

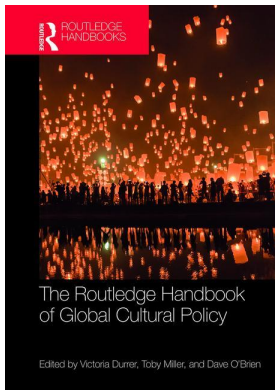
This article was downloaded by: 10.2.97.136

On: 30 Mar 2023

Access details: *subscription number*

Publisher: *Routledge*

Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: 5 Howick Place, London SW1P 1WG, UK



## The Routledge Handbook of Global Cultural Policy

Victoria Durrer, Toby Miller, Dave O'Brien

### 'Regeneration' in Britain

Publication details

<https://test.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9781315718408.ch34>

Peter Campbell, Tamsin Cox

**Published online on: 26 Sep 2017**

**How to cite :-** Peter Campbell, Tamsin Cox. 26 Sep 2017, '*Regeneration*' in *Britain from: The Routledge Handbook of Global Cultural Policy* Routledge

Accessed on: 30 Mar 2023

<https://test.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9781315718408.ch34>

**PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR DOCUMENT**

Full terms and conditions of use: <https://test.routledgehandbooks.com/legal-notices/terms>

This Document PDF may be used for research, teaching and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproductions, re-distribution, re-selling, loan or sub-licensing, systematic supply or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden.

The publisher does not give any warranty express or implied or make any representation that the contents will be complete or accurate or up to date. The publisher shall not be liable for an loss, actions, claims, proceedings, demand or costs or damages whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with or arising out of the use of this material.

# 'Regeneration' in Britain

## Measuring the outcomes of cultural activity in the 21st century

*Peter Campbell and Tamsin Cox*

---

### Introduction

This chapter offers a case study of practices of evidence-gathering relating to regeneration and culture in Great Britain. It reviews literature from the last decade to explore the 'regenerative' outcomes sought from cultural interventions, the types of proposition that underlie these outcomes, and the types of evidence produced to support these propositions. This offers an analytical framework that elucidates key aspects of the policy discourse relating to culture (i.e. what activities are funded and what claims are made for them) and the approaches to 'evidencing' the claims made within that discourse. In doing so, we reflect upon the nature of this evidence base and upon some of the common methodological challenges encountered in the production of evidence.

### 'British cultural policy' and 'regeneration'

In some regards, it is difficult to assess 'British cultural policy'. First, Britain contains the major part of three distinct countries, with certain policy domains delegated to national assemblies, including cultural policy. Britain thus contains a range of national cultural policies (Allin 2015, p. 15). Second, substantive 'cultural policy' itself can be difficult to locate (Selwood 2015, p. 1) and has remained marginal, being administered by the smallest of government departments – the 'Department for Culture, Media and Sport' (DCMS) (Gordon *et al.* 2015, p. 51), with local government budgets shrinking year on year in recent times. These challenges, though, are not exclusively British. Despite these challenges, what can clearly be seen across Britain (and also far beyond), is a focus on the *outcomes* of policy (cultural or otherwise), with a particular emphasis on *economic* outcomes, and the production of *evidence* with regards to these outcomes (e.g. Gordon *et al.* 2015, p. 52; Hesmondhalgh *et al.* 2015, p. 38; Stevenson 2014, p. 134).

The conceptual linking of cultural activity and an outcome of urban 'regeneration' of some form achieved a particular prominence in Britain from the late 20th century, and so can be seen as an exemplar of broader international trends. Whilst the apex of both policy discourse and practice that refers to this linkage may have been reached (see e.g. Hesmondhalgh

*et al.* 2015, p. 139; O'Brien and Matthews 2015), not only do major regeneration funding streams such as the Single Regeneration Budget, European Regional Development Fund and Housing Market Renewal Scheme maintain a position for cultural activity (cf. ACAVA 2014; DCLG 2013; European Commission 2013; NFASP 2010), but 'regeneration' remains a clear part of the argument made by government and non-governmental funding bodies to justify investment in culture (ACE 2014; DCMS 2013, 2016). This chapter seeks to contribute to our understanding of practices and discourses that link cultural activity and regeneration by demonstrating the practical steps taken to constitute a body of 'evidence' on this topic, identifying where common claims arise and understanding the approaches taken in justifying these.

## Method

This chapter takes as its base a literature review of the 'evidence' that has been produced in making the case for the regenerative impact of culture in Britain, focusing on examples from the last decade. This was done as part of the wider 'Cultural Value' project funded by the UK's 'Arts and Humanities Research Council' considering the means by which the range of cultural values might best be captured (Campbell *et al.* 2016; Crossick and Kaszynska 2016). This project builds upon previous reviews but uses a particular analytical framework to explore what arguments are made within the discourse constituted by these sources and what evidence is produced to support these. Our approach is to ask:

- 1 What 'regeneration' is supposed to result from cultural activity? ('Outcome')
- 2 What propositions support these outcomes? ('Proposition')
- 3 What evidence is produced to support these propositions, and how? ('Evidence')

Identifying relevant material is made difficult by the nebulous nature (or at least usage) of the idea of 'regeneration'. In order to assess relevant evidence, the activity discussed below is that which explicitly articulates, however loosely, some kind of proposition for how, or why, regeneration will occur as a result of a cultural intervention. The associated evidence is then presented to establish this proposition. A full account of the evidence-gathering process can be found in Campbell *et al.* (2016), but briefly, academic and grey literature and national evidence databases (e.g. the CASE (Culture and Sport Evidence) programme led by DCMS) were reviewed, in addition to consultation with arts funding bodies and organisations. We do not claim here to provide a comprehensive record of *all* evidence in existence, but to provide a clear typology of the evidence produced in practice in Britain. It should also be noted that as this chapter draws from a larger study, it does not reflect all sources upon which the study is based. As such, individual sources are in many cases *examples* of types of intervention, types of methods for evidence production and types of impact.

In the remainder of the chapter, results are discussed, with each of the 'outcomes' identified as being commonly referred to across a number of activity/evidence examples described in turn, followed by associated 'propositions' and then the methods commonly used to produce evidence in each area.

### *OUTCOME 1: Regeneration via sector development of cultural and creative industries*

In their assessment of the rationale for much activity seeking to achieve 'regeneration', Böhm and Land (2009, p. 93) summarise the situation thus: "the arts are seen as central to the

development of social entrepreneurs whose creative energies will revitalise both the local culture and economy”, and account for this position as follows:

The assumption seems to be that ‘creativity’ is a transferable skill, and that developing the population’s artistic creativity will deliver creativity and innovation in other sectors.

(2009, p. 80)

Arts provision is thus seen as leading to regeneration via the development of ‘creative’ skills, which can be used in many sectors, or in industries related specifically to cultural activity, resulting in increased employment. Statements regarding the UK’s most recent staging of the European Capital of Culture (ECoC) programme, for instance, can be seen to reflect this position:

Creativity has a lot to offer industry and business and we need to make sure that all employees, employers and business people understand that. Winning European Capital of Culture shows how key creativity is to Merseyside; to its people, to its economy and to its future.

(Jones 2008)

This position has clear links to the influential ‘creative class’ thesis, wherein differing forms of ‘creativity’, be they cultural, economic or technological, are seen as “interlinked and inseparable” (Florida 2004, p. 8). From such a position, any activity conceived as ‘creative’, including cultural activity, is vital for achieving success, even if cultural activity only acts as “an instrumental sideshow that in turn attracts the workers, which attracts the hi-tech investors” (Pratt 2008, p. 108). The idea that culture is part of an overarching system of creativity, generating income and employment as part of a move to a ‘creative economy’, as well as having a social role to play can be seen to have maintained some dominance in recent years, both at an international level (e.g. European Commission 2010, p. 2; Lähdesmäki 2014, p. 490) and within Britain at national (ACE *et al.* 2010, p. 1; DCMS *et al.* 2008, p. 7), and local levels (e.g. Liverpool City Council 2012, 2013).

Below, we consider the activities undertaken and evidence produced to substantiate these links between cultural activity and increased/diversified economic activity and what propositions are (or can be) used to make this link. Evidence will be considered in relation to **three** propositions.

**Proposition 1:** Cultural activity stimulates the creative industries, leading to:

- Economic growth, diversification and competitiveness
- A change in industrial profile, supporting wider investment

*Evidence generated:* Volume of ‘creative’ individuals/firms, level of economic activity & trends in these

*From:* Secondary datasets, stakeholder surveys

Some have sought to establish the role culture may play as an attractive force in decision-making processes around migration from primary survey data (Biddle *et al.* 2006). Others, such as Clifton (2008), have attempted specifically to locate Florida’s ‘creative class’ using national datasets such as the census and Labour Force Survey (p. 66). Evidence regarding

the number of 'creative industries' in a location is also often derived from national datasets such as the ONS (Office for National Statistics) 'Annual Business Inquiry' (Impacts 08 2010a, p. 37). Such datasets provide the data that underlie statements such as this:

Investment in the arts and heritage can be put to work to help economic recovery. The sector covered by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport accounts for 10% of GDP.

(ACE *et al.* 2010, p. 5)

Concern with the overall size and contribution of the 'high growth' creative sector is also clear in Local Enterprise Partnerships and local authority plans (e.g. D2N2 LEP 2012, p. 12; GBS LEP 2014, p. 65). Such strategies do not necessarily link creative industries *directly* to cultural interventions, however, and may associate the sector with tourism, 'digital'/IT activities, biological and life sciences or advanced manufacturing. Typically, documents supporting sector development include assessments of the size and spread of business units (e.g. The Economic Strategy Research Bureau 2011) and employment (e.g. Morris and Jones 2009). This kind of mapping of secondary data is, however, specifically drawn on in more recent cultural interventions. The 'UK City of Culture' competition requires applicant cities to supply an assessment of the "current nature and strength of the cultural and creative sectors" in their area, as well as an assessment of how the UK City of Culture programme will "help to boost these sectors" (DCMS 2013, p. 19). The most recent winning bid for this competition specifies a target to increase employment in the creative industries by 10% by 2017 (Hull City Council 2014), suggesting that changes in the size of the sector will continue to be seen as key indicators of successfully regenerative cultural interventions, and these indicators will likely continue to rely on data from ONS and local directories to substantiate the level of change.

Relatedly, some (e.g. Bailey 2006, p. 2) give evidence of high levels of new business in the creative sector and attribute this to the impact of cultural regeneration, thus drawing links among cultural activity, new business activity and the potentially high economic rewards that can be drawn from this activity. Similar datasets are used to establish the impact of developments in cultural infrastructure (New Economy 2013). Some research also uses more anecdotal data to establish whether stakeholders express the view that creative activity has increased (General Public Agency 2008, pp. 21–22), or whether survey results demonstrate a belief that job opportunities are being provided (Biddle *et al.* 2006), rather than seeking more 'hard' data.

**Proposition 2:** Cultural activity stimulates the development of creative skills/approaches, leading to:

- The development of new creative workers (in both subsidised and unsubsidised environments), addressing employment issues

*Evidence generated:* Qualitative data on perceptions, quantitative data on programmes, individuals involved, artist employment

*From:* Interviews, focus groups, surveys, monitoring data

Roger Tym and Partners (2011, pp. 45–47) used structured interviews with economic development and arts development organisations, revealing opinions on the extent to which cultural institutions influence business-location decisions and the attraction and retention of

skilled workers, whereas Biddle *et al.* (2006) undertook a general survey of the population of Newcastle–Gateshead, finding that over 90% agreed with the proposition that the Quays were providing opportunities for young people to develop artistic talent. A preponderance of more anecdotal evidence in this area, however, may reflect a relative lack of activity within flagship cultural projects to directly promote or engage with creative industries (Comunian and Mould 2014).

At a policy level, ‘Creative and Cultural Skills’ and the ‘National Skills Academy for Creative and Cultural’ specifically run workforce development programmes, including activities for young people. The Backstage Centre, a “technical training and rehearsal facility”, works with young people to support the development of skills related to the creative industries. The facility is described as being “at the heart of a cultural industries business zone [...] and is part of a major *regeneration* project” (CCS 2014a, emphasis added). The Centre won the RICS’ East of England award for Regeneration and was described by CCS as being developed “to encourage local talent to stay in the area and aspire for the best jobs” (CCS 2014b). Similarly, a programme hosted by Tate Modern entitled ‘START’ looked to engage unemployed south London residents through cultural organisations providing training and workplace experiences in jobs as gallery and retail assistants (Hyslop 2012). Whilst evidence of the *existence* of such interventions is clear, however, evidence of their efficacy in terms of ‘regeneration’ is less easy to establish. Nevertheless, writers such as Holden (2007, p. 26) argue that schemes that promote involvement with the arts (such as the UK government’s ‘Creative Partnerships’) help “build the creative individuals of the future”.

**Proposition 3:** Prominent cultural interventions (e.g. mega-events) result in:

- Higher profile, and conditions conducive to the operation of cultural and creative industries
- Subsidised cultural organisations and individuals being more ambitious, collaborative, innovative, networking, etc.

*Evidence generated:* Sector perceptions of the success, and indirect benefits, of regeneration initiatives, sector experiences and direct impacts of regeneration initiatives

*From:* Surveys, interviews, focus groups, monitoring data

Some have gathered evidence regarding creative workers’ views of the impacts of cultural programmes on their practice. An evaluation of an empty shops scheme in Lancashire (Green 2011) that aimed to develop local creative industries, for instance, provided data on the value of reported sales and reported potential future clients, evidence of new audiences for participating artists and creative businesses through artist-reported estimates and evidence of new networks and contacts through interviews with participants. Similar lines of enquiry have been followed using interview and survey techniques around programmes such as the ECoC (Campbell 2011) and other flagship cultural projects (e.g. Comunian and Mould 2014). Views elicited are, at best, mixed regarding the results of such interventions and the direct impact such a programme can make on commercial creative practice, with British examples to some extent reinforcing the findings of Palmer-Rae Associates’ historic analysis of the ECoC programme, which found that, when consulted, “very few cities submitted evidence of following through in any meaningful way on genuine economic targets” (2004, p. 103).

More generally, in providing evidence of what activity has been achieved, many evaluations report basic quantitative indicators such as the volume of artists involved, often broken down by, for example, levels of local artists, international artists, etc., and discussions of approaches taken to provide artists with opportunities to develop their work (cf. García and

Cox 2013). Again, however, data on what activity has *taken place* does not necessarily enable us to establish the *effects* of this activity.

### ***OUTCOME 2: Regeneration via interventions that promote public profiles and levels of engagement***

When considering the means by which culture can achieve regeneration, analyses of the economic 'impact' of tourism and related spending have proved consistently popular in Britain (and beyond); they proliferate in press reports of the effects of cultural programmes (e.g. Owens 2013; Young 2013). Tourism is often specifically linked to particular infrastructural developments, via the so-called 'Bilbao effect' of attractive, 'iconic' cultural centres but also via the association of cultural festivals with wider physical change. These physical developments can also 'regenerate' an area as part of a broader set of interventions.

Arts projects on a small scale are also sometimes used as a means to regenerate the physical fabric of urban areas. A relatively recent phenomenon is the 'empty shops' movement in a number of towns and cities. Whilst some earlier interventions are independent of any form of wider funding (e.g. 'Empty Shop' Durham, founded in 2008 (Empty Shop 2014)), there is a rising pattern of support from local authorities and similar bodies in response to declining levels of retail unit occupancy and a desire to reinvigorate empty high streets using art installations and cultural enterprises (Burchill 2011; Empty Shops Network 2014).

As well as new cultural *practice*, some interventions seek to utilise the arts to render wider processes of physical regeneration more 'creative' in some way. The Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE 2008, pp. 3–4), for instance, discuss "join[ing] forces with Arts & Business and Public Art South West [...] to inject creativity into development" and to "include artists in determining the future look and feel of our towns and cities" (p. 6).

This association of culture with some transformation of physical space is often broadened to include a transformation of the *meanings* associated with that space, with cultural activity positioned as a key driver to achieve positive media coverage or image change (García 2010), which in addition to being valuable in and of itself can also attract a range of audiences.

This section highlights the emphasis placed upon interventions, which introduce new content to a locale, be this a physical asset or cultural programme of activity. In some cases, the intervention is specifically temporary or a 'one-off' (for example, in the case of 'City of Culture' programmes). In this section, evidence will be considered in relation to **six** propositions.

**Proposition 4:** Cultural interventions involving a change in the built environment will:

- Provide new, or improve existing, cultural facilities for residents
- Improve the look/feel of areas and residents' experiences of them
- Support more usage/reusage of stock/urban areas, reducing problems associated with disuse

*Evidence generated:* Data on physical changes/additions, changes in land values

*From:* Secondary data sets (on physical investment), land-use maps, photographs, resident surveys, stakeholder interviews, monitoring data

Secondary data regarding physical investment offers basic information on the process of physical change, such as levels of investment (e.g. Bailey 2006, p. 6) and the range of facilities

created or improved (e.g. Barnardo's 2005; Liverpool Culture Company 2008). For example, for many of the 'empty shops' projects, data on levels of reoccupation of vacant retail units are suggested as one indicator of success (e.g. Newport City Council 2011). Such data are commonly reported either as a stand-alone indicator of physical change or as one component in a wider set of indicators. Some studies, however, have relied solely on other sources of evidence, such as stakeholder interviews (General Public Agency 2008).

Other studies have employed multiple and mixed methods. The 'Townscape Heritage Initiative' sought regeneration by funding a range of conservation activities relating to heritage, including repairing the fabric of heritage assets, restoring original details and materials, securing continued use or bringing vacant space into use and supporting public realm works. In addition to using data on physical investment and conducting surveys and interviews with residents and stakeholders, the longitudinal review of the Townscape Heritage Initiative used a 'townscape survey' involving land use maps and the observation of "30 to 50 different views of the streetscapes of each THI site" (THRU 2013, p. 11) against 25 measures, in order to map overall changes in the physical environment of the case studies.

The manner in which space is used by the public is seen by some studies as an important measure of the regenerative impact of culture. For 'empty shops' projects, local authorities are naturally keen, for instance, to use attendance figures as a basic indicator of the extent to which these cultural interventions are re-animating space (Burchill 2011; Green 2011). Qualitative data from interviews with artists, visitors and participants (Green 2011) are also used to provide evidence of the effects of such schemes. In the case of the longitudinal review of the Townscape Heritage Initiative (2013, p. 16), public usage and traffic flow was analysed in quantitative terms, with higher levels of usage of public space – as observed by the research team and reported by local residents and stakeholders – being interpreted as a positive indicator of regeneration. For other studies, observation of how 'regenerated' public space is actually used is an opportunity to record the experiences of those who might otherwise be overlooked or excluded from formal evaluation processes, using both repeated survey data and more ethnographic methods (Sharp 2007, p. 282). In the Barnardo's (2005, pp. 32–34) review 'Art of Regeneration', researchers use insights from stakeholder interviews (community workers, activists, young people) to form an impression of how renovated space is used, by whom, and for what purposes.

**Proposition 5:** A cultural programme of activity improves usage of space by:

- Providing new opportunities, engaging local residents in different ways, supporting social inclusion/civic pride
- Providing a focal point/shared narrative for actors from different agencies
- Animating spaces

*Evidence generated:* Volume and type of activity involved in programming, volume and types of public engagement

*From:* Monitoring data, audience surveys

As noted above, a common method of providing evidence on the effect of cultural programming is simply to give data regarding the number of events that were held, the number of opportunities there were to participate or the number of people that engaged with events in some way, be it through passive or active forms of engagement (Burchill 2011; New Economy 2013). Sometimes there is particular emphasis by evaluators on *new* events or festivals created by a cultural intervention, particularly in cases where this new activity is sustained



in the long term (García and Cox 2013, p. 116; New Economy 2013, p. 11). In either case, implicit in such evidence is the assumption that the very existence of cultural events is, in and of itself, of benefit, and that more/new equals better. In any case, the mere *existence* of cultural activity in a location is often taken to be evidence of improved usage of that location.

**Proposition 6:** Cultural intervention involving a change in the built environment (through new/changed assets) will benefit the surrounding area by:

- Improving the value and use of land and property

*Evidence generated:* Increase in land/property prices and/or usage as a result of new cultural assets

*From:* Land Registry House Price Index combined with data on physical location of cultural institutions and other variables, stakeholder interviews, resident surveys, 'townscape surveys'

Some studies equate a revived local property market with regeneration and therefore seek to explore the relationship between cultural interventions and indicators such as greater demand for property, increasing property prices and changing patterns of property use. A report by the Centre for Economics & Business Research (CEBR 2013), for example, attempts to evidence a positive relationship between 'cultural density' (the number of cultural institutions within a particular area) and house prices. Similarly, Hyslop (2012, p. 158) attributes a role for the opening of Tate Modern in the increasing property prices.

The review of the Townscape Heritage Initiative (2013, pp. 15–16) also considered the capital and rental value of property in case study areas but, in addition, monitored shifts in the *patterns* of usage for local land and retail space, through a combination of local and national data sources, physical observation and interviews and questionnaires with local people. Although few studies have the capacity to employ such a resource-intensive approach, others have also looked at trends in local land and property use, with an evaluation of Salford's Lowry, for instance, pointing to an increase in the number of households during the period 2001–2011 as evidence of wider regeneration of which the venue is part (New Economy 2013, p. 23).

**Proposition 7:** Cultural activities and interventions involving a change in the built environment (through new/changed assets) will benefit the surrounding area by:

- Attracting visitors and increasing levels of tourism

*Evidence generated:* Data on tourism and associated spend

*From:* Secondary data sets (e.g. STEAM, bed nights and hotel occupation), primary data surveys of visitors/attendees

Surveys to ascertain levels of tourism and associated retail spending have been used as evidence for economic regeneration for some time (cf. Reeves 2002, p. 8) and continue to have a prominent role in establishing the value of cultural interventions (cf. Arts Council England 2014; Sacco and Blessi 2007). Evidence on the economic benefits of tourism associated with new or refurbished cultural facilities generally involve counts of a number of indicators, including the level of visitors, overnight stays, 'bed nights' sold, employment in hotels (or in the service sector more broadly) and spending (ACE *et al.* 2010; LGA 2013). These raw indicators are often supplemented with additional analysis detailing the proportion of visitors

that were explicitly motivated to visit due to the draw of the attraction being evaluated (FiveLines 2012, p. 17; Impacts 08 2010a), visiting from outside the area of interest (LGA 2013, p. 13) or visiting during the ‘low season’ for local tourism (FiveLines 2012, p. 16). Banardo’s (2005, p. 30) used box office data to look at what proportion of the Albany’s audience came from further afield than the immediate boroughs.

**Proposition 8:** Cultural activities and interventions involving a change in the built environment (through new/changed assets) will benefit the surrounding area by:

- Creating economic value through direct employment and associated indirect and induced benefits
- Creating economic value through direct supply chain spending and associated indirect and induced benefits
- Creating economic value through direct tourism spending and associated indirect and induced benefits

*Evidence generated:* Calculations/indicators of economic impact or size

*From:* Economic impact analysis, visitor surveys, government statistics, organisational accounts/management information, pre-existing input/output models/multipliers (usually from the tourism sector)

There is no shortage of studies linking cultural activity specifically to *economic* regeneration, with evidence in this area having been generated in quite large quantities for a number of years (Madden 2001). Most comprise analysis of ‘economic impact’ and share the same basic premise, albeit with considerable methodological variations in execution (e.g. FiveLines 2012; GHK 2009; Hyslop 2012). Typical approaches include attempts to assess the economic value of employment and spending in the supply chain created by an activity or organisation or the building of a new physical asset. Approaches may also include attempts to ascertain the proportion of visitors brought into an area along with the associated spending and potential effects of that spending. In some cases, efforts are made to consider ‘additionality’ – i.e. the additional effects of a particular activity, above those that might have taken place in any case. Considerations of a detailed counterfactual case are rarely included.

Many reports calculate a single figure for ‘economic impact’. For instance, a recent report by the Local Government Association notes that,

The 500,000 visitors to the Hepworth Wakefield during its first year contributed an estimated £10 million to the local economy in Wakefield and a recent economic impact of the Yorkshire Sculpture Park estimated its annual contribution to the local economy to be £5 million.

*(LGA 2013, p. 6)*

Similarly, the economic impact of the fourth edition of the AV Festival – a biennial contemporary art, music and film festival held in North East England – was evaluated using the Impact Evaluation Framework (IEF) based on the UK Treasury’s ‘Green Book’, which gives guidance on methods of evaluation and data relating to organiser and visitor expenditure derived from festival accounts and visitor surveys respectively. Using this approach, the net economic impact of the 2012 festival was estimated to be £1,091,435, with a return of £2.88 for every £1 of public funding the festival received (BOP Consulting 2012, p. 7).

Figures regarding the economic 'size' of an event or institution, whether in terms of the jobs it 'supports' or in terms of its gross overall revenue or share of gross domestic product, are frequently used as evidence of the regenerative potential of culture. In a study of the economic impacts of the Lowry on the area surrounding it, the authors point to the fact that the "Quays area accounted for almost 75% of new employment opportunities in Salford between 2003 and 2008" (New Economy 2013, p. 23). Results such as these are also available relating to the economic impact of Turner Contemporary in Margate (FiveLines 2012). Such analyses can also be found relating to objects other than single programmes or new buildings – the regular activities of the group of major cultural institutions in Liverpool grouped under the 'Liverpool Arts Regeneration Consortium' banner, for instance, are also the object of an economic impact assessment (Roger Tym and Partners 2011, p. 27).

Some studies report more general economic statistics for the area under consideration, either to support or refute the proposition that a cultural intervention has altered an area's economic prosperity. Jones (2013, p. 57), for instance, uses the ONS' Business Structure Database to show that the area surrounding the landmark development of Newcastle-Gateshead Quayside suffered private sector job losses, compared to private sector jobs growth in the city of Newcastle as a whole. This example is helpful in highlighting the way in which evidence is often presented for interventions selectively and without any significant articulation of the potential relationship between an intervention and wider economic changes and factors. Other studies, meanwhile, refer to the effect that funding for cultural activity has on leveraging additional funding (General Public Agency 2008, p. 21) or combine data from various different sources to create composite measures of wider economic 'vitality'. The longitudinal evaluation of the Townscape Heritage Initiative (THRU 2013, p. 16), for example, used surveys and interviews with residents and local business people, observations of physical change and statistical data to arrive at a judgement of 'business vitality', defined by the study as a situation where there are few vacant properties and the cultural intervention is bound up with, or triggers, further investment. In this instance, what is being offered as evidence is the *perception* of economic benefit.

**Proposition 9:** Cultural activities and interventions involving a change in the built environment (through new/changed assets) will benefit the surrounding area by:

- Changing the image of the area, internally and externally

*Evidence generated:* Changes/improvements in perceptions and media coverage

*From:* Media analysis, stakeholder interviews, surveys of tourists/non-residents and residents, business surveys, city ranking systems, 'expert' opinion, other indicators of 'profile'

Higher profile and image improvement are among the most frequently claimed benefits of cultural activity and typically occupy a key role in 'regeneration' narratives. These purported benefits are supported by a range of evidence, the most common of which include indicators derived from traditional or social media analysis, such as the total volume of media coverage associated with an intervention, the attitudes expressed by this coverage and its 'equivalent advertising value' (FiveLines 2012; LGA 2013; THRU 2013, p. 16), indicators derived from the perceptions of those based *inside* the immediate area of interest, including residents and local stakeholders (Biddle *et al.* 2006; General Public Agency 2008, p. 22), indicators derived from the perceptions of those based *outside* the immediate area of interest, such as tourists, non-residents and non-local businesses (Impacts 08 2010a, pp. 31, 46), the views of 'experts' or 'peers' in the arts and tourism sectors (Impacts 08 2010a, p. 35), and the judgments of city ranking systems or

'league tables' (García and Cox 2013, p. 131). It is worth noting that both ranking systems and monetary valuations of media coverage are often widely used without methodological explanations, making them difficult to analyse or understand in terms of validity.

Whilst various ECoCs have tracked local perceptions of the host city, with a range of positive effects claimed, the extent to which reported improvements are sustained in the long term is not clear, as surveys are typically undertaken soon after the end of the event year itself (García and Cox 2013, pp. 128–129). In the British case of Liverpool, neighbourhood surveys and workshops that explored residents' perceptions of the city, among other things, found that perceptions improved between 2007 and 2009 (Impacts 08 2010b). Biddle *et al.* (2006) found agreement concerning pride as a result of cultural capital developments in a local population survey. Bailey (2006) also discusses a population survey revealing that, "the vast majority (93%) agreed that the North East is a creative region". Beyond these indicators, the value of cultural interventions is sometimes evidenced through the awards that such interventions attract, e.g. Gateshead Council's (2006) listing of the various awards that the Angel of the North has received or a similar listing for the Dream sculpture in St Helens (Dream St Helens 2010), demonstrating a heightened profile for an area, and a (new) positive association with cultural activity.

### *OUTCOME 3: Regeneration via improved social circumstances*

In addition to urban regeneration being achieved via broader economic outcomes, the particularly *social* impacts of cultural activity continue to be emphasised, with cultural engagement being seen as having the potential not just to alleviate economic deprivation but also to transform a social, or perhaps even spiritual, poverty (cf. O'Brien 2013, p. 41). Böhm and Land (2009, p. 77) date this increasing attention to the "less tangible benefits" of cultural activity as a later development in the discourse around culture and regeneration. In 2002, for example, Belfiore (p. 97) identifies Matarasso's 1997 work as being "so far the only" to attempt to evaluate such benefits and notes some of the assumed areas in which cultural activity is positioned as having an effect:

The arts and culture could increase social inclusion and community cohesion, reduce crime and deviance, and increase health and mental wellbeing.

Activity discussed in previous sections included interventions that sought to improve facilities for resident communities, or (in the broadest sense) engage these communities, as well as interventions with vaguer propositions that some would argue have an implicit social benefit, via a general economic benefit. One report reviewed suggests that the social and the economic may link in a two-stage process thus:

Community development: Engagement of disadvantaged populations in activities which promote participation, personal and community empowerment and the skills required to be involved in the regeneration process

Community regeneration: The development of new forms of economic participation, engagement with the labour market and improved take up of training opportunities leading to economic recovery.

*(Adamson et al. p. 2)*

Here it is the eventual economic impact that determines activity as specifically *regenerative*. More broadly, this is worth considering in the context of the adoption of methods by

CASE for monetising well-being, using the ONS British Household Panel Survey (CASE 2011), where economic benefit is understood primarily in individual, rather than broader social terms.

This section considers activities that specifically seek to engage with communities in order to create a positive social outcome. This includes programmes or activities to connect communities to, for instance, physical developments, major events and festivals and wider regeneration activity. On the whole, the propositions made for potential social outcomes are amongst the least clearly defined we have come across in this review process. As Colomb (2011, p. 81) notes, “the evidence base on the ‘social’ impacts of cultural regeneration remains relatively thin”.

Indeed, *evidence* of these outcomes is arguably even more difficult to establish than those areas considered up to now. Nevertheless, a range of research activity is regularly carried out in this area, including, for example, surveys and interviews with audience members and programme participants to determine the effects of cultural activity. In some cases, it is difficult to relate outcomes directly to cultural interventions. Due to the perceived potential impact of cultural programmes, however, wider ‘indicators’ such as crime statistics, household income, health statistics and general population data for a given location are also often included in research (e.g. Ela Palmer Heritage 2008; Impacts 08 2010a; THRU 2013).

In this section, evidence will be considered in relation to **three** propositions.

**Proposition 10:** Cultural projects provide opportunities to engage in cultural ‘work’ or activity, in order to:

- Develop the (potentially) transferable skills and confidence of a participating group
- Address issues of education/life attainment indirectly, through positive cultural experiences

*Evidence generated:* Skills development, educational attainment, personal development

*From:* Volunteer and participant surveys, resident surveys, education statistics

There are examples of cultural activity that aspires to have a positive impact on the skills, personal development and educational attainment of those involved, whether as audience members, volunteers or members of the general public, with these impacts frequently linked, more or less directly, with ‘regeneration’ narratives. This view is echoed by ACE *et al.* (2010, p. 1), who argue that the arts and heritage can assist “with jobs, training, skills, experience, hope”. In the case of Matarasso and Moriarty (2011), impacts on self-confidence and self-esteem were evidenced with extracts from interviews with project participants. Surveys of festival volunteers routinely uncover evidence of increased communication skills, teamwork skills, decision-making ability and leadership skills, as a result of the volunteering experience (BOP Consulting 2012, p. 24; Impacts 08 2010a, p. 22), whilst some studies see engagement with volunteering opportunities around cultural organisations as evidence of positive social impact (New Economy 2013, p. 28). In terms of direct impacts on young participants in particular, Holden (2007) cites an analysis of the DCMS ‘Creative Partnerships’ programme, which found that engagement with arts practice “enhanced motivation” and “encouraged high aspirations” amongst young people, evidenced via their reporting of such states. Oakley *et al.* (2013) qualify their view of the same programme as follows:

As might be expected, the evaluation of initiatives such as Creative Partnerships tends to find mixed results (McLellan *et al.* 2012). Common findings are that pupils’ confidence

and self-esteem are improved, with the implication that this improves efficacy and sense of well-being.

Similarly, an evaluation of the ‘Music for Life’ project in Liverpool, funded as part of Kensington’s New Deal for Communities regeneration programme, reports “improved pupil behaviour, raising self-confidence and self-esteem” (BaseLine 2007, p. 4). In this particular instance, the project is praised for the integration of the intervention and the school curriculum (the project was delivered predominantly through music sessions in schools).

On the whole, what is unclear in these examples is the degree to which positive experiences genuinely alter future prospects. Ennis and Douglass (2011, pp. 9–10) state that,

there is evidence that arts programmes in schools can increase self-confidence but there is no strong evidence demonstrating that this leads to improved economic outcomes for the participant. In a similar vein, there is evidence that cultural programmes can boost the self-confidence of offenders leaving prison, but there is no evidence that this leads to a decrease in the reoffending rate.

What this seems to suggest is an absence of ‘follow-up’ evaluation, as well as an absence of focus on causality.

For the review of the Townscape Heritage Initiative (THRU 2013, p. 14), by contrast, the investigators looked at overall levels of educational attainment in the area surrounding each heritage zone, as well as surveying local people to explore their perceptions of the employment situation, whilst comparing local employment and occupational statistics against broader regional trends. Whilst the data in this instance makes a clear case for the possible ‘need’ of a community in terms of low educational attainment, it is less clear that this particular project proposed to respond to this need or how it anticipated causality between the intervention and any positive change that might be demonstrated.

**Proposition 11:** Cultural projects and activities engage communities in order to:

- Ensure social inclusion in wider cultural programmes
- Support community cohesion and empowerment
- Contribute to other elements of community life, such as crime prevention

*Evidence generated:* Civic and community pride levels, engagement in new activities, new participants in activity, communities presenting their own creative outputs, perceptions of community vibrancy, engagement and safety

*From:* Audit of community organisations/assets, audience/participant/volunteer surveys and interviews, stakeholder interviews, contextual area statistics, direct observations, monitoring data

A goal of some cultural activity is to develop ‘social capital’, either by bringing communities together, empowering groups seen as disempowered, including groups that do not typically participate, or raising the overall level of civic activity within a particular area. Evidence relating to these objectives is generated using a number of methods. One common approach is to survey or interview volunteers, audience members or participants for a particular project, to see whether, in their opinion, the project or event led to new or strengthened interpersonal relationships, including with people from communities that the respondent may previously have been unfamiliar with or hostile to. Matarasso and

Moriarty (2011) quoted from interviews with participants to argue that cultural activity in North Liverpool had led to a greater sense of community, less loneliness, more friends and more civic activity. The project also went beyond 'softer' outcomes, to suggest that participants had become more mentally and physically active. Similarly, volunteers with the Liverpool Capital of Culture reported that the experience of volunteering allowed them to "reach out to others and make connections and friendships" (Impacts 08 2010a, p. 22).

Adopting a different approach, the review of the Townscape Heritage Initiative (THRU 2013, p. 14) looked to audits of community organisations to determine the extent to which the initiative succeeded in boosting social inclusion in case study areas, with the proposition that lower levels of community organisations would reflect "a low sense of cohesion, community and vitality". A majority of volunteers surveyed for the AV 2012 Festival reported that the experience either 'greatly' or 'slightly' increased their confidence and self-esteem (BOP Consulting 2012, p. 24).

Some studies have attempted to explore the link between cultural interventions and measures of crime or the fear of crime, albeit with varying degrees of methodological sophistication. For example, whilst General Public Agency (2008, p. 31), in their review of 'Art at the Centre' (an Arts Council South East initiative), use stakeholder interviews alone to gauge whether work on the Isle of Wight had had any effect on anti-social behaviour, the review of the Townscape Heritage Initiative (THRU 2013, p. 15) combines crime statistics, physical observation and the perceptions of local people (as captured by surveys and interviews), to determine the extent to which the condition of each area changed over time. Neighbourhood research by Impacts 08 (2010b) also explored perceptions of crime and anti-social behaviour and feelings of personal safety, and how these changed before and after Liverpool's year as ECoC in 2008, through the use of neighbourhood surveys.

Whilst some activities may target particular communities with the sole intention of positive social outcomes, others are part of wider cultural programmes where communities may be targeted or engaged with to ensure that they do not 'miss out', or to ensure that a project can be said to be inclusive. Typical evidence of such activities may simply include basic assessments of activity run for/with local communities and levels of engagement. Liverpool's ECoC programme included a dedicated "Creative Communities" strand, some of which is enumerated in the end-of-year publication (Liverpool City Council 2009) and evaluation of the Dream sculpture in St Helens recorded "people involved in educational workshops, events, art projects and study visits" as evidence of levels of social inclusion (Dream St Helens 2010).

Evidence on the potential social impacts of cultural activity often comes by measuring the number of events, the size and social characteristics of the audience (e.g. the extent to which the activity succeeded in attracting a local audience or one drawn from particular social groups) or the size and social characteristics of the volunteer base (e.g. García and Cox 2013; Impacts 08 2010a; Liverpool Culture Company 2008). Demographic information about audiences/visitors/participants/volunteers is often patchy, making it difficult to understand if major events and other activities are reaching groups who might not normally be reached. There are examples of mixed methods being used, including box office data, surveys and general observation (e.g. Barnardo's 2005), which suggests that there remains an issue (potentially of cost/resources) in undertaking sufficient and robust fieldwork in order to ascertain *who* is actually engaging with cultural activities and the effects of this engagement.

By way of context for much of this activity seeking to engage new groups, it is perhaps worth noting the effects of the removal of entrance fees for national museums:

Research shows that when the national museums in England dropped their entrance fees in 2001, this did not broaden the audience for museums but rather meant that the existing primarily middle class audience went more often.

(ESRC 2009, p. 7)

**Proposition 12:** Cultural interventions that take place in the context of wider regeneration programmes can:

- Emphasise the role of culture, thereby engaging people in a different manner, adding value to existing programmes or in some cases ameliorating some of the negative effects of regeneration
- Provide an 'alternative' (perhaps even a resistance) to regeneration activity

*Evidence generated:* Levels of engagement between communities and regeneration planning processes, alternative responses to regeneration programmes

*From:* Interviews, case studies of activities

The evaluation of 'Art at the Centre' used interviews with artists and local politicians, as well as residents, in order to analyse the extent to which programme activity was successful in engaging the community with the development process around regeneration activities. The range of activities included explicitly cultural interventions and attempts to use cultural personnel or methods to engage the community in broader regeneration processes. In one example, the evaluators note that the absence of the arts strategy (which was developed through the project) in the area's overall published masterplan was seen as reflecting a "lack of commitment to the arts", and the evaluators suggest that "better parity should be sought with regeneration processes" (General Public Agency 2008, p. 27).

Similarly, the evaluation of the Music for Life project in the Kensington area of Liverpool suggested that, in order to have a greater effect within the local community and to ensure that it was not seen as competing with the wider regeneration programme that funded it (New Deal for Communities), it should,

attempt to move towards a fuller integration with environmental, social and economic policies in Kensington. For example, a review of the management arrangements may be required [...] the inclusion of a broad spectrum of community leaders is encouraged. These local voices should be tasked with selling and promoting the value of the project and re-assuring residents that the project [...] represents best value for the local communities [and] is not simply siphoning away money from spending on 'concrete developments' in the local area.

(Baseline 2007, p. 4)

In both these instances, cultural projects are seen as needing to fight for a place within broader regeneration programmes.

Qualitative data is also available to demonstrate positive attitudes towards the value of schemes involving artists in processes of planning. A report produced by the Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE 2008) provides information on case studies



and interviews with architects, for instance, to demonstrate that artist involvement was seen as valuable:

Both architects acknowledged that [the artist's] work had allowed them to develop a much deeper understanding of staff requirements and the needs of day centre users [...] and that the process had validated the need for Public Arts programmes to be run at both health centres. (p. 8)

Others report the potential of arts practice to “facilitate community involvement” (p. 16) in the process of redevelopment. All evaluation of this project rested on eliciting the opinions of stakeholders in the project.

It is also worth noting examples of activities that seek to resist or offer alternatives to the 'agreed' narrative around regeneration programmes. The Liverpool Biennial project 2Up 2Down/Homebaked brought an artist to work with a community in an area that had been subject to a Housing Marketing Renewal programme. The programme has sought to re-establish a community bakery in a building previously used as a bakery and to support the community to engage in and determine the future development of their own neighbourhood (2Up 2Down 2012). In national press coverage, the project is framed as a response to what is perceived to be failed regeneration practice, particularly the HMR programme (e.g. Hanley 2012; Moore 2012) and an empowerment of the local community in the response to large, structural programmes that fail to recognise the needs of those communities.

## Conclusion

This chapter has sought to demonstrate the range of practices that have been used to offer evidence for the regenerative role of culture over recent years in Britain. In many ways, these practices reflect those found in earlier reviews of the nature of regeneration and evidence gathering (e.g. Evans and Shaw 2004; Reeves 2002; Vickery 2007). Whilst we do not therefore claim that our findings regarding the key areas on which evidence gathering focuses or the ways in which this evidence gathering is done are brand new, to confirm that key patterns persist 10 or more years is important. This is all the more important due to the apparent lack of progress in dealing with the 'gaps' or problems with this body of evidence.

Considering in detail the kinds of data in use in the studies above reveals a reliance on secondary data and proxies from beyond the cultural sector, on research seeking perceptions of cultural activity from convenience samples, on data treating the very existence of cultural activity as sufficient to demonstrate beneficial outcomes and on relatively short-term research projects. We consider possible explanations for this in more detail elsewhere (Campbell *et al.* 2016), but it must be noted that whilst culture continues to be seen as having a regenerative role to play, there is typically little or no discussion of the role of culture in relation to overall findings of major regeneration programmes (e.g. Audit Commission 2011; DCLG 2010). As such, we return to noting the relatively minor position of cultural policy, which leads to limited resources not just for interventions themselves, but for their evaluation. Short term projects, convenience samples, and a focus on secondary data are understandable given such resources, but this leads to a continued situation wherein there is a relative absence of robust, longitudinal, or historical data for the cultural sector; for instance, no reliable economic input-output model for subsidised activity in the sector, limited longitudinal audience and engagement data, and so on. It is perhaps inevitable that secondary data tends to come from

outside the sector as there is so little standardised or comparative data freely available within the sector.

Given the wider policy climate emphasising the importance of economic outcomes, it is also perhaps of little surprise that we see such an emphasis on the production of a range of evidence relating to such outcomes, even though its ultimate usefulness may well be questioned. What is, perhaps, less understandable, however, is the lack of clarity within research itself of what propositions are being made. Those highlighted above are usually those seemingly implicit within research but seldom explicitly articulated. Indeed, what we have sought to achieve here is to ask ‘what is this evidence *for*?’ Any research that does not have a clear question risks unclear answers, especially when (as is often the case in this body of evidence) methods themselves remain opaque.

We do not suggest, then, that the body of evidence above is in any way ideal, but that its nature is instructive of the wider policy climate and that its shortcomings can be understood in the context of this climate. We also suggest that improving this body of evidence is not merely a matter of resource but of considering the outcomes proposed and the mechanisms being examined to question the emergence of this outcome. It is thus hoped this case study raises useful questions for the British case and beyond.

## References

- 2Up 2Down (2012) *About 2Up 2Down*. [www.2up2down.org.uk/about/](http://www.2up2down.org.uk/about/).
- ACAVA (2014) *Regeneration Archive*. [www.acava.org/regeneration/regeneration-archive](http://www.acava.org/regeneration/regeneration-archive).
- Adamson, D., Fyfe, H. and Byrne, P. (2008) *Hand in Hand. Arts-based Activities and Regeneration*. Cardiff: Arts Council Wales.
- Allin, P. (2015) ‘English Cultural Policy: Is Well-Being the Goal?’ *Cultural Trends*, 24(1), 15–20.
- Arts Council England (2014) *The Value of Arts and Culture to People and Society*. Manchester: Arts Council England.
- Arts Council England, Association of Independent Museums, Cultural Learning Alliance, English Heritage, The Heritage Alliance, Heritage Lottery Fund, Local Government Association, Museums Association, Museums Libraries and Archives Council, National Campaign for the Arts, National Heritage Memorial Fund, National Museum Directors’ Conference, Society of Archivists, Society of Chief Librarians, The Art Fund, The National Archives, and Visit England (2010) *Cultural Capital – A Manifesto for the Future*. [www.artscouncil.org.uk/media/uploads/publications/Cultural\\_Capital\\_Manifesto.pdf](http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/media/uploads/publications/Cultural_Capital_Manifesto.pdf).
- Audit Commission (2011) *Housing Market Renewal: Housing, Programme Review*. [http://archive.audit-commission.gov.uk/auditcommission/SiteCollectionDocuments/Downloads/201103HMR\\_programmreview.pdf](http://archive.audit-commission.gov.uk/auditcommission/SiteCollectionDocuments/Downloads/201103HMR_programmreview.pdf).
- Bailey, C. (2006) *Cultural Values and Culture Led Regeneration – The Case of Newcastle-Gateshead*. [www.fokus.or.at/fileadmin/fokus/user/downloads/acei\\_paper/Bailey.doc](http://www.fokus.or.at/fileadmin/fokus/user/downloads/acei_paper/Bailey.doc).
- Barnardo’s (2005) *Art of Regeneration: Evaluating the Impact of the Arts in a Disadvantaged Community*. [www.dmss.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/art\\_of\\_regeneration\\_report.pdf](http://www.dmss.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/art_of_regeneration_report.pdf).
- Baseline (2007) *Evaluation of the Music for Life Project*, Liverpool: LJMU.
- Belfiore, E. (2002) ‘Art as a Means of Alleviating Social Exclusion: Does It Really Work? A Critique of Instrumental Cultural Policies and Social Impact Studies in the UK’, *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 8(1), 91–106.
- Biddle, P., Archer, A. and Lowther, H. (2006) *CISIR Report on Research Findings 2006*, Northumbria University.
- Böhm, S. and Land, C. (2009) ‘No Measure for Culture? Value in the New Economy’, *Capital and Class*, 33(1), 75–98.
- BOP Consulting (2012) *Evaluation of AV Festival 12*. [www.avfestival.co.uk/documents/\\_view/5294b6847cbb88d61d000cf4](http://www.avfestival.co.uk/documents/_view/5294b6847cbb88d61d000cf4).
- Burchill, A. (2011) *Art and Empty Shops*. <http://misachievement.wordpress.com/curatorial/empty-shops/>.

- CABE (2008) *Artists & Places: Engaging Creative Minds in Regeneration*. [www.liminal.org.uk/uploads/9/warwick\\_bar\\_masterplan\\_Artist\\_and\\_Places\\_2008-pdf/](http://www.liminal.org.uk/uploads/9/warwick_bar_masterplan_Artist_and_Places_2008-pdf/).
- Campbell, P. (2011) 'Creative Industries in a European Capital of Culture', *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 7(5), 510–522.
- Campbell, P., Cox, T., Crone, S. and Wilks-Heeg, S. (2016) *Evidence of Things that Appear Not – A Critical Review of the Role of Arts and Culture in the Regeneration of Urban Places and Urban Communities*. <http://repository.liv.ac.uk/2035440/>.
- CASE (2011) *The Art of the Possible – Using Secondary Data to Detect Social and Economic Impacts From Investments in Culture and Sport: A Feasibility Study*. [www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/77608/CASE\\_The\\_Art\\_of\\_the\\_possible\\_2.pdf](http://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/77608/CASE_The_Art_of_the_possible_2.pdf).
- CCS (2014a) *Who We Are and What We Do*. <http://ccskills.org.uk/about>.
- CCS (2014b) *The Backstage Centre Scoops Prestigious Royal Institute of Chartered Surveyors Award*. [http://ccskills.org.uk/downloads/The\\_Backstage\\_Centre\\_scoops\\_prestigious\\_Royal\\_Institute\\_of\\_Chartered\\_Surveyors\\_award1.pdf](http://ccskills.org.uk/downloads/The_Backstage_Centre_scoops_prestigious_Royal_Institute_of_Chartered_Surveyors_award1.pdf).
- Centre for Economics and Business Research (2013) *The Contribution of the Arts and Culture to the National Economy*. [www.artscouncil.org.uk/media/uploads/pdf/CEBR\\_economic\\_report\\_web\\_version\\_0513.pdf](http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/media/uploads/pdf/CEBR_economic_report_web_version_0513.pdf).
- Clifton, N. (2008) 'The "Creative Class" in the UK: An Initial Analysis', *Geografiska Annaler B*, 90(1), 63–82.
- Colomb, C. (2011) 'Culture *In* the City, Culture *For* the City? The Political Construction of the Trickle-Down in Cultural Regeneration Strategies in Roubaix, France', *Town Planning Review*, 81(1), 77–98.
- Comunian, R. and Mould, O. (2014) 'The Weakest Link: Creative Industries, Flagship Cultural Projects and Regeneration', *City, Culture and Society*, 5, 65–74.
- Crossick, G. and Kaszynska, P. (2016) *Understanding the Value of Arts & Culture – The AHRC Cultural Value Project*. [www.ahrc.ac.uk/documents/publications/cultural-value-project-final-report/](http://www.ahrc.ac.uk/documents/publications/cultural-value-project-final-report/).
- D2N2 LEP (2012) *Strategy for Growth 2013–2023*. [www.d2n2lep.org/write/Audio/D2N2\\_Strategy\\_for\\_Growth\\_2013-23\\_LR\\_05.07.13.pdf](http://www.d2n2lep.org/write/Audio/D2N2_Strategy_for_Growth_2013-23_LR_05.07.13.pdf).
- DCLG (2010) *The New Deal for Communities Experience: A Final Assessment – The New Deal for Communities Evaluation: Final Report – Volume 7*. <http://extra.shu.ac.uk/ndc/downloads/general/A%20final%20assessment.pdf>.
- DCLG (2013) *Investing in Your Future: Case Study Booklet-East Midlands European Regional Development Fund Programme, 2007–2013*. [www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/147821/East\\_Midlands\\_ERDF\\_Case\\_Study\\_Booklet\\_Edition\\_1.pdf](http://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/147821/East_Midlands_ERDF_Case_Study_Booklet_Edition_1.pdf).
- DCMS (2013) *UK City of Culture 2017. Guidance for Bidding Cities*. [www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/89369/UK\\_City\\_of\\_Culture\\_2017\\_Guidance\\_and\\_Criteria.pdf](http://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/89369/UK_City_of_Culture_2017_Guidance_and_Criteria.pdf).
- DCMS (2016) *The Culture White Paper*. [www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/510798/DCMS\\_The\\_Culture\\_White\\_Paper\\_3\\_.pdf](http://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/510798/DCMS_The_Culture_White_Paper_3_.pdf).
- DCMS, BERR and DIUS (2008) *Creative Britain: New Talents for the New Economy*. London: DCMS.
- Dream St Helens (2010) *Coverage and Outputs*. [www.dreamsthelens.com/dream-facts-figures/coverage-outputs/](http://www.dreamsthelens.com/dream-facts-figures/coverage-outputs/).
- Ela Palmer Heritage (2008) *The Social Impacts of Heritage-Led Regeneration*. [www.ahfund.org.uk/docs/Report%20Social%20Impacts%20of%20Heritage-led%20Regeneration.pdf](http://www.ahfund.org.uk/docs/Report%20Social%20Impacts%20of%20Heritage-led%20Regeneration.pdf).
- The Economic Strategy Research Bureau (2011) Report 3: The D2N2 Economy. [www.d2n2lep.org/write/Documents/Board%20Mins/Report\\_3\\_-\\_D2N2\\_Economy\\_FINAL\\_Dec\\_2011.pdf](http://www.d2n2lep.org/write/Documents/Board%20Mins/Report_3_-_D2N2_Economy_FINAL_Dec_2011.pdf).
- Empty Shop (2014) *Everything You Need to Know*. <http://emptyshop.org/about/>.
- Empty Shops Network (2014) *Empty Shops Network*. <http://emptyshops.wordpress.com/>.
- Ennis, N. and Douglass, G. (2011) *Culture and Regeneration – What Evidence Is There of a Link and How Can It Be Measured?*. London: GLA.
- ESRC (2009) *Not Only... But Also: Capturing the Value of Culture, Media and Sport*. [http://centrallobby.politicshome.com/fileadmin/epolitix/stakeholders/Not\\_Only...But\\_Also\\_\\_Capturing\\_the\\_Value\\_of\\_Culture\\_\\_Media\\_and\\_Sport\\_Publication.pdf](http://centrallobby.politicshome.com/fileadmin/epolitix/stakeholders/Not_Only...But_Also__Capturing_the_Value_of_Culture__Media_and_Sport_Publication.pdf).
- European Commission (2010) *Unlocking the Potential of Cultural and Creative Industries* [http://ec.europa.eu/culture/our-policy-development/doc/GreenPaper\\_creative\\_industries\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/culture/our-policy-development/doc/GreenPaper_creative_industries_en.pdf).
- European Commission (2013) *Housing Investments Supported by the European Regional Development Fund 2007–2013: Housing in Sustainable Urban Regeneration* [http://ec.europa.eu/regional\\_policy/sources/docgener/studies/pdf/housing/2013\\_housing\\_study.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/docgener/studies/pdf/housing/2013_housing_study.pdf).

- Evans, G. and Shaw, P. (2004) *The Contribution of Culture to Regeneration in the UK: A Review of Evidence*, London: DCMS.
- FiveLines (2012) *Turner Contemporary – Year 1 Economic Impact Assessment Report*, [no publisher].
- Florida, R. (2004) *The Rise of the Creative Class*, New York: Basic Books.
- García, B. (2010) *Media Impact Assessment (part II): Evolving Press and Broadcast Narratives on Liverpool from 1996 to 2009*. [www.liv.ac.uk/impacts08/Publications/Media\\_Impact\\_Assessment\\_Part2.pdf](http://www.liv.ac.uk/impacts08/Publications/Media_Impact_Assessment_Part2.pdf).
- García, B. and Cox, T. (2013) *European Capitals of Culture: Success Strategies and Long-Term Effects*. [www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/etudes/join/2013/513985/IPOL-CULT\\_ET%282013%29513985\\_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/etudes/join/2013/513985/IPOL-CULT_ET%282013%29513985_EN.pdf).
- Gateshead Council (2006) *The Angel of the North*. [www.gateshead.gov.uk/DocumentLibrary/Leisure/Angel/Angel%20Pack%20large.doc](http://www.gateshead.gov.uk/DocumentLibrary/Leisure/Angel/Angel%20Pack%20large.doc).
- GBS LEP (2014) *Greater Birmingham and Solihull Strategic Economic Plan*. <http://centreforenterprise.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/GBS-Strategic-Economic-Plan-Final-with-links1.pdf>.
- General Public Agency (2008) *Art at the Centre Phase II – Final Evaluation Report 2005–2008*, London: General Public Agency.
- GHK (2009) *Economic Impact of HLF Projects, Volume 1 – Main Report*. [www.hlf.org.uk/aboutus/howwework/Documents/Economic\\_impact\\_HFprojects2009\\_Finalreport.pdf](http://www.hlf.org.uk/aboutus/howwework/Documents/Economic_impact_HFprojects2009_Finalreport.pdf).
- Gordon, C., Powell, D. and Stark, P. (2015) ‘The Coalition Government 2010–2015: Lessons for Future Cultural Policy’, *Cultural Trends*, 24(1), 51–55.
- Green, L. (2011) *Turning Empty Spaces into Creative Places: Empty Shops Evaluation Report for Pennine Lancashire*. [www.creativityworks.info/images/uploads/pdfs/let-evaluation-report-final.pdf](http://www.creativityworks.info/images/uploads/pdfs/let-evaluation-report-final.pdf).
- Hanley, L. (2012) *This Is How We Can Solve the Housing Crisis – One Home at a Time*. [www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/aug/13/solve-the-housing-crisis](http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/aug/13/solve-the-housing-crisis).
- Hesmondhalgh, D., Oakley, K., Lee, D. and Nisbett, M. (2015) *Culture, Economy and Politics – The Case of New Labour*, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Holden, J. (2007) *Publicly-Funded Culture and the Creative Industries*, London: Demos.
- Hull City Council (2014) *The Countdown Has Begun*. [http://2017-hull.co.uk/uploads/files/Hull\\_Countdown\\_to\\_2017\\_web.pdf](http://2017-hull.co.uk/uploads/files/Hull_Countdown_to_2017_web.pdf).
- Hyslop, D. (2012) ‘Culture, Regeneration and Community: Reinventing the City’, *Gateways: International Journal of Community Research and Engagement*, 5, 152–165.
- Impacts 08 (2010a) *Creating an Impact: Liverpool’s Experience as European Capital of Culture*. [www.liv.ac.uk/impacts08/Papers/Creating\\_an\\_Impact\\_-\\_web.pdf](http://www.liv.ac.uk/impacts08/Papers/Creating_an_Impact_-_web.pdf).
- Impacts 08 (2010b) *Neighbourhood Impacts: A Longitudinal Research Study into the Impact of the Liverpool European Capital of Culture on Local Residents*. [www.liv.ac.uk/impacts08/Publications/Neighbourhood\\_Impacts.pdf](http://www.liv.ac.uk/impacts08/Publications/Neighbourhood_Impacts.pdf).
- Jones, C. (2008) *Capital of Culture: People’s Opening*. [www.liverpoolecho.co.uk/news/liverpool-news/capital-of-culture-peoples-opening-3494050](http://www.liverpoolecho.co.uk/news/liverpool-news/capital-of-culture-peoples-opening-3494050).
- Jones, A. (2013) *City Arts Strategies in a Cold Climate’ in RSA and Arts Council England’s Towards Plan A: A New Political Economy for Arts and Culture*. [www.artscouncil.org.uk/media/uploads/pdf/RSA-Arts-Towards-Plan-A.pdf](http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/media/uploads/pdf/RSA-Arts-Towards-Plan-A.pdf).
- Lähdesmäki, T. (2014) ‘European Capital of Culture Designation as an Initiator of Urban Transformation in the Post-Socialist Countries’, *European Planning Studies*, 22(3), 481–497.
- Liverpool City Council (2009) *Liverpool ‘08 European Capital of Culture. The Impacts of a Year Like No Other*. [www.liverpool08.com/Images/End%20of%20Year%2008%20brochure%20COMPLETE%20FINAL\\_tcm146-147580.pdf](http://www.liverpool08.com/Images/End%20of%20Year%2008%20brochure%20COMPLETE%20FINAL_tcm146-147580.pdf).
- Liverpool City Council (2012) *Liverpool Knowledge Festival*. <http://liverpool.gov.uk/mayor/messages-from-the-mayor/speeches/liverpool-knowledge-festival/>.
- Liverpool City Council (2013) *Cultural Action Plan and Cultural Investment Framework*, Liverpool: Liverpool City Council.
- Liverpool Culture Company (2008) *Liverpool Culture Company Final Report 2003–2008*, Liverpool: Liverpool Culture Company.
- Local Government Association (2013) *Driving Growth through Local Government Investment in the Arts*, London: LGA.
- Madden, C. (2001) ‘Using ‘Economic’ Impact Studies in Arts and Cultural Advocacy: A Cautionary Note’, *Media International Australia incorporating Culture and Policy*, 98, 161–178.
- Matarasso, F. and Moriarty, G. (2011) *Telling Stories: The Arts and Wellbeing in North Liverpool*. [www.larc.uk.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/05/LARCTellingstorieswebjob.pdf](http://www.larc.uk.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/05/LARCTellingstorieswebjob.pdf).

- McLellan, R., Galton, A., Steward, S., and Page, C. (2012) *The Impact of Creative Initiatives on Wellbeing: A Literature Review*. London: Arts Council England.
- Moore, R. (2012) *Liverpool Biennial – Review*. [www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2012/sep/23/liverpool-biennial-review-hmr-anfield](http://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2012/sep/23/liverpool-biennial-review-hmr-anfield).
- Morris, K. and Jones, A. (2009) *Innovation and the Future Leeds City Region Economy*. [www.leedscityregion.gov.uk/LCR-Corporate/media/Media/Research%20and%20publications/business%20innovation%20and%20growth/Innovation-in-LCR-Final-Report.pdf?ext=.pdf](http://www.leedscityregion.gov.uk/LCR-Corporate/media/Media/Research%20and%20publications/business%20innovation%20and%20growth/Innovation-in-LCR-Final-Report.pdf?ext=.pdf).
- National Federation of Artists' Studio Providers (2010) *Developing Affordable Artists' Studios in a Housing Market Renewal Area*. <http://artspace.org.uk/download-file/downloads/Manor-Oaks-CS.pdf>.
- New Economy (2013) *Beyond the Arts: Economic and Wider Impacts of the Lowry and Its Programmes*. [www.thelowry.com/Downloads/reports/The\\_Lowry\\_Beyond\\_the\\_Arts.pdf](http://www.thelowry.com/Downloads/reports/The_Lowry_Beyond_the_Arts.pdf).
- Newport City Council (2011) *URBAN: Using Retail Buildings for Arts in Newport*. [www.newport.gov.uk/stellent/groups/public/documents/leaflets\\_and\\_brochures/cont609142.pdf](http://www.newport.gov.uk/stellent/groups/public/documents/leaflets_and_brochures/cont609142.pdf).
- Oakley, K., O'Brien, D. and Lee, D. (2013) 'Happy Now? Well-Being and Cultural Policy', *Philosophy and Public Policy Quarterly*, 31(2), 18–26.
- O'Brien, D. (2013) *Cultural Policy: Management, Value and Modernity in the Creative Industries*, New York: Routledge.
- O'Brien, D. and Matthews, P. (2015) *After Urban Regeneration: Communities, Policy and Place*, Bristol: Policy Press.
- Owens, M. (2013) *City of Culture Win Would Impact Dundee Now*. [www.eveningtelegraph.co.uk/news/local/city-of-culture-win-would-impact-dundee-now-1.127211](http://www.eveningtelegraph.co.uk/news/local/city-of-culture-win-would-impact-dundee-now-1.127211).
- Palmer-Rae Associates (2004) *European Cities and Capitals of Culture*, Brussels: Palmer-Rae.
- Pratt, A.C. (2008) 'Creative Cities: The Cultural Industries and the Creative Class', *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, 90(2), 107–117.
- Reeves, M. (2002) *Measuring the Economic and Social Impact of the Arts: A Review*, London: Arts Council England.
- Roger Tym and Partners (2011) *Economic Impact of the Liverpool Arts Regeneration Consortium*. [www.larc.uk.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/10/LARC-Economic-Impact-Final-Report.pdf](http://www.larc.uk.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/10/LARC-Economic-Impact-Final-Report.pdf).
- Sacco, P.L. and Blessi, G.T. (2007) 'European Culture Capitals and Local Development Strategies: Comparing the Genoa and Lille 2004 Cases', *Homo Oeconomicus*, 24(1), 111–141.
- Selwood, S. (2015) 'Cultural Trends Election Special', *Cultural Trends*, 24(1), 1–5.
- Sharp, J. (2007) 'The Life and Death of Five Spaces: Public Art and Community Regeneration in Glasgow', *Cultural Geographies*, 14(2), 274–292.
- Stevenson, D. (2014) 'Scottish Cultural Policy', *Cultural Trends*, 23(3), 133–135.
- Townscape Heritage Research Unit (2013) *Townscape Heritage Initiative Schemes Evaluation – Ten Year Review Report*, Oxford: Townscape Heritage Research Unit, Oxford Brookes University.
- Vickery, J. (2007) *The Emergence of Culture-Led Regeneration: A Policy Concept and Its Discontents*, Warwick: Centre for Cultural Policy Studies.
- Young, A. (2013) *Feelgood Freedom Festival Injects Extra £2m into Hull's Economy*. [www.hulldailymail.co.uk/Feelgood-Freedom-Festival-injects-extra-pound-2m/story-20006454-detail/story.html](http://www.hulldailymail.co.uk/Feelgood-Freedom-Festival-injects-extra-pound-2m/story-20006454-detail/story.html).