Institute of Public Policy
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United Nations Educational,
Scientific and Cultural Organization

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Regional and Urban Regeneration in European Peripheries:

What Role for Culture?

Bratislava
2008

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CONTENTS

PREFACE

The increased attention paid to *culture* as a public policy tool is a relatively new phenomenon. On the supra-national level, this agenda is currently pursued not only by traditional actors in the field, such as UNESCO and the Council of Europe, but also within many other inter-governmental organizations, or institutions of global economic governance. Over the last decade or so, the European Commission has also strengthened its *cultural policy* agenda, and the sector of *cultural economy* has been generating a significant share of output and jobs in the EU economy[1]. The OECD has recently published an important report which puts forward convincing arguments in favour of the wider employment of cultural resources in local and regional development processes as a lever for organizing the territory, as a factor for business development, and as a lever for social integration[2]. Also, in 2000, when the City of Prague hosted the *European Capital of Culture (ECOC)*, the World Bank co-funded a stimulating conference to discuss the changing nature of the relationship between the economy and culture[3].

The selection procedure for the ECOC title is designed as a national 'beauty contest', in which an international jury makes its final decision based on what they have read, seen, and heard. The winner is usually the city, which sells best. At the September 9 press conference, which published the official selection results of the national competition for ECOC 2013, Sir Bob Scott (who was the leader of the successful Liverpool ECOC 2008 candidacy), the jury's chairman, said it did not really matter, why the title was won by the City of Košice, and not by its competitors, but rather, that the hard work should start as soon as the celebration party was over the following day. The domestic response to this news has been mixed, of course. Generally, enthusiastic and optimistic voices prevailed, coming mainly from among the Košice ECOC 2013 project team[4], and echoed by the Slovak and Brussels bureaucrats responsible for this highly visible euro-agenda. While many ordinary citizens of Košice and other candidate cities in Slovakia joined in the celebration party back in September, a great deal of criticism has also been voiced by the press, and the local people. For instance, Zuzana Uličianska, culture journalist of the daily newspaper SME, states that '(...) the scepticism is justified. The years of freedom and political independence did not bring about the expected cultural investment boom; if building projects were run at all, they were few, and completed well beyond their planned budget and schedule', and she goes on to ask, 'how many extra per cent of culture will we produce in the coming 5-Year Plan?'[5] For many people, the controversial building of the Slovak National Theatre in Bratislava, which was started back in 1986 and completed more than 20 years later, with total costs climbing from 874 million SKK up to 5 billion SKK, is still emblematic of the cultural-political situation of this country.

Let us pose the question again: does it really matter who wins and who loses in this culture-led development game? An, what is this much-debated culture anyway? Is it a luxury, or a necessity (at the individual level)? What makes a city, a region or a country culturally unique, as a place of residence, and/ornwork (at the community, or society level)? Is it possible to measure the benefits and specific impacts of cultural investment, and culture-led development (including real estate) projects? Why do some Slovaks think that the country's "centre of culture" lies anywhere but in the City of Martin (which was also among the short-listed ECOC 2013 candidates)? Why do some people complain that Bratislava, our capital city, is not a well-known 'brand' across the world? These are some of the many interesting questions to which new answers are being sought in Slovakia today. Throughout this publication, we will limit ourselves to just one single question: *What is the role of culture in the processes of renewal and development of cities and regions*? and the normative version thereof: *What should be the role of culture, so that it can contribute to successful local and regional development*?

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[1] European Commission (2006) *The Economy of Culture in Europe*. Brussels.
[2] OECD (2005) *Culture and Local Development*, Trento, LEED Programme (p. 23).
[3] Kesner, L. (Ed.) (2001) Ekonomika a kultura – partnerství pro 21. století. Sborník z mezinárodní konference o rozvoji kulturních zdrojů a kulturního kapitálů (trans. Economy and Culture – A Partnership for the 21st Century. Proceedings of the International Conference on the Development of the Cultural Assets and Capital.) Prague: o.p.s. Praha - Evropske mesto kultury 2000.
[4] See e. g. Jaurová, Z., Košice sa môžu stať mestom ako Londýn či Barcelona (trans. Košice might become a city like London or Barcelona), Košice ECOC 2013 arts director interviewed by euractiv.sk, September 12, 2008 (URL: http://www.euractiv.sk/kultura-a-media/interview/jaurova-kosice-sa-mozu-stat-mestom-ako-londyn-ci-barcelona)
[5] Uličianska, Z., Slovenské fabriky na kultúru (trans. Slovak Culture Factories), SME, 26/07/2008.

Raymond Williams, the father of *cultural studies*, said that 'culture is one of the two or three most complicated words in English language'[6]. Without a lenghty literature review, we might find common agreement that the word 'culture' has two basic meanings. The wider meaning refers to our way of life and thinking, our self-esteem, our image of the self and the other, our ambitions, our pride of what we are, and our appreciation of what we have, as well as our ability to see things in a different light. The narrow meaning is related to *the arts*, which usually include music, theatre, dance, literature, architecture, sculpture, film, painting, sport. This aesthetic meaning is used to define not only those who create and perform the arts, or who belong to the audience, but also applies to the variety of spaces and places in which the arts are being produced and consumed. The bottom line here is that nowadays, the two meanings seem to be converging in one way or another. One of the reasons for this is that culture and arts stimulate *experimentation and creativity*, which are at the heart of innovation, the very key to the success of whole cities and regions in the 21st Century. It is believed that areas and communities lacking such essential qualities are doomed to stagnation.

The ECOC mega-event, introduced to the European cultural policy agenda in 1985, has provided the key for selecting and organizing the contributions in the present publication. Our main intention is to present readers with insights and hands-on experiences of those - geographically or economically - peripheral areas of European cities and European regions which, for some time now, have experimented with culture as a new strategic development asset.

The publication comes in three parts. In the first part, three papers are included: developed by young academics coming from 'Classical Europe' (Italy and Greece), they provide an introductory overview of the *culture-led regeneration agenda*. The example of Rome shows that despite being the traditional centre of tourism, which is the oldest of all *cultural industries*[7], the city authorities should not underestimate the development opportunities and threats stemming from the current globalization of culture and life-style. The agenda-setting paper by our Greek colleague suggests that, while the role of architecture in European urban planning has been irreplaceable since at least the times of da Vinci, at present professional architects share a new responsibility: they have to find the ways to protect the *cultural capital,*[8] accumulated and embodied in the unique historical buildings, against the massive construction boom, the risks of gentrification, and exposure to the deteriorating quality of the environment in many European cities. Of course, this is an expensive task, which calls for a strategic approach and substantial investment, and it can only be performed by several stakeholders, public and private, working in partnership. As demonstrated by the second Italian contribution to this volume, private banks have always been influential mercenaries of the art and local artists. However, their traditional role is now being extended with the new corporate social responsibility for the development of the local economy and community in which their core business takes place. In some places, the creative and sensible collaboration of the arts, architectural skills and financial capital can generate spectacular projects, which capture human imagination, and later become new cultural symbols, icons or brands of whole cities and regions.[9]

In the second part of the book, the qualitative accounts of how the ECOC impacts on local populations and cultures given by our colleagues from the Northern Europe can also provide an inspiration for Košice City and the Region of Eastern Slovakia. Old industrial areas of the North West (Liverpool) and the North East of England (Newcastle), as well as in Norway (Stavanger), which evolved, and were often 'socially engineered', during the times of heavy industrialisation, are still coping with their long history of mining, steel-making, and ship-building, while keeping their long-established ethos of hard labour (as opposed to artistic and aristocratic leisure), patriarchal family structures, and a strong masculine tradition of social drinking. Their local communities are often characterised by paternalism, authoritarianism, and a wage economy mentality. Such *cultural milieux* do not lend themselves to social inventiveness, adaptability and entrepreneurialism. However, even these types of cities and regions are capable of responding to new challenges by creating their own development strategies, and winning their own market niches and public audiences. As argued by our British colleagues, it is vital that the design and implementation of high-profile

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[6] Williams, R. (1984) *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society (New Edition),* New York: Oxford University Press.

[7] Rifkin, J. (2000) *The Age of Access,* New York: Tarcher/Putnam, p. 146

[8] Bourdieu, P. (2001) The Forms of Capital, in R. Swedberg, M. S. Granovetter (eds) *The Sociology of Economic Life,* Boulder: Westeview Press.

[9] Our favourite example is the well-known "Angel of the North", a massive and imaginative sculpture welcoming the visitors of Newcastle upon Tyne (see also the cover of this book). A similar cultural landmark will soon be standing high above the City of Prešov, one of the two regional capitals of Eastern Slovakia, in which Europe's biggest sculpture of Jesus Christ (33 metres) is now being designed, and financed entirely from private sources.

cultural investment project, either organized within, or triggered by, the ECOC, take into account the needs and opinions of the indigenous people living in the hosting areas.

In the region of Central Europe, during the so-called National Revival Movement in the 19th Century, culture was also used as a tool of political emancipation in the Eastern Slovakia. The Industrial Revolution and the local evolution of capitalism created new *cultural elites*, who clustered in the big cities of the time. The cosmopolitan atmosphere of the City of Košice in the early 20th Century was beautifully described in many books by Sándor Marái, the famous Hungarian writer born here. After World War II, the dominant ideology and the materialistic concept of history treated culture as a mere 'superstructure', fully subordinated to the economic 'structure', and official statistics reported culture under the heading of 'non-productive consumption'. Košice, like many other Slovak cities, was 'branded' as "The City of Peace" (indeed, a remnant stone with this title still welcomes visitors today when they enter the city via the Southern Road from the direction of Hungary, which lies some 20 km away).

This persisting socialist heritage, combined with new attempts to recover the long suppressed *cultural memory*, are also reflected – in the third part of our book – in the most recent project experience of organizing the ECOC in Romania (Sibiu 2007), and preparing for its launch in neighbouring Hungary (Pécs 2010). While Sibiu seems to have been preoccupied with increasing its tourist and political 'visibility', the local organizers strived for reviving the indigenous cultural traditions and messages of the former artists' colony based in this region as well. In the city of Pécs, the ECOC created a window of opportunity for re-inventing this ancient city around its rich cultural history on the one hand, and a deteriorating industrial heritage on the other. But the Pécs story also sends a warning against the management risks connected with an over-centralized and over-politicized leadership undermining legitimacy and success of the ECOC project. Towards the end of the book, a study of a *cultural valley* in one of Istanbul's suburban areas is included, which presents a set of policy-oriented indicators, capturing the multi-dimensional impacts of culture-led projects on various aspects of urban life in this Euro-Asian metropolis to be expected before, during, and after the ECOC 2010 programme.

Slovak history shows that changing cultures takes a long time, and social change requires stamina from civic leaders, and belief and involvement on the part of citizens in general. Also, an inter-generational vision has to be elaborated to outline the desired state of the world in a 15-20-year time horizon. A good track record is also needed, in the form of successful projects, to sustain and fuel local and regional initiatives in the future. The current lack of understanding of the role of culture in economic regeneration need not be a bar to social progress. As shown by both domestic and overseas experience, an excessive 'instrumentalisation' of culture and cultural policy can also lead to inefficiency and under-performance (e.g. artists and cultural organizations may end up spending too much of their time on bureaucracy and monitoring of quantifiable indicators, rather than doing the very creative and cultural work needed), or might become dangerous ideological weapons (e.g. taking the form of cultural nationalism, or even national socialism). What can be said with some confidence is that culture is not just a political instrument, or economic goods, but, first and foremost, a human value which must be protected and shared. Indeed, we have the strongest 'instruments' of cultural change at our own disposal, without having to wait for instructions from the centre – they are parenting and education. The only necessary thing, then, is the personal will to act, so that each and every one of us could fulfil their basic human needs and aspirations without compromising the possibilities of future generations.

We hope that our publication will help increase the interest of Slovak academics and experts in this relatively new research agenda, and make a modest contribution to the preparation of the Košice ECOC 2013.

Ľudmila Malíková, Martin Sirák
December 2008

THE REGENERATION AGENDA:
URBAN AND CULTURAL POLICY NEXUS

CREATIVE CITIES, CULTURE, TOURISM: THE EXPERIENCE OF ROME

Roberta Gemmiti

Abstract Cultural tourism has become one of the strongest instruments in the global urban competition to attract people, business and international capital. It is no longer a matter of only drawing visitors in the museums or tourists in the art cities, or of attracting the many components of the cultural tourism that is now qualified as mass tourism. It is a new relationship that links city, culture and tourism, to which, firstly, the territorial analysis, and, secondly, the planning process have to give new answers. It is, therefore, useful a review of the applied indicators in the case of Rome, in order to consider possible development models for tourist-metropolitan systems aiming to be competitive, coherent and sustainable.

Keywords: urban competitiveness; tourism; culture; creativity; sustainable planning.

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1.   Introduction

The cities are now, and have been for a few years, in the centre of a delicate relationship linking them to the cultural tourism and the creativity sector. More and more often indeed we learn of new projects or new events about to be realized in more or less important urban contexts, concealing one of the new forms put on by urban competition in the globalization time. As Richards summarized "not only do cultural attractions such as museum and monuments constitute the larger sector of the European attraction market, but they are also increasingly being placed at the centre of the urban and rural development strategies and image enhancement programme" (Richards, 2001: 3). Specifically the great metropolitan areas are the core of this renewed role of the cultural tourism, which is always more a mass phenomenon although constituted by specific elements, and are building a more complex relation with the creativity sector, a true instrument of revival for the cities' identity image. The set of the transformation processes of the cultural tourism and of the city-culture relationship makes tourism in general, and cultural tourism in particular, extremely more complex to investigate if related to any other economic sector. The connection however is still uncertain and loaded with potentially negative effects for the city as a territorial system. A great need arises to reflect in theoretical-methodological terms upon the different systemic relations linking tourism to culture and city.

2.   Cultural tourism gets 'mass'

As well known, the concept of cultural tourism underwent important changes compared to the traditional meaning that considers the visits to museums and art city in it. According to Smith (2003), the two main processes that hit, in the recent years, this tourism segment are:

- an expansion of the demand and offer dimension, so that the cultural tourism stopped being a niche phenomenon and became a mass product constituted by many and different specific sectors;
- a diversification of the components of the culture and cultural tourism concepts; a phenomenon that unlinked the tourism product from the traditional 'given and concrete' resources.

Rediscovering the research of the European Association for Tourism and Leisure Education and Research (ATLAS), the recent literature (Smith, 2003; Richard, 2001) resumes its proposed 'technical' definition, stating that cultural tourism is to be intended as "all movement of persons to specific cultural attractions, such as museums, heritage sites, artistic performances and festivals outside their normal place"; to this concept it counters the 'theoretical' definition, regarding it as much more significant, which defines it as "the movement of persons to cultural manifestation away from their normal place of residence, with the intention to gather new information and experiences to satisfy their cultural needs" (Smith 2003). In other words, the key feature is represented by the cultural experience, and the wish to experiment with different lifestyles[10]. It is that process of "culturization of society" which would lead to "more and more areas of consumption been viewed as 'cultural'. This has shifted the focus of cultural tourism away from 'shining prizes' of the European Grand Tour toward a broader range of heritage, popular culture and living cultural attractions" (Richards, 2007:1)

In this new definition of cultural tourism would then be included (Smith, 2003:31): a) tangible cultural sites (archaeology, museums, whole cities, monuments); b) artistic performances (theatres, concerts, cultural centres); c) visual arts (galleries, monumental parks, photography); d) festivals and events; e) religious sites; f) rural landscape (farms, villages, eco-museums); g) communities with their own traditions (particularly in developing countries, but also European local folklore); h) handicrafts; i) gastronomy; l) manufacturing industry and commerce (visits to factories, tours of old navigable channels); m) modern popular culture (concerts, shopping, fashion, design, technology); n) the whole series of specific activities a person is willing to travel in order to perform (painting, photography).

In Italy, this process of transformation of the cultural tourism product led ENIT to try a different classification, considering inside the segment: a) the tourism of Territory and Landscape (which would comprise every expression of local culture and identity, also when organized in form of spread museums or cultural and literary parks); b) the tourism of Entertainment (ranging from cinema to shopping, to events, to theme parks); c) the so-called New Urban Tourisms (characterized by the fruition of urban aggregation spaces, architectural forms and urban design, fashion, art hotels, auction houses); d) the 'cultural' cultural Tourism, i.e. the one more traditionally devoted to historical-artistic, architectural and religious resources linked to personal education (ENIT,[11] 2007:349).

3.   The city intensifies the tourism/culture connection

The strengthening of the city-culture connection in the post-Fordist era comes from two main processes.

The first one, attaining to the economic-productive sphere, consists of a sort of convergence of the urban economy and the culture dominions, so that the sectors producing goods and services with a high cultural and symbolic content are more competitive (from entertainment to personal education, to achievement of a social status); culture itself is moreover intended as a marketable good in its different expressions (performing arts, media, entertainment). Cultural/creative, as an economic sector, represents 2.6% of GDP in 2003 Europe, higher than the textile sector (0.5%), the food, beverages and tobacco manufacturing (1.9%), and the chemicals, rubber and plastic products industry (2.3%) (see European Commission, 2004a). The city is undoubtedly the privileged centre of this new relationship, because of the degrees of agglomeration and urbanisation economies it can offer.

The second process concerns in a wider sense the tourism/culture/city connection and its various territorial incidences. The rise of interest towards every form of culture led all cities to benefit from cultural tourism, but the cultural sector and, mostly, the wider sector of creativity find their maximum and most complete expression only in big cities and metropolises[12]. It is at this scale that culture and tourism are better related, both becoming wide and transversal instruments of the global urban competition, means through

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[10] In Italy, the New Code of Cultural Heritage is of significant importance, as it identifies the cultural heritage through two components: a) artistic heritage, as movables and immovables with artistic, historical, archaeological interest(…); b) environmental heritage, as expression of the historical, cultural, natural, morphological and aesthetic values. D.L. 22/1/2004, n. 42 **"Codice dei beni culturali e del paesaggio" July 2002, n. 137"**, G.U. n. 45, 24/2/ 2004 – S. O. n. 28.
[11] ENIT - Agenzia nazionale del turismo (Italian State Tourism Board).
[12] This phenomenon is shown by the results of a research by the European Travel Commission and the World Tourism Organization (WTO-ETC 2005:5) according to which cultural tourism develops in three main forms: *heritage* for town and village; *heritage+the arts*, for town and city; *heritage+the arts+creative industries*, for city and metropolises. In the latter class only six cities are listed: Berlin, Istanbul, London, Madrid, Paris and Rome.

which the cities redesign their own image, gaining more interest not only for the tourist flows, but possibly most of all for attracting international financial and human resources[13].

In this effort urban tourism indissolubly binds itself to culture, through the organization of events, both of great and lesser prominence, and exploiting the great transformations tourism underwent in these years.

In particular investments in cultural tourism not only allow the city to be more competitive as regards to attracting tourist flows, but above all, in case of cultural events with national and international echo, offer a unique chance to communicate, and re-launch if necessary, the city's image (identity). It is no accident that this practice, which is typical of the great Anglo-Saxon cities, has been labelled *global imagineering*[14], as a combination of image actions and engineering interventions: the use of the territory and the financial investments, together with the creation or preservation of the urban image, are the instruments through which physically building a city with global features, granting symbolic contents to festivals and sport events, buildings, parks, squares, streets and sometimes whole villages (Paul, 2004). In short, a kind of urban competition to get, or to pretend to have, features, culture, functions and landscape of the international city.

That results in an international competition to conceive brand new architectural symbols[15], to organize and host events of international interest, to build poly-functional spaces for the tourists and, perhaps more, for the residents[16].

Exponents of the *New Political Culture*, Clark (2002), in particular, emphasize indeed as culture shouldn't be considered anymore as a means to promote tourist growth, hence attracting money and people; both culture and, more generally, amenities have to be planned for the residents, just so that they would catch professionals and qualified workers in the moment when they choose where to live. Therefore not interventions targeted at catching tourists, but at making everyday life enjoyable and stimulating, increasing the appeal of metropolitan areas and regions towards international investors, *city users*, 'brains'. And then, although the urban *re-branding* operations are typical of the Anglo-Saxon cities and specifically of those at the vertex of the international urban hierarchy (MEGAs), the experiences of Bilbao and Barcelona showed how culture can be an instrument of image revival and international hierarchical position re-launching at any urban dimension[17].

4.   A relationship with still uncertain effects

Therefore cultural tourism appears as a very powerful instrument for *policy makers*, also with respect to a considerable uncertainty about the overall results of their decisions. For instance, the potential of a big event for a city's image and competitiveness is such that decisions are made regardless of a real assessment of its outcome for the urban economy, pace the economic impacts' assessment models always preceding and following events[18].

As regards to the effects brought by big events to the urban economy there is still great uncertainty effectively, as shown by the studies carried out in the "European Capital of Culture" project.

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[13] 'In the middle age, cities were competing to attract the best architects of cathedrals and the most skilled craftsmen. With the Renaissance, wealthy cities attracted the best painters, sculptors or garden designers to celebrate their status. Today cities are making sure they attract 'creators' with the goal of boosting the local economy and participating in the success of the new economy. Modern cities are now competing to attract creative talents in a race to avoid marginalisation' (European Commission 2006:166).

[14] The verb ''to imagineer'' was coined by the Walt Disney Studios to describe a way of combining imagination with engineering for the concretization of dreams' reality, specifically through theme parks (Paul, 2004).

[15] These projects are always produced by internationally well-known architects that contribute to enhance the symbol. M. Fuksas speaks of architectural tourism with these words: "You go to a place to see an airport, a museum or a stadium and to admire the work of their designer. Travelling has become as well more accessible and today, much more than in the past, there are people who can afford a flight for a cultural weekend" (Interview in 'Repubblica', October 15, 2007).

[16] With regard to the global cities Sassen (2007) speaks of the so-called 'state of the art' environments, as spaces invented by architects and engineers "providing the visual vocabulary for the transformation of considerable city parts"; it is a matter of a "visual code, created to mark a high development level" through places shaped by hotels, offices, airports, specific residences that are functional to the strategic manpower.

[17] That's why it is no surprise that among the 20 most visited exhibitions in 2005 there is Brescia with the Monet display at Santa Giulia Museum, just after two exhibits held at New York MOMA and such museums as the Guggenheim in Bilbao and the LACMA in Los Angeles (European Commission 2006:153, Table 15).

[18] Blake (2005) gives an interesting account of these models' application to the most recent experiences.

Indeed according to the WTO-ETC research: a) the extent of repercussion is always doubtful, and often bound to unverifiable factors, including the number of international events occurring at the same time (making sense of the disappointing results for the cities elected in year 2000); b) although the cities would usually increase their tourist flow by about 50% in the reference year, the effect is of short duration and tends to not outlast the two following years; c) good results seem easier to achieve for the small art cities, than in the bigger capitals.

If economic effects are indefinite, there is a still greater uncertainty about the whole repercussion of a big event on urban system, functional asset, social-spatial system, environment, landscape and identity of the local population. There are no theoretical-methodological analyses aiming at detecting indicators different from the mere quantitative and economic ones, which would be useful to measure the overall effect of a great work, be it material or immaterial.

In the meantime a discrete critic bibliography is available on the negative effects produced by cultural tourism on territory, specifically for the developing countries, and studies are spreading about how the big events, nowadays used as a real spatial planning instrument (Michailidis, 2007), can possibly have important negative effects on the city, also in concurrence with image and economic feedbacks that are generally known as positive.

For Barcelona itself it has been pointed out how culture is still today promoted as an economic sector, and not as a key factor for the promotion of the city's values and identity (Monclus, 2000, 2003). This can lead to a real distortion of the urban landscape due to the action of *re-branding* strategies, whereas new symbols are there produced, spaces for local communities are modified and/or subtracted, the centre is re-launched to the detriment of the periphery, interventions are made on the social-spatial balance with strong impacts on the identity awareness the landscape gives to the citizens (Beriators and Gospodini, 2004).

From a conceptual perspective it has been stressed as the use of culture in order to renew a city's economic growth can lead to significant forms of social and spatial distortions; and this is true both if the strategy would be targeted to developing its commercial aspect, investing in products with a high symbolic content (entertainment, communication, self-promotion, but also fashion and interior design), and if culture is employed as an instrument to increase the 'entertainment' and 'experience' opportunities, thus getting more competitive on the global scale by acting through the tourism 'shop window'.

Scott quite ironically clarifies the extent of the social, cultural and economic potential imbalance: '*this is not simply a question of income distribution, although more equitable economic conditions for all must surely figure prominently on any agenda of reform. It also involves basic issues of citizenship and democracy, and the full incorporation of all social strata into the active life of the city, not just for its own sake but also as a means of giving free rein to the creative powers of the citizenry at large (...) Creativity is not something that can be simply imported into the city on the backs of peripatetic computer hackers, skateboarders, gays, and assorted bohemians but must be organically developed through the complex interweaving of relation of production, work, and social life in specific urban contexts*' (Scott, 2006).

In my opinion the critical accents to the city practice of competing in projects that link culture with tourism imply a general risk: the split between the 'imagined' city and the 'real' one, and the straining of the economy towards a chosen model instead of the recording of the development demand that every territory expresses. Then a reflection on the development model Rome adopted during the last fifteen years can be helpful to clarify the geographical-economic terms of the problem.

5. The models of the 'urban and accommodation' Rome

The features of the Rome tourist development can be roughly traced back to three different models. The first one, similar to those of the big metropolitan areas with an important historical-artistic heritage, comes at the end of the 80s and spans over the 1960 Olympics too. Rome adopts the big event model with the 1990 Football World Championship, although that doesn't involve a real initial comprehension of the city-tourism relationship and its translation into a territorial development policy. It is not a question of investment policies, but rather of finance, with isolated projects satisfying the need of a sport event that becomes an element of tourist flows attraction. The building of huge football facilities, not only in Rome, is linked to the renewal of peripheral and degraded areas[19], but what would be a chance for renovation and urban upgrade turns into the Italian traditional 'cathedrals in the desert' (abandoned installations).

This first failure soon proves the need for a tighter connection between tourism policies and governance.

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[19] Sensational cases are, still today in Italy, the Delle Alpi Stadium in Turin and the S. Nicola Stadium in Bari.

In the early 90s the New Town Plan starts up the third season of the city/tourism relationship, granting wide room to the sector, notwithstanding the lack of an assessment of the true vocation of Rome, and its identity, to be a city of tourism and (specifically Mediterranean) culture.

It is right at this stage that, looking at different best practices experiences in Europe, the planners make a technical mistake that would affect the first draft of the Plan: the premature involvement of Roman Tour Operators and Hoteliers, whose organization, yet not much entrepreneurial and quite close to those family aspects traditionally typical of the Roman enterprises, is overestimated. Those we would call tourism *stakeholders*, in a *governance* French-style model, in that phase confine themselves to proposals of buildings' maintenance and restructuring (a major subject, since the quality shortcoming in front of a tourism that's getting educated, demanding, first-rate). The tourism demand characterizing the relationship with the Plan is not clearly measured and, notwithstanding the spreading of studies on Roman tourism, is not correlated with a real *policy* offer. The great part of the tourism related projects are carried out thanks to the Law 396/90 for the 'Interventions for Rome, Capital of the Republic', which still today support many investments for the city, through following Financial Acts.

From 1996 on tourism gets related to the Plan's first results, including the 2000 Jubilee event, especially for sectors a) infrastructures and accessibility; b) 'green' structures, parks end environment (with municipal farm holidays development projects carried out with the help of the RomaNatura institution too); c) service sector development, with public utilities first and then, more recently, with services linked to the urban and metropolitan centres, with a sharp majority of commercial mega-structures.

In the Town Plan – for years on the way to passage by the Region – the role of tourism is linked to local development, converging as any other economic sector to achieve that political polycentric model underpinning the whole plan, as they declare. Nevertheless, we are faced with a decentralizing 'top-down' process, grounded in the Municipalities, of detection of functional mixes where tourism almost always associates with the expansion of big commercial areas, public and private office districts, residential areas[20]. The functional decentralization is moreover strictly related to the strengthening of the accessibility system, the true fundamentals of the Roman development model.

Actually, in the sector study made by PRAXIS (2004, vol. I, II) for the Municipality, then converged into the Plan, reports were formulated for any single municipality in order to survey: present resources and possible tourism; relationship with current or programmed infrastructures; current and potential infrastructures level for quantitative and qualitative accommodation capacity.

But the planning typologies, the chosen functional mix and the localization of the new accommodation facilities reveal the true tourist policy of the Plan: to use tourism as an instrument to promote the creative city and its image, through a whole series of activities with significant impact, accomplished through the instruments of Programmatic Agreement (Accordi di Programma) and Project Financing[21].

A share of the interventions, realized outside of the GRA, strictly concern accommodation capacity, although belonging to the aforementioned functional mix. That is the case of the mega-hotels set in Lunghezza-Ponte di Nona, Eur Sud Castellaccio, Bufalotta, Alitalia-Magliana. Other interventions, although not providing for tourist facilities, show the extraordinary connection that links tourism with the city, with its image, its international competitiveness, cultural prominence and creativity. That is the case of many Urban Projects introduced by Law 396/90 and subsequently implemented into the PRG Technical Rule: the works in the *Foro Italico* complex (where the *Nuovo Auditorium della Musica* is located and sport facilities of significant impact plus a new *Ponte della Musica* are arranged); the dismantled *Mercati Generali* area[22], that is becoming a multifunctional space for Universities, recreational activities and culture; to this area the new planning is linked for the use of the area of the Municipal *ex-Mattatoio*[23] and Ostiense-Marconi, which will accommodate besides new university spaces, a City and a Bridge of Sciences and the new Contemporary Art Museum. Always on the south axis, the tourist-cultural development virtually ends in Ostia, with the centre plan of Acilia Madonnetta, containing public and private services, houses, a university Campus, a new Hospital, cultural spaces and new accommodation facilities; south again, in the EUR neighbourhood the new *Congress Center* by Fuksas and the *Finance Towers* by Piano/Libeskind will be housed; then towards

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[20] "The guideline is indeed the decentralization of the offer opportunities, and its concurrent better interrelation within the fabrics of the city, both settled and transforming. In other words, beyond the Mura Aureliane the real opportunities have to be proven of the whole urban structure and its components to be the hearts of a different revival of the relationship between tourism and city" (Report on the Plan, p. 83).

[21] It is remarkable how ambiguous it is that the Rome Plan explicitly claims to not be a Strategic Plan, but to contain strategies, which are translated into choices for territorial governance.

[22] A huge area historically used for wholesaler.

[23] the old Shambles

Fiumicino the new *Fiera di Roma*[24], the *Towers* by Purini for housing and accommodating facilities, and the Alitalia Magliana area, with a skyscraper of almost a hundred meters to 'mark' the entry into Rome from the Airport, are set; and more, at East, the hypothesis of intervention at Tor Vergata with a *Swimming and Sporting City* by Santiago Calatrava. This is a blossoming of tourist/cultural activities always entrusted to big names: there are more than 50 planned, built or preparing, so-called New Architecture Works for Rome (www.urbanistica.come.roma.it).

In these projects the 'vision' of the city and the contribution granted to tourism and culture are revealed. And even better in the words of Rome's Mayor who, on the occasion of the presentation of the renewal project for the ex *Mercati Generali* area, pronounced: "Rome is a wonderful city, but used to be lived a bit as a museum where you move cautiously. Today it is a city of events", and then, commenting on the tourist data and the foreign presence, observed: "their stays last longer since there are more events attracting them. That's why we need a double decker Bus, a Hot-air Balloon, the Auditorium, the *Taste' city* and the Media Library, the biggest in Europe, that will stand here to grant the diversification of the offer"[25].

6.   A 'territorial' reading of the Rome tourist system

The settled trend of the cities to compete by connecting culture and tourism, promoting new or renewed cities, poses many risk factors. It's largely a case of projects and works scattered on the urban and sub-urban territory with the purpose of spreading the image of a transformed city, both in its settlement fabric and in its functional offer, lovely to visit and perfect to settle.

It seems to me, that in Rome, this practice turns into the elaboration of a development model dealing with the city, we *would like to have,* instead of the city we *do have*, whom we have to assess our choices with. This inevitably leads to a push in the offer, with the hope that would foster demand.

A question arises about if and to what extent Rome is a tourist-cultural region/system; and if the big investments for the aforementioned projects make tourism, which is primarily a urban economy sector, able to contribute to the fulfilment of a competitive, coherent, sustainable and polycentric Roman urban system. This is the development model we chose to pursue for the future of Europe with the Lisbon and Gothenburg strategies.

Using the traditional modelling indicators, Rome with no doubt appears as a tourist region, notwithstanding a whole set of competitiveness aspects that have to improved, as it is always being said.

In Rome as a tourist region, we can actually find:

- A good accommodation capacity, since it houses over 108,000 beds, more than London (104,000) and not far from Paris (over 154,000); considering all forms of accommodation (hotel, camping, subsidiary) Rome offers 83.8 businesses per 100,000 inhabitants, ranking second to London only (88.2) and beating Paris (72.4)[26];
- Considerable national and international arrivals (9% of the worldwide total), although not comparable with London (35%) and Paris (19%) that represent international branch points, a status to whom Rome, for a geographical matter, cannot aspire for the time being;
- An average stay definitely inferior to London's, where visitors stay for about 6.5 days, but perfectly in line with the other European Capitals (Paris included) where the average is less than 3 days;
- A whole series of functions that are typical of the global cities and can attract tourist flows, which are not essentially 'festive'. Rome is indeed classified as a EU MEGA, a city that for mass, competitiveness, connectivity, knowledge ranks second to the two European global nodes of London and Paris only;
- A lively economic phase, considering the traditional growth indicators. In the Rome Province (NUTS 3) population grew by 2.3% from 1995 to 2005[27]; the per capita GDP in PPS (set at 100 in 1995, is 102.37 in 2005) increased when related to the EU [25][28]; the occupancy rate that is 59.83% in

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[24] 186,000 square meters for trade fair.
[25] Speech given on December 5, 2003, summarized on www.urbanistica.comune.roma.it. As a simple note, such efforts still didn't succeed in extending the average tourist stay in Rome beyond three days, as in 2006 the average was still 2.65 days.
[26] Rome Municipality data for year 2003.
[27] ISTAT data, www.demo.istat.it
[28] In absolute terms, according to EUROSTAT data, GDP (at market prices) was 68,824.70 million Euro in 1995, and 119,757.10 million Euro in 2005; in real terms, it raised from 78,209.18 million Euro in 1995, to 111,494.48 in 2005.

2005, up from 49.57% in 1995[29]; the economic improvements seem to follow the Lisbon recommendations too, e.g. judging by the female occupancy growth (up from 34.87% in 1995 to 51.13% in 2005) and by the reduction in the long-time unemployment (down from 4.2% in 1995 to 2% in 2005 in relation with the working population);

- The favourable climate and the strong investments in the tourist sector start attracting superior functions: it should be borne in mind that this year, after twenty years in Florence, the Congressional Tourism Exchange is held in the new *Fiera di Roma*.

Furthermore, in the specific tourist-cultural sector, Rome owns:

- A huge amount of traditional cultural resources, considering that the old town centre of Rome was granted by UNESCO in 1980 the status of World Heritage Site, with a wealth of registered sites and monuments larger than those of London and Paris, according to a recent study[30]; the same research describes this large wealth as 'highly accessible in multimodal terms';
- A considerable museum patrimony: 32 National Museums out of 193 of the whole Italy (and e.g. 36 of the whole Tuscany)[31];
- A certain dynamism concerning cultural events, considering that Rome offers every year over 25,000 theatre shows, in comparison with 12,000 in Milan and 5,000 in Naples[32]; on the other hand the Municipal expense for culture has risen by over 40% from 2001 to 2005[33];
- A good education and cultural supply, represented by 16 Academies with over 225,000 students[34];
- And finally a great liveliness right in the cultural sector, with the creations of many architectonic 'symbols', of big and small events, of new aggregation areas.

If the spatial indicators reveal the image of a region that rightly invest on the tourist-cultural sector, the same is not true when trying to perform the same check on the *territorial scale*. The Rome tourist region, in other words, 'can't stand' to a trans-scale reading, i.e. the measure of the current and potential system on the territory cannot find adequate and suitable indicators.

When using the just examined indicators, or rather their part available at sub-municipal scale, a city is achieved that consists not of a tourist system, but rather of a central pole with some semi-peripheral or peripheral parts that are functional to the centre. Indeed, let's consider that:

- in 2006, out of the more than 11 million arrivals, and nearly 29 million stays of tourists in the Rome Province, some 81% and 84% respectively, were located in the central Municipality;
- the remainder was arranged in 5 locations[35]: the North-West area (including Fiumicino and Civitavecchia, with a transit area function that can be easily read in the average stay of 1.77 days) with 30,526 arrivals and 54,063 attendance; the Tiber Valley area, with 4,647 arrivals and 10,667 attendance; the Tiburtino Sub-Lacense area, with 6,497 arrivals and 15,043 attendance (it should be noted that Villa Adriana and Villa D'Este, both UNESCO World Heritage Sites, are both located in this area); the Prenestina-Monti Lepini area, with 1,169 arrivals and 2,565 attendance; the Castelli-South Coastline area with 40,475 arrivals and 73,664 attendance;

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[29] ISTAT, Survey on Manpower, miscellaneous dates.
[30] According to the ESPON 1.3.3 project on *Cultural Heritage*, which measures this indicator for all European Capitals at the NUTS 3 level, reporting the absolute value of registered monuments and sites per square km, and then weighing it in order to consider the 'excellence' resources (www.espon.eu).
[31] Data from Ministero Beni Culturali, Cultural Statistics, year 2005.
[32] 2003 data from MIBAC-TCI, Culture Yearbook, 2005
[33] Bilancio Sociale di Mandato 2001-2005.
[34] Ministero Università e Ricerca, Survey on university education, 2006/2007.
[35] The unsuitability of data is also witnessed by how the *Ente Bilaterale del Turismo della Provincia di Roma* doesn't provide statistical data that have not been previously published. Shelving this attitude as another indicator of a city 'cultural level', I confine myself to using the available data, which are macro-area monthly data for 2005 only. As a simple note I report the December ones.

- within the Rome Municipality, over 56% of the arrivals and 57% of the attendance are in the first Department (in Rome *Municipio,* according to EBTLazio Observatory); two other Departments only (XVII and XVIII) achieve about 5%;
- according to 2001 census, 71% of the overall provincial value of the hotel-restaurant sector is gathered inside the Rome Municipality, and 29.9% inside the first Department;
- by 2006, 3,150 catering services were provided in the Province, of which 1,893 are located in Rome;
- of the total of 49 National Museums, 33 are located inside the first Department;
- there are 634 places authorised to organize music and various art activities, with 304 of them located inside the first Department;
- Of the overall 449 licenses for public shows, 137 are in the I Department, with important values in the XII (77) and XIII (44) Departments;
- The Universities are spread in the central areas, with the exception of the *Tor Vergata* Campus: *La Sapienza* is substantially located in the I Department; *Roma Tre* starts in the I Department, but then develops along the Ostiense-Marconi axis; *LUISS* has three centres in the II, III and IV Department;
- As is clear from the projects summary, the planning liveliness of Rome with regard to the tourist-cultural sector follows a first logic of locating big accommodation facilities in periurban areas with specific connotations (Tor Vergata, Eur, Fiumicino-Alitalia), or without (Bufalotta, Lunghezza). A second logic intended to create architectural symbols or cultural structures mainly inside of the city: the Foro Italico area that links to the centre and rejoins with the axis that virtually connects Ostiense to the South coastline (Figure1).

7.   Dedicated to Rome and to the cultural cities. A geographic-economic memorandum

This is the picture arising from the spatial indicators whose use is allowed by the theoretical-methodological reflection on tourism. The inadequacy of the measures substantially consists of the partial view they provide for the Roman system, as composed by a world-class central pole and by axes stretching towards East and towards South and South-West for the development of the tourism and the city. A question arises whether this is all, and mostly what are the connections among these different sub-systems, other than a functional support to the development of the centre.

Basically, the problem is that Rome needs:

- Territorial indicators to measure the 'development demand', instead of tourism phenomenon measures of spatial uniformity;
- To be 'conceived' inside a 'trans-scale' cooperative planning process which would suggest a development model for the metropolitan system on the vast area scale, towards the goal of cohesiveness, competitiveness and sustainability.

The indicators we focused on aren't suitable to supply the planning activity with a steady base for determining the strategic lines of the metropolitan area development, both from the perspective of the assessment of the development territorial vocation, and from the point of view of existing and potential synergies among the different tourist/territorial sectors.

As ENIT rightly said, besides the 'cultural' cultural tourism there are many other sectors to regard: landscape and environment, traditions and lifestyles, gastronomy and handicrafts, local products, health and wellness, literature and art, cinema, music.

The choice of promoting the city as an international cultural centre cannot be taken regardless of the measure of the real existing potential, through indicators that would provide the Planner with the analysis of the environmental, socio-economic, cultural, landscape and tourist sub-systems.

And this analysis can't be carried out at the municipal scale, not even in the case of a city with exceptional territory and population. Otherwise there is at least a risk of:

- Ignoring resources of great value, as in the case of the large World Heritage sites of the Rome Province and Lazio Region (Cerveteri and Tarquinia in the North and the Villas at Tivoli), which already exist, do not need to be built and are a cultural wealth to be inserted in a hypothetical Roman itinerary;
- Underestimating other resources that simply have never been detected and may be object of an already expressed tourist demand;

- Neglecting impact indicators that in a trans-scale perspective allow the minimization of the negative outcomes on the socio-economic and environmental systems, which are by themselves pillars of the new cultural system, as it's been said.

The definition of development strategies, in other words, the programming of the development, has its meaning when pursued on a large scale - in Italy, corresponding with the Province; what follows, through processes of multilevel governance, is the planning choice to be performed at the municipal scale, i.e. the translation of the large-area development model into building terms.

Always, from the point of view of the demand survey, Rome will be able to contribute to the elaboration of the development programme, starting from the measure of its real deficit in terms of:

- Education and training of the sector employment;
- Upgrading and certification of the sector firms;
- Cultural policies for the population, starting from school up to education 'to the culture' and to 'intercultural'; it is outrageous that culture is used not to produce cohesion but to *split* the city, with a centre getting more and more strong and a periphery where people have the sole new shopping malls as socializing and cultural spaces (see Figure 1 below). Rome calls for a Cultural Policy targeted *at residents*, perhaps using 'minor' cultural resources to increase their sense of identity and embeddedness in their territory;
- Policies in support of the creativity sector, in its different sections that are based on culture and contribute to its development;
- Environmental education, a subject where Romans are still in the stage of awareness acquisition;
- Opening to the culture of 'participation', of empowerment increase, that in Rome still has trouble to take off. *Rome needs new participated, and at the same time, certain and fixed, rules.*

Only in a new rules system, it will be possible to develop new forms of *governance* and co-operation. "Fixed rules" mean the use of instruments for the assessment of the effects of policy, programs and projects; and it means new indicators to discuss about.
Polycentrism, competitiveness and sustainability, all pass through the definition of rules for the participation of citizens to the decisional process and for institutional co-operation (both horizontal and multi-level).

If Rome is willing to become an international Capital of culture, it must not be afraid of competing with the other European capitals. But most of all, it must not fear to compete with itself, and its own 'rest of the province'.

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Figure 1 Culture and Tourism 'split' the city in the new Master Plan

Urban Central Places

Metropolitan
Central Places

Source: own elaboration based on Rome Master Plan

THE ROLE OF ARCHITECTURE IN CULTURE-LED URBAN REGENERATION STRATEGIES

Dimitris Kalergis

Abstract Culture is a central theme in most urban regeneration strategies. In spite of its quite complex and somewhat abstract nature, it certainly is a catalyst of economic and social potentials. The cultural industry, meaning the market of production, promotion and consumption of culture and its products, is usually regarded as the most promising mechanism of urban development. It is intentionally supported by distinct production of urban space, offering a 'great panorama' that exalts the experience and behaviour of participants; namely consumers. Unlike traditional practices, where harmonization of content, function and architectural style were crucial, contemporary and innovative architectural practices are concentrated on values of impressiveness, distinctiveness and surprise of form. This economic driven role of culture drifts an architectural current of an unusual spatial experience and symbolism, setting off new design challenges and spatial experimentations, as well as it raises concerns. This paper emphasizes this growing importance and contribution of architectural symbolism to the development of local identity, local economy and place promotion.

Keywords: architectural symbolism, local identity, place promotion, city image, cultural industry

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1.   **Introduction**

The phenomenon of regenerating the urban landscape is widely experienced and practiced, mainly for social and economic revitalization. These regenerating schemes include among others, decisions about policy-making, large private and public funding, physical development, social and community initiatives, such as employment and training, education and housing. Even though many cities have, one way or another, been involved in one or more such schemes, decision-making and implementation are not easy tasks. Especially, considering the very distinct characteristic of most recent schemes, which is culture. Representing a central theme, or simply the planners' alibi of objectives; culture is no doubt, a growing central issue of urban regeneration. This emerging importance of culture as a significant ingredient of regeneration plans, was the result of a long economic recession, mainly in 1970s and 1980s (Paddison, 1993, 339). Besides, the industrial decline and the financial speculation of that time, was also responsible for the creation of *symbolic economy* (Zukin, 1995), an economy based upon culture, image, symbols and appearance.

> With the disappearance of local manufacturing industries and period crises in government and finance, culture is more and more the business of cities – the basis of their tourist attractions and their unique, competitive edge (Zukin, 1995:2).

This economic perspective of culture, injects into regeneration plans: "a source of images and memories" (Zukin, 1995:1), a cultural symbolism and a pathway to collective identity. This is because culture is considered to be a vital ingredient of social solidarity (Gospodini, 2004), which by innovative design schemes (new urban form and space) contribution, manage to synchronize social and cultural diversity. Urban morphology and according to Gospodini (2004), intertwined since identity depends on a sharing of common memories, images and landscape identity. This identity fine tuning, by recreating anew a 'sense of belonging', is based upon the assumption that the urban landscape acts as "an ordered assemblage of objects and, thereby, can act as a signifying system" (Gospodini, 2004:229).

This interactive system of objects, which are soaked in culture and symbolism, acts as a foundation for the creation of a *distinctive* space; meaning a space which stands out of many others. This 'ecstatic' ("a standing outside of the body", Leach, 1999:67) feature of a cultural distinctive space, respond to the very crucial objectives of regeneration schemes, which focus on the stimulation of declined areas. Hence, distinctiveness plays a key role within the mechanisms of urban regeneration.

In this sense, the paper seeks to highlight the contribution of architecture and its practices to this quality of *distinctiveness* of urban space. It also refers to the emerging architectural and cultural symbolism and the effects they may have upon issues of local identity, economy and promotion. Finally, it briefly indicates their interrelations in relation to other issues of urban regeneration strategies.

2.   Urban regeneration: a brief framework

In order to understand the contribution of architecture to culture-led urban regeneration, it is important firstly to set the framework of urban regeneration's general principles and objectives. A phenomenon, which is widely used in literature and in practice, but still not quite clear as to how it functions and what are the extents of its practice? This is why this paper, will focus only upon a basic framework that will assist later analysis. Hence, starting with a definition, urban regeneration can be described as

> "a comprehensive and integrated vision and action which leads to the resolution of urban problems and which seeks to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change" (Roberts and Sykes, 2000:17).

This definition approach also signifies a simple structure of objectives and principles governing urban policy and practice. The scope is managing urban problems (that may vary in time, location or other circumstance), which need attention and resolution, within the perspective of the economic, physical, social and environmental condition. This threefold view, as physical can be incorporated with environmental objectives, indeed represents the basic values of sustainable development. Thus, urban regeneration is, according to Roberts and Sykes's definition, a process of dealing with urban problems, within the bound of sustainability.

This simple conclusion as it may be, is in fact demonstrating the large span of urban regeneration issues and activities, especially if we consider its locality interdependence. For this, it is important to emphasise upon the basic qualities of its nature, in order afterwards to focus on its relevance with culture and architecture.

Consequently, it is methodologically right, to firstly identify the origins of urban regeneration, that generate the need for action. Thus, the main drivers of urban change are (Roberts and Sykes, 2000:24):

- economic transition and employment change,
- social and community issues,
- physical obsolescence and new land and property requirements,
- environmental quality and sustainable development.

Or, from a different point of view, they include (Robson, 1988):

- industrial restructuring in pursuit of maximizing returns,
- factor constrains including the availability of land and buildings,
- real or perceived unattractiveness of urban areas,
- social composition of urban areas.

These drivers of urban change represent the outcome of a series of technological, economic, cultural, social and environmental developments and consequences of urban evolution. In more detail, firstly, the economic restructuring, as a result of a 'long recession' in the 70s and 80s, where traditional economic sectors such as manufacturing and heavy industry, suffered a serious decline (Economou and Petrakos, 1999; Lever, 1999; Lever, 1993), affected significantly the location, structure and organization of production, the division of labour and the nature of urban products (Ashworth and Voogd, 1990; Van den Berg *et al.,* 1995). Nonetheless, this restructuring, created new opportunities for cities with the capacity to adapt to the changing environment, but also led others to economic decline.

Secondly, the evolution of socio-demographic trends (decentralization of population, migration, new location preferences, the pull of suburbs, etc.), the withering of traditions and community values, produced the *network society* (Castells, 1996), with the consequent crisis of local identity.

Thirdly, the physical obsolescence of many central areas, with derelict sites and buildings, altered the conception of the city's image and thus, the traditional attractiveness of the centre, which led to a suburbanisation shift.

Fourthly, because this suburbanization was often neglecting the values of sustainability, due to the pressures of economic growth and competition, created serious environmental cost. That is why the concept of sustainability is increasingly becoming a major key criterion of urban development.

Undoubtedly, these new urban condition of challenges and opportunities, as well as concerns, cultivated the ground for urban regeneration. It is then currently appropriate, to describe the central objectives of urban regeneration. Hence, as "urban regeneration moves beyond the aims, aspirations and achievements of urban renewal" (Roberts and Sykes, 2000:18), it represents a strategic and a long-term process, rather than an *in situ* isolated project-based scheme. This is reflected in the following table of principles, based upon which urban regeneration should function (see Table 1 below).

In the following, this framework of principles will be more specific to culture-led urban regeneration. It is important also to mention, that although such principles, are somewhat general, in fact they recognise significance of the unique and distinct characteristics of a place. That is to say that, every place should be treated with respect to the specific conditions of its nature. In addition, this generalization of principles is by no means an attempt to homogenize the processes of urban regeneration into a single recipe of success. After all, "many change events are multi-causal in origin, they reflect a range of influences which emanate from both within and without a city" (Roberts and Sykes, 2000:23).

Table 1 The central objectives of urban regeneration
1. Detail analysis of the condition of an urban area.
2. Simultaneous adaptation of the physical fabric, social structures, economic base and environmental condition of an urban area.
3. Achieve simultaneous adaptation through the generation and implementation of a comprehensive and integrated strategy that deals with the resolution of problems in a balanced, ordered and positive manner.
4. Ensure strategy and the resulting programs of implementation, in accord with the aims of sustainable development.
5. Clear operational objectives, which should, wherever possible, are quantified.
6. Best possible use of natural, economic, human and other resources, including land and existing features of the built environment.
7. Ensure consensus through the fullest possible participation and co-operation of all stakeholders with a legitimate interest in the regeneration of an urban area (e.g. partnership).
8. Recognize the importance of measuring the progress of strategy towards the achievement of specified objectives and monitoring the changing nature and influence of the internal and external forces which act upon urban areas.
9. Accept the likelihood that initial programs of implementation will need to be revised in-line with such changes as occur.
10. Recognize the reality that the various elements of a strategy are likely to make progress at different speeds; this may require the redirection of resources or the provision of additional resources in order to maintain a broad balance between the aims encompassed in a scheme of urban regeneration and to allow for the achievement of all the strategic objectives.

Source: Roberts and Sykes (2000:18)

So far, the process of urban regeneration was handled as a strategic response to urban changes and opportunities. More to this, the concept of urban regeneration provides an opportunity for creating new patterns of social, political and economic relations, more diverse thus, from traditional urban growth objectives. More important is that it introduces a balanced road to collective goals. Managing change and development in an orderly manner, plays a key role in urban regeneration, and in this sense, can be considered as (Roberts and Sykes, 2000:22):

- interventionist activity,
- activity which straddles the public, private an community sectors,

- activity which is likely to experience considerable changes in its institutional structures over time in response to changing economic, social, environmental and political circumstances,
- means of mobilizing collective effort and providing the basis for the negotiation of appropriate solutions,
- means of determining policies and actions designed to improve the condition of urban areas and developing the institutional structures necessary to support the preparation of specific proposals.

Finally, after setting the principles and objectives of urban regeneration, we shall introduce a very specific aspect of its nature; its interrelation with culture. The necessity for a central and collective objective that would balance the various – sometimes opposite – goals and prospects of the urban society, can be managed within the boundaries of culture. The following part of the paper, examines this influence and effect of culture as a theme of urban regeneration.

3.   The business of culture: a theme for urban regeneration

At first, employing culture as a theme provides urban regeneration objectives with an effective promotional concept highly acceptable. This fact does not however mean that culture is intentionally used as a theme solely for promotional needs, yet the important added value of positive recognition effect –as a process accepted by large number of people– cannot be neglected.

Moreover, another distinct characteristic of culture that contributes mostly to urban regeneration is the capacity of identity-building. Given the evident crisis of local identity and the shift towards new forms of representing localism, as a result of (Castells, 1993):

- a march to supra-nationality within the European Union that blurs national identities and makes people uncertain about the power holders of their destiny, thus pushing them into withdrawal, either individualistic (neo-liberalism) or collective (neo-nationalism);
- an intensified phenomenon of migration – legal or illegal – to European cities that gradually transforming European urban societies form culturally bounded and most homogenous entities into multicultural and heterogeneous entities.

The presence of multiculturalism coupled with the emerging identity crisis, generates much of the opportunities for culture-led urban regeneration. Thus, culture as a theme becomes very crucial, albeit more sensitive and complex, as it deals with sensitive social issues. Nonetheless, an interesting approach to managing multiculturalism through culture is the reestablishment of place identity by innovative – urban – design (Gospodini, 2004). This approach suggests that the production of new public space operates similarly to the built heritage in the past. However, this *manipulation* of identities and local symbols is not an easy task, as it may seem, as it transcends the boundaries of urban design, and introduces serious social and community issues.

Furthermore, the most significant contribution of culture (with large economic perspective) to urban regeneration is the diffusion of its symbolic values. For the reason, that "culture is (…) a powerful means of controlling cities (…) as a source of images and memories, it symbolizes 'who belongs' in specific places" (Zukin, 1995:1). This aspect of spatial control of culture can be supported by a set of architectural themes (by developing urban areas around a specific theme), as a mechanism of regenerating local identity, by creating new images and visions –perceived or real– of the public realm. After all, "new public spaces owe their particular shape and form to the intertwining of cultural symbols and entrepreneurial capital" (Zukin 1995:3). This can be better understood considering the economic opportunities that culture provide to urban regeneration (and not only), through the appropriation of the *symbolic economy*.

The restructuring of the urban economy towards creative and innovative sources of return, pushed for a rearranging of its 'products'. Hence, from the traditional goods and services (land, labour, capital), a shift emerges towards more complex in nature 'products' of cultural consumption, dressed in seductive symbols, intertwined with entrepreneurial capital (Zukin, 1995). Consequently, the dynamism of urban economy is increasingly dependant upon the performance of the cultural and entertainment industry.

The recognition of the economic and importance in decision-making preferences, rising from the management of a product's image, encouraged product design to engage marketing strategies to increase

customers demand. This promotional tactics, induced a symbiosis of image and product (Zukin, 1995), providing thus to a product with an extra quality – real or not – of appearance (the 'look' of things).

This new function of representing a product by appearance, which may even refer to a city, on the whole, unleashed the symbolic realm of culture and art, on an attempt to attract attention. The visual and imagery attributes of cultural symbols, that are full of meanings and codes, in fact explain the growth of symbolic economy in finance, media, and entertainment. This is a growth that reflects a new demand for urban space, and therefore sets a new framework (see Table 2 below) for urban regeneration.

Moreover, an interesting point to mention is that the symbolic economy "unifies material practices of finance, labour, art, performance, and design" (Zukin, 1995:9). In other words, it correlates a variety of aspects that used to work in some isolation, by incorporating them into a unified single product. This merging of aspects and qualities of the urban realm is boosting the urban economy as it offers a new stream of –cultural– consumers. This can be strengthened by the development of spatially distinct urban regions, similar to oases within the city's whole. In addition, their spatial distinction is often defined by a specific theme or function, like entertainment centres, cultural quarters (Montgomery, 2003) and the like.

As a result of the enthusiasm and evaluation of the symbolic economy's positive contribution to urban regeneration, cities are emphasising more and more on the *visual* qualities of their symbols (whatever they might be), invested deeply in cultural context. Therefore, cultural organisations like art museums, and corporations like Walt Disney, may eventually define "public culture as a process of negotiating images that are accepted by large number of people" (Zukin, 1995:10). The cultural industry (Adorno, 1991), in general, through its symbolic influence, may in the end, define the image of a city with values open to interpretation and negotiation, in respond to the diversity of the contemporary society.

Finally, it is important to underline the most significant qualities and influences of culture to urban regeneration strategies, and in this way add specificity to their objectives (Table 2).

Table 2 The objectives of culture-led urban regeneration
1. Positive recognition effect (promotional benefit).
2. Identity-building (introducing new localism as a source of images and memories; spatial control). Cultural citizenship (a new sense of belonging).
3. Demands new urban spatial qualities (e.g. environmental signifiers).
4. Translates the symbolic realm into a new prosperous market of cultural consumerism (commodification of culture and cultural capitalism).
5. Suggests imagery qualities able to alter the image – perceived or real – of a city.
6. Importance to appearance (visual and imagery qualities), imageability, design and style.
7. Engages marketing and promotional strategies.
8. Boosts leisure and entertainment economy (creative industry and the business of spectacle).
9. Encourages the role of urban design and architecture in the creation of new urban space and experience, in parallel with preserving the existing local heritage and history.
10. Cultural investments (improving the quality of urban life and the appealer physiognomy of a city).
11. Supports the tourist industry (by offering attractive places to visit).
12. Introduces new aesthetic values and priorities (emphasis on distinctive design).

Source: own elaboration

4.   The impact of architecture: the value to culture-led urban regeneration

A distinct element of culture-led urban regeneration strategies is the degree of dependence upon aesthetics. The culturally themed regeneration, requires a spatially distinctive and symbolic environment, in other terms, it operates within the discipline of architecture. In the article 'Function and Sign: Semiotics of Architecture' (Eco in: Leach, 1997), Eco distinguishes between the primary (denotative) function of architecture as a functional object and a secondary (connotative) function as a symbolic object. A concluding remark of this article is that architects must design structures for 'variable primary functions and open secondary functions'. This remark of the architectural symbolic quality represents the link between culture-led regeneration and architecture. Upon this symbolic foundation of interrelations, architectural practice assists urban regeneration's objectives, as well as offers a new horizon of opportunities and challenges architecture.

In addition, there is also am interwoven social dimension in architecture, for "architecture is the expression of the very being of societies, in the same way that human physiognomy is the expression of the being of individuals" (Bataille in: Leach, 1997). Thus, architecture can be accounted a manifestation of social values, and in this sense, of social identity. This societal quality of architecture, along with the

symbolic, affects the urban generation in various ways. This influence is presented briefly in the following part of this paper. Although much of the conclusions and suggestions are in some sense empirical and qualitative, it is with a certain degree evident, that the contribution of architecture in culture-led urban regeneration is determinant (the term architecture refers to the whole practice of the architectural discipline and not just to a single project).

Consequently, architecture can contribute according to the aforementioned two qualities of the symbolic and societal, as well as the very important, nowadays, value of economic speculation. Hence, the value of architecture can be manifested within an interrelated, threefold manner: (a) economic, (b) social, and (c) symbolic (see Table 3).

4.1 The economic value

A publication by Loe (2000), describes the economic value of architecture, mainly from the perspective of 'building economics'. Since the 1960s, the origin of building economics as a new discipline, the economic value of a building, was related mostly to broader economic and social objectives. Hence, from the cost studies of the 1960s, to the cost control and modelling of the 1970s, to the cost forecasting and the value in engineering in the 1980s, building economics concentrated in the 1990s, on value management and, in general, on the added values in buildings and design. These added values, which measure for example the 'productivity' of a building use through time, may alter the traditional concept of the attractivity of a given place. A project with the name Intelligent Buildings in Europe, by the DEGW and the IT consultants of Technibank (1992), presented four types of added values that responded to deferent requirements:

1. Use value (custom designed for the owner-occupier, maximizes the use value for the end user organization).
2. Exchange value (developed speculatively, and designed to maximize the building exchange value as a commodity to be traded).
3. Image value (designed to maximize the image value of the building often at the expense of efficiency or other qualities).
4. Business value (where use, exchange and image are synthesized into a building where technology is fully exploited to maximize the range of options for the end user).

The above approach concentrated in a commercial value of architecture, treating buildings as assets in the property market. This perspective is also *project-led*, operating in some isolation with other urban issues. A more sustainable approach to valuing the economic contribution of architecture to urban regeneration schemes is suggested by Loe (2000), by measuring the impact on local communities, in relation to:

- natural capital (e.g. environmental quality).
- physical capital (e.g. infrastructure).
- social capital (e.g. trust, reciprocity and norms).
- human capital (e.g. self-esteem, attitudes, skills and knowledge).

This broader economic value of architecture is also emphasized in the report *Towards an Urban Renaissance* (Urban Task Force, 1999). In its mission statement, the vision of urban regeneration is based "on the principle of design excellence, social well-being and environmental responsibility within a viable economic and legislative framework" (Urban Task Force, 1999:2). In addition, 'design' is defined as a *product* and *process* (not just problem-solving), which determines the quality of the built environment.

To sum up, from the economist's perspective, a building is an *asset* and has a value within a market of similar assets. Also, the traditional value of dependence solely on location, with less respect to architecture and design, is reconsidered and there is a growing attention to projects (flagship) of distinct design that regenerate the area in which they are located. However, as Loe (2000:35) mentions: "good design in itself does not guarantee sustainability within an urban context unless over time, adaptability is inherent within the design, and matched in the surrounding environmental and social fabric." Likewise, a single project (flagship) cannot in itself guarantee economic success. Even so, the contribution of quality architectural design, to the local economy, as an added value, acts as a positive *externality* of culture-led urban regeneration.

4.2 The social value of good design

In the publication *the value of good design* by the Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE, 2002), the influence of architecture is studied in respect to social aspects such as health care, education, housing, civic pride and cultural activity, business and crime prevention. This publication also presents some significant results of a poll commissioned by CABE (MORI, 2002), for example that 81% of the people questioned, are interested in how the built environment 'looks' and 'feels' like. This fact reveals that the majority of people appreciates design and accepts that it has a positive influence to the quality of living standards, professional productivity, educational attainment, physical well-being, house values and reducing crime. Thus, there is a general view that architecture is not just about aesthetics, on the contrary, it affects significantly the – perceived or real – quality of the urban environment.

In brief, the influence of architecture, its significant *externalities* can be classified along the following aspects:

- Health care

A study by the University of Sheffield (1999) for NHS Estates, examined the performance of patients in newly refurbished facilities, and realized that less analgesic medication was required, in comparison with older wards. In addition, a publication by the King's Fund (2002), indicate a growing body of evidence that an attractive, sensitively designed hospital environment can offer significant therapeutic benefits to patients and boost staff morale.

Further research (Ulrich, 1984), also underline benefits of environmental design, especially after a study of patients with rooms overlooking natural landscapes, compared with patients that looked out onto a brick wall, had shorter post-operative stays, fewer negative evaluation comments from nurses, took fewer strong and moderate analgesic doses and had lower rates of minor post-surgical complications.

- Educational environments

A study by PriceWaterhouseCoopers (2000) for the British Department of Education and Skills, examined the relationship between capital investments in schools vis-à-vis pupil performance, and distinguished a great influence of capital investment on staff morale, pupil motivation and effective learning time. Other studies (Alt, 2001; Earthman and Lemasters, 1997) also support the fact that there is a strong relationship between pupil and staff performance and behavior, with the quality of the built environment.

- Housing

A poll commissioned by CABE (MORI, 2002), deduced that the perception of people about the value of well-designed houses is significantly high. Specifically, 72% of those interviewed, believe that good design will increase the housing value quicker than average. In addition, in the report *the value of good design* of CABE (2002), further research suggests that the overall impression of the exterior of a house and its surrounding dwellings reflects how people feel about their homes, and more significantly affects their personal sense of worth. The important influence of the surrounding – neighborhood – context, is also indicated by the Popular Housing Forum (1998) research, where after a large number of interviews and discussion groups across the UK, concluded that neighborhood appearance was considered more important than the design of the house itself. This fact highlights a priority of importance of public space quality and image, rather than private housing.

- Urban design in promoting civic pride and cultural activity

A research published by CABE (2001) and the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM) in the UK, examined three selected commercial developments in Birmingham, Nottingham and Birmingham, and found that schemes with high-level design, achieved to provide a wider range of economic, social and environmental benefits. Furthermore, other surveys (CABE, 2002) that examined people's attitude towards the city centre, indicate that the disliking of central areas is related to the non-stimulating visual environment, in the form of commercial, social and public activity. On the other hand, a study by the University of San Francisco (Lerner and Poole, 1999), reported that the preservation and improvement of open land for public use, creates a net increase in municipal tax revenues after a rise in land values.

- Business

A survey by the University of Nottingham (Rouse, 2000) of ten large originations in the UK showed that 'employee satisfaction' and 'functional quality' were the highest rated drivers for investment. Similar studies in the CABE report *the value of good design* (2002) also emphasize the positive correlation between architecture and quality design with market rent values for commercial offices. In financial terms this impact of architecture is called the 'design dividend' (CABE, 2002:6).

- Crime prevention

A study by Chih-Feng Shu (2000), examining the spatial distribution of crime reports, within various social places, spatial patterns and housing types, discovered that (CABE, 2002:7), (i) property crimes tended to cluster in locally segmented areas, particularly in cul-de-sacs, footpaths and rear dead-end alleys, (ii) positive features that made spaces safer included integrated through roads with front entrances on both sides, more passers-by on the street, more visible neighbors on the streets, good visual relations to the public realm rather than seclusion, more linear integrated spaces and visual continuity between spaces.

This evidence of crime prevention by means of environmental design, is also provided by Oc and Tiesdell (1997). Specifically, the concept of 'designing out crime' underlines the importance and contribution of architectural design in planning spatial opportunities that prevent crime. In addition, Oc and Tiesdell (1997) also highlight the distinct architectural quality of –public – lighting, often not considered in full extent. This quality of lighting, can improve the people's perceptions and attitudes towards the feeling of security. The sense of security can be further supported by car park design, safer public transport and the promotion of the twenty-four hour city concept through culture-led initiatives.

The contribution of architecture to urban regeneration, in terms of improving the level of security, is also recognized by Raco (2003). He suggests that the perception of crime is closely related to particular places (Heal, 1999); ensuring safety in new urban regions with urban design, will result in an increase in the attractivity of a place.

4.3 The symbolic value

Architecture mainly by its symbolic production of the urban space (e.g. with monuments) develops a 'collective' mental image, which operates as a social membership and 'collective mirror' (Lefebvre, 1991). This quality of architecture, also known as the 'recognition effect', represents an accord sense of belonging that is crucial for building identities, by the manipulation of collective images and memory (Therborn, 2002).

What follows, is a brief study of the symbolic value and influence of architecture, with respect to five critical aspects of urban development.

- Place identity

Cities make efforts to secure their place identity and protect their heritage in respond to globalisation and identity crisis. This is often managed by urban regeneration schemes and the innovative design of flagship projects (Gospodini, 2004). These projects usually focus on cultural activities (Zukin, 1995; Shaw *et al*, 2004), with a certain degree of commercial applications, like shopping centres. Nonetheless, this approach of identity re-building has been criticised as 'hard branding' (Evans, 2003), because design is targeted on the creation of a marketable image, similar to commercial branding.

Additionally, a very important aspect of place identity is the quality and nature of the present built heritage. Since built heritage represents spatially a historical past, it provides a foundation for local identity. After all, by neglecting the traces of the past, it would be like building frivolously upon a spatial *tabula rasa*. Thus, every urban regeneration scheme considers built heritage as a distinctive feature of a place's identity and development. A twofold process of manipulating the built heritage is:

- Imprinting national identities onto the conserved urban forms (when national identity is based on shared memory and elements of a common past, and when the urban landscape works as a signifying system that composes a subjective image of a certain identity.)
- Creating 'distinct' urban landscapes by means of built heritage (namely, strategies that emphasize local history and the distinctive characteristics of a place, help built a collective image and identity, see Gospodini (2004:228).

- Place marketing

Cities usually promote their territorial potentiality by employing marketing techniques, well known to corporate strategies of product promotion (Ashworth and Voogd, 1990; Van den Berg *et al.,* 1995). Economic competition and the need for differentiation, compels cities to enhance their 'sense of place'. However, efforts to raise the appeal factor of a place are a very old issue. As Van den Berg describes: "cities and regions have always existed within markets" (Van den Berg *et al*., 1999:992). However, in the last 20 years there is a growing recognition of importance of marketing and promotional policies in urban planning and management (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005).

     Nonetheless, the importance to the distinct characteristics of a locality must not be over-looked, as the resulting policies will fall into a process of homogenization. This threat of identity homogenization is also described as the great paradox of architecture, where global abstractions are housed in structures of permanence (Loe, 2000). Similarly, Riewoldt (1997) calls this type of architecture, a return to its elementary protective, and identity-creating functions.

- City image

The symbolic representation of public architecture is strongly affected by the disenchantment of culture (Weber, 1946; Lee, 2002). This fact has actually reduced the nature of neo-symbolism into impressive –flat– iconography of seductive signs. Architecture is thus trying to evolve and position itself in this new era, by considering two contemporary challenges:

- diverse forms of symbolism, and
- the miscellaneous of urban life(style).

Consequently, an architectural synthesis that reflects the current social and cultural aspirations, have to incorporate the qualities of modern polyphony, polymorphy and multiplicity (Deleuze, 1991).

- Urban planning

Since architecture is not just about the appearance of the built environment, it introduces an aesthetic approach towards social, economic, cultural and environmental objectives. Thus, it plays a significant role in the process and policy-making of urban planning.

     In a publication by CABE (2006), there is an effort in formulating a general framework for architectural practice within the urban planning system. Hence, it firstly introduces the important parameters of an urban design analysis (CABE, 2006:10):

- urban structure: the framework of routes and spaces,
- urban grain: the pattern of blocks, plots and buildings,
- landscape: shape, form, ecology and natural features,
- density and mix: the amount of development and the range of land uses,
- scale: height and massing,
- appearance: details and material.

Secondly, it considers the particular context, including the following (CABE, 2006:11):

- character: a place with identity,
- continuity and enclosure: a place where public and private spaces are clearly distinguished,
- quality of the public realm: a place with attractive outdoor areas,
- ease of movement: a place that is comfortable in getting and moving through,
- legibility: a place with clear image,
- adaptability: a place flexible that can easily change,
- diversity: a place with variety and choice.

Finally, urban planning should, among others, provide a separate framework for the distinct architectural projects that adapt the new demands of urban space. At a scheme level, architecture must respond to "society's constantly changing needs and be able to anticipate future needs or at least, make

it possible to adapt to the future needs. In addition, a scheme must have a purpose and meaning, and not just fulfill a mere checklist of end-user requirements and cost restrictions. After all, most wining projects in architectural competitions are rarely the most reasonable cost-wise (Loe, 2000). Hence, this framework of architectural practice, similarly to the principles of urban regeneration, must take into account certain aspects, for instance (CABE, 2006:14):

- clarity of organization: from site to building planning,
- order: that helps comprehend and interpret the built environment (see also Lynch, 1960),
- expression and representation: appearance can imply several meanings,
- appropriateness of architectural ambition,
- integrity and honesty,
- architectural language,
- scale.
- conformity and contrast,
- orientation, prospect and aspect,
- detailing and materials: relates to the understanding of the context,
- structure, environmental services and energy use.
- flexibility and adaptability: a building is likely to change over its lifetime, so design should be flexible and adaptable (capable of accommodating the changing requirements without major alterations),
- sustainability: be economically, environmentally and socially sustainable (consider whole-life costs rather than short-term economic returns),
- inclusive design: provide equal access (intellectual, emotional and physical) for all,
- aesthetics.

- Built heritage and the historic environment

In sensitive historic environments, where the need to understand the context is at its highest level, architecture faces more difficult challenges, raising thus the expectations of result. However, such environments are often treated with increased protectionism and strict planning legislation, unfortunately, overlooking the fact that "some historic contexts are capable of assimilating dramatic architectural contrasts, and an unashamedly modern building will often be preferable to a pale imitation of what has gone before" (CABE 2006, 18).

Finally, the following table attempts to summarize the contribution of architecture to the various urban aspects, and to the culture-led urban regeneration strategies (Table 3 below).

5.   Conclusion

The practice of architecture goes far beyond accommodating use and function. It accommodates human activity, not just inside a single building, but also in every location where an activity takes place. Thus, architecture is incorporated in every aspect of the urban life through the applications of the built environment. In this sense, it affects significantly the processes of urban planning and especially, where the scale is smaller, urban regeneration strategies. In addition, as culture is increasingly becoming a theme of urban generation, manages more effectively to embody the qualities and value of architecture, within the objectives of a scheme. This however, does not necessarily mean that culture-led urban regeneration strategies are, in some sense, capitalizing on architecture. In fact, their emerging mutual objectives and ambitions create new opportunities and challenges for both the architecture and urban regeneration practice.

This paper attempted to briefly illustrate the variety of contributing influences and interrelation between architecture and culture-led urban regeneration strategies. It is important to mention that the level of analysis of the contributing influences if architecture was not sufficient, as the central objective of this paper was to make an effort in presenting a general framework. Every aspect of architectural influence sets a river of exciting challenges both of theory and practice. In addition, in order to simplify the structure and content of the analysis, due to its complex nature of the subject, some categorizations may not be fully accurate. Nonetheless, the central objective remains intact, as whatever the difficulties in analyzing the nature and extent of influence of architecture to culture-led initiatives, what is certain are that it introduces an aesthetic approach towards urban regeneration's objectives.

Table 3 The contribution of architecture to culture-led urban regeneration

A.   The economic value

   i. Management of building's added values as an asset in property market:
- *use value*
- *exchange value*
- *image value*
- *business value*

   ii. Quality designed environments increase productivity of:
- *human capital*
- *customer relations*
- *business process*

   iii. Commercial value increase values of:
- *expression (identity and branding)*
- *spatial and infrastructural flexibility*
- *workplace design*
- *rent values increase*
- *net increase in municipal tax revenues (after a land value increase)*

   iv. Occupancy cost reduction and energy efficiency.

B.   The social value

   i. Healthcare:
- *patients performance and recovery (therapeutic benefits)*
- *staff moral increase*
- *shorter stays*

   ii. Education:
- *improved pupil performance and behaviour*
- *staff morale increase*
- *effective learning time*

   iii. Housing:
- *property value increase (and quicker than normal)*
- *improving the feel-good factor (though evaluating exterior appearance)*
- *affecting the personal sense of worth*

   iv. Civic pride and cultural activity:
- *enhancing cultural activity*
- *affecting people's attitudes towards specific urban regions*
- *regenerates un-stimulating environments*

   v. Business:
- *driver for investment ('design dividend')*
- *improving the appeal factor of a locality*

   vi. Crime prevention:
- *'designing out crime'*
- *(public)lighting and the feeling safe factor*
- *sense of security*

C.   The symbolic value

   i. Place identity:
- *develops a collective mental image (social membership)*
- *recognition effect*
- *identity re-building*

ii. Place marketing:
- *provide differentiation and distinctiveness*
- *improves the attractivity level of a place*
- *enhances place promotion strategies by offering more imagery opportunities*

iii. City image:
- *symbolic representation (diversiform)*
- *impressive images and seductive signs*
- *reflects current social and cultural aspirations by multiplicity in form, use and appearance.*

iv. Urban planning:
- *aesthetic approach to sustainable objectives*
- *improving the structure (perceived or real) and appearance of the urban scene*
- *provides a spatial character, identity and physiognomy.*
- *reflects the concepts of adaptability and flexibility (spatially)*

v. Built heritage:
- *preserve historic environments (conventionally)*
- *stimulating historic environment by assimilating dramatic architectural contrasts (unconventionally).*

Source: own elaboration

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ITALIAN FOUNDATIONS OF BANKING ORIGIN AND STRATEGIES OF LOCAL DEVELOPMENT

Alessandro Crociata and Pier Luigi Sacco

Abstract Foundations of banking origin (FBOs) represent a potentially important agent in developing social, cultural and economic progress in the area in which they operate. These institutions are likely to play a key role in the next decade in fostering local trajectories of development, free from the pressure of the political mandate, with a quite long time-horizon on which to base their decision and a significant asset to manage. The semantic value of FBOs has been the outcome of a long and much debated process. The economic rationality of FBOs "institutional activity" is related to their mandate and works within both social and economic utility. This mandate should be pursued according to a post-industrial economic system, in which the creating value process and the shape of system competitiveness change substantially. In this scenario that goes beyond the dimension and the social-productive context, new development paradigms can be devised. Consequently it is necessary to find out a balancing modus operandi following to the entire evolution of the economic system.

Keywords: Foundations of banking origin, intermediate institutional structures, collective learning, progressive cultural district

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1.   Introduction

Foundations of Banking Origin (FBOs) have achieved remarkable growth in quality and quantity over the recent years, because of the increase of the patrimony dimension and the number of interventions, on the one hand, and because of the visibility and the achievement in the civil society, on the other. These institutes are brought about by the transformations of property setting, and by the projection towards the private system of these organizations. Inside a scenario characterized by a progressive shift towards vertical and horizontal subsidiarities, a composition of multidimensional factors – culture, politics, economy – impact on the FBO's role and importance. The interpretation of this role is a complex task, for this reason, we decided to underline four aspects in order to help the many considerations on the causal nexus between FBOs and local development strategies. The first specific aspect concerns the observation of the FBOs' anatomy, inscribed along a historical, economical ad normative *continuum*, that designed their physiognomy and constrained, in a sensible way, their *modus operandi*. The second aspect regards the FBOs' semantic side, i.e. implications of the meaning and consequences in describing the ontology and the workability of these institutions. The third aspect regards the contextualization of the previous parts inside the post-industrial economy rationale. According to all that the FBOs' role is to be considered and analysed in the light of the new local

development paradigms. The last aspect regards a personal key interpretation of the binomial: Italian Foundations of Banking Origins and Strategies of Local Development.

2.   FBOs' anatomy and semantic value

The Saving Banks, from which FBOs derive, are organizations born after the contribution of private capital. The institute' assets are finalized to support the social development they are set in through actions characterized by philanthropy and social utility. Inside these institutions there is a credit activity too, that grows up with time. The progressive achievement of an entrepreneurial spirit joined with a higher and higher level of deposits, do not divert the Saving Banks' mission, that shows a deep link with the local community they grow in, and for which they go on playing a role of socio-economic development.

Anatomy

The FBOs' anatomy is inscribed along a historical, economical ad normative *continuum*, that designed their physiognomy and constrained, in a very sensible way, their *modus operandi*. A very long historical review is present in the literature, in this paper we focus on the radical change occurred during the 90s, i.e. the years in which the Italian legislator has been setting up the juridical and institutional system. At the same time, the structure and operations of the emerging Foundations of banking origin has been defined. Indeed, the legal basis of FBOs has been the outcome of a long and much debated *iter*.

We can start from the Law no.210/90 (Amato-Carli Law) and from the D.Lgs. no.356, which represent a formal moment to define the FBOs' identity. Considered under this point of view, they are the result of a "social engineering act": according to Zamagni (2007) these organizations represent "the first experiment of social engineering of epigenetic type", that is, borrowing from biology the idea that of FOBs growing up with a specific endogenous configuration. This legal apparatus is set inside a juridical process of privatization of the Italian bank system. Following the European Community directives, our country has implemented the process of credit system privatization, providing incentives for the transformation in joint-stock company of those banks created as Foundations or associative institutes. In this case a set of laws provide for the separation credit banking activity from their holding. Bank activity is ascribed to a new subject created as a joint-stock company, while the holding is ascribed to an emerging subject, called Foundations of banking origin. By the way, the disciplinary measures adopted during the early years are not completely sufficient to guarantee the stability of the new system. Indeed the Amato-Carli Law stimulates the process of separation between Bank and Foundations (at a corporate level) but, in the meanwhile, it obliges the Foundations to hold the control of Bank patrimony, creating a sort of genetic and functional link between the two new subjects. The Law no. 474/94 and the Dini Directive intervenes in order to solve this ambiguous situation. The latter provides fiscal incentives for those Foundations, which dismiss the equity participation in their banks of origin. Another milestone in the historical trajectory, is represented by the Law no. 461/98 (Ciampi Law). The fundamental aspect of these directions is the identification of FOBs private juridical status, and the attribution of complete statutory and managerial autonomy.

After a long and debated *iter* we can say that the set of rules that compels BFOs' behaviour, gives them great autonomy in the decision process in order to achieve the goal of promoting the production of public utilities and economic development. These institutions are likely to play a key role in the next decade in fostering local trajectories of development, free from the pressure of the political mandate, with a quite long time-horizon on which to base their decision and a significant asset to manage.

Semantic value

The FBOs' semantic side, that is the implications concerning to their meaning, have been stirring up an extended literature meant to set these organizations within a coherent picture. Aiming at outlining the ontology and the consequent operational aspect. The first typical is the specific local projection of programmatic and granting FBOs' activity strongly embedded in the territory in which they operate. There is a sort of historical continuity with the place of origin and with the community that give them identity. From this specific features that the definition of FBOs' rationale derives, that is the promotion and the support to the production of local public goods of social utility (Scandizzo, 1999). The expression "asset finalized to a scope" identifies these institutions as patrimonialized and self managed organizations, which grant public utilities (Danzi e Demarie, 2003). The mainstream places the FBOs within the third sector agents. According

to this interpretation experiences like this show how there is a specific place for organs of the third sector and how their role is embedded in a sort of welfare mix (Cabasino, 2005). The presence of organizations operating in this sector is often evoked by getting back to the theory of the State failure (Wiesbrod, 1980; 1988) and to the theory of the failure of the contract. (Hansmann, 1980, 1996).

In both cases there are dis-equilibriums in the production of public goods, which would justify the heterogeneous demand needs (Wiesbrod's model) and that send reliable signal on the market, according to the "non distribution constraint" (Hansmann's model). In this sense the FBOs' operativeness, within the intervention sectors allowed by the law is characterized by the presence of trust goods like cultural goods, scientific research and wealth, to quote some of them. The absence of profit making aims, though not in antithesis with the optimization of the intervention, represents a trust signal, set by the FBOs to the market, in the course their institutional activity (Scandizzo, 1999).

Following upon such consideration, one of the *modus operandi* principles in the social problem-solving activity, is suggested by Barbetta (2005). According to which one of the main FBOs' principle guiding their actions should be the attitude to prefer the innovating activities, that is organizations able to satisfy collective needs, through original projects. In this perspective FBOs should try and risk a part of their grants in favour of courageous and far-reaching initiatives, which though they are somewhat more uncertain, can bring high future benefit to the community. Such a *modus operandi* would make a manager of a Foundation a social and economic innovator, similar to the Schumpeterian entrepreneur (Barbetta, 2005). The direct consequence of such principle consists in favouring the granting of projects, rather than a giving general support to organizations. As Barbetta says, the FBOs could specialize in the function of "social merchant banker", searching and supporting those organizations and projects that have the biggest and best capabilities to ensure the social-economic development. Such innovative, not charitable, and efficient dimension of those projects works, using the logic of this method, and helps the growth and the success of organizations that are the expression of the no-profit sector. In this way the FBOs can adopt a rationale situated on an intermediate level, adopting an original conduct differently from the public administration and firms. The innovative and far-reaching *modus operandi* aims at pursuing the community wellbeing by means of interventions showing a postponed social profitability (Barbetta, 2005). If the FBOs have really completed, by now, their transformations into no-profit organizations (Zamagni, 2007), there are other shapes regarding the semantic aspects that place the Foundations among the intermediate institutional structures. This expression is referred to those institutional bodies that offer specific public goods to the local systems (Arrighetti e Serravalli, 1999), placing themselves in the middle, as the term suggests, between the State and the people (agents). The intermediate bodies' importance is emphasized by the particular Italian economic development model, referred to as *industrial districts*.

However, we can say that the intermediate institutions (sectorial organizations, local banks, FBOs, local agencies, associations) provide the planning and realization of a sum of selective public goods. This category of goods is selective so far as it regards specific agents and specific territorial areas that benefit from them. "These institutional bodies require a localized and differentiated supply of public goods, conditioning the scarcity of specific local resources" (Arrighetti e Serravalli, 1999). In accordance such interpretation, the FBOs' action is placed at a meso-institutional level as an answer to the narrow micro-macro binomials. It is also a strategic factor that determines a territorial differential in the local economic development. That gives birth to a relevant implication: the intermediate attribute assumes a heavy meaning if it is conceptualized in relational terms (Lanzalaco, 1999). Consequently the FBOs, too, seen in this perspective, imply a whole specific and limited set of institutional relationships with other local agents (either individuals, local organizations and associations of different kinds). The main issue is qualifying all those relationships in order to guide the FBOs' relational capital, towards development trajectories, that are sustainable inside a post-industrial transitional, dynamic and economic system.

3.   A new season of local economic development

In the economic development models intervene more and more complex factors, directly linked to new competitive forms of the advanced economy. The post-industrial economic base is built, above all, on immaterial factors, such as the investment in research activities, the new patents generation, and the diffusion of new technologies. This is related especially to those factors, which facilitate the innovation orientation, the production and the knowledge social circulation. The development models of countries that have achieved a particularly high standard of material well-being, are shifting their consumption attitude from a quantitative (number of goods and services) to a qualitative approach. It is quite evident that western

societies are undergoing a new development process in which the symbolic/identifying features, indeed cultural elements, play a specific role in the development of "mature economies". On the economic level culture has got a strategic role in the definition of new competitive contexts. As the supply culture and the symbolic assets are seen like new opportunities to increase the consumer perception and, indeed, the value of the goods. Products tend therefore to become culture-laden, that is to say they acquire new meanings and values arising from immaterial factors; elements that are the basis for the creation of the value add chain.

Considering the aspects of the demand, goods and services that are bring a precise "aura value" in symbolic terms, are purchased by the individuals aiming at defining a better personal identity, positioning themselves inside a precisely and identifiable social environment. On the social level, culture is seen as a tool that promotes cohesion through the creation of a common language, thus setting the stage for socially-driven development of human potential (Matarasso, 1997). In the current scenario of turbulent socio-economic change fuelled by globalization processes, virtually all of the countries characterized by advanced levels of industrial development, are experiencing a massive re-shaping of their productive sectors. The logic of comparative advantage is driving such countries away from labour-intensive productions, towards knowledge- and information-based ones. The idea is to construct the contextual conditions able to facilitate the individual and social capability in thinking and acting in an innovative way. That is the extension of the competitiveness meaning: being competitive, today, means building forms, socially sustainable, of informative and cognitive resources efficiency use. The new economic development paradigms are based on the socio-productive systems innovation oriented. Systems in which the agents are motivated to acquire new knowledge, to test and to carry out complex cooperative projects, developing forms of creative integrations able to foment the economic value creation.

These paradigms are inserted in previous research programs and empirical evidences matured around the role trained by social origin structure, by the local institutional fabric, by the system of values, by the local culture (Bagnasco, 1977; Becattini, 1989a, 1989b, 2000a, 2000b). Starting from the seminal albeit largely overlooked intuition of Marshall, a series of research programmes strike evidence provided by the economic success of clustered firms in the open market scenarios. They make a clear case for the impact of localization choices on the firms' competitive potential, and argue that this may be a long-lasting feature of the late stages of capitalistic development. All these studies reveal a *fil rouge*: the shift of the focus from the firm to the locality in which the firm is, that is the socio-territorial context in which the productive processes take pace. According to this approach the environment pressure exerts its influences, in a very unique and specific way, on the agents' economic-productive and socio-cultural relationships. Such a productive system organization found application in a unit of analysis, known as industrial district. This unit has characterized the Italian economic development pattern, described as the "Third Italy" organizational model (Bagnasco, 1977). A model driven by the agglomeration economies linked to the spatial concentration, based primarily on different types of immaterial capital, is defined as "Marshallian capital". The presence of a coherent community, of social values, of traditions and habits deep-seated in the local context, in the agents, in the firms and in the institutions, are reflected in an "industrial atmosphere". Such a context facilitates the knowledge creating and circulating, thanks to the communicative channel that are socially codified (channels that transmit explicit information), and un-codified (channels that spread an informal tacit knowledge). The peculiarity of these communication dynamics becomes important, assuming the status of public goods.

Starting from the path marked out in this model, the economic literature has been stressing, in these years, an eclecticism that reveals a theoretical and methodological versatility. Trying to underline the local economic development interpretation we can find a shift from an economic-productive path to an economic-cognitive path (Camagni and Capello, 2002). This shift of paradigm reveals that the competitive advantage source is to be found on the process for gaining relevant knowledge inside the geographical and relational proximity. So the really strategic factors are the processes of social interaction that facilitate a collective and interactive learning (Calafati, 2002), i.e. a "thickening of information and knowledge cumulative processes". We can argue that the knowledge production accumulation, as well the intermediate institution rationale (as the FBOs) show a specific territorial anchorage in reason of their deep-related local nets.

The spatial character of these relationships has created positive localized externalities that need, however, some mechanism (technological and institutional) of diffusion to determine the performance differentials. In other words we can say that the collective learning needs a local milieu (that is the unit that contains and generates the learning process) that is a proximity manifestation, but, in the meanwhile, it needs a sort of governance. To activate a collective learning process is necessary a complex institutional configuration that is a mechanism able to regulate the inter-dependent relationships. The collective learning, precisely, is a mental process, which asks for a cognitive system composed of a whole of decision-making

(among which the FBOs) capable of thinking in a problem-solving way, and in economic terms, of intervening to tackle disequillibria present in the system (Calafati, 2002).

Inside this scenario in which a sort of "cultural turn that has raged across the social science in the recent years" (Amin and Thrift, 2007), we focus upon the activator effect of culture in creating a knowledge-friendly local "atmosphere", i.e. an economic and social environment in which easy and continued access to cultural opportunities fosters a widespread social orientation towards innovative thinking, far-reaching visions of human development and social cooperation, and so on collective learning. Culture is a selective local goods, strictly related to the territory, it is a peculiar and idiosyncratic factor expressed and generated by a specific local system (Santagata, 2002; Scott, 2000).

In this perspective every territory revels a rank of productive, cognitive and cultural specialization that positively influence the knowledge circulation. This specialization provides a vehicle for ideas and creative innovative thinking, to generate added value to compete in a post-industrial arena. In this case, we can talk about pattern of local development culture led. The increasing interest for culture as the engine of local economic development finds its antecedents in certain experiments in urban and regional planning, such as the urban regeneration plans carried out by the Great London Council, based on a strategic vision focused upon building cultural infrastructures and activities (DCMS, 1999). Theoretical and analytical frameworks that have generated applied concepts, called *cultural district*, were grown out from these experiments. A full critical discussion of such concept is beyond the scope of the present paper; here we are referring the interested reader to Sacco and Pedrini (2003).

Our purpose here is to stress the issue of the "progressive cultural district" (as we might call this synthesis of planned and self-organized components), which has interesting connections with several lines of research in apparently different fields. In particular, we want to emphasize three of them, which could also be regarded as thematic characterizations of the three basic aspects of culture-driven development:

- the creativity-based attraction model of Richard Florida (2002), that emphasizes the role of the quality of life and of technological infrastructure in the creation of a critical mass for the emergence of a knowledge-oriented economy;

- the competitiveness-based urban renovation model of Michael Porter (1989), that focuses upon the transition from an investment-based industrial orientation towards a self-supporting innovation based economy;

- the capability-based model of Amartya Sen (1994, 2002), which underlines the central role of a general social involvement in capability building activities as a prerequisite for viable economic development.

In a way, the "progressive cultural district" model ideally encompasses all these aspects in a common theoretical perspective where the crucial integrating role is played by cultural innovation and production (in its interaction with technological innovation) and by its gradual transmission to different industries and fields of activity. The "progressive" aspect of the district organization lies in the fact that these diffusion dynamics are rationally anticipated by the actors of the local system and are therefore strategically pursued as a collective, cooperative endeavour of cross fertilization.

Starting from a meta-review of the existing literature, Sacco, Ferilli & Lavanga (2006) identify twelve strategic dimensions of action that play a crucial strategic role in launching culture-led local development processes, and that at the same time define the menu for an effective policy management of the progressive cultural district, whose relative priorities will of course change from case to case, as a response to both local conditions and policy objectives. Since several of the successful cases under study concern policy actions that have been ongoing for a decade or more, it is sensible to think of such dimensions as indicators (Sacco, Tavano Blessi e Nuccio, 2008) of the long-run viability of culture-led development strategies:

The strategic lines identified and shown in *Table 4*, in our opinion, could be considered as the drivers dealing with the evaluation of the local area and the results of cultural policies. Besides, they could be also helpful for the subsequent creation of a local development strategy based on the exploitation of culture with long term prospective impacts on it.

4. Which role for FBOs inside the progressive cultural district model?

Moving from the picture just defined, it is possible to stress a reflection on FBOs' role within the progressive cultural district as a new local development model. The traditional philanthropic vocation oriented the FBOs' activity toward the territory micro-needs, however, this way of acting, in many cases, has generated very fragmented interventions, characterized more by a reactive attitude, than by a presence of strategy-driven vision. In the new context, new possibilities displays for the FBOs, both in terms of facilitation and coordination of the other local organizations activity, and in terms of real leadership in the new action and projects focalizing and implementing (in this second case we refer to the QLG dimension). In front of the public administration emerging difficulties, and facing with a fragmentation of a productive system characterized by small-medium enterprises, not really able to activate a system coordination projects, the FBOs can play a significant role in doing that. In that sense, one of the most critic aspects consists in conceptualizing the FBOs' necessity in supporting the quality of cultural supply (QCS), of research and knowledge production (QPK).

It is necessary to overcome the mere local vision of grants in favour of an international benchmark formed by the national and international best practices. This requires more and more an evaluation ex-post of the initiatives supported socio-cultural impact. Too many times the level of grants is disconnected from a system of analysis, and is merely linked to deep change in cultural and productive structures. It is also necessary to work out some punctual strategies to increase the value of local talent and local cultural entrepreneurs and to attract new external resources and talents. FBOs should overcome the division between the social sphere and the cultural one, to understand that these are strictly related. The cultural underdevelopment is a sign of the social criticalities. So Foundations have to catch the critical interdependence between social and cultural matters to cope with this aspect in a participative (innovative) way. Out of any rhetoric, FBOs' work must concentrate upon building the local cooperative nets, and then on the international networking, that allows the coordination among local projects and global partners. The cooperation between socio-cultural agents, that share some similarities, is, for example, one of the European Commission strategic lines. Another possibility not yet reached by the Foundations lies in their allocating activity. But before becoming a grant-provider, FBOs have to become a strategic elaboration place, not in competitive and exclusive manner with respect to public bodies, but on the contrary, as subjects that stimulate the cooperation among other territorial agents (individuals and organizations).

Today, culture operates as a sort of "cognitive infrastructure", not limited to individuals' leisure time, stimulating collective learning, and providing incentives for agents to invest in capabilities. The quail-quantitative evidence, emerging from FBO activities, shows some lights and shades: sometimes a limited vision of ephemeral beautification of a territory's cultural capital, must make room for a robust social empowerment construction: one that is based on a progressive ideas rebuilding, and on a social and relational practice reengineering. FBOs must accept the challenge to support the local cultural identities, through the construction of infrastructures whose nature is expressed in terms of cognitive, relational, cooperation nature.

In these terms FBOs can be identified as a "thinking and acting socio-economic dispositive" able to reduce the uncertainty. A kind of intermediate institution that can help, in a very decisive way, the redefinition of the local economy model specialization by means of the relational model construction of local community in which they operate. Under these conditions, and facing the post-industrial challenges, FBOs might play a key role in the next decades, in fostering local development.

Table 4 Culture-Led Local Development Strategies: Indicators of Long-Run Viability

Quality of Cultural Supply (QCS)	The existence of a cultural milieu of organizations and institutions that represent and organize the local creativity base while at the same time providing challenging cultural standards, making the local cultural supply palatable to wider though specific global audiences
Quality of Local Governance (QLG)	One or more local administrations credibly committing on the enhancement of coordination and cooperation of local actors around a shared, socially equitable knowledge development based vision
Quality of the Production of Knowledge (QPK)	The existence of a strong base of educational, research and knowledge transfer institutions that present at least a few areas of excellence
Development of Local Entrepreneurship (DLE)	The availability of (merit based) opportunities and facilities to develop new entrepreneurial projects by local people in knowledge-related sectors
Development of Local Talent (DLT)	The existence of a stimulating and motivating social and cultural environment that encourages and rewards the skilled and creatively talented young to emerge, that provides opportunities to showcase their work and to expose it to qualified talent-scouts
Attraction of External Firms and Investments (AEF)	Creating the legal, financial, logistic, environmental, socio-cultural conditions for non-local knowledge-related firms to settle down and for outside capitals to be invested locally
Attraction of External Talent (AET)	Creating the logistic, socio-cultural conditions for emerging and acclaimed talents to settle down or at least to put a stake in the local milieu for the development of their professional career and relationships
Management of Social Criticalities (MSC)	Referring to culture and knowledge-related activities and practices as basic, widely experimented tools for the mediation and the rehabilitation of socially critical situations
Capability Building and Education of the Local Community (CBE)	Devising and implementing community-wide initiatives aimed at fostering a systematic and widespread accumulation of intangible assets, especially in terms of capability of access to knowledge-intensive experiences
Local Community Involvement (LCI)	Promoting an extensive and generalized participation and attendance of all local communities to knowledge-related initiatives and practices
Internal Networking (IN)	Providing a strong networking among all local players having complementary strategic interests and fostering close, regular cooperation and coordination in their activities
External Networking (EN)	Establishing a dense, stable web of relationships with a number of other local contexts characterized by similar tensions toward the development of system-wide, knowledge intensive cultural, social and economic orientations.

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EUROPEAN CAPITALS OF CULTURE:
NORTHERN EUROPE

LIVERPOOL '08 – BRAND AND CONTESTATION

Stephen E. Little

Abstract This chapter[36] examines the process of re-branding a major community - the City of Liverpool - through its role as European Capital of Culture, 2008. This year-long "landmark event" was promoted as a means of attracting investment and tourist income. The chapter assesses the implications of the Capital of Culture through its impact on one particular creative resource within that city – the Picket music venue. The success of the bid in June 2003 created changes, which impacted on some of the key creative activities within the city, threatening the legitimacy of the Capital of Culture project itself. Rapidly rising property values began to deny affordable space for the very activities, which underpinned the success of the bid. The author was a participant in the subsequent three-year campaign to protect the Picket venue as a resource for the training of young musicians in both artistic and technical aspects of music. The chapter looks at the contestation over Liverpool and Merseyside's highly local identity and global profile and the tension and synergy between traditional collectivity and individual entrepreneurialism characterised by the forms of social enterprise currently emerging in this creative milieu. It identifies some of the collective resources held by the Liverpool community from which were drawn key tactics in the fight to retain a significant cultural resource within the Capital of Culture

Keywords: cultural tourism, regional development, creative economy, landmark events, social enterprise

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1.   Changing Track

Liverpool is a distinctive port city with a reputation for both music and militancy. It prospered through the cotton trade and shares with Bristol a problematic association with the triangular trade between Britain, Africa and North America. It was the principal port for North Atlantic passenger traffic until displaced by Southampton early in the twentieth century The UK's position of the as a set of islands off the mainland of Europe allowed the capture of outward traffic, particularly human migration. During the mass movements of the nineteenth and early twentieth century Glasgow captured through-traffic from the Baltic for North America, predominantly Canada, while Liverpool captured traffic via Hamburg and Rotterdam, predominantly for the NE United States. This transfer of migrants from the Baltic and northern Europe via east coast ports and west coast ports to North America left a residue in the form of a minority of permanent settlers who maintain the connection between origins and destinations.

The international connections of the port are cited as one reason for its history of musical creativity and innovation. Merchant seamen working the North Atlantic route brought American music and fashions to Liverpool during the pre-and post-war period. The city went through significant change during the twentieth century, enduring intense aerial bombardment as a key Atlantic port in World War II followed by postwar

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[36] The paper on which this chapter is based, has been developed from a meeting of the RSA Research Network on Tourism Regional Development and Public Policy held at Ege University, Izmir, Turkey in April 2008.

reconstruction and attraction of new industries in the 1960s, a period coinciding with the rise of the city as a centre of musical creativity, marked by the rise of the Beatles. This was followed by decline through the 1970s and 1980s, culminating in serious social unrest and riots. Efforts at directed inward investment during the 1980s, such as a government sponsored international garden festival were marked by the unwillingness of contractors to recruit labour from within the city, thus limiting the economic impact of such investment. Such past experiences are reflected in current initiatives such as the Construction for Merseyside (CfM) charter scheme in which signatories undertake to utilise local labour in their projects.[37]

The transformation of shipping patterns following the introduction of shipping containers, has been described by Levinson (2006). In Liverpool this meant that the docks built during the nineteenth century became derelict, and a new container port, requiring dramatically few workers, was built downriver. Changes in trade patterns meant that it was the container ports of the east coast, which handled European trade that prospered, however. Within the UK Liverpool had become associated with fierce local identity, typified by the support for its two Premier League football teams, low levels of employment, often casual as through most of the history of the docks, and a symbol of an obsolete and declining way of life.

The City of Liverpool's population peaked at 867,000 in 1937 but by 2001 had declined to below 442,000. This reflected both outward economic migration and post-World War II reconstruction at lower densities. The latter displaced people to nearby new towns and new suburbs – currently the Merseyside region, which includes the neighbouring boroughs of Sefton, Knowsley and St Helens, plus Wirral across the Mersey estuary, has a population of 1.4 million.[38]

By the end of the 1990s, however, the city was enjoying steady improvement, partly as a result of Objective 1 European Union funding, and partly as a result of general economic recovery, both of which made the architectural heritage of the nineteenth century heyday of the port attractive to inward investment. The Albert Dock has been renovated to provide, shops, apartments and museum and art gallery space, other nineteenth century blocks had been converted to housing, leading to an increase of property values, particularly in the central city.

At the opening of the twenty-first century the city was once again benefiting from its geographic position, this time as one end of two major cross-national routes, the first running from the East Anglia ports, especially Felixstowe, using the A14-M6 highway corridor and a second along the M62 motorway corridor between Hull and Liverpool to Holyhead and Liverpool, both linking North West England and the Irish Republic to mainland Europe.

Land and sea connections have been supplemented with the successful re-branding of the city's airport as Liverpool John Lennon Airport and the capture of a major budget airline operator who has chosen Liverpool over the larger and more established Manchester airport. As a node in the new low cost air travel network of Europe Liverpool has gained an additional opportunity to reposition itself. These overlapping connections have re-contextualised Liverpool within Britain and Europe.

2.   Saving the Picket

The successful bid for European Capital of Culture status for 2008 brought these changes to the notice of the wider British public. The city has not been considered as a serious bidder by much of the national press and subsequent publicity did much to communicate the changed circumstances of the city. However, the impact and implications of the Capital of Culture project also produced immediate and negative consequences, which can be examined through the recent history of a significant music venue in Liverpool, the Flying Picket. This social enterprise was an enthusiastic supporter of the city's bid.

The Picket venue was created by volunteers within the labour movement as part of the Merseyside Unemployed Resource Centre, generally referred to as the 'Unemployed Centre', founded in 1983 at the nadir of the city's fortunes, some two years after widespread rioting in the city. Based in Hardman Street in the centre of the city the Flying Picket venue occupied part of the building, operating bars, a music venue and function rooms, plus a fully equipped recording studio. This organization had been founded by unemployed young musicians during the 1980s and had been instrumental in the development of a number of local bands.

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[37] see www.constructionformerseyside.com
[38] The term Merseyside is used interchangeably with Liverpool, but refers to the wider urban area along the estuary of the River Mersey. From 1974 to 1986 Merseyside was also a metropolitan country, a local government area containing the five current boroughs, with responsibilities for regional planning, police and fire services.

However, with the steady recovery of the local economy, and the reduction in unemployment levels, the financial basis of the Centre was eroded. Subscriptions from labour movement supporters had declined, and in 2003 the city council made a decision to direct grants to the organisations, which occupied the premises of the Unemployed Centre rather than through the centre itself. In October, four months after the success of the Capital of Culture bid the Council of Management decided to clear its debts and avoid the cost of modernizing a historic and legally protected building by selling to developers and moving to rented accommodation. Following the success of the Capital of Culture bid, properties through the city centre, virtually un-saleable during the 1980s, were being converted to boutique hotels and high value living accommodation.

Faced with the loss of a unique resource within the city, the staff and supporters of the Picket venue established a campaign, with the initial objective of reversing the decision to sell the exiting building and to establish a viable business plan for remaining in the existing premises.

The Picket activities within the Unemployed Centre had to be reconstituted as a company limited by guarantee in order to pursue this prospect. The Picket brand was a crucial component of the new social enterprise, as it carried the history and identity of the preceding decades. The workers were able to claim this essential intangible asset.

The campaign organized "Save the Picket" fundraising concerts with local bands, achieving coverage in both local and national print and broadcast media.[39]

Endorsements and support came from celebrities in the music industry with previous involvement with the venue. Local politicians, from both national and local government expressed support. A wide variety of arts and music industry organisations also supported the campaign

The Picket venue had organized supporting concerts during the 1995-8 Liverpool Docks dispute, and borrowing some of the e-campaigning techniques developed in that struggle. The use of the internet had been a significant component of the dockers' communication strategy, with a volunteer web-site being used to elicit support and coordinate actions.

A 'savethepicket' campaign website[40] was created as both a call for support and as an archive of the achievements and developments of the Picket during the previous two decades. The guestbook linked to the site attracted input from across the U.K. and from as far away as Japan, North America and Australia, while the site itself carried information on the situation as it unfolded and instructions on how to lobby in support of the demands of the Picket workers and supporters.

This situation reflected the experience of the site developed during the dock dispute by the dock-workers which, despite its global reach, was maintained with very limited volunteer resources.[41] One measure of the effectiveness of the savethepicket website was an attempt by the Centre management to discipline the Picket employee most involved with the site for misuse of resources. In anticipation of such a move the campaign site had been built on a subscription server and was quite separate from the limited website previously used by the venue.

Carter et al. (2003) discuss at length the experience gained from the dockers' web-site and its role in coordinating international days of action despite the need, for legal reasons, to operate outside official union structures. They emphasise the crucial role of the website in providing a means of rapid dissemination of information to a wide range of supporters. Castree's (2000) detailed account of the national and international aspects of the dockers' campaign makes only a single mention of the use of the Internet as developed by the dockers, but emphasises the multi-scalar nature of the campaign waged by the Liverpool workers, with significant resources devoted to building and maintaining local support within the city. This point is taken up by Routledge (2003) in his examination of grass-roots globalization networks.

The Picket campaign developed along similar lines, with appeals to the key figures in British music who had been and continued to be strong supporters, and to the wider international community, as evidenced by postings to the guest page for Australia, Canada and Japan. While the savethepicket website was used as a means of publicising the situation to a wide audience it was primarily directed at bringing pressure to bear on local actors who had some means of influencing the outcome. Ultimately the purpose of such widespread support was to maintain pressure and profile back on Merseyside and to maintain a face-to-face audience for the events that were still organised in association with the Picket.

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[39] See links from www.savethepicket.com/legacy.html
[40] www.savethepicket.com
[41] A first person account has been provided by the volunteer web-master, Chris Bailey (Bailey, 2006)

3.   Relocation, Relocation

Initially the Picket campaign sought to purchase the existing building, listed as of Grade II historic interest. It quickly became obvious that the building was priced beyond the means available to the newly formed Picket Limited and the listed status would add further expense to any improvement or development to offset the initial cost. Efforts were then directed to a search for suitable and affordable alternative premises. One of the commercial venues in Liverpool had offered to host Picket branded events as an alternative to the maintenance of a dedicated Picket performance space; however, this was regarded as incompatible with the Picket's role in nurturing new talent in an environment complementary to the commercial music scene.

During the period from the closing event at Hardman Street in December 2004 to the re-opening at new premises in Jordan Street on 27th May 2006 the website took the place of the physical premises as a virtual location from which to organise events carrying the Picket brand. With the re-opening of the Picket at its new site, the campaigning site was superseded by a new site taking advantage of the wider accessibility of web technology that had come to fruition during the campaign. The move was made possible through the A Foundation and the related creation of the Independent District which offered a different model of urban development from the commercial mainstream.

The A Foundation was created in 1998 by, James Moores, to support the development and exhibition of contemporary art in Liverpool. Moores is a member of the family responsible for major economic activity through Littlewoods catalogue sales and football pools operations, both declining in the face of innovations in retailing and gambling. The A Foundation, a registered charity, was used to initiate the Liverpool Biennial of Contemporary Art in 1999 and by 2006 this had become the UK's largest contemporary visual arts festival.

The Independent District brand was unveiled around the 2004 Biennial to identify an area of underutilized industrial buildings close to the south waterfront of the city. The Foundation was instrumental in refurbishing a mixture of historic and contemporary warehouses to create a range of exhibition spaces in the process, helping to regenerate this area. Interestingly much of this area had been reconstructed following the riots in the 1980s to bring new economic activity to the city.

In 2006 the Biennial launched the newly refurbished Greenland Street site, three former industrial buildings in Liverpool at the heart of the old port area. The continued effort of re-branding this area is in part a contribution to the movement to secure a lasting benefit from 2008 by aligning existing initiatives and activities with the new brand identity and partly a defence against encroachment by other forms of commercial development.

The reconstruction of the Picket as a free-standing social enterprise, with the support of local government and "third sector" organizations is symptomatic of the transformation of the city and its institutions. However, the complex and contradictory heritage is still evident in the character of these new activities, and the threat of disruption to the creative fabric of Liverpool remains. A subsequent threat, to a long established recording studio in the city centre was countered with rapid and effective mobilisation along the lines of the Picket campaign.

4.   Back to the Future

The development path of landmark events is rarely smooth, whether the event is ultimately successful – the Sydney 2000 Olympics or less so – the London Millennium Dome - support and confidence can wax and wane once the initial euphoria of a successful bid recedes.

The nineteenth century waterfront of the central city had been awarded World Heritage status in 2004. As the pace of physical re-development increased in the run up to 2008, concerns were raised over the impact of particular large projects around the area. This led to an inspection in October 2006 which noted that there was no immediate threat to the quality of urban environment that has justified the status, but the issue re-focussed attention on the failure of a key landmark project on the waterfront shortly after the success of the 2008 bid.

In July 2006 two months after the re-opening of the Picket at its new venue the artistic director for the Capital of Culture project, Robyn Archer, resigned. This sparked a flurry of argument around identity and authenticity and questions over the effectiveness of preparations for 2008. Archer, an Australian with a track record of organizing cultural festivals there, had only formally taken up her contract two months earlier, although she had been acting in a consultancy capacity since 2004. She had commuted between Australia and Liverpool, and many of the artists scheduled for showcase events during 2006 had been sourced from

there and North America. Criticism had been levelled at the nature of the events organised as a dry run and appetizer for 2008 and at the lack of publicity and consultation over the content for the Capital of Culture Year itself.

The problems around the director and her resignation were dubbed "Archergate" by the local press. Reaction from both the general public and from within the creative community was negative. One local journalist described the outgoing director as a Hill-Billy singer. This reaction against what was perceived as a preference for "high culture" over indigenous activities prompted an acknowledgement of the need for a grass roots dimension to achieve sustainability for initiatives launched during the Capital year.

Initial plans had gone to some length to avoid "Scouse stereotypes" and focus on new rather than traditional activities. The Scouse accent is a distinctive component of both Liverpool, and the wider Merseyside identity. Carter et al (2003) quote Chris Bailey, web-master of the web-site established in support of the striking workers during the dock dispute of 1995-8 who explains that the potential of podcasting technology, then in its infancy, was not exploited. Few of the overseas activists accessing the website could understand the strong local accents of the workers.[42]

However, in September 2007 Phil Redmond, a key local identity, became deputy chair of Liverpool Culture Company, effectively replacing Archer within a streamlined planning structure. Redmond had pioneered successful television soap serials base in Merseyside, establishing local television production companies.

Symptomatic of the change in focus was Redmond's decision in December 2007 to support a community mural proposal previously regarded as not sufficiently "cutting edge". This move deflected criticism that 2008 planning was focused on the city centre and waterfront, to the detriment of other inner city areas and the outer suburbs.

The surviving members of the Beatles were finally invited to contribute. Ringo Starr performed at the official opening events and Paul McCartney marked the mid-point of the year with a concert at the ground of Liverpool Football Club at Anfield.

5. What's in a Name?

Naming and renaming are central to the maintenance and development of identity. Co-branding between the organisations within the newly coined Independents district has assisted greatly in this process, but the multi-scalar nature of the profile achieved through the combination of face to face and internet campaigning utilized by the Save the Picket campaign allows local, and global profiles to coexist an develop into "glocal" identity.

During 2008 a wide range of "blogs" are monitoring the progress of the Year of Culture, from both supportive and critical perspectives. These reflect the opinion of the local community and its diaspora within the UK and beyond.[43]

In the 1980s the 'Flying Picket'[44] name was shared with a successful accapella music group, itself a spin-off from a left wing theatre group and was a reference to the successful use of mobile tactic during the national miners' strikes of the 1970s, which were revived during the dispute of the 1980s. Arguably such associations do not sit well with post-Florida descriptions of the new creative milieus recommended for cities.

Peck (2005) points out that the benefits of Florida's formula are those of increased economic activity, and that correlation, rather than causality may be the issue. The creative activities of Liverpool are equally associated with recession, as one of the few alternatives to migration.

Now that the brand name has been shortened to Picket it is worth noting that a picket fence is one that is driven into the ground, while the military use of the term refers to the soldiers sent beyond the front lines to provide warning of enemy movement, the most current term being "radar picket – a means of

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[42] While the Guardian newspaper and other sources have reported that 'the soft and friendly version' of the Scouse accent has helped to turn Liverpool into Britain's favourite location for call centres' (Ward, 2000) the wider business community takes a different view with a 2004 survey of company directors on the business appeal of British regional accents ranking the Liverpool accent among the most stigmatized (New York Times International, 2005). Only 15 percent of the respondents believed that a Liverpool accent denoted success; and only 8 percent viewed the speaker as 'honest and trustworthy'.

[43] See for example an oppositionist view at http://www.liverpoolsubculture.com and broader views at http://www.yoliverpool.com/ and http://www.artinliverpool.com/blog/

[44] A picket travelling from place to place to support local pickets during any strike.(www.allwords.com)

detecting threats and opportunities. The last meanings are appropriate to the reconstituted Picket, which retains its grounded community base, while providing early information on trend in music culture and on upcoming talent to Liverpool and beyond.

However, the Picket name still contains echoes of a period, which is either absent in the mainstream narratives for 2008, or submerged in a general account of past "hard times". Civil unrest was present in other British cities during the "structural adjustment" period of Thatcherism but acknowledgement of this period is essential to any understanding of Liverpool's present character. Unfortunately evocations of rioting and arson, and the collapse of local government finances do not sit well with the promotion of inward investment.

Relocation has moved the Picket to an area of mixed nineteenth and twentieth century industrial buildings, most are unsuitable for refurbishment as expensive residential or hotel accommodation, but in the longer term the area is potentially vulnerable to more comprehensive forms of re-development. These alternative prospects are evident in the names by which the area is labelled by the different stakeholders: Independents district by the arts sector, and Baltic Triangle by the urban planners coordinating developments around 2008, the reference being to the plan-shape of the area and an historic dockside pub, the Baltic Fleet which stands at the northern point of this triangle.

In October 2006 Liverpool City Council passed a motion *"recognising that the emergence of an independent cultural district in this area is a great opportunity to support the long term development of the City's cultural, sub-cultural, musical and artistic sector".* It noted the success of the active enterprises operating there: Love Liverpool, the New Picket, Love Culture and Energy-wise Recycling. This formal recognition from Liverpool City Council of the value of the emerging land-use of the district is therefore significant, as is the use of a name associated with the previous round of regeneration - Waterfront Business Park, Liverpool 1.

The alternative visions of development and progress continue to play out in the Capital of Culture, with the opening of the first stage of the billion pound Liverpool One retail development coinciding with the McCartney concert marking the 2008 mid-point.

6. Conclusion

Cultural tourism is seen as a significant resource in many urban areas. Physical regeneration of historical areas and the creation of commercial and cultural attractions are seen as a component of wider economic regeneration. The experiences of the Liverpool Picket suggest that the economic impact of the "creative class" identified by Florida (2002, 2005) and the "artistic dividend" for regional development (Markusen and King 2003) are in danger of being swept aside by incoming capital pursuing a real-estate driven approach to profit. In the case of Liverpool much of this capital followed a traditional route into the port from the Irish Republic where rapid economic development had reduced opportunity for further investment. The primary expression of "capital" status was becoming dramatic real estate speculation driven by this influx of capital.

Regeneration based on attracting incomers rather than engaging an indigenous community raises the prospect of uneven development and reduced social cohesion. Peck (2005) struggles with the concept of a creative class, as posited by Florida. He perceives a cargo-cult dimension to arguments that by reconfiguring a location a peripatetic creative class can be attracted. Peck suggest that the actual solutions are little different from those produced by established policies of physical improvement and that property values rise through the exploitation of local heritage, rather than other forms of activity seen as measures of success c.f. Liverpool. Social and cultural sustainability in development requires a balance between incoming resources and the indigenous identity, which attracts those resources. This chapter has described the response to such changes by indigenous creative actors within a conurbation with a reputation for artistic creativity.

A key part of that response was the electronic support for the campaign through a dedicated website. In the wider discussion of the problematic of current regional policies, the concept of "glocalization" describes both the balancing that has to be struck between global engagement and local adjustment by regions (Swyngedouw, 1997) and the adaptive strategies of multinationals (Morris 1991). Poster (1999) speculates how shift to electronic forms impacts on national identity, in terms of the ability of nation states to generate convincing national narratives and in terms of the self-image of individuals communicating in a "potentially spaceless" medium. Abbate (2000) and Miller and Slater (2000) on Estonia and Trinidad respectively, smaller island states (Little Holmes and Grieco, 2000). Scale is significant here in that smaller states or regions often achieve penetration and take up of the new technology faster and as a consequence, achieve a new understanding more easily.

O'Hara-Devereaux and Johansen (1994) argue that differences between work cultures, both professional and corporate, and the primary culture in which an organisation is embedded can be bridged in a "thirdspace". For them the synergy between levels is a potential resource, but the tendency towards a convergence determined by the primary culture is seen as an obstacle to cross-cultural working. Culture needs to be de-composed into issues related to the historical, geographical and institutional setting in which organisation and individual must operate. The business recipes and frameworks grounded in these differences offer a view of "culture" of more direct value to actors (see for example Marceau, 1992). As a result of its campaign the Picket venue now has a virtual mode with which to support and promote its physical presence in Liverpool and to develop a "thirdspace" in which to communicate with its wider constituency of distributed supporters.

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THE IMPACT OF CULTURE-LED REGENERATION ON REGIONAL IDENTITY IN NORTH EAST ENGLAND

Christopher Middleton and Phillip Freestone

Abstract The North East of England has long been famous for its industrial heritage based around shipbuilding, coal mining and heavy industry. However, the late 20th Century saw the region enter into a period of deindustrialisation leading to severe problems with unemployment and deprivation. Attempts to stimulate economic development saw the adoption of strategies pioneered by the NewcastleGateshead Initiative to re-brand the region with a new cosmopolitan image based on culture, science and the arts. However, such developments can struggle and encounter opposition, if conflictual, with existing identities and traditions. Informed by such arguments, this research explores the ways in which inhabitants of the North-East have reacted to the attempts to change the image of the region. Fifty-two semi-structured interviews and six follow-up focus groups were carried out amongst participants throughout Tyne and Wear exploring a range of issues including opinions of traditional North-Eastern identities, views of contemporary Tyneside and the cultural (re)development of the region. Participants were mostly in favour of the cultural developments that had taken place in Tyneside during the last decade as they attract visitors and raise the profile of the region. However, further questioning revealed that most respondents did not believe that the regeneration of Tyneside would lead to a fundamental shift in the way Tyneside and the wider North-East region was viewed. A number of participants perceived the cultural developments to have a narrow focus catering for a middle-income professional demographic, therefore excluding a large proportion of lower-income inhabitants. This view is supported by few respondents regularly attending cultural events, despite many being free to the public. This study suggests that a continued failure to connect with local identities may lead to serious problems for the cultural regeneration project which, in turn, may cause significant damage to the social, economic and political structures of the North-East.

Keywords: culture-led regeneration, regional identity, city re-branding, post-industrial regions, social cohesion.

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1.   Introduction

From the 1980s onwards culture-led regeneration has been used as a strategy throughout Europe for regenerating and revitalising cities and regions, which have suffered social and economic problems through de-industrialisation. While these strategies have undoubtedly been successful in a number of different cities throughout the UK and Europe, there remains much uncertainty and concern over the long-term benefits of culture-led regeneration (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2006; Tucker, 2008). Doucet (2007) points out that while there has been a plethora of research into issues around culture-led regeneration little research exists into the way in which inhabitants of cities experimenting with such programmes have been affected by these changes.

This research seeks to address this issue by exploring the way in which culture-led regeneration has been embraced as a means of regenerating the post-industrial North East of England and the impact this has had on the regional identity of inhabitants.

2.   The North East of England

The exact boundaries of the North East have been the subject of much debate for many centuries (Colls and Lancaster, 1992; Green and Pollard, 2007). However, the contemporary North East is generally accepted to consist of the counties of Northumberland, Tyne and Wear, County Durham and Tees Valley (go-ne.gov.uk 2008). The 2001 National Census shows that Newcastle upon Tyne and Sunderland are the two biggest cities in the region both with populations of around 180,000 whilst the population of the whole North East region is approximately 2.5 million (ONS, 2008).

For most of the twentieth century the North East of England was famous for its coal, shipyards and heavy industry. At its peak just before the First World War around 20 million tons of coal were exported from the Port of Tyne each year. Although the inter-war years brought periods of harsh economic recession which sometimes resulted in public displays of discontent such as the 1936 Jarrow Crusade (Perry, 2003), the boom period of the 1950s saw unemployment levels as low as three per cent (Robinson, 1988:17).

However, from the end of the 1950s onwards, cheap imports of oil and competition from foreign industry meant that Tyneside's 'Golden Age' was coming to an end. Between 1950 and 1970 over one hundred coal-mines were closed throughout the North East and the deindustrialisation of the region began. By the time Tyneside's last operational coal-mine at Westoe closed in 1994, jobs in manufacturing had declined dramatically and the service sector was firmly established as the region's primary sector of employment.

The period of heavy industry on Tyneside was essential in creating a sense of identity for the North East of England. Nayak (2003) describes the way in which North East communities were based around work in heavy industries and leisure time spent in pubs, working men's clubs and at sporting events creating a strong sense of local solidarity, supporting the claims of Colls (1992) that the past heritage of hard manual labour and heavy drinking was a key element in creating a sense of North East identity.

Despite the economic decline, which has taken place throughout the North East, the area is still associated with having a strong sense of regional identity. Inhabitants continue to adopt this traditional identity, which echoes the industrial heritage, although this is now played out in the arena of *consumption* (through social drinking, football and going out) rather than the arena of *production* (Nayak, 2003:69; Fainstein and Judd, 1999). This can clearly be seen in the strategies of the 1990s and early 2000s whereby Newcastle embraced its emergence as a 'Party City' heavily promoting the leisure opportunities available in the city, most of which revolved around the nightlife and social consumption of alcohol (Newcastle City Council, 2008). Indeed this 'fame' reached international levels with US travel consultants Weissmann Travel rating Newcastle as the eighth best party city in the world (Nayak, 2003:66).

3.   Culture-led regeneration, regional identity and the North East

Culture-led regeneration can be understood as the use of cultural projects to revitalise economically depressed cities and regions. This can involve the promotion of arts-based events and attractions along with encouraging the development of high quality housing and retail, and the attraction of professional businesses to the area.

Culture-led regeneration programmes are implemented in order to foster a new image for a city or region (Doucet, 2007:5-6). The shift to a globalised economy has seen increasing competitiveness between cities, meaning that they must now vie for investment and status on a global scale. In the last twenty-five years post-industrial cities have increasingly adopted strategies of culture-led regeneration in order to revitalise stagnant economies and solve problems of unemployment and deprivation. As Keating and De Frantz (2004:190) explain:

In a crowded international market, it can mark the city as distinct, giving it a brand image. This can indirectly promote its economic competitiveness by increasing its position in the quality-life indexes of international investment rankings. It may also have a psychological effect within the city, building self-confidence and civic pride among the population and even boosting optimism among investors.

Culture-led regeneration has been used extensively around Europe (Gomez, 1998; Keating and De Frantz, 2004; Miles, 2005). The Bilbao region of Spain is often cited as one of the most successful examples. Beset with economic decline and social deprivation, the Bilbao region was revitalised with the 1997 opening of the Guggenheim Museum playing a central role in changing the fortunes of the region. Indeed, a number of European cities have attempted to achieve their own version of the 'Guggenheim Effect', often by placing flagship artistic or cultural projects at the centre of their regeneration schemes. These flagship projects are

predominantly located in 'high-profile' areas such as city centres or waterfront locations (Healy *et al.,* 1992). Recent examples in the UK include the Tate Modern and Renzo Piano's 'Shard of Glass' on the London Docklands, the Millennium Galleries and Winter Garden in Sheffield and the redevelopment of Salford Quays. Elsewhere in Europe both Berlin and Barcelona have carried out extensive cultural regeneration schemes.

However, cultural regeneration programmes should not be considered a guaranteed solution to long-standing social and economic problems. There is ample evidence that many cultural regeneration schemes have failed to achieve their initial aims and in some cases the whole cultural revitalisation of cities has turned out to be unsuccessful. Glasgow is often cited as a prime example of this, with Laurier (1999), MacLeod (2002) and Jenkins (2005) all stating that the city used its status as European Capital of Culture 1990 to hide its working class heritage and socialist history causing resentment and hostility amongst many inhabitants. Doucet (2007) also suggests that cultural regeneration can encounter problems, if it is not supported by residents, particularly those with a strong sense of local identity.

Despite the mixed success of culture-led regeneration throughout Europe many cities continue to enthusiastically pursue highly visible strategies of culture-led regeneration in their drive for economic revitalisation. These strategies continue despite the lack of empirical evidence into the long-term impacts that culture-led regeneration has on a city, and continued claims that working-class inhabitants may be excluded from any benefits cultural regeneration may bring.

An important milestone in the regeneration of the North East was the establishment of the NewcastleGateshead Initiative in 2000. While the 1998 unveiling of the Angel of North sculpture provided a highly visible landmark for the North East of England, a coherent regeneration strategy had not existed until this point. The Initiative involved the councils of Newcastle on the north bank of the Tyne, and Gateshead on the south working together and promoting the conurbation as a single entity. Following the European model of high-profile city centre/waterfront regeneration, the river that divided the two urban areas became a key focal point providing the location for several flagship regeneration projects. Through cultural promotion and high-profile marketing the NewcastleGateshead Initiative aims to position NewcastleGateshead as a leading European destination for leisure, business and tourism, and in doing so create a new identity for Tyneside and the wider North-East region (NewcastleGateshead, 2008).

The major investment associated with the NewcastleGateshead Initiative has seen a number of iconic cultural projects materialize in recent years. The BALTIC, which opened in 2002, was a £50 million project, which saw the conversion of a disused 1950s flour mill into an international centre for contemporary art. This was followed in 2004 by the Sage Gateshead – a £70 million music and performance centre located on the Gateshead Quayside. The Gateshead Millennium Bridge, which opened in 2001 at a cost of £22 million, is a pedestrian and cycle bridge, which gained international fame as the world's first tilting bridge.

In addition to flagship projects and other developments, the NewcastleGateshead Initiative seeks to promote a series of cultural programmes and events under the guise of its Culture10 programme. Formed in 2003 and funded by a combination of government, public and private bodies, Culture10 provides a continuous "programme of world-class events and festivals for North East England…[to] build the region's national and international profile" (visitnewcastlegateshead.com 2008). Further cultural strategies have seen increased funding directed towards existing arts and science based institutions such as Newcastle's Laing Art Gallery, the educational charity Centre for Life which promotes public engagement in science and The Gate leisure and retail complex. As well as this Newcastle has been designated one of the UK's six Science Cities, whilst the scientific achievements of the University of Newcastle have been widely celebrated (Jeffries, 2008).

During this period of culture-led regeneration the aspects of the night-time economy, which promote the social consumption of alcohol have been marginalised. Indeed some local politicians have publicly condemned Newcastle's image as a 'Party City' stating problems with health, crime and alcohol related disorder. Writing in the Newcastle Evening Chronicle in February 2008, Councillor John Shipley stated that:

> The image of Newcastle as having an evening economy based on alcohol consumption should be a thing of the past…it's very important we create a café-style culture…we are trying to change Newcastle's image to one that is inclusive for everyone.

The adoption of such strategies in Newcastle and Gateshead can be seen as a clear attempt to move away from the region's working-class industrial image and create a new cosmopolitan, international identity rich in culture, science and technology. Even the NewcastleGateshead's failed bid for European Capital of

Culture 2008 has done little to slow the pace of change and level of investment in cultural projects throughout the region.

4. Methodology

The study adopted an intensive qualitative approach to enable deeper investigation into the topic. Fifty-two interviews were conducted with participants sampled from the four Tyneside boroughs of Gateshead, Newcastle, North Tyneside and South Tyneside. The interviews were conducted in an informal, semi-structured format and were focused around three key research themes. Firstly, respondent's perceptions of the changing nature of Tyneside's socio-economic landscape were explored. Secondly, respondents were asked about their views on regional identity of the North East, and how this had changed over the years. Finally, respondent's opinions on recent cultural and scientific developments in the North East were sought.

Interview participants were invited to attend follow-up focus group sessions and were encouraged to invite friends, family and colleagues. In total seven focus group sessions took place throughout late 2007 and early 2008, with numbers attending ranging from three to eight people. These focus groups were primarily made up of people from Tyneside, although a number of respondents were drawn from the wider North East region. Such a forum enabled participants to debate and discuss a variety of ideas on the key issues in a flexible and open manner.

5. Results

All respondents felt that the North East of England had a strong sense of identity; which distinguished this region from the rest of the country. Supporting the views of Colls (1992), respondents considered traditional Tyneside identity to be based around the region's industrial heritage of industry and manual labour:

> Geordies [inhabitants of the North East] take a sense of pride where they are from, it's about heritage.
>
> (Male, 46 - 55)

> People are proud of their humble roots, the North East is built on tough times and it kind of gets ingrained.
>
> (Male, 18 - 25)

Respondents explained that these industries, although long since disappeared from the region, were important in creating a sense of identity and community, which persists to this day. Many respondents stated that they believed the North East was open and friendly, and that they did not think many other places in the country could claim this. However, participants also commented on the fact that Tyneside's industrial period was long since gone, and that contemporary Tyneside maintained a sense of identity through other means, namely supporting a football team and spending leisure time drinking and socialising. These viewpoints clearly support Nayak's (2003) claim that the basis of North East identity has shifted from production to consumption.

When asked for their opinions on the cultural developments, which had taken place in the region, responses were generally positive. Participants mentioned the major redevelopments, which had taken place in Newcastle and Gateshead such as the Sage, BALTIC and the redevelopment of the quayside on both banks of the Tyne. Respondents felt that these cultural initiatives had brought a new energy to the North East; they had raised the profile of the region and, to a certain extent, proved that post-industrial Tyneside had something else to offer to both its inhabitants and the rest of the UK:

> They are good; they will raise the profile of the region.
>
> (Male, 18 - 25)

> Things like the Sage and BALTIC, they are good to have in the region.
>
> (Male, 26 - 35)

Twenty years ago no one would have come to the North East but they will now.

(Female, 56 - 65)

I think the North East is changing a lot…look at Newcastle on the [River] Tyne and Sunderland…everything is changing, there's no dockyards or shipbuilding here now…I think its changing for the better.

(Female, 46 - 55)

While there was widespread agreement amongst respondents that culture-led regeneration may have been successful in raising the profile of the region, the belief that culture-led regeneration could provide a solution to deep-seated socio-economic problems was not present. The benefits of culture-led regeneration were confined to the status of 'attractions' – "places to go for a day out" (Male, 26 - 35) and would not have any more meaningful impact on the North East. In terms of the scientific developments, which had taken place in the region, respondents were generally unaware of any developments, which had taken place, and were not aware of Newcastle's status as a Science City. These findings run contrary to the claims of Minton who in 2003 saw the cultural developments taking place in the region as being successfully integrated into the character, identity and "soul" of the North East.

During further questioning participants began to outline some of the concerns they held about cultural developments throughout the North East. Firstly, respondents felt a sense of disconnection with the culture-led regeneration developments based on socio-economic factors. While they agreed that the profile of the region, may have been raised, this was seen as irrelevant to the lives of many respondents:

Cultural stuff might draw a few extra people to the events, but it won't change the region. Cultural developments are just art and music; they are not wide ranging enough.

(Male, 18 - 25)

Only professional people will be attracted to museums and things, while it might reach out to some there is still too many who will remain totally unaffected. Jobs may be created but its only professional people who will be attracted to them. The problem is that groups will still be out there that won't get anything from museums being in the North East.

(Male, 18 - 25)

Respondents clearly felt that culture-led regeneration developments had a narrow focus on a professional middle-income, middle-class demographic, therefore excluding a large proportion of lower-income people from the region. In this context they did not see culture-led regeneration as benefiting them in any way and that culture-led regeneration effectively existed for other people, a view similar to that proposed by Peter Eisinger (2000) in his study of cities in the USA. People may have developments taking place in their city under culture-led regeneration schemes, but do not necessarily feel that they benefit anything from this. Whilst Miles (2004) believes that Newcastle and Gateshead provides the environment for the cultural events and developments to sit happily alongside the traditional night-time economy, this research suggests that this is not necessarily the case. Local inhabitants with a strong sense of local identity are becoming increasingly disenfranchised with cultural developments and, as experienced in Glasgow, may well become more vocal in their criticisms.

The second major criticism outlined by respondents was that they were disconnected from culture-led regeneration developments in the North East on a spatial level. Respondents who were drawn from areas of the North East other than Tyneside highlighted concerns that the majority of cultural developments had taken place only within the Newcastle/Gateshead area:

I can't think of any which have taken place outside of Newcastle to be honest

(Female, 26 - 35)

Newcastle has become more cultural, the City of Culture bid shows that, but I'm not sure about other places in the North East

(Male, 26 - 35)

Despite that many respondents lived within relatively easy travelling distance of Newcastle and Gateshead and the cultural developments which had taken place there, several felt detached from any benefit that culture-led regeneration programmes may have brought. Such findings support Healey *et al.*'s (1992: 281) argument that culture-led strategies which often concentrate development and investment activity in a select few places such as a city centre or waterfront location can leave other areas blighted. Furthermore, many respondents said that they had visited the cultural attractions in Newcastle and Gateshead when they first opened, but had subsequently lost interest:

> I don't go to them often, I went quite a lot early on when they first opened
>
> (Male, 18 - 25)

> Very occasionally, only really went when they first opened
>
> (Male, 26 - 35)

> I don't really go, even if they are free!
>
> (Female, 18 - 25)

Such disillusionment with culture-led regeneration programmes can therefore be understood as being based around the fact that people feel disconnected on both a social and spatial level. Respondents from the Newcastle and Gateshead area felt that the cultural developments were not meant for them. Respondents from other areas of the North East also agreed with this, whilst adding further criticism in that as the culture-led regeneration has been concentrated in a different city to which they live, they would gain no benefit from it taking place. Both criticisms follow the findings of Evans (2003: 432-435) who noted that after an initial opening period, attendance by locals to the Guggenheim in Bilbao declined, whilst attendance from tourists continued to increase. A significant reason for this was its insistence on exhibitions, which were more appealing to the tourist audience than that of the locals.

When asked about the interplay between the culture-led regeneration and their perceptions of North East regional identity, a number of respondents put forward more telling criticisms of the culture-led regeneration project. Many of the responses given in interviews and focus groups implied that the regional identity of the North East was too strong (or too ingrained) to be replaced with a new cultural image. This was played out from both within the region - in the sense that the majority of people in the North East identified too strongly with the 'old identity' of work, industry and social drinking to give this up - and from outside the region in the sense that the perception of the North East from the rest of Britain (particularly the South) would not be changed by the cultural developments. Such attitudes and perceptions from inhabitants of the North East can potentially have a profound impact upon the long-term viability on the cultural redevelopment of the region.

6.   Conclusion

Despite the questionable results of culture-led regeneration programmes in other cities of the UK and NewcastleGateshead's failure to be awarded European Capital of Culture 2008, strategies of culture-led regeneration in the North East have continued at a rapid pace. This research suggests that while culture-led regeneration has been successful in raising the profile of the region and providing successful attractions for people to visit, the more ambitious aims of the culture-led regeneration project may be unachievable and potentially damaging to economic competitiveness and social cohesion of North East England.

This research found that many people in North East England are already becoming disconnected from the culture-led regeneration project on the basis, of whom cultural development strategies are targeted towards, and the limited geographical locations in which they take place. The findings of this study suggest that the criticisms put forward by respondents go beyond mere complaints about cultural events and activities and suggest that many people are becoming hostile to the idea of an unwanted new cultural identity being imposed on their city, region and way of life.

In investigating the impacts of culture-led regeneration on regional identity in the North East this paper has found that there are a multitude of concerns over the ways in which 'top down' cultural strategies are being used to regenerate the region. While at present this has manifested itself in terms of a general disillusionment and disconnection with the culture-led regeneration project, this research suggests that the North East's ongoing strategy of cultural regeneration could cause further, more serious problems in the

future. Although culture-led regeneration strategies are currently being rapidly pursued throughout the North East, little attention is being paid to the 'bottom-up' consciousness of inhabitants, which has been formulated over many decades. A clear example of this is provided by Newcastle City Council's attempt to distance itself from the notion of Newcastle as a 'Party City' – something which the respondents enjoyed and saw as important to their regional identity – and replace this with a new cosmopolitan café culture.

Whilst culture-led regeneration has had its successes in the North East of England, this paper has found that in the quest to re-imagine the region and provide a new identity, the long-term impacts are as yet unknown. Many of the aims of culture-led regeneration can only be achieved with the acceptance and involvement of local inhabitants – something, which current strategies have failed to take into account. Acknowledgement of the traditions and history of the region and a continual active involvement of local people is essential if socio-economic rejuvenation through cultural regeneration is to be a success. Currently the cultural development of the North East is failing to adequately incorporate this leading to considerable questions over the long-term sustainability of such strategies.

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BELIEFS IN CULTURE AS AN INSTRUMENT FOR REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT: THE CASE OF STAVANGER, EUROPEAN CAPITAL OF CULTURE 2008

Hilmar Rommetvedt

Abstract The Norwegian production of petroleum has peaked and in a not too distant future, the Norwegian 'oil capital' Stavanger has to meet the challenge of a declining petroleum industry. The bid for the status as European Capital of Culture in 2008 was one of the initiatives taken by local authorities in order to make the Stavanger region more attractive for new businesses and highly skilled employees. The bid reflected a belief in culture is as an important instrument for regional development. This article throw light on the question of how widespread the belief in culture was among the citizens as well as leading politicians, civil servants and business managers in the Stavanger region prior to the year as European Capital of Culture.

Keywords: Capital of Culture, petroleum industry, regional development, citizens, leaders

About the author

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1. From Norwegian 'oil capital' to European Capital of Culture

In 2008 the Stavanger region is European Capital of Culture together with Liverpool. Norway is a major exporter of oil and gas and Stavanger is frequently referred to as the 'oil capital' of Norway due to the fact that the two petroleum related government agencies, the Petroleum Directorate and the Petroleum Safety Authority, are located in the city together with the headquarters of the national oil company StatoilHydro and the manager of the direct financial interests of the State, Petoro. Furthermore, the Norwegian (and in some cases European) headquarters of numerous international oil companies like BP, ConcocoPhillips, ExxonMobil, Shell and Total, and international oilfield services companies like Baker Hughes, Halliburton, Schlumberger and others are located in the region.

Stavanger is the fourth largest city in Norway and the centre of Rogaland County. The Capital of Culture organisation – *Stavanger2008* – is and inter-municipal enterprise owned by the neighbouring cities of Stavanger and Sandnes together with Rogaland County. 120,000 of the 4.8 million inhabitants in Norway live in the city of Stavanger. If we include Sandnes and two other municipalities bordering on Stavanger we get 216,000 people. The county of Rogaland has 413,000 inhabitants (www.ssb.no).

No doubt, the Stavanger region has prospered on the Norwegian petroleum industry. Oil exploration started in the mid 1960s and oil was discovered at a point in time when the traditional shipping and canning industries in Stavanger faced severe problems. The region was in need of new industries and local politicians managed to convince international oil companies to settle down in the city (Egeland 1984). Due to the petroleum industry Stavanger has developed from one of the poorer Norwegian cities to one of the richest (cf. Rosenlund, 2000).

2. The challenge and the answer

However, at the beginning of the millennium the Norwegian production of oil peaked and it has been significantly reduced since then (almost thirty percent, from 181 million Sm^3 in 2001 to 128 million Sm^3 in 2007). Increased production of gas has not compensated for this and the prognoses for the future show that the production of oil and gas will decrease even though the recovery of discovered resources, is expected to be improved and new resources are expected to be found (NPD, 2008).

In other words, once again in a not too distant future the Stavanger region is facing the challenge of finding new means of living. The immediate threat has been delayed by high oil prices and large investments, but in the longer run Stavanger has to find replacements for the petroleum industry. The region needs to make itself more attractive to new businesses and highly skilled professionals and workers.

Local and regional politicians do take the long-term challenge seriously. An important part of the answer to the challenge given by local authorities is *culture*. The bid for the status as European Capital of Culture in 2008 was one element in the local government strategy for regional development. Other elements include a new Viking football stadium which was opened in 2004, the establishment of the fifth Norwegian university in 2005, the building of a new concert hall to be completed by the end of 2011, and support for cultural events like international jazz and chamber music festivals, a so-called '*Gladmat'* or 'happy food' festival, Beach Volley World Tour and Tall Ships Races. At the moment the local government of Stavanger is developing a new 'Strategic Plan for Arts and Culture' for the 2009 – 2014 period.

The vision for Stavanger as Capital of Culture is expressed through the concept 'Open Port' (www.stavanger2008.no). This can be understood both in the English sense as 'an open harbour' and in the Norwegian meaning of 'an open gate', or as stated on the website of Stavanger2008: 'Open Port – openness towards the world – is about challenging the region and its people to be even more open and inclusive towards each other, art, ideas and opportunities'. The following Open Port values have been set for the Capital of Culture: tolerance and freedom of speech, hospitality and accessibility, cultural heritage and development, innovation and quality, environment and aesthetics.

The official goals for Stavanger2008 include a broad and enduring cultural lift, especially for children and the young, quality, innovation and diversity in the arts, enduring networks in the fields of arts and culture, cultural curiosity and tolerance, regional identity and pride, further development of industry and commerce, and construction of cultural and physical infra-structure.

The intrinsic value of culture, cultural objectives and values like openness and tolerance may seem to be emphasised more clearly by Stavanger2008 than by other capitals of culture. This is reflected in the scientific evaluation of Stavanger as Capital of Culture, which is funded by the Stavanger2008 organization, and carried out by IRIS and the University of Stavanger. The main part of the research project focuses on the citizens' participation and evaluation, and the potential effects on the interest in culture and attitudes towards 'Open Port' related values. Additional studies include the assessments made by cultural institutions and organizers of events, and the media coverage. Other capitals of culture and their evaluations seem to focus more on the economic aspects of the year as Capital of Culture and its contribution to urban regeneration (cf. Palmer, 2004).

3.   Expected impacts of Stavanger2008: the citizens' views

Nevertheless, the assumption that culture will contribute to regional development was an important motivation for Stavanger too, at first for the bid and then for the sponsors. According to the application to the EU, 'Capital of Culture status brings with it … an attractive region for skilled professionals and the establishment of business enterprise' (Stavanger2008, 2004: 55). A representative of Sparebank 1 SR-bank, one of the major sponsors of Stavanger2008, stated that: 'This is an investment for us. Culture creates growth. … This is a great opportunity for the region, and we, as the region's bank, see it as natural to participate as an important contributor. … Cultural life creates business growth. The more and the better cultural experiences a region can offer, the more attractive the region is for new establishments. … Cultural life has to flourish if the region is going to succeed as a business magnet'. The statement was given in the monthly magazine *Rosenkilden*, which is published by the Stavanger Chamber of Commerce and Industry (Pahr-Iversen, 2007: 46, my translation). The Chamber has been an eager advocate for Stavanger as Capital of Culture.

The question we raise in this article is: How *widespread* is this belief in culture as an instrument for regional development in the Stavanger region?[45]

Data from two comprehensive surveys carried out during the autumn 2007 may give at least part of the answer to this question. The first is a *citizen survey,* which included telephone interviews with 2,303 inhabitants in the Stavanger region and Rogaland County. 1301 of the respondents filled in an additional postal questionnaire. The second is a *leader survey,* which included telephone interviews with 684 leading
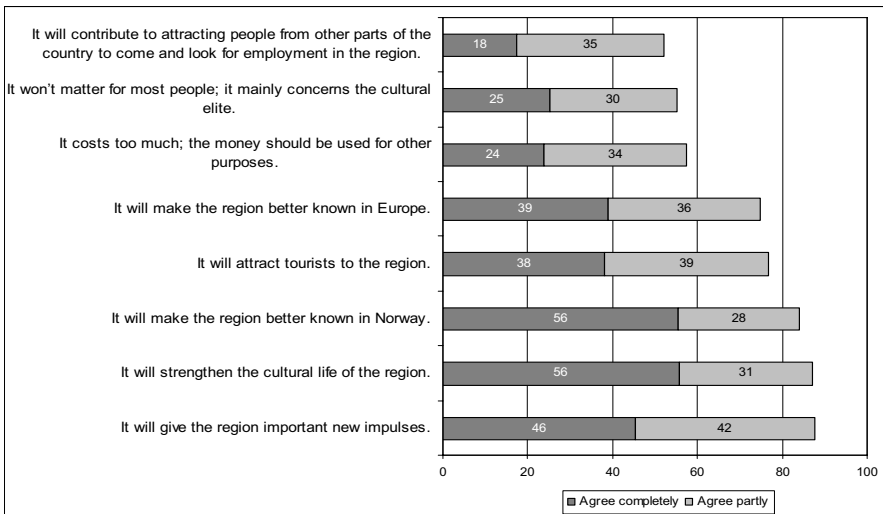
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politicians, civil servants and business managers in the Stavanger region. 318 of these leaders filled in an additional electronic questionnaire.[46]

The importance of the petroleum industry may be further illustrated by some data from the citizen survey. In 2007, every fourth respondent in Stavanger, Sandnes and two neighbouring municipalities were working in oil companies or companies that deliver more than fifty percent of their goods and services to the petroleum industry. More than one of ten respondents had experience from offshore work in the petroleum industry.

The survey shows that, a few months before the start, 68 percent of the citizens in Stavanger and Rogaland said that the Capital of Culture would only affect them to a minor extent (52 percent) or not at all (16 percent). 31 percent expected the year as Capital of Culture to affect them to a great (7 percent) or some (24 percent) extent. In spite of this, as much as 73 percent of the citizens meant that it was right to bid for the Capital of Culture status. Only 14 percent said the bid was wrong. In other words, a large majority of the citizens found it right to bid for Capital of Culture status even though many of them thought that it was of minor interest to them personally. The explanation of this somewhat paradoxical view is found in the expected impacts on the region.

We asked the respondents to comment on some statements about possible effects of Stavanger as Capital of Culture. The results are presented in Figure 2. Admittedly, 55 percent agreed completely (25 percent) or partly (30 percent) with a statement saying that 'the Capital of Culture won't matter for most people, it mainly concerns the cultural elite'. 57 percent agreed completely (24 percent) or partly (34 percent) that 'the costs are too high and the money should be used for other purposes', thus adding to the paradox.

Figure 2 *I will now present some statements concerning the Stavanger region as Capital of Culture in 2008. Do you agree, or disagree completely, or partly, with each of these statements? (Citizen survey, percent agree)*

However, a vast majority of the citizens, 87 percent, agreed that the year as Capital of Culture 'will strengthen cultural life', and 88 percent of the citizens agreed that it will 'give the region important new impulses'. Furthermore, large majorities of the citizens agreed completely or partly that the Capital of Culture year 'will make the region better known' in Norway (84 percent) and in Europe (75 percent), and that 'it will attract tourists to the region' (77 percent). Finally, a smaller majority, 52 percent, believed that the year as Capital of Culture 'will contribute to attracting people from other parts of the country to come and look for employment in the region'.
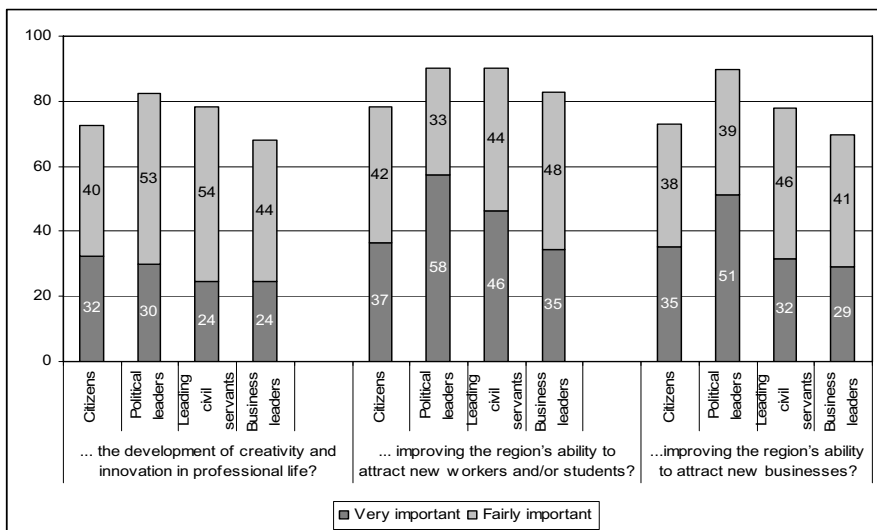
4.   The importance of culture in general: the citizens' and leaders' views

The respondents in the leader survey were not asked to assess the impact of Stavanger as European Capital of Culture. They were, however, asked to express their interest in culture and to give their opinions on the importance of increased support for culture in general. The same questions about cultural interest and support for culture were raised in the citizen survey and thus we may compare the views of leaders and citizens.

The highest cultural interest was expressed by leading civil servants and politicians. 96 percent of the civil servants said that they were highly (37 percent) or fairly (59 percent) interested in culture. 88 percent of the politicians were highly (35 percent) or fairly (53 percent) interested in culture. 72 percent of the managers of private enterprises and 68 percent of the citizens said that they were interested in culture (15 and 19 percent very interested and 57 and 49 percent fairly interested respectively).

Some of the citizens' and leaders' opinions regarding the importance of increased support for cultural life are shown in Figure 3. As we can see, there is a widespread opinion, especially among leading politicians and civil servants, that increased support for cultural life is important for several reasons. 90 percent of both the politicians and the civil servants said that support for culture is very or fairly important for 'improving the region's ability to attract new businesses'. Support for cultural life is also seen as important for the region's 'ability to attract new workers and/or students' by 90 percent of the leading politicians and 78 percent of the leading civil servants. Furthermore, support for culture is believed to be important for 'the development of creativity and innovation in professional life'. This view is held by 83 percent of the political leaders, and 78 percent of the civil servants.

Figure 3 *How important would you say that increased support for cultural life is for…? (Citizen and leader surveys, percent)*

The belief in culture is a little less widespread among the business leaders and citizens of the region. However, 72 percent of the citizens and 68 percent of the business leaders agreed on the importance of culture with regard to creativity and innovation. The corresponding figures regarding the attraction of workers and students were 79 and 83 percent respectively. Finally, 73 percent of the citizens and 70 percent of the business leaders said that increased support for culture is important for the attraction of new businesses.

No doubt, vast majorities of the citizens as well as leading politicians, civil servants and business managers in the Stavanger region believe in culture as an instrument to promote regional development. The strongest beliefs in culture are found among the local politicians and civil servants. It remains to be seen whether they are right or wrong – and whether the Stavanger region's year as European Capital of Culture has an effect on these beliefs.

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EUROPEAN CAPITALS OF CULTURE:
CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

CULTURAL REGENERATION VIA 'THE EFFECT OF VISIBILITY': SIBIU ECOC 2007

Henrieta Anişoara Şerban

Abstract This paper is investigating the transformation of Sibiu, known also as Hermannstadt, one of the main cities of Romania, and of Eastern Europe. The study proceeds from a definition of cultural regeneration. Within this approach, cultural regeneration could be seen as "an improvement of the economic, social, environmental, political and financial situation of a community due to the cultural activities in the area, seen as a catalyst, as a key factor for that improvement". The paper attempts to answer the following question: To what extent the economic, social, cultural and symbolic lecture of the case study – Sibiu 2007, European Cultural Capital – is proving the import of the new life and business to this city? In order to go beyond these aspects and to highlight the democratization brought about by the cultural activities via increasing social capital, the study proposes a paradigmatic "effect of visibility", by which the consequences of increased visibility for cultural regeneration become key parameters to interpreting the topic. The local theoretical heritage of cultural regeneration, namely what is known as "creative localism"– the heritage of Thesis and Astra, two cultural regeneration vectors and intellectual traditions from Sibiu – are to be retrieved and capitalized on by this study, as a foundation for the effect of increased visibility, too. Cultural regeneration is favoured by the cultural tradition. Then, cultural regeneration is commented in relation to social capital and substantial democracy.

Keywords: cultural regeneration, social capital, creative localism, visibility, Sibiu

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1.   Introduction

Sibiu[47], also known as Hermannstadt, one of the main cities of Romania (and of Eastern Europe) has gone through a series of beneficial, culturally triggered transformations. In my paper I attempt to draw a picture of the transformations encompassing the town and the neighbourhood renewal, social inclusion and community cohesion, greater environmental quality and quality of life, and increased local and foreign investment.

I shall look at cultural regeneration 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*." (Evans and Shaw, 2004:4) Analyzing the Programme "Sibiu 2007 European Capital of Culture (ECOC)", I attempt to identify evidence of culture as a catalyst or a key player in the process of regeneration.

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[47] Sibiu region has a population of 421,724, and the city itself has a population of 154,892, according to the last census, conducted in March 2002.

My approach and the qualitative investigation of the relationship among various parameters, such as, 2007 cultural events, town renewal, social inclusion, cultural tradition, etc. are complemented with a series of quantitative data. These various parameters are cultural factors. And when I refer to "cultural factors" I include the intellectual and artistic activity, the works produced by it, but also the patterns of behaviour, attitudes and beliefs, thoughts expressing the life of the community of people from Sibiu. There are two main questions advanced for this investigation. First, to what extent have the economic, social, cultural and symbolic impacts of Sibiu ECOC 2007 – brought about new life and business to this city? And, second, to what extent have the neighbouring areas been positively influenced, by changing both the stereotypes and the perspectives over the city and the entire area? Apart from the classical approach of the subject in order to gather, comprehend and interpret the data best, the study proposes a paradigmatic "effect of visibility", by which the consequences of increased visibility of cultural regeneration become key parameters to interpreting the topic. The local theoretical heritage of cultural regeneration, namely what is known as "creative localism"– the heritage of Thesis and Astra, two intellectual traditions originated from Sibiu – are to be revised and capitalized on by this study, too.

2.   Methodology

My investigation looks at the available evidence, and intends to identify and describe the scope of the present cultural regeneration phenomenon against the background of a heritage of "creative localism". Within a broader philosophical approach (what approach?), I am attempting to employ Calvin O. Schrag's idea of transversal rationality as a method (Schrag, 1992). Then, I shall use such a method basically to take into consideration the multitude of rationalities at play in a pluralistic environment, in our case, that of Sibiu, and its existing cultural and multicultural realm (considering, for example, the relatively sizeable German population besides the Romanian one). As a method, it proposes that we had better look for intersections and "dialogues", or inter-relations among plural rationalities[48] – as "transversal" means "to lie across" – rather than for hierarchies of one sort or another. Thus, I shall not consider hierarchies among the cultural events, or among the cultural events and the social and economic effects. The cultural activity is interpreted here as a key factor because it is a catalyst and not necessarily because it solely determines the well-being of the area, both socially and economically. The national and European political activities are implicitly considered as important as the cultural ones, yet, they do not make the object of this paper. I interpret the tradition of creative localism and the economic transformations taking place in Sibiu in 2007 not in terms of pinpointing determining factors and determined factors. My interpretation unfolds terms of "intersections" of various aspects creating increased visibility of the city, with a handful of social and economic positive consequences, where cultural regeneration is the catalyst.

In this city, two organizations, Thesis and Astra have been, in my view, sustaining a cultural regeneration philosophy (and type of activity) that provided for a good environment in the case of the event Sibiu, cultural European capital 2007.

In the case of Sibiu, one should as well consider the rich cultural heritage of the area, nurturing not only local solutions for local problems, but also a "creative localism" for local and national matters. Al. Dima, a prominent figure of the intellectual group from Sibiu (1932-1935), nick-named "Thesis", defined the "creative localism" as a knowledge of reality and the act of capitalizing through creation whatever lays latent in the specific and the picturesque of a specific place".[49] This "creative localism" constituted a support for public action as some sort of cultural regeneration *avant-la-lettre*.

The main idea of the intellectual movement was to create at Sibiu a specific environment (a social and cultural milieu) conductive to promoting the great cultural values. Its purpose was to maintain the interest in spiritual creations and educating the aspirations of the (young) local talents (Licu Pop, Mircea Alexiu, George Fonea, Giuseppe Cifarelli, Ionel Neamtzu, Horia Petra-Petrescu, etc.), and to study the surrounding social reality. First of all, creative localism meant an increased rhythm, scope and quantity of publications.

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[48] In my terminology, borrowed from Schrag (1992), such "rationality" may be a cultural aspect, as well as a economic aspect or the aspect of cultural tradition.

[49] Apud Gh. Manolache, *Puncte cardinale în conturarea "localismului creator"/Cardinal directions in designing the "creative localism"*, in Literaturi şi culturi locale/Local literatures and cultures, Sibiu, Universitatea "Lucian Blaga" din Sibiu, 2007, p.77 *sqq.*

The phrase "creative localism" was preferred to that of "cultural regionalism". The main reason lied in the specific character of the local cultural element. It has a dual theoretical and militant edge, based on the "immediate geographical and social reality, lively and down-to-earth, related to a specific place, while regionalism is considered far too general and retaining a centrifugal, second-rate political connotation. Capitalizing on a strictly local social frame, the artists became a sort of social workers (or at least a kind of Enlightenment activists with a more aristocratic identity).

The "creative localism" project was to be a mere ripple within a wave of sincerity, yet one invading all the compartments of the Romanian culture. The cultural province should be a national provider of cultural goods and not only a patient and passive consumer. This "creative localism" should be a dialogical one.

"Thesis" collaborated with another cultural foundation from Sibiu, named "Astra". Nowadays, Astra Museum continues the glorious tradition of cultural regeneration within Sibiu area, daring to present itself as the "live museum", protecting and sustaining the live human thesaurus. Its programme entitled "the live human thesaurus"[50] concerns salvaging the intangible cultural patrimony through national and international long-term strategies conserving, reviving and transmitting it via knowledge – language, literature, music, dance, games, mythology, customs, etc. – and aptitudes – popular crafts, paintings, architecture, etc. – onto the future generations. The live thesaurus implies also flesh-and-blood people, artists of the popular and specific crafts, knowledgeable in producing key local aspects of the cultural life, and essential for continuing the existence of the national patrimony. The Programme Sibiu, European capital of culture 2007 provided the opportunity to increase the awareness of a broader audience in what concerns the generous communication among cultures, and the inclusiveness of culture, starting as well from the idea that these local, live museums are European heritage, too.

These elements illustrate my opinion, sustaining that cultural heritage is an important avenue of investigations in cultural regeneration. Culturally catalyzed transformations are even more viable, if they are founded on a rich cultural tradition of the place. At the same time, I believe that governments should take into consideration embracing this creative localism philosophy. By translating it into a specifically cultural policy-making, stimulating cultural events are related both to the tradition of the area, and with their transforming potential (town and neighborhood renewal, social inclusion and community cohesion, etc.).

My focus here was on published evidence and evidence from the Romanian various institutions and NGOs involved in the project, the examples of a good practice in blue-printing and unfolding projects in the case of Sibiu, European capital of culture 2007.

3.   **Sibiu 2007 as a visible and lively multi-cultural "scene"**

In what follows, I will attempt to both describe and interpret the cultural scene of Sibiu in 2007. The hardcore data will be interwoven with their interpretation to offer a concise picture of a fervent cultural scene.[51]

During 2007, under the aegis of the Program "Sibiu – European Cultural Capital 2007", there were a total of 337 projects presented in Sibiu. This means almost a new project every day. Among these projects the city council evaluators[52] talk about a sum of 2062 events that took place here, a kaleidoscope of artistic genres and directions – over one year, all building up into one cultural festival catering for all needs and tastes. In Sibiu, culture was meant to include meant at Sibiu theatre and painting, music and film, dancing and literature, but also architecture and contemporary art, and even gastronomy. The Program "Sibiu – European Cultural Capital 2007" was thought as a negotiator between the artistic perspectives and the political interests, as a link between traditional and contemporary culture, between high-profile events and local initiatives, between the city centre and suburban/regional locations, between the 'high' art and popular art/culture, between the established cultural institutions and independent groups and artists, between attractiveness to tourists and the local population, between the international names and local talents, between usual activities and new activities, between professional and amateur/community projects.[53]

This statement of intention with its long succession of elements supports on the one hand the idea of the "paradigm of visibility" and on the other hand, the idea of "intersection" and "transversality" as a

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[50] See also http://www.muzeulastra.ro/tezaure/index.php?var=0
[51] See http://www.sibiu2007.ro/ro3/bilant.htm, for the official data. At Sibiu, mentioned for the first time in 1192, the Romanian culture meets a Hungarian, German and Rroma culture, while the Orthodox milieu intersects the Roman-Catholic, Greek-Catholic and Reform milieus.
[52] http://www.sibiu2007.ro/ro3/bilant.htm
[53] See http://www.sibiu2007.ro/en3/strategia.htm

methodological approach of cultural regeneration in the case of Sibiu 2007. Cultural regeneration was almost explicitly at the core of this Programme. The projects included in the Programme were selected after the quality of the project, the cost of the project, the relevance of the project, to the Programme's aims, the experience of the organizers, and the long-term impact or sustainability of the project. The public space, the social dimension and the European dimension were the main characters of the Programme. As the organizers present it: "Both the creation of art in public spaces and the organization of specific events in public space are given considerable attention, and eventually these projects will receive the most public and media attention (…) A special focus is to create cultural opportunities for social groups outside the mainstream city culture ('cultural inclusion') such as the Urban Arts Initiative and the establishment of an Urban Arts Centre using deserted industrial facilities."[54] The European dimension is enhanced by the Programme given the focus on European artists, and the events conducted in collaboration, elaborating on the European networking and including Sibiu's traditional and contemporary culture in the European cultural stream and the European cultural products within the local cultural scene.

The communication objectives of the Programme were to improve the image and the branding of the city. The organizers placed them in a strong correlation with a "New tourism concept for 2007", that involved promoting high-quality, ecologically sound, tourist experiences in Sibiu and the surrounding region, providing the satisfaction that would urge tourists to tell others about the city.

The Programme involved in this respect: the promotion of Sibiu historical city centre, the easy access to the sights and monuments in the region, the promotion and reintegration of the tourism market of the mountain resort at Păltiniş (situated in the close proximity to the city). Also, it implied the planning and organizing local, regional, inter-regional, national and international events, and the developing a gastronomic and hotel industry of high quality, enhanced by an attractive calendar of cultural and artistic events. The concept involved new forms of tourism – religious, scientific and cultural – which could make better use of the local and regional conditions.

In my view, a very interesting debate was organized by the Romanian Cultural Centre entitled "Art and Regeneration within Sibiu European Cultural Capital", and mediated by Mike Phillips on the third of July 2007. Constantin Chiriac, the director of the International Festival of Theatre of Sibiu and a member of Sibiu city council was then invited to go to London for a special presentation delivered on the topic Sibiu European Cultural Capital 2007. This example shows how the increased visibility of the individuals is interrelated with the increase in the visibility of the region.

"A city of culture – a city of cultures" was the slogan of the Programme, an extremely appropriate one, when we consider that the town is famous for its multicultural and multi-language character. The events included in the Programme Sibiu ECOC 2007 reflected and strengthened these multicultural aspects.

At the same time, the multicultural aspects both completed and complemented the European distinctive qualities of the Programme, considering also the cultural partnership with the Great Ducat of Luxembourg, involving 40 common projects between Sibiu and Luxembourg.

Thus, the cultural projects in Sibiu involved people of different languages and nationalities, working and enjoying life together, increasing the Romanian and the European social capital and social inclusiveness generated by culture. Also, some 301 cultural operators proposed cultural projects during 2007. Among those there was a wide range of public institutions, but not exclusively. In the events participated public institutions of culture and cults, public organizations of entertainment and concerts, public institutions of education, cultural centres, and cultural institutes of the foreign Embassies in Romania and Romanian Embassies abroad. At the same time, there were present national and international NGOs (cultural, youth, etc.), publishing houses, physical persons, Romanian honorific consulates abroad and commercial societies. These events have strengthened the reciprocity, trust and cooperation between community members and the rules governing the functioning of networks, they improved the self-identity of the people as citizens of a European capital, and local NGOs reported increased civic engagement and participation in the events (Evans and Shaw, 2004:30).

One may also notice that culture increased investment and consumption. In terms of money allocated, the value of the Programme went up to about Euro 13,400,000, from Sibiu City Council (approximately 8,200,000 Euro for 215 projects), Sibiu County Council (approximately 450,000 Euro for 21 projects), and Sibiu European Cultural Capital (ECOC) Association 2007 (7,500 Euro for 2 projects). The Ministry of Culture provided approximately 3,400,000 Euro for 99 projects and the European Commission 1,400,000 Euro for the closing events.[55]

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[54] Idem.
[55] This amount followed the agreement of financing of the cities with ECOC title.

The cultural element intensified cross-institutional, national and international communication and collaboration. This Programme was developed under the High Patronage of the President of Romania, and accomplished by Sibiu ECOC Association 2007 in collaboration with the City Council of Sibiu, the Ministry of Culture and Sibiu County Council, with the support of the Romanian Prime Minister, and of the European Commission. The European governments are more and more interested in cultural policies for their integrative and social capital potential, and so is the Romanian government. Next to the cultural programmes related to the program "Sibiu European Cultural Capital 2007", a good illustration might be provided by another initiative of the Romanian government, "Lecture and reinventing libraries". This is relevant given the emphasis placed on the role of libraries as a focal point, and a "glue" for community life, and on their explicitly increasing role in cultural regeneration.[56]

The effect of increased visibility[57] is perhaps the most important achievement of this Programme. The city became - in a short while - "famous", the organizers sustain that now it is the best-known Romanian city after Bucharest, the capital of the country. This is not only a honorary title. The cultural element has triggered important investments in the infrastructure of the city, and most of them continue even after the Programme's end.[58] This effect of visibility is also raising public awareness of cultural, community and social concern, improving the general perception of the multicultural local (and European) community, and the appreciation of art and culture beyond the range of the cultural system and cultural elite *per se*.

The strategy of the event explicitly expressed as goals the improvement of the international visibility of Sibiu, to be attained through a long-term cultural development of the city, and attracting national and international tourists. At the same time they involved improving the feeling of local pride and trust, the social cohesion, the development of the community, the cultural and non cultural infrastructure and increasing the audience for the cultural act in general, while promoting the cooperation at the European level, the creativity and innovation.[59]

The cultural visibility of Sibiu was indeed increased, in the first place, due to the involvement of the Romanian and European artists working together beyond social, political, economic, cultural borders, stereotypes and, generally, beyond limitations. It proved, in a way, that while the European culture made itself at home in Romania, the same applies vice versa: the Romanian culture is at home in Europe as well. This sort of visibility was a cultural (but also a political) confirmation of the Romanian integration into the European Union.

In terms of increased visibility, one can see the Programme as an opportunity for (re) inventing the tourism industry for both the city and the county, too. The statistics offered by the City Council of Sibiu show that until the beginning of December (2007) the number of tourists reached 700,000, i.e. figures that are double compared to the year 2006, and triple in comparison with 2005. The number of tourists was estimated to exceed 800,000 people by the very end of 2007. The statistics show that, traditionally, tourists from Germany, Luxembourg, France, Belgium, Austria and the United Kingdom form the major part of the external public of Sibiu. In 2007, this public significantly increased its diversity. Also, out of the total of tourists it is shown that foreign tourists represented up to 40%.

Again, in terms of increased visibility, I interpret the fact that Sibiu is going to bear in the future, the mark of experience and a certain cultural glamour. Cultural operators will continue to perceive the City of Sibiu as a viable and desirable partner (in the artists or in the events from Sibiu, as well). Cultural management experience might be a catalyst for future and visible, national and international, cultural events.[60] Among the very few Romanian recent studies of profile, Jianu and Puiu (2006) argue for a positive correlation between organizational culture and increased competitiveness. While I would argue that, implicitly, all involvement in cultural events is beneficial for the organizational culture of the organizations involved, I also propose that necessary further research is called for, in order to investigate the correlation with increased social capital and collaboration.

The advantages of the cultural element in matters of cultural regeneration are accompanied by their "shadow" of limitations, though (Evans and Shaw, 2004:31). How should one appreciate the importance of the cultural tourism in relation to that of the strict cultural participation of the artists? Also, very little study seem to be undertaken, which would distinguish between the type of cultural tourism primarily concerned with historical assets and museums, and the one generated by popular culture shows, or the one represented

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[56] See http://www.cultura.ro/Files/GenericFiles/MaiBineOCarte_2005_04_23.ppt
[57] Its role is in a way equivalent to that of the "name recognition" from the advertising activities.
[58] Very likely, this aspect suggests an increase at the level of job creation, but I have no data to further discuss the aspect.
[59] See http://www.sibiu2007.ro/ro3/strategia.htm
[60] See e.g. Cristian (2008) for a discussion of issues of contemporary cultural management.

by classical music shows and theatre plays, etc. There is also little work done on the relationship between cultural social and political factors in this process of cultural regeneration, where, in my view, the political factor is very much at work, at the very least, in terms of financing (direct or indirect), and symbolic branding of the events. Another limitation seems to be the danger of over interpreting the cultural factor as an all-encompassing one, as a disguise for some political factors, as the unique explication for a certain phenomena. The over-interpretation of the cultural factors, on the one hand, might shadow the political will involved in accomplishing most of the cultural activities from the programme Sibiu capital of culture 2007. On the other hand the political edge of the NGOs' cultural activities might be overlooked. All these observations might suggest directions for future investigations in this field.

4. Conclusion and further directions for research

Cultural regeneration increases national and international visibility, hence improving the "communication" among the cultural and economic interests and the cultural and economic opportunities. Is the increased visibility and the increased awareness of diversity definitely correlated with the betterment of the social capital (trust, inclusiveness, tolerance)? There is, for sure, a positive correlation between growth in employment and tourism and beneficial implications for the state budget (a correlation seen more as an intersection of factors that are mutually reinforced by one another and not one-way determined by the other one's cultural action). From this perspective I sustain a positive answer to the first question as well. It is thus only logical to sustain that any rational state ought to be even more interested in sustaining cultural events. And a democratic state should be all the more interested in promoting and sustaining cultural events. Placing a stronger emphasis on cultural policy-making a democratic state increases substantial democracy.

Without over-interpreting the cultural factor as an all-encompassing one, I consider that there is a very important area of research in the correlation of the cultural impact of the "soft" ideologies[61] and their campaigns on cultural regeneration. The political agenda of the national and trans-national NGOs are important in creating a substantial European democracy and even reinventing a European democratic spirit.

The pieces of evidence I presented above, underline the role of cultural regeneration as a catalyzing factor for the improvement of the economic, social, environmental, political and financial situation of a community. Cultural factors[62] bring about inclusive planning as catalysts for local cultural strategies, local development frameworks, community strategies and partnerships, etc. In other words, cultural factors might trigger better public policy. At the same time, the cultural factors sustain and stimulate an increase of the cultural tourism.

Cultural regeneration factors might be optimal negotiators among the local, national and international levels, in matters interweaving political, social, cultural and economic aspects as well as in matters concerning the governmental policies.

"Cultural localism" leads to cultural regeneration, too. In cultural exposure the cultural regeneration implies both the individual and the larger social level. In the specific case of Sibiu, I argued for an increase of cultural awareness, social capital and cultural capital as well promoting inclusiveness and tolerance and not only an increase in investments, or an improvement of the infrastructure. Cultural awareness and, more generally, the receptivity of cultural events are to be associated with a rich cultural heritage, which is especially true in the case of Sibiu. At the same time cultural regeneration improves awareness at the European level in terms of including the cultural heritage of Sibiu within the European one.

Cultural regeneration brings political impetus to the consolidation of democracy. From the perspectives opened by cultural regeneration, democracy itself might be reinterpreted as the empire of culture put to work for social change causes. And, as an intellectual associated with "Thesis" would have concluded, cultural regeneration avoids the terrible catastrophe of everyday limitation, with implications way beyond the philosophical content of this statement, into the policy making.

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[61] By "soft" ideologies, I understand newer ideologies such as feminism, ecologism, and ironism, oriented rather toward social reform than exclusivelly toward obtaining and maintaining ruling political power. When I consider ironism, I refer to Richard Rorty's "ironist" (see Rorty, 1989). The ironist has a specific and particular contingent, cultural approach to society generating tolerance, inclusiveness and solidarity, which I see, as well, as elements of cultural regeneration.

[62] The cultural factors as defined in the introduction to this paper, are already social factors and become political by use, interpretation and implications, hence the analytical challenges.

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PÉCS 2010 – EUROPEAN CAPITAL OF CULTURE ON THE PERIPHERY

Márta Bakucz

Abstract The new aim of the ECOC project is to improve the face and infrastructure of a city, re-defining its image. The regional capital role is the focus, displaying, through culture, the power to shape the visible and economic character of the city, showing the job-creation potential of culture and accelerating the spatial development of the city's hinterland. The Cultural Capital is not only a place for "the arts". The traditional arts festival is no longer appropriate and replacement with a prudent mixture of the imaginative use of public space, sculpture, new arts media and R & D applications. Expectations are based on infrastructural development, the visible transformation of the urban environment, innovation, culture and the development of a rational tourism policy. This paper examines Pécs, an ECOC title-holder for 2010. The title alone cannot regenerate city and region; industries other than culture are needed - which involves embracing the principles of decentralisation and multi-polar development demanded by EU Cohesion Policy. In Hungary, unfortunately, even the National Development Plan fails to address the concept of a national regional structure - still less decentralised development – in spite of clear signals from the EU. It will be interesting to observe peripheries as self-awareness develops, since many EU member-states remain over-centralised with continuing conflict between centre and periphery. Pécs has considerable capacity to create a widely marketable product from culture and to develop its own "trademark". Although 2,000 years old, Pécs has been known industrially only for a century; at other times its fame has depended on a beautiful land- and town-scape, on the climate and on its cultural and intellectual life. The ECOC title gives a unique opportunity to add a new colour to the image of the "beautiful city" with a culture industry development programme.[63]

Keywords: ECOC title/project/process, peripheral position, city tourism, city marketing, city regeneration.

About the author

Dr. Márta Bakucz started her academic career in the field of Modern Languages, specialising, firstly, in Russian Language and Studies and, thereafter, in English. In the latter capacity she joined the Faculty of Business and Economics at Pécs University – a full-time appointment from 1995 – to teach professional-level English for Business and Economics. She completed her MBA in 1998 and immediately commenced studying for her PhD. Her main interest lies in the field of Regional Studies, and she has been deeply involved in such special areas as Regional Economics, Regional Policy, Place Marketing, Localisation, and, in this context, Tourism. She obtained her Doctorate in 2005, her dissertation being entitled: Tourism as a Tool for the Development of Cities and their Regions. Márta Bakucz teaches at Bachelor, Master and PhD levels at her Faculty and is also involved in research projects within her field in her region (South Transdanubia).

1.   European Capital of Culture on the Periphery

The fact that tourism has potentially both positive and negative impacts in economic, in social and in environmental terms has long been recognised. It has, however, been considered, at least by the general public – as a sure means of generating local economic development and of fostering regeneration.

The traditional concept of tourism envisaged beautiful scenery – the countryside, mountains or the sea – clean, healthy and invigorating, a place to recuperate. Of course, a little appropriate entertainment was included – depending on the tastes and pockets of the travellers. If we ignore the earlier 18th century phenomenon of the *Grand Tour,* when young gentlemen, both cultivated and monied, would slowly move around the cities of what we might term "classical Europe", urban areas did not feature in itineraries to a serious extent until quite recently. It was probably in the early '80s that the potential benefits of tourism

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[63] The text of this paper was completed and first published in the spring of 2006. The opportunity to revise statements and comments relating to Pécs and its European Capital of Culture 2010 Project in the light of actual developments since that time is welcome and advantage has been taken of this towards the end of the text.

development acquired some recognition at government, industry and research levels - and in the later '80s and '90s that its capacity to play an important role in urban regeneration was more fully appreciated: CITY TOURISM.

The total impact, of course, depends upon several factors – the scale of the industry in the given location, the absolute number of visitors attracted, the income generated in the wider area, the number of jobs created and the physical transformation of the locality. These factors, together with professional marketing efforts, create the positive image of the city – the desired impact. The first diagram (which follows) will, I hope, offer a neat, graphic representation of the overall process.

Figure 4 Tourism and city regeneration
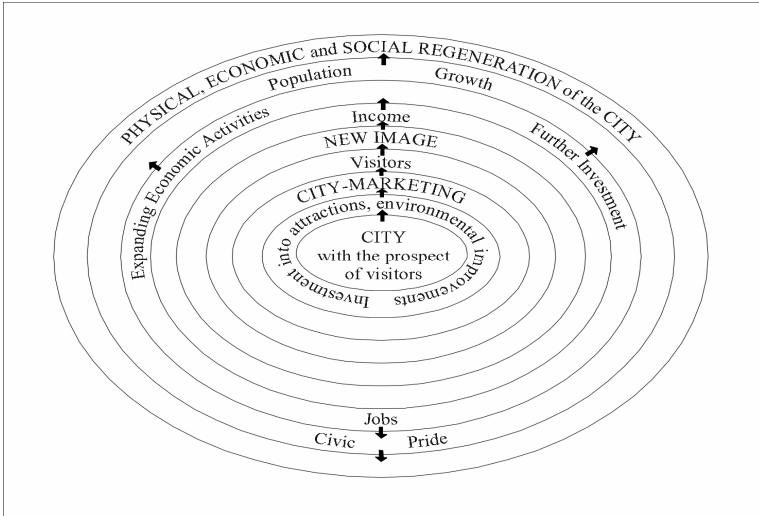
Source: The author's own diagram on the basis of Law, 1989.

Even in the medium-term, of course, tourism should generate jobs, profit, tax revenues and the like – and also vital, private investment. In the earlier stages of a planned development programme, however, it is very likely that the public sector (and the public purse) will have to play a major role. The core question, therefore, must be: how realistic are the claims for tourism as a true catalyst for urban regeneration – especially in the cities of Eastern Europe as they face the challenges of globalisation and regional transition?

Many of these cities were industrialised in earlier years and totally lack any tradition of tourism. To answer this question, therefore, tourism should be examined from the wider perspective of urban regeneration. It is a well known fact, that some Hungarian cities such as Pécs, a South Transdanubian city[64], with, as its advertising slogans repeatedly tell us, both a Mediterranean climate and a Mediterranean atmosphere, have suffered serious economic decline in recent years. They can no longer rely on older, traditional industries (for example, coal- and uranium-mining in Pécs), and seem having to struggle to show any return from their inherited regional leadership.

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[64] For a better perspective, it might be worth looking at South Transdanubia as the Region (in EU terms) which was considered as the hinterland for the city as ECOC. Within the population of Hungary (estimated at a little under 10m) the capital, Budapest, is home to 2.1m. The Region of Central Hungary, which includes the capital, has a total population of 2.8m. Pécs is the 5th city, but with a population of only 158,000; its county (Baranya) and Region (i.e. South Transdanubia) have inclusive populations of 403,000 and 977,000 respectively.

The earlier socialist regime - as elsewhere in Central-East European countries - also forced heavy, prestigious, strategic industries on other fringe towns and cities in some of the most beautiful parts of Hungary – hopelessly uneconomical in today's open market and now requiring huge investment to repair the accumulated damage.

A City such as Pécs, therefore, must reposition itself totally in the urban market-place and sell a product (that is, itself) with a Unique Selling Proposition attractive to both companies and people. In general, cities wishing to be, or to remain, competitive must attract appropriate activities - science parks and offices; consumption activities - tourism, leisure and cultural enterprises, a process which equates to CITY MARKETING.

However, market demands change – sometimes rapidly – and a serious approach to assessment and planning is needed to develop an image – which must be well founded – for the longer term.

The 1990 work of Williams and Shaw, which develops their concept of the four *main themes* to be used *in favour of tourism-based economic strategies* shows their positive potential:

- The *flexibility* of the tourism product makes it especially suitable to local economic policies,
- The *low rates* of capital formation per job in tourism make it particularly suitable to employment-driven economic policies and, at the same time, a low-cost strategy. This is also connected to a further argument concerning the potential for small firm growth in tourism, and therefore its relevance to Small- and Medium-Sized Enterprise (SME) based policies.
- The *speed* at which even relatively large-scale tourism developments can be implemented as a result of favourable demand and production conditions has to be highlighted.

Tourism is favoured as an instrument of economic policy because of its potential as a *catalyst* for wider economic changes. Tourism-based initiatives can transform derelict physical landscapes, lead to improved infrastructure (particularly in the area of transport) and foster better service provision for the local community, possibly leading to a higher confidence level both among the local residents and the whole area, which itself might attract new investment in the locality.

There is, however, a negative side to tourism-based development, which has to be considered for any balanced perspective to be achieved and, therefore, the following *counter-arguments* should be outlined in relation to the four specific themes mentioned above:

- Tourism development is inherently uneven and differentiates between regions and localities.
- While it is conducive to small business formation, the quality of such firms may be questionable.
- As it permits rapid economic growth, it may also be subject to equally rapid processes of decline.
- There is, therefore, a need to pay greater attention to product cycles, uncertain demand and competition conditions in the tourism industry.

Tourism may generate wider social and economic costs, not least of which are social conflicts between locals and immigrants (both temporary visitors and residents) and house price inflation.

There is no precise formula by which we can predict whether the advantages will out-weigh the disadvantages in any particular community. The conditions and possible consequences of any specific tourism development project have to be analysed in each case. At the beginning of the 21st century and following serious scientific research into the economic and other significance of tourism, we need to be able to recognise the many different forms of tourism, each with distinctive regional implications and not necessarily conforming to any simplistic periphery-centre or centre-periphery model. The following table is my attempt to summarise some of the salient regional features of the forms of city tourism:

Table 5 Typology of the regional implications of city tourism developments

Type of Tourism	Type of Regions					
	Locational Bias			Selective Regions		
	Core	Periphery	Capital	Urban	Rural	Coastal
International Cultural	+		+			
Industrial Heritage		+		+	?	
International Conference and Exhibitions	+		+			
Conference	+	+	+	+		+
Exhibition	+	+	+	+		?
Business General	+			+		
"EVENTS"	+	+	+	+	+	+

Source: own elaboration, partly based on Williams and Shaw (1990:6)

As we can see, two of the most polarised forms of urban tourism – international cultural tourism and international conference tourism – are mainly capital city activities. In contrast, "events" tourism can be located in many types of region. These may be supplementary tourist attractions such as the Arts and Gastronomic Weeks in Pécs or the Open-air Theatre Festival in Szeged, a major tourist attraction. These can be traditional events or entirely new creations (Bakucz, 2002). However, the European Capital of Culture (ECOC) project gives free rein to a city to set out the widest of stalls in its efforts to market itself.

Prior to the Enlargement of 2004, the EU scheduled one of the EU-15 member-states to fulfil the role of ECOC each year. Following enlargement, the EU Commission decreed that one new member-state should, each year, nominate a city to bear the title in parallel. The process, due to come into effect in 2009 has had an early start with the adoption of Sibiu (Romania) alongside Luxembourg. Hungary was allocated the "new member-states'" right for 2010 and chose Pécs, a choice subsequently ratified by the EU Commission. However, Pécs is now one of three cities, which will hold the title in that year. Germany, the original nominee from the EU-15, nominated Essen and the EU, perhaps for rather specific political reasons, has added Istanbul. Even within the project, therefore, there will be a certain competition, albeit oblique, in an effort to demonstrate success.

Previously, no event, no responsibility of this magnitude or character has ever been thrust at Pécs and the significance of the responsibility and commitment must weigh heavily upon those who fought for the "privilege" so intensively.

Revenues from tourism are naturally expected to increase in 2010, but these will be no more than short-term, unless action is taken to sustain the momentum. The investment in infrastructure ought to have a more lasting effect - whether spending is on improving or renovating the city in general or on specific, culture-related buildings. An improved infrastructure (most urgently needed in Pécs) should enhance not only the cultural image of the city but also its business image – as a place in which to invest, work and live, and this may, in turn, generate outside investment for the long-term economic health of the city.

According to Palmer, however, few ECOCs set well-defined economic objectives. Local authorities expect help from various quarters when preparing for the year, and it would be surprising if a city's political leadership did not do their best to ensure that tangible, visible results appeared at the very outset. However, by contrast, these same leaders may be less attracted by longer-term economic targets, and there seems little clear evidence that anything is done to enhance the "investability" of a city, if we ignore tourism.

There is normally time between a city's designation as an ECOC and the actual year in which the title will apply. Currently the EU recommends a minimum of 4 years – but major infrastructural works take time – a great deal of time - between starting to think about something and actually cutting the ribbon.

Funding is critical and the lack of a clear picture of what is required (and also available) is a huge potential problem. Local government has traditionally been the major source of funds with an average contribution of 41%, whilst a further 33% or so has come from central government. The European Union itself normally contributes only some 2%. For the rest, some 15% of the total cost should be met from private sources – individuals or companies offering general support or sponsoring some individual event – whilst ticket sales are likely to amount to 7%. To give these percentages some real significance, the average budget of the cities involved in 2000 was of the order of €26 million. This figure is extracted from the figures published by the nine cities designated ECOCs in the millennium year.

Hungary is an extravagantly centralised state (in spite of the clear messages emanating from the EU) and the ability of local government to contribute is pathetically small. In financial terms, regional government does not exist and the old, traditional county structure of meso-level administration has also effectively died. The EU appears both willing and able to increase its perceived assistance by channelling appropriated Structural Funds in the direction of the city targeting 2010, but since central government in Budapest has clearly stated its intention to retain total control of every euro, the psychological impact of this increased rate of support is somewhat stifled at local level. The degree of seriousness of this will only become apparent in time, of course.

Organisational and marketing functions have been treated in a variety of ways, in that a number have asked the state to assume responsibility. Others have chosen to handle everything themselves – often through organisations established specifically for this purpose. In Marketing the same has occurred, perhaps reflecting the understanding that marketing has a critical role to play in the ECOC process.

The investment required is a large one, and it is natural that citizens ask whether any material benefit can be derived. How to quantify benefit is a real and pressing matter. One measurement, of course, concerns the number of visitors and, specifically, the number of nights spent there (that is, "overnights"). Obviously, a city expects to see overnights increase during the event year, and it seems that something in the region of 10–15% has been expected. Later indications, however, suggested that rates were lower, with the nine ECOCs of 2000 producing much less again. However, the issue must really be the proportion of any increase, which endures. Numbers dropping back to something approaching their old level is the common experience, and so any sustained increase must be regarded as a success. Re-measurement after three or four years is needed to give any clear answer. At the same time, each case is unique: two cities, Glasgow and Thessaloniki, both produced huge increases in overnights during their ECOC year. Neither, however, had earlier been a serious tourist destination and so both started from a low base-point.

A further issue is the improving degree of cooperation evident between ECOC management and the commercial tourism authorities. This is an important factor in the success of any ECOC and seems to be one more or less certain, positive outcome.

It is clear that success for an ECOC depends heavily on how the local population can be persuaded to support the planned activities. With little or no support, nothing worthwhile can be achieved, and so the markets to be targeted must start with the local population, including that of the region as a whole.

This consideration seems to have persuaded cities to offer less demanding programmes than the traditional classical music concerts and art exhibitions. Many events (street performances, "son et lumière" displays) are held which are free to all. In addition to the attempts to involve the population, efforts are also needed to involve local business – both to assure positive cooperation from the sector and also to underpin the necessary fund-raising. Finally, of course, cities are ambitious to attract not merely their own inhabitants, but to draw in visitors from farther afield. Normally a solid number of foreign tourists are expected in an ECOC, but 2000 results were weak due to the uniquely large number of cities chosen to celebrate the Millennium and to the fact that all markets are finite.

It is evident that the concept of developing Pécs into a "Cultural Capital of Europe" is simply not enough in isolation, and it is impossible for culture to be the only route for the city to travel along in its ambition to become the regional centre of South Transdanubia. The exclusive development of the one function simply means that the total aim is unachievable – a certain level of re-industrialisation is essential.


2.   Pécs 2010 and Graz 2003 compared

To underline this, I would mention a comparative study, which I undertook prior to 2003 in Graz and in Pécs. (Graz has much in common and close relations with Pécs.) This comparison developed into a similar examination of the regions surrounding the 2 cities – Styria and South Transdanubia. Again the common factors are remarkable in terms of quantity and quality. The results were used in relation to Graz's highly successful ECOC year and to the prospect of Pécs following the same path in 2010.

Map 1 shows in straightforward graphic form the level of the geophysical relationship between the regions and the cities. Post-Versailles both Styria and what is now the South Transdanubian Region were peripheral to their mother countries. Even during the Socialist years the relatively cool relationship between Hungary and Yugoslavia meant that theirs was a carefully overseen border area with nothing of economic strategic significance being located there. Styria lay on the very edge of the Western world. Similarly, Pécs lies at the southern extreme of both county and region, whilst the location of Graz within Styria is far from central in any terms.

There is, clearly, a genuine and well-founded degree of comparability between the two regions – ample justification for our evaluation of Styria as a model well worth emulating. Much the same can be said regarding the comparability of the centres (the de facto capitals) of the regions - Graz and Pécs. As we examine further the obvious economic interdependence of city and region, we shall revert to this in more detail.

Map 1 Styria and the South-Transdanubian Region
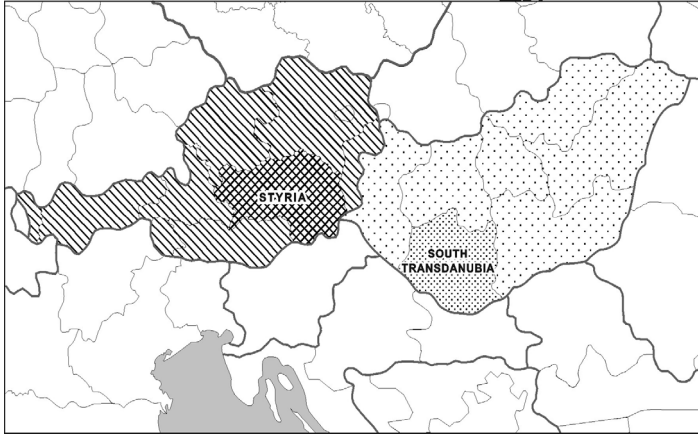
Design: Fonyódi Valéria

The concept of the tourism categorisation maps, which follow, is based upon an admirably detailed and elaborated map of Styria produced by the Province's Tourism authority. This shows with great clarity the currently successful areas and settlements and suggests equally clearly the areas or settlements which should be the target for future investment and planning support – a most valuable tool for planners of all sectors and for decision-makers.

The South Transdanubian maps – based on two differing sets of factors show equally clearly that traditionally Pécs scarcely features on any tourism-related basis. On *Map 2,* the South Shore of Lake Balaton is, as ever, prominent and the sole (minor) challenge in the south of the Region comes from the Siklós district, which includes Harkány, the only spa of any size and significance in the region earlier. *Map 3* (further below) illustrates the possibility for Pécs to establish a stronger base-point, given the potential of the ECOC year of 2010.

Map 2 The tourism categorisation of the South Transdanubian micro-regions,
based on the results of the cluster analysis (Version 1)

Source: As postulated by the author (Factors used: aggregated numbers of annual averages of bed-occupancy,
available bed-places per 1,000 inhabitants and average length of visitors' stay).

In summarising the whole of *this empirical research*, we would suggest that the use of the more appropriate variables of Version 1 renders these results more acceptable. This research was undertaken with the aim of offering micro-regional clustering as an effective tool for regular monitoring of the tourism performance of regions, as for the benefit of tourism and regional planning specialists, and related economic development planning work.

Prior to 2000 Graz was regarded as a peripheral city in Austria, even though it was second only to Vienna in terms of population. The Province of Styria had a similar position in the hierarchy of the Austrian Länder. Graz, however, was able to derive some strength from this weakness, by focusing on the positive aspect of its position – "Gateway to the Balkans" was, among others, its chosen slogan. Peripherality is, of course, relative and even then Graz was connected to the other major cities of Austria by motorway and by an excellent, long established railway service. Likewise – and in spite of these competitive connections - it had an airport with both domestic and international services – then modest, but now much more active.

Map 3 The tourism categorisation of the South Transdanubian micro-regions,
based on the results of the cluster analysis (Version 2)
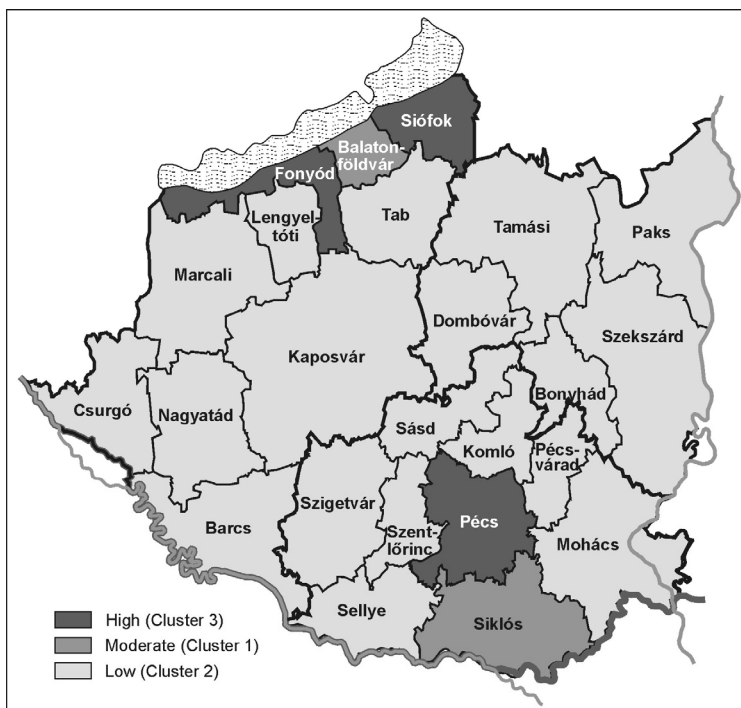
Source: As postulated by the author (Factors used: aggregated figures of the annual averages of tourist arrivals,
available bed-places per 1,000 inhabitants and average length of visitors' stay)

The picture of Pécs is not so favourable. The city seems to have been considered only as an afterthought in motorway terms and is currently linked to Budapest by a dangerous, largely single-carriageway, road. A motorway has been started (from the capital) heading south along the western bank of the Danube, but it is now destined not to come directly to Pécs, Hungary's 5th most populous city, but, rather, to head for the southern border (serving both Serbia and Croatia) some 60 kilometres to the east. A spur road will be constructed to Pécs, but this will involve a greater overall distance from the capital, with the risk that it will be underused and not reduce the accident rate. The Intercity railway service also needs upgrading if schedules are to be preserved – as does the single remaining international link (to Vienna). The local regional airport is unlikely ever to take much business away from Budapest. Hungary is a relatively small country and the capital's airport is reasonably centrally located and efficient; furthermore, any improvement in road conditions is likely to generate more airport shuttle services.

Austria is a well-functioning federal state, and support is available at several levels – the community, town or city, the Land (the Province) and from Federal sources. Hungary, in spite of all that the EU preaches, stubbornly remains a highly centralised state with the capital dealing more or less directly with some three to four thousand towns and villages. The principle of decentralisation is ignored and multi-polar development is talked about ineffectively, with nature, in the form of market forces, achieving most in this direction in the more advanced and prosperous North-Western part of Hungary. Even the National Development Plan has failed to address itself to the concept of a national regional structure, and still less to the principle of decentralised development. The country is also in the grip of a deep financial crisis and has embarked upon a

necessarily long and painful reform programme, all of which is unlikely to solve the increased number of finance-related problems in the short-to-medium term and in which the EU has no part to play.

This particular crisis, however, is specific to Hungary and totally removed from the current (November, 2008) world-wide economic crisis. The national situation is serious and has attracted record levels of IMF (and additional) support to avoid such possible catastrophes as sovereign default and a collapse of the currency. The implications of this for the city and 2010 are clearly discouraging. Even without this, however, few would claim that recent developments have been positive.

Pécs was "gifted" ECOC 2010 in late 2006, although Hungary had been designated as the host country well before this. In fact, government delay in nominating their choice of city meant that the EU's general principle that a city should have no less than 4 years notice to prepare had already been eroded. There was, in theory, competition for the honour, with some 6 or 7 cities featuring on a short-list, but Pécs, in spite of its *peripherality*, was always confident that it would be the choice. The then-mayor of the city was a major political figure both regionally and nationally and worked tirelessly to this end. Sadly, however, he was involved in a serious road accident a few months following the nomination and has been in a coma ever since. The impact of this has been huge.

What was needed from the very beginning, of course, was a well-focused effort from the city to include all potential stakeholders totally in the preparation process – above all, perhaps, local, regional and national business entrepreneurs, whether at Micro-, SME- or Multi-national-level. Their financial and psychological contribution and their visible participation were always essential and, since the Hungarian public is traditionally cynical, this would have helped to convince them that this was a worthwhile project deserving wholehearted support. The PPP (Private and Public Partnership) principle ought to have been paramount. In this effort should also have been included a solid City Marketing Office, professionally operated and with minimal non-professional interference. Information, communication and dialogue should have been constant. Unfortunately, little or nothing has happened in this respect.

The contrast with the Graz ECOC 2003 situation is striking in that, by this point, preparations were essentially finalised and construction work was, at the very least, advanced. Programmes were (likewise) for the most part completed and the public could not only see what had already happened and what was being completed, it was kept informed in detail. From the beginning, all the potential stakeholders were brought together and involved in a very positive way. The population was as enthusiastic as populations ever are, and companies had sufficient confidence to commit themselves and invest money. At the same time they were involved in the process and not simply expected to invest unquestioningly.

What has happened in Pécs is that a number of major (expensive) appointments were made - and unmade – and a great deal of money spent in a variety of ways. This has included a figure of some €1.25 million on a feasibility study relating to the major structural projects involved. This remains classified information, inaccessible to the public.

With little more than one year (14 months at the time of writing) to go before the year opens, a *totally new* (and seemingly cumbersome) *management structure* is now proposed in the wake of the departure of the chief executive of the project. This would comprise a Board of some 20 members, which will meet monthly to decide matters of any significance. The mayor and deputy-mayors, the city's chief executive, other political representatives, what is left of the old project management team (with the ex-finance manager promoted to be a notional chief executive), City Council members, one of the city's 3 MPs and a Government representative would constitute this body. It is also proposed that, under this Board, there would operate an Executive Committee headed by the City's CEO and including heads of department of the Pécs City authority. This body would be responsible for all executive action and would meet weekly.

From the public perspective, the situation is problematical. *Transparency* has never been a prominent feature of the Hungarian scene and effective *communication* is almost non-existent. Over the last year or so, certain major projects originally envisaged have been abandoned, and those which are, or may be, still alive have very unclear and uncertain completion dates attached to them. Insofar as there is any authoritative news, nothing significant will be in place at the beginning of the year. The second half of 2010 is currently being spoken of as bringing hoped-for completion dates, but it will clearly be difficult now to convince any potentially interested parties of this – particularly given present financial and organisational circumstances. Public opinion shows little but cynicism.

With hindsight, it is not easy to rationalise the attitude of the local authority and organisers. What have they expected of the public and of local business? The basic wealth of the community in Pécs is not high by any standards and the approach to such concepts, both at individual and corporate level, was never likely to be hugely positive and welcoming. Frankly, a much greater effort was needed in Pécs to achieve even a fraction of what was done in Graz. There is little point in further speculation since time is passing uncomfortably

quickly. *New, overcomplicated organisations* with little or no relevant experience have a huge task facing them if they are to rescue anything from the current situation, and the universal *lack of confidence from all stakeholders, including the general public*, is an enormous hurdle to overcome.

Hungarian counties and cities in general have rarely been able to counterbalance the dominance of Budapest, and Pécs itself is traditionally regarded as highly peripheral on the power map of Hungary even within this context. The city is not central even to the region (due to the county structure and to its natural geography) and is located very close to the national border – which is also the current EU border. Even after the accession of Croatia to the EU, this will not improve materially. Sadly, *decentralisation makes no headway*, but EU membership does raise the profile of cities and regions, making them, perhaps, more conscious of their own value. Does this, even if in a rather perverse way, offer hope for the future?

It has, of course, to be acknowledged that *the ECOC project is no more than one tool* among many, if Pécs is to become a dynamic regional centre. Is the region to become the wider Southern Transdanubia, or will it, over time, extend its influence across borders – to, for example, Osijek in Croatia – thus losing some of its peripherality?

3. General conclusion

The ECOC project is a unique, never-to-return opportunity for a city given the title, and so it is obvious that the management and organisation for the project year should be embedded in the Tourism Destination Management (TDM) organisation of the particular city concerned. Only through carefully planned, long-term strategy with a precise focus, can the expected *spill-over effect through tourism* be maximised for the benefit of the local and regional economy. To reach this aim, a more logical and realistic managerial structure might well have emerged from establishing Regional or County level Associations (*Figure 5*) – which would basically be nothing more than an Association of all settlement and micro-regional organisations operating in the Region or County. The responsibilities of Organisation Associations would include the political representation of the interests of the tourism organisations at local level and above, all forms of assistance and counselling, training activities and informatics support with the development of tourism-related software. Perhaps the most crucial task would be active participation in developing tourism concepts for the entire region and representing the tourism-related economic sector on regional and county tourism bodies in cooperation with other economic and tourism partners.

This *three–level "social" model* provides, on the one hand, comprehensive, *bottom-up representation of entrepreneurs* in county-level tourism, whilst, on the other hand, it is an efficient communicator of tourism development from the Region or County to the business sector. This model provides the Region or County as a tourism destination with a firm social background, protecting entrepreneurial interests and involving settlement resources in formulating tourism within the region (Bakucz, 2008).

It would be both desirable and practical to create a micro-regional association office at the very outset, since this can be the first step in establishing the tourism DMO system before the actual organisations are established in the settlements, whilst the existing (efficient) Tourinform Offices could serve as the foundation of future micro-regional association offices.

Figure 5 Association of Regional or County level Associations
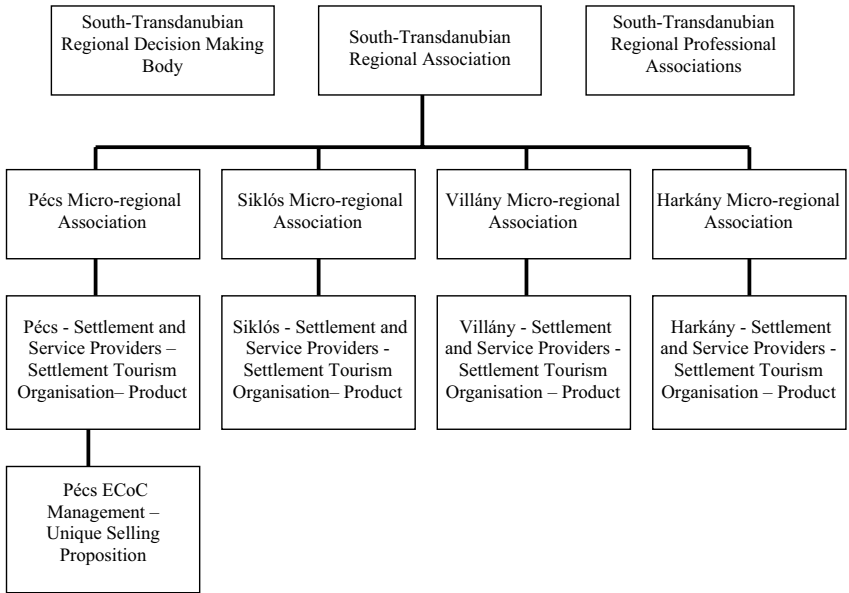
Source: The author's own chart.

The fourth level is suggested by the author in the unique case of Pécs and the ECOC year. This extra layer of management is for a limited period only, and would be assigned to exploiting the city's unique selling proposition in that year. It should, nevertheless, be subordinate to the city-level organisation, but with a great opportunity to support sustainable tourism and economic development in the city.

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BUILDING THE FUTURE BY MEASURING CULTURAL IMPACTS:
ISTANBUL ECOC 2010 URBAN REGENERATION THEME

İmge AKÇAKAYA and Özlem ÖZÇEVİK

Abstract Due to the changing economic, environmental and social conditions as well as the dynamic human needs the notion of urban regeneration employs the urban planning agenda increasingly. Current era of globalisation and the trend of free movement in Europe, on the other hand, encourage the interaction between the European states and societies, enabling the cultural similarities and differences be used as a tool for strengthening this interaction. At this point culture has been reinvented as a triggering, evoking and attractive instrument within the framework of urban regeneration policies and programmes. This is primarily because culture can be a critical focus for effective and sustainable urban regeneration with its social, physical and economic dimensions. The aim of this paper is to examine culture's contribution to urban regeneration in the European context, particularly through the European Capital of Culture (ECOC) programme as an important culture-led urban regeneration catalyst, in order to derive lessons for Istanbul on the way to host ECOC in the year 2010. Upon this purpose the paper examines the case of Zeytinburnu Culture Valley Project as a culture-led urban regeneration initiative in Istanbul, to propose a strategic approach for testing measurable culture related variables, which have an impact on urban regeneration. Thus, the main arguments of theoretical inputs and the case study are compiled in the paper to provide guiding recommendations for Istanbul ECOC 2010 to support the practical implementation of culture driven regeneration programmes.

Keywords: culture, urban regeneration, impact measurement, Istanbul, European Capital of Culture

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1. **Introduction**

In the last few decades, European regeneration practice is integrated and supported through particular concepts. Being one of them, culture is increasingly seen as a useful catalyst for urban regeneration while cultural policies in Europe are considered as a tool to influence and shape urban policy and strategies, which lead to prosperous reflections reviewed and followed throughout the world. This intention finds itself largely in the scheme of the European Capital of Culture (ECOC) programme, which recently has a special meaning for Istanbul due to the ECOC designation. Thus, the aim of this paper is to examine culture's contribution to urban regeneration in the European context, particularly through the ECOC programme as an important

culture-led urban regeneration catalyst, in order to derive lessons for Istanbul on the way to host ECOC in the year 2010.

According to the above mentioned goal the literature research which is expounded in the literature review of the paper explores the concept of urban regeneration within European context in the means of concept definitions and policy review, and adds the dimension of culture to urban regeneration by exploring its contribution and the methods to measure its impacts. The discourse is advanced to examine ECOC as a reference for this interaction and impact of culture on urban regeneration. Third section overviews Istanbul ECOC 2010 with an emphasis on the need of effective assessment of the impacts. In the case study part, measurable qualitative culture related variables are tested in Zeytinburnu Culture Valley Project, a culture-led regeneration scheme in Istanbul, towards achieving guiding recommendations for impact assessment of Istanbul ECOC 2010. The paper is concluded with the general evaluation of implications from the international reference and the case study.

2.   Literature Review

2.1   Interaction between urban regeneration and culture

It is possible to set various types of definitions for "urban regeneration" most of which show fundamental similarities. The term initially denoted land reclamation or rectifying severe urban decay and it is now popular in relation to urban design and planning (DETR, 2000; Amin et al., 2002; DCLG, 2003). In widely accepted means, the term urban regeneration has been defined as the transformation of an urban area that suffers from physical, social and/or economic decline (DCMS, 2004; Evans, 2005). It can also be 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 (LGA, 2000). Throughout the 1980s it gained a general usage largely within urban policy and social initiatives, and most regeneration concerned de-industrialised urban areas.Indeed, while regeneration operations involve many areas of public intervention, an increasing number of cities in Europe are looking at cultural, retail and entertainment redevelopments to attract people back into the city (Bassett, 1993; Zukin, 1995; Bianchini, 1999; Law, 2000). A great deal of attention has been given in recent years to the use of arts and culture as a means of bringing about 'holistic' urban regeneration outcomes (Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993; Ebert et al., 1994; Evans and Dawson, 1994).

In particular, European cities are increasingly using culture-led urban regeneration to improve their image, stimulate urban development and attract visitors and investment. Harvey (1991) claims that cities and their hinterlands have become stages for a continual stream of events, which lead eventually to the 'festivalisation' of the city and 'festival marketplaces'. In such a climate, cultural events in Europe are experienced as a means of improving the city image, quality of life and the sense of pride and belonging.

Reviewing the evolution of urban regeneration in Europe in the process beginning in the late 1940s, it is possible to state that there has been a concerted political effort in Europe at national, regional and local policy levels to integrate urban regeneration and cultural elements. The UN Habitat report 'The State of the World's Cities' (UNCHS, 2004) states that global urban change is now characterised by alignments of economic and social with cultural forces. Hence, in many parts of the world, cultural facilities and activities are increasingly being exploited as a 'driver', or at least an important player, in physical, economic and social regeneration (IFACCA, 2006). Based on this discourse, it is possible to state that culture has become a central focus to urban regeneration schemes throughout Europe.

2.2   European Capital of Culture: A catalyst for urban regeneration

Examining the interaction between urban regeneration and culture within European context requires exploring the European City of Culture (ECOC) programme as an important catalyst for the practical implementation of this interaction. In the European context, the significance of the connection between cities and culture has been taken up not just by local, regional and national levels of governance but also by the European Union (EU). The most visible initiative in this regard was the decision of the European Commission in 1985 to introduce its ECOC programme (European Commission, 1985).

The programme provided for the title of City of Culture to be awarded annually to an individual city, enabling it to act as a focus for artistic activity, cultural excellence and innovation (Griffiths, 2006). The

concept of the ECOC was initiated by Ministers responsible for cultural affairs within the European Community. The prestigious title of ECOC became an opportunity for city competitiveness on a wider basis, though 'the original intention of the designation had been educational, to encourage an awareness of cultural links' (McCarthy, 2002).

The European Cultural Capital event was designed to "help bring the peoples of the member-states of the EU closer together" through the "expression of a culture which, in its historical emergence and contemporary development, is characterized by having both common elements and a richness born of diversity" (European Commission, 1985). Overall, the ECOC programme was designed to reflect the cultural positioning of the EU as a 'unity in diversity', with each host city displaying its own local or national culture as well as the shared elements of European culture (Richards and Wilson, 2004). The promotion of a shares European culture has possibly become an important aspect of EU policy in recent years; since culture is considered as an important 'glue' which brings the EU member and candidate states together.

In the official source of ECOC (ec.europa.eu) it is stated that "the long-term development potential of the ECOC designated cities can take different forms, each one depending on the city's special features, strengths and weaknesses: infrastructure can be one of the aspects of this development, of course, that it continues to be used appropriately after the year in question, but it must also include the projects, networks and organisations which endure after the ECOC year, the image of the city, its positioning in terms of tourism, etc." All these effects can also be combined through, for example, a long-term policy of urban regeneration through culture. Griffiths (2006) supports this statement by stressing that the ECOC programme has been a significant vehicle for urban regeneration, specifically for culture-led regeneration.This view is evidenced in the three main areas of intervention of ECOC mentioned by Balsas (2004):

1. urban regeneration;
2. upgrade and construction of cultural facilities, and
3. cultural events.

In this way, the prestigious designation of the ECOC allows European cities to capitalize on cultural events to implement regeneration operations (Hughes, 1998; Hall, 2000; Hitters, 2000; Richards, 2000; Balsas, 2004). Certainly such a window of opportunity should be applied and evaluated with effective tools to benefit from all its features beyond programme duration.

2.3   Measuring the impact of culture on urban regeneration

The above literature review provides evidence for the vitality of usage of culture in regeneration areas, which awaits to be improved either culturally or physically, socially and economically. In order to restore these conditions, urban regeneration practices involving culture component, which aim to improve quality of life including economic, social and physical needs are required to be assessed and measured. This claim is supported by the fact that planners, architects, developers, artists and public authorities are probably more aware than they were of the importance of considering impacts in the regeneration process and of doing this in a systematic way.

In his article 'Measure for Measure: Evaluating the Evidence of Culture's Contribution to Regeneration', Evans (2005) compiles the methods to measure and evaluate the impact of culture on urban regeneration, starting with the most common:

1. Advocacy and promotion;
2. Project assessment;
3. Project evaluation;
4. Programme evaluation;
5. Performance indicators;
6. Impact assessment, and
7. Longitudinal impact assessment.

In reviewing these methods it is seen that some of these methods enable short-term assessment, while some show the intent to concentration on the sustainability of the culture's impacts. Among these, "the notion of 'longitudinal impact assessment method' which releases beneficial inputs for the city and its inhabitants that are able to survive and develop beyond completion of the project is increasingly seen as a key measure of success within culture focused urban regeneration programmes of Europe", as stated by Garcia (2005). This

method requires measurement of cultural indicators, and thus the impact of culture, before, during and after the regeneration programme. By this way longitudinal impact assessment studies provide support for monitoring the progression of impacts and legacies in the long term to release optimum benefits of urban regeneration schemes.

This concept is supported by the nature of large scale culture-led urban regeneration cases which leads a fragmented process that takes place over several years, perhaps a generation or more (Evans and Shaw, 2004). Again, Evans (2005) compiles such cases in EXPO (Seville 1992, Lisbon 1998), Olympics (Barcelona 1992) and other programmes like UNESCO Culture Forum 2004, and the regeneration activities in London, Toronto and Newcastle-Gateshead. Still, the most remarkable evidence for the use of longitudinal impact assessment is the ECOC programme with popular examples of Glasgow 1990, Lisbon 1994, Rotterdam 2001, and the current successful scheme of Liverpool 2008 with its special impact assessment programme, Impacts 08.

3.   Istanbul ECOC 2010 as a new catalyst of urban regeneration

As followed in the previous section, ECOC is introduced as a new catalyst for urban regeneration depending on the opportunity of achieving long-term success by longitudinal impact assessment studies. Coming to the national reference a same opportunity appears in Turkey with ECOC award conferred to Istanbul for the year 2010 (Figure 6).

< insert Figure 6 here >

The decision taken in 2000 enabled the title of ECOC to be extended to include cities in countries, which were not members of the European Union during the period 2005-2019 (Palmer, 2004). This created the opportunity for Istanbul to apply for the title of European Capital of Culture 2010. In the same year the Istanbul ECOC Initiative Group, comprising 13 non-governmental organizations, began to work on the ECOC 2010 proposal. The initiative group of Istanbul ECOC 2010, which has been expanded through the inclusion of members of the city's cultural and artistic communities, academicians, administrators and representatives of new NGOs, prepared, with the support of the Prime Ministry, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the Ministry for Culture and Tourism, the Istanbul Governorate, the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Mayor's Office, a joint dossier for Istanbul to be chosen as European Capital of Culture (www.istanbul2010.org). The dossier, entitled "Istanbul: City of the Four Elements" was presented to the Council of Europe General Directorate for Education and Culture in Brussels on 13 December 2005 and the title was delivered to Istanbul in 2006 by the directorate.

As stated in the official web site of Istanbul ECOC 2010 (www.istanbul2010.org) the principal goal of Istanbul 2010 is to carry out a comprehensive urban development project through arts and culture, and reveal Istanbul's cultural wealth as a huge inspirational source for the whole world. Parallel to this goal Istanbul 2010's mission can be explained under five categories (Table 6).

Table 6 Summary of the mission statement of Istanbul ECOC 2010 initiative

Urban regeneration	increasing individual contributions to urban regeneration by encouraging more Istanbul residents to participate in arts and culture projects; providing better ways of living together by benefiting from the inquisitive, exploratory, analytical, contributive nature of arts and culture.
Cultural heritage	supporting projects which will enrich city's urban character and increase its cultural output; reinforcing the coordination between cultural, natural and urban heritage preservation projects implemented under Istanbul 2010.
Cultural and artistic infrastructure	investing in artistic and cultural platforms which will contribute to all types of artistic performance, arts exhibitions, libraries, education and media that in turn will increase residents' participation.
Multiculturalism	transmitting the traditional and cosmopolitan values to other European capitals which have witnessed ethnic, religious, social conflicts; creating and implementing projects to augment multicultural exchanges; rendering Istanbul a cultural attraction point that unites people from different artistic and cultural backgrounds.
Cooperation teamwork	implementing interdisciplinary arts and culture projects with various actors; prioritizing projects which will emphasize collaboration between public sector, municipal government bodies, civil society organizations, educational institutions, and independent arts organizations; presenting such projects as exemplary projects for optimal democratization in decision making and endorsement of project execution culture in the city.

Source: Istanbul ECOC 2010 Initiative, 2005

Inspired by Aristotle's theory of the four elements, Istanbul ECOC 2010 programme is built around the four elements of the universe, which have a special meaning to Istanbul (ECOC, 2006): "Earth" refers to tradition and transformation; "Air - heaven sent" will bring local and foreign musicians together. "Water - the city and the sea" will focus on a multitude of activities on the Bosphorus and "Fire - forging the future" will focus on modern arts and events for large parts of its population (Figure 7). By this way, the activities planned to take place during the ECOC year are associated within the concept of four elements.

< insert Figure 7 here >

3.1 Raising need for the impact assessment of regeneration scheme in Istanbul ECOC 2010

Based on the above mentioned mission statement and several culture and arts projects related to the theme of four elements, seven urban regeneration projects in Istanbul, some already ongoing and some at the planning stage, were assigned as regeneration projects within the scope of urban regeneration efforts of Istanbul ECOC 2010:

1. Associazione Palatina/Sultanahmet Rehabilitation Project;
2. Beyoğlu Rehabilitation Project;
3. Fener-Balat Assessment/Sampling Project;
4. The Revival of the Historic Bazaar of Kadıköy;
5. Zeyrek: Historical Houses Restoration;
6. Kamondo Mausoleum and Non-Moslem Cemetery Restoration Project, and
7. Zeytinburnu Culture Valley Project.

These projects are introduced within different aspects according to the project concept, but it is possible to compare them according to project goals objectives, project location and partners involved in the administration and execution of the projects. Urban regeneration activity in Sultanahmet Rehabilitation Project concerns stimulating historic identity, social perceptions and economic conditions. In Fener-Balat

Assessment/Sampling Project regeneration activity focuses on physical definition of circulations, economic improvement, participative actions and project management issues. The urban regeneration project of the Revival of the Historic Bazaar of Kadıköy handles creating a model to sustain historical integrity. However, urban regeneration programme of Zeytinburnu Culture Valley Project involves the three dimensions of urban regeneration – physical, economic and social regeneration - with an additional emphasis on the cultural focuses located in the project area, combining all these issues to form a 'culture valley' adjacent to the historic walls of Istanbul.

As attended in the literature review section, in culture-led urban regeneration schemes, especially the ones within ECOC programme which focuses mainly on cultural implications and benefits, assessment of the impact of culture on urban regeneration gains particular importance. Only by this way can the regeneration programmes be systematically overviewed and criticized in relation to any type of interaction with culture. Certainly, the same condition counts for the Istanbul ECOC 2010 programme. This is why such measurement is tested in the case of Zeytinburnu Culture Valley Project, which is one of the urban regeneration projects defined in Istanbul ECOC 2010 application book. Thus, a guiding experiment is delivered either to Istanbul ECOC 2010 or other culture-led urban regeneration initiatives in Istanbul and elsewhere.

4.   The case of Zeytinburnu Culture Valley project

The aim of the case study is to propose a strategic approach for testing measurable culture related variables, which have impact on urban regeneration in order to introduce a guiding set of expected impacts for the urban regeneration programme of Istanbul ECOC 2010. By this way, this study intends to support effective usage of measurement and evaluation techniques in urban planning process.

Looking at the district scale, Zeytinburnu is an advantageous settlement due to its location and closeness to central districts of Istanbul (Figure 8). The district is located at the western side of the province of Istanbul, covering a total of 1142 hectares; and connected to the E-5 highway and the Bosphorus Bridge. It is also possible to access TEM (Trans European Motorway) and thus also to Fatih Sultan Mehmet Bridge. Therefore it is an important window of Istanbul opening to the outer world. Zeytinburnu District was governed by the Fatih Municipality in the east and the Bakırköy Municipality in the west until 1953, but became a municipality in 1953, and in 1957 became the 14th district of Istanbul where there exist 32 districts today. At the latest census of the year 2000 the district's population reached to approximately 247,700 while Istanbul's population is about 10 millions according to the same census within an area of approximately 520,000 hectares.

< insert Figure 8 here>

Being a first focus of illegal settlements in Turkey and sheltering major portion of the migration to Istanbul, Zeytinburnu has lacked a proper urbanization process and thus, today suffers from a densely and unqualified development (Özçevik et al., 2007). This negative picture is faced as a threat in the sustainability of social, physical and economic benefits. Zeytinburnu Municipality has worked on several strategic actions in order to implement 'urban regeneration activities' which aim to solve these problems that came up on the agenda, and to integrate those activities within urban planning framework. The most remarkable effort in this respect is the Zeytinburnu Culture Valley Project, which was initiated in 2006.

Zeytinburnu Culture Valley Project area is adjacent to the west of historic peninsula, bordered by D-100 (E-5) highway at the north. At the district scale, the area is located at the east side of Zeytinburnu, covering a total of 240 hectares (Figure 9).

< insert Figure 9 >

Zeytinburnu Culture Valley area is a historic zone where Ottoman legions deployed during the conquest of Istanbul followed by several other historic events. Project area encloses important cultural values and settlements surrounding these, cemeteries of Muslim, non-Muslim and historic entities, and historic area of outer city walls. Due to existence of these historic and cultural values, the project area was proclaimed as 'protected area' by the Istanbul Board of Protection of Cultural and Natural Values (No. 1) on 19/06/1981 with decision number 12850. Later on, Culture Valley Project area was suggested as a renewal area by the decision of councils of Zeytinburnu Municipality and Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. As a result of negotiations, the project area was proclaimed as a renewal area upon decision of Council of Ministers dated 24/05/2006 (decision number 2006/10502) and approval of President, and issued in Official Newspaper dated 23/06/2006.

Within this legal framework, project phases and programmes were determined by the Council of Zeytinburnu Municipality with decision number 2006/63, dated 08/09/2006:

Phase 1: Rehabilitation of Cultural Axis
Phase 2: Development Area
Phase 3: Renewal Area
Phase 4: 700. Yıl Park and Surrounding
Phase 5: Regeneration Area

The five project phases as a whole constitute the urban regeneration activity within Culture Valley Project, whereas Phase 1, namely 'Rehabilitation of Culture Axis', constitutes the spine of the whole by hosting the four cultural focuses (Figure 10). Cultural activities accumulating around these focuses transform the urban regeneration activity of Culture Valley Project into a culture-led urban regeneration scheme in this respect.

< insert Figure 10 here >

So far, measurement of culture's impact for successful culture-led urban regeneration projects has been evidenced to be a necessity. For that reason, execution of an impact assessment study over Zeytinburnu Culture Valley Project, which is already a part of the Istanbul ECOC 2010 regeneration programme, will undoubtedly provide a sample for the future success of the city. Hence, cultural indicators are to be developed and tested to reveal the expected the impacts of culture; and outcomes of the measurement should be evaluated to reveal impact expectations of such culture-led urban regeneration programmes.

Development of cultural indicators for Culture Valley Project requires considering the existing literature and cases as well as the specific conditions of the study area. In this context, the two theoretical studies of Matarasso (1997) and Evans (2005) that are derived from cultural indicators literature, and the practical cultural indicators of Liverpool Impacts 08 model (2007) which currently continue to be developed within the ongoing research programme will be examined at this part of the study.

Thus, before extracting the case study indicators it is necessary to review these three indicator lists together. A comparison table below is provided for this purpose (Table 7). Four types of regeneration and six areas of impact are defined by Impacts 08 model and sustained in this table as well as in the grouping used in the case study to help develop a common understanding of the cultural indicators and to allow comparison. Indicator definitions are developed upon the same respect according to the three mentioned studies.

As is known, cultural indicators can be qualitative and quantitative. All three cases compared above depend on both types of indicators at different weights. In this study, the case of Culture Valley Project conducts qualitative measurement by addressing the survey questions to local residents. The reason behind this is the aim to enable an understanding on the perception and expectation of Culture Valley inhabitants on the relation between the project and the areas they live in. Thus, the cultural indicators asked to respondents just like their answers will be subjective, in other words, qualitative.

Table 7 Comparison of indicator definition by Matarasso (1997), Evans (2005), and Liverpool Impacts 08 Programme (2007)

	Area of impact	Indicator definition	Matarasso (1997)	Evans (2005)	Impacts 08 (2007)
Cultural Regeneration	The city's cultural system	▪ Involvement of public	✓	✓	✓
		▪ Interest towards cultural activities	✓	✓	✓
		▪ Setting an example for other cities	✓	✓	
		▪ City/district vision on culture	✓	✓	
			✓		
		▪ Organisational capacity			✓
		▪ Community capacity			
		▪ Intercultural contact and collaboration			
Social Regeneration	Cultural access and participation	▪ Community cooperation and networking	✓		✓
		▪ Effective public participation	✓	✓	✓
		▪ Involvement of volunteers	✓		
		▪ Contact between the generations	✓	✓	✓
		▪ Rehabilitation of adults/children/unhealthy	✓	✓	
		▪ Need of enjoyment	✓		
		▪ Creativity impulsion			
	Image, identity and sense of place	▪ Liveability	✓	✓	
		▪ Image and reputation of the area	✓	✓	✓
			✓		✓
		▪ Pride and sense of belonging	✓	✓	
			✓		
		▪ Meeting cultural expectations			
		▪ Understanding of different perspectives			
Physical regeneration	Physical infrastructure and sustainability	▪ Cultural emphasis in the plan		✓	
			✓	✓	✓
		▪ Proposed functions (housing, commerce, public spaces etc.)		✓	
				✓	✓
		▪ Transportation network			
		▪ Accessibility (public transport/private)	✓	✓	✓
		▪ Security concerns			
	Philosophy and management of the process	▪ Public confidence on project management	✓		
		▪ Managerial level informing for public on the process	✓		
		▪ Partnerships		✓	✓
Economic regeneration	Economic impacts and processes	▪ Job creation and employment	✓	✓	✓
				✓	
		▪ Land values		✓	✓
		▪ Funding provision	✓	✓	✓
		▪ New business areas			

As a result, the indicator definitions, supported by the above-mentioned indicator development studies, are to be adapted to Culture Valley Project. However, the condition of determining area based specific indicators requires development of new definitions from the uniqueness of the area. Below is the set of Culture Valley Project indicator definitions developed on the basis of the focuses of above cases (Table 8).

Table 8 Cultural indicator grouping and definition for Culture Valley Project

1. CULTURAL REGENERATION City's cultural system ▪ Involvement of public ▪ Interest towards cultural activities ▪ Setting an example for other cities ▪ City/district vision on culture ▪ Local government and public capacity ▪ Sociability within district in general ▪ Intercultural contact and collaboration	3. PHYSICAL REGENERATION Physical infrastructure and sustainability ▪ Cultural emphasis in the plan ▪ Proposed functions (housing, commerce, accommodation, public spaces, green spaces) ▪ Transportation network ▪ Accessibility (public transport/private) ▪ Parking spaces ▪ Security concerns Philosophy and management of the process ▪ Public confidence on project management ▪ Managerial level informing for public on the process ▪ Partnerships
2. SOCIAL REGENERATION Cultural access and participation ▪ Community cooperation and networking ▪ Effective public participation ▪ Involvement of volunteers ▪ Representation of different cultures ▪ Contact between the generations ▪ Rehabilitation of adults/children/unhealthy ▪ Need of enjoyment ▪ Creativity impulsion Image, identity and sense of place ▪ Cultural leadership in regional competitiveness ▪ Positive perception of project ▪ Liveability ▪ Image and reputation of the area ▪ Pride and sense of belonging ▪ Meeting cultural expectations ▪ Understanding of different perspectives	4. ECONOMIC REGENERATION Economic impacts and processes ▪ Job creation and employment ▪ Land values ▪ Funding provision

The survey questionnaire was compiled from the above defined cultural indicator definitions and applied to 40 inhabitants living around the four cultural focuses of Zeytinburnu Culture Valley. The respondents were chosen according to their level of attendance to the public participation activities and awareness on the project enterprises taking place in Zeytinburnu. They were required to have at least a minimum level of knowledge on Zeytinburnu Culture Valley Project to be able to answer the indicators.

Respondents were asked to rank the significance of each cultural indicator with a value from 1 to 5, where 5 indicated 'highly significant' and 1 indicated 'not significant'. Cumulative scores are then evaluated according to indicator groupings. Thus, opinions of respondents are aimed to be gathered dependent on the questionnaire, giving way to receive and evaluate the expected impacts of culture on urban regeneration.

As a result of the statistical evaluation of the findings the median vales for variables of the six impact areas indicate, that all of them are expected to be considered within culture-led urban regeneration activity of Culture Valley Project. Among these the impact areas concerning the cultural system within case study area; cultural access and participation; image, identity and sense of place; and philosophy and management of the project process are considered to be of high expectation whereas the impact areas of physical infrastructure and sustainability, and economic impacts and processes are also expected to be regarded. This shows that the former 4 areas of impacts are more important than the other 2 areas. Still, there is no area of impact, which is regarded as hesitated or unexpected in the means of impact assessment.

4.1 Guiding recommendations for impact assessment of Istanbul ECOC 2010

Based upon this approach, evaluation of the case study provides a guiding set of 'keys to success' for achieving the desired impacts of culture for urban regeneration programme of Istanbul ECOC 2010 regarding cultural, social, physical and economic dimensions:

- Cultural Regeneration

Istanbul's cultural system needs to be characterized by embracing all Istanbul inhabitants through cultural and social activities; disseminating interest and concerns for arts and cultural activities through city; improving institutional and community capacity at local level; supporting city visioning by cultural activities; strengthening intercultural contact and collaboration through the city; encouraging other cities to follow cultural activities.

- Social Regeneration

Promotion of *cultural access and participation* should involve meeting cultural expectations of residents; providing public participation in the regeneration process; providing opportunity for public to involve in culture and arts activities; increasing involvement and activity of volunteering groups through cultural activities; stimulating creativity of individuals through cultural activities; supporting educational development of children; strengthening contact between generations; supporting quality of life of unhealthy people; representing different cultural identities clearly; corresponding need of enjoyment.

In considering enhancement of *image, identity and sense of place*, Istanbul should become a pioneering city of Turkey/Europe by improving image and reputation towards the city; improving local sense of belonging for the area; improving sense of pride due to local traditions and cultures; demonstrating a positive change in the image of local government; improving cultural activities as a tool for understanding different political perspectives; positively affecting the psychology of individuals through cultural activities.

- Physical Regeneration

Within the regeneration practice, efforts regarding *physical infrastructure and sustainability* should consider increasing emphasis of culture in Istanbul ECOC programme to sufficient level; using historical buildings in cultural purposes (e.g. studio, museum, gallery); developing traditional and modern commercial use and accommodation facilities due to cultural activities; designing new developing housing areas to be consistent with traditional housing pattern; organizing building height not to exceed the city walls protection limit where necessary; developing new open spaces and parks; improving transportation network; improving access by public transportation and private vehicles; improving number and capacity of parking lots; solving social problems concerning crime rate and security through regeneration activities.

From the perspective of project management *philosophy and management of the process* require securing public confidence by local government on project management; informing public by local government on project process; encouraging partnerships in execution of the programme.

- Economic Regeneration

Economic impacts and processes need to be delivered by providing support for new job creation and employment; increasing land and property values; sourcing funding for social projects.

5. Conclusion

The key to successful urban regeneration is not only about what type of change or intervention is promoted, but how it is carried out. If it is delivered in a manner, which is in accordance with the existing physical, economic, social and cultural dynamics of a place, it is likely to succeed. At this point culture is a critical aspect of mediating and articulating urban regeneration.

In examination of Istanbul's designation as European Capital of Culture in the year 2010, the opportunity to display a successful culture driven urban regeneration programme needs to be assessed. This

study analyses Istanbul ECOC 2010 in order to identify a series of lessons for culture's effective contribution to urban regeneration practice of Istanbul ECOC 2010 programme. In addition to the research perspective, in this study, these lessons are derived from the case study of Zeytinburnu Culture Valley Project, which proposes a strategic approach for testing measurable culture related variables that have impact on urban regeneration.

For realizing the guiding principles and implications mentioned above in sustainable means, it is expected to assess impacts of culture in culture-led urban regeneration programme of Istanbul ECOC 2010 through longitudinal approach. Thus, it is possible to set the proposed longitudinal impact assessment practice on a timeline, indicating the necessity to carry out impact assessment before, during and after the ECOC year (Figure 11).

< insert Figure 11 here >

In conclusion, upon the opportunity of European Capital of Culture enabling a systematic culture-led regeneration programme, the impact of culture on urban regeneration should be measured for a successful culture-led regeneration scheme in Istanbul ECOC 2010, considering the longitudinal impact assessment method which releases sustainable inputs for the city and its inhabitants that are able to survive and develop beyond completion of the project. In this way effective usage of measurement and evaluation techniques in urban planning process can be supported leading to successful outcomes that can be achieved through strategic planning of Istanbul and most urban environments.

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Figure 6. Logo of Istanbul ECOC 2010
(Source: www.istanbul2010.org)

Figure 7. An expression of the theme of four elements: earth, air, water, fire
(Source: www.istanbul2010.org)

Figure 8. Location of Zeytinburnu district at national and provincial scale
(Source: Özçevik et al., 2007)

Figure 9. Location of Culture Valley Project area at provincial and district scales
(Source: Zeytinburnu Municipality, 2007)

1.	Merkezefendi, Mosque,
2.	Yenikapı Mavlavi House
3.	Balıklı Holy Spring&Church
4.	Seyitnizam Mosque

Figure 10. Cultural focuses within Culture Valley Project area
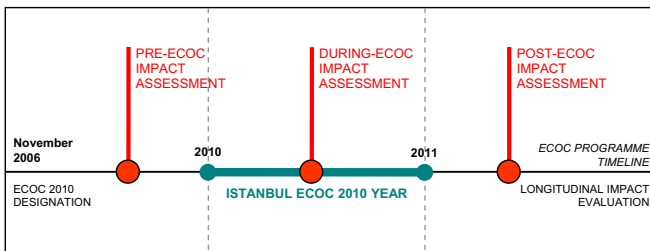

Figure 11. Longitudinal impact assessment timeline proposal for Istanbul ECOC 2010