

From Glasgow 1990 to Liverpool 2008

Retracing two decades of culture-led regeneration initiatives
and their long term legacies

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Impacts 08 – The Liverpool Model
European Capital of Culture Research Programme

Abstract (1)

- This paper discusses the long term legacy of hosting the European City of Culture title in Glasgow 1990 and compares this experience with that of Liverpool, European Capital of Culture in 2008. It overlooks the progression in culture-led regeneration narratives and strategies over three decades of UK-based cultural policy.
- The paper builds on the findings and conclusions of two longitudinal research programmes. The first, named 'The cities and Culture project', was developed within the Centre for Cultural Policy Research at the University of Glasgow between 2002 and 2005. It assessed the long term legacy of hosting the title through retrospective media and personal narrative analysis of relevant Glasgow 1990 stakeholders, and covered the period from 1986 (time of the Glasgow bid) into 2003 (time of the Liverpool bid and award announcement).
- The second research programme, Impacts 08, has been a collaboration between the University of Liverpool and Liverpool John Moores University. Impacts 08 was established in 2005 and runs until March 2010 to gather, for the first time in the context of an ECOC, contemporary data on the before, during and after of this major event hosting process. The programme involves over 35 projects that look into the economic as well as physical, social and cultural dimensions of an event-led regeneration initiative.

Abstract (2)



- The findings emerging from the Impacts 08 research reveal the complexity of interactions between the different dimensions of regeneration and the need to develop methodologies that capture the tangible as well as intangible aspects of the process in order to fully understand emerging impacts and legacies.
- This paper presents an overview of both research programmes' theoretical and methodological frameworks, a summary of findings, and some recommendations on how their research framework can be adapted by other Universities and national environments.
- Detailed information on the each research programme is available at: www.beatrizgarcia.net and www.impacts08.net



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Researching the impact of culture-led regeneration



- The state of the debate throughout Europe
 - Investing in culture to regenerate / revitalise post-industrial urban economies
 - Using culture as a catalyst : from service to knowledge economies
 - Key drivers for regeneration: major events, iconic infrastructures, city clustering
 - Challenges: ensuring widespread and sustainable benefits; evidence of impact
- Cultural policy in urban environments | **lines of enquiry in the UK**
 - social impact of the arts | community arts mov (60s), Comedia, Matarasso (90s)
 - economic importance of the arts | Myerscough (80-90s), Selwood (90s)
 - creative city (Landry, Comedia) | cultural planning (Bianchini, Mercer)
 - rise of the 'creative class' | Florida (2002), creative + cultural clusters debate
- Types of impact
 - **economic** - inward investment, job creation, tourism growth
 - *social* - confidence, aspirations, inclusion, access, participation
 - *environmental* - infrastructure development, uses of public space, green agenda
 - *cultural* - codes of conduct, image, identity, 'cultural governance'

Focus of research agenda, 20 years



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Researching the European Capital of Culture



- European City/Capital of Culture programme (ECoC)
 - EU devised initiative; conceived in 1983; first ECoC: Athens 1985
 - Conclusions from EU programme evaluations in 1994 and 2004
 - Lack of contemporary and retrospective data, poor quality assessments
 - It is not possible to compare experiences nor fully understand legacies
- Glasgow 1990: first city to actively engage in ECoC assessment
 - 1989-1991: Immediate economic impact (Myerscough, Policy Studies Institute)
 - 2002-2005: Long term cultural legacy (Garcia, University of Glasgow)
- Liverpool 2008: **first city** to commission a longitudinal research programme
 - 2005-2010: Economic, physical, social and cultural impacts (University of Liverpool and Liverpool John Moores University)

Beyond short-term evaluation



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A classic economic impact study Monitoring Glasgow 1990



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Glasgow 1990 | Economic impacts (Myerscough 1991)



- **Net economic return** to the regional economy estimated at £14.1m.
- The **cultural industries** (arts, music industry, designer trades, film & TV) were estimated to have grown by 3.9% between 1986 and 1990.
- Glasgow was developed as a **tourist destination** during 1990.
 - An estimated 555,000 trips involved attendance at arts events.
 - Overseas markets accounted for 38% of Glasgow 1990 trips
 - 71% of non-English speaking tourists during 1990 were first time visitors.
- **Cultural impacts | audience development (1986-1990)**
 - 40% rise in attendance at theatres, halls, museums and galleries
 - 1.7 people million took part in special outdoor events.
 - The programme touched the lives of four out of five adult residents in the region. 54% went to the theatre or to a concert hall; 61% visited a museum or gallery.



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Glasgow 1990 | Additional impacts



- The **image of the city** changed
 - 15% increase in belief in **London** and the **South East of England**, that Glasgow was 'rapidly changing for the better'.
 - 92% of **residents** agreed that the 1990 programme improved public image
 - 61% thought the programme made the city 'a more pleasant place to live'.
- **Non-quantifiable impacts | 'boost to Glasgow's cultural system'**
 - new **partnerships** were created between the local council and arts community
 - **international links** were developed
 - new initiatives linked art and **education and social work**
 - Glasgow became a popular place for artists to live and work.



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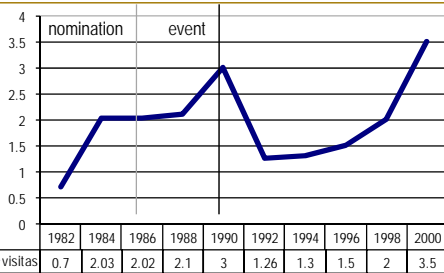
From impact to legacy | Glasgow 1990 research



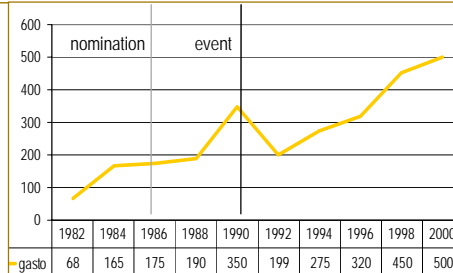
1989-1991: Immediate economic impact (Policy Studies Institute)

- Myerscough proved that the ECoC 1990 had an immediate economic impact on the city
- However, tourism trends and short term economic impact factors alone fail to explain legacy

1982-2000 Tourist Volume (millions of visits)



Tourist expenditure (millions of pounds)



- By 2000, Glasgow had a stronger tourism base than in 1990 – this is due to cultural as well as economic factors. To understand them, it is necessary to undertake multidimensional research

2002-2005: Long term cultural legacy (Garcia, University of Glasgow)

- Retrospective longitudinal study – evidence factors leading to sustained image change



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A longitudinal retrospective study Cities and Culture project | Glasgow 1986-2003



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References to Glasgow | UK Press 2003



- 'Glasgow held the title in 1990 and it transformed the city.' *Western Daily Press*
- 'The city hopes to replicate the Glasgow effect and transform its image.' *The Guardian*
- 'Glasgow has successfully and famously managed to transform its image' *Birmingham Post*
- 'Glasgow was the last British city to win the title in 1990 - transforming it from a declining area to a vibrant tourist attraction.' *The Mirror*
- 'Glasgow's reign as European City of Culture in 1990 transformed the city' *The Journal (Newcastle)*
- 'Glasgow, Britain's last such capital, which was transformed by the venture' *Independent on Sunday*

Press coverage of bidding process for
UK's European Capital of Culture 2008



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The Cities and Culture project



- Centre for Cultural Policy Research, University of Glasgow
- Background | general aims
 - de-construct the most celebrated legacy of 1990: transformation of the city's image and boost to the city's creative economy. Both elements have strong cultural and symbolic dimensions: **perceptions and identity**
 - find an alternative to economic and physical impact assessments – instead, focus on understanding the **cultural** legacy of culture-led regeneration
- Operational objectives
 - assessment of **narratives** about the city of culture – long term sustainability
 - contrast **media** narratives (constructing images); **institutional** discourses (city marketing) and **personal** accounts by local creative groups (cultural identity)
- Methods: qualitative, longitudinal (1986-2003)
 - press content analysis of coverage on Glasgow 1990 since nomination
 - archival and documentation review – local authorities, tourism bodies, development agencies, cultural institutions
 - interviews and focus groups with Glasgow-based creative groups



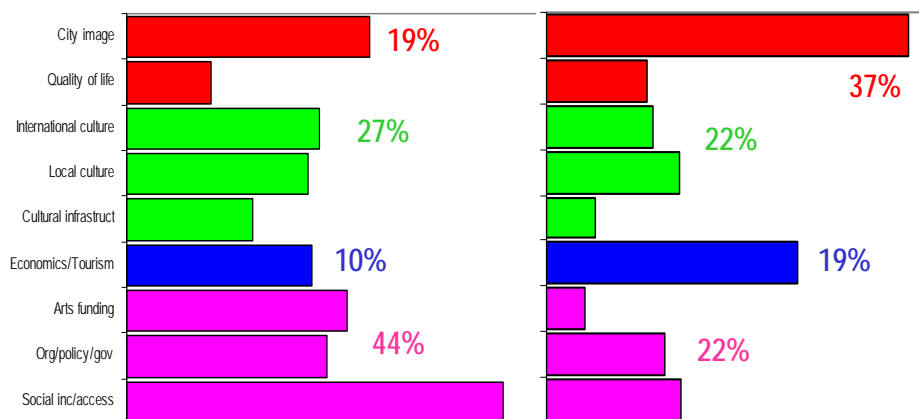
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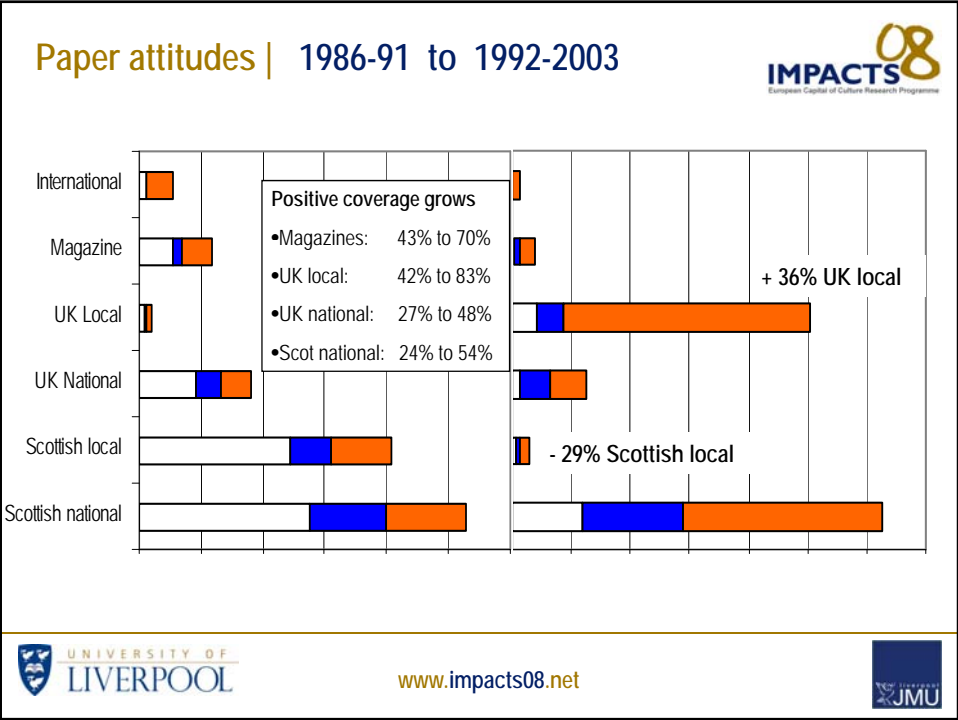
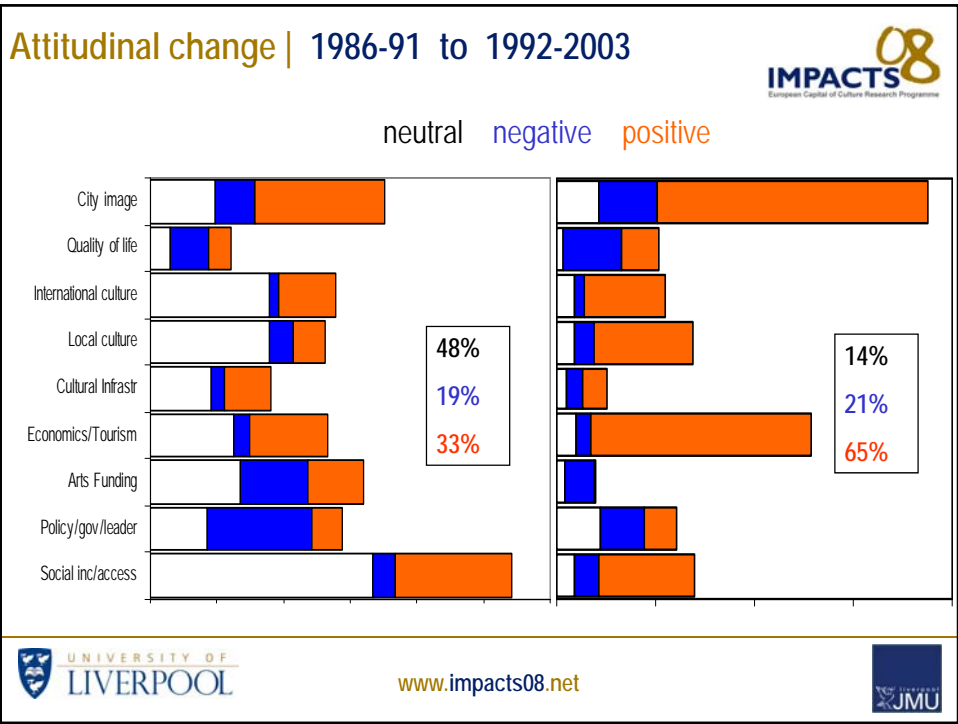


press representations Glasgow 1986-2003

Thematic change | 1986-91 to 1992-2003

City life / Cultural provision / Economics / Governance





identity legacies Glasgow 1986-2003

Personal narratives | the legacy of 1990

- Interviews and focus groups with individuals and institutions involved in the production or development of cultural meaning in Glasgow
- 1) Grassroots groups (voluntary sector, community arts)
 - “we never returned to the baseline that we had before 1990... 1990 forced us to start looking wider... We became more professional”
 - but disappointment about disbandment of support structures
“we have survived to this day because of individual initiative rather than a [supportive] cultural policy framework”
 - “we knew at the time that we were working towards somebody else’s agenda... a non-cultural agenda... It was good while it lasted, but could not be sustained. [No one in power] tried to sustain it”

Personal narratives | the legacy of 1990



- 2) Established artists and cultural venues (visual and performing arts)
 - “1990 gave us a vision and higher aspirations”
 - but Glasgow “has lost its profile” as a centre of excellence with international projection. This is because “in 1990 the arts were used as an instrument for economic regeneration” rather than as an end in itself. Today there are “other instruments available”
- 3) Creative entrepreneurs (design, architecture, music production, film)
 - 1990 demonstrated that culture can generate economic returns
 - but the event was not used to “invest in cultural production”
 - development agencies claim that 1990 provided the arguments to establish a city-specific strategy for the creative industries but creative entrepreneurs consider that the process has been far too slow and inconsistent to date



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Personal narratives | common views



- Glasgow offers the right environment for creative development
 - a strong sense of community combined with diversity and ‘edge’
- 1990 played a role in Glasgow’s cultural renaissance
 - the main benefit of hosting 1990 was that it strengthened the visibility of Glasgow’s cultural assets and brought renewed confidence to locally based artists and creators
 - but its impact must be understood in the context of other elements that are historically rooted in the fabric of the city rather than as a direct outcome of event-led or culture-led strategies



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Glasgow 1990 | discussion & lessons for the future

Discussion | image legacies

- The positive message ('success story') has survived in the long term
 - it refers to generic issues and has resulted in practically unquestioned myths about the 1990 City of Culture. Criticisms tend to concentrate on specific issues that do not survive the passing of time.
 - This shift has been accentuated by a progressive shift from Glasgow-based to rest-of-the-UK press coverage
- Over the 1990s, growing acceptance of corporate discourses
 - key messages: value of economic development from a business perspective, ie. benefits of city marketing, tourism growth, attracting conferences
 - this has resulted in an increased emphasis and appreciation of economic impacts as a key legacy of 1990
- In contrast, the social elements that were critical to the original definition of the event have lost momentum.
 - it is more difficult to identify/measure/prove social and cultural effects

Discussion | identity legacies



- Local creative groups value the experience in 1990 but feel that its long term success is embedded in the city's historical roots as a creative centre rather than in innovative cultural policies
- They regret that many of the new '1990' schemes have not survived. The factor that has been better sustained is individual confidence and entrepreneurship
- Those individuals that did not understand/benefit from Glasgow's cultural roots left the city once the event and hype was over (migration of talent)
- **Glasgow's main strengths:** sense of community balanced with diversity. This cannot be engineered from the top-down. It has to emerge from the fabric of the city and can only survive through locally rooted and sensitive cultural policy. Event-led regeneration can help promoting such strengths



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The Impacts 08 research programme



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Claiming 'impacts'... Media headlines



Experiencing 'impacts'...



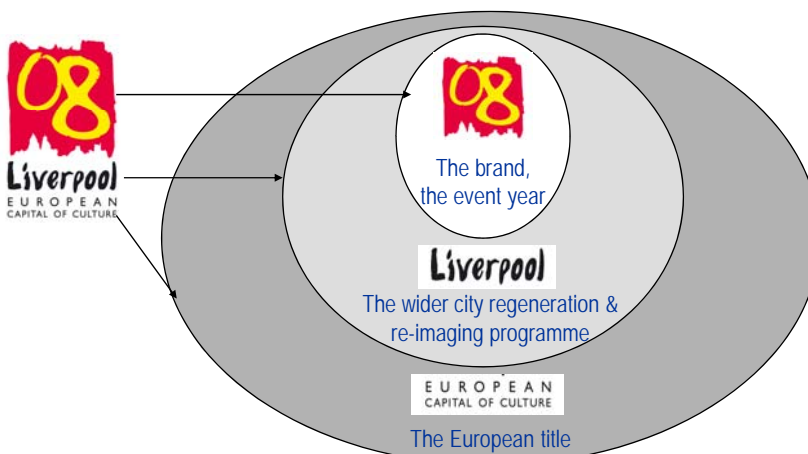
Research framework |



- **Holistic** : multiple dimensions of impact; positive as well as negative
- **Self-reflective**: analyses process as well as outcome
- **Longitudinal** : 2005 – 2010 – [2015]
- **Collaborative** : academic team, local authority funding, knowledge exchange network



Our object of study | What is the Liverpool ECoC



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Research strands | Impacts 08 projects



- Over 35 new projects covering the following topics

Area	Project title	Research Period	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Indicators	Indicator data across all themes		x	x	x	x	x
Economic growth	Business impact & engagement		x	x	x		
	Economic Impact of 08 Events			x	x		
	Impact of 08 on visitor numbers			x	x		
Cultural vibrancy	Creative industries sustainability		x	x	x	x	
	Arts Sector sustainability & Artists experience				x	x	
	World Class programme/event				x		
Access and participation	Local Area Studies - social impacts across city			x	x	x	
	Impact of volunteering on cultural engagement			x	x	x	
	Impact of culture on Quality of Life toolkit				x	x	
	AHRC/ACE Workshops quality of experiences					x	
Image & identity	Media impact- press, broadcast, online		x	x	x	x	
	AHRC/ESRC- Impact on local identity				x	x	
Physical impact	Experience of the public realm				x		
Management	Stakeholder interviews and observations		x	x	x	x	
The Liverpool Model	Overview of methods, key findings, recommendations Liverpool, other UK, other Europe, International Cultural strat, UK Cap Cult, ECoC, Expo, Olympics					x	x

Findings | Economic growth (2000-08)



Economic impacts and processes	
Jobs created in relevant sectors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • City Emp • Employm • Employm • Employm • Business Units - Creative Industries <p>Visitor growth (2002-2005) 13% (volume) and 21% (value)</p>
Skills development	<p>25.5% first time visitors in 08</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • % of economically active with no qualifications • % of economically active with secondary education • % of economically active with higher education
Levels of investment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GVA per capita • GVA % change <p>75% of visitors claim to have been influenced by the ECoC</p>
Additional visitor expenditure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • City Visitor Exp
Number of visiting delegates	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of conferences in the city • Number of conference delegates visiting the city
Hotel rooms, occupancy rates and new stock	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Total room nights sold in the city • City Hotel Occupancy (%) • Hotel supply has grown by a third since 1998 • Rooms/Bedspaces refurbishe • Rooms/Bedspaces refurbishe <p>70% hotel occupancy (81.1% in May 08)</p>



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	La Machine	Tall Ships	Liverpool Sound	Go Super lambananas
Attendance	200,000	325,000	36,000	570,000
Residents	46%	26%	36%	45%
Overnight	3%	14%	19%	17%
Eco Impact (Additional)	£2m	£8,2m	£5m	£9,6m

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European Capital of Culture Research Programme

growth (2002-2005)

Occupancy (May 08)

JMU

Findings | Cultural vibrancy, image & management

IMPACTS 08
European Capital of Culture Research Programme

Cultural vibrancy

- New local cultural networks attracting multi-million national grants
- Over 85% of national articles on ECoc events are positive or neutral
- 7,000 people employed within the Creative Industries
- From mid 1990s to 2009, 400% growth in culture stories
- over 70% of 08 event contributors are locally based (47% are professional artists)
- ECoc development of the
- Total grants given by EC
- In 2008, cultural stories dominate national coverage, outnumbering social / crime related stories
- 69% of Liverpool people interested in museums
- Local interest in cultural activities has risen since 2005
- New approaches to joint-cross sectoral thinking have emerged
- New cultural strategy for city-region

JMU

Findings| Cultural vibrancy, sector perceptions



- Greater **confidence** within sector in its ability to drive economic growth.
- Perceived **drivers**:
 - building on the **image** of Liverpool as the core brand for the sub-region;
 - developing stronger links between higher education and creative industries.
- Perceived **challenges**:
 - lack of **leadership** in the sector
 - potential drainage of local creative talent towards Manchester and London.
- Most positive impacts
 - Profile and credibility for city and cultural sector
 - Increased client base; Increased local morale
- But low perceived direct impacts (for cultural businesses)
 - No sufficient local opportunities (particularly, for small providers)
 - Focus on events over arts infrastructure improvement



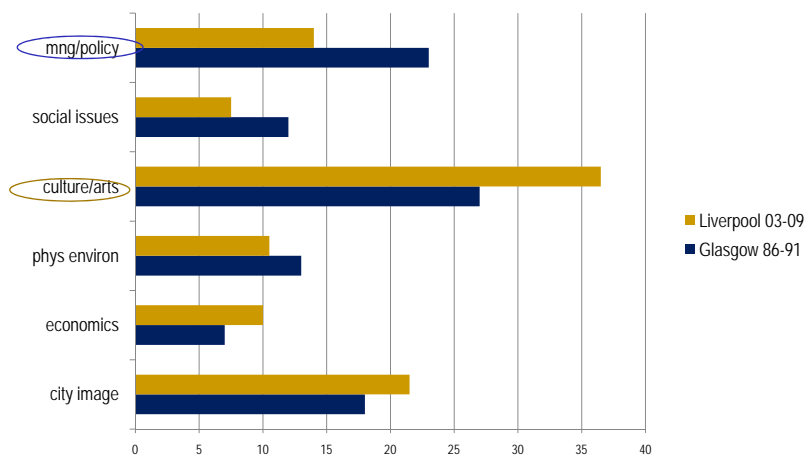
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Findings| Media narratives in Glasgow and Liverpool



ECoC specific stories – from bidding stage to end of year



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Findings| Cultural participation



Cultural participation

Number of participants and events generated by ECOC activity	• Total N	15m visits to events or attractions in 2008	Three pavilions in deprived communities owned by neighbours and praised by critics
	• Attend		
	• Events	run by ECOC organisers (grants)	
	• Number of Participants in the above events		
Breadth of cultural participation	• Artists	drawn from diverse groups as artists	Above average BME, lower socio-eco groups and young people attend 08 events
	• Propo	60% of local people claim attendance at museums (42% nationally)	
	• Propo		
	• Proportionate involvement of ci		
	• % of audience from within the c		
Number of volunteers	• Number of registered Volunteers	Over 4,000 registered volunteers, 1,000 active	are of BME background
	• Numbe	13% of volunteers	
	• Numbe		



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Findings| Cultural participation



Summary of findings



- Key impacts the European Capital of Culture title in Liverpool
 - **image** renaissance for the city and its cultural / creative sectors
 - greater **confidence** in the city and its future (residents, visitors and investors)
 - **cultural/creative** sectors accepted as key **drivers** for economic and social change
 - increased **participation and diversity** of audiences
 - some direct **economic impact** and widespread secondary economic benefit
- Large scale one-off outdoor events act as **iconic** moments for collective memory (residents) and image renaissance (media audiences)
(Liverpool best practice: the Spider, Opening weekend, Tall Ships)
- To maximise **sustainable** impact, these events must be complemented by ongoing smaller scale activity that can be more spread out spatially and last longer (Liverpool best practice: neighbourhood Pavillions, Superlambanana parade)



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Conclusions | Establishing a model for research



- The need to conduct longitudinal research to understand impacts
 - A five year programme leading up to and during the event allows a data baseline.
 - However, we cannot estimate the full impact of hosting an ECoC just the year after.
 - The most important event legacies are likely to emerge over a five to ten year period
- Combining quantitative and qualitative techniques
 - Use statistics to assess representative data / capture trends over time / benchmarking
 - Develop in-depth research to allow value assessments / support new methodologies
- Establishing a collaboration across research sectors and nation states
 - Universities working alongside data agencies, co-creating research + knowledge
 - Combining independent academic research + knowledge
 - Diversifying funding for research : from commissions to EACEA funded European Capital of Culture Knowledge Exchange Network (2009-10)
- The involvement of universities, strengthens the legacy of hosting the ECoC



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Points for discussion



- Culture can be a key **catalyst** for local development and regeneration
- **Evidence** in Glasgow and Liverpool shows that key drivers result from applying cultural incentives and investment within economic, social, physical as well as cultural/ artistic / creative policy agendas
- A key **challenge** to culture-led regeneration is the risk to take culture out of context and **instrumentalise** it for economic or social ends without attending to geographical, temporal and local identity sensibilities
- To maximise its potential and sustainability, we need to keep advancing our **understanding of synergies** as well as potential conflict between cultural, economic and social imperatives
- This requires more support to **assessment tools** that acknowledge the multiple dimensions of regeneration (*thematic, qualitative and quantitative methods*) and its progression over time (*longitudinal research*)



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Thank you

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The screenshot shows the IMPACTS 08 website interface. At the top, there are logos for the University of Liverpool and Liverpool John Moores University (JMU), along with navigation links for 'University: Home | A-Z Index | Staff | Students'. A search bar is located in the top right corner. The main header reads 'IMPACTS 08- European Capital of Culture Research Programme'. Below this, a breadcrumb trail indicates 'You are here: University Home > Impacts 08'. The page is divided into several sections: a left sidebar with 'Impacts 08' and 'University links'; a main content area with 'Impacts 08' and 'News and Findings'; and a right sidebar with 'Latest News'. The 'Impacts 08' section describes the Liverpool Model as a joint research initiative. The 'News and Findings' section mentions reports and seminars. The 'Latest News' section includes a workshop announcement and a methodology publication. The bottom of the page features the University of Liverpool and JMU logos, and the website URL www.impactso8.net.