THE CONTRIBUTION OF CULTURE TO REGENERATION

IN THE UK: A REVIEW OF EVIDENCE

A report to the Department for Culture Media and Sport

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1.   The scope of this review

My own blunt evaluation of regeneration programmes that don't have a culture component is they won't work. Communities have to be energised, they have to be given some hope, they have to have the creative spirit released (Robert Hughes, Chief Executive of Kirklees Council, 1998).

Introduction

This review was commissioned by the Department for Culture Media and Sport (DCMS) to inform the preparation of a policy document on the contribution of cultural activity to regeneration (see 2. Terms, definitions, models and measures). It has been written primarily as a briefing for DCMS officials. Carried out over the summer 2003, responses and coverage of published and 'in press' information may not be as full as a longer research period would have allowed, however the review has been extensive within the culture and regeneration sphere. New reports and publications are emerging almost daily, in part due to the raised interest in and awareness of the subject, and these should be continually reviewed as policy formulation and implementation is undertaken.

In addition to setting out its own objectives for culture and regeneration, DCMS is working to increase awareness within other Government departments of the potential contribution of cultural activity to their regeneration programmes.

The indicators of regeneration most commonly referred to in this paper are those already widely used by Government in the context of neighbourhood renewal, social inclusion and community cohesion: reduced levels of crime, increased health and well-being, increased educational attainment, reduced unemployment, greater community cohesion, greater environmental quality and quality of life (or liveability).

Our brief has been to produce:

- a stock-take of evidence-based literature on the impact of culture on social, economic and environmental (physical) regeneration in the UK

- an analysis of the limitations of the evidence

- examples of best practice in the design and delivery of projects

- examples of best practice in measurement of impacts

- recommendations in the light of our findings

The Government is committed to evidence-based policy-making and our focus has therefore been upon *published evidence*. There is a substantial amount of reflective and documentary-style writing on this subject that has not been included. The cumulative value of such work, however, does need to be acknowledged, especially where similar conclusions have been reached about the relationship of cultural

activity to regeneration. Illustrative examples drawn from such sources can also help to raise awareness of the different ways in which cultural activity can be used in regeneration projects.

In the past, regeneration programmes were too often developed without reference to, or inclusion of incumbent arts and cultural groups, although this situation does seem to be improving with more integrated and inclusive planning (e.g. local cultural strategies, Local Development Frameworks, Community Strategies, Local Strategic Partnerships), and greater awareness by cultural organisations of their involvement and value in the regeneration process.

Methodology

The DCMS' brief has therefore been to undertake a review of published evidence and in particular to assess the value and validity of this evidence. This has been achieved within the time available, through a literature search via online and bibliographic sources (university and specialist libraries, academic and professional journals), and a call to all English Regional Government Offices (RGOs) and cultural officers for reports and impact studies on the study theme. Some RGOs also contacted those responsible for arts and culture (e.g. festivals, heritage, cultural tourism) in their region, which produced some useful information and studies in progress.

Evidence and case study material has been analysed by the main impact area and type - economic, environmental/physical and social; by the methodology used; and by the main art form/cultural activity concerned. Publications were divided between those which had a 'scientific' research base or methodology - whether empirical, using quantitative and/or qualitative surveys - and those which were illustrative and largely descriptive case studies. These have been distinguished in the Bibliography (7.) with 'R' denoting 'Research' and 'I' denoting 'Illustrative'.

A small number of case studies have been selected as illustrations which provide evidence and good practice in culture's engagement with the regeneration process. These include examples across a range of cultural activities, locations and arising impacts.

The robustness of the research evidence and findings has been assessed in terms of both the author's approach and conclusions, and the degree of peer review and strength of evidence. The latter includes the timescale and sample size of an impact study, as well as how far the study and conclusions might be transferable or generalisable in the context of other evidence in the field. Positive and negative evidence and critiques have been considered. The extent to which research and case study material indicates an example of good practice in the design and delivery of cultural projects and in impact evaluation and measurement, has been assessed on a case by case basis. Overall, where particular trends in evaluation and outcomes are evident, these have been used to make suggestions as to which of these are the most important in ensuring successful culture-led regeneration projects. We have not however undertaken any primary research or site visits, and our analysis is based entirely on the evidence available.

2.   Terms, definitions, models and measures

In the late 1980s, the publication by the Policy Studies Institute of a series of reports on the 'economic importance of the arts' in Merseyside, Glasgow and Ipswich, followed by single volume on Great Britain[1] reflected a change in the vocabulary used by government and its agencies to describe a sector habitually referred to as 'the arts'. Also in the 1980s, the production of early examples of cultural industries strategies in, among other places, London, Liverpool, Manchester and Sheffield, signalled a growing recognition of the economic dimensions of the arts, including their regenerative and distributive effects [2].

By the early 1990s, the 'sector', 'industry' or 'industries' suffix was in common use, although many artists and arts managers continued to dislike the association with the vocabulary of an industrial economy. The PSI was among the first to use the term 'cultural industries' in publications that were widely read by arts managers, funders and policy makers and references to 'the arts and cultural industries' began to appear more frequently. Some writers and commentators stopped using the word 'arts' altogether, preferring a single term 'cultural industries' to describe the production and distribution of creative goods.

When the Labour government was elected in 1997 it recoined the term 'cultural industries' as the 'creative industries', defining these as 'industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property' [3].

Another factor in the confusion about what 'cultural activity' comprises was the government's encouragement of local authorities to produce 'cultural strategies'. The expectation was that a local cultural strategy should include the arts, libraries, museums, heritage, tourism, parks *and sport*. This has led, in some quarters, to a reassertion of the independence of the term 'the arts': it is not unusual to hear references to 'the arts and culture' or the 'arts and cultural sector' or 'sectors' as though the arts are not part of 'culture'. When looking for evidence of culture's contribution to regeneration in the UK, it is important to be aware of the meanings the word 'culture' has been given in the past fifteen years alone.

2.1. The definitions used in this paper

The definition of cultural activity provided by DCMS for this review encompasses the arts (including film), libraries, museums, heritage and cultural tourism. It does not include other areas of DCMS responsibility, notably broadcasting, sport and gambling.

Regeneration has been defined as the transformation of a place (residential, commercial or open space) that has displayed the symptoms of environmental (physical), social and/or economic decline. What has been described as: *breathing new life and vitality into an ailing community, industry and area [bringing] sustainable, long term improvements to local quality of life, including economic, social and environmental needs* [4]. We are looking for evidence of culture as a driver, a catalyst or at the very least a key player in the process of regeneration, or renewal.

2.2. Three models of culture's contribution to regeneration

This review has identified three models through which cultural activity is incorporated (or incorporates itself) into the regeneration process. These are: culture-led regeneration, cultural regeneration and culture *and* regeneration.

2.2.1 Culture–led regeneration
In this model, cultural activity is seen as the catalyst and engine of regeneration. The activity is likely to have a high-public profile and frequently to be cited as the sign of regeneration. The activity might be the design and construction (or re-use) of a building or buildings for public or business use (e.g. Baltic and Sage Music Centre in Gateshead, Tate Modern and Peckham Library in Southwark; the Chocolate Factory in Haringey; the Lace Market in Nottingham); the reclamation of open space (e.g. the garden festivals of the 1980s and 90s in Ebbw Vale, Stoke, Gateshead, Liverpool, etc.); or the introduction of a programme of activity which is then used to rebrand a place (e.g. Ulverston Festival Town; Window on the World Festival, North Shields).

2.2.2 Cultural regeneration
In this model, cultural activity is fully integrated into an area strategy alongside other activities in the environmental, social and economic sphere. Examples include *Birmingham's Renaissance*[5] where the arts were incorporated with policy, planning and resourcing through the city council's joint Arts, Employment and Economic Development Committee, and in the 'exemplar' cultural city, Barcelona[6]. This model is closely allied to the 'cultural planning' approach to cultural policy and city regeneration [7].

2.2.3 Culture *and* regeneration
In this model, cultural activity is not fully integrated at the strategic development or master planning stage (often because the responsibilities for cultural provision and for regeneration sit within different departments or because there is no 'champion'). The intervention is often small-scale: a public art programme for a business park, once the buildings have been designed; a heritage interpretation or local history museum tucked away in the corner of a reclaimed industrial site. In some cases, where no planned provision has been made, residents (individuals or businesses) and cultural organisations may respond to the vacuum and make their own interventions – lobbying for a library, commissioning artists to make signs or street furniture, recording the history of their area, setting up a regular music night, etc. Although introduced at a later stage, cultural interventions can make an impact on the regeneration process, enhancing the facilities and services that were initially planned.

Reasons why culture is frequently an 'add-on' rather than an integral part of a scheme include the fact that the local authorities and partnership bodies responsible for regeneration schemes are rarely structured to facilitate collaboration between staff responsible for regeneration and staff responsible for cultural activity and they may not naturally think of themselves as collaborators. The other common reason is the lack of a champion with experience of what cultural activity can contribute to regenerative projects.

These three models provide the framework for the later presentation of case studies. It is important to note that the lack of discernible cultural activity or provision within a regeneration scheme does not necessarily mean that cultural activity is absent, only that it is not being promoted (or recognised) as part of the process.

Good and 'bad' practice

All three of these models offer examples of good and bad practice. There are culture-led regeneration projects that have been too ambitious in their projections and landmark buildings that have failed to reach their targets (in terms of audience numbers, profiles and income generated) or secure community ownership. There are culture *and* regeneration projects in which arts programmes have been 'retro-fitted' to poorly conceived developments in an attempt to improve their appearance, to animate a place or to secure community involvement. There is less documentation of the failures of cultural regeneration projects, because these are, by their definition, continuous and adaptable and therefore less likely to fail in regeneration terms.

2.3. Different types of impact measurement

The term 'impact study' is now widely used in relation to the 'contribution' or 'role' or 'importance' of cultural activity to another objective. Much of the literature on the contribution of culture to society now uses the language of impacts. Studies that look beyond the project itself traditionally use one (and seldom more than one) of the following fields of impact, which are generally tested using particular measurements:

2.3.1 Environmental (physical) – Land values and occupancy (versus vacant premises/voids), design quality, environmental/quality of life, e.g. air/water pollution, noise, liveability, open space, diversity, sustainable development

Tests – e.g. Quality of Life (ODPM's *local quality of life* indicators), Design Quality Indicators (DQI - CABE/CIC), Re-use of brownfield land

2.3.2 Economic – Multipliers (jobs, income/expenditure – direct, indirect, induced), cost benefit analysis, contingent valuation (i.e. willingness to pay for 'free' activities such as parks, museums, libraries), inward investment and leverage, distributive effects

Tests – e.g. Employment/unemployment rates, income/spending and wealth in an area, and distribution by social group and location, employer location, public-private leverage

2.3.3 Social – Cohesion, inclusion, capacity, health and well-being, identity

Tests – e.g. Participation (penetration rates – catchment, profile, frequency), perceptions, networks, self-help, crime rates/fear of crime, health/referrals

Researchers and writers in this field have begun to look also at a fourth type of impact – *cultural impact*. This term is already being used to describe two rather different effects. One is the impact on the cultural life of a place. For example, the opening of a gallery where there was none before has an impact on the cultural life of that place. The other use refers to the impact of cultural activity on the culture of a place or community, meaning its codes of conduct, its identity, its heritage and what is termed 'cultural governance' (i.e. citizenship, participation, representation, diversity).

2.4. Different types of reporting

Writing about culture's contribution to regeneration is usually presented in one of six different types of document or report. Some are evidence-based, some are not. The six types of report are listed below, starting with the most common.

2.4.1 Advocacy and promotion - often produced during the feasibility, development and initial impact phase, or to justify further resources/support.

Typically presented in the form of promotional (PR) material and descriptive case studies.

2.4.2 Project assessment – produced for internal (management) and external (funder's) use. This type of report typically concentrates on financial and user–related outputs (e.g. income and expenditure, audience/visitor numbers, direct employment). It tends not to evaluate the process or outcomes of the project (see 4. below).

Useful principally to the organisation and its funders. They are rarely published.

2.4.3 Project or programme evaluation – project evaluations focus as much on the process employed to plan and deliver a project as on the results. They may include quantitative and qualitative data or qualitative evidence only. The most common forms of data collection are questionnaires (self-completion or using an interviewer), interview and observation. The evaluation may be of one project only or of a programme involving a group of projects e.g. Healthy Living Centres (New Opportunities Fund), Creative Partnerships (Arts Council England), New Deal for Communities (Neighbourhood Renewal Unit) (see 6. Recommendations, below).

The evaluation may be carried out by the organisation itself (self evaluation) or with the support of an external evaluator. Participants will be involved to a greater or lesser extent, depending on the methodology chosen.

2.4.4 Performance Indicators (PIs) – PIs are used to compare actual performance against targets and comparative standards (e.g. local authority Best Value, Arts Council England PIs, Local Quality of Life Indicators and benchmarks), which are quantitative and service-provision based. PIs are applied more frequently in cultural organisations that are directly answerable to Government, e.g. the national museums and galleries and libraries, and larger organisations funded on a regular basis by Arts Council England, e.g the National Theatre, the British Library, the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Based on Government, Audit Commission benchmarks published through Best Value and annual national/regional arts funding assessment [8]. *Published at borough/council and aggregate levels.*

2.4.5 Impact Assessment – looks at the likely or actual impact of an activity on a particular location, community or economy (e.g. economic impact, environmental impact, health impact, cost benefit analysis, transport and tourism impacts, etc.)

Undertaken for large or sensitive schemes under planning/EU regulations, and/or research consultant-led impact studies commissioned by local authorities, developers and investors [9]

2.4.6 Longitudinal Impact Assessment – takes a baseline position and compares impacts over time or at least two points in time; maps attitude and perception changes (residents, users/visitors) and sustainability, as well as more quantitative change such as user/visitor levels and economic impacts. This model is used, like evaluation, both for individual projects and for programmes of activity.

Rare and often involving higher education institutions and national/European comparative studies [10].

3. An overview of the evidence of culture's contribution to regeneration

Regeneration is not simply about bricks and mortar. It's about the physical, social and economic well being of an area; it's about the quality of life in our neighbourhoods. In relation to the physical, this is as much about the quality of public realm as it is about the buildings themselves (ODPM/CABE, 2001[11])

3.1 Environmental (physical) regeneration – an overview of culture's contribution

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In summary, the contribution of culture to environmental (physical) regeneration is evidenced in:

Re-use of redundant buildings
Environmental improvements
Increased public use of space leading to reduction in vandalism and an increased sense of safety
Pride in a place
Development of live/work and mixed-use space (sustainable development/liveability, 'compact city' - high density, low environmental impacts, e.g. transport/traffic)
The employment of artists on design teams
The incorporation of cultural considerations into future plans

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3.1.1 Buildings and open spaces

Early examples of 'the arts and urban regeneration' were dominated by property-based regeneration, particularly of industrial sites or buildings (Tate Liverpool, Dean Clough, Halifax), 'downtown' areas (Centenary Square, Birmingham), water frontages (Swansea, Cardiff, Hull) and in the USA, even entire towns (Lowell, Massachusetts[12]). More recent examples include *Guggenheim Bilbao*, whose early success has spawned further redevelopment of the city, but at the cost of local and regional cultural development and participation [13].

New uses for redundant buildings
Converting former industrial or commercial buildings for cultural use was common practice well before the National Lottery provided a new funding stream in 1994. The arts centres movement led the way in the 1970s and 80s converting and occupying former town halls, pubs, factories, schools, colleges and post office sorting centres [14]. There are now many much larger-scale examples, including Tate Modern, London (a former power station), the Custard Factory in Digbeth (former HQ of Bird's Custard), Salts Mill in Shipley (a Victorian cotton mill), Baltic in Gateshead (a 1930s flour mill) and the Jerwood Centre in Southwark, London (a former school). Examples of smaller-scale conversions include the Showroom in Sheffield (a cinema in a former car showroom) and the Wapping Pumping Station with its gallery and theatre space.

In some cases the buildings are selected not only because they offer the right kinds of space, but also because of their heritage/symbolic value, Salts Mill being one of the examples listed above.

The rebirth of redundant buildings as galleries, museums, performance spaces, cinemas and workspaces for creative businesses is one of the more visible signs of attempts at regeneration, along with the emergence of ancillary businesses such as cafes, new street lighting, paving and commissioned works of art.

For example, Manchester Museum of Science and Industry pre-dates the Lottery as a development in the world's oldest railway station and associated buildings in Castlefield.

Around the Museum of Science and Industry was a depressing landscape of decay and dereliction. Businesses had abandoned the area, the canals had closed and had sometimes been filled in, and rubbish was everywhere. Since the mid-1980s the transformation of Castlefield, as this area is known, has been dramatic, and it is now recognised internationally as a model of regeneration of an industrial landscape. The impact has widened to much of the rest of central Manchester. Canals have been reopened, factories and historic offices have been converted, open spaces have been created, and striking new buildings have been erected. Manchester has now regained much of the self-confidence it enjoyed in the nineteenth century. The Museum of Science and Industry is proud of the part it has played in helping to start that process.

That is not the only way in which we serve contemporary society. In common with most science museums, we place education high on our agenda. Our new Learning Centre provides us with the facilities to extend our service that has a high reputation with schools (80,000 visits by children a year) to adults as part of national initiatives on life-long learning. Our Digital Access Centre allows visitors to try for themselves the technology that is developing at breakneck speed to transform all our lives.

The regional economy is also a beneficiary. It is calculated that for every pound sterling spent by visitors at the Museum, twelve pounds is spent elsewhere in the local economy. With 300,000 visitors spending £1.5 million in 2000, the contribution to the prosperity of the region was £18 million. To this can be added the goods and services purchased by the Museum from local businesses, the employment of 120 people, and the investment in new exhibitions and building work. Many museums can claim a similar impact, but few do so - the cause of museums generally would be strengthened if there were greater awareness of their economic benefits.

(Patrick Greene, Director The Museum of Science and Industry in Manchester, European Museum Forum Annual Lecture, Gdansk, 2001[15]).

New buildings

The Lottery has also been a source of funding for a wave of new cultural facilities, many of them in areas deemed to be in need of regeneration. Examples include the Millennium Dome in Greenwich peninsula, London; the Lowry Centre and the Imperial War Museum on Salford Quays; the Centre for Life in Newcastle; Milton Keynes Theatre and Gallery; the Sage Music Centre in Gateshead; FACT in Liverpool. These buildings are mostly too young to be producing evidence of sustainable impact, although there is no shortage of material on their *expected* impact. Building-based projects under development which have regeneration as a prime rationale and target social inclusion and diversity in their programming policy include the *Rich Mix Centre*, Shoreditch, *The Hothouse*, Hackney (Freeform Arts) and *The Public* (formerly

c/Plex and Jubilee Arts) in West Bromwich. This type of cultural project may offer useful case studies of impact measurement in the pre and post-opening phases, given their overtly regenerative objectives (see 6.6 Recommendations).

The Government's commitment to improving the quality of the urban environment through urban policy (*Urban White Paper, Urban Task Force, Building Sustainable Communities*), sustainable development and quality of life initiatives[16], has moved design quality, 'liveability' and the environment (built and open space) up the regeneration and development agenda. The Commission for the Built Environment (CABE), English Partnerships, English Heritage, the Heritage Lottery Fund, Arts Council England and BURA are all helping to ensure that good design, architecture and conservation practice remain priorities in regeneration schemes.

In a MORI poll commissioned by CABE in 2002 an overwhelming 81% of people said they are interested in how the built environment looks and feels, with over a third saying they are 'very interested' and another third wanting more of a say in the design of buildings and spaces. 85% of people agreed with the statement 'better quality buildings and public spaces improve the quality of people's lives' and thought the quality of the built environment made a difference to the way they felt [17].

New or improved buildings and open spaces attract attention and use. In 2000, the new Peckham Library designed by Will Alsop, won the Stirling prize for the best designed building by a UK architect. Usage figures for the first six months of the new library compared to the two closed libraries it replaced show that annual visits increased from 171,000 to 450,000 and book loans rose from 80,000 to approximately 340,000. Between April 2001 and March 2002 annual visits topped 565,000. In this case the initial increase in users has been sustained. A recent study, published by Resource, of the impact of new library buildings on their communities, highlights the importance of the social space that libraries provide [18]. In the same story, a local businessman reflects on the impact of Norwich's new library on the city's image:

Although I don't benefit directly from the library I think the indirect benefit is very important, because there is a perceptual problem with Norfolk and Norwich. It's that place somewhere up the A11 that is maybe not quite at the cutting edge of things. You know if you're in a cutting edge business, anything that will help remove this perception is important. And I think having a flagship library that looks good and has all the facilities that everyone's talked about, slap-bang in the city centre only helps to create, reinforce the fact that Norwich, despite the fact, is a medieval city, isn't lost in medieval times—it is still a vibrant centre. So in a way I think it benefits my business, as perceptual for the whole area, as in the nitty-gritty of what it's actually supplying. The other side of that is that it's actually a cracking good library. And one of the big ways we have to attract staff up here is in fact by showing them that Norwich is a great place to live. And if you put in great social amenities like a first class library it really attracts the type of people we're wanting to recruit to the area (Norfolk Business Focus Group).

The following extract from a citation by the British Urban Regeneration Association Awards (BURA) for Farell and Partners development of East Newcastle Quays focuses on the catalytic effect of design and construction schemes on neighbouring areas (in this case, Gateshead Quays on the other side of the river).

Terry Farrell and Partners won a competition in 1989 to produce a Master Plan for the East Newcastle Quays. The object of the plan was to open up the riverfront, knit the Quayside into the surrounding built fabric of the city and encourage innovative solutions to the built environment. The project has made a significant economic contribution to the regeneration of the area. Nine years since the start, three quarters of the office buildings are completed and fully let and 60% of the housing has been sold. The area is now making a significant contribution to the economy of Newcastle...The major catalyst must be in regard to the Gateshead side of the river, the Quayside (Newcastle side) has undoubtedly been a spur for the regeneration of the other side of the river (currently very desolate)...There are several key examples of best practice relating to this project; there is a Master Plan that allows for incremental growth; sympathy and concern with existing areas (the Bridges); high quality open space and public realm; the use of public art; the openness and accessibility of the area. This project has been a catalyst for further work, the Quayside project is an example of what can be achieved in difficult topography and over time [19].

Mixed-use developments

Bridgewater Hall, a new concert hall for the Hallé Orchestra in Manchester was built alongside two office blocks and a café/bar as part of the development of the canal basis to the west of the city centre. The Barbirolli Square (named after the orchestra's most famous conductor) won awards from the Civic Trust and the RIBA. A review using CABE's Urban Design Quality impact measures concluded that: *the development..knits this once derelict site (a former public transport interchange) back into the urban fabric and creates a landmark gateway to Manchester.*

Another BURA award winner, this time in 2000, was Brindleyplace, Birmingham, 'one of the largest examples of traditionally master-planned mixed use development in the UK'. This is a good example of cultural regeneration in which culture was always part of the regeneration plan.

The 17-acre development is next to the International Convention Centre and the National Indoor Arena. Brindleyplace is set around two new public squares and comprises: office accommodation in ten separate buildings, flats and town houses; 65,000 sq ft of shops, restaurants and bars; City Inn, a hotel; the Ikon Gallery, one of the UK's leading contemporary arts galleries; the Crescent Theatre with a 340 seat auditorium, a studio theatre, a workshop and ancillary facilities; a 900 space multi-storey car park complete with a Health & Leisure Club and a convenience store; and the National Sea Life Centre, England's largest aquarium attracting over 500,000 visitors a year (BURA, 2000). The development is estimated to have generated over 3,300 direct and indirect jobs and was ranked the best in the study of design quality, judged to be 'a powerful catalyst for further development in adjoining parts of Birmingham, creating a new open space for the city and new jobs [20].

In a recent study by FPD Savills, mixed-use developments were found to produce higher rates of rental and capital return than single use developments [21]. Critical success factors for such mixed-use regeneration schemes include tying the scheme into an integrated regeneration strategy; involving all local stakeholders in the development process; promoting design excellence; marketing a strong brand; adequate transport provision and car parking; and planning for a sustainable future [22].

However this latter report also sounded a note of caution - a reflection of the fact that property-led regeneration alone is no panacea for social regeneration -: *Affordability and social exclusion issues remain as points of contention in such schemes, despite their economic success*.

Seaside towns

The revival of English seaside towns has received attention from the English Tourism Council, English Heritage, and most recently CABE in a series of current case studies *Shifting Sands* [23]. Visits to the English seaside have declined from 32 million in the 1960s to 22 million today and much of the built and social infrastructure has been in decline. Recent arts and design-led projects include the renovation of the Grade I listed De La Warr Pavilion in Bexhill, whose management claims that the refurbishment will safeguard 30 jobs and create 10 new ones, as well as help to contribute an estimated £3m to the Bexhill economy.

Other examples of seaside town regeneration featuring cultural elements include:

• Eastbourne and English Heritage's Heritage Economic Regeneration Scheme. A study of 21 HER schemes in 2002 showed that on average, £10,000 of heritage investment levers £46,000 match funding from private and public sources.

• Folkestone and a newly located carnival arts group and music venue, with the established Metropole Arts Centre anchoring an evolving cultural quarter, sculpture park and Literary Festival.

• Waveney District Council, which has recognised the uniqueness of Lowestoft's 'Scores', a network of small paths leading towards the sea. As part of a comprehensive resort regeneration plan, it has created a guided walk through the Scores decorated with local public art along the route. This small project has generated ten temporary construction jobs to date[24].

• Morecambe, where public art has given a new look to the seafront. Called 'The Tern Project' a project team of engineers, landscape architects, planners, artists (led by Gordon Young), sculptors and RSPB education officers, have together created over six public art schemes, including *A Flock of Words* and a sculpture of Eric Morecambe by Graham Ibbeson. Following its unveiling by the Queen in 1999, tourist enquiries doubled and the sculpture has become an icon of the town's promotional image. Visitors to Morecambe have quadrupled. Funding for this project came from the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food; the SRB; with arts programme funding from the Arts Lottery and North West Arts Board.

3.1.2 Art in public places

One of the most extensively documented (though not evaluated) cultural interventions in newly designed or reconfigured buildings is spaces commissioned and (less often) purchased works of art. The use made of artists and the practice of artists who have been commissioned to work in the public domain (to use a familiar shorthand) in the UK have both changed markedly in the past 20 years. The employment of artists as part of design teams[25] is becoming much more common, and although the principle of 'percent for art' is only patchily applied in the UK, the percent for art campaign, led by the then Arts Council of Great Britain in the late 1980s/early 1990s, has raised expectations that regeneration schemes will involve the work of artists somehow. Birmingham's Centenary Square is an example of cultural regeneration, with the square

itself designed by Tess Jaray and incorporating several landmark pieces of public art, as well as benches and lamposts by artists.

The artworks commissioned by Sustrans as waymarkers and resting places on its reclaimed railway track cycle paths (6,500 miles in total) now comprise the largest single collection of public art - 100 new and over 200 existing artworks - but there has been no significant research into their impact. 'Art and the Travelling Landscape' is a programme being developed by Sustrans across the UK focusing on the opportunities for artists to work along extensive sections of the Network to create sequences of permanent installations. Every artwork is used to create landmarks, celebrate local characteristics, engage with local communities and make for enjoyable and memorable journeys.

The Tarka Trail comprises 35 miles of off road cycling and walking between Barnstaple and Okehampton on the disused railway line. The Trail is now home to 30 functional artworks designed and created by 8 local and regional artists. All have been made with locally sourced materials and are distinctive to their locale. The waymarkers give people information about the local facilities available and encourage people to explore the environment around the trail. There was substantial community involvement in the project, including three local schools in designing and making a series of benches. According to Sustrans, the benefits to children participating include fostering a sense of ownership and pride in the work and their environment[26].

The role of public art in regeneration is sometimes dismissed as the lipstick on the gorilla or as sticking plaster for a broken back, and there has been little research to contradict them. In 1994, the Policy Studies Institute published a list of the claims most frequently made for public art [27]. These include:

- Contributing to local distinctiveness
- Attracting companies and investment
- Having a role in cultural tourism
- Adding to land values
- Creating employment
- Increasing the use of open spaces
- Reducing wear and tear on buildings and lowering levels of vandalism

If CABE is correct in its assertion that people respond positively to good design and that some commissioned, site-specific works of art contribute to that sense of good design, of a secure and cared for environment, then those who commission and make art for public places can take some of the credit the effects listed above.

In *For Art's Sake: public art, planning policies and the benefits for commercial property*, Roberts and Marsh[28] found that 'the image or attractiveness of a development was a significant factor in an occupier's choice of building,' although rental cost, location and quality were more important. Some 62% of occupiers 'recognised that the contribution which public art made to their building was significant' and '64% of occupiers 'agreed' or 'agreed strongly' that public art made their building distinctive'. The findings applied across different types of company but 'most investors confirmed that public art features did have an important role to play in distinguishing competing buildings and that this facilitated letting and reduced risk.'

More recent research[29] examines the validity of claims made for the contribution of public art to regeneration and concludes that there is little evidence to support these claims, because of 'the lack…of a rigorous critical apparatus'. (See 5. Gaps in Evidence).

Attitudes to public art and more radical architecture can be suggestible, but ultimately inclusive and appreciative. An example of this is the story of *The Angel of the North* [30]. This Lottery-funded, monumental sculpture near Gateshead, was greeted with disdain at both the model and drawing stages. There was resistance to its installation (a 'Stop the Statue' campaign collected petitions and phone-in polls were ten to one against). Then came acceptance and ownership as this icon began to take shape on its site overlooking the A1. There are still plenty of people who hate it and consider it a waste of money, but they are now in a minority, at least in articulating their views. Imaginative cultural projects in one area can encourage boldness in another, although the replication of projects is a risk[31] and most artists and architects would argue that site specificity is the key to successful projects.

Those with a particular interest in the impact of public art may be interested in a paper published, in November 2003, by Artpoint (the public art commissions agency based in Oxford and funded by Arts Council England, South East). The paper was commissioned, on behalf of Milton Keynes Council, from Doreen Massey and Gillian Rose, both geographers in the Open University's Social Sciences Faculty. While the paper is not about 'evidence', it does provide a different perspective on the subject of the what makes public art 'public'.

In autumn 2002, 200 carved pumpkin heads were placed at one of the entrances of Birmingham's International Conference Centre, the location of the Urban Summit, to be attended by 1,600 delegates. The aims of this intervention were to 'focus the attention of the delegates on the role of creativity in the development and regeneration of places; secondly, to alert passers-by to the occasion of the Summit and to offer an intriguing and interactive experience removed from "traditional" art values or contexts; thirdly, through temporary transformation of the public realm, to construct a creative, common space as a manifesto, not for politics or for policy but for the individuality, diversity and downright peculiarity of us all[32].

3.1.3 Transport and Regeneration

Access for communities in disadvantaged and 'excluded' areas depends on mobility and safe and efficient public transport. This is essential for social and economic movement within areas, for access to employment and leisure outside of the area, and for movement into the area, particularly for visitors - business and pleasure. Safety (crime, fear of crime) is a key factor in accessibility, as is provision. The arts have been used for instance in animating stations and vehicles, such as *Platform Art* and *Poetry on the Underground*, and more recently in the design of stations and interchanges for bus, trams and trains. *Platform Art* commissions publicity posters from artists and designers and the disused Underground platform at Gloucester Road has been home to a wide variety of sculpture and photography since 1999 (http://tube.tfl.gov.uk). The Tate gallery has introduced a new to boat service between Tate Modern and Tate Britain, complete with Damien Hirst spots, whilst a new commercially operated bus service links the Design Museum with Tate Modern and across the river to Covent Garden, benefiting visitors and local residents.

On the Continent, public transport providers are making a systematic effort to improve their appeal to visitors. A notable example is the Stockholm metro - the 'world's biggest art gallery' - which is presented as a visitor attraction in its own right, and artist and designer-commissioned entrances, public art and station concourses in cities such as Milan and Bilbao (often using UK based artists and architects, e.g. in Bilbao the glass and chrome tubes leading down to the Metro designed by Sir Norman Foster have been dubbed 'Fosterios') [33].

In the USA, a 20-year study of the Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) system in San Francisco has found that the design and nature of new public transport has had a significant effect on the extent to which transport benefits can be maximized through increased passenger activity and reduced car usage, as does the efficiency and design of interchange facilities. Another finding of the evaluation of the BART network has been that the effect on land-use is only really significant where supportive policy conditions; a political culture that supports public transport; local community backing; and where a variety of other influences were also present, for example a critical mass of facilities and activities, both daytime and during evening/weekends [34].

Integrated transport planning linking cultural facilities with redeveloped areas can be seen in Manchester and Salford with the Metro system extending to the Lowry and other points out of the city centre, and the South Yorks Supertram (SYS) linking Sheffield city centre with the Don Valley regeneration zone and Meadowhall.

In London a longitudinal impact study of the Jubilee Line Extension (JLE) which links central London with south and east London, including regeneration zones of Southwark (Bankside, Bermondsey), Stratford and Greenwich peninsula, has been undertaken in the pre- and post-opening phase. This study is looking at the effect of new and upgraded stations on local communities, visitor and economic activity. Stations themselves were design-led, with several winning architectural awards, well-lit and more spacious than their forerunners. The location and viability of new stations and interchanges with other routes in part rests on the impact of cultural and other venues and the reduction in car use. Venues in the JLE station catchment areas showed a 50% increase in visitors over and above general changes in London visitor activity [35]. Regeneration areas of Bankside and Stratford Town will depend on their success in part on culture-driven activity, including the evening economy, to support the new transport investment.

Transport provision alone does not increase activity within areas undergoing regeneration, since: *New transport investment itself is likely to have only a marginal impact on visitors or inward investment. Other promotional activities and facilities are likely to have a larger impact on selling the city than is transport* [36].

In Greenwich Town, the extension to the Docklands Light Railway (DLR) across the River Thames, which had to be part private-financed and generate additional ticket revenue, was going to bypass the waterfront zone. Based on the critical mass of arts and other venues (Greenwich Theatre, Cinema, National Maritime Museum, Fan Museum, Cutty Sark *et al*.) and new attractions, a DLR station was developed, based on visitor projections and the improved environment and safety created by locating a station in this prime visitor and regeneration zone [37]

3.1.4 Creative clusters

The repopulation of an area with clusters of creative businesses and the people who work for them and visit them touches all areas of regeneration: environmental, economic and social. Cultural or creative industry quarters (as clusters tend to be known) have been celebrated recently in an exhibition and research project at the Museum of London (*Creative Quarters: the art world in London 1700-2000*, 2001) and at *Creative Clusters*, the first 'International Summit Conference on Creative Industries Regeneration' held in Sheffield in 2002. The next Creative Clusters conference will be in Brighton in 2004 (www.creativeclusters.co.uk). Major creative cluster developments have taken root in Vienna (Museum/Quartier 21), in Toronto (Liberty Village), Helsinki (Cable Factory) and Montreal (cité multimedia) and centres like them are increasingly the places from which growth and innovation in the creative industries originate [38].

The organisation of cultural production in close proximity through industrial clusters and shared workspaces is long established, with the advantages of economies scale, information and knowledge sharing, joint marketing and the re-use of buildings, outweighing imperatives of competition, lower land and labour costs, a higher individual profile and lower density locations[39]. Clusters can also provide a rare source of economic and employment growth in areas of high unemployment and industrial decline, bringing skills and micro-enterprise opportunities to regeneration[40]. They can also act as a research and development resource for other firms through their work in media and technology and more open and flexible organisation around networks and managed workspaces [41].

The presence of more people leads to increased use of local amenities (parks, riversides, the public realm) and to the opening of ancillary businesses (notably cafes and bars, suppliers and support services) that are likely to attract more people to area (assuming it is a fundamentally safe and attractive location). The increase in animation and human traffic makes places safer and may lead to an interest in restoring neighbouring buildings of architectural interest [42]. This kind of development is particularly evident in areas with a combination of interesting buildings and natural features, particularly water (Leeds, Sunderland, Bristol). Where there are opportunities to build apartments, live-work premises, as well as offices, more people will move in and an evening economy may develop, as has been the case in Manchester's Northern Quarter, London's Hoxton, and the Lace Market in Nottingham [43].

The refurbishment or re-use of buildings of historic interest has also become a niche market for cultural tourism, with local residents, workers and visitors keen to see behind doors that have rarely been open to the public[44]. This can be combined with local festivals used to animate and raise awareness of building regeneration for cultural use (e.g. galleries), such as Bradford's 'Little Germany' quarter, with its historic link to German wool merchants, celebrated in the late 1980s with a new Little Germany festival staged at the time: *to help express a vision of what the area could become.*

3.1.5 Another side of the story

Not all of the evidence in relation to culture's contribution to environmental regeneration is positive or at least, sustainable. An apparently successful artist-led regeneration of run down areas and buildings can lead to the rapid commodification of spaces for higher value (rental, capital) single-use spaces such as lofts, offices and retail outlets [45]. This cycle is now familiar in artist zones in regenerated areas of cities from Berlin, New York and Toronto, to London, e.g. Tate Modern, Southwark and Clerkenwell and Hoxton, in the 'City Fringe'.

Hoxton: *Cultural Workshop*

Charles Booth described Hoxton as 'the leading criminal quarter of England and, indeed, of England…we shall have no difficulty in finding the crime. The area of the thieves, the hooligans, the bullies, and the wastrels is well defined. But Hoxton has its better side. It is not only the land of the criminal. It is Costerland, a large population of decent, hard-working folk who follow lowly callings. There are green trees and green patches at the end of long, narrow streets and lanes suggesting the village days; there are old decaying squares with Georgian doorways; and a pleasure garden with a stately building - now a technical school' [46].

The Hoxton area has been a good place for artists and designers to base themselves, centrally located and saved from the 1980s property boom (located on the "wrong side" of a major one-way system). In the late 1980s it was characterised by run down buildings – accommodation for artists and fabricators in former warehouses. The potential of the area was recognised as it became increasingly colonised and slowly regenerated by artists, and attracted City Challenge funding. The strategy ('Hackney: Cultural Workshop of London') looked to flagships such as the Lux Cinema and Circus Space, working with creative entrepreneurs. The area is now one of the most sought after in the city, with upmarket bars, cafes, galleries, clubs and residential conversions, and high profile residents. Education provision has improved through the new-build Hackney Community College, including award-inning public art commissions [47].

In this celebrated East End cultural quarter, 1,000 local jobs a year have been created, but 'the local unemployment level never seems to change. Partly thanks to the success of Hoxton, land values in the area have soared. So locals who do get jobs often have to move outside the borough. The impoverished artists who created the Hoxton experience in the first place have also moved on because of the rise in property prices…'[48]. 'The artists' squats have disappeared. Turned over to loft-style living, nearly five years after Hoxton was declared London's art hot spot: is it still hot, or has it become the Covent Garden of the East - all gloss and glamour and no grit?' [49]. 'Is Hoxton still hot?' The has been some disquiet at the lack of connection between the incoming wealth and facilities for the remaining local community - part of Shoreditch bordering Hoxton is now a New Deal area – and a need for increased links between existing and new communities is being voiced [50].

Less successful and sustainable versions therefore occur where extremes of gentrification or single-use property development drive out cultural and community activity, or displace resident groups, or where there is a lack of economic diversity which limits the wider distributive and regenerative effects and makes such developments vulnerable to economic and other external changes, for example the dot.com zones and isolated techno-park developments. South Park in San Francisco saw an influx of over 200 companies in a two square mile radius: *we were experiencing the highest residential eviction rates in the country, entire blocks were being completely evicted…Rents simple got way too high. A lot of creative people - architects, engineers, and graphic designers - moved out of the area entirely. They were part of the culture of the city, and now they're gone* [51]. Serial replication is therefore not a sustainable strategy here, as in the case of flagship cultural developments.

As the US economic geographer Alan Scott remarked: *As the experience of many local economic development efforts over the 1980s demonstrates, it is in general not advisable to attempt to become a Silicon Valley when Silicon Valley exists elsewhere* [52]. However he also maintains that provided the right

mix of entrepreneurial know-how, creative energy, and public policy can be brought to bear on the relevant developmental issues, there is little reason why regional cities cannot parlay their existing and latent cultural-products sectors into major global industries.

3.1.6. Evening Economy

Some night time economy ('24-hour city') developments have likewise degenerated into mono-use consumption and alcohol-dominated activity, deterring use by different groups and generations in city centres. In a study of Swansea and Cardiff [53], it was recommended that a wider range of early and late evening activities are needed to reduce the activity gaps and extend the appeal of the centre across a wider social and age-group, as would greater repopulation of the centre.

Manchester has more successfully experimented with staggered pub and club closing times, and in attracting residents back to the centre with a five-fold increase in recent years. Even here and in other areas where drinking and clubs operate cheek by jowl with new residential premises, conflicts of usage and complaints (e.g. noise, anti-social behaviour) are increasing. Association with organised crime and problems of regulation are also emerging in these cities (see *Bouncers: Violence and Governance in the Night-Time Economy*, Hobbs *et al*, 2003).

As the authors of *The Richness of Cities* noted:

The concept of the 24 Hour City needs to recognise and address some of the negative as well the positive aspects of the night-time city if the existing patterns of exclusion are not to be exacerbated. This could happen if the night-time city is seen essentially as an extension in the time of the day-time city of consumption, and therefore only available to those with significant spending power or very clear and powerful group identities. The pleasures of the night, of the bright lights, of cafes, bars, cinemas, theatres, night walks and promenades, are also properly pleasures of the democratic sphere. [54]

Greater focus on mixed-use and urban design, 'design against crime' measures and planning, are therefore being pursued by government, town centres, retailers and local and licensing authorities, with a major five year research programme launched this year into sustainable urban environments focusing on these issues (www.vivacity2020.org) [56]. The transfer of licensing powers from local magistrates to councils offers a challenge and opportunity for more integrated planning and management of arts and entertainment activity and strategies for transport, safety and economic development/diversity in the night-time economy.

See also the Civic Trust's *Open All Hours Campaign* (http://www.planning.haynet.com), the ODPM's *Open All Hours? Working Party* (www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200203/cmselect/cmodpm/396-ii/396m13.htm) and the Local Government Associations' *Night time - the right time?* http://www.lga.gov.uk/Documents/Publications/nightime.pdf.

3.2 Economic regeneration – an overview of culture's contribution

The economic rationale has underpinned much public intervention in regeneration since the late-1970s, particularly in employment, related training and inward investment, targeted at particular areas and communities. Economic effects also feature as indirect outcomes of environmental and social regeneration, as social costs are reduced and taxation and other revenue increases.

In summary, the contribution of culture to economic regeneration is evidenced in:

Inward investment (public-private sector leverage)
Higher resident and visitor spend
Job creation (direct, indirect, induced)/wealth creation
Employer location/retention
Retention of graduates in the area (inc. artists/*creatives*)
A more diverse work force (skills, profile)
A driver in the development of new business, retail and leisure areas
More public-private-voluntary sector partnerships
More corporate involvement in the local cultural sector (leading to support in cash and in kind)
Increased property prices (residential and business)

The economic measurement of cultural projects has tended to arise where external funding - private but primarily public - has required information about the economic and employment impacts of the investment. Studies of the wider economic importance of the arts, commissioned from the mid-1980s, focused on culture's contribution to the national or regional economy and not on regeneration programmes and their effects. These studies made the link between the arts and tourism in terms of visitor spend, employment in the arts and cultural industries, and the importance ascribed to cultural amenities in employers' relocation decisions (where 'culture' ranked highly in middle manager location preferences). National mapping studies have subsequently measured the economic importance of the creative industries to the UK economy by main sector [57].

Regional/city impacts
Regional (city, RDA) and local area (borough, clusters, sectors) impact studies have increasingly identified the contribution of the arts and cultural industries to regeneration, including as part of SRB, major development site or regional economic strategies[58]. Employment impact studies were a common feature of ERDF and earlier regeneration programme funding. These typically used multiplier analysis of direct employment and spending, and indirect and induced effects in the impact/benefit area. They also drew on tourism impact studies and it is no coincidence that cultural projects were largely assessed in tourist/visitor terms. UK Government Offices likewise categorised such projects as 'tourism'. In a study of ERDF funding of cultural projects [59] tourism was used as a proxy for cultural investment, in the absence of a separate category in Brussels or the UK. This found that over £75 million of European Structural Funds had been invested in arts and cultural projects between 1974 and 1996 (£44m since 1990 - £33m in England & Wales; £11m in Scotland), mostly in cultural flagships in the regions. Cultural organisations have therefore

been particularly successful in leveraging European funds, and likewise boroughs in using EU funding for infrastructure investment prior to cultural project development (e.g. Lowry, Salford Quays) [60].

Employment effects of Lottery capital projects were also measured using industry multiplier analysis (i.e. in construction). A study of the first £1 billion of Arts Lottery spending estimated that this had created between 12,000 and 18,000 FTE jobs mainly in construction and design services. Over five years this totalled 27,000 to 36,000 jobs arising from such Lottery capital projects, with a further 10,000 additional jobs in arts organisations and 8,500 in tourism/hospitality as a result of the new cultural activities[61]. The Lottery distributors have concentrated mainly on quantitative impacts, e.g. audience/user numbers and profiles (ref. *Common Broad Quantitative Indicators* adopted by Lottery Distributors, DCMS 2000), and financial and organisational performance. Social and economic impacts have not been captured with any consistency [62], although programme-wide evaluations have generated some evidence of social impacts [63].

In attempting to measure the economic impact of cultural activity in regeneration or even generally, the problematic question of 'cause and effect' arises, making it difficult to claim and quantify impacts which may be attributed to a range of endogenous and exogenous factors. The level of primary survey research required to measure economic and distributive effects outside of the cultural project itself (and even here, distributive data is hard to capture) is felt to be prohibitive and hard to justify, unless motivated by a funding or other imperative - longitudinal studies of effects even more so.

3.2.1 Appraisal and evaluation of capital projects

Traditional economic assessment applied by Treasury and standard macro-economic theory (i.e. applied to the national economy) seeks evidence of *Additionality* - are the economic effects truly additional to what would have occurred if the project had not existed or the investment had not been made (the 'counter factual'); and *Substitution* – is the investment simply replacing investment that would have been made from other sources, or 'diverting' it from other projects/recipients and areas/regions? (creating a 'zero sum'). For example, in a study of the impact of the end of the government's Tourism Grant Scheme in the 1980s, it was shown that some schemes went ahead at the same level with alternative support, others rationalised and went ahead with a smaller scheme, and others did not proceed[64].

Measuring the effects of a project or particular investment also needs to demonstrate how far the benefits (and costs) accrue to the area of impact in community and economic terms, i.e. how much economic benefits 'leak out' of the area, such as jobs taken by outsiders/commuters, local spending on goods and services from outside the area and so on (the import-export model). The extent to which cultural projects demonstrate a better and more sustained economic impact than other forms of intervention is therefore a factor in assessing culture's contribution to regeneration. Wider economic impact of the arts studies have concluded for instance, that they offer high job and income (spending) multipliers than other sectors, in part due to their lower employment and capital costs and in part due to the ancillary economic activity they generate through the visitor economy and spending on goods and services.

The appraisal and evaluation of capital projects through government guidance ("Green Book") has undergone a review and revision with new guidance issued with effect from 1 April 2003 ('3Rs' – *Regeneration, Renewal and Regional Development*, ODPM 'Main Guidance', 2003). As well as external economic factors and modernisation of public spending processes, the need for longer term evaluation was recognised, which suggests that major cultural projects also need to be evaluated over the longer term in order to capture their sustained impacts, as the Treasury review noted: 'The value of long-term benefit need to be brought into the appraisal process' [65]. ODPM Guidance which is applied in all cases of

regeneration programme intervention notes, for the first time, that *heritage and culture impacts may arise from a variety of 3R interventions*. Often, cultural facilities such as museums are central to plans to revitalise areas for example by capitalising on their past heritage. 3R outcomes may arise due to the direct and indirect employment but also from funds spent in the local areas by visitors. These impacts are separate to the cultural benefits that may arise to the visitors themselves. From a 3R intervention assessment perspective the main issues which should be borne in mind are as follows:

- Valuation in this area tends to be highly context specific and requires bespoke investigations. There are limited possibilities for the use of techniques such as benefits transfer
- As with environmental impacts, irreversible impacts can be of significant importance
- Where such impacts are relevant, the DCMS "White Book" (below) provides guidance on using valuation techniques in the heritage and culture sector

The inclusion of heritage and cultural impacts in mainstream appraisal guidance is important, and will need to be evidenced through actual appraisal exercises and case studies. Who should carry these out is not clear (see 6. Recommendations). There is however arguably a bias towards heritage impacts, and less consideration (and understanding or evidence) of cultural impacts. This is due to the process and legitimation of the Heritage listing and grading system and other designations of architectural and historic 'assets'. This can result in sites and building exteriors (e.g. facades) being valued and protected, but cultural activity (production, employment, social etc) not so valued or protected.

The main measurement tool available Cost Benefit Analysis (CBA) and the option appraisal of the main elements of a project. How and which costs and benefits are valued is of particular importance, including the less tangible factors and perceptions (see DCMS "The White Book" *Option Appraisal of Expenditure Decisions: A Guide*, 2000). Valuing benefits requires greater consideration since as the Review concluded this aspect has been done poorly in the past and the NAO has criticised many projects for not describing, and managing the realisation of benefits, i.e. there is endemic over-optimism in project feasibility and projections, notably on capital costs. Finally, *Distributional Impact* is a prime principle in project appraisal, i.e. how are the costs and benefits distributed across different groups in society. This affects social, environmental as well as economic impacts, but in economic terms, this would require measuring employment effects in terms of full, part-time and casual/temporary jobs, and across different income and social groups, as well as by ethnicity, gender, age, disability and residence. (Geographic Information System – GIS mapping is increasingly used in planning, health and urban design, to illustrate spatial impacts and catchments and could be usefully applied in cultural impact measurement).

3.2.2 Regeneration projects
Specific issues arise in the appraisal and evaluation of regeneration projects that have a rationale defined both in terms of their impact on efficiency and equity. Government intervention in the economy is often undertaken with an employment objective (creation, retention, competition, skills etc.) and in regeneration projects this may be a principle objective but the justification may be more far-reaching and objectives more broadly cast with multiple objectives - social and environmental. The geographical focus of regeneration projects means that it is particularly important to assess displacement effects at both the local, regional and national levels, particularly if the programme is substantial, or for major flagship projects [66].

In relation to regeneration programmes, Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) assisted activities should meet the following objectives.

- maximise private sector leverage, and integration with other public sector resources, especially European Structural Funds;
- make a real and sustainable impact, taking into account potential long-term impacts on the environment
- aim to harness the talents and resources of the voluntary sector and volunteers and involve local communities.

The first more overtly economic objective is well represented in cultural projects, particularly in securing other public, European (see above) and private/sponsorship funding. Measuring the economic impact of regeneration has required a more targeted approach both spatially and in terms of beneficiaries. Outputs as in general evaluation (above), need to exclude activity not attributable to the particular programme or project, but with less concern for substitution.

Regeneration programmes tend to target geographic areas – whether development site, estate, neighbourhood (e.g. New Deal), borough/sub-region (e.g. SRB, ERDF), and/or community of interest. Output measurement under SRB and New Deal programmes also requires 'ethnic monitoring' against key targets such as jobs, new businesses, educational and training attainment, housing and community facilities. The contribution of cultural projects within SRB programmes is supposedly measured in terms of local people given access to, and the provision of: *new and improved cultural facilities* (Output 7A/7B), as well as voluntary and community organisations supported and the number of residents involved in voluntary work[67].

3.2.3 The evidence

Evidence of economic regeneration as a result of cultural activity is largely limited to visitor impacts and internal (direct) employment, normally estimated at the appraisal/proposal stage. Such impacts, including attributed indirect impacts, are highlighted in some of the case studies (4. below). There is a shortage of *ex-post* evidence (none published on the application of a full CBA exercise to a cultural project – despite "Guidance" e.g. DCMS "White Book", Treasury "Green Book", SRB Evaluation etc.), particularly of the distribution of economic benefits in terms of different social groups, whilst there is more evidence (again largely anecdotal, or 'snapshot') of benefits leaking out of regeneration areas in terms of employment and spending, and of gentrification effects reflected in housing/property values, settlement and visitor profiles, e.g. of "downtown" cultural venues.

The option or opportunity cost appraisal required of public regeneration investment does not appear to have been applied to cultural activity or projects. This is not surprising since in many senses they are unique to an area, whether based on a single cultural organisation, group (e.g. artists) or facility. Their cultural funding also looks to cultural not economic or regeneration criteria as their main qualification for funding. Their physical impacts in terms of building re-use, environmental improvement and direct employment generation, has tended to be sufficient for regional grants (e.g. ERDF). However under SRB evaluation, projects should be generating impact data that may provide more useful evidence (e.g. social, distributive). For this reason and given the regional spread and staggered programme, a survey of SRB evaluation and cultural projects/impacts is recommended as a possible future study (see 6. Recommendations).

The reality is that alternatives to cultural/creative industry forms of investment and projects are few and far between, since they represent one of the few growth sectors - linked to creative industries,

tourism/hospitality, place/image-making - which can attract and retain investment and employers. It is the economic prospects, rather than narrower economic impacts in terms of direct jobs and income, linked to wider enterprise, social and equity effects, that combine to make culture a unique element in regeneration. As Betterton maintains: *the focus on the economic benefits of the arts and urban regeneration was overstated in the 1980s. While economic benefit did accrue, these can in part be seen to have been linked to the mid-1980s boom in leisure and cultural spending generally. The argument has now shifted back towards more 'soft edged' rationales for cultural investment: cultural activity as one key indicator of a city's quality of life* [68]. Evidence to demonstrate these individual and composite factors and their synergy is what is lacking, beyond anecdotal and largely unattributable impacts and small-scale project evaluations, including those designed to be short-lived and process based.

For instance, in an evaluation of six local arts projects in Portsmouth, it was concluded that 'to have a significant impact on training and employment in Portsmouth, the arts sector would have to expand very significantly' [69].

Ogwr Community Design

This was a training scheme set up by Valley and Vale, a community arts organisation in South East Wales. The aim was the provide training to young unemployed people with little or no computer or design experience. Within one year the company had a turnover of almost £60,000 a year, with staff receiving full pay and providing quality design services to its customers. The initiative was ended when individuals in the scheme began to pursue their own projects. One person runs a business using the skills and confidence obtained from the scheme [70].

Where cultural activity or a project is a prime factor in regeneration in an otherwise undeveloped or 'greenfield' area, the effects may be more demonstrable. An example is Tate St. Ives which, within two years of opening, was able to show that people whose main reason for visiting St. Ives was to visit the gallery were contributing £16 million per annum to the local economy (see 5. Evidence-based case studies).

3.2.4 Creative Industries
As discussed in terms of environmental regeneration, it is in the area of creative industries in both their traditional and newer, digital media-oriented forms, that the impact of culture on economic regeneration has been subject to the most rigorous research. This is most apparent, or at least measurable, in the case of creative clusters and in cultural industry projects located within regeneration areas. Micro-economic studies (local authority, clusters, sectoral, city-wide) by definition take a closer look at impacts and distributive effects. These involve primary research and a broader approach to capturing the impact of cultural activity - one not limited to now-dated standard industry classifications (SIC) and published statistical data [71].

Recent examples include the East Midlands [72], North West Fashion Industry [73] and Islington's cultural employment studies [74]. These have included a greater attention to spatial and distribution effects, and to linkages in the value-chain – production, consumption, as well as social and environmental-based. Of particular note is the received wisdom that micro-enterprises in the cultural sector are transient and fragile and do not present robust economic activity or prospects. Over 95% of all firms in the UK (and Europe) are "micro", employing fewer than ten, mostly less than five people. However successive, independent micro-

economic employment research reveals that many creative businesses are long established and exist beyond the short survival rate of SMEs generally. They are of course subject to structural and technological change, not least in the publishing, design and media sectors, and susceptible to property boom and bust cycles.

In a study of over 70 cultural firms in Spitalfields, in the City Fringe SRB zone of East London, over half had been in business for over 3 years and 50% were ethnic minority owned [75]. Another study of cultural enterprises in the long established Clerkenwell area also in the City Fringe SRB zone, found that over 70% of firms were established before 1990 and more than 50% turned over more than £100,000 a year [76].

Whilst larger, HQ-based arts and media enterprises have outsourced/contracted out (e.g. broadcasting, publishing, music, media), cultural industry clusters tend to form in regeneration areas with lower unit rents, but in proximity to central business districts (e.g. CBDs in London, Sheffield, Manchester, Birmingham), and are spread over a wider geographic area than previously. Established agglomerations have spawned separate but linked creative clusters creating a production chain and balance often between new and old craft industries, e.g. in textiles/fashion, new media/design, visual arts and crafts/designer-makers. This is also apparent where clusters serve higher education and vocational training provision, where students prefer to continue in practice in the same area where they have studied (4. Case Studies, *The Chocolate Factory*), and vice versa where studio-based practitioners work part-time in education.

Examples where there has been less mixed-use (mix of: property, activities, employment sectors, temporal use, production-consumption) and greater dependency on public intervention, indicate poor sustainability. This suggests that the mixed economy model and greater sectoral specialisation identifying with place, heritage (environment, history, industry) and with a comparative advantage (e.g. Lace Market, Notts., Clerkenwell and Shoreditch - designer-making, new media), together creates a more vibrant and self-sustaining model of a creative cluster.

The pioneer Cultural Industries Quarter (CIQ) in Sheffield is a case in point. This spawned the Red Tape Studios and A-V Enterprise Centre in the mid-1980s, responding to the need to counter the drain in talent and economic leakage to the capital, London. By 1996 over 400 enterprises operated in the quarter employing 2,000 people (mostly in micro-enterprises), although only 20% described themselves as 'arts and media' based. However in 2001, two thirds of creative service providers in the CIQ still relied on public sources. As recently as 1996 the Area Action Plan revealed concern with public safety, traffic congestion, lack of confidence and doubts over the viability of the National Centre for Popular Music (with hindsight, well-founded). A year later an external report recognised the threat of single (cultural production) use: *Although Sheffield is in the forefront of planned cultural industries development, the concept is no longer novel and there is a range of initiatives of a similar kind through out the UK…The CIQ offers a fragmented experience with little evidence of animation or diversity…there is nowhere to shop, not enough to see and the CIQ is perceived to be semi-derelict and after hours, potentially hostile*[77]. Elsewhere in the city a cultural quarter has evolved without public intervention - Devonshire Green, which is closer to the city centre and its tram routes. In the evening its streets are packed with people while those of the CIQ are deserted [78].

3.2.5 Festivals and events

Festivals and events are a common feature of regeneration projects, often in the early stages, and there are a number of small-scale studies of individual events that are worth considering [79]. For smaller-scale festivals, the most significant impact is in relation to people's perception of a place [80], both within and outside the community (see 3.6. Social Impact). The Association of Festival Organisers has published headline figures on the economic impact of folk festivals as a sub-sector of festivals [81].

The extent of the economic impact of festivals depends also upon their scale and duration, and some of the more useful material is contained in studies of the cumulative impact of long established festivals, such as Edinburgh and Notting Hill [82]. The recently published study of the economic impact of Notting Hill Carnival estimates that attendees at the Carnival in 2002 spend £36 million including travel and £9 million on accommodation. The combination of direct, indirect and induced income is calculated at £93 million, producing up to 3,000 full-time equivalent jobs elsewhere in the economy. The regenerative and distributive impacts of these festivals is however less considered in these narrow economic studies.

The major piece of research undertaken on Glasgow *European City of Culture* 1990 was Myerscough's *Monitoring Glasgow 1990* (1991). This report had a clear focus on assessing the short to medium term economic impacts of the event. A series of academic articles were published in the early 1990s, looking at the event as an example of urban regeneration through culture. Many of the cultural-related impacts of 1990 were not sustained, although in 1999 there were approximately 177,900 tourism related jobs in Scotland, an increase of 14% since 1991. Of this figure, 28% were in Greater Glasgow. Scottish Tourist Board statistics indicate that between 1991 and 1998 UK tourist trips to Glasgow increased by 88% while overseas tourist trips between 1991 and 1997 increased by 25% and a 200% growth in conference sales since 1997. However, to date, no major evaluation of the event's long-term social and cultural impacts has been undertaken.

At Glasgow University, the Centre for Cultural Policy Research has recently embarked on a research project entitled *Cities and culture: the long-term legacies of Glasgow 1990*. This project will investigate the long-term sustainability of cultural investment in Glasgow (both prior to 1990, e.g. Garden Festival, and since, e.g. 1999 City of Architecture), and will explore the social and political conditions for these legacies: *The Glasgow example shows the importance of valuing the non-physical aspects of regeneration, such as renewed perceptions and the recovery of citizen confidence and satisfaction in the city as a place to live and work* [83]. Perception and media content analysis is unlikely however to provide robust evidence of the regenerative effects attributable to the Year of Culture or subsequent cultural investment in the city.

Several other cities hosting the ECC have undertaken post-event studies in terms of visitor impacts [84] . For example Rotterdam co-hosted the European City of Culture in 2001. In pre- and post-event surveys, this multicultural port city saw a 11% rise in its cultural rating; was ranked in 2001 to be in the top five cultural destinations by 8% of visitors in 2001 compared to only 3% of visitors in 1999, and rose from 20th place to 15th place among 22 European cultural cities (2003). Like most festival cities, the research confirmed that the event itself was only part of the long process of revitalisation. The event/year built on the development of cultural facilities, including a museum quarter and upgrading, a new architecture centre and the investment in *grand projets* such as a Calatrava bridge and "star" architect buildings on the waterfront.

Liverpool City of Culture 2008

Rotterdam hosted the RIBA Annual Conference in July, which focused on regeneration there and in Liverpool. A discussion was held on what was going to drive regeneration in Liverpool – would it be the capital of culture, the region, the city or the private sector? Opinions were mixed (both public and private sectors were felt to have failed the city in the past), the vital issue of what was going to go in the Fourth Grace building prompted a comment: 'if we can't decide, it won't happen'.

Emblematic buildings came in for a bit of a bashing, as did the idea that culture, broadly defined, can be used to revive declining cities [85]. However, from the perspective of masterplanners, the *Year of Culture* is already having an impact on developer confidence and moving some key cultural projects forward: Chevasse Park a major mixed use redevelopment of the city centre; the development of the Pier Head, Alsop's (*Fourth Grace*) and Kings Dock, all part of the World heritage site proposals.

'It is always difficult to measure outputs, I am sure if we put most of the above through the design quality indicator test they would be strong (*personal communication*, EDAW 25.8.03).

3.3 Social regeneration – an overview of culture's contribution

What the Breightmet research does extraordinarily well and convincingly is chart changes in the perceptions of local people – their perceptions of the arts leading to a better image for Breightmet, a new sense of self identity and pride in the area and more choice and opportunity for local people to participate in the arts. This is the essential fabric of building and strengthening communities (Aileen McEvoy, Arts Council England, North West)

In summary, the contribution of culture to social regeneration may be evidenced by:

A change in residents' perceptions of the place where they live
Greater individual confidence and aspiration
A clearer expression of individual and shared ideas and needs
An increase in volunteering
Increased organisational capacity at local level
Increased social capital – 'the norms and networks that enable collective action' (World Bank)
A change in the image or reputation of a place or group of people
Stronger public-private-voluntary sector partnerships
Reduced school truancy/offending behaviour
Higher educational attainment
New approaches to evaluation, consultation and representation

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At first sight there appears to be a wealth of evidence of the role played by cultural activity in social regeneration, much of it stimulated by the Government's commitment to addressing social exclusion, promoting community cohesion and neighbourhood renewal. But this is still a new field and much of the literature falls into the category of advocacy and promotion[86].

The term 'social regeneration' appears more frequently in the literature of government and its agencies than in the literature of the cultural sector. In the cultural sector, references to social impact, neighbourhood or community renewal, community regeneration, cohesion or development and social impact, are more familiar than the term social regeneration [87]. Some of the more recent literature includes reference to 'cultural impact' which, with its emphasis on cultural values such as sustainability, cultural preservation, cultural diversity, autonomy, creativity, solidarity and cultural rights, has a close connection with both the individual and community dimensions of social regeneration.

Social regeneration is a new area of inquiry for the cultural sector and researchers are still working out what to measure and how to measure it. These decisions are made by researchers and those who commission them, according to the context in which they are working.

In her evaluation of the social impact of the Millennium Awards (grants of £2,000 for individuals to 'develop themselves personally while also making a tangible contribution to [their] communities' [88]) Jackson argues that social impact is 'intangible'. She cautions that it is:

- Not directly verifiable. For example, attitudinal elements of personal impact have to be inferred rather than directly observed.

- Personal. The degree of progress will depend on the need of the individual and their baseline of achievement (i.e. where they are starting from).

- A matter of degree rather than absolute. It is not possible to define equivalent units of progress that apply across stages of development or different people or communities.

- Subjective. Individual and group feelings and perceptions about a project are not (as might be the case in other types of evaluation) a block to interpretation on impact: they are an element of social impact itself.

- Open to interpretation. Two people might have very clear ideas of what is meant by social impact, yet these ideas might be quite different [89].

This is perhaps, in part, a reaction to the claims of the 'advocacy brigade' that gives disproportionate (and usually unmeasured) weight to individual stories of life changes and new beginnings.

Between these two extremes, the past five years have seen the emergence of more confident approaches to defining what social regeneration or social impact might look like[90] although researchers tend to agree that the complexity of the process of regeneration makes it hard to attribute an effect to a cause, *particularly in the short term*. This review has identified action research projects and reports of formative evaluation processes that are laying the foundations of more appropriate and robust data collection and analysis of social impact.

Among the leaders in this field are Gerri Moriarty and François Matarasso. In his study, *Use or Ornament? The social impact of participation in the arts* [91] Matarasso suggested a research framework to assess the impact of participatory arts activities under six headings: personal development, social cohesion, community empowerment and self-determination, local image and identity, imaginations and vision, health and well being. Matarasso and others have argued that the impact of arts activity on individuals and its impact on communities need to be separately considered, while recognising the link between the two. More recently, Matarasso has been looking at participation in the arts in relation to social exclusion. In 2004 the National Rural Touring Forum and Comedia will publish a report by Matarasso on the value to rural communities of professional arts touring.

One of Moriarty's interests is in working with communities to design and undertake action research and/or evaluation of the impact of the cultural activity in their neighbourhoods. One example is her collaboration with the residents of the Breightmet estate in Bolton to evaluate the impact of a ten-year arts strategy. A report of the first three years identifies the following findings:

- a greater sense of status for children and young people
- a greater awareness of opportunities to take part in creative activities
- opportunities for participants from different generations to work together
- 'something positive to build on', and
- an improved image for Breightmet [92]

A Social Impact Study Research Group made up of local residents and professionals reviewed the research process and findings. (See 4.6. case study below). In *Releasing potential: creativity and change. Arts and regeneration in England's North West* Moriarty and Kevin McManus offer further illustrations of the contribution of the arts to social regeneration. (See, for example, 4.7. below).

Social capital

The potential contribution of cultural activity to the social capital of a community is a relatively new area of enquiry in the UK. A pioneer in the use of the term was Putnam [93] in his investigation of civic traditions in modern (northern) Italy. Putnam suggests that social capital has four characteristics, all of which are potentially useful measures of the contribution of culture to social regeneration. These are:

- Reciprocity, trust and cooperation between community members and accepted rules governing the functioning of networks;

- Community networks which make the civic community;

- Civic engagement or participation in the process of sustaining and/or using voluntary, state and interpersonal networks;

- Civic identity referring to people's sense of belonging together with a sense of solidarity and equality with other community members [94].

An Australian study, *Creating Social Capital. A study of the long-term benefits from community based arts funding* [95] was one of the first to use the term social capital in relation to the arts. Its author, Deirdre Williams, looked at the long-term impact of community-based arts activity undertaken by the Community Arts Network for the Australia Council between 1994 and 1995. A questionnaire survey and observer 'focus' groups were designed to collect information on the types of people who became involved in or support community-based arts projects, what motivated them and what long-term benefits were gained. Alongside artistic, economic and education benefits, social benefits included the following:

1. Established community networks of ongoing value
2. Raised public awareness of a social or community concern
3. Inspired action on a human rights or social justice issue
4. Improved leisure or recreational options
5. Improved understanding of different cultures or lifestyles
6. Lessened social isolation for individuals or groups
7. Developed community identity or sense of itself
8. Increased appreciation of the value of community arts projects

These social benefit indicators were graded using a five-point scale and respondents were asked to give examples in each case. This set of indicators was applied to individual case studies based on a self-completed questionnaire. From this study of 232 projects/organisations, overall 65% rated social benefits as significant, with the highest rated factors being the appreciation of the value of community arts; the development of community identity/confidence; and developing community networks.

Michelle Reeves' review of methodologies for measuring social and economic impacts of the arts warrants close reading [96] (see 5. Gaps in Evidence, below), not only as a useful assessment of evaluation methods, but of the lack of evaluation in practice and the reasons for this.

Relationship with the local community

West Yorkshire Playhouse undertook a year-long *In Our Neighbourhood* project funded by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation. This enabled the Playhouse to examine how mutually beneficial relationships can be developed between the theatre and its immediate community. The research project took place between January 1999 and July 2000 and was located in the Ebor Gardens area, adjacent to the Playhouse. It involved the Playhouse organising joint events at the Ebor Gardens community centre, a ticket access scheme and West Yorkshire Playhouse staff offering training and development. Research findings concluded that theatre visits acted as a catalyst to nurture community spirit. During this period residents of the estate who had previously lived in fear of crime and seldom left their homes in the evenings regained a sense of independence. As they went to the theatre as a group, individual members were able to help those less active and confident to use the facilities on offer. Residents were more interested in attending shows than wishing to be involved in participatory activity. By booking tickets through Community Network they saw plays for a reduced price. In the year prior to this project four tickets had been sold to residents. This number climbed to 400 during the project's lifetime. Residents later discussed the plays at residents' meetings, forming impromptu critique groups [97].

Weaknesses

The literature review has identified a number of gaps and weaknesses. Most studies of cultural activity and social regeneration are about the impact of participation on individuals and communities. Participation usually means hands-on activity. There is currently much less research available on the impact of seeing or watching. Another shortcoming in this field is the tendency to concentrate on the experience of the participants. While reports often include comments from teachers, youth workers, play workers, parents, carers, neighbours and others on the fringes of an activity, it is rare for their experience to be evaluated as rigorously as that of the immediate participants in a project. As noted elsewhere in this paper, most of the evidence of impact relates to the immediate or very short-term results of an activity [98]. In terms of coverage, there is more material on aspects of social regeneration through the arts, museums and libraries than there is through heritage, tourism and broadcasting, although more work is emerging in these sub-sectors too. The Heritage Lottery Fund is regularly commissioning evaluations of funded activity and the National Trust has embarked on a study of the social value and impacts of historic assets, based on case studies of sites in the Potteries. This involves planners, archaeologists, anthropologists and local people.

Whilst tourism impacts include arts and heritage 'attractions' there is less attention to the value of cultural and related social tourism. This is surprising given that cultural tourism and urban/city tourism is one of the fastest growing sectors within the UK and European tourism market (evidenced in part by the growing demand for World Heritage Site designation). The LGA's report on tourism and regeneration (2000) included no specific cultural tourism case study or strategy, and in the general regeneration field, the BURA

Annual Conference held in Cardiff in October 2003 included a session on *Sport and Regeneration*, but not Culture.

Culture's advocacy and credibility is high within the cultural sphere and system (although promotion at local and regeneration level is essential and a key 'success factor'). Within the wider regeneration quality of life/liveability mainstream, it is still marginal/superficially treated and often misrepresented and stereotyped through flagship and over-generalised 'creative industries' impacts. The evidence base is lacking or ignored in this situation (except when things 'go wrong').

Splash

A recent example of short-term evaluation was undertaken on *Splash* the Youth Justice Board's programme of diversionary activity for young people at risk of offending.

The Youth Justice Board launched the *Splash* programme in July 2000. The programme comprised more than 100 holiday schemes in England and Wales, lasting at least 25 days each, in areas where the incidence of crime is high. The schemes, which were designed to offer diversionary activity, were for young people aged 13 to 17 years who were thought to be at risk of offending. The programme was extended in 2001 and 2002 to more areas and to other times of the year.

The focus of the evaluation was on the impact of *Splash* on reducing crime in 2002. The first methodological challenge for the evaluators was that the areas in which *Splash* was operating were not contiguous with the Basic Command Units (BCUs), which are used for the measurement of crime statistics. There was not enough detail of crimes on a ward by ward basis. It was not possible, therefore, to make a direct correlation between crime levels in the ward where a *Splash* project was taking place.

The research found that where there was a *Splash* project, crime rates in that BCU fell significantly, while rates in areas without a *Splash* project rose. The research team points out that there will be many factors responsible for an increase or decrease in crime but the least that can be said is that *Splash* appears to be contributing to a downward trend in youth crime, although researchers could identify no connection between reductions in crimes committed and a particular activity (sport, arts etc.) In Avon and Somerset there was a 31% reduction in robberies in areas where *Splash* was taking place compared with a 56% increase in areas without a project of this kind.

My hypothesis would be that the arts offer an interesting and eventful journey not a guaranteed arrival point and that in the search to find and communicate meaning, the arts suggest external symbols and metaphors for transformation, which can then be internalised. The arts ask participants and audience to re-examine and question received truths and stereotypes. They can encourage action and active reflection and discourage passive uncritical consumption. Participation in the arts can interrupt negative and destructive patterns, building confidence, self-esteem and self-discipline; arts workshops can offer a relatively neutral territory within which those from different backgrounds and with different agendas can explore diversity and commonality [99].

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4. Evidence-based case studies of culture's contribution to regeneration

The illustrations (case studies) in this section offer examples of culture's contribution to regeneration. The table below shows what each illustration offers in terms of the model of cultural intervention (2.2. 'culture-led', 'cultural', 'culture and') and type of impact (2.3. environmental, economic, social). It also indicates which of these are particularly good examples of effective design and delivery and which have been subject to good practice in evaluation.

For ease of use, the sources of these case studies are given in full with each illustration rather than as endnotes to the report.

Summary of Case Studies by Role and Type of Impact

Project	Role of Culture in Regeneration			Impact			Good Delivery	Good Evaluation
	Culture – Led	Cultural Regen.	Culture & Regen.	Environ. (Physical)	Economic	Social		
1. Lace Market, Nottingham	*			*	*		*	*
2. South West Region		*	*	*	*	*		
3. Acme Studios, London			*	*				
4. Custard Factory, Birmingham			*	*	*	*		
5. Chocolate Factory, Haringey	*			*	*	*	*	
6. Breightmet, Bolton		*				*	*	*
7. Ulverston, Cumbria		*		*	*	*	*	
8. Headland, Yorkshire		*		*	*	*		
9. Hi8us (Film & Video)					*		*	
10 Arts in the Heart of Health, Hull	*					*	*	*

In considering these case studies it is important to recognise that the impact of an activity is determined not only by the role that culture is playing in a regeneration project, but also by the way in which that role is planned for and implemented. The research reviewed suggests a small number of recurrent factors that appear to be essential in optimising the contribution of culture to the regeneration process. These are:

- The participation of a 'champion' of culture in regeneration (this may be an individual such as a 'social entrepreneur', activist, or a group, e.g. of artists)
- Integration of culture at the strategic planning stage of a project
- Establishment of a multi-disciplinary project team
- Provision for formative evaluation from the planning stage
- The flexibility to change course if necessary
- Consideration for environmental quality and accessibility – design of facilities and public realm, and integration with services (e.g. transport)
- Genuine consultation with residents, businesses and other stakeholders
- Continued involvement and 'ownership' of all stakeholders in the project (management, governance, delivery and evaluation) and acknowledgement of their contribution

4.1 Lace Market, Nottingham

Creative industries strategy in Nottingham focuses on the designation of the **'Lace Market'** as a cultural quarter, with an emphasis on the promotion and regeneration of the 'fashion industry' as a means to develop a mixed-use sustainable Creative Sector. The Lace Market is a district on the southern fringe of Nottingham city centre, and was historically the centre of production for the global lace industry in the late-19th and early-mid-20th centuries. It is a densely gridded area of imposing and impressive warehouses and industrial units, merging into Hockley, a shopping district linking the Lace Market to the city centre. The spatial identification of the Lace Market as a special and 'creative quarter' can be traced to 1969 when the district was designated as a Conservation Area. This was followed by the development of the 'Town Scheme Plan' in 1974 and the subsequent declaration of the district as an Industrial Improvement Area. Rather than an area awaiting demolition, throughout the 1980s the Lace Market was steadily renovated as developers began to recognise its commercial potential. This process was accelerated in 1989 with the creation of the Lace Market Development Company (LMDC), a public/private partnership led by Nottingham City Council to renovate the area as a specialist cultural, heritage and professional service district. English Partnerships has worked together with the city council, the LMDC and the Lace Market Heritage Trust to agree a strategy for the district - the 1997 Nottingham Investment Strategy - which outlines the need for sensitive though flexible redevelopment .

Today the Lace Market is a prospering and attractive district with over 450 firms, a quarter of which remain related to fashion design and production, with the other three quarters representing a mix of cultural production (arts and media, architecture, visual communications) and consumption ('trendy' non-mainstream/independent shops, cafes, restaurants, bars, an arts cinema, clubs etc.) enterprises, relishing in the low rates and the general 'cultural ambience'. Combinations of private and public (ERDF, English Partnerships, Urban Development Grants, City Council, County Council, LMDC and National Lottery) funds have helped the area become a fashionable area and remain a fashion-led area: a place where many new jobs have been created by using the regeneration of the area's history and greatest asset, clothing and fashion, to construct and perpetuate practical Creative Industries clusters/networks and thus a place-image of the Lace Market as an exciting and practically rewarding place to work and - increasingly - to live.

The Nottingham Area Clothing and Textile Industry Strategy provides an overview of the sub-sector and its relevant support bodies as a basis for promotion and to emphasise the significance of inter- local authority and agency partnership. Through a partnership of Nottingham City Council; Ashfield, Mansfield and Newark and Sherwood District Councils; the European Union; and Clarendon College; a strategy aimed to deliver market diversification research, trend forecasting, design consultancy, and training, has been devised. The inter-local nature of this partnership is significant as a test case for the forthcoming RDAs. It combines large-scale information provision with small sub-sectoral training initiatives and physical targeting. This physical targeting focuses on the Lace Market as a centre for innovation, design, production and retail. It recognises the importance of clustering and networking throughout the production and consumption cycle. A major player in the fashion-led regeneration of the Lace Market is the Nottingham Fashion Centre. This is a Nottingham City Council Project which provides managed workspace and access to communal machinery; specialist business and marketing advice; a resource library and database; conference, exhibition and meeting facilities; and an annual 'Stitching Up Your Future' careers event. Outreach support for companies outside Nottingham is being developed. The Nottingham Fashion Centre therefore acts as a focal point for the development of fashion as a Creative Industry at a city-wide and regional scale.
In a study of the Lace market (Crewe and Beaverstock 1998) based on interviews with over 70 firms and 100 employees, it concluded that cultural production and consumption play a key role in the revitalization

and regeneration of contemporary cities and how localized cultures have been instrumental in the regeneration of this historic quarter. Regeneration of the Lace Market was found to have been driven by three intersecting culturally constructed economies: embeddedness and the cultural organization of production; culture and consumption and the cultural organization of the night-time economy' (ibid.). Small firms have been pioneers in the urban regeneration process because they were prepared to take a gamble and enter a neglected and partially derelict former industrial space.

In 1990 there were some 240 non-textiles businesses, 80% of which had entered in the preceding 5 years and over half having less than 5 employees. By 1996 there were 450 firms of which over 80% were involved in cultural, production and/or consumption, over 100 (23%) in fashion/textiles. Over 1,000 clothing workers come to the quarter daily. Many firms have consciously opted to locate in the Lace Market in order to take advantage of the clustering of other cultural businesses and the impressive renovated warehouses within the aesthetically attractive historic quarter close to the city centre.

Impacts

Environmental (physical)	Occupation/Re-use of redundant and historic buildings
Economic	Workspace and accommodation for creative industries/designer-makers, job retention and start-ups; property/area values and area improvements; night-time economy

Sources: Crewe, L. and Beaverstock, J. (1998) 'Fashioning the City: Cultures of consumption in contemporary urban spaces', *Geoforum* 29, pp.1287-308 and Fleming, T. *Case Studies for the Cultural Industries*, MIPC, 1995/2000.

4.2 Landmark projects in the South West (Tate St Ives, The Eden Project, the National Maritime Museum, Plymouth Theatre Royal, Newquay)

The cultural renaissance, so-called, of Cornwall can be traced to Tate St Ives which opened in 1993, and more recently to the Eden Project, the National Maritime Museum Falmouth, the new production centre at the Plymouth Theatre Royal, and the high quality design projects of the Surf Capital of UK, Newquay.

Plymouth itself is benefiting from the Eden Project and Theatre Royal – the numbers of architects and journalists who stay in the town has increased (*Architects' Journal* 27.3.03), but it has been **Tate St Ives** that has produced sustained impacts on the local and regional economy over the last decade. Built on a derelict, contaminated gasworks site, funding came from local authorities, Europe and the private sector, including £125,000 raised locally. Tate St Ives is perhaps the pioneer of a new model of culture-led seaside regeneration in terms of ambition and design. Early estimates were for 75,000 visitors a year. First year attendances reached 200,000 and by January 2000 there had been more than 1.2 visits to the gallery, 78% from outside Cornwall and 15% from overseas. Original employment estimates were for six full time and six part time staff and volunteers. Tate St Ives now employs 69 full and part time staff, while a number of external jobs have been created in providing services to the gallery. Its success has been felt in the wear and tear of the building and demands on the town's infrastructure (traffic, parking) but these have been outweighed by the benefits – year round activity and employment, new restaurants and cafes, a growing number of galleries, craft and jewellery shops and rising house prices.

In 1995 Cornwall County Council undertook five economic impact studies on the effect of the Tate both in St Ives itself and across Cornwall. These showed that the gallery had already had a significant impact in the town and some impact across the county. About 70% of businesses surveyed believed that the opening of the Tate had benefited their own trade. 85% believed that the Gallery had benefited the town. The West Cornwall Tourist Board survey showed that 58% of visitors to the Tate have a visit to the gallery as their main reason for coming to Cornwall. Less than a year after opening, the Tate had increased sales in St Ives businesses by 5%, and increased employment of up to 15 full time equivalent (FTE) jobs. At the end of 1998 hoteliers declared an estimated 20% increase in business. Critics from neighbouring districts however, maintain that the trickle down effects have not benefited them, i.e. the benefits are highly localised.

As one regional observer sees it:

Interesting and lively locations often occur in the wake of an inspired and a thriving artistic-design orientated community. Many parts of the South West however appear to be relatively impervious and impenetrable art free zones with an almost imperceivable artistic presence and impact. Studio production facilities and live work loft conversion lifestyles don't seem to have arrived yet. Such small artistic industries would eventually lead to a larger flourishing of new media based businesses and a younger population more involved and a little less eager to leave. We should must not aspire to turn everywhere into replication clones of St Ives but a few new and varied star art & architecture galleries would be welcome. In the South West we still just about have nature in abundance and it should remain that way for our future generations to also experience and enjoy. The **Eden Centre** *represents a rare example a confident world class innovation which can provide impetus to make a positive start with confidence.*

(Graham Cooper, in South West Arts report: *Designing our Environment, Towards a Strategy for Architecture and the Built Environment in the South West* - Jon Rowlands *et al.* eds., 2002)

In Falmouth the new landmark **National Maritime Museum** (designed by Long & Kentish, cost £28m) has began to have an effect on the regeneration of the former industrial site forming one side of a new Museum Square that will house shops, café, offices, a cinema and apartments. Attendances during the opening weeks reached 112,000, almost three times forecast. 50 new jobs have been created supported by 150 volunteers. The building is judged to be 'uplifting, surprising and invigorating. Complete in every sense, architecture at its very best in its relationship to the town and to the people who will use it, visit it and work in it' (*Architects' Journal* 17.6.03).

Plymouth has always had a unique tourism offer – the Barbican Maritime Village from which the Mayflower departed for America in 1620. However by the 1980s the harbour was run-down and suffering serious traffic congestion and dereliction. With £41million in public and private regeneration funds (NRA, ERDF, SRB) the Sutton Harbour underwent a major renaissance. As well as new flood defence, road access and traffic rerouting, the old fish market was transformed into the Barbican Glassworks, a craft, retail and local history centre surrounded by cobbled streets and the creation of a showcase National Maritime Aquarium attracting over 400,000 visitors a year. The regeneration includes public art celebrating the harbour's rich history, hotels, a major leisure complex and office development. Nearby, the **Plymouth Theatre Royal Production Centre**, which like the Falmouth Maritime Museum has been shortlisted for a RIBA Award this year, was built on a reclaimed tidal mudflat. Designed by Ian Ritchie Architects (at a cost of £5.8 million), the building was judged to have achieved: 'a powerful, functional and social integration of performing artists, creative artists and craftsman. As an educational building it openly reveals the total process of creative contributions to the resulting performance' (*Architect's Journal* 17.6.03).

Eden Project
The Millennium-Funded Eden Project, St.Austell opened on 17th March 2001. Over the first two years this award winning structure has received more than 4 million visits, with the average visitor staying for 4.5 hours. A regeneration agency in St Helens has plans to create an 'Eden Centre of the North' in this Lancashire town. The £200m scheme will form part of a framework to create jobs and reclaim brownfield land in the town which suffered industrial decline in the 1990s. The project aims to develop a plot on the M6 corridor in an effort to emulate Eden's visitor success.

In **Newquay**, the Beach Hut Café and Extreme Academy has become a symbol of the re-invention of town itself. Although attracting over four million visitors a year, the number of visitors has fallen, with a short season and under-investment in hotels and facilities. At Watergate Bay at the east end of the town, the Beach Hut and Extreme Academy opted for a design brief to 'create a ski resort on a Cornish beach'. The highly appropriate nature of its design has captured the imagination of its clientele and the business now employs over 65 staff during peak summer season and ten throughout the year. Its 1999 business plan forecast an annual turnover of £190,000 but by 2002 this already reached £1.1 million. 27 of Newquay's hotel are open all year round, with the Newquay season stretching beyond the summer. New restaurants have opened on the Harbour and Tolcarne beaches, Cornwall County Council are undertaking a major scheme to improve traffic management in the town centre and for a new bus station.

Supporting quotes:

'Design Quality and innovation has featured heavily throughout the case studies from around Cornwall. A number of new building projects over the last few years have established a new confidence for the region.' (CABE Commissioner Robin Nicholson)

'The re-use of existing historic buildings carries the character and 'sense of place' of the English seaside into the next century. It not only benefits the town economically but its *spirit* is maintained for future generations'. (David Fraser Director for Planning & Development, English Heritage, CABE 28.8.03).

Impacts

Environmental (physical)	Occupation/Re-Use of redundant and historic buildings
Economic	Visitor numbers; employment; property/area values and area improvements
Social	Perceptions; image

Sources: *A change of scene: the challenge of tourism in regeneration*, Local Government Association, 2000; *Shifting Sands*, CABE/English Heritage, 2003; Architects' Journal – various.

4.3 Acme Studios, London

Established in London in 1972, Acme Studios supports the development of fine art practice by providing low-cost accommodation and studio space for professional and 'start-up' visual artists. Starting with two derelict shops in Bow, it has now supported over 4,000 artists. Acme provides live/work programmes, artists' housing, an international agency programme and advice/consultancy work and currently manages 11 buildings, including former meat pie, cosmetics and cigarette factories, mainly in East and South East London, housing 360 non-residential studios, 25 units of accommodation and 4 to 5 year Live/Work residencies for 20 artists with and without disabilities. Sites are in inner urban areas, which are often the subject of subsequent regeneration such as in Stepney, Tower Hamlets, Southwark and Hackney.

Acme effectively uses vacant properties in derelict areas in the transition, often taking several years, from degeneration to successful regeneration. Acme also conserves and protects premises for employment and production use, and ensures a mixed-use of economic and social activity. In 1997 Acme was able to access lottery funding at a critical time to move from the management of vulnerable leasehold property to the acquisition of sites to start to build a permanent infrastructure. With property values soaring in London and suitable ex-industrial property at high values because of residential potential, Acme developed a variety of strategies to sustain and expand its provision of affordable workspace. For example, in 2000 Acme purchased a major studio site in Orsman Road, Hackney (48 studios - 26,500 sq.ft.) as low-cost studios for artists. To ensure that the whole project was financially viable, by cross-subsidising the studios, it was necessary to develop a small part of the site to create eight work/live units for open market sale. The part new-build work/live units (ranging in size from 900 to 2,200 sq.ft.) were completed in summer 2001 and all 8 units have been sold within a year.

The work/live units were designed and built in marked contrast to the very many, so called, 'live/work' schemes currently being marketed. Such developments often drift into residential use, against the planning policies of local authorities who wish to maintain employment use and are often unsuitable as workspace. Acme however ensures that the purchasers of the work/live units at Orsman Road which include painters, photographers, designers and choreographers, have all bought to occupy their units as genuine workspace with ancillary accommodation.

Not only has Acme achieved units of high-quality which meet the needs of these artists but, through the sale of the units, have generated capital to make the studio project viable as low-cost space. Such an exercise, which exploits the mechanisms of the property market, though time-consuming and complex, provides a useful mechanism to help achieve affordable and sustainable space for cultural use in perpetuity at a time of escalating property prices.

Supporting quotes:

'Since 1972 Acme has been a byword in the surviving parts of industrial London as an organisation willing to manage short life property for use as artists' studios' (Thorne, R. *Architecture Today* AT118: 58)

'It is something of a truism to say that artists are leaders in the process of urban regeneration, and that where they go, fashion, money and commercial development follow' (Kit Wedd *Creative Quarters 1700-2000*, Museum of London 2001, p.153/4).

'Jonathan Harvey (co-founder of Acme Studios) makes the point that local government's recognition of the role played by artist-led regeneration has come late in the day. Until recently artists were treated with some suspicion by local government: at best, as solutions to vacant property problems. Generally it is only within the last few years that local and national government have come to acknowledge the importance of 'the cultural industries' in raising the status of run-down districts… As the case studies pile up of inner-city areas transformed into vibrant cultural quarters, there seems little reason to doubt that planners will look ever more keenly on the presence of artists in their areas, seeing art as a significant indicator of regeneration potential' (ibid.)

Impacts

Environmental (physical)	Occupation/Re-Use of redundant buildings, Public Art and Environmental Improvements
Economic	Workspace and accommodation for artists, job retention and start-ups; property/area values and area improvement for housing and amenities

Sources: Jonathan Harvey in *Creative Clusters*, Sheffield; 2002; Wedd, K et al., 2001, *Creative Quarters: the art world in London 1700-2000*. Museum of London.

4.4 Custard Factory, Digbeth, Birmingham

The Custard Factory Quarter in Birmingham, housed in and around the old Birds custard factory, is one of the largest single complex of creative activity in Europe, providing 250,000 sq. ft of 'affordable' workspace for as many as 1000 creative people from many different Creative Industries sub-sectors. The development is privately-owned by the Society for the Promotion of Artistic and Creative Enterprise (SPACE). SPACE launched its first acquisition of premises for creative businesses with the development of Canalot Production Studios in North Kensington, 1986. The success of this project prompted enquiries from, amongst others, Birmingham City Council, who were keen to develop the Digbeth area as a creative quarter. Since 1990, SPACE has gradually acquired all of the land associated with the old custard factory, together with some adjacent railway arches. The project is also part-funded by English Partnership's £800,000 towards the £2.5 million required for the first phase of the development.

The first stage of the project is now complete, providing a combination of nearly 200 studios, art galleries, restaurants, dance studios, shops, performance spaces and flats. The Custard Factory operates as a sole trader organisation, though it employs between 10 and 20 full time staff depending on the employment requirements at the time. The aim is to promote the physical cluster of Creative. Industries, and thus facilitate networking and complementary as a way of establishing a self-generating and sustainable local Creative Industries employment market. Simultaneously, this physical cluster emerges as a large-scale environmental (physical) regeneration project, working to redevelop a run-down, under-populated inner-city district (Digbeth) through a high-profile renovation of old industrial buildings which - vitally - assists the establishment of new jobs and the introduction of new residents. It is a Creative Industries project which combines strategies for a combined effects:

The Custard Factory is a *place to work.* 24-hour access studio space (from £40 pw) is designed to flexibly accommodate small creative businesses. Such businesses range from lithographers to musicians; set designers to animators. In addition, the 220-seat Custard Factory theatre, small recording studios and rehearsal/meeting rooms provide the space to perform or network.

The Custard factory is a *place to live.* At present, a student flats development is planned. This - it is hoped will provoke additional residential development and introduce 'life' to the area beyond the normal working day.

The Custard Factory is a *place of commerce.* Consumption-led Creative Industries are promoted through a cafe-bar (with plans for more), craft fairs, theatre productions and exhibition space. Shops are planned in the next development phase.

The Custard Factory is a *place to learn.* The University of Central England MA course in Fine Arts is in residence and Government-sponsored 'Business Surgeries', offering free business advice, are hosted on-site. In addition, dance, craft and theatre classes are provided; placements are given to graduate trainees; amenities are available for local schools; the Prince's Youth Business Trust is based on-site; and the project will soon act as a venue and facilitator for BTEC and National Vocational Qualification training courses.

The Custard Factory is a *place of physical regeneration.* It is a landmark project, transforming derelict buildings and introducing new features such as the Custard Factory lake and a planned bridge over the

River Rea. New possibilities, new hopes, have emerged from an area which, not long ago, was considered physically and culturally dead.

An example of Higher Education cultural industries project support is 'Artists in the Community', a University of Central England project. The project intends to help artists gain the necessary skills to work on community-based projects and commissions as a means to improve their 'employability'. Part-funded by the ESF, the programme offers trainee support such as the payment of travel and placement costs and support for disabled students. Trainees are allocated a trained mentor for support - usually an artist or employee from an arts organisation.

Impacts

Environmental (physical)	Re-use of industrial buildings, area regeneration, public art/icon, housing/live-work
Economic	Employment and SME/creative firms start-up, education and training, leverage

Sources: Fleming, T. *Case Studies for the Cultural Industries*, 1995/2000, MIPC and see Bennie Gray in *Industrial Buildings: Conservation and Regeneration*, Stratton, M. (ed.) E & FN Spon, 2002.

4.5 Chocolate Factory, Haringey Arts

An approach to economic regeneration through the arts and cultural industries is demonstrated in the north London borough of Haringey. Without any major flagship cultural projects or facilities and with pockets of high unemployment in the East and North of the borough, this culturally diverse borough embarked on an arts and urban regeneration programme which over a ten year period has integrated the arts into mainstream, economic, employment and environmental regeneration policy and provision. In 1991 an *Urban Design Action Team* was held through the offices of the Urban Design Group, focusing on the links between Alexandra Palace and Wood Green, the town centre which was in decline both physically and economically.

The borough, in collaboration with the regional arts authority, had appointed an arts and urban regeneration officer, the first in the UK, and commissioned an employment survey of the arts and cultural industries. Producing a *Strategy for the Arts & Cultural Industries* in 1994, the economic significance of this sector had been identified together with clusters of activity and development opportunity.

The study found that 18% of employment and 23% of employers were located in the arts and cultural industries, twice the London average: *the borough has en exceptionally large resident population of artists, musicians, visual arts and crafts/makers, actors and audio-visual practitioners but this artistic community is largely hidden' fragmented and has not been identified sufficiently in terms of cultural development and enterprise* (1993). In line with the regional planning strategy of developing town centres as an environmentally sustainable approach to economic and cultural development, a programme of environmental improvements and urban design schemes were undertaken in Wood Green. The borough was successful in securing SRB funding for *Haringey Heartlands* and regeneration programmes for the borough including Objective 2 ERDF funding for the Upper Lee Valley area, now coordinated by a single agency 'Urban Futures' which includes the development of creative industries and related SME, education and training programmes, and entertainment-led redevelopment of the 'shopping city'. This includes a multi-screen Hollywood Green cinema which shows Bollywood movies alongside other films, and brings crowds of people to the area which before was a dead and unsafe space after the shops closed.

A key to the Heartlands regeneration is the ***Chocolate Factory*** Cultural Quarter in Wood Green, opened in 1997. The catalyst for this development was the Haringey Arts Council (HAC) which leases and manages 5,000 square metres of floor space at the Chocolate Factory, a former Bassetts sweet factory, to provide studios for over 120 local artists, film/video, music, theatre, photography, printing and crafts-based businesses and training and seminar spaces. The refurbishment began in 1997 and has created 75 artist studios, sculpture studios. One floor has been converted to become North London's largest photographic studios, offering a range of services and training programmes. Another floor is soon to become a 'Learning and Enterprise Centre', also housing HAC's sound-recording studios. The site is shared with other organisations and businesses that have created rehearsal studios, theatre scenery construction and design workshops. A cafe/restaurant has now opened (to 'rave reviews'). The Chocolate Factory is a key centre of production for the creative industries in North London. The Factory forms the heart of The Wood Green Cultural Quarter, an SRB-funded project. Flagship projects within this quarter include Quicksilver Gallery, which houses Middlesex University's School of Fine Art; Mountview Theatre School, which leases premises for its theatre training programmes; Scanlan Studios (animation) and 'The Decorium', a high quality banqueting suite.

It is envisaged that this cultural quarter will serve as an 'engine for change' within the Haringey Heartlands regeneration zone (an area of 50 acres of industrial decline), attracting private developers to work towards a critical mass of creative industries alongside residential and commercial developments.

Impacts

Environmental (physical)	Re-use and improvement of industrial building; environmental improvements to key retail centre and animation through the night-time economy
Economic	Creative Cluster, Education and Training links and provision in area of high unemployment especially amongst BMEs
Good Example	Research into policy and implementation and an incremental approach to regeneration through the arts and culture; integration of culture with economic and environmental (physical) regeneration (SRB, ERDF).

Sources: *An Economic Strategy for Art & Cultural Industries in Haringey*, 1994; Fleming, T. *Case Studies for the Cultural Industries*, 1995/2000; www.artfactories.net; Haringey Arts Council, 2002.

4.6 Breightmet Arts, Bolton

The Breightmet estate in Bolton, Greater Manchester is in the lowest 10% of areas in the country measured against indicators of income deprivation and child poverty. Breightmet Arts, an organisation established by Bolton Community Education Services, (part of Bolton Community College) and funded through Bolton Metropolitan Borough Council's Housing Department's Percent for Arts scheme, has a ten-year strategy to use the arts on the estate as a catalyst for positive change.

The ethos of Breightmet Arts' work is closely linked to community development and supports community action; the emphasis is on developing the skills and experiences of local people and the opportunities available to them. A high percentage of the work involves participation in arts activity, directly engaging in creative practice, rather than attending an event or exhibition as a member of an audience.

During the 3 years 1999-2002, Breightmet Arts:

- Worked with 71 partner organisations (63 local, 5 national and 3 international).
- Contracted work to 43 artists (36 local artists, 7 from outside Bolton).
- Coordinated over 60 projects with local people, delivering 446 participatory sessions.
- Worked with approximately 5051 individual participants (4,324 children and 727 adults).
- Received grant income of approximately £75,000 from Bolton Metropolitan Borough Council and £6,000 in kind support from the Community Education Service of Bolton Community College.
- Drew in approximately £80,000 of additional income to the Breightmet area, some in cash contributions to specific projects and some in volunteer time (costed at £5.00/ hour).

Findings

Personal self-image - Evidence from focus groups and qualitative interviews demonstrates that for children and young people, their involvement in creating art gave them not only a sense of achievement but also an important sense of status.

Image of Breightmet as an area - Evidence from focus groups and qualitative interviews demonstrates that children and young people directly link the profiling of arts activities on the estate to changing perceptions of it (their own and other peoples). A quantitative questionnaire asked users whether Breightmet Arts has helped improve the image of Breightmet. 96.4 % of adult residents agreed with this proposition, with 75.0 % agreeing strongly. Only 3.3 % disagreed with the proposition. All primary school children and 86.7% of secondary school respondents agreed with the proposition.

Ability of individuals to work collectively and collaboratively - Focus groups, qualitative interviews and practitioner observation demonstrate the way in which arts activities create a space and a focus, where different generations can work side by side on an activity of mutual interest.

Social cohesion and solidarity - At a neighbourhood level, this collaborative quality translated, for residents participating in focus groups or qualitative interviews into a way of encouraging social cohesion. Questionnaire responses indicate that 92.6 % of adult residents believe that Breightmet Arts has given local people something positive to build on rather than just an activity, with 77.8% agreeing strongly. 88.5 % of

primary school children responding to the questionnaire agreed with this proposition with 65.4% agreeing strongly, whilst 80% of secondary school children agreed strongly with the statement.

Increase in perceptions of choices available - In questionnaire responses, the proposition with which adult residents most strongly agreed was that ' Breightmet Arts has created opportunities for creative activities in Breightmet' with 92.9% agreeing with the statement, 82.4 % strongly agreeing. 6.7% strongly disagreed with the statement. 84.6% of primary school respondents also agreed with the statement, with 13.4% disagreeing with it, and 93.3% of secondary school respondents, with 6.7% disagreeing. The relatively high level of dissatisfaction in primary school respondents (twice that of secondary school children and adults) is interesting to note. Qualitative responses give some indication of how increase in perception of choices has occurred through arts activities.

Health - There is some indication in focus group interviews with children and young people in the last year of the study that they perceive art to have a psychological benefit in reducing feelings of stress and anxiety. However, the proposition that 'Breightmet Arts could offer a chance for better health in Breightmet' elicited the lowest level of agreement amongst adult residents, with 78% agreeing, but only 42% strongly agreeing and a higher level of disagreement (20%) than recorded for other propositions. Amongst primary school children, 13% and 50% of secondary school children disagreed with the proposition. This suggests that the link between arts and health is less strongly perceived by adults than that between arts and neighbourhood image or arts and community solidarity. The link between health and the arts was similarly recognised by primary school and secondary school children, but not as strongly as the link between, for example, the arts and Breightmet's image and creative opportunities on the estate.

Research methods - these included: published statistical data; arts practitioner observation of arts sessions and qualitative interviews with participants; focus group and questionnaire-based studies by a researcher who was not an arts practitioner. A Social Impact Study Research Group comprising local residents and professionals also met regularly, and reviewed the research and contributed to it through diaries and discussion.

Impacts

Environmental (physical)	The look of the area.
Social	Residents' perceptions and Breightmet's external image. Community cohesion.
Good example	Evaluation methods designed and implemented with participants in/beneficiaries of the project

Source: www.breightmet.co.uk

4.7 Ulverston - a festival town

Ulverston is a small market town, with a population of 11,500, in South Lakeland, Cumbria. It is ten miles from the ship building town of Barrow-in-Furness and a similar distance from the shores of Windermere. During the 1980s and early 1990s the town's fortunes had declined due to a number of factors which also influenced the destiny of similar market towns throughout the country. Out of town shopping centres, together with changes in lifestyle, shopping patterns and social attitudes meant that many small retailers were trading in a difficult environment. These issues, coupled with redundancies made by significant local employers within South Cumbria, and the difficult economic climate at the time, all added to the problems faced by Ulverston. The Foot and Mouth outbreak of 2001/2002 also brought further economic pressure to the area.

In 1997, Ulverston 2000+ was established in an attempt to address some of these problems. This was a consortium of district and parish councils, local businesses and others who were keen to improve the overall look and feel of the town, thereby increasing
the number of visitors.

A principal aim was to re-brand the town. The major re-branding exercise was to be the development and promotion of the very strong cultural and artistic themes existing within the area, which were summarised under the banner, "Ulverston Festival Town". The Partnership, which included one of the UK's best-known celebratory organisations, Welfare State International, felt that the strong thread of cultural heritage was a highly valuable resource that could contribute significantly to promoting the image of the town.

Ulverston already supported a number of festivals including the Lantern Procession and the Annual Carnival, which recently celebrated its centenary. The Lantern Procession takes place every autumn. The young people of the town are invited to take part in workshops making lanterns around a particular theme, at Welfare State's base The Lantern House. Hundreds of the lanterns are then used in a procession that makes a magical display of light throughout the narrow streets of the town. In 2002, 12,000 people witnessed the rivers of light and the fantastic finale to the procession.

It was decided to build on this base of activity so that in 2002, 13 festivals and events took place. Each of these festivals addresses a different segment of the market with either a cultural or commercial ethos. The recently established Dickensian Christmas Festival is clearly the latter, while the eclectic Furness Festival of Tradition is very much the former. Another recent addition is the Word Market, which promotes local writing and literature in outreach work, culminating in a week long festival of literary events.

The Partnership also supported the provision of subsidised studios as part of the desire to foster an entrepreneurial culture within local arts and craftspeople. Linked to this has been the development of high quality craft galleries, which have added value to what the town centre has to offer. These projects ran in tandem with other initiatives such as an imaginative approach to street furniture, which ensured that a thematic colour and pattern was decided upon for street nameplates, benches and seats.

Local artist Chris Bramhall was commissioned to provide a sculpture on the Gill, a historic, primarily residential area in the centre of town that has recently undergone a significant facelift in terms of hard and soft landscaping by the South Lakeland District Council. His sculpture, The Cumbria Way Marker, is at the start of the Cumbria Way, a long-distance walk to Carlisle. It represents a compass surrounding a conical shape into which Chris has installed minerals and rocks found on the 70-mile walk to Carlisle. Inspired by

the success of the Cumbria Way Marker there is now a proposal to introduce forms of public art and landscaping in and around the areas of Ulverston Canal. A principal theme of this new proposal will be the installation of a representational piece of sculpture of Laurel and Hardy to be situated within the town centre. Stan Laurel was born in Ulverston and sculptor Graham Ibbeson has been commissioned to produce a sculpture of the comic heroes. Graham made the Eric Morecambe statue, which has attracted over 100,000 additional visitors into Morecambe every year.

The successful re-branding of the town has created a feel good factor among local residents. The new arts-led renaissance has sparked many other initiatives and a willingness to accept change and move forward.

Part of this desire to move forward has been the expressed desire to open a small multi-purpose arts centre.

The re-branding and associated activity has led to an increased number of visitors and visitor spend which in turn promotes economic development in Ulverston. Approximately 75,000 people attended/participated in the festivals in 2002 (although its is difficult to split this figure between visitors and locals). Every hotel bed in the town is occupied for the Lantern Festival weekend and restaurants and pubs do excellent business around festival times. More coach operators are calling into Ulverston, and Tourist Information Centre enquiries and visitors are both up.

More festivals are being developed and festival and arts development are now part of Ulverston's Market Town Initiative Action Plan.

Impacts

Environmental (physical)	Projects that temporarily change the appearance of the town (Ulverston Flag Fortnight). Animation of the town. Opening of the Lanternhouse. Public art
Economic	Empty shops re-let. Visitor numbers.
Social	Perceptions of residents. External image of Ulverston as a creative town. Collaborative projects (notably the annual Lantern Procession; children's involvement in flag and banner design for Flag Fortnight) – many opportunities for family participation.

Source: *Releasing potential: creativity and change. Arts and regeneration in England's North West*, Gerry Moriarty and Kevin McManus. Arts Council England, April 2003.

4.8 Headland Café, Bridlington, Yorkshire

The café overlooks the beach about a mile south of Bridlington harbour. The problems faced by this project were economic and social as much as environmental. The café is one element in a project which originated in an attempt to reverse the decline in popularity of Bridlington as a holiday destination. East Riding of Yorkshire Council decided that the collapsing North Promenade should be repaired with the involvement of artists/designers, in order to provide a stimulating environment free and open to all as a truly 'open space'. Following the success of that scheme, the decision was taken to *invest in the regeneration of the South Promenade with the involvement of artists, using high quality materials and a high standard of modern design*. The project as a whole was put together by a multi-disciplinary team who were appointed by the local authority to draw up a design strategy which was approved by the council and then implemented under the guidance of a special working group chaired by the leader of the council.

The café structure itself sits within the headland, its roof largely covered with turf, so that from above it is seen only as a railing at the edge of the drop to the terrace below. The building is in the form of a drum, covered in stucco and extensively glazed. This echoes the shape of the headland and provides a prospect to the north and the south. It is also highly reminiscent of that architecture of the 1930s which itself always appears associated with the seaside, without copying it directly. The glazed screen which makes up the front of the building is etched by Bruce McLean and the use of glass and transparency extend to the counter inside the cafe. McLean is also responsible for the Jetty, the brightly coloured sculpture-cum-maze beyond the terrace in front of the building.

The implementation of the project as a whole, which involved the artist Mel Gooding as well as Bruce McLean and Chris Tipping, was dependent on obtaining outside funds in addition to those committed by the local authority. Support was obtained from the European Regional Development Fund and from the Arts Lottery Fund, whose monitor supported it on the basis that 'The plan is radical in that it proposes a standard of civic architecture that refuses to license mediocrity and architecturally bankrupt anomalies for the sake of short term speculative gain the scheme is concerned with changing public perception of place without didactic presentation, lumbering explanation or confrontational architectural design or public art'. These comments appear to have been justified by the completed scheme, which has been widely publicised in the national press. Popular with visitors and in its entirety has been credited with a twenty per cent increase in tourism in the year after it opened.

This project would not have come about without championship from officers and councillors organised specifically to carry it forward. It demonstrates the ability of such arrangements to achieve projects of unusual scope and cost against the odds. It also shows that the involvement of artists, high quality design and high aspirations, have popular appeal, as seen by the increase tourism and by the popularity of the new beach chalets, described as 'stupendous' by visitors. The design of the café itself demonstrates it is possible to combine modesty, boldness, modernity and popularity. The tenant, Mrs Kendal, says 'On a sunny day you couldn't possibly have a better place to work'.

Impacts

Environmental (physical)	Urban Design Quality, Involvement of artists in design (Art & Architecture)
Economic	Increased tourists, reverse decline, increased spending
Social	Local icon and amenity, sense of place

Source: *Building in Context. New development in historic areas.* English Heritage/CABE, 2001

4.9 Hi8us

Hi8us ("Hiatus") Projects is a charity established to produce innovative and participatory television drama with young people in their own communities. Its focuses on work with young people at risk from social exclusion, developing projects which enable them to tell their own stories, learn new skills and gain access to opportunities in employment and education. Hi8us' two aims are: to create ground-breaking film, television and new media drama that reflect young people's lives through collaboration between media professionals and non-professionals; and to enable young people to use the experience of creating media drama as a catalyst for change in their own lives.

Hi8us' projects have pushed the boundaries of drama, technology and young people's participation. Wingnut and the Sprog (1995), made with young Protestants in East Belfast, was one of the hits of Channel 4's Long War season. Blazed (1996), was made with a young AfroCaribbean group in inner city Coventry. It was nominated for a CRE Race In The Media award and won an RTS award. The Visit (1997), devised with young prisoners in Hull Prison, was also shown on Channel 4 and received the RTS Best Independent Production Award. Pure (1998) is a TV feature film made with homeless young people in Manchester and was screened by Channel 4 in Autumn 1998 (below). Hia8us have recently been awarded the franchise to administer the Film Council's Lottery scheme First Light, a film and video in education grants programme.

Each project involves a group of young people over an extended period in a combination of workshops, training and individual action planning. Each programme introduces a wide range of young people to television drama, many of whom have gone on to further education, training or employment and some to work in the industry or to make their own films. The project's training aims are:

• To develop skills and knowledge by creating a formal structure to prepare for, reflect on and build on the experience of working on a broadcast drama production. Skills include media production and wider transferable skills (administrative, social, organisational and personal);

• To increase opportunities for future employment and further training for participants by working with local media and community development organisations, careers advice, trainers and funders to establish a network which continues to support participants beyond the end of the project.

The first project concerns a training programme run alongside the production of Pure, a devised drama by young people in Manchester for Channel 4, completed in June 1998. Pure was part of a two year project part funded by the National Lottery Arts for All Scheme to develop camcorder television dramas made with young people throughout England. The stories were to be developed in workshops with a group of 16-25 year olds based at the City Centre Project in Manchester. City Centre Project is a resource for young people, based on Oldham Street, which provides information, support and opportunities for young people who are disadvantaged by their situations. Most young people's initial contact with the project is to because of their housing need. They may be street homeless, sleeping on someone's floor or in poor accommodation.

Hi8us' Lottery projects have always included opportunities for young people to develop new skills. However, the A4E grant and funding from regional development agencies enabled them to develop a strategic approach to participants' learning on this production and to strengthen follow up in the communities with whom they work. With support from Manchester Training and Enterprise Council, WFA

Media and Cultural Centre and Eastside Regeneration, they were able to offer two groups of young people a programme of seminars, work placements, workshops, a practical project and individual support

The training offered opportunities to two groups of young people - a total of 17 trainees behind and in front of the camera. Nine young people were involved in four months of improvisatory drama workshops developing performance skills and devising storylines alongside professional writers and directors. Then, in a four-week shoot, they performed the script they had created to camera, filmed by a broadcast crew. The training programme offered this group individual sessions and group seminars. None of the participants in this group had been involved in a media project before. Ten young people were offered on-the job learning backed up by a formal programme of seminars, individual sessions and a practical production project. Participants in this group typically already had some media-related skills.

Two months after the completion of this project the production trainees were asked to assess their learning experience and comment on the highlights and pitfalls of their training:

63% of participants rated the training seminars Good or Excellent; 88% increased their knowledge of TV drama; 75% in learning new media skills and 71% were helped to develop personal skills. All of the participants said that they wanted to pursue a career in the media.

The script for the second Lottery project Nightshift was developed through a process of improvisation and conversation with young people in Birmingham and performed by them. The film is a unique collaboration between a completely non-professional cast, an established writer, Michael Eaton, and a young Asian director, Aysha Rafaele. The film was launched at the Birmingham Film and Television Festival and transmitted on Channel 4 on Sunday 13th February. So far it has also been shown at other festival events in Birmingham and Nottingham. It has been nominated for a CRE Race in the Media Award.

The training programme offered opportunities to two groups of young people - a total of 23 behind and in front of the camera. The 'Cast' - 14 young people were involved in three months of improvisatory drama workshops, developing performance skills and devising storylines alongside the drama co-ordinator. writer and director. In a three-week shoot, they performed the script they had created to camera, filmed by a broadcast crew. The training programme offered this group individual sessions and group seminars. Most of the participants in this group had not been involved In a media project before. They were recruited from leaflet distributions in Birmingham and contacts made through the probation and youth services. Production trainees - 9 young people were offered on-the job learning backed up by a formal programme of seminars, individual sessions and a practical production project. Participants in this group typically already had some media-related skills.

In these projects working with 40 participants: 10 are now in work; 12 are either doing or have got a place to do a further education course and 10 are still unemployed. The lottery-funded programmes have enabled young people who would not otherwise have access to professional film and media production, nor gain broadcast exhibition of the end-product. Over 50% have found work or further training.

Two months after project completion the production trainees were asked to assess their learning experience and comment on the highlights and pitfalls of their training. 72% rated the seminars Good or Excellent; 67% increased knowledge of TV drama and developed personal skills.

Supporting quotes

'It's been a very positive experience. There's been loads of new things to learn. It's made the future look more positive on the whole in that I can get involved in other things'

'I thought the experience was excellent. It was tiring (chaotic?), but the experience was worth it '

'I feel my experience as a whole on the project was great. 1 had a good time, but the long hours and days were stressing tiring, but as a whole good.'

'Very exciting, also very tiring. It wasn't like I had ever imagined. Everyone was great and made me feel better when I was down. Absolutely fabulous, I feel really happy I got involved'

'Overall I found the project exciting, fun, hard work and rewarding, when I felt I was achieving results and was able to offer the production team solutions and was effective in my work in which I had little or no previous experience'

'I found the training very valuable and a very beneficial programme for future trainees. The drama was great fun and an experience, the format of working with amateurs is very eye opening and as part of a crew the interaction is different in many ways'

'I think the project was brilliant from start to finish. The crew were very helpful and friendly, I can honestly say I loved working on it despite the long hours and meagre pay'

'I really appreciated the crew being quite small with a trainee in each department as you felt your work was valid and needed. You weren't just shadowing someone you were doing the job and being appreciated by the rest of the crew. I was glad everyone enjoyed each others company and I wasn't made to feet belittled - we were treated in most aspects as professional - we were trusted by our Heads of Department everyone was keen to help and answer any questions'

Impacts

Economic	Vocational training, leading to employment
Social	Self confidence. The opportunity to demonstrate talent. Local profile of the project. Collaborative working.

Source: Hi8tus, 2001; *Study into the Social Impact of Lottery Good Cause Spending in the UK*, Evans and Shaw for DCMS, 2001.

4.10 Arts at the Heart of Health

Background

The Arts at the Heart of Health projects were a series of arts projects provided within Hull and East Riding Community Health NHS Trust Specialist Children's Services between April 2000 and June 2001. The Trust believed that the arts have something important to add to the work of the NHS and the healing process in enabling patients to discover unexpected talents and new ways to communicate their feelings about their quality of life and health.

The idea was driven by Elaine Burke, a Head Art Therapist with the Trust. Her training and experience had convinced her of the value of the arts in creating observable positive outcomes in participants. Initially Elaine introduced the idea to the Head of Children's Services who agreed to support a series of pilot projects between April 1999 and 2000, which Elaine managed. The projects were made possible through a partnership between Hull and East Riding Community Health NHS Trust and the City Arts Unit of Kingston Upon Hull City Council. The partnership is described as totally open and fluid. All planning is joint and ideas are generated cooperatively. In its first year the Hull City Arts Unit provided £1,000. A total of £18,500 was provided by Specialist Children's Service over the projects lifetime. The City Arts Unit advised on the selection of artists.

Participants

A total of 10 projects occurred with clients of the Specialist Children's Service. Participants were children with learning and physical disabilities and emotional problems from a mixture of residential and community settings. A total of 150 young people between the ages of 3 and 18 were involved.

Arts are central to people's well being. If you don't feel well you don't read a scientific paper you go to the movies, you listen to music, you want uplifting the arts offer something special and bring back humanity into the health service. Arts are mainstream… getting social support from being in a creative writing group may be healthier than relying on other forms of organised health support. People who've participated in the projects get inspiration and fun from achieving something tangible (Elaine Burke, Arts in Health Development Manager).

Projects took place in a variety of healthcare settings: Two Projects took place at St John's House a residential facility that provides short breaks to children with profound physical disabilities, many of whom have a learning disability:

Jabadao

Jabadao are a Leeds-based group specialising in working with people who find verbal communication difficult by encouraging communication through movement. The company worked with staff, children and parents to aid children verbalise their experience.

Cartoon in Hyperspace

Artist Simon Crook worked with teenage boys with Duchenne's Muscular Dystrophy to create cartoon characters which were animated on the computer and used on a website, which the boys will use to present their interests and outlooks.
Other projects involved the clients of the Community Team for Learning Disabilities:

Puppets and people
A puppeteer worked with young people with learning disabilities to create different body parts and assemble a whole body. The young people had not previously had a clear sense of their own bodies so this project assisted them to develop a positive awareness of their own physical bodies and consequently a stronger sense of identity,

Drama
Cate McPherson, Education Officer from Hull Truck Theatre worked with a group of young people with learning disabilities to develop their drama skills, and ways of telling stories.

Further projects took place with the West End Child Adolescent and Family Service with young people with mental health difficulties in both residential and day patient settings:

Transformation by Puppetry
Children worked with Liz Dorton, puppeteer, to make puppets out of household equipment with the aim to translate the message that even in difficult situations hope could be salvaged. Children gave puppets a defined personality and created a story for them. A puppetry performance was held at the Screen Theatre, Hull, for family & friends.

Graffiti Rules OK
Young people requested a project that reflected youth culture. Artist Simon Crook worked with young people to scale up drawings into large-scale graffiti banners,

Sing Out
Simon Crook facilitated a week of song making and recording with young people from the Adolescent Unit to produce songs on four track and CD.

Writer in Residence
A service wide project within the Specialist Children's Services employed a community writer, Julie Ward, to help children and young people find a new voice through creative writing.

Approximately 50 health service staff undertook training in relation to the projects by attending workshops about how to employ creativity in their own therapeutic work. It gave them time out of the usual setting to think about the use of arts in clinical practice. A staff training day was held for the Community Mental Health Team where staff worked with a professional storyteller to develop story-telling skills which can then be used in their own clinical work with children and families.

Evaluation
Prior to the start of project there were two types of feeling expressed by staff. Either a feeling that artists and their work could conflict with clinical work or that the project was potentially exciting. To address this issue training was offered to staff so that they could meet the artists and learn about their processes.

Evaluation demonstrated that staff felt that artists were actually very down to earth and had valuable techniques to offer the service. They had a useful perspective as outsiders and were not restricted by the limitations of the healthcare role. Co-operative working ensured that artists led on art form matters and the staff led on the clients emotional needs and each had to understand the others main role.

The most frequently recorded statement from clients and staff was: 'We want more projects like this'. Dr Dina Berkeley from the University of Hull assisted in assessing the impact of participation on client's health and well-being. An ethnographic approach was taken combining observations during projects with open-ended interviewing and informal questionnaires with staff and clients.

The overall outcome of the project was that the professionalism, skill and flexibility of the project artists resulted in creative innovation in an established healthcare setting. Evaluation revealed the following:

- Exceptional levels of engagement of young people in projects.
- Performances, exhibitions and displays of work were a crucial factor in success as they gave young people a sense of importance and they gained confidence from the praise received.
- Seeing a project through to completion, and overcoming setbacks, resulted in an increased sense of confidence amongst young people,
- Artist's expectation of young people created a context of achievable excellence; young people and staff were surprised at what was possible.
- Creative projects allowed clients to express issues they had previously been unable to communicate. As a result therapeutic programmes were altered.
- Children with physical disabilities benefited from high levels of physical and sensory stimulation and made previously unwitnessed responses.
- Artists suggested the experience had enriched and broadened their personal practice.
- Staff felt their relationship with young people had improved as they worked with them in a more relaxed way.
- Projects worked best when staff were able to participate and concentrate on the activities without dealing with service management issues.
- Staff enjoyed "new people" coming into their working environment and felt they learned from them.
- Since the projects staff have bought new equipment and used it to plan their own activities with children.
- Following the puppetry performance at the Screen Theatre, parents appeared proud for weeks at the fact their children had performed so well in a professional theatre.
- Staff became more personally involved creatively with their own children and grandchildren, suggesting that they had recognised the value of the arts in the development of their family life.
- Negative feedback was negligible but included observations that there was not enough time spent on the projects.

I've always felt inadequate about how to tap into the kids, how to "read" them. This is a lovely new tool, it's given me lots of ideas about how to give children good experiences. (Staff member, St John's House)

Promoting inclusivity
One of the aims of the project was to encourage young people to become part of mainstream activities rather than specialised services to reduce the social exclusion experienced by these young people. For example, one participant, following involvement in puppetry workshops, joined an Artlink group, a structured community arts group based in a local community centre.

The project has resulted in public displays of work including a banner exhibition at a gym in the West End Centre, and a performance at The Screen Theatre. The Word Power Exhibition was shown at the Hull Literature Festival in November 2001 and will tour the region in 2002.

At present the service is in negotiation about establishing the projects as part of its core service delivery. The Trust will continue the Arts at the Heart of Health projects in specialised services but also expand the pilot projects across a range of services including adult mental health, learning disability, older adults, public health, community health development and health promotion. It also plans to explore projects in other organisational settings including collaborative work with Local Authorities and Arts Organisations.

Impacts

Social	Health and well-being; community cohesion and pride;
Good example	Multi-agency project design and evaluation

Source: *Creative Yorkshire. Case Studies for a Creative Region*, 2003 www.creativeyorkshire.com; *Arts at the Heart of Health* Evaluation.

See also - Angus, J. (2002) *Review of evaluation in community-based art for health activity in the UK*. London. Health Development Agency. This publication is available on the website of the Health Development Agency. In 2004, Chelsea and Westminster Hospital will be publishing the results of a study into the clinical impact of the arts on patients. For more information about this and other studies contact the National Network for the Arts in Health. email: info@nnah.org.uk.

5.   Gaps in Evidence

As we summarised in the case of the 'hierarchy' of types of information available in this field, evidence may exist but not be published or made public; or may exist in general form (via regeneration, development, performance assessments), but not specifically analysed in cultural terms. More often however, the rationale for measuring cultural impacts in relation to regeneration is absent or at least not sufficiently understood or valued by stakeholders. In particular:

5.1.   Culture is not generally recognised in social policy and quality of life indicators (e.g. health, education, employment, crime – ODPM, SEU, NRU *et al.*) and therefore is absent from regeneration measurement criteria (or is subsumed into general outcome measures), e.g. New Deal, SRB, Healthy Living, Liveability/Quality of Life.

5.2.   Regeneration is a fragmented process that takes place over several years, perhaps a generation or more. Monitoring and evaluation both tend to focus on shorter-term, quantitative outputs (jobs, training, property developed, inward investment, crime etc.). Programmes are time limited so offer little opportunity for the longitudinal study of effects. Developers are short-term 'stakeholders' and tend not to be landowners/lords or operators of facilities. Developer selection may need to consider this aspect (there is some good practice emerging via the Construction Industry Council, and the BRE on sustainability).

5.3.   Measuring impacts and evaluating beyond the project's immediate objectives and performance, and beyond the objectives of the project's funders (e.g. Best Value, PIs, Lottery) is generally not the responsibility of cultural organisations or funders. The latter maintain that their objectives are principally 'cultural' (arts, heritage, education etc.) rather than social or economic and they feel that a focus on such impacts may detract from their core purpose (particularly where they are less significant than other sectors, e.g. economic and employment impacts). Resistance to formal evaluation is also a valid stance: *Over zealous pursuit of scientific objectivity and the internal validity of evaluation programmes are inappropriate and unhelpful approaches to the evaluation of social programmes and especially arts projects* (Matarasso, 1996b: 24).

5.4.   Cultural development objectives may conflict with economic and environmental/physical regeneration objectives. There is scepticism, particularly in academic literature and studies, over the claims, hype and impacts of flagship regeneration projects on the one hand, and what are seen as instrumental, social policy-oriented, interventionist policies on the other. There is also some resistance from community and cultural organisations to measuring impacts (this is also self-fulfilling). Most major project evaluation, *worldwide*, tends to produce a dialectic - two (or more) stories of winners and losers; rich and poor; visitor/employment impacts and failure to achieve 'trickle down' or wider participation/benefits; gentrification and displacement, and so on.

In Greenwich, for example, the Dome was widely perceived as a 'failure' (especially in the media), yet surveys found that it was a visitor 'success' [100]: *it is important to distinguish between the media view of the Millennium Exhibition and the monumental impact it has had on Greenwich. The council has no doubt that the Exhibition has driven regeneration in the borough. L.B.Greenwich has worked hard to revitalise the borough and is proud of the long-term benefits* (David McCollum, Director Strategic Planning, LGA 2000).

This is a fundamental issue surrounding any 'development' and planning practice. This history suggests that cultural project assessments need to be reviewed to capture these aspects as far as possible, as part of the feasibility stage, and cost benefit or other formulas widened to reflect these various values (see ODPM '3Rs' and DCMS "White Book" on appraisal and evaluation - 3.2.1).

5.5.   Typically, cultural regeneration is more concerned with themes such as community self-development and self-expression. Economic regeneration is more concerned with 'growth' and property development and finds expression in prestige projects and place marketing. The latter regeneration does not necessarily contribute to the former. For example prestige and flagship projects are more likely to bring benefit to the local middle class and cultural tourists. Place-marketing strategies may also encourage the kind of 'safe' art that attracts commercial sponsors and large audiences. There are also dangers in linking cultural development too closely to property-led development subject to market swings.

5.6.   There are now a wealth of evaluation measures, impact indicators and systems and approaches using quantitative, qualitative/process-based approaches, drawing from economics, environmental, management (public services), community development, health, education and design spheres. Performance Regimes (e.g. Best Value, Arts PIs) likewise offer a range of comparative indicators. However there are very few holistic and integrated approaches that can be applied to culture and regeneration. There is a call for simpler common measurement indicators on one hand, but a flexible approach using a range of appropriate measures on the other, including self-assessment. Most existing toolkits are not used or easily operationalised, even recent social impact and arts education guidance. Well established economic and investment appraisal techniques such as cost-benefit analysis are also seldom used in any comprehensive way in cultural projects, nor in regeneration programme assessment and evaluation in general. There is therefore a surfeit of 'guidance' but a dearth of their actual application, suggesting that on the one hand they are to too general (and too long/indiscriminate), and on the other, that resources are not targeted at this aspect of project planning.

5.7.   In the specific field of public art, Hall and Robertson (2001) have provided a useful analysis of why research into public art so rarely manages to measure impact: *The two prevailing critical paradigms in public art research are productionist and semiotic, commonly employed in some combination. Both of these paradigms are flawed as a basis for evaluating the regeneration claims of public art, although both have been employed to this end.* The nub of their argument is that much public art criticism, although avowedly about the reception of public art, is actually written from within a 'productionist framework' (i.e. by artists and arts administrators who fail to say very much about the public reception of the work). The semiotic approach, on the other hand: *fails to acknowledge the contested, fragmented and mutable nature of [concepts of] nature, identity, place and community which public art is said to influence.* Increasingly artists eschew 'public art' as a process and concept (in part reflected in trends in contemporary art and its display, e.g. installation and time-based media art).

5.8.   Evaluation takes time and costs money. Few projects or funders are willing to fund this, or fund it adequately. The use of formulaic impact methods such as multipliers, reflects this, although they are seldom robust or representative (and are often extremely dated). One-off impact studies are also under-resourced and limited in scope and therefore transferability, a vicious circle. Many impact studies are not published or made public - a side-effect of the contract culture ('confidential', consultant produced; public sector lack of transparency). Capturing baseline information and building evaluation questions into project assessment is achievable however. The Heritage Lottery Fund, for example, revised its Lottery application pack to incorporate quantitative as well as qualitative measures of projects, pre- and post-award, requiring

the baseline situation to be established at the outset. The integration of evaluation within a funded project/programme and clearly establishing the criteria against which 'success' is measured, was a recommendation of the DCMS PAT 10 Report on Arts, Sport and Social Exclusion (1999), recognising that the criteria and outcomes should be set by those benefiting and participating in the cultural activity itself.

Reasons for the gaps in evidence

Measuring the contribution that culture can and does make to regeneration is primarily viewed as an 'externality'. Conversely it is used by organisations (projects, funders) in advocacy and promotion, but often without a solid evidence base. However, internal barriers to the gathering of evidence of impact also exist within the cultural sector and the public funding system.

The most common barriers have been identified by several writers, including Matarasso (1996a & b), Moriarty (1997), Shaw (1999), Evans and Shaw (2001), Blake Stevenson Ltd (2000) and Jermyn (2001). Their conclusions were reflected and supplemented by Reeves (2002) as follows:

- a lack of interest on the part of the cultural sector in developing evaluative systems through which to prove its value

- the view, held by some creative practitioners in particular, that evaluation is an unnecessary, bureaucratic intrusion in the creative process

- the view that evaluation is an additional and probably unaffordable burden on small organisations

- the failure of funding bodies to insist that provision for evaluation is made

- the perception of data collection as a chore rather than a tool to help organisations improve their own practice

- a failure to recognise evaluation as an essential part of the process of learning about culture's contribution to regeneration and about how to make the most effective use of cultural provision or activity in a regeneration context

- a tendency, in the design and implementation of an evaluation exercise, to give too great a priority to funders' objectives

- a lack of experience, in the cultural sector, of undertaking formally structured evaluations

- in relation to the arts, the absence of planning norms for arts facilities, against which to measure the quality and quantity of provision

The reasons for the barriers and resistance to the evaluation of impacts are therefore 'cultural' on the one hand, and structural on the other, including the rationale for the resources needed to undertake the required gathering of evidence at the outset and over time. Recommendations are therefore made below, which seek to overcome some of these barriers and provide more useful and acceptable evidence in the future.

6.   Recommendations

Culture, but not just its aesthetic dimension, can make communities. It can be a critical focus for effective and sustainable urban regeneration. The task is to develop an understanding (including methods of study) of the ways – cultural and ethical – in which even the 'worst estates' can take part in and help shape the relics of their city (and society) as well as their locality. This is a massive challenge to academics, professionals, business, and to local and ultimately national government and – of course – citizens. But nothing less can work
(Bob Catterall, *Culture as a Critical Focus for Effective Urban Regeneration*[101])

This 'review of evidence' has highlighted the nature and extent of culture's contribution to regeneration, as it has been captured and disseminated to date. The following recommendations are suggested to respond both to gaps in particular forms of evidence, and to what appears to be a need to secure a more central place for culture within the regeneration programme and evaluation regimes now in force throughout the UK.

1. Programme-wide evaluation, which tends to be larger in scale and longer term, should incorporate cultural impact measurement (see 5. *Gaps in Evidence*, above), based on an agreed range of social and other impact indicators and methods.

2. Government departments and those of their agencies concerned with, for example, citizenship, civic participation, volunteering and community-led organisations, should consider how appropriately trained artists (of whatever discipline) could play a role in the design and delivery of evaluation projects.

3. The impact of regeneration and economic development generally can be divisive and create resistance/resentment. Cultural activity and projects can play a key role in community consultation, animation and empowerment in the fraught development process. Examples of good practice and community/arts organisations long active in this field could be more widely acknowledged and publicised.

4. The nature of cultural projects which feature in regeneration may also need to be assessed more rigorously in terms of the impacts they produce, i.e. it is not only the opportunity cost *between* cultural and 'non-cultural' investment in regeneration, but between *which* culture and *where*, best serves the regeneration and community objectives. Today few would dispute the role and value that culture has in regeneration in the narrow and increasingly the wider sense, but there is much less understanding of the very different effects that different types of cultural intervention produce in the short and longer term. More evidence and assessment of the cultural opportunities is therefore needed, as much as of general regeneration programme outcomes.

5. In view of the investment in quality of life, best value and improved statistical data gathering at a local/national level (e.g. crime, health, education, environmental quality), there appears to be an opportunity to mount a cultural impact study which tests the various evaluation and indicator systems alongside various regeneration programmes, and pilots cultural impacts using these and additional cultural measures. This might involve the ONS in interrogating census and other social

trend data, and the Ordnance Survey (OS) in GIS-based mapping of social, regeneration and cultural spatial relationships. This may produce a model of measuring culture's role in regeneration and other social programmes (e.g. healthy living centres, SRB, New Deal, SureStart, ERDF/ESF, etc.) and also measuring the social, economic and environmental impacts of a range of cultural projects over time. Increased use of searchable online information and archive sources in the regeneration and cultural fields could provide access to a wider audience, provided this is information *is* accessible (i.e. free) and not outside of the reach of community and cultural groups (more deprived communities have far less access to the internet, often less than 50%). A good example is the London Development Agency's online research resource (RE-KAF) for the Kings Cross to Finsbury Park priority regeneration area.

6. A sample of longitudinal impact studies is essential, given the dearth of sustained evidence (the area of public art and festivals appears to be slightly better represented) and conflicting claims: *Useful – as opposed to accurate – evaluation reports need to consider not just the impact of arts programmes on individuals, but also their effect and the extent to which it can be and is sustained on the communities in which individuals live* (Newman, Curtis and Stephens, 2003). This could include retrospective studies (reconstructing through available data), as well as more recent and prospective projects, ranging from new build arts facilities in regeneration areas; established and emerging creative clusters; and established and recent flagships.

7. The Design Quality Indicator (DQI) tool currently being piloted by CABE and the CIC (www.dqi.org.uk), could usefully be adapted to cultural projects with an environmental impact (i.e. building, public realm/art), and a sample of Arts/Museum/Heritage projects assessed in a DQI comparative exercise. This might produce a design quality tool adapted for cultural projects, incorporating cultural, regenerative, as well as design factors.

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