Making Space, Making History: Cultural Work, Heritage and the Production of Space at Southbank Centre

A Thesis Presented for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Kathy Rose Williams
M.A. (King's College London)
B.A. (University of Sussex)

City, University of London
Centre for Culture and Creative Industries
Department of Sociology

November 2018

Thesis Contents

List of Images

Introduction

Chapter 1. Contextual Histories

[1] https://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/about
[2] http://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/
[3] https://www.flickr.com/photos/31363949@N02/11338105144
[4] http://www.studiointernational.com/index.php/the-egg-in-a-box
[5] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Festival_of_Britain#/media/File:In16695.jpg
[6] Photo by Kathy Williams
[7] Photo by Kathy Williams
[8] Photo by Kathy Williams
[9] Photo by Kathy Williams
[10] https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Thomas_Wyke-_Thames_frost_fair.JPG
[11] Photo by Kathy Williams
[12] Photo by Kathy Williams

Chapter 4. A Democratic Site? Changing meanings of spatial access at Southbank Centre

[13] Photo by Kathy Williams
[14] https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:South_London_(1912)_(14777631321).jpg
[15] https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/jane-bown
[16] Photos by Kathy Williams
[17] Photo by Kathy Williams
[18] Photo by Kathy Williams
[19] Photos by Kathy Williams
[20] Photo by Kathy Williams
[21] Photo by Kathy Williams
[22] Photo by Kathy Williams
[23] Photo by Kathy Williams
[24] Photo by Kathy Williams
[25] Photo by Kathy Williams
[26] Photo by Kathy Williams
[27] Photo by Kathy Williams
[28] Photo by Kathy Williams
[29] Photo by Kathy Williams
[30] Photo by Kathy Williams

Chapter 5. Negotiating and Mobilising Southbank Centre's Heritage: Jude Kelly's Festival Methodology (2011-2018)

Chapter 6. Collaborative Cultural Workers, the Co-Production of Visitor Experience and the Embodiment of Cultural Work

[31] https://historicengland.org.uk/get-involved/protect/save-the-sunbathers/ Image credit PA Images
[32] Photo by Kathy Williams
[33] Photos by Kathy Williams
[34] Photo by Kathy Williams
[35] Photo by Kathy Williams
[36] Photo by Kathy Williams
[37] Photo by Kathy Williams
[38] Photo by Kathy Williams
[39] Photo by Kathy Williams
[40] Photo by Kathy Williams
[41] Photo by Kathy Williams
[42] Photos by Kathy Williams
[43] https://docs.google.com/presentation/d/1qsA2dMLpjr_8cGJ0JexS73ZjCFs727sU87AklUHJrw/pub?start=false&loop=false&delayms=3000&slide=id.g4ac5aed61_034#slide=id.g4ac5aed61_034
[44] https://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/whats-on/past-festivals/festival-love

City, University of London
Northampton Square
London
EC1V 0HB
United Kingdom

T +44 (0)20 7040 5060

THE FOLLOWING PART OF THIS THESIS HAS BEEN REDACTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS:

Appendix D pp. 243-246

THE FOLLOWING PART OF THIS THESIS HAS BEEN REDACTED FOR DATA PROTECTION REASONS:

Appendix C p. 242

Abstract

This PhD provides a theoretically-informed ethnographic analysis of how cultural workers at Southbank Centre relate to the layered histories of cultural work and to the complex historical legacies which co-exist at this organisation. The research identifies some of the key moments and different phases of cultural work connected to this organisation and examines in what ways awareness of these is used, recycled and reframed by cultural workers today.

In the process the research brings together theorisations of cultural work, the production of cultural space and the subjective experiences of cultural workers, enriching understandings of all three realms and the imbrication between them. It generates insight into the ways in which contemporary cultural work is produced in relation to historical and cultural geographies and how these histories can be mobilised - ignored, commodified, and represented - in the present. By telling some of the stories of cultural work at Southbank Centre it unpacks tensions between the creation of a ‘sense of place’ and the diverse histories which coalesce at this institution. In a wider sense, then, the research aims to extend knowledge on the lived experiences of cultural workers in renowned cultural institutions and the ways in which the production of historicised cultural space is integral to their work.

Declaration

This is to certify that:

- The thesis has been composed by the candidate
- It has not been accepted in any previous application for a degree
- The research work has been done by the candidate
- All direct quotations have been distinguished by quotation marks or indentation and the sources of information specifically acknowledged.

Signed Kathy Williams

Date 11th November 2018

Acknowledgements

I am deeply grateful to my supervisor Dr. Jo Littler, and have been incredibly lucky to learn from her insight, wisdom and brilliant academic guidance. She has been, and continues to be, an inspiration. Also her kindness, encouragement and sense of humour have been invaluable in getting me through this PhD. I also very much appreciate the support and academic input at earlier stages in the PhD from Dr. Dave O'Brien and Professor Kate Oakley.

I also want to thank my colleagues, Philippa Hewett, Magdalen Attwater, David Winter and Dr. Bob Gilworth for supporting me in this endeavour and enabling me to juggle work and academia.

Thank you to my family, Maarten, I am indebted to you for all your support, and Lukas thank you for making me smile every day. I would also like to express my heartfelt gratitude to Chris, John, Joe, Anneke, Karst and Wiebe for all your unwavering support.

A special thank you to my friends Alison, Carly, Elle and Katie for your solidarity, comradery and care.

Finally I would also like to thank all the participants in this research project, those I interviewed at Southbank Centre and also those who generously gave their time to guide me and help develop my research, including Dr. Ruth Adams, Dr. Harriet Atkinson, Deborah Dickinson, Professor Mike Oliver and Dr. Anwar Tlili.

Introduction

Thesis overview

This thesis investigates the 'lived texture' of recent and current cultural work at Southbank Centre, in the process deepening and extending knowledge of the ways in which cultural workers produce space and negotiate history. It does so by providing a theoretically informed ethnographic analysis of how cultural workers at Southbank Centre relate to the layered histories of cultural work and to the complex historical legacies which co-exist at this organisation in the present. My research identifies some of the different and key moments and phases of cultural work connected to this organisation and examines in what ways their legacies are used, recycled and reframed by cultural workers today.

In the process the research brings together understanding of theorisations of cultural work, the production of cultural space and the subjective experiences of cultural workers, enriching understandings of all three realms and the imbrications between them. It generates insight into the ways in which contemporary cultural work is produced in relation to historical and cultural geographies and how these histories can be mobilised - ignored, commodified, and represented - in the present. By telling significant stories of cultural work at Southbank Centre it unpacks tensions between the creation of a 'sense of place' and the diverse histories which coalesce at this institution.

Rationale

The importance of research into 'cultural work'

There has, for at least two decades now, been an expansion of academic interest in cultural work (McRobbie, 1998, Beck 2003, Lloyd 2006, Banks, 2007, 2014, 2017, Gill and Pratt 2008, McGuigan, 2010, Banks, Gill and Taylor 2013, Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2013, McGuigan, 2010, Oakley, 2009, 2013, Frost, 2016, Oakley and O'Brien, 2016, Littler, 2017, Brook, O'Brien, and Taylor, 2018). As part of this academic focus on cultural work there has been a nascent interest in its histories, as well as in its possible futures. 'By reflecting both on the salience of history in the present, and its consequence for potential work in the future, the critical gaze ideally extends beyond the apparent immediacy and novelty of current events' (Banks, Gill and Taylor, 2013: 6). My research extends this field of inquiry by focusing on history and heritage and its activation in the present. Key theories around contemporary cultural work are investigated further in the literature review and these are intertwined

with theory on the production of space and examples from the discourses of cultural workers throughout this thesis.

The importance of research into the production of space

The research speaks to conceptualisations of space as inherently complex (Harvey, 2004), always socially produced, (Lefebvre, 1974) and as layered, and both in the process of and the product of interrelations (Solnit, 2010, Massey, 2005). A range of academic theory has analysed the role of creative artists and cultural workers (and their relationship with other workers and actors in urban environments) in producing spaces (Zukin, 1982, Kearns and Philo, 1993, Landry & Bianchini, 1995, Hall, 1999, Landry 2000, Florida, 2002, Garcia, 2004, Lloyd, 2006, Banks, 2007, Ross 2008, Pratt 2009, Gornestaeva and Campbell, 2012, Oakley et al. 2017). My research aims to push this theory into new territory by simultaneously historicising this spatialised approach to cultural work.

Doreen Massey's theorisations on space, in particular, have informed this research project, as I discuss in Chapter 4. Her 2005 book, *For Space* starts by outlining three main propositions: space is produced by interrelating forces, from the macro to the micro or the global to the local; space has the potential to be pluralistic and multitudinous and for diverse pathways to coexist; space is constantly being constructed and reconstructed. The relationship between material processes and practices and the individuals producing spaces is always ongoing (Massey, 2005: 9). The first of these propositions informs the underlying argument of this thesis: that space is actively produced by various influences, including local, national and global forces, and cultural workers have an active role in these processes in and around cultural institutions. The second proposition connects to the focus within this research on narratives of diverse experiences as related to space, with the emphasis on the experience of the able bodied, white, heterosexual male being challenged. The third is a call for a re-imagining of space and of future social politics, refusing to see space as closed or finished but as a work in progress. This research supports, and works with, this final theorisation in that it provides evidence of some of the ways in which space is constantly negotiated, constructed and re-constructed by cultural workers at Southbank Centre.

The importance of research into of histories and heritage

My research therefore supports the argument that it is important to extend our historical understanding of cultural work (Banks, Gill and Taylor, 2013). As I discuss below in the methodology and literature review, my research uses a historical lens to further understand the layers of heritage which exist at Southbank Centre and how these impact upon and help shape the discourses and lived experiences of recent and current cultural workers. My thesis incorporates a 'New History' approach in that it does not attempt to present 'a' singular history of cultural work in London's Southbank, or as one having a progressive development or clearly definable trajectory. It instead utilises 'a skills approach based on the critical reading of documents and original materials' (Samuel, 1989: 198).

This study approaches what I think of as the 'layering' of key moments and phases of cultural work at Southbank Centre from the vantage point of the worker-subjects, as well as the official rhetoric, of a major institution and key players. It analyses a range of sources in its attempts to unpack what kinds of cultural work went on, who this was undertaken by, and what conditions these people worked in. It is the purpose of this research to offer, and to interpret, salient 'snapshots from working lives…[in a]…dynamic rather than sequential' (Newman, 2012: 3) manner. I outline the permutations of and rationale for this approach in detail in the methodology and literature review chapters.

Why Southbank Centre

'There's something wonderful about being a whole cultural landscape but that's hard to put edges on' (P4)

It is necessary to clarify early on what is exactly meant by 'Southbank Centre'. This is the name for the large multi-arts organisation situated on the River Thames in London's Southbank. This geographical area stretches from Waterloo Bridge to Westminster Bridge, and is adjacent to the areas known as Bankside to the east and Vauxhall to the west. However the land and buildings owned by Southbank Centre only includes the 17 acre site between the Hungerford Railway Bridge/ Golden Jubilee Footbridge (which connects the south side of the river to Embankment and Charing Cross stations) and Waterloo Bridge, and as far south to Belvedere Road. On this site are the buildings which make up Southbank Centre: the Royal Festival

Hall (within which the Poetry Library and Southbank Centre Archive Studio are both housed); the Hayward Gallery; the Queen Elizabeth Hall; and the Purcell Room.[1]

Fig i.1 Image of Southbank Centre's geographical location and buildings from Southbank Centre website[2]

Southbank Centre does not include the British Film Theatre, the National Theatre, or the London Eye, although what actually makes up Southbank Centre is not something easily understood by audiences: and even staff interviewed for the purposes of this research admitted that they did not understand what the organisation was made up of prior to working there. For example, one Visitor Service Manager, reflecting on her own knowledge of the site before she began working there in 2008, told me 'I think I'm quite consistent probably with a lot of people who say, "I didn't know it was any different from the National Theatre, or the BFI, or the Tate, or anything," I was aware of *where* it was, but I didn't know *what* it was.' (P23). Some of the challenges with understanding what constitutes Southbank Centre are analysed further in Chapter 4. This is one reason that it is a particularly rich case study for the purposes of this research in relation to how (and how successfully) spaces are produced for consumption.

Southbank Centre has been chosen as a case study for this research for a number of reasons. Firstly due to the rich, layered cultural history of the area and the adjacent areas mentioned above. There are multiple historical narratives co-existing in this urban area (Herring, 2009b) and this urban space can be understood as palimpsest (De Certeau, 1994, Wirth-Nesher, 1996, Wolfrey, 1998, Stevenson, 2003, Groes 2011) as subject to flows in and out (Solnit, 2010) and always in the process of being produced and reproduced (Massey, 2005). This multiplicity informs the ways in

[1] https://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/VENUES
[2] https://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/about

which the area is understood, marketed and consumed in the present. Its complex cultural history, including the 1951 Festival of Britain in Southbank, the heritage of playwriting and performance in Bankside, and the pleasure gardens in Vauxhall is presented in the following section. Additionally, Southbank Centre is the largest multi-arts centre in Europe and the UK and is therefore of immense cultural significance. It provides a huge pool of cultural workers for this research project. This includes a diverse range of job roles for the organisation, and importantly a range of workers who may not be traditionally thought of as cultural producers and performers but who are intrinsically involved in both symbolic production and the production of space. I discuss definitions of cultural work and my choices in terms of research participants for this PhD in the literature review and methodology.

Research objectives and research questions

This research aims to provide a theoretically-informed analysis of how current and recent cultural workers relate to the histories of Southbank Centre and the production of space at this organisation. In order to do this, the research aims to identify and examine key moments and phases of cultural work associated with this cultural institution. This endeavour has involved an excavation of histories of this cultural institution, as well as analysis of primary written and online resources produced by Southbank Centre, and of the lived experiences of cultural workers for the organisation. By synthesising academic theories and ideas connected to cultural work and the production of space, a number of theorisations are created which are used as a lens through which to understand the lived experiences of cultural workers and how they interact with the histories of Southbank Centre.

This approach therefore provides the scope for this research to investigate how cultural work at Southbank Centre relates to the social construction of a ‘sense of place’ and to the part that cultural workers have played, and continue to play, in these constructions.

Research questions

This thesis asks the following questions:

i) How has the social construction and cultural production of space developed over time at this organisation, and how does this relate to broader representations and definitions of cultural work?
ii) How do the layers of histories of cultural work interact at Southbank Centre and how are they mobilised and negotiated in the present?

iii) What are the key influences upon cultural work practices connected to place-making at Southbank Centre in the present?

Summary of methodology

To draw on Janet Newman's ethnography of female activists in senior positions in organisations, which uses a similar methodology, this thesis does not provide a linear history and neither is it a complete story (Newman, 2012). Instead it aims to present a new perspective, or a story from a novel angle about cultural work and the production of space. The methodological approaches used in this study are an amalgamation of cultural discourse analysis which takes inspiration from Foucauldian approaches, combined with a selective use of cultural ethnography, and underpinned by an in-depth literature review and analysis of primary written and online resources produced by the organisation. One of the purposes of this research - in a similar vein to Beverley Skeggs' ethnographic work with working-class female care workers in a town in the North-West of the UK - is in order to understand what it means to be a cultural worker and the processes by which cultural workers produce themselves (Skeggs, 1999: 216-217).

In order to 'access' and analyse this lived experience the most appropriate fieldwork approach was to conduct semi-structured interviews with research participants. During the fieldwork period I conducted semi-structured interviews with 24 individuals. I also conducted research discussions with a further 8 individuals, including academics, specialists and freelance cultural workers who had expertise on Southbank Centre, the Festival of Britain or other relevant topics. The fieldwork was carried out from September 2014 to March 2017. As discussed in the methodology the fieldwork was mostly carried out at Southbank Centre itself and was participative, using a snowballing sampling method.

Chapter outline and core arguments

The early chapters in this thesis give a historical and cultural context for the case study used in this research project, as well as providing a theoretical basis for the empirical research. Chapter 1 'Contextual Histories' provides a brief history of what is now known as Southbank Centre, through describing its origins and tracing the developments of the site, buildings and cultural organisation over the last sixty seven years. This chapter also provides selective historical accounts of the urban areas adjacent to Southbank - Bankside and Vauxhall - in order to more fully explore the layers of history which interact in this space and impact on contemporary cultural

working discourses and practices. Chapter 2 is a literature review which discusses pertinent academic theory organised around three themes; histories of work, assemblages of cultural work, and cultural geographies, histories and heritage. It draws on literature from fields as diverse as: urban geography; architectural theory; cultural studies and theory; cultural sociology; labour studies; and theory relating to the cultural and creative industries.

As we will see, for the purposes of this research, cultural workers are those that are involved in the processes described above: namely people involved in the production and circulation of texts, and symbolic cultural goods, who primarily work in the cultural and creative industries. The definitions of cultural worker and the ambiguities of this definition, and the current status of the literature on the subject are explored in extensive detail in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 explores the methodology of the thesis, as outlined above. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 of this thesis present findings from the research project arranged into themes and grouped around several core arguments. I will outline these chapters here in more detail, given that they present and develop the key analysis and findings of the thesis.

Chapter 4. ‘A Democratic Site? Changing meanings of spatial access at Southbank Centre’ speaks most directly to my first research question: how have the ways in which the social construction and cultural production of space developed over time at this organisation, and how does this relate to broader representations and definitions of cultural work? To answer it this chapter asks the questions: what are they key moments and phases of the production of space and cultural work? How was spatial access understood and constructed in these phases and moments?

The chapter argues that there were three key moments and phases associated with spatial access at Southbank Centre. It extrapolates some of the ways in which these moments have contributed to the creation and maintenance of a ‘sense of place’ at Southbank Centre, specifically analysing ideas around to what extent democratic ideals are connected with this place-making. Finally it contemplates the ways in which an examination of these periods gives a fuller understanding of the roles of cultural workers at Southbank Centre today. The three key moments and phases analysed are described in a historical context and related to the wider picture of the political and social climate in the UK at the time. The first moment connects to the ways in which the site was originally designed on the democratic principles of the Festival of Britain but quite soon afterwards became an exclusive oasis for classical music, and the surrounding area an undesirable place to visit, and therefore looks at

the 1950s-1970s. There was a later moment of expanding democratic access as connected to the policies and funding of the Greater London Council (GLC) led by Ken Livingstone in the first half of the 1980s. During this period, for example, spatial access issues for marginalised groups such as disabled people and women were promoted, as well as cultural production for a wider range of classes. Lastly the contemporary moment, which is defined as the self-conscious production of plural space amidst commercial neoliberalism, focuses on recent history and in particular the phase since the reopening of the Royal Festival Hall in 2007.

In order to explore these key moments and phases, and speak to the questions as outlined above this chapter firstly investigates the ways in which spaces at Southbank Centre have been and are defined and understood. The analysis draws on a range of relevant theory, including historical and contemporary architectural theory (Cook, 1972/1999, Martinez, 2014, Nathaniel Lichfield and Partners/ Southbank Centre, 2015) as well as contemporary art and design theory (Herring, 2009a, 2009b) and urban sociology or conceptualisations around public space (Jones, 2014, 2016). Quotations from recent and current cultural workers are used to illuminate key points and extend and develop the discussion. The chapter then investigates the impact of design features at Southbank Centre on aesthetics and perceptions about safety for users of the spaces, using many of the theories just mentioned as well as urban sociology (Whyte, 1990) and cultural geography (for example, Kearns and Philo, 1993, Zukin, 1995, Hamnett, 2003).

The chapter examines the moment of expanding democratic access and the work of the Greater London Council (GLC) (1981-1986) under Ken Livingstone and utilises political theory (Mulgan and Worpole, 1986), as well as key theorisations from the fields of disability studies (for example Campbell and Oliver, 1996, Foster, 1997) and urban design feminist theory (for example Cavanagh and Ware, 1990) to explore this moment of spatial access and the production of space. The analysis is interspersed with reflections from cultural workers on the lived experiences of working on this site and interacting with the buildings, and external spaces, which illuminate the theoretical framework with real life stories.

The chapter then expands upon the analysis of cultural workers as ‘reputational advocates’ of spaces at Southbank Centre, drawing from architectural theory (e.g. Hatherley, 2009) and goes on to unpack some of the tensions associated with the Brutalist architectural style at Southbank Centre and the impact this has upon cultural workers at the organisation. This includes the ways in which they engage with

discourses surrounding these buildings, especially criticism of them. Lastly the chapter argues that the current spatial identity of Southbank Centre is frenetic, diverse and consumer-oriented. Some of the tensions between the diverse users of space are highlighted, for example the ongoing re-definitions of space that have been necessitated by disputes between Southbank Centre and skateboarder who use the Undercroft spaces (Borden, 2014, LLSB, 2015), as well as some of the interplay between design, architecture and social inclusion (Martinez, 2014, Matarasso, 2001).

Many spaces at Southbank Centre have been redefined and commercialised and the prevalence of this rhetoric in the discourses of cultural workers today is analysed, drawing on consumer theory (Lury, 1996, Gabriel and Lang, 2006) as well as theorisations of the omnipresence of neoliberalism (Peck and Tickell, 2002). This chapter concludes by arguing that from its inception steeped in democratic principles, through an era in which the Royal Festival Hall operated as an exclusive oasis, to its current pluralistic, hectic, diverse, and consumer-oriented identity, spatial access has been a significant concern at Southbank Centre and for its workforce. The contemporary moment of cultural work at Southbank Centre draws on Festival of Britain legacies and the site is still free to access for all: however it is increasingly a site at which consumerism is widely and prominently encouraged. This means that today those with more disposable income may well feel more comfortable using its spaces than those with less.

Chapter 5 ‘Negotiating and Mobilising Southbank Centre’s Heritage: Jude Kelly’s Festival Methodology (2011-2018)’ examines which aspects of the heritage of Southbank Centre have been made popular and which have not. This chapter speaks most directly to the first of my research questions: how do the layers of histories of cultural work interact at Southbank Centre and how are they mobilised and negotiated in the present? The chapter asks: what key historical moments and phases of cultural work connected to this organisation are re-enacted in present working practices and approaches? How are these histories organised and what evidence is there of their interaction with each other? What histories are marginalised or excluded from current discourses and practices and what impact does this have upon theorisations of space and of cultural work?

The chapter begins by drawing on theorisations and historical accounts of the 1951 Festival of Britain (Atkinson, 2012, Conekin, 2003, Hewison, 1995) and presenting some of the ways in which ideologies and stories from the original Festival are re-imagined in a material sense at the organisation. It then goes on to analyse Jude

Kelly's 'Festival Methodology' and promotion of immaterial legacies, in particular its more forceful promotion of 'festivalness' from 2011 to 2018. For the purposes of this chapter it is useful to consider the meanings of a festival in a wider academic context, and so literature from 'festival studies' and wider theorisations of carnival are brought on board (for example Durkheim, 1976, Bakhtin, 1984, Getz, 2010). The chapter analyses the political and cultural meanings of the Festival Methodology and how this is negotiated and understood by cultural workers at Southbank Centre. The roles, meanings and impacts of the Festival Methodology in relation to the discourses and working lives of cultural workers at Southbank Centre is multifaceted and a fascinating and relatively unique example of cultural work processes and practices.

The chapter therefore identifies aspects of the original Festival of Britain which are currently re-imagined in the organisation such as the social democratic ideals of access for all upon which the 1951 Festival was founded, giving examples from the discourses of cultural workers. It also highlights ways in which the current methodology can be understood as a deliberate calibrated 'deal' with and within a period of instability, austerity and increasingly unrestrained cuts to the arts. As such this legacy might also be mapped onto contemporary neoliberal 'resilience', and key theories on this are examined (for example Joseph, 2013, Cretney, 2014, Gill and Orgad, 2016). The mobilisation of legacies connected to the Festival of Britain in 1951 by Southbank Centre today can be understood as an example of an organisation needing to draw upon its own bank of emotive legacies in order to survive in a challenging climate.

A further element of the original Festival which is currently re-imagined and mobilised by Southbank Centre is that of enterprise and innovation. This is re-conceptualised as connected to an example of what Massey terms 'the productiveness of spatiality', or a moment when chance meetings allow for something novel and a potential reimagining of space and social relations (Massey, 2005: 94) through discourses which construct the Festival Methodology as enabling audiences to 'bump into' artistic experiences. It is also evident that Southbank Centre workers actively construct, or re-construct, the original ideals of the Festival as welcoming, friendly and inviting, in the process connecting to theorisations of liminal space as being outside of normal constraints and cultural norms (for example see Gornastaev and Campbell, 2012, Shields, 1991, Turner, 1974, Zukin, 1991), particularly as one of the functions of the Festival Methodology is understood as generating experimental experiences. The festival approach to programming is also constructed as enabling debate and imagining different possible futures, which is again analysed through the

lens of festival studies, for example Bakhtin's notion that carnival can be ground-breaking (Bakhtin, 1984), and as linked to space as open which allows understanding of both history as open and the potential for multiple, plural futures to coexist (Massey, 2005: 59). Lastly the chapter looks at the ways in which ideas around participation and access are selectively reconstructed at the organisation.

Chapter 5 concludes by considering how, at Southbank Centre today, specific legacies are mobilised in relation to the original Festival ideals. These include ideologies around enterprise and innovation, enabling sociability, enjoyment, festivity and fun for visitors, as well encouraging the carnivalesque and conversations that aim to bring about social change through participation. There is clear evidence of commitment to the above in the discourses of cultural workers. However there are tensions between these more democratically inclined ideologies and the contemporary neoliberal environment in which Southbank Centre operates. In many ways the original Festival has been commercialised and the mobilisation of legacies connected to it by Southbank Centre can be understood as an example of an organisation needing to draw upon its own 'bank' of emotive legacies in order to survive in a challenging climate. I argue that the heritage of the original Festival of Britain has been appropriated for the contemporary commercial purposes of the organisation rather than being more extensively or 'faithfully' adhered to in terms of democratic access. There is some activation of the GLC legacy, in that it has been fused with the Festival of Britain legacy, but for the most part this dimension of Southbank Centre history goes unnamed. It is thus a revealing example of how some aspects of the heritage of this organisation have been promoted and popularised and others have been marginalised.

Chapter 6 'Collaborative Cultural Workers: The Emotional, Embodied, Co-Production of Affective Visitor Experience' connects most directly with my third research question, *what are some of the key influences upon cultural work practices at Southbank Centre in the present?* It poses questions such as: how have histories of emotional labour, embodied work and the co-production of experience impacted on contemporary cultural work at Southbank Centre? To what extent do cultural workers appear to cooperate with the espoused emotional value system of the organisation? And what does analysis of the discourses of cultural workers in the present tell us about their lived, cognitive, emotional and bodily involvement with the co-production of affective visitor experience?

In order to being to unpack these questions and analyse how emotional and affective labour functions at Southbank Centre, I discuss the key concept of *governmentality*

and its implications for theorising cultural work (Foucault 1988, 1991, Rose, 1989, Banks 2007). The chapter foregrounds this theory to consider the ways in which 'individuals produce themselves in work' (Rose, 1989:116), alongside the ways in which individual cultural workers co-produce spaces with colleagues. Moving on from this the analysis situates discussion of the ongoing impact of three key themes evident in discourses of current cultural workers for Southbank Centre. Firstly it draws upon theories of emotional labour (Hochschild, 1983); secondly it uses theories of the embodiment of cultural work, and the body at work (Lyon and Back, 2012, Hope and Richards, 2015), alongside ideas around work-as-performance (Pine and Gilmour, 1999, Lloyd, 2006); and thirdly it interprets Southbank Centre in terms of the co-production of affective visitor experience, by using the theoretical lens of immaterial and affective labour (Dowling, Nunes and Trott, 2007, Dowling, 2007, 2012, Gill and Pratt, 2008).

This chapter therefore uses cultural sociology, cultural studies, as well as business and economic theories to analyse the tensions and challenges cultural workers face negotiating the social democratic legacy of Southbank Centre today. It traces developments in the political and economic climate, including the predominance of the post-Fordist 'Service Economy' (Amin, 1994, Pine and Gilmour, 1999, Gabriel and Lang, 2006, Ross 2008), the 'Experience Economy' (Pine and Gilmour, 1999) and the prevalence of 'customer service' discourses, in tandem with the shift to emphasising the primacy of the market and neoliberalism (Hochschild, 1983, Lloyd 2006, Banks, 2007) and of the paying *consumer* rather than the audience (Hewison, 1995, Rose, 1989, Gabriel and Lang, 2006). The chapter analyses what histories of 'emotional labour' exist at Southbank Centre, drawing on Hochschild's three 'characteristics of emotional labour' (Hochschild, 1983: 147). There was, I argue, little evidence what would now be termed 'emotional labour' in the early decades of the Royal Festival Hall, or of the kinds of embodied, affective labour practices which are so prevalent today.

I tease out the significance of these findings by analysing primary sources from Southbank Centre including contemporary recruitment processes, and analysing the explicit efforts but the organisation to manage the emotional outputs of their employees. This chapter also draws from relevant theories relating to the production of the self at work (especially Dowling 2012) and aims to push them into new territories by analysing how cultural workers work together to produce space, in the process co-producing and monitoring emotions as a team. The chapter argues that, although individualised emotional labour is required at Southbank Centre in a variety

of roles, collaborative working is also highly celebrated. In large part this collective working was engendered through Jude Kelly's Festival Methodology (2011-2018) which required teams from different departments across the organisation to work closely together, as well as with external artists and members of the public, to coordinate, produce, manage and deliver more than 14 annual festivals and series. In addition, it became evident from my interviews and conversations with a range of cultural workers for Southbank Centre that, at least for many, there appears to be a genuine commitment to the organisation, and to activation of some of the layers of history of the organisation in order to co-produce accessible and democratic cultural space. Co-production, and co-produced emotional, embodied labour at this institution are therefore explored in all terms of their complicated and often contradictory meanings.

Key findings

In my concluding chapter I summarise and extrapolate my key findings. One key conclusion that can be drawn out from my thesis is that it should be acknowledged that cultural workers from across a wide range of departments and roles within institutions such as Southbank Centre are crucial actors in producing social spaces. These cultural workers should be given more credit for the important role they play in expanding access, mobilising democratic heritages and co-producing affective visitor experience collaboratively with others. For example, many of those I spoke to at Southbank Centre, whilst operating in the midst of a climate of neoliberal inequality, are dedicated to producing spaces which promote democratic equality of access, freedom of speech and an opportunity for marginalised individuals to share their stories.

The chapters of this thesis are organised around the themes of democratic access, the negotiation and mobilisation of heritage, and the co-production of space. The conclusion explores these themes further, analysing why they are important today and extrapolating the ramifications of my research findings. It argues that in our increasingly neoliberalised, privatised society there is a growing need to protect democratic access to public spaces that exist, and to develop new public spaces. This is especially important given that many welfare-state supported free or inexpensive public spaces such as libraries and leisure centres have been systematically removed from many areas in the UK (Massey, 2005). Southbank Centre spaces are, at the time of writing, free-to-access pluralistic spaces used by a diverse range of people. Transparent provision of truly public spaces in cities is also imperative in the face of developments to how urban spaces are produced and managed. The ability to access public spaces, and

for a whole range of behaviours to be permitted in these spaces, is vital to democratic society (Parkinson, 2012).

The last chapter ‘Conclusion: Key Findings’ also draws on my critical analysis of the complex processes through which cultural workers at Southbank Centre actively mobilise certain strands of the organisation’s heritage. In the conclusion I argue that there is a need for the cultural histories of important institutions to be explored in more depth, in order to access those histories which have been marginalised. For example, at Southbank Centre, the heritage of the original Festival of Britain has been appropriated for the contemporary commercial purposes of the organisation rather than being more extensively or ‘faithfully’ adhered to in terms of democratic access. Additionally, although there is some activation of the GLC legacy, in that it has been fused with the Festival of Britain legacy, this dimension of Southbank Centre history largely goes unnamed.

My conclusion draws out key findings from my analysis of collaborative cultural work at Southbank Centre. I discuss how, although individualised emotional labour, or labour which requires managing one’s own emotions in order to create the ‘right’ kind of outward appearance (Hochschild, 1983) is required at Southbank Centre in a variety of roles, collaborative working is also necessary. My research has found that collaborative ways of working are promoted at Southbank Centre today, and these have been particularly prevalent since the mobilisation of Jude Kelly’s Festival Methodology. Also, because of the multidisciplinary nature of many of Southbank Centre’s festivals there is active engagement from staff across different departments. These ways of working, although a managerial strategy, represent a different model to individualised, competitive practices that are often associated with the cultural and creative industries and as such point to new possibilities for the co-production of space by cultural institutions. In addition it became evident from my interviews and conversations with a range of cultural workers for Southbank Centre that, for many staff, there appears to be a genuine commitment to the organisation, and to the layers of history which are constructed and reconstructed in the present at the organisation in order to co-produce space. Their reasons for doing their jobs were more closely connected to democratic ideals about people working together to enable participation in the arts than to ideologies around competitive individualism which are prevalent in many workplaces today.

This final section of the thesis therefore disaggregates the different meanings of co-production at play at Southbank Centre today and their implications for understandings of cultural work and for the wider cultural sector. Having discussed the themes of democratic access, the mobilisation of heritage and collaborative work, as connected to the three key findings and chapters of my PhD thesis in the concluding chapter, I lastly move on to present ways in which I think my research signals new possibilities and avenues for academic investigation.

This introduction has foregrounded some of the key theories, arguments and themes in this thesis by outlining the different constitutive parts of the thesis as a whole. In the next chapter, I more fully introduce the present day work of Southbank Centre, as well as its heritage, by situating both in the relevant cultural and geographical histories of London's Southbank and the two geographical areas either side, Bankside and Vauxhall.

Chapter 1. Contextual Histories

Southbank Centre today

Fig 1.1 View of the Royal Festival Hall in 2018[3]

In order to contextualise this research, firstly a description of what Southbank Centre is today is given below, building on the discussion in the introduction. This is then situated in cultural and geographical histories of London's Southbank and the two geographical areas either side, Bankside and Vauxhall. The histories of these areas are important to my thesis because they support the argument that Southbank Centre is a prime site for research of this kind. The adjacent areas both have multiple layers of cultural history which I argue impact on the ways in which Southbank Centre is produced by cultural workers today.

Southbank Centre today is the largest arts centre in the UK and Europe, and includes 17 acres of land. The artistic venues which make up Southbank Centre include the Royal Festival Hall (within which are the Poetry Library and Archive Studio), Queen Elizabeth Hall, Purcell Room and Hayward Gallery. Southbank Centre is a registered charity and in the 2016/17 financial year (the most up to date figures currently available), it received 43% of its funding from Arts Council England, 18% from artistic activity/ ticket sales, 31% from 'other trading activities' (including commercial enterprises and partnerships, catering outlet income, private hires of the buildings, the Southbank Centre membership scheme -individuals pay to be members and receive discounts, early bird offers and other incentives such as access to Southbank Centre Members Bar on Level 5 of the Royal Festival Hall) and 8% from donations

[3] http://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/

and sponsorship.[4] Southbank Centre's most recent figures in terms of its cultural and artistic outputs state that is produces over 5,500 performances per year, including 18 festivals and series. Audience numbers include over 37,000 children and young people and in 2016/17 it was the fourth most visited attraction in the UK, visited 3.9 million times (Southbank Centre, 2018). As such it is a rich research site with extensive scope for investigation. This thesis argues that cultural workers operating in the financial, artistic, cultural context described above operate with awareness of not only the current context of the organisation but also the ways in which its histories are repackaged and reframed for consumption. Therefore, in order to provide a clearer introduction to my thesis a history of the organisation and its geographical location are now given.

A brief history of Southbank Centre

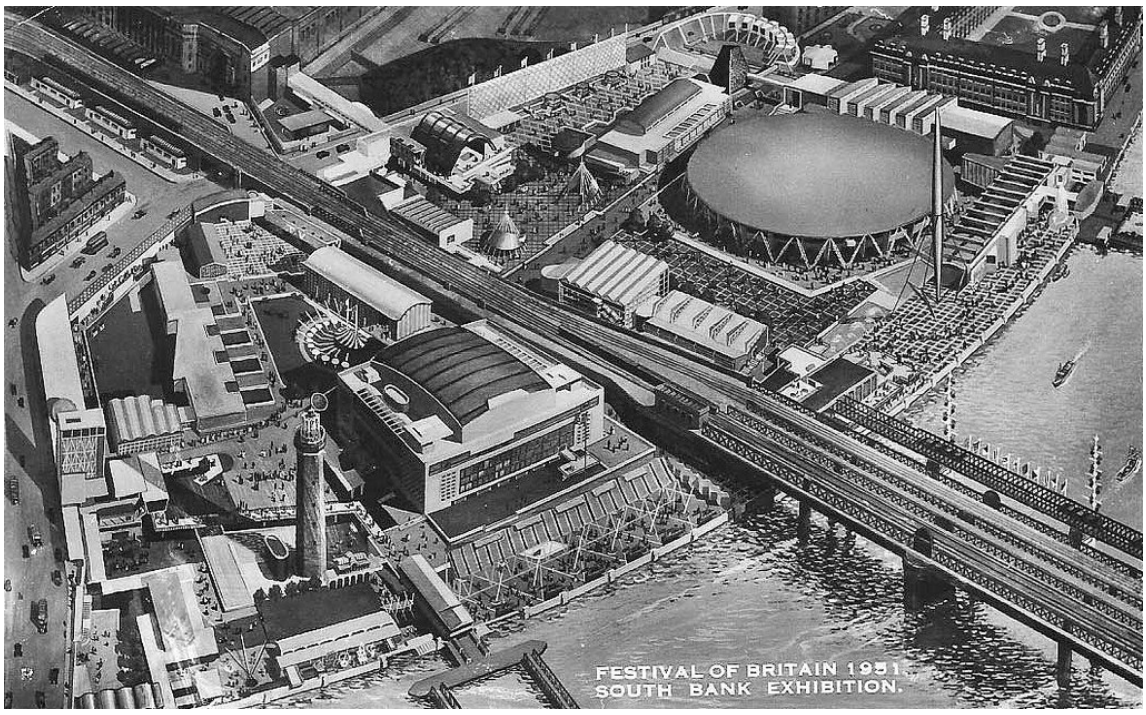


Fig 1.2 Photograph of an artist's impression of the 1951 Festival of Britain site[5]

The Festival of Britain in 1951, an attempt to revive culture and national spirit, organised by the Labour Party Government at the time was a major catalyst for the regeneration of Southbank area. The original Festival of Britain was a showcase for the arts, design, sciences and generally a celebration of British achievement and culture. It was designed

[4] https://bynder.southbankcentre.co.uk/m/5281a6b453ab4994/original/21901-3-Annual-Review201617.pdf?_ga=2.169591137.1925660331.1530868615-1929778992.1492700369

[5] https://www.flickr.com/photos/31363949@N02/11338105144

to ‘cheer people up’ after the Second World War and to be an escapism from the harsh realities of everyday lives that included food rationing, trauma from recent experiences during the war and adjustment for many. It looked to the future through display of innovative design, technology, art and popular culture and aimed to inspire and revive visitors (Atkinson, 2012, Conekin, 2003, Grindrod, 2013, Mulgan and Worpole, 1986, Nathaniel Lichfield and Partners, 2015). Although during planning and preparation The Festival of Britain was often criticised for using public money during times of shortage (Grindrod, 2013) and eventually contributed to the government’s unpopularity, it also symbolised an endeavour to promote the idea of recovery and the potential for a bright future, and was and remains widely popular (Mulgan and Worpole, 1986, Hewison, 1995: 58-59). The building of the concert hall was planned to coincide with the Festival opening, and was built in the three years prior to 1951, becoming known as the Royal Festival Hall after a visit to the site in 1950 by the King and Queen of England (Mullins, 2007). The concert hall took 18 months to build, cost 2million and could seat 2,900 people with space for an orchestra of 100 and a choir of up to 250.

Fig 1.3 View of the Royal Festival Hall in the early 1950s. Copyright Royal Festival Hall Archives[6]

[6] http://www.studiointernational.com/index.php/the-egg-in-a-box

The Festival of Britain itself, organised by Gerald Barry and around 600 staff, included events across 17,000 towns and villages in Britain, with an official touring show. London was at the centre of the exhibition and, as well as the exhibition organised for the Southbank, other London attractions included Pleasure Gardens in Battersea Park and a science exhibition in South Kensington. A huge variety of different forms of what might now be called 'cultural work' took place as part of the Festival of Britain. It was in itself a huge architecture project that was directly related to creating a 'sense of place' in the Southbank area of London, and a major aspect of the design was to ensure access from a number of points. It involved a number of curators working with artists and designers to design and curate the exhibition. In addition other kinds of work which would now fall into the bracket of cultural work included the story writing or scriptwriting for the festival, providing narratives and captions for all the exhibits (Atkinson, 2012).

Fig 1.4 The 1951 Festival of Britain[7]

[7] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Festival_of_Britain#/media/File:In16695.jpg

The Festival of Britain exhibition and many of the buildings were demolished due to a change in government in 1951, with only the Royal Festival Hall, the Riverside Restaurant and the Telecinema (which was later known as The National Film Theatre, and moved to where it is currently situated in 1957, and subsequently re-launched as the BFI in 2007) remaining. Although the Royal Festival Hall had been sold-out during the Festival of Britain, ticket sales declined in the following months and the building began to receive bad press. Generally the idea that the Southbank was somehow an 'underside to London' prevailed in the 1950s. However, the Royal Festival Hall began to draw a larger audience, and by the 1960s was able to attract one million people per year to performances, including performances for children on Saturdays (Mullins, 2007).

Developments of the Southbank site continued, in part due to partnerships with British European Airways and Shell, who built the Shell Centre which housed up to 5,000 employees from 1963, and was indicative of a time in which both private and public subsidy were important to the arts. When Harold Wilson was elected as Prime Minister in 1964 it meant continued funding for the Royal Festival Hall, and throughout the 1960s the site saw further development and refurbishment, As part of the Abercrombie Plan, the LCC added to the Royal Festival Hall with three further buildings and walkways which linked them (Lopes Simoes Aelbrecht, 2017). The Queen Elizabeth Hall and Purcell Room opened in 1967. The Hayward Gallery opened in 1968 and was managed directly by the Arts Council, although Southbank Centre subsequently took over management in 1987.

These physical developments of the site continued into the 1970s. In 1978 the National Theatre (which would not form part of Southbank Centre but is a separate organisation) opened as part of Queen Elizabeth's Silver Jubilee and throughout the 1980s the Greater London Council provided significant levels of funding to Southbank Centre. In 1983 the GLC was instrumental in the inception of the radical 'Open Foyer' policy for the Royal Festival Hall which meant that the building was open to the public from 12pm- 10.30pm, and then subsequently from 10am. Free lunchtime concerts, evening jazz performances and exhibitions were now available to the public. A 1984 TV commercial starring George Melly promoted the things people could do in the foyer. In the same year the the ticket office was computerised.[8]

[8] https://tnew-template.southbankcentre.co.uk/about/what-we-do/history-southbank-centre

However the 1980s also saw the GLC abolished, including a Farewell Symphony performed at the Royal Festival Hall, which one of the cultural workers interviewed for my research recalled as a turbulent political time

> [T]here was a strike…only a one day strike…That was pretty much because of the transitions between moving from GLC to Arts Council. And then of course the GLC was abolished and there are other protests (ES)

In 1987 the South Bank Board took over management of the Hayward Gallery. National Touring Exhibitions and the Arts Council Collection from the Arts Council. The Southbank Board became known as a flagship arts organisation, along the same lines as the National Theatre, Royal Opera House, Royal Shakespeare Company and English National Opera. In 1988 the Poetry Library moved to the Royal Festival Hall and in 1988 the Royal Festival Hall became a Grade 1 Listed Building.

Throughout Southbank Centre's more recent history there have been numerous 'master plans' and concepts for the redevelopment of the site. In 1988 Terry Farrell was hired to design a master plan to renovate the Southbank site but due to the 1991 property crash, Farrell had to re-do these plans and in the end they were not carried out. In 1993 Allied Morrison were appointed as architectural advisors begin work on the refurbishment and restoration of the Royal Festival Hall. In 1994 Sir Richard Rogers was appointed new Southbank Centre 'master planner'. His designs included a glass wave to go over the site (similar to his designs for the Pompidou centre in Paris). The projected cost was £68m. Lottery fund bids, were made but in 1998 the Arts Council announced they could only give £25m to Southbank Centre, and hence the plan was also abandoned. Finally a successful master plan was proposed in 1998 by Rick Mather Architects. This master plan was part of a wider initiative by Southbank Centre to consult with partners and the public (Lopes Simoes Aelbrecht, 2017).

There have been substantial redevelopments of and additions to the site in recent decades, including the building of the Millennium Wheel on adjacent land in 2000, the refurbishment of the Royal Festival Hall from 2005-2007 and the refurbishment of the Queen Elizabeth Hall, Purcell Rooms and Hayward Gallery in 2015-2018. Southbank Centre is currently a 17 acre site. The areas of Southbank and Bankside together are now widely deemed to be a significant cultural quarter and the Southbank and Bankside Cultural Quarter Partnership was established in 2005, bringing together 21 cultural organisations, businesses and the two local authorities of Southwark and Lambeth. It claims to attract 12 million visitors per year, employ more than 2,000 staff

and have a spending capacity of £133 million[9]. Members of the Southbank and Bankside Cultural Quarter Partnership include British Film Institute, Borough Market, Design Museum, Imperial War Museum, National Theatre, Southbank Centre, Shakespeare's Globe, Thames Festival and Tate Modern.

As discussed in the introduction, this complex geographical and spatial history is not easily understood by visitors or even Southbank Centre staff themselves prior to working for this organisation. Attempts to label and signpost Southbank Centre have been carried out in a number of ways. This has included the labelling of doors balconies, pathways, and the placing of flags and posters across the Southbank Centre site. In addition, a recent marketing strategy, (dating from the refurbishment of the Royal Festival hall in 2007 to the 'Let the Light' in redevelopment in 2015-18) attempted to promote understanding of what makes up the organisation through colour- coding of the buildings across the site. The most recent rebrand has opted for a unified yellow and grey schema.

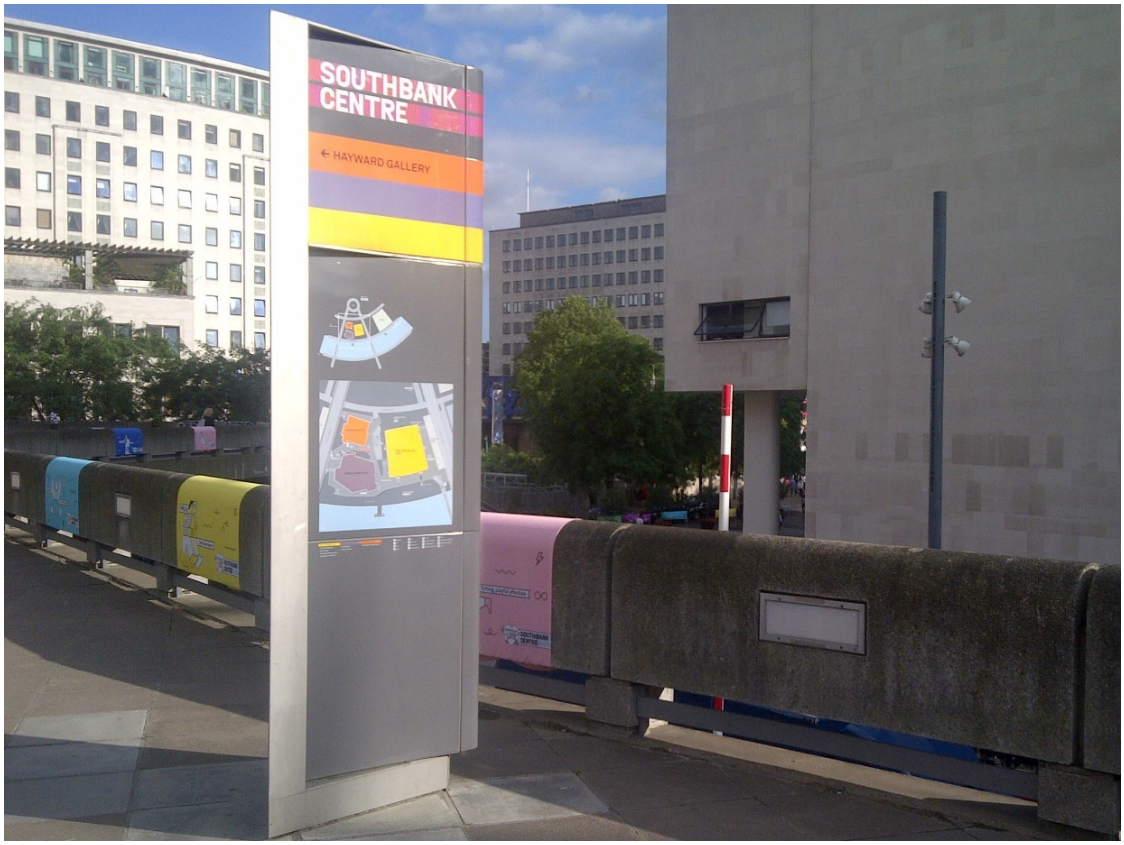


Fig 1.5 A Southbank Centre sign in 2015 with the buildings on the site colour coded[10]

[9] http://www.london-se1.co.uk/news/view/2089
[10] Photo by Kathy Williams

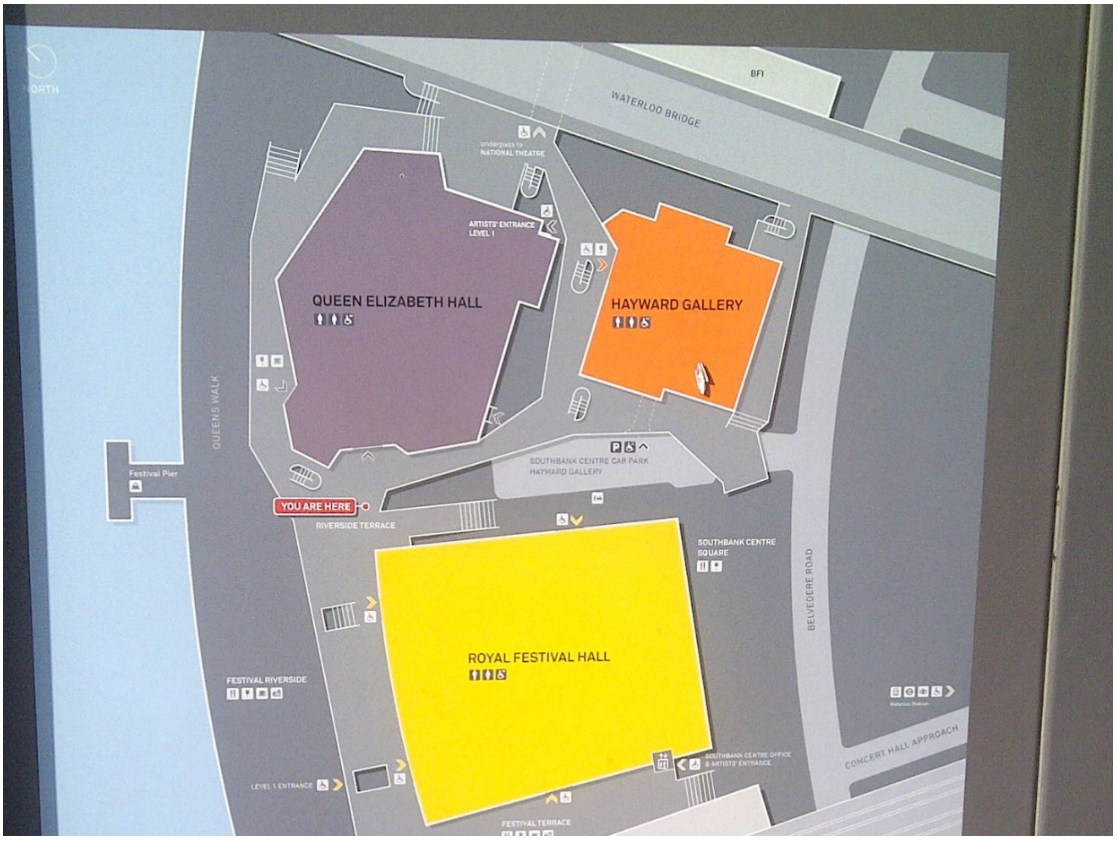


Fig 1.6 Details of one of the colour coded signs on the Southbank Centre site from XXX until 2017-18[11]

[11] Photo by Kathy Williams

Fig 1.7 A Southbank Centre sign following the 2017-18 rebranding[12]

[12] Photo by Kathy Williams

A brief history of London's Southbank, Bankside and Vauxhall

Next I turn to the history of the geographical areas known as Southbank, Bankside and Vauxhall and their multi-layered histories. These areas can longer be understood as the 'metropolitan underside' (Massey, 2000: 25) to the city of London, since this stretch of the River Thames is no longer a marginalised space as it was until the mid-twentieth Century. In the 21st Century this urban space is connected physically, ideologically and culturally to the centre of London and its cultural, touristic and consumerist focus. This space has a complex and multi-layered history, and the ways in which some of this has been fused into an image of a creative and cultural zone that occludes and marginalises the potentially problematic aspects of the area is key to this research. Whilst Southbank Centre was created in the 1980s, in a longer historical context London's Southbank is a space where the kinds of work and activities we would now associate with 'cultural work' are known to have taken place from at least the late 16th Century.

London's Southbank

Fig 1.8 The earliest printed map of London from 1574 which first appeared in the second edition of G. Braun and F. Hogenberg's *Civitas Orbis Terrarum*, atlas of European cities.

In the image above London is just a small area to the North of the river. At this time the population of the City of London would have been around 200,000 and there was only one bridge across the Thames, London Bridge. However, as well as bear baiting rings, a cluster of theatres can be seen on the Southbank of the river, in what was

then known as the County of Surrey. The rich cultural heritage of this area as a site for work which today would be thought of as 'cultural work' such as playwriting and performing, and the cultural leisure pursuits associated with these, namely theatregoing and patronage, is of specific interest to this research, and is discussed below. English Renaissance Theatre from 1562 and 1642 is intrinsically connected to this area and has contributed to its contemporary reputation. In addition to this cultural past, it is known that there were brothels in the area at the time, which had been running from the late 13th Century. The area was also known as a place which harboured criminals due to the presence of 'liberties' and 'sanctuaries' which were areas that criminals could seek refuge in and escape the authorities (Reilly and Marshall, 2001: 17, Brandon and Brooke, 2011) and the Clink Prison has been in this area since the 12th Century. The history of the areas of Bankside and Vauxhall are important in the understanding of the history and heritage of London's Southbank for Southbank Centre and its cultural workers, and so these are explored in a little more detail later.

Prior to the 1800s the area which is now known as Southbank consisted of mudflats, adjoining the part of the riverbank discussed previously, where a number of London's most polluting or otherwise 'unsavoury' industries were located. Around the time of Industrial Revolution this area became an industrial port, and consequently a 58-metre shot tower was erected in Southbank in 1826 to produce lead pellets for the army, following which the Lion Brewery was built in the area in 1836. The building of Waterloo Station in 1848 connected it to other parts of the country, and in 1864 Charing Cross Station opened, connected to Waterloo by the Hungerford Bridge. However, it was still not a perceived as a place that people would chose to visit, and instead had a reputation for being heavily polluted and 'foul-smelling' (Mullins, 2007: 29). It was not until the early twentieth century that concerted efforts were made to regenerate the Southbank of London in order to attract visitors. These included a London County Council plan in 1910 to develop Hungerford Bridge into a road flanked with shops and to give the Southbank boulevards and amenities which never came to fruition, as well as the County of London plan in 1943 which was the first nod towards the redevelopment of the area into a cultural quarter. The plan included proposals for a theatre, swimming pool and concert hall to replace The Queen's Hall in Langham Palace, which had historically housed The Proms but had been destroyed during the Blitz in 1941(Mullins, 2007). However the Second World War delayed the carrying out of these plans and it was only when plans for the Festival of Britain began that the idea of a concert hall on the Southbank re-emerged. In fact that State only started to fund the performing arts in

1940 and it was not until 1965 that the first policy document 'A Policy for the Arts: The First Steps' was published (Hewison, 2014)

As mentioned earlier, the years following the Second World War were a time of austerity in Britain. The war resonated in national consciousness and yet there was a prevailing hope for a better future. Hewison describes this as a time of political and social harmony brought about by shared experience. He iterates that the Blitz itself had attained a myth- like status, that individual experiences had been told and re-told, in all probability imbued with false memories, but that the tangible effect of this shared experience was the drive for a new unity in national identity, a 'consensus culture'. Many ideals of the pastoral idyllic were propagated and romantic visions and notions were upheld by many politicians (Hewison, 1995: 25). Therefore it was at once an era of shortage and poverty which harked back to traditional values and yet also an era which looked to the future with hope and optimism. It was a time of collective remembering and appears, on the surface at least, to have been one of the most politically unified eras of the century. The creation of the Arts Council can be considered as part of this apparently optimistic and idealistic consensus. In 1945 the Labour government accepted museums, art galleries, as well as the contemporary and performing arts as an ongoing national responsibility.

Keynesian post-war cultural policy did take 'great art' to places which would otherwise not have access to them (Mulgan and Worpole, 1986). However, Hewison points out that from its outset the Arts Council was neither a socialist nor wholly democratic organisation. It may have appeared as such but the arbiters of 'good taste,' those who decided what or who the Arts Council should support, continued to be the educated middle and upper classes (Hewison, 1995). Raymond Williams describes the selection of members of the Arts Council thus:

> It is politically and administratively appointed, and its members are not drawn from arts practice and administration but from that vaguer category of 'persons of experience and goodwill' which is the State's euphemism for its informal ruling class (Williams, 1979: 166).

The Arts Council was an idiosyncratic organisation and influenced by: the idea of 'trickle down', or osmosis, from centres of excellence to the rest of society; commitment to professional arts rather than amateur; high art as a spiritual treasure of the nation; as well as antipathy towards financial matters, which led to a lack of transparency over matters relating to arts funding (Mulgan and Worpole, 1986). As such this demonstrates that the idea of a 'consensus' may well have obscured the

extent to which the ‘informal ruling class’ remained highly influential in the economic, political and social climate in Britain. To put it another way, although the expansion in state provision gave support to many it did not disrupt the system of public schooling in the UK and therefore the overall makeup, policies or practices of many of the most powerful bureaucratic organisations (Segal, 2017: 222).

In the following decades, Hewison indicates that there was a ‘shift in national consciousness from the conservatism of the fifties towards a much more dynamic self- image in the sixties’ (Hewison, 1995:126). Britain was developing a more self-aware image, culture had become more reflexive and the ideology of cultural policy had begun to move away from the romanticism of the 1950s. The Labour Government in 1965 was responsible for ‘A Policy for the Arts’ which enabled significant funding for the arts, with an influx of new buildings. This policy signified a confidence in the arts, which links back to the idea of a more diverse, culturally rich, self-reflexive, less conservative Britain. However the political environment was far from stable. The economic situation, coupled with Britain’s increasing multiculturalism and continuing class divides resulted in a turbulent climate. 1968 was a pivotal year in global history. Against the backdrop of the Vietnam War, many factions of society felt under-represented and there was a spirit of defiance. In June 1968 sixteen colleges and universities demonstrated and organised sit-ins protesting against the education system. Perhaps the most famous of these was the Hornsey College protest. These uprisings and others around the country signified dissatisfaction with the hierarchical, class and gender based structures in Britain, particularly in terms of education. There were also further public uprisings globally including worker strikes in France and anti-war protests. However, for Hewison these protests were made by relatively privileged factions of society, and their impact, although controversial and visible, was not long-term (Hewison, 1995: 180). Additionally, as Littler argues there have been and continue to be myriad examples of the ways in which corporations have commercialised and commodified the ideologies connected to identity politics in the 1960s and 1970s (Littler, 2017: 69-71). The being said, equal opportunities for women, gay and lesbian people and ethnic minorities did become increasingly politically important in the 1970s and the understanding and recognition of a more pluralistic culture became more widespread (Mulgan and Worpole, 1986, Segal, 2017, Littler 2017). There were several attempts to open up culture, to argue that those communities which were under-represented should be acknowledged and granted equal rights.

The end of the 1970s saw a Conservative Government come into power which promoted the notion that it was creating a new beginning for Britain, and bringing it out of state of disrepair (Hewison, 1995). Following this, arguably the contemporary political climate in London, at least since the 1980s, and particularly since the promotion by the Thatcher government of a free-market, neoliberal economy, has been centred on finance, business and real estate. Therefore today ongoing regeneration and gentrification projects are driven by a hypercompetitive environment whereby competition and growth take president over affordable housing and liveable areas (Evans, 2009), and much urban theory focuses on exploring this conflict. This period of the UK's history is a time in which, 'The citizen was redefined as the consumer, as a paying customer for public services which were previously available by right, and which the individual may now opt out of helping to provide for others' (Hewison, 1995: 212). Key theories connected to consumerism and neoliberalism are further analysed in the literature review as well as in chapters 4,5 and 6.

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s support and funding were channelled into the site in order to develop it further as a place for the consumption of arts, including; a refurbishment of the Royal Festival Hall in 1965; the opening of the Queen Elizabeth Hall and the Purcell Room in 1967; the Hayward Gallery in 1968; and the National Theatre in 1978. However it was not until the 1980s that the London Borough of Southwark began to focus on a regeneration strategy (Teedon, 2001, Brandon and Brook, 2011). During this decade the Greater London Council provided significant levels of funding to what became Southbank Centre, and in 1981 put together the 'Southbank Wider Area' report which aimed to review the planning principles of the area in the context of residential development. In this decade the focus of local government on the regeneration and promotion of the area as a place for the production and consumption of the arts and culture was refined with the first of a series of plans, the Waterloo District Plan (LBL, 1982), then the North Southwark Plan (LBS, 1982) and the Lambeth Council Unitary Development Plan (LBL, 1988). These were attempts to ally the needs of a diverse communities with the strategic, cultural development of the area. Similar strategies to brand the 'Bankside' area adjacent to Southbank are discussed later in this chapter.

The regeneration of the area from the 1970s has involved a complex interplay of policy directives, partnerships and private investment. In the 1970s and early 1980s there was what Guy Baeten calls the 'emergence of an adversarial community and a (rare) moment of 'regeneration politics proper' in London" (Baeten, 2009: 238).

However the focus on market-driven investment since the late 1980s saw the redevelopment characterised by partnerships which Baeten argues have effectively neutralised dissent, because the lumping together of these different bodies, headed by a corporate and often elite steer effectively shuts down any significant difference and argument (Baeten, 2009: 247). Newman and Smith describe developments in policy from the years 1980-1998 as divided into three phases, 1980-1992 as 'resistance to high cultural production' (Newman and Smith, 2000: 16), an era which was characterised by tension between those campaigning for the building of social housing, for example the Coin Street Public Enquiries, 1978-1982, and the drive for office development which the aforementioned North Southwark District Plan (LBS, 1982) and Waterloo District Plans (LBL, 1982) both opposed. From the 1990s there have been increased, concerted efforts to generate a 'sense of place' for the South Bank and to promote it as a creative space. The London Borough of Southwark put together 'A Strategy for the Arts in Southwark' in 1995, as well as a Unitary Development Plan in the same year, and the first Single Regeneration Budget in 1998. 1993-95 is described by Newman and Smith as a period of 'Unified economic development based on cultural production' (Newman and Smith, 2000: 18), during which developments in making the area into a stretch of clusters of cultural and creative organisations intensified, including the roots of the transformation of Bankside Power Station into Tate Modern. They argue the period 1995-1998 can be seen as 'The fragmentation of cultural production' (Newman and Smith, 2000: 19), during which the areas of Bankside and South Bank promoted themselves as distinct cultural sites and there was a focus on the benefits of economic development driven by market forces, for example the focus on the building of luxury hotels as well as office developments.

In the 1980s and 1990s the amount of money devoted to regeneration (£56m) was significantly less than the budget for cultural projects, from Lottery funding (£122m) and towards the end of the 20th Century local government had to follow market concerns and its role shrunk to image-making, as a result of the Thatcher years (Newman and Smith, 2000: 22). However, during this period in the North Lambeth area, there has been somewhat more balancing of both social and economic concerns. Southbank Employers Group (SBEG) developed flagship institutions but also training facilities, and the Coin Street Community Builders (CSCB) developed spaces which could be used by independent artists. This was due to the fact that CSCB have a not-for-profit agenda and land ownership (Newman and Smith, 2000: 22).

More recently there was a championing of the arts and culture as part of New Labour's Cool Britannia in the late 1990s and early 2000s, and there has been a growth in the policy and academic attention on the cultural and creative industries, which I unpack in the literature review. Alongside this, and often packaged as part of its heritage and tourism industry, the complex history of this space, and the ways in which some of its historical aspects have been incorporated into an image of a creative and cultural zone that occludes and marginalises the potentially problematic aspects of the area- as mentioned above and investigated further later- are investigated in this research, through analysis of key moments and phases of cultural work in the area.

Attempts to label or cluster the cultural and creative sites in South Bank have taken various forms. Newman and Smith suggest four kinds of clusters: the Southbank Centre Cluster; the Bankside Cluster; the Old Southwark Cluster; and the Bermondsey- Butler's Wharf Cluster, positioning the first two as 'high-culture clusters' (Newman and Smith, 2000: 15). Although the dividing of space in this area into subsections for the production and consumption of the arts and culture is evident, attempts to promote a rhetoric of unification for London's Southbank are also apparent. For example the South Bank Partnership which involves 'South Bank's major businesses, arts organisations, universities, health and other public agencies. Together with Lambeth and Southwark Councils, Transport for London, the London Development Agency, and local residents represented by their ward councillors and MPs' (South Bank Partnership 2006: 2), describes the South Bank area as

> Over the past 20 years there have been major changes to London's South Bank. It is no longer 'on the wrong side of the River'. It has recently become London's most popular tourist destination.
>
> 20 years ago the South Bank meant a small area of riverside stretching from County Hall to the National Theatre. Now it runs from Lambeth Bridge to Blackfriars Bridge and south to St George's Circus. It is a vital part of central London and one of its most important neighbourhoods. (South Bank Partnership, 2006: 2).

This document, *Under Pressure and on the Edge London's Southbank: A Manifesto for Action 2006* indicates aspects of continuity in terms of the demarcation of space in South Bank from early modern times, in that it is concerned with providing a sanitary, clean, safe and accessible space for residents and visitors by the removal

of unwanted elements. It stipulates that although, ‘Improvements are on the way…The development of the IMAX cinema meant its underpasses no longer housed cardboard city but its use by the homeless is creeping back… Rough sleeping and street drinking also cause concern, while the presence of very large numbers of people, tourists and travellers, is a constant stimulus to large-scale illegal street trading’ (South Bank Partnership 2006: 15). This demonstrates that concerns about which kinds of behaviour should be tolerated in the area have similarities with the fears of the authorities in Early Modern times. ‘The neighbourhood benefits from a strong police presence and street wardens who have reduced the scale of illegal trading. Coordinated approaches to rough sleeping and street drinking are also paying dividends’ (South Bank Partnership 2006: 16). However, a more modern aspect of place-making is the focus on surveillance of the area, ‘There is a clear need for additional funding to upgrade existing CCTV coverage’ (South Bank Partnership 2006: 15). An update to this document, *The South Bank Manifesto 4 Years On: A Renewed Call for Action* recognises that in the 2006 manifesto ‘there were also strong concerns about the absence of public toilets, the poor retail offer, and further concerns about rough sleeping and street drinking.’ (South Bank Partnership 2010: 4) and lists the following among some of its achievements in improving the area:

> Ownership and responsibilities clarified; higher standards of local authority and private cleansing services; over 6000 tags removed by local graffiti service, additional cleansing service launched; improved coordination of rough sleeping. Legible London signs installed. Increased police presence; public/ private South Bank Patrol Service launched and already virtually eradicated illegal trading; improved CCTV coordination; new communication systems and very high levels of coordination between patrols, police and security staff’ (South Bank Partnership 2010: 6).

The 2010 manifesto calls for

> A safe, clean and accessible environment for all which includes the need to ‘maintain and improve the concerted approach to rough sleeping and street drinking and support the continuing effective co-ordination between public and private CCTV systems (South Bank Partnership 2010: 8-9).

The South Bank Employers Group are an important stakeholder in the area and when describing their past and current projects they list: The South Bank Graffiti Removal Service; the Homelessness Tasking Group; The South Bank Patrol, ‘a

highly visible street presence to deter crime and the fear of crime, reduce and eliminate illegal street trading, reduce anti-social behaviour and engage with private security teams, police and other agencies throughout the area'; and the South Bank CCTV Users Group, 'to contribute to the prevention and detection of crime, assist with Counter Terrorism measures, decrease anti- social behaviour, illegal street trading, environmental crime and enhance community safety and reassurance within the area' (South Bank Employers Group, 2014: 3-4).

The 2006 manifesto is driven in part by the identification of the area as an 'Opportunity Area' for the building of tall buildings and for concentrated development, and also due to the fact that it is on the borders of two boroughs which suffer from deprivation and therefore find it challenging to resource the burgeoning of numbers flowing through the public areas in South Bank. In contemporary times there are undoubtedly a wider range of actors and a range of different issues involved in the demarcation of space in the area. *The South Bank Manifesto 4 Years On: A Renewed Call for Action 2010* includes a call for the funding of improved signage, and routes for pedestrians, the establishment of 'a common standard and full coordination for the management of public space in the area, whether publicly or privately owned, and secure the funding to achieve a standard appropriate for a key central London business and tourist area' and the arbitration of disputes surrounding who owns and is responsible for sites and responsibilities related to these (South Bank Partnership, 2006: 6). It is therefore not only boundary making and the delineation of what kinds of behaviours are permissible in certain spaces that are concerns in recent times, but also the methods in which people are signposted around this creative space are of paramount importance to stakeholders.

A city-wide project, developed by Transport for London and the London Development Agency, which deals with signposting and the demarcation of space and which was piloted in South Bank in 2009 is Legible London, a way finding system which now includes almost 100 street maps in the South Bank area (South Bank Employers Group, 2014: 9), as well as across London more generally. The Legible London project is based on principles of the construction of 'mental maps' and it is claimed that the initiative is intended to help people build their mental maps of the city, 'Legible London envisages the development of a single, coordinated mapping system… Centrally authored, continually updated and digitally distributed, the system becomes a 'living map' for pedestrian information' (Davies, 2007: 22).These 'living maps' are encouraged to be built around memorable locations and landmarks and specifically around buildings and attractions as deemed significant by the initiative.

‘3D drawings of ‘notable buildings’ and ‘a clear, easily understood hierarchy of place names has been developed so people can appreciate the general in relation to the particular’ (Davies, 2007: 6). This demonstrates that a key issue in the demarcation of space in contemporary times in South Bank is the mapping of which buildings and attractions are deemed to be the most important and therefore the most visible on signage and what are called ‘Finder Maps.’ These are positioned on plinths erected by Legible London across the city.

> The Finder Map… is littered with useful landmarks- effectively a map of landmarks- so the user can be memorably guided towards specific streets and attractions… Directional Information is used in two main ways: to show the way towards villages and neighbourhoods, and act as a homing beacon for attractions,’ (Legible London, 2007: 47) which ‘are derived from a comprehensive audit and selection criteria’ (Legible London, 2007: 57).

This project symbolises an explicit codification of the urban environment in South Bank, it tells people which aspects of the space around them are the most important. Furthermore the project is ‘based on ‘progressive disclosure’ – that is, telling people what they need to know when they need to know it, and not bombarding them with irrelevant, potentially confusing information’ (Davies, 2007:14). This is an initiative designed to communicate to users of the space that they are in a legitimate, celebrated creative space with a wealth of opportunities for the consumption of the arts and culture, by deciding which aspects of the space around them will be glorified and celebrated, and which should be ignored or marginalised. There are nearly 100 Legible London signs installed in the South Bank area to explicitly codify this area as a creative space.

Fig. 1. 9 Legible London maps next to the Royal Festival Hall[13]

Bankside

There does not seem to be formal agreement about the exact boundaries of the area known as Bankside today, but various historical and academic sources describe it as including the area between London Bridge to the East and Blackfriars Bridge to the West, inland from the River Thames to Union Street (Brandon and Brooke, 2011, Harris, 2008, Maitland, 2008, Massey, 2000, Teedon, 2001). The street directly next to the River Thames is named Bankside and was created in the Middle Ages, but the *term* 'Bankside' is now used to describe an area much larger than this one street.

[13] Photo by Kathy Williams

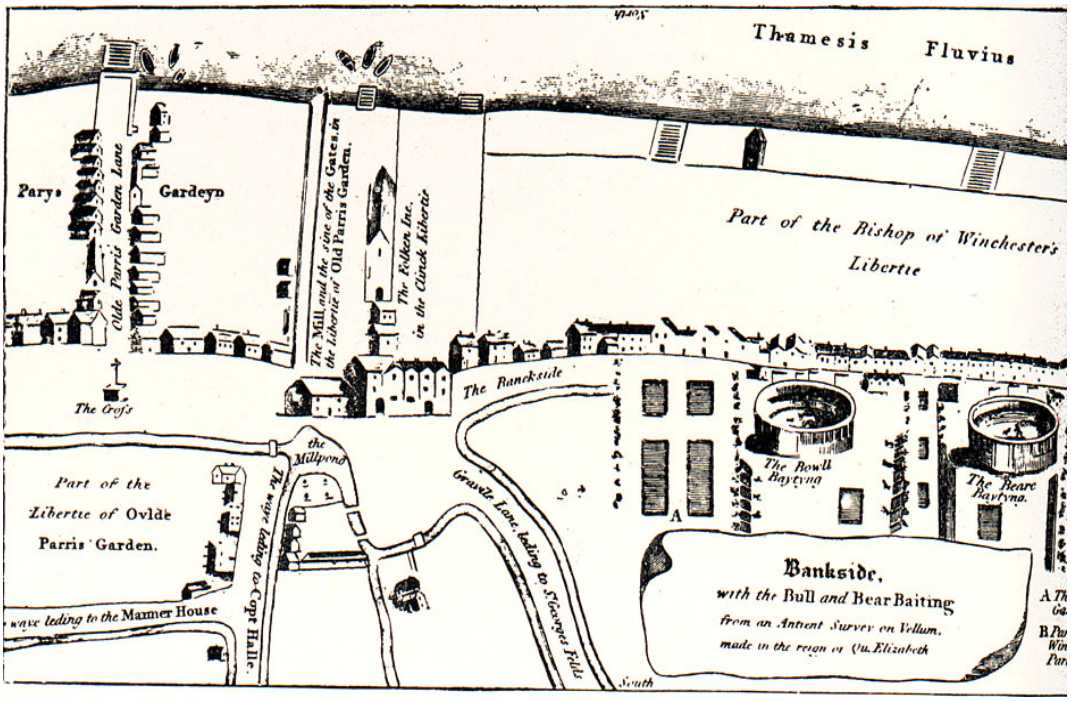


Fig. 1.10 Early plan of Bankside Copyright Stephen Porter.

Perhaps the period of history for which the area is the most well-known, as mentioned above, is the late 16th and early 17th century when behaviours such as prostitution, drinking alcohol in inns and taverns, bear baiting, gambling, and playing the stage were permissible in the area, but banned within the city walls: which Bankside was outside of. The authorities in London in the late 16th Century had a problematic relationship with playing companies and playing houses. Many of the companies had powerful patrons, for example members of the aristocracy and so had to be tolerated (Shapiro, 2006). However, the authorities did not like public performances for a number of reasons. At the time London faced issues with overcrowding and the authorities were concerned about unrest and disorder, as well as the spread of the bubonic plague (Porter, 2011, Arnold, 2015), particularly when large crowds assembled. In 1597 the Privy Council petitioned for playhouses to be shut down arguing that performances included illicit and immoral material (Shapiro, 2006), and that the gathering of the audience would enable criminals to mix with patrons such as prostitutes and pick pockets (Shapiro, 2006, Arnold, 2015) who could take advantage of the mass of people to solicit business or to steal. This led to playing being banned within the city walls.

Fig. 1.11 Map of London showing where the city walls would have been and the playhouses on the Southbank, then called the County of Surrey and so geographically not a part of London. Part of this is the area which is now known as Bankside. Copyright Encyclopedia Brittanica.

Eventually the Puritans banned performing on the stage in 1642 and theatres across London, including those in the Bankside area, were closed down.

Fig 1.12 Painting by Thomas Wyke of a Frost Fair on the River Thames in 1683/4 [14]

A market selling food and related products has been part of the Bankside area from at least the 11th Century, if not before. The area was also known for its Frost Fairs, from at least the 16th century, which would spring up when the Thames was frozen over (Brandon and Brooke, 2011). Various accounts describe them as carnivalesque and liminal zones, since they were not permanently sanctioned trading spaces but were more spontaneous arrangements during which a number of activities would take place. For example, in Andrew's collection of literary sources which provide details of the fairs, an account from 1611 describes a Frost Fair in 1608:

> …All sorts of men, women, and children, went boldly upon the ice in most parts; some shot at prickes, others bowled and danced, with other variable pastimes; by reason of which concourse of people were many that set up boothes and standings upon the ice, as fruit-sellers, victuallers, that sold beere and wine, shoemakers, and a barber's tent etc. (Howes, 1611: 481, quoted in Andrews, 1887:11).

And a further source describes the Frost Fair of 1683-4 in terms of its carnivalesque excess:

> Coaches plied from Westminster to the Temple, and from several other staires, to and fro, as in the streetes, sleds, sliding with skeetes, a bull-baiting,

[14] https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Thomas_Wyke-_Thames_frost_fair.JPG

> horse and coach races, puppet plays, and interludes, cookes, tipling and other lewd places, so that it seem'd to be a bacchanalian triumph, or carnival on the water (Evelyn, 1684: Jan 24th Entry, quoted in Andrews, 1887: 18).

In addition, analysis of visual sources shows evidence that the Frost Fairs were places where a range of pastimes took place, including printing and engraving and musical performances, for example: although many depict a large number of stalls without actually portraying the activities going on inside the stalls (Reed, 2002). As detailed in the quotes above, many types of industry, some of which might now be considered creative or cultural: playing music, including the fiddle and pipes; shows; magic tricks; printing; crafts; and puppetry -took place during Frost Fairs on the Thames. The Frost Fairs continued until the early 19th century, when the Thames stopped freezing over due in part to the rebuilding of London Bridge in 1831.

However the demarcation of this side of the Thames as a 'marginalised underside' to the City of London continued (Ackroyd, 2001). Much of the most polluting industrial work taking place here, for example hat-making, which included poisonous mercury being channelled into the water supply, leather-working and soap production, glass and pottery manufacture. Glassmaking required coal-fired furnaces which were banned from the City of London due to the fire hazard they presented, but precarious and dangerous activities such as these took place in the Bankside area (Brandon and Brooke, 2011: 224-5). The diversity of these industries developed through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, although they still seemed to have in common the poisonous waste matter being produced from them and seeping into the local environment. For example, the making of vinegar, pickle, cocoa and shoe polish took place as well as engineering and iron foundering. A range of materials and products flowed in and out of the area, including fur and hair, oilcake and black-lead, which must have contributed to the toxic, industrial atmosphere of the area (Brandon and Brooke, 2011: 225-7). As previously in history this area was perceived as a substandard space in comparison to the City of London, which enabled the City to flourish without having some of the more unsavoury or dirty production processes happening within its boundaries.

Industry continued in the area in the twentieth century and plans for a power station in Bankside were started in 1939 but delayed by the Second World War and so not actioned until 1948. Designed by Giles Scott, the power station was badly affected by the oil price crisis in the mid-1970s and did not recover, finally ceasing output in 1981 (Reilly and Marshall 2001: 120). As with London and the UK as a whole, the area was affected by processes of de-industrialisation such as this. The 1960s were characterised

by this decline of industry and the 1970s saw a large amount of demolition in the Bankside area. But in more recent decades there have been manifest attempts to design or create a ‘sense of place’ in Bankside. Initiatives such as these are in keeping with major developments across London such as the Docklands. In the mid-nineties a Single Regeneration Budget was created by the London Borough of Southwark (LBS), as well as the Cross Riverside Partnership, although there was no coherent plan from the LBS about a unified image for the area and they could not afford to influence many of the decisions about the design of the area (Teedon, 2001). In the 1980s the LBS began to focus on a regeneration strategy (Teedon, 2001, Brandon and Brook, 2011). The first Tourist Officer was appointed in 1995 and the first Tourism Strategy was created in 1998.

Teedon argues that Bankside has now been re-designed as a ‘cultural space, heavily commodified for (high) cultural consumption’ (Teedon, 2001: 475) and in the attempt to define the place itself as a commodity, the local authority sought the ‘re-appropriation of this place, and it’s re-definition, to meet the needs of a post-modern cultural landscape, one fundamentally oriented towards consumption’ (Teedon, 2001: 462). The extent to which the area itself is designed as a place to be consumed and what relationship this has with ‘cultural work’ is analysed further in the course of this research. Teedon additionally points out that the design of urban space in the area has been created and carried out by globalised designers and architects who have worked on other culturally significant sites. Thus this strategy has been a deliberate attempt to create a new version of Bankside and place Bankside on the world stage. Architectural and landmarking design features have enabled ‘the intensification of existing patterns of commodification’ (Teedon, 2001: 474). This has been done using rudimentary principles of Lynchian theory about the ways in which individuals use mental maps to orient themselves. Lynch proposes that mental maps include: nodes which enable orientation and congregation, for example crossings or junctions; landmarks, or easily recognisable aspects of the external environment; districts which have some distinct and coherent features; paths, or commonly used routes and gateways or edges, the barriers of entry points to certain areas (Lynch, 1960). The medieval street patterns make the area difficult to navigate and so from the 1980s onwards there have been several attempts to signpost the area and facilitate gateways or nodes connecting Bankside to London Bridge, Southwark Bridge, Blackfriars Bridge, Southwark Station, the Thames Path Bankside Pier and the Millennium Bridge (Teedon, 2001). There have also been significant efforts to label the area and to encourage visitors to have a developed, ‘branded’ understanding of

where they are, from new street signs with the word Bankside in red, to the word Bankside written under bridges and on the wall of the river bank.

Fig 1.13 An example of Bankside branding on a street sign [15]

Fig 1.14 Bankside branding in a tunnel. [16]

In developing this area, which is now becoming increasingly saturated with land-marking symbols, LBS in particular has been making concerted efforts to provide a more coherent design-based unity. This in turn has served to reinforce the image of the area as being of cultural interest, or at least of

[15] Photo by Kathy Williams
[16] Photo by Kathy Williams

design interest, and hence marketable, to a global public as a more clearly defined unit (Teedon, 2001: 471).

This signposting strategy, aiming to present the Bankside area as branded with a 'sense of place' alongside copious opportunities for consumption has continued in recent years with the a large number of Transport for London (TfL) maps and Barclays scheme cycling maps as well as 'Better Bankside' branding, which remind the visitor every few steps where they are and what the important cultural and creative icons are in the area. This is in line with a wider attention to the global branding of cities expanding since the 1980s (Zukin, 1995, Evans, 2003, Garcia, 2004, 2005, Lloyd and Clark, 2011).

Fig 1.15 'Blooming Bankside' branding in 2014[17]

Bankside is therefore being presented as a number of sub-areas to be consumed: Tate and Waterfront; London Bridge and Borough Market and Union Street (Teedon, 2001). Also, as can be seen from the Tfl maps there have been attempts to create sub-areas such as 'Bankside Mix' and 'Neo Bankside'. This is part of the post 2000s marketing strategy of the Bankside area.

[17] Photo by Kathy Williams

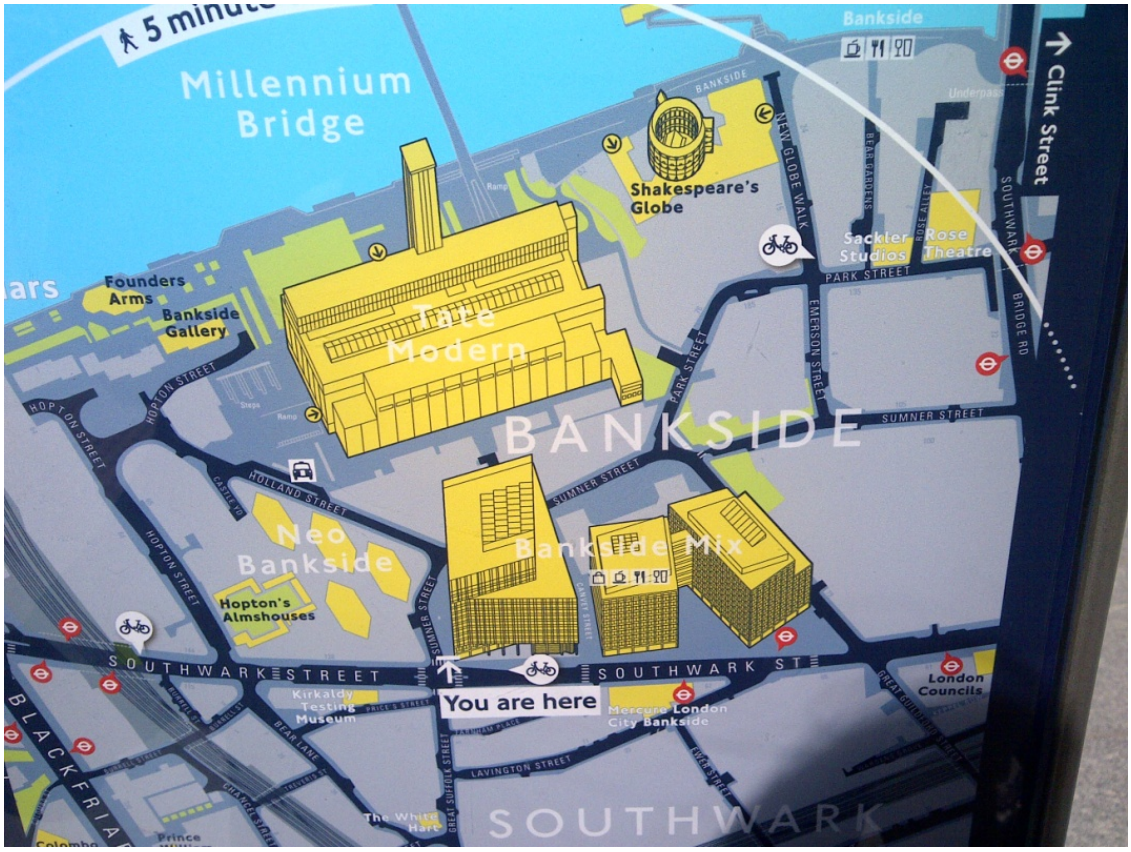


Fig 1.16 Legible London map showing 'Bankside/ Neo Bankside/ Bankside Mix' [18]

The development of this area as a place for the consumption of the arts has been intertwined with its increasingly corporate led property development (Harris, 2008a), and the area has become a battleground over the construction of tall buildings (Harris, 2008b). This is one of the ways in which Bankside is indicative of wider debates and policy conflicts in relation to the cultural and creative industries and cultural work happening across London today. 'Greater flows of capital into Bankside... have been facilitated by a rescaling of urban policy and planning... towards the interests of global financial markets- and property developers- and away from local social reproduction' (Harris, 2008a: 21). Harris portrays developments in Bankside as symptomatic of corporate-led property development being the most influential force in urban planning and policy in London today. He argues that the displacement caused by gentrification in Bankside may not be as obvious as in some areas: there are still a number of housing estates in the area; but there is also a knock on effect. Bankside remains an area of deprivation and many gentrification processes do nothing to ameliorate living conditions for poorer residents in the area (Harris, 2008a: 30).

[18] Photo by Kathy Williams

Cities are increasingly developing new tourist zones to draw visitors away from only using major tourist areas. It is argued by many tourism theorists that tourists are increasingly drawn to places in search of a 'sense of place' in the area rather than, or as well as, the flagship cultural institutions. 'It is everyday life, doing what the locals do, that is attractive, and in its way exotic" (Mailtand, 2008: 23). Maitland's research aims to unpick the relationship between what tourists want in terms of spectacular attractions or flagship cultural institutions versus the appeal of observing citizens, including workers, going about their everyday life. He argues that Bankside was not planned as a cultural quarter or tourist precinct and presents data from visitors participating in studies of the area which suggests that they did not necessarily see Bankside as a heavily touristic area: they thought it was 'off the beaten track.' Visitors in the study also communicated that the design of the area and the visibility of historical design features was attractive to them. He argues that these qualities give a sense of 'placefulness' rather than placelessness, In addition visitors enjoy being in the presence of people doing everyday activities, such as office workers (Maitland, 2000, 2008), presumably for example in the Financial Times building where the offices can be seen from the Thames Path, and around the Blue Fin Building behind the Tate Modern for example. Connected to this theory is the notion that tourist settings can be seen to be divided along a continuum of 'front to back', MacCannell suggests this 'staged authenticity' can have as many as six stages, from the 'social space tourists attempt to get behind' in order to demonstrate their social capital and their distinction from other tourists, to the 'back region; the kind of social space that motivates touristic consciousness' (MacCannell, 1976:102). The presentation of the area as a place where everyday life and different kinds of work, including cultural work, can be observed is a particular branding strategy: but there is debate as to the dangers of the homogenisation of cultural and urban space.

> What is happening is striking evidence of the massive power of corporate businesses to transform the function, culture and appearance of a district. Glitzy offices, riverside apartments at prices beyond the comprehension of most of the longer-standing local residents, cafés, bars and bistros are the music of the moment. Rich pickings are to be had but Bankside is in danger of going on to look exactly the same as every other similar area of honey pot development across the globe. Even many of the tourist attractions in Bankside, in attempting to emphasise the unique historic character of the area, are part of a powerful thrust that is actually destroying it (Brandon and Brook, 2011: 12).

Vauxhall

A further area which is crucial to understanding the layers of history which exist for cultural workers at Southbank Centre is Vauxhall, site of pleasure gardens historically both in the 17th and 18th centuries and during the 1951 Festival of Britain.

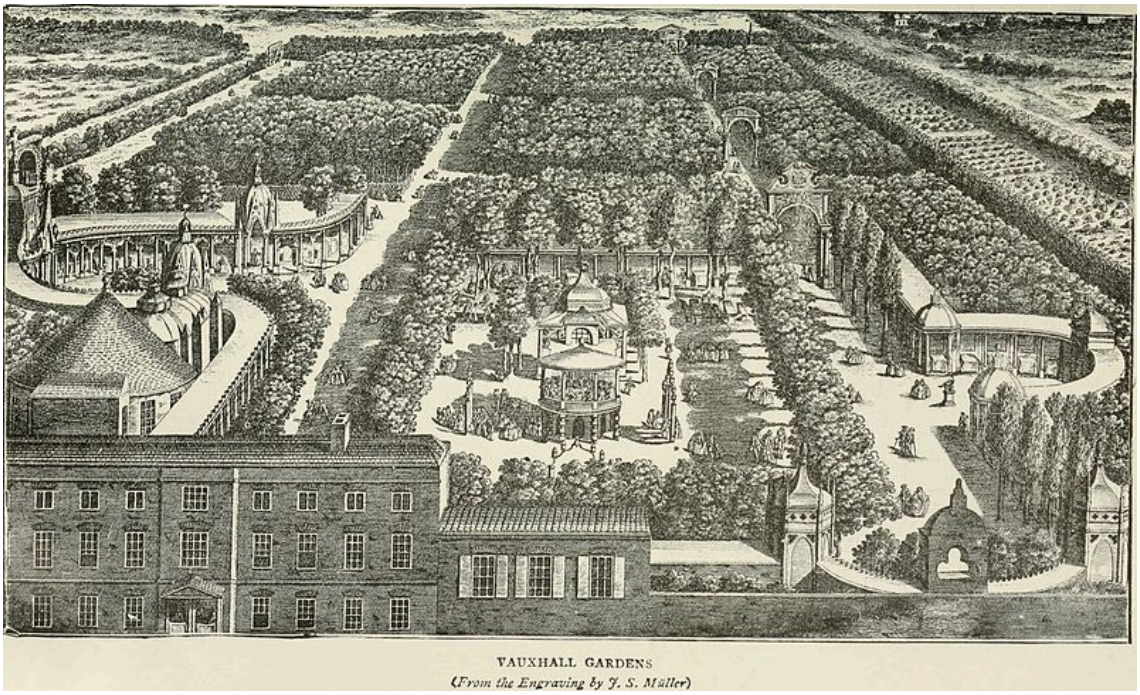


Fig. 1.17 Vauxhall Pleasure Gardens [19]

Of the 65 historically recognised pleasure gardens in London, the 'New Spring Gardens at Vauxhall' which became known as the Vauxhall Pleasure Gardens, are among the most famous of their kind both nationally and internationally, and have been replicated across the world. As with the Frost Fairs, many of the pleasure gardens started out as sites of spontaneous amusement and entrepreneurial commercial activity. The Vauxhall Pleasure Gardens were first opened in 1661 and began as leafy, natural, green, informal gardens with amenities and a few performers, a place where visitors might provide their own entertainment. The Gardens was a space close to the urban centre of London which people of different social standing would visit; although for Corfield their potential as a place for social mixing should not be overrated since it was a temporary mixing, which did not change social structures. Additionally, it was a site in which waiting staff were discreet and stayed out of sight, with a lot of work in running the Gardens taking

[19] https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:South_London_(1912)_(14777631321).jpg

place backstage (Corfield, 2013). Whilst the pleasures of mixing with a wide range of people was one of the attractions of Vauxhall, there were also concerns about pickpocketing, drunken behaviour, and some reports of riots which ended in arrests in the Gardens. The Pleasure Gardens were also known as a place where sexual encounters could take place due to their unlit areas or 'Dark Walks' and were utilised for this throughout the centuries, as areas of welcome privacy for unmarried couples to court each other, of consensual sexual encounters; but also these were places where incidents of sexual harassment were claimed, and they had an enduring reputation for being a place where prostitutes would solicit business.

In eighteenth century London the massification of the entertainment industry was developing quickly, and there were many examples of people congregating to experience a range of cultural and creative pursuits. Vauxhall Pleasure Gardens was a key site for the consumption of these festivities (Corfield, 2012:3). As it grew in popularity, and due to the patronage of its owner Jonathan Tyers, who himself acted as Master of Ceremonies, it became a prominent site for entertainment. This was probably due to his catalytic effect upon the redesign of the gardens in the 1730s, including the addition of thousands of oil-lamps, ornamental arches, painted scenery and a pavilion and Rotunda for the orchestra (Corfield, 2012: 8-9). The programming of the Gardens was a vanguard for musical performance and managed to cater for elite classical tastes as well as more popular tastes which would later form the basis for the programming of Victorian Music Halls (Corfield, 2012: 10). Throughout the 1700s the management of the Gardens was able to cope with changes such as the fact that the availability of spaces to listen to music in London began to diversify, by providing eclectic seasons of music and by specialising in its offerings (Corfield, 2012: 27). The Gardens were host to a whole range of what would now be termed cultural work.

> Formidable programmes of entertainment were organised to draw the crowds. Over time, the gardens hosted concerts, song recitals, dances, masked balls, firework displays, ballets, acrobatic entertainments, pantomimes, naval fetes, balloon displays, races, horse shows, clowns, archery displays, all manner of exhibitions, flower-shows, and even lion-taming (in the early 1840s), as well as many special gala evenings (Corfield, 2012:9).

Vauxhall Pleasure Gardens had begun as a kind of pastoral paradise close to the City, but the rise of industrialisation had a negative effect upon the offer of the site, and by the end of the 18th Century there were large numbers of industries, roads and residences very close by. The programming of the Vauxhall Pleasure Gardens

attempted to respond to the changes of this period, offering 'Juvenile Fetes' which gave free entry to children under 12, popular exhibitions, fireworks and ballooning exhibitions, to cater for different tastes than those whom had been served by its musical offerings. However, in addition to the fact that the Gardens was struggling to keep its audiences, the surveillance and control of the Gardens by the Surrey magistrates increased around this time. Weekend openings were stopped for a number of years after a particularly lively Saturday night in 1806 and in 1825 the magistrates ordered lighting for the Dark Walks. Although the site remained an attraction in the early 19th Century, the arrival of Waterloo Station was a further factor that had a negative effect upon the area, making it noisier, dirtier and generally less appealing (Corfield, 2012). The attractions of the Gardens also now had to compete with a large number of entertainment sites across London, including London Zoo from 1847 and the Alhambra Music Hall in Soho from 1854, as well as the Great Exhibition of 1851 in Crystal Palace. A Last Night event was held on 28th July 1859 and from then on the Gardens were closed. Today Vauxhall Pleasure Gardens are commemorated by some green space, and the urban district of Vauxhall is known for its alternative nightlife, including its reputation as a mecca for gay clubbing.

This chapter has situated Southbank Centre in the relevant cultural and geographical histories of London's Southbank and the two geographical areas either side, Bankside and Vauxhall. The histories of this area are crucial to this thesis both because they have helped form the Southbank Centre of the present, and because understanding of them is necessary to unpack which layers of history are activated or ignored in present-day cultural work and place-making at Southbank Centre. Next I discuss the theoretical underpinnings of this research in greater depth.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

Building on the previous chapter, which discussed key moments and theories relating to histories of Southbank Centre, Southbank, Bankside and Vauxhall, this chapter provides further theoretical framing for my research. The literature review comprises of three sections. Firstly, an exploration of some of the key histories, theories and developments of work in general; secondly an unpicking of assemblages of 'cultural work'[20]; and lastly an analysis of some key concepts concerning the production of space, cultural geographies (particularly urban geographies) and cultural histories and heritage. The literature review in part works to justify the relevance and importance of research into cultural work, which has expanded, in contemporary academia. There has been a significant amount of academic scrutiny of cultural work in various disciplines for at least the last two decades (for example McRobbie, 1998, Beck 2003, Lloyd 2006, Banks, 2007, 2014, 2017, Gill and Pratt 2008, Oakley, 2009, 2014, McGuigan, 2010, Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2013, Banks, Gill and Taylor 2013, Frost, 2016, Oakley and O'Brien, 2016, Littler, 2017, Brook, O'Brien, and Taylor, 2018). This has particularly been the case in the fields of cultural studies and theory; cultural sociology; labour studies; and within theory relating to the cultural and creative industries, including that which contextualises and problematises creative industries rhetoric.

Alongside this, a range of academic theory has analysed the role of creative artists and cultural workers (and their relationship with other workers and actors in urban environments) in producing spaces (Zukin, 1982, Kearns and Philo, 1993, Landry & Bianchini, 1995, Hall, 1999, Landry, 2000, Florida, 2002, Garcia, 2004, Lloyd, 2006, Banks, 2007, Ross 2008, Pratt 2009, Gornestaeva and Campbell, 2012, Oakley, Laurison, O'Brien and Friedman, 2017), and has begun to emphasis the importance of the historicisation of cultural work, and relevant contextual geographical influences upon these histories (Banks, Gill and Taylor, 2013). However, there is a gap in the literature regarding theorisations of the multifaceted interplay of cultural work, the production or space and the layers of histories and heritage which are mobilised and negotiated in these processes. This thesis aims to fills that gap to a significant extent, thereby enriching scholarship in cultural work as well as within institutions and the lived histories of their workers.

[20] The term 'cultural work' will be explored later in this literature review. Therefore quotation marks will be dropped to facilitate more comfortable reading.

Southbank Centre itself has been written about in various disciplines. For example, historical and contemporary architectural theory (Cook, 1972, Hatherley, 2009, Martinez, 2014, Nathaniel Lichfield and Partners/ Southbank Centre, 2015) contemporary art and design theory (Herring, 2009a, 2009b) and urban sociology (Jones, 2014, 2016). Sophie Frost recently completed her PhD thesis *Art at work: creativity and participation in the public cultural institution* which investigated the relationship between 'creative agency' and work at Southbank Centre, drawing on museum studies, visual culture and sociology as well as empirical ethnographic research carried out at the organisation. Her thesis argues that tensions between creativity and management at Southbank Centre can enable a productive environment for 'creative work' (Frost, 2016). Southbank Centre also commissioned a history of the organisation *A Festival on the River: The Story of Southbank Centre* which presents an accessible and entertaining narrative of the 1951 Festival of Britain, Southbank Centre's origins and the development of artistic programming at the organisation (Mullins, 2007). These writings on Southbank Centre are useful and are drawn upon at various points in my thesis to contextualise and underpin research findings, but have quite a different aim and purpose from this thesis, which has a more critical historical approach to spatialised cultural work at this institution.

There has also been much written about Southbank, and the adjacent areas of Bankside and Vauxhall in academic and cultural fields, as discussed in Chapter 1 (for example Newman and Smith, 2000, Brandon and Brooke, 2011, Shapiro, 2006). Broadly, writing on these urban areas can be understood as belonging to the following disciplinary fields: historical narratives, whether specifically focused on London's Southbank, or on London as a whole; cultural histories of the areas linked to traditions of playwriting and performing, or leisure pursuits such as the pleasure gardens; architecture and design; tourism studies; the study of urban art districts, public space, cultural quarters and creative clusters; and the field of urban geography.

My research moves theorisations of cultural work into a new domain by analysing the ways in which various forms of what would now be called cultural work have been associated with, and produced, by Southbank Centre. It analyses the historicisation and spatialisation of cultural work within this organisation. The thesis aims to provide a theoretically-informed exploration of how current and recent cultural workers relate to the many layers of histories at Southbank Centre and its production of cultural space. By interrogating academic ideas connected to cultural work and the production of space, it creates theoretical lenses through which to understand the

lived experiences of cultural workers and their interaction with Southbank Centre's history. In order to do this a key objective of this research is to identify and examine key moments and phases of cultural work associated with this cultural institution. This involves exploration of histories of the organisation, analysis of recent documents and of the lived experiences of cultural workers. Such exploration therefore provides the scope for this research to investigate the ways in which cultural work at Southbank Centre relates to the social construction of a 'sense of place' and the part that individual cultural workers have played and continue to play.

My literature review, as well as the thesis in its entirety, draws upon a wide range of theories from interconnected disciplines, for example some of the diverse sources described above. I aim to explore historicised, spatialised dimensions of cultural work in terms of both its material and symbolic function in our society. Similarly, as Littler puts it when describing her approach:

> I am not interested in mediated meritocracy as a free-standing entity sealed off from politics and geography and society. I want to explore how meritocracy operates across a number of interconnected realms to get a better sense of what it is doing and what it means. This for me is the strength of the approach of cultural studies: to consider how 'everything connects to everything else' in order to evaluate the power dynamics that constitute meritocracy (Littler, 2017: 11-12).

Or, to put it another way, it is like the approach that Michel Foucault encourages his readers to adopt in relation to his own work:

> All my books…are if you like, little tool boxes. If people want to open them, or to use this sentence or that idea as a screwdriver or spanner to short-circuit, discredit or smash systems of power, including eventually those from which my books have emerged…so much the better (Foucault, 1975: 115).

My research does not so much directly attempt to 'smash systems of power' as it calls for a focus on analysis of the lived texture of cultural work today in order to further understand how a powerful cultural institution operates; and it does this through looking at the ways in which 'everything connects' through using a broad range of sources and theories – 'this sentence or that idea'- across a number of related disciplines. The next section of this literature review provides an exploration of some of the histories and developments of work generally, taking as a starting point the changes and continuities in work, and building the discussion around this.

Histories of work: changes and continuities

It is important to both place cultural work within the wider context of work itself in in the 20th and 21st centuries and the changes and continuities discussed in academic

literature on this subject, particularly since, for Gill and Pratt, 'one group of workers said perhaps more than any other to symbolise contemporary transformations of work [is] cultural and creative workers' (Gill and Pratt, 2008: 2, see also Banks, 2007, Gregg, 2011). There are some particularly influential discourses and practices which impact the lived experiences of all contemporary work, for example: neoliberalism; individualisation and meritocracy; and consumerism, which are briefly explored below (for this I draw on Segal, 2017, Littler, 2017, Banks, 2017, Beck 1992, Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, Gabriel and Lang, 2006 and Huws, 2006 for example). In terms of further changes in and developments of work which impact the ways it is experienced today, I discuss precarity and the destabilisation of the idea of a career-for-life, secure working conditions and the range of social identities connected to work (Amin, 1994, Hall, D.T. 2004, Hall, S. 1988, Huws, 2006, Inkson, 2006, Lingo and Tepper, 2013, Oakley, 2009) and the blurring of boundaries between work and leisure (Lazzarato, 1996, Gregg, 2011, Huws, 2006).

At the same time, however, continuities also exist. For example, a key feature of capitalism has always been that the conditions for lower-skilled workers include low pay, casual and precarious working and instability (Gill and Pratt, 2008); 'sweatshop' working conditions, although perceived as an old-fashioned concept, have been consistently present in the garment making industry (Ross, 1997); men and women have long been associated with different types of work (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2013, Newman, 2012); and globalised labour patterns are themselves not new, given that countries and continents have traded goods and services for centuries (Huws, 2006). The first section of the literature review explores some of these changes and continuities in order to situate discussion of cultural work.

Influential discourses and practices

Neoliberalism

A key point of departure when discussing prominent discourses and ways of organising society today are theories of the impact of developments in the economy, including analysis of our contemporary neoliberal context. It is now often recognised that capitalism has assumed a succession of different conditions and characteristics and that these are evident in changes to the environments, structures and government of labour (Dowling, Nunes and Trott, 2007). The contemporary formation of capitalism has been profoundly shaped by the Thatcher government in the UK and the Reagan government in the US in the 1970s and 1980s adopting neoliberal politics and culture (Hall, 2011). This era has been characterised by government

policy which has focused on undermining trade unions, the sale of public housing, increased privatisation of public services and the dissolution of security and support provided by the welfare state (Littler, 2017, Segal, 2017). This has purportedly been carried out in the name of increased 'freedom' for the individual (Hall, 2011: 706), or via promotion of the idea that individual happiness can be augmented by advocating the right to private property and free markets and trade (Harvey, 2007:2).

Neoliberalism is an inherently complex term, which encompasses a range of ideas as connected to the primacy of market forces, competitive individualism and the dominance of the private sector over the public (Hall, Massey and Rustin, 2015: 13). It is a term which, although has been criticised as being insufficient to cover all that it is taken to mean, for Hall is useful as a 'provisional conceptual identity' or a 'first approximation'. Moreover, Hall argues, it encompasses a set of discourses and practices which need to be named in order to resist its growing omnipotence and omnipresence (Hall, 2011: 707). It is an evolving set of ideologies and practices (Peck and Tickell, 2002, Hall, 2011) shaped by various governments globally, and variously appropriated by key political figures, perhaps most famously in the UK and US by Thatcher and Reagan as mentioned above, as well as inherited and re-appropriated by their successors (Hall, 2011). Banks and O'Connor describe it as

> [T]he gradual colonisation of our everyday language (and institutional behaviour) by economic reasoning, the (re)privatisation of the mediatised public sphere under the rubric of 'de-regulation' and choice, the restructuring of cultural policy around the consumer rather than the citizen, the deepening social-cultural shift from collective to individual identities and values, and a pervasive (and global) drive to strip out the costs (and power) of labour (Banks and O'Connor, 2017: 647).

It is widely acknowledged that although presented as a push for freedom for market forces from state intervention, neoliberal approaches have resulted in the monopolisation of markets by multi-national corporations and the incredibly wealthy, an entrenched and intensified gap between rich and poor and deepening inequalities (Hall, Massey and Rustin, 2015, Segal, 2017) and that it 'involves the promotion of corporate power, the marketisation of collective provision and the idea that competition is the organising principle for all walks of life' (Littler, 2017: 7). This has obvious impacts upon the working lives of individuals in society, not least the higher levels of stress that come with increasingly competitive workplaces, for example.

Increasingly (for example Segal, 2017) neoliberalism has been critiqued as a 'fiasco' because the more it fails the more the state has to step in to intervene. There is a direct causality between the focus on the primacy of the market and

entrepreneurialism and the 2008 banking collapse, the housing crisis, and growing inequality, resulting in a decrease in living standards for many (Segal, 2017: 232-3). Hall, Massey and Ruskin, in their online (and later published in print) manifesto *The Kilburn Manifesto* assert that neoliberalism has reached a crisis point, and rather than responding to this with alternative approaches, North American and Western European countries have responded by ingraining neoliberalism in all aspects of society (Hall, Massey and Rustin, 2015). However they argue for the need for a 'progressive political project' which will open the debate around neoliberalism as a dominant discourse and in the process question neoliberal logic and propose radical alternatives (Hall, Massey and Rustin, 2015).

The impacts of neoliberal political formations and our current social context upon cultural workers at Southbank Centre are discussed in the following chapters of this thesis. In a similar fashion to Jim McGuigan's 2010 article, which used working practices in television as a case study, my aim is to 'make sense of the present day conditions of cultural work… seeking to illuminate how neoliberalism operates at the everyday level of working life in the cultural field' (McGuigan, 2010: 324). The ways in which cultural workers today operate in an increasingly neoliberal context and yet at the same time constantly negotiate the layers of history at Southbank Centre is an important consideration in my research. Particularly since, as discussed in depth in Chapters 4 and 5, the layers of history at Southbank Centre include social democratic approaches to access and provision as well as radically left wing legacies such as the impact of the Greater London Council (GLC) upon both work and the production of space at this institution. The tensions between the layers of history which co-exist at Southbank Centre and the milieu in which cultural workers today operate is of prime concern.

Individualisation and meritocracy

Connected to the omnipresence of neoliberal discourses and practices in the economy and society today are discourses which promote the primacy of the individual in society, over more collective structural forms. This has led to the dominance of the idea that our successes and failures are the personal responsibility of each individual rather than connected to myriad social, collective factors, and that blame therefore rests with the individual when things go wrong (Beck, 1992, Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, McGuigan, 2010, Banks, 2007, Segal 2017). For Beck, this can lead to the internalisation of all risks, from environmental, financial to injury or disaster (Beck 1992). For Littler, metaphors such as the ladder, and also the 'level playing field' have been

used in ideological discourses to socially and economically stratify social reality, promoting ‘competitive individualism’ and causing massively unequal living conditions (Littler, 2017: 31).

There are some ways in which this individualisation is understood as being of potential benefit, or as allowing the potential for more choice, although importantly whether to make these decisions or not is not always optional, and the possibilities are structured by social context. But, as mentioned above, the blame for any decisions made (or not made) tends today to be placed onto the individual (Beck 1992). Beck and Beck-Gernsheim argue that individualisation is compulsory in society today, and as such is isolating. Yet they also posit that it is experienced collectively and so can enable new networks and collaborations (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002). I explore the balance between the need for individualised emotional labour alongside collaborative work patterns in chapter 6. Beck claims that contemporary individualisation means people are able to break away from more traditional roles, although this notion has also been critiqued (See Banks and Milestone, 2011). Segal refutes the social rhetoric that individuals can ‘choose happiness’ regardless of their personal circumstances and that succeeding in the workplace is also a choice (Segal, 2017:7). The combination of the neoliberal environment and the focus on the individual has led to the promotion of the archetypal successful entrepreneur whom is skilled in ‘self-management’ rather than reliant upon social structures for support (Rose, 1989, Banks 2007, Gill, 2002, McGuigan, 2010), or is required to become adept at promoting a confident image and endeavouring to change themselves to gain success in the workplace rather than try to address structural inequalities (Gill and Orgad, 2016). Ideas around individual resilience and self-management are further explored in Chapter 5 when I analyse the ways in which individuals work at Southbank Centre as well as the ways in which the organisation attempts to survive in challenging times.

A further contemporary discourse it is important to take into account in relation to work is that of meritocracy. In her book *Against Meritocracy: Culture, power and myths of mobility* Jo Littler argues that the prevalence of ideologies around meritocracy in society today is a key way in which neoliberalism perpetuates its dominance and that the key tenet of meritocracy- that everyone has an equal chance of ‘making it’ to the top of the ladder- is a myth (Littler, 2017). To put it another way, it is a fantasy that anyone can be successful regardless of their start in life (Segal, 2017). Other theorists also critique the neoliberal rhetoric of their being few or no barriers to success, finding that instead barriers can be profound (Gill, 2002, Banks

and Milestone, 2011, Oakley 2013). This influences how individuals understand and talk about their lived experience of work, and is an important framework for my analysis of recruitment processes at Southbank Centre in Chapter 6.

Additionally, the historicisation of discourses surrounding meritocracy provides valuable framing for my research. Ideas around the possibility for 'social mobility' have been widespread in Western society at least since the mid-19th century. The concept that with talent and effort individuals can climb to the top echelons of society has been interwoven with capitalist ideologies for at least the last two centuries (Littler, 2017: 26-27). Moreover, the post-war social democratic moment was a time when social mobility was made possible for some (Banks, 2017:90, Littler 2017:54), and this is the period in which the 1951 Festival of Britain was conceived of and produced, leading to the establishment of Southbank Centre, as I discussed in the previous chapter and introduction. However, this was predominantly the case for white men, and less so for women and ethnic minorities (Littler, 2017: 54), as Banks analyses in terms of the cultural industries specifically (Banks, 2017: 98-102). As I look at in Chapter 4, this was something the GLC aimed to improve but more recently cuts to welfare provisions, combined with the destabilisation of work as well as structural issues around both opportunity and outcome for women, ethnic minorities and working class people have deepened and intensified inequality (Littler, 2017: 58).

Littler argues that there are five main problems with the prevalence of meritocracy, both as a social system and discourse since it: promotes competitive individualism with ingrained hierarchies, and so logically means some people must exist at the bottom of the social pyramid; makes the assumption that intelligence and abilities are fixed and intrinsic rather than changeable, variable and influenced by numerous factors; ignores the fact that upward social mobility is harder for some people than others, for example it is more difficult in different time periods, as connected to state provision and support, and social mobility can also depend on the availability of social, economic, geographical and physical resources; places certain professions, without reflection, at the 'top of the ladder' for example performer and entrepreneur, alongside the idea of 'escaping' from the working class being venerated; and lastly that as inequalities in society intensify, the myth of meritocracy works to hide this increasingly entrenched stratification. A focus on the idea that talent and effort alone can enable upward mobility ignore the important influences of family wealth and status, for example (Littler, 2017: 3-7). As Littler concludes 'meritocracy as a social system is therefore a structural impossibility and, as a cultural discourse, it is a damaging fiction' (Littler, 2017: 217). The impact this has upon cultural work

recruitment and selection processes, as well as success at work in a cultural organisation is analysed in Chapter 6 where I unpick the emphasis on emotional labour (Hochschild, 1983) at Southbank Centre. The focus in recruitment processes and selection on interpersonal skills and being able to gauge what interviewers are looking for in terms of social and communication skills could privilege certain individuals e.g. those with higher levels of cultural and social capital and/ or a 'player' approach to employment, or those who conceive of and manage their own employability as a game to be played, with rules, during which acquired skills are repackaged for consumption within the recruitment arena (Brown and Hesketh, 2004, Oakley and O'Brien, 2016). This obviously then has ramifications upon diversity in workplaces such as Southbank Centre.

To further explore the specific relationship of this discourse of meritocracy in relation to cultural work it is useful to draw on Rosalind Gill's 2002 research on 125 freelance workers in new media across 6 European countries. Her article *Cool creative and egalitarian?: Exploring gender in project-based new media work in Europe* presents finding from this project including a dismantling of the meritocratic myth surrounding employment in this sector. Gill's research demonstrates that there are both traditional structures of gender based inequality and new forms of inequality which are imbricated with the very conditions that are cited as making this work equal: flexible working, and informal and autonomous working patterns, for example (Gill, 2002). She found that men and women have markedly different subjective experiences of work in new media which question the image and 'hype' surrounding this sector as 'cool, creative and egalitarian' (Gill 2002: 84). For example, accounts from lived experiences of this kind of work show that informal working conditions in some cases allowed male-dominated workplace sexism to exist unchallenged. It also meant that the use of informal networks, by their very nature often non-meritocratic, were the norm in terms of finding work rather than formalised recruitment practices (Gill, 2002: 85-86). Additionally notions around 'flexibility' within this sector supposedly meaning more equality for workers are challenged through the findings of Gill's research. Often women, who may have other life commitments to juggle, may not be able to be 'flexible' to the surges and slumps in working patters. Additionally due the presence of informal networking mentioned above they may have fewer contacts, therefore less work. This often then resulted in them needing to do their work from home for financial reasons and the situation perpetuating itself since without an office space the chance to network again diminishes (Gill, 2002:87). Finally, and perhaps most disturbingly, Gill's research portrays how, although men and women have vastly

different experiences of cultural work, this is something not often openly discussed and therefore women's apparent lack of success is framed as being their own fault (Gill, 2002: 88).

Further studies have shown that, although many cultural workers may consider the cultural and creative industries to be meritocratic, there is strong evidence that they are not, and that who you know and your ability to fit into a certain culture matters as much if not more that your individual skill, talent and drive (Banks, 2017, Brook, O'Brien, and Taylor, 2018). I come back to these theories on equality and injustice in cultural work and society generally in the conclusion in order to think about ways in which my research might signal new avenues of investigation which could, for example, explore alternative, non-competitive and collaborative approaches to the production of space by cultural workers. Next, however, I move on to analyse a related issue; that of the effects of the prevalence of discourses around consumerism and their impact upon work and individuals.

Consumerism

Debate around the meaning and social effects of consumption have both historic and contemporary salience. It is widely acknowledged that mass consumerism has had an overwhelming impact upon the ways in which individuals lead their lives, and in particular as a governing principle of everyday life (Beck, 2003). Segal states that this in large part dates from the Second World War, and was made possible by state support of individuals through the welfare state (Segal, 2017: 29). Instead of critically engaging with debate about public life and equal distribution of resources and wealth, individuals are encouraged to think of themselves as having the agency to influence our own lives primarily through consumption and characterise ourselves primarily as consumers rather than other roles e.g. citizen, parent, teacher or worker (Rose, 1989, Gabriel and Lang, 2006, Segal, 2017). This is a particularly relevant theoretical framework for Chapter 4 of my thesis which looks at how space at Southbank Centre has become commodified and commercialised.

Consumerism is a complex system, which as Gabriel and Lang put it, has been variously described as: 'a moral doctrine in developed countries' or 'the essence of the good life'; 'the ideology of conspicuous consumption' an 'economic ideology for global development' a 'political ideology' in which 'the marketplace supplies increasingly glamourous stylish goods, while the state is seen as providing shabby, run-down services' as a 'social movement seeking to promote and protect the rights of the consumer'. Through these multiple guises consumerism 'both describes social

reality and also shapes our perceptions of social reality' (Gabriel and Lang, 2006: 9). For Gabriel and Lang the notion that individuals have been completely co-opted into thinking and acting as 'consumers' is too simplistic. They coined the term 'the unmanageable consumer' to describe the ways in which the 'consumer' is variously defined (for example as: chooser; communicator; explorer; identity seeker; hedonist or artist; victim; activist; citizen) and represented and therefore is not a fixed or stable term, alongside the notion that consumer behaviour itself is inconsistent and unpredictable (Gabriel and Lang, 2006). There are varied examples of marketing and merchandising at Southbank Centre aiming to appeal to one or more of these 'types' of consumer, as I discuss in Chapter 4, in which I look at commodity fetishism and the ways in which individuals are encouraged to connect joy and pleasure with the acquisition of material objects and commodities (Segal, 2017: 79). Now, however, having outlined some key features of society and prominent discourses which impact upon the lived experience of work above, I want to move on to discuss key developments in and changes to working lives.

Key changes in and developments of work

From Fordism to Post Fordism

An important shift in the world of work is from Fordism as a culturally and socially hegemonic system which involved the mass production of standardised commodities, regulated work and working conditions, as well as attention to the welfare of workers and the activities of workers outside their working hours (Gramsci, 1935, Rose, 1989) to a Post-Fordist society where consumption, production and work are ostensibly less standardised, more 'flexible' and bespoke to specific markets. For Robin Murray 'New Times' or the Post-Fordist Era included the move away from standardised mass produced goods to enable consumers to 'keep up with the Jones'' by purchasing the same products as everyone else, to the production of a range of commodities, and indeed symbols, which consumers can supposedly use to differentiate themselves. For workers that transition has been a move away (to some extent) from their location as a cog in a machine, interchangeable with a colleague, to being multi-skilled (Murray, 1988). There have also been developments in our conceptualisations of work, from 'a purely contractual relationship between two isolated economic actors' or an exchange of labour for money, and vice versa, to 'the worker as something more than an expendable and endlessly replaceable commodity' with 'the strength, health, virtue and moral rectitude of the worker requiring conservation' (Rose, 1989: 61-62). Then in the twentieth century 'employment was to be further socialised...along four intertwined

pathways: welfare, security, harmony and productivity' which began as non-state organised but, then, 'at least until the 1980s, social insurance came to be the crucial mechanism - pensions, unemployment, sickness benefit and so forth' for the management and motivation of workers (Rose, 1989: 61-62).

The current climate is seen as one in which the Fordist settlement of caring for workers is progressively being eradicated, and as a result notions of work as well as individual identity are being transformed (Amin, 1994, Lazzarato, 1996, Hall, 1988, Gabriel and Lang, 2006). Another way of understanding it is that the 'deal' of Fordism, which, although it provided often monotonous, unskilled, and disaffected work, was rewarded with improved standards of living and paternalistic care of the workforce in terms of holidays, health care and so on (Gabriel and Lang, 2006). These transitions have also been understood as having led to less job security and a transition from what Ross terms the 'Old Economy' to the 'New Economy'. The former can be said to be characterised by an authoritarian but caring approach to the worker, including potentially less opportunity for personal fulfilment and for the worker-as-individual to influence the final outcome, alongside lower levels of personal risk and more financial and social security. The latter could be said to be characterised by the possibility for some individuals- normally those with enough social and cultural capital to begin with- to have more fulfilment in terms of input or their effect upon the output, but to adopt in addition more risk and less benefits and security (Ross, 2008). McGuigan argues that as a result, 'the balance of power in the labour bargain between capital and labour shifted inexorably from the latter to the former and working life became much less secure and more precarious' (McGuigan, 2010: 328). These developments in approaches to the workforce have led, for example, to a far broader range of contract types and working patterns and to increases in the number of those without work, compared to Fordism's promotion of mass employment (Murray, 1988). I now look at the issue of precarity in more depth.

Precarious working

In a broader sense, it has however been argued that Fordism was an exception and that 'precarity', over a longer stretch of time than the present and previous centuries, is the norm (Neilson and Rossiter, 2008). Precarity and historically of the struggle for meaningful and aesthetically inclined labour, for example, in Victorian times, specifically in the Arts and Crafts Movement (Luckman, 2013). Additionally work in public-facing roles has always existed, what has changed is the extent to which these roles are socially manipulated and managed from above (Hochschild, 1983: 8). However, in his

book *The Precariat* Guy Standing analyses the impacts of the insecure labour market and argues that it is resulting in a new 'class' of people whom he terms 'The Precariat'. These individuals are often disillusioned with experiences of working lives having to move from one unstable job to another and are therefore vulnerable to extremist politics (Standing, 2011). Standing calls for a redistribution of wealth and security of income for everyone in order to turn the tide of this isolating and frustrating experience of work for many (Standing, 2011). A relatively new feature of the late capitalist system, and one that is attracting academic scrutiny is that there are increasingly more instances of precarious working conditions for skilled workers, those who are well paid and have a higher status in society (Pratt and Gill, 2008: 2). In the current climate both lower and high skilled IT work is outsourced; and what has not been studied in as much depth is the global division of white collar work (Huws, 2006).

Furthermore there is a dualism to this precarity in that it is often understood as having the potential for new forms of freedom of expression and cooperation. As Rosalind Gill and Andy Pratt put it:

> Precariousness (in relation to work) refers to all forms of insecure, contingent, flexible work- from illegal, casualised and temporary employment, to homeworking, piecework and freelancing. In turn precarity signifies both the multiplication of precarious, insecure, unstable forms of living and simultaneously, new forms of political struggle and solidarity that reach beyond the traditional models of the political party or trade union. This double meaning is central to understanding the ideas and politics associated with precarity; the new moment of capitalism that engenders precariousness is seen not only as oppressive but also as offering the potential for new subjectivities, new socialities and new kinds of politics (Gill and Pratt, 2008: 3).

These notions of precarity as also allowing some forms of freedom or activism are discussed when I look at cultural work specifically below. Littler argues that 'Neoliberal meritocracy [has] selectively appropriated the aspects of liberation struggles that were compatible with capitalism in order to sell products, individualised modes of self-conduct and precarious labour as liberating and meritocratic' (Littler, 2017: 215), and the ways in which precarious cultural work is packaged as 'liberating' is important to my analysis of cultural work.

The altering of social identities

One of the effects of the changing job market is that social identities are altering, and are no longer predominately tied to a place or an occupation. Many jobs have changed from being what Huws calls 'fixed' or secure and set in one place to being

‘footloose,’ undertaken in a range of both locations and timeframes. However, this state of affairs for many is a complex combination of both and is riven by class location for, ‘One of the ironies of the present situation is that many of the most fixed jobs are often carried out by the most footloose people while some of the most footloose jobs may be carried out by people with deep ancestral roots in the location where they work’ (Huws, 2006: 35). Littler argues that discourses of meritocracy suggest that talent will enable not only social mobility but also geographical mobility and the potential to work anywhere in the world, although this is rarely possible for those that start off with less opportunity and support (Littler, 2017). This connects to global mobility debates, as I discuss later in the cultural geographies section, where I critique the notion that ‘talented’ individuals are able to move anywhere in the world. Doreen Massey posits this experience as an example of a ‘double imaginary’ of globalisation, in that freedom to move around for work favours the well off and highly skilled, whereas those economically worse off and unskilled are at once asked to welcome movement and at the same time effectively forced to remain where they are (Massey, 2005: 86-87).

These changing work geographies intersect with technology and how the boundaries between work and leisure are changing. For example, of how over the past two decades in particular, a myriad electronic devices have come to reshape or even replace intimacy in people’s lives (Gregg, 2011). Today many people experience a fractured working life in terms of when and where they do their work, since work is available digitally at any time and from anywhere, and the globalised effects of different time zones impacts upon working patterns (Huws, 2006). Increasingly a range of workers, and particularly those in the cultural and creative industries, need be responsible for their own career, and have to develop skills which enable them to prepare for and adapt to change (Inkson, 2006). Workers, particularly in the arts and culture, are incited to manage ‘portfolio careers’ or to be able to work in a variety of different contexts and settings, including domains that would previously have been distinct from each other, such as being socially engaged and yet working autonomously (Hall, D.T., 2004, Inkson, 2006, Lingo and Tepper, 2013). These shifts in the developments of social identities for employees have led to the breaking down of traditional ideas around work and careers to a large extent for many people. This in turn has meant that precarity within all kinds of work has been a key focus of academic scrutiny, which I turn to now.

Identifying elements of continuity

Precarious work and exploitative work

Shifts such as these have also led to and intersected with growing inequalities within the workforce. For example, whilst men and women have traditionally been associated with different roles in the context of work and in the home, neoliberalism has led to a status quo where women are exploited in numerous ways, for example through flexible working, juggling multiple, often both local (in place of the cuts in welfare services) and global care roles, consumers and mothers responding to shifting cultural norms (Newman, 2012: 6). However, alongside these changes and developments continuities are also identifiable. For example a key feature of capitalism has always been that the conditions for lower-skilled workers include low pay, casual and precarious working and instability, in order to allow the capitalist system to function (Gill and Pratt, 2008). An example of this are 'sweat shop' working conditions in which low wages, overcrowding, enforced overtime, child labour, lack of basic health and safety, and lack of worker's rights or benefits may all be part of the working conditions and environment. These were a key part of Victorian capitalism but the belief that they have been eradicated from today's society is erroneous, and the usage of these kinds of production bases has been, and continues to be, a constant in both developed and developing cultures (Ross, 1997). Mezzadri argues that sweatshops in India are continuing sites of exploitation and oppression in which local, national and international actors are implicated (Mezzadri, 2016).

Gender and work

Men and women have also traditionally been associated with different types of work. The stereotypical attributes accredited to women include being more nurturing and caring, being better communicators and being more organised but less adept at managing others, less willing to travel and more willing to take on monotonous work. Stereotypical associations for men include being more creative because they break rules and take risks (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2013). The types of work that men and women do have been influenced by these societal stereotypes and historically the types of work that women are associated with are often paid less. Added to this, women have traditionally offered emotional labour, including displaying and engendering the appropriate feelings in social encounters, in exchange for financial support (Hochschild, 1983: 20) Many kinds of immaterial and affective labour have been done by working class people, and especially women for centuries but it is only since these conditions have begun to be more prevalent for middle class and male

workers that there has been academic scrutiny on the topic (Fantone, 2007). Gender inequalities continue today in work generally and specifically within the cultural and creative industries, as has been shown by a number of theorists (for example Gill, 2002, Oakley, 2013, Banks and Milestone, 2016, Brook, O'Brien, and Taylor, 2018).

Globalised labour and networks

As Huws asserts, globalised labour patterns are not new; countries and continents have traded goods and services for centuries (Huws, 2006). However, in more recent times industrialisation has had a catalytic effect upon these processes, and in the last century the development of transnational multinationals with independence from their nation states has had an impact. Many of the conditions which enabled consumerism to grow and progress to its current omnipresence are in decline: for example high rates of employment, permanent positions, higher wages and standards of living (Gabriel and Lang, 2006). For Huws, amongst many other sociologists of work, the 1970s onwards are characterised by new ways in which this labour is globally divided, more and more frequently including globalised outsourcing to wherever labour can be found cheapest. This outsourcing leads to low wages, then campaigns to raise wages which however may have the effect that companies move to even cheaper areas (Huws, 2006, McGuigan, 2010). An international class of cyberworkers has emerged who, for Huws, are influenced by the global and multinational corporations they work for, for example in terms of their values and perspectives. The values and priorities of the multinational firms inform the working lives of these workers and even beyond, for example if they chose to set up their own companies (Huws, 2006).

Manuel Castells argues that the economy is increasingly networked and the focus is on the individual to consume, in the context of diminishing support from the state. This has meant that the super-rich have been able to grow even richer from debts accrued across all strata of society (Castells, 1996). Castells argues that the 'network society' is intertwined with globalisation developments and it is a term he uses to describe the ways in which, as he sees it, society now consists of a large number of networks made possible by technologies which individuals use to share information and communicate (Castells, 2004: 3). For Castells, there have always been networks but it is the impact of globalisation and technology which allows for the possibility of new forms of social relations (Castells, 2004).

The paradigm shifts discussed above indicate the ways in which work has changed, but yet also the continuities evident; and speak to the development of theories of

cultural work. Andrew Ross has considered how an exploration of uses of the term 'culture' applies to analysis of how people make a living (Ross, 2008: 31). In 2008 he argued that there existed a gap between theories of culture and theories of labour, but that this has altered, and cultural labour is now under the lens (Ross, 2008: 32). This cultural turn/ paradigm shift has since been well documented (e.g. Banks, 2007, Ross, 2008, Banks, Gill and Taylor, 2013, Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2013), and I develop my analysis of this below. Additionally, and in connection to Huws' discussion around work and place, Ross argues that cultural work does not necessarily need a locality and therefore it is attractive to the capitalist mind-set, 'After all the profile of the creative economy fits the bill of capitalist expansion into untapped markets, utilisation of hitherto marginal labour pools and the exploitation of neglected sources of value' (Ross, 2008: 33). Yet we also might consider how localities are exploited by cultural work, which I discuss in connection to the heritage literature below. The next section of the literature review focuses on cultural work specifically and explores key theories on this topic.

Assemblages of cultural work

Contextualising cultural work: performance and affect

Although for the purposes of this research cultural work is seen to be the work that takes place within the cultural and creative industries (which is discussed below) the crossover with other kinds of work informs my understanding of cultural work. For example, the service work in which the individual must 'perform' in order to create 'affect' for the customer is relevant for considering cultural labour at Southbank Centre. As Gill and Pratt put it, affective labour is crucial to the capitalist system in terms of producing and influencing affect, and work increasingly relies upon its emotional and communicative properties (Gill and Pratt, 2008: 8). For Emma Dowling this is work as role play, as pretense; and the waitress 'performs the restaurant as theater' including 'hectic multitasking' in order to 'keep the machine going' and pull off 'the production of the dining experience' (Dowling, 2012: 109). The waitress is an entertainer and embodies various roles, including the ability to create affect in the body of the customer. This requires a close reading of the body language of the customer and being able to anticipate their desires before they even have them. For Dowling the waitress and customer co-produce experience; she becomes an allegory or an archetype, a struggling heroine, a cultural icon for the customer and the embodiment of a power struggle (Dowling, 2012).

There are obvious parallels to a range of roles within cultural work, particularly in the performing arts, but it is useful to extend this trope, and therefore this thesis argues that any cultural work itself is a performance, a communication of meaning and symbols in a specific arena. The part that all individual cultural workers have to play in the production, or 'co-production' of space within a cultural organisation, is an area I analyse in depth in Chapter 6. For Dowling, the waitress attends to the atmosphere of restaurant and its effect upon the customers (Dowling, 2012), and the same could be said of any cultural worker engaged in the production of space, working in a cultural or creative organisation and aiming to co-produce a certain atmosphere which visitors to the space and audiences consume. What is of interest here though is that, in terms of needs and desires, the needs met by cultural workers for their audiences are different to those met by the waitress or others in the service industry. For Dowling, the service by the waitress and the experience consumed by the customer is inflected by the idea that the customer is dependent on the waitress for their bodily needs in the restaurant environment. As the restaurant is a privileged space, though and it is however debatable as to the extent that the restaurant experience can be seen to be 'meeting needs'. Similarly the range of needs and desires that a complex cultural and commercial site such as Southbank Centre aims to meet for its visitors and audiences and the role that a diverse range of cultural workers have in this - often transactional - process is key, and investigated in chapters 4,5 and 6.

Furthermore, there are issues with identity and cultural work which are interconnected with other kinds of work. The persona of the individual who sees themselves as an actor, writer or musician but spends the majority of their time working as a waiter or bartender, in the belief that their low-paid service industry work is relaxed and low-level enough to allow them to pursue other independent creative projects (Lloyd, 2006) for example. A further indicative example of this phenomenon is that Gill, in her study of European new media workers, found that these workers would identify themselves as working in new media but in fact be constantly working on a range of other work and projects, for example teaching, which might even take up the majority of their time (Gill, 2002: 81). For Dowling at some point one *is* a waitress rather than just working as a waitress (Dowling, 2012) and this research investigates to what extent cultural workers present their identity or the identity of their colleagues as related to the co-production of space for visitor and audience consumption. It explores what cultural work connected to the production of space

means for a range of workers, and as such a working definition of what characterises cultural work is useful at this stage.

Definitions of cultural work in the cultural and creative industries

A key point of departure or contestation in the attempt to define cultural work has been the debate as to whether it is understood as being a distinct classification of work which can be separated from other kinds of work. For Banks the academic study of cultural work is something that has developed from the study of employment and production in the cultural and creative industries, fields in which there have been growing employment since the 1960s (Banks, 2007:1). Although continuing policy rhetoric today, for example a government press release from November 2017 positions the creative industries as 'making a record contribution to the economy' and based on DCMS sector classifications as accounting for 14.2 per cent of the UK's Gross Value Added (DCMS, 2017), definitions of the cultural and creative industries are problematic and contested. For example, there are issues surrounding, workers who do 'cultural work' but may not work in a cultural or creative industry (see for example Davies and Sigthorsson, 2013: 13 and Hearn et al. 2014). This in turn affects the way in which cultural work can be classified. Academic interest in and analysis of cultural work is closely related to the analysis of cultural and creative industries policy and rhetoric. It has been argued that the cultural and creative industries exist in a zone 'between' art and commerce and cultural workers are those who work directly or indirectly in these industries (Banks, 2007: 7).

The cultural industries are defined by Banks as 'those involved in the production of 'aesthetic' or 'symbolic' goods and services; that is, commodities whose core value is derived from their function as carriers of *meaning* in the form of images, symbols, signs and sounds' (Banks, 2007: 2). Hesmondhalgh categorises them as separated into 'core industries' e.g. advertising, film, music, 'peripheral' e.g. museums and theatres and 'borderline', for example intermediaries like Amazon. His definition focuses on those 'core industries' that, for him, are the primary producers and circulators of texts, symbols, meanings and values (Hesmondhalgh, 2012:17). In contrast Throsby puts forward a concentric circle model for the creative economy which places core creative arts at the centre e.g. music, performing arts and visual arts; then the next layer is galleries, film; and moving outwards from the centre are the more commercial industries for example fashion and advertising, in which he perceives there to be less creative content compared to commercial content e.g. scriptwriters (Throsby, 2001). This indicates how, moving on from Adorno and

Horkheimer's famous text in 1944, contemporary definitions of the cultural industries have often tended to focus on the implications of the mass consumption of cultural commodities. 'Cultural industries' is also however a term which was problematised in the 1980s (Mulgan and Worpole, 1986). For Jim McGuigan, for instance, the term has a social democratic modern history, one connected to its use by the Greater London Council (GLC) in the first half of the 1980s, particularly to influence policy around access to the existing arts and stimulation of new community arts (McGuigan, 1996: 81-87), which I discuss in Chapter 4.

The term 'creative industries', whilst often elided with (McGuigan, 2010), or annexed to, 'cultural industries' also today tends to be understood by many critical analysts as having a more commercial inflection. The creative industries have been defined as: the combination of individual creativity and the mass-production of symbolic cultural goods (Davies and Sigthorsson, 2013:4); involving the input of human creativity, as a vehicle for symbolic messages and as containing intellectual property (UNCTAD 2010: 4); and as, 'those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent, which have a potential for job and wealth creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property' (DCMS 1998: 3), and the term has been described as one which 'combines - but then radically transforms - two older terms: the creative arts and the cultural industries…brings the arts (i.e. culture) into direct contact with large-scale industries… (i.e. the market)' (Hartley, 2005: 6).

There was a championing of the arts and culture as part of New Labour's approach in the late 1990s and early 2000s, including much optimism about the ways in which the cultural and creative industries could be harnessed for regeneration and growth (Banks and O'Connor, 2017). This was simultaneous with a number of prominent and overtly optimistic urban policy theories, such as the 'Creative City' (Landry & Bianchini, 1995, Landry 2000) and the 'Creative Class' (Florida, 2002) which are analysed and critiqued in a later section of this literature review. Robert Hewison's book *Cultural Capital* examines to what extent New Labour's 'Creative Britain' can be understood as a smokescreen for the continuation and extension of unbridled neoliberalism in the UK rather than the simple celebration of the cultural and creative industries it purported to be (Hewison, 2014). Hewison unpicks whether Prime Minister Tony Blair was right to call his ten years in office a 'golden age for the arts,' acknowledging the significant contributions that the Blair government made to the regeneration of culture in Britain, including: increased spending on the arts and culture; free museum entry; and increased use of National Lottery money to fund the arts (and specifically capital build projects). However *Cultural Capital* ultimately

argues that this era was more of a golden age for neoliberalism and unrestrained market capitalism, perpetuating the status quo systematised by the previous Conservative government (Hewison, 2014).

Hewison argues that with their 'Cool Britannia' campaign, New Labour deliberately repackaged the arts and heritage into the 'cultural and creative industries' as a self-serving tool by associating itself with the Young British Artists and Britpop. For Hewison this attempt to connect with key figures in popular culture backfired on a progressive cultural/ political agenda, in part because, 'the creativity that New Labour had in mind was not the individualistic, counter-cultural, playful and potentially disruptive creativity of the artist' (Hewison, 2014: 61). Instead, for New Labour, 'creativity' was a buzzword, its frequent use in policy, speeches and debate was a publicity stunt, and its real use was as a tool to aid the economy (Hewison, 2014). Therefore, the use of the terms 'cultural and creative industries' in political and academic realms, and the rhetoric surrounding them have become a significant area of research today since

> Art products are the objects of intense financial speculation; cultural productions are top hit-makers in the jackpot end of the New Economy; 'cultural districts' are posited as the key to urban prosperity; and creative industries policy is embraced as the anchor of regional development by governments around the world on the lookout for a catch-up industrial plan (Ross, 2008: 33).

As Ross implies, multiple discourses have made the study of the cultural and creative industries, alongside digital media studies, and the boundaries in between, popular. It is interesting for the purposes of this research that there has been a relatively recent (2013) re-definition of the creative industries by *the National Endowment for Science, Technology and the Arts* (NESTA) for use when measuring the numbers of people employed in these industries and their contribution to the economy. The creative industries have now been re-defined as those industry codes with 'high creative intensity': those that 'employ a large number of people in creative occupations'.

For NESTA whether occupations are 'creative' or not is assessed through the following criteria:

1. Less likely to be mechanised.
2. Include novel process or processes.
3. Non repetitive or non-uniform function.
4. Make a creative contribution to the value chain.

5. Involve interpretation, not just transformation. (NESTA, 2013)

This definition of a creative occupation has important ramifications connected to the ways in which cultural work is understood today, as well as to its histories.

Banks, Gill and Taylor suggest that (despite inflated governmental rhetoric) it is an ideal moment for opening debates around cultural work since the cultural and creative industries could be said to have had their 'boom' period during the time of New Labour (1997-2010). These industries are, to some extent, diminishing in terms of their public and private investment and hence employment potential. Therefore it is an appropriate time to re-analyse and re-appraise the rhetoric about cultural and creative industries and cultural work (Banks, Gill, Taylor, 2013:6). Furthermore, Banks and O'Connor argue that the perceived possibilities for the cultural and creative industries to engender new, empowered ways of working for both individuals and collectives have not come about. Instead instrumental policy adoptions have led to uneven development, nationalised neoliberal drivers for economic success, the losing sight of ideals around the cultural and creative industries being able to contribute positively to cultural and civic life, and increased governmental influence over individuals (Banks and O'Connor, 2017). Or another way of putting it is that culture has not lived up to expectations for policy makers as connected to de-industrialisation and regeneration, nor the improvement of social issues (Oakley and O'Brien, 2016: 483). Cultural work continues to be characterised by difficult and precarious working conditions, as well as profound inequality (Gill and Pratt 2008, Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2011, Oakley, 2013, Oakley and O'Brien 2016, Banks, 2017, Banks and O'Connor, 2017, Oakley, Laurison, O'Brien and Friedman, 2017). Using the discussion above I next discuss a working definition of cultural work for the purposes of my research and move on to look at the working conditions just mentioned in some depth.

Defining cultural work

Building on important theorisations on the topic then, as above, I suggest a working definition for the purposes of my thesis. The definitions above are all used to contextualise how cultural work may have been perceived and understood in key historical moments and phases and associated with the social construction and cultural production of space by cultural workers at Southbank Centre in the present. It is recognised that although some overarching concepts can be put forward about how to contextualise and define cultural work, it remains a problematic and contested concept. There has been much written about the notion of cultural work delivering

unique kinds of satisfaction, rewards and fulfilment, and offering unique status in society (Beck, 2003, Banks, 2007, Oakley 2009, Sandoval, 2018, McGuigan, 2010), but this research often focuses on artistic and creative producers (e.g. Banks, 2017: 10). Hierarchical stratification exists within the cultural and creative industries, in that some roles may have more status attached to them and more recognition, whilst others have far less recompense, influence and independence (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2013) and therefore for the purposes of this research I also wanted to use a working definition of cultural work which would allow me to access those who might not be traditionally thought of a creative producers. I recognised that they would also be producers of space. Therefore one of my methodological choices for this research was to interview cultural workers from across departments at Southbank Centre, and not focus solely on those directly involved in artistic production for the organisation.

Additionally, a useful way of understanding what is meant by cultural work is

> [A]n umbrella expression to capture a myriad of working roles, processes and contexts…cultural work is rather a category… in which different types of labour such as manual, cognitive, emotional and affective are often intensively intertwined (Hope and Richards, 2015: 121-2).

For the purposes of this research, cultural workers are those that are involved in the processes described above: namely people involved in the production and circulation of texts, and symbolic cultural goods, including space at Southbank Centre, who primarily work in the cultural and creative industries. As mentioned previously, this is a dynamic and evolving as well as problematic definition, but for the purposes of a study of Southbank Centre it includes most individuals who work for the organisation in some kind of creative, managerial or affective dimension. Some of those who participated in this research project stretch this definition, which I discuss in the methodology. I now move on to explore some of the conditions for cultural workers, since, as mentioned above this has been a key focus for academic research on the topic.

Conditions for cultural workers

In the 2017 press release quoted above, Secretary of State for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport Karen Bradley said:

> The sector is now one of our fastest growing industries and continues to outperform the wider UK economy. This is a testament to the talent and drive of its workforce and we are working closely with them to make sure this fantastic success continues. …For example, dedicated tax relief to support

> high-end television productions, such as *Game of Thrones* and *The Crown* have seen a production boom worth £1.5 billion since the scheme was introduced in 2013 (Bradley/ DCMS, 2017).

However, the extent to which the government could be said to be 'working closely' with cultural workers in order to support and develop them is highly contestable, and in fact the quote above evidences the continued support of high-end global productions which improve the symbolic status of the UK. As well as debates about the nature of cultural work, and work in general, there is a considerable focus in academia on current issues in cultural work. For example: whether the perceived attractiveness of working in a cultural or creative context because of the more relaxed, permissive 'no-collar' environment contrasts to some of the actual conditions of these workplaces (Ross, 2003), whether in fact much of the work done in cultural and creative industries is standardised and repetitive (Hartley, Flew at al. 2013); instability and precariousness in cultural work; low pay and long hours; pressure and stress; over identification with work and the downfalls that can arise from this - including self-exploitation; and pervasive and continuing inequalities (McRobbie, 1998, Beck, 2003, Ross, 2003, Banks, 2007, 2017, Oakley, 2009, 2013, Banks Gill and Taylor, 2013, McGuigan, 2010, Gregg, 2011, Hesmondhalgh and Baker 2013, Hope and Richards, 2015, Littler, 2017, Ross, 2008, Sandoval, 2018, Brook, O'Brien, and Taylor, 2018, Oakley, Laurison, O'Brien and Friedman, 2017).

How prevalent and salient these issues have been historically is a key focus for this research. A range of ethnographic studies show that many cultural workers endure: longer hours; self-exploitation; dispensability, in part due to flexibility; (Gill, 2002, Ross, 2003, McRobbie 1998, Banks, 2007) and a 'feast-or-famine economy in return for the promise of success and acclaim' (Ross, 2008:33, see also Banks and Milestone, 2011), and the impact this has upon understanding of contemporary cultural work as well as its histories connects to the focus of this thesis. Cultural work is often constructed and understood as inherently satisfying and rewarding (Beck, 2003, Banks, 2007, Oakley 2009, Sandoval, 2018, McGuigan, 2010) whilst on the other hand the image of the life of the maverick artist as deprived and difficult because he or she must exist on the margins of society endures (Banks, 2007, Ross, 2008). As I have already noted, there is also substantial debate about the ways in which the norms for cultural work are often seen to be encroaching upon practice in other realms of work. For example, casualisation, outsourcing and subcontracting in order to generate high profits (Ross, 2008), and what Dowling calls the 'double bind' of precarity and freedom for the waitress (Dowling, 2012: 112), which is often

prevalent in cultural work, and as I discussed in relation to precarity above. An examination of these concepts in relation to cultural work at Southbank Centre, and the ways this impacts current cultural work for this organisation adds to this body of critically theorised research. I now move on to look at how these conditions may be experienced by individuals since developing understanding of the subjective, lived texture of cultural work is vital to my research.

Cultural work, subjectivity and intersectionality

An important theme in relevant academic literature on cultural work, and a key consideration when researching this area, are conceptions of subjectivity and intersectionality of experience in cultural work. Personal, subjective experience of work may be based on a myriad of factors including: socioeconomic status, background and upbringing, educational opportunity, mental health, physical health, being able bodied, impaired or disabled, gender, sexuality, ethnicity and class, or the intersectionality of two or more of these factors. My research explores psychosocial and embodied experiences of cultural work along the same lines as Hesmondhalgh and Baker who define their 2013 study as, 'primarily a qualitative approach aimed at understanding the experiences of workers, and their understanding of these experiences' (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2013: 1).There are diverse factors which may influence subjective experiences of working life: this is a burgeoning area of study, because:

> The relationship between the transformations within working life and workers' subjectivities has been relatively under-explored. However in the last few years a number of terms have been developed that seem to speak directly to this (Gill and Pratt, 2008: 2).

One such area of exploration involves considering how gender is a factor within the lived experience of cultural work, as I have explored to some extent earlier in this chapter. When researching gender stereotypes, Hesmondhalgh and Baker found evidence that the issue is not whether these stereotypes are true, but the fact that those researched see gender in this way, and so these norms are perpetuated. This opens up possibilities but may also close down potential career avenues too (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2013: 12). A number of theorists explore gender inequality in the cultural and creative industries, based on evidence that although women make up almost half of all workers in cultural and creative industries they are predominantly working in lower-status, less well-paid and less powerful positions than men (Gill, 2002, McGuigan, 2010, Banks and Milestone, 2011, Oakley, 2013, Brook, O'Brien, and Taylor, 2018). There is often a reluctance on the part of cultural

workers to construct their experiences as being connected to or influenced by gender, or in fact by other factors such as ethnicity and disability (Gill, 2002: 87), which I now move on to discuss.

It is currently estimated that, of the 8.8 million residents of London, 41% come from Black and Minority Ethnic (BAME) backgrounds (Trust for London, 2018)[21]; however this diversity is not reflected in most cultural and creative workplaces (Oakley, 2013, Banks, 2017, Brook, O'Brien, and Taylor, 2018). In a study of creative workers in London, Oakley et al. found that only 17% of the creative workforce in London are BAME -compared to 6% of the creative workforce across the UK (Oakley, Laurison, O'Brien and Friedman, 2017: 1521). In their paper reporting on an extensive research project into the make-up of the creative industries, *Panic! Social class, taste and inequalities in the creative industries,* Brook, O'Brien, and Taylor found that those sectors with particularly low numbers of BAME workers include museums, galleries and libraries (2.7%), film, TV, radio and photography (4.2%) and music, performing and visual arts (4.8%) (Brook, O'Brien, and Taylor, 2018:12). In Chapter 6 I look at whether and how Southbank Centre attempts to speak to and mobilise initiatives to address this underrepresentation in the creative workforce in London.

Additionally, a topic which has recently been the focus of academic scrutiny is the impact of social class (including the imbrication of socioeconomic status, background and upbringing, and educational opportunity) on entry to, employment in and experience of cultural work. Brook et al's report shows that those from working class social origins are underrepresented in the creative workforce. They found that 38.4% of London's creative workforce come from upper-middle class origins and ask for further scrutiny of what this might mean in terms of artistic programming choices (Brook, O'Brien, and Taylor, 2018). I discuss in Chapter 6 how social class relates to confidence and success in recruitment, both for education and employment in the creative and cultural industries.

Another intersectional issue, and one which tends to be far more overlooked, is disability or impairment. Urban geographers and writing on cultural and creative institutions have unpicked the ways in which spaces are designed with certain groups in mind at the price of potentially excluding others which connects to my interests in the subjectivity of cultural workers' experiences. For the purposes of this research, the Social Model approach (Oliver 1990, Campbell and Oliver, 1996, Barnes and Mercer, 2004) or 'social theory of disability' (Oliver, 1990: x) is a key concept. The

[21] https://www.trustforlondon.org.uk/data/populations/ethnicity/

Social Model followed on from the *Chronically Sick and Disabled Person's* Act in 1970, which stated that when *new* buildings are being developed access should be provided - although it also stipulated that only when older buildings are being regenerated or upgraded there should be an imperative to provide facilities and access - (Imrie and Kumar, 1998), and *The Fundamental Principles of Disability* published by the Union of the Physically Impaired Against Segregation (UPIAS) in 1976 which stated that, 'In our view it is society which disables physically impaired people. Disability is something imposed on top our impairments by the way we are unnecessarily isolated and excluded from full participation in society' (UPIAS,1976). The Social Model argues that disability has been, in Western capitalist society, viewed as the problem of the individual rather than a societal issue, and consequently seen as the prerogative of the individual to accept his or her disability and adapt to it. It has been viewed as a medical issue (Oliver, 1990, Kaushik, 1999) or perhaps constructed through other models such as 'evil and horror' (specifically in media constructions), 'overcoming all odds' and 'charity' (Kaushik, 1999: 48). This is as opposed to it being the responsibility of society to adapt to the existence of disabled individuals and make adjustments (Oliver, 1990, Barnes and Marcer, 1996), which therefore means individuals are disabled by society inadequately accommodating their needs (Barnes, Oliver and Barton, 2002), and thus it is the interaction between individuals and society which has disabling effects upon the individuals (Rappolt-Schlichtmann and Daley, 2013).

The Social Model has been variously profoundly supported and also more recently, unpicked and critiqued. Tom Shakespeare argues that its strengths lie in its clear use as a political idea and tool and its powerful benefits for identity politics for disabled individuals. However its weaknesses lie in: problems around it being a somewhat neat characterisation which can be perhaps seen as rejecting the experience of the individual, particularly as related to, for example factors such as living with chronic pain, as well as issues around gender, ethnicity and socioeconomics (See also Crow, 1996 and Freund, 2001). It could also be argued to assume oppression; makes a perhaps too clear-cut distinction between impairment and disability; and also idealises a potentially impossible utopia in which society is adapted to meet the needs of all people, disabled or not (Shakespeare, 2006). That being said, from the latter half of the twentieth century onwards, there have been various developments in both legislation and disabled politics which have promoted access to urban spaces and cultural and creative organisations and the Social Model has undeniable been a catalyst in this progress. The 1995 Disability Act, a result of disabled politics activism,

placed responsibility on providers of service to make ‘reasonable adjustments’ to access to facilities and services, for example, and so was a move towards placing responsibility for the ways in which environments can disable users onto local authorities, architects and planners

My analysis of cultural work therefore benefits from an intersectional approach. The concept ‘intersectionality’ is today usually attributed to the writing of Audre Lorde in the 1980s and beyond, and the term to Kimberley Crenshaw’s 1989 article. Lorde’s famous essay ‘Age, Race, Class and Sex: Women Redefining Difference’ (which was delivered at the Copeland Colloquium at Amhurst College, in Massachusetts in 1980) called for recognition within feminist movements around differences between woman along the lines of ethnicity, sexual orientation, class and age. She argued for changes in, for example, literature curriculums in universities in order to illuminate and redefine difference, rather than attempt to homogenise experience for women. She reasoned that this is imperative in order to develop new ways in which to define power and for people to relate to each other so as to bring about societal change (Lorde, 1984: 115-123). Crenshaw’s article published in 1989 is often cited as the key founding text related to concepts around ‘intersectionality’. She argues that dominant modes for thinking about discrimination need to be challenged and that the ways in which, in particular, ethnicity and gender interrelate in terms of antidiscrimination law should be re-conceptualised (Crenshaw, 1989).

Therefore this research bears in mind the problematic nature of the theories analysed and will constantly‘re-negotiate’ concepts used in the research in order to further understanding of them. It aims to explore the ways in which the individual cultural workers examined in the thesis express their subjective understandings of the role of cultural workers in the ‘co-production’ and the production of space. This takes us to the necessity of outlining literature in the areas of space, cultural geographies and heritage and histories. I will begin with space.

Making space: geographies, histories and heritage

The production of space

Whilst concepts around space are debated in the methodology section of this thesis, in terms of how they are utilised, they also need some initial outlining here. As Harvey points out, if Raymond Williams had been writing his renowned discussion of some the most semantically problematical words in language today, *Keywords,* (Williams, 1985), as well as the words ‘culture’ and ‘nature’ it is likely he would have

listed ‘space’ as an inherently complicated concept (Harvey, 2004: 270). As I mentioned earlier, Doreen Massey’s theorisations on space inform this research project. Her 2005 book, *For Space* starts by outlining three main propositions: space is produced by interrelating forces, from the macro to the micro or the global to the local; space has the potential to be pluralistic and multitudinous and for diverse pathways to coexist; space is constantly being constructed and reconstructed. The relationship between material processes and practices and the individuals producing spaces is always ongoing (Massey, 2005: 9). The first of these propositions informs the underlying argument of this thesis: that space is actively produced by various influences, including local, national and global forces, and cultural workers have an active role in these processes in and around cultural institutions. The second proposition connects to the focus within this research on narratives of diverse experiences as related to space, with the emphasis on the experience of the able bodied, white, heterosexual male being challenged. The third is a call for a re-imagining of space and of future social politics, refusing to see space as closed or finished but as a work in progress. This research supports, and works with, this final theorisation in that it provides evidence of some of the ways in which space is constantly negotiated, constructed and re-constructed by cultural workers at Southbank Centre.

Lefebvre argues that the term ‘space’ is commonly used in both academic and popular discourse without a full understanding of what is meant by this term, that it is potentially misunderstood (Lefebvre, 1974). Furthermore, for Lefebvre, space is always socially constructed. His triad of ‘spatial practice, representations of space and representational spaces’ is an important framework of understanding for this research. ‘Spatial practice’ can be summarised as the notion that each society produces its own dialogue between the practices of daily life and the reality of the urban environment, or the paths which provide links between different spaces of the everyday. ‘Representations of space’ are the production and then use of processes which enable transition between these spaces, or systems of signification. Finally ‘representational space’ can be conveyed as an arena in which representations of space superimpose material space, use its substance and physical objects in a figurative way and affect the ways in which space is conceived, understood and lived (Lefebvre, 1974: 31). The notion of ‘representative space’ is key to this research, and the ways in which Southbank Centre could be said to be a representational space in relation to the heritage of cultural work is investigated. Importantly in Lefebvrian theory these three ways of conceptualising space are dialogic, and their

dialectical tension is worthy of consideration (Harvey, 2004). For Jones, who has also used Lefebvre's spatial triad as a lens through which to analyse public space at Southbank Centre, it is valuable 'as a means to understand how urban space is constituted dialectically at the interface of physical form and social relations' (Jones, 2016: 245). The ways in which these key Lefebvrian concepts oppose and yet inform each other in relation to cultural work and the production of space at Southbank Centre consistently informs this thesis.

Lefebvre asserts that the production of space is political and it represents the political context of the time, or the state of knowledge at the time, the episteme (Foucault, 1966), and in particular the norms of a capitalist society, 'space has taken on, within the present mode of production...a sort of reality of its own, a reality clearly distinct from, yet much like, those assumed in the same global processes by commodity, money and capital' (Lefebvre, 1974: 26). My thesis explores the extent to which key moments and different phases of cultural work in this area have been associated with the social construction and cultural production of space in the area in different epistemes, in order to further understanding of varying positions within these debates.

Cultural geographies

Bearing the above discussion of space in mind, cultural geographers convey that a major focus of investigation into cities should be exploration of the ways in which urban space is demarcated, ordered and presented. Increasingly the city is understood as having symbolic functions (Zukin, 1995, Herring, 2008, Stevenson, 2003), as well as cultural and creative opportunities which attract cultural workers (Oakley, Laurison, O'Brien and Friedman, 2017). Cities often focus on entertainment provision as an important, if not *the* most important, industry to the success of the city, wherein, 'the city becomes an Entertainment Machine, levering culture to enhance its economic wellbeing' (Lloyd and Clark, 2011: 1). This way of seeing cities presents them as an assemblage of distinct areas where consumption and lifestyle patterns act as social identifiers, with gentrified quarters and excluded and marginalised neighbourhoods existing in close proximity (Bell and Jayne, 2004). This conceptualisation connects to theories of inclusion and exclusion in the urban landscape, (Hamnett, 2003, Kearns and Philo, 1993, Zukin, 1995) as well as to theories on place as coded to include some in certain areas and to exclude others (Bell and Jayne, 2004). There has also been analysis of freedom of movement in city spaces. For example the archetypical character of the Flâneur (Benjamin, 1983,

Tester, 1994) and the work of the Situationists (for example Debord, 1955), and the Psychogeographers (Sinclair, 1997, Self, 2007). These are all archetypical figures who are able to move through urban spaces independently and sometimes subversively, and have recounted these experiences in literature and artistic endeavours. However, these archetypes have been contested through, for example their privilege as male (Wolff 1985) and able-bodied (Serlin, 2006). I analyse the design of urban space and the impact this has upon users of these spaces in Chapter 4.

A further important theory in urban geography as connected to spatial inequality is that of gentrification. This is variously defined as the displacement of low income occupants by higher income occupants (Glass, 1964), as a violent revanchist battle, made palatable by the media and politicians, but ultimately a destructive force (Smith, 1996), as a contextual entity, affected by location and temporality (Lees, 2000), or in the case of London as a process that has mutated due to the demands of highly wealthy professional City workers, as London's global financial industries have strengthened their foothold in the Global economy, to 'third-wave' or 'super-gentrified' (Butler and Lees, 2006). Although my research connects to these debates it does not primarily analyse London's Southbank through a lens which focuses on the demarcation and gentrification of the area. It analyses how the changing landscape and meaning of cultural work can be understood by interrogation of the discourses at the largest cultural institution in Southbank, Southbank Centre. It investigates how this relates to the construction of a 'sense of place' in this urban area, including debate around the ways in which the representation of the history of cultural work in the area marginalises and represses the potentially problematic aspects that are not easily translated into commercial narratives.

The ways in which Southbank Centre asserts itself on the global stage is an important consideration and contemporary thinking around globalisation and the ways in which spaces run into each other in an interconnected sense is also a key theorisation for this thesis. For Massey this concept has invaded our geographical imaginations and we now understand it as all places blending or 'flowing' into each other (Massey, 2005: 82), but globalisation not a singular and all invasive force, it is an active and ongoing reconceptualisation of space (Massey, 2005: 83). In a global sense, the ways in which the Southbank area attempts to differentiate itself from other urban districts connects with theory on, and critique of the 'Creative City' (Landry & Bianchini, 1995, Landry 2000) and the 'Creative Class' (Florida, 2002). Landry eulogises the concept of creative approaches being used in every aspect of

the management of the city, from social issues to the production and marketing of space, emphasising that creative methods of organising and living in the city should be employed and the creative talents of individual workers should be harnessed for this purpose (Landry, 2000). Furthermore the notion of 'The Creative Class' is a system of classification for a social grouping with creative jobs and lifestyles, suggesting that cities with large numbers of these creative workers are successful cities, and calling for cities to pull out all the stops in order to attract this demographic by investing in regeneration, physical improvements to infrastructure and investment in its cultural and creative industries, in a bid to make them more 'hip' and 'cool' place to live, so that these 'creatives' will want to stay, and will boost the economy of that city (Florida 2002).

However, critique of this theory focuses on the manipulation of data (Peck, 2005, Glaeser, 2005), the ways in which it is exclusive and elitist in that it apparently ignores at least two thirds of the populace, leaving those who are not part of this 'creative' core to cater for themselves (Peck, 2005, 2007) and the current climate of hyper-competitive city environments in which creativity and culture are commodified and creative city discourses are utilised, promoted and publicised alongside neoliberal discourse and rhetoric, without actually addressing urban issues (Peck, 2005: 763). For Nathan there is a need to improve the economy, skills base, communication, access to opportunities and public services before chasing the 'cool' image (Nathan, 2005). It is also argued that Florida's theories are not applicable outside the US and cannot be translated and used across the world (Peck, 2005). Urban theorists such as Florida in this sense underestimate the importance of the surviving character of place. The Florida manifesto is the same for each city- only marginally tailored to include passing reference to talented individual creatives, for example musicians and writers who come from the area (Peck, 2005:9). As such it undermines the specific characteristics of any city, seeking to homogenise cities, rather than promoting ways in which to celebrate and preserve unique attributes of the history and cultures of cities. This, constantly evolving, 'surviving character of place' and the drive to promote it in hypercompetitive globalised capitalist cities, alongside attempts to resist the homogenisation of urban districts is an important feature of cultural work at Southbank Centre. These theories, as discussed earlier, also privilege certain highly mobile workers and imply that mobility is possible for all, when in fact moving for work may not be possible for many individuals due to a range of social and economic factors.

In other geography and cultural geography debates it has been extensively argued that culture-led regeneration has a pivotal part to play in city branding, increased tourism, image making, economic augmentation and the productivity of the arts scene in cities. Such regeneration has been dubbed the “Guggenheim effect” and it has been argued that this process has been increasingly mythologised (Plaza and Haarich, 2009, Plaza, Tironi and Haarich, 2009), for example that the media in various cities have ascribed improvements to the area to the ‘Guggenheim effect’, specifically for example physical improvements to the infrastructure in the local area, and transport links, which may or may not have been part of the same regeneration attempt and may not have been causally linked to the development of the iconic cultural institution. Plaza et al. argue that what is missing from research about this effect is in depth analysis of specific cultural legacies in these cities, for example, the effect of the Guggenheim on Bilbao’s longer term arts scene (Plaza, Tironi and Haarich, 2009).

Plaza et al. demonstrate that there has been a significant increase in the number of art-related establishments in Bilbao, but suggest that longer term augmentation of the arts scene and associated economic activity may not necessarily follow. Due to over-estimation by these various arts-related venues about the profits they would be able to generate it is likely that restructuring will be necessary (Plaza, Tironi and Haarich, 2009). Research on flagship developments usually focuses on property development and the success of attracting tourists to the area, but may not engage with histories of the kinds of work that have taken place in the area. This supports the need for research which engages directly with the complexities of certain kinds of work, namely cultural work, in an urban district which has been a site of regeneration.

City marketing has now developed into the attempt to brand cities, or to create a holistic image for a city, an aspect of which can involve masking inequalities and a range of entrenched issues in the city (Garcia, 2004, 2005), or distracting from the unequal distribution of power over urban decision making in terms of the demarcation of space (Evans, 2003). Garcia argues that urban cultural policy needs to be instrumental otherwise city leaders, specialist agencies and corporate businesses lead the way and spaces are created in which ‘certain activities are privileged whilst others are discouraged and marginalised’ (Garcia 2004: 318). This can be seen as having led to a paradigm in which the potential of culture to challenge or disrupt the status quo is being minimised (Garcia, 2004).

> The evolution of a global, service- oriented economy has placed culture at the very centre of urban development, and has shifted traditional notions of culture as art and heritage to a view of culture as an economic asset, a commodity with market value and, as such, a valuable producer of city spaces (Garcia, 2004: 314).

Garcia argues for community involvement in decision making processes about regeneration, which should then lead to harnessing valuable and embedded sense of place and to policy initiatives which she reasons will then be more sustainable and successful for all parties.

To return to discussion around flagship institutions, Evans comments that, 'Not since the nineteenth century has architecture been used so consciously to promote civic or National pride' (Evans, 2003: 420) and that urban spaces are branded by their institutions, particularly artistic and cultural ones. This is definitely the case at London's South Bank. Institutions involved in cultural work have become omnipresent in city marketing and branding campaigns. However Evans also warns that these institutions can be in part parasitical to the area and of the dangers of the urban becoming increasingly dominated by huge 'Edutainment' centres (Evans, 2003). Iconic cultural flagships such as these institutions have been criticised for focusing on international prestige and image rather than on the promotion of local opportunity and economy and do not necessarily contribute to long term recovery of the local area (Evans, 2003, Garcia, 2004).

This thesis suggests that analysis of the history of cultural work at Southbank Centre provide a useful lens through which to further research in these areas. As mentioned above, cities are often branded to try and create a positive, welcoming impression to the visitor, and inspire trust that their experiences in it will be superior to other choices they may have made as a consumer. A dilemma for city spaces in contemporary society is the fact that they are increasingly branded by big corporations and urban environments struggle to resist homogenisation, including the dissolution of local businesses (Evans, 2003: 418). Corporations increasingly have a direct effect on the ways in which city spaces are produced, regenerated and marketed. The key for urban districts then is to use the tools of marketing and branding to promote representations of the city in which they are situated; it's unique attributes, heritage and identity. In order to survive in the post 1980s competitive climate there is pressure on cultural organisations to continually galvanise investment and keep focus as with commercial marketing and branding exercises, for example by avoiding brand decay, (Richards, 2001, Evans, 2003) but yet simultaneously resist

the commercial branding of public space (Evans, 2003:423) and the dissolution of the original ethos of the organisations.

There is an ongoing drive to further conceptualise understanding of the various ways in which different kinds of space are conceived of, communicated and portrayed, for example: urban space; consumer space; private space; communal space; liminal space; work or professional space and cultural or creative space motivates researchers from many academic disciplines across the sciences, humanities, arts, and social sciences. The interchange between theory on space as a socially constructed entity and theory on the significance of non-human actors or the materiality of space is ongoing in academia (Jones, 2016). This research adds to these debates through its analysis of the changing landscape and meaning of cultural work and how this can be understood in a particular space, and through its analysis of the development of the ways in which spatially specific cultural work has been represented and defined over time. It investigates the ways in which Southbank Centre is integral to the process of producing space through analysis of the discourses of cultural workers and the aspects of work associated with cultural and creative pursuits that they imagine, advocate and glorify, as well as conceal, censor and repress.

Cultural histories and heritage

The discussion below analyses some relevant theory as connected to history and heritage and how these related to the production of space. I also build upon this discussion, specifically focusing on historical approaches and historiography, in the methodology. Two particular discourses which are highly relevant to this research were mobilised in the 1980s to support and maintain ideological hierarchies at the time, those of 'heritage' and 'enterprise' (Corner and Harvey, 1991). This was an era marked by 'the proliferation of private commercial activity around 'the past' in one commodified form or another' (Corner and Harvey, 1991: 46), and novel and innovative ways in which to market notions of history were celebrated. There was a focus on both ideals of advancement, transformation and expansion, and the notion of looking back in a nostalgic way, in an attempt to restore confidence in a 'collective' history. This notion carries within it inherent problematics about *whose* inheritance, heritage and history is favoured in these narratives and the idea of a 'collective' history or heritage which is yet supposed to be specific to class, ethnicity and gender is decidedly contestable (Corner and Harvey, 1991). This thesis explores the model of heritage as a constantly evolving set of policies, processes and practices affected

by particular conditions, which need to be re-envisioned in order to reflect and embrace diverse stories, histories and identities (Littler and Naidoo, 2005). It examines some of the challenges cultural workers at Southbank Centre face in terms of attempts to promote a 'shared' or 'collective' heritage of Southbank Centre.

An important aspect of this research is the notion of 'experiential heritage.' In recent decades, particularly since the 1980s, there has been a proliferation of the creation of open air museums in Britain, the opening up of country houses and stately homes and of discussion surrounding the idea of 'experiential heritage' as a playground for adults (Hewison, 1987). 'Experiential heritage' can be defined as the notion that the visitor becomes part of the exhibition, or setting, either in that the participant is encouraged to jump backwards into a different time, or as in the Foucauldian concept of a heterotopia, where time and space are condensed into one place, a space of otherness which is at the same time corporeal and cerebral, with layers of meaning or connotations to other places and times (Foucault, 1967). It can also be defined as the sensuous experience of time being resurrected and reanimated, wherein "scenes rather than things are becoming the principal unit of exhibition by which the past is rendered" (Corner and Harvey, 1991: 56). Since this cultural shift the past has increasingly been presented as a place to retreat into, to escape to, in order to experience a different world.

The ways in which this notion of escapism links to theory on liminal states and spaces is pertinent to my analysis of the histories of cultural work at Southbank Centre. The first use of the term 'liminal state' can be traced back to a schema used to describe hazardous times of transition, or life thresholds, and the tribal superstitions attached to these, in anthropological disciplines (Van Gennep, 1908), and as a description of the threshold between childhood and adulthood as linked to the social function of rituals and ceremonies (Turner, 1982). Theory on liminal spaces as places outside of normal constraints and cultural norms (Gornastaev and Campbell, 2012, Langman and Cangemi, 2003, Lloyd, 2006, Preston-Whyte, 2004, Shields. 1991, Zukin, 1991) is key to analysis of the layers of history which influence contemporary cultural work at Southbank Centre, as has been discussed earlier when providing an outline of the history of the area. The relationship between experiential heritage, liminal space, cultural work and consumerism is an important one for my research; and the presentation of London's South Bank as a consumer-focused urban space, as an experiential site which connects to collective cultural memory, is explored. My thesis investigates to what extent the concept of 'experiential heritage' is utilised by Southbank Centre, linked to ideas around cultural

work. Importantly this research also explores what happens behind the scenes of experiential culture; the discourses that drive the practices of employees and the background to the outputs of the organisations studied, since 'what happens to people and processes behind the scenes at an institution is also crucial to the way meaning is created, change occurs and ideologies are produced' (Littler, 2005:13).

The uses of heritage

It is sometimes argued in debates surrounding heritage that the promotion of historical periods, settings and places can be used as a method in which to glamourise and sanitise the past, in order to placate or mask issues in the present (Hewison: 1987: 97). For example *The Destruction of the Country House 1875-1975* exhibition held at the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1974 could be seen as one of the first examples of this cultural trend, as an attempt to instil moral panic which aimed to engage the public in the preservation of heritage. It is also often argued that symbols of the nation-state become more powerful when they are in danger (Hewison, 1987). It is important to question this festisation of the past and it has been suggested that society creates pasts that are idealised in order to stem the tide of decline in the present: but it is important to unpick claims that the promotion of heritage(s) may be able to fulfil this function (Hewison, 1987). A further example is discourses which attempted to encapsulate such diverse entities as rural, rustic and idealised heritage and at the same time mythologised representations of industrial working life (Corner and Harvey, 1991). My thesis examines the ways in which cultural work has been understood at what is now known as Southbank Centre, how representations of it have developed over time and how these are used to promote and sustain the status and heritage of the organisation across the world. It analyses the extent to which histories of cultural work in the area are romanticised, dramatised and perhaps palliative. The context of heritage campaigns and the role of Southbank Centre as part of this cultural phenomenon are examined.

So in doing this interdisciplinary research I aim to map the relationship between the ways in which key moments and phases of cultural work at Southbank Centre have been perceived and understood, and the production of space in this area. The importance of investigating various ways in which space is produced in cities as related to histories of cultural work is partly due to the fact that globalisation has an obvious and ongoing effect upon the urban landscape. It is frequently argued that cities face challenges in terms of promoting their individual and unique attributes in the face of homogenisation by large corporations. This erosion of a 'sense of place' or 'character' has been variously discussed in terms of the importance of locally

rooted residents and their presence on the streets in which they live, diversity of populace, and variety in terms of the design of the material landscape (Jacobs,1962) and what 'authentic' urban life may be said to consist of: small, family owned businesses and restaurants, non-chain boutiques, independent art galleries, and to what extent these entities are being driven out of the urban environment, and therefore what effect this process has upon places (Zukin, 2010). It has also been argued that the Global City is more similar, more connected in many ways to other Global Cities than to its own heritage, or to the local or national culture surrounding it (Sassen, 1991, 1994). In contrast, a key purpose of this research is to investigate the unique histories of a particular cultural organisation in an urban area, by analysing the changing landscape of cultural work and its relationship to the attempts to create and maintain a sense of place.

In conclusion, this literature review has discussed theorisations of work generally, and of cultural work in particular, as well as the spatialisation and historicisation of these concepts. It has unpacked key developments in contemporary working cultures, and has also outlined core ways to theorise and to understand assemblages of cultural work. It has also provided an analysis of key concepts concerning the production of space and cultural geographies, and has, lastly, discussed relevant theories connected to cultural histories and heritage; in the process, working to help 'draw together' these domains. In the next chapter I discuss my methodological approach and fieldwork practices and processes.

Chapter 3. Methodology and Research Ethics

Methodology

The epistemological position of this research project, or the theory of knowledge ingrained in its methodology and theoretical perspective, is primarily constructivist. This research is based on the notion that knowledge is built on the ways in which individuals make meaning by interacting with the social world (Crotty, 1998). The theoretical position, or the academic ideas underpinning the methodology and giving a contextual basis for the research design and processes, is complex, as discussed at length in this chapter. However in methodological terms it could be summarised as interpretivist and exploratory (Crotty, 1998). My thesis extends and develops knowledge on a certain area through an in-depth exploration of the experiences of a specific group of cultural workers. It seeks to illuminate themes and trends, in order to end up with a richer, deeper understanding of the topic. The analysis of key moments, situated in their cultural context, is not a linear history, nor is it a complete story (Newman, 2012) since other histories and heritage of Southbank Centre and of cultural work have been presented elsewhere. However it presents an original account of its subject and aims to extend and deepen critical thinking around historicising and spatialising cultural work.

It is now commonly accepted that all research is a dynamic engagement with a cultural, social situation and therefore requires reflexivity by the researcher and an awareness that the research process is in itself a type of interference in the environment (Seale, 1998), as well as understood that research always has political ramifications (Warren and Karner, 2005:25), and that there is a danger of it being carried out in the interests of specific people or groups only (Skeggs, 2001). In this context, I, as the researcher, have a specific perspective: and one which is at times that of a participant, as unpacked later in this section. As with all academic research, it is important that a rigorous ethical framework for research is utilised. Ethical guidelines underpinning this research project are in line with City, University of London policy and code of practice, and detailed consideration has therefore been given over: the involvement of vulnerable individuals; issues of informed consent; discussion of sensitive topics; the possibility for the research to cause stress or anxiety for participants; and discussion of any sort of harm to others. All participants in the project were Southbank Centre past or present employees whom are not considered vulnerable adults. The research did not involve discussion of highly

sensitive topics, and importantly individuals were not forced to participate, they did so voluntarily, and signed a consent form to confirm they understand the above.

It is now common for researchers to be reflexive about their position, or as Skeggs frames it, her disciplinary location and educational autobiography (Skeggs, 2001). My specific perspective, or what Newman terms her personal and political orientation (Newman, 2012), similarly comes from a particular standpoint. My role as researcher involves exploring the everyday working lives of cultural workers and the ways in which they construct their own experiences. In doing so I argue for the importance of situated, contextual knowledge, as well as the need to, rather than try to produce singular, scientific 'truths' from academic research, to instead aim to tell further or other stories about experiences, ones which add to the multiple accounts that already exist and therefore deepen and extend knowledge, as well as to interpret their meaning (Haraway, 1988, 1990). As a researcher I am aware of my standpoint being imbricated with my personal history, some of which I outline below, and of the need to recognise the ways in which cultural tropes and discursive norms can be challenged through primacy of individual experiences (Mohanty, 1986).

My knowledge and experience gained from my education in English Literature, Cultural Studies and Cultural and Creative Industries and previous career of over five years as a cultural worker informs my perspective. During previous work as a gallery educator in the education and participation department of an independent multi-arts centre, The Institute of Contemporary Arts, London, I carried out postgraduate research into the histories of gallery education. Following that experience, I worked in the community outreach/ arts education department of an internationally renowned theatre, Shakespeare's Globe. I therefore have first-hand experience of working for two cultural institutions whose prestigious images and reputations rely heavily on their heritage. In particular Shakespeare's Globe, located in Bankside, traded off its links to its physical location, and the kinds of cultural pursuits that were known to have taken place in the area, as discussed in Chapter 1. The dual experience of, on the one hand being a project coordinator for an institution, and yet at the same time a knowledge worker who possessed and communicated knowledge about the history and heritage of the site inspired this research. This experience also gives me a useful insight into the working lives of those interviewed during the PhD research, enabling me to understand terminology and perspectives that may not be so easily understood by someone without experience in this sector.

Equally, my present occupation as a careers consultant in higher education has informed my perspective and theorisations about work and careers. This role involves continuing application of careers theories and models to my practice, on topics such as cultural work, precarity and the changing nature of careers for example; and there is traffic between my professional and academic work. For example, in Chapter 6 I analyse recruitment processes at Southbank Centre, and in doing so draw on careers and employability theory as well as cultural theory. Furthermore, knowledge previously gained in relation to safeguarding issues from my experience doing Initial Teacher Training (ITT) and teaching in secondary schools and language schools, have been useful when keeping in mind the ethical considerations of this research.

The methodological approaches used in this study are an amalgamation of cultural discourse analysis combined with a selective use of cultural ethnography, underpinned by an in-depth literature review and analysis of primary written and online resources produced by the organisation. This involves both theoretical triangulation and methodological triangulation, in that both the theoretical underpinnings and the data collection and analysis are viewed from different angles in order to help gain a more in-depth picture than if only one methodological approach was used (Denscombe, 2007). This has enabled the synthesis and application of multiple levels of interpretation.

Fieldwork methods and approaches

The research design combines the use of a literature review, in-depth semi-structured interviews, ethnographic observations, and analysis of primary sources produced by Southbank Centre such as annual reports, promotional materials and webpages, which provides a multifaceted understanding of the subject (please see Appendix A, B, D and E and List of References). Interviews were chosen as a methodological tool in order to access the lived texture of cultural work. This adds to the story of historicised, spatialised cultural work from the vantage point of the subjects as well as the official rhetoric of a major institution and key players. This is particularly important for understanding cultural work because the lived experience of workers is often overlooked. At one stage I thought I would approach this research as focused on a layered excavation of different moments of cultural work, and would therefore also utilise archival materials. However as the project developed it became apparent that it was more appropriate to prioritise the analysis of data from live sources, and that the ways in which heritage was re-framed and recycled at

Southbank Centre in the present became the primary focus. This enabled me to use critical analysis to unpack the meanings and practices of cultural work at the organisation today.

A semi-structured style of interviewing, which included a list of topics to be covered and a list of questions which were used with most participants, and elaborated upon as appropriate, was felt to be the most suitable style. This facilitated rich, open conversations and a broader variety of data to analyse. As Newman writes of using an institutional ethnography approach, this meant 'the interview style was such that the person I was speaking to could pose different questions from those with which I began or could take the interview in a new direction; this served to enrich the field of study' (Newman,2012: 191). As interviewer, I encouraged the participants to focus on key moments, themes and ideas as relevant to the research, as opposed to asking them to recount their experience as a worker for Southbank Centre in a reductively chronological manner, for example. The interviews in this research were transcribed and edited so as to be easily readable and understood, without changing the original meaning. Since nothing controversial or confidential was discussed during interviews, an exact transcript was not needed since conversation analysis was not deemed to be a necessary methodological tool (Byrne, 2017).

This research therefore used mixed research methods within an interpretative-inductive paradigm which allowed flexibility and the possibility of developing emergent findings throughout the research process. This allowed the research to be 'shaped and reshaped' (Newman, 2012: 191) and for 'hypotheses [to be] produced (or induced) during the early stages of research' (Silverman, 2000: 79) and throughout the process. My research was an iterative, dynamic process in which findings were evaluated and interpreted as the research progresses. For example, data from interviews has been used to inform the chapter themes and design.

My approach to gaining contacts at Southbank Centre and engaging participants in the research was through utilisation of my own networks as well support from significant and relevant individuals, as detailed later. My preliminary focus was to contact current employees of the organisation, and one of the first ways in which access to the community of workers at Southbank Centre was gained was through the *MA Learning and Participation in Arts and Cultural Settings* which is run jointly by Southbank Centre and King's College London. I was able to connect with the course convenor and attend some of the lectures for this course, which were delivered at Southbank Centre. This enabled me to make some preliminary contacts at the

organisation and to secure some first interviews. I was able to observe some of the ways in which the organisation responded to research enquiries and this confirmed my understanding that Southbank Centre would be open to research around my topic. I also utilised *LinkedIn* as a search tool to enable me to find a cross-section of employees whom I approached via their Southbank Centre email addresses. Additionally I consulted various experts in academia and other fields to gather a range of contact information for potential participants.

Further to these preliminary emails I then utilised a 'snowball sampling' approach, originally established by Coleman and Goodman to look at the ways in which social networks are structured (Coleman, 1958-59, Goodman, 1961). This process has transformed into its current usage which usually involves research participants suggesting future participants, and therefore the sample size grows as a snowball does if rolling down a slope. Amongst other 'chain-referral sampling' methods, snowballing sampling has become a common technique in qualitative research (Biernacki and Waldorf, 1981). Although some criticism has been levied at this approach as a 'convenience method,' this has also been challenged, and further research is ongoing into effective 'Respondent- Driven Sampling' (Heckathorn, 2011) and the advances of snowballing sampling as a technique (Atkinson and Flint, 2001). It was particularly useful in this case given that a snowballing method is effective when working with hard to reach populations which are difficult for outsiders to gain access to (Atkinson and Flint, 2001) and enables the researcher to expand the networks of contacts successfully and to utilise social existing social networks (Thomson, 1997). Since the aim of this research is primarily qualitative, analytical, explorative and descriptive then this method provides a range of practical advantages (Hendricks, Blanke and Adriaans, 1991). Criticism also exists as connected to the possibility that snowballing samples might be biased and may tend to over-emphasise cohesiveness in social networks (Griffiths et al. 1993) and may miss individuals who are not engaged with the social network within which the researcher is operating (Van Meter, 1990). However, for the purposes of this study it was chosen as one effective method of contacting and engaging participants, but it was not solely relied upon, and reflexivity about who was/ wasn't interviewed was worked on throughout the process.

As key themes emerged from early interviews, these became the basis for finding further interviews which could add to and extend knowledge on certain topics (Newman, 2012: 9). Rather than setting out with an organised set of themes or topics and trying to build interviews around these, instead as the research developed I

sought out further participants who may be able to add depth or context to a particular topic or to give a different perspective on it. In the early stages of my research I was able to develop my knowledge of the different departments within Southbank Centre, to try to match this against the participants in the research, in order that I could chart my progress and endeavour to engage individuals from a range of different departments. This knowledge was also aided by my previous work within a cultural institution, which was discussed earlier. During the research process I was given access to the 'Southbank Executive' diagram, which gave me some key names and an idea of the structure of the organisation. I used this information to some extent to inform my decisions in terms of who to contact next, although the process also evolved organically due to my growing knowledge of the organisation and suggestions from the network of contacts I developed during the field work process (please see Appendix B).

Most of the participants interviewed for this research were current workers for the organisation, or had worked there within the last ten to fifteen years. However I also spoke to individuals who had worked for the organisation in the early 1990s, one who worked for Southbank Centre from the early 1970s until the early 2010s, and another current worker who has been employed by the organisation for 30 years. During the fieldwork period I conducted semi-structured interviews with 24 individual cultural workers. I also conducted research discussions with a further 8 individuals, including academics, specialists and freelance cultural workers who had specialist expertise around Southbank Centre, the Festival of Britain or other relevant topics. During the selection of research participants I deliberated stretched the definition of 'cultural worker', as I discuss in the literature review. I deliberately decided to not only interview creative producers for the organisation: I also interviewed individual workers from departments including Visitor Experience, Marketing, Education and Participation/ Festivals Team, Development, HR, Facilities, Technical and Commercial Events. This ranged from past and current members of the Senior Leadership Team (those working at 'Director' level, who report directly to the Chief Executive or Artistic Director of Southbank Centre) to Visitor Service Hosts. I also spoke to a number of past and current 'Heads' of teams- the layer of staff below Directors in the organisation, as well as those with job titles including Manager and Officer for example (for further details please see Appendix B and C).

Alongside contacting current employees of Southbank Centre, a range of approaches were used in order to try to gain access to past employees. For example, as detailed above one approach involved asking each participant in the project for suggestions,

although only a very limited number of participants were able to recommend past employees. A further approach involved getting in contact with specialists on the 1951 Festival of Britain. Some of them, such as Becky Conekin, academic and author of *The Autobiography of a Nation: The 1951 Festival of Britain (2003),* and academics and writers from the Royal College of Arts, who have also published articles about the history and architecture of the Southbank Centre site, were unable to suggest contacts for relevant people since their own research did not involve talking to these individuals. Dr. Harriet Atkinson, academic and author of *The Festival of Britain: A Land and Its People (2012)* suggested a few leads which I was able to follow up. These included contact details for relevant well known individuals at Historic England, relatives of Gerald Barry, Festival of Britain Director - General and Chairman, and architects connected to the Festival of Britain. Emails or letters were then sent out to these individuals, but no replies were received.

Using advice from the contacts mentioned above and from my developing knowledge of the key players in the early design of the Festival of Britain site I also independently contacted further individuals connected to the Festival of Britain, and authors who have written about post-war architecture. One of the people I contacted summed up in her email one of the key difficulties with trying to contact individuals via their links to the original Festival of Britain, 'As you can imagine most of the people involved are dead now!'.

I also got in touch with Charlotte Mullins, author of *A Festival on the River: The Story of Southbank Centre* (2007) who responded that, 'All the quotes I used came from a project that Southbank Centre conducted when the RFH was closed for refurbishment, a campaign that allowed visitors to share their stories of the building, concerts etc…I'm afraid the time constraints on that book were such that I couldn't conduct my own interviews, so I don't have contact details etc.' Through a contact at City University, I was able to get in touch with a musician and producer at Serious (a jazz production company), whose initial response was very positive, 'I think I can help a little with this - actually, I even worked at the South Bank myself in the 60s, as a stage hand.... And subsequently as concert producer from the late 70s, and I can certainly suggest a few useful people.' However, despite several emails and phone calls nothing further was heard. This dead-end is one example of a challenge inherent in asking people to participate in research projects and of some of the hurdles I came up against throughout the process. Further discussion of these challenges and constraints follows, alongside the many more positive stories and experiences associated with this research project.

Fieldwork challenges and constraints

As detailed above there have been issues with initially finding individuals to contact due to the lack of availability of records of past employees at Southbank Centre. Added to this a large amount of labour and time has gone into the organisation of interviews. It is estimated that overall more three hundred emails have been sent out, with around two hundred emails received. The minimum contact involved in setting up an interview would include up to six or eight emails to firstly give information about the project, gauge interest and then confirm a time, date and place to meet. With more senior employees the organisation of the interview may well be passed on to an assistant, and involve back and forth correspondence about potential dates. There were a large number of those contacted who did not respond. Some respondents got back to me to let me know they would not be interested in taking part in the project. Several replied to say they would be interested but after that did not reply to communications to set a date, and some with whom it took email exchanges of up to 30 different emails with themselves or their Personal/ Executive Assistant to set a date. I had a number of interviews rescheduled at the last minute, cancelled and never rescheduled. Additionally there have been three separate occasions where an interviewee has not shown up at the agreed time, due to either them forgetting or overrunning meetings. All of these situations were to be expected, since taking part in a research project relies on the willingness of the individual, their availability and their interest in committing to something that is outside their working remit and job description. So arrangements made were always at risk of being low priority and therefore subject to changes and cancellations. The cumulative effect of these instances though was that large amounts of time were taken up on the administration and organisation of interviews.

In terms of the content of the interview themselves, some of them have been more in-depth and of more use than others. Generally an interview would last anywhere between 25 and 50 minutes, meaning that the individual would have to devote no more than an hour of their day in total to the research project. However some interviews were shorter than this and some much longer. This is in part due to the difference in seniority of participants and also due to the length of time they have been working at Southbank Centre, how in touch where were with the strategic aims of the organisation, as well as other more pragmatic considerations such as whether they had another meeting to go to after meeting with me. Some interviews were highly relevant to the topics I was exploring, and others had elements of nostalgia and anecdote that were of less use but still fascinating and enjoyable.

A further reality which at first seemed like it would be a challenge for the realisation of this research project was that the majority of Southbank Centre's archives have been unavailable to the public in recent years, stored offsite and uncatalogued. However, from October 2015, when I was in the midst of the empirical research, Southbank Centre begun the process of opening up the archives to the public, including cataloguing and also giving members of the public access to the processes behind archiving itself. I discuss this in some depth in Chapter 5. As I mentioned above, my methodological approach in the early stages of this project involved the idea of 'excavation' and further exploring the layers of history of work at Southbank Centre. However, as the research developed I found a richer and more interesting approach would be to investigate how these layers of history operate in the present, and are understood and utilised by cultural workers, and particularly which aspects of the heritage of the organisation have been celebrated and which marginalised. Therefore, by the time the archive started to become more accessible I realised that I would not need to use it in the ways I thought I would. I did attend a multimedia tour in April 2018, which included use and presentation of the archives, the *Concrete Dreams* exhibition. This gave me some understanding of the kinds of materials the archives consisted of, and affirmed my belief that, although a fascinating area of study for another project, archive materials were not imperative to this particular research and to its aims to present analysis of recent and current discourses of cultural work at Southbank Centre. I next move on to discuss the methodological approaches used in this research in more depth, beginning with cultural discourse analysis.

Cultural discourse analysis

Whilst the term 'discourse' is notoriously nebulous, fluid and has varying definitions, usages and contexts, it is one often not defined by theorists across many disciplines (Mills, 1997:1). Therefore it is necessary to provide working definitions for the term as understood and utilised for the purposes of this research. Primarily the term 'discourse' is used to refer to both spoken communication during interviews, conversations and other contexts, as well as written communication in marketing materials and other strategic documentation produced by Southbank Centre, since for Benveniste

> Discourse must be understood in its widest sense: every utterance assumes a speaker and a hearer, and in the speaker, the intention of influencing the other in some way… but it is also the mass of writing that reproduces oral

> discourse or that borrows its manner of expression and its purposes (Benveniste, 1971: 208-209).

Discourse however also has a different theoretical use. For Fowler, discourse is different to the ways in which the term ideology is often used but there are basic common traits

> Discourse is speech or writing seen from the point of view of the beliefs, values and categories which it embodies; these beliefs etc. constitute a way of looking at the world, an organisation or representation of experience- 'ideology' in the natural non- pejorative sense (Fowler, 1981).

This also relates to Foucauldian theory on the subject and his three definitions from *The Theory of Knowledge* (1972). The first is that all spoken or written forms of communication which have some impact in society can be seen as discourse, which connects to discussion of beliefs, values and ethos above. The second definition is to do with the ways in which these forms of communication can be grouped together by what they have in common, and the third definition focuses on the structures and rules which produce these forms of communication (Foucault, 1972, see also Mills, 1997). The definition of 'cultural discourse' for Foucauldians is therefore broader than its linguistic meaning and interpretation.

This research attempts to find strands and themes within discourses of Southbank Centre employees, both past and present, and highlights the use of the second definition. However it also connects this communication to wider social and cultural trends bringing definition one into play; and analyses their structure, thus using Foucault's third definition. For Macdonnell, an important factor in cultural discourse analysis is the awareness that institutional discourse will by its very nature be social and relate to the social practices and social positions of individuals. Therefore, in keeping with Foucault's definition, a crucial understanding of discourses is that they are not disconnected series of statements. Rather discourses can be seen as groupings of statements, played out in specific contexts, determined by those contexts and affecting the ways in which those social contexts exist and develop (Macdonnell, 1986).

Building on Foucauldian understanding of discourse and connected to Macdonnell's theories, Mills promotes the usefulness of understanding discourse as something which produces something else, rather than something which can be unpicked in isolation from its context. She argues that discursive structures can be identified because of convergences of ways of conceiving of ideas and behaviours, which are produced within a certain context, and have overt effects within that context (Mills,

1997: 15). The analysis of the imbrication of the construction of discourses by Southbank Centre employees and in strategic documents, and the ways in which these discourses produce the working lives and experiences of individuals at Southbank Centre is of specific interest during this research. One of the purposes of this research- in a similar vein to Beverley Skeggs' ethnographic work with working-class female care workers in a town in the North-West of the UK - is in order to understand what it means to be a cultural worker, and the processes by which cultural workers produce themselves (Skeggs, 1999: 216-217).

A further useful dimension of discourse is that discourses are iterative and speak to questions about power, truth and knowledge. The ways in which the production and use of specific discourses at Southbank Centre reflects knowledge, working practices and power dynamics, both in terms of individuals, and collectively within the organisation, throughout the centre's history is unpacked in this thesis. Central to Foucauldian analysis of discourse is the decoding of why and how dominant discourses become dominant, as well as the analysis of the development of discursive norms which continually shift and develop according to the episteme (Foucault 1981). Foucauldian approaches to discourse focuses on power relations evident within discourses, not in the limited sense of the idea of power being a force used to prevent individuals from doing something, but also in the way that power structures animate possible behaviours (Foucault, 1980). This conceptual understanding is formative to this research in that it looks closely at the ways in which cultural workers utilise discourses around the heritage of the organisation, in the process producing specific power relations.

Cultural ethnography

As referred to previously, elements of a 'cultural ethnography' approach are incorporated into this research. As Skeggs reinforces, there is no singular approach to ethnography and the boundaries between different research methodologies are permeable. However she does summarise some of the basic features of an ethnographic approach:

> Fieldwork that will be conducted over a *prolonged period of time*; utilising different research techniques; conducted *within the settings* of the participants, with an understanding of how the context informs the action; *involving the researcher* i*n participation* and observation; involving an account of the development of the relationships between the researcher and the researched and focusing on how experience and practice are part of wider processes (Skeggs, 2001:426).

These features are part of the research processes and practices used to explore cultural work at Southbank Centre. The interviews themselves were mostly carried out from September 2014 to March 2016, but I also carried out numerous ethnographic fieldwork visits between September 2014 and October 2018 (please see Appendix A for an example). As discussed and analysed below the research was mostly carried out at Southbank Centre itself and was interview based and participative. An account of the development of relationships, and methods used is provided here, and the data analysis in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 give a rich picture of the ways in which the experiences of both the researcher and researched are part of the wider processes of the development, identities and histories of cultural work connected to this institution.

My research has involved ongoing reflection on engagement with research participants, data collection and observable behaviours and practices. Throughout the research there has been a drive to make processes collaborative and 'sociable'. Shamser and Back overturn the idea of 'finding a quiet place' to do research as part of the process of 'the mere transposition of talk to text data' lamenting the fact that this makes research 'unsociable' (Shamser and Back, 2014:1). They argue that, for the purposes of their research, it was important to conduct interviews in sociable, public spaces, to provide comfort for participants, ease of dialogue and the feeling of collaboration rather than interrogation. During the course of my research, interviews were held in a variety of different spaces at Southbank Centre and other locations and this approach yielded rich results. Spaces utilised during interviews included all levels of the Royal Festival Hall, from café and bar spaces on the ground floor, where any free activities being held that day informed the conversation, to the member's bar and the higher levels of the building where the view across London through the large windows often became assimilated into the dialogue.

> Not sure if it's the physical space, maybe it's that festival spirit that's me being really sentimental. That certainly is something about here that is deeper than you might get in other places. Maybe it's a combination of the sense of place you get from here, which is partly to do with these beautiful buildings we're in now and how they've been designed to feel open, and look out at the best of London to inspire and lift you. (P4)

Additionally interviews were held in local cafés, or other London cafés close to where former staff were now working. For example: a café in Covent Garden (near to the Royal Shakespeare Company); café spaces in other cultural institutions such as the Imperial War Museum; and universities and libraries. A small minority of participants

requested their interview to be held in Southbank Centre offices, one of which was conducted in an open plan space, and one in a separate office space, where the door was left open. Research participants would often refer to the spaces, people and activities around them.

In these ways, the space of the research process was crucial to help me to generate theorisations of space. In their study of London fishmongers, Lyon and Back argue that the soundscape which provides a backdrop to their ethnographic observations provides further information about the patterns, relationships and rhythms of the work being undertaken, therefore providing a richer ethnographic understanding of the subjects (Lyon and Back, 2012). Through numerous visits to Southbank Centre and conducting interviews at different times of day and in different spaces I was able to build my knowledge of the dynamics, ebbs and flows, challenges and surprises of the building and the organisation itself. These experiences and observations then aided my understanding of the research site, as well as my communication with participants, because I was able to present myself as knowledgeable about the site and connected to it (please see Appendix A for one example of an ethnographic field work visit to the site).

For Shamser and Back, the focus on sociability is one of the ways in which they endeavoured to work *with* rather than *on* participants (Shamser and Back, 2014: 3) and as detailed later when discussing specific methods in more depth, a collaborative approach is something that I aimed for throughout this research. Data was not collected from participants in a disengaged way but rather all participants were asked to feed into the research design, by suggesting not only other people to contact but also paths to follow, resources to use, and ways in which the research could progress. Shamser and Back indicate that in their research they aimed to move away from the metaphorical idea of the interviewer as miner, extracting information from the participant, to the idea of the interview process as traveller, walking with the participant (Kvale and Brinkman, 2009, cited in Shamser and Back, 2014: 4-5). For Skeggs, ethnographical approaches such as these enable the theories underpinning the research to be continually revised and confronted through the experiences of research participants (Skeggs, 1999). A similar approach was built into the question design, which included a section towards the end of the interviews about the research itself and any suggestions they had, as well as encouragement to come back to me with anything they thought might be of use at a later date (which a number of participants did). This approach led to some in-depth participation by research ‘subjects’, including one member of staff who was herself studying

Southbank Centre and proved to be a valuable font of information and generous advisor.

Further examples of attempting to make the research sociable and collaborative include my attending sessions as part of the MA Education in Arts and Cultural Settings run collaboratively by King's College and Southbank Centre, including a session on heritage during which selected materials from the archive were put on display and a workshop facilitated around these, and taking part in interactive archive sessions. Additionally, many contacts and participants sent me documents and resources they thought might be useful, for example: the *Southbank Centre Executive Chart* (please see Appendix B for this, as well as further details about research participants); the *Southbank Centre Way* framework of competencies[22] (please also see Appendix D) and strategic documents such as *Looking After Our Heritage: A Conservation Plan for Southbank Centre*[23] *(*please also see Appendix E*)*. This destabilisation of the division of labour between myself as researcher and participants in the research project (Shamser and Back, 2014) has enabled deeper insights, more reciprocal working relationships, and broader conversations. Put simply - although this research did not aim to achieve the levels of sociability suggested by Shamser and Back, for example involving participants in decisions around which methods are used - it did aim for a cultural ethnography approach that enables and encourages participation, guidance, influence and expertise from research participants as well as experts in the field.

This approach connects to the ideals of feminist researchers who, Skeggs argues often begin with the 'ideal of reciprocity' by endeavouring to ensure research participants are not powerless. Further ideals include 'honesty, accountability, responsibility and equality.' Skeggs usefully questions, however, whether any ethnographic approach is able to 'equalise' power dynamics between the researcher and participants; arguing that there are limits to reciprocity in terms of time constraints on the part of the researcher, for example (Skeggs, 2001: 433-4). Stacey also questions the limitations of collaborative research processes and argues that even allowing for ethnographic methodologies the research product will still be ultimately guided by the purposes, interpretations and voice of the researcher (Stacey, 1988: 23 cited in Skeggs, 2001: 436). The key driver then for this research

[22] https://docs.google.com/presentation/d/1qsA2dMLpj-r_8cGJ0JexS73ZjCFs727sU87AklUHJrw/pub?start=false&loop=false&delayms=3000&slide=id.g4ac5aed61_034

[23] https://bynder.southbankcentre.co.uk/m/0584ae5d0f3fb648/original/

was to remain mindful and accountable for research and to take responsibility for it (Skeggs, 2001) by enabling as many collaborative and reciprocal relationships and processes to develop, within realistic limits.

When aiming for rich ethnographic interpretation, I felt that in order to give an in-depth picture of the roles of individuals it would be useful to be able to refer to their job title in the research write up. Therefore consent forms for this research were designed to allow participants to either agree to, or to opt out, of their name and job role being used. They were told it was not likely that their full name would be used in the research, since this did not seem likely to have any specific benefits to the research, but that they may be identifiable from the combination of their job title, the time period in which they worked for the organisation, and comments. In relation to the power dynamics outlined above, there was a desire to value the expertise of participants by placing their comments in a context of their role within the organisation. As Lyon and Back acknowledge

> [A]n inherent tension exists between creating ethnographic accounts that are more vital and empirically 'thick' and the consequences of such vivid data, which makes people and places more easily recognisable and less anonymous (Lyon and Back, 2012: 3).

Shamser and Back argue that the practice of automatically anonymising research participants a symptom of 'ethical hypochondria' which they argue can limit the potential for research (Shamser and Back, 2014). It was felt that any tensions about the non-anonymity of data were worth it for the resulting outcomes, and this research attempted to move away from anonymity in order to open up and extend the possibilities of the research process and practices. But, as for Janet Newman, in her work on power and agency for female activists in senior positions in organisations, the anonymity of participants was something that it was important to take a different approach to. She wished to identify the institutions she was researching and since normally she worked with senior people in these organisations, her participants would be easily identifiable. She acknowledged this had political and ethical consequences but concluded that in balance it was worth these complications to provide a rich ethnographic picture (Newman 2012: 191-192). Participants in my research therefore were fully informed and signed a consent form which detailed that they may request to see a copy of the transcript of their interviews. Although no participants requested this I sent over copies of transcripts to all participants and received some useful replies which gave further interesting information and insights.

Interestingly during my research I found that some workers are already in effect taking part in cultural ethnography themselves by generating ethnographic analysis.

> I think the people here are almost, Jude always calls them tribes… You get your tribes people who use it as an office and are comfortable with it. Get the much older really big into classical music audience, then you have the families who know it's somewhere free where your kids can run around and climb stairs. I like that it has many bits for people to use it as they want. (P4)

People often analysed their surroundings; but this also indicates a level of comfort on the part of some participants to be involved in collaborative research processes and specifically in ethnographic observations. Southbank Centre is after all a public, social space which needs to have awareness of its users and audiences in order to survive, and so the ethnographic approaches detailed above fitted well with my particular research site, as opposed to another kind of organisation which might be less receptive and to which it would be less well suited.

Reflexivity

As mentioned earlier, a rigorous framework for research was utilised throughout, which included a continuing focus on reflexivity. As Skeggs says, 'When we enter ethnography we enter it with all our economic and cultural baggage, our discursive access and the traces of positioning and history that we embody' (Skeggs, 2001: 434). Earlier discussions around my particular perspective give an indication of the thematic approach towards this research, and I was conscious of my academic and cultural background. As research can be seen as an interference in the environment (Seale, 1998), I was sensitive to the ways in which the research impacted upon the individuals taking part and as mentioned above endeavoured to maintain an open dialogue with all research participants. Research always has political ramifications (Warren and Karner, 2005:25), and I was mindful of the context of what I was researching. For example, during the early stages of my research I needed to show discretion and tact when discussing the Long Live Southbank campaign. This campaign started in 2013 as a bid to prevent the Undercroft section of Southbank Centre, which has been used for skating and BMXing since the 1970s, from being redeveloped, after Southbank Centre released its Festival Wing plans in March 2013. The dispute (which was settled in 2014 with an agreement for the redevelopment to be called off) between LLSB and Southbank Centre was extensively covered in national and international news.[24] It involved some very high profile organisations

[24] https://www.standard.co.uk/lifestyle/esmagazine/if-you-wreck-the-beloved-south-bank-youre-in-trouble-controversial-new-plans-for-londons-cultural-8716668.html

and individuals such as English Heritage, The Twentieth Century Society, the Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment, Kate Hoey, MP, the then Mayor of London, Boris Johnson. During the early stages of my interviews, some participants demonstrated reticence to discuss this since it was so high profile and they did not wish to be recorded presenting an opinion about what was happening. Therefore I did not push them to discuss the situation specifically or answer questions about it so as not to make them feel vulnerable or exposed and potentially disrupt the rapport and trust I had built.

As detailed earlier, my close involvement with the sector also required that the process involved ongoing reflexivity in terms of analysing the potentiality for bias when interpreting data, but it was anticipated that the knowledge of the arts and cultural sector would also be an advantage in the analysis and interpretation of data. That being said, however, I was conscious not to make assumptions but to probe interviewees more deeply to understand the specifics of what they were talking about in the context of Southbank Centre itself rather than generalising or linking their insights to readily to my previous experiences.

Throughout the research I kept in mind the limitations of interviews. It is acknowledged that interviewees present their version of the truth via language which can be unreliable or problematic in terms of meaning (Seale, 1998: 203, Newman 2012, Mills, 1997). Structuralist and post structuralist theorists have questioned the idea of language as expressing truth in a transparent manner and moved thinking on to seeing it as a form of communication which is constrained and has its own effects upon expression. As Newman says

> The stuff of interview is language, which cannot be regarded as representing a fixed and objective reality but which is socially produced, not only in the interaction between interviewer and respondent but in the discursive repertoires, narratives and cultural scripts on which each draws. My focus then, was not only on the 'facts' of what happened but also on how encounters are performed and understood, and on how individuals 'storied' their lives. Such stories are open to multiple readings (Newman, 2012: 192).

Therefore it is acknowledged that this research presents one of many 'multiple readings' of the discourses of cultural workers for Southbank Centre, and that as

https://www.theguardian.com/media/2013/jul/03/nicholas-hytner-southbank-centre

mentioned previously it is an interpretative, exploratory and descriptive way of extending knowledge on this subject.

Theoretical underpinnings: space and cultural work

As explored in the literature review section of this thesis and elsewhere, theories around the production of space and cultural work are central to my research, and there is a need to briefly outline some of the theoretical underpinnings here. As mentioned earlier, my interest in this subject stems from previous postgraduate research into the development of gallery education in the UK in the 20th Century, as well as from my own experiences as a cultural worker. At an early stage I became interested in whether, and if so in what ways, arts organisations can be said to 'represent' the city around them. I investigated theories about the city and considered the use of London's Southbank as a case study since it constituted an interesting layered urban space. Many theorists describe the city as a palimpsest (De-Certeau, 1994, Wirth-Nesher, 1996, Wolfrey, 1998, Stevenson, 2003, Groes 2011). A palimpsest is defined as, 'a manuscript or piece of writing material on which the original writing has been effaced to make room for later writing' or 'something reused or altered but still bearing visible traces of its earlier form.' Although Massey problematises the use of 'palimpsest' as a way in which to describe and understand the layering of space, since for her this is too singular an understanding (Massey, 2005:110), it is useful to this research and its methodology in terms of 'digging into' layers of histories of cultural work at Southbank Centre. Additionally, Massey suggests this approach to space may be too static (Massey, 2005: 118), and building on this it is the ways in which layers of spatial understanding as produced by cultural workers are constantly, negotiated, recycled, reproduced and reconstructed which is the focus in the chapters 4, 5 and 6 of this PhD, rather than just an excavation of these historical layers only. Additionally, Suttles discussed the city in terms of its 'cumulative texture' (Suttles, 1984). These notions are useful to this research when considering the cultural heritage of Southbank Centre.

Rebecca Solnit describes this layering of space in a different way:

> Places are leaky containers. They always refer beyond themselves, whether island or mainland, and can be imagined in various scales, from the drama of a back alley to transcontinental geopolitical forces and global climate. What we call places are stable locations with unstable converging forces that cannot be delineated either by fences on the ground or by boundaries in the imagination- or by the perimeter of the map. Something is always coming

> from elsewhere, whether it's wind, water, immigrants, trade goods or ideas (Solnit, 2010: vii).

Solnit's work (both written and her artistic renditions of alternative maps of San Francisco, New York and New Orleans) speaks to Massey's assertion that maps are merely a static flat, closed representation of space (Massey, 2005: 106). Additionally this conceptualisation of space connects to the Derridean notion of *differance;* a word play on the French words meaning to defer and to differ, encompassing both the ways in which words or phrases defer to other terms, they generate meaning only in relation to each other, and also the fact that they differ or are distinct from each other and so only provide meaning by being *not* what something else is (Derrida, 1967). This research analyses the ways in which areas such as London's South Bank within cities attempt to create a meaningful 'sense of place' by reference to other places and spaces, both geographical and temporal, but yet also by attempting to create a sense of difference to other places, in this case by the ways in which the heritage of cultural work is understood and presented via the discourses of both past and present employees.

Massey's theorisations on space inform the methodological approach to my research project. Her 2005 book, *For Space* starts by outlining her three main propositions: space is produced by interrelating forces, from the macro to the micro or the global to the local; space has the potential to be pluralistic and multitudinous and for diverse pathways to coexist; space is constantly being constructed and reconstructed. The relationship between material processes and practices and the individuals producing spaces is always ongoing (Massey, 2005: 9). The first of these stresses the underlying argument of this thesis that space is actively produced by various influences, including local, national and global forces, and the ways in which cultural workers have an active role in this. The second connects to the focus on narratives of diverse experiences in relation to space, with the focus on the able bodied, white, heterosexual male being challenged. The third is a call for a re-imagining of space and of future societal politics, refusing to see space as closed or finished but as a work in progress.

Further research into this topic led me to analyse issues around the production of space and the key actors in these processes, and to choose to use the discourses of cultural workers as the point of departure for my research. I wanted to investigate the ways in which cultural workers portrayed the production of space in terms of its importance, or not, to their roles with a cultural institution. As outlined in the introductory sections of this thesis, Southbank Centre is the largest multi-arts centre

in Europe and I chose it as a case study because of its rich history and its ongoing reputation as a global institution in the arts and culture.

Applying the notion of cultural work to the past

My interviews generate historical reflections and analysis. There are a number of issues with what can be called 'presentism', or with the process of applying contemporary concepts back onto the past. A fundamental issue stems from debate around what history is, or the study of the history of historical analysis; the discipline of historiography. The theory of knowledge that is Empiricism, which is rooted in the 'scientific revolution' or 'natural philosophy' (see Outram, 1995 cited in Green and Troup, 1999) of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries continues to be highly influential in this respect but has also been increasingly challenged in the modern period (Green and Troup, 1999). Empiricism as a theory of knowledge is broadly based on three tenets. A key concept, as expounded by Ranke in the nineteenth century, is that carefully authenticated and evaluated primary sources, or those produced at the time of an event, should only be used; and secondary sources, or those that were produced after the event or by a third party, should not be considered. The attempt to achieve objective analysis through the use of these primary sources and facts (Bury, 1930), and the belief that using rigorous historical methodology means historians are able to provide a key to unlock the events of the past (Elton, 1967), are key elements of this concept. In addition, the focus on the importance of methods to provide an objective account of the past relies on two further tenets of empiricism; the concept that investigative research can be impartial, and that it can be used alongside a system of reasoning that is inductive. These three fundamental concepts have been questioned, particularly by postmodernists (Green and Troup, 1999).

A key thinker in the modern development of historiography and the questioning of Empiricism was E.H. Carr. For Carr, the questioning of what history is leads to the questioning of the researcher and the possibility for them to be objective.

> When we attempt to answer the question, What is History?, our answer, consciously or unconsciously, reflects our own position in time, and forms part of our answer to the broader question what view we take of the society in which we live (Carr, 1961:2).

This positions the historian as a researcher who is by nature selective and evaluative, never purely objective (Carr, 1961). In contemporary times it is acknowledged by various theorists that it is difficult to come to an agreement about

the past since it can be interpreted in a number of ways (Green and Troup, 1999). However, for Carr, certain interpretations of historical events can be more valuable than others, as long as the historian is aware that History is ‘a continuous process of interaction between the historian and his facts, an unending dialogue between the present and the past’ (Carr, 1961:24).

The awareness that the study of history is a continuous process and that each attempt to present a certain period of history is presented via the contemporary mind-set of the historian, that ‘the facts of history never come to us ‘pure’, since they do not and cannot exist in pure form: they are always refracted through the mind of the recorder’ (Carr, 1961: 16) meaning the discipline has evolved to a pluralistic one. It is widely accepted that different types of historians exist, and that as well as the empiricists, as discussed above, it is acknowledged that, for example, histories can be communicated from: a Marxist; psychoanalytical; sociological; quantitative; anthropological; narrative; oral; feminist; postcolonial or poststructuralist/ postmodernist perspective, or some combination thereof (Green and Troup, 1999). This research links most closely to sociological and cultural studies histories, in that my thesis aims to research, analyse and present relevant moments and phases of work as experienced by individuals. It also speaks to feminist histories. For example it takes into account concerns with the marginalisation of the working class, ethnic minorities and women in contemporary cultural work (Banks, 2017) and how these be traced through the history of labour movements in Britain (Oakley, 2013), and understood through the lens of the valourisation of meritocracy as a social system and ideological discourse (Littler, 2017).

For Samuel ‘history from above’ consists of those narratives which are concerned with public history, with the history of ‘great events’ as opposed to ‘history from below’ which is concerned with private lives and events which have great significance on the living of everyday life. For example Samuel compares the Battle of Trafalgar to the Married Women’s Property Act in 1882. He argues the latter had more impact upon the politics of the ways in which daily lives were led than the former, that ‘history from below’ has a subversive potential to disrupt narratives of power, and asks, ‘Who are to be the dramatis personae of ‘our island story’? Must they be, as Sidelsky argues, ‘great people’, and if so, what is to be the measure of their greatness?’ (Samuel, 1989: 205). Samuel argues that there is a tradition of sympathy in British history for anti-heroes or invisible peoples (Samuel, 1989: 204)

> Today, when history is no longer a training ground for an imperial race, one might hope that individuals would be singled out not for their political weight, but for the way they personified their times. Heroes and heroines in humble life as, say, Gracie Fields or Tommy Farr or Bruce Bairnsfather, might be as rewarding to study for our twentieth- century history as Lord Kitchener or Lord Curzon (Samuel, 1989: 205).

Although criticisms of what became understood as 'New History' argued that the approach sacrifices long term perspectives for a 'patch approach- history in depth at particular moments in time' (Samuel, 1989: 198), this thesis incorporates a 'New History' approach in that it does not attempt to present 'a' history of cultural work at Southbank Centre, as a progressive development or clearly definable trajectory. It instead utilises 'a skills approach based on the critical reading of documents and original materials' (Samuel, 1989: 198)

> History is a house of many mansions and its narratives change over time. It can be about structure of process, or events- how people lived or what they did. In one major line of interpretation the past is a prologue to the present, connected up by 'lines' or 'stages' of development. In another, the past is constructed as a kind of reverse image of the present- the world we have lost (Samuel, 1989: 204).

This study therefore approaches the layering of key moments and phases of cultural work at Southbank Centre from the vantage point of the subjects as well as the official rhetoric of a major institution and key players. It analyses a range of sources and attempts to unpack what kinds of cultural work went on, who these were undertaken by and what conditions these people worked in. It is the purpose of this research to offer some 'snapshots from working lives…[in a]…dynamic rather than sequential' (Newman, 2012: 3) manner. It relates these findings to contemporary understanding of cultural work, therefore providing a theoretically informed perspective on its interviews with cultural workers. Samuel argues for the acknowledgement of alternative histories and inter-dependences between narratives of history. 'We live in an expanding historical culture in which vast new fields of inquiry compete for attention, and whole new classes of evidence have been brought into play' (Samuel, 1989: 205). My research seeks to investigate how the layers of cultural work connected to the production of space at Southbank Centre influence the working practices of recent and current workers. Therefore it informs contemporary debate about the status of cultural work today and helps pave the ground for research which contemplates its futures, since as Newman argues, 'We need, in short, to rethink tales we tell about the past and the resources on which we draw to imagine and enact other possible futures' (Newman, 2012:16).

This chapter has outlined some of the theory underpinning my methodological position and choices. It has also given details of the fieldwork I carried out for this research project, including some of the challenges and constraints I faced. In the next section of this thesis I begin to present the findings from and analysis of my empirical research, organised into thematic chapters; starting with analysis of the changing meanings of spatial access at Southbank Centre.

Chapter 4. A Democratic Site? Changing Meanings of Spatial Access at Southbank Centre

Fig 4.1 Two of Jane Bown's photos of the 1951 Festival of Britain.[25]

> We think that the architects intended that it was going to be used as a space for congregations because of the levels that overlook the river….they must have thought people would go up there and sit up there, otherwise why would you build benches on the roof? (P1)

Jane Bown's photographs of the 1951 Festival of Britain, a selection of which were re-published by the Observer on the 01st May 2017, show areas of the site which indeed seem to be in use as 'a space for congregations', as a cultural worker from the Development department at Southbank Centre in 2015 refers to above. Although protected by walls and ticketed with access through a turnstile, the Festival of Britain in 1951 was free and open to all. Bown's pictures show women and men, older and younger individuals, and a number of children and families framed by futuristic-looking buildings and walkways. The Festival of Britain ethos was self-consciously one of celebration, fun, to 'try to cheer visitors up', incorporating the picturesque, and a focus on pleasure and imagination (Atkinson, 2012, Conekin, 2003, Grindrod, 2013, Mulgan and Worpole, 1986, Nathaniel Lichfield and Partners, 2015); and the site was physically (re)designed in the 1960s and 1970s with this in mind, with 'the external spaces to the Queen Elizabeth Hall and the Hayward Gallery conceived as a three-dimensional landscape rather than a building' (Nathaniel Lichfield and Partners, 2015:36).

These original aspirations however were seemingly overlooked in later decades, with the site apparently not being utilised as fully as had been intended.

[25] https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/jane-bown

> Dennis Crompton was an architect who was involved in the original design of the Hayward and the Queen Elizabeth Hall…and he said to Jude a couple of years ago, “I’ve always envisaged the terraces being used in this way, but I had to wait 40 years for it.” (P21)

The above quote from a senior member of staff in 2016 sheds some light on the evolution of the relationship between the fascinating and complex history of Southbank Centre spaces and the ways in which cultural workers have mediated their uses. This is the lens through which this chapter analyses spatial access. This focus on providing public spaces for people to come together was key to the democratic ideals inherent in the Festival of Britain and the site-wide design of Southbank Centre buildings erected in later decades. Additionally the Royal Festival Hall auditorium was first designed with democratic principles in mind in that each seat provides the same quality of sound from performances (Martinez, 2014); and the building was originally intended as a flexible and democratic space that would cater for a range of visitors and a broad range of artistic performances, as well as allowing for a variety of both informal and formal events due to the internal levels and foyer spaces (Nathaniel Lichfield and Partners, 2015).

From its original inception as a site based on democratic principles and designed for all, through decades of the Royal Festival Hall as an exclusive oasis, to its current frenetic, diverse yet consumer oriented identity, access has been a central issue at Southbank Centre. This chapter charts changes in meanings of spatial access at Southbank Centre, and questions the extent to which the democratic access was really ‘for all’ by looking at who was excluded, and to what extent this has changed. Histories of movement by visitors around the Southbank Centre site, and the ways in which the different spaces have been and are currently used is presented, alongside the roles that cultural workers have played in relation to this. This chapter therefore speaks most directly to my first research question- how have the ways in which the social construction and cultural production of space developed over time at this organisation, and how does this relate to broader representations and definitions of cultural work? To answer it this chapter asks the questions: what are they key moments and phases of the production of space and cultural work? How was spatial access understood and constructed in these phases and moments?

The chapter argues that there were three key moments and phases associated with spatial access at Southbank Centre. It extrapolates some of the ways in which these moments have contributed to the creation and maintenance of a ‘sense of place’ at Southbank Centre, specifically analysing ideas around to what extent democratic

ideals are connected with this place-making. Finally it contemplates how an examination of these periods can provide a fuller understanding of the roles of cultural workers at Southbank Centre today. The three key moments and phases analysed are described in a historical context and related to the wider picture of the political and social climate in the UK at the time. The first moment connects to the ways in which the site was originally designed on the democratic principles of the Festival of Britain but quite soon afterwards became an exclusive oasis for classical music, and the surrounding area an undesirable place to visit, and therefore looks at the 1950s-1970s. There was a later moment of expanding democratic access as connected to the policies and funding of the Greater London Council (GLC) led by Ken Livingstone in the first half of the 1980s. During this period, for example, spatial access issues for marginalised groups such as disabled people and women were promoted, as well as for the wider classes. Lastly the contemporary moment, which is defined as the self-conscious production of plural space amidst commercial neoliberalism, focuses on recent history and in particular the phase since the reopening of the Royal Festival Hall in 2007.

It is argued throughout this chapter that cultural workers at Southbank Centre deal with a multitudinous understanding of space. Southbank Centre staff have, throughout different time periods, had to adopt a nuanced understanding of the spaces they work in and with. This involves: *defining* spaces at Southbank Centre through constructing narratives around them; working in and with a site which is problematic in terms of its layout and design and how these connect to perceptions of safety; working with the limits of spaces that have historically not always been user friendly, comfortable and appeared safe, welcoming and fit for purpose; and developing awareness around access issues for marginalised groups , specifically as connected to the challenges the site has historically posed for disabled people[26] and to some extent for women and those with buggies and small children; and responding to both architectural criticism and public opinion about the image and reputation of the buildings, and therefore in a certain sense being 'reputational advocates' for the spaces.

In the process the architectural history of the site as modernist, brutalist and forward-thinking and the limits this has provided in terms of physical access to the site are

[26] Throughout this chapter the term 'disabled people' is used, building on the Social Model of Disability and Oliver's assertion that although 'people with disabilities' is a term often used to highlight the value of the person first, with disability as a secondary consideration, 'disabled people' is a more appropriate term. This is, for Oliver, from his own experience, and from his extensive research into the area, because disability is experienced as an 'essential' aspect of the self (Oliver, 1990: xiii).

examined. These features are related to principles of democratic accessibility around the site, which continues to offer sizable public space that visitors don't have to pay to access. The final part of this chapter presents space at Southbank Centre in terms of its current hectic, diverse and varied identity alongside its consumer oriented focus, analysing the ways in which these potentially competing agendas are able to coexist, or not, on the Southbank Centre site. The spaces analysed in this chapter are various, including both internal and external spaces. For example, internal foyers, lifts and staircases, performance venues, exhibition spaces, recreation, retail, food and drink spaces as well as external spaces such as open public spaces, walkways, staircases, entry points and bridges.

Defining spaces and enabling wayfinding

In *Archigram* a collection of original materials first published in 1972, Peter Cook, an Archigram designer associated with the design and construction of many of the original buildings which now make up Southbank Centre, upholds that a number of the exterior spaces were originally designed to be 'undefined' spaces, which the user could choose to experience in his or her own way (Cook, 1999: 25). This design was meant to be empowering to the visitor, enabling them to decide how to experience diverse spaces and move between them, including accessing different levels and using the elevated walkways. In part the provision of varied levels, and of stairways and walkways connecting these, was an effort to differentiate the spaces from roadways and mark them out as pedestrian spaces; and also a bid to offer different perspectives on the surrounding environment as well as multiple pathways and routes by which to navigate the site (Herring, 2009b: 3-4, Long Live Southbank, 2015, Nathaniel Lichfield and Partners, 2015). However, through its very nature to some extent the design may have always been flawed in terms of its inclusivity.

> Presumably by accident, the space effectively prioritised those already fluent in the language of modern spatial design, but failed to equip the anonymous public with the necessary vocabulary and grammar. Exchanging the detritus of life down below for a city in the sky may have been an attractive utopian fantasy for the architects and perhaps even an appropriate gesture for an arts centre. However, as a consequence of the incomprehensible design and lack of straightforward ground level access, does it not stand to reason that at some point, the user would want to get down? (Herring, 2009b: 4).

The 'lack of straightforward ground level access' is something that is referred to by current Southbank Centre staff, and I look at this later in this chapter. For now, the ways in which the 'anonymous public' are (or are not) 'equipped with the necessary vocabulary and grammar' to decode this urban space is a key point to foreground.

Fig 4.2 One of the many signs at Southbank Centre which label and give directions to the different buildings within the Southbank Centre site[27]

Many Southbank Centre staff interviewed mentioned aspects of their role which were or are about defining what Southbank Centre 'is', its complexity and how it can be navigated. An individual who worked for the organisation in the 1990s reflects that, 'you could walk from the Wheel to the National Theatre and beyond and not quite realise that there's a major art centre there because of the levels and because there's so much going on in there.' (P16) One Visitor Service Manager, reflecting on her own knowledge of the site before she began working there in 2008, told me 'I think I'm quite consistent probably with a lot of people who say, "I didn't know it was any different from the National Theatre, or the BFI, or the Tate, or anything," I was aware of *where* it was, but I didn't know *what* it was.' (P23). A further cultural worker

[27] Photo by Kathy Williams

puts it as follows, ‘there’s something wonderful about being a whole cultural landscape but that’s hard to put edges on.’ (P4) These comments from Southbank Centre staff, both past and present demonstrate an awareness of the difficulties of understanding and defining what and even where Southbank Centre ‘is’ in its entirety, alongside issues around what specific spaces are intended to be used for.

> It’s quite a confusing building. It’s quite hard, especially if you have mobility issues, to get around and to feel like you know where you’re going is quite difficult I think, even for me. When I first started it took me about two years to know where I was going at all times. So definitely way finding and getting around is a challenge for us, and making sure that people know where they are and where they’re going to next. (P5)

Alasdair Jones found in his recent (2003-2007) ethnographic study of individuals using spaces in the vicinity of Southbank Centre site that it is often experienced by visitors as being open and without edges which is an attractive feature, making it an enjoyable place to walk through and experience but challenging in terms of defining what constitutes Southbank Centre itself and that this ambiguity about the boundaries of Southbank Centre was also experienced by management of the organisation (Jones, 2016 : 247-249). This is one example of the ways in which Southbank Centre staff currently work as *definers* of space, adopting legacies of the site into their working lives.

Sight and safety at Southbank Centre

Fig 4.3 Entry to a tunnel/ covered walkway at Southbank Centre in 2018[28]

Throughout the history of the Southbank Centre site there have been attempts by cultural workers for the organisation to codify and organise the spaces, to brand what *is* and what *is not* included in Southbank Centre as well as define what spaces should best be used for. In part these attempts can be seen as a reaction to the appropriation of spaces which had no discernable, obvious use by communities such as homeless populations and skateboarding and biking communities (Jones, 2014, 2016, Martinez, 2014), or as attempts, with varying degrees of success, to reclaim

[28] Photo by Kathy Williams

these spaces (Herring, 2009b, Jones, 2014). These issues around unused spaces or spaces being used in certain ways which may not fit with Southbank Centre's official wishes have been challenging for the image and reputation of the organisation and its environs. For much of the period between 1951 and up to the early 1980s the way in which the Southbank Centre site had been designed, including the use of materials and the layout gave it a sense of danger, partly due to the fact that the tunnels and walkways can be dark spaces full of shadows, there are some high walls interrupting sightlines and several spaces which can look empty. As Whyte found in his 16 year study of New York, these are all factors which affect feelings of security and behaviour in urban spaces (Whyte, 1990). This history of issues around safety in relation to spatial access can be seen in the discourse of a cultural worker who worked for the organisation for 40 years, from the early 1970s until 2012, who spoke of the ways in which things had improved. 'All the concrete walkways you had where people could escape in the rabbit-warren…some of it has been kept, and it's been softened. On reflection, it was not a very pleasant place to visit.' (P17) Another worker in 2015 conveyed her understanding of the visitor experience of the site in these decades, 'I think it had a bit of a dark time when it wasn't a place to come to. You certainly wouldn't want to be walking along the Queen's Walk after dark' (P2), demonstrating that an understanding of this period in the history of the site is still prevalent in the minds of cultural workers today.

A number of cultural workers talked about the early decades of the Royal Festival Hall in terms of it being an elite oasis within an urban landscape that itself was not a desirable place to visit and did not have much to offer. One cultural worker reflects on what he understood about the Royal Festival Hall when growing up in the 1960s, 'I suppose when I grew up I would have viewed it as a fairly elite place in terms of it hosting the world's greatest music and probably didn't think that much about its broader role.' (P8) A number of cultural workers also talked about the lack of amenities or reasons to stay. For example, an individual who has worked for the organisation since 1989 talks about his first impressions of the site:

> The only place where you could get anything to eat or drink was the Archduke. Other than that there was nothing around here at all, it was just full of homeless people. So it was not a safe environment…people used to literally come here, go to the concert and then they'd run for it. (P11)

The idea of 'running for it' and not staying on the site outside the safety of the Royal Festival Hall recurred in discussion with a range of research participants alongside the unattractiveness of the area. For example, a cultural worker reflected on his

experience of working for the organisation in the 1970s talked about 'no-one staying' and people 'just went home':

> There was a period in the '70s where this was that concrete jungle where people came to the concert hall, and no-one stayed… So this was the main place for classical music, and because of the dank, grey concrete area that it was, people just went home. (P17)

Additionally this understanding of an earlier moment of spatial access at Southbank Centre seems prevalent in the discourses of current cultural workers. As a member of staff commented in 2015:

> I think this area actually used to be quite dangerous at night as well. People would just come, get dropped off, come into the concert, and then get picked up and leave. (P15)

The idea of concert goers not engaging with the urban area outside of the Royal Festival Hall but would just 'get picked up and leave' demonstrates that the concert hall was seen an oasis in an otherwise misunderstood and unappealing site. Furthermore the idea of the buildings as protecting individuals from outside elements seems to have continued into the present day:

> I also really really like in the QEH auditorium because it's built like a bunker, you kind of feel like you're in a womb, you feel really protected from whatever is around you and so you can really focus on whatever is happening in there, which really works. I think that's true of the QEH and the RFH. (P4)

There is reference in this in an earlier quote to the materials used in the buildings in both a negative (e.g. 'concrete jungle'/ 'dank grey concrete') and positive fashion (e.g. 'bunker'/ 'womb'), and the chapter unpacks some elements of the reception to the physical buildings later on.

Although the original designs for 'undefined' space have now been interpreted in architectural studies and practices as 'dysfunctional' spaces which open the site up to misinterpretation and the appropriation of space by users which may not be those Southbank Centre would hope for, as previously mentioned the site was originally designed to connect users to the geographical location; to enable them to have 'choices' in how they used the space and therefore interact with it in a new way (Herring, 2009b 8-9). An additional feature of the original site design was the aim to conceal and then reveal landmarks as the site was explored. This connection to locality can also be understood with reference to the view available from Southbank Centre. As part of historic and contemporary planning and policy initiatives, the 'Linear Sightline' which runs from Westminster Pier to St Paul's Cathedral has been

preserved (but not both ways- importantly the view behind the pier has not been protected) and can be seen from many vantage points at Southbank Centre (Herring 2009a).

The sightline represents a specific, symbolic heritage, a 'grand and aura-laden symbolism' which can be seen as 'a parade ground for state imposed order and hierarchy. It has monuments, ceremonial avenues and processional ways' (Herring, 2009a: 48) and is an example of one of the ways in which Southbank Centre could be understood as an urban area which is coded through various means to include some and to exclude others (Bell and Jayne, 2004, Kearns and Philo, 1993, Zukin, 1995, Hamnett, 2003). For example, through its visual focus on national icons and institutions, which in recent decades has been a deliberate city branding tool in many countries (Evans, 2003). A current Southbank Centre employee, who has worked for the organisation in a participation and heritage context for the last ten years, is evidently very connected to this sightline, and specifically to the view from the Level 5 balcony of the Royal Festival Hall:

> I really like this balcony, and the fact that you can look out at London and see such extraordinary things and feel a part of something that's warm and opens to you as you're looking out on it. That connectedness to London at this level. You see people discover it and there're like, "look at that view!" and it's such a brilliant feeling. It's a public space not a private corporate balcony. I love it up here. (P4)

In fact she feels a 'connectedness' to London through this view and that it provides an opportunity for 'discovery' in that it is very much a 'public space'.

Such connection may not be the case for all cultural workers at Southbank Centre, nor visitors to the spaces. The impact of seeing imposing and grand buildings, many of which are associated with the nation state and to power and prestige, will not resonate with all, although it depends where you are within the site as to the content of the view. In contrast to the part of the North bank of the River Thames visible from many Southbank Centre spaces the South bank is much more focused on representing the public, it houses municipal government buildings and cultural centres. Southbank Centre does have multiple access points, and the back of the site has been opened up and made more accessible. This included the demolition of a concrete walkway in 1999 which blocked views of the Royal Festival Hall from Lambeth and Waterloo, which was funded by English Partnerships, as well as the opening of the Canteen Restaurant, new flights of steps and the lively food market three days a week.

However, the positioning of The Royal Festival Hall's front entrance looking to the North of the city rather than the South is in this sense an interesting choice, particularly in the context of the Tate Modern opening a South facing entrance in 2016. The view from many of the spaces at Southbank Centre in effect provides a lack of plurality in terms of its narrative, codifying the city space in an easy to process, authoritative and official manner and does not consciously relate to the multitudinous, chaotic lived experience of the city (Herring, 2009a), or the ways in which urban spaces remain fluid and inconstant (Wolfrey, 1998) and constantly changing and evolving (Massey 2005).

Expanding democratic access and the GLC

Fig 4.4 Signage on the door of the Royal Festival Hall in 2016[29]

A key period in the evolution of the Southbank Centre site - from democratic festival to elite concert hall in an urban wasteland to a more pluralistic site - was the five years of radical arts policies and high profile arts funding under the Greater London Council (GLC), from 1981- 1986 and specifically the launch of the Open Foyer Policy in 1983. The GLC replaced the London County Council in 1965 and was responsible, along with London Borough councils, for the administration and management of

[29] Photo by Kathy Williams

London-wide services. Often, when a new GLC was elected it was made up of a majority of the leading national opposition party (Mulgan and Worpole, 1986). Arguably the most famous period, and that which had the greatest impact upon both spatial access and cultural work at Southbank Centre, of GLC history was the 1981-1986 period, when Margaret Thatcher led the Conservative government and the GLC was run by Ken Livingstone. Earlier GLC administrations had also significantly impacted the Southbank Centre site. For example, in 1978 the GLC designated six areas in public spaces and parks across London for skateboarding, which included the Undercroft of the Southbank (GLC, 1978:4), the legacy of which is discussed later in this chapter. It is worth noting that this was *after* the space was first appropriated by skateboarders though (LLSB: 2015). Livingstone's GLC increased spending across public services and the arts, and aimed to increase access to the arts generally, as well as provide a catalyst for the development of community arts projects, particularly in urban areas (McGuigan, 1996: 81), and aimed to be transparent - for example through making minutes of meetings available in the public domain - and radical in terms of what arts projects were funded and how, through its commitment to the promotion of equal opportunities and access to the arts both traditional and new or those which could be conceived of as 'high' and 'low' (Mulgan and Worpole, 1986). A Visitor Service Host talked about Southbank Centre as a 'political football' during an interview in 2015:

> I think particularly interesting is this very political role that the building serves… very much a political football if you look at its history particularly through the period of Ken Livingstone. It went through quite a radical change in political perspective and was treated as a place that must reform in terms of its public accountability as I understand it. It was very much a concert hall up until the mid-80s, and Ken Livingstone's administration reviewed that tooth and nail and said you've got to open the doors to the public all day. (P8)

This quote shows the seismic impact that the GLC had upon spatial access at Southbank Centre, who were pioneering in making the space free to enter and 'opening the doors to the public all day'.

A recent project, *The GLC Story*, used interviews aimed to retell narratives of the GLC and make these histories more accessible (including telling stories of the building in which the GLC was housed, County Hall, on London's Southbank) through events and publications including their 2017 zine. Amongst other key figures quoted in this publication, Brenda Kirsch, who was publications officer for the GLC Police Committee, is quoted as saying 'Did you know that, until Ken Livingstone came along, the Royal Festival Hall was locked up all day? And he unlocked it, and you

could just walk in there' (The GLC Story, 2017:12) which reiterates just how important the role of the GLC was to spatial access at Southbank Centre. The GLC had a radical and progressive approach to including Londoners in its policy making, in large part through its commitment to inviting members of the public into County Hall to contribute to debates (The GLC Story, 2017). I explore the legacy of these years and how it has been activated in the next chapter, including the importance of some of the first large scale festivals held on the Southbank, which were funded by the GLC and involved diverse arts collectives and performers.

A key figure in the marketing of the organisation at the time of the Open Foyer policy being launched shared with me some of the ways in which it was promoted:

> I mean, it's ironic, really, that from 1951 to 1983, the foyers of the Festival Hall were closed to the public, and it took Ken Livingstone and Tony Banks, the Recreation Chair, to see the value of the cultural assets. I could see that there was a legitimate case for opening it up, so we opened it up in '83, with a TV commercial, we brought in mid-market catering, we had free events on the foyers, exhibitions and music every lunchtime. We converted the music-sheet shop to a general bookshop, brought in a record shop, and later a gift-shop, round about that time. (P21)

This demonstrates a deliberate attempt by cultural workers at Southbank Centre to encourage spatial access on the site, and to break with the image and reputation of the concert hall as an elite oasis which was not connected to the urban landscape surrounding it. An important way in which the organisation was 'opened up' was through engagement with mass media, a non-traditional approach for an arts centre. This can be seen as developing from the policies of the GLC in a wider sense, who had learnt towards the end of its time in power that it could use the mass media to promote its own identity and approach towards culture and arts funding (Mulgan and Worpole, 1986: 33). There is also evidence here that Southbank Centre were making changes to their programming and facilities. 'Free events' are mentioned as well as changing the commercial nature of the shopping facilities from specialist sheet music to more general books, records and gifts which would appeal to a wider audience.

The TV commercial was successful in bringing more people to the Southbank Centre site:

> And once we did the TV commercial, we were getting 45,000 a week through the building. And we knew they hadn't been before, because they were sort of looking up around. We used George Melly…we had him on a barge outside saying, "I remember the Festival of Britain in 1951, that was a load of fun", and then looking back to the Hall and saying, "it's a load of fun today!", and he's coming through the doors, and then he says, "can't resist a little

> shopping", so he's looking at LPs. You see there's a George LP, and he sits down, and he says, "I like a nice drink as well, but I wonder who's performing tonight?" you know, it was a diary, and next cuts to him on the stage. So we ran that after Thames Television News and it was very successful, I think we're still probably the only major arts organisation that's done a major nation-wide TV campaign. (P21)

The television advert represents a focused initiative to appeal to a wider audience, using the tools of popular culture, which was an innovative attitude for an arts centre, and indicative of GLC policy. It also demonstrates that the definition of space at Southbank Centre has been a growing concern for a number of decades, and the delineation of space into areas for shopping, eating and drinking, consuming and producing culture an ongoing process. Furthermore, as has been evidenced from various sources, cultural workers demonstrate an understanding of the multiplicity of uses of space at Southbank Centre and connect this to spatial access.

Developments in spatial access for traditionally marginalised groups

Livingstone's GLC was vital to raising awareness of the importance of access to arts and culture for diverse groups of individuals. It identified and prioritised the access of minority groups, including unemployed people, minority ethnic groups, young people and subcultures, women, gay men, the elderly, and disabled people. Controversially for some at the time, sub-committees of the GLC were created to work towards channeling resources to these groups (Mulgan and Worpole, 1986), and the GLC appointed activists for lesbian and gay rights, feminism and anti-racism (Segal, 2017: 255). This was an era in which rights for these sometimes marginalised groups were in national consciousness, a time in which diversity issues were becoming more debated and visible (Hewison, 1995). For Jones, the policies of the GLC indicate a period in time in which the 'civic' responsibilities of Southbank Centre were magnified, and it was after its abolishment that there was a turn towards the arts and culture as the key priority (Jones, 2016: 246). Whether or not the push of the GLC is understood as 'civic' or 'access-to-arts' led, it was nevertheless a moment of increased spatial access at Southbank Centre.

To some extent the spatial access needs of these groups posed challenges for cultural workers at Southbank Centre. For example, some of the features of the Southbank Centre site discussed earlier in this chapter which were designed to provide an autonomous and liberating user experience are barriers to access for disabled people. These include the use of different levels often with steps and staircases to connect them to other areas of the site, which can be understood as

'able bodied values' (Imrie and Kumar, 1998: 358), or environments designed 'to meet the needs of the ultimate stereotype modular man- male, able-bodied and independent' (Foster, 1997: 2). This lack of consideration of the needs of disabled people in the original design of the Southbank Centre site can be understood as part of wider historical attitudes towards disability, such as the exclusion of disabled people from public spaces through their institutionalisation (Freund, 2001), or through notions associated with the belief that disabled people were better off away from the public realm in places they could be 'cared for' (Oliver, 2017)[30]. Here a cultural worker talks about when he joined the organisation in the 1970s:

> And also, the Festival Hall had the first of two refurbishments in 1963, and where we're sitting, you can actually see the join where the building was extended. Consequently, during that time, we only had two or three lifts where the public can go through, health and safety wasn't invented at the time! So these lifts that you see there, the one that comes up there, they weren't there, that was part of the refurbishment. (P17)

The statement that 'health and safety wasn't invented at that time', although meant as something of a joke by this individual - referring to bureaucratisation - does indicate that issues around access and the diverse needs of visitors were not prevalent in the organisation at this time, and shows that physical access in terms of lift provision was not sophisticated. Although as mentioned above disabled access imperatives were present in societal discourses, for example Goldsmith's 1963 book *Designing for the Disabled: A New Paradigm* which argued for the integration of an architectural methodology which took the needs of disabled people into account (Goldsmith, 1963) access to the built environment and to cultural and creative institutions was not developed.

For the purposes of this research, the Social Model approach (Oliver 1990, Campbell and Oliver, 1996, Barnes and Mercer, 2004) or 'social theory of disability' (Oliver, 1990: x) is a key concept. The Social Model followed on from the *Chronically Sick and Disabled Person's* Act in 1970, which stated that when *new* buildings are being developed access should be provided -although it also stipulated that only when older buildings are being regenerated or upgraded there should be an imperative to provide facilities and access- (Imrie and Kumar, 1998), and *The Fundamental Principles of Disability* published by the Union of the Physically Impaired Against Segregation (UPIAS) in 1976 which stated that, 'In our view it is society which disables physically impaired people. Disability is something imposed on top our

[30] Conversation with Professor Mike Oliver June 2017

impairments by the way we are unnecessarily isolated and excluded from full participation in society' (UPIAS,1976). (Please see the literature review section of this thesis for a more in more in depth discussion of the Social Model and some of its critiques).

The ways in which access to museums, galleries and arts centres for disabled people has become a more prominent issue in recent decades is reflected in the discourses of cultural workers interviewed for the purposes of this research. Some of the ways in which cultural spaces have made attempts to provide better access include ramps, lowered ticket desks, multimedia with captions, different ways of presenting descriptions of images and audio descriptions for example (Rappolt-Schlichtmann and Daley, 2013). One of the key aspects of the Southbank Centre masterplan brief in 1999 was to 'resolve the difficult problems of access for pedestrians, cars and goods vehicles' which although not specific here to disabled access does demonstrate an awareness around challenges of the site.

A cultural worker at Southbank Centre from 1990-1995 discusses the context of access when she worked for the organisation, and which connects to the policies of the GLC as discussed above:

> I think the disabled access for performers had been sorted out by the time I got there [1990] because the GLC were very hot on that as well. We had for a while a deaf member of staff in the Education team and facilities for deaf people were pretty rudimentary. I can't remember now what there was in terms of hearing enhanced anything in the buildings so I think a lot of those came in later. So it wasn't that we were unaware of it, it's just that there were still some physical issues with the buildings. (P16)

This quote points to issues around access with older buildings, but however does show a level of engagement with access issues by Southbank Centre cultural workers and also some commitment to providing support for disabled cultural workers. The cultural worker mentioned above expands upon some of the issues around the physical buildings and the provision of access in the early 1990s, demonstrating a strong awareness of the variety of obstacles that might be encountered by a disabled person:

> There were challenges over the inflexibility of disabled access. There was disabled access in all venues but not good disabled access in all venues and certainly not flexible. So there were wheelchair spaces in each of the concert halls but if you were a wheelchair user who also had bad eyesight, you couldn't just go to the front row, you had to go to whatever row it was where there was a space for a wheelchair. There was already a principle of not charging for the person accompanying so it wasn't the prices and all of that,

> everything that could have been done was being done. But the physical problems were still there. Things like access into the QEH and Purcell for wheelchair users wasn't particularly good, they had to go round the back in order to get to a lift that wasn't particularly good, all those sort of things. They were buildings of a certain age. (P16)

The above highlights that by the 1990s there was more awareness of access issues at Southbank Centre, and that cultural workers were beginning to gain an understanding of the different types of disabled access, in large part due to the work of Livingstone's GLC. The challenges the original site design posed for disabled access is today acknowledged by Southbank Centre, in the 2015 Conservation Plan mentioned above and on Southbank Centre's website 'At Southbank Centre we welcome everyone and want our site to be available to all. We are working hard to remove barriers so that our facilities and events can be accessible to as many people as possible' (Southbank Centre, 2018[31])

During this period there were also acknowledgements in wider culture that different able-bodied users of space have varied requirements. The 1986 report by the GLC *Positive Action on Women and Planning* (GLC, 1986) summarised ideas around planning and design which would include the needs of women, such as safe and well-lit urban areas. Connected to this, the *London Women and Planning Group* was set up in the mid-1980s, who organised conferences and analysed Unitary Development Plans by local authorities for developments relating to the inclusion of women in the built environment. Also lobbying groups such as Matrix and the Women's Design Service (WDS) were active. Both organisations developed analysis and resources to support women using public space. The WDS provided opportunities to engage with wider networks, a library and publications, interventions in urban planning and lobbying for further consultation of women when designing the built environments, as well as advice for agencies. The WDS also worked with the *We Welcome Small Children* campaign and Camden Council and in 1988 produced *Thinking of Small Children- Access and Play* (WDS, 1988). This proposed guidelines for urban planners re space for buggies. Many of these initiatives were closely related to disabled people's movements to provide accessible environments. A key focus for WDS and similar organisations was on consideration of how women could be made to feel less vulnerable in public spaces (Cavanagh, 1998) which connects to

[31] https://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/visit/facilities-access

discussions from cultural workers at Southbank Centre around safety, visibility and atmosphere.

More recently the 1975 Sex Discrimination Act, the 1976 Race Relations Act and the 1995 Disability Act have been replaced by the 2010 Equality Act which has a more educative than enforcement approach. It has been controversial for assuming that progress has been made in and around areas of discrimination when it is evident that society has not achieved equality for these groups, and for its ambivalence in terms of actually enforcing change or progress to overcome discrimination and difficulties faced by some individuals in society (Fredman, 2011). The 2010 act has also been criticised for falling short of opportunities to augment equality for disabled people (Lawson, 2011). However many buildings today are designed to some extent to take into account the needs of a range of people accessing buildings who may have difficulties, which can include able-bodied visitors who experience disabling encounters with the environment due to temporary injuries, aging (or the very young), impairments, pregnancy, and those looking after young children (Foster, 1997). Some cultural institutions are moving towards incorporating ideas around the concept of Universal Design for Learning, which stipulates that in depth learning can be achieved through adaptable approaches and resources (Rappolt-Schlichtmann and Daley, 2013).

However there are criticisms as to the amount of change there has actually been and what impact this has had upon visitors to these facilities, a suggestion that access is something that ‘gets paid lip service in all social arenas, including museums and cultural centres’ (Kaushik, 1999:48) and that often small accommodations are so widely promoted as to seem to have more impact that they really do. Guffey argues that although there has been progress in access for disabled visitors in a broad sense, seating is not readily available in museum spaces in order that the public can linger and be comfortable in them (Guffey, 2015). Bearing the above points in mind, though, it can be seen from discussion with Southbank Centre employees that a number of important adaptations have been made to the site as it has been refurbished over its almost 60 years of history. Most recently, the Master Plan works started in 1999 by Rick Mather have been based on four urban design principles, including the re-establishment of ground floor access, removal of high level walkways that link via bridges to the ground; the animation of facades and side of buildings and removal of service lanes (RMA, 2000). Also, in line with the argument of this chapter that these issues are understood by cultural workers and add to their spatial experiences of working in and with the buildings and other spaces on the site:

In fact, we tried to address them in the refurbishment of the Festival Hall, so the stage now can have 11 different configurations, with the artists' entrance in the Queen Elizabeth Hall now being widened for disabled access.

So we're trying to put right all the things that either weren't thought about, or where the legislation has changed. Because we've re-jigged the bar, it's much easier for disabled people to come and use the facilities, because there's no steps down.

We've put the catering and everything into the core façade of the building, so that's allowed us to open up and glaze the front of the building and we've enhanced the transparency of the Festival Hall, and access to the river.(P21)

Fig 4.5 Signage and access lift to the Queen Elizabeth Hall Roof Garden in 2018[32]

Often museums are built in ways that look and feel grand and imposing, sometimes raised above ground level and often with a flight of steps to access the entrance (Kaushik, 1999), but it is true that at the time of writing Southbank Centre is a physically accessible site for disabled people in that it has ground floor access, and

[32] Photos by Kathy Williams

accessible lifts, toilets and performance spaces on all levels in the Royal Festival Hall, as well as in the other buildings on site. A senior member of staff talked to me about these renovations in 2015

> And what we're now doing is the repair of the Hayward Gallery, Queen Elizabeth Hall and Purcell Room, and those buildings haven't had any investment in them since 1960s. So this is a sort of circa £30 million refurbishment, and the public won't notice much difference, because most of it's going to be in mechanical and electrical services, and behind-the-scenes stuff. Such as improving the air-conditioning, making sure there's enough electrical power, giving access to the artists to be able to get scenes and sets in, better disabled access for visitors, a much brighter foyer, better catering facilities, improved toilets, and so on. (P21)

Fig 4.6 Priority Seating Area and Accessible Toilet by the ground floor entrance of the Royal Festival Hall.[33]

There is evidence that Southbank Centre attempts to accommodate blind, partially sighted and deaf, and partially deaf visitors or those with other sensory impairments in its programming through British Sign Language Interpretation, Speech-to-Text Transcription, Audio Description, Captioning and pre-event Touch Tours and Relaxed

[33] Photo by Kathy Williams

Performances. However, although museums and other cultural space have taken progressive steps towards making the visitor experience for disabled people a more positive one, they have ongoing responsibilities and, for Kaushik, more work needs to be done around the ways in which museums provide and talk about access (Kaushik, 1999). Moreover, in today's society often the needs of disabled people are not well represented in the ways in which urban environments are built (Imrie and Kumar, 1998), and changes in both ideology and practice are still needed.

Additionally, an area of spatial access which has been overlooked by most public institutions is around improvements to toilets for women. The WDS argued that the ways public toilets are designed do not take into account the needs of women, which is indicative of wider ways in which using the built environment can often pose problems for women. Recommendations include that first and foremost women's toilets should be designed in consultation with women. There should be more toilets for women in public places because: women take longer than men to use toilet facilities; they sit down when using the toilet; they menstruate; need to use toilets more frequently during pregnancy; and they are more likely to have children with them. The WDS argue that within every block of women's toilets there should be at least one fully accessible toilet which can be used both by disabled people and those with buggies. It is preferable that there should be more than one since otherwise these can be very busy and mean barriers to access for either parents with babies or disabled people. Finally they also argue that there should be facilities for small children (Cavanagh and Ware,1990). From my personal experience navigating public spaces as a women, not many places have taken these recommendations into account. There are normally not any more toilets for women than for men, which (perhaps unconsciously) disadvantages women in public spaces. Also from personal experiences navigating public spaces with a buggy there are often not enough accessible toilets. There are some shopping centres which have more accessible toilets in them to accommodate buggies, but this practice has not been adopted in cultural and creative institutions.

The above demonstrated a variety of ways in which the legacies of the GLC in the first half of the 1980s are paramount to issues around spatial access at Southbank Centre, but also the ways in which these policies were thwarted and did not reach their full potential due to changing political climates. The GLC approach of identifying those groups in need and targeting them encountered many problems not least bureaucratic and legislative, but did dramatically change landscape of arts in the UK (Mulgan and Worpole, 1986). Spatial access was considered in light of the needs of

a range of previously marginalised groups. However the GLC was abolished in 1986, in large part due to its oppositional politics to those of Thatcher's government at the time (Mulgan and Worpole, 1986). The right-wing and market focused politics of the Conservative government in the late 1980s and beyond had far reaching impacts upon spatial access at Southbank Centre, which the last section of this chapter focuses on. An important part of this story is the physical 'regeneration of the brutalist architecture on the Southbank Centre site with which I begin this discussion.

'The ugliest building in London': cultural workers as 'reputational advocates'

Fig 4.7 The Queen Elizabeth Hall (voted 'Britain's Ugliest Building' in 1967) during refurbishment in 2017[34]

> During the summer, I promise you, the captains of the boats who ply their trade, you would hear them say over the Tannoy, 'and on the right' … and they travel towards Greenwich … 'on the right is the Queen Elizabeth Hall, voted the ugliest building in London'. And you can hear that booming across there, I want to say to them, 'we bloody work here, at the ugliest building in London!' Which it was. A lot of work has been done to soften that image. (P17)

A theme which connects experiences of cultural workers throughout the history of Southbank Centre is the specific style of architecture used throughout the site. The various buildings were designed and built in the 1950s and 1960s, a period during which a modernist, brutalist architectural style was dominant. As Owen Hatherley puts it, brutalist architecture, 'took its lead from the industrial and urban landscapes of the first country in the world to industrialise, fetishising hardness, dynamism, scale

[34] Photo by Kathy Williams

and rough edges' (Hatherley, 2008:17). The style includes concrete panels being exposed, without decoration or many windows (LLSB, 2015). Brutalism was seen as a progressive style, characterised by 'bold geometrics, the exposure of structural materials and functional spatial design' and one which was 'uncompromising in their stark use of concrete and powerfully sculptural forms' (WMF, 2012). The Royal Festival Hall was one of the earliest projects of this kind (Grindrod, 2013, Nathaniel Lichfield and Partners, 2015) and is currently the largest example of brutalist architecture in the UK (Lopes Simoes Aelbrecht, 2017).

Most modernist architectural projects stemmed from a desire to change the cityscape, to carve new possibilities for everyday life and to do away with old practices, and the aesthetic was grounded in architectural responses to the ending of the Second World War (Hatherley, 2008), and couched in ideals around progress and groundbreaking exploration (Lopes Simoes Aelbrecht, 2017, WMF, 2012). Southbank Centre's architecture has been seen as a misguided brutalist exploration, and in fact in the 21st century many 1950s and 1960s buildings are being removed from urban areas (Lopes Simoes Aelbrecht, 2017, While 2006). Yet the project is celebrated by others as important remains of a utopian heritage (Herring, 2009b: 2). Key paradoxes of this architectural style are that it was designed at the same time to be accessible, usable and functional and to be avant-garde and new: to be shockingly different to what had gone before. This understanding of the dualism of the heritage of the buildings has an impact upon cultural workers at Southbank Centre today:

> They polarise opinion enormously, and the people who hate them, no matter how much you explain how important they are in terms of the facilities they provide, the space they provide, all of those things, they can't get beyond the fact that they just think they're profoundly ugly. (P1)

The above quote indicates how staff at Southbank Centre work with an awareness of the ability of the buildings to 'polarise opinion'. For this particular cultural worker a key aspect of her role is gaining funding from private sponsors for Southbank Centre. Therefore her awareness of what those individuals think about the architecture on the site is an important part of her job.

The preservation of twentieth century buildings has garnered more support in the latter part of the twenty-first century, but there still remains a distinction between the listed status of the Royal Festival Hall and the difficulties in providing a coherent historical narrative around the Festival Wing buildings (The Queen Elizabeth Hall, Purcell Room and Hayward Gallery)

> I think we've now got to a point where we talk about our 50's heritage quite confidently, but we don't have a way of telling the story of the site as it has evolved. So there's kind of, the buildings over there are like the ugly sisters or the awkward teenage relatives or something, and there's not a sense that we have one narrative that we can say we went from here to there. (P1)

This cultural worker utilises her understanding of the heritage of the Southbank Centre site in her day-to-day work but acknowledges that some of the buildings have problematic reputations and legacies that are integrated into the cultural or spatial 'story'. There are further significant architectural and reputational legacies which affect the working lives of Southbank Centre employees, including the Queen Elizabeth Hall, as mentioned above, being voted as 'Britain's Ugliest Building' in the Architectural Review in 1967 (Jencks, 1967) and the Hayward Gallery being described thus by a journalist in 2003:

> [A] dirty, gnarled, bunker of a building. I've always thought that the strip window high up on the elevation facing the Royal Festival Hall looks like the mouth of a crazed robot, menacing down on us little people as we walk the highwalks, or struggle in the gales, come rain or shine (Barrett, 2003:1).

Fig 4.8 '[T]he mouth of a crazed robot', the side of the Hayward Gallery facing the Royal Festival Hall in 2018[35]

[35] Photo by Kathy Williams

Fig 4.9 Hayward Gallery in 2017[36]

Public opinion continues at present to not often be favourable about modernist buildings such as the ones on the Southbank Centre site (Lopes Simoes Aelbrecht, 2017). Many of the critiques around modernist and brutalist architectural projects revolve around them not succeeding, i.e. not changing the cityscape in any discernable way that makes it easier or more enjoyable to use. In fact many criticisms convey that the focus on using orderly, hard geometric designs in fact has negative impacts upon social interactions (Lopes Simoes Aelbrecht, 2017), and that modernist projects had detrimental impacts upon cities (While, 2006). These architectural legacies have meant that Southbank Centre cultural workers need to have a multifaceted understanding of spaces on the site today, to some extent becoming reputational advocates for spaces at Southbank Centre.

> For me decoding those 60s buildings is really important because the more you know about them the more awesome they are if you just look at them…as soon as you start digging below the surface they're so warm and wonderful almost more than the RFH I think in a way. (P4)

This cultural worker talks about the importance of 'decoding' these buildings and 'digging below the surface' to crafting a good relationship with them and understanding them as 'warm and wonderful' rather than harsh and hard as many critics categories them.

[36] Photo by Kathy Williams

Modernist, brutalist buildings were often erected to house the working class population of Britain and to replace what were known as ‘slums’ which would often have narrow streets, cramped conditions and little in the way of distinguishing features which would therefore make them easy to get lost in. Interestingly Hatherley argues that all this has become associated with brutalist architecture in the popular imagination, along with the possibilities for criminality and subversive behaviours (Hatherley, 2008). This, as I showed earlier, is one way in which Brutalist spaces can present a problem for institutions such as Southbank Centre. Cultural workers at Southbank Centre demonstrate an awareness of the possibility that users of the space may feel ‘intimidated’ by the Brutalist architecture, and there is a prevalence in the discourse of employees that this is something the organisation are consistently working on.

> The project we’re going to do is really going to strip away a lot of the things that people find difficult about those buildings, and what we want to achieve is changing the way people feel about those buildings. So that their architecture doesn’t appear intimidating anymore, people feel that they have a relationship to them, people feel that they can go and find them and they’re as welcomed in there as they are over here [The Royal Festival Hall]. (P1)

Throughout the history of Southbank Centre there have been tensions around the design of the buildings, their preservation and conservation, and their regeneration. The 2015 *Conservation Plan for Southbank Centre* sets out a ‘Statement of Significance’, arguing that the Southbank Centre buildings are of cultural value and significance due to being: one of the earliest examples of modernist architecture; of ‘historic interest’ since they provide insight into the 1951 Festival of Britain; of ‘communal value’ due to the many ‘artistic moments’ that have happened within them and therefore contributed to memories for large numbers of people; of ‘evidential interest’ as physical evidence of the past, and of ‘architectural and artistic interest’ demonstrating craftsmanship (Nathaniel Lichfield and Partners, 2015:26).

The Royal Festival Hall is a Grade 1 listed building, which means there are issues around what can be done to it, and a tension between balancing its conservation and preservation and the need for development of programming on the site. Here a member of the Festivals Team shows her awareness of the ongoing balancing act between conservation and regeneration.

> This building, in the grand scheme of London, is 64 years old which is not terribly old but it’s still a Grade 1 Listed Building which still presents challenges in that you want to animate the site and make it look different

> every single month but there's lots of restrictions on what you can physically do to this building. (P14)

A Southbank Centre employee who has worked for the organisation for 34 years, and is now at a senior level in the organisation goes into further detail about the complexities involved in working with the buildings

> Because the Queen Elizabeth Hall and the Purcell Room and the Hayward Gallery are not listed… there have been several attempts to list the buildings, and we've been reluctant to allow that, because it means that all internal arrangements have got to have Listed Building Consent, and the time and cost is huge. We're treating them as Listed Buildings in any event. And so we felt to reassure the conservation lobby, we would create a partnership with the 20th Century Society, Historic England and Lambeth, a conservation management plan, which did four things, really. One is look at the heritage of the site, then identify and agree areas of architectural significance, with a traffic-light system, that says, if it's red, don't touch it, if it's amber, we might not be happy, but come and talk to us, if it's green, don't bother to. (P21)

This demonstrates the level of engagement that cultural workers for Southbank Centre may be required to have with the buildings on the site themselves. A nuanced understanding of the issues around the buildings and their strengths and limitations is a legacy of the original architectural practices for cultural workers today.

> I think there's also a challenge with the people who want to preserve them, because there are, they were built in such a peculiar way, that there are things about them that have genuinely never worked. So keeping them exactly as they are is not an option and there is an equal challenge for people who don't understand the position we have whereby we want to celebrate and preserve their heritage but we have to be able to alter them. Because if we're not able to use them, they will just crumble. (P1)

Alongside this awareness of the age and vulnerability of the buildings on the Southbank Centre site, discourses analysed also show an excitement around the future and the possibilities of the buildings:

> So for me, the most exciting thing coming up, really, is not the repair and maintenance, which in a sense preserves the building for another 50 years, but what it doesn't do is transform the public spaces and the environment. So what we're looking to do is provide a sort of new hub that drops you into the National, BFI, QEH, Hayward, Purcell Room and Festival Hall. Improve the roof gardens, and then extend and create a new roof garden on the roof of the Queen Elizabeth Hall and extend those up to Waterloo Bridge. (P21)

As well as this passion around the potential of the buildings, a commitment to bringing colour and life to the site, to animating it is evident, married with an awareness of the modernist architectural heritage discussed above.

> The location is fantastic, and is naturally appealing in its own right, although the architect's view was, people provide the colour, but we had to do something to draw the people. (P21)

> I think there is lots of colour now [in 2015] and we are more in line with how we were, in the beginning. (P10)

The above quote demonstrates that cultural workers at Southbank Centre have had to develop an understanding of the architectural legacies of the buildings and work as mediators of this. Ongoing dialogues around the buildings, their value and their limitations is highly evident. From the discourses analysed there is hope that, these spaces 'can still be shaped by their users, improved by the designers and thereby generate new meanings and uses' (Lopes Simoes Aelbrecht, 2017:15). There is also a level of care and protectionism evident in the discourses of current cultural workers

> There's just totally weird quirks in the buildings here which I think are just brilliant…this building is like a person who works here effectively- you look after it. (P14)

Evidently a number of the cultural workers interviewed for the purposes of this research feel very connected to the Southbank Centre buildings and to the site itself. They work with and alongside the architectural legacies of the site, in dialogue with the way the original festival site was conceived of and the various ways in which it is used today.

Southbank Centre's current frenetic, diverse, consumer-oriented identity

> 'One day the Southbank may become permanently festive and the Thames cease to be the most one-sided river in Europe' (Punch Magazine, October 1951, quoted in the 2015 Southbank Centre Conservation Plan)

As argued throughout this chapter, the role of the current cultural worker at Southbank Centre is heavily influenced by the importance of issues around spatial access awareness to their working lives. Moreover, key historical legacies have impacted upon Southbank Centre's current identity. Its democratic origins as a festival site, through its time as a deserted urban landscape with an elite concert hall oasis in its centre have imprinted upon the palimpsest of its histories. Also, the moment of Livingstone's GLC and expanding democratic access has left its mark. Running throughout these phases and continuing into the present day are the effects of the varied heritage of the brutalist, modernist architectural style. Cultural workers today are encouraged to have a self-conscious understanding of space whilst dealing with huge numbers of people and an increasingly rapid turnover of programming. The final part of this chapter concentrates on the ways in which the excavation of cultural

work in key moments can extend analysis of cultural work today and examines the contemporary moment of cultural work at Southbank Centre.

Speed and pace at Southbank Centre

Fig 4.10 Promotional poster on toilet door in the Royal Festival Hall in 2014[37]

The rise in popularity of the Southbank Centre site and its considerably increasing footfall is something that a number of staff refer to, and an additional aspect of the relationships between cultural workers and the spaces they work with and in. There is also much evidence in the discourses of Southbank Centre employees that the pace of work at Southbank Centre has expanded hugely since its early days. Southbank Centre's most recent figures in terms of its cultural and artistic outputs state that is produces over 5,500 performances per year, including 18 festivals and series. Audience numbers include over 37,000 children and young people and in

[37] Photo by Kathy Williams

2016/17 it was the fourth most visited attraction in the UK, visited 3.9 million times (Southbank Centre, 2018)

Cultural workers reflected on the 'insane numbers' of people using the buildings (in 2014):

> I think that we're so busy and so popular anyway and have such vast numbers on site. I don't know if we do as much as we could, perhaps we don't need to have 26 million people cross this site every year, about 6 million people come in and use the buildings at some point. It's insane numbers. (P13)

There was also awareness of the increase in numbers of visitors in the discourses of other Southbank Centre employees. For example a senior member of staff in the Visitor Experience team reflected that he had seen huge increases of numbers since Jude Kelly instigated the 'festival methodology' which is discussed in Chapter 5:

> We've always been a place where there's something different on every night. We've never really done runs of the same thing. But it's massively increased with the festival methodology. (P20)

Another member of the Visitor Experience team talked about the ways in which she had seen the site develop during her nine years of working at Southbank Centre (2008-2017):

> I think the users of the site in that respect are quite new. There's a lot more tourists actually coming into the building, there's a lot more families, the drinking culture now on the terrace means there's a lot more young people I think. (P23)

Almost all staff interviewed refer to the upsurge in the volume of people using the site, and some discussed the pressures this entailed in terms of their working lives:

> I think there are occasions when you just, you're one person trying to manage an auditorium of 3,000 and all these other public spaces, and everyone wants you. (P23)

The above quotes from cultural workers demonstrate that they are working in an increasingly busy and crowded environment with more and more visitors which has an impact upon the challenges of their working lives. It shows that the contemporary moment of spatial access at Southbank Centre is dominated by large numbers of users of the spaces. In a fundamental sense this engagement from the public can be understood as meeting the original ideals of the Festival of Britain and later architects of the buildings on the Southbank Centre site, the Southbank could be said to be 'permanently festive'. However, whether this really equates to spatial access 'for all' is analysed below.

Alongside this the frenetic speed, the fast paced turnover of the programming is something that many workers talked about during interviews. Jude Kelly's festival methodology meant more festivals and events throughout the year:

> Now it's very much we are animating every space, every corner, every nook and cranny, every performance space that could be conceived as that. And when we're not in festival we're turning round for the next one. (P19)
>
> There's an enormous amount of free events. I think, I can't remember the numbers but I think we've quadrupled our programme or something over the last five years but that's mostly been our free programme (P10)

Although speed and adaptability are theorised as necessary in the life of a cultural worker, and in general for survival in today's workplace (McGuigan, 2010), some interviewees mentioned the challenges of this fast-paced environment, and the ways in which it might affect their day to day work.

> We deliver a lot and it's just very very busy. It's quite fast-paced I think in some places you tend to work on one project in depth for a long time, here you might be working on 3 or 4 projects in depth for a long time and some of them very very short term projects. These are the challenges of the site and the scale, and making sure that your thing isn't swallowed up by lots of other things happening. (P14)

There was also an awareness in the discourses of workers around how the rapid turnover of programming might affect the ways in which visitors engage with events and programmes:

> I think the rapidity of turnover here, programming turnover, it seems to be getting even faster. Even working here I'll walk through this building and see something and then come back and it's not there and I haven't had time to see it.
>
> You think of any other programme apart from a concert or any other physical installation it's usually around for long enough for people to say 'that's really good, you must come!'
>
> I think we have incredible content but a lot of it isn't here for long enough. It's so quick on to the next thing that we're not giving ourselves time to reflect on it. We're also not giving it the time to percolate through in the way it could do. (P13)

This speeded-up way of working demonstrates that Southbank Centre now has a different moment of cultural work as compared to those analysed earlier in this chapter. There is a need for working practices to be speeded up to cope with the huge volume of artistic programming at the organisation (Frost, 2016: 138). This speeded up and frenetic environment is in part a response to the contemporary climate. Crary argues that today we are encouraged to both consume and produce

round-the-clock, and that through the non-stop operation of information systems, financial and consumer markets and other globalised systems social identities have been reimagined to match to this constantly 'on' world (Crary, 2013: 9).

There does seem to be a steady growth in both the number of users of Southbank Centre spaces, and the events produced by Southbank Centre, from observation and also from official figures as mentioned above and the impact this has upon the lived experiences of cultural workers is multifaceted, as I have outlined above. Next I turn to the ways in which spaces at Southbank Centre are used by diverse individuals and groups for a range of different purposes.

Diverse users of space

Southbank Centre spaces are, at the time of writing, pluralistic spaces used by a diverse range of people. From my ethnographic observations over the last five years (2013-2018) carried out during frequent visits at different times of day, in different seasons, and on both weekdays and weekends, I have noted the spaces being used by: concert goers, those attending performances and talks; performers; 'site wanderers' or those who are not there for a specific reason except perhaps to use the space; mothers or fathers with small children and families using the space to socialise with other parents and/ or for their children to run around in; skateboarders; cyclists; joggers; roller bladers; musicians; buskers; dancers; homeless individuals and groups; commuters; tourists; creative workers; academics; other business workers; attendees at corporate hires, functions and conferences; students; groups of school children and teachers; graduation participants and their families, and even as a place to get married in. This range of diverse uses of the site has been noted by others too (e.g. Martinez, 2014, Jones, 2014) and it is understood to be one of the most well used inside public spaces in London (Nathaniel Lichfield and Partners, 2015).

A further way in which many current cultural workers demonstrate a nuanced understanding of space at Southbank Centre is through their observations of the different types of people using the site.

> Working here it's really interesting watching the 'tribes' of people who feel comfortable here. We just walked past the dancers downstairs you've got a good Friday Tonic crew, the people who always come and sit at the front of the free concerts on a Friday and I think there's something really lovely about that and very democratic. (P13)

Alongside noticing that the spaces are used by many different types of people and as above, relating this to democratic ideals, cultural workers also demonstrate an awareness of the potential tensions between the different users of space. Some mentioned a relatively recent development in terms of the open foyer policy, which has been to start to close off areas for ticket holder access only prior to performances.

> If you go inside from when we open at 10.00am, you'll notice there's hundreds of people with laptops having little meetings, and knitting classes and dancers and gym. That's part of what Southbank is, that's part of us, which is great, because you won't find another place like it.
>
> We have all these people enjoying and using the premises for different things, but then we'll reset the environment after the matinee in the late afternoon for the evening performances and close some spaces off for ticket holders and try to juggle it around a bit so we're providing a space for everyone really. (P19)

Whether this move to organise the spaces in order that some do become exclusively for ticket holders can be seen as a retrenchment of the democratic open foyer practice is debatable. Due to the sheer volume of people using the site it may be a pragmatic decision and based on basic health and safety principles, or it may be based in customer service initiatives, which I look at in the following chapter.

At least partly in response to the large numbers of people using Southbank Centre spaces the organisation has recently published 'house rules' about the kinds of behaviours which are not permitted in its buildings. These include more prescriptive rules about what is not allowed, for example: sleeping; sitting on the floor; and not wearing shoes. There is also firm guidance on when laptops can be used e.g. between 10am and 5pm.[38] These new (2017-18) rules indicate a move towards a more controlled public space, but appear to have been created with an overall commitment to access in mind and a desire to try to make the spaces as user friendly to as many people as possible.

There is evidence in the discourses of cultural workers at Southbank Centre that the uniqueness of a public cultural space which is free to enter is something workers there recognise and reflect upon:

> Well also, there are very few places in London, the only other place I can think of that you can go, probably quite like this, is the British Library café.

[38] https://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/visit/facilities-access

> There aren't, London doesn't have free indoor public space. There aren't communal spaces in central London that are indoors. (P1)

The above can be seen as a direct legacy of the Open Foyer policy instigated by the GLC. Although the idea that 'there are very few places in London… quite like this' referring to indoor public spaces does not take into account London's free museums and galleries, like for example the Tate Modern nearby. Perhaps this is because upon entering a museum or gallery it is understood that there are prescribed behaviours. In contrast many parts of Southbank Centre have spaces which are free to access and although conceived of as under the broad umbrella of 'arts organisation' or 'cultural centre' are not defined in terms of their use. Additionally ideas around the Southbank Centre site being accessible and open to all recurs in the discourses of cultural workers, even though, as discussed above, there have been several incidences of disputes about what the spaces can and should be used for throughout Southbank Centre's history.

> My bosses here are quite clear about keeping the space architecturally very clean so it doesn't really impose rules and regulations on its users at all. I think people using this building discover, if they come here regularly, that there's a sort of etiquette to using the building and they'll fall in line with the general atmosphere and kind of community spirit here. (P8)

However cultural workers at Southbank Centre do show awareness that there can be tensions between users of space, and around how much freedom different users have within spaces. In her ethnographic research at Southbank Centre, Frost found that staff described some anxieties around trying to ensure no one group of users was monopolising Southbank Centre spaces, for example (Frost, 2016: 172). A number of cultural workers I interviewed identified potential clashes between the ways in which different groups wished to use spaces

> I think more and more people are using the foyers actually. I think as a duty manager, something we struggle quite a lot is with the huge difference in the users of the site, and the difference between people who pay to go inside the auditorium and people want to use the Wi-Fi or the plugs or whatever. (P23)

This demonstrates some of the possible clashes between different users of Southbank Centre spaces, for example between those who 'pay to go inside' and those who want to use facilities provided by Southbank Centre free of charge such as Wi-Fi, which led to the creation of the 'house rules' discussed above. This has an impact upon the ways in which cultural workers at Southbank Centre work with an in the spaces on the site, there is an aspect of the contemporary moment of cultural

work at Southbank Centre which is about juggling the needs of various users of spaces.

Ongoing re-definitions of space: the skaters and the undercroft

As discussed earlier some of the spaces at Southbank Centre were deliberately designed in a non-prescriptive manner and therefore left open to unidentified use (Borden, 2014), for example the undercrofts beneath the Royal Festival Hall/ Queen Elizabeth Hall. Recent attempts to re-define the usage of these spaces has been controversial. When the Southbank Centre Board took over the site in 1986, a proportion of the Queen Elizabeth Hall Undercroft which had been used by skateboarders and bikers was reclaimed by Southbank Centre. Since that time there have been various boundary-making attempts as well as ongoing negotiations around claims to space, for example these have included the construction of barriers and painting of a yellow line to demarcate observers from skateboarders (Jones, 2013). In 2013 plans to redevelop this area entirely and move the skateboarding community were vetoed through extensive lobbying and campaigning. The 2013 planning application for redevelopment of this space into commercial outlets became a high profile case with the organisation Long Live Southbank (LLSB) campaigning for its preservation, arguing that it is both the 'oldest continuously skated spot in the world' and 'firmly established in the imagination of skateboarders across the world' (LLSB: 8). During the campaign 150,000 people signed a petition supporting the preservation of the area.

Fig. 4.11 The Undercroft in 2018[39]

[39] Photo by Kathy Williams

The widely reported[40] campaign was also supported by individuals from English Heritage, the Twentieth Century Society, the Open Spaces Society, the Museum of London, various famous politicians, including Boris Johnson, then Mayor of London, Ben Bradshaw MP and academics from a range of universities (LLSB: 2015). It is the subject of much academic debate. For example, for Borden, the use of the Undercroft by skateboarders is entirely in line with the original designs of the site for 'unexpected uses' (Borden, 2014). Fournière argues that the skateboarders are a positive force in continuing 'difference' to be a part of the experience of Southbank Centre and that their cultural memories and heritage should not be displaced (Fournière, 2014). A 2016 report by Madgin, R.et al. collaboratively produced by the Heritage Lottery Fund and East Anglia, Glasgow, Newcastle and Sussex Universities found the Undercroft a particularly rich site for investigation of heritage debates. With a focus on young people's relationship to heritage the report concluded that the Undercroft was a place in which tangible and intangible heritage co-existed and that the site was valued both for its physical properties which made it challenging and enjoyable to skateboard in as well as a site for social interaction, and one which was culturally symbolic and therefore valuable (Madgin et al, 2016).

The culmination of months of the LLSB campaign was an agreement in September 2014 between Southbank Centre, Long Live Southbank, Arts Council England and Lambeth Council that the Undercroft would be protected against redevelopment, with the current proposal being that some of the space reclaimed by Southbank Centre in 1996 would be returned to the skateboarding community for their use.[41] This well documented battle for the right to use space at Southbank Centre is indicative of the complexities of the production of space in this area and a further example of the pressures on contemporary cultural workers at Southbank Centre as related to spatial access.

[40] See https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2014/sep/18/skaters-southbank-centre-undercroft-london-remains-open and http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-22832575 for example.
[41] See, for example https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2017/aug/07/skaters-make-cities-safer-fight-save-southbank-centre-skatepark and https://www.timeout.com/london/blog/there-are-plans-to-regenerate-the-undercroft-skate-park-on-the-south-bank-011817

The re-definition and commercialisation of space

Fig 4.12 (Top) The inside of the Royal Festival Hall, showing the Southbank Centre Shop sign, a screen displaying visuals of current Southbank Centre performances and above an original Festival of Britain logo. [42]

Fig 4.13 (Bottom) The window of the Southbank Centre Shop opposite the Royal Festival Hall. [43]

[42] Photo by Kathy Williams
[43] Photo by Kathy Williams

> It's just much busier now. There's lots more to do for people, a lot of free stuff. There's a lot more commercial and retail as well. (P15)

Arguably much of the previously 'undefined' space at Southbank Centre has now been redefined, either into consumer space, or as a pathway to retail and eating outlets (Herring, 2009b). The ways in which this use can be seen as opposing the original ideals of the Festival of Britain is explored in this section of the chapter. In the quote above a cultural worker links the busy atmosphere at Southbank Centre with people having 'more to do' which includes free events, retail and commercial opportunities. In fact, although the commercialisation of space equates to changing an environment to encourage consumption rather than allowing freedom around the use of space, many Southbank Centre staff talked about the increase in possibilities to purchase goods and consume food and drink at Southbank Centre in a positive way. One talks about the beneficial impacts that it had had upon the site:

> The whole of the shops and cafés, that was a massive change after I left and that's all good, so the whole of bringing life and shopping and eating to the Southbank as well as the arts that we put on. (P16)

This cultural worker left Southbank Centre in the 1990s but obviously feels the commercial opportunities have improved the site by 'bringing life and shopping and eating' to mix with the artistic activities. Another cultural worker sees these developments as part of upgrading the organisation:

> When it went through the big modernisation [2007] suddenly the building became a more optimistic place because it was obvious that commercially it was going to work a lot better and that it wouldn't be so dowdy because it was in a bit of a state by the early part of this century. (P8)

The quote above links to thinking around consumerism along the lines of 'the marketplace supplies increasingly glamourous stylish goods, while the state is seen as providing shabby, run-down services' (Gabriel and Lang, 2006: 9) and shows one example of the way in which the commercilsiation of space at Southbank Centre is understood as developmental for the organisation by some cultural workers.

As linked to my earlier discussion around the diverse uses of space at Southbank Centre, Lopes Simoes Aelbrecht suggests that some of the 1999 RMA Master Plan ideas were not achieved, namely the proposal to increase the encouragement of mixed use spaces, in part due to the 2008 recession which forced Southbank Centre to use more of its spaces for commercial purposes (Lopes Simoes Aelbrecht, 2017), which indicates an understanding of the ways in which the commercialisation of space opposes the original principles of design at Southbank Centre. The

organisation, along with most other arts organisations in the UK, has increasingly been under pressure in recent decades to maximise its self-revenue, which impacts upon the ways in which spaces are produced and the mediation of these spaces by cultural workers. A senior member of staff also mentioned funding pressures as a driver to increase commercial activity on the site.

> We've also, in the context of reduced public funding, we've had to ask for more commercial activity if we're going to retain the free programme, because we've had a three or four million pound cut from the Arts Council. (P21)

However, the commercialisation of space at Southbank Centre has met with criticism from a range of sources. Literature on this subject speaks to concerns around the 'distinctive identity' of Southbank Centre being lost in 'a postmodern festival of cultural consumerism' (Matarasso, 2001: 38), similar to concerns about the Bankside area which were discussed in the literature review. This is further evidence that there is concern that the democratic ideals of spatial access on the site are under threat from commercialisation.

There are also tensions around preservation and heritage versus commercialisation. For example

> We had an interesting discussion with English Heritage because they were unhappy with us removing a concrete ramp under the Hungerford Bridge, because we're putting a retail unit in there, and they said, we think this is causing harm to the Festival Hall. And why should the Festival Hall have harm done to it because of your commercial aspirations, under there?
>
> So we brought them in and explained to them that unless we could create that commercial space, the ability to maintain the Festival Hall would be at risk, and therefore the harm being done to the Festival Hall was providing a bigger benefit to the Festival Hall, if you see what I mean. And I think when they saw the figure-work, and the cost of maintaining the building, etc., I think they then understood that. (P21)

It is undeniable that Southbank Centre has become a space for consumption, not just of the arts but also of food, drink and commodities. At the time of writing the Southbank Centre 17 acre site includes two Southbank Centre gift shops selling, 'a diverse range of design led gifts, creative toys for children, '50's inspired homewares and items relating to art, music, dance and photography'[44] (Southbank Centre website, 2017), one inside the Royal Festival Hall, and one on the Festival Terrace

[44] http://shop.southbankcentre.co.uk/southbankcentreshops.html

and one inside the Hayward Gallery. The shops open 10am-9pm each day (reduced hours on Sundays).

There is one restaurant within the Royal Festival Hall, the Skylon, and one which also forms part of the building, Canteen. There is a central on site café, the Riverside Terrace Café in the Royal Festival Hall and at least three bars, (different bars open up depending on programming), including the Central Bar in the Royal Festival Hall, and the Members' Bar on Level 5, as well as bars and cafés within the Queen Elizabeth Hall, Purcell Rooms and Hayward Gallery. . Also, on the Southbank Centre Site there are seven restaurants, (currently Ping Pong, Feng Sushi, Las Iguanas, Wagamama, Strada, Yo Sushi, Giraffe, The Wahaca Southbank Experiment) three cafés (Eat, Le Pain Quotidian, Café Vergnano 1882, Beany Green) as well as five semi-permanent 'Pop Up' food outlets on The Queen's Walk by the river (currently The Hop Locker, The BBQ Bar and Club, Bleecker Burger, Oh My Dog! and the Snog Frozen Yoghurt Bus) and thirty-four traders associated with Southbank Centre food market which operates every Friday Saturday Sunday and Bank Holiday Monday throughout the year.

Recent empirical research by Alasdair Jones found that, although the South Bank area as a whole can be said to be relatively clear of commercial advertising compared to other parts of London, external spaces at Southbank Centre are increasingly segmented in terms of branding and retail. Jones established that visitors using external parts of the Southbank Centre site may feel less comfortable using parts of it that are heavily branded or seen to be primarily for the use of customers of the various retail outlets described above (Jones, 2014). This further problematises the ways in which space is demarcated in external areas of the Southbank Centre site and adds to the complexity of the current moment of cultural work for this organisation. The Southbank Centre Conservation Plan states that there have been efforts to manage the spaces so that there are not too many sales outlets but that the spaces are used efficiently in order to self-generate income (Nathaniel Lichfield and Partners, 2015). A cultural worker in 2014 reflected upon the ways in which she had been trained to consider outside spaces and how they could be most appropriately used in a commercial sense:

> I got taught a lot about respecting what the building is. The Queen's Walk is part of South Bank Centre, we want to commercialise that. But actually what is the purpose of that? It's a walkway, it's for people to be celebrating that rather than just sticking a burger van on it. (P12)

The idea of 'celebration' or congregation recurs here, and commercialism is positioned as a different kind of experience, once which it is recognised should perhaps not interfere with the enjoyment and freedom of use of public space. The same cultural worker expanded upon these ideas in an architectural sense:

> It's just about making sure they don't infringe on walkways and there's flows, there's nice sightlines. So when people look down the Queen's Walk, you just see a bus. You don't see a bus, a burger van, a café. It's quite a nice, clean line and it's quite obvious, a clear space for people to walk, but then you can also come in and interact with a commercial activity. So it is quite challenging in making sure it doesn't infringe on what is out there. (P12)

Although these quotes demonstrate that ideas around maximizing commercial potential and enabling the free flow of people are imbricated at Southbank Centre, there is evidence that the organisation have, perhaps through necessity, increasingly driven the sanitisation of spaces with many of them being used for sanctioned, commercial purposes.

Cultural workers for the organisation also demonstrate the ways in which the commercialisation of the site might not make it more attractive to all visitors and in fact that the pricing may be prohibitive. Although there is a latent Southbank Centre policy that visitors can bring their own food, one cultural worker talked to me about issues with the pricing of the food available:

> There's always that tension between needing to make money from events and also wanting to widen access and participation. For instance, people would always complain about how expensive the café was. It'd be like eight quid for an egg sandwich or something!
>
> Obviously when you talk about participation and access, if you go into a space with your child for the day and then you go to the café and you've got to pay £8 for a sandwich. The event may be free but then the café is extortionate so that's not enabling participation.
>
> It's that thing of once you're inside the establishment and you know how it all works, you can feel comfortable with it. But to somebody coming in for the first time, just that £8 price tag on a sandwich would make them feel 'I'm not entitled to be here, this isn't the space for me, this is for other people'. (P18)

The issue of the way in which commercial spaces are branded at Southbank Centre, and the use of high-end catering can be seen as a departure from the original Festival of Britain ideals of access for all, even whilst the Festival of Britain is deployed in that branding, an issue I explore in Chapter 3. It is also different to the time of expanding access as pushed by the GLC and the promotion of the original

Open Foyer Policy which provided more affordable catering, as shown in a quote from an employee earlier in this chapter.

Jones found that many visitors to Southbank Centre are attracted by the ways in which spaces are undefined in terms of their use which makes them open to appropriation by the visitor, and that this is under threat from recent Southbank Centre attempts to 'curate' space. His argument is that privatisation in terms of consumerist functions monopolising the spaces are not the major challenge to the freedom of use of space but it is in fact the use of space for artistic installations which has the most impact (Jones, 2016). However it is my understanding that both these developments affect the production of space at Southbank Centre and the lived experiences of cultural workers for the organisation today.

The drive behind this commercialisation of the Southbank Centre site is complex. For Gabriel and Lang, through multiple guises, consumerism 'both describes social reality and also shapes our perceptions of social reality' (Gabriel and Lang, 2006: 9). Through this reading of the omnipresence of consumerism in public consciousness then it is perhaps inevitable that Southbank Centre spaces are becoming increasingly consumerist. As Martinez puts it, if Southbank Centre is now conceived of as 'part of the city experience' (Martinez, 2014: 246) then it is important to consider the ways in which cities are experienced and consumed and how this has changed. As the literature review discussed, the consumption of space, and particularly for the purposes of entertainment, is a key social process in the urban environment, a driver of development and a part of the lifestyle of urban occupants (Lloyd and Clark, 2011), and cities are often consumed in terms of their iconic or aesthetically pleasing buildings (Glaeser, Kolko and Saiz, 2001, Evans 2003). A senior cultural worker at Southbank Centre mentioned the co-existence of city-dwellers and the arts organisation and the ways in which giving local residents consumerist opportunities enabled cohesiveness:

> So if I give you an example, the team were quite keen to have a lot of activity, and amplified sound, on South Bank Centre Square, which is directly overlooked by the local residents. Now, there are two things the staff are now fully aware of, one is, they know they're all well-heeled. A lot of them are litigation lawyers, which is an interesting discipline to have on our doorstep. But more importantly, that these buildings were built in the '60s, and they still don't have air conditioning. So in the hot summer, the only way of ventilating the apartments is to open the windows. So we then devised a programme of markets, every weekend, which is no noise, it's attractive to look at, and the residents are always in there doing their shopping. I think what I've helped

> [the residents] understand is how a thriving arts centre can co-exist alongside a residential community, but still be culturally active. (P21)

Southbank Centre exists in a consumer focused episteme. It operates in a time when neoliberalism is hegemonic both ideologically and physically in city spaces (Peck and Tickell, 2002). Additionally, as the role of the city as a centre for consumption grows it is often considered that (Western, 'developed') cities with large numbers of performance spaces and places to eat are more successful in attracting visitors and have better economies (Glaeser, Kolko and Saiz, 2001) and the changing nature of space at Southbank Centre can be seen as epitomising this trend. Importantly though the neoliberal context of Southbank Centre should not be understood as a simple *then* and *now* but as a gradual transformation, since the 1980s (Peck and Tickell, 2002).

For Lury, the development of consumer culture has led individuals to define themselves through what commodities they own, although the symbolic nature of possessions is not a new development in cultural terms (Lury, 1996) and throughout history there is evidence of objects being used for more than basic functional purposes, in rituals, and as icons for example. Marx famously wrote about the fetishism of commodities and the ways that the mystical value, or fantastical potential of a commodity does not equate to its use value or to the value of human labour that has gone into making it (Marx 1867).

An amount of commodity fetishism is apparent in the ways in which Southbank Centre workers conceptualise the relationship between users of space and commodities available to purchase.

> We found all sorts of interesting things, [through talking to donors] like people really cared about the carpet. I remember in a meeting jokingly saying, shall we cut up the carpet and sell it as doormat? Load of money in that! And there is now a whole line of stuff in the shops that came off the back of that idea. So there's all of this kind of 50s stuff, which I'm sure would have happened anyway, but it was the fundraising campaign that led that. (P22)

Fig 4.14 'Net and Ball' products based on the original carpet design in the Royal Festival Hall shop in 2018[45]

[45] Photo by Kathy Williams

Fig 4.15 Brutalism inspired products in the Royal Festival Hall shop in 2018[46]

[46] Photo by Kathy Williams

Additionally as part of the ‘Let the Light in’ campaign to regenerate the Festival Wing buildings, it was possible to purchase jewellery based around light shards, light bulbs and concrete blocks.

Fig 4.16 ‘Let the Light In’ jewellery in the Southbank Centre Terrace shop in 2017[47]

The above demonstrates that Southbank Centre have endeavored to take a creative approach to consumerism, perhaps in an effort to ally some of the original ideas of the Festival of Britain to the contemporary episteme through whimsical products available to purchase. However, the contemporary moment of cultural work at Southbank Centre does seem to be a move away from the original ideals of the Festival of Britain in that although the site is still free to access for all, it is increasingly a site at which consumerism is widely and prominently encouraged. This

[47] Photo by Kathy Williams

means that those with more disposable income may well feel more comfortable using its spaces than those with less.

Conclusion: The ongoing significance of spatial access at Southbank Centre

This section of the thesis has argued that from its inception, steeped in democratic principles, through an era in which the Royal Festival Hall operated as an exclusive oasis, to its current pluralistic, hectic, and diverse yet consumer oriented identity, spatial access has been a significant concern at Southbank Centre and for its workforce. It has developed thinking around the key research questions of this thesis by unpicking some of the key moments and phases of cultural work associated with spatial access at this cultural institution, and some of the ways in which cultural work is defined at these points. The first section of this chapter analysed a phase related to the means by which the site was originally designed on the democratic principles of the Festival of Britain but relatively quickly became an exclusive oasis for classical music, and the surrounding area an undesirable place to visit. This impacted upon the role of cultural workers at the time, and continues to resonate in the discourses of workers today. This chapter also analysed a later moment of expanding democratic access due to the work of the GLC led by Ken Livingstone in the early 1980s. The impact specifically of the Open Foyer Policy instigated in 1983 was presented, and the role of the organisation as a 'political football' examined, again in relation to the ways in which this impacts and continues to influence the lived experience of cultural workers for the organisation. Lastly, the contemporary moment, which is defined as the self-conscious production of plural space amidst commercial neoliberalism was presented. The ways in which the commercialisation of space can be seen as directly opposing the original ideals of democratic spatial access at Southbank Centre was analysed. The discourses of cultural workers around this subject and the complexities of balancing potentially competing agendas on the site were examined. This demonstrated ways in which an excavation of cultural work in key historical moments can extend analysis of cultural work today.

In the next chapter I present further findings from and analysis of my empirical research, providing a critical analysis of the layers of histories of cultural work and how they interact at Southbank Centre, as well as how they are mobilised and negotiated in the present.

Chapter 5. Negotiating and Mobilising Southbank Centre's Heritage: Jude Kelly's Festival Methodology (2011-2018)

> When you join Southbank Centre, at least when I was there, [2010-2015] you get given Charlotte Higgin's book *A Festival on the River* along with your contract, staff handbook etc. So there was a definite sense of that history really being relevant and alive in the work of the present day organisation. (P18)

Fig 5.1 (Left) 'The Sunbathers' 'from the original 1951 Festival of Britain[48]

Fig 5.2 (Right) 'The Sunbathers' restored and on display in Level 2 of the Royal Festival Hall in 2018[49]

The above images are an example of one of the ways in which a tangible heritage of the 1951 Festival of Britain is currently preserved and constructed at Southbank Centre: via the restoration of two original sculptures now on display in the Royal Festival Hall. Yet alongside such tangible, material examples of heritage at the site there are also numerous immaterial and intangible legacies from the 1951 Festival evident in working practices and artistic production. This chapter traces the ways in which these immaterial and intangible legacies are apparent and constructed in discourses of past and present employees. It unpacks what a modern day cultural worker calls 'that history' (in the quote above) by considering which aspects of Southbank Centre's heritage were/ are glamourised and promoted (as well as sanitised and repackaged) and which were/ are ignored or marginalised. For, as Stuart Hall puts it

[48] https://historicengland.org.uk/get-involved/protect/save-the-sunbathers/ Image credit PA Images

[49] Photo by Kathy Williams

> Like personal memory, social memory is highly selective. It highlights and foregrounds, imposes beginnings, middles and ends on the random and contingent. But equally, it foreshortens, silences, disavows, forgets and elides many episodes which from another perspective could be the start of a different narrative (Hall, 2000: 5).

The ways in which certain narratives are *selected* and *highlighted* and which are *silenced* and *elided* is then, the focus of this chapter. To put it another way, drawing on Massey, space is a meeting of stories in progress and the ways in which they interrelate, but it is also an intersection of those stories that are excluded (Massey, 2005: 130). Therefore this chapter unpicks which stories have been and are celebrated in this cultural space, and analyses the impact this has upon cultural work practices, as well as considering which have been and are excluded.

It scrutinises how such work is done, for example through celebratory publications such as the book mentioned above (commissioned by Southbank Centre) and through other outputs from the organisation such as annual reviews and website content. During the process the discussion examines which aspects of the heritage of the organisation have been made popular and which have not. This chapter speaks most directly to the first of my research questions, *how do the layers of histories of cultural work interact at Southbank Centre and how are they mobilised and negotiated in the present?* It asks: what key historical moments and phases of cultural work connected to this organisation are re-enacted in present working practices and approaches? How are these histories organised and what evidence is there of their interaction with each other? What histories are marginalised or excluded from current discourses and practices and what impact does this have upon theorisations of space and of cultural work?

This chapter discusses the construction of discourses around 'returning to the original ideals' of the Festival of Britain project and analyses tropes evident within the discourses of cultural workers around cultural activism and participatory engagement with the organisation. This section of the thesis therefore provides a historical excavation of legacies and heritage related to the 1951 Festival and argues that there have been three key moments in which differing strands of the heritage of the Festival of Britain have been promoted (or not) by Southbank Centre. Firstly, in the early years of the Royal Festival Hall, there was little adherence to the Festival of Britain ideals in the programming of elite classical concerts. Later on, in the 1990s a commitment to outdoor festivals and encouraging new audiences was evident, in large part associated with the political climate and the legacy of Ken Livingstone's Greater London Council (GLC). Most recently, Jude Kelly's appointment as Artistic Director for Southbank Centre in

2005 resulted in an unambiguous approach to popularising the 1951 Festival, through actively mobilising certain aspects of the heritage of the organisation. Her integration across the institution and promotion of a 'Festival Methodology' (2011-2018) is explored in light of this historical contextualisation, in relation to the role of cultural workers.

The chapter is structured around different aspects of the 1951 Festival of Britain heritage and looks at how these are/were promoted in the time periods mentioned above, foregrounding this with a discussion of some of the ideals of the Festival. The discourses of past and present cultural workers at Southbank Centre are unpacked in terms of the ways in which the original Festival in 1951 is referred to and its legacies are actively produced by past and current cultural workers for the organisation. It examines the prevalence in the narratives of cultural workers of ideals of openness, access and democracy, as well as giving voice to marginalised groups. 'Access' in this chapter is used to refer to the availability of artistic programming and events at Southbank Centre to a wide-ranging audience, rather than ideas around physical and spatial access which are covered in the following chapter. These discourses are also analysed in in terms of evidence of personal connection to the organisation for cultural workers, the use of memories and personal experiences by the institution, and the impact that the cultural heritage of Southbank Centre have upon the ways in which employees talk about their current work.

In the process, the articulation and usages of the heritage of this organisation within a non-traditional heritage setting are analysed. This includes investigation of Southbank Centre archive project (2015-2018) which began with a temporary Archive Studio being set up on the ground floor of the Royal Festival Hall. The project involves various heritage related events, such as those on London History Day 2017 which included a choir performance, talks about the Festival of Britain, a screening of *Brief City,* the Central Office of Information 1952 documentary about the 1951 Festival of Britain, and an opportunity to 'Meet the Archive' and handle original 1950s materials such as diaries and photographs.[50] This is one example of the ways in which members of the public have been encouraged to participate in archival processes and practices. The archive was itself started as a 'labour of love' by Mala Jones, an administrator at Southbank Centre in the 1980s, and it has not been until the 2010s that the centre's records have begun to be formally sorted and catalogued.

[50] https://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/whats-on/122133-london-history-day-2017

The chapter investigates the different imperatives and reasons for the mobilisation of different heritage discourses. For example the ongoing impact of instability in funding for the arts and heritage sectors and the effect this climate has had upon heritage initiatives at Southbank Centre. The archive project mentioned above has only relatively recently happened, although being planned for a number of years, as a result of Heritage Lottery Funding. The funding was used for the archival purposes alongside capital projects; namely the 'Let the Light In' campaign (2015-2018) to refurbish the Queen Elizabeth Hall, the Purcell Room and the Hayward Gallery. There is a strong drive in institutional narratives and wider contexts to further understand and promote the heritage of these buildings, which were added to the Southbank Centre site in the 1960s. Connected to this ideology and related working practices are tensions between heritage, preservation, conservation and enterprise, including the need to provide new and exciting programming and learning opportunities. Furthermore, imbricated with the instable context of arts support, the 'Festival Methodology', mobilised since Jude Kelly's appointment in 2005 and more forcefully since 2011, until she left Southbank Centre in mid-2018, can be seen as a rejoinder to the recent political climate of huge cuts to the arts, the implications of which are unpacked in the following discussion.

This chapter argues for the recognition of how an understanding of the impact of cultural working practices can enrich an understanding of the production of space. This speaks to conceptualisations of space as inherently complex (Harvey, 2004), always socially constructed (Lefebvre, 1974) and as layered, and both in the process of and the product of interrelations (Solnit, 2010, Massey, 2005). As outlined in the methodology section of this thesis, Massey's theorisations of space are useful to this research. In particular her three main 'propositions on space' speak to the themes of this chapter. Massey argues that space is produced by imbricated factors and processes; that space has the potential to be pluralistic and multitudinous; and that space is constantly being produced and is never 'finished'(Massey, 2005: 9). The first of these stresses the underlying argument of this thesis that space is actively produced by various influences, including local, national and global forces, and the importance of the active role of cultural workers in this. The second connects to the focus on narratives of diverse experiences as related to space, with the focus on the able bodied, white, heterosexual male being challenged. This is explored in depth in the following chapter, but it is also analysed in this chapter in relation to cultural activism and 'giving voice' to marginalised groups through artistic programming at Southbank Centre. The third of Massey's propositions is a call for a re-imagining of

space and future social politics. The conclusion of this chapter examines whether and in what ways Southbank Centre could be understood as an organisation that seeks to bring about social change, and the limitations to its scope and impact in this sense.

The 1951 Festival of Britain

Fig 5.3 *The Story of 51* permanent exhibition in the Royal Festival Hall[51]

Whilst this thesis does not intend to give a detailed account of the 1951 Festival of Britain, it is useful to begin this chapter by unpacking some of the ideals of the Festival.

[51] Photos by Kathy Williams

A valuable starting point is the Royal Festival Hall *The Story of 51* exhibition. This permanent exhibition evolved from a temporary installation which formed part of the 2011 Festival of Britain commemoration at Southbank Centre. The temporary installation was designed and curated by Hemingway Design and included memorabilia, film and photography, pieces and art and sculpture, as well as a reproduction of a 1950s living room arranged by *Homes and Antiques* magazine[52]. A permanent exhibition featuring photography, film, memorabilia and a miniature model of the Festival of Britain exhibition site was then subsequently installed. This is one example of the ways in which space at Southbank Centre is deliberately structured to present visitors with different heritage experiences. Visitors are encouraged to 'consume' heritage in a range of ways, and analysis of the variety of discourses which produce spaces at Southbank Centre (Bagnall, 2003) illuminates how working practices for cultural workers link to this working practice at Southbank Centre.

A further way in which Festival of Britain heritage is constructed and produced at Southbank Centre is the invitation for current visitors to post their own memories, just metres from the exhibition which includes a display of 'Festival Memories'

[52] https://www.hemingwaydesign.co.uk/projects/museum-51-royal-festival-hall/

Fig 5.4 (left) 'memory drop box' in the Royal Festival Hall [53]

Fig 5.5 (Right) 'Festival Memories' display as part of *The Story of '51* exhibition' in the Royal Festival Hall [54]

Site wide heritage labels around Southbank Centre tell stories around the histories and heritage of the architecture and design on the site.

> [The] site-wide heritage labels mean if you're just passing by you can get a feel of it of the roots of the site you don't have to participate in a programme or come and see and exhibition to understand some of the stories behind here… the idea is these things will mean that people who pass the site every day, the site wanders, the commuters who walk through every day, who don't feel connected to here would never come in here it's almost invisible on their landscape, probably and suddenly to just give them a nudge to make them closer to us and what we are in a permanent way. (P4)

These are all clearly deliberate attempts by the institution to organise the space in ways that give material reminders about the legacy of the 1951 Festival of Britain. These

[53] Photo by Kathy Williams
[54] Photo by Kathy Williams

visual prompts serve as prompts to highlight and reimagine some of the ideologies and stories from the original Festival.

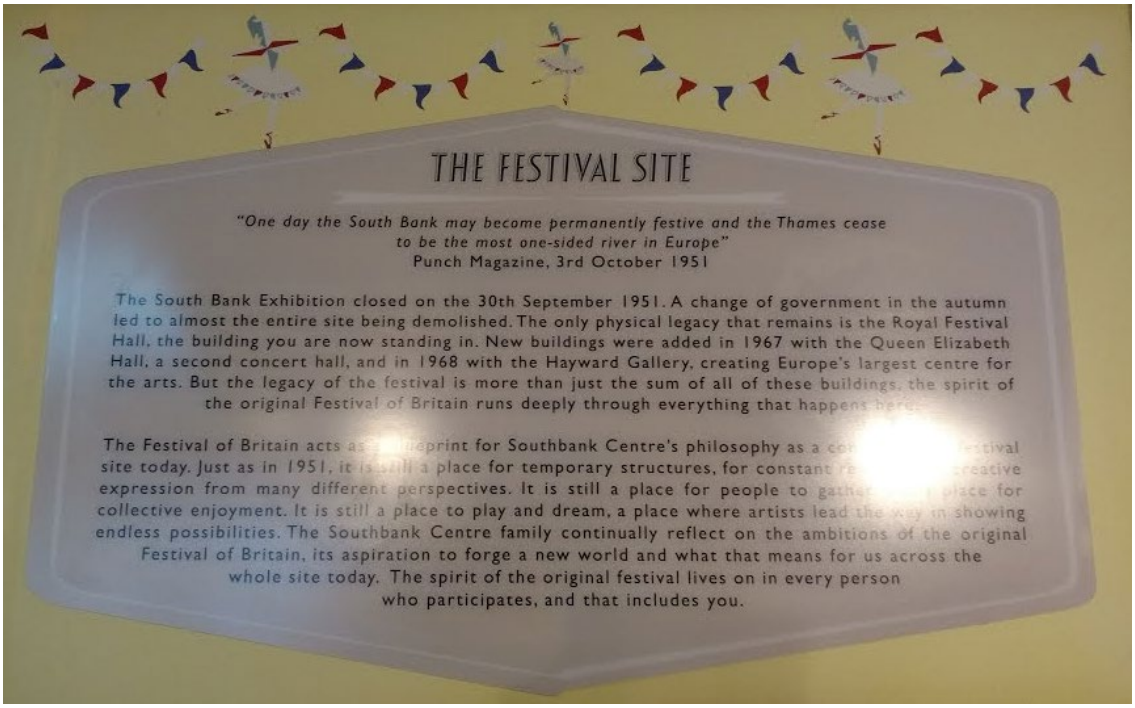


Fig 5.6 'The Festival Site' exhibition label which forms part of *The Story of 51* permanent exhibition in the Royal Festival Hall[55]

As part of the Royal Festival Hall *The Story of 51* the sign shown in the picture above states that 'the spirit of the original Festival of Britain runs deeply through everything that happens here'. The sign informs those visiting the Royal Festival Hall about significant constituents of the heritage of the organisation: firstly it mentions enterprise and innovation, 'temporary structures, constant renewal and creative enterprise'; secondly there is reference to the 'philosophy of Southbank Centre' being a place for people to get together and have fun, 'collective enjoyment'/ 'a place to play and dream'; as well as a space for debate of possible futures, for 'people to gather, artists to lead the way in showing endless possibilities' and the 'aspiration to forge a new world'; and finally participation and access, 'The spirit of the original festival lives on in every person who participates and this includes you'. These elements of the contemporary construction of the 'Southbank Centre philosophy' are scrutinised more closely through analysis of the different time periods in the history of the Royal Festival Hall and what became Southbank Centre, and in relation to the roles of cultural workers in these key moments, in the following discussion.

[55] Photo by Kathy Williams

The introduction to this thesis pointed out that, although the 1951 Festival of Britain was criticised as frivolous, and seen as 'Left wing propaganda' by some, at the same time it was hugely popular, and there was an atmosphere of collective optimism and celebration (Morgan and Walpole, 1986:26) and was generally reported by journalists at the time to have been a successful attempt to 'cheer people up after the war' (Atkinson, 2012:1). A Southbank Centre employee who has worked for the organisation for almost 30 years shows understanding of the political climate of the original Festival of Britain and gives his view on what the Festival Methodology was trying to achieve

> I think that really was core to it…her [Jude Kelly's] starting point really was that the nation had been given this fantastic thing, the Festival of Britain, and then it was taken away from them again by the Conservatives who said, "This is nonsense, this is tokenism," and they were very against it. Part of her thinking is that that was something that was stolen from the people and she wants to give it back to them. (P11)

Although, especially within cultural and social theory (e.g. Hall, 1981) there are myriad issues around how and whether 'the people' can be identified, this quote points to the way in which Jude Kelly's Festival Methodology can be understood as deliberately mobilising certain ideals and aiming to revive a lost social democratic heritage. An awareness of this intangible heritage is highly evident in the discourses of a range of current cultural workers interviewed for the purposes of this research. These interviews have demonstrated that it is not just in the official marketing materials of the organisation that these heritage are produced and activated but in the working lives of staff at the organisation. For example, throughout the interview quoted above, the individual also showed a high level of commitment to this ethos, and to the way of working promoted by Jude Kelly at Southbank Centre from 2005-2018. I now examine this process in more detail.

Jude Kelly's Festival Methodology (2011-2018)

Fig 5.7 Entrance door to the Royal Festival Hall in 2017 [56]

> And Jude is very much about remembering the festival context of the original Festival Hall. It was a festival site, to celebrate the Festival of Britain, and we should remember that in everything we do, both in the work we put on, but also in the welcoming sense that the Festival of Britain was built by people from all over the world. So we should represent that, and do art for people from all walks of life and from all over the world, and we should make it a welcoming place. (P22)

In the quote above a cultural worker from fundraising and development talks about his experiences working for the organisation and the ways in which the heritage of the original 1951 Festival permeates and produces working practices at the organisation, for

[56] Photo by Kathy Williams

example in a programming sense through trying to make 'Festivals for the World' or 'do art for people from all walks of life and from all over the world'.

In a talk I attended given by Jude Kelly to Kings College London/ Southbank Centre *Education in Arts & Cultural Settings MA* students in 2014[57], she showed the group a series of scrolls full of pictures she had had commissioned when she started at Southbank Centre in 2005. These depicted the history of the Southbank Centre site: from images of the Second World War, pictures of the original Festival of Britain and representations of the Brutalist buildings added to the site in the 1960s, to images of arts and cultural expression happening across the Southbank Centre site. Jude Kelly used them in this talk to demonstrate her vision for and commitment to a Southbank Centre site that was 'permanently festive' (Punch Magazine, 1951, and quoted on *The Festival Site* sign as part of *The Story of '51* exhibition), and constantly animated by artistic production. She emphasised that she saw herself as a director, in the theatrical sense, of a piece of art in the making, rather than a curator of a static museum-like site. Perhaps the most widely known examples of her Festival Methodology approach are the Festival of Britain 60th anniversary celebrations in April-September 2011[58] and the pioneering *Women of the World (WOW)* festival which has been running since 2010.

Several past and current Southbank Centre employees interviewed pointed to the importance of the 2011 celebrations in constructing or reconstructing heritage at the organisation and showed awareness that the Festival of Britain, although an important historical event in British history, is by no means something that is understood by all Southbank Centre visitors. For example, an employee from the development department talked about it increasing awareness in visitors

> I think also the 60th anniversary celebrations of the Festival of Britain in 2011, doing a whole summer festival that was based on the Festival of Britain, made a lot of people aware, probably for the first time what originally what started this all off. (P1)

A further employee reflected that even as a worker for the organisation she had not been fully aware of the site's heritage, and importantly the commitment to re-telling and mobilising its heritage in the work of the organisation today, until the 60th anniversary was marked

[57] Talk given by Jude Kelly to MA Education in Arts and Cultural Settings students on 07th October 2014.
[58] https://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/s3fs-public/press_releases/Festival_of_Britain_News_Release.pdf

> It wasn't till we had the 60th anniversary celebrations for the Festival of Britain in 2011 that I really understood the link between the site's history and then what it was trying to do now. I think I'm probably not alone in saying that, because I think a lot of people only really realised about the Festival of Britain when we started to really narrate that story at that time. (P23)

This member of staff shows an understanding of how heritage has been constructed and produced at the organisation in the sense that the 2011 celebrations acted as the 'start of a narrative' about the original Festival. It was a deliberate attempt to make visible the stories around the original festival, to re-tell accounts of the democratic heritage which had to a large extent been elided by other narratives and practices (for example the sole programming focus on classical music) for employees as well as visitors.

More recently, in the introductory statement to *Southbank Centre 2015-16 Annual Review* from Jude Kelly, Alan Bishop (Chief Executive) and Susan Gilchrist (Chairman), the Festival of Britain is the first thing referred to:

> Southbank Centre was created for the Festival of Britain in 1951, as a celebration of post-war optimism and hope for a better future. Today, we continue to celebrate and challenge the world through our festivals. Each festival includes myriad expressions of art such as visual art, music, dance, debates, talks, workshops and culinary creations, which are brought together under shared themes. This range of festivals helps foster crucial discussions about a better future by pairing world-class artists, performers, writers and thinkers with our engaged audiences. Our festivals are inclusive, creative, challenging and playful, showcasing the best of the best in any given field [59] (Southbank Centre, 2017).

The above echoes the ethos described on the *Story of 51* exhibition sign, demonstrating the continued dominance of a commitment to festivals which aim to 'celebrate and challenge the world' at the organisation. Southbank Centre's recent range of fourteen annual cross-art form festivals were: *Imagine Children's Festival*; *Women of the World*; *Alchemy* (exploring South Asia and its connections with the UK); *Festival of Love*; *Meltdown* (a music festival curated by guest artists each year); *Chorus* celebrating voice and communal singing; *Africa Utopia*; *London Literature Festival*; *WHY? (*focused on young people's activism); *Being A Man*; *Wintertime*; *Unlimited* (artistic productions by

[59] https://bynder.southbankcentre.co.uk/m/13d27d6252aaefab/original/Annual_Review_2015-16.pdf?_ga=2.140369971.1280541601.1515067993-1929778992.1492700369

established and emerging disabled artists); *Belief and Beyond Belief* (exploring arts which have emerged from religions); and *China Changing*. There have also been further themed series and festivals each year. For example in 2017 new or one-off festivals and series included: *Urban* (which was part of the *Summertime* festival); *Darbar Festival 2017* (celebrating India's musical traditions); the *2017 New Music Biennial*; *EFG London Jazz Festival*, as well as the *Nordic Matters* Series.[60] Previous one-off festivals and series have included, for example, *Changing Minds* looking at the interactions between mental health and the arts and *Changing Britain,* which examined the interplay between art, culture and 20th century politics (both in 2015).

In order to understand the wider meaning of the Festival Methodology it is useful to interrogate theory surrounding festivals and the meanings attributed to the word itself. In the talk mentioned above I asked Jude Kelly why she thought the commitment to festivals was the most appropriate way of working for Southbank Centre at the time. She answered by stressing the connotations of the word 'festival' which she believes, 'has personal significance for all individuals', in that everyone has their own festivals, is a 'welcoming word' and connects to notions of 'togetherness and celebration'[61].

Festival studies

At this point it is useful to consider the meanings of a festival in a wider academic context. Festivals themselves have been differently theorised in a sociological and anthropological disciplines. For example, by Falassi as a period in which distinct practices are carried out in order to mark a special stage (Falassi, 1987), and by Getz as celebrations organised around themes which aim to produce a specific kind of experience for the participants (Getz, 2010). These both speak to the ideology behind the Festival Methodology at Southbank Centre in terms of the marking and celebration of certain themes or eras. Festivals can also be understood as liminal experiences, or times of being away from the routine of everyday life, and as linked to periods of transition, or 'life thresholds', can be associated with 'tribal superstitions' attached to these transitions (Van Gennep, 1908). Additionally the social function of rituals and ceremonies have been understood as connected to the liminal threshold between childhood and adulthood (Turner, 1982). For Michel Bakhtin, carnival-like experiences such as participating in festival experiences can be revolutionary, or a space in which

[60] https://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/whats-on/festivals
[61] Talk given by Jude Kelly to MA Education in Arts and Cultural Settings students on 07th October 2014.

deep seated notions and norms can be disrupted, and the frustrations that go along with subordination can be released and expressed (Bakhtin, 1984). It is worth noting that many of these kinds of activities have been suppressed from the seventeenth century onwards, and are often nowadays heavily commercialised (Ehrenreich, 2007, Segal, 2017).

It is argued that festivals can bring communities together in a common endeavour (Durkheim, 1976) or can be times of increased feelings of belonging during ritualistic experiences (Turner, 1982), but also that they can highlight social tensions and inequalities (Gotham, 2005, Waterman, 1998). From interviews with Southbank Centre staff it is apparent that to some extent both of these are encouraged through the Festival Methodology. The normal working practices of preparation for a festival for example will involve 'think-ins' for communities connected to the festival theme in which differing points of view are encouraged. Getz points to the discipline of festival studies being primarily concerned with three main themes: *roles, meanings and impacts of festivals in society and culture; festival tourism* and *festival management* (Getz, 2010: 4-5). Although I have analysed theories around tourism and management in the literature review, my research focus in this chapter speaks most directly to the first of these discourses. The roles, meanings and impacts of the Festival Methodology in relation to the discourses and working lives of cultural workers at Southbank Centre is multifaceted and a fascinating and relatively unique example of cultural work processes and practices.

As outlined earlier, this chapter analyses the political and cultural meanings of the Festival Methodology and how these are negotiated and understood by cultural workers at Southbank Centre. The ways in which current cultural workers both internalise and understand as well as actively produce the main philosophy, ethos and value system driving artistic programming at Southbank Centre is analysed. Their narratives are examined in terms of the organisation's attachment to promoting experiences and events themed around enterprise and innovation, enabling sociability, enjoyment, festivity and fun for visitors, as well encouraging the carnivalesque and conversations that aim to bring about social change through participation. For Getz, 'because so many meanings can be attached to the festival experience, at personal, social-group and cultural levels, they must be viewed as social constructs that vary from area to area, and over time' (Getz, 2010: 7). This is especially important in any analysis of Southbank Centre festivals, which are numerous throughout the year and as such transient. Although the established, annual festivals as outlined above run in similar ways each

year in many ways they are also unique and stand-alone cultural happenings. The festivals are examples of the ways spaces are constructed through active heritage production by cultural workers.

The 'Spirit of the original Festival of Britain'

In the two decades following the original Festival there was little evidence of visible legacies in terms of democratic and accessible programming; the Royal Festival Hall operated as a classical concert hall for the elite few, with the exception of children's concerts and films on Saturdays. At this time the democratic and forward- thinking aspects of the heritage of the original Festival were marginalised. A member of staff who started working for Southbank Centre in the late 1980s reflected that

> When I first started here, this was classic music-driven organisation. And non-political, you weren't allowed to have a political opinion. And that was pretty much that way up until I suppose maybe the mid-90s and it started to change a bit. They started to introduce more contemporary music and more festivals. (P11)

In the 1980s the change mentioned above is imbricated with the instigation of the Open Foyer Policy, which was heavily influenced by the policies of Ken Livingstone's GLC (Mulgan and Worpole, 1986), as unpacked in Chapter 4. In the early and mid-1980s the GLC also staged well attended concerts and music festivals for up to tens of thousands outside County Hall on Southbank including, for example, a concert in 1985 to protest against unemployment (Segal, 2017: 256).

However as indicated above it took some time for the organisation to move on from its classical music focus, towards more radical programming. Additionally a worker for Southbank Centre who started at the organisation in the early 1990s reflects that in terms of the way heritage were constructed and produced by cultural workers at the time there was more focus on the architectural and spatial value of the site in working practices and on making the most of the geographical location, rather than actually communication of narratives around the heritage of the site

> We were aware of the huge love that people in London had for the site because of its history and because of the Festival of Britain… I think we were beginning to recognise what stunning buildings we were dealing with and what an incredibly important place and space south of the river we had. But our work did not [focus on] the heritage of the site. (P16)

Even in the years following the move towards more democratic access and programing this heritage of the original Festival continued to be elided to some extent in the programming at Southbank Centre. A senior member of staff who has worked for Southbank Centre for over 20 years and is very familiar with the history of the programming of the organisation shared that

> Our first artistic director when we became independent, when the GLC was abolished, in ’86, had these huge themes, like Late Works, or The Reluctant Revolutionary, which is a festival about Schoenberg, and so on. And these were festivals that would straddle the whole year. But they were for the cognoscenti, they were for musical specialists. (P21)

The programming at this time was still for ‘the cognoscenti’ and the original 1951 Festival democratic ideal of the organisation being open and accessible to people from all classes and walks of life was not being explicitly mobilised. Throughout the later 1980s and 1990s changes were apparent in terms of broadening programming at the organisation and the first festivals that would appeal to a wider audience. An individual who worked for the organisation in the 1990s talked about the organisation and programming of festivals in that time period.

> The outdoor events brought in huge numbers and so did the festivals. We did a cross arts festival each year. It sounds bizarre now because they do them each week now or each day! But we did these quite substantial ones where the Hayward and the concert halls and the outdoors and the literature and dance and everything would work together. So we did one of the American South and we did an Aboriginal Arts exhibition which started with an exhibition at the Hayward and then we did lots of other cross arts programming (P16).

The quote above shows that there were moves towards making programming more accessible and more appealing to a wider audience. There was a commitment to multi-arts festivals and a move away from basing these festivals on elitist themes. However there was little evidence of the original Festival of Britain ideals being overtly utilised to produce practices and organise the ethos and activities of the organisation.

Explicit mobilisation of the 1951 Festival heritage

Throughout the 1990s and early 2000s there was considerable focus on refurbishment plans and architectural masterplans, and a surge in visitor numbers after the building of the Millennium Bridge and the London Eye. In 2001 there was a Gala Concert, exhibition and souvenir book published, to celebrate the ‘birthday of the Royal Festival

Hall [62]. This seems to have been focused on architectural developments, for example through blown up photographs of the building in the 1950s and late 20th century, and performances at the Royal Festival Hall. Although it alluded to the original 1951 Festival the event did not overtly celebrate it. Newspaper articles about this event even lament the lack of connection to the Festival of Britain by Southbank Centre; for example one journalist commented, 'It's a struggle to equate this scruffy patch of grass with the post-war pageant that saw 8m people tramping in and out of gaudy show pavilions, under garlands of patriotic bunting, twinkling lights and fountains fizzing with gas flames.' (Gillilan, 2001: 1).

It was not until Jude Kelly's appointment in 2005 that the ideals of the Festival of Britain began to be unambiguously mobilised. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, I argue that in part this strategy can be seen as a way to deal with a period of instability, austerity and increasingly unrestrained cuts to the arts. One cultural worker in 2015 suggests that the promotion of a festival based way of working was in order to 'survive' which was a growing concern for arts organisations at the beginning of the 21st Century, and continues to be today.

> The Festival Methodology… gives us permission to reinvent ourselves, it's more resilient so maybe there's a message in terms of cuts to arts funding … which is about resilience, festivalness as resilience…part of it is the ability to be many different things, to make yourself open and therefore survive. (P4)

The original Festival of Britain also took place in a time of austerity, but was founded upon social democratic principles and intended as a celebration of democracy, equality and progress for all. The idea put forward by this cultural worker of 'festivalness as resilience' is one example of an intangible legacy that permeates discourses of cultural workers today. However this legacy might also be mapped onto contemporary neoliberal 'resilience'. Today's focus on resilience in the political sphere is a deliberate attempt to place responsibility on the individual rather than society, to shift the pressure onto individuals to adapt and respond in an 'appropriate' way to their personal situation, and to be able to recover from setbacks independently rather than looking to the state for social or economic support (Joseph, 2013). This is a symptomatic feature of a post-Fordist society (Amin, 1994, Gabriel and Lang, 2006) and of the 'New Economy' (Ross, 2008, Murray, 1988) characterised by more risk and less security for the individual worker. The categorisation of resilience and self-reliance as a good thing for an

[62] https://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/about/what-we-do/history-southbank-centre

individual to possess has been linked to neoliberal ideologies around restructuring and cuts to state involvement and social services, although simultaneously discourses around resilience are used by community activist organisations (Cretney,2014) Resilience is, in other words, a very loaded term.

Ideologies of resilience can therefore be understood as being part of a wider culture of the prevalence of 'self-care', 'self-help' and the promotion of the responsibility of the individual, and especially women, to develop and improve themselves, which Gill and Orgad theorise has led to a 'cult(ure) of confidence' (Gill and Orgad, 2016). The ways in which resilience and confidence impacts the production of the self in the workplace for cultural workers today is explored in Chapter 6. The drive towards the promotion of self-help and resilience can be seen as part of a wider government agenda to shift the burden of risk onto the individual and promote self- employment and an enterprise mind-set. This shift towards encouraging an 'entrepreneurial' attitude offers ideals of progress, innovation and yet the perceived security of continued connection with a collective past (Corner and Harvey, 1991: 72). The mobilisation of legacies connected to the Festival of Britain in 1951 by Southbank Centre can be understood as an example of an organisation needing to draw upon its own bank of emotive legacies in order to survive in a challenging climate.

As argued throughout this chapter, references to these affective, intangible legacies of the 1951 Festival resonate through comments by cultural workers interviewed for this PhD project. They provide a live and personal insight into how these legacies colour the experience of working for this organisation.

> To me it is, I'm not just saying this because I work here, it was a place I hugely admired before I worked here, in terms of its generosity of spirit and the way everybody is able to reinvent it a little bit, for it to be what they want it to be almost. (P1)

In this quote a worker in the Development department in 2015 reflects on her reasons for joining the organisation with reference to 'its generosity of spirit' and presents an idealised vision of the organisation as being something that 'everybody is able to reinvent a little bit', linking to the ideals of collaboration, optimism and unity that were a core part of the original Festival's ethos. This is one example of the powerful use of Festival of Britain ideologies to promote the organisation and recruit individuals who ally their own ethos to one of individual participation and empowerment. A further cultural worker in the Education Department in 2015 also talked about why he was interested in working for Southbank Centre

> I think it's a place that people have an emotional attachment to, whether that's prior to working here, or whether it's once they get here and it gets under their skin. It's a very particular place and I think people are very aware on one level or another of the site's history (P13)

As can be seen from the quote above, a strong emotional and even embodied connection to the history of the organisation is evident, whether this affiliation is something that individuals are aware of or perhaps unconsciously informs their work. This member of staff also alludes to ideas around a connection to the organisation and its working practices being passed down through collective memory.

There is clear evidence of conscious attempts by the organisation to promote this sense of belonging and connectedness to the original Festival ideals. These range from recruitment processes and practices (which are analysed in Chapter 6), to events organised for current staff. For example, one interviewee told me about a new initiative launched in 2015, a celebration of staff at Southbank Centre called 'Festival of Us'

> Jude and her team have decided that we're going to have an all-day staff festival…it's billed as being a very democratic day, and the purpose of it is that we can present and perform stuff that we want to do that think we think our colleagues might to be interested in. (P8)

This event can be understood as a deliberate attempt to illuminate and actively reproduce Festival of Britain ideals around participation and access, through encouraging staff to experience and produce art. So, for example staff performed on the stage, shared art projects and shared a meal

> Quite soon after I started we had Festival of Us here which is for Southbank Centre staff so everyone's got a day off work kind of, and we all ate together and there was a choir. I learned a new dance move on the QEH stage actually! (P7)

There is an interesting layer of self-reflection and awareness here of the deliberate attempt by the organisation to foster a sense of belonging when the cultural worker talks about 'everyone's got a day off work, kind of'. She demonstrates understanding that although this day was billed as an opportunity for 'enjoyment and engagement', there was obviously an underlying motivation from the organisation around developing a sense of belonging and connectedness.

This particular practice in terms of constructing a shared sense of belonging and encouraging staff to engage with the organisation on a deeper level seems to have been effective for one member of the ticketing team I interviewed

> This is an inspiring place that's what I'm trying to say. I at least come here and think, wow what must it be like to be on that stage? What do these people do? What is the magic of how you become somebody who can sell tickets to the public? What is it that makes performance art? (P8)

As discussed earlier there are important historical moments in the construction of this emotional attachment. For some staff interviewed, their attachment to the organisation was forged through personal memories passed down through family

> My dad came to the Festival of Britain, the original, and I remember him telling me about that and being very excited because he saw a trapeze artist walk across the Thames and he said it was the most amazing thing he had ever seen. He was 6 years old so it was unreal to him. (P10)

This is an example of the importance of what Samuel calls 'history from below' which is concerned with events which impact the lived experiences of individuals, as opposed to 'history from above' which normally includes narratives around public history, and the history of 'great events' (Samuel, 1989). It demonstrates a personal attachment to the organisation and a sense of passed-down idealism about the original Festival of Britain. A senior member of the HR department at Southbank Centre confirmed that this affection was something prevalent amongst staff

> In exit interviews we ask people why they're leaving, and the destination and the site really comes up... We have a lot of people who feel very emotional about the place, and for me that is slightly unusual…but we do have a lot of people here who don't feel that they can necessarily work anywhere else. (P3)

This worker compared it to other contexts and concludes that the depth of attachment to this organisation, manifesting in the fact that they 'have a lot of people who feel very emotional' about working at Southbank Centre is 'slightly unusual' and that individuals are committed to working for the institution above other arts and cultural centres. The affective nature of work in the service and cultural and creative industries is analysed in the last chapter of this thesis.

Many Southbank Centre staff talked about the original Festival in positive ways, and as linked to its potential to have an emotional impact upon visitors, specifically around participation and access

> I know very much that the ethos we have now carries on what was hoped at the time of the Festival of Britain to make art available to everyone, to create this massive festival to cheer people up after the war and to invite everybody in, not just the people that would normally engage in art but that everyone would engage with it. (P9)

This is one example of the ways in which cultural workers at Southbank Centre make direct links between a romanticised notion of the Festival of Britain and the special effect this heritage has had upon the current Southbank Centre site. There is evidence here that the original Festival is reproduced and repackaged by the organisation to feed into its practices around audience engagement and participation. It is apparent that there is an expectation by the organisation that staff will internalise this ethos and work to mobilise it. For example the Southbank Centre website states that, 'Our employees are at the centre of delivering our mission, which is to create a permanent sense of festival where the world meets to celebrate the power of the imagination.'[63] In short, the reanimation of the Festival of Britain ideals is a conscious strategy deployed by the organisation to promote an atmosphere of togetherness for workers as well as visitors.

'Temporary structures and constant renewal': enterprise and innovation

Fig 5.8 One of several temporary art installations on the Southbank Centre site in January 2018[64]

A further legacy from the original Festival which links to ideas around continual animation and the concept of enterprise are the ongoing use of pop-up arts, design and commercial enterprises. A cultural worker from Visitor Services commented on his understanding of the ways in which the current way of working at Southbank Centre differs to post- Festival of Britain 1950s practices.

> But also, it was a very different model back then. It was just a concert hall. Now we're a festival site…over half of our activities are free so you'll see installations and slides outside and choirs singing and all sorts, which you didn't see back then. (P15)

[63] https://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/about/jobs%20
[64] Photo by Kathy Williams

This cultural worker mentions ‘installations and slides outside and choirs singing’ as examples of temporary happenings at the organisation. He also enmeshes this with the free offering from the organisation, perhaps unconsciously linking back to Festival of Britain ideals around allowing members of the public access to playful and whimsical artistic cultural experiences that they would not have encountered otherwise.

A cultural worker, who although only worked for the organisation for a relatively short period of about a year was very connected to the site through his professional practice as an artist and educator, also mentions this democratic ideal of enabling visitors to encounter the unexpected

> What’s fantastic about the legacy of the site is that in 1951, it was about everybody and it was about all things, and it wasn’t just about the arts and those things co-existed and you came here and you could bump into something else. For me that’s the nub of what makes this place very magical. (P13)

The image of the original Festival being about ‘all things’ and allowing individuals to ‘bump into something else’ being carried forward into working practices at the organisation today is indicative of the organisation’s promotion of its commitment to access to the arts. This can be understood as an example of what Massey terms ‘the productiveness of spatiality’ or a moment when chance meetings allow for something novel and a potential reimagining of space and social relations (Massey, 2005: 94).

There is ample evidence that embedded within working practices at Southbank Centre is the promotion of opportunities for visitors for joining in with artistic performances and other cultural events

> With WOW… we do thing like pop-ups, so not necessarily making the site attractive through static things, but pop-up performances or workshops, or a feeling that there’s always something going on and that you can join in is really important. (P5)

This echoes Jude Kelly’s description of her role as a theatrical director rather than a static artistic curator of the site and demonstrates that the ideology behind the Festival Methodology is reproduced by cultural workers in discourses around working practices at the organisation.

There is an interesting duality to the use of the legacies of the original festival as related to enterprise. In one sense the Festival Methodology itself is an enterprise. It is

simultaneously constructed as a democratic tactic which enables the survival of the arts organisation, but it is also indicative of the institution being heavily influenced by the current neoliberal, commercialised and consumerist episteme. The Festival Methodology is indicative of the tension between these two imperatives.

'Collective enjoyment' and 'a place to play and dream': a space for fun

As discussed earlier, the original Festival of Britain aimed to uplift its visitors and take them away from their everyday lives. This connects to ideas around liminality as places outside of normal constraints and cultural norms (Gornastaev and Campbell, 2012, Langman and Cangemi, 2003, Lloyd, 2006, Preston Whyte, 2004, Shields, 1991, Turner, 1974, Zukin, 1991) and can also be seen as a function of the Festival Methodology; to generate experimental, 'out of the ordinary' experiences. One cultural worker talked about the ways in which the ethos of the organisation mirrors that of the Festival Britain

> I think that people enjoy going out, and it's to get away from all that sort of doom and gloom and then they come into this sort of fantasy world almost. (P11)

Actively constructing, or re-constructing, the original ideals of the Festival as welcoming, friendly and inviting are apparent in the ways in which cultural workers talk about their current working practices. For example a senior member of staff talks about his staff and the ways in which he would like them to be viewed by the public

> To quote Jude, my vision for certainly the role of a duty manager and their assistant managers, is they're like the Mayor of Southbank Centre and everyone knows them. And that then, sometimes when they have to deliver bad news like this space is closed today or something's been cancelled, it's coming from somebody that people know, and not from this sort of corporate manager in a suit. (P20)

This whimsical notion of the 'Mayor of Southbank Centre' connects to the paternalistic ideals of the original Festival in terms of it being 'a tonic to the nation' or something to cheer people up and make them feel welcomed, and proud. As Littler argues in the original Festival Britain was represented as being whimsically small, quaint and homely with references to small village life, (Littler, 2006: 11-12) in part this camouflaged discourses around the greatness of the British nation, concealing this rhetoric with apparent self-conscious modesty (Littler, 2006: 17).

A member of staff in the artistic programming team indicated that she believes the festivals aid with enjoyment of the site

> I think people feel comfortable here, and the festivals have really helped with that because they come and everyone's relaxed and on the whole having a good time, and that really helps I think. Whereas if you go to other art centres or galleries, you don't necessarily get that atmosphere of being comfortable straight away, or you don't really … you might come here and not know what's going on, but you know that you can get involved, I think, which is the difference. (P5)

For this cultural worker, the Festival Methodology is key in enabling individuals to 'have a good time' to 'be comfortable' and feel encouraged to get involved. This is a further example of the ways in which layers of histories are mobilised in the present.

'The aspiration to forge a new world': a space for debate

The potential uses of festivals as catalysts for social change is something not extensively analysed in festival studies literature. For Bakhtin carnival can be groundbreaking and a setting in which issues such as gender, ethnicity, class and inequality can be tackled and frustrations can be aired. He asserts that the carnivalesque in literature subverts norms by: bringing improbable combinations of individuals together, allowing normally intolerable behaviour to be tolerated, entities which would normally not combine can do so; and sacrilege can go unpunished (Bakhtin, 1984). Furthermore, for Massey, understanding space as open allows understanding of both history as open and the potential for multiple, plural futures to coexist (Massey, 2005: 59). This notion of differing ideas being brought into the open at Southbank Centre and debated freely is something that cultural workers allude to:

> We're a forward-thinking arts organisation, that's using cultural context to debate difficult social issues. So, issues of gender, issues of diversity, and issues of disability. Looking at things like death…Children's rights…So it's providing almost like a neutral space where people can come together and have a conversation, but in a cultural context. (P21)

The senior member of staff quoted here has been working at Southbank Centre for twenty years and worked through periods of extensive change at the organisation. His understanding of the organisation today is that it is a space where 'difficult social issues' can be debated, a 'neutral space' for people to meet and talk.

Another senior member of staff who has worked for the organisation for thirty years argues that this is due to the implementation of the Festival Methodology by Jude Kelly, as well as to changes in the social and political climate and the ways in which arts organisations are funded.

> Jude has politicised for starters. So we're pushing for, Women of the World, we're pushing for equality… in the old days, we weren't allowed to be political at all. There was a fear, I think, of upsetting the mandarins in Whitehall, because of funding… but now that fear of being political and therefore getting retribution from government, is dispelled by the fact that we're less dependent on the government. (P11)

An interesting idea from this quote is around 'retribution from the government' and this worker believes that the organisation is freed somewhat from allegiance to the current government due to changes in funding. The organisations' turbulent relationship with various governments has been touched upon elsewhere in this thesis and it is evident that it is a space which although not 'neutral' is not restrained politically, perhaps in the way it once was. This can also be seen as symptomatic of the position of arts organisations in the context of austerity politics and cuts to support for the arts, and as related to the earlier discussion around resilience and neoliberalism.

Cohen debates the ways in which carnival can be understood symbolically and the possibilities for stimulating political thought and opinion within these social spaces, specifically through resistance and rebellion (Cohen 1982). The idea of rebellion is traced back to work by architects who were part of the building of the original Festival of Britain site (including the Royal Festival Hall) and then worked on the Queen Elizabeth Hall and Purcell Rooms in the 1960s by one cultural worker whose work focuses on telling the story of the heritage of the Southbank Centre site

> One story I keep thinking about is that some of the panels cast like wood have stones thrown into them…actually those slightly ugly panels are a symbol of a compromise. Young architects designed those buildings, they really wanted it to be… a new way of making buildings and their boss said no way, buildings should be made of stone and he redesigned the buildings.
>
> They went on strike and the compromise was that they put Cornish stone into some of the panels. So they're a sign of rebellion and someone pushing the boundaries and winning…I like the idea of how we can find another few touch points like that to symbolise some of the ideology behind the site and make people look afresh at things. (P4)

Fig. 5.9 Example of the many 'concrete panels' at Southbank Centre in 2018[65]

In this quote she is talking about the artists, designers and architects associated with both the Festival of Britain and the 1960s architecture on the site (The Queen Elizabeth Hall, Purcell Room and Hayward Gallery) and the idea of debate, rebellion and compromise being central to processes in designing and constructing these buildings. This cultural worker in the heritage and participation department was very well versed in the ways in which the organisation is attempting to share narratives around its roots and re-tell stories that are important to its heritage. This echoes a cultural worker quoted earlier in this chapter talking about a lost democratic heritage which Southbank Centre aims to give back to 'the people'.

When I met Jude Kelly she also mentioned that she felt that festivals were opportunities to tie together the past, present and future and that her vision for the Southbank Centre site was that it would 'use the past to produce the future', she sees 'festival making as cultural activism' and that her mission as director was to foster the potential of the organisation to 'make people believe that humanity matters through culture'.[66]

[65] Photo by Kathy Williams

[66] Talk given by Jude Kelly to MA Education in Arts and Cultural Settings students on 07th October 2014.

Fig 5.10 'Bust of Nelson Mandela' outside the Royal Festival Hall by Ian Walters, placed here by the GLC in 1985[67]

Linked to the idea of the Festival Methodology providing a democratic platform for social grievances to be aired and for individuals to get their voice heard, the impact and legacy of Ken Livingstone's GLC is another important layer of the history of cultural work at Southbank Centre. This was discussed in depth in Chapter 4. For the purposes of this chapter through it is important to note that Livingstone's GLC explicitly promoted the rights of marginalised groups including unemployed people, minority ethnic groups, young people and subcultures, women, gay men, the elderly, and disabled people. Controversially for some at the time, sub-committees of the GLC focused on supporting these groups and developing resources to empower them (Mulgan and Worpole, 1986). The GLC placed the bust of Nelson Mandela in the photograph above outside the Royal Festival Hall in 1985. A press release from the time[68] stated that this was at a time when Nelson Mandela was imprisoned and classified as a terrorist by the Thatcher government. It was not until 2007 that a bust of Mandela was placed in Parliament Square. Ten years later a theatrical performance during the London Literature Festival/ Africa Utopia 2017 based on

[67] Photo by Kathy Williams

[68] A GLC Press Release in the London Metropolitan Archives dated 25 October 1985 by the then Mayor Ken Livingstone states: "Nelson Mandela is a symbol of hope and strength for oppressed people throughout the world. His message and life-long commitment to the struggle for freedom of the majority of South Africans is shared and supported by this council. This bust will be viewed by millions of people each year and I hope it will help foster that message" (LMA, GLC Press Release no. 977a).

Dare Not Linger: The Presidential Years by Nelson Mandela [69] This is one example of the layers of history at the Southbank Centre site and how they interact and impact upon the practices and working lives of cultural workers.

There is evidence of the legacies both of the original Festival and the GLC period in the discourses of cultural workers at Southbank Centre today. Importantly though, the GLC period was referenced much less frequently that the Festival of Britain. For example a member of the artistic programming team at Southbank Centre commented on the legacy of the Festival of Britain and its implications specifically for Jude Kelly's flagship festival, WOW.

> In terms of WOW, the most direct legacy is the ideas around equality. So the Festival Britain, from what I understand, took that standpoint of equality …And WOW indirectly carries that on, because of the way that we're structured, not only to talk about gender and women's rights, but also to look at intersectionality within that. So thinking about race, thinking about class, disability, people from refugee backgrounds or migrant backgrounds. So it's very, very important to Jude and to the team that WOW exemplifies that legacy in a way that is real and engages communities very directly. (P5)

This cultural worker evidences one of the ways in which legacies of the Festival of Britain are actively used in programming approaches. Her reference to 'intersectionality' furthermore links to more recent layers in the history of Southbank Centre, as mentioned above, although she did not refer to the impact of the GLC at any point during her interview. Consciously intersectional (please see literature review for further explanation and analysis of this term and its inception) approaches permeate the programming of WOW Festival today. For example the 2018 Festival includes a *WOW Book Club: Sister Outsider, by Audre Lorde* event [70] and as mentioned previously many cultural workers specify intersectionality as being key to the programming of this particular festival. Additionally it is apparent in festival marketing materials. Related events at Southbank Centre in 2018 which encourage intersectional approaches include an 'International Activism' event in which participants can 'hear leading international change makers speak about how you can turn local activism into global solidarity' and opens with a keynote from Li Maizi, part of 'China's Feminist Five' a group who were arrested for planning a protest about sexual harassment on public transport. [71] I would argue that whilst this programming is indicative of contemporary revival of feminism it also indicates longer spatial legacies at Southbank Centre.

---

[69] https://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/whats-on/121157-nelson-mandela-presidential-years-2017
[70] https://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/whats-on/126923-wow-book-club-sister-outsider-audre-lorde-2018#events
[71] https://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/whats-on/126402-international-activism-2018#events

Legacies of the 1951 festival are actively re-produced through artistic programming approaches at Southbank Centre today. This cultural worker demonstrates an explicit commitment to endeavouring to enable equality in terms of a platform for differing opinions as well as weaving this into the fabric of the design of the festivals themselves.

> We do think-ins which bring, very intentionally, lots of different kinds of people together in a room to talk about what a festival could look like. And we do take a lot of the ideas forward, but also there's a huge amount of value in just that gathering- in allowing people to meet people that they haven't necessarily met before, and make their voices heard, sometimes for the first time, which is really powerful. (P5)

This cultural worker also talked about the ways in which such a methodology can potentially clash with ideas discussed previously around providing opportunities for 'comfort' and 'fun'.

> WOW has really tried to address the intersection between race and gender quite specifically. And that is uncomfortable for a lot of people, and within WOW we try and create a space where you can have those conversations without feeling stupid, or you can ask questions. (P5)

There is evidence here of a commitment to debate; to exploring differences of opinion and difficult subjects, even if this is 'uncomfortable for a lot of people'. This shows the possible ways in which some of the heritage of the original Festival can collide with each other, and the ongoing need for negotiation in terms of how the space at Southbank Centre is produced and constructed. The complexity of working within an organisation with an incredibly rich and yet contested history and heritage is evident in the discourses of cultural workers, and it is apparent that the legacies or the original Festival are now being mobilised in order to produce and promote Southbank Centre as a site for debate beyond that of the original Festival of Britain, in terms of gender and 'race'.

'A gigantic church hall': participation and access

The sign from *The Story of 51* exhibition in the Royal Festival Hall ends with a direct address to its readers, and a number of cultural workers interviewed iterated that access and participation are key elements of Jude Kelly's Festival Methodology. One goes so far as to conceive of the Royal Festival Hall as 'a gigantic church hall'

> And I love the fact that in some ways we're like a gigantic church hall, where anyone can rock up and have their knitting club or do yo-yoing…it's one of the few organisations that gives access to the arts... I genuinely believe that. (P1)

This directly links to Festival of Britain ideals about 'anyone being able to turn up' to the festival and to experience the cultural experiences available- as well as the original Festival not being just about the arts, but about celebrating the potential of everyday lives of individuals in post-war Britain. The worker quoted here conveys that she believes that people feel comfortable taking part in a whole variety of activities in the Royal Festival Hall, from knitting to yo-yoing, and this supports the argument that ideals from the 1951 Festival are explicitly mobilised by the organisation, and then internalised and voiced by its employees.

A worker from the artistic programming team also talked about this drive to encourage participation at Southbank Centre in practical terms

> Sometimes it's just the economics, simply getting here is quite hard for some of the audiences we're trying to reach. Also you know, as much as we try and make it feel like a very open and welcoming space, for some people it is still quite an intimidating arts centre. They might not feel it's for them. And so we do a lot of work in the lead up to WOW engaging with those … we target specific communities very directly and try and work with our participation team to make them feel as welcome as they can. (P5)

In this quote she outlines policies and practices related to targeting communities and inviting them to participate with current festivals. This demonstrates one of the ways in which heritage connected to the Festival of Britain are utilised for both democratic and participatory purposes as well as marketing purposes. The 'think-in' model described earlier constitutes part of this process.

> It can be as simple as inviting them to the think-ins, meeting them beforehand to show them around and make them feel comfortable in the space. Following up with them afterwards and then offering them tickets to come to the actual festival, so that there's a full journey involved in engaging with the programme. (P5)

There is evidently an attempt towards a 'full journey' of participatory engagement for marginalised communities imbricated with the Festival Methodology which again connects back to original Festival of Britain ideals about enabling access and participation in the arts and culture to individuals from all walks of life. But cultural working practices at Southbank Centre can also be understood as in some ways moving beyond the democratic ideals of the 1951 Festival, specifically as related to

ethnicity, sexuality and gender. This demonstrates the influence of and fusion with other legacies, most importantly those of the GLC, although this legacy often goes unnamed.

A cultural worker in the heritage and participation department reflected on the differences between practices at Southbank Centre and other organisations.

> And I think that real commitment to openness of interpretation and to who tells the story and who helps interpret things is starting to happen in more traditional historic places but often it's quite niche. It's like 'young people did this over here look at it' rather than it being embedded. I like to think here we're looking at working towards something where you don't really know what was done with people and what was done solely by professionals because it's seamless. (P4)

In this comment the member of staff communicates that there is now a commitment to participation being 'embedded' at Southbank Centre through artistic practice which involve community members in the production or art. She also goes on to describe an experience of visiting Southbank Centre before she started working for the organisation

> And I just remember coming here soon after the refurbishment, they had an installation called The Play Orchestra, you could sit on a chair and you could hear what it sounded like to be in an orchestra playing back, taken apart. That just seemed to be a really clever participatory light touch thing that everyone could get engaged with, which seemed to say something, a statement about the site and where it was going. (P1)

Archiving heritage

Fig 5.12 The Archive Studio in the Royal Festival Hall in 2017 [72]

Today the heritage and legacy of the 1951 Festival are being mobilised at Southbank Centre through the current focus on developing archival policies and practices. This process began formally in 2015 using Heritage Lottery Funding as part of the 'Saving Southbank Centre's 60's Buildings Project' or what is known as the 'Let the Light In campaign'[73] to rejuvenate and restore the Queen Elizabeth Hall, Purcell Room and Hayward Gallery. The project was completed in 2018, with the Hayward Gallery reopening first on 25th January 2018. As stated on the Southbank Centre website the archive materials are organised around a number of key themes which include: 'the 1951 Festival of Britain; 20th and 21st century design and architecture; 20th century artistic practice: innovation, excellence and inclusion; public participation: cultural, political, commercial and charitable events'[74] A member of staff working closely with the

[72] Photo by Kathy Williams
[73] https://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/support/support-us/make-difference/let-the-light-in
[74] https://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/venues/archive-studio

archive project commented that for her the design of the studio itself and its presence in the Royal Festival Hall demonstrates a commitment to democratic access

> And I think also having this space is interesting, the archive studio. It's beautiful, the way it's been designed to look like an archive, its archive steel shelving and actual archive boxes and it's great because it opens conversations about what an archive is and does really help to demystify archives a bit. Because they are by their nature quite mysterious things, they're usually stored away behind the scenes. (P7)

For this cultural worker the placing of the studio 'opens conversations' and helps ''demystify' something that is 'usually… behind the scenes' and connects to Festival of Britain ideals around making these resources accessible to the wider public.

The same worker reflected in more depth on the aims and objectives of the archive, as connected to its collecting policy and what it stores and makes available

> It feeds into the whole work we're doing around drafting the collecting policy, to what extent this is an institution, a corporate body. Yes, we're collecting the records of the organisation but… we've traditionally collected a lot of people's written reminiscences and things like that. We will collect things like participatory artworks, so it's democracy again, whose archive is this, is this the corporate archive of Southbank Centre or is it actually the archive of everyone who comes through this space? It's a bit of both, it's somewhere in the middle but we need to start defining those things. (P7)

As evident in *The Story of '51* exhibition which provides framing for this chapter 'people's written reminiscences' are central to current heritage production practices at Southbank Centre. The Festival Methodology can be seen as a deliberate attempt to produce emotive responses in visitor and therefore encourage a strong sense of place. For Bagnall, the ways in which visitors engage with heritage sites is based both on imaginative and emotional responses as well as cognitive. Personal stories and memories are a key way in which to enable this response and connection to heritage sites (Bagnall, 2003: 87).

As connected to ideals around participation this worker also talked about planned initiatives to involve volunteers in sorting and arranging the archives as a way in which to integrate artistic engagement

> Another thing we're trialling soon, and this is really out there, but it's the idea of sing and sort. So we're trialling it with our voice lab choir first before opening it up more publicly. A lot of material is unsorted so we like the idea of trying to

> have some kind of sorting activity but which is also a singing workshop. Not sure exactly how it's going to work yet but it'll be good fun! (P7)

This is an example of an actively produced re-constructing of the legacy of the original Festival of Britain commitment to democratic access. In this example it manifests through a focus on accessibility within the collecting policy, and initiatives relating to its sorting and organising. This member of staff described some ways in which the artistic practices connected to the archive are attempting to 'push the boundaries' of what would normally be associated with archive work

> Quite soon after I started we had Festival of Us here which is for Southbank Centre staff…What I ended up doing was using some of our duplicate archive material to make paper puppets with a guy called Richard Hay who's one of our volunteer co-ordinators. He has a theatre company outside of work and he'd created this puppet out of newspaper for a show and just put a picture of it up on Twitter or something and it had gone viral.
>
> So we thought maybe we could reuse some of our duplicate archive material and the staff could make their own puppets out of archive material. And really there was nothing wrong with that at all, we would have recycled a lot of the stuff otherwise and it wasn't particularly sensitive or confidential, we had multiple copies of things. But still the idea of taking a pair of scissors to this stuff and making it into something else was a bit unsettling! (P7)

There is evidence of commitment to involving members of the public in creating and then archiving contemporary art works

> We're working with volunteers to put together a display exploring the history of women at Southbank Centre. Over the WOW weekend there are various theme collectives and theme makers coming in to the marketplace. We're hoping to run workshops where people can drop in and make a zine collaboratively about women's history at Southbank Centre. Then I would like to add the finished product to the archives so it works both ways. (P7)

In short, archival practices at Southbank centre explicitly draw from Festival of Britain ideals of democracy and participation, as the above example makes clear. Again though there is tension with neoliberal issues and questions around free labour.

Conclusion: Implications of the festival methodology

In conclusion, at Southbank Centre today specific legacies are mobilised in relation to the original Festival ideals. These include ideologies around enterprise and innovation, enabling sociability, enjoyment, festivity and fun for visitors, as well encouraging the

carnivalesque and conversations that aim to bring about social change through participation. There is clear evidence of commitment to the above in the discourses of cultural workers. However there are tensions between these ideologies and the contemporary neoliberal environment in which Southbank Centre operates. In effect in many ways the original Festival has been commercialised and the mobilisation of legacies connected to it by Southbank Centre can be understood as an example of an organisation needing to draw upon its own bank of emotive legacies in order to survive in a challenging climate.

The final part of this chapter continues the discussion around which histories are marginalised or excluded from current discourses and practices, as well as which are repurposed for contemporary means, and what impact this has upon theorisations of space and of cultural work. In the process the final segment of this chapter discusses some of the limitations to the Festival Methodology, particularly in terms of its claims to provide an open platform for debate and cultural activism. As Massey argues, the conceptualisation of space as multitudinous and subject to constantly ongoing re-workings, and interrelations, as being constantly constructed and produced as not fixed or static necessitates negotiation (Massey, 2005: 141) and the following analyses the challenges of this negotiation in more depth. Certain forms of heritage are privileged at Southbank Centre today, in particular the reanimating of a democratic heritage in which access for all is encouraged. However the extent to which this revival is achieved is contestable. Undoubtedly Southbank Centre encourages huge amounts of visitors each year, with recent estimates being almost 3.5 million (Association of London Visitor Attractions, 2018[75]) but sheer footfall number does not necessarily indicate sustained commitment by the organisation to enable meaningfully diverse engagement with arts and culture. (There has been much analysis of how to enable this engagement, which I will not go into here but for example please see Hooper-Greenhill, 1992, Simon, 2010).

To return to Bakhtin, it is evident that some social norms are overturned by festivals at Southbank Centre through its programing of talks and debates about topics that would not normally be tackled at an arts centre. There is also evidence that, for example with the WOW Festival process of think-ins involving the local community, some of Southbank Centre's working practices are becoming globally influential models. However, to continue to speak to Bakhtin's theorisations of the carnivalesque, the

[75] http://www.alva.org.uk/details.cfm?p=423

likelihood of improbable combinations of individuals being brought together and therefore new voices being given a platform cannot necessarily be taken as a given. It is not necessarily the case that individuals who would not normally participate in the arts and or cultural activism are actually encouraged to through the Festival Methodology.

The original Festival was not just a cultural event based in London but involved happenings all over the UK, and there, as discussed earlier in this chapter there is evidence of commitment to this outreach at Southbank Centre currently. However it is something that some cultural workers pointed to as a challenge for the organisation

> Because there is such a strong sense of place here and the work we do here feels so strongly rooted in place… how you take it out is a really difficult thing to think about. But I think getting to grips with that and almost what are the elements that make something distinct to a Southbank Centre festival that you can recycle. (P1)

A crucial issue being negotiated through the construction of differing heritage is around the ways in which the Festival Methodology itself embraces enterprise and by extension of this commercialism and commodification. This can be understood as a wider approach to heritage in recent years. As discussed earlier, discourses around 'heritage' and 'enterprise' were increasingly mobilised from the 1980s. This was a deliberate drive to concurrently promote, utilise and popularise heritage and at the same time use an entrepreneurial and competitive mind-set (Corner and Harvey, 1991). Hewison famously decried the British 'heritage industry' for sanitising the past and masking present social issues in order to marketise the heritage experience (Hewison, 1987: 97). Both Hewison and Corner and Harvey are mainly writing about heritage experience attractions and Southbank Centre's use of the Festival of Britain is different, although it uses strands of this practice. There are varied ways in which the Festival of Britain is now being utilised by Southbank Centre as an enterprise in itself and as a profit maker, as I explored in more depth in Chapters 4 and 6 and as we have seen in this chapter. This layer of history permeates worker discourses. For example, during the WOW Festival the 'WOW Market' is constructed in the discourses of cultural workers as a focal point for the festival and a successful entity in itself

> There are ways of demarcating [space], and we do this as well with the WOW Market, to put it all along the foyer, all along level two and make it feel really busy and animated. (P12)

The Southbank Centre WOW market is described as providing opportunities for organisations involved in the festival to 'provide information, raise awareness, showcase work, offer workshops and sell their creations' as well as 'the perfect space to get information, do some shopping, network with others and get a feel for the festival' with the opportunity for shopping interwoven into this experience and presented as part of the experience or 'feel' of the festival. [76] This links to earlier discussion around the emotional appeal of the Festival Methodology and can be understood as a marketing ploy to encourage connection to the site through consumption.

Although there have been widely publicised incidences in which the commercialisation of space at Southbank Centre has been overtly contested- for example the attempt to move the skateboarding community from the Undercroft and turn this area into retail units, which is discussed in the previous chapter- overall Southbank Centre does openly promote this integration of enterprise and commercialism with democratic artistic programming.

> Our festivals are characterised by a fruitful integration of commercial activity with art. Besides ensuring the financial sustainability of our ambitious programme, our commercial partners are actively involved in bringing our festivals to life - from populating the site with pop-ups, to tying in their offerings with our festival themes and connecting with different communities.' (SBC, 2015: 2)

A cultural worker in the Commercial team talked about this negotiation between what could be understood as differing priorities in a positive sense

> What's really exciting is finding things that aren't just profitable but also creative and also fit in with the whole outlook of everything. It's about creating a melting pot of commercial/artistic. (P12)

This is one way in which the heritage of the original Festival of Britain can be understood as being appropriated for the contemporary commercial purposes of the organisation rather than being adhered to faithfully in terms of democratic access. The original Festival although committed to celebrating innovation, was not commercialised, branded and commodified in the way that the Southbank Centre site is today.

It is therefore evident that some strands of heritage are popularised at Southbank Centre whilst others are marginalised. The legacy of the original Festival of Britain is

[76] https://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/whats-on/120301-wow-market-2017

visible both in material terms and in the discourses of a wide range of past and present cultural workers. However, this research has pinpointed two indicative examples of heritage which are not so widely publicised. The first of these is the history of the 1950s and a site which was a classical music driven elitist oasis, operating in an urban wasteland. Secondly the period in which the GLC had a huge impact both spatially and ideologically on the organisation is something only referred to by a handful of people interviewed for this research. The integration of the Festival Methodology since 2005 has taken the form of popularising its democratic access and simultaneously commercialising its legacy this takes working practices down one route in terms of mobilising and organising heritage, rather than others which might have been explored, produced and constructed by cultural workers today.

This chapter has provided a critical analysis of the layers of histories of cultural work and how they interact at Southbank Centre, as well as how they are mobilised and negotiated in the present. In the next chapter I analyse discourses of cultural workers in the present to unpick what these tell us about their lived, cognitive, emotional and bodily involvement with the co-production of affective visitor experience for the organisation.

Chapter 6. Collaborative Cultural Workers: The Emotional, Embodied, Co-Production of Affective Visitor Experience

Fig 6.1 Images of Southbank Centre in April 2018 following the rebranding of its visual identity in 2017-2018[77]

'I'm having fun! I'm working, but I'm enjoying myself!'
(Southbank Centre *Concrete Dreams* exhibition facilitator/ tour leader, 19th April 2018)

This chapter scrutinises the present moment of cultural work and the production of space at Southbank Centre. In order to do so it analyses contemporary and historical working practices at the organisation, in relation to the themes of emotional labour (Hochschild, 1983), embodied work and the co-production of affective visitor experience. The quote at the start of this chapter in which a cultural worker described her job as 'fun' and 'enjoyable' is an example of the way in which emotional labour at this organisation has become calibrated through particular feelings like 'enjoyment', 'fun' and 'love'. Connected to this, the various images above from Southbank Centre's rebranding demonstrate its new (from 2017-2018) black, white, grey and yellow colour scheme. What cannot be seen clearly in these images is that the Visitor Experience Host sitting at the new information and welcome desk at the terrace

[77] Photos by Kathy Williams

entrance to the Royal Festival Hall is also physically in keeping with the new visual identity of the organisation. All Hosts, including the tour leader quoted above, now have their clothing, and by extension their bodies, branded in the same way and wear black clothing and a black t-shirt with 'Southbank Centre' in yellow on the front and back. The tensions between ideas around being personally and emotionally connected - 'loving work' - and yet needing to internalise, embody and promote the value system and ethos of the organisations are investigated in this chapter. As analysed in the previous chapter, cultural workers at Southbank Centre are expected to work with both material and immaterial legacies, and the following discussion explores how these legacies are put to work in emotive, affective terms.

This chapter argues that, although individualised emotional labour, or labour which requires managing one's own emotions in order to create the 'right' kind of outward appearance (Hochschild, 1983) is required at Southbank Centre in a variety of roles, collaborative working is also presented as necessary, and has complex politics. In large part this collective working was engendered, and managed through Jude Kelly's Festival Methodology (2011-2018) which required teams from different departments across the organisation to work closely together, as well as with external cultural workers and members of the public, to coordinate, produce, manage and deliver more than 14 annual festivals and series. Also, because of the multidisciplinary nature of many of Southbank Centre's festivals there is active engagement from staff from different departments. These ways of working represent a different model to individualised, competitive practices that are often associated with the cultural and creative industries.

This chapter connects most directly with my third research question, *what are some of the key influences upon cultural work practices at Southbank Centre in the present?* It poses questions such as: how have histories of emotional labour, embodied work and the co-production of experience impacted on contemporary cultural work at Southbank Centre? To what extent do cultural workers appear to cooperate with the espoused emotional value system of the organisation? What does analysis of the discourses of cultural workers in the present tell us about their lived, cognitive, emotional and bodily involvement with the co-production of affective visitor experience? In order to being to unpack these questions and analyse how emotional and affective labour functions here, some discussion of the key concept of *governmentality* and its implications for theorising cultural work is needed.

For the purposes of this research governmentality is understood as the combined effect of organisations and strategies which enable various institutions to exercise power over the population generally and the lives of individuals (Foucault, 1991), or those 'technologies of power, which determine the conduct of individuals and submit them to certain ends or domination, an objectivising of the subject' (Foucault 1988: 18), which for example includes schools, universities, workplaces and other social institutions. To put it another way, it describes the influencing of individual lives by numerous, varied social forces, rather than a singular authority (Banks, 2007: 42). There are three key ways in which this is played out: firstly public institutions now utilise approaches to govern the private lives of individuals; secondly, other social and cultural organisations aim to manage individuals by using knowledge about the individual to mold them to the objectives of those organisations; thirdly, there are new professional associations which claim to be specialists in these fields. For example, in the context of work, Human Resources and Personnel management departments (Rose, 1989:1-2). For Rose these governmental strategies depend on the collection of data about myriad aspects of human life from birthdate to diet, marriage status, financial situation and so on, as well as the codification of human psychology or 'of the knowledgeable management of the depths of the human soul' in part through the development of psychology and psychotherapy (Rose, 1989: 7).

This is an important context when considering the lived experiences of cultural workers for cultural institutions like Southbank Centre. As Banks puts it, governmentality approaches argue that individual workers are affected by numerous influencing discourses, and they are also implicated in maintaining the circumstances of their subservience (Banks, 2007: 42). Cultural workers today operate within a wider culture of the prevalence of 'self-care', 'self-help' and the promotion of the responsibility of the individual, and especially women, to develop and improve themselves, which as Gill and Orgad have theorised has most recently led to a 'cult(ure) of confidence' (Gill and Orgad, 2016). Or as Segal puts it, 'we are told that we should personally work on ensuring our own contentment in every aspect of life' (Segal, 2017: 1). As I discussed in the introduction to this thesis, enterprise values have, at least since the 1980s, become dominant in Western society, and cultural workers have themselves become implicated in the perpetuation of these values (Banks, 2007 42-43, Rose, 1989). Creative industry jobs are promoted as being 'both good for the economy and also good for the self in that they offer enhanced opportunities for workers to obtain meaning self-fulfilment and personal autonomy'

(Banks, 2007:52) but this rhetoric positions responsibility for the management of the self firmly upon the shoulders of the individual.

For Segal, the importance of individual ethics, morals and political beliefs have been obscured by the rhetoric around self-fulfilment and in particular the push for people to 'choose happiness' and 'do what makes you happy' (Segal, 2017:2-3). Similarly, when analysing the 'do what you love' rhetoric in connection to 'passionate work' Marisol Sandoval argues that 'By mobilising the neoliberal dogma of self-help and individual responsibility 'do what you love' distracts from the need for structural change, shifting attention away from social problems to individual blame' (Sandoval, 2018:116) and therefore 'transfers the battleground from society onto the self' and 'favours self-management over politics' (Sandoval, 2018:120). Gill and Orgad focus on women in the workplace, and argue that the blame for inequality is posited as being located in women's minds and bodies and the idea sold to women is that they have the power to change things for themselves. As a result social and cultural institutions and structures are 'let off the hook' for their part in creating and perpetuating inequality. Norms of being reliant on others, and potentially needing protection and support to overcome setbacks are eradicated. At the same time distress caused by prejudice is silenced (Gill and Orgad, 2016: 338-339).

The result is the emergence of 'a neoliberal feminism that is complicit with rather than critical of patriarchal capitalism' (Gill and Orgad, 2016:340, see also McRobbie, 2009, Littler 2017). The norms of commercialism and capitalism encroach upon individuals lives in other ways too. For example increased amount of individual time and labour is now spent on improving the self, and competing rather than focused on developing society and connecting with others (Hope and Richards, 2015: 133). Individuals are incited to work on themselves, rather than in collaboration with others, and as such become significantly less powerful in relation to structural inequalities connected to gender, 'race' and economic status, as well as factors which affect individual lives such as environmental instability (Littler, 2017: 2).

Strategies used by social institutions organise individuals, and there has been an increasing push for self-management and regulation (Rose, 1989: 8, Sandoval, 2018). These 'self-improvements' are mobilised through 'technologies of the self', which permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and the way of being, so as to transform themselves' (Foucault 1988: 18), or 'techniques of the self, or the ways in which we are enabled, by means of the languages, criteria,

and techniques offered to us, to act upon our bodies, souls, thoughts, and conduct in order to achieve happiness, wisdom, health and fulfilment' (Rose, 1989: 11).

Bearing the above in mind, the ways in which 'individuals produce themselves in work' (Rose, 1989:116) at Southbank Centre is analysed in this chapter, alongside the ways in which individual cultural workers co-produce affective visitor experience with colleagues. The discussion therefore draws from relevant theories relating to the production of the self at work, specifically through the management of emotions, and the co-production of experience, and pushes them into new territory by looking at how the emotional, embodied co-production of affective visitor experience is organised at this cultural institution. It examines how cultural workers work together to produce space, in the process co-producing and monitoring emotions as a team. Within the workplace the self is performed through comparison to social norms and according modifications to our self-presentation (Rose, 1989: 11). This thesis argues that any cultural work itself is a performance, a communication of meaning and symbols in a specific arena. And, as discussed in the methodology, as Janet Newman asserts, that readings of discourses by individuals talking about their working lives serve to illuminate the ways in which 'the self is performed' (Newman, 2012: 192).

Discourses of cultural workers' presentation are therefore unpicked in this chapter in order to examine how changes and continuities in cultural working practices are connected to the production of space. This includes tracing the development of 'Customer Service' initiatives both within Southbank Centre and in the economy generally from around the 1980s onwards. Following this the move towards prioritising 'Visitor Experience' within the organisation, and the global emergence of the 'Experience Economy' (Pine and Gilmour, 1999) are examined. This analysis situates discussion of the ongoing impact of three key themes evident in discourses of current cultural workers for Southbank Centre: firstly drawing upon theories of emotional labour (Hochschild, 1983); secondly the embodiment of cultural work, utilising theory about the body at work (Lyon and Back, 2012, Hope and Richards, 2015), alongside ideas around work-as-performance (Pine and Gilmour, 1999, Lloyd, 2006); thirdly the co-production of affective visitor experience, which uses the theoretical lens of the valorising of immaterial and affective labour (Lazzarato, 1996, Dowling, Nunes and Trott, 2007, Dowling, 2007, 2012, Gill and Pratt, 2008, Hope and Richards, 2015). The ways in which the 'Visitor Experience' has historically been co-produced at Southbank Centre (or not) is analysed and then finally, this chapter investigates to what extent new forms of the co-production of affective experience

are evident in the organisation at the time of writing. Before this it is necessary to foreground the discussion with some working definitions of emotional, immaterial and affective labour, as well as to trace developments in thinking connected to customer service/ experience in the workplace.

Emotional, immaterial and affective labour

Three key concepts for this chapter, as previously discussed in the literature review are *emotional*, *immaterial* and *affective* labour. Emotional labour is primarily defined using Hochschild's theory, as that which 'requires one to induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others' and which involves 'the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display' (Hochschild, 1983: 7). Hochschild argues that this form of labour is a purposeful act which is intended to have deliberate effects, and something managed and mobilised by organisations from the top (Hochschild, 1983). Immaterial labour is defined as labour from which the outcome is, at least for the most part, a non-material service, product or communication (Lazzarato, 1996, Hardt and Negri, 2000, Gill and Pratt, 2008, Hope and Richards, 2015). It may involve tasks or activities which have not previously been recognised as 'work', for example defining and influencing trends in consumption and taste, and even producing ideologies (Lazzarato, 1996). For Lazzarato immaterial labour 'produces first and foremost a social relation- it produces not only commodities, but also the capital relation' (Lazzarato, 1996: 144). Affective labour is that in which the worker intends to create 'affect' for the customer i.e. work which has a cognitive, physiological, or emotive impact, or a mixture of one of more of these (Dowling, 2007, 2012, Dowling, Nunes and Trott, 2007).

Tracing the roots of customer service

As we saw previously in this thesis, in the early decades of its existence the Royal Festival Hall functioned as a classical music concert hall venue, which guests would normally visit for a concert and then leave straight afterwards. Foyers were only open before the concerts. As such there was little in the way of 'Customer Service.'

> In the old days it was a volunteer role for mainly elderly, retired people, who did it as a sort of hobby. And although they were very good, there's a whole different approach now. (P11)

It is both interesting and important to note that these volunteers operated in the era of a strong welfare state and therefore the use of their free labour by the organisation

was less exploitative than in today's climate. At the time of writing Southbank Centre do have volunteer roles, but do not have unpaid internship roles, for example.

As discussed in previous chapters, cultural production at Southbank Centre has vastly diversified since the 'old days' mentioned in the quote above with the development of new events spaces and a much wider programme of arts available to the public. In a broader sense, developments in the Global North have included a progressive emphasis from commodity based employment, to service based economies. The Southbank is in itself an example of this, as I discuss in Chapter 1. It has transformed from a site primarily focused on manufacturing to a place renowned for its service and entertainment based economy. Services are now designed to be 'intangible activities customised to the individual requests of known clients' (Pine and Gilmour, 1999:8), and there are increased levels of employment in the service industries, particularly in urban environments (Lloyd, 2006, Lloyd and Clark, 2011). A post-Fordist 'Service Economy' has been dominant in western countries for many decades (Amin, 1994, Pine and Gilmour, 1999, Gabriel and Lang, 2006, Ross 2008,). Imbricated with these economic developments, many organisations developed customer services standards and codes of practice, most visibly from the 1980s, in tandem with the shift to emphasising the primacy of the market and neoliberalism (Hochschild, 1983, Lloyd 2006, Banks, 2007).

The growth of rhetoric and practice around customer service at Southbank Centre is evident from the 1980s. An individual who worked for the organisation for 40 years told me about the early days of staff training around 'serving customers'

> British Airways started that process, it was taken up by the other airlines. We saw how we could change the perception of us. We actually got a lady called Suzie Hackett, she was one of those who trained the pilots and the directors of British Airways in customer-service, so it was quite a coup… to get her to teach us. So all our opinions changed. We realised that we were here to serve the customers. (P17)

This employee reflected on the developments of customer service initiatives into the 1990s, and ways in which workers we encouraged to consider the customer 'perception of us' demonstrating that as programming and audiences diversified there was a greater push for staff working with audiences to be trained in customer service. This can be understood as a shift to the primacy of the paying *consumer* rather than the audience under neoliberalism (Hewison, 1995, Rose, 1989, Gabriel and Lang, 2006).

> Converting and re-educating the volunteer ushers was a massive task….Things like Meltdown or any gig where the audience would come in and not sit on their bottoms on seats, and want to bring in beer and be dressed in quite different clothes, and have a whole different attitude, and want to go out to the loo and back in again. All those things were mind-blowing. (P16)

This indicates how the organisation began to prioritise the needs and wants of its paying customers in a more deliberate way, and to manage the conduct of employees accordingly through 'converting and re-educating' them in the norms of customer service. The move away from volunteer staff towards 'professionalised' customer service staff who were able to respond to 'the consumer,' and the differing consumption needs of diverse audiences, was codified as modern and necessary for the organisation's success.

In the present day, a focus on the importance of 'customer service' is overt in the discourses of current employees, and permeates working practices. For example a senior member of the Visitor Experience team who talked to me in 2015 described what he looks for when recruiting staff

> A lot of what we talk about in our job advertising, in our job descriptions and also in our interviews is to do with the warm welcome that people are going to offer, and customer service skills…We don't want Southbank Centre to be perceived as just a big box. We want it to be a place where people walk in and they meet a human being. (P20)

This drive to have staff on the front line of the organisation with 'customer service skills' and who are able to provide a 'warm welcome' indicates that in the present day rhetoric around pleasing the consumer is embedded at the organisation. This extends to working with external organisations too. For example a member of the commercial team reflected on the importance of the process of selecting food and drink 'Pop-Ups' for the site.

> We've got a big thing about customer service. Before Pop-Ups come on site, we go and visit their shops and we go and meet their teams so we know exactly what we're bringing to the site. So when visitors come here, they've got a beautiful unit that they're seeing and they're being served by lovely people, and also they've got a great product. (P12)

This indicates the transition to the explicit language of consumer capitalism through overt manipulation of the visitor experience by all arms of the organisation and the focus on providing an enjoyable experience for the consumer, including the visual consumption of the site, the service provided to them by staff, and the product, in this case food or drink itself.

The transition to 'visitor experience' and the 'experience economy'

A further transformation from the development of customer service practice was the moving towards 'experience' rather than 'service', and the developments in analysing the experience of the customer. As Pine and Gilmour presented in their much-quoted business text from the late 1990s, *The Experience Economy,* an experience is the chief unit of value marketed to the consumer, and products and services are increasingly promoted in terms of what experiential or lifestyle advantages they can offer. The key transition to an 'Experience Economy' has been around what the consumer pays for, which has become, 'to spend time enjoying a series of memorable events that a company stages- as in a theatrical play- to engage him in a personal way' (Pine and Gilmour, 1999: 2). Current cultural workers at Southbank Centre are versed in the importance of the experience.

> The visitor experience and how they're going to feel when they're onsite is…crucial to everything we do really. (P12)

This cultural worker positions it as being central to the work of the organisation and in fact it is constructed here as being vital to the continued success of the organisation. She also talks about anticipating and empathising with the 'feelings' of the visitor. Such examples of empathetic emotional aspects of the work of staff at Southbank Centre are discussed later in this chapter.

In a more material sense, a member of the Visitor Experience team also commented on the ways in which spaces are produced at Southbank Centre to enhance this experience, not only in an artistic sense but also in terms of sanitation and aesthetics.

> We've really changed, obviously we want to offer the best service to visitors, but also now it's everything to do with the experience they have when they walk in the building, is it clean, is it well-presented, are the staff friendly? (P15)

In order to contextualise the emphasis on experience, Pine and Gilmour argued that the beginnings of the experience economy can be connected to the work of Walt Disney in both his experiential films and immersive experiences (Pine and Gilmour, 1999), and many cultural theorists have discussed the 'Disneyfication' of the urban environment (Zukin, 1995, Hatherley, 2008) in which the practices utilised at Disney franchises have become part of a range of consumer experiences, from shopping to dining.

In the experience economy, the nature of the offer is 'memorable and personal' and the seller becomes a 'stager' the buyer a guest' who demands 'sensations' (Pine and Gilmour, 1999: 6).

> It changed to Visitor Experience… I mean it's really interesting to change from Service to Experience because it means such a different thing… that name change also signified a kind of shift in the importance of the department within the organisation, that we're not just providing like the ticket sales…but also providing this kind of huge warm festival welcome. (P23)

This demonstrates a distinction between the way discourses have been constructed at this organisation around customer service and the experience economy in terms of the relationship between staff and visitors. It appears that in the experience economy the drive for 'a huge warm festival welcome' apparently elides and flattens discursive distinctions between the privileged customer and low-status server. This is unpacked in the final section of this chapter which looks at co-production at Southbank Centre today. As in the Visitor Experience worker quoted above shows in the further quote below there is an awareness in the discourses of cultural workers that the experience is co-produced by various individuals and influences

> Our visitors don't just come here to watch performances, to see performances, they come here to grab a coffee or for a meeting or to work or to study. So it's about the experience for everyone. (P20)

There is some contradiction too in the sense of the construction of a welcome being extended to non-paying customers who wish to consume the atmosphere of the Royal Festival Hall without necessarily paying for it. In this case, the corporate experience economy co-exists with the strong residues and presence of social democratic politics at Southbank Centre.

'Ladies in their crimplene suits': histories of emotional, embodied labour

There is little evidence of what would now be termed 'emotional labour' in the early decades of the Royal Festival Hall. Hochschild sets out three 'characteristics of emotional labour' including that it usually would involve 'face-to-face or voice-to-voice contact with the public; require the worker to produce an emotional state in another person; and allow the employer to exercise a degree of control over the emotional activities of employees' (Hochschild, 1983: 147). Whilst the first of these would apply to early workers for the Royal Festival Hall, the production of emotional states in other people would not be constructed as a key part of this role. Additionally there seems to be little evidence of organised managerial control over the emotions of workers either. The Ushers worked as volunteers, and their work was perceived less

as a role to please the customer but more as the facilitation of the preservation of the organisation, which enabled audiences, and importantly Ushers themselves, to enjoy classical music.

> They [Volunteer Ushers] were doing it because they loved classical music and the history and heritage of the Festival Hall. (P16)

These early cultural workers acted as guardians for the space, and there is emotional involvement in their enthusiasm and love for the heritage of the organisation, but there is little evidence of the degree, and extent, of emotional labour required as in the present.

Additionally, cultural workers at the organisation until about the mid-1980s were not expected to embody the ethos and values of the organisation in the same way as today. One cultural worker described the move towards a focus on customer service and catering for the needs of a more diverse group of consumers

> The re-education of those people wasn't my job, fortunately, but [there were] really different cultural expectations. And also just making sure that we had any diversity in the ushers, and what they wore, getting them into T shirts, just everything about it.
>
> They were in a sort of blue crimplene suit as far as I can remember, you can imagine Guy Garvey's Meltdown and a bunch of 70 year old very sweet little old ladies in their crimplene suits saying 'Please can you sit down, sir.' You wouldn't dream that that would be a possibility now but that's where we started. (P16)

There is evidence here of the move towards deliberate management of staff working with the public at Southbank Centre. There was a need for the 're-education' of workers and a shifting of 'cultural expectations' around what was expected. As music programming developed and diversified at the organisation, there was a drive to employ different kinds of workers in order to reflect the diversity of the audience. Moreover, as Joanne Entwistle argues, since dress and fashion are an essential way through which the body communicates social and cultural meanings (Entwistle, 2000), the drive to 'get staff into T-shirts' can be understood as a clear effort by Southbank Centre to not only reflect the changing and more diverse nature of their audiences, but also to construct and visually present ideologies around 'all being welcome' at the organisation through the casualisation of clothing.

It is evident that the construction of the experience of the consumer at Southbank Centre developed in this period, moving away from the traditional mode of consumption for classical music involving sitting down and passively consuming the

performance. The cultural worker above is reflecting on her experiences of having been part of top-down management strategies in the 1990s to diversify this group of cultural workers and modernise their clothing, appearance and approach to 'meet the needs of consumers', in essence this is understood as part of the compulsory casualisation of the post-Fordist service workplace in which the service visitor is treated as a 'friend'. It also epitomises 'no-collar' work or the understanding of certain kinds of and working practices, distinct or developed from 'white collar' professional roles, which have been re-branded in post-Fordism as casualised, enjoyable, informal and open to anyone from any strata of society (Ross 2004). I come back to issues around entry to cultural work later in this chapter, and for now move on to look at the historicisation of collaborative work at Southbank Centre.

'Different things to different people': histories of siloed production

As discussed earlier, Southbank Centre has grown from the Royal Festival Hall into a collection of different venues with a diverse range of art form programming, and it appears there has been a drive to foster cooperative, collaborative working which did not exist in the early days of the organisation.

> (1990s) One of the things I remember realising at Southbank Centre which I thought was completely brilliant and hugely frustrating both at the same time was that each department really did feel that Southbank Centre revolved around them.
>
> They were the core of it, so whether it was the team that was renting out space, or the team that was getting in the money, or the teams that were programming the arts, everyone felt that they were the core and everyone else should be supporting them.
>
> So that was an interesting area of both joy and frustration for everyone who worked there, that actually it was different things to different people. (P16)

This demonstrates a largely disparate approach to production at the organisation, with discrete departments working largely independently of each other. Since the ways in which individual departments understood the organisation was that it 'revolved around them' it is clear that discourses around cooperation and collaboration within the organisation had not been effectively mobilised at this point.

A member of staff who has worked for the organisation since the late 1980s commented on the ways in which the approach has changed.

> In the old days we were just presented with a fait accompli. Whereas now, we get brought in at a very early stages of the planning, and are consulted about feasibilities, budget reports, scheduling, whether it is a good thing to do. Whereas in the past it was like, here you are, deliver this. (P11)

The above implies a deliberate, top down, attempt to realign working practices at the organisation to be more collaborative and cooperative with departments being involved in planning and a broad spectrum of project management stages. There has clearly been a drive to bring cultural workers together within the organisation in order to co-produce spaces and the visitor experience. Furthermore, I argue, the Festival Methodology necessitated this and so collaborative working has been an even more prominent feature of working practices at Southbank Centre since Jude Kelly's appointment in 2005.

'You'll have a smile for everyone': contemporary recruitment processes and emotional labour

Fig 6.2 'Southbank Centre Way' competencies framework[78]

> You'll be joining a fantastic and dedicated team of Hosts, providing exceptional customer service to visitors…Calm under pressure… you'll also have a smile for everyone, and love working with people of all ages.
>
> We believe that Hosts are crucial to making an amazing first impression, creating lasting memories and an experience that goes beyond just "service." We can help you gain the skills, expertise and knowledge you need – but only if you have the passion for people, a love of the arts, and the drive to inspire and excite everyone who comes to our beloved site.[79]

[78] https://docs.google.com/presentation/d/1qsA2dMLpj-r_8cGJ0JexS73ZjCFs727sU87AklUHJrw/pub?start=false&loop=false&delayms=3000&slide=id.g4ac5aed61_034#slide=id.g4ac5aed61_034

[79] https://recruit.southbankcentre.co.uk/templates/Southbank/jobdetail_1643.aspx

The quote above from a 2018 job description for a Visitor Experience Host at Southbank Centre describes a range of behaviours, attributes and emotional capacities which are stated as required for the role, including 'dedication', and the ability to be 'calm under pressure' as well as 'passion' and 'love', 'the drive to inspire and excite' and the capacity to produce on demand 'a smile for everyone'. This is an example of the ways in which discourses at this organisation are imbued with the construction of the need for emotional labour.

Such descriptions manifest the explicit efforts by the organisation to manage the emotional outputs of their employees (Hochschild, 1983) by communicating which emotions are seen as conducive to doing the role well, and which are not. The job advertisement goes on to give further details of the requirements for this role

> Provide a cheerful, happy and exceptional service to all visitors and staff …Proactively seek out opportunities to talk and engage with visitors. Share your own sense of enthusiasm, passion and fun…Ensure body language is professional, welcoming and open.

The same language is echoed here, namely about the importance of a 'cheerful' demeanour and 'enthusiastic engagement' with visitors. In interviews with managers in the Visitor Experience team the construction of these attributes as of fundamental importance to this role were also evident, alongside the primacy of the experience for the visitor being a positive one.

> What we want is them to be really kind of happy, smiley, open body language. Those are the key things we look for before anything. Because we want people who can really engage with visitors, because it's about the experience from when they arrive in the building. (P20)

In this quote from a senior member of the Visitor Experience team it is clear that the ability to provide emotional labour for the organisation is a key part of the selection criteria for the role. The need for consumers to be greeted in certain ways from 'when they arrive in the building' is constructed as being vital to this role, and therefore a high capacity for effective emotional labour is required. Hochschild described the pre-selection of flight attendants through advertising materials and the recruitment process as being 'introduced to the rules of the game' and her 'success depending in part of whether she has a knack for perceiving the rules and taking them seriously' (Hochschild, 1983:95). Or to put it another way, an ability to understand what is emotionally, cognitively and physically required in a situation in order to succeed.

Such techniques are discussed in the wider context of how individuals enter cultural work by Oakley and O'Brien who examine the recruitment practices for creative

courses in Higher Education. They argue many of these practices may favour those with more cultural and social capital and confidence (Oakley and O'Brien, 2016). This is also discussed in careers theory, and specifically when looking at the transition from university to employment. The focus on interpersonal skills and being able to gauge what interviewers are looking for in terms of social and communication skills could privilege certain individuals e.g. those with higher levels of cultural and social capital and/ or a 'player' approach to employment, or those who conceive of and manage their own employability as a game to be played, with rules, during which acquired skills are repackaged for consumption within the recruitment arena (Brown and Hesketh, 2004). 'Players' are able to utilise ideas around personal capital to 'perform' the game of selection procedures. They understand their own employability as something to be constructed and managed, placing importance on social form and behaviours. Conversely, 'Purists' hold onto ideas around a 'meritocratic' society in which individual are rewarded for their previous achievements based on effort and skill and have a strong belief in the job market as a way in which individuals are matched to the job that is right for them (Brown and Hesketh, 2004). Oakley and O'Brien also talk about the ability of individuals to 'mobilise' their experiences within Higher Education and externally (e.g. internships and part time work) as 'capital' (Oakley and O'Brien, 2016: 480). Gabriel and Lang frame this in the context of the new economy

> Showing eagerness, being willing to play any game by any rules, looking attractive and involved, while at the same time maintaining a psychological distance and looking for better prospects elsewhere, these are the chameleon like qualities of the new economy' (Gabriel and Lang, 2006: 21).

The importance of 'playing the game' as well as 'looking attractive and involved' is evident in recruitment practices at Southbank Centre.

Alongside this many cultural workers I interviewed talked very positively about their recruitment process in terms of doing away with paper application forms, and the use of open day events to select a more diverse range of candidates. This is constructed in discourses of staff as being a measure which perhaps encourages 'meritocratic' recruitment.

> When we recruit for hosts we don't take application forms anymore. We do open days…People come in, they have a…tour of the site by an existing host and then they have a 10 minute speed interview with one of the managers… the focus of that is really to find people people… And that's why we want to meet people face to face. One of the criteria that we have on our host

> interviewing is if when people walk in that they're not smiling and making eye contact they don't get through to the second round. (P20)

However, despite this attempt to provide more open access to work for the organisation, there still remains a need for candidates - and workers as we shall see later - to be able to undertake emotional labour through smiles, eye contact, body language and demeanour, even if they are performing or acting. For Gill and Orgad, confidence and resilience are continually cited as the personality traits needed by women to achieve success in the workplace. Placing the emphasis on the individual to' internalise both the responsibility for the problem and the programme require to resolve it' in order to 'work on herself to overcome her problems' rather than look to any social and cultural influences upon the problem (Gill and Orgad, 2016: 334) is a key feature of the neoliberal workplace. The idea, as we saw earlier, that everyone has an equal chance of 'making it' to the top of the ladder- is a myth (Littler, 2017), it is a fantasy that anyone can be successful regardless of their start in life (Segal, 2017). I argue that the need for confidence and resilience is key to the recruitment process at Southbank Centre but that the adept demonstration of these personal attributes is not something which is equally available to all. There are certain individuals for whom this 'act' may come more easily than others. A focus on the idea that talent and effort alone can enable upward mobility ignores the important influences of family wealth and status, for example (Littler, 2017: 7). The ability to present a confident front in the workplace and to display the 'right' emotions, or conceal those not appropriate (Hochschild, 1983) may also be based on further myriad factors including: socioeconomic status, background and upbringing, educational opportunity, mental health, physical health, being able bodied, impaired or disabled, gender, sexuality, ethnicity and class, or a combination of two or more of these factors. The focus in recruitment processes and selection on interpersonal skills and being able to gauge what interviewers are looking for in terms of social and communication skills will privilege certain individuals e.g. those with higher levels of cultural and social capital. This obviously then has ramifications upon diversity in workplaces such as Southbank Centre.

The selection process then is a point at which individuals are chosen based on their capacity for emotional labour. One cultural worker was enthusiastic about the ways in which individuals are selected for roles

> We are trained, but the selection process here is excellent, and you find that most people here are natural. Wherever you put them in Customer-Service, they would thrive, because they are just natural communicators. (P6)

He frames the capacity for emotional work as being a 'natural communicator' and the importance of this emotional repertoire at work to current employees is evident. The analysis of discourses of cultural workers demonstrates a very close correlation between the words cultural workers use to describe the workplace and the examples of recruitment materials cited above.

However, all this being said, there are various notable, progressive initiatives at Southbank Centre which aim to promote wide access to employment at the organisation. A senior member of the Human Resources department talked about some of these during her interview

> We got rid of unpaid internships, we've introduced volunteers, we've introduced apprenticeships, and we've introduced talent schemes for our most junior members of staff. We work with Working Chance- trying to get women prisoners back into work, and also to give them experience when they're on day release.
>
> We've been working on an initiative called Ban the Box, [a pledge to de-stigmatise mental health issues at work]. And for example, often at the beginning of recruitment you have to say whether you've got a criminal conviction and now we only ask people once we've offered them the job. (P3)

Additionally the Southbank Centre website states that, 'We particularly welcome applications from Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) candidates and deaf and disabled people, as they are currently under-represented across our workforce'[80]. Further examples of projects which connect to diversity and inclusion in the workforce at Southbank Centre include: awards for a representative workforce under the Department of Work and Pensions' Disability Confident Employer Scheme; awards as connected to its policies and practices relating to gender and ethnicity from the Employers Network for Equality and Inclusion and the Workplace Gender Equality Awards; and its Ban the Box Strategy, as mentioned above, a pledge to de-stigmatise mental health issues at work, including the Time to Change initiative which provides training, policy review, wellbeing events and social groups. Drawing on Southbank Centre's progressive, democratic legacy, these initiatives go some way to rebalance recruitment processes which may favour those skilled in successfully producing themselves during the 'game' of recruitment as confident, emotionally literate, self-fashioned individuals.

[80] https://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/about/jobs/working-here

'Falling in love with what this place is': new forms of emotional labour

Fig 6.3 Promotional image for Southbank Centre's Festival of Love[81]

Moving on from the selection process, it is evident that current cultural workers at Southbank Centre need to draw on a wide repertoire of emotions in order to produce themselves at work. Emotional labour at this organisation has become calibrated through particular feelings like happiness, fun, excitement, passion, love, excitement and empathy. For example, when asked about why she chose to work for the organisation, a worker in the marketing department talked about happiness, and being welcomed.

> It's also very refreshing that it's so un-stuffy, so very open and welcoming and you can just be yourself…everyone's very happy (P9)

It is interesting that in this instance there has been a connection made between the organisation enabling workers to 'be yourself' and 'be happy'. The ways in which a happy and cheerful demeanour may be a forced projection of an emotional state which may not always chime with inner feelings, is unpacked later in this chapter.

Various cultural workers talked about Southbank Centre being a 'fun' and 'exciting' organisation to work for. For example, a relatively junior member of the Participation team who said, 'it tends to be a fun thing because you wake up and you're doing

[81] https://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/whats-on/past-festivals/festival-love

creative things and you remember that', (P14) as well as a Marketing Manager who talked about coming to work for Southbank Centre because 'it's just a fun brand, I thought it was a really exciting brand with lots to it' (P9).

A senior member of the Production team fused some of these emotions, talking about being 'content' because his staff thought of the organisation as 'an exciting place to work for' and as a result he had retained many of them for a number of years.

> And obviously, people need to earn money, but I'd say 99% of my crew are very passionate about what they do every day. The reason I'm content is because I have a very, very low turnover. In the last few years I had one person leave out of a team of nearly 60. A lot of it is the pay is good. The conditions are good. And as I say, it's an exciting place to work. (P11)

A further way in which the importance of emotional labour to the organisation is presented and constructed through the discourses of employees is around passion for and commitment to the organisation. There is an explicit acknowledgement that it is the emotional labour of the individuals that enables to organisation to survive.

> The Southbank is the people that make it. And passion for the arts and passion for what we do is what makes Southbank. (P19)

This quote demonstrates that within discourses around work at the organisation the need for emotional commitment to the arts and to the ethos of Southbank Centre is constructed as vital, and the emotions of individual workers are imbricated with the very make-up of the organisation.

Hochschild theorises that '[s]eeming to 'love the job' becomes part of the job; and actually trying to love it, and to enjoy the customers helps the workers in this effort' (Hochschild, 1983:6). Within the discourses of employees I interviewed there is a very noticeable and overt theme of the need to 'love your work' in order to be successful in the organisation.

> I think everyone that works here falls in love with what this place is. You do get tired of it, and when you've been here every day for 15 days, you're like, "No, I don't want to see it anymore." But I think everyone does fall in love with it a little bit….I mean, people who don't fall in love with this place don't stay very long. (P12)

There is little space for the less positive emotions such as tiredness, or being fed-up with work, and with working long hours. Interestingly this cultural worker posits emotional labour as an individual choice in that if one is unable to keep up the act of 'being in love with what this place is' then they 'don't stay very long' but instead seek

employment elsewhere. Marisol Sandoval unpacks the rhetoric of 'do what you love' or the idea that it is possible to 'follow your passion' and find work that you enjoy so much it will cease to feel like labour or exploitation (Sandoval, 2018: 114). She argues this rhetoric mythologises the fusion of work and pleasure and promotes the idea that 'the affective labour needed to turn one's passion into a job one truly loves might be unpaid and stressful but ultimately worth it' (Sandoval, 2018: 115). For Sandoval, although this 'sounds both empowering and egalitarian: all it supposedly takes is to listen closely to one's inner passions and turn them into a career' it is ultimately 'a trap' since it positions the responsibility for happiness and enjoyment at work within the individual worker, and therefore negates any efforts to disrupt or challenge hierarchies and systems of control in order to improve conditions for workers globally (Sandoval, 2018:115-116).

Given this context, it is worth pointing out some of the realities of work at Southbank Centre. At the time of writing, all staff employed by Southbank Centre are paid at a minimum of the London Living Wage of £10.20 per hour, including casual/ part time staff such as Visitor Service Hosts. Entry level jobs, such as the recently advertised Poetry Library Assistant (May 2018), have a pay scale of £20-£25K which is over London Living Wage at the base of this pay scale. Although these roles are paid the LLW, they could not be said to be highly paid. There is some evidence of staff feeling that their pay is not sufficient for the role they do, for example reviews on the website Glassdoor, which talk about there not being many available hours for Visitor Experience staff and expressing the opinion that the roles are underpaid and not highly valued in the organisation.[82] In contrast to these online reviews, one Host shared with me a story he had heard about how much Visitor Experience roles are espoused to be highly valued from the top of the organisation

> My colleague had to stand up in a meeting and said to introduce himself "I'm just a host". Jude Kelly's reaction to that was, "X what do you mean you're just a host? That's not the way I see it".
>
> I thought that was very interesting because I'd never heard Jude react like that. I do think what we do comes from the top, and that our role is very much a designed, a very deliberate role from the very top of this organisation to make this building a human place in that we're almost part of the artistic experience. (P8)

This is an interesting anecdote since it demonstrates how cultural workers intimately connected with the production of space at Southbank Centre understand their role to

[82] https://www.glassdoor.co.uk/Reviews/Southbank-Centre-Reviews-E841823.htm

be constructed ‘from the very top’ connecting to Hochschild’s ideas on emotional labour as the management of emotional output by an organisation (Hochschild, 1983). At the same time there is obviously an authentic pride in the experience of this cultural worker, who feels that he is ‘almost part of the artistic experience’.

However it is unclear as to what extent outsourced workers such as caterers [83] and cleaners operate under the same conditions, as they do not count as Southbank Centre staff in the same way. The picture in terms of union activity at Southbank Centre is complex, with many cultural workers belonging to two main unions, Unite and the Public and Commercial Services Union (PCS) which is part of the Culture Group of branches which covers 36 other institutions including Tate, the V&A and the British Museum for example. The main campaigns that these unions are involved with are connected to wider issues in the cultural sector, such as cuts to funding for the arts and culture, restructures and redundancies, outsourcing and zero hours contracts. As discussed above, Southbank Centre have phased out zero hours contracts. However, the organisation, as with many other cultural and creative institutions continue to be affected by government policies and cuts which in turn have an impact on working conditions.

It is clear that many cultural workers for Southbank Centre do demonstrate enjoyment, commitment to and passion for the organisation. Banks, amongst other cultural work theorists, talks about the dangers of self-exploitation in cultural work, due to this intense connection with work (Banks 2007). A former member of the Education team talked to me about his concerns about some of the individuals he managed when he worked at Southbank Centre.

> There is an emotional attachment and certainly there are some people for whom it is their life. They live eat and sleep here because it’s where they want to be all the time.
>
> The other interesting thing about it is it’s open 364 days a year, from 10 in the morning to 11 at night. The offices are open 24 hours a day, and there is a sense that it never switches off, it’s always on, and that’s kind of terrifying.
>
> It is somewhere you can just be all the time. I watch colleagues there’s a demographic of people who work here, largely in their twenties, and female and middle class… and I do worry a bit about burnout.
>
> Because they haven’t got family responsibilities and other responsibilities they’re here ‘til 9 or 10 at night, they’re here very early in the morning and you can see them working here and being in love with what they’re doing. And it’s

[83] https://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/about/venue-hire/caterers

> not that the institution demands it because it doesn't, but it allows it because it's open all the time and because actually people are passionate. (P13)

This demonstrates a reflective awareness in some cultural workers of the dangers of 'loving work' and alongside this an awareness that this kind of intense commitment to work is only possible or achievable by certain kinds of individuals, for example those without family commitments and responsibilities. As I discussed in the literature review there is a whole body of work which investigates conditions for cultural workers as well as representation and diversity in the cultural and creative industries.

A senior member of the Visitor Experience team also talked about the importance of loving work to working in his team.

> If you're not loving the content of what you're doing then take yourself out of that and go and get an easy job somewhere. Because if you don't love the fact that you're not going to know what's going to happen when you walk in the door then it's just not going to be enjoyable. (P20)

As seen above at Southbank Centre there is less space for the non-enjoyment of work, or for a less exuberant state of being in the workplace. Similarly, there is an emphasis placed on the individual to 'take yourself out' if it is not possible to keep up the appearance of 'love' and 'enjoyment', despite working in an unpredictable and fast paced environment. The danger is that workers become alienated from their own emotions through constantly trying to emulate the 'right' kind of emotions in the workplace (Hochschild, 1983: 5), and suppress other less appropriate ones such as tiredness, irritability or frustration (Hochschild, 1983: 8) Similarly Orgad and Gill highlight the pressure on women in the workplace to get rid of feelings (by themselves, or with the help of self-help aids) which are not 'positive' or 'productive' for example being critical, doubtful or angry (Gill and Orgad, 2016: 333). Therefore there is little space at Southbank Centre for doubt or uncertainty, or for a lack of resilience and self- reliance.

Another emotion which has become calibrated with successful cultural work for Southbank Centre is that of empathy with visitors to the site

> You make their visit positive from the earliest it can be. Your voice is important, your tone is important. People still want to speak to people. Most of our sales are online, but we still get a lot of people who prefer that human contact. (P6)

This worker is effectively talking about what Hochschild would term 'produc[ing] an emotional state in another person' (Hochschild, 1983: 147) from the first moment possible, in this instance through face-to-face or telephone ticket sales.

This empathy for audience/ consumer needs is envisaged as an important aspect of the future of the organisation.

> I think the future will be ensuring that every festival feels very much like a brand new festival and exciting and new …at the heart of every festival will be communities and people and that we'll always be striving to help new people come here. (P14)

Here the cultural worker is reflecting on the need to encourage positive feelings in visitors to the organisation by placing them 'at the heart of every festival' and she also emphasises her role in 'striving' to achieve this goal.

Such emotional work has impacts. In an empirical study on the bodily states required during cultural work and the impacts of these required working practices upon physical and mental health, Hope and Richards 'take on board the complexities of experiences told to us through our research and try to tease out these embodied aspects in order to understand the physical and emotional implications of loving work' (Hope and Richards, 2015: 119) and during their research found that cultural workers claim that the most exhausting task of all is the emotional labour required within their roles (Hope and Richards, 2015: 130). Rose argues that our thoughts and actions are governed by social and cultural institutions, and that these processes have reconstructed the ways in which we manage our emotional lives (Rose, 1989:3). Additionally, there are emotional impacts of positioning oneself as an enterprising person who holds responsibility for one's own wellbeing (Banks, 2007). Hochschild even suggests emotional labour might affect our ability to feel emotions and understand our own feelings

> When rules about how to feel and how to express feelings are set by management, when workers have weaker rights to courtesy than customers do, when deep and surface acting are forms of labour to be sold, and when private capacities for empathy and warmth are put to corporate uses, what happens to the way a person relates to her feelings or to her face? (Hochschild, 1983: 89)

Segal also warns against the flattening and simplification of emotions in public life and calls for further investigation of narratives of individual lives both in terms of unhappiness and happiness and the wide spectrum in between (Segal, 2017).

Moreover, cultural workers tread the line between attempting to manage their feelings in the right way without being perceived as being inauthentic or 'fake'

> We want people when they walk in to be really warmly welcomed, really greeted, and what we don't want is a sort of fake customer service. So we want a genuine experience. So what we never say to our hosts is: you've got

> to say it like this, and you're going to be scripted, and we expect a certain way of doing things. What we say is: we've got clear expectations but at the same time it's up to you to bring your personality to it. (P20)

Understanding the nuances of the social and cultural context is therefore key to this role. The ability to interpret what is wanted of you from your management in terms of being warm and welcoming whilst at the same time never seeming to fake means cultural workers have to work additionally hard at being 'genuine' whilst also not allowing sincere feelings of tiredness, frustration or boredom seem apparent to their managers and to members of the public.

In the next section of this chapter I firstly look at the ways in which cultural work is embodied at this organisation as well as the uses and effects of performative work. I then go on to analyse how theories of co-production add to an understanding of the importance of emotional labour to cultural work.

'Different hats and voices': performative, embodied cultural work today

As discussed at the start of this chapter, I argue that an embodiment of the values and ethos of Southbank Centre is required by workers for the organisation. In Dowling's autoethnographic analysis of the waitress as an affective worker she argues that her experience was heavily coloured by the discourses of management, and that these impacted upon ways of behaviour for all staff, linked closely to the organisational values. Staff were expected to embody these core values (Dowling, 2007). This embodied connection (or lack of) to different kinds of work is explored by various studies. For example, Lyon and Back's cultural ethnography of fishmongers in Deptford explores the 'sensuous quality of labour as an embodied practice' and observations around the performative qualities of this kind of work (Lyon and Back, 2012: 1). In the study of cultural workers mentioned above Hope and Richards found that the body reacts to differing states produced by varied conditions of cultural work and cultural workers use a range of strategies to cope. Cultural workers reported that during meetings and when undertaking email and administrative tasks their bodies became 'forgotten' or 'frozen' and tension was trapped. The kind of work which allowed an 'unfreezing' of the body and was more liberating, for example 'brain activities'- thinking and feeling often had to be fitted in or around other tasks. This could become stressful and anxiety producing however because it took time away from other kinds of work (Hope and Richards, 2015: 128-129).

When talking about the role of Visitor Experience Host, a senior member of the team talked about the physical requirements of this role.

> I think when people are on duty 95% of the time needs to be spent out and about, talking to visitors and particularly on those big festival weekends as well. (P20)

This suggests that this role is constructed by the organisation as an active one in which individuals need to be physically, cognitively and emotionally present. As discussed above during this work they also need to be exhibiting the 'right' kind of body language, posture and facial expressions, which requires large amounts of energy. At the same time it is important to note that this state of awareness, of 'being in the moment' and fully engaged in an activity, is seen as a desired state in psychology. The social psychologist Michaly Csikszentmihalyi theorises this state as when an individual is in 'flow' which is characterised as a time of great concentration, in which the individual experiences time as different ether speeding up or slowing, feels rewarded, the task seems to involve a challenge but not too much effort, there is a sense of control and a loss of negative self-limitation or self-consciousness (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990, 1997). The experience of 'flow' is, as Mark Banks has shown, today widely understood as a 'desired state' in cultural work (Banks, 2014).

As discussed above the energy required, whether the individual could be said to be in 'flow' or not, is similar to that of a performance in which negative emotions and moods are hidden and the desirable ones are brought to the surface. Goffman theorises this as the difference between what is played out when presenting a 'front' or operating in a 'front region' e.g. in certain social encounters such as 'ordinary work situations' in which an individual 'presents himself and his activity to others, the ways in which he guides and controls the impression they form of him and the kinds of things he may and may not do while sustaining his performance' and 'back' aspects of life in which an individual may well be able to relax and attempt less 'control' over these 'impressions' (Goffman, 1959:8). Pine and Gilmour present the model of *work as theatre* as key to understanding the Experience Economy, and assert that employees perform the task of working both to colleagues and to customers (Pine and Gilmour, 1999). A Visitor Service Host shared with me her understanding of this

> So I think that's the funniest thing it's about how varied this is and how many different hats and voices you have to talk in to lots of people. (P14)

This quote illuminates the understanding of work-as-performance for this cultural worker, in her choosing to adapt different ways or communicating with different people she works with, both with the organisation as well as visitors. As Pine and Gilmour state, this performance involves 'choice' of actions, self-presentation and wording in interpersonal interactions, either pre-planned or improvised decisions

around the ‘sequence, progression and duration of events’ and about the ‘rhythm and tempo of work’ (Pine and Gilmour, 1999: 106).

Alongside analysis of the effects of cultural work upon individual bodies, Hope and Richards also communicate the importance of recognising that bodies are connected and linked to each other within social systems and are used to communicate with each other in cultural work (Hope and Richards, 2015:131). There are myriad ways in which individuals physically communicate with each other in the workplace (Hope and Richards, 2015: 138), and from my research it seems that cultural work at Southbank Centre requires both emotional labour and physical performance in order to ensure the emotions presented are seen to be genuine.

For Lloyd, ‘Though labor in the bars and restaurants of the West Side is often physically grueling, it also requires varying degrees of performative competence, that is, the mastery of hip social codes’ (Lloyd, 2006:181) and moreover this ‘mastery… improves the bar’s overall image’ (Lloyd, 2006: 187). This gives a sense of the ways in which work-as-performance is valued by organisations. Although working for Southbank Centre does not require the overt, sexualised, transactional performance that Lloyd writes about, the need for ‘hip social codes’ translates into the need for an understanding of and love for the arts. There is a call for workers to demonstrate a nuanced and personalised understanding of the cultural art forms produced by Southbank Centre.

> We want people to work here who love Southbank Centre, who love art. It’s about knowing what the art is and talking to visitors about that and interpreting the art. (P15)

As can be seen above there is a need for cognitive engagement with the interpretation of art, alongside bodily performance and adaptability. This requires a certain amount of social and cultural capital. At Southbank Centre the ability to be work with, and communicate well with an eclectic range of people is highly valued.

Dowling refers to the role of waitress as ‘following a designated sequence of service’ (Dowling, 2007: 120). For Dowling the training of the waitress, including awareness of the requirements of the restaurant, the organisational values and the provision of a script are combined with her social abilities or on her ‘being myself’ to create the affect, since further value is added by the individuality of her performance. (Dowling, 2007:120-1). Similarly, in ‘Neo-Bohemian’ service work, or work which takes place in a specific urban milieu known for its propensity of artists and writers, then the personas and creativity of workers is encouraged rather than curbed (Lloyd, 2006).

> We do work from a script so and I would expect that, because we're here to deliver a consistent product, and so all the tour guides work to a script as such, it's not a word for word thing its quite a detailed description of where we go in what sequence and so on but inevitably it's expected of us to impart our own character. (P8)

As discussed earlier, for Dowling the waitress 'performs the restaurant as theater' including 'hectic multitasking' in order to 'keep the machine going' and pull off 'the production of the dining experience' (Dowling, 2012: 109). The waitress performs and embodies various roles, including attempts to create affect in the body of the customer. This requires a close reading of the body language of the customer and being able to anticipate their desires before they even have them (Dowling, 2012). Similarly, this cultural worker reflects on the challenges of the performance of managing spaces at Southbank Centre.

> It's having foresight to see the different users of the space at a certain time … it's really quite difficult to… managing expectations for all those different people, and keeping switching yourself around as well mentally as how you deal with people… there's a lot of romanticism I think around the space being available for everyone, but actually it's really difficult. (P23)

It can be seen here that there are various challenges associated with the maintenance of appropriate emotional labour, and that it is inherently performative (Hochschild, 1983). It also shows something of how this performance is undertaken, both by individuals, and collectively, as workers co-produce experience at Southbank Centre. To draw on Goffman, any social interaction is understood as involving mutual influence, and colleagues in a workplace operate as a team 'who cooperate in staging a single routine' (Goffman, 1956:85). Let us unpack how this works at Southbank Centre.

The co-production of affective visitor experience

In part, the promotion of collaborative work as necessary at Southbank Centre is the result of a management technique (Frost, 2016). A senior member of staff who has been at Southbank Centre for two decades talked about recent working practices as related to the Festival Methodology

> So we create these cross-disciplinary teams… it might involve media, writers, academics, the business sector. Out of that comes a broad agenda, and then all the teams then coalesce around that particular concept and how it's delivered. (P21)

This demonstrates that there is a commitment to collaborative working practices at different levels within the organisation, stemming from the creation (by management)

of ‘cross-disciplinary teams’ and that this co-production may mean different things to different workers. The part that all individual cultural workers have to play in the social construction of space within this cultural organisation is I argue best understood through the lens of ‘co-production’. In a wider context co-production as a term is used in different political ways, for example in healthcare, transport and education, patients, travelers and students (who would now come under the umbrella term of consumers) are encouraged to co-produce services with organisations through feedback and participation, which is using emotional labour as a tool (for example see Boyle and Harris, 2013 on public services and Taylor and Wilding, 2009, Bovill, Cook-Sather, and Felten, 2011 on higher education). It is evident that discourses surrounding co-production and collaboration are highly prevalent at Southbank Centre.

Lazzarato argues that due to the worker largely taking on the function of ‘interface’ between groups and levels within the organisation ‘work can thus be defined as the capacity to activate and manage productive cooperation’ (Lazzarato, 1996:134). At Southbank Centre a large part of this ‘productive cooperation’ is about coproducing emotions as a team. Hochschild briefly talks about ‘collective emotional labour’ as ‘the field in which flight attendants interact with each other’ in the context of their work involving ‘partly an emotional tone road show’ where the ‘proper tone must be kept up as a collective endeavour between the flight attendants which includes attempts to boost morale if needed’ (Hochschild, 1983: 114-115). I argue, though, that the co-production of affective visitor experience at Southbank Centre involves far more that this monitoring of others emotions. It involves ongoing collaboration in order to actively produce emotions in colleagues and audiences. In her book *Radical Happiness: Moments of Collective Joy* Lynne Segal reflects on the social and public nature of feelings and emotions, arguing that, ‘for anything we call happiness to endure and be cherished it needs to be recognised and shared with others, always hovering somewhere between the strictly personal and the potentially public’ (Segal, 2017:xi). I argue that a dualism can be perceived in cultural workers at Southbank Centre. At the same time as needing to be effective at individualised emotional labour they are also required to closely read other workers and endeavour to promote a collectively welcoming and engaging experience for each other and for visitors.

Here Emma Dowling’s work on waitressing is particularly useful. Dowling argues that affective work by its nature forms communities. For her ‘co-production’ includes a community between the diner and herself (the waitress), which is inherently unequal

(Dowling, 2007: 125). Dowling acknowledges that the affective work of the waitress cannot be understood separately to the context of the processes of which they are a part (Dowling, 2007: 129). For Dowling, the waitress manages the ambiance of the restaurant and its effect upon the customers simultaneously (Dowling, 2012). The same can be said of cultural workers at Southbank Centre whom are involved in the production of space, and aiming to co-produce an atmosphere which visitors to the space and audiences want to consume. One worker talked about the pace and speed at the organisation necessitation this kind of working

> It's such a collaborative organisation, all these constituent parts are so interlinked and…it can't actually be done by email or phone call because everything is just changing all the time and people are working on so many different live projects.
>
> Things are just happening and people are constantly talking to each other all the time so it's probably one of the most collaborative environments that I've ever been in. (P18)

Many employees at Southbank Centre demonstrate an awareness of the complexities of staffing at the organisation and the interconnectedness of different job roles. As Lazzaroto argues, 'this immaterial labour constitutes its forms that are immediately collective… small "productive units" …are organised for specific ad hoc projects, and may exist only for the duration of those particular jobs,' (Lazzarato, 1996: 244).

> I work very closely with teams that people on the outside might not necessarily think are really important in what we do here. So a team we work closely with is production for example, who help put on all of our shows and performances and rig all of our lights and do that kind of thing.
>
> Another group we work with are even the porters who help to sort out all the furniture before our events, to working with a huge broad range of artists, freelancers, designers.
>
> Marketing is another one, artistic programming, so for it all to work, there has to be real cohesion and closeness between the people that put on the ticketed hall shows and then the free shows otherwise it just won't work. (P14)

Here a cultural worker is showing awareness of the need for different strands of the organisation to work collaboratively in order to achieve a shared outcome. Similarly a worker in the marketing department commented on her overall impression when she first joined the organisation, 'there's a sense of people working together... I noticed that when I first started as well, lots of laughs.' (P9)

As discussed previously, the ways in which co-production operates at Southbank Centre apparently elides and flattens discursive distinctions between the privileged customer and low-status server. Yet within Southbank Centre it is evident that the ways in which co-production manifests itself is not only a neoliberal management tool, but is simultaneously tightly intertwined with its social democratic heritage, of both the 1951 Festival of Britain and the impacts of the Greater London Council policies and interventions in the late 1980s.

Conclusion: 'We believe in what Southbank Centre is trying to achieve': emotive affective labour as a team

In conclusion, this chapter has presented findings from my research which point to an inherent need for individualised emotional labour by cultural workers at Southbank Centre as well as collaborative affective labour as a team. In large part this collective working was engendered, and managed, through Jude Kelly's Festival Methodology which necessitated teams from different departments across the organisation working together, as well as with external artists and members of the public. In addition, it became evident from my interviews and conversations with a range of cultural workers for Southbank Centre that, at least for many of these workers, there appears to be a genuine commitment to the organisation, and to the layers of history which are constructed and reconstructed in the present at the organisation in order to co-produce space. The willingness by many staff to combine and move fluidly between the two ways of working outlined above, and to constantly evaluate and judge what is required of them at any given time is, I argue, inherently intertwined with this deep connection to the organisation for many.

> I think we believe in what Southbank Centre is trying to achieve, and I think since Jude came in, she's really turned this place around and… not that it was in a bad place by any means, it's always been a great place, but I think just the diversity of it all really excites visitors and staff. (P6)

The cultural worker here when talking about 'what Southbank Centre is trying to achieve' is referring to its legacies and values as discussed in the previous chapter, of democratic access and participation. Cultural workers at this organisation demonstrate solidarity with each other, with the site and its heritage, and with previous individuals connected to the organisation such as architects, performers and previous workers. For example, the worker quoted at the start of this chapter could be said to be in 'flow', and throughout her tour was evidently co-producing the experience of the tour of the newly refurbished Queen Elizabeth Hall with the audience, as well as drawing on the work of the original designers, and the 1951

Festival ethos. As I discussed in Chapter 5 this is a further example of the organisation drawing on its 'bank' of emotive legacies in order to survive. Much of these ways of working also oppose our individualistic, competitive society and the norms for work in many industries. Sandoval critiques the 'do what you love' rhetoric for its focus on the idea that enjoyment of work can be attained by an individual alone (Sandoval, 2018:120) and as a comparison investigates the formation of cultural and artistic co-operatives and their collaborative creative working practices. She suggests that they provide an example of a different approach and therefore have the potential to act as a form of resistance to the competitive individualisation rife in cultural work, and work generally, and provide a space in which needing support and being tuned into hierarchical inequalities in society can be expressed (Sandoval, 2018). Although a very different working environment, during my research at Southbank Centre I encountered some ideologies similar to this. For example a worker in the Commercial department said

> I think in Commercial, because we make up 15 percent of funding…for us, it's like we're doing it for the greater good. We're going through all of this for the greater good…and everybody loves it for a different reason. (P12)

As Sandoval puts it 'Work as productive activity, as creative engagement with the world around us making use of human skills and capacities, can indeed be a genuine source of enjoyment and accomplishment' (Sandoval, 2018:114), and even more so when it is done collaboratively with both colleagues and audiences.

Co- production can therefore be understood in multiple, complex ways. I would argue that this chapter, through analysis of discourses of cultural workers at Southbank Centre in the present, and their lived, cognitive, emotional and bodily involvement with the co-production of affective visitor experience, has demonstrated that the experience of working here is inherently complicated. On the one hand both individualised 'appropriate' emotional labour is required at the organisation and co-production is used as a management tool, in a climate of neoliberal austerity, privileging the privileged. On the other hand these practices often result in progressive programming and initiatives, as well as genuine collaborative joy for cultural workers. There is an activation of the social democratic heritage of the organisation and a commitment to providing innovative, engaging, uplifting artistic experiences which are accessible to all, as well as opportunities for debate and discussion of important social issues. In the next chapter I will summarise and extrapolate my key findings from my research, as well as suggest ways in which it could signal new research directions and avenues for academic scrutiny.

Conclusion: Key Findings

In this concluding chapter I will review and extrapolate my key findings. To begin with I will summarise them, before exploring in detail below. As I outlined earlier in the thesis, cultural work has increasingly been the subject of academic research for at least the last two decades, (McRobbie, 1998, Beck 2003, Lloyd 2006, Banks, 2007, 2014, 2017, Gill and Pratt 2008, McGuigan, 2010, Banks, Gill and Taylor 2013, Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2013, McGuigan, 2010, Oakley, 2009, 2014, Frost, 2016, Oakley and O'Brien, 2016, Littler, 2017, Brook, O'Brien, and Taylor, 2018). Alongside this, a range of academic theory has analysed the role of creative artists and cultural workers (and their relationship with other workers and actors in urban environments) in producing spaces (Zukin, 1982, Kearns and Philo, 1993, Landry & Bianchini, 1995, Hall, 1999, Landry 2000, Florida, 2002, Garcia, 2004, Lloyd, 2006, Banks, 2007, Ross 2008, Pratt 2009, Gornestaeva and Campbell, 2012, Oakley et al. 2017), and has begun to emphasis the importance of the historicisation of cultural work, and relevant contextual geographical influences upon these histories (Banks, Gill and Taylor, 2013). However, there has been a gap in the literature in terms of work which brings these domains together: which explores how theorisations of the multifaceted interplay of cultural work, the production or space and layers of histories and heritage are mobilised and negotiated. This thesis has attempted to work in that gap, by 'drawing together' theories and developing new lines of enquiry, thereby enriching scholarship in cultural work as well as within institutions and the lived histories of their workers.

The 'drawing together' of the historicisation, spatialisation and lived experience of cultural work developed from my previous postgraduate research, my experiences as a cultural worker and my initial investigation into the relationship between cultural institutions and the city at the start of my PhD project, as I discussed in the methodology. I realised that working at the intersection of these fields in order to understand the experiences of cultural workers at Southbank Centre was a fruitful location. Therefore my thesis has synthesised theorisations of cultural work, the production of space and history in order to create a new lens through which to understand the subjective, lived experience of recent and current cultural workers. The best way to conduct such research, I decided, was to use an amalgamation of cultural discourse analysis which takes inspiration from Foucauldian approaches, combined with a selective use of cultural ethnography, and underpinned by an in-depth literature review and analysis of primary written and online resources produced by the organisation. In order to 'access' the lived experience of cultural workers I conducted

semi-structured interviews with research participants and throughout the thesis quotes from these interviews have been used to bring to life theorisations and arguments made.

In this fashion, my research has sought to find ways to further understand the interrelation of cultural work, the production of space and history at Southbank Centre. Overall the research project has found that cultural workers make vital and complex contributions to the production of space at this organisation, and that this work is heavily influenced by the layers of history which co-exist there. Furthermore I have found that these contributions are made from staff across a wide range of departments at Southbank Centre. There has been much written about the notion of cultural work delivering singular forms of satisfaction, rewards and fulfilment, and offering unique status in society (Beck, 2003, Banks, 2007, Oakley 2009, Sandoval, 2018, McGuigan, 2010), but this research often focuses on artistic and creative producers. Hierarchical stratification exists within the cultural and creative industries, in that some roles may have more status attached to them and more recognition, whilst others have far less recompense, influence and independence (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2013). Therefore during my research I also wanted to access, and give voice to, those who might not be traditionally thought of as creative producers. I recognised that these cultural workers are also important sources when analysing the production of space. Therefore one of my methodological choices for this research was to interview cultural workers from across a wide range of departments at Southbank Centre, and not focus solely on those directly involved in artistic production.

One key conclusion that can be drawn out from my thesis is that it should be acknowledged that cultural workers from across a wide range of departments and roles within institutions such as Southbank Centre are crucial actors in producing social spaces. These cultural workers should be given more credit for the important role they play in providing democratic access, mobilising certain heritages and co-producing affective visitor experience collaboratively with others. For example, many of those I spoke to at Southbank Centre, whilst operating in the midst of a climate of neoliberal inequality, are dedicated to producing spaces which promote democratic equality of access, freedom of speech and an opportunity for marginalised individuals to share their stories. As one cultural worker put it when reflecting on why he wanted to work for Southbank Centre and why the staff he managed were committed to the organisation:

> I think people are very aware on one level or another of the history. I think there's a conscious decision to work for an organisation that, for example, attempts to do 50% of its programming for free and is tackling issues and exploring new ideas. (P13)

My thesis has drawn out the complex processes through which cultural workers at Southbank Centre are actively mobilising certain strands of the organisation's heritage. This was recently explicitly codified through Jude Kelly's promotion of the cross-organisation Festival Methodology (20011-2018) which involved the programming and delivery of at least fourteen or more annual multi-arts festivals and series across the Southbank Centre site. This methodology operated through several discursive ideologies around, for example, democratic access and participation, as well as enterprise and innovation. The thesis has used its critical analysis to unpack how it can also be understood as an example of an organisation drawing on its 'bank' of emotive legacies in order to survive in difficult times. I have argued that studying how heritage is 'used' by cultural workers in both overt and covert, official and unofficial ways, is revealing of the complex politics and management of an organisation.

The thesis has argued for greater recognition of collaborative cultural work and interrogation of the power dynamics at play within it. As I showed in Chapter 6 many cultural workers at Southbank Centre are involved in co-producing affective visitor experiences collaboratively with others. Although there is a need for individualised emotional labour at the organisation and co-production is used as a management tool, the overall way of working also, in large part due to the Festival Methodology, necessitates and encourages collaboration in a number of ways and there is evidently an activation of the social democratic heritage of the organisation.

A second conclusion I have come to, based on my investigation of academic theory on the subject, my interviews, interactions and engagement with recent and current cultural workers, ethnographic observations and reflections, and my own experiences as a cultural worker, is that as a society we need to find ways to improve both working conditions and structural inequalities in cultural work. As Oakley and O'Brien put it, 'cultural products matter because they shape how we understand ourselves and our society and thus the question of who gets to make them is a profoundly relevant one' (Oakley and O'Brien, 2016: 474, see also Banks, 2017: 89). This needs to be investigated, challenged and conditions changed in order to both attract diverse individuals to these roles and to enable them to stay in these jobs. In order to do this there is a wider need to address the growing inequalities in our society and find ways to

give individuals greater access to a range of opportunities, resources and careers (Banks, 2017, Littler, 2017, Segal, 2017).

The chapters of this thesis have therefore been organised around the themes of democratic access, the negotiation and mobilisation of heritage, and the co-production of space. The discussion below explores these themes further, analysing why they are important today and extrapolating the ramifications of my research findings.

Democratic access

In Chapter 4. *A Democratic Site? Changing Meanings of Spatial Access at Southbank Centre* I argued that from its inception steeped in democratic principles, through an era in which the Royal Festival Hall operated as an exclusive oasis, to its current pluralistic, hectic, and diverse yet consumer oriented identity, spatial access has been a significant concern at Southbank Centre and for its workforce**.** Although Southbank Centre was designed with democratic principles in mind, specifically around empowering individual visitors to utilise the spaces in undefined, differentiated and personalised ways (Cook, 1999, Herring 2009b, Nathaniel Lichfield and Partners, 2015), this was a historical, contextual approach to democratic spatial access. In more recent times the architectural style and physical layout of the buildings and outside spaces have proved to be barriers to access, for example to disabled people and to some extent women, as well as parents with buggies and young children. Much of this has been addressed by Southbank's current approach of speaking to, working with, and reconstructing its architectural history. For example, in 2018 to celebrate the re-opening of the Queen Elizabeth Hall Southbank Centre ran a 'Concrete Dreams' exhibition and tour during which participants were shown the many affectionate heritage labels around Southbank Centre which commemorate the architectural decisions and innovations of the 1960s, promoting the forward-thinking and democratic ideologies behind the original design of these buildings. Physical barriers to access have also been materially addressed through recent adaptations and modifications to the buildings, which provide access to hard to reach spaces through lifts as well as further facilities, such as accessible toilets and changing spaces. This is an example of the complexity of the production of space for cultural workers, and how practices and ideologies in the present are influenced by the layers of history which co-exist at Southbank Centre, particularly around democratic access to space.

In our increasingly neoliberalised, privatised society there is a growing need to protect democratic access to public spaces that exist, and to develop new public spaces. This is especially important given that many welfare supported free or inexpensive public spaces such as libraries and leisure centres have been systematically dismantled in the UK (Massey, 2005, Littler, 2017). Southbank Centre spaces are, at the time of writing, pluralistic spaces used by a wide range of individuals (Martinez, 2014, Jones, 2014) and it is understood to be one of the most well used inside public spaces in London (Nathaniel Lichfield and Partners, 2015). Cultural workers for the organisation frequently talked about the site as open and accessible to people from all walks of life. For example, one cultural worker who has worked for Southbank Centre for almost 30 years reflected that:

> The people who come to the site now are from every strata of society, whereas when I first started here, it was only white, middle class people. But now… if you're a single mum in Lambeth, you know you can come here, you can bring your own food and you can bring your own stuff to drink, the kids are entertained and it doesn't cost anything (P11).

The quote above demonstrates that cultural workers operate with an understanding of the histories of space at Southbank Centre in relation to democratic access, and that this cultural worker has been actively engaged in observing and reflecting upon who accesses Southbank Centre spaces.

However, as my research has shown, these practices are not always made easy for either staff or visitors. This is because transparent provision of truly public spaces in cities has been compromised and curtailed by developments in how urban spaces are produced and managed, as Hewison puts it,'formerly shared public spaces, and new ones created by development, have become subject to regimes of surveillance and private exploitation' (Hewison, 2014: 178, see also Minton, 2017). There is an ongoing proliferation of 'pseudo-public space' in cities across the UK and especially in London. These are those spaces which may appear to be public and open to all but are controlled by private agencies. As such the kinds of individuals permitted to use them, and the kinds of behaviours permitted and those not, are decided by private landowners. These regulations are enforced by private security companies, rather than coming under the remit of local authority bylaws, which are available to the public. For the most part there is no clear demarcation as to where public space begins and ends, and therefore what the rules and regulations of using these spaces are (Shenker, 2017:1). Two examples of 'pseudo-public spaces' include the space outside City Hall, which once housed the GLC, who, as discussed in Chapter 4, were committed to public

debate and democratic access. The space is now owned by More London, (owned by the Kuwait sovereign wealth fund) and, for example, a recent Guardian article states that reporters were asked to leave the area and banned from carrying our investigative journalism in this space (Shenker, 2017). The area around the London Eye is also pseudo-public. Both of these spaces are minutes from the Southbank Centre site along the River Thames. Additionally, there is no clear physical reminder that City Hall once housed the GLC and that, just over thirty years ago, the building was a radical and progressive space into which members of the public were readily invited in order to share their views on important social issues, such as discrimination faced by ethnic minorities, women, disabled people and gay and lesbian people (The GLC Story, 2017). Instead this stretch of the Southbank is now home to the London Aquarium and a McDonald's.

As discussed in Chapter 4 Southbank Centre have recently published 'house rules' about the use of public spaces in its buildings. These include more prescriptive rules about those behaviours which are not allowed, for example: sleeping; sitting on the floor; and not wearing shoes. There is also firm guidance on when laptops can be used e.g. between 10am and 5pm.[84] These new (2017-18) rules indicate a move towards a more controlled public space. However in contrast to the pseudo-public spaces discussed above, these 'house rules' are readily available to the public. As discussed in Chapter 4 they are also indicative of huge demands on this public space by a phenomenally large number of visitors with different expectations. As such, and informed by my interviews with cultural workers, these rules appear to have been created with an overall commitment to access in mind and a desire to try to make the spaces as user friendly to as many people as possible.

The ability to access public spaces and for a whole range of behaviours to be permitted in these spaces, as described above, is vital to democratic society. As John Parkinson argues in his 2012 book *Democracy and Public Space: The Physical Sites of Democratic Performance*

> [D]emocracy depends to a surprising extent on the availability of physical, public space, even in our allegedly digital world…In many respects the availability of space for democratic performance is under threat… by overlooking the need for such space- or arguing against that need- we run the risk of undermining some important conditions of democracy in the modern world (Parkinson, 2012).

[84] https://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/visit/facilities-access

Parkinson's analysis of public sites for democracy focuses on traditional and political sites of democracy e.g. parliament, as well as urban public spaces such as squares and parks, and does not take into account the role of cultural workers and cultural institutions. An implication of my PhD research is that cultural institutions should be a focus for research into public space and democracy, particularly since this is an often overlooked topic. Furthermore, as I have argued, the important roles that cultural workers play in these processes is often undervalued.

As we have seen throughout history, and in recent years, there is a need for public space for debate and protest, as the recent protests across the globe demonstrate, for example: the G20 protest in London in 2009; the Arab Spring uprisings 2010-2012, the Occupy Wall Street protests in 2011 and more recent and ongoing Anti-Trump protests and marches. A further way in which the role of cultural workers is somewhat undervalued is around their work in providing spaces for debate. We need public spaces in order to come together and listen, debate, test out ideas and encounter new experiences. Segal argues that 'creating more social spaces for facilitating people's greater sense of involvement and agency in public affairs could help promote healthier, happier, less atomized communities' (Segal, 2017: 29). Parkinson also argues that there is a need to bring powerful politicians in physical contact with a range of people, and not to rely on digital means of communication to replace face to face interaction and engagement with communities (Parkinson, 2012: 6). These are both relevant to many Southbank Centre festivals and series, such as those I list in Chapter 6. On their website, when booking tickets Southbank Centre ask for a donation, with the following message, 'Southbank Centre is a charity and relies on donations. Play your part in inspiring, educating and building tolerance in communities through art.' This illustrates how an explicit aim of the organisation is to support social cohesion and tolerance through participation, debate and engagement. Parkinson's exploration of what 'makes' space public ultimately theorises that rather than the 'idea of a single public/private distinction' a 'four-fold definition of public space' is useful and that for a place to be understood as public it must fit one or more of the following criteria: 'is openly accessible; and/or uses common resources; and/or has common effects; and/or is used for the performance of public roles' (Parkinson, 2012: 16). Southbank Centre could be said to fit all of these criteria to some extent, and is therefore an important example to consider when researching public space.

Drawing on Massey's theory that understanding space as open allows understanding of both history as open and the potential for multiple, plural futures to coexist

(Massey, 2005: 59), I argue that there should be more research into the ways in which arts centres co-produce spaces for activism, debate and politics with members of the public and the important role that cultural workers play in this. As Newman puts it, 'We need, in short, to rethink tales we tell about the past and the resources on which we draw to imagine and enact other possible futures' (Newman, 2012:16). Throughout my research, interviews with cultural workers have brought to life the ways in which many staff at Southbank Centre are committed to providing democratic access, not least because of their engagement with the layers of heritage at the organisation, as I move on to discuss below.

The mobilisation of heritage

Chapter 5 analysed the mobilisation of legacies connected to the Festival of Britain in 1951 by Southbank Centre, examining which aspects of the heritage of the organisation have been made popularised and which elided or muted. The chapter analysed the political and cultural meanings of Jude Kelly's Festival Methodology and how this was negotiated and understood by cultural workers at Southbank Centre. It traced the ways in which immaterial and intangible legacies are apparent and constructed in discourses of past and present employees, considering which aspects of Southbank Centre's heritage were/ are glamourised and promoted (as well as sanitised and repackaged) and which were/ are ignored or marginalised. As I have shown, in many ways the original Festival has been commercialised, and the mobilisation of legacies connected to it by Southbank Centre can be understood as an example of an organisation needing to draw upon its own 'bank' of emotive legacies in order to survive in a challenging climate. I argued that the heritage of the original Festival of Britain has been appropriated for the contemporary commercial purposes of the organisation rather than being more extensively or 'faithfully' adhered to in terms of democratic access.

The implication of this argument is that there is a need for the cultural histories of important institutions to be explored in more depth, in order to access those histories which have been marginalised. For example, at Southbank Centre, although there is some activation of the GLC legacy, in that it has been fused with the Festival of Britain legacy, but for the most part this dimension of Southbank Centre history goes unnamed. The pivotal role of Ken Livingstone's GLC in giving voice to and empowering marginalised communities in London, particularly in the 1980s, could be more actively mobilised by the organisation. Whilst Margaret Thatcher aimed to eradicate collectivity, Livingstone's GLC was committed to its promotion and offered

support to a number of collective movements (Segal, 2017: 255). This is one example of a strand of heritage that could be more actively mobilised by the organisation, specifically when promoting its commitment to inclusion, participation, diversity and activism, as I describe above.

One of the driving motivators for my research project is my ongoing belief in the importance of opportunities for all to meaningfully engage with the arts, and for the responsibility of all cultural institutions, as well as government policies, to enable this. In particular I think it is important that people are given the opportunity to engage with public, collective, live artistic experiences, whether carnivals, festivals, performance art, music, or other art forms. As I explored at earlier stages in my thesis many of these kinds of activities have been suppressed from the seventeenth century onwards, and are often nowadays heavily commercialised (Ehrnenreich, 2007, Segal, 2017). Still, as Segal argues, experiencing 'moments of collective joy' continue to bring people closer together, and communal festivities have played an important part in society throughout history:

> Whether or not carnival's ecstatic moments of freedom tied in with more enduring social revolt, there is no doubt about its routine significance as a joyful affirmation of collective existence. Such moments of radical happiness were effective precisely when they overcame the individuating principles that have become so prominent in modernity (Segal, 2017:69).

The facilitation by cultural workers at Southbank Centre of 'moments of radical happiness' through its range of free and accessible participatory activities, as connected to its layers of heritage, has been a key focus of this research. The original 1951 Festival of Britain, the opening of its doors to the public and first festivals in the 1980s, and the current Festival Methodology can all be understood as times in which the organisation has explicitly prioritised access to live arts.

To give a small flavour of the type of experiences I mean, for example, in September 2018 Southbank Centre provided free opportunities for deaf and disabled individuals to take part in dance workshops and dance-offs with professionals from the Latino Ball culture scene[85] , a free Samba School, Women of the World Festival Think-ins, a free, inclusive, funk, soul and electronica nightclub Beautiful Octopus Club[86] as well as interactive installations in the external spaces of Southbank Centre. In his relatively recent book *Cultural Capital* Robert Hewison calls for the arts and heritage in the UK to be protected and promoted. Protected, that is, from vast carelessness

[85] https://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/whats-on/129751-vogue-unlimited-house-krip-2018
[86] https://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/whats-on/126217-beautiful-octopus-club-2018

with resources and capital build or publicity projects like the Millennium Dome project. Protected also from the overuse of targets, bureaucracies and positioning the arts as a 'save-all' measure for social and urban regeneration. Promoted not just as an economic tool, but as an opportunity for expression, enjoyment, learning and the development of both individuals and society. Promoted because an engagement with, and production of, the arts and heritage, should be a collective right (Hewison, 2014). The important part that cultural workers play in this should not be forgotten, and in particular the ways in which individual cultural workers work collaboratively in teams in order to produce spaces and provide access to the arts has been drawn out by, and illuminated through, my research. I next move on to look more closely at these kinds of collaborative work and the co-production of affective experience.

The co-production of affective visitor experience

Chapter 6 analysed how cultural workers at Southbank Centre are expected to work with both material and immaterial legacies, and explore how they are put to work in emotive, affective terms. This chapter argued that, although individualised emotional labour, or labour which requires managing one's own emotions in order to create the 'right' kind of outward appearance (Hochschild, 1983) is required at Southbank Centre in a variety of roles, collaborative working is also necessary. In large part this collective working was produced and managed through Jude Kelly's Festival Methodology (2011-2018) during which different teams worked closely together, to deliver more than 14 annual festivals and series. This kind of collaborative working has not always been prevalent at Southbank Centre, and in fact in the early decades of its existence there were examples of quite siloed working practices, with different departments working relatively independently from each other.

> (1990s) One of the things I remember realising at Southbank Centre which I thought was completely brilliant and hugely frustrating both at the same time was that each department really did feel that Southbank Centre revolved around them.
>
> They were the core of it, so whether it was the team that was renting out space, or the team that was getting in the money, or the teams that were programming the arts, everyone felt that they were the core and everyone else should be supporting them. (P16)

However, in recent decades there have been deliberate attempts to realign working practices at the organisation to be more collaborative and cooperative. This means, for example that departments such as Technical or Marketing are involved in planning and a broad spectrum of project management stages. There has clearly

been a drive to bring cultural workers together within the organisation in order to co-produce spaces and the visitor experience.

Chapter 6 pushes the study of co-production into new areas. I argued that there is a demand for the performance of particular kinds of emotional labour for many cultural workers at Southbank Centre, that this may necessitate the suppression of some emotions such as tiredness, irritability or frustration (Hochschild, 1983, Gill and Orgad, 2016) and there are dangers of the flattening and simplification of emotions in public life (Segal, 2017). Increasingly in society, and largely through meritocratic discourses, individuals are incited to work on themselves rather than in collaboration with others and as such individuals become significantly less powerful in relation to both structural inequalities connected to gender, 'race' and economic status, and other factors which affect individual lives, such as environmental instability (Littler, 2017: 2). For example, in a time when trade unions are in decline as a collective force to counteract exploitation from employers and organisations (McGuigan 2010, Segal, 2017) there is a clear need for workers to be able to find ways to work together to protect themselves.

For Hewison, neoliberalism encourages selfish individualism but he argues that culture should be collective, and that collective forms of culture can be an extremely positive force in the development of society (Hewison, 2014). My research has found that there are inherently collaborative ways of working at Southbank Centre today, and these have been particularly prevalent since the mobilisation of Jude Kelly's Festival Methodology. Also, because of the multidisciplinary nature of many of Southbank Centre's festivals there is active engagement from staff from different departments. These ways of working represent a different model to individualised, competitive practices that are often associated with the cultural and creative industries and as such point to new possibilities for the co-production of space by cultural institutions.

In addition it became evident from my interviews and conversations with a range of cultural workers for Southbank Centre that, for many staff, there appears to be a genuine commitment to the organisation, and to the layers of history which are constructed and reconstructed in the present at the organisation in order to co-produce space. This connects to ideas around collective merit (Littler, 2017) and Southbank Centre staff talked to me about 'doing it for the greater good' or being part of a collective endeavour. The idea of collective merit resonated through many of my interactions and interviews with Southbank Centre staff who reflected on their role in

terms of its importance to the wider organisation and to society as a whole. The shared that their reasons for doing their jobs were more closely connected to democratic ideals about people working together to enable participation in the arts than to ideologies around competitive individualism which are prevalent in many workplaces today. This is a further reason I think that the role of cultural workers such as those at Southbank Centre should be reappraised and not undervalued or underestimated.

Having discussed the themes of democratic access, the mobilisation of heritage and collaborative work, as connected to the three key findings chapters of my PhD thesis, I lastly move on to present ways in which I think my research signals new possibilities and avenues for academic investigation.

New research possibilities

It is useful to consider ways in which my thesis could signal new research possibilities as connected to the historicisation and spatialisation of cultural work. One such avenue would be the use of this methodology at another cultural institution. When I asked a senior member of staff about whom Southbank Centre might compare themselves to, or benchmark themselves with, he mentioned the Lincoln Centre, a performing arts centre in New York[87] which has a range of venues and mostly music performances across the year, as well as Arts Centre Melbourne, Australia, an arts centre which programmes comedy, musicals, classical music, dance, circus and magic, opera and theatre[88]. It would be a very interesting next step to utilise a similar methodology and apply it to one of these organisations, particularly in terms of the tensions around democratic access. Whether there would be such rich and contested histories at other organisations would be an interesting pathway to pursue. I think that the methodology of drawing upon the lived experienced of cultural workers at other organisations would inevitably bring up fascinating histories, because these personal experiences are often marginalised and 'official' stories about the past are told. I imagine that all established arts centres in urban sites have layered histories, and the over-layering of space at other similar organisations would be worthy of research, and would help make it clear how they contribute to public culture. As the two cultural institutions mentioned above are both situated in Western cities/ those in the global North, another interesting avenue for research would be to apply this methodology to arts centres in different contexts. For example South

[87] http://www.lincolncenter.org/the-score
[88] https://www.artscentremelbourne.com.au/whats-on

American, Indian, African or Asian cultural institutions would be a fascinating area for further exploration of cultural work, democratic access, the mobilisation of heritage and collaborative working, in the process throwing light on the Western characteristics of my topic.

Lastly, it is widely recognised in some academic and political contexts that there is an urgent need for different ways of operating in order to ameliorate our current social, political (for example extremist and Far Right movements in Europe and the US), and environmental global situation (or imminent crisis) (Klein, 2015, Grossberg, 2015, Segal, 2017, Banks and O'Connor, 2017). Littler argues that we need to dismantle the neoliberal meritocracy myth and in the process redistribute wealth and install necessary modes of collective support, for example healthcare and education (Littler, 2017: 219), and I think that cultural institutions have an important role to play in this. Banks and O'Connor ask whether the cultural and creative industries can be re-imagined to enable some kind of 'inclusive commons' in order to envisage solutions to the challenging situation we find ourselves in on a global level (Banks and O'Connor, 2017: 649). This again is something I believe that Southbank Centre are playing a part in. With more funding and support, the most progressive elements of their model could be expanded to increase participation and activism, as well as extend collective imaginaries for a better future.

Appendices

Appendix A: Example Ethnographic Fieldwork Visit to Southbank Centre

Fig AA.1 *The Story of 51* Exhibition[89]

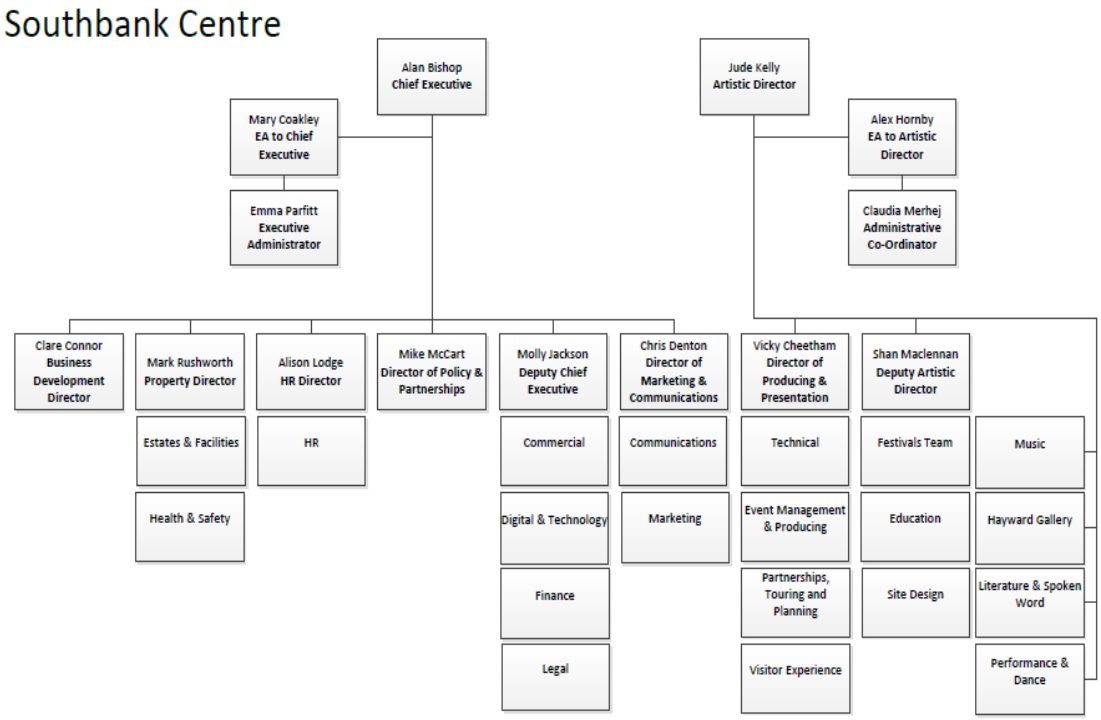
During one of my first interviews, in 2014, with a cultural worker in the Destination Marketing team at Southbank Centre, she emphasised the significance of the exhibition on the ground floor of the Royal Festival Hall which was designed by Hemingway Design [90] and placed there shortly after she joined the organisation in 2011. I had seen the exhibition but had not realised its importance. As a result of this being mentioned during the interview I undertook an ethnographic fieldwork visit to Southbank Centre later that week. I conducted further research through examining and photographing the exhibition and observing staff and visitors engaging with it, making notes on my findings. I also analysed primary materials about the exhibition produced by Southbank Centre [91]. As my PhD research progressed I understood that this was one example of the explicit mobilisation of the Festival of Britain heritage by the organisation, as I discuss in depth in Chapter 5. My photographs of the exhibition introduced this chapter and I used the exhibition sign to frame discussion of the original Festival of Britain ethos.

[89] Photo by Kathy Williams
[90] https://www.hemingwaydesign.co.uk/projects/museum-51-royal-festival-hall/
[91] For example please see https://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/about/what-we-do/1951-festival-britain-remembered

I was also able to use this new knowledge and understanding to aid my future research into the ways in which Southbank Centre's heritage is both materially and immaterially activated in the present. For example I used the exhibition as a prompt when talking to research participants, both during interviews and in research discussions, about the production of space and uses of heritage at Southbank Centre. I asked them for their opinions on the exhibition and, as appropriate, if they remembered it being constructed. This is one example of the ways in which I was able to demonstrate to cultural workers at Southbank Centre that I was actively engaged and interested in the organisation's heritage, and therefore build productive reciprocal relationships with my research participants.

I reflected on the ways in which physical reminders of heritage within creative and cultural workplaces might affect individual cultural workers, drawing on my experiences as a cultural worker for an organisation which constantly referred to its geographical location and playwriting heritage, and used this to inform my future engagements with research participants. This visit is an indicative example of numerous (at least 15) ethnographic fieldwork visits between September 2014 and October 2018, additional to interviews carried out, which were 'conducted within the settings of the participants, with an understanding of how the context informs the action; involving the researcher in participation and observation' (Skeggs, 2001:426).

Appendix B: Southbank Centre Executive Chart (2015) and Further Details of Research Participants by Department



List of Participants by Department

(Participants are listed in order of department from left to right as per the Executive Chart above)

Development

Head of Grants and Trusts

Former Head of Individual Giving

Facilities

Head of Facilities

HR

Director of HR

Policy and Partnerships

Director, Policy and Partnerships

Commercial/ Events

Commercial Festival Manager

Commercial Events Manager/ Head of Commercial Events

Communications

Press Manager

Marketing

Destinations Marketing Manager

Destinations Marketing Officer

Technical

Technical Director

Visitor Experience

Former Visitor Service/ Ticketing Manager

Head of Visitor Experience

Visitor Experience Manager

Visitor Experience Host

Ticketing Host

Artistic/ Festivals Team/ Education/ Participation

Programmer, Women of the World

Former Director, Arts Centre Programmes

Community Engagement Manager/ Festival Participation Coordinator

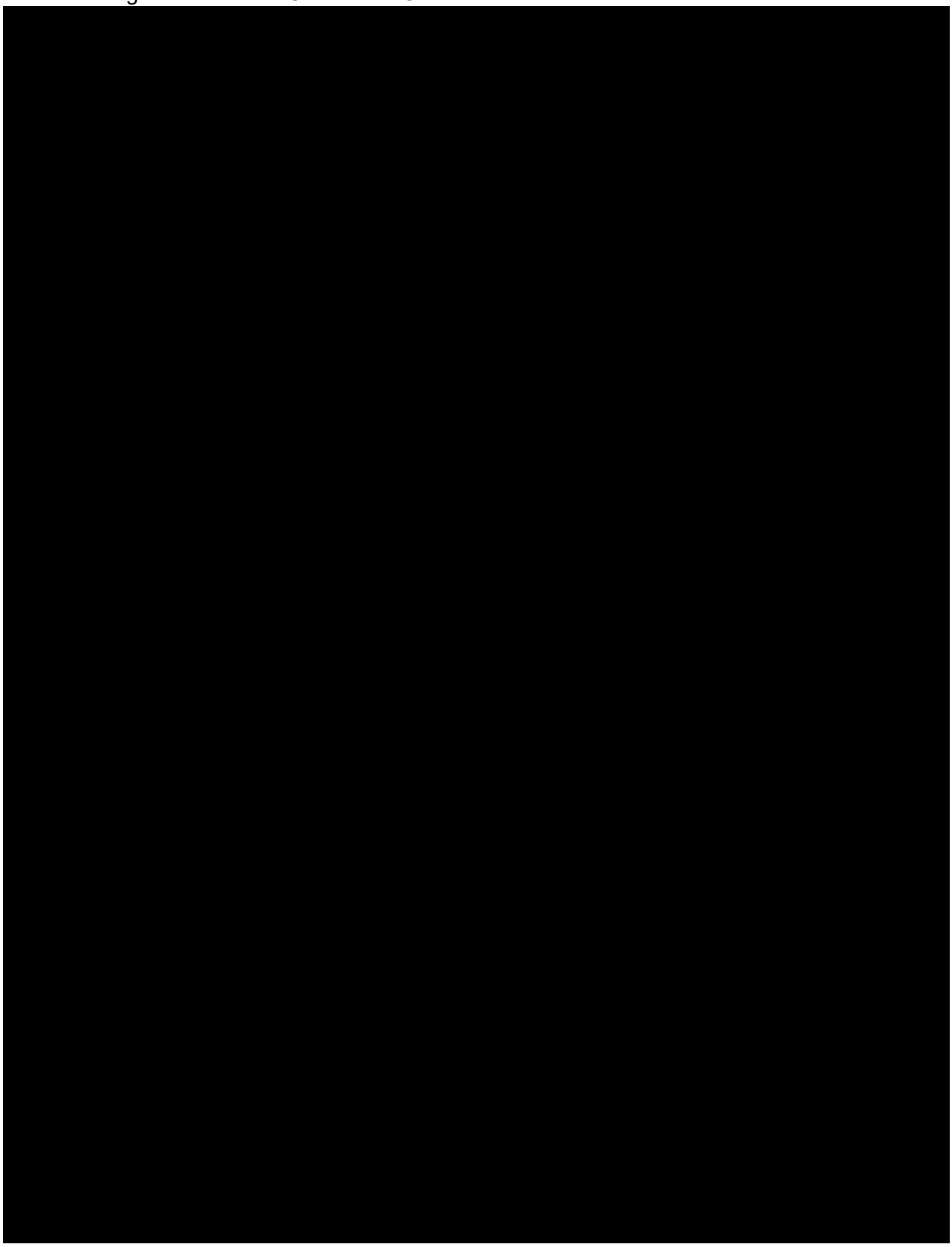
Former Head of Education

Heritage Participation Associate

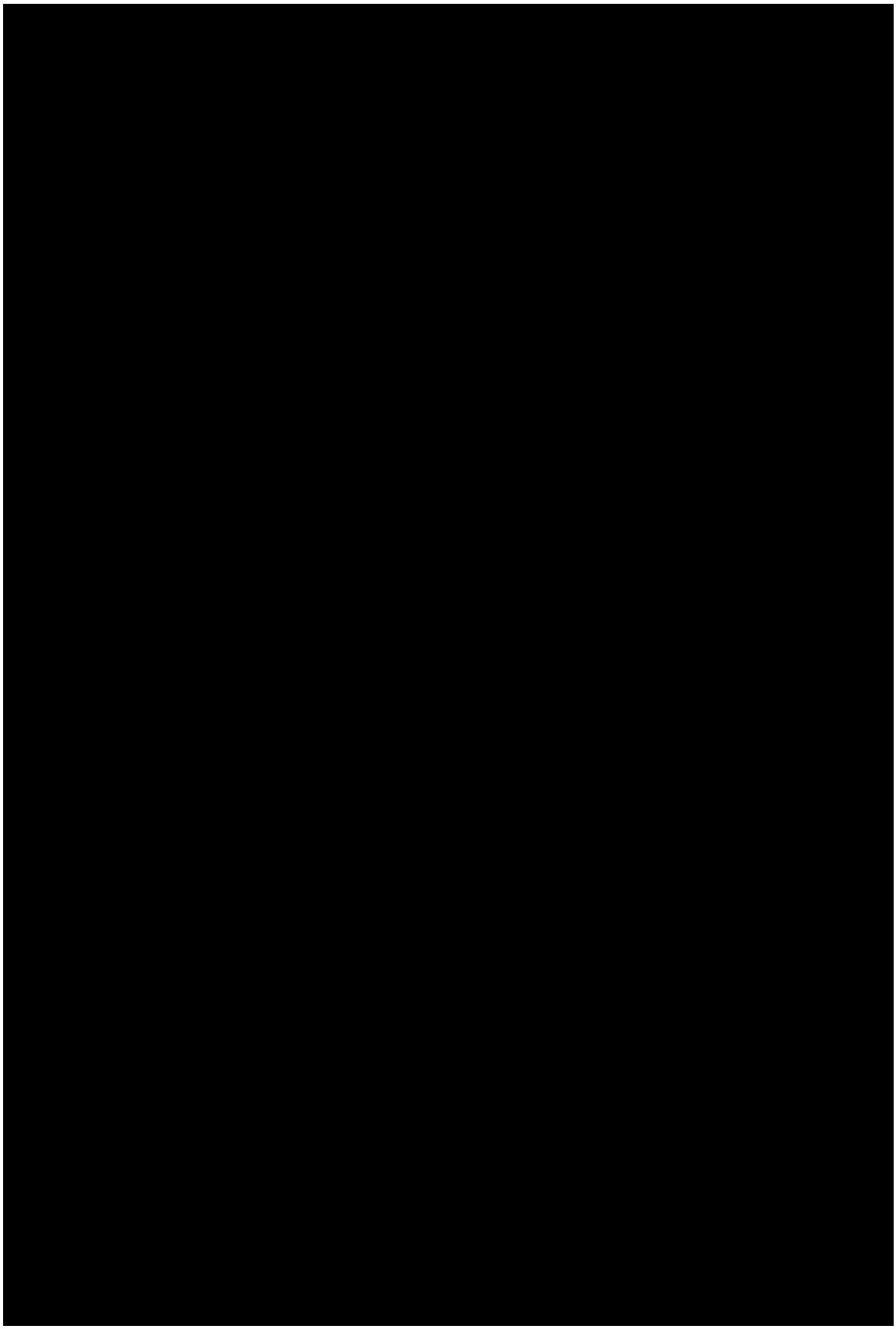
Archivist

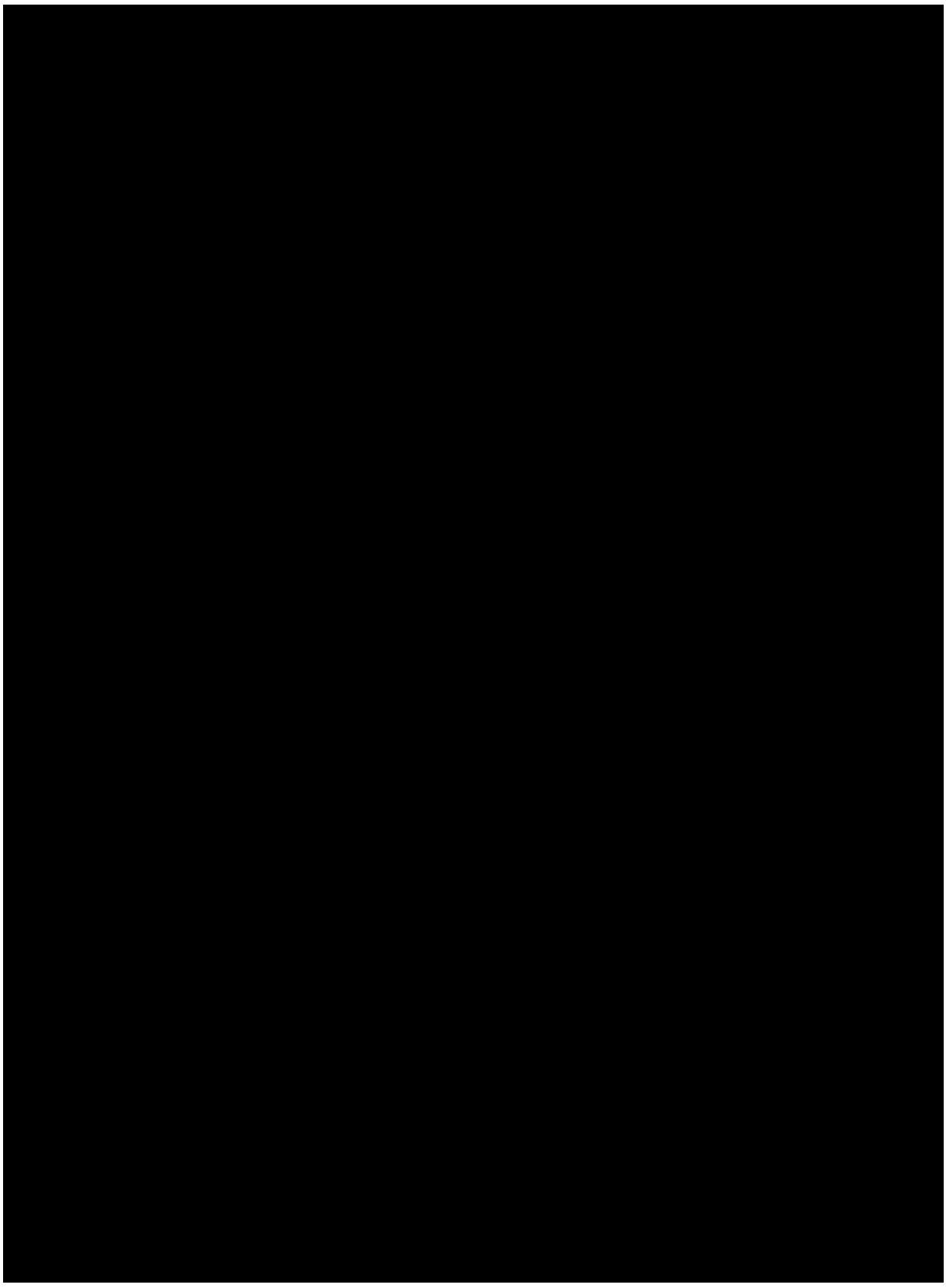
NB Plus two participants who wished to remain anonymous.

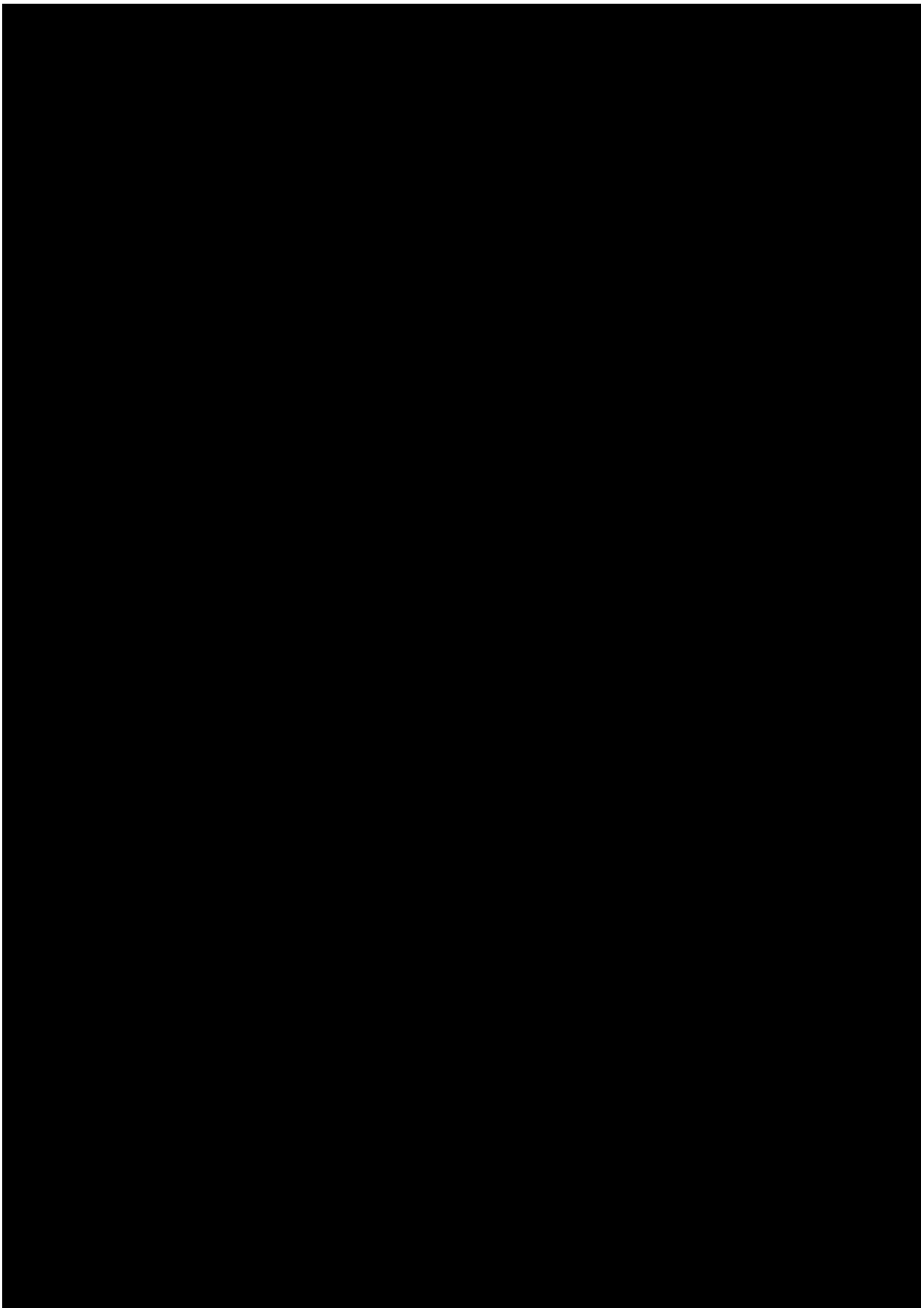
Appendix C: Further Details of Research Participants by Role, Time Worked/ Working for Southbank Centre and Gender

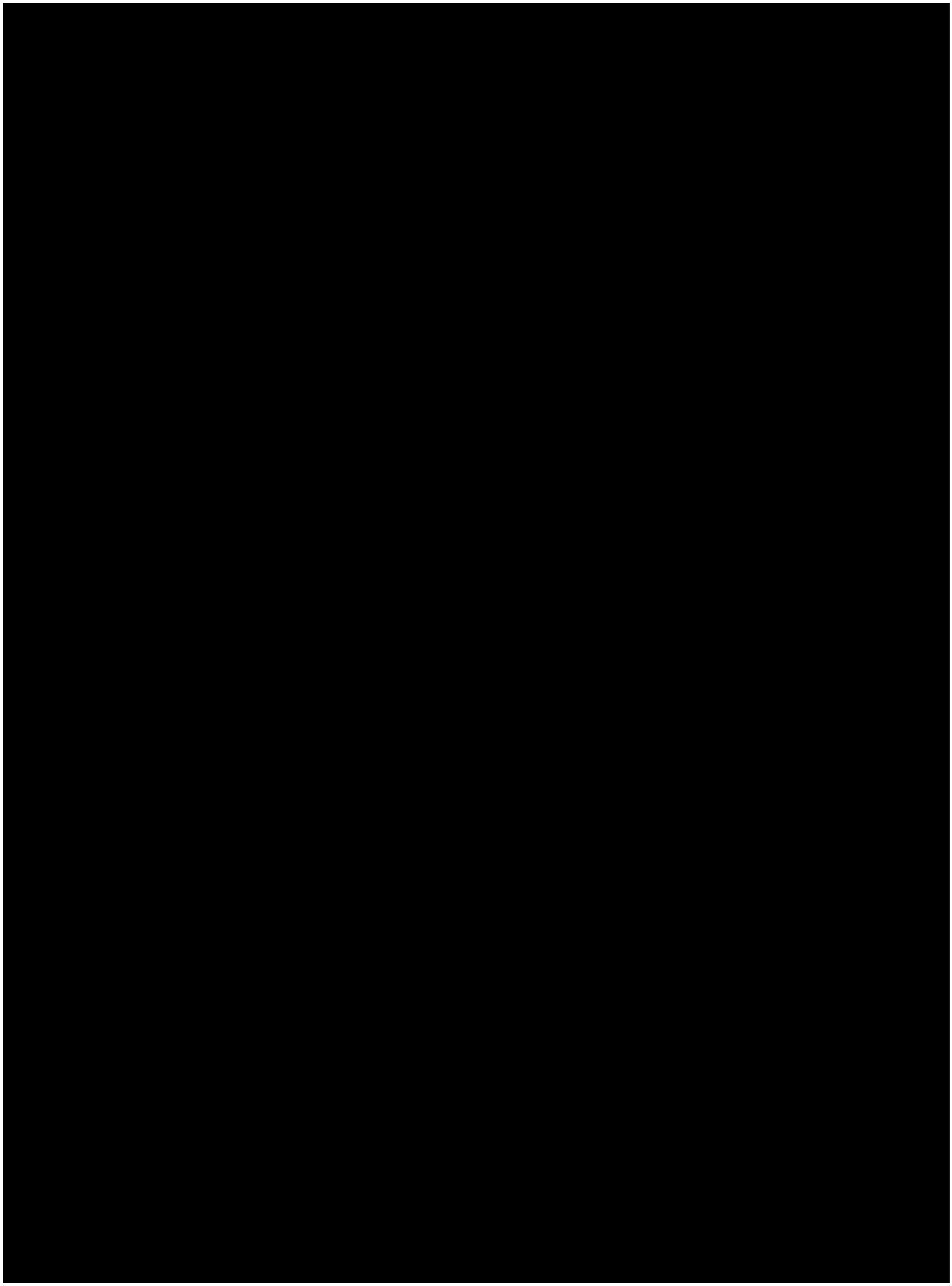


Appendix D: The Southbank Centre Way Competencies Framework









Appendix E: Sample pages from *Looking After Our Heritage: A Conservation Plan for Southbank Centre*

HOW CAN WE ENSURE THAT SOUTHBANK CENTRE'S HERITAGE IS LOOKED AFTER FOR THE FUTURE?

A Conservation Plan is a document which sets out what is historically significant about a place, and how that significance can be best protected for the future. A place can be important for a number of different reasons. This could be, for example, its architecture, the people who designed and built it, the events that have happened there or the collections it contains. A place can also be important to different individuals and groups of people for different reasons. For example, they may have been visitors, or performers or workers and this will affect the memories and values they ascribe to a place.

It is now over 60 years since the Royal Festival Hall was built as part of the South Bank Exhibition, the centrepiece of the 1951 Festival of Britain. A detailed Conservation Management Plan was written in 2013, in consultation with key stakeholders such as the London Borough of Lambeth, English Heritage and the Twentieth Century Society, to describe its importance and to agree how we can care for its remarkable heritage now and in the future. The Conservation Management Plan comprehensively covers Southbank Centre's history and architectural significance, including a detailed appendix of historic plans, sources and consultation responses.

If you are interested in reading the original Plan in more detail you can request it directly from Southbank Centre by emailing **Mike McCart** at: **mike.mccart@southbankcentre.co.uk**

This Conservation Plan is a summary of the Conservation Management Plan. It has been written so that everyone who has an interest in Southbank Centre can readily understand the site's history and feel part of its future conservation.

The plan has been written in line with conservation planning best-practice and guidance provided by the Heritage Lottery Fund. It has four different parts.:

1.0 UNDERSTANDING THE HERITAGE

A look back at Southbank Centre's first 60 years; who built it and why? How has it changed over the years?

2.0 STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

What is important about Southbank Centre, and why? Why is its collection of buildings significant? What are the performances and events that have taken place here? Who are they important to?

3.0 RISKS AND OPPORTUNITIES

Which parts of Southbank Centre do we need to repair? What are the risks to our future growth as an arts centre, and what are the opportunities?

4.0 POLICIES

What are we currently doing to protect our heritage? What is going to be done to address risks in the future? How are we going to protect what is important about our buildings and our collective memory?

List of References

Books and Journal Articles

Ackroyd, Peter. (2000). *London: The Biography.* London: Chatto and Windus.

Adorno, T and Horkheimer, M. (1944). 'The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception'. In S. During, ed. *The Cultural Studies Reader.* 3rd edition. London: Routledge.

Amin, A. (1994). 'Post Fordism: Models Fantasies and Phantoms of Transition'. In: A. Amin, ed. *Post Fordism: A Reader.* London: Blackwell.

Andrews, W. (1887). *Famous Frosts and Frost Fairs*. London: George Redway.

Arnold, C. (2015). *Globe: Life in Shakespeare's London*. London: Simon & Schuster UK.

Atkinson, H. (2012). *The Festival of Britain: A Land and its People.* London: Tauris and Co Ltd.

Atkinson, R. and Flint, J. (2001). Accessing Hidden and Hard-to-Reach Populations: Snowball Research Strategies. *Social Research Update*. Issue 33.

Baeten, G. (2009). 'Regenerating the Southbank: Reworking Community and the Emergence of Post-Political Regeneration'. In: R. Imrie, L. Lees, and M. Raco, eds. *Regenerating London: Governance, Sustainability and Community in a Global City.* London: Routledge.

Bagnall, G. (2003). Performance and performativity at heritage sites. *Museum and Society*. Vol. 1. Issue 2. Pp. 87-103.

Bakhshi, H. Freeman, A. and Higgs, P. A. (2013). *Dynamic Mapping of the UK's Creative Industries.* London: National Endowment for Science, Technology and the Arts (NESTA).

Bakhtin, M. (1984). *Rabelai and his world.* H. Iswolsky, trans. Bloomington, IN: University Press.

Banks, M. (2007). *The Politics of Cultural Work.* Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
--- (2014). 'Being in the Zone of Cultural Work'. *Culture Unbound*. Vol. 6. Pp. 241-262.
--- (2015). 'Valuing cultural industries'. In: Oakley, K and O'Connor, J. eds. *The Routledge Companion to the Cultural Industries*. Abingdon & New York: Routledge, pp.35-45.
--- (2017). *Creative Justice: Cultural Industries, Work and Inequality.* London: Rowman and Littlefield International Ltd.

Banks, M., Gill, R. and Taylor, S. (2013) 'Introduction: Cultural Work, Time and Trajectory' In: Banks, M., Gill, R. and Taylor, S. eds. *Theorizing Cultural Work*. Routledge London: Routledge. Pp.1-16.

Banks, M and Milestone, K. (2011). Individualization, Gender and Cultural Work. Gender, *Work and Organisation*. Vol. 18. No. 1. Pp. 73-89.

Banks, M. and O' Connor, J. (2017). Inside the Whale (and how to get out of there): Moving on from two decades of creative industries research. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*. Vol. 20. No. 6. Pp. 637-654.

Barnes, C. and Mercer, G. (2004). *Implementing the Social Model of Disability: Theory and Research*. Leeds: The Disability Press Centre for Disability Studies, University of Leeds.

Barnes, C. Oliver, M. and Barton, L. eds. (2002). *Disability Studies Today*. London: Polity Press.

Barrett, C. (2003). Hayward Gallery Revisited. *Twentieth Century Society*. December Issue. http://www.c20society.org.uk/casework/hayward-gallery-revisited/ [Accessed 16/03/2016]

BBC (2013). 'Skateboarders rally against park relocation' BBC News. 9th June 2013. http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-22832575 [Accessed 24th January 2015]

Beck, A. ed. (2003). *Cultural Work: Understanding the Cultural Industries*. London: Routledge.

Beck, U. (1992) *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*. London: Sage

Beck, U. and Beck-Gernsheim, E. (2002). *Individualization*. London: Sage.

Bell, D. and Jayne, M. eds. (2004). *The City of Quarters*. Surrey: Ashgate.

Benjamin, W. (1973). *Charles Baudelaire: a Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism*. London: Verso.

Benveniste, E. (1971/ 1966). *Problems in General Linguistics.* Florida: University of Miami Press.

Biernacki P. and Waldorf D. (1981). 'Snowball Sampling: Problems and Techniques of Chain Referral Sampling'. *Sociological Methods and Research*. Vol. 10. Pp.141–163.

Borden, I. (2014). 'Things that People Cannot Anticipate: Skateboarding at the Festival Wing'. In: I. Borden, M. Fraser,M. and B. Penner, eds., *Forty Ways to Think About Architecture: Architectural History and Theory Today*. Chichester: Wiley.

Bovill, C., Cook-Sather, A., and Felten, P. (2011) Students as co-creators of teaching approaches, course design, and curricula: implications for academic developers. *International Journal for Academic Development*. 16 (2), 133–45.

Boyle, D. and Harris, M. (2013). *The Challenge of Co-Production: How equal partnerships between professionals and the public are crucial to improving public services*. London: NESTA.

Brandon, D. and Brooke, A. (2011). *Bankside: London's Original District of Sin*. Stroud: Amberley.

Brook, O., O'Brien, D. and Taylor, M. (2018). Panic! Social class, taste and inequalities in the creative industries. Online paper for *Panic! It's an arts emergency*. London: Create London.

Brown, K. (2014) 'Skaters will stay at the undercroft as London's Southbank Centre gives in. *The Guardian*. 18th September 2014 https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2014/sep/18/skaters-southbank-centre-undercroft-london-remains-open [Accessed 17th May 2015]

Brown, P. and Hesketh, A. (2004). *The Mismanagement of Talent: Employability and Jobs in the Knowledge Economy.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Bury, J.B. (1930). 'The Science of History'. In: *Selected Essays of J.B. Bury*. H. Temperley, ed. Cambridge: University of Cambridge University Press.

Butler, T. and Lees, L. (2006). 'Super-gentrification in Barnsbury, London: Globalization and Gentrifying Global Elites at the Neighbourhood Level.' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers.* Vol. 31. Issue 4. Pp. 467-487.

Byrne, B. (2017). Qualitative interviewing. In: Researching Society and Culture, Fourth Edition. Seale, C. Ed. London: Sage.

Campbell, J. and Oliver, M. (1996). *Disability Politics: Understanding Our Past, Changing Our Future*. Oxon: Routledge.

Castells, M. (1996). *The Rise of the Network Society.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers. --- ed. (2004). *The Network Society: A Cross Cultural Perspective*. Cheltenham and Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar.

Carr, E.H. (1961). *What is History?* London: Macmillan.

Cavanagh, S. (1998). 'Women and the Urban Environment' in *Introducing Urban Design: Interventions and Responses.* C. Greed, C. and M. Roberts, eds. Essex: Addison Wesley Longman Ltd.

Cavanagh, S. and Ware, V. (1990). *At Women's Convenience: A Handbook on the Design of Women's Public Toilets*. London: Women's Design Service.

Cohen, A. (1982). A polyethnic London carnival as a contested cultural performance. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. Vol. 5 No. 1.

Coke, D. and Borg, A. (2011). *Vauxhall Gardens: A History.* London: Yale University Press.

Coleman J. (1958). Relational Analysis: The Study of Social Organizations with Survey Methods. *Human Organization*. Vol. 17. No. 4. Pp 28-36.

Conekin, B. (2003). *'The autobiography of a nation': The 1951 Festival of Britain*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Cook, P., ed. (1999/1972). Supported by Chalk, W., Crompton, D. Greene, D. Herron, R. Webb, M. *Archigram.* New York: Princeton Architectural Press.

Corfield, P. (2012). *Vauxhall, Sex and Entertainment: London's Pioneering Urban Pleasure Garden.* London: History and Social Action Publications.

Corner, J. and Harvey, S. eds. (1991). *Enterprise and Heritage: Crosscurrents of National Culture.* London: Routledge.

Crary, J. (2014). *24/7: Late Capitalism and the Ends of Sleep*. London: Verso.

Crenshaw, K. (1989). "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics," *University of Chicago Legal Forum*. Vol. 1989. Issue 1. Pp. 139-167.

Cretney, R. (2014). Resilience for Whom? Emerging Critical Geographies of Socio-ecological Resilience. *Geography Compass*. Vol. 8 Issue 9. Pp. 627-640.

Crotty, M. (1998). *The Foundations of Social Research: Meaning and Perspective in the Research Process*. London: Sage.

Crow, L. (1996). 'Including All of Our Lives: Renewing the Social Model of Disability' in J. Morris, ed. *Encounters with Strangers: Feminism and Disability*. London: Women's Press.

Csikszentmihalyi, M. (1990). *Flow: The Psychology of Optimal Experience.* New York: Harper Row.
--- (1997). *Finding Flow: The Psychology of Engagement with Everyday Life.* New York: Basic Books.

Davies, R. and Sigthorsson, G. (2013). *Introducing the Creative Industries*. London: Sage.

De Certeau, M. Trans. (1984). *The Practices of Everyday Life*. Berkeley, California: University of California Press.

Denscombe, M. (2007). *The good research guide: for small-scale social research projects. 3rd edition.* Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Department for Culture Media and Sport (DCMS) (1998) *Creative Industries Mapping Document.* London: DCMS.
--- (2008). *Creative Industries Mapping Document.* London: DCMS.
--- (2017) Press release 'Creative industries' record contribution to UK economy' 29th November 2017 https://www.gov.uk/government/news/creative-industries-record-contribution-to-uk-economy [Accessed 20th January 2018]

Debord, Guy (1955) Les Lèvres Nues, Issue 6.

Derrida, J. (1967). Writing and Difference A. Bass, trans. (1978). London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Dowling, E. (2007). Producing the Dining Experience: Measure, Subjectivity and the Affective Worker. *Ephemera*. Vol. 7. Issue 1. Pp. 117-132.
--- (2012). The Waitress: On Affect, Method and (Re).presentation. *Cultural Studies-Critical Methodologies.* Vol. 12. Issue 2. Pp. 109-117.

Dowling, E. Nunes, R. and Trott, B. (2007). Immaterial and Affective Labour: Explored. *Ephemera*. Vol. 7 Issue 1. Pp. 1-7

Durkheim, E. (1976). *The elementary forms of religious life*. London: George Allen and Unwin.

Ehrenreich, B. (2006). *Dancing in the Streets: A History of Collective Joy.* New York: Metropolitan Books.

Elton, G.R. (1967). *The Practice of History.* Sydney: Methuen.

Entwistle, J. (2000). *The Fashioned Body: Fashion, Dress and Modern Social Theor*y. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Evans, G. (2003). 'Hard-branding the Cultural City: From Prado to Prada' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*. Vol. 27. Issue 2. Pp 417-440.

Evelyn, J. 'On the Frost of 1683-84'. In: W. Andrews, W. (1887). *Famous Frosts and Frost Fairs*. London: George Redway.

Falassi, A., ed. (1987). *Time out of time: Essays on the festival*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Fantone, L. (2007). Precarious changes: gender and generational politics in contemporary Italy. *Feminist Review*, Vol. 87. Pp. 5–20.

Florida, R. (2002). *The Rise of the Creative Class: And how it's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life.* New York: Basic Books.

Foucault, M. (1966). *The Order of Things* London: Granta
--- (1967). J. Miskowiec, trans. (1986). 'Of Other Spaces' *Diacritics.* Vol. 16. No. 1. Pp. 22-27. John Hopkins University Press.
--- (1969/1972). *The Archaeology of Knowledge.* A. M. Sheridan Smith, trans. London: Tavistock.
---- (1975) Interview with Roger Pol Droit. In M. Morris and P. Patton (Eds) *Michel Foucault: power, truth, strategy*. Sydney: Ferral Publications
--- (1980). *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*. C. Gordon, ed. C. Gordon, L. Marshall, J. Mepham, K. Soper, trans. New York: Pantheon Books.
--- (1988). *Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with Michel Foucault*. London: Tavistock.
--- (1991). 'Governmentality' in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*. (Ed. G. Burchell, C. Gordon and P. Miller,eds. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Fournière, J. (2014). 'Sustaining the public: the future of public space in London?' In: R. Imrie and L. Lees, eds. *Sustainable London? : The Future of a Global City.* Bristol: Policy Press.

Foster, L. (1997). *Access to the Historic Environment: Meeting the needs of disabled people.* Shafestbury: Donhead Press.

Fowler, R. (1981). *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press.* London: Routledge.

Fredman, S. (2011). The Public Sector Equality Duty. *Industrial Law Journal.* Vol. 40, Issue 4, 1. Pp. 405–427.

Freund, P. (2001). Bodies, Disability and Spaces: The social model and disabling spatial organisations. *Disability & Society*. Vol. 16. Issue 5. Pp. 689-706.

Frost, S. (2016). *Art at work: creativity and participation in the public cultural institution.* PhD Thesis. University of Aberdeen.

Gabriel, Y. and Lang, T. (2006). *The Unmanageable Consumer*. London: Sage.

Garcia, B. (2004). Cultural Policy and Urban Regeneration in Western European Cities: Lessons from Experience, Prospects for the Future. *Local Economy : The Journal of the Local Economy Policy Unit.* Vol 19. No. 4.
--- (2005). Deconstructing the City of Culture: The Long Term Cultural Legacies of Glasgow 1990. *Urban Studies.* Vol. 42; No. 5/6. Pp. 841-868.

Getz, D. (2010). The nature and scope of festival studies. *International Journal of Event Management Research.* Vol. 5. No. 1. Pp. 1-47.

Gill, R. (2002). Cool creative and egalitarian? : exploring gender in project-based new media work in Europe*. Information, communication and society. Vol. 5 Issue. 1. Pp. 70-89*

Gill, R. and Orgad, S. (2016). The confidence cult(ure). *Australian Feminist Studies.* Vol. 30 Issue 86. Pp. 324-344.

Gill, R. and Pratt, A. (2008). In the Social Factory? Immaterial Labour, Precariousness and Cultural Work. *Theory Culture and Society.* Vol. 25. Issue 7-8. Pp.1-30.

Gillilan, L. (2001) 'Pleasure Dome' *The Observer.* London. https://www.theguardian.com/theobserver/2001/apr/15/features.magazine57 [Accessed 17th March 2015]

Glass, Ruth (1964). *London: Aspects of Change.* London: Macgibbon and Kee.

Glaeser, E. (2005). Review of Richard Florida's The Rise of the Creative Class. *Regional Science and Urban Economics.* Vol. 35. Issue 5. Pp. 596-596.

Glaeser, E.L. Kolko, J. Saiz, A. (2001). Consumer City. *Journal of Economic Geography*. Issue 1. Pp. 27-50.

Goodman L. (1961). Snowball Sampling. *Annals of Mathematical Statistics*. Issue 32. Pp. 148–170.

Goffman, I. (1959). *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life.* New York: Anchor Books

Goldsmith,S. (1963). *Designing for the Disabled: A New Paradigm*. London: Routledge.

Gornestaeva, G. and Campbell, N. (2012). The Creative Underclass in the Promotion of Place: Example of Camden Town in London. *Journal of Urban Affairs.* Vol. 34. No. 2. Pp. 169-188.

Gotham, K. F. (2005). Theorizing urban spectacles. *City: analysis of urban trends, culture, theory, policy, action.* Vol. 9. Issue 2. Pp. 225-246.

Gramsci, A. (1934). 'Americanism and Fordism' in Hoare, Q. and Nowell Smith, G (Trans.). (1971). *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci.* London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Greater London Council (GLC). (1978). 'Skateboarding' *London Topics 24*
--- (1981). The future of the South Bank Wider Area: a report reviewing planning principles in the context of residential development. Greater London Council.
--- (1985) GLC Press Release (LMA, GLC Press Release no. 977a).

Green, A and Troup, K. (1999). *The Houses of History: A Critical Reader in Twentieth-Century History and Theory*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Gregg, M. (2011). *Work's Intimacy*. Cambridge: Polity.

Griffiths, P., Gossop, M., Powis, B. and Strang, J. (1993). Reaching hidden populations of drug users by privileged access interviewers: methodological and practical issues. *Addiction*. Vol. 88. Pp. 1617-1626.

Grindrod, J. (2013). *Concretopia: A Journey Around the Rebuilding of Postwar Britain*. London: Old Street Publishing Ltd.

Groes, S. *(2011). The Making of London: London in Contemporary Literature.* Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Grossberg, L. (2015) *We All Want to Change the World, The Paradox of the US Left: a polemic.* London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Guffey, E. (2015). The Disabling Art Museum. *Journal of Visual Culture.* Vol. 14. Issue 1.

Hall, D.T. (2004). The Protean Career: A Quarter- Century Journey. *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*. Vol. 65 Issue 1. Pp. 1-13.

Hall, P. (1999). *Cities in Civilization*. London: Phoenix Giant.

Hall, S. (1988). ‘Brave New World’ in *Marxism Toda*y October Pp 24-9.
--- (1981). ‘Notes on deconstructing the popular’ in Raphael, S. ed. *People’s History and Socialist Theory*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
--- (1992). The West and the Rest in Hall, S. and Gieben, B. eds. *Formation of Modernity*. Cambridge. Polity Press/ The Open University.
--- (2000). Whose Heritage? Unsettling 'the Heritage', re-imagining the post-nation. *Third Text*. Issue 49. Pp. 3-13.
--- (2011). ‘The Neoliberal Revolution’. *Cultural Studies*. Vol. 25. Issue 7.

Hall, S. Massey, D. and Rustin, M. Eds. (2015). *After Neoliberalism? The Kilburn Manifesto.* London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Hamnett, C. (2003). *Unequal City: London in the Globe Arena.* London: Routledge.

Haraway, D. (1988). ‘Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Femi-nism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective’. *Feminist Studies* Volume 14. Pp. 575-99.
--- (1990). ‘A Manifesto for Cyborgs: Science, Technology and Socialist Femi-nism in the 1980s’. In: *Feminism/Postmodernism*, Nicholson, L. ed. Pp. 190- 233. New York: Routledge.

Hardt, M. and A. Negri (2000). *Empire.* Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press.

Harris, Andrew. (2008a). From London to Mumbai and Back Again: Gentrification and Public Policy in Comparative Perspective *Journal of Urban Affairs*. Vol. 34. No. 2 pp. 169-188.
--- (2008b). Livingstone versus Serota: the High-rise Battle of Bankside. *The London Journal*, Vol 33, No. 3, November pp. 289–299

Hartley, J. (2005). *Creative Industries*, London: Sage

Harvey, D. (2004). *Space as a Key Word.* Paper for Marx and Philosophy Conference. 29th May 2004, Institute of Education, London.
--- (2007) *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. USA: Oxford University Press.

Hatherley, O. (2009). *Militant Modernism*. London: Zero.

Hearn, G. Bridgstock, R. Goldsmith B. and Rodgers, J. (Eds) (2014). *Creative Work Beyond The Creative Industries: Innovation, Employment and Education.* UK: Edward Elgar Publishing,

Heckathorn, D.D. (2011).Snowball versus respondent- driven sampling. *Sociological Methodology*. Aug 1; 41(1). Pp. 355–366.

Hendricks, V. M., Blanken, P. and Adriaans, N. (1992). *Snowball Sampling: A Pilot Study on Cocaine Use*, Rotterdam: IVO

Herring, E. (2009a). The Sightline: Public Access to a Visual Plane. *The Drough.* Issue 30.
--- (2009b). The Southbank: An Invitation to Participate. *Occupation: Negotiations with Constructed Space Conference Proceedings*. University of Brighton. Available

at: http://arts.brighton.ac.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0007/44827/18_Ellie-Herring_The-Southbank-An-Invitation-to-Participate.pdf [Accessed 11th Jan 2014]

Hesmondhalgh, D. (2012). *The Cultural Industries*, 3rd Edition. London: Sage

Hesmondhalgh, D. and Baker, S. (2013). 'Sex, Gender and Work Segregation in the Cultural Industries' in Conor, B; Gill, R; Taylor, S. (eds.). *Gender and Creative Labour. Sociological Review Monographs*. Malden MA and Oxford: Wiley- Blackwell.

Hewison, R. (1987). *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline* London: Methuen.
--- (1995). *Culture and Consensus: England, Art and Politics Since 1940*. London: Methuen.
--- (2014). *Cultural Capital: The Rise and Fall of Creative Britain*. London: Verso

Hochschild, A. (1983). *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling*. London: University of California Press.

Hooper-Greenhill, E. (1992). *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*. London: Routledge.

Howes, E. (1611). 'Continuation of the Abridgement of Stow's English Chronicle' in Andrews, W. (1887). *Famous Frosts and Frost Fairs*. London: George Redway

Huws, U. (2006). Fixed, Footloose, or Fractured Work, Identity, and the Spatial Division of Labour in the Twenty-First Century City. *Monthly Review.* Vol 57. Issue 10.

Imrie, R. and Kumar, I. (1998). Focusing on Disability and Access in the Built Environment. *Disability & Society*. Vol. 13. Issue 3. Pp. 357-374.

Inkson, K. (2006). Protean and Boundaryless Careers as Metaphors. *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*. Vol. 69. Pp 48-63.

Jacobs, J. (1962). *The Death and Life of Great American Cities.* London: Jonathan Cape

Jencks, C. (1967). *Architectural Review*. July Issue.

Jones, A. (2014). *On South Bank: The Production of Public Space*. London: Routledge.
--- (2016). Orchestrated public space: the curatorial dimensions of the transformation of London's Southbank Centre In: Golchehr, S., Ainley, R., Friend, A., Johns, K. and Raczynska, K. eds. *Mediations: Art & Design Agency and participation in public space, conference proceedings*. Royal College of Art, London.

Lawson, A. (2011). Disability and Employment in the Equality Act 2010: Opportunities Seized, Lost and Generated in *Industrial Law Journal*, Vol. 40. Issue 4.Pp. 359–383.

Joseph, J. (2013). Resilience as embedded neoliberalism: a governmentality approach. *International Policies, Practices and Discourses* Vol 1. Issue 1.

Kaushik, R. (1999). Access denied: can we overcome disabling attitudes? *Museum International.* Volume 51. No. 3.

Kearns, G. and Philo, C. (1993). *Selling Places: The City as Cultural Capital, Past and Present*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Klein, N. (2015). *This Changes Everything: Capitalism vs. The Climate*. London: Penguin.

Landry, C. (2000).*The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators*. London: Earthscan.

Landry, C. and Bianchini, F. (1995). *The Creative City* London: Demos

Langman, L. and Cangemi, K. (2003). Globalization and the Liminal Transgression. *Identity and the Urban* Vol. Issue 4: 9, pp.141 - 176

Lazzarato, M. (1996). 'Immaterial Labor', trans. P. Colilli and E. Emery, in M. Hardt and P. Virno (eds.). *Radical Thought in Italy: A Potential Politics*. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press. Pp. 133-147.

Lees, L (2000). A Reappraisal of Gentrification: Towards a Geography of Gentrification' *Progress in Human Geography.* Vol. 24. Issue 3 Pp. 389-408.

Lefebvre, H. (1974). *The Production of Space*. Trans. Nicholson-Smith, D. (1991). Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Lingo, E. L. and Tepper, S.J. (2013). Looking Back, Looking Forward: Arts- Based Careers and Creative Work. *Work and Occupations*. Vol. 40. Issue 337 pp. 337-363.

Littler, J. (2005). 'British Heritage and the Legacies of Race' in *The Politics of Heritage: The Legacies of Race*. Littler, J. and Naidoo, R. Eds. London: Routledge.
--- (2006) 'Festering Britain': The 1951 Festival of Britain, decolonisation and the representation of the Commonwealth. In: Ramamurthy, A. and Faulkner, Eds. *Visual Culture and Decolonisation in Britain*. Farnham: Ashgate.
--- (2017). *Against Meritocracy: Culture, power and myths of mobility*. London: Routledge

Lloyd, R. (2006). *Neo-Bohemia: Art and Commerce in the Post-industrial City*. London: Routledge.

Lloyd, R. and Clark, T. (2011). 'Introduction' in *The City as Entertainment Machine*. Ed. Clark, T. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Lopes Simoes Aelbrecht, P. (2017). The complex regeneration of post-war modernism: London's Southbank Centre's masterplan. Urban Design International. Issue 22. Vol. 4. Pp. 331-348

London Borough of Lambeth. (LBL) (1982). Waterloo District Plan. London: LBL

London Borough of Southwark. (LBS) (1982). North Southwark Plan. London: LBS

Long Live Southbank (LLSB). (2015). *Southbank Undercroft: Proposal for Restoration of Original Design and Vision*. London: Long Live Southbank.

Lorde, A. (1984/2007). *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches by Audre Lorde*. Random House: New York.

Luckman, S. (2013). 'Precarious labour then and now: The British Arts and Crafts Movement and cultural work revisited'. In: Banks, M., Gill, R. and Taylor, S. (eds.) *Theorizing Cultural Work*. Routledge London: Routledge. Pp.19-29.

Lury, C. (1996). *Consumer Culture.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Lynch, K. (1960). *The Image of the City.* Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press

Lyon, D. and Back, L. (2012). Fishmongers in a Global Economy: Craft and Social Relations on a London Market. *Sociological Research.* Vol. 12 No. 23

MacCannell, D. (1976). *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* California: University of California Press

Macdonnell, D. (1986). *Theories of Discourse,* Blackwell, Oxford.

Madgin R, Webb D, Ruiz P, Snelson T. (2016). 'Engaging youth in cultural heritage: time, place and communication'. *Youth and Heritage.* Newcastle: Newcastle University Press.

Maitland R. (2000). The Development of New Tourism Areas in Cities: Why is Ordinary Interesting? Keynote paper presented at the Finnish University Network for Tourism Studies Opening Seminar 2000/01: Managing Local and Regional Tourism in the Global Market, Savonlinna, Finland, 18 September.
--- (2008). Conviviality and Everyday Life: The Appeal of New Areas of London for Visitors. International. *Journal of Tourism Research*. Volume 10, Issue 1 p. 15-255

Marx, K. (1867). Section 4, 'The Fetishism of Commodities and the Secret thereof' in *Capital: Critique of Political Economy.* (1976). London: Penguin, in association with New Left Review.

Martinez, M. (2014). 'Changing building typologies forum – Observations from practice: User-focused design – A view from practice'. *The Journal of Space Syntax*. Volume 5. Issue: 2. Pp. 245-249

Massey, D. (2000). *Bankside*: International Local. In *Tate Modern: The Handbook*, eds. Iwona Blazwick and Simon Wilson. Berkeley: U of CA Press pp. 24-27
--- (2005). *For Space.* London: Sage.
--- (2007). *World City*. Cambridge: Polity.

Matarasso, F. (2001). *London's Forum: Social Inclusion and the South Bank Centre*. London: Locum Destination.

Mavrommatis, G. (2006). The New 'Creative' Brick Lane: A Narrative Study of Local Multicultural Encounters *Ethnicities*. Vol 6; No. 4. Pp. 498-517.

McGuigan, J. (1996). *Culture and the Public Sphere*. London and New York: Routledge.
--- (2010). Creative labour, cultural work and individualisation. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*. Vol. 16. No. 3. Pp. 323-335.

McRobbie, A. (1998). *British Fashion Design: Rag Trade or Image Industry?* London: Routledge.
--- (2009). *The Aftermath of Feminism: Gender, Culture and Social Change*. London: Sage.

Mezzadri, A. (2016). *The Sweatshop Regime: Labouring Bodies, Exploitation, and Garments Made in India*- Part of Development Trajectories in Global Value Chains. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mills, S. (1997). *Discourse.* London: Routledge

Minton, A. (2017). *Big Capital: Who Is London For?* London: Penguin.

Mohanty, C. T. (1986). 'Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses.' *Boundary* 2. Issue 12. Volume 3. Pp.333–58.

Mulgan, G. and Worpole, K. (1986). *Saturday Night or Sunday Morning? From Arts to Industry- New Forms of Cultural Policy.* London: Comedia.

Mullins, C. (2007). *A Festival on the River: The Story of Southbank Centre*. London: Penguin.

Murray, R. (1988). Life After Henry (Ford). *Marxism Today.* October Issue.

Nathan, M. (2005). *The Wrong Stuff, Creative Class Theory, Diversity and City Performance,* IPPR Centre for Cities, Discussion Paper No 1 www.ippr.org/centreforcities [Accessed 12th March 2014].

Nathaniel Lichfield and Partners on behalf of Southbank Centre/ Heritage Lottery Fund (2015). *Looking After our Heritage: A Conservation Plan for Southbank Centre.*

National Endowment for Science, Technology and the Arts. (NESTA) (2013). *A Dynamic Mapping of the UK's Creative Industries.* London: NESTA.

Neilson, B. and Rossiter, N. (2008). Precarity as a Political Concept or Fordism as Exception. *Theory, Culture and Society*. Vol 25. Issue 51. Pp 51-73.

Newman, J. (2012). *Working the Spaces of Power: Activism, Neoliberalism and Gendered Labour*. London: Bloomsbury.

Newman, P. and Smith, I. (2000). Cultural Production, Place and Politics on the South Bank of the Thames. *International Journal of Urbana and Regional Research*. Vol. 24. Issue 1. Pp.9-24.

Oakley, K (2009) *'Art Works' – cultural labour markets: A literature review.* London: Creativity, Culture and Education.
--- (2013). 'Absentee workers: representation and participation in the cultural

industries' In: Banks, M., Gill, R. and Taylor, S. (eds.) *Theorizing Cultural Work*. Routledge London: Routledge. Pp.56-67.

Oakley, K and O'Brien, D (2016) Learning to labour unequally: understanding the relationship between cultural production, cultural consumption and inequality. *Social Identities*. Vol. 22. Issue 5. Pp. 471-486.

Oakley, K and Pratt, A. (2010). Brick Lane Community Driven Innovation in Local Knowledge *Case Studies of Four Innovative Places* NESTA Research Report. London: NESTA

Oakley, K. Laurison, D. O'Brien, D and Friedman, S. (2017). Cultural Capital: Arts Graduates, Spatial Inequality, and London's Impact on Cultural Labor Markets. *American Behavioral Scientist*. Vol. 61. Issue 12. Pp. 1510–1531.

Oliver, M. (2013). The social model of disability: thirty years on. *Disability and Society.* Volume 28. Issue 7

Outram, D. (1995). *The Enlightenment.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. cited in Green, A and Troup, K. (1999). *The Houses of History: A Critical Reader in Twentieth-Century History and Theory*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Parkinson, J. (2012). *Democracy and Public Space: The Physical Sites of Democratic Performance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Peck, J. (2005). *Struggling with the Creative Class* International Journal of urban and Regional Research. Vol. 29 Issue 4.

Peck, J. and Tickell, A. (2002). Neoliberalizing Space. *Antipode*. Volume 34. Issue 3. Pp. 380-404.

Pine, B. J. and Gilmore, J. H. (1999). *The Experience Economy: Work is Theatre and Every Business is a Stage*. Boston: Harvard Business School Press.

Plaza, B. (2007). The Bilbao Effect. *Museum News*, 13-16. American Association of Museums.

Plaza, B. Tironi, M. and Haarich, S. (2009). Bilbao's Art Scene and the 'Guggenheim Effect' Revisited. *European Planning Studies* Vol. 17 No. 11.

Porter, R. (1994). *London: A Social History* London: Penguin Books.

Porter, S. (2011). *Shakespeare's London: Everyday Life in London 1580-1616*. Stroud: Amberley Publishing.

Pratt, A. (2009). Urban Regeneration: from the Arts 'Feel Good' Factor to the Cultural Economy. A Case Study of Hoxton. *Urban Studies.*4- 6

Preston-Whyte, R. (2004). "The Beach as a Liminal Space" in *A Companion to Tourism* Lew, Alan A. Hall, C. Michael, Williams, Allan M, eds. Oxford : Blackwell.

Rappolt- Schlichtmann, G. and Daley, S. (2013). Providing Access to Engagement in Learning: The Potential of Universal Design for Learning in Museum Design. *Curator: The Museum Journal*. Vol. 56 No. 3.

Reed, N. (2002). *Frost Fairs on the Frozen Thames* London: Lilburne Press.

Reilly, L. and Marshall, G. (2001). *The Story of Bankside: From the River Thames to St George's Circus*. London: London Borough of Southwark.

Richards, G. (2001). *European Cultural Attractions: Trends and Prospects in Cultural Attractions and European Tourism.* Richards, G. ed. Oxon: CABI Publishing.

Rinvolucri, B. (2017). How skaters make cities safer- and the fight to save the Southbank skate spot The Guardian 7th August 2017. [Accessed 7th November 2017]. https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2017/aug/07/skaters-make-cities-safer-fight-save-southbank-centre-skatepark

RMA, (2000). *Southbank Master Plan Urban Design Strategy, March 2000*. London: RMA Achives.

Rose, N. (1989). *Governing the Soul: the Shaping of the Private Self*. London: Free Association Books.

Ross, A (Ed.). (1997). *No Sweat: Fashion, Free Trade and the Rights of Garment Workers.* London: Verso.
--- (2003). *No Collar: The Humane Workplace and its Hidden Costs*. New York: Basic Books
--- (2008). The New Geography of Work: Power to the Precarious? *Theory, Culture & Society. Vol.* 2. Issue 31.
--- (2009). *Nice Work if you Can Get It: Life and Labour in Precarious Times.* London: New York University Press.

Taylor, P. and Wilding, D. (2009) Rethinking the values of higher education – the student as collaborator and producer? Undergraduate research as a case study [Internet]. Gloucester: QAA. Available from: www.qaa.ac.uk/Publications/InformationAndGuidance/Pages/Rethinking-the-values-of-higher-education---the-student-as-collaborator-and-producer-Undergraduate-research-as-a-case-study.aspx [Accessed 16 June 2017].

Samuel, R. (1989). 'Heroes below the Hooves of History' 'History's Battle for a New Past' and 'The Return of History' in Ed. Light, A *(1999). Theatres of Memory: Island Stories- Unravelling Britain*. London: Verso.

Sandoval, M. (2018). From passionate labour to compassionate work: Cultural co-ops, do what you love and social change. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*. Vol. 21. Issue 2. Pp. 113-129.

Sassen, *S. (1991). The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo.* Princeton, NJ ; Woodstock, Oxfordshire : Princeton University Press.
--- (1994). *Cities in a World Economy*. California: Pine Forge Press.

Saussure, F. De (1960). C*ourse in General Linguistics*. London. Peter Owen.

Seale, C. (1998) *Researching Society and Culture*. London: Sage.

Segal, L. (2017). *Radical Happiness: Moments of Collective Joy*. London: Verso.

Self, W. (2007*). Psychogeography*. London: Bloomsbury.

Serlin, D. (2006). 'Disabling the Flâneur'. *Journal of Visual Culture*. Vol 5(2). Pp.193–208.

Shakespeare, T. (2006). 'The Social Model of Disability' in Lennard J. Davis (Ed.). *The Disability Studies Reader*. Taylor & Francis: London.

Shamser, S. and Back, L. Making methods sociable: dialogue, ethics and authorship in qualitative research. *Qualitative Research*. Vol. 14 no. 4 Pp. 473-487

Shapiro, J. (2006). *1599: A Year in the Life of William Shakespeare. London:* Faber & Faber.

Shenker, J. (2017). Revealed: The insidious creep of pseudo-public space in London. The Guardian 24th July 2017. https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2017/jul/24/revealed-pseudo-public-space-pops-london-investigation-map [Accessed 27th August 2017]

Shields, R. (1991). *Places on the Margin: Alternative Geographies of Modernity*. London: Routledge

Simon, N. (2010) *The Participatory Museum*. California: Museum.

Silverman, D. (2000). *Doing Qualitative Research: A Practical Handbook*. London: Sage.

Sinclair, I. (1997). *Lights Out For the Territory: 9 Excursions in the Secret History of London*. London: Granta.

Skeggs, B. (1999). Matter out of place: visibility and sexualities in leisure spaces. *Leisure Studies*. Vol.18. No. 3. Pp. 213-232.
--- (2001). 'Feminist Ethnography' in Atkinson, A et al. (Eds.). *Handbook of Ethnography*. London: Sage.

Smith, N. (1996). *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City*. Oxon: Routledge.

Solnit, R. (2010). *Infinite City: A San Francisco Atlas*. London: University of California Press.

Stacey, J. (1988). Can there be a feminist ethnography? *Women's Studies International Forum*. Vlo.11. No. 1. Pp. 21–7.

Standing, G. (2011). *The Precariat: The New Dangerous Class*. London: Bloomsbury.

Stevenson, D. (2003). *Cities and Urban Cultures*. Berkshire: Open University Press.

Suttles, G. (1984). The Cumulative Texture of Local Urban Culture. *American Journal of Sociology.* Issue 90.

Teedon, P. (2001). Designing a Place Called Bankside: On Defining an Unknown Space in London. *European Planning Studies.* Vol. 9. Issue 4. Pp. 459-481.

Tester, Keith, Ed. (1994). *The Flâneur.* London: Routledge.

The GLC Story (2017) *The GLC Oral Histories Project Zine*. http://glcstory.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/GLC-Story-zine-Sept-2017-smaller.pdf [Accessed 11th May 2018]

Thomson, S. (1997). Adaptive sampling in behavioral surveys, *NIDA Research Monograph*, 296-319.

Throsby, D. (2001). *Economics and Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Toy, M. ed.. (1994). *Designing the Future of the Southbank Centre*. London: VCH Publishing Group.

Turner, V. (1982). *From Ritual to Theatre: The Seriousness of Human Play*. New York: Performing Arts Journal Publications.

Union of the Physically Impaired Against Segregation (UPIAS) (1976). *The Fundamental Principles of Disability*. London: UPIAS.

United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) (2010) *Creative Economy Report* https://unctad.org/en/pages/PublicationArchive.aspx?publicationid=946 [Accessed 13th November 2015]

Van Gennep, A. (1908). *The Rites of Passage*. Trans (1960) M. B. Vizedom and G.L.Caffee, London: Routledge.

Van Meter, K. (1990). Methodological and Design Issues: Techniques for Assessing the Representatives of Snowball Samples, *NIDA Research Monograph*. Pp. 31-43.

Walker, L. and Cavanagh, S. (1999). 'Women's Design Service: Feminist Resources for Urban Environments' in *Design and Feminism: Re-visioning Spaces, Places and Everyday Things.* Ed. Rothschild, J. New Brunswick, New Jersey and London: Rutgers University Press.

Warren, C. and Karner, T. (2005) Discovering Qualitative Methods: Field Research, Interviews, and Analysis. Los Angeles: Roxbury.

Waterman, S. (1998). Carnivals for elites? The cultural politics of arts festivals. *Progress in Human Geography*. Vol. 22 No. 54.

While, A. (2006). Modernism vs Urban Renaissance: Negotiating Post-war Heritage in English City Centres. *Urban Studies*. Vol. 43. Number 13.Pp. 2399-2419

Whyte, W. (1990). *City: Rediscovering the Centre*. New York: Anchor, Doubleday

Williams, R. (1979). 'The Arts Council' *The Political Quarterly* Vol 50. No. 9.

Wirth-Nesher, H. (1996). *City Codes: Reading the Modern Urban Novel*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.

Wolfreys, J. (1998). *Writing London*: *The Trace of the Urban Text from Blake to Dickens*. Basingstoke : Macmillan.

Wolff, J. (1985). 'The Invisible Flaneuse. Women and the Literature of Modernity'. *Theory Culture & Society*. Volume 2. Issue 3. Pp. 37-46.

Zukin, S. (1982). *Loft Living: Culture and Capital in Urban Change*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
--- (1991). *Landscapes of Power: Frome Detroit to Disney World.* California: University of California Press
--- (1995). *The Cultures of Cities. Cambridge, MA:* Blackwell
--- (2010). *Naked city the death and life of authentic urban places*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Online Resources

Arts Centre Melbourne, Australia https://www.artscentremelbourne.com.au/whats-on [Accessed September 2018]

Association of London Visitor Attractions http://www.alva.org.uk/details.cfm?p=423 [Accessed October 2018]

Glassdoor https://www.glassdoor.co.uk/Reviews/Southbank-Centre-Reviews-E841823.htm [Accessed March 2018]

Hemingway Design https://www.hemingwaydesign.co.uk/projects/museum-51-royal-festival-hall/ [Accessed February 2017]

Lincoln Centre, New York http://www.lincolncenter.org/the-score [Accessed September 2018]

Long Live Southbank http://www.llsb.com/theproject/ [Accessed January 2017]

SE1 Community website http://www.london-se1.co.uk/news/view/2089 [Accessed January 2017]

Southbank Centre:
--- About https://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/about/venue-hire/caterers [Accessed August 2018]
--- Annual Review 2013-14
http://content.southbankcentre.co.uk/annualreview2013-14/ [Accessed January 2016]
-- Annual Review 2014-15
https://bynder.southbankcentre.co.uk/m/25e95d5f65d3a3f6/original/[Accessed January 2016]

---Annual Review 2015-16 https://bynder.southbankcentre.co.uk/m/13d27d6252aaefab/original/Annual_Review_2015-16.pdf?_ga=2.140369971.1280541601.1515067993-1929778992.1492700369[Accessed March 2017]
--- Annual Review 2016-17 https://bynder.southbankcentre.co.uk/m/5281a6b453ab4994/original/21901-3-Annual-Review-201617.pdf?_ga=2.169591137.1925660331.1530868615-1929778992.1492700369 [Accessed July 2018]
---Archive Studio https://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/venues/archive-studio [Accessed November 2017]
---Competencies Framework https://docs.google.com/presentation/d/1qsA2dMLpj-r_8cGJ0JexS73ZjCFs727sU87AklUHJrw/pub?start=false&loop=false&delayms=3000&slide=id.g4ac5aed61_034#slide=id.g4ac5aed61_034 [Accessed November 2017]
--- Facilities and Access https://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/visit/facilities-access
--- History https://tnew-template.southbankcentre.co.uk/about/what-we-do/history-southbank-centre [Accessed September 2018]
--- Jobs https://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/about/jobs%20[Accessed March 2017]
]https://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/about/jobs/working-here[Accessed March 2017]
--- Press Release https://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/s3fs-public/press_releases/Festival_of_Britain_News_Release.pdf[Accessed XXX]
---Recruitment https://recruit.southbankcentre.co.uk/templates/Southbank/jobdetail_1643.aspx [Accessed March 2017]
--- Shop http://shop.southbankcentre.co.uk/southbankcentreshops.html [Accessed March 2016]
--- Southbank Centre Way Competencies Framework https://docs.google.com/presentation/d/1qsA2dMLpj-r_8cGJ0JexS73ZjCFs727sU87AklUHJrw/pub?start=false&loop=false&delayms=3000&slide=id.g4ac5aed61_034 [Accessed April 2015]
--- Support Us https://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/support/support-us/make-difference/let-the-light-in [Accessed December 2015]
--- What's Onhttps://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/whats-on/122133-london-history-day-2017[Accessed [Accessed November 2017]
https://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/whats-on/festivals [Accessed November 2017]
https://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/whats-on/121157-nelson-mandela-presidential-years-2017 [Accessed April 2017]
https://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/whats-on/126923-wow-book-club-sister-outsider-audre-lorde-2018#events[Accessed April 2018]
https://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/whats-on/126402-international-activism-2018#events[Accessed August 2018]
https://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/whats-on/120301-wow-market-2017[Accessed November 2017]
https://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/whats-on/129751-vogue-unlimited-house-krip-2018 [Accessed September 2018]
https://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/whats-on/126217-beautiful-octopus-club-2018[Accessed September 2018]

Trust for London ‘Ethnicity: Indicators with data available on Londoners' ethnic backgrounds’ https://www.trustforlondon.org.uk/data/populations/ethnicity/[Accessed September 2018]

World Monuments Fund (2012). ‘British Brutalism’ http://www.wmf.org/project/british-brutalism [Accessed March 2016]