since the 1980s. Cochrane lists the dynamism and ability to react rapidly to actions such as employment training administered through setting up arts training trusts, as well as marketing groups. In addition, Cochrane, the SBEG and Borough Market Trustees were collaborating with the South Bank Centre to see how they could link up with the activities along the Riverside, a momentum that was different from that of the local councils such as Lambeth and LBS: 'I don't think that the authorities would have been able to keep up with the pace that we were going at' (Cochrane interview). The BRF was the main point of contact liaising between residents' concerns and the Tate Modern. Camilla McGibbon, chairperson of the BRF (2000–2005) and a playwright who moved into the borough in the 1990s, describes her particular impetus in taking an active participatory role in the development of the area:

> When I came into the area in the mid-nineties I looked around; a flyer came though my door, there was a meeting at the Globe Education on Park Street. There was an interesting bunch of people, talking about positive stuff that they were doing, never a whinging element. It was set up by the locals to engage with regeneration, but the council saw it as an offshoot of a council body. People, who were interested in the area, were

> very far-thinking and they wanted it to be a residents' forum where we could debate and engage with the issues of regeneration (McGibbon, interview transcript 2009).

McGibbon's statement about the positivity surrounding change could be interpreted as embracing the 'new symbolic economy'. Zukin describes how culture, which is both exhilarating and educating, can limit its audience, due to a narrow set of cultural references. Bowman, a local resident and active on various committees, in opposition viewed the new agenda as non-inclusive to his values. Catterall, by contrast, describes the edifying quality of culture, 'culture [….] can make communities. It can be a critical focus for effective and sustainable urban regeneration'(Catterall, 1998: 4). Bowman was less enthusiastic about the directions of the area. Here he discusses his relationship to place in terms of his political belief and that of a personal relationship:

> When Tate came about, we did not think that it was in the best interest for us who had these views about open spaces because they would have an autonomous arrangement with Southwark to do what they would like. And they did take away a lot of the grass area, and I mean what BOST have got down there is very tiny [Tate Community Garden], but it was Tate who had most of their say down there. I wasn't sure the Bankside Residents' Forum was right for me, as I was different from them and I think that they sold their souls. (Bowman, interview transcript 2009).

On asking Bowman about the residential make-up of the area, he cites that it was firmly centred on a population that worked in local manufacturing or across the river in Fleet Street:

> No it was always very much working class, but when they renovated the

> building, Falcon Point became different when it was sold on,[25] so we lost it as a resource for people in need of housing. Falcon Point was originally a planning gain deal financed by Lloyds (Bowman, interview transcript 2009,).

Bowman's recounting of his experience is imbued with a sense of nostalgia about the past, suggesting a tight knit working class community centred around a manufacturing base, whereas now the area has dramatically shifted with a high percentage of private housing, retail outlets around Bankside 123. The arrival of Tate Modern started the momentum for change in the area, and the new class of residents were galvanised to form a collective group to represent their interests. As the regeneration progressed, the middle classes could see the benefits of development in their area and largely supported it.

Cochrane is overtly transparent about the processes surrounding regeneration. The degree of transparency and frankness about the types of problems that would arise, rather than dismissing them no doubt helped the community to engage in the process. Clearly, the highlighting of faults and problems in the area with the acute focus on Bankside helped to augment the social process and bring it to the fore:

> When there is actually a ground swell of engagement, then it is actually quite difficult for people to stand up and say you are the devil […] because they are quite isolated. And the other thing that was clear [was that] we were not going down the route of a developer saying, 'oh this is going to be wonderful and great'. This was about trying to create something that was about a much longer term of engagement. (Cochrane, Interview transcript 2009).

[25] Falcon Point under the Thatcher Government was offered for sale as part of the Right to Buy scheme, following this tenants bought their flats and sold them to city workers who would scout the flats by posting letters asking if they were for sale.

Cochrane set about attempting to explore the social relations active within the area. As outlined previously (see Chapter Three) the activities of the Coin Street Community Builders were upheld as a unique and triumphant example of a David and Goliath re-enactment, with the land being donated to the local community, which set about a co-operative development. This scheme overturned plans by Sir Stuart Lipton with Rogers to demolish the Oxo Tower. The presence of a manufacturing base in Bankside up until the 1990s as evident in the light industrial warehouses reinforced in some residents a sense of nostalgia for the values surrounding the past. Other residents expressed pride in the renovated power station being restored and once again an active building. In addressing the businesses in the area and how they might be mobilised to respond to the inevitable changes in the urban environments, Cochrane describes his ambitions to bring together all scales of businesses in the area in an attempt to represent the scope of business:

> BRF was not formed as a response to Tate Modern, but Better Bankside, which was one of the first BIDs in London, was a direct result of the bringing together of business that I generated as the community officer. What happened was there was a Residents Forum, and I don't know what that motivation was, probably focused around the main estates (Falcon Point, the Peabody Estate). What we were very clear about was that this area was going to change, and what we wanted was a plurality of voices into that process. (Cochrane, interview transcript 2009).

In her analysis of a relational politics of place, Massey refers to the spaces that are transcended often from the locality of the domestic environment and contrasted with the global outreach of the work environment. Here one could substitute the institution of the Tate, as operating within 'a global sense of place[s] which evokes geography of politics' (2005: 181). Here Massey suggests that place is inherently political in terms of its representational quality. Taking

Massey's politics of connectivity, this proposal questions the assumption that 'locals' take all decisions pertaining to a particular area, since the effects of that decision would probably exceed that area. This is the complexity of agency and trust. The complex level of decisions and contestations over space are exercised, but as Massey points out, and especially in a global city like London, the wave of movements of people are extreme, and although the sense of community is strong and the models of BOST and BRF play visible roles, place and localism are connected to the global sphere in that concerns transcend or are repeated worldwide. Therefore an embracing of this could strengthen localism. Although I am not suggesting that existing groups are parochial, Richardson believes strongly that residents and the BRF views of local knowledge should be more significantly drawn on in planning consultations and preliminary architectural feasibility projects. The battle for influence over place is played out here, with both Richardson and McGibbon feeling under-represented in terms of the validity of their knowledge of the locality. The question here is how do models of best practice within a local framework become applicable to similar patterns regionally or perhaps globally? Massey questions the predominance of territoriality based on democracy in a relational world. The BRF consolidated community networks of ongoing value, as well as raised awareness of a social or community concern and reduced social isolation for individuals or groups. The BRF set out their agenda to foster a positive relationship with Tate Modern. McGibbon again describes this 'positivism' in embracing the regeneration activities in the area:

> George Cochrane always came to the meetings. I'm assuming that he always reported back. He had a good and positive relationship with the then chair (of BRF), and it was interesting because after a number of years we began to think that we could make more of it than originally thought. And one of the things that happened was that when the gallery opened there were a number of things that were indicative of Tate's attitude. First of all, before everyone got in, the local residents always had

> tours when the gallery opened and there was this big international explosion of interest. The residents had their own evening at the top. Nicholas Serota was there and made a speech and commended all the people that did the liaising; this doesn't happen often. With hindsight you think it wasn't much that no one was giving anything such as Section 106 money that I was aware of, but it was an attitude that was key. (McGibbon, interview transcript 2009).

McGibbon stresses here, the level of equality in driving forward this agenda. There is not a sense of 'otherness'. The institution and residents are united in pushing through the development and positioning themselves to gain from it. Many of the residents were in private housing, and it was potentially in their interest to increase the cultural facilities in the area. Where they admitted that they did not have the knowledge of the planning system was in how the developer for Bankside 123 reneged on completing the Section 106 proposal of a swimming pool within the building that would be accessible to the community. McGibbon admits that they were not versed adequately in the process to dispute this. Local residents, as highlighted in the Draft Heads of Terms, identified the provision of a pool for community use in the Section 106 agreement as a primary request. Land Securities omitted the swimming pool due to advice from the CBRE that the floor-to-ceiling heights were not deemed adequate for the inclusion of a swimming pool. Additionally, the area dedicated for leisure would have detrimental effects on the provision for retail and reduce the schemes commercial viability. The with-drawl of the pool for the local community was not carried out in a transparent manner. 'Now one of the things that we had not understood was that in Bankside 123, Land Securities were the owners, but they could not specify who could be the users, they do not control who rents it out, so if we put in a swimming pool we could put it in terms of leisure but we cannot control who takes it on in terms of management' (McGibbon 2009). Another area of contestation was the feeling of aggravation the BRF felt as the organisation

was continuously drawn upon to provide insightful information on the usage of the area resulting in a feeling of 'over consultation'. In the case of Richard Rogers Partnership and the Bankside Urban study,[26] Gibbon states that 'we had collated a valuable knowledge of the area and the issues, and we objected to an outsider coming in commanding large consultancy fees to replicate the work that we had done' (McGibbon 2009).

A recurrent request that came to the fore after consultation was the desire for a community centre. Section 106 money from Land Securities financed the centre with funding for administration from the council for the first ten years. The building was administered through the BRF, where the head of the organisation is housed within the offices for Better Bankside. The community centre adopts by association the same corporate identity, which communicates a sense of identity associated with the business agenda, instead of an independent identity for the community further subsuming the values of Better Bankside across the board. Secondly, the desire for more green space appeared as the most pressing issue amongst residents.

[26] Bankside Urban Study is a major project being led by Better Bankside with the support of Tate and other landowners. The plan is to create a dynamic new quarter of London extending from Tate Modern southwards towards the Elephant and Castle between Blackfriars Road and Borough High Street. The Urban Park will connect newly landscaped areas around Tate Modern to open spaces across Southwark, involving the improvement of the urban realm through the creation of pocket parks and other small-scale developments.

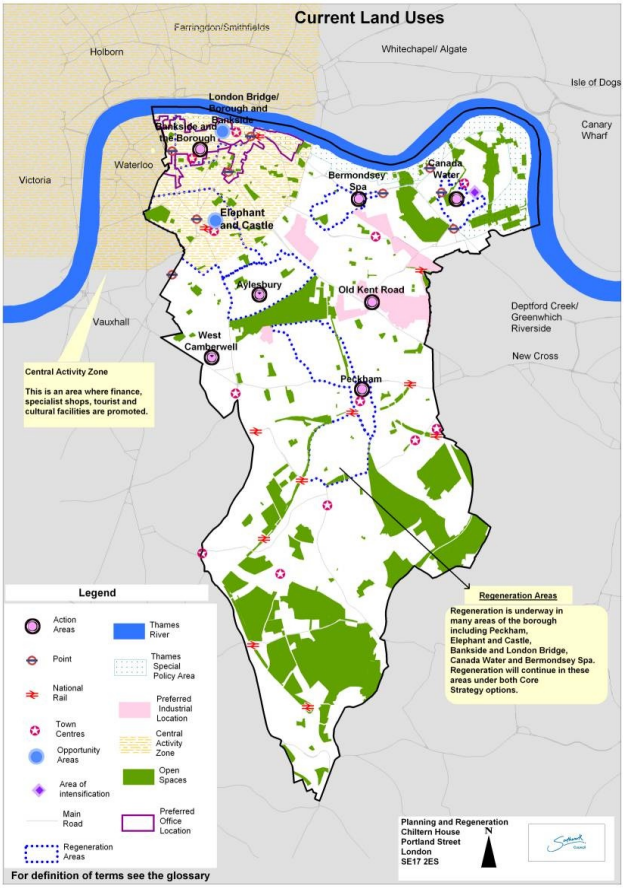

Figure 4.2 Map of current land uses: source LBS

In terms of positive outcomes the establishment of Bankside Open Space Trust met many of the concerns of local residents relating to access to open space, the lack of and the need to preserve those open spaces to legitimise and protect them from becoming targets for development. McGibbon describes how the organisation was formed:

> The first thing I heard of was the subcommittee on open spaces. It wasn't BOST then; Open Spaces was a subcommittee of the BRF we got together and thought what is the big thing that really needs doing, when I came on board. They decided to look at the open spaces as the big thing to be done (McGibbon 2009).

One particular case of dispute over shared space is the case of All Hallows Church on Copperfield Street, built in 1879. Designed by George Gilbert Scott the church was bombed in WW2 and a smaller replacement church was built in 1957. The building, owned by Southwark Cathedral, has been put forward for planning for flats and community space for use by the church, but has been refused permission on two separate occasions. Central to the refusal was that the local community has used the garden in which the church is situated for 30 years. The SE1 community website provides regular updates over the future of the site:

> The garden was created by locals and has been maintained by them, voluntarily and with little help from the church, since the Blitz. That is why we are fighting so hard to protect this precious resource in SE1, not only for ourselves but also for the thousands of workers in the area who enjoy the peace the garden provides (Una Devine of the Save All Hallows Campaign Group, SE1 Community website 7/09/05).

BOST operates as a charity with funding for individual projects from local government as well as independent grants, with a remit to improve green spaces. Their reach addresses the right to the city, as well as plugging into contemporary debate about sustainable growth in the city, and administering grants such as the Capital Growth Grant. Their terms of practice have engaged in collaborative curatorial projects with the American Urban artist Fritz Haeg, the curator of the Edible Estates project which was included in the exhibition *Global Cities* at Tate Modern (2007) exhibition in which he reproduced the experimental planting project in a neighbourhood immediately south of TM, in collaboration with BOST. The garden faced the 24 units at Brookwood and 16 at Lancaster House. The garden was intended as a new model for urban agriculture, not a 'true community garden or allotments, but a holistic design that integrates spaces where people may gather' (Haeg, 2007 accessed on line). Carole Wright, project coordinator at BOST, describes the challenge of engaging the local community in what was

potentially perceived as a project that had no significance to the priorities' of the residents:

> I don't want a garden. I pay my taxes, (and) I want a carpark. That was the response of one of the residents of Brookwood House, the social housing flats where I—alongside Fritz Haeg and Kathy Noble, assistant curator of *Global Cities*, the exhibition for which the garden was being created—did doorstep consultations for Bankside Open Spaces Trust (BOST), my new employers. […]. (Wright interview 2008).

After initial resistance, the project was led by a core of resident volunteers and was self-policed by the residents. The garden is on a very visible public site, but has been maintained by the residents and volunteers at BOST. Although the population is a transitory one, there is a core of supporters; local schools attend planting days, as well as volunteer workday and seasonal events. The garden has become a focal point and a public meeting place in Bankside.

The work of BOST has been recognised on a policy level, being recently cited in a London Assembly Planning and Housing Committee document titled Public Life in Private Hands, Managing London's Public Space (May 2011) as providing a strong model in terms of producing ownership and authorship over the space.[27] BOST maintain the community Tate Garden and have wide access to polling and canvassing local residents and an overview of diversity issues. The model of BOST as an independent body that canvasses local opinion operating with charitable status and therefore remaining autonomous from local government is a

[27] Formerly run down Mint Street Park now is a highly successful park space managed by a 'Friends of' steering group. Bankside Open Spaces Trust enables local groups and residents to develop a sense of ownership and authorship over the space (Tavernor, R (2006): Bankside 123, for: Cities Programme, London School of Economics and Political Science). The park that had a reputation for crime and anti-social behaviour has since been transformed to meet the needs of key user groups who were heavily involved in the planning and implementation of the works, Public life in private hands, Managing London's Public Space, May 2011.

strong model for efficient and innovative remodelling of inner city spaces and one that could transfer to other cities.

As a volunteer for the *Memory Garden* project I was introduced to various key residents who had been living in Bankside since childhood. Jess Snellman lived in one of the prefab houses on King James Street, SE1, which were built as temporary housing after the Second World War. The site housed eight pre-fab houses before demolition in 2010 and was leased to BOST as a temporary site for their administration offices.

In my interviews with Snellman she described the original sense of neighbourliness before residents moved away with the offer of a better grade of housing. Snellman was adamant that she would remain in her 'pre-fab' until the council made her an offer of a similar residence, on the ground floor with garden. Snellman describes how she orientates herself in the area towards the Elephant and Castle to carry out her shopping. She refers to the colloquial term for the Elephant and Castle, 'I shop down the Elephant.' The site was cleared in 2011 with affordable housing completed in 2012. Snellman's immaculately kept interior, and small functional kitchen housed within the temporary structure has long outlived its original five-year tenure.

Below is the extract from my Field Notes which accompanied my photographic research.

[Location] King James Street, London SE1 (interior and exterior)
[Observations] This photograph was taken at the same time as interviewing the subject for the Memory Garden Project for BOST.
[Time] 2009
[Camera] NikonD700 50 mm lens
[Category/people/architecture] People, portrait, pre-fab interior,exterior

Background information- The 'portacabin' of which there were originally 6 is located on King James Street where BOST also occupies one of the structures since 1998. Originally the cabins were built as pre-fabricated units, which were common post war temporary housing solutions. From here on I will refer to them as 'pre-fabs'. I interviewed Snellman as part of the Memory Garden project. The photographs I took were taken at the same time as I carried out the interview. I was familiar with the interior of the 'pre-fab' unit as there were 8 of the temporary buildings on the site and one of them was used for the administration offices for BOST, but the contrast to the ad-hoc office space and the trim domestic interior of JS Unit was striking. The photo resonated the separation that JS felt and perhaps the isolation that she communicated in the interview. The interior was modestly furnished, and very neatly arranged. The pile of papers on the sofa consisted of the bills that JS discussed with me in connection to the flimsy structure of the cabins, drawing my attention to the fact that they had no insulation, and leaked. The open door in the background leads to the small garden that backed onto the street.

Snellman's stature demonstrates defiance, which I could interpret as her steadfastness in refusing to be re-housed unless she was offered a bungalow in the area. This was communicated through the interview. JS demonstrated a level of trust towards me by inviting me into her home. Despite the temporariness of the architecture, this was Snellman's permanent home furnished with a wooden framed Windsor sofa and simple post-war Utility furniture. What became apparent in the interview was her pride in her garden. She communicated that it was tended to once a week by a gardener that she employed. The style of gardening contrasted sharply with that of the BOST planting. BOST's planting represents the now fashionable and current method of drought resistant plants and plants that replicate uncultivated land, whereas as Snellman's consisted of a trimmed lawn with privet hedges immaculately pruned.

There is a tremendous stillness in the portrait of Snellman which appears to contrast with the accelerated scale of urbanism and is a reminder of the human presence and the lives that are lived against this background of construction, and rapidly changing identity of the area. Black discussed the evidence of stillness in a series of portraits taken on Brick Lane as part of a project to map gentrification in the area, as 'evidence of a human presence' against the changing cityscape of the City. (ed Knowles & Sweetman 2004: 134) The advantage of the image over text is that it does not need to be narrated, it can be simply shown, rather than explicated.



Figure 4.3 Portrait of Jess Snellman: source Dean



Figure 4.4 View of ‘portacabins’: source Dean

Another resident whom I interviewed, whose name was passed on to me through regular visits to *Terry's* Café on Great Suffolk Street, was Bruce Owen, one of the first council tenants of Falcon Point. Owen's family were brought up in the aforementioned Queen's Buildings. As the young families moving in wanted to be on the ground floor, Owen opted for a top floor flat, which he proudly shows off with one of the best views in London. Looking northwards, the flat faces St Paul's Cathedral. Tate Modern is on his doorstep with the rapidly ascending pavilions of Neo Bankside directly to the south. Owen, a part time chauffeur and artist, describes growing up in the area, and how privileged he feels to live in Bankside. He expresses a sense of pride in living within walking distance of two of London's main attractions, St Paul's Cathedral and Tate Modern. Owen discusses how the flats now are more than 50% privately owned, and that he would not able to purchase his due to the increase in percentage of the flat's market rate that social tenants have to pay. Referring back to his memories of the area he describes the sense of community when growing up in Queen's Buildings:

> They were tenement blocks with a middle courtyard. My aunt lived at the top and her window looked straight out across Scovell Road. She was always leaning out the window. Everybody knew everybody in those buildings. (Owen, interview transcript 2009).

Owen goes on to describe the predominance of paper manufacturing in the area and his relationship to his working life and the local manufacturing. Spicer's on Redcross Way, a print mounting small business where he started work as a messenger, Owen recalls an engineering company that would build the printing presses for Fleet Street, and Cozens was a paper merchant and stationery business, which again would supply Fleet Street.

Interviewees refer to the working class nature of the borough. The urban narrative is one of community, gathering around social areas in the pubs. There was little reference to life beyond Southwark, save for Austin's memories of the

hop picking working holidays, when the hops trains would take workers on an annual working holiday to Kent.

Whilst each interviewee appears to embrace the change in the area as inevitable, the emphasis is on how the families are now scattered; Austin who runs Terry's Café commutes from Kent every day, but Mrs Coots lives with three generations of her family in one of the Octavia Hill cottages at Redcross Gardens, one of the BOST project public gardens.

4.5 Conclusion

To conclude, I have set out in this chapter to examine how the Turbine Hall performed the role as a key element to create a new paradigm for public interaction within the city.

Through an analysis of the position adopted by the institution in relation to the community, I have demonstrated how a network of organisations from grass root practices such as BOST and BRF have consolidated community action in response to Tate's ability to galvanise interests. These in turn, have sought to mediate the relationship between the rapid urban development and its effect on both the locality and existing urban infrastructure. I have demonstrated how environmental issues principally drove the focus of LBS in terms of their influence on the regeneration, whilst market forces led the development. It is clear that the establishment of Tate Modern has motivated a dynamic practice of engagement in contributing to a sense of public space in Bankside, through small-scale interventions in the Turbine Hall as well as the role it plays in acting as an element that unifies the south of the site and the north.

The concept of Massey's analysis of space which she discusses as a dynamic, non-fixed entity onto which the political can be played out is expanded in my examination of Serota's strategy for integrating and expanding the physical

structure of the building in order to engage the public. This concept of public and, by inference, of opening up new possibilities for social interaction, is expanded through the workings of the institution and its ambitions in the remodelling of the Turbine Hall and the repositioning of the space through various strategies and programmes. The desire to create a porous structure was manifest through the reinterpretation of the building; I demonstrate that it was a convergence of the architecture of the building and an imagination as to how the space could perform to expand social relations that contributed to the TH as a new paradigm of space in the city.

It is indisputable that Tate Modern has dramatically changed the identity of the area, through its contribution to a symbolic representation of London as a global city and its place-making strategy. By exploring a definition of identity through engaging with residents from Bankside, I have sought to describe the process of change and demonstrate how space as a non-static structure has affected those long term residents as in the case of Snellman, often losing a sense of belonging or more positively being able to galvanise communities created through local structures such as BOST and Terry's Café, in order to create greater social capital. This demonstrates the ambiguity of the benefits of the 'trickle down process,' and the reshaping of the community against the rapid urban transformation. Snellman loses any contact with the immediate neighbourhood, whereas the proactive residents embrace and use their cultural capital to influence debate, such as in the case of McGibbon. By examining the actors whose practices and negotiations are affected by the repositioning of the area, I have demonstrated levels of engagement and influences in negotiating and contesting space. The various approaches to reshaping or engaging with space are often represented through value systems. The case of Land Securities in reneging on the Section 106 demonstrates the strength of market values in determining the direction of place making. This is balanced against the long-term residents, who struggle to make sense of the changes in the area. Halbwachs

argued that ‘collective memory was rooted in concrete social experiences and associated with temporal and spatial framework’ (Halbwachs: 26). As the city changes, the relationship between memory, narrative and place can become dysfunctional. If memory, as Halbwachs believes, is essentially social it ‘orients experience by linking an individual to family tradition, customs of class, religious beliefs, or specific places’ (ibid), with the changing nature of the area the potential for long term residents to feel dislocated rapidly and their identities lost through a disconnect to place. My recorded narratives with residents demonstrate that space is enhanced by a plurality of voices, which may struggle to be noticed against the market values driving place-making.

In providing an analysis of the rise of cultural policy directives introduced to augment the Labour party’s idea of the *Third Way,* I have demonstrated that the government started to rethink its relationship to the arts. The government propagated the view that culture could be used to promote community cohesion, as well as encourage cultural diversity, and to expand on issues surrounding citizenship. Although Serota was keen to expand the gallery’s presence within the locality, caution was exercised, so as not to be perceived as exerting too dominant a presence in the area. The problem with intervention from the government is that it could detract from the experimental and critical nature of culture. I have argued that if too much hope is invested in the possibility of cultural activities to act as a remedy to encourage social inclusion, or termed as full citizenship, then expectation of quantative outcomes are high. Additionally, it is still vague territory as to how culture can really effect outcomes and benefits which cannot be analysed independently from social issues. Therefore an over-belief in the relationship between the arts and social benefits could be misguided.

The perceived concept that the locality immediately benefits from cultural regeneration, (what has been coined the ‘trickle down’ effect), is more complex and as commented on, difficult to quantify. Negatively what has been witnessed

is the reduction of social housing. Neo Bankside developers were permitted to site the housing for low-income residents in the southern area of the borough, whilst third generation families have now moved out of the area to London's suburbs. Austin (who runs *Terry's* Café) commutes from Kent every day. I recorded a lack of affordable homes which reflects the case that inner city living is increasingly the privilege of those with high incomes. Here the negative effects of the gallery, in terms of pushing up land and property prices are detrimental to the local community.

Essentially in this chapter I have demonstrated the complex levels of connectivity between grass roots organisations, urban actors and residents, illustrating how rival claims are voiced over steering the direction of how the urban form is shaped. As Massey cites by quoting Luc Nancy, the political is acted out, 'as a community consciously under-going the experience of its sharing' which 'Massey suggests 'is formed through a myriad of practices of quotidian negotiation and contestation' (Massey 2005: 154). I have demonstrated the interrelation between the BRF, developers and how spaces are negotiated within the framework of accelerated urbanisation. The example of the Bankside community club, financed through planning gain from the Bankside 123 development, demonstrates the community's ability to negotiate successfully in some cases, albeit the centre takes on a strong corporate identity due to its positioning within the Better Bankside office building, with the potential of alienating local residents. The accelerated pace of transformation in which Tate acted as a catalyst, assisted in bringing community issues to the fore, and central to Tate's agenda was the provision of a platform from which the community could be heard. Cochrane saw the opportunity of engagement with the community as something that could be led in a dynamic way, 'an opportunity to do something different'. I have demonstrated the limitations of the sphere of influences, as reiterated in Richardson's statement of the remit for the BRF being that of a 'watching brief'. In short, in order to encourage participation in engagement over the politics of

place, residents have to feel that they belong and have authority over shared space. McGibbon is an example of an 'enlightened resident,' a homeowner aware of the benefits that cultural intervention can have in affecting those who have a capital stake in the area. By encouraging more diverse appropriations of space as described through BOST's way of operating, which reinforces the local historical narratives prevalent in the area, an encouragement of diversity of engagement is fostered.

In addressing the role of the cultural organisation and its relationship to the public, Walsh and Philips (2009) reiterate the role of the museum: 'The foundation and dynamic of the museum is essentially that of a politics of the public.' Serota's drive to create a porous structure for new public and social interactions to take place is demonstrated through the creation of an open programmatic structure facilitated through the opening up of the former power station. Although the government was driving through policies that would engender new associations of citizenship with the arts, Serota's model at Tate Modern appeared driven though the institution's independent ideologies which reflected the position of the gallery within the city. Essentially, in driving the need forward for a sense of citizenship, the government has been addressing their policy within the field of culture, while Tate have independently pushed for new and expanded terms of engagement with the public, probably in spite of the government's new focus on the relationship between culture and citizenship.

Chapter Five The Visual Language of the Cultural Quarter

5.1 Introduction

5.2 Background to the Establishment of the Cultural Quarter

5.3 The Spatialisation of Cultural Production

5.4 An Architectural Promenade

5.5 Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter I question if there is an identifiable visual language in the urban environment, driven through a symbolic representation of culture, as a result of the introduction of a cultural agenda at Bankside. In the last two chapters I discussed concepts of identity and attempted to describe the conditions of the area as it undergoes accelerated urban changes. By analysing the formation of the Cultural Quarter (CQ) in this chapter, I will unpick how alterations, public art interventions and changes to the urban form are manifest in the representation of a changing value system and altered meaning of place. In short these material processes, manifest at street level, are symbolic of representing changes in the social and cultural identity of Bankside. This I will do firstly by setting the scene. I will describe the establishment of the CQ and draw on current literature describing the recent structuring of other urban cultural quarters. I will analyse two perspectives on the area: the architectural promenade of the tourist in Bankside and the long-term resident, in order to compare how the area is developing in its expression as a cultural site, and how it is experienced through familiarity with the local. Using these two analyses, I will examine the worth and value of culture in the promotion of the quarter. Through my analysis I will demonstrate how the material changes are a product of negotiations over the urban environment. As Evans cites Zukin: ‘It is the twin value systems of the

political and symbolic economy that according to Zukin provide the most productive analyses of the built environment of cities' (Evans 2003: 418).
As I described in the opening chapter, my fieldwork included taking photographs to inform my research and assist in my analysis. The shooting script directed my photography to focus on the research questions. Each photographic entry is accompanied by a written analysis.

In the previous chapter I demonstrated how the pace of regeneration galvanised and strengthened the various strands of representational groups promoting advocacy amongst the local community. This was often led by a drive to maintain a balanced environment between the new developments and existing structures in order to protect residents' demands over the influence of developers and their goals.

As previously discussed, attention has been refocused on the inner city spaces which have increasingly been regenerated through gentrification strategies, linked to patterns of urban consumption, work and lifestyle, which, rather than encouraging diversity instead aestheticise a concept of it (Lees 2004). I will argue that Bankside maintains a balance of diversity of social classes at present, in part due to the activities of grass-roots bodies, but economic directions are promoting areas of bland retail (Bankside Mix at Bankside 123), to meet the demands of employees in the area and tourists. In contrast, the hinterland at Bankside still manages to maintain a level of diversity, partly due to mixed housing tenure, and the efforts of action groups such as Better Bankside, Bankside Residents' Forum and BOST.

In his seminal work *La Distinction* (1984*),* Bourdieu conceptualised the notion of how capital assets are extended through the social, cultural or symbolic, which he described as 'cultural capital' in relation to how cultural values and social class can reinforce forms of class, based on cultural exclusion described as 'a

naturalisation of barriers to access' (Dewdney 2007: 4). Bourdieu's research into access, mainly at French museums, unveiled the power structures and the role of architecture in reinforcing platforms of influence. Due to the social revolutions of the 1960s culture has become more inclusive to the extent that some have argued that it has been 'dumbed down'. Nevertheless, the argument that institutions perform a role that reinforces aesthetic and social values in which the artist is implicit, is explored in relation to the Unilever Series. In responding to what Bourdieu viewed as the hegemony exercised by cultural institutions, he concluded that only the acculturated had the capacity to decode cultural works and thereby the potential to achieve educational benefit from museum visits. However, through the broadening of cultural dissemination using the sort of wider access programmes I discussed in the last chapter, and the broadening of curatorial programmes that enhance a democratic structure as in the case of the Turbine Hall, which I discuss in Chapter Six, Bourdieu's thesis is rendered less relevant in terms of exclusion. In light of this, the nature of the construction of capital through culture is worth examining when analysing the impact of the economic development within the CQ at Bankside. Aware of the need to broaden audiences, Tate's access programme is diverse and far-reaching (Tate Encounters, Britishness and Visual Culture, January 2007–January 2010, http://process.tateencounters.org/).

The prominence of the cultural industries subsumed into cultural policy and applied to an urban agenda is now part of the status quo. In expanding an examination as to how culture or more specifically cultural processes can add to a diverse city fabric, it is argued that a new language dealing and potentially over coming difference can be created through cultural infrastructure. On the one hand, this new language, as Urry (1995) discusses, creates a sense of aesthetic reflexivity, for the tourist and visitor, although to a strong degree this is still mediated through economic business interests, as the developers adopt references to the CQ that limit diversity rather than encourage it (ibid: 174).

Another positive trait in this expanding field of tourism is the 'democratisation' of the tourist gaze, through what Urry terms the 'promiscuous practice of photography' (ibid: 176), reflecting the rise of digital photography.

5.2 Background to the Establishment of the Cultural Quarter

The establishment of the CQ at Bankside did not conform to UK government agendas, which more commonly would drive the formation of such quarters through cultural policy (Evans 2004). It has been argued that most processes of cultural regeneration use culture at the core of its agenda as an instrumental tool primarily to develop urbanism, while little attention has been paid to how culture is being diluted of its potential to reflect society or engage on a polemical level. In searching for evidence of the effects, there seems to be a lack of research material reconciling the social with the economic and physical outcomes of regeneration (Evans 2005), alongside an analysis of the rise in 'lifestyle' indices of diversity, the creative milieu and class (Hall 2000; Florida 2004).

Generally, the labelling of an area as a CQ is part of a symptom of regeneration strategies leading to economic diversification (Bianchini 1993a; Williams 1996) and a city's policy makers drive to make an impact on place marketing (Ashworth & Voogt, 1990). In response to this proliferation of a promotional agenda, Stevenson suggests that, '[cultural] rhetoric has entered the vocabularies of local cultural policymakers and city boosters alike' (quoted by Evans 2004: 119). Recent critics have analysed this in the context of competing international or interregional policy objectives, surmising that most studies of cultural regeneration are a 'conscious and deliberate manipulation of culture' (De Frantz 2005: 50). De Frantz draws away from the implicit antagonism of critiques that focus on 1) global versus local; 2) growth versus anti-growth; 3) how culture has been manipulated for instrumental reasons as opposed to its intrinsic value. All three, she states, tend to overemphasise the external orientation towards growth

competition when creating cultural policy. Instead, she stresses the benefit of considered cultural policy, which focuses on local heritage that is open to multiple and contextually contingent interpretations, referring to diverse meanings, identities, tastes, values and collective memories (Keating & de Frantz 2004). Through my research I carried out interviews with key players within the structure of the South Bank Centre and my conclusion is that the CQ, and the South Bank more generally was led by the individual arts organisations, and not by a prescriptive government policy. Thus they were more able to identify and draw out a collaborative approach. The organisation appeared to be in tune with the desires of the residents. De Frantz claims that the positive ability of a CQ is to create a strengthening of locality through harnessing a diversity of meanings.

Through the intensive consultation processes carried out by locally based organisations such as SBEG and BOST and the latter's Oral History programme, *Memory Garden*, the majority of residents supported the introduction of shared green spaces at Bankside, especially during a time of intense urban development. The Oral History project recorded collective memories of growing up in the area and the use of 'common ground' such as the site of the former Evelina Hospital, (now Mint Street Park). These recordings tease out a sense of continuity with the past and the present. In addition, they acknowledge multiple and contextual readings of place.

Therefore, against the antagonism and arguments surrounding the debate of global versus local or instrumental versus intrinsic, at Bankside, the positive strengthening of bonds between communities is made apparent over the use of shared spaces. There is also, in part, a renewed sense of pride in living in the area. Elsie Wise, whom I interviewed as part of the *Cleaner, Greener, Safer* council funding initiative, spoke of her pride at seeing the former power station lit up at night whilst returning home across Blackfriars Bridge, a positive contrast to the time when the building lay empty and abandoned.

Central to policy making across the Boroughs of Lambeth and Southwark and the various cultural organisations was a collective desire to strengthen the public realm in order to improve and provide basic infrastructure through which individual organisations could connect. In assessing the impact of cultural production at the South Bank and on what level the cultural processes impact, Newman and Smith draw a distinction between the sub-regional and the indigenous populations, citing the importance of physical space as more than a means of production- 'place can also be the raw material of cultural production, a text of signs that are open to reinterpretation (as symbols of power, of value and of worth)' (2000: 10).[28] Evans in describing the ability of a cultural area to create and sustain an identity and image for a cosmopolitan city such as London, the capital has many competing cultural identities: its literary history and cultural history or common amongst the centralised sites of Europe, a desire' to maintain control of collections and resources at the centre – for example the Tate, V&A, Getty and Guggenheim' (2003: 425), therefore the aim to project one overriding identity is often unrealistic or manufactured.

Evans and Shaw produced an international literature review on arts and culture in regeneration to serve as a background to the third *World Summit on Arts and Culture*, DCMS, 2006. An overview of projects began to steer research towards examining the impact of major projects on existing cultural provision. Interestingly, for example, The Guggenheim Museum (GMB) was built only 200 metres from the Fine Arts Museum in Bilbao (1908), the second or third most important museum of its kind in Spain (Viar 2005). The promotional material and image of Bilbao are very much centred on the iconic status of the GMB, and did little to promote a network of cultural activities, which support one another to create a wider critical mass of cultural interests to promote the city. The issue of long-term feasibility plays an important role in the apparent success of projects in

[28] Molotch makes this point about Los Angeles (Molotch et al., 1997) when he describes Los Angeles as a design product; equally, Hollywood can be read as a synecdoche for the film industry, while Venice for its near mummified heritage, represents a romanticised vision of the city's history.

relation to the cultural activities and density of population and visitor figures. The long-term sustainability of such iconic statements is being increasingly questioned. The Baltic Centre for Contemporary Art, Newcastle, is struggling to find funding for the administrative costs of the building as recurrent funding from the Arts Council has decreased. When deciding on sites for Tate Modern, even though the scale of the site appeared grandiose, the other sites Effra (Vauxhall) and Greenwich Reach, were considered too constrictive and isolated from other cultural activities to be sustainable.

With reference to cultural quarters and clusters, McCarthy outlines the possible infrastructural models which 'may involve uses related to cultural production or cultural consumption, or both, and further spatial concentration is assumed to lead to synergy, agglomeration economies and administration of amenity loss' (2005: 280). The designation of such quarters can be contested in terms of their contribution to regeneration, and over their optimum orientation, for example, as to whether they should be orientated primarily to consumption, production or both. Attention is drawn to how cultural quarters require sustained and cumulative intelligence and experience to blend economic and cultural dimensions, with a particular focus on the key role universities can play. McCarthy pointed out that sustainability struggles to maintain a level 'where there has been less mixed-use of properties, activities, employment sectors, temporal use, production-consumption and greater dependency on public intervention' (2006: 243). This suggests that the mixed economy model, with greater sectoral specialisation identifying with place and heritage (environment, history, industry), creates a more vibrant and a self-sustaining model of a creative cluster.

In exploring the sectoral specialisations surrounding Tate Modern, the institution is connected to the heritage of the area through the use of the power station (although the local community when interviewed were ambivalent over whether the building should be demolished or reused, SBEG survey 1997). The building

plays an important role in improving the urban environment through its positive relation to the River Thames, as does the success of the former wholesale fruit and vegetable Borough Market which occupies the original nineteenth-century steel frame structure, and is now a major tourist attraction. Southwark Council with Whyatt, when applying for the Single Regeneration Bid (SRB), outlined their principal objectives for the area; to increase visitor usage of the river, as well as reaching establishment numbers of mobility programmes and customised training programmes (TG 12/7/1/5).

One issue that was raised and that often surfaces in cultural research is that little investigation has been done on whether one art form or type of arts practice (i.e. concert hall, museum, theatre), is more effective than another.[29] The lack of an established gallery of modern art in London was viewed as a major disadvantage in the make-up of a global capital city. The DTZ Pieda Consultancy was commissioned by Tate, LBS and Westminster City Council to provide a benefit and growth analysis of the cultural industries with a view to creating a cultural hub that stretched from Tate Modern to the river frontage of Westminster (2004).[30] The report analysed the existing contribution of the arts sector, estimating that total employment at visitor attractions in the study area is approximately 1,000 jobs, creating an annual income of £17 million, but that other sub-sectors of the cultural industries long established in the area, most notably radio and television, are more significant in terms of income and job provision. This demonstrates a strong backbone of embedded industries, despite being badly serviced areas both in A3 (provision of cafes and restaurants) and transportation. In 1990 there were 29 A3 units and no hotels. These figures have increased considerably, reaching 96 A3 units and 17 hotels in 2011 (source Andrew Richardson, BRF, 2011). The report concluded that Tate Modern was

[29] The Arts and Social Exclusion: a review prepared for the Arts Council of England (H.Jermyn, September 2001).
[30] Cultural Industries: Economic Growth Analysis in South Westminster, Bankside and Bermondsey, October 2004.

signalled out as ‘significant in terms of its catalytic effect in enhancing the area’s profile and image as a creative environment and location to do business’ (2004: 1), but that it was difficult to be accurate in quantifying the direct financial influence of the gallery.

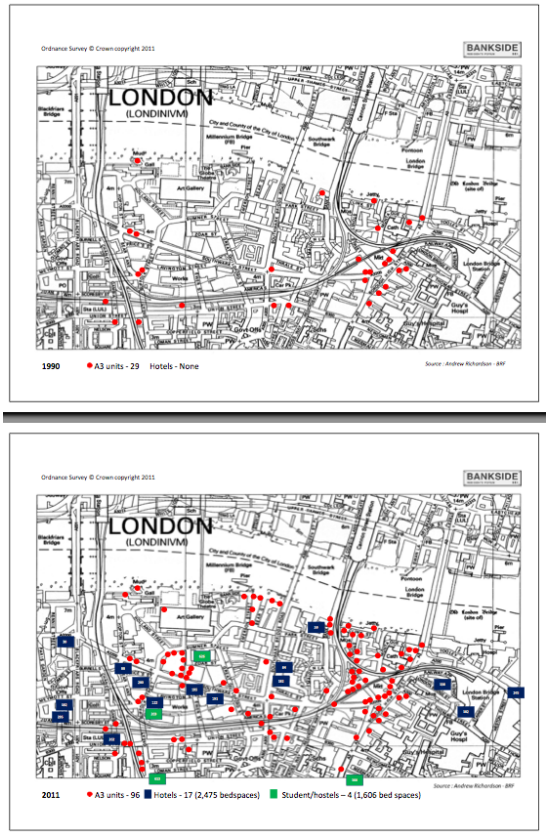

Figure 5.1 Map of increase in hotels in the area, 1990 and 2011: source Richardson.

One of the attractions for Tate Modern directors in establishing the gallery at the former power station was its proximity to the South Bank Centre (SBC), which would provide a hub of cultural activities. Serota and Hyslop described the development of the area under the cultural umbrella: ‘The wider area has transformed and matured, the emergence also has seen a critical mass of 21 publicly funded, not–for-profit cultural organisations, officially named the South Bank and Bankside Cultural Quarter’ (2011: 332). Identifying the CQ as two separate names demonstrates a lack of collaboration between the cultural

organisations and a drive to distinguish clearly between each site's identity. Mike McCart, Director of Cultural and Public Programmes at the South Bank Centre (SBC) and Director of the South Bank and Bankside Cultural Quarter (SBBCQ) played a significant role in positioning the SBC as a major cultural organisation in London and attempting to consolidate the arts organisations within the wider public realm. In the early stages of his career he was involved in leading the campaign of the Royal Festival Hall to open up the building to the public during the day from 1983 after its closure since 1951. McCart below refers to this fragmented approach and disaggregated behaviour in attempting to forge a collective approach to the CQ:

> In 2005 when Nicholas Serota sent around a round robin letter to say we should get together as a cultural quarter, he had tried before, but no one was interested in it. It was an interesting moment because again Michael Lynch (Director of SBC 2001-05, Chief Executive, 2005-09) was in place. Had he done that with his predecessor he probably would not have turned up, but because Mike understood the idea of community and liked the idea of a culture quarter. (Mike McCart interview 3/4/2011).

It is worth noting that the area around the South Bank had a chequered history in relation to community relationships between local residents and the cultural institutions. In 1939 the land was compulsorily purchased by the London County Council. The important historical context was that the land was meant to be designated for municipal buildings, as an extension of the government on the South Bank, but failed to translate as this, despite Abercrombie/Forshaw's London Plan of 1943. The opening of the Festival of Britain in 1951 and subsequent demolition of the buildings under Churchill's government in 1953 meant that the local community and Lambeth did not consider this part of London as 'their patch' (McCart 2011). This was viewed as an imposition of a national

government in terms of the construction of buildings in their neck of the woods with very little local authority involvement.

Prior to working at the South Bank Centre (SBC), McCart was working for the GLC from 1974 as a speechwriter, until Ken Livingstone was elected leader in 1982. McCart describes an early example of government cultural policy being introduced but more as a veil to counteract a potentially unpopular policy than a drive to increase cultural engagement, the introduction of major foreign affairs policies that would bring friction around central government, for example, in Northern Ireland meant that the budget for cultural policy was doubled. To create a panacea for the public, 'we want Londoners to enjoy London's cultural events as we know that we are going to be in trouble with policy elsewhere' (McCart 2011). This was expressed through a major outdoor events programme which increased the size of East Parade, the design of Jubilee Gardens, taking orchestras to car factories in the 1980's and the Thames Festival at the South Bank. The positioning of Tate Modern adjacent to the South Bank in an area that clearly had a contested history could be traced back to the demolition of a significant amount of housing to make way for the construction of the Royal Festival Hall, and the opening of the Festival Hall. 'Two or three rows of terraced houses were demolished and people were forcibly removed out of central London into Kidbrooke or Roehampton', (McCart 2011). This local chequered history provided Tate Modern with the added impetus to engage as much as possible with the community into which it was positioning itself.

McCart summarises the complexity of representing clashing interest groups. He highlights how developers were and still are 'petrified of localism and what that might mean in light of the localism bill' (2011). Stating that the SBC created a highly politicised environment with mismanaged community involvement, 'the local community felt that the only time we contacted them was when we had a planning application to pass' adding 'we had everyone treating it like the wild

west for development' and finally he describes the interaction of the arts institutions commissioning architecture which predominantly 'seemed to reflect the management's interest'. The complexity of interwoven concerns and contestations meant that the ability of the space to be adapted, responded to and engaged with, as the cultural facilities change, was severely impeded.

The confusion and disaggregation produced by these independent bodies is summed up by the comparison of the establishment of a Parisian culture quarter through a determined government policy:

> It hasn't been easy. Trying to co-ordinate the priorities of arts chiefs, planning officials and the property market proved extraordinarily difficult, and there were times when the Southbank Centre management must have envied the French approach, which in the same period conjured the Musée d'Orsay and an entire 'music city' in Paris with a stroke of the culture minister's pen. Plans for refurbishing the Southbank Centre came and went - there were 13 in as many years. (Hewett 11 Aug 2007 Daily Telegraph article accessed on line).

On asking McCart about the dates when a consolidation of the cultural quarter was reached, he responds that the idea was quite late, being first consolidated in July 2005. In actuality the first visible expression of its promotion was in the London entertainment guide, *Time Out*, in collaboration with *Visit London*, published in December 2005.



Figure 5.2 *Time Out Supplement* promoting the Cultural Quarter, 2005: source Time Out

McCart states that the remit of the quarter was principally to give a cultural perspective to the public realm, schools, access and possible joint programming initiatives. Where there was a possible area of conflict between the organisations was in issues of competition for audiences, describing the consumer facing side as displaying 'a sensitivity between Better Bankside and SBEG. But the drive to create a cultural rationale for the cultural quarter and the role that it could play in regeneration through programming access and learning made it crucial for the two organisations to work together and deliver the cultural quarter' (McCart 2011).

Here McCart describes the tension between the two organisations Better Bankside and South Bankside Employees Group, adding that another contentious issue was that both Nicholas Stanton, leader of Southwark Council and Serota were very keen to create the businesses alliance Better Bankside and not to be subsumed into the South Bank, whereas McCart stated that they were very keen for the concept of joint networking to permeate through the organisations. McCart clearly advocates that the more efficient way of operating would be for one single umbrella under which all the activities could form, which would make the quarter's identity clearer. Citing the example of the project *Some*

Other Way Forward,[31] which was one of the first initiatives of the organisation, McCart states: 'When you look at the SOWF and kids talking about South Bank and Bankside Cultural Quarter you lose the will to live by the time you get to the end of the sentence, but no one has found a better solution. There is no point wasting energy on it' (McCart 2011).

It has been argued that the strategies of public bodies have been instrumental in the location of cultural production in this part of London, and the attempt of LBS to give coherence to individualised decision-making along the South Bank has been considerable. Despite this, it is believed that the individual cultural attractions (The Globe and Tate Modern) and an all-powerful dynamic property market have been dominant in determining the development in the area (Newman & Smith 2000). Although I would argue that Tate's Department of Regeneration and Community Partnerships, has established a structural relationship with other institutions focused on environmental improvements that addresses tourism, residential and business agendas. This structuring of relations across organisations seeks to strengthen and widen representation, as well as effectively lobbying and actively seeking change and improvement on the ground. BB and BRF have worked together to influence the Spatial Planning Guidance Document (SPG) for the Bankside, Borough and London Bridge area, which involved consultation with the residents. The BRF, whose appraisal of the SPG was published in March 2011, commented on the concern that the SPD is currently a top-down guide, and as a consequence difficult for residents to relate to. Richardson calls for a clear strategy for the long-term future of the area, which I interpret as a vision, which 'would give a sense of place for the next hundred years and lift the vision from the area beyond the three to five years that the

[31] The South Bank and Bankside Cultural Quarter Group were granted funding from the HM Treasury 'Invest to Save' initiative to work with local communities to the south in Lambeth and Southwark. The initial research around which the Cultural Quarter Group was to use the recognised critical mass of cultural activities and set out to look at work around themes of the Olympics, Public Realm and Education.

immediate market forces must work with' (Draft supplementary planning document and opportunity area planning framework, 2010: 4).

Staff at Tate Gallery, (named such prior to 2000) Milbank, were acutely aware of the problems of operating as a cultural centre and representative of a nation's identity through its art collection, but having limited contact with its immediate context both physically and socially (Cochrane Interview 2009). In the previous chapter this was addressed with the outreach programme of Tate Modern, which I have outlined, with the introduction of George Cochrane as the community liaison officer.

Therefore, the predominant cultural agenda, the desire to improve the area and the ability to see the potential of improving the urban realm, was driven through innovative groups such as SBEG and Tate Modern, although at times the action was fragmented. Subsequently the term CQ has appeared in the promotional lifestyle advertising for Neo Bankside apartments, with the promotional film screening interviews with the main cultural figures active in the area such as the Artistic Director of the South Bank, Jude Kelly; the Director of the Old Vic Theatre, Kevin Spacey, and Head of Regeneration at Tate Modern, Donald Hyslop. Subsequently, the importance of cultural regeneration fed into the rhetoric of government policy documents, such as LBS's response to the DCMS review, *Culture at the Heart of Regeneration,*[32] in which the Director of Regeneration, Paul Evans, states how Southwark has seen major benefits through placing an emphasis on culture within the regeneration initiative. They 'are committed to continue this work to maximise the potential benefits from increasing cultural activity' (Draft consultation document 15 Oct 2004 DCMS)

[32] Evan's response to the DCMS's question asking for any evidence-based examples of culture's impact on regeneration was that the Tate Modern and Shakespeare's Globe have had an enormous effect on Bankside as a cultural destination. The increased visitor numbers to the area since the opening in 2000 of Tate Modern demonstrates this. Trying to separate out the economic effect of these cultural activities has proved difficult.

with a focus on the area east along the Thames near Potter's Fields, next to Tower Bridge which at time of writing (2010), was a coach park.

To summarise this section, it was apparent that although organisations could see the benefit of a cultural quarter, without an effective steering policy to drive its establishment, the pace of achievement was slow. The competition between the organisations, mainly the South Bank and Tate Modern, was perhaps tempered by the knowledge that to move things ahead, the weight of bureaucracy and the recent history of the South Bank's problematic leadership would have to be overcome. In addition, there had been a difficult history of contested culture through access, land use and government policy that had little direct influence over driving a localised cultural programme. As a result of these issues, the directors of Tate Modern very much wanted to steer an innovative path towards independently stamping their mark on the area. What did appear common to the agendas of all the organisations was to improve the public realm. The next section will focus on the spread of cultural activities and how they became manifest in the urban realm.

Finally, LBS have embraced a cultural policy through the facilitation of ground works and environmental improvements to encourage private development, as enhanced through the drive of cultural organisations. The organisations finally appointed a South Bank and Bankside Cultural Quarter Executive Coordination of the CQ in 2007 to lead the Quarter up to the opening of the London Olympics, in 2012, to act as a high-level advocate for the cultural quarter and to work with partners, including London Cultural Quarters Group, Cultural Olympiad 2012, South Bank Employers Group, Better Bankside, SBBCQ Directors' and sub groups and other appropriate bodies.

5.3 The Spatialisation of Cultural Production.
Visual Language of Cultural Capital

In order to frame my key question as to how culture has become pivotal in shaping the urban environment at Bankside, I will investigate the symbolic representation of cultural capital in the area and the subsequent urban developments that are reframing Bankside. The material for my analysis comprises of photographs, which I took accompanied by interviews, which map two routes through my field of investigation.

The purpose of my choice of two promenades was to juxtapose two readings of the urban environment surrounding Tate Modern. I looked at the use of promenades in recent art theory which permits a revaluation of space as unfixed as well as demonstrating the shared field of art and architecture as they examine space as performed through sequential viewing (Rendell 2006; Dean and Millar 2005). The precedent of the use of walking as a creative method for engaging with the city is a tactic that has been employed by the American artist Vito Acconci, and the fascination continues through contemporary artists such as Sophie Calle who created the *Suite Venitienne* (1997), in which she follows strangers on the street and then meticulously describes one of the episodes in her art work *Double Game* (1999, 2007). In the literary field, urban wandering, more recently described as psychogeography (Debord 1955), involves precedents that go back to the nineteenth-century such as Thomas de Quincy and his drug embellished walks described in *Confessions of an English Opium Eater* (1821), which were in turn interpreted by the Situationists and Arthur Machen's *The London Adventure of the Art of Wandering* (1924), all focused on a literary strategy, or in the case of the artist, a visual one, driven by a political strategy to occupy space under one's own terms or circumvent conventional ways of navigating the city.

In writing about the practice of walking within the context of how art and architecture share certain territories, Rendell describes the action as linking locations in a particular sequence, which is a way of perceiving space through time (2006: 185), as well as rethinking space as unfixed and site as performed. As I am not an artist who would normally bring a subjective interpretation to this type of methodology, I principally elected this method to build a narrative from which to analyse the experiences of Bankside through a sequence of buildings. On the one hand, the tourists' experience of the site and, on the other, the residents' allows me to frame buildings that would be viewed along the walks.

To return to the question of how symbolic values are manifest in the urban environment, I have constructed a shooting script within my photography analysis and classification of my observations which have led to making connections between the physical environment and theoretical concerns.

The two promenades will be used to provide a reading of the site from a tourist's perspective (Tourist A) highlighting cultural landmarks, as promoted through the CQ. The second will be framed through the perspective of a long-term resident (Resident B). The promenade for Tourist A, commences at Southwark Tube station and finishes at Tate Modern. This trajectory was key in early discussions surrounding the establishment of Tate, analysed by Koolhaas in his competition entry and a concern of the Tate directors when considering the potential difficulties of visitors navigating through the site to reach Tate Modern. The promenade will encounter cultural highlights from the Transport for London (TfL) map, distributed at Southwark Tube and displayed on the TfL's *Wayfinders* in the area, artworks from the Section 106 funded public art's strategy and significant landmark buildings. The selection of sites for Resident B is arrived at through interview material with residents from local housing associations and mixed tenure housing in the area adjacent to Tate Modern and through consultation with BOST. Admittedly, this is a highly selective and reflexive process, but all

selections, whether interviews or photographs, have come from an engagement with the field, through actively being there. Black cites the works of Goffman in describing the reality of one's engagement with the topic: 'In a way part of the conceit of the whole truth version of social analysis is that it claims to know it all', (Goffman 1959: 138). Therefore, I am not representing a truth but rather a description of observations that happen in spite of, or because of, the more obvious signs of development manifest in the area's large-scale architectural interventions. In these observations I hope to arrive at connections between the physical entity of place and conceptual and theoretical lines of enquiry.

The use of two promenades by different users enables me to describe a journey through the site that set up two readings that at times may overlap, but draws attention to how the environment is experienced in different ways and what signals are dominant in potentially articulating or steering that reading. In developing this methodology, this level of observation enables me to engage with the physicality of the environment. I would argue that as Bankside rapidly develops and its demographic changes, it is crucial to understand how the environment might be in danger of designing out difference and creating a more homogenised public rather than allowing for a degree of aesthetic reflexivity.

My methodology sets up an analysis of the area through two sequential experiences of the site and aims to make a reading of the assertion of cultural values through the visual language, in this case explicit in the art interventions and the urban design. The distinction between the tourist and resident is that the latter seeks to identify with the area beyond that imbued with codes of cultural capital. In selecting these two promenades I am not proposing that one has more legitimacy over the other in a hegemonic struggle over rival contestations with the right to the city, but, in relation to the possibility of art in its pursuit for 'rival and contestable publics', (Beech 2010). I seek to demonstrate how one manifestation is increasingly more dominant and potentially replaces a narrative

that has unfolded with more democratic claims to the area (Beech 2004; Pratt 2010). In describing the potential of culture to extend dialogue to issues of citizenship, Beech calls for a greater analysis of culture's potential: 'we need to extend our analysis of culture to an understanding of who or what we can be through culture' (Beech: Ibid). If this statement has currency, then an examination of how this culture is manifest in the urban environment and the role of public art and the effect of terms of engagement with the agenda are pertinent to my research question about new publics, and how culture engages its public both within and outside of the gallery space.

The urbanist Gordon Cullen explored how we understand space not merely by looking at it, but by moving through it, describing townscapes 'not [as] a collection of static tableaux but made up of a continuum of spatial awareness where our perceptions are influenced by what we have experienced and what we expect to experience' (1971: 9). Serial vision is a way of revealing this phenomenon. Gospodini examines the relationships between the physical form of the urban environment and leisure activities and how movement is a central component of modernity (2002) citing the work by Space Syntax Lab directed by Professor Hillier who maps the syntactic properties of space and people's patterns of movement. In addition to space indicators, it has been argued that city planners, in order to attract tourism, have created an urbanism around the introduction of a syntax of visual consumption, which seek to mask the complexities of cities (Urry 1995; Tonkiss 2005; Zukin 1998). In an historical analysis of how the environment has been manipulated for various needs, Urry highlights visual consumption as a way that societies have intersected with their physical environments, alongside the contrasting condition of stewardship, and land exploitation. Visual consumption has been used to construct the physical environment as a landscape or townscape, not primarily for production, but embellished for aesthetic appropriation. In the eighteenth-century the aristocracy were taught to make aesthetic judgments of distinction in terms of valuing one

landscape over another: an aspect of this was to travel, epitomised in the *Grand Tour*, conceived as a rarefied activity. In contemporary tourism Urry argues that there has been a democratisation of visual consumption, which can be interpreted as merely a function of the 'right of citizenship' (Urry 1995). Another interpretation of the role of contemporary tourism and the city by Tonkiss states that one can be a tourist in one's own city, which creates a form of domestic tourism with easy access to cultural activities, from which few are excluded (2005: 89). Within this new field of visual consumption Urry suggests that the tools or apparatus (Foucault 1977) used to direct the tourist have shifted from the didactic guide where tourists are instructed what to look at as in Baedeker's guides or *Guide Bleu* (Barthes 1972) to a more diverse field of engagement, including artefacts, cultures and systems of meaning. With this, tourists are invited to construct a new reading, that of interpretation rather than evaluation, permitting a sense of aesthetic reflexivity, encouraging the onlooker or visitor to take on responsibility for interpreting their surroundings. Lash and Urry refer to aesthetic reflexivity as a method of questioning what is known specifically; an interpretation is made through sensing and reading symbols with aesthetic knowledge (1994: 112).

As I have demonstrated, a degree of cultural capital pervades, articulated in the prevalence of a cultural agenda, manifest through the built environment since TM's arrival. The manifestation of this is applied with degrees of subtlety, and inclusiveness, but nevertheless is appropriated by the private businesses that construct an instrumental reading of culture rather than one that supports the content of culture. The use of advertising for the Neo Bankside apartments is one such example. The advertising makes reference to dominant artists in twentieth-century western modernism: 'Move in next door to Picasso, Dali and Warhol' (advertising copy for Neo Bankside marketing material, 2011) albeit humorously, implying that your neighbours will be international artistic legends and grand masters, and not artists representative of Tate Modern's more experimental

programme. The cultural capital associated with Tate is used as a marketing mechanism, inferring that the resident is elevated to the level of the aforementioned artists, whilst the architectural distinction of the apartments' proximity to a cultural venue, which has global status adds to the allure and myth of this form of inner city living. Therefore, the power of distinctive aesthetic judgments made as a result of the establishment of TM has been transferred as a tool to promote a lifestyle of distinction; as Tonkiss states: 'images aim to shape perceptions' (2005: 88). In looking at the role of the LBS it can be claimed that in assisting in the input of infrastructural work into the regeneration realm in order to attract private investment this will in turn support the arts and can be viewed as a way of alleviating government financing to the arts. In short the attraction of international capital is largely leveraged through private capital.

5.4 Tourist A – The Architectural Promenade

Promenade of Tourist A



Figure 5.3 Promenade of Tourist A

Figure 5.3 Map of tourist A promenade**:** source Dean.



Figure 5.4 A walk from Southwark tube to the Millennium Bridge, past the Palestra Building: source Dean

The promenade of Tourist A's is experienced through the locality as a series of objects or images contextualised against the backdrop of the urban context. On exiting Southwark Tube Tourist A is met by the looming presence of the Palestra building (2006) on Blackfriars Road, a speculative office building designed by Alsop Architects. The British architect Will Alsop (Winner of the Stirling Prize for Peckham Library, 2000) designed the imposing and distinctive building with its considerable cantilever, which stands on the corner of Blackfriars Road and Union Street. Lamp posts painted in orange with arrows indicating the direction to Tate Modern guide visitors through the area. A way-finder sponsored by Transport for London (TfL), stands 1.3 metres high with an enamelled map and visitor information and useful locations highlighted with street names, in the branded colours of TfL. Along Union Street, one passes the Travelodge hotel, constructed of barefaced breezeblocks. The building resembles an out-of-town industrial shed with blue aluminium framed windows, and contributes little to the

street frontage. The ground floor leased café has attempted to animate the side return wall with a painted mural.



Figure 5.5 Travelodge: source Dean

The highlighted TfL walk takes one under the railway arches, the site of one of the Light at the End of the Tunnel (LET) projects led by The Cross River Partnership which incorporates lighting sculptures on the underside of each of the main tunnels, past the Union Theatre and left to the White Hart pub. The external appearance of this Victorian pub has changed considerably and this area is part of the Bankside redevelopment. The pub has remained in the ownership of one family and just recently underwent a major refurbishment. The White Hart pub's website highlights its proximity to cultural attractions in the area such as Tate Modern and the Globe theatre. Its façade has been painted in National Trust heritage shades with gilded lettering and its window boxes spill out with voluminous planting. One continues up Great Suffolk Street where to the left there is the artist Ian Davenport's *Poured Lines* (2006), a 48 metre long enamelled installation mounted on the interior of the southern wall of the westerly viaduct on Southwark Street, funded through Section 106 monies. [33] On

[33] The Section 106 Agreement www.southwark.gov.uk/info accessed 5/9/11.The planning permission for the scheme signed in 2003, secured 106-planning obligations to the value of £3,290,000. The agreement funds a programme of local regeneration projects with a range of economic, social and environmental benefits. These projects include Bridge refurbishments on the main gateway entrances to Bankside including

analysing the photographs and the classification, I begin to draw attention to the identification of a recurring application of an up-grading of the surface of the building or wall to animate the street frontage. The painted lampposts, the painted side-street mural, the *Poured Lines* installation of vitreous enamelled process and the painted façade of the White Hart Pub all indicate a colourful and relatively low intervention improving the streetscape. Across from this site is the Hopton Street Almshouses; the backdrop to these one-storey cottages is now filled with the four pavilions of Neo-Bankside. Continuing back along Southwark Street one encounters Bankside Mix (formally Bankside 123), and along Sumner Street stands the public sculpture *Monument to the Unknown Artist* (2007), which was financed by Section 106 funding in agreement with Land Securities when negotiating planning permission for the office and retail buildings.

In the following section I have inserted photographs taken using shooting scripts, which direct my photography.

Southwark Street East Bridge; public art such as Poured Lines and Monument to the Unknown Artist; a lighting strategy for Bankside with numerous lighting projects implemented through the area including; Great Suffolk Street and Cathedral Square; pedestrian signage to improve ways of moving visitors around London and Bankside; investment in open space improvements. Land Securities forms part of the steering group for the Bankside Urban Park and have worked with Bankside Open Spaces Trust to invest in underdeveloped open spaces in the area, supporting community centres such as Bankside Community Space and Blackfriars Settlement and investment in a number of local schools, Opportunities for work placements and training, including the council's Construction Work Place Co-coordinator scheme in partnership with Bovis Lend Lease through the building London creating futures project.



[Image Poured Lines fig 5.6]
[Location] Southwark Street
[Observations] [Date] 2011
[Camera] Nikon D700 50 mm lens
[Category/people/architecture] Urban Landscape

The image above demonstrates the scale of the art intervention. It is striking to have such a dominant and uncompromising piece of public art. The power of the vertical execution of the lines is strengthened by the horizontal nature of the overall piece. The piece signifies the direction to up-grade the underside of the railway arches and to introduce a language of cultural intervention into the urbanscape.



[Image The White Hart Pub fig 5.7]
[Location] Southwark Street
[Observations]
[Time] 2010
[Camera] Nikon D700 50 mm lens
[Category/people/architecture] Urban Landscape
[key words], up-grade, routine, streetscape

The photograph captures the daily routine of the milkman delivering to the White Hart public house (pub). The pub appears to have recently been painted, perhaps reflecting the uplift in the area and the increase in clientele numbers. The hanging baskets are typical of English pubs, along with the carriage lamp outside. The widening of the street is significant, in that it allows more space for the tables and increases the ease for pedestrians to move around, along with the dropped curb. Surrounding the pub are new developments, such as residential housing and student housing. The photograph is a reminder of the daily routine of activities around the servicing of the establishment.

Continuing along Sumner Street to the south side of TM is the site for the gallery's extension, Tate Two. The refurbishment of the existing oil tanks was completed in 2012, with a total project completion date of 2016. On approaching the west side of TM with the four Neo Bankside pavilions to the west, one reaches the ramp which leads to the underbelly of the gallery and into the TH, the site for the Unilever Series commissions which are installed there for six months of the year, leaving the remaining six months free for temporary performances. On the upper ground level, which links one to the north entrance,

there is an internal commercial space retailing products related to the content of TM. Continuing out of the north entrance one faces St Paul's Cathedral and the Millennium Bridge across the River Thames.

In describing the architectural promenade, the language of urban regeneration is expressed in part, through signature architecture. The use of Britain's most recognised architectural brands Rogers, Stirk, Harbour & Partners to design Neo Bankside and Foster & Partners to design the Millennium Bridge have elevated Bankside to a significant position in terms of shifting the status of the area to that of a major district in London.

The selection through competition of such a significant architectural firm, Foster & Partners to design the Millennium Bridge (2002) firmly places the area into the framing and promotion of London's global identity. The backdrop to the east of the aforementioned, Palestra building is the speculative office tower, The Shard (Renzo Piano Workshop 2012). The language used in signifying the importance to the area of the arrival of the 310 m building is iterated in government documents such as a Draft Supplementary Planning Document Bankside from LBS Planning Department. It is described as 'a symbol of the confidence of this part of central London in time for London 2012 Olympics' (2011). Designated as an opportunity area in the London Plan, the area is predicted as enabling 'an extraordinary world city quarter, containing successful business districts, sustainable residential neighbourhoods and world class services'. Describing London as a world-class city has become standard currency in stating London's position in relation to other capital cities. By using the synecdoche, 'a world city quarter' to stand in for London as a whole, this part of London becomes associated with the assets and values of *global-cityness,* in relation to the *re-imagineering* of London and the area's identity.

As this cultural agenda has gathered pace in defining the vocabulary of contemporary urban development, one field that is increasingly reevaluated in

relation to culture and urbanism is public art. In particular, questions are being asked as to what values are being communicated through its execution and who is the audience that it is trying to reach? (Beech 2009). In asking what effect the promotion of the cultural agenda is having on the visual language of the environment, it could be argued that the visual arts are being manipulated by developers, or co-opted, and as a consequence diluted, commercialized and depoliticized. The public sculpture by the Greyworld, *Monument to the Unknown Artist* (2007), as mentioned above in my analysis of the promenade, is an animatronic over-scaled human figure of an artist wearing overalls. The piece sits on a marble-clad plinth, on the enlarged pavement of Sumner Street, leading to the future south entrance of Tate Modern. The winning sculpture was chosen by the director of Land Securities with panel members from Tate Modern and Allies and Morrison, architects of Bankside 123, and an independent art consultant. Although informally the selected panel stated that they were not in support of the piece, the work was finally authorised by Land Securities who were ultimately financing the sculpture through Section 106 funds. The competition brief specified that the work would 'be an integral part of the public realm [which could] fundamentally enrich the development of office space, retail space and public open space' (Archive Papers Bankside 123, Davidson Arts Partnership 04/10/04). In addition it highlights that the principal objective of its execution was to enhance the surrounding public space. Furthermore, it outlined a tight prescriptive framework specifying that the work 'should be welcoming to the eye', 'must be timeless', must 'address way-finding' and 'which looks on the bright side' (ibid).

The brief's constrictive and extensive requirements appear to reduce the commission to a functional object and restrict artistic freedom and interpretation on the part of the artists. Short-listed artists were invited to attend a site visit and 'brainstorming' workshop, where they were encouraged to consider the previous points in the development of their proposals and explore their works in order to

‘conduct a positive dialogue with the context, as well as having the additional function to act as a form of signage’ (Archive Papers Bankside 123, Davidson Arts Partnership 04/10/04). The sculpture sits on a granite-clad plinth, a totemic classical element that appears to be a post-modern act to demonstrate an ironic statement of the conventional use of the plinth and statue throughout history. I read the overtly referential language of the piece to be an act of inverting the traditional historic sculpture with a sense of humour, representing the anti-hero and the rejection of the celebrity artist. On examining the sculpture and watching observers who appeared bemused by the piece, I myself had to look up the commemorative plaque with its Latin inscription, which translates as *Don’t Applaud; Just Give Money* engraved on the plinth. There appears to be very little room for a wider interpretation of the piece and instead it obfuscates, because of its use of Latin. The ambition of the animatronic man, which mimics the movements of passers-by is let down by the technology which regularly malfunctions. In the vicinity of Tate Modern the sculpture appears to mock the cultural agenda of the institution, the title of the sculpture appears to represent all the artists who have not had the success of recognition, as in the case of the *Monument to the Unknown Soldier*. I later found out through an e-mail interview with the artist that there are three interchangeable Latin quotes to be deciphered, further increasing the level of obscurity of meaning.



[Image Monument to the Unknown Artist fig 5.8]
[Location] Southwark Street
[Observations]
[Time] 2010
[Camera] Nikon D700 50 mm lens
[Category/people/architecture] Urban Landscape/public art

The widening of the pavement allows for the space to be occupied by street furniture, which provides a larger area for the consumers visiting the retail outlets. The placing of the sculptural plinth with its Latin inscription can be read as excluding those who do not have a knowledge of Latin, which is a fair number, I would assume. I wonder if this is an attempt by the artist to be doubly obfuscating in terms of the piece's intentions. On watching passers-by engaging with the piece, most appear bemused by its existence. The need to mark the area with a sculpture appears redundant. Instead it appears to act as a claim over the public space to reinforce the necessity to install a piece of public art, an opportunity by the developers to shape and control the public space outside of their development, Bankside Mix.



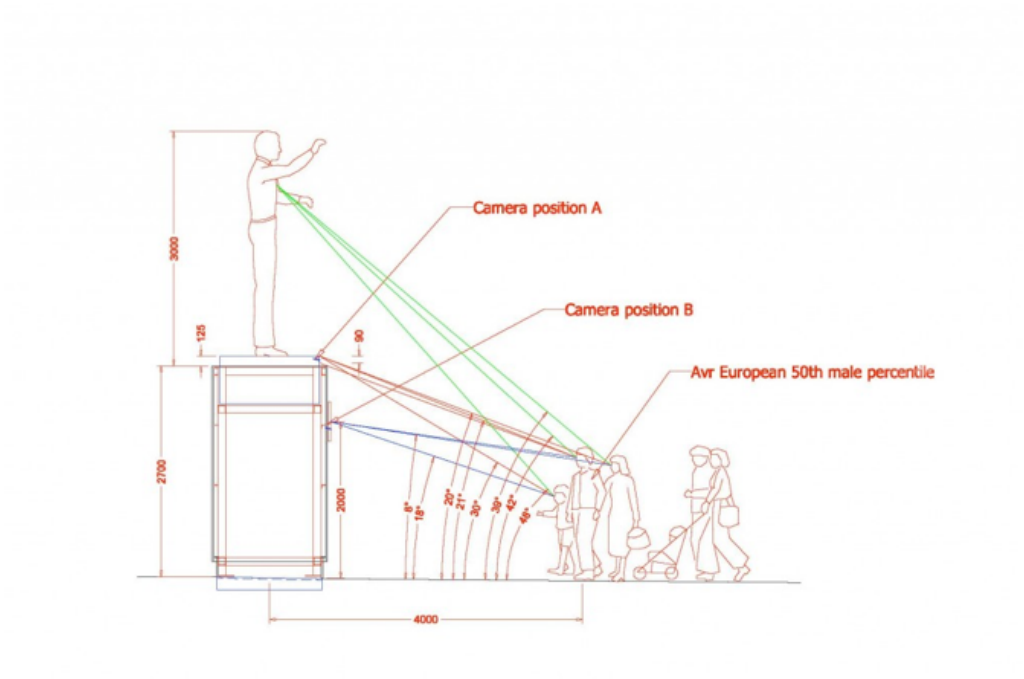

Figure 5.8 Monument to the Unknown Artist: source Greyworld/Dean (photo)

Beech argues that public art is at risk of lacking relevance in the contemporary sphere, as it is in the difficult position of addressing an audience, which in principle no longer exists, or at least is fragmented (Beech 2009). As mentioned previously, the use of the plinth in its historical context positions the work within a lineage of historical public sculptures. A much discussed project in terms of public art in London is the on-going *Fourth Plinth project*, a curated programme of public art in London's Trafalgar Square for the existing empty plinth, [34] this housed Mark Wallinger's *Ecce Homo* (1999). Wallinger installed a miniature sculpture of Jesus. The modest intervention was given meaning through its context and proximity to the early nineteenth-century statues of the Prince Regent and two generals. In contrast, Greyworld's monument appears principally to satisfy the client's brief, and relies on its interaction with the public through a highly directed position, due to the angle and position of the camera. In an interview regarding the competition for Greyworld's statue, the artist Andrew Shoben stated that the sculpture was a response to the tight brief. Land Securities had marked a large cross on the site map where they expected the public artwork to take the form of a fixed sculpture. Shoben, a member of Greyworld was fairly transparent about the role of the sculpture stating that 'the sculpture is there to create a sense of place, to improve the area and to make the property values go up' (e-mail interview 2011).

The execution of *Monument to the Unknown Artist* was steered by means of a prescriptive agenda, which asked the artist to respond to a set of environmental criteria. The artist did not construct the values represented within the sculpture through a free interpretation, but was invited to respond to the selected context and dominant symbolism apparent in the client's appraisal of the area, to encourage playfulness. The passer-by would be encouraged to linger to view and interact with the work, as at this point the pavement had been widened- 'the area

[34] The plinth was originally designed by Sir Charles Barry in 1841 as part of the overall sculptural scheme for the reconfiguration of the space to display an equestrian statue, however due to insufficient funds the statue was never completed.

of silver grey granite paving created on the east side acts as a promontory jutting out to attract passers-by' (Appendix 2 Archive Papers: Bankside 123).

In a shift from a consideration of the physical arena to an interpretation of how the environment has been marketed through site advertising, I now discuss selected advertisements from the Bankside Mix campaign which promote retail and the temporary public sculpture, *Temporary Eyesore* (2008) commissioned by the GC Bankside and executed through the Architecture Foundation for the hoarding around the sales pavilion at Neo Bankside, formerly the site of the thwarted Tate Tower development.



Figure 5.9 Bankside Mix advertisement: source Dean 2011.

The advertisements on Land Securities retail spaces for let in Bankside Mix (situated directly south of Tate) clearly set out culture on equal terms with consumption and leisure. Tick boxes invite the user to highlight their preference for spending leisure time at Bankside-*Macbeth, Monet or Milkshake*-culture is pitted directly against consumption. Therefore, all three 'inferred' experiences are

on offer, but reduced to a level of tick boxes highlighting the transitory nature of engagement. Do we experience a painting for the same duration as consuming a milkshake or margarita, and what happens to the anticipated experience of a cultural event as constructed in this advertisement? Whether it is Dali, Monet or Macbeth, all are coded references for an understanding of the cultural capital within the area and the deeply entwined relationship between one and the other. The advertisement uses simple and bold graphics with no imagery to communicate; culture and consumption are presented as a matter of choice with this relationship, translating into the dominant language in this area. Other Bankside Mix posters declare: *Mondrian, Monet and Margarita*, where a passer-by has intervened by adding their own tick in the margarita box. It would appear that the debate has shifted away from high culture being the preserve of the educated. It is precisely the lack of consideration of the artist's work in a sphere of cultural critique, as avant-garde, but paralleled with the word 'cocktail' that indicates the adoption of the arts to promote a particular lifestyle concept. Therefore the visual language of art becomes appropriated by urban developers, and the work in itself lacks the potential for critical reflection, as in the case of Greyworld's sculpture. If culture no longer manages to maintain a position removed from mainstream consumption, practices and finances, the former structural model of regeneration aligning itself to the promotion of culture could begin to dissolve the critical and independent aspect of culture.

The other image-based piece, *Temporary Eyesore* (2008) by the artist Scott King, commissioned by the developers GC Bankside for the hoardings which surround the temporary Neo Bankside sales pavilion designed by the architect Jamie Fobert, opened in Spring 2009. The work was removed once the pavilion was open to showcase the apartments. The words *Temporary Eyesore* in large lettering were spread across the fluorescent orange roller-painted hoardings. The pavilion, around which *Temporary Eyesore* has been executed, acts as a sales suite for the new residential development Neo Bankside.



Figure 5.10 Temporary Eyesore Hoarding: source The Architecture Foundation

The ambiguity of the piece *Temporary Eyesore* lay in the fact that its execution could be interpreted as a piece of fly-posting, although on closer inspection its professional execution belied its intended subversive nature. The artist's intention was to subvert the standard billboard that produces a 'simile of civic building's façade' (interview with the artist on Architecture Foundation web-site), which he observed on a trip to Munich. Although the work is a commentary on the attempt to aestheticise the building site through a rendition of the future buildings, it postures as a piece of polemical art, as if responding to what the community might believe. However, it appears as merely window dressing, with little engagement in the debate between the community and development in the area. Following completion of the residential scheme and the dismantling of the Pavilion, the site will be returned to public use and will become an open space for the local people and visitors to Bankside. One example of the use of hoarding and community murals as vehicles to communicate dissent, was executed by the artistic duo Dunn and Leeson, local action groups, trade's councils and residents of the Isle of Dogs, to protest against the enormous divestment of services and destruction of community. In their *Docklands Community Poster Project* (1981-1991), Dunn and Leeson made a number of billboard posters for sites around the area. Unlike conventional hoardings or community murals, each poster was completed on a gradual basis so as to establish an active narrative interest in the

work's progress. As such, the hoardings functioned both as an information board and as a symbolic site of resistance to the development.

Turning to the proposal for Tate Two, the original plans for the extension, which were granted outline planning permission subject to a few recommendations, displayed the form as a glass ziggurat. CABE and the planning authorities expressed concern as to the maintenance of the glazed facades. [35] Reflecting further on the initial design, the architects refined the design for resubmission with a less sculpturally modelled form, which further contextualised the extension with the existing site lines of the south side and the strong east-west axis of the building. In addition, the revised design reversed the decision to wrap the building in float glass. When interviewing the project architect, Ben Shuttleworth, associate architect at Herzog & de Meuron, he gestured towards the renders of the extension, contextualised against the background of the City's financial and historical buildings constructed of substantial load-bearing materials such as sandstone and brick. Shuttleworth stated that the extension should represent the values of solidity and history, rather than the more temporary nature and transparency of glazed building types predominant amongst speculative City office building. Hence, Tate Modern Two will be constructed of filigree brick wrapped around a more conventional glazing system. The shift in aesthetic choice to imbue the building with values more aligned to a sense of permanence, rather than temporary culture, represent a choice of positioning the building and its cultural programme within a longer historical context. This move was also against a move to disassociate the object from the recent recession (2008, triggered by the collapse of Lehman Brothers) and defunct values of excess and short-termism of the recent financial markets. In addition the principal façades of

[35] CABE (comments from pre-application stage) 'We applaud the ambition behind the project clearly a demanding proposition, but they have absolute confidence in the commitment of the client and the quality of the design team. Support north-south route, citing massing and overall form. Consider relationship between Tate 1 and Tate 2 successful, both are strong, distinct characters. Glazed cladding will need extensive research, biggest challenge is to know what the building will look like, and wish to remain involved as the design develops' (Planning Committee Repost from Development and Building Control for Tate Modern, Bankside, 27.03.07).

the extension are constructed of the same brick as Tate Modern, thereby suggesting continuity of place.

Lastly, I will comment on the environmental improvements as observed in the promenades and mainly conducted through the business interest group Better Bankside. A lot has been written about the increasing sanitation of environments to encourage a sense of security and order, augmented by the introduction of Business Interest Districts which have been criticised for overly enforcing a sense of orderliness (Minton 2008, Harvey 2012). My photographs highlight some of the details of designing into the space a language of orderliness such as the proliferation of hanging baskets appearing around Bankside and anodyne public sculpture. Flat Iron Square has undergone a sensitive landscaping scheme, implemented through the Urban Forest blueprint (Witherford, Watson, Mann 2007). The area has been partially pedestrianised, improving the space around the existing café. The hanging baskets, bins and street furniture all branded with the Better Bankside logo as part of the street improvements stand out against the industrial architecture of the iron railway arches and diverse nineteenth-century shop fronts. Interestingly, it was the Victorians who introduced hanging baskets, encouraged by their fascination with moss-lined wirework. From hayrack planters to ornate birdcage designs; the Victorians turned hanging basket style into an aspirational art form. Within years, overflowing flower baskets became the colourful postcard emblems of capital cities, hung on lampposts and shop fronts. The hanging baskets with their all-year round bloom, could be described as having the opposing effect to that of the 'broken window syndrome'.[36] Additionally it is the uniformity of the baskets that pervades the area, a visible reminder of a branding exercise. Better Bankside have constructed a strong network of local support with members of the BRF on the

[36] Eggers and O'Leary in an article titled Broken Windows, 1995 'If a window in a building is broken and left unprepared', they wrote, 'all the rest of the windows will soon be broken. One unrepaired window is a signal that no one cares, so breaking more windows costs nothing. . . . Untended property becomes fair game for people out for fun or plunder'. The term stands in for social disorder that if unchecked will lead to a lack of social regulation by residents and a break-down of social order.

board and Donald Hyslop, a member of Tate staff appointed as chairman, but the introduction of branded elements creates a reminder that the visual diversity of the area is being reduced in favour of an identity of place that predominantly represents uniformity. The Bankside Mix management stipulate that all shop signage has to conform to strict design guidelines and in the case of the community centre, which was commissioned as part of the section 106 planning agreement by the community to mitigate the construction of Bankside Mix it adopts the same branding as Better Bankside due to its positioning in the ground floor of the organisation's offices. Housing the centre within the Better Bankside premises, means that it is not articulated by an independent language from the business branding of the area.

Promenade of Resident B

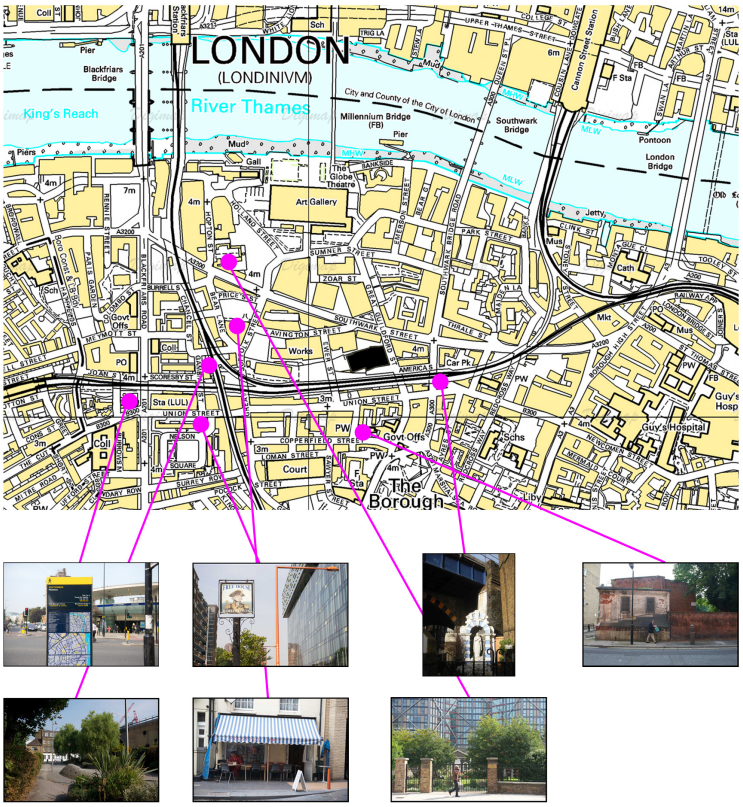

Figure. 5.11 Promenade of Resident B: source Dean

Architectural Promenade Resident B

I now turn my focus to a description of Resident B to enable a comparison between two readings of the environment and to demonstrate that the commodified language of place operates with little relevance for those residents who have different points of reference and economically are restricted from the increased economic levels of activity.

The promenade experienced by Resident B will differ from A in that it encompasses a number of sites that would be encountered during an everyday experience of living in Bankside. Therefore I overlap experiences in order to draw in a comprehensive itinerary of sites and buildings. In contrast to Tourist A Residents B typically moves through the area around Great Suffolk Street and the smaller interconnected streets south of Tate Modern. The promenade is made up mainly of the less conspicuous sites, places that are casual sites of encounter, or small sites that residents can influence. My findings were grounded empirically using interviews with local residents; Leslie Gay of the Almshouses, Mrs Coots resident of Redcross Cottages, Ted Bowman, former chairman of Borough Market, Elsie Wise, Bankside resident, Bruce Owen, of Falcon Point and Jess Snellman, the aforementioned resident on King James's Street. This promenade stitches together the familiar sites against the symbolic transformation, partly through subjective experiences of Bankside and partly through everyday rhythms of the interviewees' lives. I look at how residents navigate their position in Bankside and the shift in positive and negative aspects of their relationship to the site over time. In terms of the city performing the role as a site to be negotiated, it could be argued that a right to visibility and presence in the urban environment is crucial. The ways in which I measure the effects of regeneration in terms of social cohesion is relevant in this section, and I surmise that the latter appears to be breaking down. How the residents relate to place is fragmentary, above all emotional and at times nostalgic. As familiar sites are being erased, the question of memories being grounded in place is brought to the

fore. Since memories need to be grounded in place to remain accessible for the human subject (Casey 2000). The significant changes to the urban environment have had an alienating effect on some residents and thus their memories of a previously industrialised Bankside are dislodged.

[Image Church of Precious Blood fig 5.12]
[Location] Redcross Way
[Time] 2009
[Camera] NikonD700 50 mm lens
[Category/people/architecture] urban landscape, interstitial site/leftover site

[Observations] The siting of the church adjacent to the railway viaduct is typical of how the urban environment is constructed. The Shrine of the Virgin Mary with the plasterwork looks out on to a well-tended flower garden. The environment is constructed of hard materials, which is softened by the planting. The individual execution of the space, with the layering of interventions appears highly personalised and could be described as *bricolage.*[37] An obliquely placed timber door provides access to the rear of the church. The brick plinths with the marking of the cross, the decorative and idiosyncratic execution of the shrine appears atypical of the area.

[37] Term used by Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter in Collage City to suggest an assembly of ideas from found objects or to indicate the construction or creation of a work from a diverse range of freely available objects.



[Image Crossbones Graveyard fig 5.13]
[Location] Redcross Street within the urban interior
[Time] 2009
[Camera] NikonD700 50 mm lens
[Category/people/architecture] urban landscape



[Observations]
The photograph demonstrates individual signs of empathy with the plight of the buried; the gateway has been covered in mementos to commemorate the outcast. Crossbones Graveyard was designated a paupers' graveyard for women, it is assumed that the remains were of those who had fallen into trades such as prostitution. The small plaque, which can be viewed on the right hand side, recounts the history of the site which buried prostitutes labelled The *Winchester Geese* who were licensed by the Bishop of Winchester to ply their trade under his authority. On examination of the ribbons each one is different inscribed with a personal message. As the photograph demonstrates, the gates are heavily blocked with concrete blocks. The site is used for storage and containers, which service the construction work on the City Crossrail extension. The ribbons indicate public expression and ownership of the environment and places value on the lesser-known narratives of the area.

When walking through Bankside there is a proliferation of planted sites, filling interstitial gaps (Tate Community Garden, Church of Precious Blood), *Edible Gardens* (Brookwood House) and public parks (Mint Street, Redcross Gardens). Ted Bowman former chairman of Borough Market, born on Borough Road and now resident of the Peabody Housing adjacent to Tate Modern, recalls his involvement with community green spaces, which started in the seventies when he became involved in looking after a piece of land [Copperfield Gardens] adjacent to All Hallows church. Bowman had lived in the borough from birth, and from an early age worked as a volunteer in planting the church's garden. Bowman's relation to the area has become more formalised through his volunteering work for BOST, one which enables him to be more involved in participating in how the green spaces are managed.

The influence in coordinating activities within the community to improve green spaces steered through BOST has made an impact on building community bonds. The green spaces are becoming sites of exchange and areas of shared responsibility, encouraging a sense of ownership over the area. Owen describes this sense of ownership over the area as a child, 'When I was ten in the late 1950s and 1960s [Bankside] was a fantastic place to play, right next to Bankside was the Anchor pub, unfortunately they demolished everything'. To some immigrants knowledge of planting has been part of growing up in their home country (interview with family Albanian refugees on the Brookwood Estate); for others, it is a chance to work on a communal activity and engage with the public space.

The residents expressed their enriched narratives about growing up in the area, but it appears that now they frequent only familiar territories such as the cafes and community centres. Interviewees' memories of pubs are rich, but they no longer consider the pubs as familiar meeting places. The regular clients have left, with the working class communities more dispersed. Owen, whose relatives lived

in the Queens Buildings, Borough (large tenement blocks with no bathrooms demolished in 1954), talks about his experience of growing up in Bankside when it was mainly focused on light industry, describing the extent of the Wharfs lining the riverside. Central to his community were the pubs: 'Opposite the Queen's buildings the Duke of Clarence where my father's family drank, next door was Hoe, the big engineering company that would build printing machines for Fleet Street. Our local was the George Inn, off Borough Road, probably one of the oldest pubs in London. You would hardly notice it really, it was a Coaching Inn with a great inglenook fireplace, haven't been there for years, that was our local' (Bruce Owen original occupant of Falcon Point interview 2010).



[Image Pickles Café fig. 5.14]
[Location] Great Suffolk Street
[Observations]
[Time] 2010
[Camera] Nikon D700 50 mm lens
[Category/people/architecture] Urban landscape, local

[Observations] Pickles café or *caff* sits directly opposite the Taxi Depot. The interior is dark with a large serving counter and single run of stairs that appears to access a residential floor. The canopy is propped up on a slim timber pole and the 'Pickles' part of the signage appears to be painted by hand. The street furniture has an ad-hoc quality to it. The opening hours are early in the morning to 2.30 pm. This is a no frills café that is beginning to appear out of place in its environment, but has an appeal, in that its purpose is to serve up an English breakfast. Its clientele appear to be mainly blue-collar workers.

The shooting script that I constructed to accompany the photographs recorded cafes that provide low cost refreshments/temporary structures/individual structures/ that provide for the tradesman that potentially resist or set up a dichotomous relationship with the new types of branded cafes and restaurants in the area. The script attempted to record the manifestation of the symbolic economy within the urban environment.

The photographs demonstrate a local small-scale infrastructure that supports the taxi trade in the area. Adjacent to Great Suffolk Street is the taxi depot, with mechanics, a petrol station and the Green Hut (now demolished). This network became apparent through researching the area in order to photograph the transformations and record what has been described as the idiosyncratic nature of the Urban Triangle (Urban Forest, Witherford Watson Mann).

[**Image The Green Hut Kiosk fig 5.15]**
[Location] Leans on the infrastructure of the Railway Viaducts
[Time] 2009
[Camera] NikonD700 50 mm lens
[Category/people/architecture] urban landscape
[Observations]
The Green Hut can be described as a temporary building, built out of lightweight sheet materials and roofing asphalt. The property has no signage, but the display of crisps, sweets and photographs economically communicate the hut's function. The menu consists of a variety of dishes from ‘chicken tikka’ to bacon sandwiches. The external shelf accommodates customers who want to pause and eat. The interstitial construction responds to the irregularity of the site, sandwiched between the viaduct and the street. The premises open early in the morning and were shut by early afternoon, thus catering for the tradesman and taxi-drivers.




SURREY ROW SE1
LONDON BOROUGH OF SOUTHWARK





[Image Former site of The Green Hut Kiosk]
[Time] 2009
[Camera] NikonD700 50 mm lens
[Category/people/architecture] urban landscape
[Observations]

This image is typical of the area's increase in residential new builds. The Green Hut is gone as well as the one-story single brick construction garages that tend to cluster around railway arches, as the land was initially low cost and considered undesirable. The steel frame bolted on site is an economical way to build, as it cuts down on the construction period and labour costs.

Finally, on the local promenade for Resident B, I will introduce the exhibition *Bankside-on-Call* that I curated for residents and employees to engage with. This also enabled me to locate my research in the field. I curated *Bankside-on-Call (2010)* an exhibition and pop-up parlour, as part of the London Festival of Architecture. The exhibition's content consisted of six audio stations with edited versions of interviews with local residents recounting their experiences of growing up in the area or their perception of change in the area. Additionally, I commissioned the artist, Bruce Gilbert originally a member of the art-punk band

Wire (1976–96), to produce an atmospheric sounds piece recorded from sounds in the field, as well as extracts from the interviews, which played throughout the exhibition. This was funded through a Grant for the Arts from the Arts Council of England. The exhibition concept took its cue from the idea of the café where debate is engendered within its genesis in the salon and coffee shops of the nineteenth-century. The pop-up parlour aimed to be a site for chance encounters, and interactions. The event offered a participatory process in which the space is added to, with the interaction of the visitors adding to the Oral History interviews, which in turn aimed to build up a diverse picture of how Bankside is not a fixed site but reflects an ongoing process of change. The space was rented without charge from Espacia, the property wing of Railtrack, organised through Better Bankside, which was responsible solely for paying the rates. In return, Railtrack were keen that a broader audience would view their arches in order to advertise the spaces for future rental. The two periods of principal activity as observed through the three week duration were from 8.30 am to 10 am and from 4.30 pm to 6 pm, as Chancel Street was used as a main cut through from the offices at the Thames to Southwark Tube Station. Otherwise there was little activity during the day. Residents came from the estates within the vicinity as well as an invited group from the Blackfriars Settlement charity. Observations and conversation with residents highlighted the isolation of each estate, which appear to operate in 'isolated clusters' (Richardson 2011). The residents were manifestly concerned by the build-up of activities in the area and as development shifted westwards and to Blackfriar's Road, the BRF was keen to mobilise and establish interest in the participatory process for residents to comment on the planning proposals.

By locating myself as an actor in the field and focusing on grass roots activities, I was clearly positioning myself as an instigator of a cultural process that identified with the way that local identity was being shaped by the arrival of TM and the activities and development that have happened subsequently. My interest lay in providing a platform for local exchange using the interview as creative material.

This was intended to give local residents and businesses visibility, as well as draw attention to the 'essence' of the site. My research enabled me to identify the opportunity to organise the activity *Bankside-on-Call,* as well as identify a potential lack of support for the activities that are not part of a formalised cultural agenda. In qualifying the results, I produced a series of interviews that will be housed in the Tate archives. These will act as a record to the strength of interest in Bankside's urban condition as identified through long-term residents.

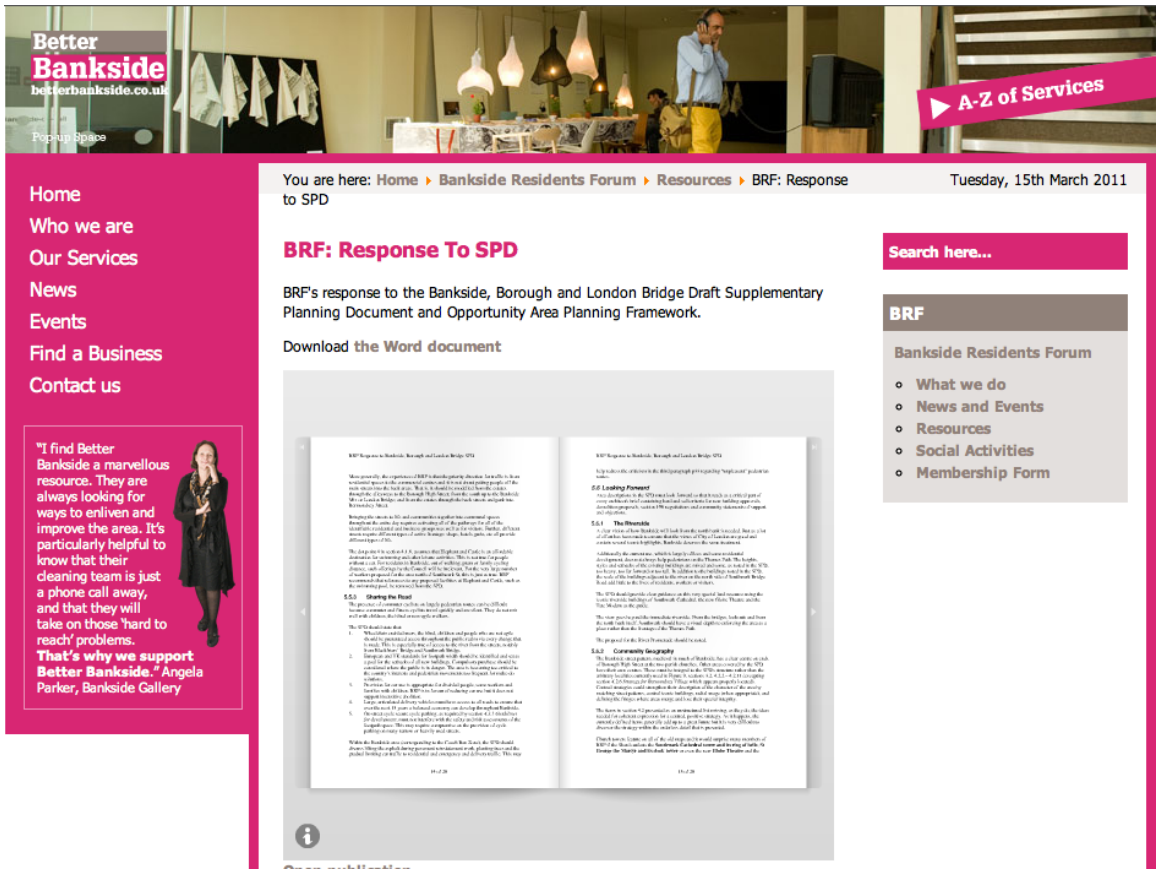

Figure 5.15 *Bankside-on-Call* venue Chancel Street, Better Bankside: source Better Bankside website photo (accessed July 2011)

5.5 Conclusion

In assessing the structuring of the CQ, I started my discussion with the roots of Bourdieu's ideas on cultural capital. In assessing the transformations of the urban environment in terms of cultural capital or how culture is being used as a promotional instrument for economic purposes the definition has become more complex, no longer a direct trajectory between education/stature and wealth. Culture has become more readily assessable through new social media forums or platforms and with that the vocabulary more democratised and an architectural programme that at times aims to be an expansion of the city. I have demonstrated through looking at the Bankside Mix advertisements and sales promotion for the Neo Bankside apartments that advertisers or developers seek to codify culture in order to sell an image of uniqueness, exclusivity and authenticity, thereby narrowing the potential of cultural processes.

I discuss the argument that there is a democratisation of accessibility through cultural activities and sites, which creates a wider interpretation of aesthetic reflexivity. This I demonstrated through the Promenade of Tourist A. I argued that a dominant aesthetic pervades the area, a framing of TM from the north side that takes in St Paul's and the Millennium Bridge, from the south side it is a fragmented and denser reading with buildings tightly impacting on the urban environment, communicating the symbolic value of culture over that of more pluralistic values. I have demonstrated that this is more apparent in the Thameside area of Bankside and less in the hinterland, due to its urban infrastructure and the existence of a higher degree of mixed tenure housing alongside the activities of organisations such as BOST to the south of Southwark Street. The projects applied through the Bankside Urban Forest (2008 -) which brings together Tate Modern, Better Bankside and Southwark Council, in shaping the urban environment have worked within a considered framework that looks at

the plurality of concerns amongst the community in applying a more considered and detailed approach to developing the urban environment.

In considering the promenade of Resident B, I have demonstrated a relationship to the area that is less predicated on reading the symbolic representational quality of the landscape than on interpreting the area through different mechanisms, such as the build-up of social capital. The resident Bowman has a relationship to the area that is built on participating in shared public space through his early voluntary work, as well as his position as a trustee at Borough Market. Elsie Wise is proud to live near the now refurbished power station, though would not necessarily visit the gallery; similarly Mrs Coots, who enjoys walking over the Millennium Bridge. Here I have demonstrated that, in contrast to the dominant cultural agenda, there exists a divergent participation in the site that demonstrates an engagement with the less visibly reproducible. I am not advocating that each resident has a rival claim on the space, although it is clear that some of the local community feel that they should have a greater impact on decisions for the future of the area's development.

Beech (2009) in discussing how culture and, with it, urbanism can become more relevant, calls for a genealogy of cultural figures and their respective forms of attention; this, it is proposed, would contribute to understanding culture's divisions and thereby the routes through which culture is encountered and contested. My analysis of Tourist A and Resident B is an attempt to draw attention to how the urban environment is experienced from different social perspectives. In discussing the identity of the area and, with this, the identity of the resident and tourist, it is through the existence of the 'other' that one is able to acknowledge that a complex identity exists. 'The identity of the self is radically and permanently split by the existence of the other', Beech maintains (ibid). Here, through exploring different relationships to place and levels of engagement, I demonstrate how in parts Bankside is being steered by an agenda

that interprets culture as a commodifiable product on which to 'piggy back'. The shooting scripts that I created as part of the promenade were constructed as a result of spending time in the field, visiting the local cafes and sites, and photographing the sites. This led to a greater engagement and observation of the area. My classification of the photographs draws attention to the recent interventions, as well as the rapid urbanization of the area. The photographs present the essence of the place and what is at times difficult to describe in writing.

I explored in this chapter how the aesthetic vocabulary, as a result of improvements to the environment and the drive of private development, has developed in two directions. There is a clear language of internationalism and bland globalism (Bankside 123), as well as an attempt to preserve the quality of ad-hocism, especially visible in the buildings belonging to the hinterland of Bankside. I have discussed how *The Monument to the Unknown Artist* is an example of how public art has been used to mark 'iconic cultural spaces which [meanwhile] become emblematic of a new affluence, thus displacing readings based on its histories of production and reception which include histories of dissent and refusal of art's commodification' (Miles 2005: 894).

Whilst considering the symbolic representation of the physical landscape as illustrated through Bankside Mix and Neo Bankside, a codified language is being presented to promote a particular lifestyle and I argue that a narrow vision of urban life is presented which, in part, reduces diversity through its limited vocabulary. A considered approach to maintaining a balance of diversity in a wider population of visitors and residents is demonstrated through the events of Tate Local such as The *Wedding Project*[38] which created a temporary event

[38] The Wedding Project (1998) was a commission from Tate Modern, Borough Market and Tate Modern Visitors Centre before it opened, to follow on from the Tate Fete the year before in 1997. It was a very specific commission to happen in Borough Market and the brief was to involve both Tate staff and 'local people'. There was an intensive research process in Borough in the light of the change and gentrification

bringing together the community and exchanging knowledge of the area as well as a sense of engagement. The *Monument to the Unknown Artist* on the other hand provides the viewer with a fleeting experience, one that appears merely to augment the idea of visual consumption as claiming a dominant position in the context of Bankside. With reference to the installation *Temporary Eyesore*, the lack of residential input or contestation could in part be due to the level of participation and consultation which Tate Local carries out with residents, in contrast with the lack of such consultation in the Docklands development. In considering the impact on the values of artistic activity within a cultural framework I hope to have raised concerns over the use of culture as a commodifiable language. The potential and power of culture to deliver a critique about society and to operate within an independent field from the values of the economic environment risk becoming marginalised due to the use of cultural processes to promote urbanism.

I have indicated that although cultural institutions have become more democratic, a new set of associations with culture has arisen as developers have aligned themselves with cultural capital. The encouragement of governments in this relationship is to drive cultural regeneration, whilst attempting to maintain an agenda of diversity. But, as has been demonstrated, developers who conversely discourage diversity have surrounded Tate Modern, packaging ideas of culture into lifestyle concepts of experiencing the city, in order primarily to attract global wealth. LBS acted relatively powerlessly in steering the cultural agenda, as demonstrated through the establishment of the South Bank CQ. It was the initiative of a few people from the centre to drive a more open public policy in terms of incorporating the buildings into the public realm. The regeneration department at Tate Modern and the smaller organisations have worked to promote the values of local concerns, as well as preserving and addressing the

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that was being ushered in by the arrival of the Tate. This research resulted in the making of a documentary video Borough Market's Double Life over a 24-hour period.

needs of communities, although the influence of the developer has shown that decisions can be overruled.

Finally this chapter has demonstrated the impact of the spatialisation of cultural production to reiterate the power of the urban environment in communicating and representing dominant values. The emphasis on shaping public space in the urban environment is borne out through subtle engagement, such as the widening of pavements or street furniture that discourages the homeless. Or, in the case of Better Bankside, it is an image of coherency through the branding presence on all of their street furniture, reminding one of the predominance of the business agenda in the area. The aesthetisation of diversity is apparent in the cleaning up of the railway viaducts, which historically housed small trades such as prop makers, welders, and paper wholesalers. The developer contracted by Railtrack, Espacia is now promoting the arches primarily as office space, the arches have been homogenised to encourage rentals from desk-based companies from the 'creative industries'. As I have demonstrated, the identity of the area is becoming more complex in terms of balancing development against residential concerns, but also in the broad spectrum of activities and identities. In tracing the perspectives of the Tourist and Resident, I have drawn attention to the issue of multiple publics, in an attempt to articulate the cultural division through the physical environment. My analysis of the photographs that I have taken, demonstrates changes in the urban environment most notably in the hinterland. Additionally, they engage with observing the environment, and demonstrated local engagement with narratives that are not necessarily interpreted and reconstituted to present an image or particular lifestyle. I broaden this to examine the concept of a 'contestable public' in Chapter Six, the next chapter, where I explore whether the TH has the potential to restructure social space or whether it reproduces the familiar gallery space.



[Image Hanging Baskets fig 5.17]

Chapter Six Section A
On Public Space, Spectacle and the Turbine Hall

6.1 Introduction
6.2 The Competition
6.3 Turbine Hall a place to restructure social space or reproduce a familiar spatial structure
6.4 Interior, scale and urban dialogue, visibility/transparency
6.5 Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

This chapter will examine how the site of the Turbine Hall has constructed an expansion of a reading of public space. Key to this analysis is the process of how Tate Modern mediated the role of the TH as a public space. I have chosen to frame my analysis of how the TH performs the role of a new taxonomy of space in the public realm, within current debates on 'spectacle', which addresses the relationship between audiences, space and the practice of curating.

I will review the architectural competition for the remodeling of the power station, as the competition was central to setting the agenda and ambition for the gallery to be a key integrated component in relation to the surrounding urban fabric. I will describe two of the six finalists, which I have assessed as presenting two contrasting visions for TM: the Dutch practice Office for Metropolitan Architecture (OMA) and the winning entry by Herzog & de Meuron (HdM). I will examine the relationship between the architectural intentions of HdM, the vision of Serota, and the parallel contribution of the curators in delivering a new structure for social space.

The purpose of the chapter is to explore the effectiveness of this new form of public space in response to Guy Debord's original theory of the manifestation of spectacle in everyday life, its proliferation in the media, and manifest in lifestyle concepts, politics and in relation to contemporary interpretations premised on his original concept.



Figure 6.1 Guardian image of Tony Blair against Carsten Höller's *Test Site* installation in the Turbine Hall, 7/3/2007

As discussed in my literature review in Chapter one, the key points proposed by the Situationists with respect to Debord's manifesto, as presented in his publication *Society of the Spectacle* (1967), refer to a society dominated by media and consumer tastes organised around the consumption of images, commodities and spectacle. Debord's interpretation of spectacle also refers to the institutional and technical apparatus of contemporary capitalism, and to the means and methods that political power employs to encourage passivity in addressing what Debord terms, 'societal manipulation' (1967). In order to discuss spectacle in relation to the TH and the practice of exhibition displays, I will analyse issues of scale in relation to the curatorial intentions of the TM. In a sequel to his first manifesto, *The Comments on the Society of the Spectacle* (1987) Debord revisits his analysis of twenty years earlier to demonstrate how aspects of reality from terrorism to the environment are caught up in the logic of 'spectacular society' (ibid). Debord comments on the supremacy of commodity fetishisation and the interrelations between state and economy. On turning to art, he points directly to the relationship between the art dealers (economy) and the inability of the systems of art (for example, curatorial practice, art prizes) to acknowledge their historical past, 'as the meanings of history and taste are lost, networks of falsifications are organised' (Debord 1987: 50).

In my analysis of the TH as a site which potentially enables a variety of cultural processes which in turn are able to engender spaces of non-specificity, I will refer to the perceived negative aspects of contemporary spectacle interpreted by the media who in their role as commandeering and influencing meaning in art are subject to re-present ideas as original, conflating meaning and practice. This I will analyse in relation to how the Unilever Series and Turbine Hall has been represented. The image in figure 6.1 which appeared in the *Guardian* newspaper on 7 March, 2007, of the former Labour Prime Minister Tony Blair, accompanied by the strap line *'Blair reminisces about Labour's 'golden age' of the arts, others wonder where it went,'* reported a press conference to announce government funding for the arts. The photo opportunity for Tony Blair against the backdrop of Carsten Höller's *Test Site* (2006-7) could be read as a symbol of the Labour party's affinity with London's most identifiable and powerful art spaces. The choice of the TH as a venue for the delivery of a speech by the then Prime Minister, on the government's future policy for arts funding demonstrated the high-ranking position that TM has as one of London's most successful arts institutions. This chapter will demonstrate the ambiguity that exists towards the concept of spectacle in contemporary society and the role the gallery plays in constructing visitor identities. On the one hand, the role of spectacle is seen as offering a new experience that competes with the sophistication of contemporary society's technical advances to mediate information through images. On the other hand, the preoccupation with curating space around issues of spectacle has been criticised as a form of manipulating a manufactured experience for the viewer, one that relies on a relationship of art aligned with commodification, and where the viewer becomes a passive recipient of the works. This chapter explores in depth the various approaches to the programming of the TH, which I continue in Section B, to expand on the relationship between viewer, space and installation.

6.2 The Competition

To begin this analysis, I will examine the organisation of the competition held by the Tate trustees, to select an architect that would transform the power station into a contemporary art gallery. This will draw attention to the ambitions for the gallery, since Serota viewed the potential for the interaction of the TH with the surrounding city as having the ability to draw people in and act as one of London's great public spaces (TG 12/1/3/6). The competition was launched in the European Commission Journal (July 1994) with 149 registered entries. The brief made explicit the importance of addressing the surrounding urban context and the role that the gallery would play in influencing the existing urban fabric. It also drew on the extensive research carried out by the directors of international galleries, which acknowledged that some of the most significant presentations of new art have taken place outside traditional art galleries, such as in private houses, disused warehouses or in the urban townscape (TG12/2/2). The Tate trustees were keen to address and question some of the historical precedents of the display of art and 'present the work set against the past in a manner that sometimes allows for dislocation and even disruption, and sometimes involves the presentation of art in raw spaces' (TG12/2/2). Key questions arose in putting together the brief. Professor Ricky Burdett, then Director of the Architecture Foundation, in highlighting the building's isolation from the surrounding context and its deadening effect, raised the question as to how the building could be knitted back into the existing fabric (TG 12/1/2/1). For this reason the trustees were addressing both the contextualisation of the display of art and how the building would address the urban environment. Serota, in citing two of the most successful models for the display of contemporary art, the Museum of Modern Art, (MOMA), New York, and the Centre George Pompidou (CGP), Paris, stated that the challenge of Bankside 'is therefore to create a new urban model on the scale of, but distinct from, those of the MOMA and CGP' (TG/12/4/1).

Before putting together the competition brief and the call for entries, a letter from Serota was sent to a group of international artists asking them to comment on their preferred museums and galleries in Europe and the USA.[39]

Serota's letter posed questions that were predominantly centred on the relationship of the display of art to the architecture of the building. The artists were asked to describe what they thought was the 'most common mistake in recent museum architecture and what should the relationship between architecture, art and the public be like' (TG 12/4/1). Understandably, the results demonstrated diverse views. Some favoured conversions, while others viewed them as a compromise. Frank Auerbach b. 1931, the German born painter, disliked the use for exhibitions of public spaces, such as stairs and entrance halls, which were not originally intended for that purpose. Additionally, there was consensus amongst the artist respondents on a number of issues centred around the fact that ceilings were too low, spaces too small, curves were viewed as problematic, the execution of public spaces was often too large in relation to the gallery spaces, and the architecture too dominant. The galleries that some considered a failure included the Guggenheim Bilbao; Centre George Pompidou Paris; Gare d'Orsay Paris; Hayward Gallery London and Sainsbury Centre for the Visual Arts Norwich, all were described as having public spaces that were over prescriptive and compromised gallery spaces manifest through over expressive architecture. Georg Baselitz, the German Neo-Expressionist artist, stated that he loved the Louisiana Art Museum in Denmark but thought that spaces there were impractical, preferring 'Zweckbauen' when the buildings were principally built to fulfil their purpose. He also added that he hated 'the Wagnerian neurosis of excitement and a tendency to imagine that art is in need of theatre as well as disliking the plaza outside Beaubourg' (TG 12/4/1). The American Minimalist artist Ellsworth Kelly said that architects who think of themselves as sculptors

[39] The list comprised; Gerard Richter, Rachel Whiteread, Jasper Johns, Gilbert and George, Damien Hirst, Frank Auerbach, Richard Deacon, Richard Long, Paula Rego, Michael Craig-Martin, Richard Hamilton, John Baselitz, Ellesworth Kelly, Richard Serra and Anthony Gormley.

should be avoided (TG 12/4/1). Michael Craig-Martin, commenting on the conclusions of the sculptor Bill Woodrow and himself after a tour of recently built museums, at the invitation of Serota, stated that 'in general, most modern museums seemed to serve the interests of architecture and architects more clearly than the art and artists. Many architects clearly considered designing a museum to be a prime opportunity for high-profile signature work. On the other hand, few architects seemed truly to understand or be interested in the needs of the artist' (The Tate Modern Handbook 2001: 17). Craig-Martin's criticism of an architect's tendency to privilege the architecture over display fails to acknowledge that today's art galleries have to perform a complex range of functions if they are to operate in the competitive world of sponsorship, funding, entertainment, education and reflect society's interest in society, culture and politics.

In addition, a questionnaire was sent round to over thirty international galleries, raising issues centred around the project's timetabling, circulation spaces, servicing, quality of spaces and length of construction period. One of the main focuses was on the public spaces within the galleries, noting that this was poorly defined in the internal entrance area of the CGP, Paris.

Amongst the artists' responses was a consensus that emphasised a preference for conversions of existing buildings naturally lit, and where architectural intervention was minimal. Very few cited new buildings built in recent years except as models to be avoided. The opinions of the artists mainly highlighted their agreement that the architecture should play a background role, allowing public spectators to form a relationship with the art works, rather than aiming to be an overtly sculptural building. In recent years the arrival of iconic architecture has been used to signify a building as a representation of cultural supremacy and place marketing. This has created a sense of fatigue about the iconic object, which often neglects an original programme of curated events, due to an overt

focus on the form of the building. In addition to the iconic architectural object, a rotation of international art works appear regularly on the global viewing circuit of international galleries, works by artists such as the American, Jeff Koon's *Puppy* (1992), or the French artist Louise Bourgeois' *Maman* (1990).



Figure 6.2 Maman at the Guggenheim, Bilbao: source Dean

In addressing how the building related to the city with reference to TGMA, Serota described his ambition to 'give life and energy to the city by linking the interior and exterior spaces to make connections between the museum and the world outside' (TG 12/4/1). This was probably one of the major challenges faced by each competitor. The building had been built in a monumental style to keep the public out, and with the new function as an art gallery, the building would have to be re-orientated so as to be outward-looking. The original design for Bankside by Sir Giles Gilbert Scott introduced large mullioned windows, despite daylight not being essential for the oil-fired boilers. To the residents of North Southwark the building was largely unpeopled, and its scale appeared as the antithesis to that of the street. The visual impact of the building could be summed up as impenetrable with an uninviting perimeter. During its history of use the control room, a picture of advanced modernism, (in contrast to the sombre building's façade of elegant but austere brickwork), would occasionally appear in the national press

describing the mystery of the control room's location and the power of control orchestrated by the building (TG/12/4/1).

To examine the competition process, I have chosen to compare the submission of the winning scheme by Herzog & de Meuron and that of OMA (with the American minimalist architect Richard Gluckman), one of six short-listed practices selected. In the appendix I clearly set out the design features and objectives of each of the six finalists and their approach to the urban context. HdM and OMA have often been compared to one another, because of their unorthodox approach to architecture. In a debate between Rem Koolhaas and Jacques Herzog, they muse over the fact that they are frequently pitted against each other. To counter this, they collaborated on the Astor Palace Hotel, New York (1999). Koolhaas, in conversation with Herzog, comments on how the two practices are positioned as having diametrically opposed concerns, with Koolhaas's research-based approach to architecture often attributed to his journalistic training, whilst HdM's approach to design is described as stylistic and predominantly concerned with surface detail. Herzog sums up the comparisons:

> There are still people who think that one has to be either on Koolhaas's side or on our side. They're probably thinking now how can they be so stupid as to work with Rem, he's just a journalist. And the others will say how can he work with HdM, with those cosmeticians? There is nothing I hate more than being pinned down […]. That's why style architects, who let themselves be fixed by certain handwriting are a really big problem for us (Conversation between Koolhaas and Herzog 'du' Architectural Journal May 2000).

Herzog elaborates that both architectural practices are equally interested in urbanism, but that Koolhaas's writings are better known, adding that they have been intensively concerned with town planning. 'It's not so much the city that

interests us, rather it's the process of urbanisation' (Herzog 'du' Architectural Journal: 2000). Both practices acknowledge that the focus of the TM brief was to make a statement about the relationship of the building to the area, and to make a prognosis of the direction of the gallery in the twenty-first century.

In assessing the work of HdM, their proposal lay in how the building related to the overall layout of the city by extending the building's symmetry externally, by increasing its axial definition of its east-west axis and also by reinforcing the north-south axis, thereby introducing entrances on all four facades. The Italian architect Aldo Rossi, who taught HdM at the ETHZurich, urged them to investigate building typologies and the evolution of cities. Rossi's early works were most influential, reminding them of the Art Povera[40] movement. 'There is something impoverished about Rossi's simple concrete houses', states Herzog, 'something of the early films of Pasolini or a Fellini where materials are used to convey a raw emotional state using materials as symbolic devices' (*du Architectural Journal*: 2000).

In an essay by the architectural critic Ursprung entitled *Exhibition Architecture* (2005) HdM's work is traced in relation to a representation of spectacle, which addresses in particular the relationship between object, commodity and desire. Referring to the literary historian Thomas Richard's publication The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle 1851–1914, Ursprung cites the *Great Exhibition* held in Crystal Palace as 'a specifically capitalist system of representation that is commonly referred to as a spectacle of consumer goods paraded on show, objects imbued with meaning acting as signifiers of taste, culture and class' (Richards 1990: 58). The Crystal Palace became a forerunner to Benjamin's Arcades Project, in which he argued that an

[40] The Italian art critic and curator, Germano Celante, introduced the term 'Arte Povera' in 1967. His pioneering texts and a series of key exhibitions provided a collective identity for a number of young Italian artists based in Turin, Milan, Genoa and Rome. They were working in radically new ways, breaking with the past and entering a challenging dialogue with trends in Europe and America. The movement has been aligned with rejecting a theoretical basis in favour of embracing materials and processes, placing the viewer to reflect on the relationship between experience and meaning.

obsession with the commodification of the spectacle began in the 'Paris Arcades' in the nineteenth-century, which put on display all the radiant commodities of the day. Department stores appeared in Paris exhibiting commodities as spectacle; products offered happiness, luxury and transcendence.

Ursprung continues: '[The practice of HdM] come up with tangible alternatives. Their architecture does not function as a stage set for an ageing praxis of representation but operates rather as though the buildings themselves were exhibits in a larger, as yet unfinished exhibition-part of a 'city in the making'' (Usprung 2005: 28). Here HdM approach the city as if it were in a constant state of flux, with a diversity of influences, cultural, economic and aesthetic. This analysis responds to the challenge of space as being in a continuous process of change and to the limitations of an understanding of the complexities of space if read as static (Massey 2002). It also highlights the limitations of the role of architecture in being able to shape behaviour and produce ideal forms that can respond to a complex cultural field, where the viewers' relationship challenges the assumed relationship to the object as a commodity. The architects test the relationship between viewers and objects through material, scale and representation. In describing HdM's work Ursprung comments on the intellectual capacity of their work: 'Theirs is a form of representation that can cope with the complexity and dynamism of the current situation and is thus orientated towards the future' (Ursprung 2005: 33). HdM's design approach to the power station could be read as conceding to the values communicated through the building's structure, those of industriousness and productiveness, although it is worth remarking that the structure, when started in 1943, had a different relationship to society as did the industrial structures of the nineteenth-century which are often citied in critiques of the relationship to modern art spaces and industry such as The Tramway in Glasgow, the Baltic Centre for Contemporary Art in Newcastle and the Shaffenhausen in Zurich (Crinson 2005, Harbison 1992). On assessing the trustees' approach to working with an existing industrial building rather than a

'new build', it was agreed that the rawness of the building's structure should be maintained. Writing on industrial architecture generally, the architectural critic Robert Harbison observed that, because these buildings were often uncommunicative for long stretches, one attributes absolute integrity to industrial structures: 'The aesthete is seldom more credulous than when presented with the brute facts of labour, our devotion to decommissioned industrial buildings now rivals that which Ruskin and the Victorians felt for mouldering Gothic cathedrals' (Harbison 1992: 124).

At the time of commissioning of the power station, government authorities questioned the merits of placing it directly in alignment to St Paul's Cathedral. With reference to HdM's competition entry for the TGMA, the architects' represented their interpretation of the TH through a key drawing illustrating the installation of an Artangel commission *House (1993*) [41] by the British artist Rachel Whiteread, which demonstrated the transformative nature of the space and its ability to house large-scale objects. The drawing played a key part in convincing the judges of the potential urban impact of the building in terms of its role. The key perspective drawing showed the interconnecting levels to the Turbine Hall with the bridge linking north to south. The architects collaged the image of *House* onto the ground floor of the TH, removing one of the floors of the sculpture so that it would fit into the space, without blocking off the bridge crossing the north south axis. In the description of the drawing of the TH with the sculptural installations, the architects signaled their intention to communicate the principal idea through the collaged image: 'Pictures speak a visual language not a conceptual language' (TG 12/4/7/7/2). The accompanying text described the potential of the space: 'The ramp, the bridge and parts of the Turbine Hall will be characterised by public life, the museum visitors will be able to stroll about and communicate as they would do on an ordinary street' (ibid). Identifying the three physical components that

[41] Based in London but working across Britain and beyond, the independent commissioning body Artangel commissions and produces projects by contemporary artists. Over the past two decades, the projects have materialised in a range of different sites and situations and forms of media. Each new project evolves from a singular commissioning process, born from an open-ended conversation with an artist.

contribute to an urban setting, the ramp, the bridge and the hall provided a tangible urbanscape that positioned the space as a series of linking elements around the installations that had previously been displayed externally. The architectural design would help to turn the building inside out introducing elements that attempted to connect as seamlessly as possible with the exterior environment. At this stage it was proposed that the Millennium Bridge would be pitched as an international ideas competition, thus articulating the intention of the trustees to link the south of London (from the Elephant and Castle) with London's St Paul's Cathedral. The architects' ability to address the building's size was mastered largely through a process of reduction, stripping away its industrial apparatus and removing the ground floor. This enabled visitors to be funneled through the ramped west facade, which created a sense of 'squeeze and release' as they were brought in under a narrowly proportioned entrance in relation to the building's façade, to experience the enclosure and disclosure of the structure. The passage below, taken from HdM Stage One entry, emphasises the importance of the TH acting as a fulcrum around which all of the more conventional activities of a gallery take place:

> Entering through the south entrance's light gate, you come across the Switch House and find yourself inside one of London's most powerful new public spaces, the Turbine Hall. Approaching east and west you have direct access to the Turbine Hall. A large ramp leads down to the lowest level of the whole building complex. Here the spatial power of the Turbine Hall, its industrial appearance having been left untouched, can be experienced as its apex. You seem to have reached the building's centre of gravity, and it is only natural that you begin your visit from here (TG12/4/7/7/1).

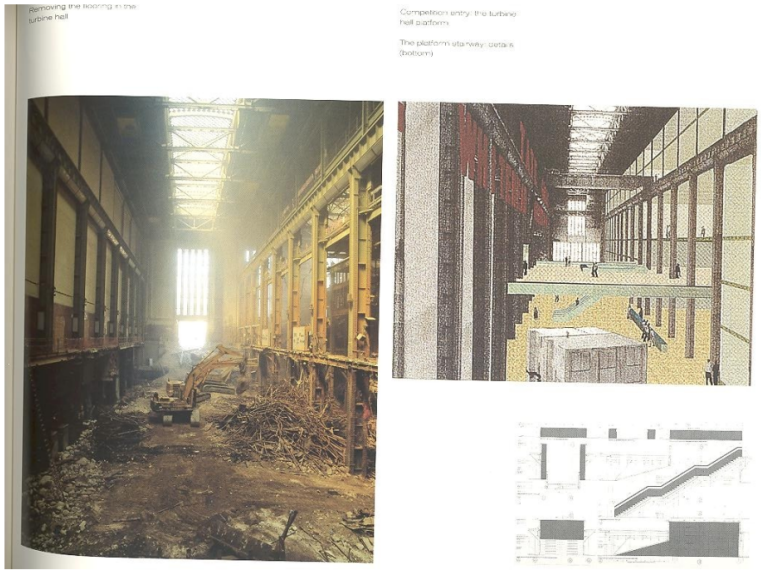

Figure 6.3 Illustration of HdM's collage of the Turbine Hall submitted for Stage 1: source Tate Handbook

The competition entry illustrated the building as accessible on all axes. In section, the TH is annotated in yellow, the same colour as the other circulation spaces, whilst the galleries are in museum grey, thereby assigning to the hall a transitory nature.

The spaces between the suites or gallery spaces, which combine both natural and artificial light, were designed to accommodate art installations and public use. The architects' aim was to provide a combination of possibilities for display, to create a kind of spatial 'normality', which some artists prefer to regular exhibition spaces. The design demonstrated a clear circulation pattern, with generous public spaces spread throughout the building, interconnecting the galleries for the main collection and temporary shows. These are linked by longitudinal walkways with seating, allowing visitors to pause and gaze over the void of the Turbine Hall. The scheme acknowledged the impact the building has on its immediate context within Bankside, setting a clear design framework for the surrounding streets and public open spaces. The architects have been credited with paying equal attention to the subtle requirements of the art and artists as well as the urban context. In assessing the series of almost

choreographed moves, the building appeared to become lighter and more fitting within the context. Firstly, the building was stripped of its subsidiary spaces around the main volume, making the building more readable as a strong form. Secondly, the light beam hovering on the top of the building housing two floors was a simplistic device, but created a contrast with the load-bearing nature of the building's brick.

In 1996 an exhibition was held at the Tate Millbank to exhibit the short-listed architects and the winning entry. An extract from the exhibition text below describes the design intention behind HdM's submission:

> The winning submission by the Swiss Architects is, at first sight, deceptively simple. It provides a rich framework for the development of the new Tate Gallery of Modern Art that is both flexible and robust (Burdett TG/12/4/8).

Interestingly HdM felt that they stood little chance of winning an international competition of this status because of the small scale of their previous work, but were encouraged to take part by Ricky Burdett who had noticed the originality of HdM's work in the execution of small but typologically challenging buildings such as the Goetz Pavilion, Munich, 1992, and the Railway Signal Box, Basel, 1992. Harry Gugger explained HdM's initial introduction to London:

> Of course, the Tate was known to all of us as an important museum but not much more than that. We didn't know anyone there, it was really just Ricky who was the first one to ask Jacques and Pierre to come over and lecture at the AA (Architectural Association). He was instrumental in bringing them into the UK, a loose friendship. He would send a fax over to ask us to participate. On the first one we didn't react: This is not 'our shoe size', because of the reputation of this type of competition. We didn't think

> that we had a chance. It was pretty clear the competition would address the world and we didn't feel we belonged to the world [of architecture] at that time. So we discussed it and felt that it would be a wasted effort so we didn't do anything. So I think that there was a second fax insisting on us participating, saying we will have a chance so we reconsidered and thought let's go for it (interview with Gugger May 2009).

Burdett describes the key elements of their scheme that were conclusive for the judges in selecting HdM as the winners: 'It was the competition entry, which introduced a few bold gestures; one of reduction in removing a floor from the building and therefore increasing the void within the principal space, rather than shying away from the enormity of the space and possible programmatic challenge' (Burdett TG 12/4/6).

In analysing issues surrounding scale and the Turbine Hall, I will introduce OMA's competition entry and draw on Koolhaas's theory of *Bigness*, which was introduced in the literature review. Koolhaas introduced the theory in relation to his retrogressive manifesto, *Delirious New York (1975)* publishing the essay *Bigness* in 1994 in *S,M,L,XL,* which denounced previous concepts of contextualisation in the city. The principal issues discussed in his theory, examine the distance between the core and envelope which Koolhaas describes as being increased to the point where a façade cannot convey what is inside, exploding the key humanist expectation of 'honesty'. My previous reference to *The Arcades Project* and the role of the flâneur, by Walter Benjamin (1927-40), displays the challenges of the transformed space of the city, beginning in the 1830s. One chapter in Benjamin's book focuses primarily on the emergence of iron construction in the built environment. This begins at a time when iron structures appear in cities such as Paris; when the production and proliferation of a new building material would result in the formation of parallel discourses around aesthetics and culture. Moving away from the forces of gravity and

towards an era of ready-made architecture, iron construction proved to change not only the way in which buildings were made, but, how the built environment at various scales (domestic, urban, industrial) was conceived.

In addition to the obvious progression from stone/timber to iron construction, or from handcrafted to prefabrication, was the shift in the conception of the interior and the exterior bringing changes in the social fabric of nineteenth-century Europe. Benjamin's study of the flâneur suggests that the emergence of new typologies in the built environment, such as the department store, reformulate social spaces across cities, such as Paris. Benjamin's work depicts a loss of the arcade as an exterior social space, implying that the interiorised form of the department store replaced the arcade, at a loss to the flâneur, to whom this space functioned in defining an identity and lifestyle. The department store became a new typology that rose out of advances in technology. In Paris, this new form was epitomised in the Magasin au Bon Marché, designed in 1876 by L.A. Boileau and Gustave Eiffel. The building is not only a new typology responsible for a shift in lifestyle patterns (namely those affecting the upper-classes, as in the case of the flâneur); it was also an example of a new aesthetic growing out of the proliferation of iron construction.

Therefore, the debate surrounding advances in technology in taking precedence over aesthetic debates could be seen as a lineage to Koolhaas' theory of *Bigness* where structural systems of construction, the sophistication in environmental controls, the reduction of reliance on conventional architectural paradigms such as the relationship of the building's exterior to the interior (often the deep-plan structure is a long distance from the façade), all contribute to creating a micro urban system that no longer relies on context. Technology here is replaced by the growth structures expanded through neo-liberal politics, which push the urban envelope, creating new spatial norms.

OMA's competition submission, entitled *Danger 66,000 volts* contrasted starkly with that of HdM in terms of altering the existing structure. The practice proposed a reconfiguration of the building's interior creating a series of gallery blocks and continuous spaces of relatively enclosed classical museum spaces, titled Blocks *1* (which would comprise an enfilade of classical exhibition spaces), *11* (project rooms), *111* (Kunsthalle that would allow more freedom for curated exhibitions*)* and intermediate, less determined event spaces such as a suite of pavilions, which would occupy the left-over spaces between the more conventional voluminous 'blocks'. The text accompanying OMA's submission identified the idiosyncratic nature of Bankside, describing the interstitial sites as left-over but essential to the character of the area. The concept was to draw on the layering of historical and varying typographical buildings:

> Buildings become a sandwich of the familiar and the unfamiliar. As an inventory of its potential transformations suggest, the new Southwark will present a programmatic congestion similar to Piranesi's drawings of the Campus Martius in Rome [Field of Mars, 1762] an endless proliferation of urban activities, occasionally contained by a major public building, otherwise promiscuously inhabiting the residual field in between. With its mixture of ruins and new structures, there is a seamless continuity between the formless and the formal. The effect of the dense formless tapestry of Southwark and a conviction that it is both conceptually and financially in our interests to concentrate effort on the Tate itself means that we do not want to create around the Tate major open spaces to view the power station. Instead we crowd the building with a multitude of diverse urban conditions that will make the actual scale of the building evident only to those who have entered it. Interventions in existing contexts leave two choices: infiltration or imposition. To succeed, the first needs subtlety; the second power. In this case our interventions in the wider urban context can only be suggestive; power is limited to the interior

of an existing building. This dualism has inspired the project (TG/12/4/6).

In Koolhaas's description above he refers to the Italian eighteenth-century draughtsman and architect Piranesi's reconstruction and fanciful design for the Campus Martius,[42] a site of multiple activities that dates back to the founding of Rome. Koolhaas infers that the exterior site will grow to create a 'culture of congestion' where activities overlap, thus creating a dynamism between unconnected events, an element of the unreal and unexpected as well as staging temporal activities on the site. Koolhaas in addition to his spatial programmatic prognosis refers to the importance that the directors have in addressing the programmatic activity of the new building. In responding to the architectural critic Rowan Moore's comments on the design of the TH, published in *The Building of Tate Modern*, and its influence on visitors' behaviour, Serota replied adamantly that it was the programming of the space that would have a direct influence and not predominantly the building (Serota 2000), thereby acknowledging architecture's limitations. Koolhaas's reference to an intervention within an existing building as infiltration or imposition acknowledges the inevitability that the environment around the power station will be transformed. In this process the trustees will have limited power over affecting the area.

As outlined previously, the advent of structural advances such as the introduction of steel technology, herald new possibilities for social spatialities and hierarchies. The architectural critic Peter Davey criticised the lack of ability of Koolhaas's architecture to respond positively to societal and business restructuring as experienced at the end of the second millennium when businesses, transport and political structures attempted generally to reorganise, consolidate and expand. Davey states that the architectural profession and Koolhaas did not respond

[42] The Campus Martius (Field of Mars) was a flat area near the Tiber River whose military associations dated back to the story of the founding of Rome by Romulus. During the time of Republican Rome it was largely a marshy field, home to sporting events and a place where citizens gathered to vote. In Imperial times, it became crowded with monumental buildings and markets, including the Pantheon, the Theatre of Pompey, and the Mausoleum of Augustus.

adequately to this shift, which was clumsily met by a clamouring for mega-scale projects (Davey 2002). Davey suggests that the urban fabric needs to be considered contextually even when integrating large-scale building typologies, successfully achieved through Grand Central Station of Cubitt's Kings Cross. The theory of bigness is based on structural supremacy, thus creating a rupture from the normal canon of the relation of façade to interior. In the case of Tate Modern, what should a contemporary art gallery of the twenty-first century look like? The forbidding structure of the power station, built to keep people out, needed to be turned inside out, but although its domineering form stands up to the external urban context in terms of its volume, the building communicates little in terms of being democratic and open. Arguably its exterior is mute, instead displaying what Koolhaas might term the 'twin fantasies of order and omnipotence' (Koolhaas 1995: 969). Although the TH is a recognised public space, artists of the Unilever Series struggle to respond to its scale. The building's monumentality, a feature that played a role in housing the generators, is often a barrier to giving meaning to this new void in terms of the Unilever Series installations. The street aspect of the Turbine Hall is contained within the structure with limited relation to the exterior, although this question will be responded to in the second phase, Tate Two, due for completion in 2016.

In responding to OMA's scheme, Serota expressed his decision to adopt 'a less radical intervention in the building' (Letter to OMA from Serota, 1995). Serota outlined his concern with OMA's scheme to the architects:

> There are many aspects of your thinking with which I have sympathy, but in the end I suspect that we would differ about the importance of painting and sculpture in the culture. We were looking for an architect rather than a scheme, but in doing so, we had to consider the various proposals made in response to the brief (TG/12/4/4).

Here, Serota is referring to OMA's proposal for a series of enfilade rooms for the display of twentieth-century art. Tate trustees believed that the more conventional galleries of the scheme would limit the experiential possibility. There is a 'serious limitation to how a visitor can experience art, each suite is sealed off from the next. For an experienced visitor it is a seriously limiting experience' (TG/12/4/4). The jury was also concerned that the dominant experience would be circulation, due to the predominance of escalators linking the floors, as well as every suite being dominated by circulation.

Koolhaas's prognosis for the future of the museum focused on the laying bare of museums' and galleries' new role in embracing commercialisation and entrepreneurial tactics, which might be seen as at odds with cultural values imbued within the institution's histories, thereby threatening the supposed old tenets of the institution. Koolhaas describes the shift in the positioning of cultural organisations in relation to contemporary culture:

> The very success of the museum as an institution threatens to engulf its prime function, the contemplation of art. A new conceptual framework must incorporate the additional roles and expectations the museum has recently acquired. Today educational, media-related and production sections of the museum sponsor a variety of equivalent experiences from video to research, which are centred on art without necessarily involving a confrontation with the art object. The Museum has a new programmatic variety (Koolhaas, MOMA charette, 1997 NY).

Koolhaas makes a reassessment of galleries in a period of Neo-liberalism where there is pressure to make revenue from gallery product sales and café outlets, as well as attracting a large percentage of private sponsorship. His analysis of museums was set out clearly in his charette submission (1997), titled *Moma Inc* for the extension at MOMA, NY, where he promotes and celebrates the concept

that the museum has many functions other than aesthetic contemplation: 'It sells watches, courts the media, makes deals, these functions should be architecturally expressed.' (Muschamp 1997). Herbert Muschamp, the former New York Times architecture critic states that Koolhaas is unique in being so attuned to post-industrial culture, and it is Koolhaas' blatant vocabulary that rejects any trace of Modernist tenets whilst taking onboard the schizophrenia of present society with all its contradictions, that is a worthy response to the undefined territory of the modern art gallery.

6.3 Turbine Hall: a place to restructure social space or to reproduce a familiar spatial structure?

The plan of HdM's intervention of the ramp and the relationship of the building to the context attempts to construct a continuum between the interior and the building's context, to reinforce the nature of the public space by unraveling the conventional distinctions between exterior public space and the interior. Herzog often references the Victorio Emanuele II Galleria (1865-1877) in Milan as a precedent to the concept of the Turbine Hall. It should not be like a station or a shopping mall, inferring that it is a place to pass through and not necessarily a destination site (Moore 2000: 54). An early examination of the designation of public space was expressed through the Nolli Plan of Rome (1748), by the eighteenth-century cartographer, Giambattista Nolli (figure 6.5). It provided a unique and progressive method of observation, which illustrated the public spaces in the city as incorporating the enclosed colonnades, thereby demonstrating how interior spaces can also be read as public space. Nolli's canonical contribution to understanding public space is in the identification of semi-public space in the form of church and theatre interiors, palace courtyards, entries and stairways. The Nolli Plan provides an immediate and intuitive understanding of the city's urban form through the simple yet effective graphic method of rendering solids as dark grey (hatched marks), and rendering voids as

white or light shades of grey to represent vegetation and paving patterns. Nolli's method of rendering the city as a solid mass 'carved' away to create 'outdoor' rooms, which are made intelligible through this simple graphic convention was a significant approach to reading and interpreting what is public and accessible in the city. The Plan revealed the patterns of private and public buildings, and their relationship to the entire urban ensemble. This provides an understanding of the building not as an isolated event, but one that is intrinsically embedded in the fabric of the city.

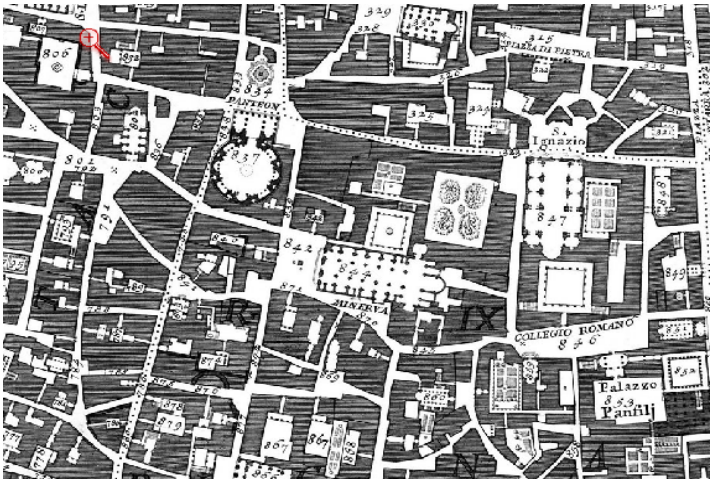

Figure 6.5 Nolli Plan of Rome (1748), showing area around the Pantheon source:

Figure 6.6 (below) of Bankside illustrates the extension of the public space into the interior of the building, and the routes through the building linking the west entrance and circulation with the north side of the site. It was made clear in the competition brief that the design should accommodate a Stage Two, which would implement a greater architectural device to expand the north/south axis, through an additional building. The diagrammes of circulation illustrate the initial flow of visitors with the proposed circulation route through the introduction of the new building, Tate Modern Two.

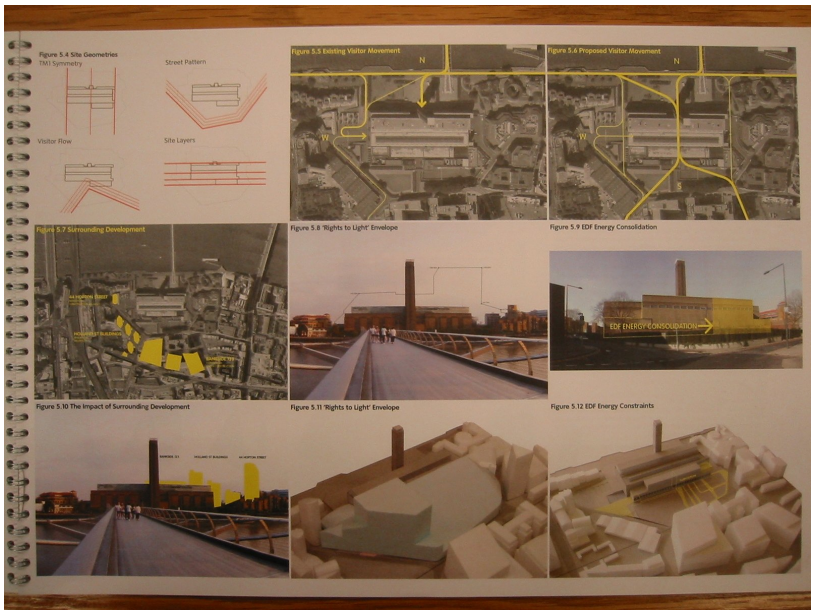

Figure 6.6 HdM's submission for Tate Two. The top right hand row illustrates the existing flow of visitors with the plan of the proposed flow of visitors: source Tate archive.

The importance of the building and its context in determining the scheme is paramount. The building's physical presence exerts an outward pressure on the city fabric. HdM carved away elements of the building's structure, such as the removal of the ground floor, which had the effect of adding to the scale and increasing volume of the building. Herzog is clear in defending the intention behind the creation of the Turbine Hall in terms of its treatment, when responding to architectonic elements that heighten or reinforce the experience of the scale of the Turbine Hall: 'It was never our intention to dwarf people. We are not longing for monumentalism. We hate monumentalism. Monumentalism doesn't mean something that is big, but having a one and only goal, which is to impress and manipulate people' (Moore 2000: 53). The term 'monumentalism' is associated with vast buildings, which rather than inspiring human relations, are viewed as imposing and which, to an extent instrument a play on perception. The dialectical relationship between the power station and its context suggests a dynamic interplay between solid and void, figure and ground, the new and the old, and monumentality and scale. Historically, the creation of monumentality as

interpreted by Benjamin in locating the aesthetic crisis of the nineteenth-century, was precipitated by the dislocation of the value of the original hand-made object as craft. Benjamin assigns this to the introduction of the technology of construction, which overtook the art of design. In the case of architecture and aesthetics, the loss of the value of the original object (Benjamin's loss of aura) came from a transition from craftsmanship to the production of serialized production (Benjamin 1940).

In addressing the history of the building, Serota described the institution's intention to interpret its industrial architecture in a contemporary manner and not to glamorise its heritage. Central to HdM's scheme was an attempt to transfer the building into the twenty-first century, rather than to clearly annotate an identifiable intervention into the old structure. Reiterated throughout the process of the competition was the desire to find an architect and not a scheme, although the architects were skeptical, believing that presenting their schemes would have a decisive impact. In reality, Tate's trustees did not have a clear brief; the process of design was unusually unraveled during the execution. Gugger describes this process in their collaboration with the client:

> Dealing with an existing structure is not going to be easy, and they needed to understand better what the building can do and the restraint. It is pretty clear you can't do this upfront and it was clear they simply did not have a brief. They had provisional briefs, but really the brief was established 'on the go' – they had one for the competition, but after that no one really discussed it. It was very much an itinerant process where the project becomes the brief, and then discussed again in 4 months. That was the process that is why they emphasised the relationship with the architect and not so much on the project (Interview with Gugger, May 2009).

In view of Serota's claim to create spaces that provide mixed experiences, criticism has been levelled at the gallery spaces-for the flat light levels and the unevenness of quality of space and the large ventilation grills that take up valuable floor area (Sabbagh 2000). The results of consultation exercises with artists regarding optimum viewing conditions was weighted towards displaying work in industrial buildings, with this result it was surprising that the Tate galleries appeared remarkably minimalist in their execution. HdM had not created a public building on this level previously although they had worked with a number of artists and it was clear that what informed their practice was an understanding of the practice and theory of contemporary art. In fact it was a commission, which they had carried out for the Swiss artist Rèmy Zaug to create a small studio space that informed the gallery spaces on Level 3 at Tate.

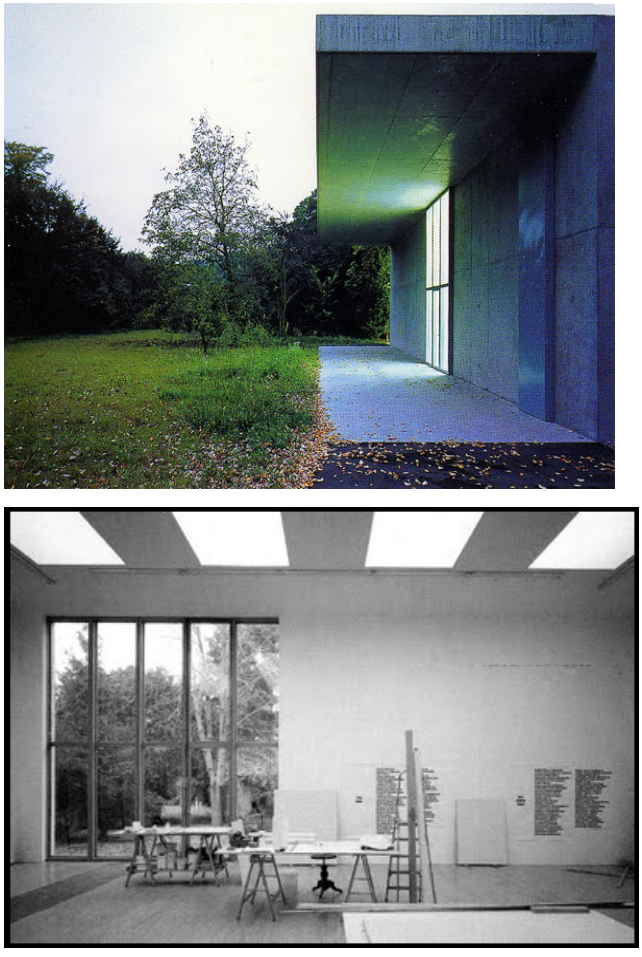

Figure 6. 7 Remy Zaug's studio, exterior and interior: source herzogdemeuron.com

The artist and occasional collaborator Remy Zaug commissioned HdM to design his studio in a rundown suburb of Mulhouse in France. It was used as a test site for the gallery spaces of the TGMA. The architects designed the freestanding 5 metre high floor to ceiling rectangular pavilion. The artist's concerns had distinct parallels with HdM's such as an interest with perception and the transmissibility of meaning, as well as an understanding of the site's borders, edges and margins. The Tate galleries embody the statement by HdM about the apparent simplicity of minimalist spaces to focus attention without distraction on the straightforward reality of the object. Space and light are paramount, and the galleries are conceived as distinct, solid walled rooms, rather than as enclosures formed by the partitions.

In discussing the lighting of the spaces, Serota and Herzog were clear that they wanted to recreate realism artificially, described as 'artificial normality' through the rendition of natural light using artificial means (Moore & Ryan 2000: 57). This perhaps points to their positioning of the aesthetic for the building. By recreating artificially, the natural conditions there is an ambition of a simulation of space, which has led critics to argue that the building does not expresses the 'rawness' of its past.

In addressing the building's details, such as the ventilation and heating system, it was decided that cast iron heating grilles would be designed to complement the building's history. This became a point of contention between the curatorial staff and architects, as the size of the grilles placed on the floor level was deemed to interfere with the positioning of sculpture pieces. A gallery memo was circulated asking the architects to rearrange the floor grilles, as they should be narrower than shown on the plan, (TG 12/2/10). Discussions centred on how the architecture would relate to the industrial language of the building before conversion and therefore adopt a language that responded to the steel fabric of the power station. In addressing how HdM manipulate materials and form this is

explored through a conceptual approach that encourages the user to question their perception of the architecture. This is summed up in the quote from Herzog in an interview with Wilfred Wang, Director of the Deutsches Architektur Museum, Frankfurt*:*

> [] we try to enhance the material, physical appearance of architecture and explore the border regions of material condition. It is here that the ordinarily undetected qualities are often revealed. What embodies weight? What constitutes brightness? What is a wall, what is light? These concepts all bespeak our perception of the physical world on a conceptual, spiritual level. And this is precisely the level we want to reach, to target in our architecture: the conceptual level of perception (Wang 1998: 185-86).

Tate's Director of Building Management, Peter Wilson and the client team had a clear vision of how the interior should be executed, specifying the desire for a restrained quality: 'We require a series of suites which are an architectural whole; we do not require theatre; a setting which mimics the architecture of a period of place. The architecture should be quiet, producing conventional spaces in which to show art without resorting to tricks' (TG 12/2/9). Concern was also expressed over the layout of the gallery: In response to an initial plan, it was stated that: 'We do not wish to have the ability to create our own architecture within an empty box; we require a set of rooms, which can be slightly modified, to suit different hangs. A series of small enfilade rooms might become a corridor' (TG 12/2/9).

Finally, in defining the programmatic content, the Developing Programme Committee for the TGMA (5 June, 1996) outlined their strategy for reappraising the position of the gallery in its role of re-evaluating the display of the nation's collection. The TGMA draft programme outlined how the gallery would differ dramatically and create a new paradigm within the field of contemporary art:

> The primary aim of TGMA should be to have an integrated programme of exhibitions, displays and activities. Inevitably a number of activities will be geared to specific displays unrelated to exhibitions, but there is scope for considerable overlap between the exhibitions and displays. We have always paid lip service to the notion that we organise exhibitions to inform and complement the collection. We now have an opportunity to do this in an integrated way (TG/12/4/7).

The activity of TGMA would be divided into three distinct areas: Display and exhibition of the collection, exhibitions and artist projects. Outlining how the projects might take place, a programme and brief was circulated (31/5/95) which incorporated three important principles for the TGMA which go beyond just the programme itself. Firstly, some major works (both small and large) should be made specifically for showing at TGMA and that this would add an important element, over and above the regular display and exhibitions programme. Secondly, art should be shown in TGMA in places other than just the suites of the designated rooms and thirdly that artists should be invited to collaborate with staff and visitors at TGMA. The Turbine Hall was cited as one such space, along with the concourse and oil drums if they became available. A memorandum to the TGMA client Group (5 June, 1996) states that the Turbine Hall could be overbearing for many artists, outlining 'there was a great danger of inviting the portentous or inappropriate use of hangings or banners. In principle, the space should not be divided or screened off, as in the examples of the Musee d'Orsay, Paris and Sainsbury Centre, Norwich. Some very small works could be extraordinary in that space; there should only be one project at any one time' (12/2/15/7). Therefore the ambitions for the TGMA were beginning to be formulated, due to the freedom, scale and unprescribed nature of the hall. Although references to examples of institutions abound within the gallery system, what might have been pertinent was the study of buildings outside of the gallery genre.

In attempting to restructure social space and the gallery within the urban environment, the Turbine Hall can be viewed as a 'spatial field' rather than a fixed object, that of a field which is responsive to an open, programmatic series and that of the building's context. In considering the Turbine Hall as a street, but also as a major container representing the programme of activities as directed by the Tate curators and directors in placing the gallery on the global platform as well as the local, the dual capacity of architecture as a means of power or as a means for empowerment begins to be read as at once inclusive, as well as exclusive. The resultant ambiguity of the space actually assists in a multiple reading. It is a public space as well as a gallery, which is a publicly funded institution.

Tate Modern has to balance its institutional role in terms of providing a public institution accessible to the general public under the Museums and Galleries Act 1992, as part of its triangle of roles as outlined in three distinct areas: Display and Exhibition of the Collection; Exhibitions, and Artist's Projects. HdM's initial proposal responded in outline to these categories but as demonstrated, there was no precise brief to respond to at the competition stage. Many of the decisions were constructed in dialogue with the curators, as well as Serota and Peter Wilson in leading the scheme when actually on site. Early in the stage of devising the scheme, in analysing what type of model the Tate Gallery of Modern Art (TGMA) should adopt for a gallery of the twenty-first century, the artist Michael Craig-Martin, a trustee and jury member for the Tate competition voiced his concern over the citing of the museum shop on the rear façade. He considered that the positioning would give too much emphasis to the values of consumption and would send out the wrong signal for a gallery of the twenty-first century. It is clear that the position of the museum has shifted considerably from principally acting as a cultural beacon to an organisation that has to raise revenue, experiment with new cultural forms and generate a model of public inclusiveness.

6.4 Interior, scale and urban dialogue, visibility/transparency

In order to analyse the 'condition' of the TH and its ability to influence the contemporary nature of display, I will examine Tate's position with regard to contemporary debate on the display of contemporary art. As the Danish artist Olafur Eliasson points out, there is no unmediated neutral state of perception in a gallery, as by definition any aesthetic proposition demands sensory perception (O'Reilly 2007). Serota outlines his ambitions for the dual quality of experiences for contemporary museum space: 'The best museums of the future will seek to promote different modes and levels of "interpretation" by subtle juxtapositions of experience' (Serota 1996). Serota acknowledges the shift in audience expectations and desire to encompass broader audiences, exerting a sense of democratisation of art. Detractors of the spectacle deride the image-saturated society, where contemplation is replaced by desire for immediacy.

It is clear that the TH is deemed one of the most successful elements of the scheme. A CABE response to a submitted planning document for Phase Two of Tate Modern states that the primacy of the Turbine Hall 'should be enforced'.[43] In the document *Tate Modern: The First Five Years,* published by the Tate five years after the opening in 2000, the critic Martin Gayford cites that 'the most startling and novel feature was the huge cavern of the Turbine Hall' (Gayford 2005: 7). In contrast to the Turbine Hall, the gallery spaces of the upper levels are dedicated to showing the collection and temporary exhibitions. In view of the collection, it was felt that the grouping together of art under themes which were divided into landscape, still life, history and nude works be reconsidered. Instead the four main exhibits of the collection will revolve around the movements, Cubism, Surrealism, Abstract Expressionism and Minimalism.

Serota believes the concept will answer two points of public criticism raised when

[43] Cabe on assessing the pre-application scheme for Tate 2 2007.

the museum opened: 'It will better show the strengths of the Tate Collection and better display the works the public wants to see,' Serota states (UBS Report, 2005). Forty percent of the works in the new displays were shown at Tate Modern for the first time, and twenty percent were newly acquired works. The rehang was supported by a donation from the Swiss investment bank, UBS and caused a certain amount of controversy due to the fact the UBS were allowed to display their collection of drawings in Tate Modern. This reading of the sponsorship deal as a type of quid pro quo deal was viewed as allowing the financial sponsor direction over the content and influence beyond their role of 'by association' with Tate Modern.[44]

[44] *Tate Modern has sold its soul – and us – down the river.* The Observer Review 13/05.07. Laura Cumming. The article highlights the fact that Serota announced that TM would not showcase private collections and yet has done a U-turn by displaying drawings from the UBS collection.

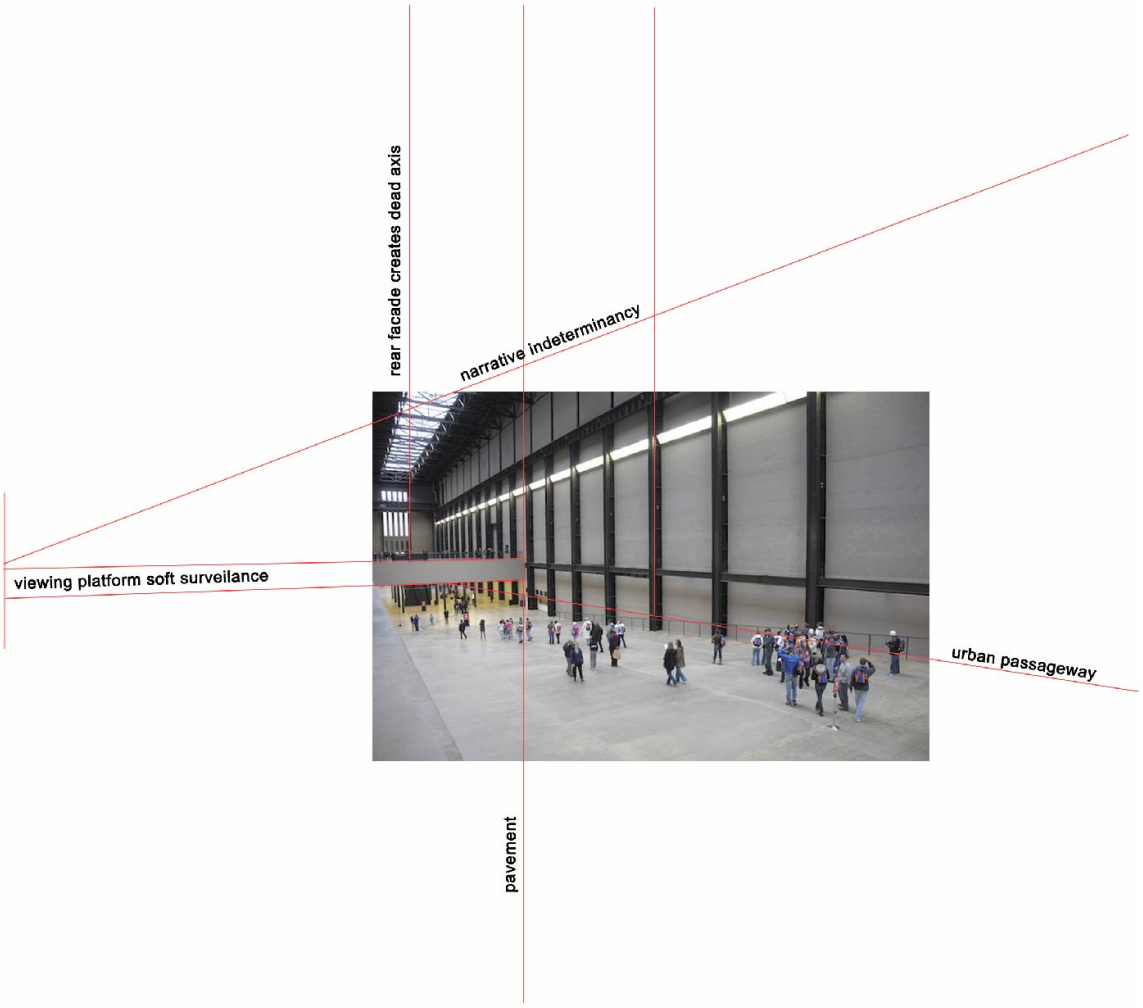

Figure 6.8 Annotated photograph of Turbine Hall: source Dean

The classical distinction between interior and exterior spaces is that the former is deterministic, the latter less prescriptive. There appears a social logic to the boundary between the interior and the exterior, in that interior space is more strongly structured and segmented: If the boundary between the two classifications ‘interior’ and ‘exterior’ could be more fluid, the behavioural distinction might be dissolved or at least questioned. To play with the tension between the interior and exterior using the encounter of urban space begins to open up how we relate to institutions, with so-called permeable facades. In the case of TM, the ramp, a gradual inclination, acts as a funnel pulling in visitors, who are drawn in under the weight of the structure and into the underbelly of the building, setting up a particular spatial dynamic. The annotated photograph (fig. 6.8) illustrates the urban quality of the TH and its multiple opportunities for observation and being observed. This fosters a degree of social control and additionally control through the gaze of the visitor, spectator or invigilator.

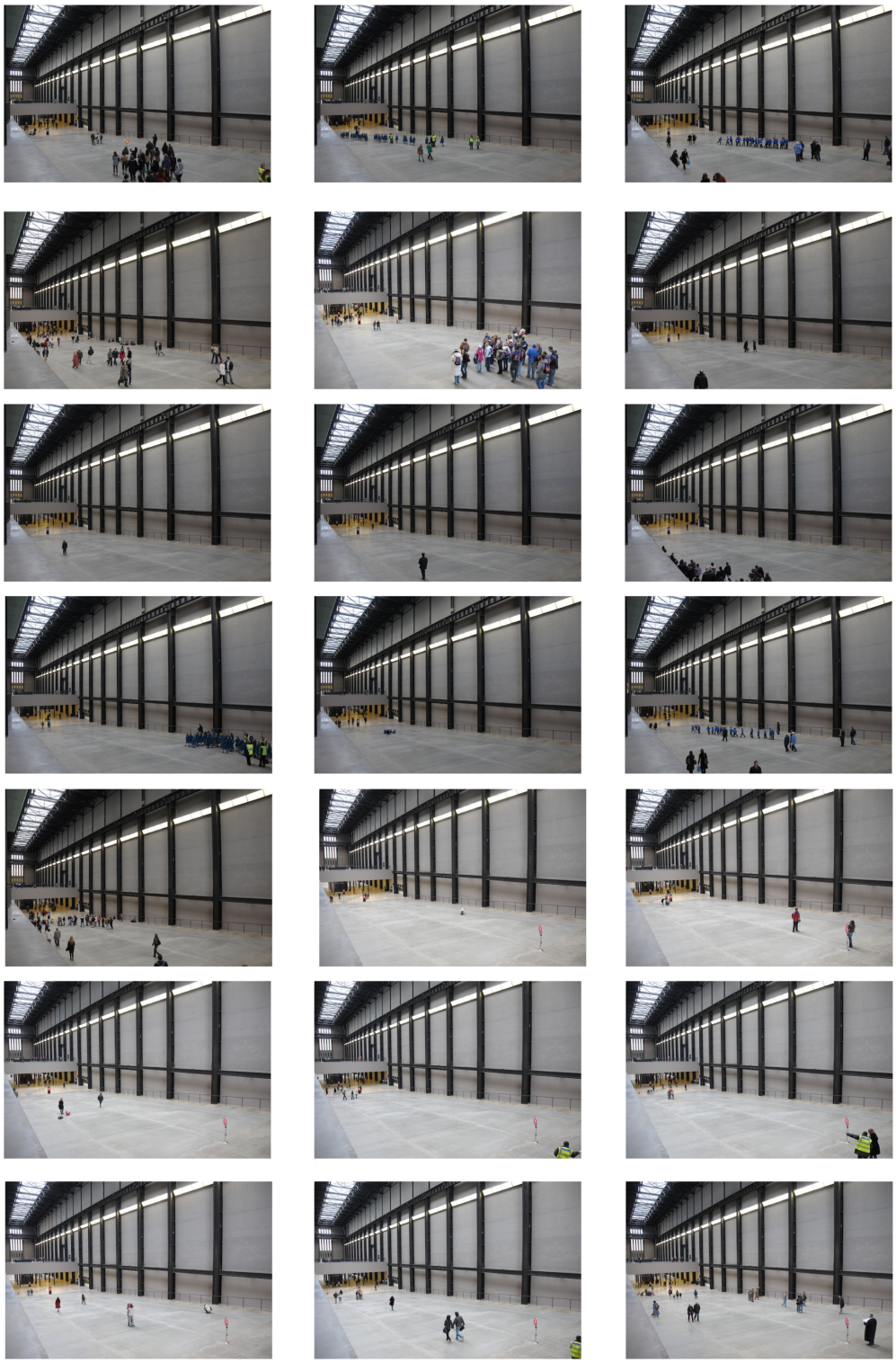

Figure 6.10 Time-lapse photographs of Turbine Hall: source Dean

The use of time-lapse photography to record a day in the TH (figure 6.9) was intended to observe how people acted within the space, but also to track the flow of people throughout the day. The camera was placed on a podium above the western entrance, which was inaccessible to the public and afforded a raised view of the space.

The time-lapse photographs were taken over 12 hours at 15-second intervals, on a weekday and 12 hours on a weekend, taken during the installation of *Shibboleth* by the Colombian artist Doric Salcedo. The installation permanently removed parts of the cast concrete floor of the Turbine Hall, then was filled with a pre-cast fibreglass model, to create the illusion of a deep penetrating crack as a result of a geographical or seismic action. In contrast to previous installations, it left the volume of the Hall above ground untouched. Therefore the only intervention was the drilled extraction of the concrete screed. Visitors observed the crack in detail, which acted as a directional path where people moved along its trajectory. Arguably, the intervention at ground level increased the non-prescriptive enjoyment or encounter with the space, allowing a more personal interpretation to unravel. Many visitors appeared to contemplate the whole building; the sense of event and debate surrounding the making of the piece was considerable as it appeared to break down the structure of the gallery from a physical perspective.

The photographs illustrate the use of the space, volume of visitors, and how people responded to the space. From the lone cleaner arriving at 5am to the visitor who stands by the floor mounted signage, majestic in his pose as if to deliver a sermon, the scale of the space is reiterated through the photographs illustrating the enormity of the space.

In figure 6.8 I overlaid the lexicon of urban elements to demonstrate how the TH constructs spaces that are akin to the public realm: the stepped axial route

replicates the pavement, the ramp the urban passageway, the balcony offers a vantage point representing varying levels in the city and natural viewing points; all assist in making up a narrative of indeterminacy which reflects a public site.

The scale of the TH is further boosted by its proximity to St Paul's Cathedral, a building of comparable dimensions. St Paul's measures 169 metres in length, its greatest breadth 75 metres and the height to the top of the dome measures 100 metres; the dimensions of the Turbine Hall measure 155 metres long, 23 metres wide, and 35 metres high (99 metres to the height of the chimney). In order to explore the issue of scale in the TH, the curators of Tate Modern invited the Romanian artist Ronan Ondák to create a piece in the Level Two Gallery. Ondák responded with a critique on the scale of the hall. The artist's work, which might take the form of an installation, performance, or an intervention, scarcely distinguishable from the context in which it is presented, often provokes a double-take in the viewer, making him/her question their perception or awareness of social codes. For Tate Modern's Level Two Gallery, Ondák shrank the TH to the dimensions of the Level Two Gallery (fig. 6.10). Visitors are able to walk inside an incredibly detailed scale model of the hall, approximately 15 metres long, 3.6 metres high and 2.5 metres wide. All of the architectural details of the Turbine Hall have been faithfully reproduced, matching materials, colors and textures. The work titled *It Will All Turnout Right in the End* (2005-06) constitutes a kind of stage-set for viewers, providing a platform for fictions to unfold. The work playfully questions notions of power and hierarchy. The viewer in this case overpowers the space with his/her human dimensions, a reversal of the spectator/building relation where the spectator is dwarfed. Ondák reduces the scale of the hall by enlarging the spectator, forcing us to question our relationship to the dimensions of the Hall.



Figure 6.11 Ondak, *It Will Turn Out All Right in the End* (2005-06): source Tate website



Figure 6.12 Turbine Hall during the excavation process of the turbines: source Tate Handbook

The TH, through its artist programme, appears to allow an arena of experiences, observations and narratives to take place. In writing about the installations, the art theorist Thompson is clearly perturbed by the explicit relation between spectacle and display:

> In my mind's eye, the ersatz sunrise [*The Weather Project*] or should I call it a false dawn, leads the way, in a procession of overblown, out-of-human-scale, grandiose in the Debordian sense, empty and largely meaningless, if sometimes *spectacular,* 'projects', which, with one or two notable exceptions, owe more to the children's playground than to the art museum. Artists are lured into hubris, compelled to over-reach themselves, to surf the promotional wave and the mediating power of the great institution to their own destruction (Thompson, 2011: 1).

Thompson concludes that in observing the new mediated relationship between the great institution and the artist, a pursuit of novelty takes precedence over any regard for history against which to measure it. Without an historical perspective 'we are stuck with contingency as it is reflected in the processes of mediation' (ibid).

In part Thompson's critique is worthy, in that it questions the expectation of artists to produce works that are about creating a sense of awe and spectacle which do not disappoint the expectations of the audience and that of the expectant media. But Thompson is forgetting that for the other six months of the year the space stands empty, with a rolling programme or intermittent events. Internally at Tate, the curators have expressed within departments the possibly detrimental effect on the evolution of experiences in art, when expectations of novelty are premised over the exploration of more complex concepts (interview with Bockhardt-Hume 2008). The space is a unique construction between space, programme and experience. The Unilever Series has trumped press coverage

over the Turner Prize, which formerly attracted the majority of attention, and has now been transferred to the Baltic Centre for Contemporary Art Gallery in Newcastle to alleviate the London centric focus on both media events. The TH is as identifiable as Piccadilly Circus is a recognised landmark in the city. In assessing the works, the installations that have responded least to issues of novelty and monumentality are arguably Bruce Nauman's soundcape, *Raw Materials* (2005) which left the space empty and the British born artist Tino Seghal. Seghal who was invited to curate the 2012 Unilever installation constructs pieces where actors interact with visitors but leaves no material trace of his work.

Debord comments in *The Society of the Spectacle* that 'when significance is attributed only to that which is immediate and to what will be immediate immediately afterwards […] it can be seen that the uses of the media can only guarantee an eternity of noisy insignificance' (Debord). Seghal's pieces attempt to respond to how viewers interact with the role of the art institution. On attending a workshop with the artist in preparation for his piece, the exercises focused on how one operates individually and collectively, in group activities, which were acted out with exercises within the TH (September 2011).

Highlighting art's preoccupation with scale, the art theorist Davidts argues that the artists of the Unilever Series have addressed the issue of scale whilst sacrificing a critical analysis of the institution. Basically the art works have been scaled up or inflated purely as a device to produce a spectacular experience, but one that creates monumentalism without critiquing the context or institution (Davidts 2007). With reference to HdM's previously discussed competition entry, the scaling up of the British artist Rachel Whiteread's sculpture *House* for the Turbine Hall in their key competition drawing was a prophetic move that foreshadowed events to come. Another art piece that the Tate Modern commissioned, which Gayford draws our attention to is *Blockhead* and *Daddies*

Bighead, 16 metre high and 35 metre high inflatable figures by the American artist Paul McCarthy. 'Perhaps the most striking thing about them was that they competed and registered in a sweeping urban skyline that also included Norman Foster's St Mary's Axe (Swiss Re Building) and St Paul's (Gayford, 2005: 8). Here, the artworks are required to compete with the edifices that represent power and civic pride of the city, by literally over-inflating the scale of execution. In recent architectural theory, immensity or to quote from Koolhaas's essay, *Bigness,* has become a discredited intellectual category. Here Koolhaas argues that monumentality can instigate a structure of complexity. In the case of the TH the condition of emptiness, scale and the void translates as that which creates a dialectic between indeterminacy (behaviour both socially constructed and through the institution) and specificity (the building's shell).



Figure 6.13 Paul McCarthy, Blockhead & Daddies Bighead (2003): source Tate website

Therefore, on the one hand, we have the argument that current museum architecture is of 'spectacular spectatorship, of touristic awe', (Foster 2003: 41) and a critique of the proliferation of oversized installations. Meyer in *Artforum* (Summer 2004) attempts to formulate a critical distinction between size and scale. In considering Koolhaas's critique of monumentality he supports the idea within the urban realm, as it permits a freeing up of programmatic activity and density, which allows the city to respond in an unpredictable, even chaotic way.

An analysis of the Unilever Series installations and events will seek to broaden the debate about counter spectacle. After negotiations with the Anglo-Dutch Company Unilever, in 1999 the proposal for a young artists' sculpture project was replaced with the Unilever Series and committed funding for a ten-year period.

In addition to the Unilever Series, the space has been used for a number of events or happenings. Tate organised *Clap in Time* (2007) by the artists Nina Jan Beier and Marie Jan Lund, where throughout the galleries various groups, including Tate staff, were encouraged to clap for a short duration. The action *Clap in Time,* which has its origins in Invisible Theatre from the 1970s, and drew in non-performers or 'spect-actors', was intended to create a sculptural soundscape to produce a parallel or alternative structure within the museum's monumental architecture. Another event, which took place in the TH on the 12 October 2007, organised by mobile clubbing, was a 'Flashmob' event. Text messaging was used to mobilise 'flash mobbers' to occupy the TH on the designated date and time. Flash mobbers arrived, at 19.01 p.m. they danced, occupied the space until 19.21p.m. and then moved on. 'Flashmob', a form of mobilisation through technology or hedonistic 'derive' can be seen as a demonstration that counters legislation regarding the coming together of groups of people in a public space. The action is an example of the way that the TH has gained currency in being read as a significant public space. The previous 'flash mob' event at Victoria Station in London in 2007 with 4,000 revellers was curtailed by four vans of policeman, to curb nuisance to travellers.

In an interview I conducted with Achim Bochardt-Hume, curator at Tate Modern, he commented on the fact that prior to the execution of *The Weather Project* (2003) by the Icelandic artist Olafur Eliasson, the Hall was considered foreboding and alien in scale. The installation shifted public perception and how people reacted to the space. On first encounter with the space, one cannot help feeling overwhelmed and a sense of excitement in anticipation of what lies beyond. The

faint hypnotic hum of the generators that supply south London are a reminder of the less salubrious area to the south. Bochardt-Hume describes the challenges of the space to the artist; the space has multiple thresholds, access routes and a strong axis running east to west (interview with Bochardt-Hume, 2009).

The first installation by Louise Bourgeois in which she placed her oversized spider *Maman* (2000) with three thirty foot steel towers, and Juan Muñoz's *Double Bind* (2001) an illusory space with scattered pools of light within the darkenss; perhaps added to the spaces contemporary 'cathedral' like state. The stairs leading up to Bourgeois's towers were like extruded pulpits and Muñoz's figures watched over the spectators with a sense of menace.

The Weather Project sought to exploit fully the scale of the TH and recreate a simulation of the weather. To enrich the arguably simplistic concept of the work, a semi-circle of mono frequency lights that were reflected in the mirrored ceiling were wired so that the mechanism was visible, allowing spectators to understand the mechanics of the construction. The execution appeared to indicate a reconstruction of reality other than an illusion of reality. Adrian Hardwick, Head of Visitor Services, wrote about his experiences of managing visitors during the Eliasson installation. Published in The Guardian (2004),[45] the article was titled *The Secret Diary of a Museum Attendant*. Hardwick describes how some visitors interpreted the installation quite literally: a visitor arrived with a blow up canoe, a delegation of fifty people dressed as Santa Claus, another couple launched into a somewhat uncompromising personal activity, whereas others used it as a place of public protest, their actions reflected in the mirrored ceiling. Parallels were

[45] The Guardian Secret Diary of a Museum Attendant March 18 2004 October 20 An edited account of Adrian Hardwick's diary of observations. The commission has attracted a massive amount of media interest, and, as a result, thousands of people are flocking to Tate Modern. The most extraordinary things are happening, things I'm sure no one, least of all the artist, ever envisaged. Visitors are making their way to the end of the Turbine Hall and lying on the floor, using their bodies to make shapes and form words - some predictably obscene, which they can then see in the mirror above them. They are even spelling out website addresses. It has resulted in the most extraordinary social interaction taking place between complete strangers.

drawn with Turner's paintings of the River Thames, suggesting Eliasson had created 'a twenty-first century successor to the riverscapes of Turner and Monet'.[46] On observation of visitors' physical reactions, the piece provoked a visceral response with visitors forming group formations that were reflected in the ceiling. The piece could be read as an example of a spectacle rather than a sublime experience of a setting sun. This softening of the space made a marked difference in the way that the public related to the space; it became less 'cathedral like' and more of a public arena, where people picnicked and lounged on the stairs.

The success of the piece in terms of visitor numbers was impressive. A direct comparison of the installation with a commercial venture appeared in the exhibition catalogue, which equated the spectators with consumers referring to the triumph of the power of spectacle over retail (Holden 2005). Another catalogue statement boasted that *The Weather Project* had more visitors than that of the shopping attraction *Bluewater* in Kent. With reference to Carsten Höller's installation *Test Site* (2006), the spectacularistion of culture is referred to by the curator Morgan as a collision between art and architecture. The installation consisted of steel slides linking the gallery floors to the ground floor of the Turbine Hall. The interaction with the installation occurs over a fixed duration of time. If, arguably part of the artist's role and responsibility is to attempt to oppose the transformation of art into a space of entertainment dominated by commerce and questionable institutional interests, Höller's installation *Test Site* (2006) appeared to operate on many levels by at once engaging the audience playfully with their environment, but also offering an alternative urban transportation proposal. The accompanying catalogue proposes that the slides are taken as a realistic proposition for negotiating oneself through the city as a form of public transportation in a fun and time-saving way, opposing the increasingly corporate realm and risk-averse culture (Morgan 2006). Together

[46] Exhibition Catalogue, *The Weather Project*, Tate Publishing.

with the engineers Adams Kara Taylor, a feasibility study for slides in the public realm was proposed exploring notions of pleasure and play in public life.

Again, as in Kapoor's *Marsyas* (2002), the work appears to create a dialogue with the spatial volume, as opposed to the questioning and critiquing role of art. This is where the enormity of the space begins to take-over from the artist's work. Into this equation comes the mechanics of the commission. Bochardt-Hume replies: 'In response to how the commissions perform in relation to an accusation of an interpretation of spectacle, I would emphasise that art has to take place within the mechanisms of the discourse. Perhaps it would be naïve to think otherwise' (ibid). As a major institution and arbiter of taste, the directors of Tate Modern have an influential impact on the art world and due to this have been successful in securing impressive funding budgets from sponsors such as UBS and Unilever. Although there is a fragile balance between autonomy and patronage, in to the spectrum comes the influence of the media and its now familiar position in influencing public opinion. This is where the seventh Unilever artist Doris Salcedo's *Shibboleth* (2007) has perhaps been mis-read. Rachel Cooke, an art critic, praised Salcedo for 'refusing to submit to the showmanship this immense space often brings out in artists' but concluded somewhat harshly that 'its message is embarrassingly banal' (The Observer October 2007). It has been largely commented on by the press, in relation to the lineage of the previous commissions, instead of in relation to a body of previous art movements that tackle issues of 'non-architecture' explored by artists such as Gordon Matta-Clark. Here the art critic is pandering to the novelty of the media. An acknowledgement of history and how art questions processes, should inform the critique.

6.5 Conclusion to Section A

I have demonstrated that Debord's critique of the construction of spectacle in relation to the proliferation of commodification into everyday lives has been broadly interpreted, but is still a relevant critical starting point from which to explore shifting interpretations of the concept of spectacle in relation to contemporary display. The varied valuations, descriptions and interpretations of the museum experience have ranged from the contemplative and cerebral to a more contemporary interpretation and interaction with the displays. Morgan, curator of Carsten Höller's *Test Site* (2006-07), refers to a 'spectacularisation of culture' as having a positive effect on the 'conversion of architecture and experience' (2007: 15). In analysing the role of spectacle in relation to public space, the correlative to the spectacle could be viewed as the spectator, the passive viewer and consumer of a social system predicated on submission and conformity. In contrast to this, Debord proposed a new platform of political engagement, or at least creative and imaginative practices with which individuals could create their own situation, whilst fully participating in everyday life. I have demonstrated in this chapter the multiple interpretations of the TH. The participants in *Flashmob's* temporary claim on the space, demonstrates a convivial occupation of the Hall with no interference from the institution. In fact, the exercise was an opportunity for Tate to demonstrate its liberal behaviour in terms of permitting the spontaneous event. The exploration between the space, curatorial input and public is probably the most engaging in terms of how the various installations have been questioned, and as a result throwing up opportunities which promote different forms of behaviour and engagement.

Through these shifting interpretations of the TH examining the passive/active, as well as issues of inclusion and exclusion, I have argued that the space has witnessed a transgression. The shifting narrative, which has ebbed and flowed in response to culture, art theory and social structures, has demonstrated the

unpredictability of how the urban morphology has been interpreted within a temporal framework. The complex and at times uncomfortable symbiotic relationship between art and commerce is manifest in the example of the polemic message communicated through the dissident Chinese artist Ai Weiwei's installation and the commercial venture of Neo Bankside adjacent to Tate's western ramp. The Unilever Series installation by Ai Weiwei, *Sunflower Seeds* (2010-11) provided a comment on the small scale craft manufactures in China often marginalised by the mass industrialisation occurring in China. Ironically, Asian residents moving into the Neo Bankside flats were specifically targeted in marketing exercises to draw in investors from China looking for a secure property investment (as described in Chapter Four). It is precisely the CQ that attracts this investment but Weiwei's critique may go unnoticed and uncommunicated apart from the amazement of the number of sunflower seeds installed and the video needed to explain the process of making. The mechanisms of the art world are apparent in the coupling of financial institutions and art institutions. The Turbine Hall operates as a public space, perhaps an illusion of an idealised version of a public space. Devoid of violence, it appears unpoliced, throws up possibilities of unusual social behaviour, but appears relatively safe, free from Starbucks or the plethora of cultural tourist services which provide an uncomfortable reminder of the homogeneity of tourist sites.

Herzog & de Meuron reveal that the reality of architecture is not built architecture: but is one that creates its own reality outside the state of the built or un-built. It is comparable to the autonomous reality of a painting, sculpture, or perhaps even a novel (2004: 35). Paul Auster's central character Quinn in *New York Trilogy* (2004) appears to exist outside of reality leading the reader to question the conventions of city living. The TH allows a sense of outside of the space where we observe activities. As a contemporary flâneur, we are able to dissect the site with a detective like role, take on certain vantage points, survey, participate on a

stage set of emptiness, we are forced to observe and be observed. The emptiness creates a panacea for the cacophony of modern life.

To create a contemporary heterotopia, the actors become contingent place makers of meaning, and perhaps this is what Morgan, curator of *Test Site*, is referring to in an attempt to define the phenomenological experience of scale of the TH and the evaluation of the space which is indisputably linked to spectacularisation and expansionism. The TH experiences massive crowds that have necessitated the type of crowd control more akin to concert stadia; art is consumed and a different relationship to the art has been established. Morgan suggests that we may lose one experience of art, but proposes that there must be a potential for others. In the TH the audience becomes willing actors in a constantly performed space or staged field.

HdM unapologetically reinterpreted the building's industrial past by addressing its material qualities and focusing on its permanence, whilst extracting elements of the structure to create a permeable space with the TH as the pendulum around which the institution's activities would occur. The installations have best succeeded in broadening debate around what forms of engagement can take place when they have encouraged a degree of discourse beyond that of merely the gaze. The cultural discourse surrounding the installations is largely predicated on how spectacle can be a form of sensorial manipulation, as Meyer advocated.

The agenda for the programming of the space was largely a direct response to the architecture of the Hall, and alongside this, new behavioural patterns were formed, which were built on in terms of how the Hall was perceived and mediated. As discussed, there is an on-going programme of institutional critique, and this is balanced against extending artists' discourse in relation to the institution. Where the work merely responds to the spatial volumes of the Hall, it

fails to open up a dialogue. Where the work, as in the case of Nauman's *Raw Materials,* begins to permit multiple interpretations of the work, observing oneself being observed, becomes part of the installation thereby the visitors taking on the role of subjects integral to the piece. Here the installation begins to carry agency in how art works and the space start to influence new behavioural patterns of interaction, forms of behaviour, which fall outside of the conventional social rituals of the museum. This I will explore in more detail in Section B of this chapter in relation to the observation of Flickr images.



Figure 6. 14 Visitor in the Turbine Hall: source Dean

Chapter Six Section B
Observing the Turbine Hall through Flickr

6.6 Introduction
6.7 A public place?
6.8 *Flickr,* folksonomy and use
6.9 Play
Behaviour
Scale
6.10 Conclusion

6.6 Introduction

With reference to my research question as to whether a new form of public space has been mediated through the gallery, this chapter discusses this premise by analysing the possible dual positions of the TH, one as a representation of a privileged order of power in the city, the other as a site for micro-politics of urban life representing social inclusion and exclusion. My reference to micro-politics draws on how subjectivity and collectivity are addressed through an analysis of photographic posts of the TH on Flickr. My methodology section in Chapter One discusses the use of images in acting as interrogatory material in order to provide a substantive response to my research questions. My analysis of Flickr images of the TH provided new material from which to question how the space is enabling new platforms of behaviour through the possibility of an imaginative spatial field of encounter.

The method of analysing digital crowd sourcing material, provides a wealth of data. This is discussed at the National Research Centre citing social media sites such as Twitter, where there is a plethora of data ready to be mined. In recent years the use of crowd sourcing by social scientists is flourishing. Sweetman highlights the renewed interest in visual methods as partly attributed to the development of and increasing ubiquity of digital cameras and related technologies (2009). The term crowd sourcing can be understood as a method of

data creation where large groups of users not organised, centrally generate content that is shared. Hudson-Smith describes this source of information as viewed ‘as a new era of volunteered information and knowledge creation…either through simply tapping into online data feeds or directs public involvement via citizen science initiatives’ (Hudson-Smith 2011: 2). Hudson-Smith cites the Volunteered Geographic Information (VGI) as having had the most impact with *Open SreetMap,* being the principal recognised form of VGI output, started in UCL in 2004. Crandall et al pooled geo-tagged Flickr photos from a dataset of 35 million images to illustrate various interesting properties about popular cities and landmarks at a global scale. The methodology used combined content analysis based on text tags and image data with structural analysis based on geospatial data.

In my analysis of Flickr images there is the readily classified photo pool tagged with *Tate Modern* and the *Tate group*. In addition, the textual data that has already been classified by its one hundred most popular tags means that the users have already structured a classification, in an attempt to access their images (see tag pool below). Using this classification, I then introduce my own sub classification, which I curated into three categories based on content analysis: play, scale and behaviour.

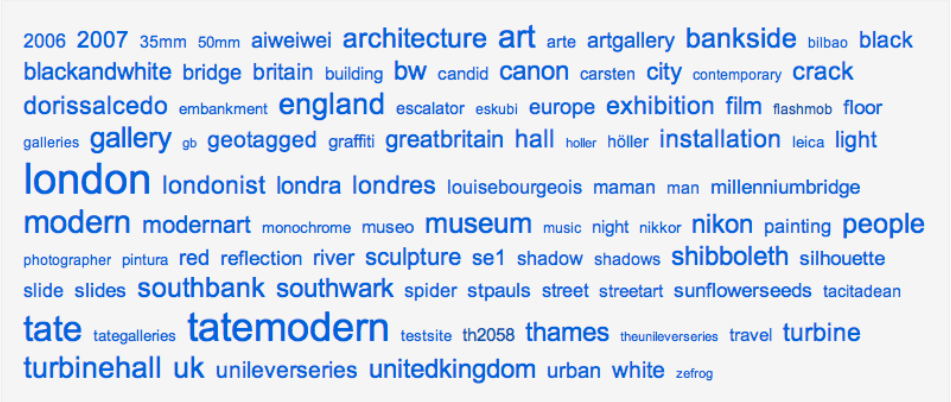

Figure 6.15 Tag pool for Tate modern accessed on 2/3/12: source Flickr

In order to draw more focus on the ability of the Turbine Hall to create new

interpretations of the public I ask the following questions:
1. Where am I situating the public in this analysis of Flickr images, in relation to the Turbine Hall?
2. Does the Flickr tag pool show public space windows onto the Turbine Hall?
3. Or is their representation of a public place and the cultural codes that mediate that ‘mirror’ my focus?
4. Or is it the act of photographing that constitutes a public, so I’m looking at social practices performed as the photographs are taken or is it a combination of all of the above?

Thus, on the one hand, my research field examines the relation between physical space of the TH through an on-line social forum and on the other how the TH’s publicness is enhanced and expanded creatively through the on-line Flickr activity, extending boundaries and perceptions of publicness.

In their analysis of the role of spectacle in society, Best and Kellner reexamine Debord's ideas in formulating what they see as the emergence of a new stage of the spectacle, suggesting that Baudrillard's critique of the concept has been superseded by a new regime of simulation in the advent of a postmodern stage of history. This is through what they term ‘the interactive spectacle’ (Best and Kellner 1998). If we view social networking sites as the beginning of opening up and paving the way for the introduction of Open Social networks, of two way information and visual material, Flickr, or its mechanisms, could be viewed as an example, the user playing an active role in interactive spectacle. In an analysis of Flickr, the website has been described as having its origins in the photographic club thereby extending learning around photography. A recent survey of Flickr users by Davies credits the website with the ability to promote reciprocal learning and teaching partnerships within a dynamic multi modal environment through ‘third space’ or ‘affinity space’ (Davies 2006: 217). Davies identifies one of the principal benefits of Flickr as being learning which becomes social, motivated

and embedded into people's lives. In addition, social dynamic relations are being constructed around this notion of 'third space'. Sheehy and Leander surmise that recent theorising has brought to light that space is a product and process of socially dynamic relations (2004: 1 quoted in Davies). Another positive view is its potential for citizen journalism. In contrast with the positive appraisal of photography and, in particular, the rise of digital, Sontag's appraisal of the tourist in relation to photography is less constructive. She describes the taking of photographs as a way for the tourist to deal with anxiety, which is underlined with a critique of the false consciousness of photography. Cox states that, through his research on the modes of operating within Flickr, 'photobloggers/self documenters seem to epitomise [an] aetheticisation [of content]' (2007: 7). Backed up by Slater, photography is described as 'on the whole a passive, privatized and harmless leisure activity' (Slater 1999: 289). I would argue that the use of Flickr begins to reveal a more nuanced platform of observation of how viewers interact with the space, demonstrating their interaction with the architecture and illustrates individual examples of performance within the space**.** Additionally, the software provides a mediation platform of exchange around which the discussion of photography occurs, providing a process of extended participation and interaction.

In describing the activity of Flickr users as an interactive spectacle, Best and Kellner propose that this creates the potential for diametrically constructed conditions of seduction and domination, as well as new possibilities for resistance and democratisation. It could be argued that the use of Flickr images valorise both local discourses and knowledge systems brought by individual Flickr users as well as the group as a whole, thereby creating a positive process of 'glocalisaition' (Luke and Carrington 2002). As such, the platform Flickr gains through the locality of a familiar space i.e. the Turbine Hall but is responded to by global members. In an interview I conducted with John Stack, Head of Interactive Media at Tate Galleries, he refers to the positive and original contribution of Flickr

users to engaging and augmenting the curatorial input. He has supplemented various Tate exhibitions by inviting Flickr users to take part in inputting content. One example is the exhibition, *Street and Studio,* Tate Modern*,* (2008*),* Flickr users were asked to submit a portrait in an urban environment, 100 of which were selected and included in a catalogue as alternative user generated material added to the exhibition. Curators at Tate Liverpool invited Flickr users to submit a photo, which was primarily of one colour, in response to the exhibition *Colour Chart: Reinventing Colour, 1950 to Today* (2009). Each selected submission was added to make a poster. This introduced a participatory role for the audience. In collaborating with Flickr*,* through one of the constructed on-line community groups accompanied by discussion panels, Stack emphasises the two-way flow of information between Tate and participants in order to generate 'a very active discussion' (Stack 2010). The ability to engage with Flickr at an institutional level creates a new and compatible relationship. Flickr gave Tate an API key, which means that additional data can be accessed. People between the ages of 16–35 years predominantly use Flickr*.* I therefore asked Stack if he feels that users were being excluded, but on observing the method of entry into Flickr he noted that many were joining Flickr solely to take part in the call for entries. In fact he sees it as broadening of audiences, as 50% of the users are from overseas 'so we can make an assumption that most of these people are not going to come to visit the gallery, the visitor information score is high and the overseas people use the site to research, so yes, we are looking towards building audiences' (Stack 2010).

In discussing the positive outcome of Flickr, Cox states caution should be exercised, as the benefits outlined by Davies i.e. the promotion of citizen journalism where photos of the Twin Towers exploding were immediately uploaded onto Flickr could, additionally distort news delivery. Burges uses the term 'vernacular creativity' to describe citizenship participation in low-level creative cultural activities (Burges et al. 2006). With the example from Stack,

Tate is proposing the idea of an active citizen alongside a creative consumer. Perhaps this is the reality of the art gallery-that the criticism of the commodification of the art experience allows a greater degree of self-reflexivity and potentially another level of creativity and interpretation is offered.



Figure 6.16 Turbine Hall, Shibboleth Installation: source Dean

The methodology I used to interpret the Flickr photographs classified them into three categories: play, behaviour and scale. As I have demonstrated in the previous chapter, scale plays a key role in interpreting the symbolic and the physical characteristics of the Turbine Hall as well as current literature on the nature of using scale as a tool to engage a vocabulary of spectacle, which foreshadows more inquiring levels of enquiry. Behaviour is central to my research as I examine the images in relation to codes of behaviour and play as this could be widely interpreted against the background of what type of contemporary art experience is being generated.

For the most part, the images that I will analyse are postings of the Unilever Series of installations in the TH.[47] Sponsored by the Dutch consumer

[47] Unilever's commitment of £2.25m to the Unilever Series of installations over eight years with Tate Modern has been extended to 2012. The relationship with Tate Modern has enabled them to commission a new installation for the Turbine Hall each year. Unilever's head office is adjacent to Tate Modern and their aim through sponsorship is to enhance London's urban environment in Southwark.

manufacturer Unilever has committed funding until 2012. These works, which transform the space, have varied from the contemplative, which also reveal as much about the void of the space as the actual installation piece (as in *Shibboleth*, Doris Salcedo 2007), to an enactment of spectacle, exemplified by *The Weather Project* (Olafur Eliasson 2003). Through the three themes of these art works, I aim to demonstrate the relation between intention (curatorial emphasis of the Unilever series), public space (architecture) and interpretation (behaviour) to articulate a definition of public space in the TH as mediated by its visitors. The medium of Flickr incorporates visual representations of varied individual experiences, as well as collective responses evidenced through the shared platform of the internet, to produce a reading of the TH, which transgresses the boundaries of formal curatorial statements and programmed intentions, presenting the more informal and unpredictable responses of the public.

The growth of the use of Flickr is worth noting, as it provides an interesting insight into a certain type of visitor to Tate Modern. In a survey carried out by the American statistical analysis company Rapleaf, the majority of users (38%) were aged between 25 years and 34 years, (Rapleaf Business, 2008). All clustering, grouping and stratifying of information on the Flickr users' entries are led by the user. The adoption of *Version 2 Open Source Media* means that all exchange of software is two-way, you can upload as well as download, and the use of API[48] technology provides the user with a programming language used to build the structure of accessibility and availability. Additionally, data mapped from the site by Cornell University created a map of the world's most photographed landmarks, with New York as the most photographed city, with the most popular landmarks being the Eiffel Tower, Trafalgar Square, Tate Modern, Big Ben, the London Eye and Piccadilly Circus. The research aimed to explore, through

[48] An application programming interface (API) is a set of routines, date structures, object classes/and/or protocols provided by libraries and /or operating system services in order to support the building of applications.

collective behaviour, what people consider the most significant landmarks, both in the world and within specific cities. The aim of the research was to discover whether social relationships between photographers have an impact on where they take their images, in the order to develop dialogues (Crandall 2009).

The architecture of the Flickr site therefore allows the classification interface to be driven by the user. This allows for a more personal communication interface and, when socialising online, more ad-hoc clustering behaviour. Mislove et al in the paper *Growth of the Flickr Social Network* (2004), look at the nature of growth dynamics, and identify significant local clustering, involving building on communication through continuous link exchange, building up relationships beyond one hit, and creating a virtual localised network.

If we are to acknowledge that Flickr's open source activity encourages a form of cultural activism by being an exchange of information without being mediated through an institution, Best and Kellner are cautious about heralding in a celebration of 'third space' as a new realm of emancipation, democracy and creative activity. With reference to the TH, the content itself is at times criticised for promoting an experience aligned to a narrowing of interpretations, but it could be argued that the open discussion generated through Flickr and the freedom to photograph within the TH is significant in the extension of the gallery's engagement with the debate concerning the canons of traditional art history.

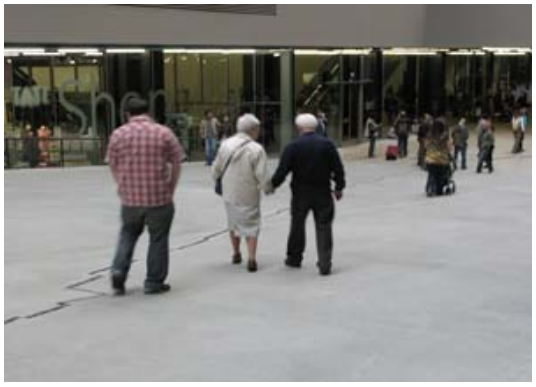

Figure 6.16 Turbine Hall: source Dean

6.7 *A public place?*



Figure 6.17 Turbine Hall, Shibboleth Installation (courtesy of *Flickr* contributor Max0, 2008).



Figure 6.18 Erwin Wurm: source Lehmann Maupin

On regularly trawling through the Flickr site, I found approximately 6459 tagged images, some of immense beauty, framing different personal experiences of the Turbine Hall. Some were professionally constructed and had strong composition and lighting effects while others suggest awareness of contemporary art; for example the human sculptures that recreate the Austrian artist, Erwin Wurm's 'one minute human sculptures'. Others simply document a fleeting event, such as a flash mob demonstration. Many of the images demonstrate an engagement with the temporary display of 'illusion' within the Hall.



Figure 6.19 ‘Images of a Time Traveller’ (*Flickr* contributor Lady Vervaine, 2009)

The play of narratives of illusion applied to the space of the Hall through the curated programme of installations recalls the writings of Foucault and his theory on heterotopias. Foucault (1967) theorised that heterotopias, which exist outside the realm of the tangible, could be divided into different categories: crisis (sanatorium, refugee centre), deviance (prison) and illusion (fairgrounds). Often discussed as agents for managing change or deviant behaviour, the outcomes of these heterotopias as social experiments rooted in place could then be filtered or applied to the spaces and institutions of everyday life. Shane (2002), in his application of the theory of heterotopias to contemporary urban planning, distinguishes heterotopias of illusion from those of crisis and deviance. The former comprise realms of apparent chaos with creative, imaginative freedom in which change is concentrated and accelerated. The rules governing the local system’s organisation can quickly and arbitrarily change, highlighting values of pleasure and leisure, consumption and display, not work. Actors in heterotopias of illusion work primarily with images to create norms and attractors, yet they can have disciplinary codes in reverse. Here Shane cites Las Vegas casinos as an example, such as the ‘New York, New York’ Casino with its replication of the New York skyline. Casinos employ various scenographic urban elements as attractors, but have extensive security organisations, which impose gambling

etiquette and social rules.

In analysing the overlap of social and spatial forms and processes with reference to heterotopian models, I would suggest that the organisation is seeking to manage change within the cultural sector, with the intention of embracing new audiences aligned with experimental installation practices, to create and push a dynamic level of experience. I highlight the limitations of these experiences as mediated through the curatorial programme and the ambitions of a public institution. Serota stresses his belief that 'the experience mediated within the gallery should avoid a formulaic sense of experience' (2000: 54). The agenda of the Unilever Series appears to demonstrate little engagement with institutional or socio-political critique, which is one of the premises that initially underlay installation art. In contrast the installation *State Britain* (2007) by the Turner Prize winning artist Mark Wallinger exhibited in the Duveen Galleries at Tate Britain demonstrated a powerful political critique of Britain's involvement in the Iraq war.

The *Unilever Series* creates a temporary suspension of the everyday, within the vessel of the architecture of the power station. The relationship between the art installation and the monumentalism of the Turbine Hall has been argued around the critique of scaling up of art works as concomitant with the increased size of contemporary galleries. Meyer stresses this argument in his article *No More Scale: The Experience of Size in Contemporary Sculpture* (2004) as 'symptomatic of a recent international trend of the execution of ever-larger art commissions for increasingly vast spaces such as the Grand Palais' 'Monumenta', from the Guggenheim to Dia:Beacon in New York'. Meyer expands on this theme which is centred around 'the art world's demand of an art of size; an outcome of the art world's spectacularisation and expansionism' (2004: 12). Focusing on Eliasson's *The Weather Project,* Meyer states that it did not achieve an active and self-reflexive spectator; rather it delivered 'a mass audience that cannot fail to be overwhelmed by the magnitude of the installation itself' (ibid).

Morgan, previously introduced as the curator of Carsten Höller's *Test Site*, defends the criticism of spectacularisation directed at the installations, stating that the Hall has enabled a conversion of a new type of experience 'the Turbine Hall can be seen as a relatively minor platform, a modest beginning for the wide-scale transformation of behaviour, and most of all, experience' (2007: 15). Meyer's critique has been criticised for over simplifying the notion that large spaces represent a flexing of global might on the part of international art institutions.



Figure 6.20 Image of a Marsyas installation (courtesy of *Flickr* contributor CityWalker, 2002)

The status of the TH could be viewed as representative of a privileged order of power in the city. It is programmed by an eminent group of international curators, conditioned by particular funding situations, and has a public mandate arising from its government funded status. The gallery's heritage is brought about by its long association with 'high culture' whilst simultaneously Tate trustees highlight their 'aim to advance its local, national and international position' (Tate Report 2002). In terms of assessing how it might act as a condenser for the micro politics of everyday life, some of the Flickr images convey a sense of self-

documentation and are revealing in how they conduct themselves in the space. In my interviews with local residents on the neighbouring social and mixed-tenure housing estates, while a number of respondents admired and were proud of the building, only a few said that they had actually visited the gallery.[49] Residents view Tate Modern's community garden project adjacent to the gallery's north façade as a more familiar useable space.

The TH as a public space, defined by an institution, as opposed to those spaces within its immediate urban context, public space as mediated through the everyday, is disengaged from the normal behaviour of the public as played out on the street or the park. In observing the use of the space, I question how it potentially leads to a new field of habitus and perceived views of how one should behave in a gallery. What is clear is that the space has the ability to perform on many levels as defined by each Unilever Series, which provides an ever-changing scenography.

The space is written about under the scrutiny of the media seeking to gauge public opinion. Morgan concludes in her analysis of criticism levelled at the mere visceral experience that it is 'oddly perverse to insist on an experience of art as limited to a certain scale or to a particular type of appreciation' (Morgan 2007: 12).

6.8 Flickr, folksonomy and use[50]

In its constant transformations through the Unilever Series and other curated exhibitions, the 'cultural language' has been viewed as pushing the spectacular,

[50] Flickr Folksonomy (also known as collaborative tagging, social classification, social indexing and social tagging) is the practice and method of collaboratively creating and managing tags to annotate and categorise content. In contrast to traditional subject indexing, creators and consumers of the content generate not only by experts but metadata also. Usually, freely chosen keywords are used instead of a controlled vocabulary.

as well as delivering a new level of experience within the public arena. The public arena is the result of mediation between the public, architecture and the 'programme' as defined by the institution.



Figure 6.121Image of Shibboleth Installation (courtesy of *Flickr* contributor CityWalker, 2008)

In discussing the transformation of public life, Sennett describes the fragmentation of society as 'a society of atomised social spaces', and any materials which this culture offer people to use to 'connect' are 'unstable symbols of impulse and intention' (1977: 309). This, Sennett argues, leads to an exaggerated expression of extreme emotions, 'that the terms of culture have come to be so arranged that, without some forcing and prodding, real social bonds seem so unnatural' (ibid). In view of Sennett's statement, the TH can be read as positioning itself as one of the aforementioned atomised spaces. The public have built up an acute degree of expectation towards the Unilever Series, in anticipation of a unique response to the work and space. In terms of forcing and prodding, the space provides a stage to respond to, the pieces demand a response. The series occurring annually until 2012 begins to introduce regularity with the announcement, execution, and opening, accompanied by front-page media coverage. In terms of creating real social bonds, with the increased use of

social media and photo-sharing sites, relationships and debates of public space are fostered through the media, which allows for an open source network of greater dialogue as mediated through the institution. Probably the most significant shift in the display of emotion is that in the past the relationship between an artwork and spectator was a private one. The nature of the architecture meant that the visitor was not intended to be observed, but is only a by-product of the art. In the case of the Turbine Hall the visitor is on view, becoming at times part of the artwork, whether willingly complicit or by default. The state of anonymity normally associated with public life is largely challenged. The images below both reinforce both the act of looking and the role of observation in the public arena as well as presence and subjectivity.



Figure 6.22 Image of Turbine Hall Installation (courtesy of *Flickr* contributor JudyGr 2003)



Figure 6.23 Image of light boxes in the Turbine Hall (courtesy of Flickr contributor David 2004)

While the images on Flickr demonstrate unconventional social behaviour, there appears to be limited interactivity. An image of Ollie, a young child taking his first steps, seems to be a very potent, private family moment acted out against the colossus of the TH; perhaps it is the potency of overlaying the private onto the public that makes it a powerful, popular image, (tagged under most viewed) the kind of social interactivity that is created through the dialogue on Flickr. Here we witness the private seeping into the public sphere.



Figure 6.24 'Image of First Steps, Ollie in the Turbine Hall'
(courtesy of Flickr contributor jkottke, 2008)

6.10 Play



Figure 6.25 Image of Test Site Installation (courtesy of *Flickr* contributor Ads, 2007)

The images that I have categorised in this section largely illustrate a sense of physical enjoyment of the space. The seventh Unilever Series installation, *Test*

Site (2007), by Carsten Höller, is conceptually based on the theme of play in society and culture, manifested by installing a series of slides from each of the gallery floors down to the ramp. The German artist engages with the theme of play in his wider body of work. In addition to slides, he has made goggles through which you see the world upside down, carousels and rooms with amanita mushrooms growing down from the ceiling. His work challenges the viewer's conventional perception, and aims to disconcert the viewers and challenge their notion of space (Morgan 2006).

6.9 Play

The physiologist John Huizinga's publication *Homo Ludens* (1934) explores the significance of play in culture: 'Play is free, is in fact freedom, play is not ordinary or real life, play is distinct from ordinary life both as to locality and duration' (Huizinga 1934: 12). Huizinga suggests that play is central to and a necessary condition for, the generation of culture.



Figure 6.26 Image of Test Site Installation (courtesy of *flickr* contributor Orhan Tsolak, 2007)

The use of slides is historically traced in the exhibition catalogue in Kozlovsky's piece, *A Short History of the Slide* (2006). Based on an emotional response to

the slide related to Sigmund Freud's speculation on the existence of a death instinct as a counterforce to the sexual instinct, Kozlovsky raises the question of whether the slide represents humanity's instinctual ambition to overcome fear, or its innate desire to self-destruct. In response to Höller's installation he states: 'Many interpretations abound, including that the kinetic-repetition of users engaging with the art work is set in opposition to a disciplinary space recalling school playgrounds. *Test Site* is explained by subjecting our bodies to an entirely other yet familiar sensorial regime. Its intention is to create a new relationship between art and sensation and a sense of liberation within a public space' (Kozlovsky 2006: 46).

The online conversation below taken from Flickr illustrates a reciprocal relationship between the visitor and the art works. This is a feature of installation art - the viewer becomes embodied as opposed to disembodied in the conventional act of looking. Some Flickr users appeared to express fixed ideas as to what art might be, especially within the institutional framework of Tate Modern. The physical qualities of the building made the work possible and the legitimacy of the artist's previous works gave authority to the display of play. The visitors' enjoyment and thrill in using the slides displayed emotions that are normally experienced outside the gallery. The behaviour became normalised, but suggestions in the catalogue that play becomes a consideration within urban planning and that slides be seen as potential for low energy forms of transport, as proposed in the catalogue essay *Slides in the Public Realm* (*Test Site*, 2006), are, unfortunately, as yet to be tried out in the urban sphere.

Some visitors who looked for a more conventional artistic experience were drawn to comment on the dramatic nature of the shadows cast by the slides on to the walls of the Turbine Hall. At times there appears to be a disparity between the conceptual ideas and the interpretation of the works.

The conversation below was posted on the Tate Galleries group website set up by Flickr users to discuss images in relation to Tate Modern. It illustrates how the debate goes beyond discussing the qualities of the images and extends to describing the experience of the viewer

> **Diane** says:
> On my rare visits to Tate Modern I've come away with the impression that we are part of the art. I look at the world differently after going there.
>
> **Commonorgarden** *says:*
> We went on a Thursday at midday and got tickets for 3pm - the queues were not too bad and yes I did go down all the slides. It was 'cool'. The addition of the lights which cast shadows onto the walls at the far end of the turbine hall make then seem more 'art', I think, and it is great that people are 'engaging' with the piece - it is not often you see so many teenagers around and so much laughter.
>
> I hope this 'hard to reach new audience' (you can tell I work in the arts!) remembers about the rest of the gallery and visits it as well...

This last comment raises the issue of the installation work overshadowing the more conventional experience of visiting the gallery spaces on the upper levels, and the lure of the spectacle to bring in new audiences. The former is seen as a more digestible form of engagement with art and, as inferred, less taxing:

> ***Commonorgarden*** *says:*
> Oh - remember that the installations in the turbine hall are funded by Unilever rather than the public purse.
>
> ***Alex J White*** *says:*
> I went the other evening, but could only get on the small slide. The others were fully booked. I'm going on the members' night on the 3rd December. Anyone else going then? If art is meant to affect your emotions then, it certainly succeeds on this front.
>
> **Mags** says:
> I think they have a timed ticketing system in place, and guards to make sure no-one cheats etc. I think I'll brave the one from the bridge to the floor before risking the top floor one.

> One commentator (the Observer, I think) pointed out that it's an installation which both makes use of the full space and can be responded to 'naturally' by visitors. In the same way that when the Weather Project was in the 'natural' reaction was to wander about then lie down and 'sunbathe'. We know how to respond to slides: fear, attraction, and fascination. We react physically - butterflies in the stomach, screaming, laughing - as well as mentally.
>
> I'll be going along, but in a month or so, when the immediate fuss is over.

The experience above is described both physically and intuitively where the visitors' engagement is not solely on a cerebral level. This type of engagement, of unconventional behaviour, it could be argued, is unique in that the programming is not repeated and therefore it stands out as original in its execution. If the curators were to programme repeatedly activities of a principally physical nature then this might reduce the impact of the piece.

> www.flickr.com/groups/tate_galleries/discuss/72157594319779274/
> (Date consulted 4/2/09)



Figure 6.27 Image of Shibboleth Installation (courtesy of *Flickr* contributor Mat Gibson, 2008)

Shibboleth, the eighth Unilever Series installation by the Columbian born artist Doris Salcedo was intended to be a starting point for critical debate that 'actually

and metaphorically opens a critical space that runs right through the heart of Tate Modern' (Bochardt-Hume 2008: 17). Salcedo's work deals with political themes and geo-political territories and the titles of her work are significant to the reading of the installations. Salcedo's piece was dubbed the 'crack', perhaps a sign that people warmed to it and personalised it.

The curator Bockhardt-Hume emphasised the importance of contextualising the piece within the history of the museum and gallery. It represented 'repositories of history, they are intimately connected to the ideology of nationhood' (2008: 17). The themes of the piece, which attempted to open the debate between post-colonialism and the new cultural globalism's search for developing markets, became perhaps somewhat lost in the illusionary effect of Shibboleth's materiality. Undoubtedly, within the context of the other Unilever Series installations, a somewhat tight framework of critique and behaviour had been set, that of promoting unconventional behavior and spectacle. The piece was skillfully executed and this aspect of it seemed to be clearly communicated through Flickr. Fascination with the detail of the cavity was conveyed through the images. Was the artist's intention to slice away part of the physical construction of this great edifice to hegemonic art practice? Some visitors observed the crack in detail, but it also acted as a directional path and people appeared to feel compelled to move along its trajectory. Arguably, the intervention at ground level increased the non-prescriptive enjoyment or encounter with the space, allowing an open narrative to unravel. Other images conveyed an interest in the 'special effects' reading of the piece, while leaving the void of the building physically intact. Other images illustrate a sense of serenity in the absence of a grandiose installation.



Figure 6.28 Image of Shibboleth Installation (courtesy of *Flickr* contributor Conorwithone 2009)

Behaviour

As discussed previously I draw on Shane's contemporary revision of Foucault's theories of heterotopias. Shane discusses how the categories of crisis, deviance, and discipline, on the one hand, and illusion, on the other, act to maintain order in the overall system, and thereby constrain change. However, the former (crisis etc) is moved outside the centre of the city, while the latter is located anywhere within the fabric of the city. Foucault pointed to this geographic shift in his 'heterotopology', citing the cemetery's migration from the churchyard to a suburban location, becoming a garden or park in the process. Tonkiss in reviewing a contemporary interpretation of Foucault's heterotopia discusses the concept in relation to space and time in which several uses for a site co-exist (2005: 133), engendering a feeling of being removed from normality. Although Foucault's exploration of this term was left fairly loose, key to its relevance is the suggestion of spatial otherness. The Turbine Hall is a space removed from the conventional formal behavioural code of a gallery. Although Tate Modern is now viewed at the core of the city's activities, the building's typology borrows from the sites of out of town industrial spaces, such as Donald Judd's former army shed in Marfa, Texas, which Serota admired as a key exemplar of a contemporary art

gallery. At Tate Modern, the reverse is the case. The disused industrial power station, decommissioned since 1984, has now become part of London's central core, causing not only London's art geography to shift, but to re-align significantly the urban centrality of London, a 'world city'.

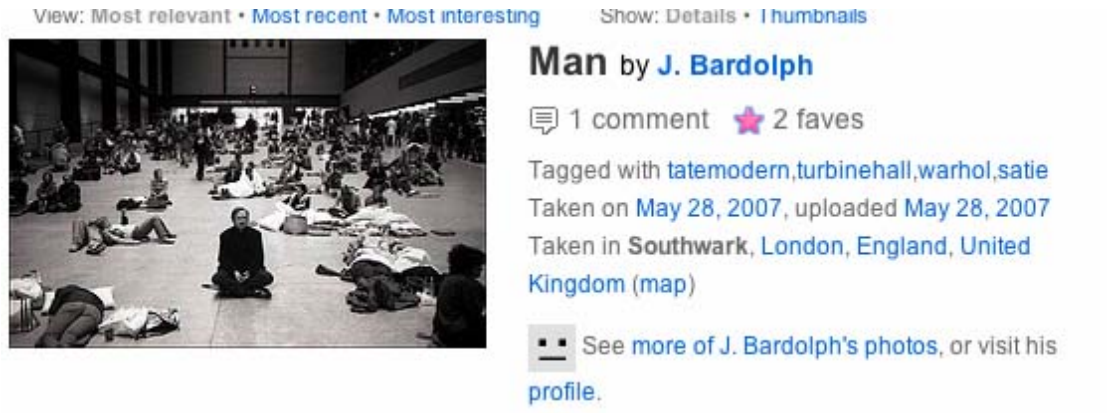

Figure 6.29 Image of Long Weekend (courtesy of *flickr* contributor J.Bardolph 2007)

In the Flickr images of the mixed media performance tilted *Warhol/Cage/Satie*, May 2007 (fig. 6.27) at first glance the Turbine Hall looks as if it has been taken over by London's homeless, with sleeping bags randomly placed on the ramp. On closer inspection, it turns out to be a concert with music by John Cage, Erik Satie and Michael Nyman to accompany Andy Warhol's first film *Sleep,* with a running time of five and a half hours. Bankside is host to many historical charities such as the Blackfriars Settlement and St Mungo's, but for these, homelessness in the city is a reality. Again this references Foucault's heterotopia of illusion that transforms a place over a limited period of time and then is returned to its status quo.

Interestingly, Morgan (2007) cites the problem of the increased number of visitors, likening the way of dealing with the crowds to the type of crowd control associated generally only with buildings such as stadia and airports. Queuing for Carsten Höller's *Test Site* became part of the experience, with queues creating a camber type formation through the gallery. The queuing was then lessened through a ticketing system. This queuing management brings to mind the skills

developed by Disneyworld, which alleviates the potential boredom of visitors by hiring entertainers to entertain those waiting in line.



Figure 6.30 Image of The Weather Project Installation (courtesy of *Flickr* contributor platdujour, 2007)

The TH gained currency by appearing repeatedly on the front cover of the broadsheet newspapers. In June 2007, for example, Tony Blair was pictured delivering a speech on government policy and the arts against the backdrop of Holler's *Test Site* piece in the Turbine Hall, as mentioned in the previous chapter. Visitors performed modest protests, such as writing political slogans with their bodies with injunctions such as *'Bush Go Home'*. Or the above word *SLACK*, also captures a fleeting moment in life of the building. These images throw up questions as to how orchestrated the performances were, spontaneous or planned. This was mirrored on the reflective temporary ceiling that hung from the hall. The significance of a group of one hundred visitors dressed as Santa is debatable, but the 'flash mob' happening in 2007 demonstrated the tolerance or 'otherness' of the Tate Modern organisation. On interviewing Hardwick (September, 2008) on the level of tolerance and the lack of visible security checks at the door, he implied that they adhere to security directives as stipulated by the DCMS, but the lack of visible security is clearly part of an image of a space that operates outside of over-surveillanced areas of the public realm.



Figure 6.31 Image of Santa invasion during The Weather Project Installation (courtesy of Flickr contributor Patchworkbunny 2007)



Snapshot of a photographer, taking picture of herself and of the Holler installation, and the Museum shop in the background (both not visible in the photo) at the Turbine Hall, Tate Modern, London

Figure 6.32 Image of The Turbine Hall (courtesy of Flickr contributor Jan 2006)

Society Work's posting of a couple lying down on the ramp with the quote 'is that normal in London, to lie down in a public space when you feel tired' demonstrates the questioning of 'conventional' codes of behaviour. Morgan (2006) argues in defence of high visitor numbers suggesting a more popular experience than a contemplative one. This is relevant to the gallery's traditional mandate of publicness as 'historically being at the heart of its mission', (2006: 14) arguing for the potential of another experience over that of the traditionalist contemplative experience of art. The condition of the Turbine Hall appears to be a test lab for a divergence of experience. The convergence of the architecture and the Unilever Series in part respond to the monumentalism of the space, but

also to this stated condition of ‘public space’ and the overlapping of passive and active behaviour, creating a diversity of activities and behaviour.

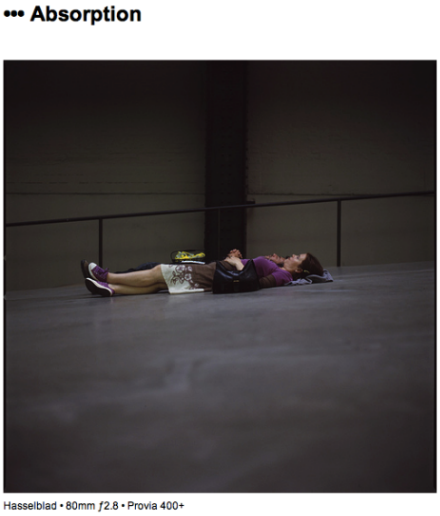

Figure 6.33 ‘Absorption’ (courtesy of *Flickr* contributor Kiem Tang, 2009)

McKinsey, the consultant charged with producing the feasibility study for Tate Modern at the planning stage, carried out interviews with many heads of staff and trustees. The document titled *Defining the Vision of the Tate Modern* reflected the divergence of opinions as to how the Turbine Hall would fit with the ethos of the organisation. Some were adamant that ‘Tate Gallery of Modern Art should be a place of leisure, where people can see performances, eat, buy works of art and one that should be open at night’. Others state how the gallery should reinforce its synchronic lineage with the institution's history and maintain a place for seriousness and contemplation- that the ‘Tate Gallery of Modern Art should not be allowed to become a noisy palace of fun’ (Tate Gallery Archive 12/1/3/2). This reference to the ‘palace of fun’ refers to the architect Cedric Price’s (1934–2003) much emulated and lauded project for a creative laboratory of fun, which influenced Rogers and Piano in their design of Paris’s Pompidou Centre (1976).

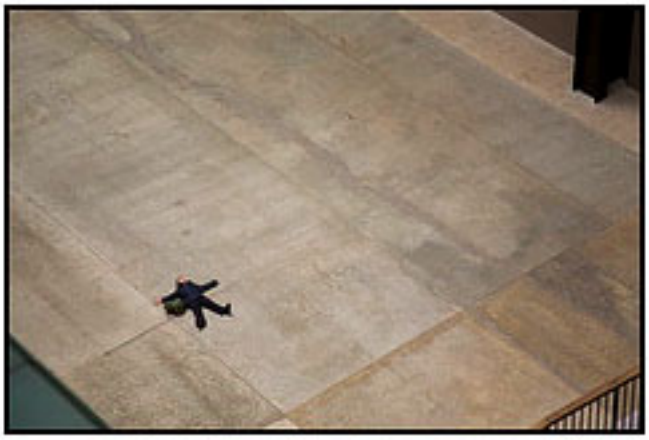

Figure 6.34 Image of a visitor in the Turbine Hall (courtesy of *Flickr* contributor Tom2, 2004)

Scale

All of the *Unilever Series* can be classified as installation art. The art embodies the presence of the viewer, it is temporal and dependent on its context, and therefore it principally exists only for as long as it is installed within an exhibition. Scale played an important role in defining this movement, aside from the male prowess exemplified in the making of these large sculptures typified by the robust industrialised material such as 'corten' and rolled steel used by artists such as Anthony Caro and David Smith. Robert Morris in his essay *Notes on Sculpture 2* (1966) reiterates the importance of scale in defining the viewer's relationship to Minimalist art, stating that 'large works dwarf us creating a mode of interaction, while small works encourage privacy and intimacy' (as quoted by Bishop 2005: 53).



Figure 6.35 Image of a Marsyas Installation (courtesy of Flickr contributor aqui-ali, 2002)

Highlighting art's preoccupation with scale, Davidts (2007) argues that the artists of the Unilever Series, whilst taking on the scale of the Turbine Hall, have created impressively scaled or inflated art works which have sacrificed critical analysis of the institution. HdM's aforementioned competition entry used an image of the British Turner Prize winner Rachel Whiteread's art piece *Ghost* (1990) scaled up to the proportion of her work *House* (1993).



Figure 6.36 Image of Shibboleth Installation (courtesy of *Flickr* contributor escobart 2007)

The Flickr images demonstrate a registering of and sensibility to the scale of the building. The humorous and, at times, whimsical images from different users, including interventions in which toy soldiers or cartoon figurines placed overlooking *Shibboleth* can be read as the viewer attempting to appropriate the

enormous scale of the hall, and express, by means of exaggeration of scale, how he/she reads the space. Dwarfed by the immensity of the site, the visitor brings these Lilliputian sized figures to interact with the installation.



Figure 6.37 Image of Shibboleth (courtesy of *Flickr* contributor lightplays 2008)

Accentuated through the building's architecture, the protruding glazed boxes on the fourth level provide vantage points from which to survey the space from above, allowing one to experience the Turbine Hall at different scales, much as if one is reading the space as an animated plan. These sites allow the visitors to participate in the space at the same time as removing themselves from the human dimension of interaction in the space.

Finally, the installation *Marsyas* (2002) by Anish Kapoor, consisting of three concentric rings linked by a PVC membrane could be interpreted as a grand gestural response to the enormity of the hall. It was frequently photographed from a distance, reinforcing the un-human dimensions of the piece. The artist's intention was to immerse the visitor in a monochromatic field of colour; the piece did not provoke interaction. The visitors in the images were reduced to small size figures that one often views on architectural models-faceless, homogenous people in a crowd.



Figure 6.38 Image of Weather Project Installation (courtesy of Flickr contributor o'brian)



Figure 6.39 Image of The Weather Project Installation (courtesy of Flickr contributor TVicar, 2004)



Figure 6.40 Image of Shibboleth Installation (courtesy of Flickr contributor DanTassel, 2008)

6.10 Conclusion to Section B

The images discussed here illustrate how some visitors have adopted more private behaviour within a public space, such as lying down on the floor, uninhibited or unaware of the codes of behaviour, both formal or implied, that are generally advocated within art institutions. This suggests a shift from the reverential interpretation of an art gallery to one of a more casual relationship with the space. Tate Modern appears reluctant to enforce restrictions on the space, in order to promote as wide an interpretative experience as possible. The apparent freedom of behaviour permitted within the Turbine Hall is actually underpinned by conventions of behaviour that pertain to many other museums and galleries. The TH almost requires prior knowledge, which is tested and, at times, subverted.

You would not find visitors lying on the floor of the entrance to the National Gallery, but at Tate Modern this is acceptable behaviour, as is picnicking usually encountered in a public park or square. But public spaces more commonly attract a cross-section of people from their immediate surroundings. To the north of the site, a link has been created to the City of London, by the Millennium Bridge, which appears largely used by tourists or employees of London's 'Golden Mile'. To the south, a visually impenetrable construction, due to the volume and footprint of the building, has been created with the development of the commercial complex Bankside 123. This acts as a physical barrier to the residential estates on the less salubrious south side of Southwark Street.

Foucault cites actors' utopian aspirations as being executed through the rules and goals of an organisation. Certainly, the aspirations of the directors of Tate Modern seem to be outside the conventions of many museums and galleries, where the experimental nature of combining the street or urban passage with received notions of what that typology represents is overlaid with the

machinations of Tate, the institution. My analysis of the Turbine Hall argues that a critical encounter between art, architecture, spectacle, institution and the public has occurred in which the site has been embraced into the currency of globally significant places.[51] The capturing and posting of the site through Flickr demonstrates its currency as a site of social interaction. To return to the opening of this chapter and the statement by Sheehy and Leander that recent theorising argues that space is a product and process of socially dynamic relations, the site is more than one of consumption. Each Flickr contributor is experiencing the site as a producer, rather than a passive consumer. As Stack has demonstrated, the use of Flickr has extended the physical boundaries of the site by engaging with an online community that has different cultural and visual reference points and brings an interpretation of the TH which differs from that of the official photographers. Stack states that often the Flickr photos capture something more astute about the use of the space than the official photographs, 'so often what you see is that their photos are better than ours. For example the sun piece, on our site there were very few good images, whereas on Flickr there are an enormous amount of fantastic images' (Stack interview 2007).

Architecturally, the space operates as a vessel that is removed from a conventional typology. It is a crossbreed of typologies, simultaneously an art gallery, public space and 'deconsecrated' industrial monument. The vast vacant space appears void of any immediate code of formal behaviour and it is interesting to observe through the photos how people personalise the space or conduct casual behaviour. Here the institution is creating a new discipline as to how art, commerce, spectacle, place and society are merging to form new spatial types. The use of Flickr images as a form of data to inform a spatial reading

[51] In an article from the journal *Wired* titled *The World's Most Photogenic Sites,* according to *Flickr* it stated 'the most cherished landmark in the world for photographers is the Eiffel Tower, followed by Trafalgar Square. London's next most photographed attraction was the Tate Modern, Big Ben, the London Eye. The data was collated by downloading images and photo metadata from flickr.com using the websites public API by Cornell University, (27 April, 2009).

provides a unique pool of visual representation, albeit limited to a particular age group, which illustrates the public's response to this new form of public space. The directors of Tate Modern have created a space which, delicately balances possible tensions and dichotomies of use and ambition; a publicly accessible space with civic urban intentions that has to adhere to sponsors' demands and government funding mandate, overlaid with curatorial ambitions to expand on the conventional experience of art. A new type of activity can be viewed as, at times, interpretative, inventive and dynamic, although it often appeals to the visitor who is initiated and familiar with the global language of the contemporary art gallery.

In my introduction I discussed that Flickr can be read in the context of 'an interactive spectacle', here Stack, Head of Interactive Media, discusses the positive interplay between the institution and Flickr users. Despite very little infrastructural control, there is a degree of curatorial input. But the use of the technology in expanding debate and access to the Tate Modern is valid, in that it encourages interaction through the image, while also allowing subversion and personalisation of the material and hence a level of interpretation beyond the in-house gallery discourse. I conclude that in order for greater engagement of the public the viewer should be encouraged to mediate between an active and passive role. The architecture of Flickr, which is partly created by its users who create a platform of interactivity between users and programmers, therefore provides an active platform for self-reflexive activity. In addition, the activity is premised on a certain level of participation, which involves taking the photograph and selecting the subject and, accordingly a personal interpretation of the initial object, which is subject to interaction and textual analysis.

Therefore the use of Flickr as an interpretative curatorial device on the part of the viewer posted through an on-line platform could be viewed as another level of interpretation of contemporary society, significantly mediated through the image,

in relation to public space. It is an interactive device that encourages debate surrounding the challenge and novelties of contemporary public art.

CHAPTER 7 CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction
7. 2 Micro to Macro analysis
7.3 Methodology
7.4 Local narratives
7.5 An architectural promenade
7.6 Situating the design
7.7 Future of data mining in research
7.8 Forms of representation: The Turbine Hall and Flickr, a space for social transformation.

7.1 Introduction

My thesis examined the role of culture as an urban regeneration tool and how Tate Modern and its institutional workings influenced the direction of urban change in Bankside. The requirements of the submission for the PhD made it necessary to respond to the broader context in which Tate Modern was situated before drawing my focus towards an acute analysis of the Turbine Hall. Firstly, I examined the background to the emergence of a cultural strategy led by the council. Secondly, I narrowed my research field to assess the institution's success in extending a definition of public space within the Turbine Hall.

In this chapter I summarise my research findings. I also discuss my methodology and further areas for research, which could extend my initial use of Flickr images and data analysis, which explored relations bound to place through digital networks. Additionally, my analysis of Flickr images helped formulate recorded data to represent potential transformations of contemporary society.

From my observations in the field, structured and oral history interviews, primary research and photography, I highlight my central findings which structure my conclusion. The principal areas of research have led me to conclude that: through a symbolic analysis of place, difference is being designed out (this is prevalent in the branding of the area as Better Bankside, as well as the removal

of ad-hoc structures, replaced by sites of commodification); developers are creating an intensity of built form around TM, potentially resulting in an exclusive territory which will limit cultural expression and dynamic cultural processes; the use of the cultural quarter is being adopted to present a visual code of a representation of 'lifestyle' (Tonkiss 2005), very different from the lives lived in the sphere of the everyday. Despite the potential narrowing of access, as suggested by the previous conclusions, I stress that the directors' wider ambitions to create an interlocking piece of urbanism and a significant public space, through a public/private institution was achieved. Lastly, the Turbine Hall provides a key site for significant social transformation.

7.2 Micro to Macro analysis

In order to expand on the results of my research from the macro (the wider urban environment at Bankside), to the micro (an analysis of the Turbine Hall), I situated my analysis of Tate Modern against the processes of cultural regeneration, and more specifically, the urban framework of Bankside. Secondly, in my focus on the Turbine Hall, I raised issues pertinent to the institutional framework of the gallery, such as concepts surrounding 'New Institutionalism', spectacle, and scale. Finally I focused on the role of the digital social platform, Flickr from which I classified uploaded images to investigate a representation of where the public is situated in relation to the shared activities on-line, but premised on physical content; that of the Turbine Hall.

In the latter half of my writing, my research focused on the Turbine Hall, as the pivotal site in which I located my analysis, using multiple strands of enquiry. I questioned whether the space is able to conduct a sense of social transformation. I framed this within debates surrounding the relevance of public space in an increasingly fragmented society. In addressing issues of 'publicness', I subsequently questioned the relationship between the spectators and the

Unilever Series. This focus situated my research within a wider analysis of how spectators define their identity in relation to the institution, and by implication the city. It seems pertinent to question the relation of the spectator to the institution, as I argue the directors of Tate Modern have influenced potential imaginaries of what the city is and revaluated the role of the institution in the twenty-first century.

Additionally, I framed my research to expand my argument of the potential for social transformation by situating it within the concept of 'geographical imaginaries'. Here I examined the duality of the site, which attempted to embed itself within the local community, as well as perform a role in terms of the global representation of London (Massey 2007). TM is a significant site within a reading of London as a global city. It represents cultural capital, and a component of a dynamic world city. On the other hand the directors valued the relationship of the institution to the local community. In drawing out this relationship, against the backdrop of accelerated urban regeneration, I argued that it is essential to read the area as an on-going site of social processes acted out in the remaining, and at times vulnerable sites in Bankside, such as Redcross Gardens, Mint St Park, the Community Centre and All Hallows Church.

7.3 Methodology

My methodological standpoint in Chapter Four used a combination of narrative (oral history interviews) and semi-structured interviews. I used these as evidence to support my questions as to how the institution enabled public interaction, as well as what effect the institution has had on the local identity and physical environment. My supervisor Donald Hyslop, Head of Regeneration & Community Partnerships, steered me towards the key players instrumental in promoting Tate Modern in the area (McGibbon, Hardwick, Cochrane, Wilson), who presented Tate's activities in a positive light. Through my investigations in the field I was able to balance the former with a diverse range of actors, through embedding

myself in the locality, whether this was sitting in *Terry's* cafe or as a BOST volunteer. Through these activities I was introduced to long-term residents such as Ted Bowman who has brought crucial insights into the framing of place through memory (Mint Street Park).

Central to my research was the use of photographs to analyse the spatial condition at Bankside. My photographs were directed through the use of a 'shooting script' (Suchar 1997), which informed my process of analysis, rather than using an image to represent a point previously made. In relation to my recording of the 'portacabins', I posed two questions: what effect did the accelerated urbanism have on the embedded residents? (Chapter Four) and is there an identifiable visual language driven through a symbolic representation of culture? (Chapter Five). My photographs of Snellman and her home (fig. 4.3) aimed to record the essence of place, the physical qualities, the surfaces, and the construct of the everyday, as lived by Snellman (the last resident at the King James Street site which lies within the Urban Triangle). From my observations I could read her state of vulnerability, isolation and ultimately exclusion from place. I admit that a level of pathos can be read into the portrait of Snellman, or perhaps her stillness can be interpreted as being in defiance of the pace of activity around her and her imminent eviction. She had remained in this site whilst other 'portacabins' had become dilapidated and vacated. As Snellman recalled her memories, she spoke of a thriving community where the residents would meet over the shared space. The photograph of Snellman accompanied by my interview material provided the opportunity to gain access to a sense of place. Snellman's domestic situation was unusual in that she was the only surviving resident of the 'portacabins', and personified the transition, which the site was undergoing. Here, reference to place was far removed from the commodification of place. The interview process was a more nuanced way of interacting with the site, where I felt enabled by entering into a less formal relationship with my subject; as an architect I was used to reading space through conventional

architectural drawings. My use of photography meant that I could go back and look at the photographs and draw out in detail elements of the site. My intention was also to record everyday sites to observe informal interactions that contributed to the rhythm of everyday activities. Through my frequent trips to the *Green Hut*, Great Suffolk Street, I could view different ways of occupation of the site, where the taxi driver paused to have a coffee between shifts, as well as the significant physical changes as a result of the regeneration activities.

My thesis explored how Tate Modern sought to create a very different environment to that surrounding Tate Britain, Millbank. Importantly Tate Modern played a major role in defining local debate and consolidating grass roots organisations. The commissioned report by the directors, titled *Achieving a Key Role in Regeneration for the Tate Gallery of Modern Art at Bankside* (Wyatt 1996) demonstrated the breadth of ambition and outreach that the project initially aimed to achieve, prior to the establishment of Tate Modern. Additionally, Tate Modern's importance as a key piece of urbanism was demonstrated during the debacle over Tate Tower, as discussed in Chapter Three. This demonstrated the diversity of imaginaries over space and unravelled the contestations over public space (Massey 2007). In Chapter Four, I discussed the importance of cultural judgement and heritage in driving the agenda of urban regeneration. I drew on Harvey's theories (2002) to illustrate the potentially political process of whose narrative is brought to the fore in terms of, who or what, is rendered visible in the regeneration urbanscape.

My interviews sought to research the field of spatial inter-connections between social processes and spatial forms. It surfaced a more subtle and long-term engagement with the site on the part of the residents, who valued open spaces, as discussed in relation to the *Save All Hallows Church* campaign. But equally, a new enfranchised local body such as BRF, embraced the consultation process led by Cochrane, acknowledging the benefits of Tate Modern's establishment in

the area, for those attracted to a relationship to place, prioritised by a cultural agenda, rather than a localised one.

To ground my debate I drew on Massey who brought to the fore the issue of the democratic processes acted out in public spaces, and achieved through social negotiation. I demonstrated the negotiations over what the local community perceived as necessary (places for interaction, the community centre, green spaces, the proposed swimming pool in Bankside 123), which due to the BRF's lack of knowledge of the planning process, Land Securities were allowed to renege on. My interview material with McGibbon discussed how the BRF was strengthened through the arrival of Tate Modern, welcoming the perceived positive benefits to having Tate on their doorstep. This is counterbalanced with the antagonism brought about by the Richard Rogers Partnership, for example during the compilation of the Bankside Urban Study (2000). The valuable information collected through the BRF could have been given more prominence and agency by directly engaging the forum rather than mediated through the consultant's framework (Richard Rogers Partnership).

7.4 Local narratives

In Chapter Four and Chapter Five I used photographs and narrative interviews to inform the wider question; how place was being made less relevant to the local community as a result of the development in the area. The question raised issues of exclusion from the site, with actors such as Bowman (former chairman of Borough Market), who felt disenfranchised by the dominance of the cultural agenda. Richardson in turn, as chairman of the BRF strove to inform the local residents of the planning processes, in order that the right questions were asked, thereby acknowledging that development was part of the evolution of the area, but ensuring that a sense of inclusion to the debate was established. A further issue raised was the relationship between memory, narrative and place, which

can be rendered dysfunctional when the environment is in the process of change. I demonstrated through the Memory Garden interviews how memories are linked to place; the attachment of Jess Snellman to her home was crucial to her identity; remaining in her home was a small act of defiance against the wider political regeneration agenda.

Harvey argues in support of the need for 'some kind of shaping power over the processes of urbanisation' (2008: 5). I hope to have illustrated how, in the regeneration of Bankside through TM, Tate directors have exerted a degree of influence on the urban environment through various collaborative activities with the surrounding community. However, the restructuring of the area was largely led by private developers' interests, which did not contribute to the overall strategy of environmental improvements or cohesive and inclusive urban planning. Tate's influence was attempted through initiatives such as the Bankside Urban Forest (2007) or funding bids undertaken by the Cross River Partnership. There was not however a concerted effort by LBS to steer the urban development of the area.

The transformation of the former power station has made a significant impact on the new urban quarter at Bankside and led the regeneration at Southwark. In demonstrating how the building was structured, the vision for its future as a key piece of urbanism, was communicated in the competition brief, which deliberately did not seek a radical architectural strategy. The architecture of TM can be described as a synchronic evolution of the public art gallery. I have drawn attention to the irrelevance of Tate Modern on the part of some of the residents, who consider it to be apart from the daily routine of their lives. This I described as a type of self-elective exclusion on the part of residents to disengage from the cultural agenda.

The urban fabric is being transformed under a myriad of contested urban

imaginaries. I argue that if cultural capital is to be managed successfully, those engaging with the sites such as Land Securities, should value the social agency apparent in the local networks, and provide a platform to allow smaller actors to explore alternative cultural processes. In the case of the thwarted construction of Tate Tower, this brought to the fore the diverging and at times conflicting visions for how this part of London should be developed. The perspectives put forward to steer the pros and cons of the Tate Tower proposal ranged from, those in support of the application and those vociferously against. Those in favour cited the Heritage Lottery funding allocated to Tate Modern as an example to encourage an agenda of regeneration in the area; and those against the development, cited the cultural landscape, which should be privileged as well as the need to value and maintain a link to the area's recent history of light industrial use.

7.5 An Architectural Promenade

I expanded my methodological approach to introduce the Architectural Promenade in Chapter Five; a sequential analysis framed through two different perspectives, and arrived at, as a result of my interviews and visual analysis. In developing my research methodology to respond to the effects of cultural regeneration, I wanted to address how the varied narratives or lived lives were represented or under-represented in the visual language of the urban environment. Additionally the Promenades provided evidence in questioning whether there was an identifiable visual language driven through a symbolic representation of culture. Here I set out to examine how one visual representation might be favoured over another. Zukin stresses the importance of analysing the physical environment of cities in order to examine 'the twin value systems of the political and symbolic economy' (1996: 43). The Promenade was not intended to present a binary view of the environment, but to contrast two readings of the site.

The two Promenades were constructed through embedding myself in the field and additionally through the exhibition *Bankside-on-Call* (2010). I intentionally directed the exhibition towards the local community, as I was keen to build up an archive of narrative interviews, which I perceived to be largely under-represented in responding to the role of culture and regeneration at Bankside. During my invigilation of the exhibition, I discovered a tier of organisations with long-term connections to the community such as the Blackfriars Settlement (1961) and the Hopton Almshouses (1752), reflective of a history that is crucial to how the urban fabric has developed, premised on very different value systems from how the city is constructed today.

In terms of value systems being explicit in the urban fabric, I turned to Bourdieu's theory regarding the hegemony exercised by cultural institutions, in which he concluded that only the acculturated had the capacity to decode cultural works. In order to test Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital, which was further discussed by Harvey, I began to explore expansions of his ideology, tested through the Architectural Promenades. In terms of an expanded field of observations I argue that the tourist promenade is relevant to the citizen who can become a tourist in their own city, and construct a narrative through the linking of the urban elements. This expanded field of tourism can be viewed as the 'democratisation' of the tourist gaze. Arguably the tools to decode cultural objects are being expanded with a less orthodox repertoire of ways of reading and interpreting tourist sites. There is no longer a one-way relation where the viewer is expected to decode cultural works, instead a two-way relationship between object and viewer is evolving as evidenced in some of the public art works in the urban environment. In counterpoint the example of *Monument to an Unknown Artist,* I argue closes down enquiry. With reference to the Unilever Series, where the Promenade A terminated, the audience, in the majority of the installations becomes collectively part of the work. In order to expand on a new realm of experience, which is driven through an interpretation of self-reflexivity, the tourist

is enabled through the institution's attempt to push the spatial language of the TH.

The visual landscape of A is scattered with references to the commodification of the area. This in turn can be read as a manifestation of the interplay between the cultural capital and capital made through profiting on land sales, promoted through the site's cultural uniqueness, which Harvey describes as generating monopoly rents. I have presented evidence of the above; through the prescriptive nature of the commission*, Monument to an Unknown Artist,* (the brief was very specific about how this sculpture should function in the urban realm); the simplistic interpretation of culture in the '*tick box'* advertisement; and the slogan '*Move in next to Picasso',* to promote the Neo Bankside apartments; all of which demonstrate an economic interpretation of culture. I argue the act of appropriating culture to promote a dominant commodified landscape, will potentially deride the uniqueness of place, which the developers (Land Securities, Native Land and Grovsenor) use as a promotional tool when siting their developments within the cultural quarter.

Tate Modern strove for a democratising of visual culture as well as a move to dissolve the categorisations of high and low culture, this was evidenced in the attempt to integrate art works into the urban environment. Importantly the city, the locality and the heritage of Southwark are in part brought to the fore. This programming of cultural activity around the local narrative is, as argued by de Frantz (2004) crucial to the successful embedding of a cultural quarter, as well as creating a dialogue with the local community. Positively, Promenade A demonstrates how the infrastructure and the porosity of the railway arches, long seen as a barrier to permeation through the site, have begun to be integrated into the urban fabric. The railway arches have been improved as part of the urban infrastructure where permanent installations reflect the language of the urban environment. In Promenade B, I drew attention to the interstitial and historical

sites that are very much part of the public consciousness, such as *Crossbones Graveyard*, (a site of protest against Crossrail's proposal to build on this site), *Pickles Café* or *Terry's* - the latter pushes an agenda of inclusion, pricing a cup of tea at 60 pence (cost at 2013), to draw in a broad demographic. The architecture of the *Green Hut* was basic and lacked any shop-front signage, but the external shelf attracted customers to engage with the street life. I drew the conclusion that Promenade B was premised on the build-up of social capital, acted out in open green spaces, and the everyday sites such as the shopping parade on Great Suffolk Street, which were crucial to the interaction of the long-term residents.

My analysis of the marketing slogan: '*Move in next to Picasso'* to promote the Neo Bankside apartments illustrates the easily commodifiable application of culture. The example of the Unilever installation *Sunflowers* (2010-11) by Ai Weiwei illustrates, in turn, the potential ambiguity and contentious message of the artist's work and, by implication, the institution. The installation's intention was to demonstrate an alternative perspective to China's global supremacy in the mass production of low-cost items, by employing a Chinese workshop to craft the individual porcelain sunflower seeds. Ironically this was against the background of the Neo Bankside flats specifically marketed to Far Eastern investors, (who potentially directly profit from the cheap labour markets in China).

In addressing the formation of the cultural quarter, I broadened my analysis of Bankside to incorporate the recent history of the South Bank Centre and its relationship to its locality. During its first years of operation the Centre had a hermetic relationship to its community due to the restricted access to the building during the day. In terms of addressing the TM and the establishment of the cultural quarter the directors originally discussed a broad alliance of cultural associations with the South Bank. With reference to Cochrane's activities as the Community Officer, he expressed his doubt that the council could have developed a level of community involvement with the regeneration of the site on

such a micro scale, essential to the successful embedding of culture into the local. The institutions drove the direction and formation of the cultural quarter independently from the council but not without difficulties. In summary, although Tate formed a loose alliance with the other organisations forming the South Bank and the Bankside Cultural Quarter, this was primarily driven by funding opportunities i.e. Some Other Way Forward (SOWF). Fundamentally TM wanted a separate identity for Bankside, steering its own individual policy. Here I demonstrated the limited support from the council in intervening in the cultural landscape beyond infrastructural improvements, being partially handicapped through market forces, lack of council owned property on the site and a chequered history with regards to positioning culture as a key element of urban regeneration.

7.6 Situating the design

In Chapter Six I framed my analysis of the competition within the wider development of the evolution of the typology of the art gallery. Serota's interviews with artists, in which they were invited to express their architectural preference for exhibiting, brought to the fore the prioritising of industrial spaces. This I demonstrate as problematic as linked to a nostalgic reading of industrial buildings.

The TH and more specifically the Unilever Series were linked to critiques of spectacle due to the enormity of the reconfigured Turbine Hall as well as the scaling up of installations. I argue that the space, of immense proportions, at times leads to an anxiety on the part of the artists, pressurised to expand their practice literally to fill the volume at the expense of a potentially more critical artwork. In turn this argument about scaled up spaces framed within a continuation of Debord's concept of spectacle, highlights the inability to critically apply a historical perspective to contemporary art. This is evidenced through the

media, eager to promote each unveiling of the Unilever Series, as innovative and spectacular, which I discussed in Chapter Six. I framed my research, which questioned the transformative power of the TH, in relation to debates on spectacle, in order to illuminate on the connection between spectacle and citizenship. I argue that to encourage a freethinking active citizen, different forms of engagement and experiences within the city need to be fostered.

Meyer (2004) criticises the over-proliferation of scaled-up installations and draws on a critical distinction between scale and size. The Unilever Series has been discussed and openly critiqued as putting pressure on international galleries to compete to provide awe-inducing spectacles.

In discussing the concept of spectacle, my analysis relates to the interconnected position of the institution, architecture of the TH and the behaviour of the spectator. A lot of the criticism of spectacle in the TH is confused with the old term of restaging an event. Debord describes his interpretation of spectacle as residing in an abstract notion of representations and ideology. In response, I argue that the relevance of the TH is that the institution encourages the Unilever artists to question the gallery's role by providing a site to experiment with new forms of critical engagement. I referred to Held's definition of the global or cosmopolitan citizen (2001) as likely to involve a growing mediating role that encompasses dialogue with tradition (here, art practices) and discourse (cultural), with the aim of expanding the horizon of one's own framework of meaning and prejudice.

Some critics, as I discussed, dismiss all the installations as over-scaled which therefore merely dwarf the spectator, this lacks a more nuanced appreciation of the series and its potential to reframe our relationship to contemporary display. TM curator Frances Morgan stressed the open-ended agenda of the institution, stating that the TH is 'a bland and neutral space – its art projects should be

thought of in relation to the institution, which is part of the city' (2007 accessed on-line).

TM directors, in line with other public art galleries are questioning the relevance of the gallery in relation to society and this extends to issues surrounding citizenship. Museums are increasingly viewed as social condensers, sites that focus cultural and social activities, which do not merely expand the remit of traditional ways of viewing art but as sites where social rituals can be redefined. In relation to this reconceptualising of the gallery, I questioned the traditional museum/spectator relationship, alongside issues of identity interacting with curatorial concepts. Here the gallery's intention of extending the debate surrounding citizenship (citizenship here refers to issues of identity and not of nationalism) is relevant. Therefore crucially if the Turbine Hall is perceived of as a public space in the city, it has the potential to appeal to those not specifically in pursuit of a cultural experience, thereby providing the opportunity for the visitor and wider public to converge. This in turn means that both are confronted with the 'other' and it is crucially the omission of the 'other' that creates an artificial idea of 'self' as a complete identity.

I have demonstrated that principally long-term residents have different points of reference in relation to the local geography of Bankside and the public spaces frequented are those of the parks, pavements and places that make-up the everyday rhythms of life. Arguably, the mediation of commercial enterprises such as the concentration of business and leisure activities through the association with TM has restructured the perimeter area as a site of commodification. Here I have presented the ambiguous nature of the site, but nevertheless it is a significant site. Importantly, it fosters a reinterpretation of the institutional structure, offering a multiplicity of experiences, thereby providing a rereading of the space at each unveiling of the Unilever Series. The object and foreground are thus constantly reconfigured, set against the template for public intervention.

Koolhaas refers to an architecture that enables a spatial condition which opens up the potential for encounters as an 'event-field' (Dovey & Dickson, 2002). The Unilever Series (2000-2012) could be described as a continuous programme of changing scenery; the temporal nature of the installations mean that the space takes on different spatial conditions in response to each installation. The ability of the space to act as a cultural signifier in London's cultural stage affords the site a degree of importance in the make-up of the city's cultural capital.

The drive to search for a new architectural expression by HdM that responded to the context of Bankside, but also to promote active relations between the viewer and architecture is summed up as follows, 'Attention to perception and interpretation is tested by the architects in their exploration of the relationship between the viewers and objects through material, scale and representation which created a new search for an aesthetic language' (Usprung 2003: 14). HdM claimed that their scheme was principally about engaging with the materiality of the building and thereby perception. This creates a sense of freedom on the part of the user to experience and question the structure without the imposition of an overriding architectural language. This neutral position permits reflexive interpretation, as well as ownership on the part of the user.

My observation of the field through time-lapse photography during the *Shibboleth* installation (2007) drew attention to the need for reference points to lead visitors through the site and signs to direct movement. The sequential photographs, demonstrate the performativity of visitors, as well as the seeking out of visual cues to lead movement through the space. The spatial field of the TH can be described as a temporal condition, with the building becoming animated through the different forms of behaviour. Therefore, my research methods aimed to describe the potential of the building, not solely through its physical form, but as a field of occupancy, as it restructures social space. This, combined with the programmatic innovation through the Unilever Series, the conceptual framing of

the building on the part of the architects, leads to a re-imagining of the space, but also to a mediation between culture, art and behaviour that creates a multi-layered public platform.

In the following section I expanded my methodology standpoint to incorporate the now popular field of data mining to respond to my question as to whether the TH has created a new form of perception and representation of public space.

7.7 Future of Data Mining in research

In terms of where this field of exploration could be expanded in the future, data mining has of yet not been fully explored in research fields. Davies argues that although it is common knowledge in the technical community, it is less well known among those involved in the 'wider business community, public policy and the social sciences' (Davies, NESTA project on line accessed 5/2/14). To systematically mine information the API (application programming interface) provides instructions that allow users to write programmes and allows the collection of platform data, which can be used for research. My use of Flickr was principally to classify the images through their content; the location was clear therefore 'geo tagging' data was not relevant. In discussing the potential of Flickr to expand areas for research, the visual theorist, Gillian Rose explained her use of Flickr as a form of classification of shared images within a research project; a form of communal archiving (e-mail discussion with Rose, 12/06/13). In contrast, my usage of Flickr has been instrumental in seeking a wider source of data, which is visual and drew attention to where I was situating the public, in relation to the expanded relationship between Flickr, the site and the act of photographing.

7.8 Forms of representation: The Turbine Hall and Flickr, a space for social transformation.

My focus on the TH examined the potential of the space to be read as a 'spatial contingency', permitting continuous permutations (as represented through the Flickr images and the 'Flashmob' for example). This I argue has led to creating a new paradigm of how public space is acted out through the machinations of the art institute. This paradigm was enabled through the open-programmed activities on the site, which in turn are able to restructure social space to push the site beyond the conceptual boundaries of the art gallery. By dissecting the relation between the experience of viewing art, culture, city, and public space my thesis demonstrates the ambitions of the institution. The TH is a significant space in relation to the smaller acclimatised galleries within TM, and additionally one that operates independently within the wider imagination of the city.

Here cultural regeneration has contributed positively and drawn into focus conventional architectural typologies by creating a space that operates as a platform for social encounters and avoids the iconic architecture of many contemporary galleries.

I sought to expand on my research method by introducing Flickr. Using the images collated from Flickr, I created a form of classification; play, scale and behaviour which I observed as dominant themes in the photos. This provided another layer of enquiry, which I used to question the interplay of public activity within the city and the gallery. It also permitted a wider interpretation of the TH and a chance to examine its global relevance as mediated through social media. The Flickr images provided visual investigations into the overlap of social processes and spatial forms. In Chapter Six, Section B, I framed my focus on 'observing the TH through Flickr' by asking where I was placing the public in relation to the activity posted on Flickr and the TH. I conclude that I situated the

public in a platform of interconnectedness, where the Flickr tag pool demonstrated a public space framed onto the TH. In addition the images showed representations of the TH and the cultural codes acted out. Lastly the act of photographing is a public action, permissible in public. My use of Flickr allowed me to use data that contained different interpretations of the site. The photographs, which are reinterpretations of the curators' original intentions, demonstrate a sense of empowerment enacted through the reproduction and reinterpretation of the installations. I conclude that the photographs become evidence of social importance; awareness of the space is spread through social media. The Flickr users experienced the site as both receivers and transmitters, which is a creative activity rather than one of passive consumption. The two-way interaction with the institutional structure allows an interpretation beyond the formal gallery discourse as demonstrated by the accompanying dialogue posted alongside the Flickr images. This form of interactive behaviour and cultural activism is presented as a positive action described by Best & Kellner as 'vernacular creativity' (2007), which permits genuine interaction with the content. The Flickr community, which is located both on-line and off-line, raised the issue of what are the implications of a globally recognised space when mediated through an art institution, which is bound up with issues of publicness (Dean et al, 2010).

I situated my critique of the TH within the concept of Debord's spectacle, in order to demonstrate the relevance of Tate Modern, which oscillates between competing with the mega spectacles offered by the capital as well as responding to debates surrounding its role to expand concepts of citizenship. Central to Debord's argument was that spectacle disengaged participants and encouraged passivity. Arguably Flickr provides a relatively new stage of cultural activity as well as provoking reflections that foster individual narratives; we observe the space in a different way through the Flickr image taken by a Chinese tourist or London visitor. I argue that the Flickr images of how visitors reacted to Olafur

Eliasson's *Weather Project* in the TH were more creative than those of the institution's official photographs. This demonstrates the existence of a live, organically evolving narrative outside of the official museum structure.

I conclude that a transgression of spatial occupancy is enacted within the TH, embodied by activities such as the group demonstration mapping out *Bush Go Home* (posted on Flickr) during Oliasson's installation or the 'Flashmob' demonstration; these are self-reflexive activities led by an awareness that the site is under the focus of the media. Similar to the demonstration outside St Paul's Cathedral the images and number of uploads signifies the relevance of the TH as a key site in London.

Debord's analysis of society, dulled by commodity reification is pertinent to my analysis, in claiming that the TH offers possibilities for counter activities. Here I have proposed that TM has sought to engender a site that breaks from the normalised codes of the art gallery, and attempts to merge art practices with everyday life.

In drawing attention to the potential of Flickr in augmenting the curatorial input, Stack, Head of Digital at Tate, contributed that by creating their own API with Flickr, this enabled Tate to learn more about its user as well as create a large online public platform. This engaged visitors in content creation, beyond the physical gallery visit. The content analysis of Flickr and my own form of classification could be taken forward and applied to a greater understanding of personal interpretation or in the case of Flickr self-authoring of space. The old form of the question/answer interview to poll how visitors use space can be very much driven by the interviewer. Where the visual is paramount in a visit to a gallery, it seems even more relevant to use this form of data collection to analyse the space.

I conclude that the TH can be read as a heterotopic site (Foucault, 1967), one of illusion, this is enacted through the temporal nature of the Unilever Series, applying different narratives of place. The installations are debated on Flickr and then logged as memories. However the spaces of collective memories (as researched through my interviews with long-term residents) are parks, gardens, and the high street, where the micro-politics of the city are acted out. Equally, as a 'publicly accessible' space, the right to occupy the TH is diminished, (the site is limited due to the obligations of the institution for private use and not open 24 hours a day), providing a semblance of liberty in relation to the city.

Despite its limitation as a field for micro-politics to be enacted, public interaction within the space signifies a break-up of architectural imperatives of behavioural codes and reverence normally associated with the public art gallery. Therefore, there is a suggestion that social freedoms are encouraged. This is a delicate balance as the more overt a place is in advocating fun or play, the potential for interpretation can be limited, which the installation Test Site (2006) was criticised for.

In asking whether the TH is actually a site that engages with the community, to encourage layers of expanded publics, I would argue that the collective activities of Tate have provided a platform for a micro-politics of engagement through the external community activities. This in turn has played a part in galvanising the community around issues such as improved shared facilities. In relation to the TH, the older residents I interviewed, although proud of living adjacent to TM, did not view the building as accessible public space. Instead they spoke of benefiting from the urban infrastuctural improvements such the opening of the access to the river.

In responding to the question raised in my introduction, as to whether the photographs allowed some sort of agency either to affirm my argument or to

exceed it, I would argue that my classification of Flickr images has provided a platform of observations that I could not have achieved through my own fieldwork. The images are creatively constructed interpretations of the site, thus afford a strong visual interpretation of the environment. The three categories that I chose are important in expanding my argument; scale, drew attention to the possibilities of dwarfing the individual as part of the debate about the relevance of mega structures or inflating objects. Play, is essential to society and permits a level of engagement on a visceral level akin to the child. Lastly, behaviour is key to how we interact in the city and abide by explicit and implicit codes. All these three categories describe our interaction with society.

Through my visual methodology, I demonstrated that the mediating authority of TM, has created a social field of enactment or encounter; of reflexive interpretation. The Flickr images exposed uninhibited interaction played out against a temporary narrative of place. During the Unilever Series, the site was engaged with as a public site, but removed from every day public sites, such as the square or street. It thus created a public space that was promoted through the 'mediating authority' of the gallery.

The apparatus of the institution, its curatorial programme, its exploration of generating new possibilities for artists to respond to the institutional goals, all contribute to a dynamic spatial field of activities. This possibility of imagined experience of what the city might behold is key to expanding our way of entitlement to the city. TM directors questioned its position from within. This has led to an increased programme of diversity, as well as the consideration of different levels of experience. At the root is the belief and empowerment of input on the part of the spectator, highlighted in the Flickr images resulting from actively engaging with the environment. This can be described as a form of self-reflexivity, a transferal of responsibility onto the spectator to interpret and engage with the art works, therefore posing a challenge.

I have demonstrated the importance of social and cultural debates, over purely economic arguments in assessing the cultural regeneration effect of TM. This draws to the fore the reading of audiences and the differentiations of publics. I have drawn these together through the focus of TM in order to challenge dominant narratives centered on the instrumental nature of cultural regeneration. I have illustrated that in addressing multiple publics, this valuation reflects the complexity of the cultural experience and its effects. Instrumental assessment, which favours economic outputs is normally confined to the eternal context. Here my analysis encompassed a dissection of the architecture, the construct of how the social is enabled and the elements that contribute to the structuring of the institution. I argued that in successfully bringing these elements together they all contributed to the ability of the gallery to filter into the urban environment. The intersection of these elements (architecture, social agenda, and curatorial programme) creates a new syntactic language not governed by the processes of conventional institutions.

In democratic societies, the capacity for public expression, whether cultural or political, is crucial to the existence, development and expansion of public space, for shared activities, appropriation and interpretation. In setting up new possibilities for behaviour, TM is allowing the previous definition of public to be readdressed. Habermas (1989) argues that the public sphere is in decline due to the increasing ability of states and corporations to manipulate information. But I argue bringing the public into the arena of the gallery and designating it a public space, is a radical move, which potentially challenges the authority of the gallery. I also illustrated how this move towards openness was compromised through the influence of private sponsors, advertising and at times contradictory reading of the installations. Nevertheless the public nature of the Turbine Hall has centred on the institution's imagination of public space and its potential. Saying that it is imaginary does not negate that it exists in the physical. It is about an ordering in

our society, defined by openness, accessibility and visibility (Gabrielsson 2009). Eliasson's *Weather Project* makes us conscious of seeing and therefore conscious of ourselves; of how we perceive. The act of looking is a critical one, centering on the individual against the collective experience, and questioning the role of the individual in relation to the collective.

Farquharson states that we are witnessing the transformative potential of public institutions, which are becoming more political, as well as providing a compensatory public space, 'a forum of possibility' (Farquharson 2006).
In my analysis of Tate Modern and the centrality of the Turbine Hall, I do not advocate that the success of Tate Modern can be easily emulated, central to the essence of the project is its location and its ability to unlock this previously deprived part of London.

What I have demonstrated is the importance of presenting a multi-dimensional perspective on cultural regeneration; one that expands on normative literature (such as policy analysis) but crucially balanced against literature that draws on culture, sociology and urban studies. Additionally my analysis of Flickr images enabled me to create an original discourse on expanded audiences.

Tate Modern, an institutionally led regeneration project, has thrown up a new model of public space, which is constantly negotiated; the TH can be read as event space, as illusion and as a critical secular site.

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Appendix 1 TATE MODERN COMPETITION

150 architects took part in the Tate's architectural competition. Thirteen firms were short-listed and invited to prepare schemes and six were asked to develop these further.

Long Shortlist:
Alsop & Stormer
Arata Isozaki & Associates
Future Systems
Michael Hopkins & Partners
Nicholas Grimshaw & Partners
Rick Mather Architects
Rolfe Judd/Claudio Silvestrin

Here I will describe the 6 short-listed schemes and the response from the jury and assessors.

Finalists:
David Chipperfield Architects
Herzog & de Meuron
OMA with Richard Gluckman
Renzo Piano Building Workshop
Rafael Moneo
Tado Ando & Partners

Members present on the workshop jury:
Nicholas Serota (Director)
Ricky Burdett (Assessor/Advisor)
Peter Wilson (Head of Buildings and Gallery Services Advisor to the Assessors)
Sandy Nairne (Advisor, Director of Public and Regional Services)
Jeremy Lewison (Advisor, Deputy Keeper, Modern Collection)
Ron German (Project Manager, Stanhope Properties plc, Advisor to the Assessors)
Victoria Walsh (Architecture Competition Office)
Fred Manson (LBS) (present at Chipperfield's workshop)

David Chipperfield Architects

Chipperfield's concern was to reintegrate not only the building but also its surrounding spaces, both into the local community and into the larger city. The reorganisation of the central element of the building permitted the architect to establish a clear relationship between the museum and the open spaces on the

north, the river and the City of London. While considering this façade as the main approach they also proposed an entrance from the south, both of these approaches enter into the central lobby of the building. The demolition of the surrounding low-level buildings meant that the building would sit clearly as an object and approached from all sides. The construction of ramps and terraces along the north edge confirmed the entrance to the building and formed a series of spaces in front of the museum but also anticipated the possible pedestrian bridge link with St Paul's Cathedral.

'Our concern is to reintegrate not only the building but also its surrounding space both into the local community and into the larger city. The reorganisation of the central element of the building allows us to establish a clear relationship between the museum and the open spaces north side and the river and the City of London. While considering this main façade and approach we have also proposed an entrance form the south both of these approaches enter into the central lobby of the building'.

The key concept was to create a museum 'building within a building'; to construct a series of buildings within the existing building envelope. Therefore treating the existing structure 'as an umbrella' to form a series of objects containing the galleries and spaces. Which give the visitor a sense of orientation by understanding the relationship between the existing building, the gallery blocks and the large organisation spaces. It was proposed to remove the existing chimney and create a new low tower at the centre of the plan constructed in brickwork of a contrasting texture and colour; the new buildings would be constructed in concrete.

Chipperfield explained the removal of the chimney while he acknowledged the physical presence of it; he stated that its role as a marker must be challenged by the potential given to the building by its removal. 'It is clear that by its removal a new relationship can be discovered between the inside of the building and the outside, between the building and the river and most spectacularly by offering a window to St Paul's'.
Manson (LBS) discussed the relationship between Bankside and Southwark, as the local authority Southwark was eager that the building has an impact on the south side of Bankside. The possibility of creating a south entrance had been discussed with London Electric about moving the Switch station.

In relation to Chipperfield's project, which proposed a car park between Tate and the river, Manson stated the potential plans of LBS focused on a bias towards making Bankside a more pedestrian area. Serota although concerned about the removal of the chimney stated that 'one of the attractive aspects of scheme is that it allows tension between old and new to be explicit. [There is] no sense of facadism or pretending to be something that it is not' (TG12/7/4/3).

Herzog & de Meuron

H&dM introduced their project with an emphasis on the Turbine Hall in their submission statement; ‘Entering through the south entrance’s light gate, you come across the Switch House and find yourself inside one of London’s most powerful new public spaces, the Turbine Hall’ (TG 12/4/7/7/2).

‘Approaching east and west you have direct access to the Turbine Hall. A large ramp leads down to the lowest level of the whole building complex. Here the spatial power of the Hall, its industrial appearance having been left untouched, can be experienced as its apex. You seem to have reached the building’s centre of gravity and it is only natural that you begin your visit from here. You could take the escalator moving a few metres into the Turbine Hall and land squarely in front of Rachel Whiteread's *House* (an Artangel project of a casting of the interior space of a east end house) or Dan Graham’s *Cinema.* Did that inspire you to see more contemporary art or had you always wanted to see Rothko paintings in their new space here at Bankside?’ (TG 12/4/7/7/2).

The central light beam placed on top of the building was one of the key elements of the scheme. H&dM’s scheme showed that the building was accessible on all axes. In section the Turbine Hall was annotated in yellow, the same colour as the other circulation spaces whilst the galleries are in museum grey. The architects’ key perspective drawing shows the interconnecting levels to the Turbine Hall with the bridge linking north to south and the scaled down image of *House* with its proportions mirroring those of Whiteread’s *Ghost* installation*,* it is scaled down so as not to block off the inclusion of the bridge.
The spaces between the suites would be used for art installations and/or public use. The architects described this mixture of possibilities as creating a kind of spatial ‘normality’ that some artists prefer to regular exhibition spaces.
The architects presented a new square to the north of the building.
‘The building now turns its face toward the city, inspiring it and becoming a lively part of it. The former oil-tanks rose from the ground and were turned into pavilions’. H&dM (TG12/4/7/7/1).

OMA with Richard Gluckman

OMA proposed an alternation of relatively enclosed classical museum spaces; Blocks 1, 11, 111 and intermediate, less determined event spaces so that the building would ‘become a sandwich of the familiar and the unfamiliar’ Koolhaas (TG 12/7/4/4/).
The event spaces are differentiated through their height, the presence or absence of their structure, their relative position.

The architectural experience of the building would alternate between the relative serenity of the introverted museum space in the three Blocks with the variety of

openness of the event space. Koolhaas suggested designating different architects to define the architecture of the Blocks to reinforce the differentiation. In addition he proposed a sense of tension between the Blocks describing the interconnections as 'the joints between these domains as articulated as moments of architectural intensity' Koolhaas (TG 12/7/4/4/).
Summarising the buildings contextual approach Koolhaas describes the scheme's relationship to Bankside: 'In the primal soup we have designate a number of derives that will thread systematically though the entrance hall Along the route there will be a number signs and the council flats could be painted a museum grey of the two Jubilee construction sites and an adjoining railway site on top of the viaducts might host Tate or at least culture related programmes temporary or definitive' (TG 12/7/4/4/).

The assessors were concerned that the dominant experience of the building would be circulation, 'every suite is dominated by circulation', Serota, adding [there is a] 'serious limitation to how a visitor can experience art, each suite is sealed off from the next. For an experienced visitor it is a seriously limiting experience'.

Renzo Piano Building Workshop

Piano's scheme focused on centring the scheme on the Turbine Hall and using it as a principal access from south to west. The design consisted of two entrances to the museum, which lead to a central reception area. The south gate would be viewed as the most important access point with an estimation that 70 – 80 % of visitors would enter from the south. A Piazza was created at the south gate. The principal behind the design was to make the building an environment to cross through without necessarily visiting. Concerns by the assessors were directed at the entrance and circulation as being undersized for the number of visitors expected. Also concerns were expressed regarding the main eating and shopping areas, which were isolated from the galleries; although separation also had benefits in terms of later opening hours for these facilities. The assessors viewed the value of the project as creating not a 'village museum' but a 'city museum' (TG 12/7/4/3). Concern was expressed over the budget if the main roof was entirely replaced and a pavilion constructed.

A bridge through the museum was proposed as well as a jetty of 'a simple design'. Piano suggested that the north gate entrance should begin on opposite side of the river.

Fred Manson, (LBS) suggested that the scheme introduced an ambiguity between public and private space, which would help integrate the gallery into local environment. Manson added that in response to the scheme 'what LBS are looking to do is to, when Tate come in to area, to redevelop Bankside with better materials and raise the quality of whole area'.

Rafael Moneo

Moneo's scheme envisaged five self-contained suites which the visitor can either go round or return to the corridor for a break and enter the next suite. Central to the proposal was the attention afforded to the north embankment into which Moneo introduced a series of terraces with a restaurant. The scheme enhanced the visibility of visitors moving horizontally and vertically, as each suite would be split into two levels. The assessors were concerned that in dividing the suites too rigidly, this would create a sense of autonomy within each suite, which was viewed as undesirable. It was envisaged that visitors would be able to move laterally through the whole building.

The assessors were positive in what they termed 'the capture of all the building in phase one of the project which demonstrated real commitment to the building so that visitors did not seem to be visiting half a house' (TG 12/4/7/7). Although the assessors were concerned with the project's lack of addressing the nature of finishes used in the generous public spaces and that this potential level of finish would consume too much of the available budget.

The assessors proposed that access from the south/south west should be explored further in relation to the attention given to the north of the site. 'The space to the south of the building is of equal importance to the north' commented R. Wilson.

The circulation spaces revolved around two axes at two different levels. The nature of intersection was questioned as to whether it could handle what was then predicted as 2m visitors a year. The scheme presented a strong formal design addressing the needs of a contemporary gallery space but Serota's concern was that the project would not address the question he posed himself, 'What am I doing with a museum?' Moneo was clear that his scheme would not retain any of the industrial character of the building therefore if the jury wanted to maintain a degree of the building's industrial nature then Moneo's approach would not be appropriate.

Interestingly the scheme was compared to that of Herzog & de Meuron and Renzo Piano's in terms of the atmosphere in the Turbine Hall.
Serota sums this up 'If you enter Herzog's and Piano's Turbine Hall you'll expect to keep your coat on. With Moneo and no heating, but highly finished surfaces you will expect it to be warmer'.

Tado Ando

Ando designed a dramatic scheme that altered the external frame of the building introducing bold interventions into the existing building. Glass shafts made

incisions through the existing building. The south side was addressed with a Southwark circle and Square. A floating gallery and café was situated on a jetty in the Thames River as well as the intervention of a Riverside Square.

Problematic to the scheme was the introduction of the glazed interventions, which would cut through the LEB Switch Room posing logistical construction problems. It was discussed that at a later stage the Switch Room might be repositioned to the east of the site (at the point of the competition the Switch Room was on the south-west end of the Turbine Hall).

Concerns were expressed over the financing of Ando's scheme due to the high cost of the glazed elements and the detailing between the existing structure and the proposed interventions.

Appendix 2


BANK
SIDE
-ON-
CALL
DATE: 23 June 2010 – 4 July 2010,
opening times Wed-Sun 12 - 6.30 pm.
VENUE: 7 Chancel Street, SE1 OUX, London.
EXHIBITION LATE: Friday 2 July 2010
6.30 pm – 9.00 pm
The artist Bruce Gilbert will perform a sonic collage for the evening event.
This will be part of the Friday Late on the Southbank, London Festival of Architecture activities.
The pop-up exhibition, Bankside-on-Call will offer a unique insight into the gritty underbelly of Bankside.
A newly commissioned work by the sound artist Bruce Gilbert, titled Time Interior will respond to the urban context. The sonic collage will be played alongside recordings of tales of growing up in the area by residents and small business owners, acoustically documenting the processes of change rapidly being experienced in the area.
An on-site Vox Pop will provide the chance for visitors to drop by and leave their recordings of memories, experiences or desires for the future of the area, take home a souvenir and drink tea in the pop-up parlour. The project will become a form of social investigation facilitating the opportunity to add to the archive of memories, thoughts, and prophecies about the area, it's past and future.
The exhibition space will be decked out with unique souvenirs, which take their cue from the quieter unsung elements of Bankside.
Curated by Corinna Dean
Souvenirs by Charlene Mullen, Anna Mojab. Graphics by Ben McQueen.
ARTS COUNCIL ENGLAND
LOTTERY FUNDED
Better
Bankside

BANKSIDE-ON-CALL CONTENT AND EXHIBITION TEXT.

AUDIO STATION 1 PLACE/MEMORIES/ A PLACE CALLED BANKSIDE

Play time: 14 mins 10 secs
CD player, one set of headphones,
3 x interviews
Local café owner on Great Suffolk Street
Long-term resident living in pre-fabricated housing in Bankside, due to be demolished.
Resident of Falcon Point adjacent to Tate Modern on River front

AUDIO STATION 2 SPACE AND PLANNING

Play time: 18 mins 27 secs
CD player one set of headphones,
2 x interviews
Member of Bankside Resident's Association
The Architect on Bankside

AUDIO STATION 3 *REGENERIFICATION* – LOCAL RESIDENT'S DESCRIPTION OF GENTRIFICATION/REGENERATION

Play time: 15 mins 8 secs
CD player one set of headphones,
2 x interviews
Resident of Queen's Building, SE1,
demolished in 1960 as part of the London Borough of Southwark's ideology of demolition or 'prior demolition', which put faith in the strength of modernity. Residents were mainly re-housed in the Heygate Estate, Elephant & Castle due to be demolished imminently
Town Planner

AUDIO STATION 4 HOME/PLACE/SPACE

Play time: 15 mins 15 secs
CD player one set of headphones,
3 x interviews
Long-term resident of North Southwark and Borough Market Trustee.
Long-term resident of North Southwark/Resident of Falcon Point.
Bankside-on-Call (exhibition text)
The exhibition aims to provide a platform to investigate how regeneration in Bankside is affecting long and short-term residents and businesses. The installations explore the everyday narratives that often go unrecorded against the more dominant players that are influencing the physical environment, which is

changing at an accelerated pace. Bankside-on-Call consists of a sound installation by the artist Bruce Gilbert, *Time Interior* interprets local sounds providing a context for the individual audio stations playing out interviews of local narratives recounting residents' experiences and memories of growing up in Bankside and as well as comments on the accelerated pace of urbanism.

The exhibition acts as a hybrid of gallery, tearoom, consultation space and living room. The tea parlour houses a recording booth to create a live sound archive where visitors are invited to add to the oral history archive by leaving their comments, wishes, desires or memories about Bankside. The interviews tell a quieter narrative, a counterpoint to the physical expression of change. The project will become a form of social investigation facilitating the opportunity to add to the archive of memories, thoughts, and prophesies about the area, it's past and future through the on-site Vox Pop.

The designer Charlene Mullen has responded to the details of the locality by reinterpreting an eighteenth century banqueting tablecloth and incorporating details from Terry's Cafe on Great Southwark Street which celebrates great traditional British food. The alternative souvenirs take their cue from the surrounding context. Mullen's *Teacloths*, portray an illustrative version of the changing skyline around Bankside; Waste *Paper* sculptures are casts of bottles washed up on the Thames shore at the foot of Tate Modern and the china range titled *Fragile* are made up of found pieces of crockery collected at low tide, pieced together to make fragile containers.

The accelerating pace of developments around the perimeter of Tate Modern counter the quieter areas to the south of Southwark Road. To explore these polarities of place, Gilbert has produced *Time Interior* (2010) a sonic collage that responds to the everyday space of Bankside, acoustically mapping the area from the Thames to the railway viaducts.

Gilbert, "My aim is to combine these voices and sounds to form not just a documentary backdrop but also a sonic collage. The material emanates from the past, present and possible future(s). The work aims to create from these elements a "timeless zone" where, though site specific, some kind of universal urban truth will leak into the consciousness of the visitor**".**
Bankside, previously named North Southwark was labelled with all types of negative terms such as London's underbelly, a den of iniquities; the area acted as a counter point to London's more reputable North side of the river. Escaping the city's jurisdiction meant that prostitution, gambling and bearbaiting to name a few vices were rife. In the latter part of the nineteenth century the railway viaducts were built to create better connections in the city. Some say they created more damage than Second World War bombing, cutting up previously tight knit communities. The arches, without a doubt create a strong dominant feature in the urban landscape, majestic in their structure, they have housed the 'oil' trades, taxi repair ranks, cafes, as well as set designers and paper

merchants, a throw off from the past. The railway viaducts have for some cocooned this area, for others created a barrier that prevents flow through the city. Bankside-on-Call is a small intervention, a pause amongst the cranes.
Curated by Corinna Dean
Tablecloth by Charlene Mullen www.charlenemullen.co.uk
DVD *Corridors* by Filip Filij, Katie Bates, Corinna Dean and Fabian.
Souvenir list:
Tea cloths by Charlene Mullen.
Paper sculptures of bottles found on the Thames.
Fragile collection made of collected crockery from the Bankside area of the Thames by **Corinna Dean.**



LOTTERY FUNDED

Appendix 3

Interview list
This list of interviewees was selected to reflect issues that relate to both the social, political and economic background that shaped the regeneration at Bankside.

George **Cochrane,** former Bankside Development Officer appointed by Tate in 1995–2000.
Jeremy **Fraser,** Leader of Southwark Council, 1993- 97.
Adrian **Hardwicke,** Head of Visitor Services (present).
Fred **Manson,** Director of Regeneration and the Environment, London Borough of Southwark, appointed 1994.
Camilla **McGibbon,** Tate Modern Council appointed 2006, Bankside Residents Forum (Bankside Business Partnership, chair of Borough Market).
Anne **Redford,** Chair of Bankside Residents Forum.
Anna **Whyatt,** Chief Executive Southwark Council (1984–1995) Director of Era consultancy.

Verena **McCaig,** Bankside Open Space Trust.
Peter **Wilson,** Building Project director of Tate Modern, (now at RSC).
Peter **Williams,** Chief Executive Better Bankside

Additional interviews carried out with local residents as part of the Memory Garden Project run by Bankside Open Space Trust[52].
John **Bowman** Trustee of Borough Market and of Coin Street Community Builders. local resident, SE1.
David **Rogers,** Resident of Peabody Housing estate adjacent to Tate Modern.
Elsie **Wyse** resident of Sumner Estates, SE1.
Mrs Coots resident of Redcross Garden Cottages, SE1.
Door-to-door interviews carried out to enquire about residents' perspectives on green space and leisure spaces used in the area (carried out the Sumner Estate & Brookwood House).
Jess **Snellman**, Resident of Pre-fab, King James's Street, Bankside.

The Physical
The following interviewees contributed to how the environment at Bankside was physically shaped or commented on through their contribution to the institute, Tate Modern on the programming of the Turbine Hall.

Achim **Bochardt-Hume** Curator Modern & Contemporary
Harry **Gugger** Project architect Herzog & de Meuron
Lars **Nittve** Director of Tate Modern 1998- 2001
Deyan **Sudjic** Director of the Design Museum

[52] Memory Garden Project was run by Bankside Open Space Trust (BOST).
In 1996 BOST was established to combat the problems of many of south London parks and open space such as litter, fouling, sleeping rough, drug use and illegal fires. They became significant problems when the area underwent intense regeneration and redevelopment of the open spaces. BOST's aims were to foster a sense of community through the protection and development of local green spaces.

BOST has become a vehicle for the Bankside community to act as a client and affect the quality of local green space and encourages high aspirations. The board of trustees are taken from the resident and business communities as well as a panel of expert advisors.

With each new project a steering group is set up, which becomes the forum for decision-making. BOST also act as the community client when the LBS lead projects. Typically consultation identifies people's needs and these are written into a design brief. BOST staff work with the steering group responsible for each project to manage and compile the brief. BOST remains involved in all its paces, organising activities and events and contributing to maintaining their condition and sense of security. Red Cross Garden's was the first to be agreed to be maintained fully by BOST, under a lease from the council. To look after the garden BOST bought some services form the council and run a gardening club from the site.

The BOST model of trust aims to provide effective feed back to the council through an established channel proven to effect change. The intentions of BOST are to be effective in taking on a number of spaces and develop a clear design management strategy.

The Memory Garden project was funded by the Heritage lottery Fund to record the histories of local residents growing up in Bankside and their experience of open spaces.

Stephen **Witherford,** Witherford Watson Mann, Architects of Urban Forest, Bankside.
Philip **Gumuchdjian**, co-architect of Hopton Street Tower

Appendix 4 Time-lapse images taken from Smith's Funeral Parlour on Great Suffolk Street.


POST