
Culture, Regeneration and Community

Reinventing the City

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It is just over 12 years since the doors of Tate Modern in London were opened. The curators, architects and engineers carrying out the ambitious plan to convert the former Bankside power station could not have fully anticipated just how popular the museum would become in catching the public's imagination. From all over the world visitors to London have made Tate Modern a 'must see' destination. The building was designed for two million visitors annually, yet over five million arrived in the first year, exceeding even the most optimistic projections. Similar levels of attendance have continued, as the building, the exhibition program, the collection and installations combined have embedded Tate Modern in the cultural landscape – not only in the United Kingdom but across the world.

In my role as Head of Regeneration and Partnerships for Tate I have been involved in the strategic management of Tate Modern for the last 11 years, co-ordinating how we work as an international cultural institution, a business and a part of the London community. Looking back over the previous decade, it is clear that Tate Modern continues to be much more than a world-class art museum and tourist destination. In what has become known as the Tate Modern 'project', the museum sits at the heart of a wider strategy utilising creative organisations and creative thinking in the economic development, regeneration and reinvention of a central area of a major world city. What began as a series of interventions and initiatives has evolved into a fully-formed strategic approach to city and neighbourhood-making. The project is underpinned by a strong ethos of partnership-building responsive to the needs of local communities, businesses and tourists, while also recognising the interconnected local, national and international dimensions of both the museum and the local area. The project is also sustained by a number of alliances in the public, business and political spheres which play a vital advocacy role highlighting the contributions cultural institutions, creative practice and artists make in the places in which we live, work and play.

Crucial to this model of engaged working is how to meet the following series of basic ongoing challenges:

- how can the often differing needs of local communities, workers and tourists be balanced when developing an area?
- how can cultural organisations and other businesses work together, and can culture be good for business?
- what is the best way to engage and encourage political leadership and advocacy?
- what is the best way to develop an organisation which not only works within local, national and international contexts but makes connections between them?
- what are the opportunities to bring artists, creative forces and ideas into the places and spaces in which we live our everyday lives?

This article explores the development, challenges and successes of the Tate Modern project so far – for it has been undoubtedly successful, evidenced by the sheer amount of physical change, development and new facilities in the surrounding area. Yet there are still some critics of both the project itself and the broader concept of using culture and the arts to stoke the engine of urban (or for that matter rural) regeneration. The most common accusation levelled at cultural regeneration is that it is really a form of gentrification, primarily concerned with increasing the profits of the few. Others argue that it amounts to the ‘sanitising’ of communities as property prices rise and new developments become unaffordable for most people. At the same time, public space is privatised and industrial or traditional work places are displaced.

It is true that the pioneer projects in Europe, including Guggenheim Bilbao and Tate Modern, have sparked a series of capital investments seeking to replicate these early success stories by using culture as a driver to reinvent and re-energise towns and cities across the world. During the last 10 years, a number of ambitious schemes have been mounted across the UK, including Baltic (Gateshead), New Gallery (Walsall), Nottingham Contemporary (Nottingham), MIMA (Middlesbrough), Lowry and Imperial War Museum North (Salford), Royal Armouries (Leeds), Milton Keynes (Milton Keynes) and most recently Turner Contemporary (Margate). Some projects have failed, including Sheffield’s National Pop Museum and URBIS in Manchester, both of which have now closed. However, most have been initially successful in increasing tourism, enhancing cultural value and civic pride and prompting secondary waves of market-led development. In most cases it is too early to judge the success of the long-term impact of these projects on the economic and social development of their communities.

Using the Tate Modern project as a case study, I argue that for continued success, cultural-led regeneration needs to extend far beyond the bricks and mortar of buildings. As suggested by the ‘basic challenges’ listed above, such an endeavour will depend on the ability to find relevance for the wider work of the

institution; establish a long-term strategy for the development of strong partnerships and alliances across the spectrum; and encourage continued debate and dialogue. It is my experience that success and continued relevance depends on understanding and stimulating place-making via three key spheres: (1) the physical (the buildings); (2) the social (the activity); (3) and the intellectual (the partnerships).

ESTABLISHING TATE MODERN

Tate Modern is part of a much older institution. The National Gallery of British Art opened at Millbank, Westminster, in July 1897 on the site of the former Millbank Prison. In its conception little thought was given about how the new institution would coexist with its neighbouring communities, including the Millbank Estate and the new medical military hospital and college. Despite these drawbacks, Tate Britain became a fixture of South Westminster, albeit slightly dislocated from its local communities.

A hundred years later, when the Trustees and senior Tate staff embarked on the project that would result in the creation of Tate Modern, the first museum of modern and contemporary art in the UK, we were continuing a long tradition of establishing new cultural institutions in London. However, in doing so, it was also clear that we faced a unique and fundamental set of challenges and issues in realising our ambitions. When we set out to find the necessary space, central London offered a range of interesting possibilities including brown-field sites and existing buildings. Many factors favoured the choice of Bankside, not least its central location on the south bank of the Thames opposite St Paul's Cathedral and the City of London, and the scale and potential of Giles Gilbert Scott's cathedral-like power station built in 1947 to supply electricity to Londoners.

Bankside or 'street along the Thames' dates from the 16th century and has played a significant part in the entertainment of Londoners for centuries. Initially not included as a formal part of the city, it was here that people came to enjoy a variety of 'pleasures' offered by the playhouses and theatres, bear baiting pits and brothels. Later it prospered as part of the industrial infrastructure along the Thames, supplying the port and city and maintaining an empire across the world. However, by the 1990s, post-industrial Bankside had become a rather forgotten and depressed part of London, with the power station at its heart fenced off and largely unused. At that time, there were around 3000 residents and 6000 workers in the immediate area (many whose families had lived there for generations). Meanwhile, nearby, a few thousand annual visitors were attracted to Shakespeare's Globe and the area around Borough Market or wandered along the river walkway from Waterloo station and the Royal Festival Hall on the South Bank. Further to the south in the London Borough of Southwark, beyond a spaghetti-like tangle of railway lines and arches, lay significant areas of social and urban deprivation. This

was a classic example of an area struggling to come to terms with its post-industrial decline as the docks and small-scale industries around the river disappeared. Even in the 1990s, the idea of culture as a stimulus to recovery was not well received by many local political leaders who thought ‘real jobs and real industry’ were the solution. Indeed, Sam Wanamaker’s long campaign to recreate Shakespeare’s Globe Theatre which opened in 1997 at Bankside had faced similar stiff opposition in some local quarters.

However, the mood was changing, and for some key policymakers in Southwark the opportunities Tate Modern presented were very attractive. Both the leader and chief executive of Southwark Council became advocates for the project and, amidst some intense debates, managed to secure the first £1 million capital funding as a statement of faith in the project. Their vision was further fuelled by the Council’s then Director of Planning and Regeneration who was championing innovative architecture and development in the Borough. At this time a strategy was formed to promote high quality architecture and design in the area which, among other large and small developments, has eventually led to Renzo Piano’s Shard, which can now be seen in Southwark high above London Bridge. Completed in mid 2012, it is the tallest office building in the European Union.

From the outset, our ambition was to play an active part in managing the wider regeneration that would result from the establishment of a new museum in the area. We believed it was vitally important for any development to be balanced, retaining many of the unique qualities of the area while recognising the competing needs of those who live, work and visit there. Thus, the challenge for the Tate was threefold:

Firstly, unlike our predecessors who had established new buildings in Trafalgar Square (National Gallery) and South Kensington (Victoria and Albert Museum) over a hundred years ago, we had to create a compelling scheme for the adaptation and future use of a power station – compelling enough to convince funders that the project would secure the public and private investment needed for it to be a success. Launching an architectural competition in 1994 was a major step in framing our ambition for the building and the area. It was crucial that the winning entry would combine innovative design with an awareness of the goals held for the Tate. The appointment of the then relatively unknown practice Herzog & de Meuron led to a creative and practical partnership between architects and museum which has formed the bedrock of the successful regeneration so far.

Secondly, it was necessary to address how the museum would sit within the urban fabric of Bankside and London. We had to re-establish a relationship with the river, cut off by the security fence that had surrounded the power station for 50 years. There was also a need to connect with the established South Bank area to the west and with Borough Market to the east (about to emerge as a major player), and London Bridge station. Perhaps the biggest challenge

lay (and still lies) to the south where medieval street patterns, dark and dank Victorian railway arches and a wall of tired office buildings blocked access. Central to a redefinition of Bankside were two major infrastructure projects: the Jubilee Underground line, which had brought the 'tube' to the new Southwark Station close to where Tate Modern was being developed; and the Millennium Bridge, which was due to open at the same time as Tate Modern. While the infamous 'wobbling' incident delayed its opening for two years, Norman Foster's stylish bridge has since successfully connected Bankside to 'the City', making the walk between St Paul's Cathedral and Tate Modern internationally iconic.

Thirdly, we had to ensure that the opportunities offered by the regeneration were developed in a spirit of consultation and partnership rather than imposed on the established communities living in the area. This led to the development of the 'social model' – a distinct form of community urbanism that we established as a framework for the project. The model remains the cornerstone of much of our work and our philosophy that culture can stimulate and activate new approaches in the development of cities and communities.

With this in mind, one of the first appointments to the project was a Bankside Development Officer, whose remit was to establish and develop the social model while working within the political, business and local community contexts. Using the Tate Modern project as a catalyst for new thinking, and building on the strong sense of community in the area, a number of ground-breaking projects and initiatives began. Many of these brought together innovative partnerships where the business, creative and public sectors evolved projects with local communities – often centred on developing volunteering opportunities for local employees to work in a range of roles. Examples include local school literacy programs; projects recording the heritage of the area; or the creation and maintenance of pocket parks and community gardens.

The following core partnerships and projects were established, laying the foundations for organisations and initiatives that not only prosper and continue today but have also had an influence far beyond the immediate area:

- the Bankside Business Partnership, which consists of major employers in the area (Financial Times, Tate, Price Waterhouse Coopers, Guy's Hospital, Land Securities, Chelsfield, Shakespeare's Globe)
- the Bankside Residents Forum, a strong campaigning organisation representing local residents' needs in the face of intense development in the area following the arrival of Tate Modern
- the Bankside Arts Training Trust, which acted as a bridge and training hub for local people to gain work experience and jobs in the arts and culture sector in central London (both in construction projects and staffing newly-opened buildings)
- a series of innovative, creative arts projects such as the 'Wedding project' and 'Bankside Browser', which brought together

international artists and local communities to explore local spaces and places in creative forums.

These core projects were underpinned by a philosophy that sought to open up the project, both in terms of information sharing and building a sense of local ownership and pride in the project. In May 2000, when the Queen opened the £134.5-million, publicly- and privately-funded Tate Modern, the prospect of architectural and artistic excellence was matched by an ambition to stimulate the economic and social regeneration of Bankside and beyond.

TATE MODERN AT 10

The celebrations for the tenth anniversary of the launching of Tate Modern marked the coming of age of the ‘peoples’ museum’ with a series of exhibitions, events, and gatherings of artists and community members. Reflecting on our first 10 years, it is clear that the museum has caught the public imagination to a unanticipated degree. How far has the Tate Modern project met the challenges outlined earlier (i.e. utilising creative organisations and creative thinking to stimulate economic development, regeneration and reinvention of a central area of London)? I believe that its success, now and continuing into the future, is due to the three key aspects previously identified: the physical, the social, and the intellectual.

The main anchor of the museum is, of course, its collection. Up to two-thirds of the display spaces at Tate Modern are dedicated to showing both established and new acquisitions collected from all over the world. Free access to the museum building and collection has been pivotal, giving everyone the opportunity to learn and enjoy. It also represents a direct, democratic connection to the publicly owned collection which we manage on behalf of our audiences. Tate’s ever-changing program ranging from spectacular blockbuster shows (Miro, Kahlo and Gauguin) to exhibitions of smaller, more experimental work has brought modern and contemporary art to a large number of new audiences. There is also an increasing international focus on works from Latin America and Asia. Tate Modern has also been the testing ground for a series of ground-breaking collaborations involving an exploration of contemporary dance, music, theatre and film.

Perhaps the most unexpected driver of success has been the building itself and the unique space that is the Turbine Hall. Once crowded with machinery for the power station, the empty hall offers a vast space to wonder at and wander through before entering the galleries. During the autumn and winter it is transformed when an artist’s imagination brings it to life under the auspices of the Unilever commission. As a transitional space between the city and the museum, the Turbine Hall seems to generate its own dynamic in which the public feel free to congregate, interact and socialise in ways not possible in most other cultural public buildings.

While memorable commissions such as Olafur Eliasson (*The weather project* 2003), Carsten Höller (*Test site* 2006) and Doris

Salcedo (*Shibboleth* 2007) were acclaimed as stunning artistic achievements, neither artist, nor curator nor architect could have predicted the air of spontaneity and free-form-interaction with which the audience embraced these works. How then has this critical acclaim for the collection, the exhibition program and the building itself contributed to the economic and social regeneration of London?

Firstly let's look at some of the economic statistics around Tate Modern. As early as 2001, one year after opening, McKinsey & Company evaluated the impact of the new museum (Tate press release 2001b). They reported:

- £100 million flowing into London's economy, of which £50–£70 million was specific to Southwark
- 3000 jobs created in London
- Tate Modern created 487 jobs in addition to 283 jobs created during construction
- commercial development, investment and property prices in Southwark were beginning to outpace London averages.

This has, of course, proved only to be the beginning of the 'cultural regeneration' of the area. Tate Modern, Shakespeare's Globe, Borough Market and other sites in Bankside and the South Bank have become the catalyst for continued growth and development over the last 10 years. Audiences in excess of 4.5 million have continued to flock to Tate Modern every year. Borough Market, with its offerings of organic and high-quality food, attracts similar numbers. It is true to say that contemporary art and food have been major drivers in the on-going regeneration of the area.

Development of both residential and commercial properties has intensified in the area with blue chip companies such as IPC Media (Time Warner) and RBS (Royal Bank of Scotland) relocating to the Blue Fin building (newly built as a second-wave regeneration project just behind Tate Modern). Joining them in the area are major architectural firms such as Allies and Morrison, and, increasingly, many small and medium-sized creative companies are also making Bankside their home. Over the last 10 years the neighbourhood surrounding Tate Modern has seen fundamental changes. The residential population has more than doubled (from 3000 to 7500) and the number of workers in the area has increased tenfold (from 6000 to 60 000). Property prices have increased, there is more demand for hotel rooms, and the direct and indirect economic benefits from visitors to Tate Modern are worth hundreds of millions of pounds to the economy of London.

With the vast majority of the land in the area being privately owned, maintaining a balanced community in times of intense development requires strong partnership and advocacy initiatives. This brings into play the second and third key spheres: the social and the intellectual. Initiatives in these two areas, alongside planning and developmental control processes, continue to be vital in retaining a healthy, functioning neighbourhood. What began as the Bankside Business Partnership has grown into

Better Bankside – one of the first Business Improvement Districts in the United Kingdom (<http://www.betterbankside.co.uk/>). Elected, funded and run by local businesses, the company now operates with a baseline £5 million budget over a five-year term. It is tasked with bringing additional services (not replacing local council provision) into the local area around green, clean and safe agendas. This recognises that city zones which are major business and tourist hubs require more intense regimes. But beyond these core services, the influence of the strong cultural identity of the area is increasingly in evidence as projects in the public realm and greening open spaces are realised with a creative twist involving artists and other creative thinkers – for example, upgrading railway arches with public art, artistic design of street furniture, signage and community festivals. In particular, an imaginative set of projects and initiatives are emerging from the Bankside Urban Forest (BUF), originally commissioned by Better Bankside and conceived by architects Witherford Watson Mann, which are bringing new thinking and life into the public realm in Bankside, linked to the rest of London (<http://www.betterbankside.co.uk/bankside-urban-forest>). A strong partnership involving private, public and community organisations have come together around a concept that provides an alternative to traditional public realm master planning. BUF conceptualises the neighbourhood around Tate Modern as a series of routes, pathways, streams and trails. It looks behind and beyond the major river pathway to identify key routes and places of congregation in the hinterland. Development of the ‘forest’ is approached organically by seeking to involve business, residents and the local authority in evolving public realm projects. In the short to medium term it sits very much within Tate Modern’s philosophy of balancing needs through incremental development with a strong design core. This innovative approach has attracted interest from the Mayor of London’s Office, Design for London and the international architectural press. In the longer term it will deliver some important links from Bankside further into the south, forming connections with other regeneration efforts in South London, Elephant and Castle, Peckham and beyond. In the current economic climate, this model provides an example of how to move forward in developing the public realm in the face of cost constraints without sacrificing community involvement, design quality or development standards. But it does mean moving beyond the older style, monolithic ethos of master planning to working in a more gradual way, based on strong partnership and community ownership.

Similarly, the Bankside Residents Forum (BRF) has grown and prospered, to become one of the largest and most sophisticated residents’ organisations in the country. In the early 2000s, seeing the wave of development about to take place in the area, the Forum members took a strategic decision to concentrate their efforts on engaging with developments through the planning process to ensure maximum benefits for local communities. They

have been hugely successful in securing a new community space with a raft of other community benefits. Along the way their members have also acquired an impressive breadth of expertise in community representation, from participating in the ThamesLink enquiries (a major railway infrastructure program through central London) to leading a campaign in the High Court to oppose an inappropriate residential development in Hopton Street, close to Tate Modern and established housing. The strong ethos of partnership in the area has led to the BRF working closely with Tate Modern and other businesses on a whole range of projects around corporate social responsibility, open space and employment and training. This does not mean that the independence of the organisation has been lost. Indeed, the very fact that BRF has developed a strong independent voice, whilst still being able to work pragmatically in partnership, is why the organisation is respected.

Training and employment opportunities are still key aspects of the development of the area and its cultural businesses. The Bankside Arts Training Trust has now become the START project. Hosted by Tate Modern, START now works with cultural organisations across the whole of London providing skills training and workplace familiarisation for unemployed residents of South London. This project continues to be vital in creating a bridge between the cultural sector and communities who would not normally have considered the cultural sector as a work opportunity. Tate supports the project by providing accommodation, facilities, finance and administration services. The running costs are met by allocating Section 106 funds, which comprise a levy on new developments to provide improvements to the public realm and community benefits. START has helped Tate and other cultural organisations recruit for various departments, predominantly in customer-facing roles. Over 50 clients have been employed as Gallery Assistants and around 20 clients have been employed as Retail Assistants in Tate Shops. This has given an important local dimension to Tate staff resulting in a number of benefits, for example, local staff tend to stay longer and act as local ambassadors for the organisation.

As the wider area around Tate has been transformed and matured, a critical mass of 21 publicly-funded, not-for-profit cultural organisations has emerged in North Lambeth and Southwark. Stretching from the Millennium Wheel to Tower Bridge and extending southwards to Elephant and Castle, the area hosts a diverse range of organisations including South Bank Centre, Old Vic, Young Vic, Siobhan Davies Dance Company, Imperial War Museum, Unicorn Theatre, Shakespeare's Globe, Tate Modern and the British Film Institute. Together they form the South Bank and Bankside Cultural Quarter, which was established to find a common purpose for culture in the development of the area and in London generally. It has recently focused its collective voice and action around preparations for the London 2012 Olympic Games,

as well as public places and spaces and learning initiatives. The two Boroughs (Lambeth and Southwark) have also played a very active role in the group. The economic and social impact of the Cultural Quarter (the largest group of its kind in the world) is significant and growing. The group:

- attracts upwards of 13 million visitors and users per year
- has a net economic impact in London of £900 million
- creates 2100 direct jobs and 32 000 jobs indirectly
- works with 767 000 educational users
- spends 11 per cent of its turnover on local services.

While, on the whole, many of the changes we have seen in the wider area over the last 10 years have been for the good, such major changes over a relatively short period must inevitably have some negative impacts. For example, before Tate Modern and the resurgence of Borough Market, the surrounding area was a relatively quiet backwater. In a short space of time it has been transformed with up to 15 million people each year walking through the area via the river walkway along the Thames. This has brought with it some unwanted aspects such as illegal trading, busking and petty crime. In addition, the scale of development continues unabated, even in the midst of a serious economic crisis, with construction traffic, building work and logistics potentially disrupting to those who live and work here. Better Bankside was established to deal with and lessen these impacts. It has also acted as a catalyst to bring together all the developers in the area to cooperate in minimising any negative impacts of the building works and produce a monthly e-brief and newsletter to report on the progress of projects (www.betterbankside.co.uk/our-services/2617-dbrief). The scheme has become recognised as a model of good practice in the sector as a recipient of a Mayor of London's Business Award. The social model approach, incorporating our basic development philosophy, has allowed us to continue our leading role in managing these changes. We have worked hard to retain the crucial balance between development and the needs of local residents, workers and visitors. Importantly, we have also demonstrated that cultural institutions can play a role in bringing artists and creative thinking to bear in a variety of contexts, permeating the places and spaces in which we live our everyday lives, far beyond the gallery walls.

Connecting all of the projects and activities outlined above with political partnerships and dialogue has been vital. Advocacy with and the involvement of local area councillors, the Mayor of London's Office and national government is a central theme of the social model. The result can be seen in a number of tangible outcomes. For example, the Bankside Urban Forest strategy has been adopted as an annex to the planning guidelines for the area, meaning developers have to consider it when thinking about their proposals for buildings and the public realm. The coalition between residents, business and tourist attractions is increasingly seen as being willing and able to trial and quickly respond to new ideas, schemes and policy. London

government and European-funded projects in areas as diverse as travel planning, environmental monitoring and sustainable food markets are currently taking place. The national government's policy of Neighbourhood Planning, which gives local stakeholders more direct control in how their neighbourhoods develop, is being piloted in Bankside reflecting a rare recognition that the area is a key community and business pathfinder requiring a plan which reflects those joint interests.

As we now move into a new phase of the development it is also important to reflect on the last key challenge we set out to achieve, which is retaining the balance between the area's local, national and international identities. This was originally an ambition of Tate Modern itself, to ensure it played a meaningful role in all these dimensions. However, what for me has been one of the most interesting (and unexpected) developments over the last 12 years, has been the merging of these identities not just in the work of Tate Modern but in the development of the wider area. This has led to a much more sophisticated model, both in the museum and in the wider neighbourhood, where we see artists and other practitioners from all over the world working with local communities. Ideas such as the Bankside Urban Forest, which are locally specific, organic and incremental, are being adopted and adapted in other countries. The social model of cultural regeneration pioneered through Tate Modern with its strong key objectives continues to attract interest world-wide from governments, politicians and academics keen to meaningfully connect with their communities.

THE FUTURE

From the outset, we envisaged that the London-wide effects of the transformation of Bankside – including the completion of the second phase of the Tate Modern project that is currently underway – would take at least 20 years to be fully realised. We still face a series of major challenges over the next 10 years as we and the neighbourhood enter a new stage of development, working in a very different economic and social situation. We are also extending the context of our thinking and practice to include the wider development of London and other world cities. Accordingly we have identified a number of major challenges and opportunities for the future.

Firstly, we want to maintain culture and creativity as a focus for the identity and development of Bankside. For example, Herzog & de Meuron's new structure will rise from three large underground oil tanks located at the south lawn of Tate Modern. It will transform the building and surrounding area, vastly extending the scope of our activities. In particular, the project will allow a new route through the Turbine Hall to be opened up connecting the museum to South London. This is an important step in realising our aspiration to physically link the local regeneration to communities to the south, allowing them to enjoy the economic benefits of increased visitor traffic.

Secondly, a number of major transport, infrastructure and other building projects are taking place in the area. These include new railway stations close to Tate Modern at Blackfriars and London Bridge; a major residential block designed by Rogers Stirk Harbour + Partners, Neo Bankside, which is opening in two phases (2011/12); a number of hotels under construction; and Renzo Piano's Shard, the tallest office building in the EU, which was completed in 2012. Better Bankside has assessed that more than £5 billion worth of construction development will take place in Bankside over the next five years, which will more than double the existing value of the area. So, over a 10-year period there will have been more development in the area than took place in its entire previous history. The Shard on its own will attract around 28 000 additional employees into London Bridge and environs every day. The partnerships we have established, particularly Better Bankside, which work with the local authority and other business-led organisations across London, face major challenges. They will need to find strategies to deal with this second doubling of the area's workforce and the impact that will have on transport infrastructure and general facilities.

Thirdly, we need to realise the ambition of the Bankside Urban Forest. Its success will allow us to extend the physical and social regeneration of Bankside to the south. It will also allow further exploration of the potential to involve artists and creative thinking in the public realm. We believe it is a model of working that can be relevant beyond Bankside and is attracting interest from government agencies in countries as far afield as Turkey, Malaysia and Singapore.

Fourthly, there are now five strong Cultural Quarter groups across London working together and with the Mayor's office. The immediate focus has been to get the very best from the London 2012 Olympic Games. Working closely with the Mayor's office and the Olympic Delivery Authority, the Cultural Quarters have helped shape the cultural aspect of the Games, including the 'look and feel' of the dressing up of the city and its major landmark buildings. The lessons of cultural regeneration in Bankside and across London can also help inform the 2012 Legacy, ensuring we make the very best of the investments in East London.

In difficult economic times it is important to maintain London and the country's cultural ecosystem, from artists working in small studios to the regional networks of local authority museums. The success of Tate Modern and the lessons we have learned can help find ways to support and nurture different networks elsewhere. The model of partnership, advocacy and culture-led development we have championed is relevant to the challenges we face in the future. For the first time in human history more people are living in urban environments than rural ones. This trend will continue apace across the world. Urbanisation does not necessarily mean that all cities will grow and prosper; successful cities will be those that offer the best services, amenities

and quality of life to its citizens and communities. Governments will need to reconcile increasing pressure on public services and the very quality of life that attracted residents to cities in the first place. This, in turn, will place pressure on political authorities facing demands for services by citizens who are becoming increasingly sophisticated in articulating their needs through the democratic process. With little public enthusiasm for higher taxation and shrinking public budgets, cities face a set of complex challenges. These will demand dynamic, innovative and creative models and partnerships if we are to achieve balanced communities with access to good services and transport, healthy environments, and general quality of life. With this in mind, we have recently begun to develop a network of creative agencies working in the development of urban communities across the world. Working in both the theory and practice of city-making, they include museums, universities, heritage and business organisations. For example, Tate Museum is currently working with Museum Rotterdam, American University Beirut, Bigli University Istanbul and Q + A Panels Munich.

It would be simplistic to argue that cultural organisations, even on the scale of Tate Modern, or major events such as London 2012, can in themselves be the salvation of the modern city or redefine urban living. However, what the Tate Modern model does illustrate is the importance of firmly rooting cultural development in a set of wider political, business, creative and community contexts. Retaining a balance between the needs of communities, workers and visitors can make it possible to drive culture-led regeneration. This in turn can help us think about, imagine and practically develop the neighbourhoods and communities we desire. From our perspective at Tate Modern, the first 12 years has been an incredible journey. We look forward to seeing what the next decade will bring.

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