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'McGeneration' ? An Examination of the
Continuing Importance of Place in
Cultural Regeneration.

Amanda Brown

PhD

2011

**'McGeneration' ? An Examination of
the Continuing Importance of Place in
Cultural Regeneration.**

AMANDA BROWN

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of
the requirements of the University of
Northumbria the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy Research undertaken in the
School of Social Sciences**

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Abstract

The regeneration of urban places is a major force in the landscape of previously declining industrial cities. The processes and policies of regeneration have received considerable research over the years, with a particular emphasis on quantitative indicators to capture large-scale effects. One major change has been the rising role of culture within regeneration. In this thesis, a closer, qualitative view is taken to investigating urban regeneration, to uncover a narrative of two particular and related concerns within cultural urban regeneration. On the one hand, the risks of homogenisation as standardised practices are transferred globally; on the other, the demand for distinctiveness, and for regenerated areas to demonstrate unique and appealing characteristics to mediate global processes, and attract inward investment of economic, social, and human capital.

The thesis focuses on the iconic space of the waterfront, and studies three major regenerating cities in the United Kingdom, studying the dynamics of culture, homogenisation, and distinctiveness. From an initial synthesis of theories, a thematic framework is constructed. The thesis then captures the understanding of those themes as articulated by forty-seven elite actors who work within cultural regeneration in the three case study waterfronts, exposing the continuing impact of place in the face of homogenising forces.

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Glossary

CCPR	Centre for Cultural Policy Research
CISR	Cultural Investment and Strategic Impact Research
DCMS	Department for Culture Media and Sport
DoE	Department of the Environment
EC	European Commission
ECoC	European Capital (City) of Culture
GEAR	Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal
IGF	International Garden Festival
LARC	Liverpool Arts and Regeneration Campaign
LDDC	London Docklands Development Corporation
LEP	Local Enterprise Partnership

LSP	Local Strategic Partnership
MDC	Merseyside Development Corporation
NGI	NewcastleGateshead Initiative
ODPM	Office of the Deputy Prime Minister
SDA	Scottish Development Agency
SECC	Scottish Exhibition and Conference Centre
SRB	Single Regeneration Budget
TWDC	Tyne and Wear Development Corporation
UDAG	Urban Development Grant Programme
UDC	Urban Development Corporation
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
URC	Urban Regeneration Company

Acknowledgements

As an undergraduate student in Newcastle in the early 1990s, I came across urban regeneration studies. My learning centred on economic geography and pre-twenty-first century approaches to developments tackling the urban problem. This, along with observing first-hand the major cultural developments on NewcastleGateshead Quayside, sparked my renewed interest in the field of regeneration. This ultimately led to the research reported in this thesis.

I express my sincere appreciation to Northumbria University for the studentship I was awarded, which enabled me to undertake my doctoral research. I acknowledge the continued support the University gave to my development as a graduate researcher. I offer special thanks to my principal supervisor Professor Keith Shaw for his consistent, patient support of my research.

Declaration

I declare that the work contained in this thesis has not been submitted for any other award and that it is all my own work.

Name: Amanda Brown

Signature:

Date:

Chapter 1

On the Waterfront: Re-establishing the Specificity of Place in Cultural Regeneration

1. Introduction

“Profound changes in the composition, geography, and institutional frameworks of the world economy over the centuries have had major implications for cities” (Sassen, 2006:15). During the twentieth century, large-scale manufacturing and production, with their corresponding use of mass labour, have declined and, in contrast, the service economy, usually delivered by smaller organisations, has grown. The term ‘post-industrial’ has increasingly been used to describe such a change in the character of employment (Byrne, 2001). Similarly, ‘post-Fordist’ has been used to capture the corresponding changes in labour, employment, and patterns of consumption and production (Piore and Sabel, 1984), away from ‘Fordist’ mass-production methods. These changes in society have had a corresponding impact on the built environment.

As large factories declined, and fell into disuse, demand for other sorts of spaces has grown, and these places have new cultural features (Roche, 1994; Smith, 2007). Dilapidated urban spaces — abandoned by the retreat of large-scale industry — have increasingly been the focus of regeneration, in an endeavour to reinvigorate their economic and social activity. In addition to traditional services such as law, finance, and administration, culture has been a common feature of such initiatives, demonstrated through the rise in the provision of performance spaces, public art installations, and other cultural venues. This cultural focus is also mirrored in the use of cultural images in promoting regeneration projects, and a corresponding increase in the emphasis on culture’s transformational capabilities. Some cities have been extolled for successfully transforming from centres of economic and physical decline into post-industrial locales of production and consumption. A former reliance upon heavy industry, has shifted to employment in a more cultural and service-based economy. Unsurprisingly, these major changes have attracted substantial attention from academic, legislative, and economic bodies. For example, Zukin, a leading writer on modern urban life has noted that

“With the disappearance of local manufacturing industries and periodic crises in government and finance, culture is more and more the business of cities: the basis of their tourist attractions and their unique competitive edge.” (Zukin, 1995:1)

While Scott, a key writer on the cultural economy of cities, reaffirms that “capitalism itself is moving into a phase in which the cultural forms and meanings of its outputs are becoming critical if not dominating elements of productive strategy” (Scott, 2000:2). Physical products are not the determining feature of the new global capitalism, rather consumption of experience is emphasised in the rising cultural economy. Consequently, new inter-urban competition through culture is the characteristic factor in post-Fordist cities (Cowen and Bunce, 2006). Localities now pursue national and global prestige using culture as an important element of urban policy. Policy changes that emphasise the need for cultural strategies, industries, facilities, and events have become a particular focus in a variety of urban and non-urban areas.

In this context, the examination of the urban waterfront experience is particularly instructive. The waterfront’s typically narrow physical confines and constrained contact with other areas intensifies the pursuit of cultural regeneration. “The functions of urban waterfronts have always been tied to the characteristics and needs of individual cities although they have shared a typical sequence of development” (Wrenn et al., 1983:16). Waterfronts retain a particular significance for their wider locality and therefore the features of the waterfront experience are tied to the encounters of the city.

This thesis is an inquiry into the continuing importance of place within this global shift and the focus upon culture; the waterfront is utilised as the site to investigate the increasingly global (and homogenised) approaches to waterfront renewal in older industrial cities. Urban waterfront renewal is the “keynote of economic development in post-industrial cities around the world” (Millspaugh, 2001:74). This contemporary development reflects wider society changes in governance and regulation (Bunce and Desfor, 2007), and “general urban societal issues” (Breen and Rigby, 1994:23). The research, located within a contemporary policy concern with place, and the theoretical literature on locality also utilises a comparative framework to investigate our understanding of cultural regeneration, and to deepen our understanding of the continued local

influence in the face of global processes. A salient gap in the literature on urban regeneration is identified as the application of theories of locality to understand twenty-first century cultural regeneration of the urban waterfront.

We examine three UK case studies: Glasgow, Liverpool, and NewcastleGateshead to explore this understanding. Revitalisation in the three cities has resulted in different outcomes, even though each locality has experienced broadly similar global and national trends and political-economic environments. The intention of this research is to consider how macro-scale processes of cultural regeneration solutions influence micro-scale urban policy, and to examine the degree to which local factors have mediated this global pressure and thus resulted in different 'places'. The research thus needs to re-assess the role and effect of cross-national policy transfer's influence on waterfront regeneration locally, nationally, and globally. The overarching conceptual aim is to create a new understanding of existing issues, and to create an interpretive narrative that articulates the role of place distinctiveness in cultural regeneration.

The research also investigates the complex nature of urban change and examines the continued importance of local distinctiveness in the face of global pressures towards formulaic patterns of cultural regeneration. A key theme that emerges within the literature is a renewed emphasis on cultural regeneration as a route towards urban renewal. However, culture remains a nebulous concept that eludes precise definition. Thus, a variety of conceptual debates are identified, to contextualise culture within contemporary attempts to transform the image and nature of older industrial cities.

The close systematic investigation of place is a key element in the thesis. Varied mixes of activities and buildings in urban spaces create a unique 'locality'. The comparison of the case cities thus elicits both common conceptual themes and contrasting features, providing a perspective on the localised effects, characteristics, and implications of culture's role in waterfront regeneration.

This chapter sets out the schema for the thesis. The main contextual settings of locality theory are outlined in Section 1.1, which sets out the key debates for the

thesis, beginning with waterfront renaissance and the homogeneity debate (Section 1.1.1, further examined in Chapter 2), followed by a more nuanced consideration of the waterfront in particular (Section 1.1.2). Key debates on culture and regeneration are introduced in Section 1.1.3, and later extensively examined in Chapter 3. Section 1.2 details the aims of the thesis, these anchor the thesis in the examination of the importance of place. Section 1.3 outlines the thesis structure. Methods of investigation in Section 1.4 explain the processes undertaken to create a research contribution through the thesis in Section 1.5.

1.1 Context

This section situates this research within the key contextual and policy debates on global and non-local processes and regeneration approaches. The waterfront is highlighted as a key representative site for the interplay of these processes. This situates the waterfront as a place for contemporary cultural urban regeneration efforts. First, we introduce the formulaic approaches to waterfronts that have fostered the concept of McGeneration and discuss the rationale for an emphasis on the local.

1.1.1 McGeneration and locality theory

Waterfronts have become the hallmark and catalyst of urban regeneration (Hoyle et al., 1988; Marshall, 2001b), as they have a “magnetism unlike any other location in a city or town” (Curl, 1993:134). American approaches for the alternative use of post-industrial waterfronts have become the ‘model’ for urban waterfront renewal. Baltimore Inner Harbor redevelopment is the most often cited example of waterfront development (Wrenn et al., 1983). It represents successful regeneration of an old industrial port city “in the north eastern ‘rust-belt’ megalopolis of the US” (Millsbaugh, 2001:74). This successful development was undertaken by “visionary public officials and private developers to create a new and vital public centre of activity” (Green, 1993:301), and became the dominant model for lucratively regenerating a decayed waterfront.

Ritzer’s McDonaldization (Ritzer, 2008) concept has fostered similar themes in which ‘McGeneration’ sits as an organising framework within which to

understand the ‘off-the-shelf’ model of waterside regeneration being followed in the United Kingdom (Quilley, 1999). This policy transfer of formulaic approaches has been criticised as resulting in “failed pastiches” (Falk, 1993). Charges of pastiche and “cookie-cutter” design “trivialize waterfront redevelopment effort as consisting essentially of lookalike marketplaces and aquariums” (Breen and Rigby, 1994:23). This is a charge examined in the context of the three cities faced with formulaic cultural regeneration approaches focused on their waterfronts.

For the creative economy, place matters — the distinctive identity and culture of places are attributed as key success factors, particularly in regeneration, in contrast to formulaic solutions. An alternative view of the city is offered; “cities are diverse: they are localities, and specific context, both economic and cultural, always matters when we are dealing with things which have a local character” (Byrne, 2001:23). This thesis examines this concept of locality: “locality is the space within which the larger part of most citizen’s daily working and consuming lives is lived” (Cooke, 1989b:12). Localities in this research are understood through the narratives of key elites about the processes at work locally.

1.1.2 The waterfront

As noted above, waterfronts are a particularly potent form of locality, representing ‘fertile’ areas of planning and development (Breen and Rigby, 1994), and contemporary place-making at the water’s edge (Marshall, 2001b). Many major regeneration projects in the United Kingdom contain major waterfront work: for example London, Cardiff, Liverpool, Bristol, Glasgow, and NewcastleGateshead. The waterfront environment and its (re-)development are visibly unique.

Environmental, economic, and social conditions dictate the relationship between the city and its adjacent waterfront. Global changes have transformed the variety of activities associated with waterfronts in Europe and North America. The industrial revolution, rail travel, and transport developments significantly reduced reliance on water. The remarkable complexity of urban waterfronts finds contemporary studies incorporating a number of phenomena from social and urban studies, to planning, geography, and economics. “Waterfront

revitalisation was the major event in urban planning and development” (Hall, 1993b:19), flagship large-scale redevelopment projects brought the waterfront to the forefront of regeneration. The quest to improve waterfront areas is motivated by competitive advantage, a need to rehabilitate the urban fabric to entice the public to return, and to create new opportunities for innovation to supplant the obsolete industries that have closed (Fagence, 1995; Dovey, 2005).

“Semantically ‘waterfront’ means that part of a town which fronts on a natural body of water” (Vallega, 1993); the vast redevelopments of British waterfronts since the 1980s have expanded the view of viable waterfront uses. Not only do former urban ports or docks offer a regeneration opportunity, cultural developments are now taking place on lakesides and coastal waterfronts. Therefore, the development of the three case studies and the use of culture add to a timely debate on further waterfront redevelopments. Hilling suggests that waterfronts where traditional economic activities have been lost are “best viewed as a special case of the wider inner-city problem” (Hilling, 1988:36).

In the twentieth century, technological changes including containerisation required deeper water and wider port areas, making waterfront sites redundant. This availability of cheap disused land, along with the desire for more recreation and public spaces, and better water quality, transformed urban waterfronts (Breen and Rigby, 1994; Shaw, 2001). Industrial change undermined western shipbuilding and shifted the circumstances of people in Tyneside, Glasgow, and Merseyside, such that their fortunes were “linked with those of people in Inch’on and Pusan in South Korea” (Massey and Jess, 1995:70), as global competition from these newly industrialising countries rose. Britain’s influence weakened considerably, and this decline led to the emergence of so-called rust belts — areas whose traditional industries of steel, coal, shipbuilding, and heavy engineering faced this competition, decayed, and rusted.

Old industrial waterfronts have become synonymous with high-profile flagship regeneration projects that are frequently cited as catalysts for wider socio-economic regeneration. These new waterfront places have become the new urban landmarks, and symbols, such as the Guggenheim in Bilbao, are images of revitalisation and innovation:

“The waterbodies are valued for their aesthetic appeal as this will enhance the commercial value of the site, and as a recreational resource in their own right. In many cases therefore, regeneration has resulted in a complete reuse of the water and surrounding land. Land drainage and sometimes waste disposal may be the only original functions retained.” (White et al., 1993:x)

Waterfronts have thus become ‘playgrounds’ for urban areas (Falk, 1986). Localities now have to offer even more inducements to attract people and business, and waterfronts, valued for their marketability, continue to be key elements for promotion of a place. These spectacles however, are charged with leaving soulless places and elitist landscapes; homogenised spaces neglecting the local (Breen and Rigby, 1994).

1.1.3 Culture and the urban

Following a detailed search, the following sources have been identified as important to the role of culture in regeneration and particularly for urban sites such as the waterfront. Urban places are difficult to define and as (Pile, 1999) argues, cities are inherently paradoxical places. Urban life is an experience characterised by a series of individual and collective negotiations constituted through movement and fluidity and changed also by a search for stability and security (Allen, 1999). These fluid interactions are found in Massey’s re-conceptualisation of place, which sees cities as products of complex overlapping networks of cultural interactions, through which cities are defined (Massey, 1999). Thus, the city and the urban waterfront represent a multitude of characteristics and complex relationships that surround regeneration efforts. The waterfront urban locality is a key representative of this complexity, as a marketplace, site of industry, and place for the exchange of information and ideas, characterised as “the primary stage for social interaction” (Wrenn et al., 1983:4).

Florida argues that “our economy is morphing in new ways every day, from an older industrial system founded on raw materials to a creative economy bound only by the limits of human talent and imagination” (Florida, 2005b:25). Debates within culture, geography, and urban studies inspect these new urban landscapes as crucial sites of representation (Westwood and Williams, 1997). Genuine fears about the social and environmental sustainability of cities are

intertwined with new developments, ideas, and opportunities for social and economic advancement. No simple order can be found in the multiple stories of a place; the challenge of research into places is to create a unique narrative of understanding of the processes at work.

Increasing globalisation suggests debates about the future of cities become more important. Many strands of research in globalisation predict the demise of the city, as electronic infrastructures reduce the need for spatial closeness. In Toffler's Third Wave scenario, people no longer need to inhabit urban areas. They can work, interact, and perform their daily lives from an 'electronic cottage' located rurally (Toffler, 1980). Urban studies continues to debate such scenarios, yet "cities are not dying, but neither are they 'coming back' – if by coming back we mean returning to the supposedly halcyon days of extreme density and heavy manufacturing" (Storper and Manville, 2006:1269). Indeed, the city instead returns as a place of creativity, innovation and productivity (Core Cities Working Group, 2004). This thesis sits within these policy debates and the concern that global effects continue to homogenise our cities. Here we seek to understand the future of cities from the viewpoint of key policy actors.

The decline of traditional manufacturing in cities has led to greater attention to the promotion of cities as centres of cultural consumption. Tourism has become a vital component for regenerating local economies (Bassett, 1993). However, touring cities for the purpose of cultural consumption is not new. The historic 'Grand Tour of Europe' is now considered an urban phenomenon (Towner, 1996). The European Capital of Culture competition has revived this; newly branded capital cities become contemporary cultural destinations of a twenty-first century Grand Tour (Evans, 2003). Today, demand for cultural consumption has expanded considerably. Localities have initiated strategies to compete for tourism, create cultural spaces, and offer cultural consumption, to tackle urban decline. "Cities throughout the UK and beyond are looking to cultural investment to provide an alternative to the de-industrialized past that has apparently destroyed the identities upon which those cities were built" (Miles, 2005c:1019). In this global informational era cities are able to "compete with each other for activity that is, within limits, footloose" (Hall, 1993a:891). Images and promotional activities have increased in importance in city

marketing strategies (Kearns and Philo, 1993; Gold and Ward, 1994; Ward, 1998). Consequently, urban regeneration strategies increasingly incorporate place promotion activities. The prosperity of cities has been linked to these activities through their capacity to attract jobs, investment (Hubbard, 1996) and creativity. Cities as 'cauldrons of creativity' have "long been the vehicles for mobilizing, concentrating, and channelling human creative energy" (Florida, 2005a:1). Cities are multifaceted; these 'cauldrons' contain all aspects of people's work and leisure lives. Florida suggests that this creativity of people is the principal driving force in urban vitality. It has become apparent that the key driving-factor in development is creativity. Instead of discussions about industrial economy, we now discuss the creative economy.

Florida's work rose to prominence in the urban regeneration literature during the first decade of the twenty-first century. His three T's of technology, talent, and tolerance became the backdrop for urban strategies: technology as a driver of growth and talent with growth a consequence of human capital. This retention of urbanisation as a key element of innovation and productivity growth at a local scale requires further investigation. "Tolerance is the key factor in enabling places to mobilize and attract technology and talent" (Florida, 2005a:6). All three aspects give rise to a 'creative class' who foster creative and enterprising localities where people are attracted to live and work. Many cities have been inspired by Florida's 'creative class' and have focused on culture as a means to sell their place as the place to live.

Capturing all the possible understandings of the word 'culture' is especially problematic. Post-Enlightenment, "alternative words were developed to express other kinds of human development and other criteria for human well-being, notably culture" (Williams, 1983:58). Williams, whose works laid the foundations for cultural studies, denotes culture as one of the most complex words in the English language. He explains,

"it is especially interesting that in archaeology and in *cultural anthropology* the reference to culture or a culture is primarily to *material* production, while in history and *cultural studies* the reference is primarily to *signifying* or *symbolic* systems." (Williams, 1983:91)

Culture is not only about cultural products. For Friedman it is interpretation which gives us our identity spaces, which gives rise to “properties in social reproduction itself, tendencies to the production of similar kinds of experience of the social world or worlds, to the production of similar frameworks of interpretation of the world” (Friedman, 1994:76). Culture evolved from attributes attached to certain people and to the relationships by which they adapted to their environment. These attributes include signs, symbols and beliefs. These concepts, including identity, are socially constructed, contested, and dynamic. “Culture matters. It matters as a component of the political economy of post-industrial cities, given the significance of cultural industries in those cities” (Byrne, 2001:25). Thus, the culture and identity of a place are explored as “not simply the product of the moment, but of the evolution and adaptability of time” (Miles, 2005b:923). The importance of such an approach is explored in this narrative in relation to three urban localities.

The United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization’s (UNESCO) ‘Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity’ reaffirmed the position “that intercultural dialogue is the best guarantee of peace and to reject outright the theory of the inevitable clash of cultures and civilizations” (UNESCO, 2001:11). It is further stated

“that culture should be regarded as the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual, and emotional features of society or a social group, and that it encompasses, in addition to art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs.” (ibid. p12)

UNESCO produced the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity intending to reduce the homogenisation of culture under global influence. Creative cities were also recognised in 2004 in its Global Network of Creative Cities as a tool for regeneration; Glasgow is one of the three Creative Cities recognised. This recognition and understanding of the importance of culture situates this thesis in a global acknowledgment of the enduring importance of culture and its uniqueness.

1.2 Aims

The thesis aims to:

- establish a sound historical and wider policy context within which to locate an understanding of approaches to urban regeneration and renewal;
- examine critically the literature on *Locality* and *Place* and to consider its relevance to the debates on urban regeneration in older industrial cities in the late twentieth, and early twenty-first, centuries;
- explore the origins and nature of *formulaic* cultural regeneration solutions in three UK cities and in the wider context of North America;
- analyse the meaning of *place* as interpreted by key regeneration decision makers and utilise this as a means of examining how they mediate and re-interpret non-local pressures and global policy drivers;
- assess whether the *waterfront renaissance* involves solutions to the regeneration *needs* of localities that are rooted in a local sense of place, or whether they are *ready-made*, formulaic solutions whose imposition brings a heavy-handed uniformity that erodes local distinctiveness;
- develop fresh insights on the complex - and rapidly changing - relationship between the *global* and the *local*, and to consider further the viability of theories that highlight the continuing importance of locality and place, even within wider debates on the nature of globalisation.

The following section outlines how the organisation of the thesis addresses these aims.

1.3 Introduction to the chapters

The theoretical concepts of place and locality are examined in Chapter 2. We move from the local to the global to examine these conceptual debates and the complex relationship between global and local. A common way to consider place is as a cultural system, and as localities, where different relationships overlap and symbolic boundaries ensure traditions and patterns of life in the same spatial environment (Massey and Jess, 1995). This system denotes there is a place-based role for identity; Borer advocates a perspective of “cities as

places *of* and *for* local sentiment, personal and collective identity construction, and community building” (Borer, 2006;173). This is explored further through the concepts of the ‘sense of place’ and ‘power of place’.

The contextual setting for regeneration is also established in Chapter 2 and considers the debates surrounding place marketing, promotion, and design. The active promotion and re-designing of places has emerged as a significant component of local economic development. It is considered a viable response to de-industrialisation, globalisation, and territorial competition (Hall, 1993a). Criticism of this practice concerns the commoditisation of culture and the standardisation that makes cities more alike (Holcomb, 1994; Zukin, 1995). It is this contested area of standardisation which gives rise to the two key themes of the thesis: homogeneity and distinctiveness.

The restructuring of economic production to favour decentralised service industries gives public art and design leading roles (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996) in urban regeneration. In Chapter 3, we explore the rise to prominence of the cultural dimension in approaches to regeneration. Developing the themes of Chapter 2, we examine these effects as a major factor that increases uniformity in cities through common approaches to the urban problem. Focusing on cross-policy transfer, we look to the lessons learned from regeneration approaches that have been adopted in the United Kingdom. A discussion of the urban problem situates the regeneration approaches at city level and leads to a specific focus on the waterfront. The American experience is proffered as the source of policy lessons and the key influence on McGeneration solutions.

Chapter 4 details the investigation conducted to produce the thesis’ narrative of understanding. The chapter explores the philosophical underpinnings and theoretical orientation of the interpretive approach adopted. Further discussion of the research design demonstrates how the aims are to be addressed. The three case studies are introduced in Chapter 5 and explored for similarities in their approaches to cultural regeneration. Brief portraits of the three case studies serve as a foundation for the detailed analysis in the following two chapters.

Data analysis is conducted on two thematic lines of enquiry, that of homogeneity (McGeneration) in Chapter 6 and uniqueness in Chapter 7. Concepts are grouped under these two themes to examine the interplay of processes and the understanding of distinct localities. Chapter 6 explores five homogenising themes identified through both secondary sources (Chapters 2 and 3) and the extensive interviews. The chapter details global and non-local processes that are shaping the city as a space for cultural consumption, and the new cultural spaces that are being produced by the cultural regeneration solutions adopted by policy decision-makers. Local effects that mediate these global processes are examined to deepen our understanding of the continued influence of localities. Chapter 7 explores five key themes of distinctiveness; arguing that these unique local attributes are place-based and serve to mediate the global processes at work.

Chapter 8 completes this investigation to draw together an in-depth study of the three case study localities. Consideration of the inter-relationship between cultural regeneration and place within the case study cities has identified a complex and nuanced interplay of global and local processes at work in urban waterfronts. The aims of the thesis are revisited within the chapter to conclude the themed framework that identifies ten elements in the two overarching themes (of homogeneity and distinctiveness). The methods of investigation are re-considered within a post-script on future considerations for research in this area.

1.4 Methods of investigation

Complex relationships are difficult to interpret, many theories used to understand them “are deliberately, rather infuriatingly aspatial: they are entirely uninterested in the question of what happens where, and why” (Hall, 1998:14). The thesis explores the concepts behind spatiality and place from secondary sources to set the scene for an understanding of localities explored in the interpretive narrative. These concepts are augmented with an exploration of cross-national policy transfer that draws on theories of urban regeneration and global and non-local processes. This literature and theory review establish themes that were subsequently operationalised in the semi-structured interviews.

The empirical element of the thesis is found in the case study of three UK cities that have experienced extensive levels of cultural regeneration. These localities illustrate the different dimensions of culture, and demonstrate the character of cultural regeneration approaches. Forty-seven elite personnel involved in cultural regeneration participated in detailed semi-structured interviews connected to three case study cities. This investigation obtained a rich depth of material focusing on the specific understandings of key players in the cultural regeneration of the three localities. The interview is an appropriate method of inquiry into social phenomena and provides the primary data for the interpretive narrative produced in Chapters 6 and 7.

Acknowledging the unique features of the elite interviewees, we propose an interpretation of their knowledge of the processes in cultural regeneration, at least as understood from their perspectives. This selection of study cities permits an analysis of the two key debates of the thesis, homogenisation and distinctiveness. Similarities in the cities' cultural regeneration approaches are explored through the narratives of the elite actors.

The literature underpins the data collection through the provision of a sound theoretical basis. The use of comparative data supports an investigation of the argument that place makes a difference in how formulaic cultural regeneration solutions are adopted. Focusing on the historical and contemporary cultural approaches that have been enacted on the waterfront — draws out the role of place in these processes.

The three case studies of Liverpool, Glasgow, and NewcastleGateshead are located on a UK map (Figure 1). The map also indicates the places from which cross-national policy transfer is attributed; key American and European exemplars that are explored in the interpretive narrative.

Figure 1: Map of the three case study locations and comparator exemplars.



1.5 Contribution to knowledge

Twenty-first century debates about the urban waterfront continue as “the character of the post-industrial waterfront in the information age is not yet clear” (Shaw, 2001:171). This original and extensive in-depth study of restructuring in three UK cities considers this local character as it is understood by elite actors. It offers a sophisticated and nuanced interplay of the global and local debates in

cultural regeneration, with the intention to restore the primacy of locality theory as an area of research.

1.6 Summary

The influence of intense and geographically concentrated human activity transcends the physical boundaries of cities. These locally bounded urban spaces are subjected to global influences that are shaping the policies being enacted in cities. Culture has risen to the forefront of regenerative approaches to the urban decline and problems in cities. An analysis is made of the contemporary policy concern with place and the theoretical literature on locality; underpinned by an examination of the influence of local processes on global patterns of cultural regeneration. While the next chapter introduces the conceptual main debates, subsequent chapters re-introduce the focus on the waterfront. To emphasise the perspective chosen for this research we first put forward an understanding of these conceptual terms locality, place, policy transfer, and globalisation.

Chapter 2

Locality, Place, and the Urban

2. Introduction

This chapter sets the scene for the conceptual debates surrounding globalisation, place, culture, and locality. An examination of these conceptual debates and the complexity of the relationship between the global and local addresses the contested area of standardisation of place. This debate results in the two key themes of the thesis: homogeneity and distinctiveness. This literature review highlights an ongoing debate surrounding the local and the global with a vast array of key thinkers and theories denoting the intertwined complexity of the relationships between all cultural regeneration elements. There remains considerable scope within these debates to re-examine regenerated waterfronts as places, and how we conceptualise twenty-first century cultural regeneration.

One focus of the chapter is the extent to which different social actors represent general interests of place (Beynon et al., 1994:112). These actors are pivotal in determining the regeneration policies that shape localities. The understanding of key elite actors in their interpretation of place, and the cultural solutions enacted upon localities, will be highlighted. The idea that “place is itself a producer of meaning and that changes in spatial practices always have cultural implications” (Johnson et al., 2004:106) draws in a dynamic understanding of culture at different spatial levels. To investigate this complex, dynamic, and reciprocal relationship, we can draw on the existing concepts in the literature to determine a theoretical approach to localities.

A second theme in the chapter is to investigate the degree to which the particularities of local place are still important even when there are major structural forces heavily shaping places. The chapter sets out to establish a framework to investigate this key question, beginning at a local level, introducing the key concepts of locality and place (Section 2.1). Then, introducing culture and policy transfer debates at a macro scale (Section 2.2) that lead into criticisms of McGeneration and the homogenising process. The

approach taken is to narrow the scope of global arguments to produce a focus on debates of place and the local scale. The theme of globalisation in this chapter is used to situate the local as a key narrative for understanding the complex processes of regeneration. Policy transfer is introduced (Section 2.2) to initiate a pragmatic understanding of the process that converges with the issues of urban regeneration that follow in Chapter 3. Sections 2.3 to 2.5 introduce the policy concepts of cultural regeneration, urban design, and place promotion. These concepts form part of the broader understanding of the working of global and non-local processes. In this thesis they are used to re-focus an understanding of the specificity of place. The contribution of globalisation is integral to the rise of culture as a focal point for regeneration approaches, and is explored further in Chapter 3.

Debates on city futures are lively and contentious, and are sufficiently complex to include artists, planners, sociologists, geographers, and ecologists (May; Atkinson, 2003; Whitehead, 2003). This review looks at the contributions made in a rich literature, to inform the role of spatial elements in narratives of cultural regeneration. Introducing these debates and constructing spatial or place stories provides an understanding of the urban fabric in terms of the relationships between place and culture. We now begin by taking a broad view of some key debates around the issue of place and culture. The first topic is the issue of locality and place theory, which will naturally lead to a number of related issues.

2.1 Locality and place theory

Policies have, despite the pressures of globalisation, endeavoured to promote the individual value of places, but to understand what those localities were, or became through regeneration, we need to grasp the way in which places can be interpreted. The emphasis on place and the local scale found their basis in the 1970s in critical geography, moving away from positivist spatial theories to aim for an inclusiveness of the social forces at work. Place has found a particular resonance with debates on culture. "Cities are identified with culture, moreover, because they so clearly mark a human-made sense of place and a human-size struggle with scale" (Zukin, 1995:264). A greater focus on the local scale began with Doreen Massey's early work, which developed the theory of "spatial

divisions of labour” (Massey, 1984). Over time, this has extended to space (and place) and remains central to accounts of contemporary society. Massey set the scene for the localities debate; her focus on the particularity of place came to underpin a range of research on localities. A fractious theoretical debate in the 1980s surrounded the locality concept, with critics citing spatial determinism as a theory that failed to provide an explanation for spatial patterns (Smith, 1987; Duncan and Savage, 1989).

The value of locality-focused research is in its complexity, through empirical research with localities themselves producing a specific, locally unique combination of more general processes at work (Urry, 1995). Urry states that although particular processes are intended to apply generally, they are not found to the same degree in a given locality, as there are systematic processes at the local level which modify and transform the effect of these wider processes. With the increasing impact of global processes, greater emphasis for a local distinctiveness becomes a possibility. Urry attributes this to the increased importance of neighbourhood effects (politically), the enduring significance of local architecture, and a necessity for differentiation internationally (and nationally) for organisational competitiveness (ibid.). Anxiety about these wider global processes destroying place has led to a greater emphasis on the conceptualisation of locality and place with the “understanding that global forces reconstruct rather than destroy localities” (McDowell, 1999:3).

The word place from the Medieval Latin *placea* contends with debates surrounding its understanding and conceptualisation. From the work of Alfred Marshall to the work of Jane Jacobs, it seems that for many commentators cities were cauldrons of diversity and creativity. Generalising the approach of the last two decades has been a focus upon the firm as driver of regional growth and innovation. Policies focused on firm location offering incentives such as enterprise zones and tax breaks. Recent changes in policy have included greater emphasis on promoting and regenerating places through culture. The rise of culture in the understanding of place leads to even more problematic definitions. Place and space are often regarded as synonymous terms with each other; these are considered here in more detail.

Clarified by these different social, economic, and political thinkers; figure 2 is a selection of thinkers as a central focus of the changing emphasis on place and space. It is not a definitive or exhaustive list; it represents the fluidity of changing interpretation, where each successive idea has been critiqued and built upon.

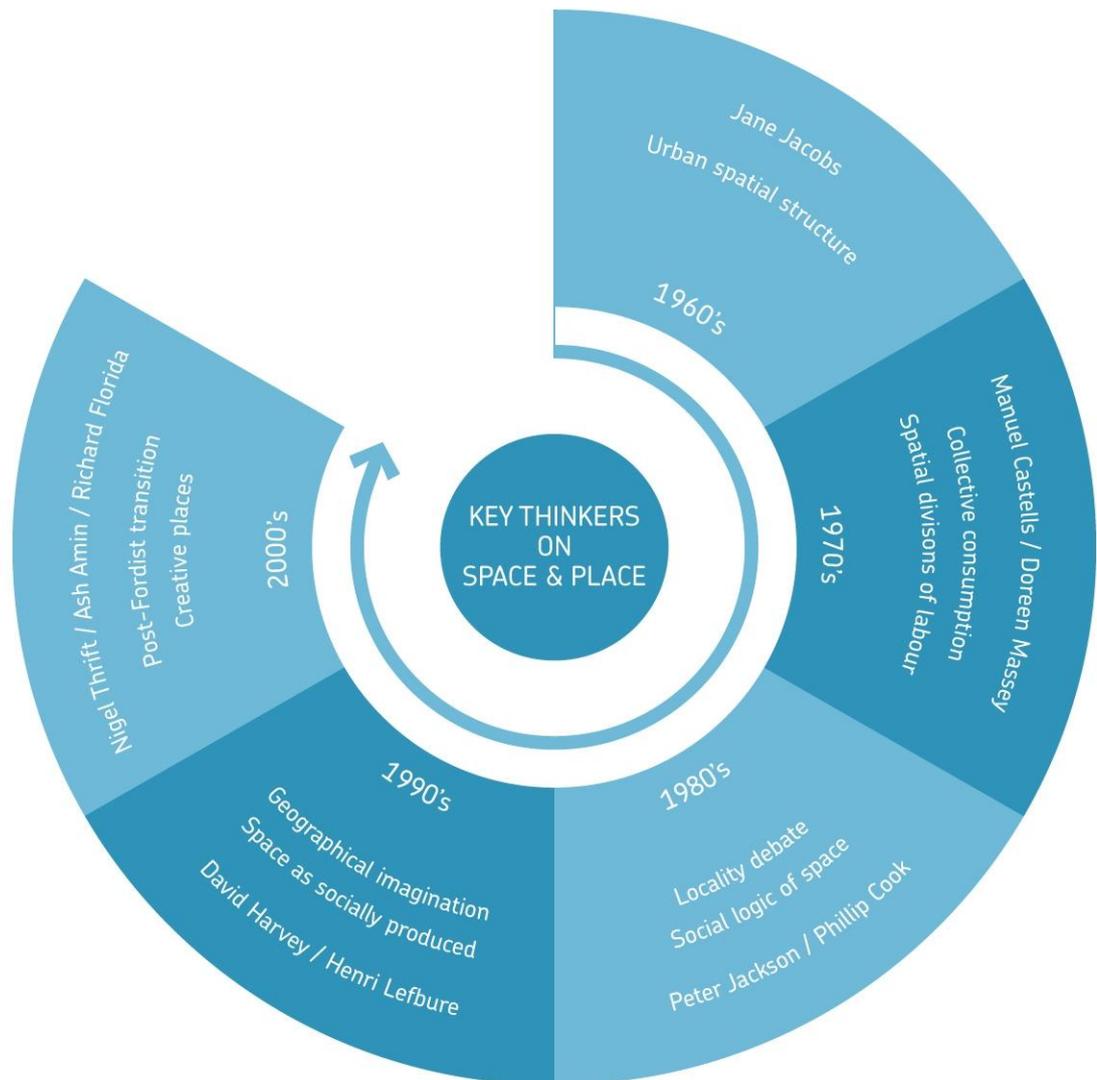


Figure 2: Key thinkers on space and place

There remain polarised theoretical concepts of place. Harvey's more positivist stance is that of globalisation having led to a dissolution of place (Harvey, 1989). This is contrary to Massey's "progressive sense of place" which sees place as a unique point in a wider series of flows, not a bounded enclosed space (Massey, 1991). It is here that Cooke's concept of localities as "centres of collective consciousness" forms the basis for a theory of localities. Localities are

the “space within which the larger part of most citizen’s daily working and consuming lives is lived”, they are a base for social mobilisation and pro-activity, which help shape their destiny (Cooke, 1989b:12). This reciprocal interplay of local activity and unique local place identities actively transform places, however they are not necessarily in charge of their own destiny (Ashworth and Larkham, 1994). This latter point edges into debates regarding the wider political arena and the impact of globalisation. For Cooke, localities are not “simply places or even communities: they are the sum of social energy and agency resulting from the clustering of diverse individuals, groups and social interests in space” (Cooke, 1989a:296).

Coaffee and Healey are concerned with “the extent to which a focus on ‘place’, at the neighbourhood scale and at the city/region scale, has the potential to strengthen the ‘voice’ of those who speak for the quality of daily life” (Coaffee and Healey, 2003:1980). An interest is needed in strengthening the power of this potential of place as “a focus for a different way of organising the agendas and practices of formal government” (ibid.). This means challenging the power of elites in their endeavours to influence agendas, as Coaffee and Healey concurred in the early experiences of the ‘Newcastle area committee initiative’, where they found tension between centralising power and the encouragement of a greater citizen voice.

The unique specificities of places require a holistic approach to policy creation, one that identifies issues at a local scale. Hence, places require local solutions, (Evans, 2003), and this is where a re-focus on locality theory can offer assistance. In the context of this thesis, an emphasis on locality studies will be used to examine the cultural dimensions of local change, (Jackson, 1991), the importance of local identity (Bailey et al., 2004), the sense of place, and the cultural ‘vibe’ viewed as essential to successful cultural regeneration (Wood and Taylor, 2004). Thus, locality theory can be revisited to consider recent approaches to regeneration through culture.

“In the midst of economic development we find inspiration in the buildings, artefacts, traditions, values and skills of the past. Cultural heritage is more than buildings – it is the panoply of cultural resources that demonstrate that a place is unique and distinctive” (Landry, 2000:39).

Locality theory recognised local uniqueness could be theorised through local narratives that recognise place distinctiveness. Resonances from the original localities debate concerned research in urban culture and consumption. More recent work in culture and creativity use studies of the 'creative class', a concept as provocative a notion as locality studies were in their time. There has been a renewed interest in scalar approaches, a "resurgence of interest in the nature of localised growth in the spatial economy" (Gordon and McCann, 2000:513). This resurgence of interest, finds "the nurturing of such clusters has become an important component of public policy both at the regional and local scale" (Bassett et al., 2002a:165). Statistics quantifying the clustering of cultural activities are used to signify growth and change, local policies are therefore developed to encourage and develop local cultural approaches. Localities can be 'spatially sticky' (Markusen and Schrock, 2006), a local social context where people aggregate to share knowledge. They attract and house cultural industries, that are "stretched across a force-field of global and local relationships" (Scott, 2000:4).

The following sub-sections demonstrate that the local is important even when faced with global homogenising pressures. The policy focus of 'power of place' explores place as integral to the identity and meaning of localities. This leads into further consideration of the characterisation of places that have established 'sense of place' as a local and cultural identity.

2.1.1 The power of place

It has been reiterated, argued and discussed that it is important for people to give meaning to a place (Massey and Jess, 1995:217; Rose, 1995). The interplay of these different meanings and choices influences the form of places. For example, cities reflect the policy choices made by key decision makers and therefore "our cities reflect the forces of power that have shaped them" (Landry, 2006:6). These forces are influential on the built, natural, and social environment of places. English Heritage argues that "with proper understanding and sensitive and open management, there can be desirable change without losing the places we value" (English Heritage, 2000:14). Their report discusses feelings of exclusion and powerlessness in people whose personal heritage appears unaccounted for by decision makers. They assert that "if the barriers to

involvement can be overcome, the historic environment has the potential to strengthen the sense of community and provide a solid basis for neighbourhood renewal. This is the power of place” (ibid.).

In response, the government issued a statement on the historic environment, entitled ‘A Force for Our Future’, that argued that the historic environment is the key to; attractive cities, world-class tourist attractions, and new jobs. English Heritage further claimed that it provides people with a sense of identity which is essential to the remaking of places (English Heritage, 2004). They stated that past lessons can shape ‘cultural goals’ and these “goals must be selected not on the basis of the personal preferences of a single group, but on an understanding of what a civilized pluralistic community should be” (Lozano, 1990). The concept of heritage is associated with inheritance, transference of traditions and values over time, and therefore forms part of the cultural tradition of society and a wider understanding of place. This traditional value in place has been revived with greater worth placed on the architectural endowments of places; a trend observed in urban regeneration policies.

“Drawing in the lifestyle of artistic-bohemian counter-cultures and a rediscovery of the heritage of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century buildings and vernacular gave rise to a new approach on behalf of urban developers. Rather than tear the old city centre down they began to see value in its preservation and ‘re-packaging’.” (O’Connor, 1999b)

Thus, place becomes a representation of contested identities and is imbued with historic meanings. “Critical interventions that seek social change need to grasp that place is itself a producer of meaning and changes in spatial practices always have cultural implications” (Johnson et al., 2004:106). These implications find people to be locally dependent such that “personal social interaction usually takes place in a localized spatio-temporal context. Everyday life is *situated*” (Cox and Mair, 1988:312). This situated life leads to a strong identification with a particular locality.

New spaces for the culture and café society have resulted in a conflicted political understanding. “In scholarly circles, cosmopolitanism has become the progressive ideal, despite the political problems associated with defining it” (Brown, 2005:216). British cultures and politics are mediated through struggles

to understand what places represent and who they are for. Authors who analyse cosmopolitan cities, for Massey through gender and Harvey class, draw out the complexity of the local.

“The city as an object of analysis has been unbound. Long the concern of a range of interconnected disciplines within the social sciences (e.g. geography and urban planning), the city is now open to the distinctive approaches of those working within interdisciplinary fields such as cultural and feminist studies.” (Jacobs, 1993:827)

Situated in the global arena, localities offer a specificity of variety through experiences of restructuring, social structures, local policy performance; differences come through history and traditions. They achieve dominance in key local figures, industry, mass provisions, local coalitions, and their impacts on the kinds of local initiative undertaken. Peter Jackson, a key figure in the development of new cultural geography, adopted a materialist view which emphasises cultural politics and explores the ways culture sustains spatialised power relations (Jackson, 1989; 1999). Consequently, geographically uneven and socially differentiated effects do not necessarily lead to homogenised places. Instead, place is its own vehicle of power in shaping and influencing people’s well-being and life chances, identity, and difference.

Space is “where discourses of power and knowledge are transformed into actual relations of power” (Sharp et al., 2000). The physical manifestations of this power give rise to where they are, who occupies them, and what processes and social relations define and occupy them. Places represent meaning, and the power enacted within them reflects a local influence through the development activities that are undertaken. The ascendancy of place in urban regeneration approaches epitomizes the work of Massey (1984). It recognises that heritage circumstances are modified by place. We find this contextual turn in the themes discussed from post-Fordism to competitive advantage; each theme provides insight into the role of place in cultural regeneration. Florida’s research in ‘The Rise of the Creative Class’ was driven by questions on how we decide where to live and work and what really matters to us in making this kind of life decision (Florida, 2002:217). He derides the ‘death of place’ protagonists; his belief is that place remains a critical factor so that the economy forms around these ‘real’ concentrations of people in places. This concentration, he

argues, lies outside the firm and is rooted in locations and people (Porter, 1998b). This may seem obvious, but he states that the people underlying this are talented, and that firms can mobilise this competitive advantage in this Creative Age. Florida discusses the key ingredients for 'power of place' as:

- thick labour markets, conducive to horizontal career paths;
- lifestyle, vibrant scenes of life open late into the day;
- social interaction in less formal places (than work) such as coffee shops;
- diversity, where "a diverse place is a sign of a place open to outsiders" (Florida, 2002:227);
- authenticity, a uniqueness of historical and cultural attributes;
- identity, places convey status to people;
- quality of place, which has three dimensions: what is there (built and natural), who is there (people, interactions), and what is going on (street life, music scene, creative endeavours).

"Successful places do not provide just one thing; rather, they provide a range of quality of place options for different kinds of people at different stages in the life course" (Florida, 2002:233). Place is thus a key feature of all meaning systems. However the argument can be made that culture does not require it (that it can be sustained by people who have never met). Two contrasting views emanate from this intertwining of place and culture. On the one hand "culture is a phenomenon that tends to have intensely local characteristics thereby helping to differentiate places from one another" (Scott, 2000:3). Contrastingly, trying to make culture and place correspond with one another turns out to be an 'expensive illusion' (Massey and Jess, 1995). This link forced by marketing is not authentic. Places must be linked to their characteristics and sense of belonging, "our sense of place is really part of our cultural systems of meaning" (ibid. p186).

Place represents a host of meanings and contested identities. It has particular cultural and historic endowments, and is characterised by the many choices that

have been enacted upon it over time. The powerful symbolism of place is intrinsically linked with the notion of sense of place. This latter concept has risen in importance in the lexicon of regeneration terminology and has a particular understanding for the local.

2.1.2 Sense of place

"Sense of place is often associated with an emotional or affective bond between an individual and a particular place" (Williams et al., 1992:31). These bonds are instrumental in the embedded narratives of particular places that shape identities. Place consequently has a particular uniqueness that "because of its salience to the people living there gave rise to a 'sense of place' which itself could be studied as a phenomenon unique to locale" (Hubbard et al., 2002:16). Inauthentic places weaken a sense of identity, for Relph these places represent mass identity and values (Relph, 1976). Thus places must retain an authenticity or everyday meaning to its inhabitants as a "space to which meaning has been ascribed" (Carter et al., 1993:xii). Everyday places, for Jacobs, are for "everyday people with the courage to think differently and a vibrant public sphere in which to come together" where they "could work out solutions to the most vexing social problems" (Jacobs, 2006:235). Jackson succinctly sums up this uniqueness for localities:

"one way of defining such localities would be to say that they are cherished because they are embedded in the everyday world around us and easily accessible, but at the same time are distinct from that world."
(Jackson, 1995:24)

Massey poses the questions: whose sense of place is more powerful in a particular situation and why are some senses of place negative for some people? (Massey and Jess, 1995) When discussing these discourses between inclusion and exclusion people legitimise their claims to place, and although imaginary these "senses of places are therefore the products of the creative imagination of the individual and society, while identities are not passively received but are ascribed to places by people" (Ashworth and Graham, 2005:3). Thus, "the process of marketing the city begs the question as to what sort of cities we wish to see" (Smyth, 1994:2).

Place is characterised by a mixture of facets and influences including: expressions of power (Cloke et al., 1999); people's voting patterns "increasingly referent to their spatial locations" (Goodwin, 1989:145); and attributes awarded to places beyond definition by economic activity. Places and localities are a melting pot of understandings and definitions. Sadler discussed localities as "part of spatially-grounded social processes" (Sadler, 1993). This social aspect for place plays out in the association of place with personal identity; a bond between the social and spatial.

A 'sense of place' is a vision that entered the English language as a locality with distinct character, physically, economically, and culturally (Massey and Jess, 1995). It is a phrase used to accentuate significance of place because they are the focus for personal feelings. Massey and Jess (1995) argue that

"identity is how we make sense of ourselves, and geographers, anthropologists and sociologists, amongst others, have argued that the meanings given to a place may be so strong that they become a central part of the identity of the people experiencing them." (Massey and Jess, 1995:88)

Against this, Massey (1995) puts forward three explanations for a sense of place: it is natural, it satisfies a need for belonging, and is often treated sceptically as a generalisation. Its construction is from underlying power structures, as a cultural interpretation of the world; it is systems of meaning through which we make sense of the world. A sense of place is a difference, as people claim a belonging to a place that others do not.

Sense of place can be related to sense of time through heritage. Ashworth and Graham argue

"heritage is concerned with the ways in which very selective material artefacts, mythologies, memories and traditions become resources for the present. The contents, interpretations and representations of the resource are selected according to the demands of the present; an imagined past provides resources for a heritage that is to be bequeathed to an imagined future." (Ashworth and Graham, 2005:4)

These are contested processes because of "their plurality and the continuous interplay of the official/unofficial and insider/outsider dichotomies that characterize every single manifestation of heritage" (Ashworth and Graham,

2005:11). Heritage helps underpin sense of place and belonging, however this may reflect the wider processes of globalisation. Marketing which portrays 'quaint' imagery or ignores the current inhabitants to promote 'vacant' areas for exploitation (for example, the US frontier settlements) reflects unequal social relations. Sense of place is just one of the many generic phrases upon which to base urban decisions to shape a place, so therefore, arguments abound that these reinvented places are stages for a backdrop of uniformity and blandness. This "identikit commercial culture" is viewed as the "death of diversity and undermining democracy" (Simms et al., 2005). 'Sense of place' therefore becomes integral to the intricate politics of identity (Massey and Jess, 1995). The spatial understanding of places is inherently linked to intrinsic or intangible characters or cultures that add to this sense of place. "Cultures organize themselves spatially, whatever their size, cultures are always localized" (Bonnemaïson, 2005:83). Unique local spaces "when linked to other factors such as accent and distinctive food and drink" create a "strong sense of place" (Hayton and Marshall, 1998:252).

Local places are interpreted through power and sense of place. An interpretation, which highlights their significance to the mediation of global processes. These localities resonate with local cultural identity and distinct characteristics in both the urban form and socially.

2.2 Globalisation

Globalisation is recognised as a major dynamic in the world economy and upon culture across the globe. This theme has, naturally, received considerable attention, as researchers endeavour to understand how this particular change affects individual cultures, communities, and places. The impact of global pressures has become integral to the understanding of cities. Friedmann's *The World City Hypothesis* formed the backbone of much urban research of the global economy (Friedmann, 1986). He laid out the architecture of the global system of cities arguing that cities and urban development are closely linked to the global economy, detecting key patterns in the organisation of world city systems. Complex entities, cities feature varying determinants embedded in culture and history. Capitalist restructuring has produced the most recent determinants, collectively called globalisation, which has fashioned new world

cities (Sassen, 2001). The speed and intensity of changing global processes continues what has been a long trend of migration, not just of people but also of commodities, cultures, connections, and activities. Stiglitz suggests that the problems with globalisation have

“much to do with economic globalization outpacing political globalization, and with the economic consequences of globalization outpacing our ability to understand and shape globalization and to cope with these consequences through political processes.” (Stiglitz, 2006:269)

Global pressures and processes are determining the new role for cities, however, within this debate is the question of place. The specificity of place survives pressure from the global, and is itself a defining concept for the urban.

Stiglitz, a critic of free market economics and the management of globalisation states: “part of the mindset of thinking locally is that we don’t often think of how policies that we advocate affect others and the global economy”, adding:

“there is an old aphorism about all politics being local, and, with most people living ‘locally’, it is not surprising that globalization is approached within the very narrow framework of local politics. Local thinking persists even as the world grows more economically interdependent.” (Stiglitz, 2006:278)

Stiglitz therefore argues that a dynamic of globalisation neither extinguishes nor dominates the local, but rather the local and global are engaged in a dialogue — albeit one with much heated debate within it. If a locality as a cultural space is, therefore, not an extinct concept, how does the local, as a geographical phenomenon, change with globalisation? This ‘disjunction’ between the global and local he attributes to rising dissatisfaction with globalisation. A dissatisfaction that has led others to question the concept of a unique local place in this dynamic. They pose questions such as, “do individual places still have their own distinctiveness within the ‘global village’ and, if so, is this distinctiveness still constructed in the same way as it was before?” (Massey and Jess, 1995).

The global change of post-industrial and post-Fordist concepts introduced in Chapter 1 has shaped this global village. Scott notes

“that the leading-edges of the contemporary post-Fordist economy are represented by sectors like high-technology production, neo-artisanal manufacturing, cultural-products industries, the media, business and financial services, and so on.” (Scott, 2001:818)

Further, he states that the contemporary political change experienced in city-regions represents a pursuit for “structures of governance capable of securing and enhancing their competitive advantages in a rapidly globalizing economic order” (ibid. p821).

Sir Peter Hall’s cities have patterns of economic growth and technological innovation similar to Joseph Schumpeter’s creative “destruction” (Hall, 1988). This theory of economic progress transforms places as the drive for innovation finds organisations and individuals relocating to places that enhance their competitive advantage. These pressures shaping the new characteristics of global spaces have led to the city, as a particular form of locality, receiving detailed attention in this debate. The rise of the ‘Global City’ as a new spatial concept itself is much deliberated; however, many authors understand that the process of globalisation has given rise to a new strategic role for the city.

“To understand the puzzle of parallel change in diverse cities requires not simply a point-by-point comparison of New York, London, and Tokyo, but a situating of these cities in a set of global processes.” (Sassen, 2001:4)

Arguments abound that the forces of globalisation are eroding the power of the nation state and increasing the role of regions as the key economic and social organising units in the world. Oft-cited authors such as Florida argue: “the competition for talent is not just between nations. The real battle is among cities and regions” (Florida, 2005b:158). Despite predictions, geography is not about to diminish (O'Brien, 1992), even in this globalising world its importance remains because the possibilities of local specialisation are heightened. Florida studied how people decided to locate; he found the answer to be both economic and lifestyle considerations. “In the creative economy, ideas and intellectual capital have replaced natural resources and mechanical innovations as the raw material of economic growth” (Florida, 2005a:145-6). It was not the standard concept of moving to jobs, but that the place also mattered in decision-making. He says that “the quality of place, a city or region, has replaced access as the

pivot point of competitive advantage” (Florida, 2005a:50). For regional development strategy he states this “means a shift from low cost to high quality – from merely attracting firms to forming the coalitions that are required to generate, retain, and attract talent” (ibid.).

Waters believes world society is emerging and that culture is no longer contained by borders (Waters, 1995). This global view of culture forms part of a changing movement from Robert Putnam (social functions of neighbourhoods, communities, and cities), to Edward Glaeser (human capital, cities as lifestyles), to Florida (creative classes) where each has advanced thinking with new debates on the critical functions of cities (Putnam, 1995; Glaeser, 1998; Florida, 2002). However, there remains an endemic identification of the role of localities or places as incubators of creativity and innovation. With the ever-increasing pace of technological innovation, people and economies exist in real places, rather than the cyber-world of space. Globalisation increases the flows of communication but innovation, still occurs in places. Alfred Marshall’s ‘agglomeration’ (Marshall, 1961), the benefits firms obtain from locating near each other, and Michael Porter’s ‘clustering’ (Porter, 1998a), geographic concentration of firms, remain influential. This suggests that place is still an important locus of economic activity, despite global pressures. There is dialectic between place and culture, as cultures “organize themselves spatially. Whatever their size, cultures are always localized” (Bonnemaison, 2005:83).

There remains a post-war globalised new world system of multiple hierarchical levels, from the global to the local, of economic and political relationships. The nature of globalisation requires local understanding. Globalisation has not eroded the need for spatial levels of understanding and has enhanced the role of the cities. The role of cities as places where culture is produced and consumed is particularly essential to the debates surrounding the global homogenisation of culture, which are discussed in the next section.

2.2.1 Culture

Control of cities can be powerfully enacted through culture. As a source of images and memories, it symbolizes “who belongs in specific chapters” (Zukin, 1991:1). Culture is used in many guises to re-image and regenerate the city. It

is at the forefront of tourism and heritage competition between cities. Competition that used to be considered as only political or economic is now considered under the umbrella term of culture. Complex cultural interactions have occurred over centuries, yet “the intensifying movement of images and symbols and the extraordinary stretch of modes of thought and modes of communication are unique and unparalleled features of the late twentieth century and the new millennium” (Held et al., 1999:327). These are a cultural globalisation in the movement of images, symbols and people, leading to a cultural diffusion and the formation of infrastructures and institutions, that are asymmetrical between and within societies. Representation of people’s lifestyle through culture is conflicted, for Zukin culture makes implicit values visible. People’s culture may be reduced to a set of marketable images; culture is seen and it sells. This Zukin attributes to common notions of a postmodern society and the daily struggles of real lives.

Authors agree that cultural policy has become dominant, even crucial, in post-Fordist strategies to promote and market cities in a perceived competition, nationally and internationally (Gold and Ward, 1994; Young and Lever, 1997; Ward, 1998). Harnessing cultural capabilities of cities has become the new localised competitive advantage (Scott, 2000). Conceptualisations of competitiveness represent a notable feature of place-based research, however competitiveness itself remains a challenging term (Turok, 2004). Debates on the transition to a post-Fordist society consider global shifts, and attention is paid to a move from the significance of comparative advantage to competitive advantage (Kitson et al., 2004). Through comparative advantage places utilise their ‘inherited endowments’ to compete. Competitive advantage is also dependent on inherent assets, but it also depends on the actions of a locality to attract and retain capital and workers in a more mobile economy. This is coupled with the cultural process of “glocalisation”, where local cultures redefine global cultural processes (Giulianotti and Robertson, 2004), another argument for the local effect. Buck et al question this simple approach of developing the local in ways that maximise survival chances in the global area. Rather than contrast local and global they emphasise the continuing unevenness and complexity of the relationship, and warn against a caricature of opposites (Buck et al., 2005). This interplay between global and local has become a central

feature of the globalisation debate. The argument is that the locale and location are implicated in social processes, rather than being a backdrop upon which those processes are inscribed (Agnew, 1997).

Fraser and Wenginger criticise the casting of cities as being shaped by globalisation, with the result that “some treatments of the city reproduce a unified story line that conceals human agency” (Fraser and Wenginger, 2008:1435). They call for the generation of “multiple accounts of cities in order to illustrate the diversity of orientations and analyses that people have towards these spaces” (ibid. p.1436); a complex spatial analysis that does not just sit on these opposed concepts for disembodied power structures imposing themselves on localities. The city can then be considered ‘mongrel’, which leads the way for a progressive multicultural existence (Sandercock and Lyssiotis, 2003). Researchers, they argue, need to develop modes of engagement that put them alongside other actors of alternative routes and futures. Debates on being able to study ‘a place’ as territorialised cultures are influenced by networks and flows. When researchers enter these networks, they become implicated in the dynamic process. Clearly this will have an effect on any research, including this thesis. Therefore, to interpret previous case studies, and to interpret findings from my own, a full range of substantive concerns including culture, environment, and people, and so on, must be considered.

Held’s ‘hyperglobalizers’ predict the world will be homogenised through Westernised consumerism as others advocate the persistence of cultural difference (Held et al., 1999). Further consideration will be given to this concept of homogenisation; a consumerism that has shaped the specific form of places through the concept of McGeneration.

2.2.2 McGeneration

Global transfer of policy and processes are exacerbating the homogeneity of place. “There has been a pervasive homogeneity in the models of urban regeneration pursued by western cities” (Quilley, 1999). These models for success or ‘McFormula’ are characterised by a generic package representative of the successful and globally ubiquitous McDonald’s fast-food chain restaurants. This ‘Mcformula’ for regeneration of places has transported across

the Atlantic onto the waterfronts of the United Kingdom. Quilley deemed these homogenised approaches to regeneration 'McGeneration'; an identikit solution for a place in decline. This identikit contains flagship property developments, redevelopment of historic buildings, and 24-hour café society. Such projects are comprised of physical developments that create "a form of Karaoke architecture where it is not important how well you can sing, but that you do it with verve and gusto" (Evans, 2003:417).

These identikit models also contain approaches to selling the city as a commodity, particularly to attract tourists. Flagships are understood to be developments, a "marshalling point for future investment", and a marketing tool (Smyth, 1994:5), and part of the 'festivalisation' of urban policy (Zukin, 1995). These developments may consist of iconic buildings or structures to mirror the flagship concept derived from Baltimore (ibid.). Indeed the origins for the selling of place are rooted in the American tradition of boosterism (Gold and Ward, 1994; Ward, 1998). This positive promotion (or boost) of the city suppresses negative aspects of identity; 'shadow' elements such as derelict spaces are hidden (Madsen, 1992; Short, 1999). Ashworth and Voogd explain that the American example was emulated because it represented "the seemingly dramatic economic restructuring of major conurbations whose traditional industries were in severe contraction, through the reshaping of the urban image" (Ashworth and Voogd, 1990:133). Tuan identified a key aspect to this boosterism in 1974; urban symbols that "capture the public's imagination through novelty and sheer size" (Tuan, 1974:201). Boosterism activities pursue a competitive advantage for a city through marketing this new sanitised image. The design of places and the marketing of cities will be discussed later in this chapter.

The McGeneration theme for the homogenisation agenda is supported by a concern for the Disneyfication of places. The Disneyfication concept explains the rise in sanitised spaces of consumption as a specific form of globalisation, through the rise of global businesses that produce mass entertainment.

"Undeniably, globalisation embodies a significant force altering social, cultural, economic and political structures at a variety of scales. However, the perception that a single global culture or community is emerging must be treated with caution. Uncritical acceptance of such an

assertion denies the social and spatial complexity of culture and its constituent parts.” (Rofe, 2003:2511)

Disneyworld (and Disneyland) transcend ethics, class and regional identities, offering “a national public culture based on aestheticizing differences and controlling fear” (Zukin, 1995:49). This idealisation of public space becomes the basis for a consensual competitive strategy for economic development. An idea Rofe develops is “consumptionscapes” which “embody symbolically important loci for the local gentrifying community” (Rofe, 2003:2511). These spaces are characterised by and constituted of art galleries, restaurants, boutiques and cafes and “provide a locus for the articulation and display of an affluent gentrification-derived identity” (Rofe, 2003:2521). The gentrification and remodelling of the city

“towards consumption practices are often linked to exclusion, including a lack of political inclusiveness and accountability, the exclusion of those with low or no incomes and the socio-cultural exclusion of those deemed not to ‘fit’ the dominant vision or style of urban development.” (Young et al., 2006:1690)

Disneyfication of spaces have followed Zukin’s recipe of a ‘common thread of belief’, which she explains as a shared enthusiasm by people that is developed into a visual image, that is then marketed as the city’s symbol. A specific area of a city may be picked to reflect that image, perhaps “a shimmering waterfront commercial complex to symbolize the new” (Zukin, 1995:54). These commercial complexes, developed as symbols, are accused of creating gentrified spaces for those who can afford them. The urban renaissance, to be discussed in Chapter 3, of regeneration processes is said to be creating this ideological character of place. A character which is said to be gentrifying spaces to attract the return of the middle-classes to the city (Duncan and Ley, 1997). The manipulation of culture and imagery to market cities is criticised for not being wholly representative of the inhabitants’ culture and history. It is suggested that this representation through marketing is a calculated tool for disguising the conflicting or negative perceptions of a city. Zukin described loft living of the 1960s and 1970s as an individualisation of mass production, as artists moved into disused industrial spaces to work and live. “With hindsight, and with the bittersweet taste of gentrification on every urban palate, it is not so difficult to

understand the ‘historic compromise’ between culture and capital that loft living represents” (Zukin, 1989:193). Gentrifying landscapes through extensive new development provides spaces for displays of affluence, yet today’s society reiterates Zukin’s desire that “public value mandates a discussion of development goals on the basis of citizenship rather than ownership” (Zukin, 1991:275).

However, Disney has its own rules and vocabulary and admits people only on a paying basis. Its customer service and styled approaches are emulated across the world to create new spaces and patterns of consumption. “It is with tourism, therefore, that branded arts and entertainment shares common characteristics, since resorts and destinations have long been branded and pre-packaged” (Evans, 2003:418). Public spaces become these private places or ‘resorts’, through selling spaces as leisure products. Everyday public spaces are subjected to a generic regeneration which leads to ‘fantasization’ of experiences (Hannigan, 1998). Disney is tightly controlled and public spaces are not, it is therefore unsurprising that the Disneyfication of public spaces, including waterfronts, does not work as well. Gruen notes of Disney’s control of its paid-for private space that “if everything connected with culture is herded into one “cultural centre” this implies that expressions of culture must be absent from the remainder of the regional agglomeration” (Gruen, 1973:88). The risk of such strategies is sterility and uniformity, yet, despite this tendency for the homogenisation of places, “urban space, even if increasingly privatised and controlled, remains the visual emblem of the public culture” (Amin, 2006:1012). A public culture that is understood and accepted locally.

These globally derived processes impart uniformity to places. Imposed by the homogenising forces of identikit solutions to urban change, these cities begin to have a generic look to their built environment. It is the imposition of these generic solutions that have been enacted on urban waterfronts, solutions that have risen to prominence through the mechanism of policy transfer.

2.3 Policy transfer

One aspect of globalisation is the manner in which policies formulated and enacted in one nation are subsequently transferred to other states.

Regeneration policies are no exception and waterfront redevelopments serve as a ready example. American regeneration of the 1950s focused upon decaying waterfront areas in former great ports; developments through the decades found a specific focus in the creation of striking flagship developments. This led to the creation of a model for regenerative success. To the mixture you “add a domed stadium, aquarium, or cleaned-up waterfront to suit the circumstances, and you have the essential equipment for a first-class American city” (Frieden and Sagalyn, 1989:259). Substitute United Kingdom, European or global for American and you have what appears to have developed as the standard blueprint for developing cities in the emerging age, or what Florida terms generica (chain restaurants, stadiums and nightclubs, and so on). Heavily packaged commercial venues that have “a way of creeping in everywhere” (Florida, 2002:189). It is this borrowed packaged selling of a waterfront experience, which is often unauthentic, that has become the product of the rising cultural regeneration ethos (Florida, 2002).

Indeed, Florida discusses the US failure to recognise the ‘real’ issue with inequality, not a moral or social one but “that inequality represents a waste of human creative potential” (Florida, 2005b:21). For Florida, the idea of creative communities to build a successful community requires his three T’s of technology, talent, and tolerance, the ideas he formulated from extensive study of US cities. In discussing why some places ‘get trapped’, by their past, when trying to create city localities for the Creative Age he states “they try to create facsimiles of neighbourhoods or retail districts, replacing the old and authentic with the new and generic – and in doing so drive the resident Creative Class away” (Florida, 2002:303). Places that grew and prospered in one era find it difficult to adapt to new patterns of working in another.

Cities are “struggling with how to create the best conditions to accommodate economic activities that are regarded as vital for the city’s economic success” (Musterd, 2006:1325). The author attributes the significance of Florida’s work to the striving within cities to create optimal conditions to attract talented workers. Ideas that have been networked throughout the UK. As key decision-makers within the cities continue to make and communicate best practice, new organisational arrangements are set up to accommodate this learning. The

recent rise and demise of cultural observatories in the United Kingdom exemplify this desire to record cultural approaches and learning transfer. This transfer occurs at many spatial levels; the Council of Europe launched CultureWatchEurope as a “platform for exchange between governments and civil society in a common effort to help raise consciousness of key issues” while aiming to maximise “the usefulness of existing policy tools and standards in the cultural field” (Council of Europe, 2000). It is one of many organisations for learning, which offers toolkits and examples of cities for creating the culturally regenerated urban waterfront. Indeed Disney itself hosted a symposium in 1995 entitled “The City in 2020” to address the form the city would take in the new informational age (McIntosh, 1997).

Transference of waterfront regeneration approaches from American examples has given rise to a particular formula for the built environment, a focus on partnership working, and an emphasis on culture. Criticisms of earlier regeneration efforts that focused on the physical flagship have led to culture as a driving force to achieve the authentic solution to places in decline. Particular significance has been attributed to the work of Florida. The transfer of his work into the UK experience is particularly significant to this thesis and the understanding of formulaic approaches to regeneration solutions. Culture has risen steadily in literature and policy as a solution to urban problems; it forms part of a new understanding for regeneration efforts.

2.4 Cultural regeneration

The previous sections have shown that globalisation has had a substantial impact on the economy, culture, and policies of individual places. As globalisation has undermined the economy of (some) cities, regeneration schemes have been launched to rebuild their esteem and prosperity. However, globalisation itself has influenced regeneration policies. This section investigates the role of culture in regeneration projects, starting in the United Kingdom.

The Department for Culture, Media and Sport’s “Culture at the Heart of Regeneration” document (DCMS, 2004) was the turning point for the UK experience of cultural regeneration. Cultural policy has been adopted into the

centre of mainstream UK urban regeneration over the last two decades (Landry et al., 1996) seen in the intense race to be crowned Capital of Culture 2008 (Wilks-Heeg and North, 2004). As cities strive to find new ways of competing with each other, policy-makers turn to these accolades as a means to enhance their cultural offer. The European Capital of Culture title has gained currency as a symbol of the city's cultural diversity. Facets of city competition have given rise to what Richards and Wilson deem the "cultural arms race" (Richards and Wilson, 2004). The perceived benefits of culturally competing cities (city image re-shaping, pride, innovation, improved quality of life and so on) is indicative of how far local government strategies have moved from 1970s arts-focused policies (Bassett et al., 2005).

Florida's popular studies of location decisions found that place mattered in decision making: "the quality of place, a city or region, has replaced access as the pivot point of competitive advantage" (Florida, 2005a:50). His work has had a significant impact upon policy creation, with the assertion that culture translates "into social and economic outputs" (Miles and Paddison, 2005) through a clustering of human capital, and is now considered a critical factor in the successful regeneration of cities as these incubators of creativity. This is an alternative view to Putnam's social capital theory of tight-knit insular communities — a disturbing trend reported in *Bowling Alone* (Putnam, 1995), which is contrary to the popular Florida case. The latter holds that the alternative is weaker communities with looser ties that are more open to newcomers.

Around the last decade when this powerful theory of human capital exploded, economic growth was reconsidered to spread from specific regions or cities and support a shift from manufacturing reliance to one based upon knowledge and innovation through an investment in culture (Corsane, 2005). The conventional view of places being endowed with useable attributes and resources as attractors, is of much merit in history, but it is no longer considered the main motivator. Human capital theory expressed in the works of Florida and Jacobs identified cities' unique positions for attracting creative people. The role of place is to offer a market, matching creative people to economic opportunities and lifestyle. As expectations change, people are increasingly looking for the 'whole

package'. Job opportunities and increasingly places are promoted as this package.

Cultural regeneration may draw attention away from power struggles over place (Evans, 2005) resulting in increased commodification of place, producing a homogenisation, evidenced in the serial reproduction of 'model' waterfront developments (Quilley, 1999). Place is available to be sold and consumed, this "commodification' refers, literally, to the extension of the commodity form to goods and services that were not previously commodified" (Jackson, 1999:96). This links back to global debates of McGeneration and Disneyfication and criticises the formulaic solutions to regeneration that have been adopted. The debate continues over the re-building of waterfronts and the creation of new *cultural spaces*, accused of cultural colonialism (Landry et al., 1996) and stereotyped representations (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996).

The places the author Florida describes are sites that Michel Foucault might describe as marginal, neglected, and in some ways outside conventional ways of operating, or places that are subject to regeneration initiatives and strategic plans. Yet the concern about such initiatives generates

"a sense of déjà vu in the long term observer. They are well intended, but the lessons of 30 years are that, with a few exceptions, short term, 'catalyst' initiatives have had to be applied again and again to the same estates and neighbourhoods." (Carley, 2000:274)

Carley talks of the schemes developed since the passing of the first urban regeneration (General Improvement Areas) areas under the 1969 Housing Act and a failure to learn from past initiatives. He blames the failures on short-termism (temporary initiatives) and compartmentalism (a lack of integration between physical regeneration and social and economic development). He discusses political and executive leadership and visioning as critical to regeneration partnerships. This concept of visionary leadership has become fundamental to the understanding of cultural regeneration solutions, and is discussed further in Chapter 3.

Local complexities impact on regeneration approaches, the unique local matrices of social and economic relationships created by past episodes in the

restructuring process are seen, in turn, to influence the particular way in which current and future episodes take place. Localities with an insular focus on history and institutional context are particularly powerful in development, “unnecessarily slowing down industrial restructuring and indirectly hampering the development of indigenous potential and creativity” (Hassink, 2005:522). Self-sustaining, development becomes locked-in by socio-economic conditions that have made the locality ‘stand out’ in the past (Grabher, 1993:256), thus power is privileged over learning and the past over present.

“The concept of ‘path dependence’ has emerged in a number of disciplines to re-emphasise the importance of situating comparisons of current conditions and outcomes within a proper consideration of the historical evolution of particular places, problems and policy responses” (Couch et al., 2011:6).

Typically for older industrial regions their ability to recover from decline is entrenched in path dependent activities (Hudson, 2005). Yet, policy initiatives can and do lead to the successful promotion of new industrial activities (Cooke, 1995). Therefore, “places can enhance their adaptive capacities if they can develop collective understanding and strategies to recognise and overcome lock-ins that may be constraining their adaptability to disruptive changes” (Dawley et al., 2010:5).

Florida’s approach has been subsumed into the policies for forming regeneration solutions for places. Culture has become the regenerative tool to create new desirable places, which then attract creative people and industries and in turn are perceived as solving the urban problems of the area. These new cultural spaces, formed from old industrial sites, are contested packages. The issues around these new, packaged places in urban regeneration need to be taken in turn, and we begin by focusing on urban design.

2.5 Urban design

Place-shaping is a more commonly used term of reference for actions taken to re-design a space for consumption and production. New cultural spaces are subject to the planning and design interpretation of elite actors of change. These processes, derived over time, are imbued with global and political influences. We draw upon the changes in urban planning to establish a cultural

focus for place-shaping. Urban policy takes a long time to affect cities due to the timescales of construction (Cheshire, 2006). Cities are increasingly seeking faster demonstrations of policy impact, building iconic structures into the urban fabric as symbols of improvement.

“in the era of globalization, the relationship between urban economy and urban design, as established throughout the history of urban forms, seems to be being reversed. While for centuries the quality of the urban environment has been an outcome of economic growth of cities, nowadays the quality of urban space has become a prerequisite for the economic development of cities; and urban design has undertaken an enhanced new role as a means of economic development.” (Gospodini, 2002:60)

Urban planning can be considered as “those intentional public actions which impact on the built and natural environment, and which are frequently accompanied by political processes of some kind” (Watson, 2004:274). Watson notes that this is a narrow view of planning, as it spans a far greater field of actors and activities.

“Most of the approaches to the problem of town planning are clogged with preconceived notions, complicated by vested interests, and embittered by the unending controversy between young men with a taste for continental logic and old men with a gift for obstruction.” (Gloag, 1937:187)

Bringing the debate up-to-date, (Taylor, 1998) discusses the issue of post-war aesthetics, where physical planning placed a new emphasis on the aesthetic but it was supplanted in the 1950s due to criticisms of designs that ignored the social problems of areas. Subsequent changes mean today we witness a role of culture in regenerative strategies, but the criticism levelled at 1950s developments still resonates in contemporary cultural regenerative strategies.

Changes in urban planning must take into account mistakes of the past. “Urban change has largely been left to the discipline of urban planning, but the central mistake of urban planning has been to concentrate on physical planning” (McIntosh, 1997:5). Urban design must now consider the culture of the locality. “When a planner enters a community, he or she enters into a cultural setting at a particular historic moment. Culture, history, and collective memory shape the interpretive frames through which meaning is made” (Umemoto, 2004:187).

This becomes a sensitivity towards culture in planning, with an epistemology as an interpretive lens through which consideration is made of the differences in experience as understood by individuals and groups. Cultural interpreters may be sought in the community; “they are people who are culturally rooted in a traditional community and who are equally versed in the language of modernity” (Umemoto, 2004:196). Concerns lie in aspects of power the interpreter(s) have: they “may have their own class or interests at stake” (ibid.).

On the other hand, they could provide specific advice to planners on the community and on historical aspects, and may thus help facilitate discussion (with gatekeepers, translators, and mediators). This local engagement of people in constrained planning situations thus provides them with the potential to transform those situations (Healey, 2006). Healey hopes that consensus can be forged, through collaborative planning, for the multiple interests of these stakeholders. However, McGeneration-designed urban spaces on the waterfront are considered representations of particular class interests and not a consensus. The “crevices left as industry abandons it” are gentrified; filled with new cultural developments and expensive housing (Grant, 2004:28). For the waterfront these gentrified spaces can bar access to the public through physical barriers “or they create a psychological sense that the space beside the water ‘belongs’ to the residents and that outsiders are not wanted” (Breen and Rigby, 1994:153).

The exploitation of indigenous strengths has become the key policy focus for development (Buck et al., 2005). Place-shaping is “the creative use of powers and influence to promote the general well-being of a community and its citizens” (Lyons, 2007:174). A local approach advocates local decision-making, including a greater number of actors in both planning and design. Place-shaping is expected to reflect the needs of communities, local leadership, and the local character of the place. These practices do not escape criticism levelled at past enactments of planning. Place-shaping practices are subject to struggles over profit, politics, public interest, to name but a few, and the dichotomies of striving for a better world and a cohesive community.

The Urban Taskforce Report 1999 responded to the design challenge in the UK, stating that successful regeneration is design-led and should incorporate all

aspects of place making. The task force suggested a checklist of 'good design', possibly providing a means to regenerate an area through a tick-box approach (Urban Task Force, 1999). Criticisms of a policy approach to development continue.

“The enduring factor of urban policy has been the endless experimentation with new and often disconnected initiatives. What is consistent is the fragmentation of effort, lack of strategy, weak involvement of local communities.” (Cullingworth and Nadin, 2002:290)

Design approaches now focused on place-shaping require “a unifying narrative that promotes consensus on local priorities” (Madden, 2010:189). This confers a new strategic leadership for regeneration that contends with the “professional ‘silos’ within local authorities” (Gibney et al., 2009:6), and links to the visionary leadership of Section 2.4. “Place presents in some way a unique context for leadership” (Collinge and Gibney, 2010:380) specifically in the challenge of shaping sustainable cities. “They have given rise to the idea that the development of competitive, sustainable and inclusive places needs to be underpinned by forms of cross-boundary or networked relational leadership” (ibid. p385-6). Key actors within the process of development are criticised for short-term fixes; producing designs to satisfy market demand but not local places.

A “symbolic association is needed to overcome the arbitrariness of the new and novel architecture” (Evans, 2003:433). This symbolic association of the locality permits novel flagship development to be accepted as part of the new built environment, and helps avoid the mistakes of failed cultural icons (two examples, are the Dome and the recent National Centre for Popular Music, Sheffield that closed within one year of its opening (Plaza, 2008). If we then name the places where this architecture forms part of the built environment, they become cultural memory. Thus, space becomes place by being named and “the flows of power and negotiations of social relations are rendered in the concrete form of architecture; and also of course, by embodying the symbolic and imaginary investments of a population” (Carter et al., 1993:xii).

Indeed places become accepted by being named (Rowlands, 1996), they have a specific and elusive ‘character’ (Allen, 2006), which affects how we

experience them. Their design and environment become as much a part of this character, “the more unique or characterful, the more interesting a place is, especially at a time of homogeneity” (Breen and Rigby, 1994:26). The quest for formulaic solutions to urban spaces can draw out the identikit ‘iconic’ features. However, place endures this re-design and retains an intangible understanding of its character.

“Whether the quest for formulae is paradoxical or not, the major reason, I believe, why we are unlikely to achieve them is because the great strength of our conceptual systems lies in the ways in which they relate to particular places.” (Canter, 1977)

Place-shaping has risen to the forefront of urban design practices. These practices, enacted at the local level require visionary local leadership. We consider the local leadership, criticism of silo thinking and vested interests, as elements in the investigation of locally enacted processes in this research. Culture has become a constituent to design practices and part of the wider regenerative process of place-shaping. Next, we consider the marketing, promotion, and sale of places for consumption.

2.6 Place consumption and place promotion

A second key aspect of regeneration policy has been the promotion of regenerated cities as places for economic and cultural activity. The past three decades have borne witness to local authorities marketing places with slogans and logos to drive economic revitalisation. These policies seek to stimulate economic growth by attracting creative knowledge industries and creative people to places as drivers of innovation (Buck et al., 2005). Increasing global effects are said to be driving this marketing activity as “cities are propelled into a race to attract increasingly mobile investors (multinational corporations), consumers (tourists), and spectacles (sports and media events)” (Robins, 1993:306). These place marketing techniques seek to advertise “whatever is idiosyncratic or unique about a particular locality” (Cooke, 1989a:298) packaging it as a commodity available to consumers, and to change conceptions of the place (Barke and Harrop, 1994). Places are repeatedly sold as products for consumption. Place marketing is the combination of this

promotion activity and the products available, (Madsen, 1992), the latter including the cultural amenities and infrastructure developed.

For each user, the understanding of promotional approaches differs; “place images are thus user determined, polysemic and unstable through time” (Ashworth and Graham, 2005:3). Authors such as Jane Jacobs have criticised powerful elites for continuing to enforce conformity (Zukin, 2006), through endorsing place-promotion activity. As cities are drawn to endorsing competitive advantage, places are re-developed and tend to become more similar (Richards and Wilson, 2004). In harnessing the surface differences of places to make them uncontroversial, attractive and “the same” (Kearns and Philo, 1993), place-marketing can be said to focus on servicing a particular representation of place to serve specific political goals (Sadler, 1993; Gold and Ward, 1994). Richards and Wilson succinctly express this concern that increased promotion and competition between places is leading to a greater homogenisation. They explain:

“a general increase in competition between cities for the attention of important stakeholders, including consumers, investors and policy-makers. As a result of the increasing integration of the global economy, a greater number of places are drawn into this competitive environment and, at the same time, the built environment, infrastructure and amenities in different places tend to become more similar.” (Richards and Wilson, 2004:1931)

There are ‘tensions’ in place products attributed to the multiple interpretations that are sold, “heritage interpretation used to sell a town may convey a different and contradictory message to that simultaneously being used to sell a region” (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996:25). Spatially this selling may be in conflict; however, scale becomes a necessary starting point to interpret the character of the locality. English Heritage’s Power of Place report states,

“we need to understand better the character of places and the value and significance people ascribe to them. Character assessments are the key. They may be large or small scale, carried out on a regional basis or for an individual conservation area, building or historic garden. They are certainly not intended to fossilise or to increase existing control. They afford the information.” (English Heritage, 2000:218)

They further clarify their stance by identifying the historic environment as an “irreplaceable asset representing the investment of centuries of skills and resources. It gives places a unique competitive advantage” (ibid. p218). There is a suspicion surrounding pure preservation, similar to that of ‘art for art’s sake’, with images of reactionary people rallying against change, disparaging talk of modernity and mixed use. These become criticisms of uniform images of places preserved in aspic and raise questions over the ownership of the culture being promoted. However, the niche local products that are dependent on location are utilised in the competition for tourist attention. Cities are claiming their uniqueness of place as a defining factor in the process of social and economic development in preference to generic placeless commodities (such as Disneyland).

Consumer culture, through advertising techniques, destabilises the original meaning of “goods and attach to them new images and signs which can summon up a range of associated feelings and desires” (Featherstone, 2007:112). Featherstone then suggests caution over the use of sign and image systems without asking the identity of those engaged with their production and dissemination. The discourses of place and integration have been employed as legitimising rhetoric to place promotional activities.

“Yet the private desire to ‘stand out’, to produce the exception, so often produces the predictable; the ‘ever the same’ continuously returns in the guise of the ‘ever new’. Opportunity folds into opportunism.” (Dovey, 2005:245)

“The marketing of cities as ‘cosmopolitan’ is a common strategy in this reimagining and place marketing is an important process in defining ‘acceptable’ or ‘unacceptable’ forms of different within the cosmopolitan city” (Young et al., 2006:1691). The suggestion is that cities should offer an exciting experience for people to live this cosmopolitan lifestyle. Control should be exerted over cities to replace this ‘unacceptable’ image with attractive qualities. Marketing and imagery therefore become contested tools for the local understanding of the city; as they aim to mask any local identities that conflict with the projected image, in order to compete with cities enacting the same strategy. The rivalry suggested through this place competition can undermine the city’s reputation. This place-based competition “may lead to a misallocation of resources from a

national or even a local perspective. Civic pride and rivalry can cause unnecessary imitation and wasteful duplication of public facilities, especially between adjacent areas” (Buck et al., 2005:33). Similarly, branding a city is now key to place promotion, attracting mobile talent, and the associated economic benefits. Branding has “particular impacts on local distinctiveness and the urban landscape, and therefore represents an extreme example of the commodification of consumption spaces” (Evans, 2003:418). These techniques to re-package a place incorporate imagery and branding as factors to be consumed, and these have implications for the local understanding of place.

2.6.1 Marketing and branding

There is a long history to place marketing activities, defined as “the conscious use of publicity and marketing to communicate selective images of specific geographical localities or areas to a target audience” (Gold and Ward, 1994). Advertising during colonial times tempted migrants to American and European soils, using imagery to dispel negative expectations. Place promotion has subsequently been re-used to focus on this attraction. In the nineteenth century, the railways advertised British holiday resorts, while the 1960s witnessed the rise in local-based promotions. More recently marketing strategies and approaches have been applied to place promotion.

The idea that people make places through images has undergone development from the 1980s and 1990s, where Britain’s local government authorities played an important role in marketing areas with slogans and logos to overcome perceived negative expectations. However, as perceptions, influences, and ideas differ between people and over time, these narratives of understanding vary. It is generally recognised that place branding concepts have been modified from corporate branding and marketing theories (Kavaratzis, 2004).

Place-marketing typically focuses on servicing particular goals. One of these goals can be a representation of place to serve specific political ambitions, as “in the 1980s the idea that places as well as people could be competitive became central to an increasingly powerful ideology” (Sadler, 1993:14). This competitive advantage, sought through market-driven approaches to regeneration of places drives political divisions (Gold and Ward, 1994). Place

marketing is considered a global phenomenon, with cities all over the world touting their wares on the open market. However as Sadler discusses, localities are “part of spatially-grounded social processes of production and consumption, which a political packaging of the ‘concept’ of place gives this competition” (Sadler, 1993). The local is a unique product offered for sale.

For Cooke, place marketing is where “a particular locality is packaged and sold to the outside world as a commodity without which, whether as tourists or international investors, they will be unnecessarily depriving themselves” (Cooke, 1989a:298). The global phenomenon of place marketing requires that the local is understood as a means to distinguish cities, indeed selling the city as a product reinforces local identity. “The particularity and identity of cities is about product differentiation; their cultures and traditions are now sustained through the discourses of marketing and advertising” (Robins, 1993:306). This identity can be a link between a person and place to create a celebrity brand. These unique individuals are linked to the place through their successful creative work, for example, Antonio Gaudi is almost indistinguishable from the city of Barcelona.

A better image of a place “can only be earned; it cannot be constructed or invented” (Anholt, 2008:2). The image used to promote a place must represent a quality offer, just as marketing of a product would require, and this must be authentic in order to be accepted. The flagship development has become a central image for branding strategies. These recognisable images become synonymous with a place.

“Thus, one of the main *raison d’être* of flagship developments is to provide a focus for the marketing activity of the localities within which they are situated, then it is likely that they will be a significant element in the creation of the place ‘brand’ especially if the flagship itself has some kind of iconic status.” (Warnaby, 2006:300)

Branding is used to reinforce the notion of uniqueness of a place and as a tourist destination; images of the city are transformed as meanings and narratives are constructed. Every place has a brand, no matter how small, according to Anholt (Anholt, 2006). These brands have become crucial for places to gain a competitive edge. Increased competition is driving this need to

project a unique place identity; however the images created are criticised for the overuse of stereotypes, cliché, and repetition (Gold and Ward, 1994). Brands become “craft images that use the cliché as a hook on which to hang more detail – the clichéd identity can then be reshaped and given greater complexity through effective and consistent marketing” (Morgan and Pritchard, 2000:275).

“The negative perceptions of declining, dirty and inhospitable urban environments are being replaced by the city advertisers’ marketing icons – gleaming office blocks, cultural centres and chic retail venues. Conviviality, quality and entertainment are the post-industrial city utopia. Cities are no longer portrayed primarily as centres of production but of consumption.” (Bianchini et al., 1992:249)

Marketing and branding approaches to the post-industrial city are thus attempting to re-define them as attractive to the consumer. This new image is tied to the experience of these places; and to local and global concepts of identity that we now consider.

2.6.2 Place image and identity

We are bombarded daily by a myriad of place images and “it may be new to us, or it may be old. It may be complimentary, supplementary, or contrary to visions of place we already hold” (Zonn, 1990:2). From a sociological perspective, we place emphasis on the symbolic consumption of place images. Kokosalakis et al discussed how only a handful of studies recognise the social, cultural, and political implications underlying the formation of these images. Discussing place image as “not static in nature, but varies according to the point in time when it is consumed and the profile of the consumer or potential consumer” (Kokosalakis et al., 2006:390).

We find “the symbolic meanings of place in promotion demonstrates that myths develop which mark certain areas and objects as being “sight worthy” and that tourism, especially, but not exclusively, constructs people’s view of particular places” (Gaffey, 2004:65). These promotional messages are partly liberated from points of selling into more widely accepted ideas about place; so that the ‘city myth’ has become necessary to the new urban economy (Hubbard, 1996). Gaffey states “promotional literature becomes increasingly homogenous as the same types of imagery and language are used time after time, because

producers and consumers of images share comparable ideological perspectives” (Gaffey, 2004:112). This supports a concept in (Gold, 1994) of habitual imagery leading to conformity. Places’ images are therefore understood to be:

“constructs of reality. They are the result of dynamic transactional process between humans and places, and can be influenced by the perception of places as they are portrayed in different media as well as through the actual experience of the places.” (Zonn, 1990:183)

Promotion and marketing tools are increasingly defining new concepts of place. While images of the city create new narratives, Urwin argues the “competitiveness rhetoric gained currency before acquiring real meaning” (Urwin, 2006:2) and it is unhelpful to apply the “term competitiveness as a synonym for economic performance”. Economic arguments for this perception of competition advocate that it would be “important to market a place’s distinctiveness for it to compete with up and coming cities” (Niven, 2006). However, it is far from clear how a business concept of competitiveness can be directly applied to places, as they are much more than the pursuit of profit (Turok, 2004). Returning to Florida’s work, where competition is for highly skilled labour, marketing retains an importance for places to perform well, but not as economic rivals. This suggests that the aim is for results that come from the development of a city’s assets, and not this pursuit of competition against an imagined city rival.

Promotion generates imagined geographies of place (Waitt, 1997) and the area becomes, through competition, a destination rather than just a location (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998). The destination becomes an exhibition of itself through image creation. This current buzz has led to generalised or “manicured” images of places without having to define specifically the product being sold (Ashworth and Voogd, 1990; Brownhill, 1994), which can be a “clichéd identity” of the real (Morgan and Pritchard, 2000). An extreme result within capitalist societies is that of Augé’s “non-places”, where interactions are performed between anonymous individuals and all social identity is lost (Augé, 1995). Indeed, claims of images as local are contested as “the majority of people in a place reckon them to be unfaithful and unwanted representations of what local cultural life is all about” (Kearns and Philo, 1993:3). The role of the locality

remains as embedded influence on the newly created place, and not as a homogenised by-product of campaigns promoting places, but as a locally influenced place of cultural reciprocity.

2.7 Summary

In this chapter, we have seen that vast and intricate debates devolve from the global to local spatial levels. Throughout this examination we highlighted the local as a crucial focus for understanding and analysis. Another consistent theme has been the enduring specificity of place in the face of global pressures. That theme runs through this entire thesis. We have also seen that urban redevelopment policies repeatedly consider place and culture, but within the tension between locality and globalisation. The purpose of this chapter has been to set this contextual understanding of global and local processes and their influence on regeneration to facilitate the exploration of regeneration policy in the next chapter. Waterfront regeneration has been touched upon as one form of urban redevelopment where globalised policies have been applied in trying to evoke individual waterfronts as unique places. That dichotomy, the main investigation of cultural regeneration, and the focus on waterfronts will be found in later chapters. In those chapters, we will explore these developing theories and discussions to examine further the wider policy context of urban regeneration and the origins of formulaic solutions. This exploration will develop the understanding that even when there are major structural forces heavily shaping places, the particularities of local place are still important.

Chapter 3

Cultural Regeneration: The Policy Context

3. Introduction

This chapter introduces further policy debates and explores the role of cross-national policy transfer in the rise to prominence of culture and the waterfront in the story of urban regeneration. Urban policy is best understood as all aspects of public policy that affect people living in cities. This broad definition is problematic (Blackman, 1995:259), and will be explored in this chapter with a focus on regeneration and the emergence of culture as a key driver. These two strands: regeneration and culture will underpin later chapters.

The chapter is mainly focused on United Kingdom policies, but national experiences are not completely autonomous – as discussed in Chapter 2. Cross-national policy transfer is utilised to explain how developments in an American urban regeneration context have been integrated and transferred into UK regeneration approaches. Regeneration in the twenty-first century is characterised by the differentiation of urban space that produces struggles for the resources and services of the city. These struggles represent a variety of pressures exerted upon cities. Cities are spatially differentiated: access to amenities and places varies by location. Urban spaces can be socially differentiated: some are characterised by unemployment and poverty, others are enclaves of the wealthy. Often social and spatial differentiation are interlinked. Cities are also differentiated symbolically: they carry different meanings and significance depending on our needs and values.

Urban policy operates within this domain of conflict and differentiation and involves questions of representation, meaning, and identity. How particular places are defined and controlled derive from cultural practices as much as they do from economic ones. One example is seen in public art, “the danger is that, regardless of the good intentions of those who commission and create public art, it bears a very superficial relationship to reality. It is rooted in neither public consciousness nor public awareness” (Hayton and Marshall, 1998:253).

This leads us into another way to consider urban politics, as opposed to more obvious conflicts over resources: that of the cultural significance of city spaces. The meaning of place to an individual can matter as much as its visible or structural attributes, these spaces carry different meanings for citizens and these can become politically significant. Cross-national policy transfer and cultural regeneration strengthen debates about the meaning of place, and support the argument that “urban innovation is not the monopoly of one kind of place” (Hall, 1998).

The urban problem is introduced in Section 3.1 to situate the requirements for successive regeneration efforts on urban places. Section 3.2 focuses on twentieth century regeneration, outlining historical trends. The context of regeneration depicted in Sections 3.1 and 3.2 form the background for the central theme of cross-national policy transfer (Section 3.3), expanding upon the concepts introduced in Chapter 2, and exploring the origins of formulaic waterfront regeneration solutions from America and Europe. This chronological journey moves onto the discussion of twenty-first century cultural regeneration in Section 3.4. The over-arching theme of the chapter is the development of successive revised approaches to the urban problem, starting with the wider city context in Section 3.1, and leading to a focus on the urban waterfront in Section 3.5. This narrowing of focus is used to exemplify the role that culture plays in the urban regeneration of waterfronts. These debates are connected with the conceptual debates of the previous chapter, creating a survey of the context in which to understand twenty-first century approaches to urban regeneration.

We now begin by discussing the urban problem, and the different understandings of it that have emerged from prior research.

3.1 The urban problem

Distinguishing the urban from the rural focuses on the specific needs of an area by delineating social, physical, and economic concepts that characterise urban areas. The term ‘city’ is often used to distinguish between rural and urban areas, a common parlance that dates back to the sixteenth century:

“The modern emphasis can be traced in the word, in the increasing abstraction of city as an adjective from particular places or particular

administrative forms, and in the increasing generalization of descriptions of large-scale modern urban living.” (Williams, 1983:56)

The word city has its origin in *cit * (old French) and *civitas* (Latin), and this thesis uses urban and city interchangeably. The social problems of the city have usually been tackled by governments through urban policy, which has generally taken a narrowly focused, area-based approach, rather than a broader view that encompasses interconnected urban processes and social and economic policy as one whole. Urban policy as a socio-cultural act, “is both an expression of contemporary understandings of the urban, of what makes cities what they are, and itself helps to shape those understanding (as well as cities themselves)” (Cochrane, 2007:13).

From the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century, the rise of mass production brought forth extensive innovation, productivity improvement, and wealth creation through industries such as steel, rail, and chemicals. The gains from this ‘Fordist’ activity were unequally proportioned, and this was particularly clear in the context of social differentiation. Cities, and workers with poor living conditions, were subjected to successive policies aimed at tackling growing disparities and resulting urban problems. Peter Hall states that “...a very important part of living, and the creativity that comes out of it, has consisted in finding solutions to the city’s own problems of order and organization” (Hall, 1998:6). Cities continually struggle with this urban problem of disparity. When Hall discussed the Keynesian imagined state of leisure, he concluded that in the twenty-first century with basic needs met; cities have, and are, following a pattern from a manufacturing economy, passing through an informational economy to a cultural economy.

The resulting governmental understanding of urban policy is “...state activity affecting the use of space and the built environment relative to the process of accumulation and the social occupation of space relative to the distance of consumption opportunities” (Fainstein and Fainstein, 1982:16). Jane Jacobs is quoted as a decisive influence on urban policy: she challenged the planning and design of cities under the modern movement and advocated celebrating the heterogeneity of urban neighbourhoods and old buildings (Jacobs, 1961). Indeed the then Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government

Ruth Kelly acknowledged Jacob's work when addressing the Core Cities Summit (Bristol 2006), concurring with Jacob's denouncement of the homogenisation of cities.

A clear change in emphasis away from nineteenth century large-scale slum clearances occurred in the United States – moving towards developments that retained and renewed the built environment and the local communities. This change, inspired by Jacobs, led to a reconsideration of housing-focused solutions to a wider policy approach, explicitly understood as 'urban policy'. This shift influenced the United Kingdom and led to UK regeneration efforts incorporating greater social, environmental, and eventually cultural aspects.

Jacobs called attention to the central role of people in the generation and organisation of economic activity in cities. This diversity of actors and their interactions within the city generates and mobilises knowledge, yet problems persist. "City life is anonymous and, as it were, abstract. People are related to one another, not as total personalities, but as the embodiments of economic functions or, when they are not at work, as irresponsible seekers of entertainment" (Huxley, 1958:39). Throughout history, the city has enjoyed golden ages, even while most citizens lived in abject poverty. Paris was one of many capitalist cities which along with "Vienna had strong atelier traditions" (Verwijnen and Lehtovuori, 1999). Artists and their creative workshops formed part of urban history, acting as sources of innovation. This creativity has been credited as a source of unevenly distributed wealth. "It is a paradox of the metropolis that its scale and heterogeneity can generate an experience both of unbearable indivisibility and liberating anonymity" (Blazwick, 2001:9). Abstract or artificial city life can therefore be a source of wealth, entertainment, and unique experiences. It can also represent a homogeneity enforced by global pressures, creating lifestyle choices for mass consumption. Jacobs' philosophy suggests that regeneration efforts need to encompass the lived experiences of spaces, not just develop new buildings, and to celebrate what is particular to a locality.

Throughout the different ages of cities, a thriving culture has been a key component of city life. Cultural activity has numerous forms, with different impacts: "Architecture is the most public of the arts, the least private in its

manifestations, and the best suited to give form and body to civic pride and the sense of social unity” (Keynes, 1937:5). Cultural manifestations have brought great pride to places as human creativity has flourished. Peter Hall discusses the heydays of cities, including London and Berlin, as linking economic ascendancy with innovation and creativity and vice versa, the ‘innovative milieu’ (Hall, 1998). Cultural creativity produced competitive advantage for these cities — a line of reasoning that has been adopted in the twenty-first century for challenging post-industrial urban development (Marshall, 2001a). Managing this urban change must address the development of cultural facilities, city leadership, and cultural consumption and production.

Developing cultural urban spaces requires planning, design and the construction of places that facilitate cultural consumption. The role of urban planners after 1945 has been criticised as sanitising and homogenising, when unevenness and variety give places their vitality (Jacobs, 1964; Amin and Graham, 1999). Jacobs claims that a city should not be considered a ‘work of art’ or architectural problem “capable of being given order by converting it into a disciplined work of art, is to make the mistake of attempting to substitute art for life” (Jacobs, 1961:386). Twenty-first century cities have been

“adapting to changing economic realities and competing for a more significant role in the world economy, they have reinvented themselves to attract new flows of capital investment. The formal imagery of cities has become more central to urban development; the ‘spectacle’ of the city with its seductive surfaces and urban iconography is now key to prosperity. This transformation of urban imagery has often focused on waterfront sites with wonderful opportunities to reclaim disused waterfront land and create new forms of public amenity.” (Dovey, 2005:1)

This discussion flows from the previous chapter’s introduction to the ‘place debate and globalisation’, while bringing culture to the forefront. To tackle urban problems, culture and iconography have become central tools of urban policy.

This section has demonstrated that urban life produces many problems – including social and spatial differentiation – that have repeatedly been the focus of urban policy initiatives. Urban policy has traditionally focused on a few specific problems, economic and physical, using homogenous approaches. However, many commentators – such as Jacobs – have noted the limitations of

this approach. Other concerns, including culture, have increasingly been incorporated into the policy agenda. In the next section, a discussion of urban regeneration policy draws into the frame the historical developments that have successively refocused approaches to the economic, social, and environmental problems of places. This sets the scene for the following discussion of cross-national policy transfer, and culture's rise to prominence of culture in regeneration work.

3.2 The history of urban regeneration policy

“Urban regeneration is a comprehensive and integrated vision and action which leads to the resolution of urban problems and which seeks to bring about a lasting change in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change.” (Roberts, 2000:34)

This section illustrates how regeneration has become the main specific policy approach to urban problems. Urban regeneration over the last three decades in “Britain has always been singularly broad, encompassing physical regeneration and the development of urban projects, the restructuring of economic activity and the reconstruction of social frameworks” (Booth, 2005:258). These successive elements are frequently revisited but all are deemed indispensable for successful city regeneration. Within this broad definition, Booth argues that there has always existed ‘a series of oppositions’, with the first being ‘between area-specific and global policies’. Another opposition is urban regeneration, which itself encapsulates global and local responses to the city in decline.

Regeneration remains a focus for policy and debate, but it is not new; it has been refined and renamed as urban renewal, urban rejuvenation, and urban renaissance. The overarching basis for the development of policies of regeneration is to tackle the trends that form the urban problem. Appendix A charts a chronology of initiatives, policy, and related development to urban regeneration since the turn of the twentieth century. Renewal and regeneration policy enacted between the world wars is well documented, and shows the emergence of a cultural focus. Protection and preservation policies introduced during this time sought to protect monuments, buildings, and the built environments that were deemed historically and culturally significant. This

emergence of heritage protection became the start of significant policy developments in cultural (urban) regeneration. This cumulated in a culturally focused approach to regeneration, including that on the waterfront, for the twenty-first century.

The late 1960s witnessed the recognition of economic and social problems in Britain's inner cities. The Plowden Report of 1967, commissioned to examine primary education, suggested that a centralised policy approach was necessary to target the areas of greatest need. The then government of Harold Wilson turned its attention to the United Kingdom's associated urban problems. In the United States similar problems were being experienced, and the UK was considered to be a few years behind in developing its policies. The Urban Programme, the longest running recorded piece of urban policy was established in 1968, and it ran until 1993. The programme addressed the government's reaction to the Inner City Problem. One particular fear it addressed was that the race riots witnessed in the United States would be repeated in Britain. This fear initiated a transfer of regeneration policy from the United States to the United Kingdom, leading during the 1960s, to the establishment of the UK Social Needs Act, which used a mix of central and local government funding to support a wide scope of activity.

Community and neighbourhood-based experiments characterised the early 1970s approach to finding new ways to meet urban needs. Controlled by the Home Office, 12 five-year projects were established to improve local services. This Comprehensive Community Planning, initiated in 1974, combined central and local government programmes into local level programmes. However, these centrally led and financed approaches led to conflict with local policy initiation. The most influential phase of the later 1970s involved the Inner Areas Studies (1972–1977) undertaken by planning consultants. They emphasised a 'total' approach to regeneration that influenced a new inner city strategy, leading in turn to the White Paper of 1977. This holistic paper covered the three-legged stool of economic, physical, and social problems and advocated tailoring policies to meet local requirements through partnerships of central and local governments. It expanded the Urban Programme, aiming to strengthen these

three aspects of life in inner city areas. Inner City Partnerships were created, the most famous being the London Docklands.

The Inner Urban Areas Act of 1978 is considered the 'first real attempt' to tackle the Inner City problem. Its framework of designated areas, partnership areas, and programme authorities empowered local authorities to declare improvement areas. This widened attention beyond the inner city to recognise the many problems of other areas. One criticism of this approach was the limited involvement of the private sector. The Conservatives from 1979 advocated and enacted greater inclusion of the private sector. The established focus for regeneration that had dominated for nearly 35 years was refocused onto entrepreneurialism and competition, becoming known as the property-led approach.

The 1980s are characterised by a shift in politics and a plethora of change in urban regeneration policies (see Appendix A). One specific regeneration vehicle founded was the Urban Development Corporation (UDC) which were non-departmental public bodies established under the Local Government, Planning, and Land Act 1980. The UDCs were time-limited bodies established with a broad remit, to successfully regenerate particular areas. In Cooke's criticism of UDCs, he stated they were characteristic of totally centralist solutions to urban problems under a right-wing government, turning deprived neighbourhoods into "middle-class playgrounds" (Cooke, 1989a:302) composed of yachting marinas, elite cultural facilities, and up-market tourist accommodation. They also became successful instruments in manufacturing heritage environments, largely due to the generous funding allocated to them. These heritage environments often represent a sanitised version of the cultural and historical path a place has taken. UDCs were criticised for their short-termism, "their top priority is to get bricks and mortar onto derelict sites" (Coulson, 1990:301), and the lack of integration of redeveloped sites with the rest of the city. The government responded with the 1991 City Challenge programme, requiring specific areas to be targeted for regeneration. The Single Regeneration Budget followed with six rounds of budget allocations representing a "far more balanced approach" (Booth, 2005:262).

The 1997 Labour government came with its own approaches to the urban problem. They introduced Local Strategic Partnerships (LSP) in order to involve a broader spectrum of stakeholders and the local populace. Neighbourhood Renewal and Community Development programmes were managed by these LSPs, targeting the most deprived areas and aiming to improve the quality of urban development. Urban development was a key high-profile task for the government, which formed an Urban Task Force to investigate the causes of urban decline. The task force was asked to create a twenty-first century vision for cities, with a heavy emphasis on quality developments. They recommended the creation of Urban Regeneration Companies (URC), that were to be vehicles to deliver a new 'urban renaissance' through partnership with a multitude of stakeholders (Urban Task Force, 1999).

Cochrane criticises a lack of shared understanding of urban problems that led to a succession of disjointed policy initiatives that lacked coherent underlying strategy (Cochrane, 2007). One reaction to this strategic incoherence has been the use of replicable case studies to exemplify 'what works'. The Urban Task Force includes boxed case studies of best practice, intended to inform professionals (Urban Task Force, 1999). However, this method of using a particular city as a 'blueprint' case study for city decision-makers is heavily criticised. McNeill condemns the development of urban theory from the "experience of a narrow range of cities, many of which are in the United States" (McNeill, 2000:474). Thrift suggests that the 'one city tells all' concentration is a myth, which disguises the fact that "events in cities are often linked to events in other cities" (Thrift, 1997:142). Cities are thus globally interlinked and influenced by global processes.

The twenty-first century is characterised by place based structures; cumulating in the Urban White Paper of 2000, considered the first key urban policy statement since 1977 (Booth, 2005). The new focus of the Labour government is linked with society's movement to post-Fordism. The United Kingdom has transcended a post-industrial base to a current post-Fordist focus on place-based economy. Scott argues post-Fordist production focuses on more specialist markets and responses to rapid technological change to service a global economy (Scott, 1996; Scott, 1997). Post-Fordist goods for Zukin are

symbolic and their image, and therefore design, becomes important; this product image is fundamental to marketability (Zukin, 2001).

With questions of place firmly back on the political agenda for the twenty-first century, debates on the topic have developed in many directions (May, 1996). Place is finding itself at the heart of political directions, with the recognition of spatial aspects and a targeting of resources at an appropriate level (DCLG, 2007). The English Heritage publication, 'Power of Place' is a core contribution in the recent development of public policy, as it stresses the importance of place attachment (sense of place) and the meaning of a particular geographical locale within regeneration strategies (Williams et al., 1992). Governance in the place economy is associated with accountability and local control. A place-based economy demands that local assets are utilised for local purposes, and used to maintain place competitiveness.

The evolution of urban systems continues (Lozano, 1990) in a constant search for a solution to urban problems like poverty and unemployment. "The enduring feature of urban policy has been the endless experimentation with new and often disconnected initiatives. What is consistent is the fragmentation of effort" (Cullingworth and Nadin, 2002:290). As the capacity of national governments to solve social ills has come under question, greater responsibility now rests with localities, a local consciousness that has been under-theorised in modern discourses (Cooke, 1990). Thus, cities are no longer viewed merely as passive outcomes of urbanisation processes; they are foci of change (Herbert and Thomas, 1997). There is a new significance for localities in cultural regeneration debates (Bonnemaison, 2005). Culture is now one of the most sought-after assets for cities. With the key role place plays in competitive advantage, a renewed appreciation for uniqueness means that difference matters. Investment decisions rest upon this distinctiveness and challenge the uniformity of homogenised places. These are local challenges, as place-based policy puts more demands on local capacity, institutions, and actors.

Falk's analysis of waterfront experience attributes the success of American schemes to the ability to attract high quality staff to turn visions into action (Falk, 1986). Assumptions that an institutional government-led structure can make decisions that are then readily implemented in a straightforward manner are

unconvincing in the contested fluidity of cities. “There is a fragmentation of authority and interdependence between the policy-making capacity of democratic institutions and the wealth-generating resources of the market economy” (Mossberger, 2009:41). Order cannot be simply imposed, the “theoretical focus of attention is necessarily on the working of the regimes rather than on those on the outside looking in” (Brook et al., 1999:326). The world of urban politics is formed of interconnected negotiations and partnerships, linking a range of social actors including a wide section of public, private, and community actors.

American success stories have strongly influenced the development of British urban policy. The 1980s Conservative government favoured market mechanisms over public policy approaches for regeneration of places. Economic restructuring “attracted the Conservative Government to an American reliance upon the market-place” (Parkinson, 1989:423). This attraction leads to the examination of cross-national policy transfer as these global influences resonate in the UK experience of urban policy. Successive regeneration policies, re-named and re-focused, have aimed to tackle urban problems and improve the physical fabric of places. These policies develop over time by learning lessons from elsewhere. They are accused of increasing the homogeneity of places through identikit solutions (Chapter 2.1). The sources of these solutions are now explored in greater detail.

3.3 Cross-national policy transfer

“...a handful of urban policies have become internationally renowned ‘policy meccas’ that policy-makers and practitioners continue to read about, hear about, discuss, perhaps visit, and consider whether to emulate.” (Cook, 2008:775)

The process of transferring knowledge is “about policies, administrative arrangements, institutions, etc. in one time and/or place” that are used in another (Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996:344). In seeking solutions to urban problems, other countries are increasingly cited as examples of best practice. For the waterfront “a succession of planners, politicians and property people have gone to Baltimore to look at the Inner Harbor Area, and have come back to try and do something similar in Britain” (Falk, 1986:145). Mimicking the North

American approach has become a popular method, as it brings many perceived benefits. As the UK sought new functions for old industrial cities it looked to America for ideas to deal with public policy problems because of “dissatisfaction with existing policy” (Evans and Davies, 1999).

Looking to the United States for inspiration; “by emulating seemingly successful policy solutions that address seemingly similar problems, policy prescriptions are available without time-consuming, costly policy formation and the rolling-out of ‘untested’ policies” (Cook, 2008:776). These lessons are transferred through informal and formal mechanisms. Formal mechanisms include participating in networks and communities, emphasising the role of elite decision-makers (Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996; Evans, 2004) and international regimes such as the European Union (Evans and Davies, 1999). Informal mechanisms include observations through overseas trips (Wolman, 1992). In each approach, elite actors seek inspiration from prior models: the “ability of policy makers to innovate often depends more on their skills in utilising existing models than inventing novel solutions” (Majone, 1991:79). As a result, these elite actors are understood to be “capable of harnessing the ‘global-local’ interplay to gain competitive position for their own ends” (McNeill, 2000:491).

Specific American experiences are central to the cross-national policy transfer of cultural regeneration approaches in the United Kingdom (Jones, 1998). The adoption of place promotion as a strategy is attributed to efforts in the United States to boost local morale (Tiesdell et al., 1996; Ward, 1998). Philadelphia pioneered the incorporation of art to the construction costs of new developments, to improve the aesthetic quality of the project (Bianchini, 1988) (becoming section 106 agreements in the UK). Similarly, the Baltimore development programme is credited with pioneering the waterfront masterplan (Wrenn et al., 1983). The basis for this transfer from the USA to UK is attributed to first, a shared language and second, a shared contemporary commitment to neo-liberalism (Dolowitz et al., 1999).

“The globalisation of communications has allowed government elites to observe policy innovations abroad with relative ease” (Common, 2004). The then British Minister of Local Government visited America and reported back that the Urban Development Grant programme (UDAG) of the 1970s encouraged private

sector investment (Wolman, 1992). This informal appreciation led to the development of the Urban Development Grant in the UK and an emphasis on partnership between public and private sectors. A common element of UK strategy now is the “partnership approach”, which is interpreted as the adoption of US urban-grown coalitions (Bianchini, 1988; Sadler, 1993).

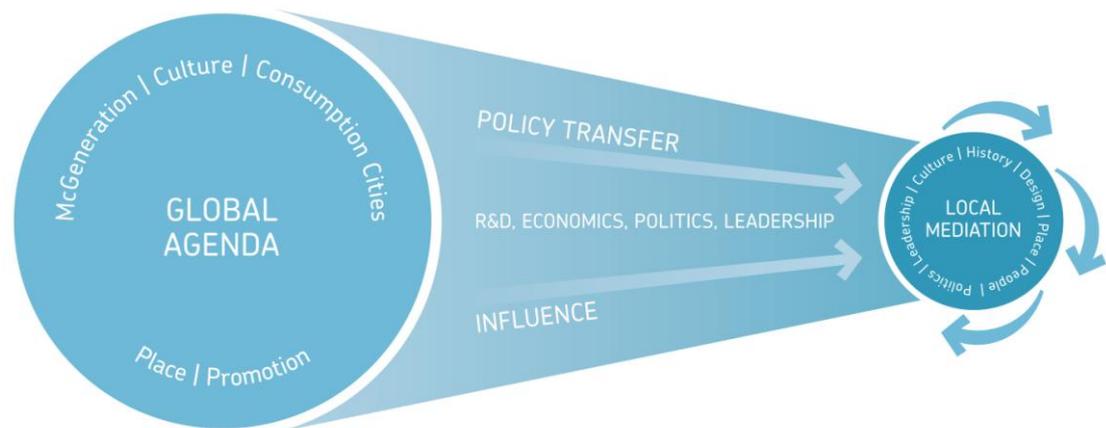


Figure 3: Cross-national policy transfer of the global agenda to the local level

Figure 3 depicts the transfer of the global agenda to a local scale. The transfer and mediation occurs through the mechanisms of research and development, economics, politics, and leadership to meet continual feedback loops at the local level. These loops feed into local processes as distinct indigenous factors that interpret global influences locally. As North American city regeneration successes continue to be cited, emulated, and used as justification for UK waterfront regeneration projects, an appreciation of global influences remains significant. “Governments are now more prepared to look elsewhere for inspiration not only to improve their policy-making capacity, but also for ideas and innovations that can be readily implemented” (Common, 2004:35). The policies are assessed on informal, often narrowly economic, criteria to justify their adoption (Cook, 2008). The United Kingdom ‘borrowed’ cultural regeneration of waterfronts from ‘successful’ North American examples (Bianchini, 1993), as the United States “shaped the ‘export model’ that was to characterise many waterfront development projects in other parts of the world” (Jones, 1998:434). The experience borrowed from America is now considered before consideration is given to frequently cited European models.

3.3.1 *American experience*

Baltimore is the key flagship development cited (Eisinger, 2000); achieving iconic status when its waterfront appeared on the front cover of Time magazine as the model renaissance city (Smyth, 1994). The British also borrowed the model of the 'spirit' of co-operation and place marketing from America (Ward, 1998), establishing a packaged approach enacted in many waterfront redevelopments in the United Kingdom (Hambleton, 1988; Martin and Mason, 1988). The lessons for the United Kingdom of Baltimore's large-scale development amounted to the 'only practical solution' to very serious local problems (Craig-Smith and Fagence, 1995). These model approaches in America became known as 'boosterism', a 'game that any city can play' and compete to win (Hall, 1993a). Yet not only are there concerns about whether all cities can compete, but these developments are played out in arenas in which local agencies still play important roles (Herbert and Thomas, 1997) that are often overlooked.

Historically, American Urban Regeneration has centred upon the revitalisation of downtown areas through an arts-led investment to raise morale and develop an atmosphere in 'moribund' areas (Bianchini, 1988). Revitalisation has led to striking flagship developments in post-industrial waterfront areas that had become characterised by decay. These downtown areas experienced progressive decline from the 1950s, primarily because of the rise of larger deep-water ports that resulted in migration of shipping and economic activity. The 1950s attention to the waterfront led to the development of mixed-use schemes. The first flagship development built in San Francisco in the 1950s was followed by the widely celebrated Baltimore's Inner Harbour and Boston's Quincy Market waterfront schemes of the 1970s and 1980s.

The revitalisation of Ghirardelli Square, San Francisco, represents America's primary adoption of the re-use of old buildings as a strategic urban objective; creating the first 'festival marketplace' in the United States. The project re-used the 1890s Cannery building, originally a packing plant, as a three-storey complex of retail and entertainment. The strategic location of the building, at the terminus of a cable-car route from the city centre, and next to the waterfront, added to the appeal of the space. The concept of the 'festival marketplace' is

attributed to James W Rouse and the Rouse Company in the 1970s following his development of Boston's Quincy Market.

James W Rouse is a master planner, "credited variously, if not always accurately, with coining the term 'urban renewal'" (Gillette Jr, 1999). Rouse spoke out against sprawl, deeming it anti-human, and centred his attention on bringing people back into the city through the creation of festival marketplaces. "Rousification" became one of the precedents for the re-use of post-industrial localities for cultural purposes (Williams, 2004:115), that has been reproduced worldwide (Tiesdell et al., 1996). The 'standard' festival marketplace includes local involvement in the creation of a safe and trendy attraction as a catalyst for other development, and has typical features of restaurants, speciality retail, nightlife, and entertainment. These features form the 'festivalisation' (Zukin, 1995) or McGeneration package (introduced in Chapter 2).

A mixture of public and private sources funded these schemes. "Its curious blend of historic setting and modern retailing was part of a deliberate strategy to merchandise history in the form of a unique shopping environment" (Frieden and Sagalyn, 1989:2). The 'new' Quincy Market (Boston, 1976) banned large department stores and the independent merchants were expected to assume old-time shopkeeper roles as "clauses in their leases ruled out such contemporary touches as canned music, shopping carts, and plastic wrappings" (p. 3 *ibid*). However, it is commonly forgotten that the marketplace was not intended for tourists, or as a shopping centre, but as urban spaces redesigned to attract residents back into the city. "Instead of abandoning downtown to decay, why not build a fun marketplace that would not only attract tourists, but keep workers downtown after dark" (Gaffin). The Quincy development was a radical step in the 1970s: "located in the supposedly crime-ridden city core with insufficient parking facilities and no department-store anchor; the marketplace seemed to defy all conventional retailing wisdom" (Teaford, 1990:253).

For Boston, the Quincy Market buildings were central to the city's activity and key to regeneration, lying close to the waterfront, business district, government centre, and residences. The marketing strategy used to promote Quincy Market was copied in virtually every sizeable US city (Garvin, 2002). "Almost by accident, Rouse seemed to have found a way to bring downtown back to life, at

least in a few large cities. In the process, he ignited the interest of what sometimes seems like every city in America” (Fulton, 1985:6). This model of regeneration was later transmitted to other cities in the United States, and (later) overseas. In the United States the 1970s was a golden era of sustained office boom, simplified federal financing, and local support for public-private projects. Frieden and Sagalyn contend that development strategies changed significantly from the 1950s, where whole neighbourhoods could be ‘bulldozed’. Becoming a new ‘microsurgery’ approach changing from

“...compulsive modernization to preserving a sense of the past; from designing office and apartment complexes for isolation to creating attractions that draw the crowds; from pushing city solutions on developers to solving problems through negotiation; from raiding federal highway and renewal budgets to packaging local and private sector funds.” (Frieden and Sagalyn, 1989:315)

Civic leaders learned by trial and error; the stereotyped image of an inert bureaucrat was cast aside for resourceful problem solvers. “Deal making for downtown projects was in line with the 1970s idea that financial incentives could get private interests to serve public purposes” (ibid). This led to crossing the boundary of public and private interests. Developers managing public spaces brought with them their own issues, but they became a major voice in decision-making. In 1977, government legislation introduced the Urban Development Action Grant (UDAG) with the espoused intention that there should be a mixture of public and private funding (Hall, 1988). This has influenced the funding of cultural regeneration developments in the UK. Which increasingly relies upon the matching of public and private sector contributions, a characteristic of the ‘American model’ (Wu, 2003).

Baltimore rose to prominence as the model waterfront success story, and became the leading rationale for UK waterfront development approaches. Baltimore’s “new downtown became an instant success with the opening of Harborplace in 1980, but that success was thirty years in the making” (Frieden and Sagalyn, 1989:259). Shoreline improvements around the inner harbour began in 1948, and a city council regeneration policy was initiated in 1962. The 1970s saw a world trade centre, a convention centre, and the Maryland Science centre built (Colquhoun, 1995). The World Trade Centre office tower (by I M

Pei) was the first major building; joining this were a science centre and a marina. With the twinned waterside pavilions completed in 1980, (designed by Benjamin Thompson Associates also architects for the Boston marketplace) the area was renamed Harbourplace.

Key factors that contributed to the resurgence of waterfront development in the United States, typified by Boston and Baltimore, were:

- land was available because cargo facilities moved away from the downtown waterfront depressing prices for waterfront property;
- cleaner water and land actions in the 1970s and 1980s, deindustrialisation, and increased environmental regulation with reclaiming of Brownfield, made waterfronts more attractive prospects;
- the Historic Preservation Movement in the 1960s and 1970s recognised the beauty of abandoned areas, presenting picturesque views of the water and significant buildings or structures;
- urban revitalisation with downtown business district revitalisation was accompanied by the building of residential areas adjacent to waterfronts;
- the return of certain water uses including ferries transporting workers to small-craft recreation has influenced the creation of marinas.

(Adapted from (Fisher et al., 2004:4))

The influence of these features of the American experience to revive decayed waterfronts crossed the Atlantic to UK waterfront development, where industrial decline left similarly decayed urban waterfront spaces. American experience and policies, particularly the case of Baltimore, became instigators for change and formulaic solutions in the UK. Echoing successes in the United States, the United Kingdom's first major waterfront development was the London Docklands. Development was undertaken through the London Docklands Development Corporation, founded 1981. The LDDC was established as the planning authority for docklands, as in America, containerisation devastated London's docks; "...the closure of the old inner docks, the 5000-acre Docklands site suddenly emerged as the greatest development opportunity London had had since the Great Fire of 1666" (Hall, 1998:892). Prior to the establishment of the LDDC, the Conservative brief of 1969 for an open competition for mixed use in these redundant sites preceded a later mandate to engage the private sector in regeneration. Taylor Woodrow won, and created a large conference-capable

hotel, taking advantage of a hotel subsidy scheme introduced by the previous Labour government. This highly successful development brought in luxury housing, retail, marina, and renovated historic warehouses at St Katherine's Docks. "The beginnings of the process in Docklands can be traced to the Greater London Council's plans for redevelopment of St Katherine's Dock" (Cox, 1995:8). The LDDC was vested with a vast area of the wider Docklands to regenerate, the "creation of the LDDC was the last in a line of public authority responses to the situation" (Batley, 1989:170). Canary Wharf in the Isle of Dogs enterprise zone symbolised the regeneration of the Docklands (Cox, 1995), the zone itself "had been proclaimed as one of the main successes of the Thatcherite deregulatory approach to inner city regeneration in the 1980s" (Home, 1990:119). For the Isle of Dogs a 'renaissance of sorts' has occurred, "undeniably the area has been transformed and now plays an indispensable part in London's global city role" (Matthew, 2009:147).

The name 'London Docklands' was a creation of the LDDC as a brand name for marketing purposes (Maycock, 1998), while culture became a part of the regenerative processes with commissioned public art and events included in the long process of development. "Docklands has become a kind of urban Disneyworld – a world which invites a temporary suspension of disbelief" (Lee, 1992:7), while historical it is the "traditional heartland of working-class London" (Ogden and Church, 1992:4). Figure 3.1 map depicts the area of the LDDC and the dates it withdrew from each of the areas.

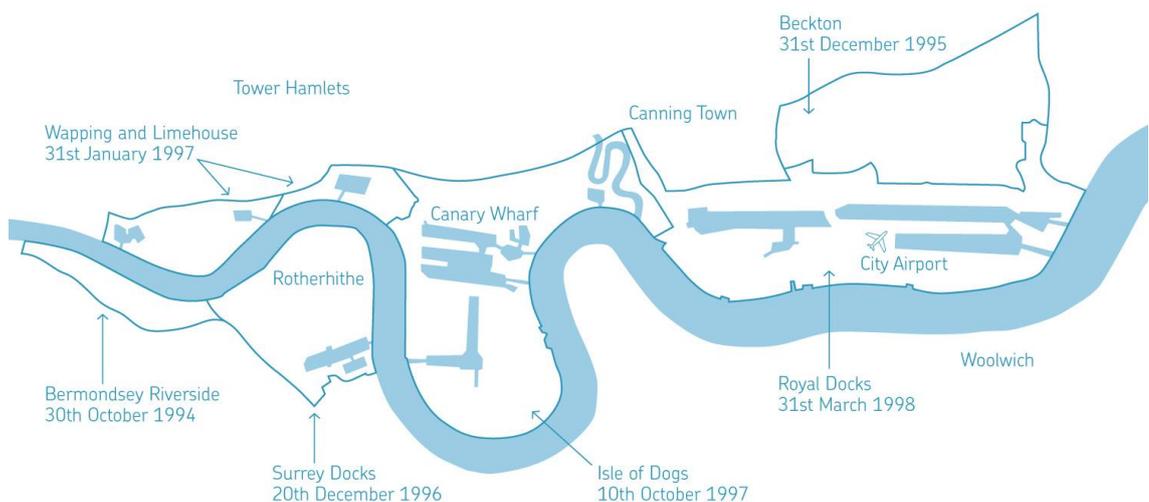


Figure 3.1: Map of the LDDC regeneration areas and staged withdrawal

Table 3 identifies some of the numerous undertaking and stages in the 17-year lifecycle of the LDDC.

1981	UDC for London Docklands (LDDC) established. Site covers 8.5 square miles of three London Boroughs, including derelict land in Docklands and 55 miles of waterfront.
1982	Billingsgate Fish market moves to Isle of Dogs as enterprise zone established. Airport feasibility study for Docklands.
1983	Government funding for Docklands Light Railway approved.
1984	Docklands Clipper bus service links Isle of Dogs with Mile End. Heron Wharf sold for development.
1985	LDDC Board approves Master Plan for Canary Wharf.
1986	LDDC acquires Royal Docks and Lea Valley Estuary. Foundation stone for London City Airport laid.
1987	LDDC set up Social Facilities Programmes Unit to give greater focus to social, community, education, health with a remit for arts and leisure.
1988	Work begins on Canary Wharf and the DLR extension to Bank.
1989	PAC Report (Public Accounts Committee) recognises attraction of investment and restoration of confidence by LDDC
1990	Recession impacts on developments planned for Royal Albert Dock and Albert Basin.
1991	LDDC celebrates a 'decade of achievement' of the world's largest urban regeneration schemes. 43 awards for landscape, architecture and conservation.
1992	Docklands Enterprise Zone expires. Action plan for 26 at risk historic buildings in the Docklands. Canary Wharf developer put into administration following slump in UK property market.
1993	Major exhibition venue for Royal Docks (reviving the recession hit failed plans for the Londondome) to be developed. ExCel London opens in 2000.
1994	Progressive withdrawal from 1994, as the Leasehold Reform, Housing and Urban Development Act passed 1993 enabled UDCs to withdraw from areas in stages.
1995	Thames Gateway Technology Centre government funding approved, the centre to form part of the Royals university project. Canary Wharf acquired by property consortium.
1996	IRA bomb kills two people with damage to South Quay buildings and DLR.
1997	Norman Foster designed Citibank headquarters started in Canary Wharf.
1998	Launch of work on Docklands Campus of University of East London. LDDC dissolved.

Table 3: Developments in the 17-year lifecycle of the LDDC

Colquhoun refers to the 'European feel' to aspects of the quay developments (Surrey Docks) and shopping areas reminiscent of the 'American "festival market" model' (Tobacco Dock) (Colquhoun, 1995). Just as many leaders in the United States said in the 1970s (Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993), culture became the new boost to cities' reputations.

3.3.2 *European experience*

Lessons do not solely come from the United States; European examples have risen to prominence in the justification of flagship schemes. Bilbao and Barcelona are two particularly noted European examples to emulate. Miles cites both cities; “a small number of cases tend to be advanced as evidence that a cultural turn in policies for urban renewal can deliver revitalisation of post-industrial cities” (Miles, 2005a:898).

However, the “Bilbao lesson is that competing globally may require substantial recasting of, rather than more narrowly preserving, a city’s waterfront image and uses” (Fisher et al., 2004:36). This European lesson requires a flagship focal point and is criticised for cities fixating on an architectural icon rather than gaining broader insight. The Guggenheim Museum Bilbao is a signature icon whose success also depends on consistent efforts to generate activities of interest to attract the public (Plaza, 2006). Indeed the Guggenheim may represent ‘overtones’ of American dominance or imperialism in European cultural capital (ibid.). The Guggenheim is a brand of museum commissioned by the city elite. Indeed, it is representative of ‘McGuggenisation’ “suggesting both a global franchising strategy and the extreme commodification of art” (McNeill, 2000:474).

“By commissioning a highly visible piece of public art or employing an internationally recognised architect, a city may purchase a place on a notional international map. The decision by Barcelona’s city authorities to site a World Trade Centre designed by I M Pei on its redeveloped waterfront denoted such intention to be a world city.” (Miles, 2005a:893)

Barcelona is frequently cited as a model for hosting the Olympic Games (Blanco, 2009) or the use of the Gaudi ‘brand’ to represent the city. The buildings created by Gaudi are particularly ‘imageable’ and are compared to the buildings of Disney theme parks (Smith, 2005). The use of major events is a key factor in the ‘Barcelona model’, “the aggressive use of mega-events as symbolic devices to boost local pride and establish a Barcelona brand reflects a top-down approach to cultural representation, with local identity being used as a marketing device” (García, 2004:322).

Cultural regeneration approaches are looking for lessons to revitalise the public realm and not the privatisation witnessed in the main American approaches.

“Private-property-led redevelopment strategies and out-of-town leisure and retailing complexes are indicative of the American model, on the one hand, and Europeanism on the other hand, is characterised by less immediately tangible attempts to recover the city centre for public culture. The European model is associated with ‘café society’.” (McGuigan, 1996:104)

The European ‘model’ is associated with the European Capital of Culture ‘brand’ (Evans, 2003). In 1985 the City of Culture (later Capital) was established to “bring the peoples of the Member States closer together” (European Commission, 1985), to celebrate cultural diversity and foster European citizenship. The ECoC is a mega-event that has become part of a toolkit of options available to the cultural approach of post-industrial cities (Roche, 1994). Glasgow’s designation as ECoC for 1990 was seen as a ‘watershed’ event as an opportunity for regeneration and image transformation (Griffiths, 2006). In addition to these benefits the ECoC brand has been regarded as a spectacle to stimulate the tourist economy while also supporting the city council’s development agenda (O’Callaghan and Linehan, 2007). The EC commissioned an analysis of the ECoC and found it posed challenges in balancing new cultural events with the existing cultural institutions of the cities. The report also noted that ECoC as a catalyst for long-term cultural development has not been realised in many cities (Palmer/Rae Associates, 2004). The EC further concluded that political ambitions overshadow cultural dimensions, particularly, as the ECoC has a “lack of clear definitions and guidelines for action” (García, 2004:321).

Adopting lessons from elsewhere is criticised for a lack of appreciation for home-grown talent. Nearby Ireland is often overlooked (Rose, 1993) yet, Ireland is given much credit by Florida, using what he deems the ‘3 T’s’. “Ireland was able to transform itself from an economic and technology laggard to a veritable growth machine in a very short period of time” (Florida, 2002:302). However, within the succeeding decade Ireland’s economic decline has resulted in a high profile bailout from the EU (Wheatcroft; Ross, 2009). “It is possible that British observers tend to over-emphasize the value of rather fragmented American

approaches because of the problems of deindustrialisation and social exclusion appear similar” (Carley, 2000:279).

“A shopping mall, new office towers, a convention centre, an atrium hotel, a restored historic neighbourhood. These are the civic agenda for downtown development in the last third of the twentieth century, a trophy collection that mayors want. Add a domed stadium, aquarium, or cleaned-up waterfront to suit the circumstances, and you have the essential equipment for a first-class American city.” (Frieden and Sagalyn, 1989:259)

Substitute, ‘United Kingdom’, ‘European’, or ‘global’ for American and you have what appears to have developed as the standard blueprint for (re-)developing cities. Popular and successful, criticisms of festival marketplaces included comparisons with Disneyland and an idealised area for people who have lost touch with urbanity. This homogenisation or McGeneration debate (identified in Chapter 2.1) is continued later in this thesis. Indeed, local conditions remain important for policy success “as ‘successful’ programmes remain very difficult to replicate in other locations” (Peck and Theodore, 2001:427).

We next study the role culture now plays in urban regeneration. This approach has become a significant element in tackling the urban problems, particularly on the waterfront.

3.4 Cultural renaissance

Culture has become the present day focus of approaches to solving the ills of urban areas. The cultural renaissance of non-capital cities has been encouraged by the decentralisation of power to local (and regional) governments (Bianchini, 1993). This move of power from the national has led to a local focus for models of successful regeneration practice. Examples of ‘best practice’ are promoted as the means for achieving a city’s cultural renaissance. Historically, this pattern is not unique to the twenty-first century. “London became a global city long before anyone had coined that term” (Hall, 1998), enjoying a period as the world’s premier entrepôt in finance. Global city, world city, and capital of culture are titles present-day cities vie for. ‘Cultural renaissance’ is an experiment to reposition a city in that competition. Two

components of the American cultural renaissance package that the UK has emulated are:

- developing major new physical facilities as the focal point and catalyst for media and tourist;
- upgrading existing facilities, highlighting the heritage elements and thematic interpretations for marketing purposes.

(Adapted from Martin and Mason, 1988)

In 1998, the UK government published a White Paper that was separated into two Government Acts (of 1999, 2000). A subsequent White Paper *Local Leadership, Local Choice* (March 1999) preceded the *Local Government Act* (2000) highlighting the opportunities the cultural sector should take advantage of to demonstrate its potential, particularly to local agendas (Gilmore, 2004). The Local Government Act emphasised culture's contribution to well-being; however there was no statutory duty to create related strategies. The guidance document *Creating Opportunities* (December 2000) requested English local authorities to design a cultural strategy by December 2002; many took up this challenge.

Regeneration is characterised by physical transformation of urban space, but has also become known for the rebranding of a place. The primary aim of cultural regeneration's processes is to empower places to attract investment and tourism. Place becomes uncertain within this rebranding, and its relationship to the local population is ambiguous. The agenda of the Department for Culture, Media and Sport has been to hold excellence of performance and social inclusion together. The paradox of rebranding and exploiting excellence of cultural performance to foster distinctiveness leads to the charge that, instead, homogeneity is created. Almost every arts-capital-related project is still required to document their social impacts, yet this social benefit commitment is both believable and unreliable at the same time. This is because demonstrating specific causal social effects from specific investment is often impossible to demonstrate.

The public value of cultural investment has risen to prominence over the last decades with a refocus on output not outcomes. Matarasso's work is an

important reference point for thinking about questions of social impact (Matarasso, 1997); however, this method is criticised for lacking overall robustness and that negative responses are neglected (Merli, 2002). Holden looked beyond this purely evidence-based decision-making model in the field of culture (Holden, 2004), arguing that culture is, like health, an area that does not need to legitimise itself. There is the danger that the focus will remain on the outputs of cultural activity, rather than on what it consists of, an error that leads to institutional mediocrity. However, his model is unlikely to disturb the United Kingdom governments' dominant business model approach.

The think-tank Demos advocates that culture's value is found in:

- appreciation and enjoyment by the public;
- it's role in social policy, especially learning and the creative economy;
- the improvement to society that cultural organisations can make.

(Demos, 2005).

These values find a role for culture in stimulating economic improvements; cultural attributes can be used in re-imaging (and promoting) the city (Roche, 1994). A creative culture stimulates creativity in people. Over the last decade, 'creativity' has become a driving force of the post-industrial society. It has become an essential focus for knowledge rich organisations, society, and for stimulating innovation and competitiveness in a new economy. Creative industries stimulate employee innovation, fluid networks of information sharing, and are populated by a new creative class of people. Florida's 'creative class' are the key to rejuvenating cities scarred by years of decline (Florida, 2005a), concepts that were introduced in Chapter 2. This approach, derived outside the locality, is accused of causing a "reduction of the world to an American 'global village'" (Storey, 2010:161).

To recap, creativity, culture, and innovation are now highly prized assets for a city seeking to stimulate areas in decline. These assets were given significant attention by the incoming Labour government in 1997. However, culturally focused regeneration approaches are criticised for homogenising culture through routine and mechanistic policies. The form of cities is being influenced by urban policies that create and sell spaces for temporary consumption. These

areas are likely to be post-industrial and marginal; subjected to these forms of commodification and exploitation the local community identity is pushed out in favour of a new image. Lord Mandelson, speaking at the Grove stated that,

“The bottom line for the government is that the creative industries are and must remain central to a balanced, knowledge economy. They are one of the keys to the recovery now underway and our whole economic future. There is no economy on earth in which the creative industries play such an important part in overall growth and job creation, and that is an immense asset to the United Kingdom that we are determined to preserve and strengthen.” (Mandelson, 2008)

Prior to the 1997 Labour government, the creative sector was considered of marginally economic importance, and culture was not a significant focus of policy. The origins of interest in the economic potential of creative industries to achieve public policy objectives in the UK can be traced back to the GLC in the 1980s (O'Connor, 1999a; Galloway and Dunlop, 2007). Government focused on documenting the creative industries in 1998 and 2001, publishing the Creative Industries Mapping documents. Each document aimed to raise awareness of the creative industries, and their economic contributions. This stimulated policy development in United Kingdom regions; the creative industries and economy became priority growth areas at national, regional and city level. The Department of Culture, Media, and Sport (DCMS) believes creativity will drive the most successful economies and societies in the twenty-first century. These creative industries are based on individual skill and talent, creating wealth and jobs by developing intellectual property (DCMS, 2009a). The Cox Report reviewed creativity in business and studied “how best to enhance UK business productivity by drawing on our world-leading creative capabilities” (Cox, 2005). It recommended that creativity “needs to pervade the thinking of the whole business, to be embraced within public services, to be embedded in the education system, and to be sought out by those who buy goods and services, whether that means a company, a public-sector body, or the consumer” (Cox, 2005:40). This coincided with the DCMS Creative Economy Programme (CEP) set up to support the growth and productivity of Britain’s creative industries’. It was also charged with developing a government strategy for the creative industries and launched ‘Creative Britain: New Talents for the New Economy’ in

2008. Strategically this suggests a process of mainstreaming the creative industries from the margins into the centre of the economy (DCMS, 2008).

Cultural renaissance is characterised through a value for the role of culture in re-branding places, the homogenised form of newly created spaces, and the competition to attract creative talent. The impacts of these policies are experienced locally, but global processes are particularly impacting on the use of culture in regeneration.

In Chapter 2, we noted that global processes have specific impacts on the promotion and consumption of cultural places. Cultural regeneration strategies for places have drawn on lessons from competitions to host key tourist and artistic events. These global races characterise the contemporary city, and culture is increasingly the source of this competition. "It is incontestable that the globalization of culture has an enormously long history" (Held et al., 1999:331). Contemporary globalisation is associated with several developments: new global infrastructures, an increase in the speed and volume of cultural exchange and communication, the rise of popular culture and multinational organisations, and a shift in the geography of global cultural interaction. "Everyday life is constituted by the practices of popular culture, it is characterised by the creativity of the weak in using the resources provided by a disempowering system while refusing finally to submit to that power" (Fiske, 1989:45).

Tourism is an obvious form of the globalisation of culture, yet it is notoriously difficult to evaluate. The increased ease of travel for leisure, and the rising competition in the 'city break' market offer two indicators of this. It is an activity that exposes many people to varied and immediate cultural experiences, but also locks specific localities into wider cultural patterns (Urry, 2002). As tourism increases, cities use their attractive waterfronts to compete for visitors. 'Dirty' manufacturing industry damages the waterfront's potential appeal. Traditional industries conflict with sanitised images of quality public space or pristine art galleries. Thus, tourism competes with other (industrial) waterfront uses and consequently for control of the city's image.

The consumption of culture has been an important motivator for tourism and travel. The early nineteenth century witnessed the wealthy elite embarking on

the culturally focused 'European Grand Tour'. More recently, the growth of cultural tourism can be attributed to increased leisure time, mobility, and disposable incomes, and to the changing supply of culture. Law indicates that European cities adopted tourism strategies in the 1980s following examples from cities such as Baltimore and Boston (Law, 1992). Urban tourism strategies were intertwined in urban cultural policy to take advantage of these trends. The increasingly global nature of society has been deemed a cause of destinations becoming more homogenised, as the tools and techniques for presenting culture are shared, leading to the common stylising of different cultural offerings. The annual designation of the European Capital of Culture signifies the attention policy makers and practitioners increasingly give to cultural tourism and its potential benefits. Cross-fertilisation of policy is also demonstrated by these competitions. America adopted such a scheme in 2007 when the International Bureau of Capitals of Culture established the USCC (US Capital of Culture) with an overriding aim to promote the local culture of the winning capital to audiences at home and overseas.

Heritage is a significant element to the cultural tourism market. Tourism's nature is fundamentally dynamic: heritage is the continuous transference between generations. When tourism reinterprets and commodifies heritage to sell it; a contested relationship between the two emerges that parallels debates in society between tradition and modernity. The debate becomes, on one hand the power of heritage, implying tradition and continuity, and on the other tourism, which suggests change. The new global tourists seek novelty through a return to heritage, a search for authenticity and identity in past traditions that contrast a homogeneity of experience characterised by mass tourism (Urry, 2002). Heritage tourism exploits and commercialises the past for sale in the present. Such tourism changes and re-images the urban environment, for its needs reflecting the global demands placed on the local. This commercialisation of culture for tourist consumption raises a greater appreciation for local distinctiveness, indeed inauthentic re-imaging may promote 'culture wars' (Mitchell, 2000).

Integrated festival sites in urban development schemes have been celebrated and replicated as models, from Baltimore's Festival Harborplace to the time-

limited Garden Festivals promoted in Britain as a regional regeneration and inward investment strategy (PACEC, 1990). “The hallmark or mega-event almost by definition transcends any tourism planning, cultural or even economic rationale and assessment — although all of these are to a greater or lesser extent claimed as justification by the host government, through international competition and domestic consumption” (Robinson et al., 1996:81). The successes of these schemes are contentious. Ward argues successful post-industrial spaces are scenes of constant human animation that visibly demonstrate a monetary commitment in their cultural capital (Ward, 1998). However, while these successful places were being created, Neil Smith entered the debate on gentrification, defining it as the exploitation of social inequalities from previous uneven development, rooted in patterns of urban policy (Smith, 1984; 1996). “Servicing the tastes of young professionals and managers, moreover, may not be to the advantage of local working class, unemployed and marginalised groups” (McGuigan, 1996:107). This desire to revitalise spaces for these tastes is accused of this gentrifying or ‘urban cleansing’ (Smith, 1996).

There are claims that cultural renaissance is a successful transformer that overcomes the urban problem. However, within places themselves concerns with the urban problem remain, with the alienation of the authentically local. Charges of homogeneity, through the transfer of ideas from the United States are also contested. Homogenisation debates are weakened when they neglect to account for the local in the processes of consumption and transformation.

3.5 Regenerating waterfront places

The waterfront has become a specific site of cultural renaissance, indeed these spaces have become places of particular significance regarding the best practice approaches cities look for. These waterfront places are representative of debates surrounding the homogenisation of places. As new waterfronts undergo development in similar McGeneration blueprints, the suggestion is that they become homogenised and are the norm for all developments. Tracing out the ways in which visions of the ‘good’ city are transferred, including the production of the built environment, denotes the specific intended social outcomes of regeneration. International best practice is rooted in the transfer of policy, forming the main way in which ideas are taken up in social practice. The

addition of something different to a locality can appear threatening. It is perhaps for this reason that something similar, familiar, and McDonalds-like would be less likely to be resisted. McDonalds restaurants are usually built in a relatively standard, conventional style which is familiar to most city-dwellers (Massey, 1995). City agents should take caution to try to avoid this standardised approach:

“there are degrees of similarity which, at least in the design, suggest that idiosyncrasy of place and circumstance may be sacrificed to produce outcomes that meet the image of successful schemes implemented elsewhere. This is a matter which deserves careful appraisal, especially to avoid the ‘disneyfication’ of waterfront areas.” (Fagence, 1995:137)

Previous discussions of the waterfront within this chapter have highlighted the elements of the American model of regeneration that have been mirrored in the UK. Changes in attitude to places, and the waterfront, have also impacted on the regeneration story. McGeneration does not stand alone as the explanatory variable for the current waterfront renaissance. Postmodernism, the cultural successor to Fordism, changed attitudes to waterfronts (Norcliffe et al., 1996). “It is a certain postmodern Zeitgeist, which supported the rediscovery of a dimension that did not play any major role in spatial planning during the last quarter of the century” (Kunzmann, 2004:384). This rediscovery is the contribution that culture and creativity can make to development strategies, particularly on waterfronts. Grossberg, however, suggests we should reject the assumption of a “single relationship between capitalism and culture (e.g. between late capitalism and postmodernism)” (Grossberg, 1992:325). Rather to consider that uneven developments are “giving rise to cultural responses that vary from country to country” (Gartman, 1998:135), such, that culture is seen as reaction to changes within social structures as well as changes in economic production.

Most of the world’s great maritime cities have expanded from an initial strategic waterfront site through the operation of their seaport and seaborne trade. De-industrialisation of this zone, and the abandonment of its land, has necessitated the regeneration of these waterfronts, and led to a desire for open space (Hoyle et al., 1988; Bruttomesso, 1993; Breen and Rigby, 1996). Waterfront regeneration has been an accelerating trend, exploiting abandoned industrial

city-centre locations (Breen and Rigby, 1996). The late twentieth century renaissance of urban waterfronts in cities in Europe and North America has led to a re-evaluation of the realm of the water's edge. Against a backdrop of worn out old industrial areas, cities have competed to become capitals of culture, establishing new status based on a new image, and alluding to positive socio-economic impacts.

Regeneration and renewal are not new concepts for the waterfront. Greek power during 400–500BC was supplemented by technical improvements in shipbuilding and sea transport. Elaborate engineering designed large port areas from which Greek cities looked out towards more civilised cities for innovations. These innovations and creativity continue to be linked to the waterfront, even as they hark back to an era where “from the sea Greeks got trade, and from the trade came ideas” (Hall, 1998:48). “Other people, other cultures had the ingredients; but they did not come together in precisely the right order, in just the right way” (ibid. p67). It was its unique position as a centre for trade, drawing in many influences, which formed the waterfront as a cultural melting pot. Significantly Hall discusses a dependence upon ‘resident aliens’ responsible for a disproportionate part of the real advances, who lived half inside the mainstream society, half outside it. This is a concept that is revisited, developed, and aligned to Florida’s creative class. It is this ideal of a unique coming together of circumstance that gave us the great cities of the age: London, Vienna, Berlin, and Athens, which are a challenge to present day cities’ competitiveness on a world scale. As Zukin noted, creative people are “attracted” to industrial design “like Gothic ruins in the nineteenth century, artefacts of the Industrial Age now inspire nostalgia for the past” (Zukin, 1989:73).

Places with strong associations to a particular industry, whether coal or shipyards, become identified with that industry. This results in embedded industrial capital and an historical identity. However, while they may be a temporary repository for capital, they are

“places in which to live; places in which they (workers, their families, and friends) have considerable individually and collective cultural investment; places to which they are often deeply attached and which may hold

powerful emotional ties and socially endowed symbolic meanings for them.” (Beynon et al., 1994)

The literature of urban waterfront development begins with the revitalisation movement in the United States during the late 1950s. Early notable publications include the American Society of Planning Officials 1952 and 1959; a later key publication is the US Committee on Urban Waterfront Lands 1980. Scholars, planners, and politicians of this group were among the first to consider the new opportunities presented by the changing uses associated with the waterfront.

Riley and Shurmer-Smith argue that “understanding of waterfront change may be furthered by bringing together ‘top-down’ and ‘bottom-up’ pressure”, aspects that can be altered in relation to the site and situation of the locality (Riley and Shumer-Smith, 1988:38). International, national, and local perspectives identify contemporary changes. This impact on port areas has led to a strategic focus to change the older industrial image of the waterfront. “Changing the image of the waterfront is one of the first tasks of most redevelopment agencies, which usually use two strategies: historic preservation and improved public access” (Fisher et al., 2004:89). Initial rehabilitation of the built environment symbolises rejuvenation. Glossy images depicting this change, particularly iconic flagship buildings, are used as marketing tools to attract investment and for the politics of redevelopment. This is conceptualised as a new urban politics of localities luring in people and organisations through attractive images and cultural offerings (Cox, 1993; Boyle and Rogerson, 2001).

The waterfront is thus a site of varied local and global process at work. Industrial change, local identity, and history all play a part in the changes that are enacted. The challenges faced in twenty-first century waterfronts are both a legacy of historical development and a contemporary desire to integrate these places in everyday life.

3.5.1 Waterside development—the challenges

Urban waterfronts represent places that require a complex understanding of regeneration. The approaches taken necessitate a multitude of key outcomes (see figure 3.2). Falk found a bleak picture of inactivity of port development in 1978 with problems of attracting inward investment and mobilising development

finance (Falk, 1993). Ten years later he found a brighter picture with 90 schemes underway, however he expressed disappointment at a lack of genuinely mixed schemes, criticising the lack of diversity of development. Falk attributes inspiration for British regeneration projects to earlier US models, citing San Francisco and Baltimore as examples (Section 3.3). He compares the rise of regeneration processes to the opening up of the American West. The missionaries enter to preserve, along with enthusiasts looking for new uses (entrepreneurs); then come pioneers as the residents, however, then along come the cowboys. For Smith these pioneers anchor gentrification in the new urban frontier, he comments that no one has yet stated that James Rouse is “the John Wayne of gentrification” (Smith, 1996:xv).

“The urge to duplicate what has worked in one place and apply it to the next has seldom led to the creation of a great waterfront—and, in fact, has contributed to the failure of many waterfronts in recent years” (Fisher, 2004:46). Fisher notes that successful waterfronts neither discard nor exploit their history, but retain what she calls an indelible print on our memory. This sense of place is “the complexity that comes from multiple experiences that touch the mind, the sense, and the emotions” (ibid). Design concepts are tied to waterfront characteristics — the physical structure, and intrinsic qualities of each site. Barriers must be removed to improve linkages to the waterfront while ensuring an historic recognition that adds to the character of that place. The common focus for urban waterfronts, as opposed to non-urban ones, is to fulfil the variety of intended human needs and purposes.

Development of the urban waterfront is a protracted process, not a quick fix political solution. Often it transcends the lifespan of city governments and lessons should be learned from past experience. For example, development should not promise to restore jobs in lost or replaced industries, the truth is one of long start-up periods and new employment often requires different skills. Lessons can be learned from experience; “Bilbao’s declined economy was regenerated by the redevelopment of derelict industrial installations located along the riverside in the centre of the city” (Gospodini, 2001:291).

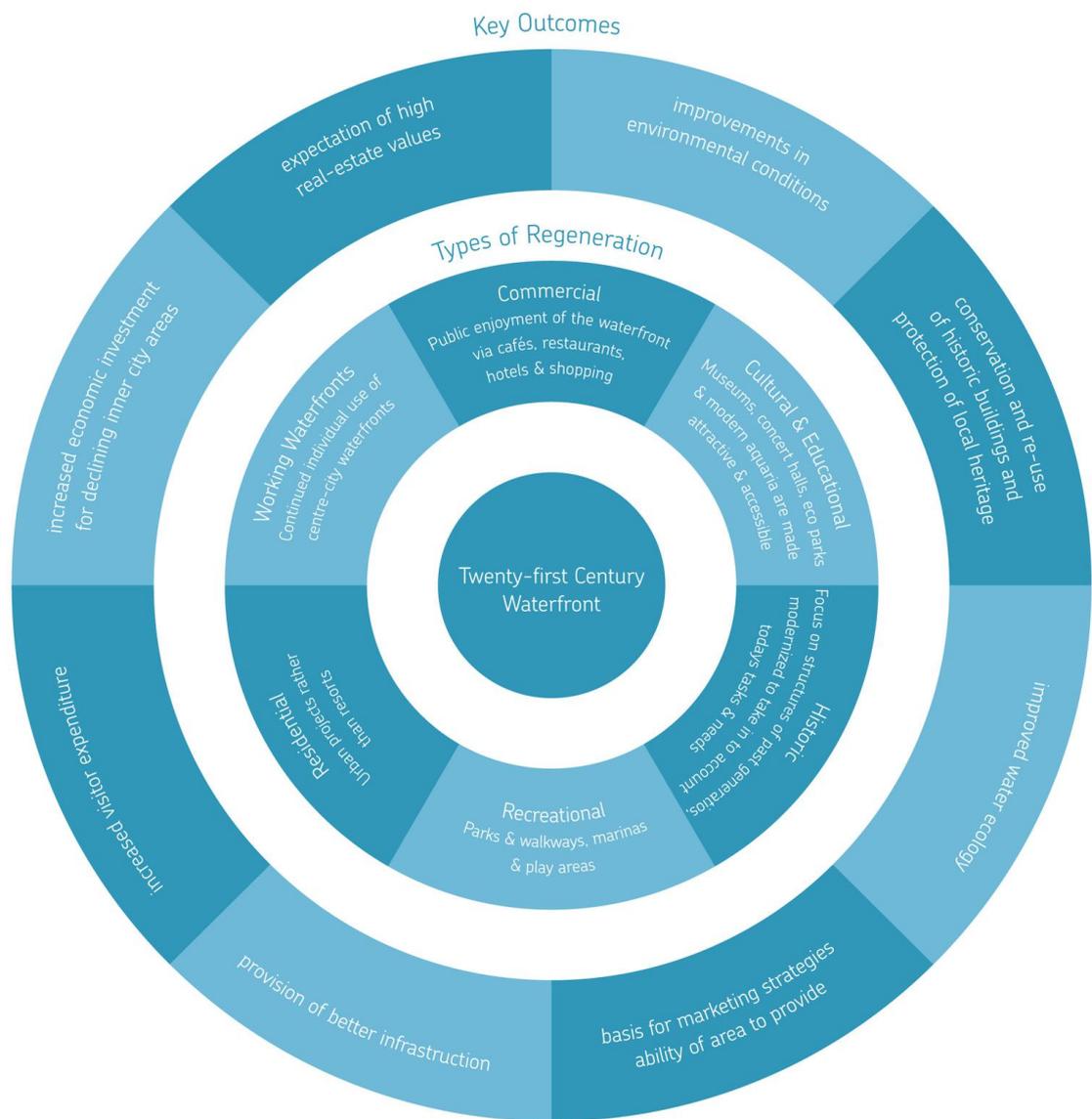


Figure 3.2: The types and outcomes of twenty-first century cultural regeneration on waterfronts (adapted from Breen and Rigby, 1994; Dovey, 2005).

The inner ring of Figure 3.2 highlights six strategic elements of cultural regeneration approaches. The intended outcomes which will feature in most strategic schemes encompass these. “However despite all the glossy brochures and years of planning the results are disappointing” (Falk, 1993:23). Problems include the time taken to reach agreement between all parties, and schemes that are developed outside a master development strategy. Short-term successes, he argues, have created places that “often look like moated fortresses” or “floating car parks” (Falk, 1993:23). He advocated his idea of Balanced Incremental Development for successful regeneration. The roots of this incremental development are social justice; the existing community should

not lose out because of development and should secure some benefit regarding their most pressing needs. A natural, balanced development should be appropriate to the context and not harmful to the environment so that sustainable places are created, and the minimisation of waste with existing resources being fully utilised where possible.

3.5.2 Remaking the urban waterfront

The strategic elements of regenerating waterfronts have led to waterfronts becoming centres of intense redevelopment activity (Fisher et al., 2004). Development of inland waterfronts had become a major industry, signalling a remarkable change from the previous grim prognosis for these areas. Reviewing the historical development of the waterfront and the roots of its transformation, the intention is to provide a context for looking at the past and a foundation for moving forwards.

“Urban waterfronts, always intimately tied to their surroundings, reflect any change in social, economic, or industrial climate” (Fisher et al., 2004:7). The authors are discussing US waterfront development, yet the argument holds for the UK; new technology transforms waterfronts, and when a waterfront cannot adopt the technology it loses some of its vitality. Historically, waterfront growth has been disjointed and incremental — the result of a rich mix of decisions, actions, and history. Although there may be a typical pattern of development, it does not correspond to any one city and the scale and the pace of change varies according to each waterfront’s physical characteristics and unique past.

The successful characteristics of an urban waterfront are depicted in the outer ring of figure 3.2. The factors required to achieve these outcomes through regeneration include the need for vision, resourcefulness, and organisation (Falk, 1986). These factors are achieved through what Falk describes as people who are committed, resourceful, determined, and able to mobilise support for these schemes. The waterfront has been the site for urban experiments, it “is that place in a city where designers and planners can forge contemporary visions of the city and in doing so articulate values that contribute toward urban culture” (Marshall, 2001a:54). One way to interpret urban design on the waterfront is to see it as expressing the understanding of the social relations

that predominate in particular cities. Urban design seeks to translate these relationships into built form, a narrative within which city residents then operate. Residents are not powerless, they are active participants in creating the narrative. Massey emphasises that the same architecture and urban space may be re-used and re-interpreted in different ways by different people (Massey, 1999). Current principles of waterfront design focus on preservation and reinvention, where new uses of derelict sites have to realise grand expectations that are subject to resistance to change and the realities of local markets. For instance, the debates over whether to focus on heritage become a source of tension.

The natural boundary of the water's edge has often been built upon to create a façade along the water. Problems arise when cities believe that applying a large project to this thin line will be the entire solution. An emptiness may occur when such buildings are convention centres, as they fail to influence and animate their immediate surroundings. Even with cultural arts facilities, they must make huge efforts to animate their surroundings or the waterfront may be left desolate. The current problem is cultural regeneration in isolation: design developments that are conceived as piecemeal solutions. Gordon argues that cities are tackling this disconnect; new public spaces reconnect the waterfront and city, and these high-quality public spaces have become a model approach for other developments (Gordon, 1996). However, he further implied that this would be difficult for other cities, as his study showed that an independent authority was significant in the execution of developments of such high quality, but they did this at a significant risk.

The waterfront represents the interplay of global and local process at work in urban localities. The policies used to enact changes in waterfront localities have created contested cultural spaces that retain enduring local character and identity.

3.6 Summary

This chapter started with an identification of the 'urban problem' and the difficulties of social, spatial, and other differentiations within a city. Regeneration has been the key response to this problem, and the urban waterfront is at the

very centre of that movement. Regeneration is often a process shaped by the transfer of a relatively small number of key policy lessons. Hence, similar objectives across the United Kingdom — and globally — are shaping developments on the urban waterfront. Strategies for cultural regeneration have been greatly influenced by American successes as well as recent European ones and cross-national policy transfer has been a key mechanism in this context. Such policy solutions are explored further in the case study narrative. Next, we identify the methodological approach to gathering the data for the narrative of the chosen case studies.

Chapter 4

Case Studies in Cultural Regeneration: a Methodological Approach

4. Introduction

The focus of this research is an examination of three key United Kingdom case studies that are set in the context of national and global issues of the moment. The purpose of this chapter is to explain the methods chosen to examine the importance of place and to identify the three case studies chosen. Rather than extending the investigation of research methodology widely, we focus on honing a qualitative method that will provide an appropriate means for extracting narrative findings that shed light on situational knowledge and that supplement existing research. Much of the literature on the cultural regeneration of urban waterfronts has primarily been the product of surveys, performance indicators, and case studies to evaluate the benefits of the cultural approach (Evans, 2005). In contrast, qualitative data have often been used to supplement the primary quantitative data in that work.

There are well-understood contrasting methods, outcomes, strengths, and weaknesses to qualitative and quantitative methods. In the context of this thesis, the relative abundance of prior work that is quantitative with supporting qualitative elements, and the comparative shortage of work that is primarily founded on qualitative data, suggests a gap in the existing literature. In short, a method that was based primarily on qualitative data has the potential to make a greater contribution than further refinements or extensions of the surveys, data analysis, and other quantitative methods may have.

Qualitative approaches allow for the telling of stories that show sensitivity to a range of voices in the data, and this allows for judgments on what the future may bring. However, critics of qualitative research note that its contribution to scientific enquiry is limited, “supplying little detail about an entire population or category” (Borland, 2001:3), and therefore the ability to generalise from qualitative data is limited. Quantitative methods may be more internationally diverse and offer generalisations as “statistical narratives continue to be a major language that facilitates exchanges across the core and the periphery” (Poon, 2003:760). This positive feature of the alternative to qualitatively focused data

collection does not explain the social process of decision-making that has developed. This process can be captured in a narrative to compare phenomena in a qualitative approach, that is sensitive to context (Mason, 2002). This is relevant to capture an understanding of the mediation of global processes at the local level from the elite actor's perspective.

The criteria underlying the selected case studies suggests that the localities have in one form or another re-used their waterfronts and that, arguably, they represent examples of more ubiquitous trends occurring on a national scale. While the case studies remain distinctive localities, they are also representative of more generalised processes. The challenge is to investigate whether those processes continue as uniform urban morphological solutions or whether the localities transform those processes into specific forms that are strongly shaped by place. The overall aim is to establish a narrative form of explanation of social action (Bevir and Rhodes, 2002) and to understand place distinctiveness in twenty-first century regeneration. The research design — focusing on specific and unique case studies to gather rich qualitative interpretations — also aims to contribute to the existing theory of localities.

This chapter will identify the methodology (Section 4.1) that may prove most effective in discovering the information that will address the aims as established in Chapter 1. The research context must first be established, denoting the perspective adopted on the constitution of social reality and therefore what this thesis seeks to uncover as valid knowledge (Section 4.2). The case study approach and the selection of the three cases are identified in Section 4.3, which then leads to the research design and method of elite interviewing contained in Section 4.4. How the research was conducted is outlined in Section 4.5; explaining the scoping study undertaken and the established secondary source information used. In the next section we further introduce the methodological approach taken to address the aims of the thesis.

4.1 Methodology

There is a variety of qualitative methods (for example see grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1990); inductive qualitative analysis and so on) available to the researcher. There is also a family of interpretive approaches that includes

post-structuralism and discourse analysis that provide the researcher with tools to derive meaning from chosen texts. Just as our goal of providing qualitative data and findings eliminated a primarily quantitative approach, the goal of a narrative outcome limits the choice of appropriate methods further. Alternatives to an interpretivist approach include behavioural theory, critical theory and phenomenology. However, this is not a psychological investigation into the actions of the elites, but it is an interpretation of the processes at work as understood by the elites. The primary family of techniques used for extracting narrative understanding are interpretivist, and we focus in this chapter on the key decisions to be made in applying that approach. We describe in detail the interpretivist stance that was taken, the selection of the data to be gathered (specifically locations, participants and so on), and the use and role of prior literature.

In the context of the research presented in this thesis, the 'classic' grounded theory approach cannot be honestly applied in the manner for which Martin and Turner (Martin and Turner, 1986) (and others) have argued. What is required is a method that can interpret and examine data within an a priori themed framework, as was developed in the previous chapters, and derive interpretivist outcomes that answer those prior questions and topics of investigation. One method was discovered early in the research that does clearly meet these needs, and indeed is tailored for exactly this situation: the interpretive approach offered by Bevir and Rhodes (Bevir and Rhodes, 2002).

The research is contextualised in established locality theory (Cooke, 1989a), which was outlined in Chapter 2. An alternative approach could have been to postulate a hypothesis — formulated from a segment of this established theory — to provide a framework for data collection. Any rejection of the hypothesis following subsequent data analysis would necessitate its modification. Such an approach was deemed inappropriate to the determination of the importance of place. The multifaceted aims of the research are complex and do not have simple true/false answers in a mechanistic sense. Instead, an open approach to the enquiry was taken in determining the importance and influence of the key factors so that the outcomes would emerge from the data. The choice of approach is based on capturing a narrative of understanding of the chosen

localities through a fine-tuned analysis. Thus, the interpretive approach adopted rests on this collection of extensive qualitative data through interviewing.

Themes that can be generalised emerged from the conceptual theory and policy debated in Chapters 2 and 3. These ten themes that belong to the two overriding themes of the thesis — distinctiveness and homogeneity — form the basis of the following data analysis chapters. These ten themes are listed here:

Five themes of a McGeneration/homogenisation agenda and their key features are:

- creative classes;
- place as 'commodity';
- consumption cities;
- competitive cities;
- the new cultural spaces.

Five themes of a Distinctiveness (distinct local practice) agenda and their key features are:

- local cultural identity;
- distinctive urban governance;
- path dependency;
- socio-economic characteristics;
- distinctive urban form.

In the next section, we will explore further interpretivist methods, and refine the specific method that was used in the research reported in later chapters.

4.2 Interpretivism

From an interpretive perspective, the researcher is not seen as determining the nature of the social world; rather, the focus is placed on the way the research participants view the world and the research issue in question. Interpretivism, as an alternative approach to positivism (Denscombe, 2010), is a blanket term for a number of research methods that all have at their core a rejection of positivist tenets. Denscombe (2010) states that interpretivism holds that:

- Social reality is subjective rather than an external reality that exists independently. The world is a social creation that becomes understood through human actions;
- Humans react to being under study. They have a level of self-awareness that does not exist within the natural world;
- Humans react to the knowledge produced by being studied. The knowledge can be absorbed by them to interfere with the initial findings;
- It is impossible to gain an objective knowledge, or for social research to be uninfluenced by the values and expectations of the researcher;
- Grand theories are not possible. Since explanations inevitably are influenced by researchers' values, it is inconceivable that one truth will exist to explain the social world.

Interpretivism refers to a method, or methods, used to provide an understanding of events in terms of how the people involved understand their experience. This qualitative approach contrasts to a simple quantification of what happens in social phenomenon. The social world therefore becomes the creation of the actions of these people (or agents); actions that are not directed by discrete patterns of cause and effect (as in positivism), but by the beliefs that social actors use to interpret the world (Bevir and Rhodes, 2002).

4.2.1 Ontology and epistemology

Ontologically, there were two main positions from which to choose. First, positivism utilises methodologies starting from the premise that scientific approaches used within the natural sciences can be applied to the social sciences. However, "the positivist seeks the facts or causes of social phenomena with little regard for the subjective status of individuals" (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975:2). The central tenets of positivism hold that there are no random events and that patterns and regularities exist in the social world as they do in the natural world (Denscombe, 2002).

Following a positivist approach would not have allowed for the narrative interpretation of people's beliefs, preferences, and, therefore actions. These

cannot be read from objective facts gathered about participants in the research. A statistical analysis of gathered facts would exclude the most valuable element of the research approach: the understanding of views and attitudes of the elite actors (participants). Furthermore, the positivist tenet that truth exists independently of the social world is not applicable, because this thesis focuses upon a world that is socially produced, and in which meaning is produced by human interactions. The chosen interpretive approach focuses on “the meanings that shape actions and institutions, and the ways in which they do so” (Bevir and Rhodes, 2002:131). It is through a “shared assumption that we cannot understand human affairs properly unless we grasp the relevant meaning” (ibid.). The research participants, organisations, and localities chosen only exist within this socially constructed framework of human interaction.

An interpretive epistemology explores the understandings and insights of the purpose through interview, this treats knowledge as created and negotiated between human beings. This method was a reaction against ‘traditional’ positivism, which (typically) seeks universal truths that can be proved or disproved. As such, it is an example of the wider class of interpretivist methods. The tradition of positivist research finds that individuals are autonomous and have pure experiences. Interpretivism holds that people construe experiences through theories which they have inherited (Bevir and Rhodes, 2006).

The ontology of interpretivism is that social reality is the product of processes. Social actors use these processes to negotiate the meanings of actions and situations. Human experience is therefore a process of interpretation; interpretive approaches to research grasp this meaning in action (Bevir and Rhodes, 2006). In its epistemology, knowledge is formed from concepts and meanings such as everyday situations and common sense terms (ibid.). Entering the social world the researcher tries to understand these socially constructed meanings, to reconstruct them in a social-scientific language. The epistemological stance adopted by the researcher provides a link between the aims and the practical methodological issues of collecting the data. Thus, in the local authority scoping study it was clear that different perceptions existed in a number of elite working areas that had not been adequately captured in previous research. These concerns rested on a perceived notion of high-profile

quayside flagship developments 'not being for the people of the area' and developments that were undermining the significance of local characteristics. This understanding has been instructive in advancing the intention of the thesis to capture narratives through an interpretive approach and to explain shared facts through significant relationships, connections, or similarities between them. A case study strategy in this interpretive approach deals with the subtleties and intricacies of these complex shared facts (Denscombe, 1998).

There are several criticisms of this type of approach. It fails to acknowledge how social structures condition and produce social interaction, particularly power relations. Bevir and Rhodes (2002) note that for some "it does not allow for the material constraints on social action" (Bevir and Rhodes, 2002:149). However, it is noted that external pressures influence people's beliefs about the world and these wider pressures must therefore form part of their narrative of understanding.

The approach of Bevir and Rhodes (2002) to interpretation offers important and relevant distinctions for subjectivity, rationality, and truth. First, agency, the capacity of an individual to act in the world, must be allowed for in subjectivity; "to deny that subjects can escape from all social influences is not to deny that they can act creatively for reasons that make sense to them" (ibid. 139). Individuals can act in different ways under the same social conditions, and therefore the individual cannot be separated from their beliefs and actions by referring to these social contexts alone. Allowing for this individuality, we view social structures as tradition, and "we view tradition as a set of theories or narratives, and associated practices that people inherit, and forms the background against which they reach beliefs and perform actions" (ibid.). People act on their local reasoning to change their actions and beliefs, these changes "occur in response to dilemmas" (ibid.). These dilemmas occur when new ideas are introduced which oppose an existing idea, and individuals produce change through exploring the ways they respond to them. This interpretive approach holds that no pure facts are determined to declare a particular narrative to be true, rather that "objectivity arises from criticising and comparing rival webs of interpretation about agreed facts" (Bevir and Rhodes, 2002:142). Many of the identified theoretical understandings represent

dilemmas, “globalisation is one dilemma that admits of many interpretations” (Bevir and Rhodes, 2006:10). These multiple interpretations of what have become everyday concepts are explored to bring clarity of their meaning to cultural regeneration and place. Theory represents developing explanations about reality as a description of events, or even as predictions of future events (Hagan, 2006). This theoretical perspective coupled with data techniques links the chosen methods to the overall research approach.

4.2.2 Interpretivism research strategy

The work of urban regeneration is a social act, and is part of the shared experience of localities, cities and nations within which urban regeneration occurs. As already stated, the aim of this thesis is to create a narrative account of the regeneration of waterfront areas, within the context of applying locality theory. Any interpretivist endeavour to produce narrative accounts of social life must draw upon the concepts and meanings used by social actors. Such an approach begins from “the insight that to understand actions, practices and institutions, we need to grasp the meanings, the beliefs and preferences of the people involved” (Bevir and Rhodes, 2002:134).

Research on the everyday understanding of beliefs and practices of the participants addresses the purpose of the thesis, which is to tell a story about cultural regeneration solutions in the context of locality theory. The difficult question locality theory addresses is whether people whose lives are locally based can influence their place, given the increasing global pressures they face (Cooke, 1989a). Narratives are twofold in their approach to address this; they offer an interpretation, and elicit actors’ interpretations of their actions (Bevir and Rhodes, 2006).

We believe that challenging questions encourage the research participants to reflect and discover their own meanings. Rich descriptions can then be generated from the social actors’ accounts, and, “although narratives may have a chronological order and contain such elements as setting, character, actions, and events, their defining characteristic is that they explain actions using beliefs and preferences” (Bevir and Rhodes, 2002:134). These accounts are analysed to examine the actions of elite decision makers and to grasp how they have

modified or reacted to dilemmas to act in novel ways. Our participation in our subject of research is inevitable. Partiality is inevitable, and “all approaches are partial in the double meaning of the term limited by a particular time, space and social horizon and also motivated, more or less consciously, by desire, interest and power” (Johnson et al., 2004:17). Self-conscious questioning of our history with the research topic requires that prejudices are not denied. This practice as a reflective researcher requires consideration of the role of the researcher as interviewer and is later considered in further detail.

4.3 Case study approach

This section will discuss the particular data-gathering method to be used in the research. As noted in the previous section, the overall strategy was to take an interpretivist approach, and that method means that we need data on the expectations and actions of the elite actors in cultural regeneration. There are a number of different methods and sources that can be used to that end, and we will now discuss the alternatives available, and the method chosen to obtain data in this research.

4.3.1 Selection of data sources

Clearly, any qualitative interpretivist analysis needs to be built on actual information. New primary data had to be gathered for the interpretivist analysis to be performed. The research agenda of this thesis naturally focuses on particular actors within cultural regeneration, and given the discussion in Section 4.1 on the method selected, we need to be able to supply contextual data to understand the structures within which those actors perform their roles. It is therefore critical to choose information from individuals who are performing their role in a context that can itself be investigated.

Thus, there are two key steps in constructing a set of sources: first, we need a known set of contexts about which we have sufficient data to build an understanding of individual responses; second, we need particular information within those contexts from elite actors. As urban regeneration focuses on cities, one natural unit of context is a particular site of cultural regeneration approaches within the city as a case study. Gathering the different understandings from the different elite actors that work within it provides the

opportunity to contrast and compare the thinking of different personnel working together within the city, and thus deliver a multi-faceted understanding of that place. An advantage of this approach is that one will necessarily take a multi-agent, multi-role analysis, built on similarly diverse data within the location.

“A case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context” (Yin, 2003:13). Case studies incorporate distinctive situations of variable interests and can be used in the investigation of current real-life events in context (Gillham, 2000; Yin, 2003). Having made the decision to investigate the understanding of elite actors within case study cities, the places within which data is gathered, is therefore a critical next step in developing the method for the research. Too small a set of contexts may result in a narrow base of data with high validity for that context, and demonstrably very limited validity for other contexts. The criticism of the approach is that single-point events make it difficult to cross-check information. Concern centres around the ability to make generalisations from single-point events (Denscombe, 1998:36). As Bevir and Rhodes (2002) note, several competing constructions are neither right nor wrong. Many ideas are widely shared and debated, and any agreement on “which account is more accurate, comprehensive and open will be provisional” (Denscombe, 1998:148). However, Jacobs herself focused upon one case study, New York City, and covered a wide range of theoretical urban planning issues (Jacobs, 1961). The themes she identified determined further empirical inquiries in other locales and contributed to urban planning theory (Yin, 2003). It is this thematic approach that is considered particularly helpful to establishing a narrative understanding. Indeed, capturing uniqueness in case studies “is often held to require a narrative approach” (Gomm et al., 2000:3).

There is a limit to the number of sites that can reasonably be investigated within the limits of a doctoral thesis. Ultimately, it was decided to embark initially on three studies with some common shared issues — identified from prior literature and knowledge of the sites — and with some marked differences too. The intention was to expand to a further site if time permitted, although this was expected to be unlikely. In practice, the execution of the data gathering from

these three sets of data exhausted the time available, and no further sites could be investigated.

“All organizations and individuals have their common and their unique features. Case study researchers aim to identify such features, to identify or attempt to identify the various interactive processes at work, to show how they affect the implementation of systems and influence the way an organization functions.” (Bell, 2004:10)

Identifying these processes may be difficult with large-scale approaches such as surveying. Introducing the localities gives the background of their historical development. This aids analysis, as it becomes more powerful when the case study model is set in the appropriate historical framework (Booth and Boyle, 1993). Case studies “illuminate the general by looking at the particular” (Denscombe, 1998:30), but may be subjected to criticism for the credibility of the generalisations that are made. To tackle credibility, the criteria for selection of case studies is important. It requires either large-scale survey research or selecting on the basis of “particular characteristics” (Denscombe, 2010:182). Our three representative case studies are based on the latter.

4.3.2 Choosing the case studies

The case studies chosen must be suitable for the topic of the research, and this involves a number of practical and non-practical considerations. Each of the three chosen candidates individually represents a “typical instance” (Denscombe, 1998:34) of post-industrial waterfront regeneration.

Regular access through travel (that is to interview) was a primary practical consideration. Belfast was, therefore, one example of a city that was discounted because of the demands of regular travel for what may only be one interview in a day. Similarly, though overseas cities could, in principle, be studied these were also impractical for the reasons of travel costs both in time and money. This therefore circumscribed the choice of cities to the UK. To build a meaningful web of context, the chosen cities had to demonstrate some similarities that would allow a foundation for comparison. This provides a consistent legislative and governmental context across the case studies. London Docklands was considered as a case study site but rejected due to the contrast it posed as a key world city and central role in UK finance and

government. It was therefore decided to retain the focus on the three examples chosen as non-capital or 'second cities', and to consider the influence of leading examples in the field upon them. With the decline in manufacturing — leading to unemployment and dereliction in the latter part of the twentieth century — all three case study localities are identified with previously busy industrial waterfronts. The determining factors in the choice of case studies are their unique local attributes and the similarities that can be alluded to in their development and experience. Historically, Glasgow and Liverpool have similar backgrounds; primarily their geographic locations facilitated them becoming two of the most prosperous ports of the British Empire. Similar patterns of decline were felt in these two cities, while the third case study NewcastleGateshead echoes this through its decline in shipbuilding.

A case-comparison approach illustrates the waterfront experience in these three areas and the political, economic, and social contexts in which they occurred. All three have pursued cultural approaches to regeneration of their waterfronts and this redevelopment activity, placed in the context of global re-modelling, has been influenced by unique local factors. These take account of the pursuit of cultural strategies that include architectural, marketing, and branding solutions to regeneration. The three case studies have continued to develop a perceived reliance upon culture to differentiate their places, utilising it in regeneration solutions and in their attempts to retain uniqueness.

4.4 Research design and analysis

Having developed and identified the case studies that the research would explore, the next step in the research design is to identify the analytical approach. Within this section, we will also discuss the selection of individuals within the case study cities.

4.4.1 Research design

Berg's notion that qualitative data "cannot be analyzed by running computer programs" (Berg, 2009:3) is relevant to the interpretive approach being utilised in this research. It is not assumed that there are predetermined social facts which can be collected and analysed, but rather that the social world exists in a

state of fluid interaction, and this has to be interpreted to be at least partially understood. The analysis addressing the aims of the thesis is not to make grand claims, as “grandiose claims about originality, scope or applicability to social problems are all hostages to fortune” (Silverman, 2005:49). Instead, the thesis seeks to address the research aims as a narrative understanding of the views of the research participants, and therefore a predominantly qualitative approach is essential.

A qualitative interview technique was adopted in this narrative interpretation, its particular relevance here is to address the many complex partnerships that cultural regeneration spans. “Researchers using qualitative techniques examine how people learn about and make sense of themselves and others” (Berg, 2009:8). To benefit from differing insights of this sense, semi-structured questioning needed to allow flexibility in terms of the types of questions asked. Flexibility is a key attribute of qualitative methods, as it allows the researcher freedom to define the parameters of the research, rather than constraining them with “a limited number of predetermined response categories” (Patton, 1990:13). As discussed, it is believed that a focus upon statistical evidence would limit the data gathered and the researcher’s ability to analyse the cultural and behavioural aspects at the very heart of a process aimed at garnering a narrative form of explanation. It is understood that qualitative and quantitative approaches are not distinct (Dabbs, 1982). Qualitative research “refers to the meanings, concepts, definitions, characteristics, metaphors, symbols, and descriptions of things” (Berg, 2009:2), and as such it specifically lends itself to interpreting elite narratives.

4.4.2 Elite Interviewing

The qualitative interview allows the researcher to uncover rich detailed quantities of data with which to address the research questions. However, there was potentially a problem with interviewing. The researcher may, through personal experiences and perceptions, have entered the field with preconceptions. Interviews are an invaluable tool used widely by researchers because of their many benefits. For many research projects they answer the ‘why’ rather than the ‘how many’ questions (Burton, 2000). The semi-structured interview approach grants the interviewees the ability to expand beyond the

parameters of the questions and raise issues of note; this may become important in the research.

The research population engaged in cultural regeneration and waterfronts is vast. Interest in the formulaic nature of cultural regeneration concerns the nature, planning, and execution of such schemes. This involves not only elite decisions-makers, but also communities, interest groups, and local businesses. To investigate such a wide-ranging number of participants involved in the decision-making and strategic activities would be too far ranging for the nuanced interpretive narrative planned. Although communities are significant in the role of culture, and indeed regeneration, the aim is to capture the policy context, not to make an evaluation of community engagement and participation. The engagement of local businesses and interest groups would require a more survey-based approach, as there are a large number of groups who would be considered important to each of the three areas. Exploring the nature of formulaic solutions requires a conceptual and theoretical underpinning to interpret understandings of place and distinctiveness and the processes that are ongoing. A focus on policy transfer, a global-to-local process, identifies a number of key categories of engaged actors. Dolowitz and Marsh (1996) identify these actors as elected officials, bureaucrats and (or) civil servants, policy entrepreneurs and experts, and supra-national government and nongovernmental institutions and consultants (Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996). A list of the identified and interviewed organisations is in Appendix B. To maintain confidentiality, the job titles of the elite actors are omitted, as their specific and unique roles would easily identify them. For the purposes of data analysis, these actors have been categorised into the following job roles:

- regional arts administrator;
- regional civil servant;
- local civil servant;
- local politician;
- academic;
- national environmental, arts, or architectural organisation.

The decision to focus on elite decision makers directly reflects the aim of capturing a narrative form of explanation. Thus, an empirical sample has been created for each focal area through identifying the principal organisations and actors involved in making decisions. The basis for adopting this approach was a scoping study undertaken in one of the key areas. This investigative placement identified that there are varied structures and contexts within the case studies, and that key decision makers were identified as integral to the variety and differences between places. Interviewing these elite decision makers aims to glean insight into two aspects. These are first the professional individual's concept of place (and what it means to them), and second the concept of cultural regeneration (on the waterfront) and what they are doing with it. Flexibility was allowed in the study to permit rich detail to emerge. Using semi-structured interviews based on themed questioning enabled flexibility in following up interesting lines of inquiry that emerged, although there remained a continued focus on the relevant research issues. Retaining this consistency in focus allows comparisons to be made across the case study areas and an investigation into whether there is consensus within the professional elite.

“It is clear that the term elite can mean many things in different contexts” (Harvey, 2011:433). The approach chosen sees elites “as those exercising the major share of authority, or control within society, organisations and institutions” (Desmond, 2004:264). Hence, status is conferred from the control of decision-making. Economic, business interests, and lead community representatives were not specifically identified to represent elite actors for each case study. The basis for this decision is the focus upon those actors placed to give insight “based on the opinions of those most knowledgeable and directly involved in their inception, development, implementation, and promotion” (Grodach and Loukaitos-Sideris, 2007:356). The elite actors chosen are those who occupy a senior position within the organisations and have significant decision-making influence — a wider focus on economic or business interests may have diluted the main policy focus sought here. Business and economic stakeholders clearly do have an influence on policy: however, they are not specifically responsible for operationalising the policy. An aim for the thesis is the interpretation of key regeneration decision makers when operationalising policies and their mediation and re-interpretation of non-local pressures and global policy drivers.

Individual interviews were undertaken, as focus groups were considered impractical for the specialised elite-interviewing approach used by Dexter (Dexter, 1970). One simple but significant reason is that it would be difficult to bring a group of elites together at any one time due to their busy schedules. Focus groups can produce a wealth of data from debate and discussion. As Dexter intimates, the interview allows the elite to be focused upon, to feel special, and to expound on a topic upon which they believe they are expert. Group situations would detract from any particular member feeling that they were the centre of attention. Individuals may well be reluctant to reveal what they consider sensitive or damaging information in front of their peers. Therefore, it was felt that focus groups would not be a sound approach; instead, confidential interviews allowed the researcher to remain in control of the process yet allow participants to speak freely. Dexter saw a strategic advantage in allowing the interviewee to take the conversation in the direction they wanted, as the interviewer may be uncertain about what was an important question or area of inquiry, and there would be an element of 'education' passed from interviewee to interviewer (Dexter, 2006). The decision to focus the data collection on forty-seven in-depth interviews allowed for the collection of rich empirical data as the primary source to capture the narratives of elites.

Qualitative research "seeks answers to questions by examining various social settings and the individuals who inhabit these settings" (Berg, 2009:8). From research ideas and literature reviews a set of semi-structured questions was prepared in advance (see Appendix C). A number of questions were revised for interviewing academic participants in each case study. Similar themes common to the three case studies were used in posing these questions. These themes produce the detailed narrative outcomes, as data from each case can be compared and contrasted. Prepared questions followed the advice of Leech who states they should start with the 'Grand Tour' (Leech, 2002) where the respondent is asked 'can you describe a typical day in your office?' or a 'typical approach to creating a strategy?'. It is then suggested that open-example questions, more specific than the grand tour, can take the interview forward — postulating an idea for the interviewee and asking them to discuss it can draw on significant research themes. It is this semi-structured open-ended questioning that elicits detailed responses from participants, and responses are

treated as actively constructed narratives (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995; Silverman, 2005). The final question asked gave the participants the opportunity to expand upon any aspect or to introduce something new to the discussion. It was: “Is there anything you would like to tell me about which I haven’t thought to ask you?”.

4.4.3 Reliability in findings

Reliability can in essence be reduced to two basic concerns: are the data valid and are the methods reliable.

Are the data valid?	Have the right questions been asked?
	Are the data precise and detailed enough?
	Have honest answers been given?
	Were those observed behaving normally?
Are the methods reliable?	Did the methods of data collection affect the collection of data?
	Were the methods applied neutrally?
	Were the methods applied consistently?

(Denscombe, 2002:98)

The addition of secondary sources to the methodology seeks to improve the quality and accuracy of the findings. A positivist approach that denotes triangulation will uncover one truth was rejected in favour of taking into consideration documents from secondary sources and retaining a focus on extensive qualitative data. These primary and supplementary secondary sources are used to collect extensive and detailed data for each case study. Measuring phenomena from multiple positions, it is thought, will likely shed new and different light on the research (Mason, 1996); and so documents pertaining to the research themes are integrated to support this narrative. The methods adopted are discussed further in the next section.

4.5 Conducting the research

The research conducted from the methodological angle proposed uses qualitative questioning as the means of primary data collection. The central tenets of the semi-structured interview questions are based upon the research themes identified in Section 4.1. Undertaking semi-structured interviews using this guide focused on addressing these central themes, thus ensuring that these

were covered rather than over emphasising the specific wording of the questions being asked (Mason, 1996). This focus aimed for a 'better quality of interview', rather than being constrained or over emphasising a rigid set of questions (Mason, 1996:74), as it allows the participant to speak freely. Determining the individuals selected for interview, Bogdan and Taylor (1975) stress that the willingness of participants to verbalise their experiences and feelings is paramount in selection (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975). A focus on 10 key decision makers within the case study areas will generate qualitative data from in-depth interviews to depict the elite perspective of place and its subsequent role in decision-making for cultural regeneration of the waterfronts.

The variety and range of organisations and individuals involved in cultural regeneration necessitated selection of those chosen for interview. A combination of willingness and participants who actively covered this range ensured that different perspectives would be obtained. Furthermore, the scoping study conducted enabled a purposive sample to be produced. Such a sample relies upon researchers' "special knowledge or expertise about some group to select subjects who represent this population" (Berg, 2009:50). One limitation of this approach is the ability to make wide generalisations, something which is not a focus for this thesis. The criteria below were established to assist in the selection of candidates:

- senior role in their organisation;
- specific role in culture and (or) regeneration;
- currently located and working within a case study city.

NewcastleGateshead was the case study locale in which the first interviews took place. This was due to their availability and willingness to participate. The overwhelming majority contacted to give interviews consented. It is believed that the success in gaining cooperation could be attributed to the salience of the research in tapping into the candidates' concerns and interests about the future of cultural regeneration and their waterfronts. Four of those identified declined the request for an interview themselves but they offered a person they deemed as suitable to replace them. This was disheartening but not thought to be

compromising to the rich detail that could be gained from the interview. It may be argued these non-responses are still better than a survey, as there is an advantage that those put forward typically know more about the characteristics and attitudes of the non-respondents (Goldstein, 2002).

Initial contact should be, and was, made through letters sent in advance on official stationery (Goldstein, 2002). This invitation to participate was a polite request for their engagement, and set the ethical parameters of the study. Despite their time commitments, candidates were able to participate face-to-face and invited the researcher to their locale to conduct the interview. Participants were asked to choose a convenient location for the interview and it was felt that this was advantageous, first in gaining an interview, and second, that the candidates were in a familiar, relaxed and comfortable environment. The interviews were enjoyable due to the relaxed nature of the candidates and their candid willingness to participate. Interviews were digitally recorded with the consent of the participants and transcribed for completeness. One interviewee declined to be recorded and a verbatim translation of the discussion was not possible; however, extensive notes were taken and short quotes taken were discussed and agreed at the time. Only one interview was not conducted in person. This telephone interview was agreed at the request of the participant. Outside influences and external factors can influence interview situations and it is hoped that this was minimised by allowing participants to choose the interview location and time.

The scoping study identified that it would be particularly easy to identify comparable participants for each case study locale. A significant difference between elite interviewing and survey interviewing is that the elite “population cannot be satisfactorily randomized or stratified in advance; and different interviewees make quite different and unequal contributions to the study” (Dexter, 2006:40). The choice of interviewees by organisation was made with an emphasis on their role in the cultural regeneration of their local case studies. While in conversation with participants, several additional names were mentioned as contacts. It was felt that this approach allowed the researcher to be confident in their identification of key players, as often the names mentioned triangulated with those already identified, as well as several participants. The

research allowed flexibility to enable specific participants to be included in the sample selection following the suggestion of a participant; however, this was controlled along the thematic lines of the thesis inquiry to ensure it was tailored to the needs of the research. This recognises that research in the field is a discovery. Should a limit of only five interviews per case study have been prescribed, then the potential development of a large data set of 47 interviews would not have been possible.

4.5.1 Data analysis

Following the interview, transcripts were completed as soon as possible (an example transcription can be found on Appendix D). The digital recording was retained to ensure that it was there to refresh the researcher's memory if needed. Notes and observations from each interview were also produced immediately; these highlighted the elements that would not be gleaned directly from the transcript, specifically the key impressions of the researcher of the discussion, any areas to follow up, and any difficulties that arose. These notes served to add rich detail to the analysis process, as they provided a continuous observation of the process as it was undertaken.

“Qualitative data need to be *reduced* and *transformed* in order to make them more readily accessible, understandable, and to draw out various themes and patterns” (Berg, 2009:54). This data reduction, as Berg describes, acknowledges the vast amount of data that extensive in-depth interviews can produce. Raw data transcribed from recording must be analysed and therefore transformed through the research process to enable the written project to be produced. Research themes for the homogenisation and distinctiveness agendas were identified and refined through the research process (Section 4.1), and relevant explanations highlighted through the identification of relevant and direct quotations.

4.5.2 Secondary sources and scoping study

To emphasise the robustness of the methodology, and the quality of its findings, it was decided that the first element in conducting the research was to undertake a scoping study in-situ of a cultural sector of a local authority

(Appendix F). A key player in cultural regeneration for the scoping study initiated the means of determining the interviewees for each case study area. The scoping study involved an assessment of the cultural strategy developed by the local authority to aid in the understanding of how it is interpreted and how its impacts could be evaluated more robustly. The study necessitated working with key elites within the council specifically involved in the cultural field, and necessitated a consideration of the literature regarding the evaluation of cultural approaches.

The decision to undertake a scoping study was instructive in the discovery of an appropriate research design for this thesis. It was clear that the understandings of elite contacts differed widely, and that they had stories they wished to have told. The overall decisions to use a mixed methodology in determining data collection and analysis with a scoping study of observation, interviews, and secondary sources arose from a realisation that the epistemological and theoretical divide between quantitative and qualitative data collection is not as wide and rigid as many suggest. For this thesis, once the combination of methods was decided, a decision was needed on how to conduct the research and, as previously discussed, this approach was chosen to allow the patterns and conclusions to emerge from the data. It was therefore important not to enter the research field with prior conceptions as to the outcomes of the investigation of the different themes that the literature survey identified.

The overall data analysis process and its features aim to provide an extensive analysis to contrast the three localities in a nuanced way based on the issue of distinctiveness. Research themes are used to identify first the questions for interview, and to provide an analytical structure after the interviews. The themes therefore act as a prism through which we view information. Analysis of the transcripts of the interviews considers their content. The use of content analysis allows for the determination of categories, exemplars, and for a consistency of the picture indicated in the narrative. Many direct quotes are identified to show the depth and diversity of opinion expressed within the themes. The effects or outcomes are examined by describing what happened subsequent to the delivery of the initiative. They recognise the multiple contexts in which initiatives

were delivered and the potential multiple realities arising from the social construction of meanings which rely on a person's recall of events.

Secondary sources support the undertaking to examine cross-policy transfer and comparison examples. Specific focus on key policy transfer examples requires analysis of both of these sources and key policy and strategy documents for all the case studies. This interpretation aids triangulation in the assessment of how local elites define and interpret cultural regeneration. As noted in Chapter 2, international models and overseas processes have significantly impacted on regeneration activity in the United Kingdom. The key American example of Baltimore has been well researched and many items of secondary data available. "The US experience and British urban policy developments during the 1980s did provide the framework for dockland revival across the country" (DoE, 1988:436). Substantive empirical observation in previous case studies has shown that waterfronts are open systems and can cast light upon connections with external influences that have shaped their history, form and regeneration. These previous contemporary findings can be used to set in place an historical context for the case studies in question. Cross-fertilising research (Brewer and Hunter, 2006) including 'non-reactive' secondary data is used in the next chapter to provide portraits of the three localities under investigation.

The case studies are depicted using secondary sources, portraying their development and a background of their historical significance. The process of reviewing the secondary sources established the thematic enquiry to structure the interviews. This cycle of review and research, form the basis for the qualitative interview approach. Comparative analysis of the themes identified from secondary sources is informed by a continued reflection on the major theories. These theories and themes enabled the creation of a set of semi-structured interviews. Primary interview data is thus used to expand upon and add greater depth to the body of existing knowledge and theory through the contrasting perceptions, perspectives, and nuances between the key concepts. To enable this comparison the interviews for each area "must be of a reasonable size and must be representative of the larger body" (Lilleker, 2003:208). This representative data is itself reinforced by secondary sources.

As with all research, ethical considerations must be addressed to ensure compliance with codes of practice (this can be found in Appendix E).

4.6 Summary

This chapter has established the interpretivist approach of the thesis research, and justified the decision to conduct a qualitative investigation of three case studies. The choice of the localities and key elite actors were both explained in detail. In addition, the role of secondary sources as a robust basis for constructing a thematic framework for the narrative was described.

The role of culture in regeneration is the central theme of this thesis. The origins of the cultural approaches for each case study locality may be found in the United States and, more recently, Europe. However, these archetypes have been re-interpreted locally, and this process will be examined in the case study narrative. We begin with an introduction to the localities that will lead into the data chapters to follow.

Chapter 5

Characterising the localities

5. Introduction

It has been taken for granted that costly waterfront locations equate to successful regeneration: “no longer required to serve as working ports or industrial sewers, waterfronts have become places of urban transformation with potential to attract investment and reverse patterns of decline” (Dovey, 2005:9). This chapter explores the three localities of Liverpool, NewcastleGateshead, and Glasgow, and the transformation that their post-industrial waterfronts have undergone. These case studies have been chosen for the similarities in their cultural approaches, and for the continuing urban problems of each place.

“The problem for many cities in the industrialised West is that following the severe economic restructuring and associated social upheaval of the 1970s and 1980s, they acquired negative images: capital flight, unemployment, disorder and crime. In the UK, for instance, many northern cities such as Liverpool, Sheffield, Manchester, Newcastle and Glasgow were symbolised as places of decline, dereliction and degradations which undermine their appeal to investors.” (Boland, 2008:356)

These core cities all suffer deep deprivation (Centre for Cities, 2009). Despite continued regeneration efforts, all three continue to experience urban problems. The challenges faced are shared ones: climate change, inequality, and economic restructuring. This ongoing similarity leads us to a consideration of the waterfront developments, cultural regeneration efforts, and place marketing that have been undertaken in each locality. Beginning with an initial historical contextualisation, the three localities each illustrate the particular themes that are seen as important to the understanding of the experiences of cultural regeneration in the United Kingdom. Whatever the distinctive features of cultural regeneration in the different case studies, there are also a number of clear similarities in their strategic approaches to regeneration. These include flagship buildings, garden festivals, and ‘European Capital of Culture’ (ECoC) bids.

Descriptions of the common values and distinct contrasts among the three chosen waterfronts are offered to explain why these ones were chosen. The

portraits of each case study — Liverpool (Section 5.1), NewcastleGateshead (Section 5.2), and Glasgow (Section 5.3) — outline their particular uniqueness as a locality and identify the commonalities in contemporary cultural regeneration approaches they are undertaking. These common approaches are explored in Section 5.4. The three case study localities are characterised using Byrne’s questions on the post-industrial city (Byrne, 2001:45-46). First, there is the question of what is the nature of the localities considered as both geographical locations and social systems. Each locality is introduced and a description is given of how the place got to ‘now’ from ‘its past’. This is a dynamic picture of its current and past history. Byrne further questions (on how, and why, this place has become what it is) are undertaken in the narrative data chapters through a specific focus on cultural regeneration practices.

Each case study is summarised in a table that outlines a snapshot portrait of each of the three localities. This is supported with aerial shots of the waterfront of each area, accompanied by photographs of four key symbols of cultural regeneration for each area. An accompanying narrative outlines and identifies the similarities in approaches taken within the three places.

“The last fifty years have seen a number of sharp downturns in UK employment with the falls between 1979 and 1983 (8.9%) and 1990 and 1993 (5.6%) being particularly severe” (DCLG, 2009:65). Figure 5 demonstrates this decline and the rising levels of unemployment into the millennium. As each case study area entered the new millennium all three areas faced high indicators of ‘hidden’ unemployment. In addition to the standard statistics of unemployment, other groups of sick, disabled, and lone parents added to this figure provide a more challenging picture for these places. In 2000, Liverpool’s figure of 14% indicated it was fairing better than Glasgow at 32%, and Newcastle with 21% of working age population on non-work benefits (Bailey et al., 2002).



Figure 5 Employment in the UK (DCLG, 2009:65)

As Bailey et al note, unforeseen changes in the operation of cities make “determining the direction of causality between the attributes of a place and its subsequent performance difficult, if not impossible” (Bailey et al., 2002:136). Figure 5.1 shows that between 1993 and 1998 Glasgow outperformed the other conurbations indicating a stronger performance, however all three case studies continue to be cited as areas of extreme deprivation. Donnison and Middleton find the growth of unemployment “consistently worse than the other cities” in Glasgow (7.51% in 1971 almost doubling to 14.81% in 1981), Liverpool (8.24% in 1971, 16.09% in 1981) and Tyneside (8.05% in 1971, 14.88% in 1981) conurbations 1971-1981 (Donnison and Middleton, 1987).

Newcastle witnessed a shift from manufacturing to service employment, job creation with “a disproportionate amount of poor quality, insecure and low-paid employment. With the accompanying collapse of traditional well-paid skilled manual work” (Cameron, 2003:2368), “an estimated loss of 15,500 manufacturing jobs between 1961-75, leaving only about 20% of employment in manufacturing” (Barke, 2002:20). By the late 1970s, the city’s largest employers were the City Council and the DHSS. For the inner area of Merseyside there were approximately 76,000 manufacturing workers in 1966 falling to 57,000 in 1975. Losses in shipbuilding made up 18% of this manufacturing workforce.

(Lloyd, 1979). The decline of the shipping trade led to over two-thirds of Liverpool’s docks becoming derelict and unemployment around the Port of Liverpool rose to over 60% in the 1980s (Lane, 1987). Employment in dock work experienced huge losses as it fell from 11,500 in 1967 to 5,200 by 1979 (Murden, 2006). Meanwhile, “Glasgow has been an archetypal city of industrial decline” losing 70% of its manufacturing jobs 1971-1998 (Bailey et al., 2002:142), manufacturing employment between 1971 and 1983 started at 34.7% and decreased to 23.7% with a loss of over 77,500 jobs. At the same time, jobs in the service sector in real terms also fell however, the percentage of employment in this sector of industry rose from 64.8% to 75.9% over the same period (Boyle and Hughes, 1991). For Glasgow “growth in service employment has been almost the only significant area of job growth, and the city is highly dependent on public-sector employment” (Kantor, 2000:800).

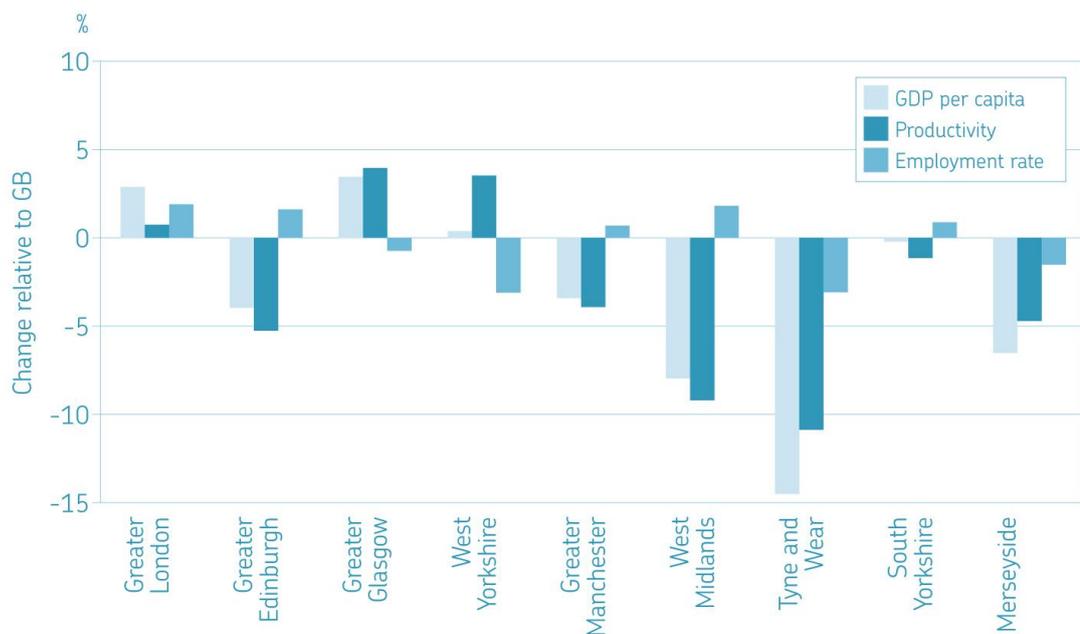


Figure 5.1: Output, productivity and employment rates: change (1993-98) (Bailey et al., 2002:140) (GDP Gross Domestic Product economic performance measure)

Waterfront regeneration

“projects have often acted as a focus for the development of public-private partnerships as part of a broader growth-oriented strategy agreed by local elites to re-image their cities in an increasingly competitive urban

system. They have thus often been seen as symbols of the successful transition to a new form of governance.” (Bassett et al., 2002b:1578-9)

Such large schemes are useful to illuminate the governance structures at work and policy responses in the case study areas. Restructuring in the three case studies since the 1970s has led to these high levels of unemployment.

Creativity has been used as catalyst for regeneration in deindustrialising cities and NewcastleGateshead, Liverpool, and Glasgow are places that have attempted to re-make themselves using culture. The waterfronts of each locality became the location for flagship developments. Referring back to figure 3.2 (Chapter 3) it is suggested that the focus for the redevelopment for Liverpool was a mix of historic and cultural developments, for NewcastleGateshead mainly culture, and Glasgow commercial with culture. In each locality the waterfront had the available space, which was undeveloped, and an opportunity to create new infrastructure mixed into an historic area.

5.1 Liverpool

Liverpool set the tone in the 1980s with a powerful physical symbol of urban renaissance, lead by its cultural flagship regeneration initiative on the city’s docks (Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993; Colquhoun, 1995; Landry et al., 1996). This cultural focus has been credited with the re-establishment of Liverpool as a vibrant place following its post-war decline, and it represents the theme which has become an integral part of its regeneration strategy: flagship regeneration of the river frontage. Historically, Liverpool was a key mercantile and maritime city which experienced severe decline as the demand for its industrial outputs waned (Milne, 2006). Liverpool’s River Mersey leads only to the sea and was the key focus of the international trade upon which Liverpool built its reputation (Rodwell, 2008). The dramatic loss of people from large British cities by the 1970s was particularly significant for Liverpool. “By 1971 inner Liverpool had lost 400,000 people in fifty years (a decline of 57 per cent)” (Donnison and Middleton, 1987:7). The rise in service sector employment, and decline in skilled manufacturing roles between the 1970s and 1980s “is probably related to the collapse of the docks” in Liverpool (ibid. p10). Concern centred around highly skilled young people moving away from cities, however, urban

regeneration has been credited with reversing this trend as the central population of Liverpool increased fourfold 1990-2005 (Urban Task Force, 2005).

The 1980s was a turbulent political time for Liverpool. At the beginning of the decade the city administration was dominated by the Militant Labour movement. The Militant administration is criticised for damaging the relationship of the city council with the cultural sector of the city (Ben-Tovim, 2003). This legacy of lack of interest in cultural policy suggests policymakers failed to grasp the potential of culture, a neglect which left Liverpool in the 'dark ages' (Evans, 1996). Through the intervention of central government, this local Militant power base was supplanted.

“The lack of central government confidence in the capacity of Liverpool City Council to tackle the scale of problems which it faced during the early 1980s, particularly those of dereliction and building vacancy in both the inner area and waterfront, was revealed in the government’s decision to override the Council’s role through the introduction of the Merseyside Development Corporation (MDC).” (Connelly, 2007:94)

After the race riots of 1981 (Rex, 1982), the Merseyside Development Corporation instigated the flagship regeneration project of the Albert Dock, which “offers a powerful illustration of Liverpool’s renaissance as a post-industrial city and a key node in the intensification of consumption (particularly by tourists)” (Connelly, 2007:95). “What the ‘riots’ also signalled was that the price of Britain’s economic and social decline had finally to be met” (Bunyan, 1981:153). The MDC set about regenerating Liverpool to tackle the problems it was experiencing, including “a highly visible physical regeneration” on the derelict waterfront prompted by the riots (Lorente, 1996:47). Both the City and County councils had previously envisaged regeneration of the derelict docks, however, financial constraints and the Conservative Government focus on market-oriented approaches hindered their plans. The MDC undertook the development seeing ‘the most important action to restore water to the docks’ to improve the physical environment, creating an attractive environment that recognised the historic importance of the Albert Dock (Murden, 2006). In figure 3.2 (Chapter 3) this approach seeks to restore the environmental attractiveness for visitors while re-using the historic buildings; a strategy utilising the American examples of “famous urban renewal developments based on leisure events like

festivals, aquariums and museums” (Lorente, 1996:48). Figure 5.2 demonstrates the derelict ‘unattractive’ view the Albert Dock posed before regeneration efforts. Notably, the Merseyside Task Force, established 1981, encouraged a regeneration strategy with greater focus on tourism and leisure. The Task Force was only intended to be in existence for one year, however it remained until 1993, when it was recast into the Government Office for Merseyside (Couch, 2003). They charged the MDC with organising Liverpool’s 1984 International Garden Festival (Murden, 2006). This, followed by the Albert Dock regeneration and the opening of the Tate Liverpool in 1988, Mudern explains this signified a new approach, “having stumbled upon a successful formula for regeneration the MDC was then able to make impressive progress” (ibid. p446). In a “marriage of public sector arts provision with private commercial, tourist, office and flat developments” (Myerscough, 1991:135), Evans notes that the “MDC only resorted to a tourism/arts/leisure led strategy for reviving the waterfront when it became obvious that marketing the waterfront sites for mixed commercial and industrial purposes was a non-starter” (Evans, 1996:10).



Figure 5.2 The Albert Dock prior to water infill, c1980s

The Mersey Basin Campaign was launched in 1985 to clean up the waterways. This, together with the dock development, initiated a determination to

regenerate the waterfront of Liverpool city. The Mersey Image Campaign (MIC) set up in 1990 aimed to assist in the economic regeneration of the area, and increase tourism with a slogan 'more than you ever imagined' (Madsen, 1992). Through this advertising

“a link is also made to the good past, i.e. the great trading days of Liverpool. The Merseyside Maritime Museum is in many ways a big celebration of this past. The visual symbols of Liverpool, like the Albert Dock and Pier Head, also creates links with the good past.” (Madsen, 1992:636)

Liverpool published its first strategy document *An Arts and Cultural Industries Strategy for Liverpool 1987*, prior to this, “the story of cultural policy and urban regeneration in Liverpool is essentially one of missed opportunities” (Parkinson and Bianchini, 1993:155). However, Liverpool had the potential to be ahead of the game, as “one of the earliest policy documents to use the term ‘regeneration’ was a report prepared for Merseyside County Council in 1975” (Couch et al., 2011:3). Strategies were hindered by what Parkinson describes as inertia for the City Council, a lack of leadership and “the unwillingness to take the difficult decisions necessary to provide reduced services for a declining population, left an extraordinarily difficult legacy for any party running the city in the mid-1980s” (Parkinson, 1985:24). The 1987 strategy’s overriding aim was to increase the contribution of culture to the economic well-being of the city, through the city’s image, tourism appeal, and development of a common culture (ibid.). The strategy culminated in the flagship Tate Liverpool, opened in 1988 to become the ‘Tate in the North’ as a home for modern art in the North of England. Strategically, Liverpool was also able to utilise a cultural legacy that was preserved due to economic weakness of the 1970s and 1980s, as other cities were able to afford regeneration plans that demolished parts of their built cultural environment. As a result, Liverpool retains a rich cultural legacy of much of its Victorian and Georgian architecture along with art and antiquities bestowed by maritime and commercial merchants (Murden, 2006).

“Liverpool became notorious in some circles for its appetite for regeneration funds” (Jones and Wilks-Heeg, 2004:344). However, such an approach is questioned, “in Merseyside, for instance, which has had every new scheme, economic decline has not even been halted, let alone reversed” (Goodwin,

1989:163). Liverpool has been criticised for lacking joined-up implementation of its too numerous strategies (Ben-Tovim, 2003), which has led to questioning of whether this can create a single partnership and vision for the city in the twenty-first century. Merseyside's twice designation as an objective one for funds under the EU Structural Fund programme¹ (1993-1999 and 2000-2006) represents part of a successive stream of policy enactments to tackle urban problems in the city. "Under the Liberal Democrats since 1998, the city has adopted a style of urban entrepreneurialism, partnership governance and civic boosterism, anathema to the Militant politics of the 1980s" (Belchem, 2006:53-4). Liverpool Vision was the first Urban Regeneration Company created under New Labour and its initiatives ranged from a new fourth 'grace' to a vast new retail scheme for the city centre (Liverpool One), latterly, Liverpool Vision has changed its status to a City Development company. The proposed fourth grace, termed the Cloud, was designed for the waterfront as a 'potent symbol of regeneration' (Lupton, 2004). The Cloud was never constructed, its planning was ultimately rejected, and the associated funding was re-routed to a convention centre. This waterfront convention centre became one of the symbols of regeneration during the ECoC as it opened in 2008. Liverpool established a Culture Company as the delivery vehicle for the ECoC. The company is a service run from within the local council and it introduced the Liverpool08 brand, which aimed to stamp the city as a festival with global recognition (Liverpool Culture Company, 2005; 2009). Liverpool One is considered an example of the City Council's commitment in its vision for Liverpool to regain its competitive position, in particular as a major retail centre (Parker and Garnell, 2006).

The "rising profile of Liverpool, this time as a place of consumption rather than of production" (Kokosalakis et al., 2006:392) brought the sixth waterfront expo that took place in 2008 with its theme of 'connecting people with the waterfront'. Consumption of Liverpool's cultural offering has seen Liverpool, as in all three case studies, become a destination for tourists.

"With the local tourist industry supported and promoted by organizations such as Mersey Partnership and backed by finance from the Objective One budget, by 2005 exploitation of its cultural legacy had seen

¹ European Union Structural funds are allocated to helping "areas lagging behind in their development" http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/objective1/index_en.htm

Liverpool become ‘a premier city break destination’.” (Belchem, 2006:480)

The actions being undertaken in Liverpool are considered to be linked to its uniqueness and sense of civic pride (Parker and Garnell, 2006). This pride is also evident in the reputation of ‘Scousers’ for their unique accent and sense of humour. “The distinctive Scouse wit is conveyed through normal social interactions with people from the city (e.g. work, holidays and visits to Liverpool) and through the media, comedians and writers” (Boland, 2008:358). History has produced a unique character in Liverpool, “funny, resilient, resourceful, warm, exuberant, optimistic” (Murden, 2006:395). Table 5 summarises the Liverpool portrait.

Table 5: A snapshot profile of Liverpool

Approach	Liverpool
Pattern and Scale of economic change (decline)	Major maritime port (mercantile and slave trade).
Nature of local elite	One of first UDC 1981. ‘Militant Tendency’ 1980s prioritised working class over business.
Historical development patterns	Adoption of regeneration strategy placing cultural industries, development of cultural infrastructure and delivery of culture strategy at the centre. Mersey River. Grade 1 listed buildings of Albert Dock. Mersey Basin Campaign.
Cultural festivals	1984 Garden festival. ECoC 2008
Awards	Tate Gallery Liverpool RIBA National Award 1990. Mersey waterfront partnership award BURA 2010.
Waterfront re-use	Final Albert Dock closure 1970s with rejuvenation programme instigated 1980s. A new Museum of Liverpool to open 2011.
Iconic structures/Public art	Tate Liverpool. Museum of Liverpool Life. Maritime Museum. Three Graces World Heritage site. Antony Gormley’s iron men Mersey Waterfront 2005.
Brand/Promotion	‘The World in One City’ was coined for the European ECoC in 2008. Liverpool08 was used for the ECoC brand.

Historic buildings, such as the Liver Building, are a potent symbol of an emotional link between people and place, which are a tangible link with the Liverpool of history and are utilised in place-marketing and place-themes. This can be found in recent attempts to re-invent Liverpool under the banner of the ‘World in One City’. Ward (1998) acknowledges place marketing as a long and established activity in Liverpool and Glasgow, as the cities lobbied unsuccessfully in the twentieth century to central government for funding for “competitive place advertising” (Ward, 1998:153). Madsen criticised Liverpool’s

marketing in the 1990s for promoting a positive image that was not founded on physical resources (Madsen, 1992). Recent branding has been dominated by the Capital of Culture award.

The year 2004 saw the waterfront declared a UNESCO world heritage site, reflecting Liverpool's historic prosperity in trade as a maritime mercantile city (based on tobacco, sugar, and the slave trade). UNESCO inscribed Liverpool Maritime Mercantile City as a cultural world heritage site recognising its leading role in international trade in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The historic site consists of six areas of the city, Pier Head, Albert Dock, Stanley Dock, Castle Street, William Brown Street, and Lower Duke Street, associated with the global influence of the maritime and mercantile trade as outstanding value to the global community. The buildings of Pier Head affectionately named the three graces (Royal Liver, Cunard, and Port of Liverpool Buildings) are historic iconic emblems of Liverpool's waterfront.

“As is typical of cities with global articulations, the desire to mark Liverpool's standing in the world economy came to be reflected in the built environment, most evidently in the redevelopment of the pier head. In the early twentieth century the Liverpool waterfront was thus transformed through the completion of new headquarters for three of Liverpool's principal commercial concerns.” (Wilks-Heeg, 2003:42)

Liverpool's status in the world economy, and as a destination city, is part of a long legacy for the city. Despite all recent attempts at re-branding there is a continual acknowledgement of the past mercantile trade. ‘The World in One City’ was coined by the Liverpool city fathers in their bid to become European Capital of Culture in 2008, to represent Liverpool's “sense of many places” (Liverpool Culture Company, 2002:301). “Sydney, New York, Toronto, Liverpool...” was the opening line from the Mersey waterfront website prior to the ECoC year, and it is strikingly similar to Sassen's “Global City, New York, London, Tokyo” (Sassen, 2001).

Liverpool looks to both its past and its future in the cultural offering made on its waterfront. The waterfront docks now remain marginal to the economy of Liverpool, but central to determining the physical image of the city, and as shorthand images the city is identified by worldwide (Couch, 2003). Figure 5.3

depicts four iconic structures of this offering and locates them on the waterfront of the large river Mersey.

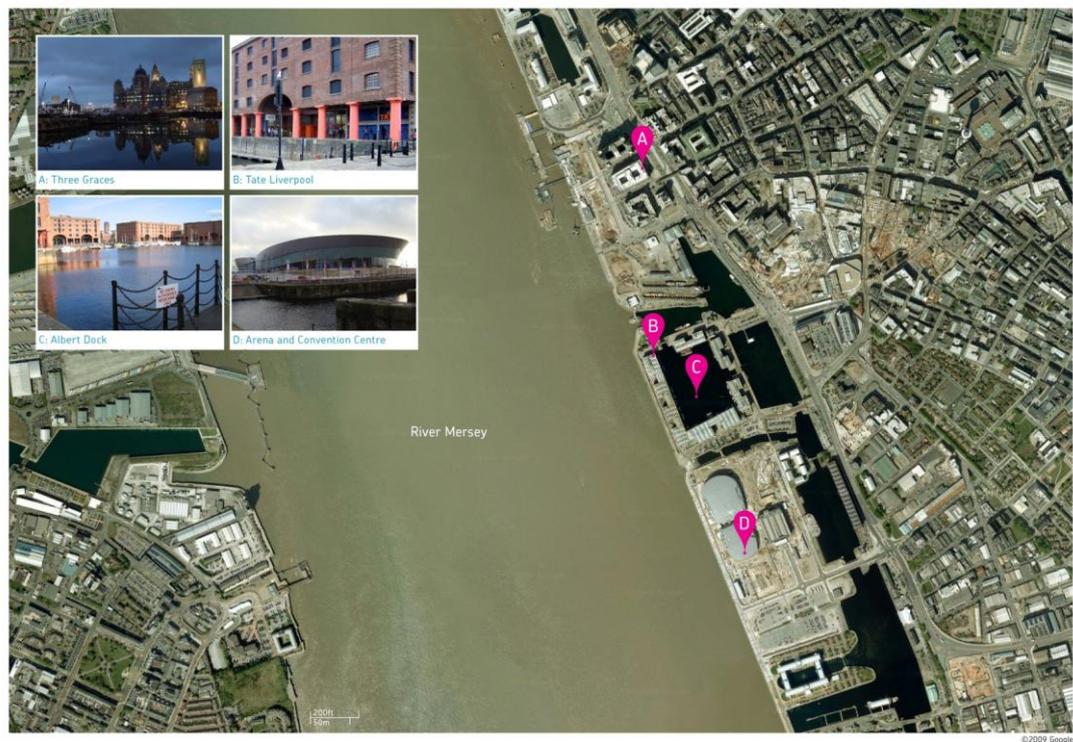


Figure 5.3: Liverpool waterfront (satellite image from Google accessed 2011)

We now introduce the case study of NewcastleGateshead and its particular historical lead into a focus of culture for its waterfront, the quayside.

5.2 NewcastleGateshead

Heavy engineering, the abundance of natural resources like coal, and shipbuilding characterised the economic growth of NewcastleGateshead until the 1970s. The phrase, 'Coals to Newcastle' famously identified Newcastle with that stock trade of the area, until this significant industry fell into continued decline. "These industries, especially shipbuilding, became increasingly vulnerable to foreign competition" (Barke, 2002:20). Historically, Newcastle has overshadowed Gateshead in wealth and power; however, more recently the regeneration of the waterfront is linked to the specific developments enacted in Gateshead.

NewcastleGateshead is identified with its river quayside; the quay is an historic edging of the river that allowed ships to moor for the disembarkation of passengers and cargo. The quayside for the centres of both the city of Newcastle and the town of Gateshead no longer serves as a site for transportation of freight or people. Indeed, “the notion of NewcastleGateshead is in itself a construction of the destination-marketing agency Newcastle Gateshead Initiative” (Miles, 2005b:917). However, this linking of a city and a town through a focus on regenerating their joint waterfront has “been a catalyst for revitalising a climate of political collaboration between two rival councils” (ibid.p922). NewcastleGateshead itself is an artificial and unique joining of a town and city. As with both the other case studies, NewcastleGateshead offers an historic and important link within the cultural regeneration debate. The Tyne and Wear Development Corporation was one of five second-generation Urban Development Corporations (UDCs) designated by the United Kingdom government in 1987, with a focus on “the renewal of areas which have potential for growth but which are held back by the legacy of urban decline” (MacPherson, 1993). Its legacy is of importance to the locality itself as are “many of the elements of the post-industrial city to be seen in present-day Newcastle” (Cameron, 2003:2368). The appearance and built environment assets of the present-day quayside owes much to the legacy of the development corporation (Barke, 2002). This heritage has an intrinsic cultural value in helping to form regional and community identity (Ove Arup et al., 2005).

Tyneside has retained a strong local identity largely due to its physical isolation, the “River Tyne is the central feature, giving the conurbation a focus” (Robinson and Hetherington, 1988:189). The decline of shipbuilding on the river affected this feature and subsequent policy response to its redevelopment. “Certainly Tynesiders generally accept their lot in an area dominated by a conservative political machine, which happens to be Labour” (Robinson and Hetherington, 1988:204). Not noted for political radicalism, “the establishment of a new quango, the Tyne and Wear Development Corporation, has the effect of side-stepping local democracy and imposing Whitehall solutions to the area’s problems” (Robinson and Hetherington, 1988:205). One of the TWDC’s first tasks was to redevelop the riverside area but not as “a London Docklands-style property development-led exercise” (Robinson and Hetherington, 1988:207).

The map in figure 5.4 below shows the extent of the area available for development on the Quayside, the majority resting on the Gateshead side, where “disused industrial and warehousing sites, polluted land and water and general dereliction came to dominate the area by the 1970s and 1980s” (Barke, 2002:31). The transformation of this map to the present-day cultural offering can be seen in figure 5.5.



AERIAL MAY 1995

- 1) Yuill scheme
- 2) Multi story car park for East Quayside
- 3) early development at East Quayside
- 4) cleared rope works site
- 5) travellers's site
- 6) BALTIC Centre for Contemporary Art

Figure 5.4 NewcastleGateshead Aerial Map, from a TWDC report, 1995, courtesy of Newcastle Central Library

The quaysides on both sides of the River Tyne have undergone regenerative efforts as these riverfront areas became dominated by disuse and dereliction in the 1970s and 1980s. The initial stimulus for the development of NewcastleGateshead's waterfront (known as its quayside) was the City Challenge government initiative in the early 1990s. City Challenge 'sought to redress' the imbalance of the UDC approach, the latter was criticised for a focus on physical development that ignored local communities (Barke, 2002). Large-

scale development projects were identified for the waterfront with a partnership approach between public, private and other interests. Northern Arts (later Arts Council) *Case for Capital* (1996) document set out the strategy for cultural development identifying the flagship Baltic Centre for Contemporary Art for the waterfront. This strategy signified a commitment to the regeneration of the waterfront, at the time a major site of derelict land. The revitalisation of the Quayside owes much to changes within the city, the changing structure of employment from industry to more services, enhanced leisure expenditure, and the growth of Newcastle's reputation as a 'party city' (Barke, 2002). Changes that have created demand for office, leisure, and cultural facilities on the waterfront. "Northern Arts was able to make new policy for the 1990s that maintained the focus on the availability of the arts "live and locally" and the critical importance of the individual artist" (Bailey et al., 2004:54). It set out to achieve new capital facilities for the arts as its strategic plan. A significant focus on culture for this case study began with developments for the visual arts. The Year of Visual Arts in 1996 was key to unlocking cultural potential for the area. Indeed, Glasgow bid for the Year of Arts (1996) on top of the many accolades it pursued during the decade, but in this case lost to Newcastle. What followed was a push for the physical development to support this cultural approach in Newcastle that grew into a joint approach with Gateshead for the new Millennium. Large publically funded cultural infrastructure was initiated on Gateshead quays. This former derelict industrial site was earmarked as a cultural quarter, to become a cultural visitor destination. In conjunction with this, the 20-metre high sculpture 'The Angel of The North' was constructed in Gateshead. The Baltic Centre for Contemporary Art opened in 2002 and was joined by the Sage Gateshead in 2004 to form the key cultural structures for the quayside. As an old industrial building the Baltic's rejuvenation retains a sense of the past.

"A typical rust-belt site of crumbling riverside decrepitude is being galvanized into life by the conversion of a derelict flour-mill (The Baltic Centre for Contemporary Art) into a centre for the production and performance of the visual arts. This innovation is itself an outgrowth of earlier innovations through the local government policy of commissioning and locating public arts works throughout the borough — most famously the *Angel of the North* — in the teeth of public hostility." (Chaney, 2002:166)

This local hostility towards the sculpture the Angel of the North has reversed. The sculpture created by artist Anthony Gormley has become a visitor destination in itself and,

“as time passes, it seems increasingly possible that Gormley’s Angel will eventually become, as its supporters have always said it would, the equivalent of the Statue of Liberty or the Eiffel Tower, that is to say a structure which is regarded not as a work of a particular artist but as an integral, almost anonymous part of the landscape.” (Usherwood et al., 2000:58)

Supported by the umbrella organisation NewcastleGateshead Initiative (NGI), these developments and the building of the Millennium Bridge (an acclaimed iconic landmark opening in 2002) signified the linking of the town of Gateshead with the city of Newcastle. The NGI is the marketing agency for the locality and was formed through the partnership between the councils of both areas. This linkage represents the first time the two places have worked together in promoting the area. This link was utilised in the bid for the 2008 ECoC (which Liverpool won).

“The linking for the two municipalities can be seen as a marriage of convenience for the ECC² title; however, it can also be read as a new form of innovation and self-organisation which maximises the cultural offerings of both cities. It is an innovative model as none of the other UK cities had overcome its municipal boundaries as part of its bid” (Comunian, 2010:11)

Gateshead was the first English region to have dedicated arts development officers, a factor in the renaissance of Gateshead, as key leaders were committed to the transformative potential of culture (Beaumont, 2005). Gateshead’s Garden Festival was significantly not run by the TWDC, it was led by the Council in partnership with other agents, with the aim of a sustainable legacy for land use post-festival (mixed-use and housing) (Theokas, 2004). Joint working in Tyneside in the 1990s resulted from perception of Gateshead’s success with the Garden Festival 1990, Arts Councils Year of the Visual Arts 1996, and the instalment of the Angel of the North in 1998. The Angel of the North is the earliest worldwide known representation of Gateshead Council’s commitment to culture. Greater access to funding in the 1990s was linked to

² ECC also refers to European Capital of Culture

places using culture and joint working commitments. In part, this led to the NGI, set up in 2000, bringing the two councils together formally, a cross-river partnership that wished to capitalise on previous cultural success and anchor the two places together for a joint ECoC bid.

A cultural reputation has been formed on NewcastleGateshead quayside within the Tyne Gorge — an area famous for the bridges that span it along the quaysides. The unique architecture of the Millennium Bridge has become synonymous with images of the quayside. A specific vehicle Culture North East was one of eight English regional consortiums (established by DCMS). These consortiums established 1999-2000 aimed to create a common cultural vision for each region with a cultural strategy (from 2008 these consortiums were phased out and much of their role undertaken by the Arts Councils).

New structures and cultural developments are brought into local inhabitants' consciousness as they "have a remarkable talent for cultural transformation, providing they can participate in the new" (Colls and Lancaster, 2005:63). Taylor and Townsend (1976) in their studies found a diffuse local sense of place as "socio-economic status and length of residence are the prime determinants of local attachment" (Taylor and Townsend, 1976:133). This conscious sense of place is affected by factors of familiarity and friendliness of a person's local area (Taylor and Townsend, 1976), characteristics in a place such as Newcastle with its 'Geordie' roots.

"The regenerated Quayside appears to tap into people's lives at least partly because of the way, over centuries, it has played a symbolic historical role as a focal point for the industry of the region; its now declined shipbuilding, chemical works, coalmining and other heavy industry." (Miles, 2005c:1024)

These regenerated new developments on the quayside form part of the identity constructed by local people, who take ownership of these new developments. This identity is a key cultural understanding to all three case studies. Part of the identity of Tyneside is its historic link to shipbuilding and "perhaps the oldest working-class culture. Local inhabitants have a remarkable talent for cultural transformation, providing that they can participate in the new" (Colls and Lancaster, 2005:63).

The impacts of cultural regeneration have been criticised (Byrne and Wharton, 2004) and praised in equal measure (Bailey et al., 2004). Many of the changes represent broader changes in the city and society. Newcastle’s party reputation expanded to the quayside with more ‘sophisticated’ pubs and restaurants (Barke, 2002:32). The 24-hour café culture was embraced by NewcastleGateshead to counteract the negative images associated with its nightlife. The NGI set up Culture 10 to provide a programme of events and festivals throughout the year to improve the image and availability of culture to the area. Re-imaging and identity are two significant aspects of the NewcastleGateshead approach.

“the cultural developments in the NewcastleGateshead Quayside development can, counter-intuitively perhaps, provide a renewed focus and confidence for the revitalisation of regional cultural identities that, in turn, amounts to a complex and contradictory form of symbolic resistance to the homogenisation of globalism.” (Miles, 2004:183)

Table 5.1 provides a snapshot of the changes to NewcastleGateshead. More recently, the creation of another governing agency 1NG in 2007, a city development company, denotes another stage in the partnership links between the two councils. The development company’s core business is economic development with a focus on the private sector and business interests (Gulliver, 2007).

Table 5.1: A snapshot profile of NewcastleGateshead

Approach	NewcastleGateshead
Pattern and Scale of economic change (decline)	Reliance upon shipbuilding and coal.
Nature of local elite	Liberal Democrat controlled Newcastle City Council since 2004. Labour control of Gateshead Council.
Historical development patterns	Tyne and Wear UDC. Tyne River linking the town of Gateshead and city of Newcastle.
Cultural festivals	Garden festival 1990. Year of Visual Arts 1996. Failed 2008 ECoC bid.
Awards	Newcastle Central Riverside Civic Trust Urban Design Award 1998. Gateshead European City of Sport 2010. RIBA Stirling Prize 2002.
Waterfront re-use	Arts, music, leisure, and café culture supplant former industrial use.
Iconic structures/Public art	Angel of the North 1998. Baltic opened 2002. 2004 Sage Gateshead. 2001 Millennium (‘winking eye’) bridge.
Brand/Promotion	Brand NewcastleGateshead produced by NGI. Passionate People, Passionate Places campaign.

NewcastleGateshead lost its bid for ECoC to Liverpool. However, the words of

Colls and Lancaster stated in 1992 still hold true, as it becomes “only a matter of time before Newcastle too becomes a city of something” (Colls and Lancaster, 2005:25). Indeed Gateshead became European City of Sport in 2010. With the 2008 ECoC loss, and a distinct brand that accompanies it, the Northeast opted for the “Passionate people passionate places” regional campaign launched in 2005.

Figure 5.5 depicts the quayside for NewcastleGateshead. The Angel of the North is located off the map in Gateshead (near the A1 major road).

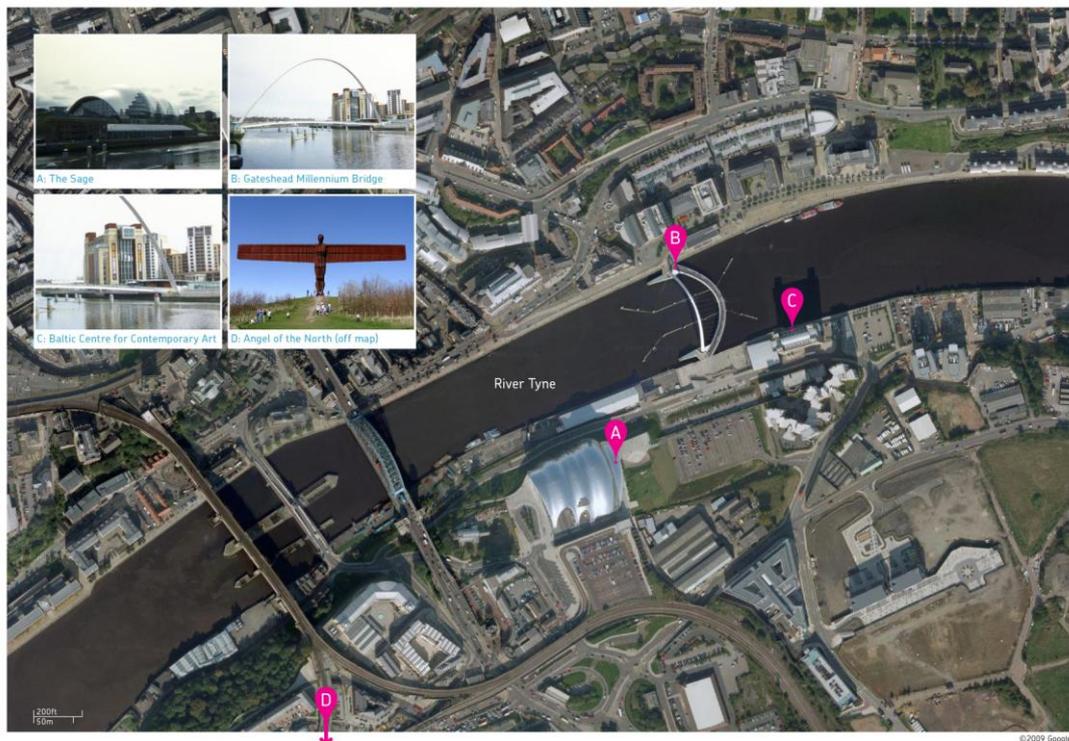


Figure 5.5 NewcastleGateshead Quayside (waterfront) satellite image from Google (accessed 2011)

Next, we turn to Glasgow and the Clyde waterfront development.

5.3 Glasgow

“Traditionally, Glasgow people are tough, reticent, friendly, a little aggressive and, at the right moments, incorrigibly romantic” (Glasgow Development Agency, 1992:3). Local people and an historic association with shipbuilding gave Glasgow an image to the world, with the Clyde River at the heart. Local

attributes of coal and iron ore coupled with the strategic location of the Clyde favoured the development of a world-class shipbuilding industry for Glasgow (Keating, 1988). Prior to the 1980s, Glasgow would claim the title of second city of the empire (Oakley, 1990); steel and shipbuilding thrived on its waterway, the River Clyde. It is often famously stated that “the Clyde made Glasgow and Glasgow made the Clyde”. Industrial decline and an increase in the service-based economy changed urban policy approaches from the 1980s. Strong leadership is often cited as the driving force behind the developments enacted in places, and Glasgow’s regeneration policies adopted in the 1980s and 1990s owe much to the dominance of a political elite in the Labour Party (Keating, 1988). The industrial decline of Glasgow is wedded to its close connection with shipbuilding. For Checkland, a Glasgow Professor of economic history, Glasgow failed to foresee the threat from newly industrialising nations and so shipbuilding became Glasgow’s Upas Tree (poison) (Checkland, 1981). The Bruce Report of 1945 (by Robert Bruce — Glasgow’s then City Engineer) was the first comprehensive plan for Glasgow. It called for a break with the past “but rather than preserve or even enhance the city’s waterfront as a strategy to that end, it called for major changes along the Clyde” (Konvitz, 1992:1297). Major post-war changes had occurred on the waterfront even though it remained a viable site of industry: “the report called attention to the potential of the river as an amenity in the city, and thus as an agent of economic diversification because an attractive city centre would draw investment to Glasgow” (ibid.). Bruce “was apparently prepared to reduce dock facilities in order to improve communications across the river. With the benefit of hindsight, perhaps Bruce was ahead of his time?” (Reed and Boyle, 1993:100).

As discussed in Chapter 3, the 1970s was marked by the Government’s commitment to the inner cities, culminating in the White Paper *Policy for the Inner Cities 1977*. “This signalled a much broader-based action on urban problems” with new governance arrangements between central and local government and a wider body of actors (Turok, 1987:36). Urban governance is thus characterised by these “interlocking and intermeshing relationships between various institutions and actors both inside and outside local government” (Tretter, 2008:89). This led to the Scottish Development Agency (SDA), set-up in 1970s with powers to promote industrial development and

urban renewal. This in turn reflects the Scottish commitment to economic development and modernisation, with an emphasis on areas such as Glasgow (Turok, 1987). The Scottish Development Agency (SDA) “has been particularly significant in the contemporary regeneration of Glasgow” (Reed and Boyle, 1993:101), dominating economic development (Kantor, 2000). Through the 1980s this former agency (replaced by Scottish Enterprise) performed the role of UDCs in England, however it was not constrained by locational boundaries as the UDCs were. The SDA established the Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal Programme (GEAR) to tackle urban problems, including those adjacent to the Clyde. This project demonstrates the international transfer of regeneration ideas, as it emulated the American model, by emphasising image promotion to ‘correct’ the negative image of Glasgow (Ward, 1998). The management of GEAR followed a corporate style, “although led by SDA officials, the political thrust of the programme decision making was to closely involve local elected officials in planning and implementation” (Kantor, 2000:804). The SDA was pivotal in the construction of the SECC at the time it was an isolated development on the waterfront, as “there was never any conscious attempt to develop a land-use of design concept for the area” (Reed and Boyle, 1993:102). Indeed for Kantor Glasgow’s regeneration approach has in effect been an ‘US-style’ undertaking in civic boosterism (Kantor, 2000).

Glasgow City Council was dominated by the Labour party in the 1980s, (Donnison and Middleton, 1987; Kantor, 2000). Donnison and Middleton note a low number of small firm start ups and self-employed persons in the early 1980s for both Glasgow and Tyneside (Donnison and Middleton, 1987). This they attribute to the prior dominance of large firms with fewer opportunities to learn the skills required to set up their own enterprise. “This has implications for any policy for the inner city which depends on the promotion of new enterprises” (ibid. p12). The SDA administered the Urban Development Grant through a scheme called LEG-UP (Local Enterprise Grants for Urban Projects). In the Merchant City, Glasgow centre, where it “helped bring about the successful conversion of older vacant property, significantly improving the physical appearance and level of commercial activity in the area” (Turok, 1987:47). In the 1980s, the SDA undertook an approach focusing on localities, “which had better prospects of attracting private investment rather than being pressured

into the worst-off problem areas” (ibid. p55). Reflecting the Conservative Government thinking of the time, the SDA’s approach focused on private investment and commercial policy emphasising environmental improvement under financial constraint. This focus on area (locality) based improvement supported the ‘greening’ of cities through environmental improvement, which rose to greater significance through this period. The Garden Festival was a particular manifestation of this trend to reclaim old industrial land (McDonald, 1987). In figure 5.6 the former festival site post-clearance identifies the scope of the area remained under this approach. From figure 3.2 (Chapter 3) environmental improvements are part of the linked strategy for regenerating the waterfront. The disused site subsequently became part of a wider scheme of commercial, cultural, and economic re-development for the former industrial waterfront.



Figure 5.6 Glasgow Garden Festival site after clearance 1989 (RCAHMS, 1989)

The acceptance of the McKinsey Report (1983) set in place a move towards the improvement of the city and the development of its international connections such as its airport. At the time this study was “the closest Glasgow has come in recent years to design framework for the city” (Reed and Boyle, 1993:102).

“Both McKinsey and the SDA had been attracted by the US model of a partnership between private enterprise and public authority” (Boyle, 1988:80). The McKinsey report advocated that Glasgow should plan for its post-industrial future with a new organisation to oversee process such as marketing. A new body Glasgow Action was established in response to the report, and it was later replaced by Glasgow Development Agency. “Glasgow Action came to inherit the American belief that urban regeneration depends first and foremost on creating the correct conditions for private investment” (Boyle, 1988:82). Glasgow Action “strengthened the link between business and the arts and developed the perception of the arts as being of prime importance to the image of Glasgow” (Myerscough, 1991:132). Joint investment coupled with greater joint working, is exemplified in the ECoC 1990 for Glasgow. Public and private organisations, including Glasgow City Council and Strathclyde Regional Council sought to achieve objectives celebrating Glasgow, and developing structures that would have long-term positive cultural, social, and economic impacts. “The City’s motive to profit from the event arose from its desire to demonstrate a new face as a European post-industrial city geared to growth and a commitment to using arts as a means of communicating its renaissance” (Myerscough, 1991:i). Indeed, the Director of Glasgow Action is attributed as being key to the proposing of Glasgow as ECoC, along with the Tourist Board, these external actors spearheading the campaign reflect the governmental arrangements in Glasgow at the time as slow to take action (Tretter, 2008:92). Glasgow’s role in the ECoC is significant, as the first non-capital city to host the event and tie it to wider urban renewal “since the Glasgow festival, almost all cities that have hosted the festival have followed its lead in tying the festival to a larger urban-revitalization effort” (Tretter, 2008:88). The festival signalled Glasgow’s commitment to culture to a wide audience, while its selection as ECoC “was the payoff of an aggressive urban-renewal strategy that had connected the new economics of culture to employment, investment, and property regeneration” (ibid. p91).

Glasgow, as with the other two case studies, has been blighted by extreme urban problems, and these have been highly instrumental in the determination of urban policy (Cullingworth and Nadin, 2002). As Scotland underwent devolution in 1999, Danson and Mooney describe Glasgow as a ‘dual city’

(Danson and Mooney, 1998). The impacts of cultural regeneration activities were characterising large sections, such as the waterfront, situated alongside areas continuing to experience intense deprivation.

“Glasgow demonstrated that cultural programming can assist tackling urban issues and accelerating regeneration processes” (García, 2003:14). Glasgow used a definition of culture which incorporated “not only the arts but also sport, design, architecture and other cultural facets relevant to the city and its citizens”. This shows “the importance of valuing the non-physical aspects of regeneration, such as renewed perceptions and the recovery of citizen confidence and satisfaction of the city as a place to live and work” (ibid.). Holding a waterfront expo in 2006, Glasgow attracted organisations from all over Europe for an agenda that covered funding, design, and sustainability. In Glasgow, the redeveloped Clyde-side, houses a science centre and a developing digital media quarter at Pacific Quay. A new national arena, nearing completion is located to the east of the SECC (Scottish Exhibition and Conference Centre). This forms part of an overall masterplan for the Clyde.

Table 5.2: A snapshot profile of Glasgow

Approach	Glasgow
Pattern and Scale of economic change (decline)	1900 peak of industrial production. Mercantile and engineering production contracted.
Nature of local elite	1999 Scottish Parliament opened. Urban regeneration company Clyde Gateway 2007 established. Labour leadership unitary authority for city.
Historical development patterns	'Bruce' report 1945. Planning for harbour schemes for increased housing including a water village.
Cultural festivals	1988 Garden festival. European City of Culture 1990. 1996 International Festival of Design. 1996 Gallery of Modern Art opening. 2014 Commonwealth Games. First river festival 2004.
Awards	1999 UK City of Architecture and Design. European capital of Sport 2003. 2008 UNESCO City of Music.
Waterfront re-use	Clyde Waterfront's 'vision for place' aims to develop distinctive, quality places and a vibrant, dynamic waterfront with international appeal. New digital media village Pacific Quay.
Iconic structures/Public art	SECC opened 1985 (auditorium added 1997). Science Centre 2001. Clyde arc ('squinty bridge') 2006. River museum due 2011.
Brand/Promotion	1991 'Glasgow's alive' campaign. Glasgow's miles better – 'smile's better'. Mr Happy campaign. Current brand Glasgow: Scotland with style.

While Glasgow is the best-known example in the United Kingdom of the trend to promote cities based on their culture, it is also often cited as a model to emulate

(Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993; Gomez, 1998; Mooney, 2004). The city wished to reinvent its post-industrial image in the 1980s and that led to a number of major initiatives. Glasgow's Miles Better campaign led to the Lord Provost Michael Kelly coining the phrases 'Glasgow smiles better', a cheerful slogan which helped transform the city (Landry et al., 1996). "The then Lord Provost (the mayor) of Glasgow had been so impressed by the success of the 'I Love New York' campaign that he convinced his authority to conceive and promote a similar venture" (Boyle, 1988:83). In a dual marketing assault on internal and external markets, a campaign was launched in 1983 that was the brainchild of advertiser John Struthers. The campaign used the Roger Hargreaves' Mr Men character Mr Happy to replace the 'o' in Glasgow as the logo. The campaign was directed at addressing the national and international image of the city and it coincided with the opening of the renowned Burrell Collection, a purpose-built gallery. The 'smiles better' promotion was internationally recognised, four times winner of the International Film and Television of New York Award 1983-1987. The Mr Happy character was "used connotatively to suggest that 'Glasgow is like *happy*'" (Lauder, 1993:269). The Miles better campaign "was more than simply civic hype, but was built on an established belief that Glasgow should be proud of its artistic and cultural heritage and use it to the city's advantage" (Booth and Boyle, 1993:31). In 1989 it was replaced by the less memorable 'Glasgow's Alive' campaign, only to be resurrected in 1994.

Figure 5.7 depicts four major developments on the Clyde waterfront. The BBC forms part of the new digital quarter at Pacific Quay which is also the site proposed for the new floating water village.

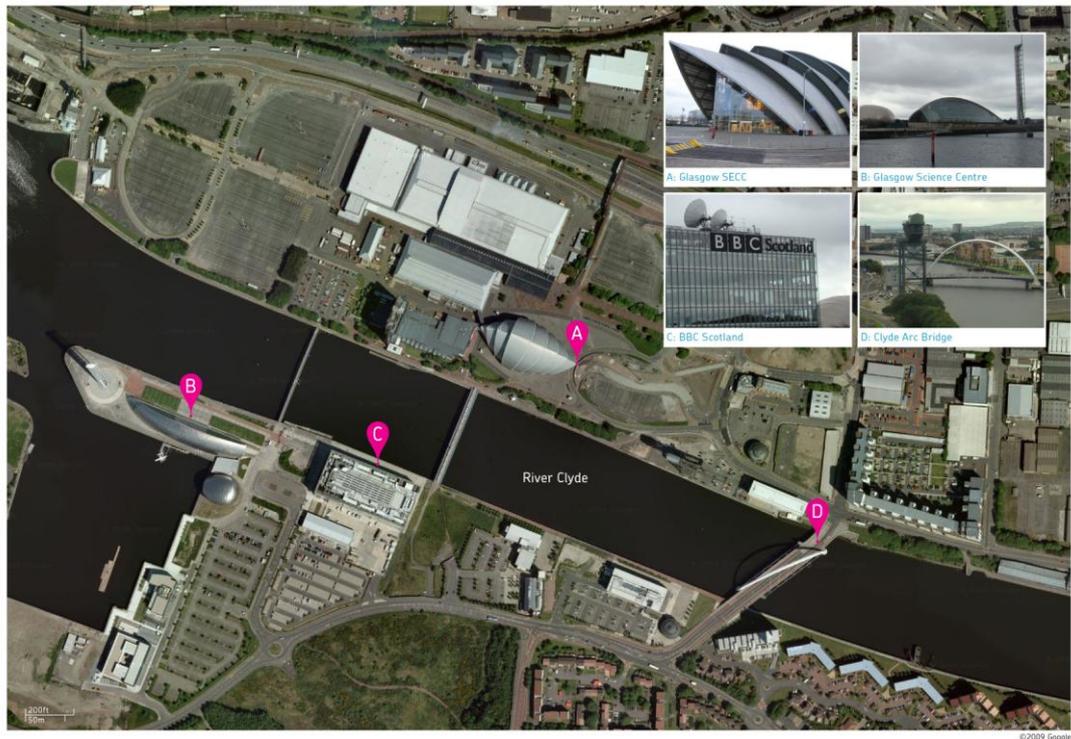


Figure 5.7 Glasgow waterfront (satellite image from Google accessed 2011)

Having depicted a snapshot of the three case studies we now focus more closely on the cultural approaches that they have collectively undertaken to regenerate their localities.

5.4 Cultural approaches

All three case studies have undertaken approaches to the regeneration of their waterfronts that incorporate a significant cultural focus. These approaches consist of vision documents and incorporate events, festivals, iconic buildings, and art. Indeed they appear to incorporate the elements of the McGeneration formula proposed in Chapter 2. The key elements of the approaches being considered here are strategy documents, branding, garden festivals, European Capital of Culture titles, iconic buildings, and research.

First, we considered the similarities found in strategic documents for the case studies (the documents are “Glasgow: The Place, The People, The Potential”, “Liverpool Cultural Strategy 2009-14”, and “Building Bridges A Strategy for Culture in NewcastleGateshead 2002-12”). Indeed the strategies of each case study contained four similarities that shape the overall approaches undertaken.

- Vision; strategies for the cities often use the term vision for the cultural approach. This visioning can be collaborative planning (Peel and Lloyd, 2005), collective working, and an integrated approach to development which includes the cities cultural assets and industries.
- National and international competition features strongly in strategy whether as a significant part or an accompanying tourism strategy in which the city competes. Glasgow's cultural strategy 'Glasgow: The Place, The People, The Potential' lists 'tourism destination' as one of the key priorities of its activities.
- Destination places. Culture features as a key determinant of the city as a place to visit. Indeed, Liverpool seeks to be a thriving international city and top ten-visitor destination on the world stage (Liverpool Cultural Strategy 2009-14 by Liverpool First).
- Distinctiveness. In each city they are seeking to capitalise on their distinct identity for economic and social development. For NewcastleGateshead ('Building Bridges a strategy for Culture in NewcastleGateshead 2002-2012') distinctiveness is found in the physical attributes and with its 'real' critical mass in culture.

Chapter 3 discussed the challenge to local authorities to focus upon the benefits that can be obtained from policies that focus upon culture and the cultural industries. All three case studies created cultural strategies that contain elements of figure 5.8. The figure summarises cultural strategies into three types drawn from urban development literature. They depict entrepreneurial strategies as market-driven, creative class as economic development through quality of life, and progressive as neighbourhood-based (Grodach and Loukaitos-Sideris, 2007). It can be argued that a cultural strategy does not fit exactly into one of these strategy 'models'. However, each contains a mix of elements that reflect the use of history, target audiences, competition, and developing cultural spaces as a strategic approach.

Strategy Type	Goals	Types of Cultural Projects and Programs	Geographic Focus	Target Audiences
Entrepreneurial	Economic growth through tourism, city image Catalyze private sector investments	Flagship cultural projects Spectacular events Promotional activities	Downtown, "prime city areas"	Tourists and Conventioneers Affluent residents and suburbanites
Creative Class	Economic growth through quality of life amenities Attract new residents/ employees in the "creative economy"	Arts and entertainment districts Collaboration between arts and private sector	Central city and historic urban neighborhoods	Prospective and existing residents Young urban professionals and "knowledge-based" workers
Progressive	Community development Arts education and access Local cultural production	Community arts centers Arts education programs	Inner-city neighborhoods Underserved neighborhoods	Underserved residential populations

Figure 5.8 Cultural strategy types (Grodach and Loukaitos-Sideris, 2007)

This brief introduction to the cultural approach of the case studies in their written documents is supplemented by the following specific activities they have all undertaken.

5.4.1 Branding

Each case study has used brands, logos, and imagery to promote their cities. Some have previously been identified. Figure 5.9 depicts a logo/brand that has recently been identified with each of the case study areas. These brands are used in publications and publicity for the cities. The Glasgow 'Scotland with Style' brand is freely available for use by organisations within the city. It represents the link with the style of Charles Rennie Mackintosh. With the Liverpool logo "any organisation or company has to apply, fulfil certain criteria and, if it is a commercial organisation, pay a fee for using the logo" (Hudson and Hawkins, 2006:162). The Liverpool logo "represents the new, strong, modernistic Liverpool, via paint on a canvas with a bottom edge composed of Liverpool's iconic skyline" (ibid.p176). The brand for NewcastleGateshead differs through the scope of its representation. Indeed, it has been used in a televised media campaign for the Northeast which itself used the iconic images of NewcastleGateshead as visitor attractions.

Passionate people.
Passionate places.

Glasgow:
Scotland with style™



Figure 5.9: Three case study brands.

Brands form part of a marketing strategy which had been adopted earlier in America than the UK (Ward, 1998). Despite America offering a model for marketing places, “it was Glasgow, traditionally perceived as hard, dirty and violent, a seemingly unstormable stronghold of the left, which took Britain into this new era of place marketing in 1983-84” (ibid. p191). Despite the similarity in the use of branding and the lesson obtained in this cross-national policy transfer, Glasgow has retained a perception of individuality. A perception that Liverpool and NewcastleGateshead would argue applies to their localities too.

5.4.2 Events

All of the case studies opted for the standard culture package of events and designations. “One of the very first types of special events used to sell the post-industrial city in Britain was the garden festival” (Ward, 1998:203). These festival events aim to boost the local tourist market, however, they have been criticised for poor long-term impacts (ibid.). Indeed Liverpool was the first city to hold a garden festival in 1984 as a declaration of its post-industrial status with “manufacturing gone for good” (Boswell and Evans, 1999:219). Garden festivals

have been criticised for the short-term aspects and lack of long term planning for the sites post-festival. Sited on old disused areas the festivals attract large numbers of tourists. The short life cycle of the festival is considered part of a weak approach to long-term regeneration. “The experience of the Liverpool International Garden Festival (IGF) also clearly illustrates the consequences of a weak competitive approach” (Connelly, 2007:96). Liverpool was also criticised for unsatisfactory forward planning, the festival had been organised “in the knowledge that no proper arrangements had been made for continued funding and operation of the gardens after the end of the festival year” (Couch, 2003:125).

The designation of ECoC is a much sought after accolade and all three case studies have competed for the title. The ECoC was criticised for having “more to do with selling Glasgow as a place for inward investment than as a celebration of Glasgow and Glaswegian life – at least the culture of working class”, an exercise in ‘yuppifying’ Glasgow (Mooney, 2004:331) and sanitising the real working class culture (McLay, 1990). In contrast, Booth and Boyle describe the 1990s as an opportunity for the working class to use skills from industrial employment in the arts. “There is now an argument that this re-utilisation of working-class skills in the contemporary development of art in the city spreads culture across class and spatial divisions” (Booth and Boyle, 1993:23). Thus, “Glasgow was sold as a place buzzing with enthusiasm for the arts” (Boyle and Hughes, 1991:220). The European City of Culture (now known as European Capital of Culture) in 1990, has led to Glasgow often cited as an example to emulate as an ECoC.

Mooney argues that the legacy of ECoC “the so-called ‘Glasgow Model’ for urban regeneration is essentially sustaining a myth, as opposed to celebrating a reality” (Mooney, 2004:328). The Year of Culture featured shipbuilding prominently, “it was argued that a powerful mythology about the river, the yards and their working-class communities served to exaggerate shipbuilding’s economic, political and cultural importance” (Booth and Boyle, 1993:39). Narrative accounts of the transformational change to the image of Glasgow and, in particular a report on the ECoC by John Myerscough in 1991 (for Glasgow City Council and Scottish Enterprise), compounded this rationale to follow the

'Glasgow model' (Mooney, 2004). "As the Myerscough report was able to demonstrate, in the 1980s far more people worked in the arts (c.14,000) than built ships on the Clyde" (Booth and Boyle, 1993:31).

All three case studies seek out the latest approaches to emulate, from the garden festival to the designation as a 'capital'. To compete in the capital and destination market the cities seek a recognisable cultural offer. This offer is represented in the cultural buildings that are created and deemed iconic.

5.4.3 Iconic buildings

Iconic buildings have all played a part in the new cultural offering of each of the case studies. "Along the lines of the McGuggenhiem phenomenon, one common strategy has been the construction of landmarks — flagship or iconic structures — which often aim to become a symbolic shorthand for a city's or region's identity" (Richards and Wilson, 2006:1211). Landry and Wood (2003) list iconic status as a factor drawing power to core cities (Landry and Wood, 2003), a competitive advantage that all case studies have tried to harness. All three areas have pursued the development of iconic structures on their waterfronts. The three most significant structures are valued for their cultural contributions. Each is depicted below, and it is clear from all the structures that their scale and architecture give them this iconic status. Development is ongoing, with both Glasgow and Liverpool opening a new museum on their waterfronts in 2011. These museums represent the new leisure space of the waterfront, with the latest technology and interaction available to visitors. These structures may be representative of the homogenised cultural offer of place as "boundaries have been blurring between theme parks and museums, with museums becoming more like theme parks" (McGuigan, 1996:131).



Figure 5.0.1: The Scottish Exhibition and Conference Centre (SECC) Glasgow and its waterfront.



Figure 5.0.2: Liverpool's convention centre next to the Albert Dock.



Figure 5.0.3: The Sage Gateshead seen from the Newcastle side of the River Tyne.

Construction of the SECC began in 1983 on the north bank of the river Clyde, five exhibition halls currently make up the flexible venue space of the SECC that is part owned by Glasgow City Council. The Clyde Auditorium pictured (figure 5.0.1) built in 1997 and designed by architect Norman Foster and Partners is affectionately referred to as “the armadillo”. Norman Foster’s architectural team also designed the Sage Gateshead building (figure 5.0.3). While another high profile architectural team, Wilkinson Eyre designed the Convention Centre for Liverpool (figure 5.0.2). The Councils for both Liverpool and Gateshead have also had significant involvement in the developments and own the respective buildings.

Gateshead Council won a regional competition to site the Sage Gateshead music centre, identified as strategically significant to the region, in the Northern Arts Strategic Review. The Sage Gateshead received the largest grant from the Arts Council England and National Lottery funds outside of London to complete the building project. Each of the buildings has received awards and accolades, recent and notable awards include the RIBA awards for architecture and

inclusive design (Sage Gateshead 2005) and high profile RIBA Stirling Prize (Liverpool Convention Centre 2008).

These buildings, in their similarity of large construction, iconic status, and focal point as attractors for consumption, may be charged with accusations of homogeneity. As iconic symbols of a revived waterfront they form a shiny aesthetic backdrop to the model of the new cultural spaces. However, they may also represent 'cookie-cutter' or McFormula design approaches to these places.

5.4.4 Research

Research studies for each case study have sought to establish a longitudinal analysis to confer the benefits of cultural approaches; these are for Liverpool Impacts 08, NewcastleGateshead CISIR, and Glasgow CCPR. For NewcastleGateshead's CISIR (Cultural Investment and Strategic Impact Research) "the relationship between iconic developments on the Quayside and the wider community lies at the heart of the CISIR project" (Miles, 2005b:918). The Centre for Cultural Policy and Research (CCPR) at the University of Glasgow, longitudinal study looks at "tracing the progression of media and personal discourses on the city's approach to regeneration" (García, 2005:842). "In Glasgow, the most valuable cultural legacies interrelate with other elements that are inherent to the fabric of the city and result from many dimensions beyond 1990" (ibid. p862).

CISIR was commissioned by NGI to explore the impact of cultural institutions on the Quayside and to aid the development of the joint cultural strategy for the area. Funded by Gateshead Borough Council, Newcastle City Council, Arts Council England, One Northeast and Culture North East, the research was used as part of the ECoC bid, yet it did not survive its proposed ten-year lifespan as the bid failed. Qualitative measures of success are limited as "the degree to which statistical data can inform our understanding of the actual meaning of culture-led regeneration is doubtful, not least because changes in attendance are often used to justify public funding in the arts" (Miles, 2005b:918). All the research has been undertaken in Universities of each case study areas; CCPR Glasgow received a three-year grant from the Scottish Higher Education Funding Council while Liverpool City Council commissioned Impacts 08. Such

research may be criticised for its lack of independence, funded by bodies that have been instrumental in the regeneration itself.

The research approaches, despite the longitudinal similarity, are also different. CISIR differs, as the CCPR tended to be “retrospective in view and self-justifying in approach” (Miles, 2005c:1021). Impacts 08, more similar to the CISIR approach was a major longitudinal research-laden body specifically looking at the impacts of the 2008 ECoC. It found an overall satisfaction with the programme and a majority of visits were made to the waterfront area (Garcia et al., 2010); residents saw image and regeneration changes positively for the city (Melville et al., 2010), and there have been improvements in the credibility of the creative offer (Impacts 08 et al., 2009).

5.5 Summary

The case studies have been chosen for the similarity in cultural approaches that they have adopted, through the terminology, buildings, and events, which are utilised as part of an overall strategic approach. Glasgow’s substantial impact as an early ECoC and as a common reference model for the use of a cultural policy for regeneration gives it unique features as a case study. While Liverpool and NewcastleGateshead follow, again they have their own distinctive physical and historic features. Liverpool’s late entry to the cultural game and economic history has enabled it to retain cultural and historic buildings that have become the focus of both regeneration of its waterfront and its designation as a World Heritage city. While, NewcastleGateshead has led the way in the partnership working between a city and town to develop cultural regeneration processes on a vast amount of derelict land to endow the quayside with a flagship cultural offer.

Drawing together an understanding of the different processes found within each locality can allow for an examination of how these take place in particular local and global contexts (Buck et al., 2005). Hence, the case studies necessarily focus on the nature of the response each made to global economic change; an analysis of how this response was developed; and the role that conceptions of place played within that. Based on the evidence gathered, a theoretical themed framework has been proposed to take into account the history of the locality,

local perceptions, and the unique circumstances that make up each place. Further examination is made of the three case studies in the following interpretive narrative within the two overriding themes of homogeneity (Chapter 6) and distinctiveness (Chapter 7).

Chapter 6

An Examination of Homogeneity in Cultural Regeneration

6. Introduction to the homogenisation (McGeneration) agenda

The case study narrative (in the following chapters) is divided into the overarching themes of homogenisation and distinctiveness. In this chapter, the narrative depicts five key elements of the homogenisation (McGeneration) agenda. This narrative is the product of analysing the forty-seven elite actor interviews, and drawing out themes from their responses. Direct quotations are used to illustrate the participants' perspectives. These sometimes offer a consensus of understanding, but also provide contested views that serve to illustrate the continued influence of local factors.

This first part to the case study narrative discusses the key themes in the homogenisation agenda that were identified both in the literature and supported in the qualitative interviews. These are:

- creative classes;
- place as 'commodity';
- consumption cities;
- competitive cities;
- the new cultural spaces.

To establish the wider context, participants were initially invited to discuss their general understanding of 'cultural' regeneration and the importance of 'place'. A Liverpool regional arts administrator adopts a broad approach:

"If you think of regeneration as the three legged stool, social, economic and environmental, the three pillars of regeneration, but for me they exist in the fourth dimension of culture. Culture is the fourth leg [of] the dimension in which those things exist. Culture in broad sense is the way in which we live, all those factors like art, built environment, what we do for a living, and relationships."

A national architecture organisation representative instead portrays cultural regeneration approaches as a response to

“some kind of dysfunction [that] has happened in an urban system in a particular place and culture provides a way to re-patch, or recreate or renew or revive, the interest and the excitement of a particular place, by the people who live there and the people who will contribute socially and economically in the future.”

Culture considered in this broadest sense incorporates all these factors as key determinants of regeneration processes. For a Glasgow regional arts administrator

“if you don’t talk to people through their cultural framework, if you don’t acknowledge that their cultural lives can enrich their experience and help them look at and tackle all these other things, then you’re missing an opportunity [...] I would just say any regeneration project worth its salt should have a cultural dimension to it, it may not fail, but less likely to be as dynamic and successful in the way that it could be.”

An academic from Glasgow determines culture as more than the lives of a city’s people but

“the way in which the city has been re-imagined and regenerated [...] I think it was Graham Evans³ that probably made that distinction early on, you know about the different types, you know so there’s issues like that, there’s issues about policy development in relation to different types of cultural activity, you know culture industries and which cultural industries and how that’s done. How it might be implemented in a planning sense.”

Culture not only provides an opportunity to engage people in regeneration, it is consistently referred to as a key dimension to regeneration. However, this is contested. A regional civil servant for NewcastleGateshead believes economic development should be the primary focus of regeneration, not culture. Regeneration is “economic development and rather than economic inclusion or economic exclusion. The way I see it is there’s a spectrum of economic development ranging from flower baskets in [a] community hall, very bottom up, and very local, to sort of getting people into jobs, deprived communities and all that”. Within this view, the cultural sector contributes to economic regeneration approaches, and has a secondary role. A local Glasgow arts administrator sees cultural regeneration as suffering from hierarchical exploitation “I think the

³ Graeme Evans author of “Cultural Planning: an urban renaissance” (2001) examined the planning of cultural industries, cultural tourism, and arts amenities in society.

problem with the term cultural regeneration is that in my head I see the potential for that being top down as well”.

For a Glasgow arts administrator, cultural regeneration is made of two contrasting elements:

“One, that whole thing about enabling creative industries to be a catalyst for the physical and social regeneration of an area often the city centre areas or areas on the edge of the city centre. The other side of it which we are probably much more involved in is how you use culture or cultural activities or creative activities to help with the physical and social regeneration of areas that need it, creating a vibrant city centre and rethinking creative new uses for buildings that are past their sell-by date. If you are regenerating a building, the way you are regenerating is creating affordable artists space then that’s a win-win.”

A national architecture organisation explains place as critical to people’s identity: “the orthodox interpretation that places have meaning for the people that live there or for people that have a commitment to that particular space. So places will have identities associated with those meanings people attribute them”. Traditional interpretations of place expect geographical boundaries. “In a city you would have distinct geography. In the cities which will have their own name, own boundary, both in abstract and in a geographical sense” (Glasgow local arts administrator). A Liverpool regional arts administrator concurs that place has

“got to have a geographic context, so you begin with geographic context. If you think about cities, just to narrow this down, you know, and be topical. So the city, it’s not its administrative boundary. You have to look at the way it is lived and experienced. [...] what a lot of people won’t identify with is city region, they will identify with neighbourhood or street.”

Place therefore becomes a scale people can relate to, and an influence on their sense of identity. These place identities are locally focused,

“I don’t think necessarily people; members of the public, local communities are going to identify with city regions necessarily. I think people identify themselves with particular areas. For example a lot of the areas we designate as conservation area I think people have a strong affinity for them.” (National architectural organisation)

For a national architectural organisation, national policy may be moving from a place-based focus but “I think in community terms and the way people certainly

think about who they are, I think is very much still going to be affected by cities”.

Cities are an effective tool

“we’ve not come up with anything better so we have to reverse 30 years of public policy. It’s as simple as that. Unless you want to go down an US route, the alternative is Los Angeles. Which we could decide to do, it would be perfectly reasonable and I could imagine a Conservative government wanting to do that. Basically, get rid of downtown areas, increased building of motorways, increase in distances, and a kind of car-based economy. Its hard to believe that in the twenty-first century that anyone would consciously chose to do that, the danger is that they will subconsciously choose to do that.” (NewcastleGateshead local civil servant)

These different debates over place and cultural regeneration resonate within the three case study locales and their waterfronts. The meaning of these terms is fluid both within the debates on homogeneity and distinctiveness and in their broader interpretation within the specific localities.

The first issue to be considered is the actors’ interpretation of the ‘creative classes’ identified by Richard Florida – an idea that has strongly shaped the cultural regeneration agenda.

6.1 Creative classes

The work of Richard Florida (see Chapter 2) denoted the ‘creative classes’ as a key driver for urban economies. Elite actors have attributed Florida’s ideas as ‘magic bullets’ to the solution of urban problems (Section 6.1.1), producing growing competition for talent (6.1.2), and that talent is particularly attracted by ‘quality of place’ (6.1.3).

6.1.1 Florida’s magic bullets

“Policy makers like, you know magic bullets that can sort of solve everything, and they cast around every day for the public policy making for these sort of silver bullets.” (NewcastleGateshead academic)

Richard Florida’s work in the United States was frequently mentioned when participants explored, from their own perspective, the ideas that influence policy developments in their city. For a Glasgow arts administrator, a local politician was

“...interested in the Richard Florida style of regeneration, and, basically we just started talking and the creative network was set up. Now I make it sound dead easy, it wasn't, because everybody was fighting with each other, all these local groups were all fighting with each other.”

While for one Liverpool academic Florida has been “a sort of religious figure for many policy makers”. The creative classes are seen as a critical factor in an area's success. Exploiting this class' creativity for regeneration, needs

“three things, first it's about thinking culture is capturing the whole way of life experience, lived experience, in organic environments of people in their living environments. Second, is using cultural activity and creative industries used as a catalyst. Third, is to think about the process of cultural production and creativity and what that can teach us about location, regeneration and those success factors.” (Regional arts administrator Liverpool)

While this commentator supports Florida's ideas, others suggest they will not resolve all urban problems. For a Liverpool academic there is a “concern that every city that is working to this sort of Landry⁴-Florida agenda believes it can be a culturally regenerated city. So every city believes it can be a NewcastleGateshead, and this is quite blatantly not the case”.

Some predict that Florida's ideas will decline. One local (Glasgow) arts administrator suggests Florida's ideas have “gone off the boil and [he is] just trying to keep his career going”. A Glasgow academic commented that

“who's to say that ten years down, five years down the track there isn't some as yet unforeseen highly seductive policy that comes along to replace culture ... Florida, just think of the influence of Florida. But the whole idea of creativity itself is so problematic, use of boho indexes and toleration, and so forth. It may well be that, I think to a certain extent that there's an element of truth in the argument that if his argument itself is applicable, it's applicable in the United States really, and it's a different ball game in Europe.”

Florida's importance can be viewed as more abstract, inspiring the re-visioning of a city, rather than giving a precise blueprint for all local economic regeneration. The model “doesn't fully take account of quite complex issues of deprivation, poverty, poor health and the sense of displacement” (Glasgow local civil servant). While for one regional civil servant in the North East,

⁴ Charles Landry

“I think we do have to be more responsive to the global conditions. To divert attention onto more productive responses, more bread and butter type stuff, less cultural. There’s still a battle though that what’s the value of a cultural approach and a cultural identity and a cultural perception of articulating that.”

The creative classes as ‘the’ solution to urban ills is contested. Yet, the actors’ consensus is they are significant, and competition between cities to attract talented, creative individuals is strong. Policy makers seek these magic bullets in an attempt to solve socio-economic problems; this reflects attempts to find a path to regeneration where previous attempts have failed and expands upon the concept of path dependency introduced in chapter two.

6.1.2 Competition for talent

Various interventions are available to policy makers to create an exciting creative offer that attracts desirable skills and people into the urban workforce. The quality of the offer⁵ made is significant to a regional civil servant,

“you’ve got to have really good theatres and galleries and performing arts venues, and all the rest of it, and you’ve also got to be able to attract the big names. I mean we’re very lucky in having Tate, here in the North West, in Liverpool, you know the Tate brand internationally is probably, in terms of contemporary art, is probably the best you’re going to get”.

A local arts administrator (Liverpool) believes that America’s embrace of Florida’s theories has transferred to the UK. Cities continuously compete for this pool of talented people, as these individuals are highly mobile. The ability to repeatedly attract talented people is the competitive edge cities seek to drive their economy, “it’s a very global game and there’s a highly global element to the competition within the context”.

The power interplay between cities intensifies as the local increasingly competes for talent globally. This worldwide competition between cities is uneven as each locality has different resources. Cities adopting a ‘power and culture’ approach to promote and sell local ‘uniqueness’ worldwide, are often leveraging historic prestige to attract creative individuals.

⁵ The cultural offer as depicted in Chapter 2 and 3.

“Glasgow historically drove the economy [of Scotland] and it needs to capture some of that, but we don’t want a ‘heritage park’. There are stories to be told and sold; music, art, theatre and all cultural forms are needed and [we] want to capture any that we can in this area. Again it’s important because artistic people define an area as edgy.” (Glasgow local civil servant)

This pursuit to re-gain Glasgow’s former economic power led to re-inventing the city’s image. This new, ‘edgy’, approach focuses on culture, and defining a new city offering to the creative classes. One Glasgow local arts administrator denotes the confidence and belief in a Florida approach:

“He’s [Florida] absolutely right, that there’s this, I have seen I, I saw it happen before my eyes in Barcelona, where this sort of kick starting of a run down area has been a cultural catalyst. So this is going back a number of years now, if you look at gallery of modern art they deliberately sited it at the end of a very shitty street. It was a no go area but they made the decision to site it down there — slowly but surely it would join up to that bit and that’s what happened.”

Others, concur with Florida’s view of the creative classes as critical sources of creativity and prosperity in a place,

“I think that Newcastle could be more creative if it had more of a mix of different ethnic groups. If it had more homosexual communities, if it had more black people, if it had more of anything other than what it’s got, because you know if you look at creative communities they’ve tended to have an influx of people from other parts of the country or the world. Newcastle doesn’t. If you look at the ethnic mix here you don’t really walk around and see very many faces other than white faces.” (NewcastleGateshead local civil servant)

At the heart of the formulaic model of the ‘creative classes’ is a contradiction. Regeneration needs to attract creative types who are themselves repelled by the homogenised off-the-shelf ‘icons’ often associated with regeneration:

“it’s bizarre: now our ministers in Scotland are saying we want an Angel of the North, and you think fuck, you know that’s not the point. It’s not a formula. I think in any of these attempts at regeneration you do need to be fortunate enough to have local people or artists or whoever around that have that ambition and it’s a genuine one. You know I think there’s a kind of a formulaic approach, it’s a problem.” (Glasgow regional arts administrator)

Successful places require the vitality of creative classes, and must compete to attract them. New cultural spaces are powerful attractors of this talent.

6.1.3 Creative places for creative classes

Florida's work is attributed with fostering a desire for designated sites for cultural activity in the new city economy. This includes creating a specific cultural quarter to accommodate artists, and developing sites that foster creative activity for economic purposes. Florida's ideas are both welcomed and rejected as a challenge for cities to actively compete for talent (Evans, 2009), a creative class that is derived from, and drawn, to places of cultural activity. Artistic venues are built to attract famous people to showcase their work, and display the creativity the city is able to attract. It is anticipated that this will attract more talent to the city, forming clusters of innovation that drive the new post-industrial economy, and improve the city's international profile. A local civil servant explains, "we've identified those clusters because they reinforce what we're doing, but also what it's showcasing is local talent, which is of international quality".

For a regional civil servant in NewcastleGateshead, places are distinctly created by communal behaviour, not by policies

"down from the politicians, down to the city planners to the education department, to the children, you know, the way that a place ends up is wholly dependent on the interaction of all these different agencies and whether it's successful or not. What makes a place special? Or what makes a place work or what makes a place crap? It's down to the success of those people all living together and being together."

Cultural regeneration approaches have faced charges of elitism. For one regional civil servant in Glasgow "cultural providers should involve people more". Different places emerge through a deep conversation with people on what cultural approach matches with their locality

"There's a host of benefits which come from a thriving culture, but if you start out to try to impose culture in order to get health benefits and all those other things it's a disastrous way to go because no-one is happy in the end. It doesn't produce good culture and doesn't produce the results you are hoping for." (Local arts administrator Liverpool)

The beneficiaries of the 'Florida' model are understood by a local civil servant (NewcastleGateshead) as the creative class, not

“...people in Byker or Scotswood. It's been by and large people who work in the creative sector and the people closest to them [...] It would be ludicrous to say that [as] a result of investment in culture in Newcastle or Gateshead that there's been thousands of young people in Walker that have now got their minds open to culture that didn't before.”

Criticisms of Florida's ideas also highlight weak collaboration between 'culture' and 'regeneration' professionals. There remain silos where “the urban regeneration people live in one world, and then there's the culture people, they live in another world” (NewcastleGateshead academic). Hence, the cultural industries “by and large are not so well connected to the physical aspects of place making”. They remain outside the place-based urban regeneration agenda as niches, rather than generic tools for regeneration (Jarvis et al., 2009).

In the Northeast, a regional arts administrator believes that social aspects were lost as strategy re-focused on physical developments.

“It started as a social strategy, and actually the hook for getting local politicians and others involved was not about the international centre for music in Gateshead, but it was about the local people in Gateshead having the opportunity to learn music and see music on their doorstep.” (NewcastleGateshead regional arts administrator)

Similarly, in Liverpool a cultural strategy for 2009–2016 needed “buying in from the arts and culture sector as a whole, and in this case I mean culture in the widest sense [...] Liverpool wasn't developing strategy in isolation from its position in the region as a whole” (Liverpool local civil servant).

Culture, when used to attract the creative classes is criticised for creating formulaic regeneration. The local is squeezed out by iconic projects that are sought to solve the area's urban problems. Formulaic solutions have led cities to pursue talent by creating specific types of places with similar patterns of events, and a stereotyped 'cultural offer'.

6.2 Place as 'commodity'

Place can be commodified. It can be sold, and re-sold, to organisations, visitors, and potential workers (see Chapter 2.1). A strategic focus on a place and its attributes allows the locality to be sold; these include history, culture, and the built and natural environments. Those who market 'place' attempt to build on existing traditions and understandings to reposition a city within the limited images preferred by tourists and potential investors, while increasing the city's attractiveness to local residents. Three aspects of place commodification are discussed: quick fixes (Section 6.2.1), places for tourism (Section 6.2.2), and selling images of places (Section 6.2.3).

6.2.1 Quick fixes

"The international garden festival as an example as another random act of regeneration. It was there for a few months and then sort of died a death. You go there now and it's like stepping into a star trek episode, with a lost civilisation on some other planet." (Liverpool academic)

Cross-national policy transfer has led to a number of quick fix solutions being applied to cities. This packaged approach to regeneration includes the 'festivalisation' of places (Zukin, 1995), iconic structures, and marketing. For one Glasgow academic, although contemporary approaches to marketing that city originate in a 1980s trip to New York "Glasgow councillors and aldermen went to Paris in the 1870s to see what the underground was. It's not very different in a way is it?". The case study cities emulate existing policy approaches to enable rapid solutions.

This is closely linked to the development of a 'best practice' industry that promotes 'models' that can be transferred and emulated,

"there's a whole industry based around sharing best practice. That's what organisations like BURA⁶ do. They sit around and pontificate what is good, and they're not the only ones, there's loads of organisations. The whole conferences industry, that's all part of the process as well." (Glasgow politician)

⁶ Former British Urban Regeneration Association (BURA)

After the announcement of its Capital of Culture status, Liverpool focussed on quick wins, which were used to demonstrate that capital status would be beneficial. These wins included

“getting litter picking sorted out and getting skateboarders and that kind of thing off the street and getting the fly posting banned, getting much heavier regulation in terms of the ordering in the city and how it looks [...] there were messages that culture was going to clean up Liverpool. It was called something bonkers, you know, the marketing campaign that was run with the local press about keeping Liverpool litter free.” (Liverpool regional arts administrator)

Authenticity remains an important statement to the selling of a place. While new cultural spaces are sold, these also need to resonate with durable authenticity, and not appear transient and superficial. For example, iconic structures have problems, “where you don’t take the time to develop that authenticity you run into problems. I suppose that’s why [the] Sheffield pop music museum, for example, just didn’t work” (Regional arts administrator NewcastleGateshead) – and do not provide a quick fix. Ideally, these icons become expressions of what the new place stands for, but this can face resistance. The NewcastleGateshead Baltic development was questioned:

“Why don’t you knock down Baltic and build a shed and do it for a fraction of the cost said an Assistant chief executive. I said ‘I think you miss the point what this is about’. I always tell that story because they were determined as an authority that they were going to get the right kind of development. It wasn’t about making a centre for contemporary art. It was about making a statement and they stuck to their guns on that.” (Regional civil servant NewcastleGateshead)

Therefore, when an iconic building is created, it can take determination to realise its potential. The Baltic contemporary arts gallery is often cited as an example of effective building re-use, yet this was not ‘obvious’ in advance.

6.2.2 Places for tourism

Places are packaged and marketed as being ‘unique’. For one local civil servant for Glasgow, the cultural offer is key to attracting outsiders. The offer is “looking at what we have as a cultural product that people might want to come and see and visit”. While regeneration agencies are interested in attracting visitors for a demonstrable economic impact, one arts administrator criticises those with an exclusively economic focus,

“they’re interested in how many visitors and how much they spend. In some ways you can understand that, if they are supporting economic development and you have to find ways of doing it. So what’s happened particularly in this region is that tourism has become more involved in place-making and place-shaping based on cultural events and cultural opportunities.” (Regional arts administrator Liverpool)

Thus, marketing is also used for a city to acquire a global audience:

“it’s much more about using PR than it is about straight advertising; we worked with a company called World Television London and they produced a video news release for us and a multimedia news release, which was something which then got picked up from everywhere, from Chinese state television to Euro News. I mean it just went absolutely global.” (Local civil servant Glasgow)

The Capital of Culture competition also becomes part of what a city has to offer. It can be consumed and re-branded to sell the place to tourists:

“What ‘Capital of Culture’ has done is to provide a very real basis for good, positive PR. You still get some bad stories, but now ninety percent of newspaper coverage about Liverpool is positive, while in the 80s and 90s it was negative. Our interest in the waterfront is as an economic driver, not cultural in base, but visitor based. What ought to be one of Liverpool’s competitive advantages is its potential as a visitor destination.” (Local civil servant Liverpool)

However, the global audience receives a sanitised sense of a place safe for consumption (Landry, 2005). In Liverpool, where the city’s industry has declined, the economic focus turns to the city’s image and potential tourism. Hence, cultural attributes become vital to the city’s economic future: “I think economic historians in fifty, sixty years time will say 2008 was the change in Liverpool, the North West is meaningless, really, to anybody. So what you have to do is you have to sort of identify what we describe as our attack brands in the region. So you know the cities are attack brands” (Liverpool local civil servant).

For a local Liverpool politician, globalised cities are increasingly alike and difficult to differentiate. In this context, the distinctiveness of local culture and infrastructure is becoming an increasingly important secondary asset that differentiates the city in marketing terms. Describing Cardiff Bay, the politician depicted it as “a total Lego toy town, characterless, the architecture could be from anywhere, sterile environment, it has none of the physical or social sense of place type stuff. Some people love it. Me personally, I found it soulless”. In

contrast to cities becoming heritage theme parks, the uniqueness of a place is a vital competitive edge within the tourism industry,

“you need something unique and authentically Glasgow to come and visit. So uniqueness of our museums and collections, the uniqueness of theatre experiences, the uniqueness of our festivals, and the uniqueness of our physical places, not just buildings but the parks and the townscapes all become very important for the future of the city and particular industries within it.” (Glasgow local arts administrator)

Places, even the water itself, are being sold as tourist spaces.

“It’s fantastic to see the sea plane going to Oban from the Clyde. This was all part of the plan to get people to use the river more. But it’s a tough gig to get people in and around the river. Plans are afoot for a tourist boat on the river to move people around it and have things happening.” (Glasgow civil servant)

6.2.3 *Selling images of place*

The identity of a place is sold, although this may not be authentic. Place promotion and marketing, introduced in Chapter 2, form part of the city’s efforts to be seen as desirable. Successful cities have an unmistakable brand, a projected identity, created using their unique set of cultural, social and economic resources. Common ingredients of city brands include architecture, culture, image, and identity. A mark of a city’s global achievement is to be seen as an entrepreneurial place of economic diversity, skilled human capital, and desirable cultural offerings. These hallmarks are, perhaps, derived from recapitulating ‘best practice’ formulas, such as the influence of the Guggenheim museum in Bilbao (Fisher et al., 2004).

“Gateshead has to tie itself to Newcastle, NewcastleGateshead initiative you know. Because you know where’s Gateshead? There is a place called Gateshead, but marketing as NewcastleGateshead so they know that Newcastle has an identity” (NewcastleGateshead academic). For a Glasgow local civil servant, the marketing mix requires

“the physical attributes, so it’s the built environment, so it’s our architecture, it’s the river, it’s also the cultural vibe, it’s the energy and the artistic excitement from the city and it’s also the people. And I think that if you don’t have one of those three elements then it’s not whole. I think you need all of those to make a really successful city.”

The image and external perceptions of a place requires improvement so that it can be sold:

“Why did Gateshead as a council decide in the late 80s early 90s that culture was going to make a significant contribution to transforming Gateshead as a place and the external image? It was about place-shaping. It was finding a niche for Gateshead, always living in the shadow of Newcastle, and Gateshead being the bit across the river; people didn’t know what it was about.” (Regional civil servant for NewcastleGateshead)

Image and culture sell the wider region, not just the city. The region, “that’s where its success lies, it’s there to promote the image and we do that alongside our partners and this year it’s been the culture company going forward it will be the legacy organisation from the tourist perspective” (Liverpool local civil servant). The legacy lies in regional promotion, including the cities. The organisations set up to promote cities must collaborate with the regional partners to strengthen the brand offering.

This local civil servant for NewcastleGateshead is

“looking forward to the day when the cultural sectors of city are looking at social cohesion, and ethnic and minorities issues in a deeper way. And then regularly coming up with work, which is nationally significant. We still have too few organisations who, if you are a London based critic, are doing anything interesting.”

Regular creation of cultural work of national significance is therefore advocated as a vital attribute when selling a place. The visitor and worker alike can consume these activities. This consumption is shaping the homogenisation agenda for the city.

6.3 Consumption cities

Cities no longer produce; they are places of consumption. Regenerated new places are constituted of developments geared towards consumption. Commodifying culture allows it to be consumed specifically in these new places. “story lines about ‘we want to make our city a world class city’ are about consumption, not culture” (Liverpool academic). Consumption of a sense of place is offered to visitors and inhabitants (Section 6.3.1) as formulaic solutions are applied to make places attractive for consumption (Section 6.3.2). Yet, there

is local resistance to this, introduced in Section 6.3.3 and extensively explored in Chapter 7.

6.3.1 *Consuming a sense of place*

New consumption spaces are celebrated and marketed through the media.

“You tend to think of place as being some kind of added value factor so some people confuse the concept of place with the concept of public realm. I don’t mean the public space I mean the public realm of the city. I think Newcastle has a very powerful sense of place, which is not far off saying it has a very powerful sense of public realm. You can’t do anything without being all over the newspapers.” (Local civil servant NewcastleGateshead)

During recession, the competition between cities requires consumption of a sense of place:

“People are not going to go to a place because it’s got a great conference centre and air conditioned hotels; that’s a big plus, but it’s not the only reason. And sometimes we even realise the subliminal thing, but they’re going to go to a place that has a sense of place and that has a sense of its own culture.” (Glasgow politician)

Different senses of the city are consumed, yet homogenised approaches seek a standardised ‘type’ of visitor to match the cosmopolitan sense of place being created. The night-time cultural ‘package’ concerns all cities: “as with all other cities at the moment, there’s a night time culture that [is] basically fuelled by alcohol and a lot of people therefore don’t feel safe” (Liverpool regional arts administrator). Cities have a playground feel to them, where over indulgence is accepted, driving out the creative classes that regeneration needs (Section 6.1). NewcastleGateshead has become this ‘playground for weekend breaks’, and this leads to

“a displacement kind of function for artists. We are already seeing some of it in bits of the city. The classic model seen in the Ouseburn, artists go in and colonise something that’s a natural hovel, and go in work for 10 years, then gradually property developers go in, land prices rise and artists move out. The danger with the city-led regeneration is that it sucks the energy out of other places that already have that. Anthony Sargent⁷ of Sage always used the phrase, before they opened the Sage ‘irrigate not drain’.” (NewcastleGateshead regional arts administrator)

⁷ Anthony Sargent General Director of the Sage Gateshead

There is no best practice for solving this over indulgence. Instead, solutions are sought to change the nature of the people consuming these spaces, including 'visitors'. A local civil servant for Liverpool states, "we built the conference facility because it changes the nature of the visitor. So it becomes a, you know, business visitor destination with conferences and that sort of thing".

People's identity and sense of place are also linked to the consumption of the place's identity. "There was discussion around the North West region [that] a lot of peoples' identity came from the television. So peoples' identity tended to depend whether they were in a Granada region or a border region." For this regional civil servant, community identity depends on where people obtain stories about their place. The pervasive media of television influences local people to accept an identity marketed to them. This is not a clear or straightforward association. There are intangibles to a place that influence identity. In Liverpool, a local civil servant sees this in "the buzz you get being in the city centre, so social side added to the physical side and your reaction to the physical side". Architecture and urban design create a place that looks a certain way, and intangible social aspects create a local distinctiveness and 'buzz'.

However, sense of place is not simply a driver of consumption. A local politician for NewcastleGateshead advocates multiplier effects as remaining important to the new consumption cities.

"In financial terms in each of the capital investment projects, you expect to get a payback and in that sense it's regeneration because jobs and wealth are created. But also create a sense of place, in that sense of place you create somewhere people want to come to and that has an atmosphere and feeling of community."

A city should offer free places of cultural consumption. These local socially inclusive offerings are important to the historical resonance of a place. A NewcastleGateshead politician thinks cities should offer "free places that are warm, welcoming and no one asks who you are and you can stay as long as you like, you don't have to spend any money and there's all kinds of things to do". Here, the term free is not simply financial, it has associations with events that are unconditionally accessible to everyone.

6.3.2 *McGeneration*

To create a successful tourist destination a number of distinct physical regeneration projects must be completed. These commodity spaces of Section 6.2.2, require a standard package for consumption, offering a cosmopolitan cultural city to business and leisure consumers. Hotel development is a measure of cultural regeneration and the attraction of business to an area:

“hotel development is an interesting thing, there’s been a 42% increase in hotel bedrooms since 2002, 68% in the city centre and there’s another 1000 new hotel rooms planned. So that’s a kind of consequence of not just cultural regeneration but of business and other things coming into the area.” (NewcastleGateshead regional civil servant)

For a regional arts administrator in NewcastleGateshead, it has become a

“365 day a year city, [where] there’s always something on, there’s a range of things on and we’ve become a tourism destination. Three years running we were voted England’s city break destination by Guardian and Observer readers. The Lonely Planet guide had us on the front page and the rough guide to Britain had us as the number one attraction. Those things were unheard of 15 years ago.”

A national architectural organisation sees the new consumption as resident-tourism, in which localities are increasingly sold back to residents “be a tourist in your own town, they are obviously very developed in USA, they have festivals of it, even if it’s [an] off season offer to get you to go and re-visit your own places”.

Cultural regeneration solutions are increasingly rooted in this concept of visitor attractiveness, to return vibrancy to a locality. This vibrancy can often lead to a cosmopolitanism (Young et al., 2006): “The number of languages you can hear being spoken on the quayside is quite impressive. I think that it has got a really good cosmo buzz” (Regional civil servant NewcastleGateshead).

For Glasgow, consumption-led regeneration dates back to 1990 – its year as City of Culture. A local civil servant explains, “after 1990 we commissioned John Myerscough to do an evaluation of 1990 and his basic message was you have had the event now you have really got to work hard to get the long term benefit that grew from that. And he said the event was consumption-led”.

This generic cultural offer is needed to attract consumers (outsiders and local) to regeneration activities that are hoped to form a legacy that can be consumed by future generations. In relation to the Commonwealth Games, one Glasgow local politician noted that:

“Sport will have a huge part to play, sports development, the legacy, but culture will also be part of those games and there’ll be a huge opportunity for us, to ‘a’ sell ourselves, to profile ourselves, but ‘b’ also to get people who have an interest in changing their own lives and in becoming more economically and socially active.”

However, these new spaces of consumption are criticised for lacking long-term versatility. Cities should offer places that can serve different purposes. A national architectural organisation explains that versatile spaces are not being created because of the working practices between the key actors.

“There was always an idea that local authorities would work with cultural organisations and we haven’t seen enough of that yet. Again probably because of the applications and that sort of practices of local authorities, you haven’t got those connections with cultural organisations established.”

A local arts administrator sees the future of Liverpool as a celebration of distinctiveness and eccentricity,

“as an urban historian I’d probably argue that about any city to be fair, that you know ‘beware the global influence’, because you don’t want to end up looking like every other city. But you’ve got to certainly be aware of global patterns of behaviour and branding and things like that kind of thing, not just sit there and wait for people to come cause it’s not going to happen.”

These attempts to develop a place are thus hampered by the lack of collaboration that engrains versatility into the spaces. As with the concern about business engagement (shared in Section 7.2), a fragmentation of objectives for the places of consumption limits their potential benefit.

6.3.3 Local consumption

The interplay between the global and local is shaping the local focus on differentiation, in the face of homogenisation. However, local actions are seen as a global response. For a local arts administrator in Glasgow, “you cannot

stop these global shocks and the ripples seem to come faster than say 50 years ago. Something would happen in USA and would take years before it had an impact in the UK". The city becomes more homogeneous as these economic shocks are encoded in the development of similar retail and leisure pursuits.

"people don't go on holiday because it's got a McDonalds. It's because it's itself. So influences of global are going to be there. We should be accentuating the local as the counter point to differentiating cities. I suppose people are using creativity to differentiate themselves. You could argue that is that then acting global."

Global shocks include environmental concerns that require the consideration of patterns of consumption. A national environmental organisation calls for local recognition of climate change. They believe this agenda should usurp culture as the biggest urban influence. "It's not just about globalisation and seeing the same bloody shops and everything looking the same. There is an increasing element of that but there is something about the local." This local should embed environmental issues to create a local confidence that can be sold worldwide. Cities should be themed under just one banner of 'think global act local'. A slogan for cities that is 'real' for the local community,

"like anything, you can't sell something that hasn't got the reality, the grounding or embeddedness, or uniqueness that is serving its own communities well. It's only a city that has that confidence; has those communities engaged that will be attractive to the visitor and get the attention on the world stage." (National environmental organisation)

Cultural consumption is giving rise to numerous environmental impacts that require greater attention. A value chain consideration of culture should consider these impacts. Sustainable development

"is the big challenge for us, it's very much on our agenda, but if you think about any of the arts, people travel by car to a house, an exhibit, collections and so on, it's not yet done in the most environmentally efficient way yet [...] artists clearly collaborating with scientists on the understanding and exploration of kinds of change and the understanding there so you know lots of different ways I think is an agenda for us." (National arts organisation)

Rather than a hierarchy of regeneration tools, the creative classes and culture have a collaborative role to play in urban adaption to climate change.

Culture is a part of the new city of consumption. Consumption cities are characterised by retail, cultural, and night-time activities for the visitor and this has shaped the 'face' of cities (Gunn, 1988). Tourists, residents, and businesses are offered year-round access to the city. Consumption cities look to solve their urban problems through creating spaces that can be sold, but they are accused of accentuating homogeneity through the replication of 'model' approaches.

6.4 Competitive cities

This section examines the dynamic of competition between cities and how the actors perceive it as a factor in cultural regeneration. Competition remains strong and drives cities into a race to attain accolades that represent the cultural diversity and success of their locality. In our case studies, one objective shared by the cities is self-promotion to drive development and economic growth (Section 6.4.1). A local arts administrator believes that cities are competing through culture and thinks,

“that the premier European cities all have very strong cultural centres. However, there are many people that don't seem to get that simple argument. Some of the business sector don't seem to get that. You know their understanding of cultural regeneration goes no further than if you build the Guggenheim in Bilbao it will help, somehow or other, you know. Well A, Liverpool isn't Bilbao, and B, arguably it didn't work that well in Bilbao anyway long term.”

The role of culture in the global economy has become a strategic focus of branding for all 'world-class cities'. This is seen in the race to be designated a European cultural capital; itself in turn, a worldwide symbol of status (Section 6.4.2). The elite actors claimed they aim to develop place marketing strategies that enhance their city's position, within a highly competitive global market place. These strategies attempt to emulate success stories from elsewhere (Section 6.4.3).

6.4.1 City positioning

For a local Liverpool politician, culture is one of a number of elements that success requires: “the Capital of Culture for me is nothing to do with arts, or cultural activity, it's about city positioning”. Culture becomes a secondary 'added

value' element rather than the primary process for improving a city's competitiveness.

Glasgow's decision to focus on culture, beginning in 1983 with the building of the Burrell Gallery, is considered to have been a success. A local politician explains the loss of manufacturing industry forced the adoption of a 'risky' strategy, "I understand that culture and sport together actually became hooks on which we hung attraction of tourists, attraction of businesses etc." It was underpinned by a major policy shift that focussed on presenting a successful post-industrial city with a focus on culture at its heart. Charles Landry and Comedia⁸ completed a study for Glasgow entitled 'The creative city and its cultural economy' (Landry, 1991). They looked at all the subsets of the creative sector to compare them on world and UK scales. For the music sector, a Glasgow politician explains

"Los Angeles is a 10, London was a 9 and I think Glasgow was a 1. That's in a world scale and on a UK scale London was a 10, Manchester I think was a 6 and Glasgow was a 5 and what he said was that if you want to catch up to Manchester this is what they are doing, you have got to be better again at your original content and production, or get your production into the market."

Music was a sector in which production and consumption (in Glasgow) trailed other markets globally and nationally. A re-positioning of the city could occur through consumption, leading to the city competing both nationally and globally. This early work by Comedia in the 1990s was pursued through the development of a strategy for Glasgow's cultural industries.

Marketing is used to adjust and improve the identity of a place to compete with other destination cities. Glasgow's 'Miles Better' marketing campaign represented a new image focused on happiness and optimism. The campaign's success lay in the ambiguity of the title 'Glasgow's Miles Better', which poses the question, better than what? For one local Glasgow politician, one side-effect of the campaign was

"that Edinburgh took huge umbrage, because they felt we meant Glasgow's miles better than Edinburgh, and I'll not comment. But what of

⁸ Founded by Charles Landry in 1978 to share ideas www.comedia.org.uk

course it meant was Glasgow's miles better than what has happened to us over the past ten years and we must take succour and comfort from that; it also meant there's more to Glasgow than industrial scars."

Edinburgh's response demonstrates the effect of competition and historic rivalry. Brand also has to be 'sold' locally – for instance, in Glasgow itself. The later 'Glasgow's Alive' brand unfortunately paraphrases to 'Glasgow's a dive'. The succeeding campaign 'City of Style' is repeating the 'Miles Better' success, centres on the city's competitive position, and is recognised as a brand for promoting tourism and business,

"everybody has now got behind the brand and it's got a very distinctive look and feel to it, so cultural stuff, business stuff, events stuff are all City of Style. Yes and I suppose a successful brand is whether you get business to buy into it. Miles Better was largely supported by well 50% from the private sector and it's not the same with Scotland with Style but most of the big retailers have made their window space available." (Local civil servant Glasgow)

A local civil servant for Glasgow explains that the city has been repositioned "through PR, through the brand. Whereby the power of PR, you know if you can influence a journalist to actually write about something rather than put an ad in a newspaper, then you can't say much more powerful than that".

City branding is not an unqualified success. Negative perceptions persist – as exemplified by the subversion of the 'Glasgow's Alive' slogan. For a regional civil servant,

"it astonishes me when you talk to some people who still think that it's grim up here. You know that's the sort of default position, 'Oh it's grim, grim up North', and I think we've still got quite a lot to do to sort of try and turn around some of those attitudes, and I think a lot of the fault of that is with the media as well, because the media, the national media are incredibly London centric and London biased, and you sort of wonder what you have to do really."

A NewcastleGateshead regional civil servant says, "you could read an advertisement placed by either a regional development agency or something like a marketing agency, strip out the place names and you could be talking about anywhere really". The latest brand for Glasgow

“was seen very much as a holistic city brand rather than purely a tourism tool. So, because of that we made a very strong case to the then Scottish Executive for a standalone marketing agency, because we felt that if we were to be subsumed into the National Agency, Glasgow would effectively lose its sheer voice in the global market place and Glasgow’s economic success has always been built on its creativity.” (Local civil servant Glasgow)

The campaign became part of a rivalry with other cities, “because we knew that we were competing in an international beauty competition and that we had to compete with the likes of Barcelona and Vienna and New York and whatever, and they’re heavy hitters”. The banality that concerned the NewcastleGateshead civil servant finds some branding is insufficient: competition demands a potent distinctiveness especially in its imagery.

A Glasgow academic bemoans

“a growing ratcheting up process of league-itus, that’s becoming more global and you know and covering everything from the best place to go and shop to the best place to go and have a meal, to the best place to hold a sports event. The best place to hear opera you know. There’s hardly anything that hasn’t itself been commodified and wrapped up in the process of then being measured and assessed and rated, and very often that rating attaches itself to particular cities.”

Cynicism about the validity of Glasgow’s brand demonstrates the need for local resonance, as slogans are criticised for lacking depth and local validity. The Glasgow Scotland with Style brand is historically grounded in the early twentieth century, and with one of Glasgow’s most famous artists Charles Rennie Mackintosh. Previous marketing is criticised:

“one that springs to mind which were really more slogan rather than a brand, was ‘Glasgow’s Miles Better’. Well, okay ‘Glasgow’s Miles Better’, but which Glasgow, is it Glasgow at Nova Scotia or was it Glasgow, Kentucky? There wasn’t anything which actually positioned Glasgow in Scotland.” (Local civil servant Glasgow)

For Liverpool this vying for position through branding

“is a bit old hat now, because I think there’s got to be a sort of positioning. It’s [Liverpool] probably stronger than anywhere outside London, in the UK certainly, and part of that as well of course is the sort of music heritage of the city, and they had the Beatles and so on, which we’re all getting slightly bored about, but you shouldn’t underestimate,

this, to us it might be a bit old hat but to people overseas it's a really big deal." (Regional civil servant Liverpool)

Thus, cities as destinations is a major part of the future, and

"as we get more and more Asian tourists wanting to come and consume western culture you know, it's going to be a real cat fight between western cities, and British cities too, to get some of those people and using our hotels rather than using somebody else's hotels, and that's when people start saying, 'Walker (art gallery), surely that's the finest collection in you know Britain, outside London'." (Local arts administrator Liverpool)

Cities striving to compete on a world stage look to their local strengths as resources. These strengths are continually considered: for example, science is set to be the new 'culture' in NewcastleGateshead's future regeneration. This strength will only aid positioning within the United Kingdom, as this local civil servant downplays global competition, explaining

"Newcastle cannot compete on a world stage; it's just an insult to your intelligence to think they could, in everything. When it comes to you know [being a] serious economic player, it's not, but there are pockets of excellence. And those pockets of excellence do put it on a world stage. And they tend to be you know things like the stem cell technology."

The argument that predominated was that the built environment has been 'done' and that science is the new 'culture'. Another local civil servant agrees:

"the era for large scale capital projects is nearing an end. This physical regeneration is not the leading requirement, instead there is an overarching need for culture to be self-sustaining, particularly in the current climate. Now's the time for science. Science I think has gone up to the top of the regional economic agenda."

A regional arts administrator disagrees, "there's a real danger development agencies like Onenortheast or others think 'oh yeah we'll do culture for ten years and then we'll turn over and do science or we'll do something else', but actually we have to build our strengths; you can't saturate the place with it".

6.4.2 *Title race*

Glasgow itself is presented as a model of success, partly due to winning the Capital of Culture competition, but even mere participation in the competition

gave a focus for 'catching-up' in terms of regeneration. Similarly, for a Liverpool arts administrator they also

“wanted to use the [Capital of Culture] bidding process to announce to the world that we we're on the way back. We had a big plan, the city had already improved a lot during early to mid-1990s then there was an awful lot of good work planned but we felt European Capital of Culture — the bidding process, and then when we won, the actual delivery — gave us a platform and a sort of target really to aim at and to focus a lot of our regeneration activity.”

For a regional civil servant in Liverpool, the competition also saw mutual benefits for the region's two major cities,

“still huge rivalry, huge rivalry between the cities, but some of the political co-operation has been quite good, so Manchester supported Liverpool's bid. Manchester didn't bid for 'Capital of Culture'. Liverpool supported Commonwealth Games bid you know during the 'Capital of Culture' year, for Manchester.”

The game of catch-up also requires the presence of certain common elements in the city. Iconic architectural structures are required and so are places for cultural consumption, such as a new musical arena, which is now “just something that a modern city needs to have” (Local arts administrator Liverpool).

This Glasgow civil servant sees the competitive titles as a quick win in themselves: “We try and win major cultural titles when they are available and they are the right thing to bid for and they tend to come along every 3 or 4 years.” The national and global competition between cities for these titles increases as each new title appears. This competition can distract attention from the long-term consideration of a balanced approach to regeneration.

A Liverpool arts administrator thinks most people would say that Glasgow benefited from being City of Culture at the time. However,

“you can go to the city now and still see horrible urban grot. It clearly never got dealt with and life's like that, life will be like that in Liverpool too [...] I happen to think Liverpool is a better place than Glasgow ever was to reinvent and re-image. I think it's got a stronger potential than Glasgow had. I think it's a more cultural and creative city than Glasgow, and of course I mean you know you're comparing apples and pears really, 'cause it's a city in another country.”

In the case of Liverpool, the understanding of culture's role in competition varies. A particular mix of attributes and accolades need to characterise the city. These are a mixed blessing as their benefits can be temporary and potentially unwelcome to those who do not experience an immediate impact. A local civil servant explains, "specifically because we've had the Capital of Culture status we've had a lot of capital projects which ended up getting done. Thankfully, just before the economic downturn". This renewed vigour in promoting Liverpool's indigenous cultural assets keeps one eye on the global, "we're always on the look out from lessons from across the world. A major part of what we do is around the waterfront, which is very heavily tied into our cultural offering". Liverpool is hailed as a success, which "has resulted in the Secretary of State now wanting to establish British city of culture status and awards" (National arts organisation).

Cultural centres need to be made up of specific elements in order for a city to complete. Liverpool is competing to

"get into that group of top twenty European cities for short visitor breaks and we're very much kind of in that now. Our competitors in some ways are similarly sized European cities which have this mix of night-time economy, sport, culture, the whole thing really, and we think we have got the lot." (Local arts administrator Liverpool)

6.4.3 Models to emulate

For the elite actors, confidence can be gained from considering the success of other cities, as success elsewhere can help justify your approach. A NewcastleGateshead politician cited Barcelona as a classic example of regeneration, and continued that "sometimes you think problems are unique to the area, and, generally they are not, and there's a lot of commonality and sometimes you can benefit a lot from just looking. Even if you haven't, or have an assumption to a problem it puts it in context". A local civil servant for NewcastleGateshead agrees that "it's incumbent on us to make sure we try and see what is happening elsewhere where the nuggets of good practice are". The problem seems to be "systemising the learning, about which you create a knowledge bank of learning and use it in systematic basis. [...] You learn from

everywhere but applicability is tricky. Too much superficial learning goes on. On the other hand if someone has a good idea I am quite happy to nick it”.

How elite actors learn from examples of other cities, and the resulting consequences, will be examined in the next section. In this section we focus specifically on how lessons are drawn about prestige – a theme that emerged at the same time that cities were held up as models. One contribution that models have made was demonstrating how to compete effectively for attention.

According to a local civil servant in NewcastleGateshead,

“you just have to look at somewhere like Barcelona and these are the kinds of places that Glasgow models itself on in one way. It looks at somewhere like Barcelona and it sees they have used to a lesser extent sport, big sporting events and Olympics and so on, but definitely culture to re-brand itself, promote its industry, its tourism industry in particular. But more than that, that intangible thing, that feel good quality that would make you attracted to a city.”

Culture is central to the intangible offering, and provides a locus of attraction that engages visitors in the enjoyment of place and ambience.

Learning from elsewhere can be achieved, notes a regional civil servant in Glasgow, through hosting events like the “Waterfront Expo”. The Expo in Glasgow offered the opportunity to experience

“what other people have been saying, and the person that was the Chief Executive of the waterfront project, he did a lot of networking and then brought that back to the partners with lessons learned. He went over to America, to a number of the big waterfront initiatives there and you know to Dublin and other places. So he did that rather than all of us do it.”

Liverpool also hosted a Waterfront Expo that gathered together regeneration experts from around the world to Liverpool. Lessons can also be derived from national sources, for a Liverpool regional civil servant

“a lot of work that DCMS does, that government office does is pointing to, you know looking at case studies of best practice or looking at impacts and getting that used. I think sometimes it’s making case studies that work, you know ‘cause I think there’s a lot of books with case studies in that don’t somehow get used or get forgotten about.”

A Glasgow civil servant believes that lessons can be drawn from the Glasgow experience of competition. For them, the greatest loss of opportunity was that the Garden Festival and the City of Culture were not fully exploited for economic and competitive benefits. However, this learning has “been taken onboard for the Commonwealth Games, whereas you know you need to be looking beyond the Commonwealth Games and make sure that you know you’re on that curve”. This exploitation of an accolade like the Capital of Culture affords opportunities that must be exploited. “Leaders have got to come together, business leaders, political leaders, and cultural leaders and really work out how best to move the city on. If that comes out of ‘Capital of Culture’ then it will have done its job” (Local arts administrator Liverpool). The title also confers a model approach that includes the building of iconic structures to establish a recognisable commodity (Friedmann, 2007). “We might not have been building the museum of Liverpool if we hadn’t won the ‘Capital of Culture’, as we might not have been able to get the money for it. But we did, and it will be a legacy” (Local arts administrator Liverpool).

These events and titles necessitate that the elite actors assess what the legacy of these will be to the city. The events and titles themselves are bestowed with, often anecdotal, long-term local economic regeneration impacts: “there’s bound to be one game in town in Glasgow and it’s ‘how does that relate to 2014?’ Sooner or later that’s all people will refer to, ‘how does this investment link to what we are doing with the Commonwealth Games?’” (Glasgow local arts administrator). This legacy however, remains contested. One regional civil servant in Liverpool feels that:

“People are getting increasingly concerned about sort of what the legacy is. I mean obviously there’s legacy in terms of bricks and mortar and you’ve seen yourself. I’m sure you’ve seen it when you’ve been there. But in terms of the institutes just like the Tate, you know and the Philharmonic and others, they’re quite concerned that they’re just going to sort of have to go back to doing what they did before.”

The key actors see themselves using established practices, not culturally focussed, to make places distinct from their European rivals. However, competing with European cities is hindered by two fundamental controls that UK cities lack. European cities

“have access to powers we don’t in this country [...] so for example on finance, the control European cities have of finance on a local level we don’t have in this country. [...] In this country it [money] is flowing south, cities in this country control the 5% community charge. That’s a very poor picture indeed, very centralised systems and that’s what we’ve been working to combat. The second reason why we aren’t performing so well is that we aren’t yet able to work across the city region area in a way that is really meaningful really addresses issues including marketing and is recognised by government.” (Liverpool regional arts administrator)

The bodies set up to manage these processes may pose threats to cultural regeneration, as they contain the ‘usual suspects’ (discussed in Chapter 7.2). An arts administrator for Glasgow explains that ‘Culture and Sport Glasgow’ was set up as an arms-length body; a department of the local council oversaw culture before it was moved into this trust. Council ex-employees staff it and local councillors form its board. The arms length body “was railroaded through” and there was

“all sorts of uproar in the paper [...] so overnight the council department has now become competitors for organisations like us, and there’s a really unhealthy dynamic going on I think at the moment. Where they are a council when it suits them, and then they [are] there in the social enterprise world when it suits them.”

This arts administrator believes a ‘monster’ has been created, one that has the powers of the council but also the ability to compete with local cultural organisations, particularly for funding. This approach can also be found in Liverpool as the Liverpool Culture Company is also an arms length body, established with former City Council staff. Culture and Sport Glasgow is an organisation expressly created to exploit funding opportunities and savings.

“There’s a very significant rate saving by creating this body, but one of the main reasons for doing it was really about expanding and developing services which to date had been extremely successful in terms of government funding and all sorts of other restrictions and failure, not so much failure but limitations in exploiting other sources of funding, [this] meant that we needed to look at a different model.” (Glasgow local arts administrator)

In contrast to the claims of Liverpool’s uniqueness, the competition being undertaken by cities is accused of homogenising places (Richards and Wilson, 2004). The requirement to offer a certain experience arises from the perception of other cities’ success in re-creating their post-industrial places. The models for

waterfront regeneration were taken from the United States. This phenomenon for some is now closed, “I mean turning round of waterfronts is only of interest to Americans generally speaking. Nobody else goes to Baltimore, apart from Americans” (Liverpool local arts administrator). Another difference is

“the sheer commerciality of what their waterfronts have to offer. In Britain we have a different kind of approach to our culture, which is that a lot of, not all of it, is funded through taxes. So our greatest cultural institutions in terms of museums and art galleries are free to get in. You don’t find that in the States.” (Glasgow arts administrator)

America’s pattern of homogenous, if successful, regeneration that squeezes out uniqueness is problematic. “In America you know there’s a homogenisation that’s gone on there, so I’m not quite sure what real lessons I would say there are to learn from America, other than the fact that waterfront sites are particularly attractive to visitors” (NewcastleGateshead local arts administrator).

Competition between cities is intense, and gaining certain accolades (for example Capital of Culture) gives substantial opportunities for a city to improve its competitive position. However, it is difficult to realise the full long-term potential of that opportunity. Successful competition for events and investment means demonstrating a cultural capacity similar to exemplar cities such as Barcelona, and communicating that convincingly to both locals and visitors. Achieving that communication is riddled with many problems, including effective governance. Finally, cultural regeneration may not be sufficient to provide long-term sustained success on its own, and there is some indication that for cities that have passed that stage, demonstrating their ‘scientific’ capacity is the next step.

6.5 The new cultural spaces

Places subjected to large-scale cultural regeneration solutions have been redefined as cosmopolitan places for the future. These cities seek new cultural spaces for divergent cultural experiences (Hannerz, 1996), not uniformity. All the themes explored above are enacted within and upon place, and characterise new cultural spaces. The following quote from a NewcastleGateshead regional arts administrator illustrates the obligation to create new cultural spaces, and the importance of visitors’ preconceptions:

“you are trying to say that a place that is seen as uncultured is cultured, trying to say that a place that’s seen as impoverished and redundant is not. You are trying to change the narrative about a place. I think there is a real interest in place in cultural activity because it’s about people and lots of great art works are actually about place. Where you come from and what it feels like to come from there. I think they are also very much about changing the physical environment and often that’s one of the biggest impacts that cultural regeneration can have. If you change a part of a physical environment you start to change a whole set of narratives that spin off that. That’s an import aspect of cultural regeneration as well that the focus is on how place [is] perceived by tourists.”

Certain physical features, which form the “McGeneration” aesthetic model, are seen as key to successful waterfront transformations: convention centres, art space, aquariums, retail units, hotels and cleaned-up public space, creating flagship places (Section 6.5.1). These cultural icons form part of place shaping (Section 6.5.2) of the waterfront’s new cultural space (Section 6.5.3). This process of development has itself become a means of defining the city (see Chapters 2 and 3).

6.5.1 Flagship places

Flagship places are centred on heavily contested, iconic buildings, such as the Sage in NewcastleGateshead. These structures should be viewed as opportunities rather than the results of a cultural focus. This actor explains that the iconic building itself has

“become a locus and a focus, but it’s not the be-all and end-all really. Our role in terms of the buildings it’s actually beyond the buildings. While it’s our role to ensure the arts continue to happen in the organisations, it is about actually having the public engage with the art forms and that may not be in the building itself it may be elsewhere, it might be virtually.”
(Regional arts administrator NewcastleGateshead)

This statement is one case where actors argued that buildings themselves have a limited capacity for influence; rather, it is the sum of the cultural offering that is important. Contradictory benefits of culture emerge over debates on ‘image’ versus ‘need’. A Glasgow arts administrator explains culture is heavily influenced by the financial priorities for a space. For them, the arts are not really the primary priority — it is the place itself,

“there will be times you know if you are doing a new build housing development and there’s £20,000 for art works and the budget goes over, the art works will often get cut. But actually you can sort of see the logic in that because people need their roof fixed and don’t need a bit of stained glass in the hall.”

Cities utilise their key cultural institutions – the Walker Gallery (Liverpool) for example – to compete against other places. This Liverpool academic explains

“it hasn’t got an iconic element to really make it a great Capital of Culture. One of the things about NewcastleGateshead is that the buildings that it has are iconic in a sense. In particular, the Baltic taps into sort of, the history of the region and the Tyne, as being a sort of signifier of the region. Liverpool hasn’t really got that with the collapse of the cloud.”

This lack of iconic signifiers in Liverpool is perceived a failure. New buildings must obtain iconic status and this iconic design is associated with the architects who dream up the structure.

“With all its faults Glasgow’s one of the few cities that would have said, ‘so who are we going to get for this museum? Oh yeah, we’ll try that woman (Zaha Hadid), see what she’s like, she’s never had a British commission; she’s had plenty in Europe, let’s take her and let’s see what she can do’. And we’re going to have [an] iconic building down there, but it would be an iconic building that is free and that is open to the people.”
(Glasgow local politician)

However, new cultural facilities may not be part of a wider strategic plan for places, instead they may be the exploitation of an opportunity.

“Cultural facilities, things like the transport museum are in there simply because we had problems at getting access to a site and having got access to [a] very expensive site free of charge, what do we do with it? The river strategy was not predicated on the cultural product of the offering of the city. I think that’s come along as an add-on to now a much bigger regeneration programme which is aiming to do other things.”
(Glasgow local civil servant)

Cultural animation of these new cultural places was a recurring theme across the elite interviews. For this ‘animation’ of cities, there must be a continual programme of events:

“You can’t just run a festival for a year; you can’t just open new cultural facilities, celebrate the openings and then just leave them, you have to have reasons for people to return. So festivals and events are a critical

part of our strategy now, and that is a strategy. Festival and events that attract people here for the hotels year round.” (NewcastleGateshead regional arts administrator)

A local politician for Liverpool agrees that cultural regeneration is experiencing a “move away from physical development [...] The past few years is what you might call the physical refurbishment of cultural stock”. This was the first step in regeneration; with further processes to be undertaken. “Being clear on what the second and third steps are, is important, the big challenge for the cultural sector.” A Liverpool arts administrator believes that in Liverpool Albert Dock, “what’s missing is kind of programming or animation”. Places require this sense of ‘buzz’; an animation that is transformative in its ability to engage local people:

“intelligent physical design can make things happen, and you know that’s why we had this whole idea of the cultural quarter. There’s a danger that you then get labelled as a sort of physical determinist. I think they’re necessary, but not sufficient condition, you know to create things.” (Academic NewcastleGateshead)

This point underlines the difficulty of creating animated spaces. It does not happen by accident, but planning to produce animation is problematic. A regional arts administrator believes that “each of the cultural spaces learned from somewhere else and that’s the way architects work anyway isn’t it”. The following quote from a national architectural organisation concurs:

“all good place learns from place, it doesn’t just magic itself out of nothing. Some of the lessons are undoubtedly being learned and give great hope for a renaissance of good powerful urban place. It’s a lesson still to be learned by many including some of the finest practitioners in my profession as I allude to, who are still wedded to the building as object, as image, as icon, as something for the magazines. This aesthetic talent combined with urban illiteracy still blights great places.”

Concerns arise when lessons are applied to urban spaces that differ significantly from the cities that provided those models — the misfit causes failure. A local civil servant for NewcastleGateshead thinks place often becomes artificial when it’s too closely tied to regeneration. Place can be ‘destroyed’ and

“I don’t think place-shaping is a problem I think regeneration is. I think regeneration is a deeply flawed term; it’s a very contested term and a very controversial term. Place-shaping I think is jargon of the day but for me place-shaping is dead simple it’s trying to respond to what’s going on

in your place rather than simply deliver the services you are responsible for.”

A Glasgow local arts administrator believes money haemorrhages from the creation of flagship iconic places. The structures create an artificial sense of place and make no business sense. They attribute this failure to political game-playing:

“Glasgow has a lot of ego fuelled politicians you know and we’ve things going on in Glasgow that are not for the greater good of the city. It’s happened a few times in Glasgow, they invest capital money and do big capital projects but no-one has thought about the longer term sustainability because the glory is in building the building and cutting the tape.”

The symbolism of cultural regeneration has a duality of negative and positive characteristics for a locality. For this arts administrator (NewcastleGateshead) the Angel of the North is a symbol:

“you know people call it iconic, and it does have a role as an icon. I think there’s something about flipping the symbolism, I always talk about the Baltic, it’s not just that you have a positive symbol but we have a negative one at the same time. Those negative symbols of de-generation have such an impact on place. If you have an empty factory at the end of your road, even if it’s got nothing to do with you or your family, and, there’s a shiny new business park around the corner, that’s going to have an impact on how you think about your place and the way you behave. Flipping that symbolism, and some of that is what public art has done I think.”

A local civil servant notes that they had a conversation about the Angel of the North, addressing whether Glasgow should build one. The Angel’s specificity and timeliness for NewcastleGateshead is revered by a NewcastleGateshead politician and local civil servant. However, they also noted that “just copying that wouldn’t work. So, that seems to be a common theme about uniqueness and being distinct. Particularly in the marketing angle, and that there are a lot of places striving to find what that is about them. I mean no-one else has Charles Rennie Mackintosh”. For a Glasgow arts administrator a fashion has developed for building your own ‘Angel’:

“another piece of alleged regeneration as a way of changing perceptions. Everyone is after their Antony Gormley, you chase the same artists for public art works it becomes like chasing certain architectures, like a

Rogers building, so suddenly its 'let's have a Damien Hurst' or whatever else so art becomes almost internationally homogenised, no-one's wanting parochialism, you have to be constantly looking outside, but if culture becomes homogeneous like the corporate world has become international and homogenous, will our cities not die as interesting places to go."

There is a vocal consensus that cultural homogenisation is bad for cities. Policies are accused of a 'horrible copycat' approach "but then occasionally a real breakthrough that works in a place, but there aren't recipes I don't think" (National architectural organisation).

So, to recap, lessons can certainly be drawn from other places, but literal reproduction of other structures, or too close a mimicking of an outstanding example, produces inauthentic, unconvincing and expensive 'failures'. There are, however, further pressures to elicit a distinctiveness of place.

6.5.2 Place shaping

A NewcastleGateshead arts administrator finds uniqueness in using spaces for things they are not designed for. People's ideas and use of spaces are opened up by the changes that are enacted within them, particularly with new buildings.

"When it comes to culture-led regeneration the things like Baltic and Sage, waterfront area and of course from a DCMS view, which these things are kind of funded from and by, there is this anxiety that people have to use these institutions in the way these institutions have been designed, because that's what their success will be."

The buildings themselves have changed the space and how people feel about it through their own non-prescribed interaction. Similarly, the understanding and association of the buildings has been transformed – for example the Baltic from grain silo into artistic venue.

Applying standardised approaches to changing the built environment homogenises spaces. A local Glasgow arts administrator asks

"is there a city in the UK that doesn't have a cultural quarter? Some of them you go to and ask where is it, where are the artist bohemians? We've created an even bigger fashion for it. So I think it's abused. Where they parachute in from a great height and filter down to everybody won't work."

It is notable here that this application of a 'cultural quarter model' suggests a lack of genuine cultural activity and neglect of historical value in place (Peck, 2005). This leads actors to suggest that the "parachuting" of design, reported here, has created a trend for exploiting the iconic structures of a place (or having new ones built):

"It's just glass and steel, the postmodern building. I just think it's really bad legacy for the future. The new stuff that's going up on the Liverpool waterfront at the moment is just like, well you know, it's just ordinary. There's nothing unusual about it. It's not distinctive." (Regional civil servant Liverpool)

This civil servant notes that even the approach of using landmark structures has its limits: producing genuine, distinctive local character is hard. However, failure is not inevitable, and actors suggested both local and distant examples of effective landmark structures that have become icons for other cities. The

"Angel of the North has become the most recognised landmark in [the] UK, the Sage Gateshead has been named one of the top 10 buildings of [the] last 100 years. The Gateshead Millennium Bridge has won the Stirling prize. The Baltic has become a major iconic structure." (NewcastleGateshead arts administrator)

Each of these three buildings are contemporary cultural icons that are now defining place and are attributed a role in differentiation of spaces (in Chapter 2.5 we identified the role of culturally iconic buildings in the design of new spaces).

However, these spaces have become contested. Cultural regeneration is ascribed a role in "regenerating the people as well as regenerating the physical spaces" (NewcastleGateshead civil servant). A NewcastleGateshead academic explains these cultural spaces as also about "getting the next generation of people employed in the cultural sector, engaging, participating in culture". For a Glasgow academic new cultural spaces must be incorporated into the existing city, and threaded into the lives of its people. The new transport museum "if it's going to be incorporated in a sense of, as in generate some sort of sense of place about it, it's got to be built into the daily social comings and goings, and imaginations that people have of the local area, I just don't see it happening".

For a local arts administrator (NewcastleGateshead) the new cultural space “is a clear commitment to embedding investment in cultural people, buildings, locations, and processes at the forefront of thinking about regeneration”. This commitment must produce demonstrable benefits, to justify the financial and political investment made in regeneration projects (see Chapter 2’s discussion of engagement). Disengagement and dissatisfaction with cultural approaches comes from a lack of perceived benefits: “The idea of regenerating through cultural activity is still reasonably novel, and there’s a lot of scepticism about it, because people often think, business people particularly often think that, ‘well you know we’ve seen all these schemes go wrong’.” (Liverpool arts administrator) The Dome in London is often cited as something being mismatched with local ideas on cultural regeneration. Both a Liverpool and a Glasgow local arts administrator suggested iconic buildings such as the Dome and Sheffield Pop Museum are unhelpful to the local community, especially when they fail. This creates a scepticism that drives elite actors to point to examples of good practice to contradict such views:

“They de-place-ify, if there’s such a phrase. They [policy makers] take places away from themselves. They create a world in which all cities are alike, and I think we have made the mistake in many respects in Britain in the past of creating what I would call random acts of regeneration. Where regeneration is plopped on place and we just hope for the best. I think the Albert Dock is a very good example of that.” (Liverpool academic)

The arts are believed to offer an antidote to the artificiality of places. A regional arts administrator for NewcastleGateshead believes the arts are place making,

“what I believe very strongly is that my job now is to ensure the best art that can happen, happens because the people of this region actually deserve it. That that itself contributes to the idea of what this place is. So that this place actually becomes part of what the place making is, which is the excellence in the arts.”

An academic believes culture has been responsible for creating a new place for NewcastleGateshead, it “is built on the people, the icons and the culture and that’s what the place is. We have just got a lot of things that are very distinctive now to NewcastleGateshead. So the contribution of culture to place has been huge and it’s been important in documenting the place historically”. Thus, the

arts can be a unique part of the locality. While the built environments of the case studies also provide unique selling points (USPs).

“People are incredibly proud of the way the waterfront looks now, and as a world heritage site. We have a difficult task, which is to manage newness that won’t lose our heritage status. So we are actually aware of in the planning, but the built environment of Liverpool is absolutely one of our USPs.” (Liverpool local arts administrator)

6.5.3 *New waterfront places*

Once key iconic structures are established, they signal a commitment to cultural regeneration.

“Gateshead Council agreed to develop the [Millennium] bridge and that was the moment it turned into being a mechanism for a regeneration strategy. Because, once the bridge was committed to and Gateshead Council went on and raised the money for the bridge, that led the way to a whole programme of regeneration.” (Regional arts administrator NewcastleGateshead)

This commitment to the waterfront of cities has created new cultural spaces, turning the city around to face the formerly disused industrial areas. A regional civil servant claims the whole of Newcastle city had moved away from the quayside and that going back to the quayside was an important idea that “just grew in”. They explain

“waterfronts have a tremendous attraction pulling if they’re done properly. I went on a luxurious tour of waterfront developments in the United States, and saw good ones and the ones that hadn’t worked, and I was pretty convinced this one could work, and so I brought back those ideas to development in the North East. So, and I think you know you could go on with examples of how the regeneration has been as a result of the North East waking up to the fact that it can’t live within its own confines any longer.”

It is worth noting that, once again, the selection of appropriate, matching archetypes for regeneration is the key to success. In the case of the waterfront, regeneration can refocus the city back to a previously neglected area.

The return of a city’s focus to the waterfront is not, however, simply positive. Indeed, this focus may be negative. A local arts administrator discusses how

Glasgow turned back towards the water, creating opportunities, but creating them in isolation from community life:

“I think that Glasgow has got the opportunity with the regeneration of the Clyde. The problem we’ve had with the regeneration of the Clyde it’s a high dependency on property, on high value. Before the credit crunch we still had a problem with selling these flats. No one wants to pay quarter of a million for a flat overlooking a shipyard. There’s been too much dependence so far on property without developing amenities and the leisure offer. So the regeneration of the Clyde so far hasn’t impacted on ordinary Glaswegians.”

A local politician for NewcastleGateshead believes that the quayside is in danger, “it might end up being a bit peripheral to the city and the key (forgive the pun) issue here is to get some development around the quayside so that it’s more brought in rather than the developments stopping at the quayside”. Therefore, issues of detail and locality emerge even within a project, and they have strong constraints of time and money. “If you’re only going to do something like the riverfront once in a generation, once in a number of generations I think for the scale of it, then you know if you don’t build a lot of that in then you’ve missed an opportunity” (Regional civil servant Glasgow). There is a concern that “development doesn’t go right to the river edge, but I guess what I’m saying is that we have ambitions for that to be seen as being a sort of beacon within the city, but we haven’t actually got to a stage where we could actually stand up and say, ‘yes we have achieved that’” (Local civil servant Glasgow).

A regional arts administrator for Liverpool thinks there has been a complete turnaround in less than a century in waterfront development, “twentieth century waterfront development has turned about where it is, Manchester and Birmingham if you went there 100 years ago you were taking your life in your hands, it was dark, sewage, all the backs of buildings turned onto waterfront. It’s done an about-face now”. Again, the actors concur that previously buildings turned their back to the waterfront. Continuing the theme of learning well from other locations, actors look for lessons from successful places that turned to face the waterfront.

“Barcelona is an interesting city that turned itself around to face the sea, it wasn’t originally. I think there are probably fewer examples in USA that

people look at for regeneration. This country does very well in waterfront regeneration but only since we started to clean up our act and the water itself.”

The actors see the United Kingdom as leading the way in waterfront regeneration and that people’s desire to be close to the water is fuelling this. Inspiration for new cultural spaces still comes from lessons learned elsewhere. These lessons appear to be coming from sources closer to home than America. A local politician for NewcastleGateshead sees the opportunity of these lessons in the new cultural spaces. NewcastleGateshead could emulate a European example and “you could have a beach on land as they do in Paris where they cover it over with sand and people come down there and sunbathe in the summer”.

However, to be successful, and achieve this vision of transformation, even these artificial leisure waterfronts need to be places that people can enter, enjoy, and move around (Stevens, 2009). A Glasgow arts administrator questions the access planning of new cultural spaces based on icons and large buildings.

“People need to be able to get into and around places, [I] think that some of the planning that’s been done does not reflect this. Creating sense of place is important. The issue is of how to do that round the new transport museum. The debate originally about its location has been resolved, although some people still think it’s on the wrong side [of the river] but that remains to be seen.”

Issues of access are not, however, simply ones of physical movement. There is also a challenge in making an understanding of the place accessible – to make the idea of the place something that people can enter in their mind.

A Glasgow academic explains the physical influence of the new cultural spaces “even the linearity of the river tends, or rivers tend to create that sort of situation where by definition you’re talking about a linear regeneration [...] I mean I doubt whether there’s going to be that much social interaction as a result of that. What is there to go to the river for?”. The linear nature of waterfronts and their shaping by their history into places inaccessible to the public, thus complicating the accessibility of the place in people’s expectations. The regeneration of waterfronts is criticised for retaining this problem, and remaining disconnected

from the rest of the city. This view is not universal, “I don’t believe there is a disconnect; there might be people just saying I will just do my shopping and go home but there’s no reason for there to be a disconnect. Of course, there is the new footbridge and cycle bridge as well. If anything this has helped to improve connectivity” (NewcastleGateshead regional civil servant).

“Having looked at these different waterfront sites, I think there’s some way to go with them, in the terms of that I don’t feel that they’re quite finished yet, because that aspect of sense of place isn’t quite there. So I think because sometimes the communities have stepped from the waterfront that bringing them into the waterfront hasn’t happened so much.”(Glasgow regional civil servant)

The theme of the challenges posed by the linear development of waterfront regeneration was a rich seam across the interviews. This is highlighted in the reflections of specific places:

“Newcastle I think is a very good example as it developed all the connections between the quayside in great detail, good urban design. Liverpool is the example where it kind of comes under ‘could do better’. Their problem has been that they have redeveloped an area called the Ropeworks, and part of the area around Lime Street in the centre by the station and have a massive redevelopment by Albert Docks. It’s a nightmare trying to get between those three areas, but comes back to local control.” (Regional arts administrator Liverpool)

The physicality of an urban area influences which developments are viable, and here the waterfront’s nature is a powerful influence. The topographical specifics of each location have a direct impact: “The river in Newcastle is a relatively narrow river, compared to the Mersey here. It therefore is easier to connect with and so the bars on the riverside make much more sense than they would do here” (Liverpool civil servant). For this Liverpool civil servant “nothing had happened between 1984 and 2004” to the waterfront and it requires attention now. NewcastleGateshead is also considering its approach in the confines of its geography. “Sir Terry Farrell’s been working with Newcastle University, has masterplanned the east quayside, had this idea of the Geordie ramblas, effectively a boulevard that you could stroll around from the river on, it’s masterplanner speak talking bollocks” (NewcastleGateshead civil servant). For this civil servant the lesson of Barcelona’s ramblas (which itself has limited contact with water) lacks authenticity when applied to the quayside.

The model of Las Ramblas represents one of many exterior models, as does, for those places outside NewcastleGateshead, the Angel of the North. The outside influence on localities often comes from a series of 'shocks' whose influence is global. These external shocks come from the global city, as a NewcastleGateshead politician explains,

“I think even John Hall, when you go to the MetroCentre⁹ he'll tell you it was an idea he got from Canada, from Edmonton. The idea of having these big out of town shopping malls, I mean they're everywhere now aren't they and he revolutionised shopping, and he revolutionised it not just for the North East, but for the rest of the UK. But it was an idea that he brought in from outside.”

Yet more recognition is needed by our cities of the importance of place-making lessons from Europe. For a national architectural organisation we should be

“putting place making first, renewing our squares and creating new ones like they did in Barcelona. Barcelona is a city where it was led by a mayor who had the courage to grasp the opportunity of the Olympics, not to build the great big Olympic thing out there, but actually to make it the regenerating catalyst for the city of Barcelona.”

Thus places become more than the sum of the buildings created. The linear nature of the waterfront requires a change of 'direction' within the city, both an adjustment of the physical access, and a transformation of expectation. Elite actors agreed that lessons need to be carried from similar places, however these should be localised, and not applied literally. Indeed the process of learning and lesson finding is considered an ongoing and enduring process.

6.6 Summary – culture, place, and homogenisation

Global phenomena have become associated with the regeneration of particular cities. These events and accolades are connected to the success of the city. For Barcelona, hosting the Olympics provided the catalyst for regeneration, and other cities are following suit to replicate this success. There becomes a “global sort of flying circus of ideas that then get embodied into policy, sort of prescriptions like Capital of Culture, they get translated into things which are

⁹ Metrocentre, Gateshead, an out of town retail shopping centre consisting of a number of linked malls devised by Sir John Hall in conjunction with Gateshead Metropolitan Borough Council in the 1980s.

applicable into a whole variety of locations, and then people want to win them” (NewcastleGateshead academic). The future for this approach to cultural regeneration is problematic. Cultural regeneration approaches that subscribe to models are capital intensive. They “will spend up to their budget and then when they get into difficulty because audience numbers drop or something they end up needing some kind of public safety valve” (Local politician NewcastleGateshead).

Localities face great challenges; cities tackling urban problems also need to be accountable to their community and tackle issues of environmental sustainability, while faced with growing world competition. Thus, culture can become the fourth pillar of regeneration and sustainability (Hawkes, 2001).

“On a global scale I think UK cities are going to become more or less insignificant, [I] think we are at the first stage of that in city growth in the UK. Globally significant city developments took place in our cities. I think the future for UK cities is not going to be the same as that. The new mega cities in Asia and South America I see that’s where the innovation is probably going to happen.” (Local politician Liverpool)

UK cities look to cultural regeneration programmes to create approaches that are authentically and distinctively local, to combat homogenisation. Branding is critiqued “over whether what you are offering people at the city level is truly a sense of place” (Local arts administrator Glasgow). A local approach would advocate specific place-based actions to address “that whole problem of you know if you get dropped in the middle of any high street in Britain just now, there’s a Next, there’s a blah-blah-blah, you know that homogenisation of our lives” (Local civil servant NewcastleGateshead).

The arts should be used “to change the fabric or the personality or the approach” (Local arts administrator Glasgow) at a local scale. This scalar narrative is persistent in competition. A “wider scale where you’ve got ‘World City of Culture’ competitions, you see you’ve got more and more cities that are competing on higher and higher scales” (Liverpool regional civil servant). This scaling in global competition has necessitated a return to the local as a means of differentiation and to counteract the homogenisation of urban localities. This distinctiveness is addressed in the second part of the case study narrative.

Chapter 7

An examination of local distinctiveness in cultural regeneration

7. Introduction to distinctiveness (distinct local practice) agenda

Distinctiveness, or the distinct local agenda, gives rise to a reconsideration of the specificity of locality theory. Distinctiveness mediates and interprets global influences locally. Five factors are discussed in this chapter as determinant practices of the local agenda:

- local cultural identity;
- distinctive urban governance;
- path dependency;
- socio-economic practices;
- distinctive urban form.

Elite actors were interviewed to elicit their interpretation of the influence of the local in cultural regeneration approaches. Culture at the local level is understood to incorporate a wider social perspective, “the way we view culture is not just culture as a big C, publicly funded stuff, or culture with smaller c which is pop culture, or a little c which is the way people live their daily lives” (Regional arts administrator NewcastleGateshead).

A regional arts administrator explains that a local understanding of cultural regeneration interprets this as the “aspiration, confidence, sense of place, and identity which are coming out of public realm” (Liverpool). This local approach to place examines how the five determining factors have been interpreted in the three case studies. ‘Distinctiveness’ is commonly attributed to approaches that seek solutions in the local. The term itself is attached to the organisation, ‘Common Ground’¹⁰, “they invented [the] phrase [local distinctiveness], they are an arts organisation, they do a lot of weird stuff” (Liverpool regional arts administrator). The message of distinctiveness is a challenge to be different and undertake approaches that are particular to the history, physicality, and people

¹⁰ Common Ground ‘invented the words Local Distinctiveness in 1983’
www.commonground.org.uk

of an area. This challenge may include responding to examples from elsewhere, “dare to build tall on the waterfront as lessons from elsewhere have shown, such as American examples” (Glasgow local civil servant). Such examples are not formulas to follow, but raise the challenge of discovering unexpected local solutions to local problems (Evans, 2004). A local arts administrator for NewcastleGateshead explains as

“place is about the physical locality, it’s about people engagement, it’s about processes and perceptions. So there’s a specificity, there’s a historicity, and then there’s a set of layerings on that of other perceptions whether that’s people of the place or visitors to the place or temporary engagers with the place.”

It is to the specific local determinants that we turn to analyse their meaning, as interpreted by elite actors.

7.1 Local cultural identity

Multiple layers of identity constitute the established culture of a particular locality. These identity layers accumulate over generations and are viewed as unique local possessions, thus everyday culture is superimposed on elements of the past creating a distinctive place identity (Bennison et al., 2007). Pride signals the acceptance of this locally owned identity and is represented in local involvement and locally enacted practices (Section 7.1.1). These characteristics reveal that the policy process for regenerating a city must be local (Section 7.1.2) and rooted locally (Section 7.1.3).

7.1.1 Local pride

Physical changes brought about through cultural regeneration impact on local pride. A Liverpool local arts administrator explains this as

“people’s confidence and sense of pride in their place and sense of connectedness with the people where they live and connectedness with the rest of the world. We do all know if we step outside the front door and tripping over litter and it’s an unpleasant place to live, we are unpleasant to our neighbours. If it’s a pleasant place to live we are nicer to our neighbours. It’s as simple as that.”

A NewcastleGateshead local politician states that their culture is “about the sense of belonging and an ability to participate in all that goes on in the physical

environment around us". Generic cultural transformations pose a danger for a Glasgow politician:

"[when] culture becomes that mechanistic, the kind of Dickensian, that education in hard times, you know it becomes very mechanistic. The benefits of music and the arts to the people in communities is huge. But we must never lose sight of the fact that these are benefits which accrue from the very nature of culture being important in itself. It's a transforming power."

There is a risk to pride and identity from attributing value to culture at the local level. The value one gives to the perceptions of those other contributors to the picture is a key issue: "if you give more value to the visitor perception than you do to the local resident perception or the temporary engager. Would that upset the balance?" (Glasgow local arts administrator).

For a local arts administrator, culture has historically supported the confidence of Liverpool's citizens. "Even in our darkest times which were late 70s and 80s when [the] city was in quite a state economically, there wasn't a great deal of work available, still culture in its broadest sense kept the flag flying really". However, using culture for competitive means

"is about constructing forms of consumption that can make money for cities. My concern with that sort of model is that it neglects the local identities whatever they might be, of the people who already live there. So if you are adopting this Florida approach, where you are attracting all these new people in, at some point if you attract so many new people in, it's, that's going to have negative consequences for the sense of identity of that place." (Liverpool academic)

An accumulation of history and culture defines identity for this Liverpool regional civil servant.

"Bill Bryson went to Liverpool a couple of years ago, and he said something very interesting. He said, 'when you're in Liverpool you know you're in Liverpool, you know you're not anywhere else in the world. You can't be anywhere else in the world'. Well there aren't many cities in this country I don't think that you could say that about."

Both Glasgow and Liverpool consider themselves to have an unusual culture that defines them outside their parent countries.

“[Glasgow] first of all it’s not Scottish, it is Scottish of course it is, but it’s like nowhere else in Scotland and because it’s always been a melting pot I think, because it’s always been a port, and Glaswegians consider themselves to be many things. Like you know this big debate on, ‘are we Scottish, or are we British?’, because Glaswegians, well just consider themselves to be Glaswegians first, almost and probably all the time.” (Local politician Glasgow)

Liverpool makes the same argument, “Liverpool has always had a very strange culture; people here almost don’t think they are English. People in Britain don’t think we are English either. But the alignment fell with Ireland and the USA. We’ve always had links with those two places because of their and our profile” (Local civil servant Liverpool). Both cities look to the global to find a local resonance. Globalisation for them is an historical argument, where actions must be locally produced to be sold globally. The case studies resist the global influence to adjust their distinctiveness. “I think it’s [Liverpool] a city that resists being led anywhere, it’s got that eccentric individuality about it” (Liverpool local arts administrator). For a local civil servant in Glasgow there is a local sense of civic pride:

“we were the centre for centuries of ship building in the world, over certainly the centre for locomotive manufacturing. We were the workshop of the British Empire. It [Glasgow] constantly re-invents itself. So you might say that the sense of place is tweaked and refined and evolves, but I think that that’s the way it should be otherwise things stagnate and become static. But I don’t think a sense of place it’s something that’s tangible.”

NewcastleGateshead also considers uniqueness a key attribute. “Not every place has a place, there’s an enormous pride in Newcastle, so people do have a strong sense of what actually gives a place quality, and there’s undoubtedly [a] very strong sense that it’s a very special place” (NewcastleGateshead civil servant). This respondent suggests that unique attributes define a sense of place – implying only some places have a specific significance.

Culture requires all local elements to be understood and valued, not simply controlled by policies. A national architectural organisation believes place is being commandeered “I suspect you know it’s not going to be terribly long before people are going to say, ‘Well wait a minute’. They probably already are.

You know, this idea of being hijacked, you know, by cultural regeneration.” This hijack includes the local avoiding the imposition of model solutions.

“Allowing culture to reflect on people’s experience is very important and I think that’s why the involvement of culture in regeneration its time has not come. However, the iconic building and large piece of public art, and ‘let’s locate a gallery and it will all be alright’ has had its thing it’s not the way forward any more.” (NewcastleGateshead regional arts administrator)

Global competition and formulaic solutions are not the way forward. “It will look silly to be as competitive in a generation maybe but then people especially Liverpoolians, Glaswegians, Geordies they love their local area and I don’t think they’d give up their identity” (Glasgow local arts administrator).

7.1.2 *Local character of place*

“I’ve heard people say instead of BC/AD we should talk about before-Google and after-Google. The world has become smaller, the bank of information, the cultural wealth and access to it has become more readily available and in many senses the world has become smaller. So you’ve got huge influences in everything from American TV and music, but you also have the feedback from the local, and what that has done has actually made the local in many senses more precious.” (Local arts administrator Glasgow)

Non-local and global pressures are believed to contribute to the attention paid to local character. ‘Tensions’ that underpin the city that make it interesting “the fact that we have a problem with drugs, gun crime, all these issues, what makes *a place a place* is the mixture of what you might call the good and bad, the positive cultural thing and the way that some of these things are manifested in more uncomfortable ways” (Liverpool academic).

Despite the general similarity of events and consequences portrayed, the fine-grained details of everyday life in each area vary as processes unfold locally. These everyday interpretations are explained in local cultural narratives. A NewcastleGateshead civil servant asks, “what is culture? But the things which detail in the identity of an area, and really, it always amuses me that the things which stamp, you know, make their mark in this area are never the ones that [are] included in the purest definition of culture”. In this unique mark, we find the

city's less glamorous, negative aspects, and popular cultural forms such as football:

“People’s culture will include things like football teams, especially in cities where your football heritage and so on is such a big part of what people see as their common heritage and common culture and in other places culture is used sometimes to be more elitist in definitions.” (Local arts administrator Glasgow)

These everyday cultural activities underpin the sense of belonging to a place. A conflicting view reflects the debate between popular and elite interpretations of culture. Cultural regeneration is, for a local Glasgow civil servant:

“invariably characteristics and functions of history, you know, characteristics and functions of things that make a place distinctive, and how people celebrate and enjoy life. So it’s not about high arts, it may not be about art at all. It can be about how people behave and react and therefore in thinking about how you change and make places you have to think about how the people who live there will use them and enjoy them.”

The need for unique local engagement supplants tourism as a primary focus of policy, as tourism itself requires indigenous intangible and human attributes as attractors to a place. For a local arts administrator “you cannot attract the national and international visitor, the national and international engagement, unless you have that really strong sense of self and active local engagement. These things are inextricably linked” (Liverpool).

Localities have tangible and intangible features that have specific local meaning. Place becomes synonymous with a local heritage, told through its buildings and a narrative of the past.

“Folklore and ideas have been put onto that space to create place and it means something different to different people. There is a common understanding of a very deep and rich history of folklore, importance of sight lines, monuments, and recognition of important people who then get lost in time, but then we still have these monuments.” (NewcastleGateshead regional arts administrator)

A totemic quality of place is found in the enduring affection people have for the river. Each waterfront has specific locally understood characteristics that are significant to lived experiences of the city.

“If you spoke to anybody in the street, and blindfolded them and said to them, ‘now point to where the river is’, they’d be able to do so, and in those days twenty years ago the river was still a pretty disgusting place, and yet it still held a very strong affection for people, that’s why I think the quayside is so popular.” (NewcastleGateshead regional civil servant)

The post-industrial River Tyne was grossly polluted, yet the physicality of the river forms part of local collective identity, along with the intangible attributes of the area’s people.

“[The River Tyne] it’s wonderful, but, put it on a scale with other waterfronts, Barcelona, it’s very small, you know that’s when it becomes laughable. I’m not saying it’s not wonderful, because what contributes to a sense of place is also its people. And you never hear people saying anything other than warm, good, positive things about Newcastle people, because they genuinely are friendly people.” (NewcastleGateshead local civil servant)

Visitors to a city expect a local experience. “I mean get into a taxi in Liverpool and you know it’s hilarious. You know you couldn’t be anywhere else, and I suppose that’s an important part of the experience and that is distinctive” (Regional Liverpool civil servant). A local Glasgow arts administrator agrees that “when the cabbies start discussing us as a cultural place you know things have changed. Saying in 1990 it’s the City of Culture you know, it’s a different understanding of their own city”. The local resonates through the indigenous accents of the city. “When you’re in Liverpool there are all sorts of reasons to know that’s the city that you’re in. Not least you know what you’re hearing because nowhere else speaks like this” (Local arts administrator Liverpool). The multitude of visitor accents that can be heard are “a symbol of change and that’s what regeneration may look like. You still have that Geordie accent as a linchpin and all of the accents around it are fluid and changing” (NewcastleGateshead regional arts administrator). The city itself has this particular character associated with its residents.

“Every city has its own character, the Geordie character, Glaswegian, Scouse, I think actually something they have in common is that sense of swagger, possibly somewhere like Birmingham is much more self-depreciating, there’s no swagger about it.” (Liverpool local arts administrator)

7.1.3 *Rooted experience*

A key element in the effectiveness of regeneration is to ensure that there is a connection to locality. People connect together through culture to form collective social norms and social relations in places (Bianchini, 1990). Capital of Culture is attributed with a positive ability to connect people in these local ways. Culture enables people

“to express ourselves and our individuality and to connect with one another particularly across the diversity of different social groups; it allows the various communities of the city to provide expression. It gives people something to do and see. What we have found is that [Capital of Culture] it gives people a connection, brings people out and they have something to talk about, just the same way that the football can do when everyone is talking in work on Monday about how the teams did.” (Local arts administrator Liverpool)

A regional arts administrator for Glasgow describes the experience of place as ‘rooted’ in its unique character “it wants to be seen as a unique place, if that’s the right word, within the UK and beyond. So it doesn’t want to be a Manchester or a Liverpool or a Leeds, it wants to be a Glasgow and recognised for that” (Local civil servant Glasgow). These characteristic features are found in a city’s social and geographical history, and are rooted in its identity. A regional arts administrator for Liverpool agrees, “place is only meaningful if you have some sort of rootedness with it or in it. That doesn’t have to mean that it has to be the place you were born or come from. It has a meaning beyond its physical place”.

The international positioning of culture influences this sense of local connection. The arts being, almost by definition, both international and local, encourage a sense of outward-looking by communities. This global reach can be sensitive to local identities and cultures. “The delicate boundary between, you know, art for its own sake and that which has been instrumental in economic development-regeneration, so how do you walk that tight rope between the arts as just a good thing in its own right and being instrumental in other ends” (NewcastleGateshead academic).

Distinctions of cultural approaches separate locally rooted people from transient visiting tourists. For a Glasgow local arts administrator, Glasgow’s marketing

hinges on the theme 'Glasgow Scotland with Style'; which represents the deeper character of Glasgow's people. This

"conjures up a particular image, [a] good Scottish word [is] Gallus, which is kind of a cheeky a bit of confidence, sassy style. That's seen as encapsulating a Glasgow character, so you know its people are friendly. And it's all those different characteristics that come together to create this construct of Glasgow, it's one that both media and people themselves will buy into."

For people to feel part of a successful metropolis, culture must be integral to the urban regeneration story and not a 'quick fix'. Furthermore, there remains an emphasis on understanding that change takes time, and benefits may impact subsequent generations. "People need to understand it is complex it will take much longer, there is no such thing as a quick fix in regeneration" (Glasgow local civil servant). Quick fixes include the messages communicated about high-profile events. For Liverpool Capital of Culture,

"there's been some document that has gone out, just a hard copy and it's 'the story so far'. It doesn't draw on all figures of Impacts 08 and it's got claims like 'tall ships £60m economic impact'. I was in a meeting with the development agency and city council and it was like 'where did this come from?' Nobody knew where it came from. It wasn't supported by the events or research data we had seen. We're going to have a real problem with those big numbers going around about as there will be a dip in visiting and there will be a dip in the impact like there was in Glasgow." (Regional arts administrator Liverpool)

There is concern that these messages of success are not locally understood or accepted. "I think it's a hard message, you know for local authorities and others to sort of put across to people, that you know this investment is worthwhile and that people will benefit" (Liverpool regional civil servant). A lack of reliable data impedes the effectiveness of planning and evaluation. This is reflected in the experience of a local civil servant in Glasgow, who believes that,

"we in the UK are expert at knowing what not to do, but not sure we are absolutely clear yet as a nation or public bodies, or collective partnerships about what success is and how you use those tools in different places. Because there's a different mix in each place and no one-size fits all. What we don't have is longitudinal impact analysis that measures change over a long period of time robustly."

As noted in Chapter 5, all three case studies have engaged research as part of their cultural approach accompanied by marketing strategies with successive brandings, which are linked to the cities' cultural identities. Here the issue of credibility recurs. Brands projected onto a locality must be accepted to succeed. A Glasgow politician explains that, "Glasgow, Scotland with Style' is inspired in our own way, because it's not just an empty title". In the case of Glasgow, this connection to style involves Rennie Mackintosh. This designer's reputation has steadily risen to local celebrity status, and his work and identity is integrated into the new marketable image of Glasgow to imbue the place with creative character (Evans, 2003). "If your most celebrated son is one of the most famous architects and designers the world has ever known, then for God's sake use him" (Glasgow arts administrator). Celebrated locals become a resource for marketing an identity that resonates as the city's creative character (Allen, 2006). A local Glasgow arts administrator explains that "those cultural resources could either be something in the buildings, something in the history, stories, myths, legends, something in the landscape, the people, they are a cultural resource. The traditions like shipbuilding, making tablets, or whatever your traditions are locally".

Local focus must find authenticity in people's daily lives. This then alters peoples' feelings about the place they live. For branding and marketing to be successful they must connect to the city's heritage and physical locality (Graham et al., 2000).

"If [you] look at place marketing literature you think nothing's come to this place for 500 years, but that is important, that's part of what people want at heritage sites. But unless it's [marketing] linked it to reality of that place, has some kind of authenticity in relation to how people live their lives now, then it will never work, you will be found out, and you will alienate local people." (Regional arts administrator Liverpool)

Connection of culture to place could suggest a fixed understanding of local culture; therefore, authenticity is important for a unique place to mediate community expectation. The interaction of national and local has a particular resonance for a local Liverpool arts administrator, "just because it's something that works in London doesn't mean to say it's going to work in Liverpool and

visa versa. I'd be more interested to see good examples elsewhere, and I'm not sure where those good examples are".

However, for some 'culture' is the latest phase in a long sequence within the story of regeneration, none of which became the panacea of urban problems. There "are always reinventions of terms that people use for the same thing. That sometimes can be buzz words or they can sometimes be changed because they've just got a slightly different perspective or a different policy slant" (Glasgow regional civil servant). These're-inventions' suggest culture is not a cure-all to local ills. According to a national architectural organisation:

"that sort of sense that people's lives are saved through the arts is really dangerous. It is one ingredient, it can be a really key ingredient but it's not always a key ingredient. I think it's usually the surprising outputs of the arts that are interesting, not the predicted. It is about people, they don't respond the way that was predicted."

A regional civil servant (NewcastleGateshead) corroborates culture should not be considered the key to regeneration:

"there's this theory in regeneration, 'Old boats get lifted in the tide'. They don't. So there's a big sort of regeneration that hasn't happened and has yet to come, and this is where I think cultural regeneration hasn't quite done what we would like it to do. I see it therefore, not really as the thing which has done the trick; I see it as the cherry on the cake."

Local cultural identity evokes place, this resonates for the research participants both for their concept of place and the waterfront in particular. Historic symbols resonate for a past they continue to represent. For this politician, the coat-of-arms on a ship at the merchant's house represents

"what Glasgow always has been, welcoming people to it, but looking out towards the world [...] at a time when boundaries coalesce etc. something segues, goes into something else, this is a paradox and as globalisation has become, you know, more really more ineluctable, then the cities should be growing."

This recognition of local roots identifies characteristics that are universally agreed as important to the three case studies. "I think was it Miro who said 'things can't be universally significant and global, if they are not first local'"

(Local arts administrator Glasgow). A strong sense of rootedness brings significance to these places.

“I’ve lived in Liverpool and I’ve worked here [Newcastle], and they’re actually really similar cities in terms of the people. There’s like a complete massive sense of identity with the city, with each of those cities. When you think of the global influences Liverpool has had with the slave trade and everything else, this city hasn’t had that in the same way. So the point I am making is that the global influences, I think which are probably the most important now, only really have a beneficial impact if they are starting from the point of view, from which a city is locally rooted in the first place.” (NewcastleGateshead regional arts administrator)

The case studies have individual historical resonance and character. This unique identity comes from the sequence of local developments and intangible elements, formed over time. The elite interviewees expressed individual external–internal dialectics that asserted the importance of local in the contest against global pressures. Careful recognition of place is vital to effective regeneration efforts. People and communities cherish ‘their’ place and resist changes that erode understood identities. Brands, marketing activities, and regeneration policies must be locally understood and interpreted. These policies and activities are developed and introduced by key agents for change in the city, and this forms the second discussion in the distinctiveness debate.

7.2 Distinctive urban governance

The research participants identified distinct urban practices within cultural regeneration. Key local agents for change are attributed with particular local success factors or stories (Section 7.2.1). It is often believed that success depends upon sharing the experiences that are believed to develop leadership skills and further innovative practice (Section 7.2.2). These elite actors are subjected to criticism, particularly for the composition of decision-making groups; the same individuals appearing in many key regeneration activities and on multiple boards and partnerships. The actors are also criticised for contributing to silo¹¹ working practices and short-term thinking (Section 7.2.3).

¹¹ working practices that operate in isolation and fail to exchange information and co-ordinate activities with other related partners.

7.2.1 Key local agents

Local agents of change continue to be influenced by the work of others. “I was a Marxist scholar so I ignored Jane Jacobs and her work back in the 60s/70s. But more recently, from the 90s I have seen the value of it. Moving away from the Marxism to use Florida and Jacobs as a means to regenerate an area” (Glasgow local civil servant). Florida has been noted (Chapter 6) for the homogenising influence of his work. However, Florida and others are believed to have had a significant local influence on the elite actors and institutions that enact cultural regeneration. Different writers and institutions articulate different factors that influence how regeneration is enacted, lessons are borrowed, and the formation of policy approaches (see Chapter 3).

In Glasgow, a local arts administrator talks of Scotland’s community arts movement and its difference to England. “Scotland’s community arts movement came from socialism, the Labour Party, paternalistic; we’ll do it for you. That was Scotland’s community arts movement, keeping the trade unions and it was very polemic.” The council is seen as dominating and enabling projects through funding, thus providing vital co-ordination across the city. A Glasgow local civil servant explains that “part of the secret [of] Glasgow’s success, is that I don’t think there are any egos, I think people really put the city first”. However, a local arts administrator believes that there has “been a culture of bullying, just been a sort of boys club or a labour club, now that apple cart is getting upset because SNP is infiltrating in and the change of government centrally as well, so that’s creating an uncertainty about the future for Glasgow” (Local arts administrator Glasgow).

A civil servant believes that places must also look to entrepreneurs for leadership and vision in urban regeneration. “When you lose your entrepreneurs like Tony Wilson¹², then who’s going to have the ideas, the thoughts, the leadership?” (Regional civil servant NewcastleGateshead). Charismatic entrepreneurs and their innovative, unorthodox leadership are important to the local approach (Leadbeater and Oakley, 2005). Local innovative leadership has

¹² Owner of Factory Records, Tony Wilson 1950-2007, was hailed for his involvement in the vibrant Manchester music scene and his campaign for a regional assembly for the Northwest of England in 2004.

significantly influenced all three case studies. For a Liverpool local arts administrator “things have picked up in Liverpool the last few years and it’s growing faster, certainly until recently, growing faster than any other part of [the] country, but it did come from such a long way down, [...] the political history of Liverpool causes some particular difficulties”.

Local leaders are also accused of self-interest in cultural approaches; for instance, festivals can suffer from political positioning. “Liverpool 2008 was a political manoeuvre from start to finish by locally elected politicians and they aren’t interested in what happens in other parts of the world, they are interested in their voters” (Liverpool local arts administrator). The Capital of Culture was “only possible to do that once the politicians realised they were irrelevant and withdrew to some extent. The entire run up to 2008 was being driven by politicians and it was disastrous” (Liverpool regional arts administrator).

A few key names have long influenced NewcastleGateshead. For one regional civil servant:

“Northern Rock, which until recently still had three members of those families actually on its board, they were very influential, and they were also very influential in setting up things like the Northern Economic Development Council and things like that. So I think part of the reason why [NewcastleGateshead] it’s been such a strong place has been because it’s had this continuous identity provided by those kinds of people.”

However, the banking failure of Northern Rock is also “a pretty glaring example of the forces of globalisation are a billion times more powerful than local and regional agents can do”.

Beyond the concern of the excessive influence of a clique of local individuals having particular influence, there are international issues related to the same group. Key agents of regeneration can also undertake roles in different countries, making their expertise part of the global transfer of ideas as they are ‘grafted on’ appointments to enable quick fix solutions (Common, 2004).

“I think quite a few of the people who’ve run Capital of Culture will be angling for 2012 jobs. [...] it’s a merry-go-round, if you look at the board of Capital of Culture a lot of them have been involved in the Sydney Olympics or the Commonwealth Games in Manchester and they will

move on to something else, they all have their expertise, that's their area, they just move around the world." (Liverpool local civil servant)

For Liverpool, the concern is that these 'outsiders' are not always welcomed. "[They] didn't welcome her and they didn't really want her, they didn't really want an Australian¹³" (Local arts administrator Liverpool) heading the Capital of Culture. As noted in Section 7.1, 'authenticity' is an important influence on the acceptance of regeneration, and here again the presence of outside influence produces resistance.

Leadership programmes facilitate networking and the sharing of ideas between actors from different cities.

"The clever institutions are the ones that can figure upwards, can configure i.e. you shape the agendas so they actually get you the outcomes. The key actors know how to work up and down the hierarchy. So they know how to talk to ministers and the senior civil servants and so that they, what I would call condition the local environment." (NewcastleGateshead academic)

Successful programmes are supported through key actors, who are hailed as integral to the achievements for the locality. A local civil servant in Glasgow identified one key player in Glasgow's successful cultural regeneration,

"she saw early on that if she's to attract investment in culture that it had to be part of the city's strategy early on. So she had to show what the impact was in education and so on. So what she's doing wasn't just for culture or sport in itself but it was for the wider benefits in the city and I think that's why she's been so successful in the city in getting cultural activity in."

7.2.2 Leadership and vision

Key actors who seek out lessons from elsewhere risk homogenisation rather than fostering innovative local solutions. Following best practice turns those 'leaders' into followers (Landry, 2006). Policy transfer does not just replicate success: "lessons learned from emulating may lead to repetition of the same mistakes; I think it's really hard to avoid making the same mistakes as other people. There's something about human nature in there that 'I want a bit of that

¹³ Australian Robyn Archer appointed as Artistic Director of Liverpool Culture Company 2004, resigned in 2006.

too” (Regional arts administrator NewcastleGateshead) – implying the need for cautious reuse of policy. The potential for repeating mistakes arose regarding both vision and leadership:

“what I find very interesting is that the people who run regeneration companies, [if you] look at their CVs they used to be the deputy director of regeneration of another place. So they say ‘oh look that place is doing what we did here I’ll go and become that’. So what do they take with them, they take the ideas from the first city. So that will be the hotels, conference facility, the restaurants, the artists, artists is one of the strands. ‘Let’s get some artists, how do we do that?’ It’s almost thinking lets have an artist’s factory and have a few manufactured. So it becomes, the things that were done in the past become the things we do and in the future because of the same personnel managing.” (Glasgow local arts administrator)

Interconnected issues of vision and leadership are affected by the locality; entrenched problems that characterise the localities affect the vision that can be enabled. Collective working requires that leadership lessons are sought out from beyond cultural organisations. A leadership consortium in Liverpool

“invited Tony Jupiter, the director of Friends of The Earth, in to talk about how a campaigning organisation works and how it decides on its campaign issues, how it mobilises itself to achieve those shifts in hearts and minds which they need to do and how they work with other organisations.” (Liverpool regional arts administrator)

These influences are seen in specific areas of regeneration work: for example, the term “vision” often arose in the interviews. Cities need to have

“a common vision and a drive for something, and if the politics are all about getting elected or re-elected, and short term you know ‘let’s make politics capital out of this crisis or that crisis or that crisis’, or let’s fight with government, or you know let’s keep reducing the Council Tax so that we get re-elected, even though it disturbs services etc. etc. Those preoccupations are not the kind of visionary leadership that cities need.” (Liverpool local arts administrator)

This impact of different levels of “local” leadership are seen in Scotland, with the role of Scotland’s Government.

“You’d never get a minister coming to your event from Westminster, they wouldn’t come up this far, or if they did would be 10 minutes and leave. Make a speech and say they are afraid they have another appointment, and that feels quite patronising. But here, particularly the new

administration would come along to your event and stick about. They know they can't put on airs and graces because it's a small country." (Local arts administrator Glasgow)

This difference in the political set-up is one that the provincial cities may reconsider. "What would make a real difference potentially is an elected mayor because that in many ways removes a number of the responsibilities from the council, nothing else does" (Liverpool local arts administrator). Similarly, a Glasgow politician suggests past decisions about regional government may be regretted. "The regions in England might regret the decision to say we don't need an assembly. I don't think they realise the positive thing and aspects of it, you can go meet people making the decision".

A Local civil servant in NewcastleGateshead believes that where "you get a coming together of an exciting city, strong leadership, and dynamic policy then those places tend to prosper" from this local activism. Gateshead, they argue, has local visionary leadership that influences the place's physical and socio-economic development. However, "it hasn't made a difference to the economy but that's another matter. I think the local can make a big difference but the fact is it has to come together in quite an unusual way these days". Localities seek new 'intellectual' and visionary leadership. "What I'm not clear about is the extent to which there is in this domain, in this city, an intellectual and leadership of this agenda from the sort of, the elite if you like" (NewcastleGateshead academic). This leadership is seen as a necessary driver of regeneration. "You have to have that sense of vision, what do you want it to look like 5 or 10 years from now, then you have to have people that are single-mindedly delivering that vision" (Local politician NewcastleGateshead). For a Glasgow local civil servant the 2008 Capital of Culture bidding process brought about 'uniting [the] whole of the Northeast' and "when you look at all competitors from Inverness to Belfast there's a legacy of those cities being more united and bound by their cultural vision going forward".

There is a 'global' problem of finding 'local' leadership. Localities are enacting leadership programmes devised by their cultural leaders but also following the

model cultural leadership¹⁴ programme funded by the UK government. Launched in 2006, the programme supports and develops leadership in the cultural and creative sectors. Significantly, it seeks to establish a legacy of leadership that is diverse to meet future needs, by offering continuous professional development and learning for members while raising the profile of cultural leadership. During austere times, as individuals and organisations conserve their spending, investment in leadership development to meet the demand for skills is “needed now more than ever” (Hopkins and Reid, 2011:4). “So the cultural leadership programme has also had an offshoot where they sort of had a baby leadership programme, sorry I shouldn’t say that as it denigrates it. It’s about recognising that they need to nurture emerging leaders as well” (Liverpool regional arts administrator). Key agents in places are looking for leadership experience to “inform the way it [regeneration] is done but also to explicate it to other people, but also assist it to become an exponential process” (Local arts administrator NewcastleGateshead).

A local Liverpool arts administrator explains that LARC¹⁵ came from “information about consortiums particularly in the US” from which they were able to borrow model practices. This consortium of cultural leaders has succeeded in tackling a crisis, “Capital of Culture hit a major glitch when it lost Robyn Archer, the group really gelled, responded to the crisis by saying to Culture Company you need to work with us in order to deliver a large part of content” (Local civil servant Liverpool). Indeed, the Arts Council’s concerns about legacy issues led to them

“inviting LARC, as it was then known as the ‘big eight’ to apply for this new scheme called Thrive, about supporting development in ordinary successful organisations and promote new ways of collaborating, helping to create more audience base for [the] city centre and looking at new ways of working together in terms of creating social impact.” (Liverpool regional arts administrator)

This leadership is deemed successful because it focused on the wider agendas, rather than a narrow consideration of the cultural sector. The cultural offer is

¹⁴ Cultural leadership programme led by Arts Council England, Creative & Cultural Skills and the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council www.culturalleadership.org.uk

¹⁵ Liverpool Arts Regeneration Campaign (LARC) comprises eight institutions (Chapter 5).

strengthened through this joining-up of multiple agendas and by a reduction in the competition for funding. However, that success is not emulated everywhere.

“I really do think the debates are very low calibre here, and the press don’t help, because all you end up with in the press is whingeing about so and so is doing this, and it’s going to spoil that. A ‘great accident’ was the ‘World Heritage Site’ accolade; however it was perceived negatively. ‘Do you mean we’re on the same list as the Taj Mahal and the pyramids?’ Yes we are, that’s fantastic. How are we going to, you know, make the most of that to change the image of the city? You know, how intelligent do you have to be to work this out, but I would still argue that those discussions are not happening.” (Local arts administrator Liverpool)

This local arts administrator further expresses a concern stakeholders in Liverpool have about “that arty farty nonsense” of cultural events, constructing barriers of falseness and “arty-ficiality”, again repeating the issue of local authenticity and engagement. Liverpool tackles this perception of culture as alien through widening its collaborative programme.

7.2.3 Silo working

Some critics argue that “silo thinking” contradicts this, perhaps idealised, model of leadership skills “transfer”, and suggest that collaboration is failing (Gibney et al., 2009). “There are the academic silos if you like, but then there are also the policy silos and government that deals with all of those. Part of the problem is that place making and culture are dealt with in different departments” (NewcastleGateshead academic). Stakeholders are frustrated that culture is not a shared idea:

“I cannot get the retailers interested at all, [they say] ‘waste of bloody time, poncy art industry’. Why don’t you just bring some street art into my shop and people will spend money. I am trying to find that dialogue and I haven’t found it yet and I am getting a little bit frustrated.” (Local arts administrator NewcastleGateshead)

In a place, the predominant vision, and local responses to it, directly impacts on regeneration work. A regional civil servant for Liverpool, notes “one of the real criticisms of Liverpool at the moment is people are going, ‘wow, you know, don’t get too into bed with the establishment’, because actually all this really exciting,

different stuff has been because you, you've been adrift from it and if you're very mainstream, you appear mainstream".

Participants in all three case studies are concerned that local leadership comes from a small number of people.

"The problem with the North East is that it's a fairly stagnant pool. If you look at any committees or any boards in this region, if you go to any functions you'll see the same faces, and there is a predominance of white, middle-aged, middle-class, paunchy men, and the number of women are not huge. It's the last bastion of the male chauvinist pig."
(NewcastleGateshead local civil servant)

A Glasgow regional civil servant concurs, "people are mentioning the same people and the same organisations and those that are willing to get involved, time and time again". A concern that is expressed for new regeneration organisations. For example, "Clyde Gateway¹⁶, that's quite new but they are mostly ex-council employees and I don't know how distant they will be from the council" (Local arts administrator Glasgow). Responsibility and leadership may depend on too few individuals. This concerns a NewcastleGateshead local politician:

"I think there are a lot of people and a lot of organisations that don't sort of step up to the plate, and I think that is one of the great weaknesses of this part of the world. I am delighted to be chairman of x but there is a limit to the number of things that I can be chairman of [...] I have as a concern is where the next generation of those sorts of people are going to come from." (NewcastleGateshead local politician)

For a Glasgow Local arts administrator it is "shocking in a way that multi-million pound regeneration effort comes down to whether two people get on, but it does and that's a fact of life". Leadership forums must be collective, not 'one person shows'; "sometimes government and other agencies and so on think you can legislate for these things, so if you have to change something or make something work through partnerships, that you can legislate and it will happen" (National arts organisation).

¹⁶ Clyde Gateway Urban Regeneration Company (URC) was established in December 2007 as a partnership between Glasgow City Council, South Lanarkshire Council, and Scottish Enterprise.

Local actors are criticised for working in cultural regeneration silos and lacking grassroots support for development. These problematic patterns reflect both long- and short-term legacies enacting upon place.

“They’re still working in their silos, regeneration are still working [in] their silo called regeneration, culture are still working in their silo called arts and culture, also still operating at the, what I would call the deficit model, which is you know ‘there’s something wrong here let’s fix it’. We’ve got the problem of planning, seeing itself as creating solutions to problems, and on the other side we’ve got the problem with the arts establishment and the whole arts conversation, which is kind of hung over from the Victorian era of, you know, access to the arts for the poor and the needy.” (Local arts administrator Glasgow)

A cultural shift is needed to establish dynamic leadership and processes for local development. New paths of working require organisations to engage all stakeholders, and elite actors have an obligation to mediate policies to ensure they are enacted locally (Unalan, 2009). A new ‘vehicle’ for co-ordinating this working may be one solution. A NewcastleGateshead academic agrees that

“they’re all in their particular functional silos, and so if you really want these things to work it’s really quite challenging and the problem is that NGI has just become a marketing organisation. It’s not really the, you know, regeneration vehicle. So maybe if they created a special purpose vehicle, maybe the City Development Company is the answer to it all? To actually sort of manage a space and make sure that the physical aspects and the cultural aspects and sort of institutional aspects work together.”

Local policy-making is heavily criticised for only involving a few key agents, exacerbating silo working. Each locality calls for cross-boundary working, vision, and learning in their leadership approaches that may or may not be facilitated by culture. Previous developments in the localities influence how local actors enact change – and this legacy is now considered.

7.3 Path dependency

This chapter has already repeatedly demonstrated how a location is an accumulation of its history. This legacy of place has a uniqueness that dictates a place’s path of development. The elite actors acknowledge how previous developments have shaped the locality’s current form (Section 7.3.1). Contemporary change is also influenced by local lessons about regeneration

(Section 7.3.2), and whatever a city's commercial past, the localities are now undertaking a new cultural path to regeneration (Section 7.3.3).

7.3.1 *Place-shaping*

“We are allocated resources for northeast based on local authority boundaries. When we talk about place we are talking in [the] context of the local authority. Place for us is based on local authority boundaries. In terms of place shaping it's about what strategies are in place trying to transform Newcastle and certain localities.” (Regional civil servant NewcastleGateshead)

Past strategies for shaping a locality are reflected in the physical urban fabric. Buildings manifest the path of history, and reflect the previous decisions made for the locality. “Look at the buildings and the economic times in which they were established. What is created is down to the economic opportunities at that time. For example, in the west end there were plans for 4/5 storey flats not villas, but the latter were built due to the economic conditions of that time” (Glasgow local civil servant).

Each location is understood locally and externally through its past, including positive and negative aspects. Those seeking to regenerate cities, naturally emphasise positive expectations. ‘Place-shaping’ has become the re-engineering of places based on their traditions and physicality (Madden, 2010). A local arts administrator for Glasgow believes place-shaping is a term where “people who use it don't always know what they mean by it or understand what they mean about it”, and instead suggests that regarding the concept of place “people create it for themselves”.

For a Glasgow civil servant, “you can't change places for people, they have to be deeply engaged. A new model for urban design and change is being fostered here in Glasgow [...] they talk about how Glasgow has re-engineered itself, but it's re-engineered in terms of holding onto its roots”. The Clyde regeneration is necessary as the “site of our great triumph and had become the symbol of our great failure and it was left to mouldering ruin and become sludgy” (Glasgow politician). However, this reflection on heritage needs to be

coupled with forward-thinking development. A local arts administrator in Glasgow derides Glasgow's waterfront strategy as haphazard:

“the waterfront is disconnected from the city centre, they created in [the] 1970s and 1980s walkways along the Clyde which you'd be foolhardy to walk along certainly after about 4pm. Because they aren't overlooked by the main thoroughfares then nefarious activity probably happens.”

A local civil servant reports the UDCs¹⁷ were very unpopular in NewcastleGateshead because they were established by the Conservative Government but “with hindsight, now they've gone, I think an awful lot of people recognise that they were the kick up the backsides that the local authorities needed, because they weren't going to do it”. They also believe that the development corporations sowed the seeds for a regeneration process that has continued ever since. “The general rule would be wanting to improve and general improvement and getting there. But some people think we've been luckier than we should have been, but then 'shy bairns get nowt'” (NewcastleGateshead local politician). This politician believes that needed improvements for the NewcastleGateshead Quayside were only made possible by grasping the funding opportunities at the time. Taking advantage of these opportunities can retrospectively be justified as a sign of a place's confidence to compete.

7.3.2 Lesson learning

One area of tension noted in the previous section was that of evidence for regeneration policy. A regional arts administrator for Liverpool discussed the government's policy document *Culture at the Heart of Regeneration*¹⁸. It “set out some of the terms of reference on how we think about culture and regeneration and also that the report itself [is] making a call for better evidence about place and design and culture and how that links to regeneration agendas”. This view of evidence differs in terms of the relationship between community, policy structures, and local government. A Glasgow regional civil servant believes the politics surrounding evidence-driven policies cause tensions within any locality. They describe that in Liverpool:

¹⁷ Urban Development Corporations

¹⁸ Department for Culture, Media and Sport (2004) *Culture at the Heart of Regeneration*. London: DCMS.

“some councillors feel really uncomfortable with ‘oh we should be doing it this way for the people of Liverpool’, and you are, but you know it’s like what can you do with this thing, and if you’re looking for economic outputs you aren’t going to get it just by giving the existing groups £300 more to do something.”

Measuring economic outputs thus creates a pressure to justify spending on localities. Focusing justification on meeting local needs leads to a greater requirement for related research. Impacts 08, Liverpool’s unique research approach,

“inspires confidence in the decision-making milieu whether we are talking about politicians or local party people or whatever. Everyone knows that research is going on and it gives everybody confidence to think that those linkages are being explored. It doesn’t really matter what the outcome of the research is as long as it’s being taken seriously.” (Liverpool arts administrator)

This justification does not necessarily come from research within the locality.

“People who are in positions of power that are in a position to lead cultural-led regeneration, are actually using research as a means of an evaluative tool to basically improve their position. Basically they tend to get research from think tanks and consultancies that will just prove that, because that’s what they want to prove, that culture-led regeneration is a good thing.” (Liverpool academic)

A Liverpool arts administrator believes we continue to quantitatively measure outputs and that “we are still stuck in the way that we were thinking 5 or 10 years ago, [how many] square metres have been brought into use and how many people are employed and so on”. These established research approaches are criticised for being too narrow; instead, validity is sought in a new interpretive approach that considers wider impacts of cultural connection between people.

“People do now talk to each other and do now talk to people from other cities, and that for me is the measure of mental health or civic health and it’s about confidence also. It is something that can be measured. If you just, if you can measure how many people any individual talks to and where those other people live and all of that you can begin to build up a graphic picture of the way in which the health or confidence of that particular unit and by extension social unit I mean wider group of units, have changed over a period of time. A sort of Six Degrees of separation analysis, I think that would be an interesting way to go.” (Regional arts administrator Liverpool)

A Liverpool regional arts administrator explains that Impacts 08 “looks to other cities, they find out what other cities say about what worked and what didn’t work”. These impacts may come from unexpected aspects of the Capital of Culture.

“We had this statue in Liverpool called Superlambanana; we created 20 of them in different themes. It was trivial but [has] been an amazing success and everyone got on board with it. It’s been those things not the big things that have really created the essence. These are done at relatively low cost compared to the other. We have to be doing more of the grassroots stuff so people can feel part of it. As well as the headline stuff as well. I think that’s every city. If there’s one thing people could learn from us, by accident, it’s that we’ve created an involvement by the really little stuff.” (Local civil servant Liverpool)

Shared learning should include a focus on intangible outcomes. Confidence is an outcome that is significant to identity (Section 7.1), and measuring this is a concern for a regional arts administrator in NewcastleGateshead,

“things are all extremely difficult to measure when it comes into things like identity and aspirations, anything cultural really. It’s very difficult to draw a correlation or a cause and effect line between who made a place once or better and what things happened as a result, difficult to draw those links so that’s a huge frustration that plays itself over and over.”

Measuring regeneration benefits concerns participants; short-term expectations have led to a focus on economic outcomes. A short-term view leads to a justification of cultural approaches using performance indicators that lack an appreciation of the wider benefits to community. A national arts organisation believes that

“you can’t do it on things that people don’t value, don’t see as important, or don’t see as sufficient quality anyway. But we are in the business now of driving that quality agenda with other partners in the sector so peer review and assessment by our cultural organisations where our agenda sits and not driving everything we do as a department or through our other agencies on the basis of ‘we are only counting the numbers of people through the door’.”

7.3.3 Cultural route to regeneration

Places have developed along new paths that now incorporate recent cultural themes. The Capital of Culture competition has influenced all three case

studies. NewcastleGateshead undertook a new direction of collaboration that embraced the artificial boundary of the two places. Losing the bid for 2008 “brought together an organisation, the NewcastleGateshead Initiative. We know that we are much better working together, working across artificial boundaries like a river, and we know the outcomes that we could deliver with a sense of vision” (Local politician NewcastleGateshead). Glasgow, for a local civil servant based there, “took an early view about moving from the traditional industries to what the future looked like for the city then, it did have ambitions of being a cultural city”. The public sector organisations in the city work under five key themes: ‘Learning Glasgow’, ‘Working Glasgow’, ‘Healthy Glasgow’, ‘Safe Glasgow’, and ‘Vibrant Glasgow’, yet for a Glasgow academic “vibrancy can also mean that you now come to Glasgow for a bashing or something”.

The cultural route is believed to change the future of a contemporary city by creating a new image. For a regional Glasgow arts administrator thinking about legacy, “there was a chip in an egg pan there, to the extent that what that simply [meant], by giving it a title ‘City of Culture’ and aspiring to social, cultural, economic regeneration in that context, were you tapping into something that existed, or were you creating something new?” Glasgow 1990’s legacy, although predominantly described as physical regeneration,

“some of it was inspirational; you know folk began to believe it could be a contemporary city working in the cutting edge of contemporary art and culture. But even if a lot of the material legacy has dissipated, or you know it’s less evident, it still has this sense of something happened that people were part of that – that still resonates.”

Change requires regeneration approaches that focus on creativity to inspire development, and that realise the potential of local contributions to challenge globally derived approaches. A national architectural organisation questions

“where’s the funding going to come from to develop those places that don’t have a lot going for them? What kind of skills do you need for different places in order to regenerate and to create enthusiasm? That’s interesting because it suggests to me that different places that need different things so that there aren’t actually models. So you might need someone saying not every place will have that kind of cultural production and that regeneration people who have that kind of profile or even that kind of interest should develop more case studies to understand the character of the problem.”

There are different and competing influences on Glasgow because of its particular dependency on its roots in Scotland. The relative unimportance of party-political change has nurtured a particular sense of place; Glasgow has its own path, not one carved for it by Scotland and the decision-makers.

“Even if party politics changes, in terms of who’s running the administration, I see, to be honest, not much change in that commitment [to culture] because I think it is a real feature now of Glasgow. Indeed when you are talking in national forums, we suffer from two things, because we are so big, you often suffer from other authorities who think we are the cuckoo in the nest that gobbles up all the resources and it’s not fair. Also equally [you] get others that look up to you for support, advice and guidance and so on.” (Glasgow local arts administrator)

Earlier discussions in the homogenising narrative (Section 6.2) prompted a concern that culture is seen as a ‘quick fix’ to social and economic problems. A Liverpool regional civil servant believes that local authorities should promote incremental change. The message to the community should be that improvements will come, but gradually and over generations.

“It’s a hard message I think if you’re unemployed, if you’re not very well. You know you’re living in poor housing [...] I think anyone in Liverpool that says that they haven’t had the opportunity to be engaged in ‘Capital of Culture’, certainly young people, ‘cause I knew every single school in Liverpool, has had the opportunity to be engaged. It’s just not telling the truth or they’re not listening or they’re not concentrating.”

For them, disengagement occurs when an individual perceives the promoted message as irrelevant to their socio-economic situation. Culture is the means to engage people in urban improvement, which creates a series of connections which feedback and “loop around so that you will start to see kids who are at school now going to Sage¹⁹ coming through on the stages. Not just the education stuff but will actually get the feedback into the actual cultural content that’s being made” (Regional arts administrator NewcastleGateshead). There is an implicit argument that local audiences will engage in meaningful ways with cultural activities but this requires a strong emphasis on understanding place and the communities who live there (Quinn, 2005).

¹⁹ The Sage Gateshead music and conference venue

Socio-economic considerations form part of the narrative understanding of elite participants; place-based regeneration approaches must incorporate a local understanding to avoid imposing solutions on the area. “Talk to the leaders from any of the big cities in the world that are doing well and there’s no doubt in their mind about success and cultural vitality, it’s only the next tier down in cities that think like that” (Regional arts administrator Liverpool). This quote draws together this section’s themes: the historic path through economic influences; a change to focus on culture; and that processes require an approach that is locally developed and integrated.

7.4 Socio-economic characteristics

Distinctive local approaches to socio-economic changes suggest that cultural investments are integral to a local and fluid approach to competitive growth. Previous attempts at economic development have shaped the locality (Section 7.4.1), and regeneration efforts that centre on culture are continually compared between cities (Section 7.4.2). This section uncovers opposing viewpoints that either see culture as valuable for its own sake, or is essential to regeneration efforts. There is a flexible understanding of both grassroots development and world class changes, but it is argued that economic regeneration solutions must involve culture that is local and specific (Section 7.4.3).

7.4.1 Previous changes

Previous socio-economic development has left a legacy of buildings in urban spaces, which forms a physical totem. A national environmental organisation actor explains they protect these historic structures and features to ensure “a sense of conformity and continuity, a point of reference in the landscape”. Preservation of these traditional characteristics, buildings, and structures represents an enduring visible symbol of the economic and industrial past. In Liverpool there is a similar acknowledgement of local distinctiveness with “areas that have indigenous industries from the past like glass-making, so we’ve got very distinctive areas within areas, but in essence for me the place is about what emanates out of the core” (Local civil servant Liverpool). This demonstrates a well-established idea that the loci of the city comprise a core from which economic benefits emanate.

Current socio-economic questions about the future of a city continue from the legacy of its industrial and political past.

“[Liverpool] isn’t a rich council, for obvious reasons and it doesn’t have the luxury of being able to, you know, to take assets and package them and make them work for it in a way that Manchester does, for example. That’s, you know that’s about risk management in the past, it gets, you know, the sins of it get visited, they’re being visited now.” (Local civil servant Liverpool)

A Newcastle civil servant discusses Glasgow as an example of learning in ongoing cultural regeneration, where the threat of gentrification emerged.

“[Glasgow] had this huge argument in the late 1980s about the appropriation of culture by the yuppie class, so there was this whole huge debate about workers city. Glasgow city of culture in 1990 was being about simply a tool to get external investment and not about the people of it, a big divide, you learn from that.”

Funding cycles directly influence approaches with a hiatus of activity when new political appointments are made: “there’s this joke that goes round in the voluntary sector, in that you get a three-year funded project, first year try and work out what you are doing, second year you deliver, and third year you’re looking for a new job. So only one year decent work, so that is the reality” (Glasgow local arts administrator). This time pressure encourages the seeking of policy successes elsewhere to obtain viable solutions for their locality. Economic changes that have occurred globally and nationally have pivoted a move towards a new localism.

“with [the] economic downturn, some of these arguments are going to be ‘oh thank goodness we’ve already started to think about localism’. The way I understand it is that Liverpool still and always has been remarkably wrapped up in itself. If you look at things like trade relationships between say creative businesses in Liverpool they are really quite parochial...a very important kind of parochial-ness and kind of protection and respect for what happens locally, about local production, I think in Liverpool that is tied into its sort of bolshiness. It’s sack of potatoes on the shoulder approach to things that is part of the culture of the city.” (Regional arts administrator Liverpool)

This re-focus on the local emphasises an almost protectionist stance is required by policy makers to ensure that local production and trade can survive economic change.

Liverpool's profile is more than its tourist marketing campaigns; it evokes an understanding of the attributes that makes the locality unique as a post-industrial creative city. It has a high profile, the "highest after London in a UK city, the Beatles, football or maritime type history. They are generally positive associations. Its very positive outside the UK but in the UK it's, you know, either associations with industrial decline, 1980s labour disputes, [or] a loony left council" (Liverpool politician).

For a local civil servant, the 'selling' of Glasgow in its current form owes much to the urban activity of earlier generations. Promoting cities through their culture raises the profile of the historical collection of assets over decades:

"[Glasgow] never lost sight of the fact that what gave us our cultural strength in the first place is a whole series of local actions that have taken place. Some of that goes back 10, 20, 30 years ago, people who invested in building art collections and people who gave money to build facilities." (Local civil servant Glasgow)

The socio-economic opportunities available to Gateshead have enabled it to develop the cultural infrastructure on the quayside. The iconic totems built in the locality are said to be the result of opportunism.

"The argument is that Gateshead has stolen a march on Newcastle. A lot of Newcastle was developed early 80s, they [Gateshead] then developed all the iconic cultural stuff, the Baltic and all that [...] The important point to make is that the cultural regeneration of that area was alongside the economic development regeneration and it wasn't just, we didn't just do all that for cultural reasons or for increasing visitor numbers or for tourism, it was done for economic development purposes and culture happened to be quite a good hook." (NewcastleGateshead regional civil servant)

Thus, past economic decisions have developed the built environment, inherited landmarks form distinct space, and regeneration includes both culture and the economy. Tackling urban problems requires an understanding of the socio-economic challenges, yet culture can be a vital fulcrum for advancing a place's development.

7.4.2 Culture and regeneration

"It's always about the mix and knowing when to use the mix, using Tracy Emin the celebrity, but also connecting in with the more participative

practice, socially engaging practices. I think artists who work in that way can do loads actually around cultural regeneration and not in a glamorous way, in a real gain for place.” (National architectural organisation)

There is a counter-argument that using local culture to solve socio-economic problems harms culture:

“When our politicians announced that the year 2008 was going to create 14,000 new jobs that was immediately bad for culture, it’s the same as if you say ‘I am going to have a child because I want a pension in old age’. It’s not good for the child. Culture likes to be loved for its own sake, and it only gives you back the rewards you want if you do love it for its own sake.” (Liverpool local arts administrator)

Thus, local culture should be valued for its distinctiveness; festivals, events, and elite icons are not the only symbols to be used for a place. A regional arts administrator offers a contrasting view: that regeneration will be ineffective without the inclusion of culture.

“When you look at what you might call uncultural regeneration or non-cultural regeneration, I think you could put forward the argument that it does not work because it doesn’t actually impact on the deeper factors that lead to a place needing to be regenerated in the first place. So you end up with what I have sometimes called etch-a-sketch regeneration.” (Regional arts administrator NewcastleGateshead)

This type of regeneration is criticised for a temporary dynamic wherein global businesses are attracted to consume the promoted assets of the place. Once this consumption is sated, they move to the next locality; the sketch is then erased and re-drawn. This creates a transient and ‘inauthentic’ path that evaporates quickly and leaves no residue.

Regeneration with a cultural focus has been attributed with changing the identity of places, moving them from ‘an ordinary provincial city’ to a global player. According to one local Liverpool arts administrator,

“Liverpool was probably the first truly global city. You can palpably feel it, you look at the waterfront and those buildings that were built early twentieth century were built because of Liverpool’s influence on transatlantic cruising and the movement of people to America. Without being too presumptuous about the city, it is the city that everyone’s heard of.”

National pressure to focus efforts on cultural regeneration, caused local areas to say,

“God you know we’re really on the slide, we’re regenerating, let’s look around for some ideas and think where the money should come in’, and there was a real battle in Merseyside when there was the old Merseyside Arts, about the use of cultural funding for non-cultural objectives. So some of it has been driven from the areas of greatest deprivation really aligning funding locally, and government thinking, ‘Oh I don’t know if we like our money used in this way’, and sort of changing opinion through it, so I think some of the regeneration has been much more local driven than a national movement.” (Regional civil servant Liverpool)

This connection between cities and economic drivers is pertinent to NewcastleGateshead. The artificial linking of the places into one marketable brand contextualises the future approaches, at both a physical and an economic scale.

“This perambulation between both sides and becoming one place rather than two sides of a river is really important and they need to think very clearly how they connect both the Newcastle and Gateshead side but also connect the Gateshead side water edge back into Gateshead town. This issue comes up a lot with linear development, if Gateshead wants to retain the economic advantage of it then they have to see it as an extension of their town centre, otherwise it will just be viewed as an extension of Newcastle’s city centre.” (Glasgow civil servant)

Economic changes are significant to the regeneration approaches undertaken and the perception of culture.

“In the current climate there’s not the lottery that’s off on the Olympics and we’re putting our money into R&D, it’s almost circumstance. If there was that thing you could do it in a more iconic way, if there were funds of money happening. But the current climate is that there’s a downturn and culture’s the first thing to go. You almost got to ride the wave of the cycle, money, people’s mood and optimism and things like that.” (Regional civil servant NewcastleGateshead)

Economic advantage strived for through a local relevance is sought despite the homogenising global brands which are epitomising urban places of consumption (Zukin, 1991).

“You get your global by being strong locally. I think we are in a global situation but in cultural terms we don’t have yellow M’s around the place saying we have a McDonald’s because there’s one in Sheffield or one

somewhere else. That's the really interesting thing about the cultural regeneration around here, every project is quite distinctive. There isn't a Seven Stories anywhere else, there isn't a Sage Gateshead anywhere else, actually there isn't a Baltic anywhere else." (NewcastleGateshead regional arts administrator)

One success attributed to cultural approaches is the creation of a new story for a city, usually a story of success, as the troubled city rejuvenates itself. For Glasgow,

"the reality about 1990 there's not much of an audit trail; it's actually very hard to actually gather a lot of information. So the myth making has been even more successful than we probably first realised [...] I think one of the great successes in Glasgow has been for the story of culture regenerating the city's image from a heavy industrialised city to one that's seen as modern." (Local Glasgow arts administrator)

Glasgow re-presents its face to the world through culture "the new Museum of Transport tells Glasgow's role in the world through its transport industry" (Regional arts administrator Glasgow). This re-telling of the Glasgow story represents its new local and specific image.

7.4.3 Locally specific

A Liverpool regional arts administrator explains that certain conditions need to be met in localities, "certain things have got to happen, got to be here and work for a quality of environment, access to schools, employment, connectivity of transport, access to culture and activity and so on. Those are all the things that come together to make place at a number of different levels". A regional civil servant in Glasgow believes the local projects – not large iconic ones – are changing places socially. A local project "worked with some of your up-and-coming Scottish artists to explore what the community wanted, and to be actively involved in making things happen, and that really had a very helpful impact on the pride and cohesion in those communities".

Another regional civil servant for Glasgow concurs that there are intrinsic benefits to cultural regeneration at a local level.

"It's taking the benefit of art for its own sake and seeing how that can make a powerful, positive impact upon other aspects, and there are a host of policy linkages that are possible, at least the education is an

important one as well. Community safety, crime prevention, young people you know doing positive cultural activities rather than, you know, maybe having more opportunity to do things which aren't quite so positive. But also through of course learning skills, so there's the whole skills agenda and communication agenda can be supported hopefully by arts and culture."

A local Glasgow arts administrator does not believe in masterplanning that includes a gallery and/or an iconic bridge as award-winning solutions to the city's urban problems. No regeneration formula exists and

"anyone who pretends otherwise, that this was a masterplan from day one I think is a wee-bit disingenuous. I think it's important in the sense that you can't start with a huge swathe of the city and say 'what can we do?' But it's not 'what is the plan?' It's that you start with something and things get adapted as opportunities arise."

There is a tension between this administrator and the views of a local civil servant for Glasgow, who wants "a greater encouragement of master plans. I believe that these things don't happen well when not co-ordinated. The sense of organic development is wrong. There needs to be something linking all this development together". Whether regeneration can be planned as an exact formula for problem solving is an ongoing debate in all three case studies.

Positive and negative connotations of a place form the basis for questions about what the future city will offer. Simplistic interpretations of places are no longer acceptable to elite actors. Politically and socially, places are something specific and purposeful to the individual:

"When you are developing places you have to see them at a macro large-scale urban design level, but equally you have to understand what it means at a micro level as well. You need to be able to see how large-scale master plans hang together in connectivity, transport, permeability and all those things. All the technical stuff but you need to know what impact that has on the ground." (Local civil servant Glasgow)

Effective management of these processes is a vital prerequisite for enabling places to take best advantage of their opportunities to tackle change.

"The nature of rivers and different administrative boundaries and the nature of different city centres is that things happen in a piecemeal way. There's never a grand master plan. Things come and things go. I have

lived 30 years of different regeneration programmes, SRB²⁰, city challenge, urban programme, UDCs, the whole lot and basically things ebb and flow and you just can do bits of it, at particular times when there's money available and when there's opportunities on when you do it." (NewcastleGateshead regional civil servant)

The pattern of development for regeneration planning and processes has been based on prior learning and opportunism. It may be part of the standardised approach but, for Newcastle and Gateshead, the sculpture the 'Angel of the North' signified a change.

"The Angel of the North was actually very important and is what I call a broker of ambition, it made people think more ambitiously, when it arrived it made people realise we could do things of an international quality and that Gateshead can, they could deliver, that they could deliver anything. It put us onto the international stage and did a huge amount for the image of the region. But cultural regeneration doesn't necessarily happen through having huge strategies, it happens through organic just getting things done." (NewcastleGateshead regional arts administrator)

This 'broker of ambition' signalled both NewcastleGateshead's competitive position on a world stage and the locality taking advantage of an opportunity. A national architectural representative explains this as a desire "to see a particular kind of development sympathetic to what ever special qualities have made that area special and its particular characteristics". The flux of responsibility for them is determining the role of the local, "at the moment there seems to be a very significant emphasis on local, something that's completely taking over at the moment. Yet at the same time, it seems to be building up again to multi-area agreements, sub-regions and city regions. It seems to be in a constant state of flux really."

A local arts administrator for Glasgow believes the global society is bringing a renewed focus on the local,

"you can see the homogeneity in pretty much every town centre. Generic stores and I feel very passionately about, you know, the fact that the planning system has failed the UK in the last 20 years. I think it's going to get much worse before it gets any better."

²⁰ Single Regeneration Budget

Regeneration efforts that sideline the local are reproached for creating twin-track economies within the localities. Affluent areas of successful cultural focus are twinned with deprived areas of need.

“Twin-track economies, [there’s] talk about economic success in big cities that’s not filtering down by and large into persistently deprived communities. Very large pockets of deprivation in our cities that have not been affected by economic successes. Cities that do not address that will always be lagging behind.” (Regional arts administrator Liverpool)

Twin-track economies persist in the European competitors for the case studies. Bilbao is hailed as a place that has turned its fortunes around through culture, although post-industrial problems still blight its waterfront. “The river itself is filthy, the industrial belt, rust belt runs straight through it, that I think makes it really quite difficult to complete the job” (NewcastleGateshead regional arts administrator).

The ability of the local to create independent solutions to local problems is questioned. Policies to tackle urban problems are intended to provide benefits to the wider locality through ‘trickle down’, however it “doesn’t work or it might take 40 or 50 years but people don’t wait that long” (Glasgow civil servant). This belief has been criticised for previous efforts and is not a unique criticism of cultural attempts. Indeed for this Liverpool academic,

“the definition of madness is doing the same things over and over and over again and expecting a different result, and that’s basically what we do, but we repackage it. Combating poverty, keep on combating poverty. Wondering why it doesn’t work, and then we combat it again, and then we wonder why it doesn’t work again, and then we combat it again, and we call it something else.” (Liverpool academic)

The socio-economic characteristics of the localities have created distinct developments in the physical urban fabric. The current urban form tells a story of the past and potential future of these places. Cities retain an enduring importance as local economic generators. Although economic problems persist, despite repeated attempts at regeneration, a role for culture has been suggested. This culture needs to be authentic to local conditions and is influencing the socio-economic and built environment form of cities from the bottom up.

7.5 Distinctive urban form

The previous parts of this chapter have repeated the theme of the importance of the urban landscape – whether as a product of a locale’s history (Section 7.3), or an influence on socio-economic activity (Section 7.4). This section focuses on the urban form and the role of the waterfront in both local distinctiveness (Section 7.5.1) and the distinct ‘edge’ that characterises the localities (7.5.2). The local considers itself a leader in regeneration approaches (Section 7.5.3), as each place looks to the local for innovative and encompassing approaches to development.

7.5.1 Waterfront uniqueness

A counter-movement is underway against homogenised cities and architecture. The formulaic revival of waterfront places no longer persists as the dominant solution for some elite actors. “Within architecture itself, within culture, urban design, I think the local movement as well will probably become more important with the climate change agenda” (Local Liverpool politician). New agendas, such as climate change, require the locality to seek out innovative approaches that are in tune with the environment and the current urban form.

For a Liverpool arts administrator the waterfront developments “have almost mirrored Liverpool’s improvement overall. The Albert Dock derelict in 1981 is now home to the largest collection of Grade I listed buildings in the country”. Again, architecture is attributed as a saving grace for both cities and their waterfronts. These developments contain a unique built environment legacy that has brought a confidence to the localities.

“[Liverpool] identified the opportunity for major leisure activity on King’s Waterfront, and on the pier head, of the potential to use a new building there as a sort of new statement of confidence in the future of the city. Which is what the three buildings there represent in a sense, and when they were built in the early twentieth century the city was already on the start of a long decline.” (Local Liverpool civil servant)

The waterfront is a particular form of urban landscape, which in our case studies demonstrates specific characteristics and challenges. One theme is the separation between waterfront and city. Traditional industry disconnected waterfronts from their cities, (see Chapter 3) as factors such as the hazardous

nature of ports closed off these areas from people who did not work there. In Glasgow a disconnect between waterfront and city remains:

“I think there are issues almost about the humanity elements of it. It feels like a place that was kind of monolithic industrial design and it's been knocked down and been replaced by monolithic housing. I am not sure it's got the right mixes and the right connectivity to the centre [and future solutions will be] much more based on regeneration concepts and absolutely about cultural regeneration.” (Glasgow local civil servant)

Linear development has a persistent historical pattern yet the waterfront is retained as an enduring part of the city, and re-connecting it is vital to the city's cultural image and offer.

“If ever there was a time to visit, to invest or to re-locate to Glasgow, this decade is really the time to do it, because this is where it's at and it is just really exciting to be part of it. So by 2016 I think we'll be probably looking much more at the river and I think the river will be very, I mean it is becoming more so day-by-day, much more integral to the city's product. But I think by 2016 it will just, it will be a continuation of the city centre and at the moment that's the thing that's missing.” (Regional civil servant Glasgow)

Historical patterns of linear industrial development along the waterfront have also isolated the River Mersey from Liverpool.

“When it was a working dock [Liverpool], it wasn't open to the public. The area from just north of the area from the pier and south all closed as [a] working dock in the 70s, and it never became, it's never been a place that the city exploited. You know, other than when it was a working dock. So now it's beginning to exploit it again [...] It will bring more people to the city, but, you know you wouldn't come to Liverpool just to go to the waterfront.” (Liverpool local civil servant)

The river has become part of the 'psyche' of Glasgow; “the great Victorian business men who became philanthropists and bought the art collections, donated buildings and so on, the river, it would never have happened without that” (Local arts administrator Glasgow). While, the river's authenticity, to a regional arts administrator for NewcastleGateshead, combats the artificial perception of places. “The river is a real thing; it also shapes how you think about where you live. So, in that sense its not artificial, because you know the planning permission decisions that get made where I live make a difference to how it feels to drive down the main road, so its not artificial in that sense.” This

feeling for the local and the changes that are enacted are sought in both positive and negative accolades. The river “in Glasgow, unlike other cities, the river isn’t somewhere where people would go” (Regional civil servant Glasgow).

The bridges on the Tyne are unique assets linking Newcastle and Gateshead. The Millennium Bridge represents a change to the understanding of the quayside as a place. “What kind of symbolises the changes is the bridges really. It’s that kind of bridgescape, if there is such a word, across the Tyne because the Tyne is the constant and that hasn’t moved but the passages across it have” (NewcastleGateshead regional arts administrator). However, this linking identifies the deficit of Gateshead town “[NewcastleGateshead] its the only major European city to have [a] big city one side and then just have Baltic on the other side, there’s nothing that meets you” (Liverpool regional arts administrator).

Reference is often made to the iconic images of past industry that now hold international and national importance for the recognition of place. People derive satisfaction from the physical spaces,

“the rivers are important and the way we bridge the river over the centuries and other key landmark buildings like here the Baltic. I’d imagine there’d have been uproar if there’d been proposals to knock it down and build a new gallery. So turn it into an iconic building not just iconic gallery.” (NewcastleGateshead regional civil servant)

There is a distinction to place derived from new buildings situated next to renewed former industrial ones on waterfronts. “Baltic is distinctive because it is in what was kind of a major former industrial building and therefore has a different resonance to the Sage because of its newness” (NewcastleGateshead regional arts administrator).

7.5.2 Distinctive edge

As seen in Section 7.3, the nature of each locality has been successively influenced by historic investments in development. A local Glasgow politician argues that:

“the city arguably wouldn’t be here in the form it’s in if they hadn’t decided to invest massively in what had been hidden from the rest of the

world, which is that Glasgow was always a cultural place of music, obviously of universities. But that got masked by the building [of] two-thirds of the world's shipping, and then when the world's shipping left us for the Pacific we had to subsist on something else as we looked at culture. What I see is coloured by the fact that I believe that culture and sport, that culture and architecture saved my city, architecture is the princess of culture someone once remarked."

There are local attributes that cannot be changed and may be viewed as positive, or detrimental to development. In the case of NewcastleGateshead, its location geographically 'isolates' the city, for a local civil servant in NewcastleGateshead this is a negative attribute "you get like delineation, that sort of isolation in some ways of Newcastle and Gateshead, which maybe gives it a distinctive edge". For a local politician the local is altering, NewcastleGateshead "has always had a strong international connectivity partly because we've been a seaport so we are used to people coming in and out. The local, you see, the River Tyne isn't replicated anywhere". There is a deep memory of associating waterfronts with the locality's industrial past. Cultural regeneration of these places "allows people to forget that, in a way that isn't necessarily a negative thing, it's sort of creating a new space and a new modernity, I suppose" (Local arts administrator NewcastleGateshead).

"At the same time there's sometimes a bit too much effort going into that parochial look at what we did and what NewcastleGateshead is about, it's about shipbuilding and blah blah. The cultural reflection of that tends to be very twee and artificial and doesn't leave space for anything new." (Regional arts administrator NewcastleGateshead)

This perceived focus on the parochial may hinder the creation of new places with an 'edge' that recognise the past, without trying to sanitise it. As an edgy city, Liverpool is encouraged "not to try and whitewash the rough edges" (Liverpool local arts administrator). Edgy cities require a different, unorthodox local offer.

"[Liverpool One²¹] was chosen to be very different, instead of having a mall, it's open with city streets and it connects the river up with city. So even the way we have done that is very much designed to, how can I put it, very much designed to keep Liverpool unique and different whilst bringing in some of the better features. You don't want some of the better

²¹ Liverpool One, city centre development comprising 1.65million square feet of leisure and retail facilities www.liverpoolone.com

retail institutions, for want of a better word, not to be in Liverpool, but we are very acutely aware of our heritage as an edgy city.” (Local arts administrator Liverpool)

A focus on edginess is now exploited in the competition to be the lead city. “We need to think about the ‘edgy’ more than just distinctiveness, it’s something that gives us a lead. None of this heritage park or preservation in aspic.” (Glasgow local civil servant)

A regional arts administrator comments that the predominant impact of globalisation was assumed to be cultural homogenisation. They believe that instead the:

“Scottish have become more Scottish and the Welsh more Welsh, the Irish too but I’m not quite sure what the English are doing. The need to individualise in a massive mass market is very strong indeed. The easy way to go about that is to fall back on the cliché and promote yourself as ‘the land of the...’ all based on the past. We are all guilty of that to an extent.”

There is a renewed and strengthened need to understand the local, local identity, and cultural resources. Solutions to globalisation are considered to lie locally. Previous industrial sites that the city has turned its back on retain a persistent hard-to-remove local character,

“particularly the smaller cities, shopping malls [are] built there with multinational shops lining the arcades and you could be anywhere, they’ve managed to remove almost all traces of localisation. But there are places like, there are other cities like Newcastle and Liverpool, or Oxford or Bristol where history is much more present and evident and the local is much more stubborn and much harder to remove.” (Local arts administrator Liverpool)

These localities offer sticky spaces “with unique attributes where people come into it and they stop somehow” (Liverpool local arts administrator). Sticky places manage to anchor activity to specific places and flourish despite globalising tendencies (Markusen and Schrock, 2006).

7.5.3 Best practice exemplar

For a local civil servant in NewcastleGateshead it is a ‘foolish’ city that does not learn from other waterfront redevelopments, adding the disclaimer not to ignore

the local, “the local populace, the traditions, the history, you know you ignore those at your peril”. Baltimore’s waterfront is hailed as a paragon of patience as regeneration took a long time, though gentrification also affected its local communities.

“Regeneration took generations, you know, it wasn’t just a parachute them in, do a bit [of] tarting up and then out you go again. Took them ages to get this inner core round the waterfront sorted, but what they did find out was that as more wealthy individuals came into the waterfront, and you know there were nice offices, leisure facilities, nice waterfront houses, the people who had been living there were pushed out, so you got this ring, this sort of doughnut affect where all you were doing was moving this lot further back and they were as poor as ever.” (NewcastleGateshead regional civil servant)

A Glasgow regional civil servant argues that Glasgow is the exemplar of cultural regeneration solutions:

“most cities have turned and looked at us because I think we have been seen certainly in the 1990s as the market leader. The first city that took this stuff really seriously, people came and looked at how we did it, what we set up, what it cost, what the structures were [that] allowed that to happen.”

For a local civil servant Glasgow is rooted in its own self-identity but still looks elsewhere:

“but I wouldn’t say that it has picked up a model from Manchester or Barcelona and said here’s a Glasgow model, but it has looked at best practice elsewhere and looked to see what’s for Glasgow. So, I think I’m right in saying that the council has a city plan, which covers all development in the city and I think that is held up elsewhere as best practice in terms of how you plan regeneration within the city.”

A regional civil servant for NewcastleGateshead thinks it “may have learned from what happened in Barcelona in terms of how they used culture as a means of reinvigorating it as a city, and used design and architecture as a means of doing that and re-energising a city”. They believe that Gateshead’s ambitions make them leaders not followers. The key policy actors “listened to quite a lot of people and listened to American experiences, [to understand] what’s happened in cities in the States and the complex regeneration undertaken”. However, NewcastleGateshead, as for each case study, has the overriding belief that their approaches have been successful in the cultural economy.

Each case study has created vibrant creative environments, and they can offer lessons to other cities seeking ideas. This sense of pride in a locality emerged in Section 7.1, but has particular force when actors speak about their own urban locale. The influence on other places also demonstrates the way in which the local has impact on the global. For a NewcastleGateshead local politician “to a large extent many people come to us and ask us, they see us as being far more advanced”. A national architectural organisation believes in the power of particular places gleaned through useful studies, “the Tyne Gorge study became a supplementary planning document in terms of planning the area so they must have found it useful”. The gorge has a “uniqueness in the physical environment” for a local politician in NewcastleGateshead. Such exogenous organisational studies are considered helpful development or drivers of heterogeneity through an identification of unique characteristics to a place. Finally, Liverpool concurs on its standing as a leader in cultural solutions.

“We are probably leading the world in how does a declined city reinvent itself as a place to live. And I think there’s where all those northern cities will be at the cutting edge and will have a global significance around the world. We’ve had a lot of Japanese people interviewing us recently, because they are so advanced now their population figures are dropping and they have their migration problems.” (Liverpool local politician)

Events like the Capital of Culture have a significant role in the rhetoric and re-branding of the city.

“Most writers have said that although there were criticisms of it and it was socially divisive and all this sort of thing, you know at least Glasgow made quite a splash with it, and it deliberately used it. It’s used as one of the almost role models isn’t it, Glasgow, because in the previous year Paris had been Capital of Culture and I think it sort of generated only a handful of extra events.” (Glasgow academic)

Glasgow is seen as a pioneer of city branding, “Austin in Texas, which was actually looking at what Glasgow has been doing, because they really want to re-brand, they were looking to Glasgow for inspiration. So we do know that we’re very much on the radar and other cities are watching what we’re doing” (Local civil servant Glasgow). A regional arts administrator in Glasgow explains,

“there was a period where Bilbao in particular and Barcelona as well were being influenced by Glasgow, but it’s also vice versa. So I think it’s

very difficult to draw a clear map that says ‘they did this first and then they followed suit’. [...] there are some people that argue that Tate Modern was based on the Tramway.”

Liverpool makes a similar claim to provide cultural lessons to other cities, but also that these are reciprocated.

“Shanghai was copied on Liverpool because of its connection to the sea and other things, near the mouth of the river. Not many cities are very close to the mouth of the sea [...] Shanghai have an area called the Bund which is the front there, right on the front and that is modelled on Liverpool, it’s even got a building that looks like the Liver Building. But now it’s moved on and Liverpool has tried to emulate bits of it.” (Liverpool local civil servant)

Glasgow is linked to Liverpool, as the only other UK city that has been awarded Capital of Culture status. It is also “a very similar city to Liverpool, similar history, the football, the docks going into decline, but also very strong culture, very warm people and they used that [City of Culture] very successfully we think” (Liverpool local arts administrator). Reversing this comparison:

“You got the sense that they [Liverpool] may be where Glasgow was 10–15 years ago. It’s quite astonishing to see that Capital of Culture impact and see it again. It felt like Glasgow was a while ago. So you come back and realise [and] measure how far Glasgow has come. Same sort of post-industrial decline, same sense of itself as a slightly lost place and they’re just starting, and we’re ahead.” (Glasgow local arts administrator)

Distinct urban forms on the waterfront are argued to be unique in the face of global homogenising processes. The challenges of development in disused and disconnected spaces have encouraged a local appreciation for the legacy of the built form and negative characteristics. Challenges have led each locality to believe they offer a lesson to other places through their unique experiences.

7.6 Summary – homogenisation and distinctiveness

Situating culture and regeneration in a broad discourse about the future of the city is a debate that needs to be explored to identify the role culture has in attempts to tackle urban problems. “I can see culture becoming a more important sector, industrial sector” (Local arts administrator Glasgow). Culture is intrinsically linked to the locality through identity, economy, urban form, and its unique history. Culture should not be viewed solely as a commercial asset to

exploit competitively; instead, it forms part of the economic endurance of cities. “The paradox of cultural regeneration is that [it] is a bad thing for societies” (NewcastleGateshead local civil servant), in that it is increasingly leading to the homogenisation of the built environment of cities. Homogenising processes, discussed in Chapter 6, showed that events and marketing linked to the cultural approach trigger debates on the legacy to the local physical and socio-economic identity of these places.

Global competition for creativity, tourism, and innovation has driven models for waterfront places and solutions to urban problems. Yet these competitions for Liverpool’s future are “like having three stages of a rocket without quite having the rocket complete [...] European Capital of Culture 2008 that can never be taken away, but, Liverpool’s got to be banging on the door, to be the next-next port of call, no pun intended” (Local arts administrator Liverpool). Each case study is looking to the future, particularly the long-term impacts of their regeneration approaches, and indeed, for some elite actors they are debating whether there is a role for culture.

Detailed interviews have suggested a particular way of looking at cultural regeneration and it is to this we now turn in the final chapter.

Chapter 8

McGeneration – the continuing importance of place?

8. Introduction

In this era of late capitalism, there has been a noticeable shift in focus towards culture as a significant driver for economic growth and development. As we have seen throughout the thesis, starting with the regeneration projects in the United States, characterised by an association with the work of Florida, there has been an expectation that culture can be turned into a lever for urban regeneration. Perceptions of this lever as a means to solve urban problems has led to the cross-national transfer of policy lessons. Policy, which has specifically been enacted upon UK urban waterfronts. Thus cross-national policy transfer has been identified as a mechanism of global homogenising processes. Hence, “one of the dangers of policy transfer, is that it offers policy-makers an opportunity to short-circuit lengthy and awkward policy formulation processes by adopting ready-made solutions from elsewhere” (Common, 2004). The function of culture in these processes is dichotomous, it can be attributed both a homogenous and a unique role in places.

The use of culture as a ‘product’ that can be produced and consumed in cities, and in turn attract visitors and businesses to the places where it is concentrated, has been a feature of many regeneration projects. The expectations that culture can play a pivotal role in regeneration through these – and other – processes has produced pressures on culture, embodied in its creative classes, its organisations, and the events that act as a focus for its activity. Those pressures aggregate around the expectation of cultural agents – both personal and organisational – to contribute visibly towards achieving particular societal and economic goals.

Cities need to compete for visitors and businesses, and in order to achieve those ends this involves projecting images of each city. These self-images must differentiate the place from other cities, and articulate an image that is compelling to the visitors and organisations that the city seeks to attract. Through this process of adopting culture as a product, creative industries and cultural activity are now seen as a distinct economic culture that can be

measured as a signal of growth – and controlled by policy. This has led in turn to a demand to acquire creative capital (human and otherwise), effective policies to utilise culture, and the personnel to enact those policies. These processes, in fact, often lead to behaviours that may contradict the demand for uniqueness, such as importing policies from outside the locality.

The thesis has examined the continuing distinctiveness of place in explaining how cities respond to formulaic global solutions to cultural regeneration within waterfront areas. This final chapter relates the research that has been undertaken to address the aims of the thesis; drawing in the secondary sources and debates raised in chapters 2 and 3. The aims have been gathered together in three sections; policy context Section 8.1, formulaic solutions Section 8.2, and locality and place Section 8.3. The research draws together an interpretive understanding of how different kinds of process have been enacted in the context of the local and global, and coalesces the different themes investigated in chapters 6 and 7. The ten identified themes of homogeneity (generic processes) and distinctiveness (locality influence) are depicted in figure 8. The circular depiction indicates the continuous motion of global processes that are mediated by the locality to form a unique local place.

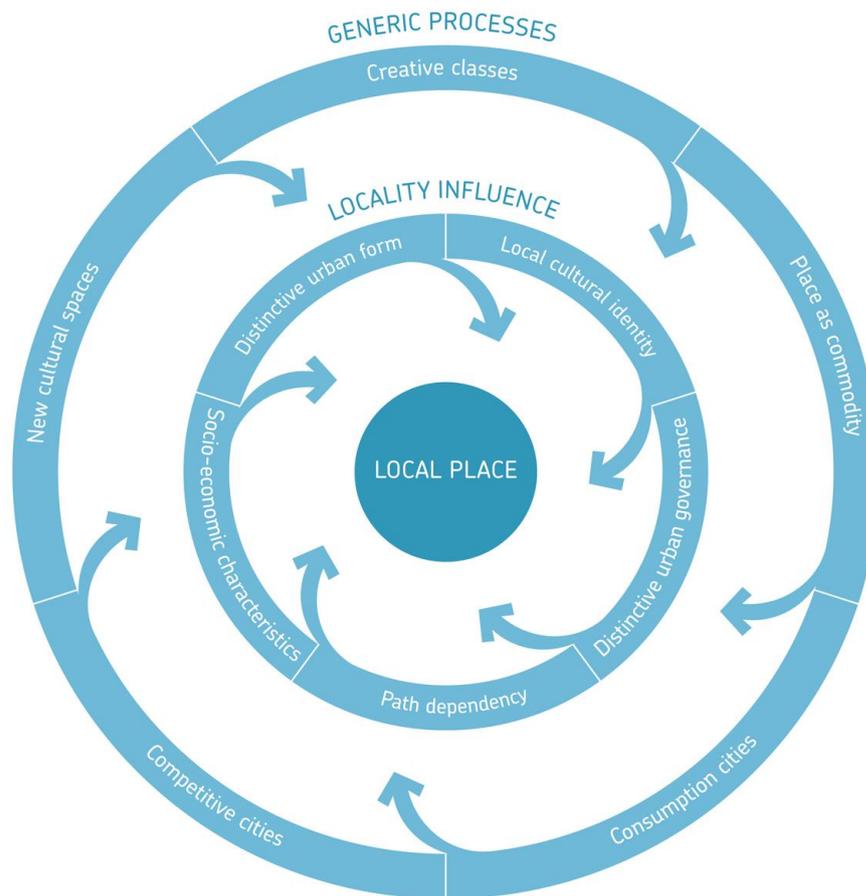


Figure 8: Local and generic processes

The contribution to knowledge this thesis makes is expressed further in Section 8.4. The thesis concludes with two sections to consider the methodology undertaken (Section 8.5) and the future considerations for research in this area (Section 8.6). We start the chapter by studying the nexus of policy – the locus through which the ends of distinctiveness, cultural success, and regeneration is achieved.

First, the following two charts summarise the key debates under the ten themes identified. Tables 8 and 8.1 show a snapshot of the narrative explanation of the ten data themes (from Chapters 6 and 7) of homogeneity and distinctiveness. Within the tables are a depiction of some of the key thoughts from elite actors under the homogenising and distinctiveness themes. Appendix G further support these debates with a further five areas of key concepts, policy, locality, distinctiveness, and homogeneity, summarised by case study area. The charts depict the homogeneity and distinctiveness to highlight the interpretations of the

debates in these areas by the elite actors. The abbreviations used in all the charts are

- RAA Regional arts administrator
- RCS Regional civil servant
- LCS Local civil servant
- LP Local politician
- A Academic
- LAA Local arts administrator

For homogeneity, contrasting views were heard as to whether there is a successful 'blueprint' for cultural regeneration approaches (Chapter 2.3 the blueprint for McGeneration-style regeneration) or whether organic local development is the route to solving urban ills. Eclipsed in the 'blueprint' for cultural regeneration is that localities are a network of flows and interconnectedness. The locality itself influences development, through its history, identity and physicality. This grass roots understanding is contrasted with tokenism, sameness, and lack of focus on the local allowing homogeneity (Appendix G). This linear narrative of a blueprint of culture to save cities has produced a familiar scripted approach. One finding is that recognition should be made of the good and bad aspects of the locality. This is contested in the literature and policy making of Chapter 2, where image making is key to the McFormula for marketing the locality. The recognition of the negative was important to Liverpool and Glasgow, however, despite support for distinctive locality based approaches, the formula or 'blueprint' for the waterfront (Chapter 3.5) is returned to so that for some actors the places have the necessary 'offer' to compete nationally and globally.

"Discourses of creative city regeneration were always problematic amongst some civic leaders" (Waitt and Gibson, 2009:1243). Economic or organic creative development is cited as the solution for change for NewcastleGateshead, its physicality and the past of the locality retains an importance to its development. The idea of path dependence as influential in regeneration activity was echoed through interviews yet there were actors in each city calling for local policy making and support for better leadership. "The traditions of decision-making in different types of council have limited the adoption of new forms of governance" (Gains et al., 2005:39), with weak forms of leadership leading localities to follow path dependant routes. Arts administrators look to other cities for examples to learn from, more than the

other elite actors, this contrasts to the emphasis made by actors that their city is the leader and one to emulate. The ECoC was held up as emblematic of the creative strategy, bringing confidence to Glasgow, a PR opportunity for Liverpool, and a great loss for NewcastleGateshead.

So we have “many policy makers are turning to the creative industries as a way out of the mess and, moreover, one that they believe is more resilient and more rooted in local circumstances” (Oakley, 2004:68). Contrasting views were heard in importance of culture to urban policy, from ‘here to stay’ to unimportant. But there remains a scepticism that culture can provide the desired regeneration, Zukin commented “cultural strategies may reflect the utter absence of new industrial strategies for growth” (Zukin, 1995:274). Politicians and civil servants seem to prefer cultural strategies that rely on flagship events, marketing, and international recognition rather than small scale city-wide programmes. Others specify local cultural production and projects that enrich the local story and experience.

Rejecting the globalisation is an overly dominant model to explain the transformation of places; respondents stressed the smaller local cultural facilities as crucial to deliver focused services to local interests. Overall, the case studies reinforce local activities have become essential components of urban regeneration, and culture is seen as an important means to promote uniqueness of place. As culture contributes to the liveability of cities, place identity is important for planning and decision-making. Places have had some consensus in this area Appendix G, advocating that we need to create a more nuanced place-based strategy in the three case studies that reflect their differences. One might argue that locality theory offers a greater opportunity today to consider the unexpected local influence and the range of narratives within this thesis support the importance of place in the face of homogeneity.

Theme	Liverpool	Glasgow	NewcastleGateshead
Creative Classes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> World class talent and institutions required (LAA/RAA) Florida used as justification for cultural regeneration approaches (A/RAA) Creative industries and 'cultural quarters' are a catalyst for growth (RAA/RAA) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Growing fashion for attracting the creative talent and entrepreneurs (LCS/LAA) Formulaic solutions are problematic (RAA/LAA/LAA) Tolerance and boho indices applicable in the USA context and not transferrable (A) The Florida style of regeneration bad for culture (LAA/LAA) Belief in Florida approach (LCS) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Global game of chasing talent is a developed country approach, influenced by Florida (RAA/LCS) The creative class are the beneficiaries, not 'ordinary' citizens (LCS/RAA) More to be exploited from culture as part of wider understanding of regeneration (RCS/LAA) Culture is a waste of time (LCS/RCS)
Place as commodity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Culture grabs headlines (LP/RCS) Tourism needs to be balanced with heritage (LP) Best practice networks important (LP/LAA/RAA) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Don't look externally for best practice (RCS) Tourism changing the city focus (RCS) Imposing quick fixes patronises local communities (RAA) Unique points for sale but no quick fixes (LP/LCS/LCS) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Selling a cultural reflection that is artificial for the place (RAA) Learning lessons from round the world is essential (LP/LCS/LP/RCS) River is part of the assets of places (RCS)
Consumption cities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Commercialising places for tourists is a bad thing (LCS) City playing catch-up to others (RAA/LP) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> An international city, not just local (LCS/RAA) Difficulty in creating a sense of place that can be consumed (A/LAA) History of place can be consumed for economic benefit (LCS) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Need long-term focus of year round activity to attract the type of visitor wanted (LP) Also need longevity of activities year after year (LAA/RAA)
Competitive cities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rivalry/Competition between cities has long historic standing (RCS) ECoC is city positioning and PR opportunity (LP/LCS/RCS) Branding important to recognise place (LP/RCS) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lost opportunities from formulaic approaches (LCS) City brand to re-position place on the world stage (LCS/LP/LCS) Confidence from ECoC but taped into something already in existence (RAA) Unhealthy dynamic of competition within the city for the same resources (LAA/LCS) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Race for titles important and loss is felt significantly (RAA/RCS) Need diverse understanding of culture to be able to utilise it (RCS/LAA) The offering is in place it just needs further exploitation (RCS/RCS) International quality of activity important (RAA)
New cultural spaces	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Investment in cultural and heritage gives distinctiveness (RCS/LAA) Model approach does not add value (LCS) Exploitation of disused waterfront, to encourage people to visit (LCS) Flagships are only infrastructure improvements not place shaping (RAA) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Marketable places are made not organic (RCS) Waterfront cant be a cocoon of development (LCS) Linear development doesn't bring social cohesion (A) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Changing the narrative about a place useful (RCS/RAA) Recognised internationally, symbols of change like the Angel of the North (RAA) Culture is embedded into the place and adds real value (LAA/RAA/RCS)

Table 8: Summary overview of the data for the five homogenising themes

Theme	Liverpool	Glasgow	NewcastleGateshead
Local cultural identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Historic potent symbols and local pride (RCS/RAA/RCS/RAA) • Local pride rooted in local activity eg sport, music (RCS/LAA/LAA) • Cultural regeneration dilutes local culture (A) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Glasgow re-engineering itself holding onto its roots (LCS/ RCS/LP) • Local historic figures key to city understanding (LCS) • Local sense of place and pride builds communities (RAA/RCS/LP) • Culture fluid term including sport (LAA/LCS) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local folklore, stories and myths, capture the zeitgeist (RAA/LAA) • Sport is a large part of the culture of the area, but increasingly so is science (RCS/RCS) • Pride is key to places (RCS/LAA/RCS)
Distinctive urban governance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Single individuals who have a vision for a place that is not to formula, to champion activities (RCS/RAA) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leadership as a collective approach involving partners not previously included (LCS/RCS) • Silo working issues (LAA/RAA) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Key leaders who's vision for the area shaped regeneration effort (RCS/RAA/LCS/LP) • Silo working and same faces making decisions (RAA/LCS/A) • Local actors 'plug away' to get things done that national policy wouldn't (RCS/LP/RCS)
Path dependency	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Legacy, working with the past and leaving one for the future (LCS/RAA/RAA) • Parochial approaches with a respect for the local (RAA) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Change takes generations and builds upon what has gone previously (LCS) • Concern over continued top down approaches, parochialism not wanted (LAA/LAA/LAA) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policy and change is mediated through local pride and identity over generations (RAA/RCS) • Clash between parochial and international (RAA) • Blur or change the boundaries to legitimise place characteristics (RAA/RCS)
Socio-economic practices	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Decline characterises the city (LP/LCS/RCS) • Need for more than one-off events for long term economic benefits (LCS/LAA) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Glasgow led the way in PR activities from history of past promotion (LCS) • Industrial trade of past has legacy (LCS) • Twin city of prosperity and deprivation created (LCS/LAA) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Seen as a post-industrial place (RAA/RCS/RCS/RCS) • Previous regeneration impacted on regeneration enacted now (RCS) • Etch a sketch regeneration as global companies exploit resources and move on quickly (RAA) • Culture a hook for economic development (RCS)
Distinctive urban form	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Need a conference centre to make up the offering (LP) • People are linked to water, the geographically unique waterfront landscape (LCS/RAA) • Need to challenge the linear development on waterfront (RAA) • Liverpool as the case study to emulate (RAA/LCS) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Glasgow as a model not a follower / mentoring role for others (LCS/RCS/LAA/LAA) • Waterfront needs further development of housing and links, connections importance (LCS/LCS) • River as the heart of the city and developments (LP/LAA) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • City is leader not follower and advice is sought on experience (RCS/LP/LAA) • Narrow and liner development doesn't reach communities behind it (RAA) • Distinct physical form with water at heart of place (LP/RCS/LCS/RCS)

Table 8.1: Summary overview of the data for the five distinctiveness themes

8.1 Policy context

This section draws together the understanding of urban regeneration, locality, and place and to establish their relevance to the debates on approaches to urban problems in older industrial cities in the twenty-first century. Regeneration policy has a long tradition in the United Kingdom, as was demonstrated in Chapter 3. However, a key facet of recent regeneration work and policy planning has been the response to the high-profile ‘successes’ of urban regeneration achieved in the United States during the 1980s, typified by Florida and the concept of the ‘festival marketplace’. The interview of elite actors has confirmed the pivotal role that these models have had on UK regeneration (Section 6.1).

There are cautions to this approach, however, (noted in Section 7.2, 7.3, and 7.5) as well as the successes of previous projects, the actors were concerned that errors were also being replicated. Similarly, there were clear concerns that often individuals moved on from one regeneration project to the next, and this has reinforced the possibility of reproducing errors, and led to competition for a relatively narrow pool of individuals with an experience of regeneration projects. This in turn mirrors the international communication of model policies, which are applied to new projects – with or without the transfer of experienced personnel. The interviewees confirmed this pattern of the internationalisation of regeneration. However, the transfer of policies also leads to cities competing for recognition (and the attraction of visitors and economic activity) and also conflicting demands for the same expertise.

Conversely, successful cities understand their achievement as itself a form of capital or ‘pride’ as we saw in Section 7.1. Effective promotional strategies (for example European Capital of Culture Section 6.4), and successful icons (for example the Angel of the North Sections 6.5 and 7.4.3) in a particular place, themselves lead to demands in other places to replicate the same actions and processes. Local policies emerge from the need for local authenticity (Sections 7.1 and 7.5), a recognition of the past (Sections 7.3 and 7.4), and the harnessing of indigenous or imported creative-types (Section 6.1). Indeed, “whether or not the visitors understand or even like the buildings, objects and performances they come to visit cannot be established, but the art functions as

a focus for locality and identity in a way that is independent of any functional role it might be expected to fulfil” (Usherwood et al., 2000:167).

Strategic political alliances within cities tend to form around priorities of economic growth, and oblige policy makers to include a variety of local expertise and key actors harnessing local potential to achieve the ends of regeneration (Sections 7.2 and 7.4). ‘Outstanding’ leadership in the arts is being strived for strategically (Arts Council England, 2010), as ‘entrepreneurs’ are sought to provide vision and leadership. Yet, weak collaborations between regeneration and cultural professionals exacerbate silo working and poor connectivity between creative talent and places (Sections 6.1 and 7.2).

There is a role for culture in regeneration, as a key link for the enactment of policies. Its future lies in a local mediation of formulaic solutions, and “where the commercialised identities we might associate with globalisation can be reconciled with more localised expressions of identity, culture-led regeneration may be especially effective” (Bailey et al., 2004:49). Concern is expressed that there is a lack of data to represent local processes and the local agenda (Section 7.3), which will inhibit the ability to authenticate approaches within the localities. “An over-reliance on quantitative data is a mistake precisely because it underestimates the diversity of culture in all its forms” (Miles, 2005c:1020).

Next, we turn to the formulaic solutions identified as generic, identikit, and McGeneration to explore their homogenising influence on localities.

8.2 Formulaic solutions

North American lessons continue to play a part in the origins and nature of formulaic cultural regeneration solutions in waterfront renaissance. This renaissance is steeped in an historic appreciation for the successful models promoted, and in particular Baltimore. In addition, we have seen that the elite actors also acknowledge European flagship projects, such as Barcelona and Bilbao, as models for regeneration work in the UK (see Sections 6.4.3 and 6.5.3). This policy transfer between countries has been supplemented by reference to examples from within the UK.

An understanding of the diverse cultures within a locality shape its sense of place (Massey, 1995). This is a rooted understanding of place (7.1.3), shaped by a local legacy (Sections 7.3), rather than a consumption approach to selling a sense of place (Section 6.3.1). Cities are looking to more local models of regeneration; solutions rooted in a local sense of place rather than formulaic solutions whose imposition brings a heavy-handed uniformity that erodes local distinctiveness.

As we noted in the previous section on policy context, formulaic solutions use a 'brand' that can be 'sold' to outsiders to attract social and economic capital inwards. These brands "differentiate products and represent a promise of value. Brands incite beliefs, evoke emotions and prompt behaviours" (Kotler and Gertner, 2002:249). Hence, within the context of transferring in policies and personnel from elsewhere, regeneration requires a capture of some sense of 'uniqueness' that can form the core of a brand. As we saw in Section 7.2, this leads to tensions: formulaic approaches from outside may alienate local communities while mass-market approaches sit uncomfortably with the key creative classes (Section 6.1.2). There is the continuing threat that the most readily available high-impact solutions – iconic developments and place marketing – mitigate against the uniqueness of place (Section 6.3), and threaten the sustainability of regeneration, as their commitment to the understanding of locality can be low (Sections 7.4 and 7.5).

The importation of policies, plans and ideas from outside are partially driven by the planning process, enacted through elite actors and organisations that exist in national and international networks (Sections 2.3 and 3.3), but this can also be influenced by a lack of confidence in the local human capital available, particularly in terms of entrepreneurial skill and leadership (Section 7.2).

The increasing use of UK based models may be seen as a further extension of the use of formulaic appropriation of particular methods from other places, as actors claim that specific projects that they have been involved in themselves provide lessons for other cities to emulate (Section 7.5). Success, as already intimated within this section, is associated with harnessing local capability and capacity. Thus, against the importation of models from outside, there is an

association of success with the creation of new models and knowledge, and the use of specifically local actions.

“The cultural identity of a place is not simply the product of the moment, but of the evolution and adaptability of time” (Miles, 2005b:923). Stories involving the city's past became integral to the perception of the city. Regularly espoused success stories take hold and become the new rhetoric for the city, masking negative perceptions with tales of opportunities realised. This identity for the locality is discussed next.

8.3 Locality and place

The complex and rapidly changing relationship between the global and the local has accentuated the continuing importance of locality and place. The meaning of place as interpreted by key regeneration decision makers has highlighted that the response to global pressures is not simple. They mediate and re-interpret previous policy approaches to seek locally rooted solutions to urban problems. Although consumption is a driving force for regeneration, neither local nor tourist consumption in a place, nor the combination of these, is sufficient to provide a sense of identity, prestige, or power to a place. The issues of the ‘power of place’, discussed in Section 2.1, therefore cannot be resolved simply by understanding localities as spaces for consumption (Section 6.3).

Places have distinct physical, socio-economic, and cultural characteristics (Sections 7.3, 7.4, and 7.5). The culture of places and their symbolic value are not simply a pastiche to be sold. Indeed, manufacture or control of cultural action in a place fragments the local ‘authenticity’ (noted in Section 7.1) that is required to produce cultural activity that has the vitality and sustainability to encourage regeneration. Indeed, as noted in the previous section, the elite actors credit effective engagement with, and harnessing of, local cultural classes as a necessary precondition to success. Failure occurs when this relationship is lost, for instance through the desire to force policies that alienate this critical group (Section 6.1.2). Culture as an ‘asset’ to be sold and marketed obscures its meaning as an “essential element of everyday life” (Evans and Foord, 2003:167). Hence, cultural approaches must take into account the local,

popular, and negative attributes of places (Chapter 7) and not just elite interpretations.

Cities are engaged in a form of 'cultural arms' race where they compete with each other through their cultural offers of museums, arts, events and festivals (Section 6.4). Visitors may seek a sanitized and 'clean' image that produces urban spaces that are inconsistent with the current inhabitants or locals: "there is nothing more useless to a city-seller than a working class city that is still working class. And all the massaging of images in the world will be to no avail if the gritty places cannot be cleared ready for being 'glossed up'" (Lauder, 1993:276). Thus, the issue of place cannot be resolved without resolving stark tensions between groups, and these tension themselves make achieving a deliverable 'brand' that is consistent in message and reality a significant challenge. Indeed places are all the more 'real' for the very negative attributes that are trying to be hidden (Section 7.5).

Turning to the urban waterfront itself, the issue of place is particularly problematic. We noted in Section 6.5 the difficulty of formulaic new cultural spaces, and the complex tensions inherent in achieving distinct urban forms in Section 7.5. The particular challenges of urban waterfront development (Chapter 3.5) continue to concern elite actors, particularly the linear development that continues to separate the waterfront from the rest of the city. The historic tendency for hazardous, industrial urban waterfronts to exclude visitors, and to 'turn their back' on the city in which they belong, has not been simply resolved.

The urban design (Chapter 2.5) of these case study spaces demonstrates a historical development that links to McGeneration (Sections 6.3 and 6.5) with a particular identikit mix of architecture and cultural offering. The transformation of these areas into places that are accessible to visitors necessarily brings some common themes. The use of relatively consistent national and international flagships and icons (Sections 6.2, 6.4, and 6.5).

Yet, the elite actors believe these common approaches also identify strongly with the locality. Despite common elements, no two places are identical. Successful schemes must emphasise the uniquely local, as features of the

urban space such as iconic local buildings (for example the Baltic in NewcastleGateshead), or specifically local cultural activity over time (Section 7.3). As the waves of regeneration flow into these areas, they must break on the shapes and forms that are already there. This results in a turn in policy and a renewed approach to post-Fordist places, where both the new and the old are subsumed into a new place identity. When regeneration succeeds, this identity resonates and has authenticity at a local level.

8.4 Contribution to knowledge

Understanding urban regeneration is an ongoing and active area of research. Past research has often emphasised quantitative approaches, and this thesis has endeavoured to complement that existing work. Particularly, the key aim of the work has been to establish a number of narratives that articulate the processes by which regeneration work responds to the specifically local. This thesis makes an original contribution to knowledge by providing a contemporary application of locality theory to our understanding of cultural regeneration. This distinctiveness is attributable to four areas:

- The initial application of locality theory in the 1980/90s tended to focus on how older industrial areas were affected by economic restructuring change (Cooke, 1989a). More recently, there have been attempts to apply locality theory to place marketing, tourism and heritage. However, it has not been applied directly to cultural regeneration. Ashworth states heritage planning is shaping a sense of locality (Ashworth, 1991), however this is only a part of a wider cultural selling of place. Planning, design, and marketing form part of an emerging literature on cultural regeneration and support the research focus and interpretation through a wider focused sense of place.
- Locality theory can add to our understanding of the generic forces in cultural regeneration and specific homogenised approaches. “The production of brands such as the Guggenheim or the European Capital of Culture event has the advantage of consumer familiarity, but by becoming a brand these cultural icons tend to lose their distinctiveness” (Richards and Wilson, 2006:1210). The policy approaches to cultural

regeneration, shared through a network of learning are serially reproduced in different localities. However, homogenisation is not an inevitable outcome of this 'just add culture and stir' (Gibson and Stevenson, 2004) approach, indeed to counter-act this urban policy approaches must understand and focus upon local particularities (Bailey et al., 2004). With the flow of local forces impacting upon particular localities under investigation, the need to thrive or increase competitiveness requires a cultural and creative vibe (Landry, 2000). Many elite actors considered offering their locality as a distinct or 'edgy' cultural place (Sections 7.1.3, 7.4.2 and 7.5), whether through myth-making or by creating a buzz (or vibe).

- The thesis is placed within a wider debate on the future of cities. It contributes to the exploration of the tensions in the UK between different visions of the urban. Uneven patterns of urban intervention in the UK have reflected a tension between viewing cities as cultural centres or as rust-belt cities (Section 7.4). There is no easy means of overlapping these two conflicting types of city. The continuing major issue of tackling deprivation in cities denotes that there are competing narratives of rust-belt cities or cities as dynamic cultural places.
- The presentation of any one city as both a 'rust-belt' and a 'cultural centre' is incongruous. The former suggests decay, degeneration, low prestige, and weak political and social influence. A 'cultural centre' city, on the other hand, is presented as thriving, active, high prestige, and with a strong influence nationally and internationally. This tension means that a programme of tackling deprivation and urban decay is inconsistent with the presentation of a thriving and energetic cultural renaissance.

8.5 Methodological debate

In this section, we revisit the methodology that was chosen for the research presented in this thesis, reflecting on the methods used. This reflection can then inform methodological debates around research in urban regeneration and the waterfront.

“Detailed description of specific urban regeneration can play an important role in understanding the process of urban change. But that same description can be translated into more valuable critical analysis if it is clearly located within theoretical context. Moreover, that analysis becomes all the more powerful when the case-study model is set into the appropriate historical framework.” (Booth and Boyle, 1993:22)

The section will consider the researcher’s role within the qualitative interviews as part of a reflective account of their participation in the research. The research produced a qualitative narrative, built upon the analysis of forty-seven in-depth interviews with elite actors. The use of a qualitative approach was one significant departure from the predominant mode of research in regeneration: “Within urban studies, approaches relying on qualitative methods have had an uncertain and generally marginal status” (Jacobs, 1993:828). Within the field of research on urban regeneration “positivist critiques of qualitative approaches attacked their particularity, the supposed over-identification with the subject, and the apparent partiality” (ibid.). This questions, therefore, the contribution that can be made through a qualitative method of research. The elite actors who participated in the interviews conducted in this thesis are a significant group amongst the beneficiaries of research on urban regeneration. Therefore, it is worthwhile reflecting on the views of this group on the utility of qualitative research. During the interviews it became apparent that interviewees were experiencing ‘quantitative fatigue’ and would have been much less receptive to any questionnaire approach. This was particularly the case for Liverpool elite actors who were receiving numerous requests for data for the ECoC (Liverpool regional arts administrator).

Semi-structured questions allowed a consistent approach to the content and focus of the interviews, with the pre-determined questions underpinning the interview structure. These open questions also allowed detailed data to be gathered and the responses given were particular to the insights of each individual. The open questions were formed from a consideration of the extensive literature on the complex concepts under investigation (Chapters 2 and 3). The concepts that had been targeted (noted in Chapter 4) were recognised by elite interviewees as the main challenges for local places, reflected in their candid responses. The questions were thought to be challenging in particular for the understanding of cultural regeneration and

place. Interviewees were concerned about providing generic answers (Glasgow civil servant), keen to give personal experiences (NewcastleGateshead politician), and sought to provide examples which illustrated their point (Liverpool local arts administrator). For many interviewees, the concepts of place and culture themselves were a source of tension within policy due to the numerous definitions used. However, this tension was also seen as an opportunity (Chapter 6) to enact locally understood change. Thus, there are some initial indications, from the response of the interviewees, that qualitative research methods can bring a fresh contribution to the field of urban regeneration.

Narratives of urban theories offer the potential for transferable “stories about particularities, providing templates through which the stories of specific events or situations can be told and interpreted” (Finnegan, 1998:20). This thesis offers an account that frameworks key themes within the debates of homogeneity and distinctiveness. It was not the intention to offer wide generalisations but to focus on the complex narratives within localities. The “characteristic of narratives is that they are able to present complex situations as relatively simple chains of events easily understandable by everyone” (Gonzalez, 2006:840). Indeed the results obtained in this study reflects a nuanced understanding of the specificity of place.

“Place narratives are never filled with complete, unadulterated facts. Varying emphases on certain characters and plot lines offer multiple interpretations of similar events that affect the telling and retelling of stories about places. These stories are not any less real than the raw data or facts. They may even be more real because they are directly chosen, felt, told, and retold.” (Borer, 2006:186-7)

The selected elite interviewees speak from the perspective of being central agents in the activity of cultural regeneration, and thus they are each individually associated with particular approaches to that work. They were chosen to gain an insight into emerging issues in cultural regeneration. Their direct exposure to this work and their participation in the formulation of policies, plans, and activities gives them a particular familiarity with the questions being

researched that few others would possess. Their interview responses should be viewed and appreciated as personal narratives of understanding; “the value of in-depth interviewing and personal narrative cannot be undermined, or denied the possibility of being used as evidence of positive or beneficial cultural legacy” (García, 2005:826).

The method chosen reflected an understanding that elite actors had limited time in which to participate and engage with research. One future route for enacting research of this nature would be to consider web 2.0 technology (for example blogs and wikis). The increasing number of actors who engage in extolling their views electronically, a dynamic that is particularly commonplace in the creative sector, suggests an opportunity for a longitudinal study. A few elite actors mentioned that they have blogs on the activities that they undertake. A regional civil servant in NewcastleGateshead commented that his peers view his blog, and often he would receive comments via the blog that were useful to his understanding and interpretation of events.

The researcher is an active participant in the data gathering and analysing processes. This participation in face-to-face interview situations is necessary. Thus as a young female researcher it is necessary to reflect upon the interaction with elite actors. A question or comment may evoke a different response from a younger person than an age-comparable interviewer. Challenges to ‘authority’ and queries about the value of the research are to be expected, this was particularly pertinent to a study engaging elite actors. The researcher is the ‘non-expert’ in the relationship and conceptions of status infer that the respondent is the expert in the information needed. “In all elite or specialized interviewing, interviewers will come across many examples of the way in which the interviewer, because of what he is or appears to be, affects the content, style, the tone of responses” (Dexter, 2006:115). Indeed, open questions were used to allow the elite interviewees to expand upon their answers and impart their understanding to the researcher. The reflective practitioner is not the only one in a given situation to have knowledge (Schön, 1991), and it was understood that the elite participants had particularly insightful understandings of cultural regeneration within the three localities. Indeed, the interpretative narrative was chosen for this reason.

The constantly evolving character of urban policy necessitates continued research into its understanding and enactment upon places. We conclude this thesis with a brief consideration of some imminent future developments in the debates that have been considered by this research.

8.6 Future considerations

“After two decades of expansion, the UK is moving from *having* a strong creative sector to *becoming* “a creative economy”, one that depends for its future wellbeing on the ingenuity and innovation of its entrepreneurs and workforce” (Gunnell and Bright, 2010:5). Entrepreneurship and local solutions have become a focus for the new Coalition Government; this has significant implications for regeneration, localities, and culture. There remains an ongoing debate, and need for research, on the “nature and purposes of urban regeneration at the European level which seeks to draw upon and encourage comparative studies into the issue and exchanges of experiences across the continent” (Couch et al., 2011:3).

- Regeneration under the Coalition Government

The Coalition Government outlined its aims for regeneration in the January 2011 paper *Regeneration to enable growth: What Government is doing in support of community-led regeneration*. They stated that their approach will be ‘localist’ aiming to removing barriers that ‘hinder local ambitions’ and awarding powers locally to enable change under a series of deals. The Government will grant licenses to cities “to do things their way”, deals in which both sides “offer up and demands things in return” (HM Government, 2011:6). These ‘city deals’ are designed to give control to the local area over key economic drivers such as apprenticeships and house building, with regeneration at the ‘heart’ to drive growth and help local leaders strengthen communities (DCLG, 2011b). The paper lacks any mention of culture or creativity in enabling growth. Further criticism of the approaches include a lack of clarity about the nature of the problem or the role of central government, with “no evidence that the Government has a clear strategy for regeneration” (Communities and Local Government Committee, 2011). Commending the toolkit approach suggested by the paper, the committee points to a need for a multi-faceted approach. As

no 'silver bullet' exists as a solution to regeneration problems, a specific focus should be emphasised for people and places while accepting successful regeneration takes many years. A specific call is made for a greater review of past regeneration approaches through detailed research that particularly focuses on finding innovative ideas from 'successful' case studies. These cases become the lessons to emulate, a series of 'pathfinders' that are "evaluated to determine potential for wider implementation" and using them suggests future government support will be forthcoming (Communities and Local Government Committee, 2011).

- Local Enterprise Partnerships

Recognising the requirement for strong local leadership to the future of the urban economy the coalition government is seeking 'city deals', tailored policy for places rather than a blanket approach, awarding powers to city leaders. One essential element is the creation of LEPs (Local Enterprise Partnerships) "to bring together civic and private sector leaders to drive growth" (HM Government, 2011:1). LEPs are the Coalition Government's model for subnational governance replacing the RDAs and Government Offices for the regions. "The theoretical rationale for the LEPs centres on the need to devise more flexible, networked and smart forms of sub-national planning and governance arrangements" (Harrison, 2011:6). Criticism in Harrison's research that some of the "original rationale has been lost by trying to find a one-size-fits-all model" and "regions cannot be airbrushed out and regional structures cannot be wished away overnight" (ibid. p8). LEPs should secure effective business engagement with forms and functions that best meet local opportunities. Progress of the LEPs is mixed and "is often dependent on previous history of partnership working and on the extent of local authority commitment to engaging with business" (Centre for Cities, 2011:3). Financial levers have been made to the LEPs including enterprise zones and grant funding. Not every place has yet been able to fully establish an LEP with defined goals so far, many are in danger of being left behind. Current research indicates "the Government should take a more direct role in ensuring all LEPs are fit for business before providing support" (Bolton and Coupar, 2011:5), and continued research is required to investigate the impact of LEPs on localities.

- Culture

“The recession will challenge local and regional policymakers to develop creative innovation policies in the face of scarcer resources” (Leadbeater and Meadway, 2008:13) and “the regions that thought through and analysed their real strengths to design place-specific innovation policies are likely to resist better the economic crisis” (ibid. p14). Culture is recognised as significant for competition between cities and its potential continues to receive government attention. For example, the former Culture Secretary Ben Bradshaw launched the UK ‘City of Culture’ competition in 2009, to build on Liverpool’s success as ECoC. The lessons learned from a national experience of high-profile events has emphasised an opportunity for cities. “The winning city will be one that is able to deliver a substantial programme of cultural activity which leads to a demonstrable step-change in their area, and a lasting legacy” (DCMS, 2009b). The first city chosen for this accolade for 2013 is Derry. It has already been suggested that increased competition between cities contributes to the increased adoption of formulaic solutions, in the race for economic and social benefits. The inevitable competition this new title race will generate will contribute further to that dynamic.

Yet, at the same time, the coalition government has introduced the Localism Bill (Localism Bill, 2010-11)²² as part of its Big Society initiative to encourage more local development. Localism is seeking strong local leadership in cities, yet it is closing the cultural leadership programme led by Arts Council England in 2011 due to the economic climate and reduction of funding support. Instead, it seeks to follow the example of mayoral systems, and Barcelona has been cited as a model for powerful mayors who lead the city. “Barcelona was transformed through the strong leadership of its powerful executive mayor” (DCLG, 2011a:7). Future research will continue to consider these mega-events and localism. DCMS have commenced studies on the legacy of the 2012 Olympic Games for London as an evidence base is sought for localism and the Big Society.²³ Culture continues to play a role on the world stage. An international database of cultural policies and trends goes global to “provide the capacity to

²² <http://services.parliament.uk/bills/2010-11/localism.html>

²³ <http://www.vsnw.org.uk/news/view/2011-03-03-equality-big-society-and-localism-research-team-commissioned>

monitor and analyse global trends in key aspects of cultural policies” (IFACCA, 2011)²⁴. Continued research in cultural policy seeks to share lessons to facilitate exchange, diversity, and cooperation.

The particular economic challenges faced in cities today are not only encouraging increased competition between localities, but have led to questions over the sustainability of funding for culture in the face of increasing hardship. The Culture Secretary Jeremy Hunt has announced plans to seek an American-style culture of philanthropy (arts patrons) with matched-funding for the arts. Private funds from UK taxpayers are matched by government contribution. This follows the American model of arts funding, which dominates elsewhere, and which is accused of privatising culture (Schuster, 1997; Wu, 2002). This suggests that there will be different funding dynamics in future – cities must acquire private funding in order to benefit from public resources. To do so when a city is perceived as a ‘rust-belt’ will, very likely, be problematic. This may mean that successfully attracting sufficient regeneration funding to a declining city becomes more difficult. Indeed, the gap between flourishing cultural centres and failing cities may increase.

8.7 Summary

Place remains important in the face of global processes at work. Localities are mediating these global pressures, creating their own (distinctive) form of local cultural regeneration through their locality influence. Each locality offers a variety of unique attributes and no one particular element of the city encapsulates this. However, urban regeneration strategies that do not focus upon the specificities of the particular locality construe culture as a quick fix solution and fail to acknowledge the critical importance in responding to the local needs of places. Events, icons, and marketing need to be part of a more integrated and long-term approach to city development, not primarily as functional vehicles for urban tourism.

²⁴ International Federation of Arts Councils and Culture Agencies

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Appendix A:

Table of policy

Year	Policy	Influential Changes
1908	Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions of England established	
1909	First British planning legislation (Housing, Town Planning Act)	
1926		Council for the Preservation of Rural England (CPRE) founded
1940		Committee for Encouragement of Music & Arts (CEMA) created
1944	Town and Country Planning Act Implicit and sometimes explicit critique of contemporary cities and life within them (see Ebenezer Howard)	
1946	Arts Council of Great Britain	
1947	Town and Country Planning Act	
1951		Festival of Britain
1960	English Estates created by Department of Trade and Industry	
1961		Jane Jacobs published <i>The Death and Life of Great American Cities</i>
1964	UNESCO founds International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS)	Labour Government awareness of the 'Inner City Problem' First Arts Minister appointed
1967	Civic Amenities Act New charter of incorporation for the Arts Council (Arts Council of Great Britain's roles for Scotland and Wales given to two committees Scottish and Welsh Arts Councils)	The Plowden Report
1968	Town and Country Planning Act Urban Programme created	
1969	Local Government Grants (Social Needs) Act	
1970	Department for the Environment (DoE) established by the Conservative Government	
1972	Inner City Partnerships	Inner Area Studies
1973	Urban Deprivation Unit created (Home Office)	Global Oil Crisis stimulates re-use agenda Making Towns Better studies
1974	Circular 102/74 Historic Buildings and Conservation	
1974	Town and Country Amenities Act increases protection for conservation areas Labour Government	
1975	Scottish Development Agency created	European Architectural Year Publications of Tony Aldous's <i>Goodbye Britain</i> and Colin Amery and Dan Cruickshank's <i>The Rape of Britain</i> SAVE Britain's Heritage founded
1976	Welsh Development Agency created	Renovation of Quincy Market Buildings Boston inspires similar schemes in the United States and abroad

1977	Policy for the Inner Cities White Paper	Inner Area studies published
1978	Lowell Historic Preservation Commission launched in the United States, becoming the exemplar of urban renewal through re-use Inner Urban Areas Act	
1979	Conservative government comes to power	Thirties Society founded (later renamed Twentieth Century Society)
1980	Local government Planning and Land Act (section 136 refers to UDC)	
1981		Inner-city riots Two UDC established Urban Regeneration Grant
1982	Monuments and Historic Buildings in England: The Way Forward published	Urban Development Grant introduced
1983	National Heritage Act initiates the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England later to become English Heritage 1984	
1984	New Assisted Areas Revised Regional Development Grant	First Garden Festival in Liverpool 'Arts Council's Glory of the Garden' published citing inequitable funding for London and the regions
1985		Five City Action Teams Inner City Enterprises Urban Regeneration Companies established
1986		Second Garden Festival in Stoke Eight Inner City Task Forces
1987	Circular 8/87 Historic Buildings and Conservation Areas: Policy and Procedure published as key statement of government policy	Second round UDC designated Eight more Task Forces
1988		HRH The Prince of Wales makes BBC TV programme A Vision of Britain to express views on modern architecture; book of same name published 1989 Action for Cities launched City Grant replaces UDC and URG Third round UDC established Third Garden Festival in Glasgow
1989	Local Government Housing and Finance Act (Section 33 refers to City Challenge)	Bristol UDC created Three more Task Forces 'Wilding report' claims underfunding of arts in the regions, recommends regional arts boards replace regional arts associations
1990	Town and Country Planning Act Environment Act Renewing the Cities (DoE)	Section 106 agreements become part of the planning system. They commit developers with getting planning permission to lessen the harm caused by their development Fourth Garden Festival in Gateshead
1991	This Common Inheritance White Paper	SDA merged with Training Agency to form Scottish Enterprise City Challenge Round One launched
1992	Department of National Heritage (DNH) created	City Challenge Round Two launched Final UK Garden Festival in Ebbw Vale, Wales

1993	National Lottery Act passed (leads to establishment of National Lottery Distribution Fund (NDLF)) Housing and Urban Development Act	English Partnerships Single Regeneration Budget Private Finance Initiative Urban programme wound up
1994	Planning Policy Guidance Note (PPG) 15, Planning and the Historic Environment, published providing a statement of government policy	Government Offices for the regions set up SRB Challenge Fund bids (first round)
1995	Environmental Protection Act	SRB bids (granted round one) Leeds Development Corporation closes
1996	Protecting Our Heritage published	Second Round SRB bids granted UDCs closed (Central Manchester and Bristol) Millennium exhibition site chosen at Greenwich
1997	Labour Government comes to power Regional Development Agencies White Paper Creation of DETR Department for Culture Media and Sport (DCMS) created (Arts Council funding reduced with this new senior ministry)	SRB Challenge Fund Round Three Creative Industries Task Force First Secretary of State for DCMS – senior cabinet post (Chris Smith)
1998		First English Heritage Buildings at Risk Register produced Closure of remaining UDCs Urban Task Force set up Creative Industries mapping document
1999	Scottish Parliament established (Scottish executive) RDA publish Regional Economic Strategies (RES) White Paper <i>Local Leadership, Local Choice</i> March 1999 published	Towards an Urban Renaissance, report of the Urban Task Force is published SRB Round Five awarded Local Cultural Strategies piloted in 14 local authorities following draft guidance June 1999 Since 1995 Local Government reorganisation creating new unitary authorities introduced new performance indicators
2000	Local Government Act 2000	EH/MORI survey into Attitudes Towards Heritage Millennium Dome problems
2000	DETR becomes Dept for Transport, Local Government and the Regions (DTLR)	Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions (DETR) published the Urban White Paper (UWP), <i>Our Towns and Cities: The Future</i>
2000		Power of Place, English Heritage report the future of the historic environment SRB Round Six awarded
2000	Revised PPG3 Housing emphasises re-use and conservation of existing buildings	
2001	The Historic Environment: A Force For Our Future, the Government's statement on the Historic Environment published by DCMS	Creative Industries mapping document
2001	Department for Transport, Local Government, and the Regions (DTLR) published Planning Green Paper	URCs created for Leicester, Sunderland, Teesside, and Corby
2001	DTLR becomes ODPM Labour re-elected	English Heritage published <i>Informed Conservation</i>

2002	Housing Market Renewal Pathfinders launched	The Arts Council of England and regional arts boards merge (renamed Arts Council England 2003)
2003	DCMS launches Heritage Protection Review published consultation paper Protecting Our Historic Environment: Making the System Better	Sustainable Communities Plan launched UDC for Thames Gateway and Thurrock New role for English Partnerships
2004	DCMS published Review of Heritage Protection: The Way Forward	
2004	Right Hon Tessa Jowell MP personal essay 'Government and the Value of Culture' set out a case for continued public subsidy for the arts and urged government to view culture as at the heart, not the periphery, of its policies. 'Culture at the Heart of Regeneration' launched by DCMS	"...visionary individuals are essential in leading projects to completion"
2004	Office of Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM) Housing, Planning, Local Government, and the Regions Committee published The Role of Historic Buildings in Urban Regeneration	New URC in Gloucester and Londonderry
2004	Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act 2004 becomes law	Eight regional cultural consortiums are established, sponsored by DCMS. Urban Cultural Programme (until 2006), funding 19 UK urban area cultural projects
2005	English Heritage to assume new responsibilities in relation to listing The Cox Review of creativity in business	Second Urban Summit in Manchester
2005	DCMS culture secretary Tessa Jowell published an essay under 'Better Places to Live'	Sketches out the cultural argument—obligations to past and future which is at the heart of creative activity in all fields
2006	Department of Communities and Local Government (DCLG) created to replace ODPM Scotland International Arts Strategy	Scotland's cultural pathfinder programme – 13 projects by local authorities to widen participation State of English Cities
2008	Why Place Matters and Implications for the Role of Central, Regional and Local Government Economic Paper 2. Paper is concerned with the economics of why place matters	Cultural pathfinder programme ends (Scotland) DCMS Corporate Plan releases 'Engaging Places' research, set up in 2006, project to help schools 'unlock the educational potential of the built environments and inspire future generations to demand better buildings and public spaces' McMaster report, 'Supporting excellence in the arts – from measurement to judgement'
2008	Streamlining of cultural 'delivery' in the regions announced by Margaret Hodge Culture Minister Creative Britain: New Talents for the New Economy Strategy launched	Replacement of the eight non-departmental public bodies the regional cultural consortiums 'Culture Delivers', Scotland's evidence base of culture's benefits published
2009	Communities and Neighbourhoods White Paper proposes greater	Launch of Investing in Creative Industries by Work Foundation for the

	responsibility for local communities	Local Government Association
2010	Coalition government comes to power announcing budget cuts to culture DCMS measuring the value of culture published Creative Scotland (national body) established (replacing Arts Council) Local Growth: realising every place's potential White Paper	Arts Council England publishes 10 year plan 'Achieving great art for everyone' Spending review announces cuts to budgets (including arts) 'Cultural Capital: A Manifesto for the Future' by representatives of Britain's arts institutions calling for continued public investment Coalition Government's Big Society – calling for community empowerment and social action Creative industries definitions under review Valuing the benefits of regeneration research (DCLG)
2011	Localism Bill	Directly elected Mayors proposed (DCLG) English Cities updating of the evidence base of 'State of English Cities 2006'

Appendix B:

List of interviewee organisations

Arts Council England North East
Arts Council England, North West
Association of North East Councils
Biennial
British Waterways
Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE)
Centre for Life
Clyde Gateway
Communities Scotland (Glasgow)
Core Cities
Culture and Sport Glasgow
Culture North East
Culture10 Team
Department for Culture Media & Sport
English Heritage
Environment Agency
Fablevision
Gateshead Council
Glasgow City Council
Glasgow City Marketing Bureau
Government Office for the North East
Government Office North West
Impacts Arts
Liverpool Arts and Regeneration Consortium
Liverpool City Council
Liverpool Culture Company
Liverpool Vision
National Museums Liverpool
Newcastle City Council
Newcastle University
NewcastleGateshead Initiative

Northwest Culture Observatory
Northwest Regional Development Agency
One NorthEast
Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA)
Scottish Arts Council
Scottish Executive
The Mersey Partnership
The University of Liverpool
Tyne and Wear Development Corporation
University of Glasgow
Ward Hadaway
WASPS Studios

Appendix C:

List of semi-structured questions used at interview

Tell me about your role. What do you see as your role? Can you give me a brief history of your working life before your current role?

What do you understand by the phrase 'cultural regeneration'?

How would you define 'place'?

One way to look at place is to say it is an 'artificial construct'. How would you respond to that?

Can you relate your explanation of place to cultural regeneration?

In terms of best practice, from which city or scheme did you learn?

Who has benefited from your approach to cultural regeneration?

What influenced your decision-making?

If I said the 'local is dead and global influences are making our cities today'. How would you respond to this?

Focus on the specific area of the waterfront. In what ways do you feel you modified the cultural regeneration approaches taken on the waterfront?

What do you think your quayside or waterfront offers that other waterfronts do not?

Are you happy with what has been created on the waterfront? And why?

What do you think the future for cultural regeneration is?

What do you think is most distinctive about the waterfront now?

What do you think a regenerated place looks like?

What then do you think that the future role of cities is?

To who else do you think I should be speaking?

Is there anything you would like to tell me about which I haven't thought to ask you?

Alternative questions used for interviewing academics:

Can you give me a brief history of your main academic interests?

What for you are the main academic debates surrounding Cultural regeneration?

What do you think are the major influences on local decision makers in relation to promoting cultural regeneration?

What do you think the culturally regenerated waterfront offers that other waterfronts do not?

What role do you think the 'Capital for Culture' competition has played in cultural regeneration?

From what places or cities do you think local decision makers have learned?

Is there any research you feel still needs to be conducted in relation to cultural regeneration? Is there any research going on that you would advise the researcher to consider looking at?

Appendix D:

Example interview transcript

Can you give me a brief history of your working life and academic interests? How do you think academia has influenced cultural regeneration approaches in this city?

Many questions I will just highlight some of them. Main academic debates about cultural regeneration. Big question to start with, I think there are many so I will highlight some of them. From my point of view one of the main issues that we have from an academic point of view there seems to be a rhetorical debate that goes on that doesn't really take into account research that has or hasn't gone on. Basically at policy level there's an assumption that culture-led regeneration can achieve something, there's no evidence to indicate that is the case. So the key in that respect is clearly the work of Richard Florida, who's been almost a sort of religious figure for many policy makers. He goes city to city convincing policy makers how wonderful culturally, creatively driven city might be. To me that's a sort of fictional undirected belief in some sort of nirvana that doesn't actually exist. So that, one issue is, I think is for academics, the difficulty we had is of putting ourselves in a position that we can do research that actually feeds into that debate. At the moment there's a big gap between academic research, erm, and evaluations. So that sort of brings me onto the second issue I think, that people who are in positions of power, that are in a position to lead cultural-led regeneration, are actually using research as a means of, an evaluative tool to basically improve their position. Basically they tend to get research from think tanks and consultancies that will just prove that, because that's what they want to prove, that culture-led regeneration is a good thing. So the work we are doing here in Impacts 08 is an effort to try and move away from that but we realise that we are answerable to the City Council, who obviously want to prove this is the best European Capital of Culture ever. We are trying to conduct research that would be more innovative than that approach would have us believe.

So in terms of culture-led regeneration there are several issues, one is, what do we mean by culture, I don't think that policy makers know what culture is. I don't think I

could claim to say what culture is. I think everybody is working from different definitions of culture, working from different definitions of identity; basically everyone's working off a different song sheet. For me there is a concern that every city that is working to this sort of Landry-Florida agenda, so every city believes it can be a culturally regenerated city. So every city believes it can be a NewcastleGateshead, and this is quite blatantly not the case. So my worry is that culture-led regeneration is not culturally specific, So erm, there are many policy makers out there that are putting their eggs in a cultural basket without knowing the implications and without sufficiently engaging with the local population. So all, these sort of story lines about 'we want to make our city a world class city' a world class cultural city of whatever it might be. All these sorts of a global competitive market. I would argue a lot of this is about consumption, it's not about culture. Culture is just a, almost, a smokescreen. These cities aren't trying to be cultural it's just a means to an end to try and achieve competitiveness. Cities throughout Britain and Europe are so obsessed with being competitive they use culture as a means to try and achieve that. That culture is manifested in consumption; it's about constructing forms of consumption that can make money for cities. My concern with that sort of model is that it neglects the local identities whatever they might be, of the people who already live there. So if you are adopting this Florida approach, where you are attracting all these new people in, at some point if you attract so many new people in, it's, that's going to have negative consequences for the sense of identity of that place, and these are some of the things we are trying to look at. Going to a meeting about some of these sorts of issues and how we research those as academic researchers.

How would you define place?

Well if I approach that question differently I think if you ask policy makers that you'd get basically a dishonest answer. They would define place, erm, they are obliged to talk about all the unique aspects of Liverpool identity, isn't it great, we have unique sense of humour, unique this and unique that. We are centre of the creative universe, whatever. It's all rhetoric. They are in their jobs those people who are responsible for place making inevitably have to go against that rhetoric. So by adopting the position of Culture-led regeneration, adopting this idea, vision, that we can create a better city or more competitive city through culture they

inevitably dilute the culture they are trying to present. They are inevitably saying that our city is just like every other. Because the framework in which they are obliged to participate is one that is very limited, so that framework is about consumption as I said, it's about creating an acceptable vision of what a city is all about. So what makes Liverpool special is not about the Beatles or Liverpool Football Club is here, it's the tensions that underpin the city that make it interesting. The fact that there's a tension between, for example insiders and outsiders. The fact that Scouse humour is inclusive but only up to a point. The fact that we have a problem with drugs, gun crime, all these issues. What makes a *city* a *city* and what makes a *place* a *place* is the mixture of what you might call the good and bad, the positive cultural thing and the way that some of these things are manifested in more uncomfortable ways. But policy makers are not interested in those uncomfortable things and pretend they don't exist. So in doing so they present a very different image of what place is about. They present a very clinical sanitised view of what place is about which actually take that core away from it. They inevitably have to do that because it's their job, they aren't paid to dwell on the negative. But these things shouldn't be seen as negative, it's the tensions that exist in city that make a place in my view.

One way to look at place is to say it is an artificial construct. How would you respond to that?

It's a dilution of place. They de-place-ify, if there's such a phrase. They [policy makers] take places away from themselves. They create a world in which all cities are alike, and I think we have made the mistake in many respects in Britain in the past of creating what I would call random acts of regeneration. Where regeneration is plopped on place and we just hope for the best. I think the Albert Dock is a very good example of that. Where there's just an assumption again, that this regeneration will work and create a better place, but there is no in-depth understanding of its cultural impact and what that would, might mean for the people of the city.

Can you relate your explanation of place to cultural regeneration?

A good example, the example I always use is the Baltic. When they had the big Anthony Gormley thing on 3 or 4 years ago now, whenever it was. It was a big

show of lots of his things. Where one of the big things was the little people, life-size figures. What they had out the front, plonked right in front of the entrance, it was either his arse or another delicate part of his anatomy that was just plonked in front of the door. It was like saying to anybody basically that if you don't understand art galleries or you don't understand culture then you aren't welcome here. So if anyone walked towards the door and saw this great big thing plonked there, they'd think what does that mean? It's not inviting anybody in. Basically it's about cultural capital. Whether or not you understand how these things worked. In our research on NewcastleGateshead quayside one of the things we found commonly people would say is that the Baltic is fantastic but it's not really for the likes of us, great building but its' not really for the likes of us.

What do you think are the major influences on local decision makers?

One of the problems that Liverpool has had is the difficulty of having the council running the Capital of Culture through the culture co and those two organisations not being independent of each other enough. So constant political shenanigans going on, resignations, arguments, long term sick leave, all these things going on and on. In the various key players, most obvious in the Robin Archer resignation. So the nature of Liverpool as Redmond has said, I think he said it was like organising a Liverpool wedding 'there's always massive rows but it will always work well in the end'. Maybe that was the case, but I think possibly much of this has been caused by the culture not driving Capital of Culture enough. The end target of a regenerated Liverpool has been so fundamental, that instead of making culture, erm, it's 'how can we make the cultural fabric of the city better?' There's a bigger issue. Its how can we make Liverpool better in the eyes of the world outside of Liverpool? That's driven it and as a result I think there may be difficulties in achieving that for more sort of grassroots improvements that Liverpool need, or needs. And that's why I think NewcastleGateshead was successful because it was all driven by the fact that the key policy makers in the arts, I don't mean the city council people, I mean people in the arts council. Peter Stark, my former boss in particular saw that the region needed something that it didn't have. It needed venues, it needed an infrastructure and that should be the driving force of any....If you speak to people in Capital of Culture they'd probably say that it is, but in fact

it's the image that is leading everything.

If I said the local is dead and global influences are making our cities today. How would you respond to this?

I don't really see much difference here, and I don't see much difference anywhere, it's a very negative sort of cynical view. It's true that it has had to catch up with other cities, Manchester being the most obvious one. The rivalry between Manchester Liverpool being very important, I think we are going through some of the things Manchester went through 10 years ago. We haven't necessarily learned from their mistakes. I think this goes back to what I said in the previous answer. That there's not enough, despite this rhetoric about communities, about how regeneration can fit into the culture of the local people and how it can develop their cultural needs. Not enough discussion about how regeneration can fit into what's going on locally. If there is it's all rhetorical and paying lip service to these issues. So we are behind. If you just look at the waterfront now, so of the flash buildings they've built like that box thing that's on top of the high rise tower blocks and that's three million to move into that. So it's creating a, not something that's distinctive from any other waterfront and I think that's a big shame. I go back again, have you read Paul Jones' article, he wrote about the cloud and the political shenanigans that went on around the cloud and its implications and I think that will tell you a lot about, erm, sort of the way Liverpool works politically and its very important to all this. But I don't think it is any different to other places and it's partly borne out of this inferiority complex. It's 'why can't we have these things?' so going full steam ahead without necessarily working out the full implications for what that means for Liverpool as a, really as a place rather than a rhetorical sort of place.

What do you think the culturally regenerated waterfront offers that other waterfronts do not?

It says it all that Liverpool One, the new...I got an email from the Chief Executive of Liverpool who'd read an article where I criticised Liverpool One. He invited me to do a tour around the place and then told me why I was wrong. Liverpool One is clearly an effort to try and bridge the sort of gap that's traditionally existed, as in Liverpool, between the city centre and the waterfront, major problem is that it's too far away from the water and nobody has dealt with that and I am not convinced

that anyone has now. The proof will be in the pudding. What have they done to deal with that problem? They've plonked down a place for consumption which says it all really. Although Liverpool One is allegedly entirely separate and not part of the Capital of Culture programme and was agreed before Capital of Culture. It's not seen as such it's seen as almost symbolic of regeneration in Liverpool. But way they have dealt with crossings over that road is not entirely convincing and it remains to be seen if that works. I have to say a lot of regeneration dislocates space in a way, it makes, it sort of makes communication or just sort of just being in space far more complicated than it need be. Another good example might be the Citizen's Theatre in Glasgow which is sort of plonked and one of the poorest parts of Glasgow. I am no expert on Glasgow but I worked there. I went there to see, once, Rupert Everett in drag most bizarre experience ever had. But Symbolic of how you plonk bits of regeneration through culture, that's not going to work, just throw it at a place and hope it will work, with no sort of broader involvement in the community. I don't have the correct solutions for that, I just worry that these things will have occasions down the line. And not every city can aspire to achieving the same, the largely, mythical success of Glasgow, where people think that Glasgow is a great success with Capital of Culture, but to me it's a very divided city culturally. In terms of particularly the west end and the rest of Glasgow. I think culture largely puts into the have and have-not sort of culture. It brings closer attention, brings to the surface the divisions that culture can promote.

I had that meeting about a week and a bit ago and they were talking about that sort of thing. I mean I would say again it's a rather cynical way, what's going on here is a process of consumption. It's about creating a commodity. Capital of Culture is not about culture it's about creating Liverpool as a commodity, to be consumed by outsiders, primarily by outsiders, also people inside but primarily by outsiders. So yes they will look to models of other successful attempts to achieve that. But that doesn't necessarily have any sort of sustainable heart to it. And what will happen in 50 years time well, or even 2 years time, we are going through an economic downturn, what will be the consequences of that? What will be the consequences of moving the heart of the city to Liverpool One and many of the shops may be suffering form that? They are all sorts of place driven questions yet to be answered. But we won't know for another 5 years and we haven't done research to

be in a confident position that all is well. So there's a lot of investment that's gone into these developments. Much of it private, but there are significant risks involved. For people investing the money, but also the question has to be asked do you want a city that is more possibly, in the future, be primarily defined by its new retail offer, as they would say. Is that really a positive thing for the people of Liverpool? It's the sort of question that can't be answered for now. But Liverpool city council has put its eggs in that basket. There are positive cultural dimensions to Liverpool One; it has tried to take those things into account. They could have just plonked a Meadow Hall down there or something. Its different its engaging there's a big park area. It's innovative in some ways, so its not all pessimism, it might work. There are thousands of new jobs that will be generated, there's no doubt about that. The question is which people will take them up, and how permanent will they be? Are you just creating jobs that are temporary, part time, insecure? So there's a danger that the creation of these jobs just creates more uncertainties and it becomes a divisive process. More jobs for people who need them, but more risk, more insecurity, and that would be a concern I think. But in theory it should be good, in theory, it will give job opportunities to people in areas of the city that haven't had them before. Because there is a long term unemployment problem in this city. It's not going to radically change that but it will certainly in theory, help.

What role do you think the Capital for Culture competition has played in cultural regeneration?

I would say that it's largely a symbolic one. The Liverpool Capital of Culture has been accused of being a capital of regeneration, and I think that's how Liverpool views it quite unashamedly. It's a title they have used to regenerate, and change some of the traditional images that people have of Liverpool. So to try and create a new image to communicate the idea that Liverpool isn't about some of the negative things that, you know, some people still think from the 80s and so on. It's primarily a rhetorical means of creating that new version of place. And of course Liverpool Capital of Culture tries very hard to argue that it's about the communities of Liverpool. That it's creating a, it's got a particular approach, or that's what it says. Particular approach to Capital of Culture that other cities haven't, but my concern is that it hasn't got an iconic element to really make it a great Capital of Culture. One of the things about NewcastleGateshead is that the buildings that it has are iconic

<p>in a sense. In particular the Baltic taps into sort of, the history of the region and the Tyne, as being a sort of signifier of the region. Liverpool hasn't really got that with the collapse of the cloud. That was its big opportunity. That means that there might be something missing from our Capital of Culture and it turns into a big community driven thing. That's great, but whether that will mean it can have a long term legacy, I don't know.</p>
<p>What do you think the future for cultural regeneration is?</p>
<p>Not much to say but I would broadly agree with that, I think broadly, lots of Liverpool's regeneration has been fire fighting. Particularly with what happened with the Toxteth riots, Heseltine's work. I don't know if other people have talked about the international garden festival as an example as another random act of regeneration. It was there for few months and then sort of died a death. You go there now and it's like stepping into a star trek episode, with a lost civilisation on some other planet. Now they talk about regenerating that site with new flats. And I think that's what the vision of Capital of Culture now is; it's about building new apartment blocks to attract trendy types into the city.</p>
<p>What places or cities do you think local decision makers have learned from?</p>
<p>First of all I don't think that they are Florida or Landry are academic. I don't, especially Florida its not academic work, it's inspirational, and it's an idea that is just rhetoric. It's just, it's not academic work, it's money making machine as far as Florida is concerned. That's how it comes across. I think, possibly it might be, in my view there's a weakness by me, and academia in, I think there is a gap between academia and policy makers in general. We don't actually know well enough the process in which cultural regeneration comes about. We have a PhD student looking at that and we are trying to compare NewcastleGateshead with Liverpool (Dave O'Brien). But, so it's true that I accuse people of rhetoric maybe I can be accused of the same thing myself. Because I don't know how these processes are actually happening in sufficient depth.</p>
<p>Is there any research you fell needs to be conducted about cultural regeneration? Is there any research going on that you would advise looking at?</p>
<p>In my time in Newcastle it was very interesting to be sort of half way in between</p>

policy makers and academics. To get an inkling of what was going on. Now I am fully back into academia I think its a limitation, that I don't know enough about the ways of thinking mentality they have and what non- approaches they are adopting. I think that's a weakness academics had. I think it's very hard in this area to bridge the gap between academia and policy. When I had my first meetings with Liverpool policy makers, city council, over Impacts 08. I could see their minds working, thinking, 'these are just mad academics, and how can I twist these people round my little finger, that's how they were thinking, that they come in here with their big ideas and at the end of the day I want to do what I want to do'. That's the sort of attitude you have to deal with. I am not saying they are the devil and we are doing wonderful great things; we could afford to learn what they do in more depth I think.

What then do you think the future role of cities is?

I think the future role of cities is as *centres of consumption*. I think you can be as blunt as that. That's what a city is. But I would say that as I am writing a book on the subject. But that is primarily, basically, you are in a situation, cities used to be centres of production, that's no longer possible and you have to find something to put in its place. And what is put in its place, is the service driven entity which is providing opportunities consume. That's what all the city is about, it's what housing is about, and it's about what industry, if you can use that word, is about. Cities will become nothing more than places where retail and other forms of consumption of service industry are based. Simple as that I would say.

Who else do you think I should be speaking to?

Franco Bianncini - he's working in Liverpool a lot now, also worked in Newcastle and knows what's going on in Glasgow. Would be a good bloke to speak to. Ruth Melville that works here, part of Impacts 08. Advice on their web for people doing research on Capital of Culture. Abigail Gilmore although based in Manchester she's our link person between our academic research and sort of cultural sector. She could also recommend people to talk too as well.

Is there anything you would like to tell me about which I haven't thought to ask you?

I have nothing more than I've already said other than to reinforce that it

encourages a very uniform city. The way you are looking at it, to use term McDonaldisation of cities. I do think that is a worrying state of affairs. I don't see a way out of that. I think the DCMS has had particular difficulties with conducting, or promoting research that can be used to do anything about that. The problem in our culture is that, erm, think tanks, consultancies have a direct link into [policy]. There's that woman, Guardian journalist woman who did a report about NewcastleGateshead, about 4 or 5 years ago, her name is what is it, Demos report, Anna Minton. This is a typical example, she came spoke to me and other various people, I am not bitter, but she did kind of steal our ideas and regurgitate them, and I think has direct impact on policy because of the contacts they have. Problem we have is that academics are too far away from where it's happening. We are not quick enough and we are too principled to have a real impact on these debates. Even now when we get involved in research that attempts to overcome some of these issues we may get labelled by our colleagues that we sold out. We get labelled as being, erm, at the beck and call of the council and selling ourselves out. But what I would say is that these things can only be, it's alright us moaning (academics too often moan about how terrible things are) how bad Liverpool one will be because it's a surveillance driven thing. What I think is very important is that as academics we have some input into that and that we find new ways of engaging with these things. What's interesting about Liverpool One is not that it's a surveillance driven thing and people's rights are being ruined as a result. But why is it that people prepared to put up with that? It's about why do people want to go and engage, visit; they love it, that's what's interesting. And similarly in terms of culture and regeneration, what does it actually mean for the people in the street and I think too often beyond the rhetoric that's not really taken into account. Massive assumptions are made about what is best for the city. That's all about creating an image that this is better for the city.

Appendix E:

Ethics

This research complies with Northumbria University's ethical policy, and ethical approval was obtained from the Research Committee. Practical strategies were undertaken to ensure that the research complied with the relevant ethical principles. All participants were informed of the nature of the research, the intended use of their contribution, and any likely publications. Steps were taken to treat participants with care and respect for their status as human beings. Formal permissions were sought from every participant to engage with the research. This approach was used partially as a formal means to contact participants of this elite status and as a polite request after confirming their availability, as it was assumed that their schedules would be busy. Consent was gained from participants through the interview request, while bias is hoped to be eliminated through a relatively even spread of interview subjects in each case area.

Participants were assured of confidentiality; it was agreed that their name would not be listed in any publication, although they consented to the name of their organisation being listed. Assurances were given that the information that they gave would not be linked to them through their job role, and the raw interview data and recordings would not be made available to anyone. As the subjects were not nameless to the researcher, anonymity assurances were made about confidentiality in the publication. Personal identifiers are separated from the published research, and in their place generic identifiers were created to permit written discussion specific to the case study areas. Confidentiality was important to the research participants, as their individual opinions could be seen as controversial within and between organisations and individuals who cooperatively engage in many work aspects.

Appendix F:

Scoping Study

The six-month scoping study situated within one local authority in the North East of England involved an assessment of their recently developed cultural strategy. The purpose was two-fold, to assess the evaluative methods in use and to suggest an evaluative approach for the future. Overall, the aim was to contribute to the understanding of how the cultural strategy is interpreted and to how its impacts could be evaluated more robustly. Two main methods were utilised for the project, desk-based research and a number of qualitative interviews. The study necessitated working with key elites within the council specifically involved in the cultural field, and necessitated a consideration of the literature regarding the evaluation of cultural approaches.

The study identified potential for cross-departmental working and data gathering with both qualitative and quantitative approaches. It was particularly noted that qualitative data is lacking in the cultural sector which is “a serious hindrance to the development of an evidence-based resource and knowledge base for policy and development planning” (Mercer, 2003:6).

An important issue noted, was the adoption of a unified approach to evaluation disseminated throughout departments within the local authority. The study highlighted these issues for cultural services to create a potential framework for sustainable future evaluation of the strategy. The framework suggestions would hopefully aid the development of an evaluative approach and tackle areas noted by the respondents within the study. The indicators suggested offer the opportunity to expand upon existing quantitative data collection and to create a base line for longitudinal studies.

Appendix G:

Table of key points from the data

	Liverpool	Glasgow	NewcastleGateshead
Key words, phrases, and concepts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural offer (RAA/LCS) • Best practice from Barcelona, Bilbao, Baltimore (LAA/RAA/RAA/LCS/LAA) • ECoC is unique to each city (RAA) • ECoC was a national endeavour not local (RCS) • Cultural regeneration should not be top of the agenda (LP) • Vision is needed (RAA/LCS/LAA/RAA) • Reduction in funding a key issue causing fear (RAA/LCS) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Need to look and see what other cities are doing (LCS/LAA/LAA/LAA) • Legacy is a bureaucratic construct (RAA/LAA), but can united people in action (LAA/LCS) • The intrinsic benefits of culture should be valued, danger the use of culture becomes mechanistic (RCS/LP) • Need for people to be deeply engaged (LCS) • Lack of credit funding a concern (LAA) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Culture hasn't had its day, but needs a link to new approaches such as science (RAA) • Learning from ambition of other places, but approach is own (RCS) • Looking to Baltimore for the waterfront (LCS) • Globalisation cannot be ignored (LCS) • Magic bullets should be sought (LCS/RAA/A)
Key research and policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Longitudinal studies needed (AA/LP/RAA/LAA) • Cultural leadership programme and collaborative working is important (AA/LCS/RAA/LAA) • Cultural regeneration is about pride of place (LAA) • Return to philanthropy needed (LP) • Cultural regeneration is about assets, lacks co-ordination and is not well understood (LCS/LAA) • Cultural regeneration is timeless and necessary (RAA) • Culture is still missed from regeneration plans (LAA) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research on positioning globally and nationally needed (RAA) • Need for more longitudinal study (RCS/LCS) • Cultural regeneration should be holistic but is seen narrowly in economic terms (RCS) • Policy should be locally made (LCS/LCS) • Culture is wide ranging and should be linked into other policy (RAA/RCS) • Culture is a gatecrasher on the regeneration scene and waiting for the next seductive thing to come along (A) • Culture is intrinsic and here to stay (LAA) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fast changing policy agendas cause frustration (RAA) • More research on audiences needed and longer term impacts (RAA/LP/RAA) • Universities producing interesting work (LCS) • Problem is systemising the learning (LCS/RAA/RCS) • Culture is capital intensive and these needs to be reconsidered in austere times (LP) • Need more work on leadership to ensure we have subsequent generations of good leaders (LP/LAA)

Homogeneity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Too much focus on the physical flagships (RCS) • Creating ordinary places not special (RCS) • McDonaldisation of places (RCS/A/RAA) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Global village means you need to be able to offer what other cities do (LCS) • Sameness of places creates a disjunction within places (LP/LAA/LCS) • Tokenism of cultural regeneration that is formulaic (LP/LAA) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Theories of cities competing with each other and therefore need at least the same basic offering (RCS/LAA/RAA) • Lack of sense of place in flagship areas, needs to be addressed, created by marketing rather than organic (LCS/A)
Distinctiveness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Buzz of the local (LP) • Places need animation (LP/LCS) • Edgy city, don't whitewash the edges (LP/LCS/RAA/LAA) • City is distinctive despite that being a cliché, however fall back position is the cliché to use in promotion (RAA/RAA) • A mix of the good and bad attributes makes a place distinct (A) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local history of place (LCS) • Cultural vibe/edgy and people (LCS/LAA/LCS/LAA) • Glasgow re-invents itself in response to pressures (LCS) • Local accents (LP/LCS) • Negative sense of place as important as positive (LAA) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Animation of infrastructure is needed (RAA/RAA/LAA) • Local buzz with an international flavour of accents (RAA/RCS/LP/A) • Unique physical geography and assets like bridges (LCS/RCS/RAA/LP) • Symbolism of icons to represent the local (LAA/RAA)
Locality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Defined by its negative past of deprivation (AA/LAA) • Personal affinity to geography creates barriers to perception of place (RCS) • Quality places are about the mix (LCS) • Place is personal (LP) • Places need to be accessible (LCS) • Turing back towards the water (RAA) • Culture is the glue that binds a place together (LAA) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Place is local, the fine grain elements make up places (RCS/LCS) • Greater recognition of the local is happening (LCS) • Glasgow necessary for Scotland (LCS) • Place as a way of sharing local, national and global agendas (RCS) • Places have identities associated with them and have their own stories (A/LAA) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Place is a result of interaction over time, layers of meaning (RAA/LP/LAA) • Place only to people meaningful if rooted in it (RAA/A) • Culture helps to identify a sense of place and its where people can thrive (RCS/LP) • The local remains important to the economy and agglomeration effects (LCS/LP)

Key to elite actors			
RAA	Regional arts administrator	LP	Local politician
RCS	Regional civil servant	A	Academic
LCS	Local civil servant	LAA	Local arts administrator