Evaluating the socio-economic impacts of selected regenerated heritage sites in Europe

Sophia Labadi

European Cultural Foundation
CULTURAL POLICY RESEARCH AWARD 2008

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FOREWORD

The European Cultural Foundation (ECF) and the Riksbankens Jubileumsfond are happy to present *Evaluating the socio-economic impacts of selected regenerated heritage sites in Europe*, a research project by Dr Sophia Labadi (France), winner of the 5th Cultural Policy Research Award (CPRA).

The Cultural Policy Research Award was created to encourage applied comparative research in the cultural policy field in Europe, by supporting a younger generation of cultural policy scholars. The CPRA encourages original ideas and constructive approaches to contemporary cultural policy realities. It aims at encouraging young European researchers to carry out research projects that not only provide new insights into cultural challenges of European significance but also offer concrete policy recommendations.

Launched in 2004 as a joint venture of the ECF and the Riksbankens Jubileumsfond (a Swedish research foundation), the CPRA is an attempt to open up cultural policy research to new approaches and new faces: to make it more accessible by promoting young thinkers and analysts, and to bridge practice and academia. Today our support also includes the organisation of an annual *Young Cultural Policy Researchers Forum* and an online forum on LabforCulture (www.labforculture.org/cpresearchers).

The annual CPRA competition and Young Cultural Policy Researchers Forum are developed in partnership with and managed by ENCATC (European Network of Cultural Administration Training Centres). An international jury of seven members selects each year the best candidates and research proposals, based on their CV, already achieved research accomplishments, and the relevance and quality of the submitted proposal.

The award targets young researchers, scholars and practitioners (under the age of 35) from all European countries, holding at least a MA degree in social sciences, art and humanities. The six best profiles are invited to present their projects to the international jury at the occasion of the annual Young Researchers Forum. The CPRA winner is awarded a grant of €10,000 to accomplish the research project within one year.

Dr Sophia Labadi received the award in 2008 for the research proposal *Evaluating the socio-economic impacts of selected regenerated heritage sites in Europe*, using four case studies from United Kingdom, France and Poland. Her topical issue is of particular relevance to the ongoing trends in European policies for strengthening the social cohesion and integration of communities. Started prior to Europe's 2020 strategy (launched in 2010), this research makes a timely contribution to the critical analysis of socio-economic impact evaluation methods in the selected sites. It draws attention to methods of evaluation and their results, in juxtaposition with the goals

and expectations of the communities. Sophia Labadi demystifies some aspects of the 'socio-economic' impact assessment of the cultural regeneration projects that she examines, and proposes ways to improve both their planning, their implementation, and their external evaluation. We hope that this research will be widely read and that it will inform relevant policy solutions.

We congratulate Sophia for her insight and perseverance in the accomplishment of the research project, and express our gratitude to the CPRA Jury members for their devoted work without which these achievements would not have been possible. We also sincerely thank the Riksbankens Jubileumsfond and ENCATC for partnering ECF in this initiative.

Isabelle Schwarz
Head of Programmes and Advocacy, European Cultural Foundation

In memoriam, Frédérique Chantepie (1970-2010)

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This research project would not have been possible without the support of the European Cultural Policy Research Award 2008. I would like to express my full gratitude to the members of the Jury who believed in the feasibility of my research proposal and for having allowed me extra time to finish this report. In addition, I would like to thank the organizers of the 2009 3rd Forum of Young Cultural Policy Researchers, organized during ENCATC's 17th Annual Conference held in Barcelona (Spain), for having allowed me to present preliminary results of this research and for those participants who provided me with constructive comments.

I would also like to thank Marc Watson from Historic Scotland who introduced me to the evaluation of the Heritage Lottery Fund programmes and for critical discussions on the evaluations of the THI schemes. I am also indebted to the editorial committee of the publication *'Culture as a tool for development: challenges of analysis and action'* and ACTED colleagues for having provided critical comments on the earlier version of the chapter on the evaluation of the Townscape Heritage Initiative of Liverpool Rope Walks.

In addition, Agata Wąsowska-Pawlik and Monika Murzyn-Kupisz should be thanked for having sent me documentations on the evaluation of Kazimierz (Krakow, Poland). Monika should also be thanked for having accepted to be interviewed as part of my fieldwork. Furthermore, I am indebted to Catherine Cullen, Deputy Mayor of Lille in charge of Culture and Emmanuel Vinchon from Lille 3000 for having replied to my questions on the evaluation of Lille 2004, European capital of culture.

I would also like to thank all those who provided additional information on all the cases considered: Alan Reeve for having provided me with unpublished reports drafted by Oxford Brookes University on the evaluation of the Townscape Heritage Initiatives, Stephen Mills from BDRC for having clarified the visitor survey undertaken on behalf of the Heritage Lottery Fund; Gail Fawcett from the Heritage Lottery Fund for having clarified the remits of the visitor evaluation requested to BDRC and finally Thomas Werquin for having clarified his evaluation of Lille 2004, European Capital of Culture.

Last but not least, Damien should be thanked for his critical engagement in this project.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Over and over again, in much quoted research, a new orthodoxy is expounded: culture-led development or regeneration stimulates significant positive economic and social outcomes, including creating employment and strengthening of social cohesion, inclusion and collective identity.

The methodology and findings of these publications are, however, being challenged, with critics regularly calling for more robust evidence on the socio-economic impacts of culture-based development or regeneration projects and for more rigorous evaluation of the shortcomings of such schemes. Such calls for improved evaluation are also a rejection of the more simplistic assertions and grandiose generalisations about the assumed benefits of 'culture'.

This research project is a response to that call; it has the following objectives:

~ to analyse methods for the evaluation of socio-economic impacts of regeneration projects and the impacts identified

~ to highlight those impacts that are sound and those that do not stand critical analysis

~ to make recommendations for improving impact evaluations, regeneration models and for enhancing respect for cultural diversity and social cohesion.

The four selected case studies were chosen because they each underwent a different model of regeneration and evaluation:

~ The Lowry, a cultural landmark constructed as part of the regeneration of Salford, one of the poorest cities in the metropolitan borough of Greater Manchester in north-west England, which benefited from the Heritage Lottery Fund

~ Liverpool Rope Walks in Liverpool, north-west England, regenerated with funding from to the Heritage Lottery Fund's Townscape Heritage Initiative programme

~ the historic quarter of Kazimierz in Krakow, southern Poland

~ the town of Lille, in north-east France and its experience as European Capital of Culture in 2004

These projects were also selected because they represent different political and economic situations. The two cases in England reflected Britain's New Labour government's overtly positive

paradigm of the benefits of culture-led regeneration; the regeneration of Kazimierz took place in the very particular context of post-communist Poland.

Different models of regeneration were used in each case study. The regeneration of Salford Quays revolved around the construction of a permanent landmark building: The Lowry, a flagship cultural facility. Kazimierz, a historic quarter of Krakow, Poland and Liverpool Rope Walks in England – both focused on rehabilitation of their built heritage; Lille's regeneration was based on the organisation of a variety of events to celebrate its title as 2004 European Capital of Culture.

Different methods were also used for the evaluation. An external consulting firm – ECOTEC – evaluated the regeneration prompted by the building of The Lowry, using an income/expenditure framework. The university department of Oxford Brookes evaluated Liverpool Rope Walks, using baseline data gathered at the beginning of the project and an assessment of changes that had taken place by the end of this project, using questionnaires, interviews, landscape survey and townscape evaluation. The evaluation of Kazimierz was a PhD research project; it is the only place where there was no commissioned evaluation of the regeneration. The Kazimierz research focused on changes to the urban tissue, functional changes, changes in uses as well as in images and perception of the place. The impact of Lille 2004 European Capital of Culture was evaluated by an external consultant and focused on the changes to the urban fabric, the events organised and their audiences, the economic as well as the communication impacts.

First this report gives an overview of the different models and processes of regeneration, based on consumption or production or based on permanent landmarks or more ephemeral events, highlighting the importance of the continuous branding of the regenerated urban area to ensure that it continues to attract visitors and investors on a long term.

In conclusion, the report stresses the importance of regionalising the regeneration process, to ensure that its benefits are shared geographically and are sustainable. It is critical of the very broad definition of 'culture' and 'heritage' used in all four schemes which, in aiming to target as wide a public as possible, has led to an emphasis on 'spectacle' and stimulation, resulting in superficial and trivialised cultural events, sometimes not in any way connected to the locality in which they are set.

Secondly the report considers the main issues with the evaluation models and findings, which are highlighted all through this report. It draws attention to the lack of primary and secondary data available to the evaluators, which sometimes forced them to base their assessments on the broadest of estimates. Such lack of data prevented the possibility of constructing longitudinal

series of data on the long-term impact of regeneration. Focusing on the three official evaluations (The Lowry, Liverpool Walk Ropes and Lille 2004), the report shows how they were flawed by from 'optimism bias' – they were overtly optimistic in the benefits delivery of the projects.

Finally, no evidence was found linking the regeneration scheme to social cohesion and inclusion. Besides, the evaluations of Liverpool Walk Ropes and of Kazimierz confirmed that the regeneration scheme had led to gentrification.

The report makes recommendations, aimed at improving both the way in which culture-led or cultural regenerations are planned and undertaken as well as their associated evaluation (more details in Chapter 7):

Impact evaluations

~ Encourage 'ex-ante', mid-term and 'ex-post' evaluations

A combination of ex-ante, mid-term and ex-post models for the evaluations of regenerated projects should be encouraged to be developed, as well as evaluations three to five years after completion of the project.

~ Improve data collection

Data related to culture and heritage projects as well as major economic and social indicators should be collected in a more systematic and consistent manner by public and private institutions at national, regional and local levels to allow longitudinal analyses to be undertaken over time.

~ Promote qualitative evidence

Qualitative evidences and narratives about culture-led regeneration schemes should be given equal importance to quantitative evidence.

Regeneration models

~ Avoid optimism bias

The objectives and expected outcomes of regeneration projects should be more realistic. Ensuring the rehabilitation of historic centres and fighting the social and economic deprivation within them is a very ambitious goal. Spending longer carrying out regeneration projects and evaluating them would enable more positive results to be obtained than happens at present.

~ Ensure a sustainable scheme

Branding and marketing of a regenerated historic urban area should be pursued even after the end of the regeneration scheme, to ensure its sustainability.

~ Tackle economic deprivation

Specific long-term programmes involving people suffering from economic and social hardships should be identified and implemented right from the beginning of culture-led regeneration projects.

~ Ensure effective governance for regeneration

Local communities should be effectively involved right from the beginning of the identification of the objectives of the regeneration scheme and the selection of the projects, up to their implementation and evaluation

~ Combat gentrification: build mixed communities

Steps should be taken to ensure that affordable and decent housings remain for the long-term inhabitants of the regenerated urban areas so that they are not forced to move out. This would ensure that a socially mixed population can live in regenerated areas.

1: INTRODUCTION

> *Culture is a source of prosperity and cosmopolitanism in the process of international urban competitiveness through hosting international events and centres of excellence, inspiring creativity and innovation, driving high-growth business sectors such as creative industries, commercial leisure and tourism, and increasing profile and name recognition … Culture is a means of spreading the benefits of prosperity to all citizens, through its capacity to engender social and human capital, improve life skills and transform the organisational capacity to handle and respond to change … Culture is a means of defining a rich, shared identity and thus engenders pride of place and inter-communal understanding, contributing to people's sense of anchoring and confidence*
>
> (Comedia, 2003, quoted in Miles and Paddison, 2006 page xi).

This quote by Comedia - an organisation concerned with undertaking projects related with city life, culture and creativity - summarises a new orthodoxy: culture–led development or regeneration engenders significant positive outcomes. It leads, for instance to economic growth, by attracting international events and creative businesses, and the benefits of that growth are shared by all citizens. What's more, citizens are empowered through the creation or strengthening of individual and shared identity and social cohesion. This new orthodoxy reflects some results from research that has aimed to evaluate and demonstrate the positive impact of cultural projects.

As early as the 1980s, major research demonstrating the positive economic impact of the cultural sector was published: one of the most famous and quoted publication from that decade is *The economic importance of the arts in Britain* (Myerscough 1988)[1]. Although Myerscough refers to the 'arts sector', his wide definition encompasses most of the cultural sector. Using a methodology that combined surveys, interviews with professionals in the culture sector, quantitative and qualitative data as well as the use of multipliers, Myerscough showed that the cultural sector is

1 This report does not present a comprehensive analysis of previous publications on the socio and economic impacts of regeneration. For a summary of the main publications and policies, see Vickery, 2007

economically significant in its own right, a catalyst of urban renewal and that it improves the image of a region and makes it a better place to live and work. Myerscough's research played a key role in demonstrating the economic importance of the cultural sector and justifying public funding of cultural activity. It is deemed to have persuaded several local authorities to invest in cultural projects, explicitly to create employment, boost territorial attractiveness and regenerate urban areas. Nevertheless, despite the significant influence of Myerscough's study on public policy, the research methodologies and the conclusions have been widely criticised (see Belfiore, 2002, page 95; Hansen, 1995, page 309; Casey *et al*, 1996 or Lorente, 1996). The cultural sector's role as a significant employer is acknowledged, but these authors argued that it is a special one – with up to 40 per cent of those working in the cultural sector in self-employment or temporary jobs, and higher levels of unemployment than in the labour force in general, despite high levels of educational attainment. Critics also pointed to the markedly differential earnings across the sector, ranging from rather low salaries to higher levels of earnings than for other white collars workers (Casey *et al*, 1996; Reeves, 2002).

In the 1980s, the economic dimension of the cultural sector was the main focus of evaluation studies; in the 1990s research focus shifted to examining the sector's social impacts, with researchers and policymakers arguing that economic impacts were only one part of the benefits of cultural projects. Social impacts have been defined as, 'those effects that go beyond the artefacts and the enactment of the event or performance itself and have a continuing influence upon, and directly touch people's lives' (Landry *et al*, 1993). This broadened focus on both the economic and the social impacts allowed 'to start talking about what the arts can do for society, rather than what society can do for the arts' (Matarasso, 1997, page iv). One of the key publications on the evaluation of the social impacts of the cultural sector in the United Kingdom was Matarasso's *Use or ornament? The social impact of participation in the arts* published in 1997. This study aimed to gather, for the first time, evidence of the social impacts of participation in cultural projects. It created a methodological framework, based on in-depth analyses of around 60 projects, backed up by interviews, discussion groups and questionnaires with some 600 people who were organisers of cultural activities and participants (Matarasso, 1997, page 7). The study showed that cultural projects can produce positive social effects that are 'out of proportion to their cost' (Matarasso, 1997, page 81). Once again, this research was used to justify public and private investment into cultural projects. The shortcomings of this publication, however, have been widespread (Belfiore, 2002, pages 91–106; Merli, 2002, pages 107–118). Merli, in particular, criticised its lack of internal and external validity. The hypotheses could not be proved by the methodology deployed and in particular by its questionnaires. Secondly, this research lacks external validity: its results cannot be generalised because of the small number of questionnaires returned (Merli, 2002, page 111).

This brief critical analysis of two pioneering publications demonstrates the need to 'sort out the hype from the substance' (Evans, 2006, page 117). More robust evidence on the socio-economic impacts of culture-based development or regeneration projects as well as their shortcomings is required, as has been regularly pointed out over the past 20 years (Bianchini, 1993b, page 212; Belfiore, 2002 page 106; Coalter, 2001). As stressed, for instance, by Selwood, this 'lack of robust evidence frustrates the possibility of meeting the political aspirations of building up a [...] picture of the social [and economic] impact of the sector, measuring change, and indicating its relative value for money' (2002). The call for improved evaluation is also a rejection of simplistic assertions and grand principles about the assumed benefits of 'culture'. Evaluations should not take for granted the premise that culture contributes to economic development and the social well-being of local populations. This research project aims to fill this gap. Its first aim is to analyse methods for the evaluation of socio-economic impacts of regeneration projects and the impacts identified. The second aim is to highlight those impacts that are sound and those that do not stand critical analysis. The final aim of this research is to make recommendations for improving impact evaluations, regeneration models and for enhancing respect for cultural diversity and social cohesion.

Methods

My research looks at comprehensive impact evaluations of different culture-led and cultural regeneration projects of historic urban quarters. These analyses are usually based on the official evaluation report commissioned by the organisation undertaking the regeneration project. Given the time-frame for this research and the difficulty in obtaining primary data, such a range of case studies and of evaluation methods could not have been obtained any other way than by using existing reports. Secondly, since robust evidence about the impacts of regeneration are lacking, this research analysis of different evidence-based evaluations should help to fill this gap. I have assumed that much data would have been collected by the evaluators to assess whether the objectives of the regeneration projects were reached and whether there were any lessons for future projects.

Regeneration has been defined as the 'comprehensive and integrated vision and action that 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 or is, subject to change' (Roberts and Sykes, 2000, page 296). Regeneration is a world-wide phenomenon, explicitly adopted by many cities around the world (Vickery, 2007, page 13) as a response to decline, dereliction, unattractive cities or territories. Regeneration can be distinguished from other

forms of urban intervention and policy by reference to the following features, taken all together:

~ ‘essentially a strategic activity

~ focused around developing and achieving a clear vision of what action should take place

~ concerned with the totality of the urban scene

~ engaged in the search for both short-term solution to immediate difficulties and long-term approaches that anticipate and avoid potential problems

~ interventionist in approach, but not *dirigiste* by nature

~ concerned with setting priorities and allowing for their achievement

~ intended to benefit a range of organisations, agencies and communities

~ supported by a range of sources of skill and finance

~ capable of being measured, evaluated and reviewed

~ related to the specific needs and opportunities present in an individual region, city, town or neighbourhood
~ linked to other appropriate policy areas and programmes‘ *(Roberts and Sykes, 2000, page 297)*.

This publication focuses on regeneration for good reasons. Indeed, analyses of regeneration projects would best help to reply to the aims of this research through analysing whether culture can really help to bring about lasting economic and social improvements to urban areas. This project focuses on historic urban quarters that were intended to be regenerated through their cultural heritage. Cultural heritage, as a subset of culture, and in particular access to it, is often considered as contributing to individual and collective identity, social cohesion and inclusion (see, for instance, Applejuice Consultants, 2008, page 5 or Dodd and Sandell, 2001). Regeneration based on cultural heritage can also engender economic development through job creations (see for instance Evans and Shaw, 2004, page 20).

My research analyses the stated aims of the regeneration case (if they exists) and the approach

adopted to fulfil these aims. It highlights the aims of the impact evaluation and the evaluation's main outcomes, paying particular attention to widespread criticisms of regeneration projects, such as assertions that these areas have become spaces of pure consumption and have been transformed by the use of generic architectural forms, 'placeless and stylistically facile' (Vickery, 2007, p. 24). Another common criticism is that culture-led regeneration has led to gentrification, with derelict buildings renovated to attract upwardly mobile professionals. Above all the schemes have been criticised for revolving around entertainment rather than culture – hence the notion of 'entertainment-led regeneration' (McCarthy, 2002).

In order to conduct the analyses, I looked at official evaluation reports and related documentations – published and unpublished. This was complemented by interviews with people that had conducted the evaluation or people who had taken part in the regeneration. I also presented preliminary results of my research at conferences in order to invite critical discussions. All these research and analyses were then used for drawing recommendations which will hopefully be useful in the future design of culture-led or cultural regeneration projects as well as their impact evaluation.

Case studies

Four heritage-led urban regeneration projects and their related evaluations have been selected for in-depth study to allow for richer analyses and results. The first case study is the evaluation of the regeneration of Salford Quays, one of the poorest city in the metropolitan borough of Greater Manchester in Northern England, through in particular the development of The Lowry which benefited from the Heritage Lottery Fund. The second case study is the evaluation of the regeneration of the quarter of Liverpool Rope Walks – also in northern England – as part of the Townscape Heritage Initiative programme, funded by Heritage Lottery Fund. The third case study focuses on the evaluation of the regeneration of the quarter of Kazimierz in Krakow, Poland. My fourth and final case study focuses on the French town of Lille and its experience as European Capital of Culture in 2004, described as 'a significant catalyst for culture-led regeneration' (Griffiths, 2006). These projects were selected because they represent different political and economic situations. The two English cases reflected the New Labour government's overtly positive paradigm of the benefits of culture-led regeneration and the regeneration of Kazimierz took place in the very particular context of post-communist Poland. Further, different regeneration models were used in each case study. The regeneration of Salford Quays revolved around the construction of a permanent landmark building; The Lowry, a flagship cultural facility. Kazimierz, a historic quarter of Krakow, Poland and Liverpool Rope Walks in England – both focus on rehabilitation of

their built heritage, having important historic, symbolic and architectural significance. Lille's regeneration was based on the organisation of a variety of events to celebrate its title as 2004 European Capital of Culture.

Three of the cases – Liverpool Rope Walks, The Lowry and Lille – correspond to 'culture-led regeneration' projects, in which the cultural activity is 'the catalyst and engine of regeneration' (Evans and Shaw, 2004, page 5). Culture-led regeneration can take different forms. In Salford Quays it involved building The Lowry. In Liverpool Rope Walks the heritage value of a quarter was enhanced. In Lille it took the form of a wide range of cultural manifestations and events in preparation for and during 2004. As for Kazimierz, it can be considered as an example of cultural regeneration. According to Evans and Shaw, 'In this model, cultural activity is fully integrated into an area strategy alongside other activities in the environmental, social and economic sphere' *(ibid)*. Indeed, the regeneration of Kazimierz was accompanied by major economic development in the form of bars, and cafes. Another reason why I chose to look at these cases was because different timelines were used for their evaluation. The cases of The Lowry, Liverpool Rope Walks and of Kazimierz can be considered as corresponding primarily to ex-post evaluation. This is the most common type of evaluation; it takes place at the end of the project and aims to analyse whether the results obtained correspond to the objectives defined and the resources invested. Liverpool Rope Walks underwent an ex-ante (before) and ex-post (after) evaluation; this evaluation was thus conducted during the whole implementation of the regeneration project.

Finally, different methods were used for the evaluation. An external consulting firm – ECOTEC – undertook the official ex-post evaluation of the regeneration of The Lowry at Salford Quays. The evaluation was based on an income/expenditure framework that tracked direct impacts and spending by visitors as well as indirect and induced outcomes. A university – Oxford Brookes – undertook the official evaluation of Liverpool Rope Walks based on baseline data gathered at the beginning of the project and assessment of the evolution of these data at the end of the regeneration project, using questionnaires, interviews, landscape survey and townscape evaluation. Information gathered was used for the construction of a matrix of four indicators and related 16 sub-indicators as well as a balanced scorecard. The evaluation of Kazimierz was a PhD research; it is the only place where there is no official evaluation of the regeneration. The research focused on changes to the urban tissue, functional changes, changes in uses of the area by the stakeholders as well as changes in images and perception of the place. The ex-post impact evaluation of Lille 2004, European Capital of Culture was conducted by an external consultant and was based on the changes to the urban fabric, the events organised, the audiences to these events, and the economic as well as the communication impacts.

2: THE LOWRY AT SALFORD QUAYS (UK)

EVALUATING THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACTS OF HERITAGE LOTTERY FUND'S HERITAGE GRANT PROGRAMME

INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to analyse the ex-post evaluation of the main Heritage Lottery Fund's (HLF) grant programmes. This evaluation, commissioned by HLF and undertaken by a consulting firm called ECOTEC, aimed to assess the economic impacts of ten funded projects and to learn from past experience (ECOTEC 2008). First I will look at the evaluation's method. Secondly, I will focus on ECOTEC's evaluation of The Lowry in Salford Quays, Greater Manchester. Finally, a critical analysis of this project and its evaluation will be presented.

I chose to analyse ECOTEC's evaluation of the economic impact of the HLF grant for the construction of The Lowry for very specific reasons: first, this method of evaluation, based on an income/expenditure framework, is often used and it is important to highlight its advantages and disadvantages. Secondly, the evaluation was undertaken by an external consulting firm, the only one of my four case studies to have been conducted thus. This chapter and the next both focus on programmes run by HLF, which are very different, in what they did and how they were evaluated for both of them to be taken into account.

THE HERITAGE LOTTERY FUND

Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) was set up in 1994 under the National Lottery Act to distribute money raised by the National Lottery to support projects involving the national, regional and local heritage of the United Kingdom. To date, HLF has distributed more than £4bn to a wide variety of projects, which makes it the 'largest dedicated funder of the UK's heritage, with around £180 million a year to invest in new projects' (http://www.hlf.org.uk/Pages/Home.aspx). Over the past 15 years, HLF has developed a body of knowledge and evaluation on supporting the UK's heritage. Its investments range from museums to archaeological sites to historic quarter or natural spaces. According to its website HLF has supported almost 34,000 projects, in various programmes and initiatives. This chapter aims to analyse a project funded by its main grant programme, Heritage Grants.

The priorities of the Heritage Grants programme can be summarised as being to conserve and enhance the UK's diverse heritage and to promote heritage as an integral part of urban and rural regeneration; to encourage more people to be actively involved in and make decisions about the heritage; to ensure that everyone can learn about, have access to and enjoy heritage. Since August 1998, HLF was required to take into account the scope for reducing economic and social deprivation and the need to further the objectives of sustainable development in its grant-making. HLF funding

can sometimes involve quite small grants but ECOTEC's evaluation focused on projects with capital expenditure of more than £2m, all of which had been completed by 2006.

EVALUATION METHOD

For HLF, ECOTEC analysed ten projects. ECOTEC (it now calls itself Ecorys) describes itself as 'an international provider of research, consulting and management services focused on the development, delivery and evaluation of public policy'.

ECOTEC's evaluation objectives were to:

~ 'analyse the extent to which project capital expenditure was of benefit to local economies.

~ analyse the net economic benefits associated with the direct operation of the funded asset, ie the revenue, employment and (if applicable) new value added that has been created on-site.

~ assess the further economic benefits for local businesses; and,

~ review the social, regenerative and community development impacts connected to the project' (ECOTEC, 2008, pages i-ii).

These objectives were economically oriented; they did not match the overall priorities of the HLF Heritage Grants, which concentrated on the preservation of heritage and the social dimension of the scheme. Nevertheless the fact the HLF commissioned ECOTEC to assess the project against these criteria demonstrate the importance given by HLF to the economic viability of the projects that it funds. It is legitimate to reflect that an additional report could have been commissioned to assess the social impacts of HLF's ten projects, in particular HLF's priority to ensure that everyone can learn about, have access to and enjoy heritage. At the time of writing (August 2010), the HLF website lists only two reports commissioned in recent years specifically on the social impacts of their projects (Applejuice Consultants 2008 and BOP 2009). Neither refers to The Lowry. As further detailed below, BDRC Research undertook a visitor impact study at The Lowry, but its objectives are very different from a neighbourhood survey which would have assessed specifically the social impacts of the project on the local community. Contacts I have had with both BDRC Research and HLF confirmed the absence of a neighbourhood survey at The Lowry.

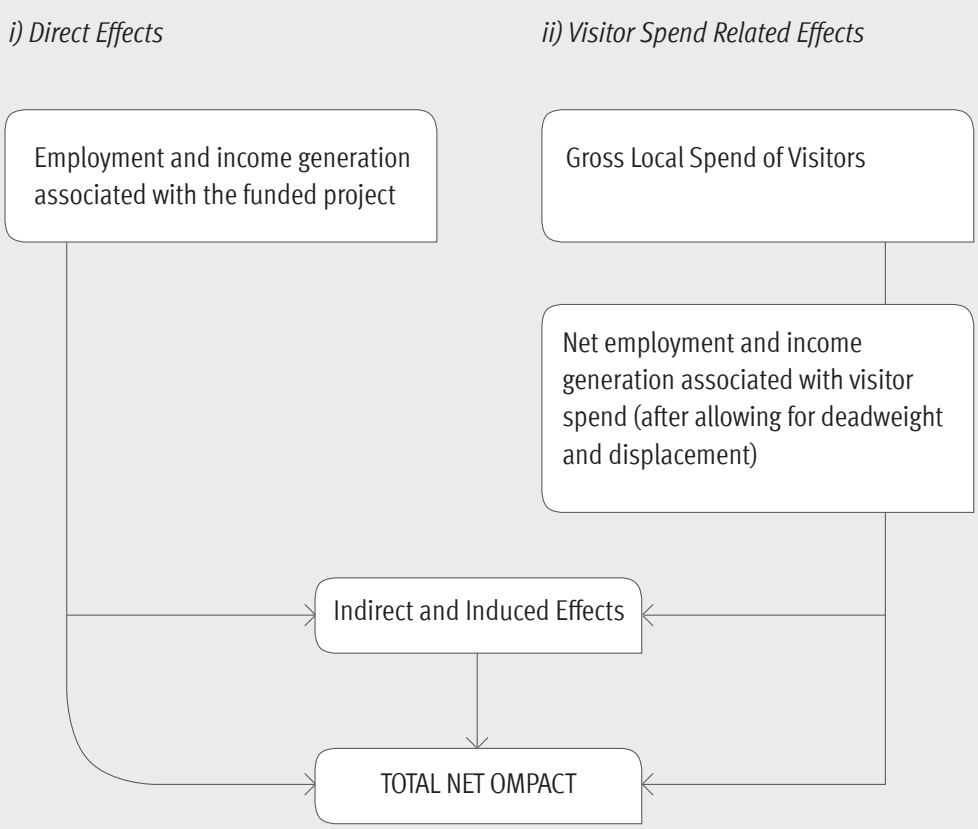

Figure 1 Basic economic impact model

The model used by ECOTEC (2008, page iii) for the impact evaluation was based on an income expenditure framework that 'focuses on a combination of:

~ the various expenditure flows which are generated within the local economy and their associated impacts on employment and incomes; and,

~ the local regeneration and development related effects of the project itself' (ibid. p.ii).

More precisely, the evaluation looked at:

~ direct expenditure, that is the funding for the construction of The Lowry translated into jobs for local people: specifically expressed as yearly full-time employment

~ how many direct jobs resulted from the existence and daily functioning of the site and its impact on income-generation

~ how much visitors were spending in association with their visits to the site as well as the net employment and income-generation associated with that spending. Information on visitors' spending was obtained from a separate survey (see below)

~ indirect effects associated with the procurement expenditure associated with the site, including goods and services for the theatres, cafés and restaurants. Was The Lowry economically benefiting local companies by buying goods and services from them?

~ induced effects – the local and sub-regional spending of all those people who obtain directly or indirectly wages because of The Lowry

~ wider impacts of the project, such as new investments being attracted to the area as a result of the opening of the centre.

In general, data was obtained from reviews of HLF information relating to project spend; analysis of project data on visitor numbers, characteristics and motivations, supplemented (in half the cases) by additional visitor surveys; analysis of a range of secondary source such as local economic and tourism data; collection of data relating to non-visitor impacts and related developments/ interventions as well as discussions with local staff and key stakeholders.

SURVEY OF VISITORS TO THE GALLERY

ECOTEC's evaluation incorporated findings of separately commissioned market research: in 2007 BDRC Research conducted visitor surveys in 60 sites on behalf of HLF (BDRC Research, 2009). This targeted visitors to The Lowry gallery only; it excluded theatregoers and patrons of the café. More than 100 (107) gallery visitors were surveyed with a questionnaire between May and August. They were asked why they had come, from where and in what form of transport, their socio-economic origins and whether their visit was a first or a repeat visit. They were also asked how many nights away from home they were spending in their visit and about where they were staying. The survey gathered visitors' opinions of the centre and its facilities, what they had expected and how much they had spent during their visit (and on what). Repeat visitors were asked about any changes they might have noticed since their last visit. For more about the survey findings, see page 24-25.

THE LOWRY

Now I will look at ECOTEC's evaluation of The Lowry, beginning with some background to the development of this space in Salford Quays, Greater Manchester.

SALFORD QUAYS

Salford Quays were parts of Greater Manchester's docks and were working from 1894 until their closure in 1982. They mark the upper reaches of the ship canal which was built to provide Manchester with a direct access to the sea. Indeed, at the end of the 19th century, Manchester had become a major industrial city, nicknamed 'Cottonopolis' because of its status as the international centre of the cotton and textile processing industries. This role and status was assured thanks to its direct access to the sea which allowed to import easily cotton, primarily from the United States, and goods for its growing population (by 1901 the population of Manchester had risen to over 2 million people), and export some of its textile and cotton production (in Victorian times, it was the world's largest marketplace for cotton goods). This access to the sea was very important and in the beginning of the 20th century, the Manchester Docks were Britain's third busiest port, mainly because of the cotton industry and other manufacturing in north-west England. Immigrants formed a significant part of the Manchester workforce, with a domination of Scottish, Welsh and then increasingly Irish populations moving into the city in the early 19th century, followed by Jewish East Europeans escaping the pogroms and Italians escaping poverty in the later 19th century. From the mid-20th century, the increasing use of containers and freight-carrying ships signalled the decline of the Salford docks. Their closure in 1982 left more than 3,000 people unemployed. The region has continued to attract immigrants – notably, from the 1950s onwards, Afro-Caribbean and Pakistani (and subsequently Bangladeshi) people and more recently Somalian refugees and economic migrants, such as East Europeans and Chinese people moving (Schofield, 2007).

BUILDING THE LOWRY

In 1983 Salford City Council bought land on Salford Quays and in 1985 adopted a plan for the area's development. Following planning permission and the award of lottery funding in 1996, construction of The Lowry building started in 1997 and completed in 2000. This space bears the name of L. S. Lowry (1887–1976) who was born in Manchester and painted distinctive scenes of life in the industrial districts of northern England, and especially in Salford. Celebrated in his

lifetime, after Lowry's death in 1976 his reputation continued to grow (McLean, 1978, page 14). One of the aims of this space is to display freeely the more than 350 drawings and paintings by L. S. Lowry owned by Salford Museum and Art Gallery. Besides the galleries for these works, The Lowry contains two theatres of 1,730 and 460 seats as well as a 180-seat studio space for performing arts. Its original architecture and design, the work of Michael Wilford and Bruno Happold, are attractions in their own right. The programmes are varied and target many audiences from children to disabled users. The galleries themselves exhibit not only the work of L. S. Lowry but also temporary exhibitions of modern and contemporary art. There is also a shop, a restaurant, coffee shops and bars, as well as facilities for conferences, private parties and weddings. To ensure easy access to The Lowry, public transport began running to Salford Quays in 1999. The opening of this space is important considering that Salford is a deprived area and was still, in 2007, counted in the top 5 per cent of the most deprived local authorities in the country. The Lowry is only part of the Salford Quays redevelopment: there are also offices, shops and the northern outpost of the Imperial War Museum, itself in a new building. The ECOTEC evaluation was, however, confined to The Lowry itself.

IMPACTS RELATED TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE SITE

The total investment in the The Lowry was around £120m. As indicated in ECOTEC's report, this amount covered not only the construction of The Lowry but also its surrounding including the Plaza, the terraced areas down to the canal, and the Lifting Footbridge leading to Trafford Wharfside and the Imperial War Museum North. 11 million was provided by HLF other funders included Arts Council of England and the Millennium Commission), as well as Salford City Council itself. ECOTEC based its analysis of the impact of the construction of The Lowry on the overall figure of £120m. It thus concerned not only the construction of The Lowry itself but also surrounding ones. 'Previous experience indicates that around one person year of employment is created for every £80,000 of capital spend indicating, that the work would have created around 1,500 person-years of employment' (ECOTEC 2008, p. 108). Not all the jobs created for the construction of this space benefited the local population. Unfortunately, there is no information about the geographical origins of the construction workforce. Despite this lack of information, ECOTEC estimated (this estimation does not seem to be backed up, so this is a wild guess) that around 30 per cent of the labour input to construct the centre was provided by local residents, which would have meant that there was, 'an estimated 450 person-years of direct employment for people living within the sub-region' (ibid).

DIRECT EMPLOYMENT EFFECT

All the jobs that The Lowry employments it has generated are a direct outcome of HLF's capital investment. ECOTEC indicates that in 2006, The Lowry employed 114 full-time and 33 part-time staff. This equates to 130 full-time equivalent posts. Of these, more than half (51 per cent) lived in Greater Manchester and a further 14 per cent lived in Salford itself and a further 51% in Greater Manchester. Thus most employees were Greater Manchester residents and The Lowry can be said to have benefited, first of all, the local population. The centre was also providing a range of short-term jobs for between 180 and 200 temporary staff.

ECOTEC reported on The Lowry's overall gross expenditure on salary costs, which amounted to £3.9m in 2006/2007 (2008, page 109). This tells us nothing about the average salary (gross or net) of those local and sub-regional residents employed by The Lowry or how much they were spending locally. Neither did the evaluation contain any details of the distribution of Lowry salaries and wages. What proportion of employees was on fairly low wages? We cannot tell. ECOTEC surely did not access precise figures on salaries and thus could not provide any of the required details.

VISITOR IMPACT

VISITOR NUMBERS

The Lowry's original business plan predicted that with 650,000 visitors a year, provided that some of these people spent money using the paid facilities such as the café, restaurants and theatres, the centre would break even. In its first year of operation in 2000, however, the centre attracted 1 million visitors and around 850,000 in subsequent years. Making access to the galleries free of charge has brought people to the site, and the variety of theatres, the cafés, etc has attracted them to spend money once they get there.

VISITOR SURVEY

BDRC Research conducted surveys of 107 visitors to the gallery at The Lowry between May and August 2007. This survey targeted only gallery visitors and excluded both theatre goers and patrons of the café. Indeed, these two populations were thought to be living locally and thus they were excluded since this survey attempted to identify additional off-site spending. This survey found that almost 6 out of 10 visitors in the sample were visiting the gallery for the first time

(ECOTEC, 2008, page 101). Out of the rest who had visited The Lowry before, around 40 per cent had visited the gallery 2–4 times. In terms of geographical origins of the visitors, around 36 per cent visitors came from Salford (9 per cent) or Greater Manchester (27 per cent). Almost half The Lowry's visitors (47 per cent) came from other English regions than Greater Manchester. There were no visitors from overseas in the sample: they tend to visit better known places such as London or the Lake District. Socio-economically, 42 per cent of visitors were skilled non-manual workers and 38 per cent were senior managers and professionals. Most visitors (63 per cent) were on a day trip and had travelled more than 25 miles to get to The Lowry Centre. 68% of the visitors on trips away from home stayed between 1 and 5 miles from the site and most of them stayed in hotels. 70% of those visitors away from home were on short breaks of two to three days duration. While the survey questioned respondents on the type of hotel (level of comfort and number of stars), no question tried to gather whether these hotels were locally or regionally owned. The survey did ask whether visitors stayed in a rented apartment or a Bed and Breakfast, but these categories did not apply to any of the respondents.

Concerning the purpose of the visit, half (48 per cent) of visitors had come mainly to visit the gallery. A significant further percentage (40 per cent) had come to visit the site and planned to go somewhere else as well. More than half (55 per cent) were generally interested in the art while 27 per cent had come for a temporary exhibition. Only a minority of respondents said that their visit was motivated by a recommendation from a friend or by a previous visit. Visitors reported high satisfaction with their visit and particularly liked the building. Almost two-thirds (60 per cent) said they would probably come again within the next year. Only 10 per cent said they would not come again within the next year: no reasons were sought as to why people would or would not come again: was it distance or quality?

Essential information gathered by the questionnaire is the on-site expenditure of visitors. Average spending was £8 per person with gifts, souvenirs and books being the largest component of this expenditure. Entrance to the galleries and the centre is free, but 11 per cent of visitors spent an average of £8 per person in admission tickets to see a play or a temporary exhibition. Around a third (36 per cent) of respondents also indicated spending an average £6 in 'eating and drinking in cafés/restaurants…' (ECOTEC, 2008, page 106). In judging the economic impact of the centre as a driver of regeneration, visitors' expenditure off-site and in the local area, must always be a very important factor. Not surprisingly visitors on breaks away from home spent on average more (£62) than those on day trips (£11). Visitors on breaks were paying for transport, overnight accommodation, and meals. On the other hand, those on day-trips tended to spend more on 'gifts, souvenirs and books' or on miscellaneous spending.

VISITOR SPEND

Considering that The Lowry attracted 125,000 gallery visitors in 2006, it seems hardly feasible that BDRC's sample of 107 visitors can be considered representative of the whole gallery-visiting population. Nonetheless, ECOTEC used the results of this visitor survey to analyse the additional off-site spending by visitors staying overnight and just for the day.The aim of ECOTEC's evaluation was to detail whether and how building The Lowry had contributed to the local and sub-regional economy. ECOTEC based its estimates of the expenditure of visitors and their associated employment effects solely on the number of gallery visitors and excluded other types of visitors. ECOTEC also excluded day visitors – who had travelled 10 miles or less – from the calculation because their spending off-site tends to be marginal. In its evaluation, it distinguished between:

~ 'local additional visitors' (travelled 10–25 miles for the day plus staying visitors who travelled 10 miles or less) and their related additional off-site spending

~ 'sub-regional visitors' (day trippers who travelled more than 25 miles as well as those staying visitors who travelled more than 10 miles) and their related off-site spending.

The first group, according to ECOTEC was contributing to the local economy. The second group was categorised as contributing to the sub-regional economy.

Using the total number of 125,000 gallery visitors recorded in 2006, and information from BDRC's sample, ECOTEC divided visitors as:

Table 1 Visitor numbers (2006)

	Local	**Sub-regional**
Day visitors	22 680	17 010
Staying visitors	18 576	20 088

(from ECOTEC, 2008, page 112)

As indicated in Table 2, a total of 78,354 day and staying visitors' spending was analysed. Using these visitor figures at local and sub-regional levels, ECOTEC analysed their associated off-site expenditure and their economic contribution to the area. According to BDRC, visitors on day trips had spent, on average, £11 per person. 'Staying visitors' spent £62 on average. Considering that most of the overnight visitors were on short breaks of 2–3 days, ECOTEC assumed that the length

of visitors' stay attributable to the visit to The Lowry was one night. ECOTEC multiplied the visitor numbers in Table 2 with the average spending of day and staying visitors to estimate additional off-site expenditure. These additional expenditures are presented in the table below:

Table 2 Additional associated expenditure (£ '000s)

	Local	Sub-regional
Day visitors	249	187
Staying visitors	1,152	1,245

(from ECOTEC, ibid.)

Using estimates from previous research for HLF, ECOTEC estimated that, on average, each £40,000 spent annually by visitors supports 1 FTE (full-time-equivalent) job (ECOTEC, 2008, page 113). Using BDRC's data on the associated additional expenditures, ECOTEC found that off-site visitor spending had led to the creation of 35 local and 36 sub-regional FTE jobs. By comparison, the other nine case studies of HLF funded schemes evaluated by ECOTEC were estimated in the same way to have created an average of 34 local jobs and 28 sub-regional jobs. The Lowry was slightly ahead of the average. These estimates of job creation do not, however, take account of possible leaks, that is, spending by visitors that do not contribute to either the local or sub-regional level. Some of the spending, for instance on accommodation, can go to national or even international hotel chains or businesses which might create jobs in other places than locally. The survey from BDRC Research does not provide any indication on the level of leaks, so it is difficult to identify the additional jobs created at local and sub-regional levels due solely to the presence of The Lowry. Furthermore, as indicated earlier, 40 per cent of the visitors did not come solely to visit the gallery. Therefore, the additional jobs cannot be solely attributed to The Lowry.

INDIRECT EFFECTS

Besides creating employment an enterprise – of any kind: office, factory, restaurant, arts centre – purchases goods and services to keep it running. It buys cleaning materials, food, light bulbs, advertising and marketing services, and so on. These are indirect effects or the procurement expenditure associated with the site. Assessing the economic impact involves assessing whether buying these goods and services benefited local businesses. ECOTEC's noted that because The Lowry's running costs had been 'double origin al estimates, it has been a challenge to maintain a

financially viable operation, particularly given the need to establish the artistic position of the theatre' (ECOTEC, 2008, page 113). Entry to the main exhibitions of L.S. Lowry's work was free, so The Lowry had to rely for income from other facilities. However, ECOTEC did not access data of procurement expenditure, on the ratio between the procurement expenditure associated with the site and related income or on the procurement expenditure involving local firms. In the absence of information on the value of procurement involving local firms, ECOTEC conservatively assumed that this expenditure supports around 2 FTE in the local area and a total of 5 in the sub-region' (ibid. page 114). The report did not show the data on which this assumption was based. Using previous ECOTEC research and results the evaluators estimated further indirect effects result from the second, and subsequent, rounds of employment supported by visitor-related expenditure: namely 3.5 local jobs and 5.5. at sub-regional level.

INDUCED EFFECTS

Induced effects are the local and sub-regional spending of all those people who obtain wages – directly or indirectly – because of a particular site. ECOTEC was not able to collect data on this. Although the total amount spent on wages at The Lowry Centre in 2006 is known, it is always complicated to assess how much those whose salaries are derived from a particular employer spend and where. The fact that people whose wages derive from a particular employer live nearby or in the region does not mean that they actually spend their money there. They might save part of their incomes or send part of them overseas or to other parts of the country. The particularities of each individual who obtains directly or indirectly wages as the result of the existence of the site makes it difficult to set up rules relating to their spending either locally or at sub-regional level. Hence the difficulties in identifying induced effects. ECOTEC estimated that 17 FTE jobs had been financed locally and 26.5 at sub-regional levels as a result of spending by people paid directly or indirectly because of The Lowry.

EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIAL IMPACT

Until 2004, no dedicated community or education facilities existed at The Lowry and education programs were limited due to capital overspent on the construction of the site. While education and community activities are often identified as important aspects of cultural spaces' operations, this tends to be the first budget to be cut. Nonetheless, thanks to a grant from the Millennium Commission, a dedicated space to education and community work was built within the centre which opened in 2004. Since then, The Lowry's community and education works have focused on

four programmes: formal education, informal education, large-scale projects and finally outreach projects in different quarters of Salford. ECOTEC reported that five full-time staff worked in this area.

The formal education programme for local primary and secondary schools is linked to the National Curriculum, and aims to explore L. S. Lowry's work through visual and performing arts activities. In 2005, there were 250 workshops, attended by around 8,000 participants. This has been completed by a varied informal education programme. This includes The Lowry Academy, providing courses to suit all tastes, ages and abilities: with ballet, contemporary dance, musical theatre, drama, watercolour painting and costume design. It also includes a Summer School, and several paying classes and masterclasses, such as vocal communication and expression. These informal education activities attracted 6,000 participants in 2005. Large-scale local projects in performing and visual arts are also undertaken in collaboration with small groups, usually from Salford. Finally, The Lowry's outreach work provides artists, resources and facilitators, in roughly 14-month residencies around Salford. The aim is to bring communities together through art and drama workshops, festivals and events and thus to help with encouraging the thriving of local populations' creativity. ECOTEC did not provide any information on this outreach work. My own research reveals that this work also aims to develop creative approaches to community development issues by working in partnership with key statutory and voluntary agencies. One example was the development of activities to increase community cohesion in Little Hulton, a suburb within the city of Salford. The result was Little Hulton's Big Weekend – a weekend of events which included a Family Fun Night, a Rock 'n' Roll Nostalgia Evening and an event on Kenyon Green. Around 1,000 people took part in the weekend.

ECOTEC also reported on the impact of The Lowry's volunteering programme, which had around 300 volunteers helping with the theatre and front-of-house operations. Most of those volunteers were retired, with around 80 per cent aged 55 and over. There was no specific link between the volunteering programme and employment or work placements at The Lowry. Further information on the volunteering program was found on the website of The Lowry. Currently, the Centre is interested, as a priority, in volunteers in the 18-24 age range. However, it does not indicate whether this is related to a social programme of reintegration of school leavers and unemployed people, or whether The Lowry is interested in these people because of their flexibility and low paid expectations. Additionally, The Lowry now recruits as a priority volunteers from Salford and outlying areas. This helps to ensure an implantation of the centre within the local and sub-regional communities.

RELATED LOCAL IMPACTS

It has been widely acknowledged that opening The Lowry had a catalyst effect on the development of Salford Quays. According to ECOTEC, by 2005, around £500m had been invested in Salford Quays, with over 10,000 people working in the new hotels, offices, restaurants and cafes or in the artistic, sporting and cultural industries. In 2001, The Lowry Designer Outlet Mall opened, with a wide range of shops, cafes and restaurants, as well as a cinema and a health club. The Lowry footbridge, constructed in 2000, crosses the Manchester Ship Canal, linking The Lowry Centre and the Imperial War Museum North. This museum, designed by Daniel Libeskind and opened in 2002, has added another tourist attraction to this regenerated area. The Imperial War Museum North's location is historically significant: the Quays were a key industrial centre and during the Second World War its factories produced bombers and engines used in combat aircraft. The area was therefore heavily bombed.

One of the last developments in the Quays was the opening in 2004 of the Digital World Centre, which provides office accommodation offering the newest information technologies. The provision of office spaces was important to the regeneration plan; the office workers would, it was hoped, be among the first users of the shopping and museum facilities. Further future development on the Quays will include a major relocation by the BBC of five of its departments, planned for completion in 2011. The arrival of the BBC is expected to attract other media, broadcasting and filmmaking companies to the area. According to its website, this new centre would be able to accommodate more than 15,000 jobs and add £1bn to the regional economy over five years (http://www.mediacityuk.co.uk/).

CONCLUDING ANALYSES

This conclusion analyses whether the aims of the HLF programme and those of the impact evaluation conducted by ECOTEC have been achieved. This conclusion will also identify discrepancies between the HLF programme and its impact evaluation. As previously highlighted there is a discrepancy between the aims of the HLF programme and the aims of the impact evaluation of this programme conduced by ECOTEC on behalf of HLF.
HLF's main priorities for giving Heritage Grants focused on:

~ the conservation and enhancement of the UK's diverse heritage

~ encouraging more people to be involved in and make decisions about their heritage

~ ensuring that everyone can learn about, have access to and enjoy heritage, and

ECOTEC's evaluation focused on:

~ the benefits of project capital expenditure to local economies

~ the net economic benefits associated with the direct operation of the funded asset, i.e. the revenue, employment and (if applicable) new value added that has been created on-site

~ the further economic benefits for local businesses

~ the social, regenerative and community development impacts connected to the project.

Why did HLF not require ECOTEC to assess its success in conserving heritage? This discrepancy might be explained by the contradictory discourses on heritage heralded in the media and political spheres, which can be considered as having influenced the role to be played by HLF. HLF's task is, 'to sustain and transform our heritage' (see www.hlf.org.uk). People look to it for grants for the long-term conservation and preservation of Britain's heritage for present and future generations. There is a belief that this will enhances civic pride, identity and cohesion. At the same time, the new orthyodoxy presented in the introduction stresses the positive and quasi automatic economic impacts of culture on local economies and employment (see also Evans and Shaw, 2004, page 20). This was eloquently stressed by Toynbee in an article published in *The Guardian,* one of the UK's major national newspapers in July 2010: 'As every party promises to rebalance Britain's economy away from finance, the creative industries are a fast-growing sector. Between 1997 and 2007, they created two million new jobs and £16.6bn in exports. Culture drives tourism, worth £86bn in 2007. Heritage sites (...), employ another 270,000 and draw in more tourists' (28 July 2010 but see also Stringer, 1993). The importance of the new orthodoxy might justify the importance of the economic dimension of HLF's projects as evaluated by ECOTEC.

Before analysing the results of the ECOTEC's evaluation, let's briefly analyse the impacts of the aims of the HLF's project in terms of the conservation of heritage and enhancement of social cohesion and identity. The construction and opening of a brand new building displaying the work of a local painter for free has helped to conserve local heritage, ensuring that everyone can learn about, have access to and enjoy their heritage (all of which are explicit HLF goals). No one could say that The Lowry has not significantly contributed to the ongoing regeneration of Salford Quays, helping to attract further development and investment in the area (again an HLF goal). In visitor numbers The Lowry was an extremely successful venue that attracted 1 million visitors in 2000, its

opening year and around 850,000 in subsequent years. The fact that the Lowry is free of charge can certainly explain this success, in my view. Another factor may be the very varied programming, which targets all tastes. This wide programming is nonetheless not without problems in some critics' eyes. The Lowry has been criticised as being an 'art complexes, comprising a bit of this and a bit of that'. Appleton criticised places opened thanks to National Lottery's Funding and stresses that it was giving priority to the bars and restaurants rather than to the permanent and local exhibitions: 'The arts programming also seems to have a something of a pick-and-mix feel about it. Comedy is shown alongside opera, musicals alongside Shakespeare. It seems as if programmers have just gathered titbits, lacking any institutional agenda to guide their choices' (Appleton, 2004).

The main objectives of ECOTEC's evaluation were primarily on the economic and then on the social impacts of The Lowry Centre. Its economic impact assessment showed 'that the centre makes a valuable contribution to the local area in terms of additional employment' (ECOTEC, 2008, page 117) and identified the amount of FTE local and sub-regional employment created by The Lowry. At the beginning of its report, ECOTEC stated: 'The findings of the research will be useful to HLF in helping to demonstrate the achievement of HLF's aims and objectives...'. There is, in my view, a clear assumption in this statement: that the evaluation's findings will be positive and will clearly demonstrate that HLF achieves its aims and objectives. This impact evaluation seems thus to be biased since the evaluator seems to have attempted to find positive results and impacts that satisfy HLF, as further detailed in the following paragraphs.

The model ECOTEC used for its evaluation focused on the direct, visitors', indirect and induced impacts. It found that The Lowry has been responsible for 130 full-time equivalent posts, mostly benefiting local and sub-regional inhabitants. However, no information was provided on the job description of these people or their salaries. ECOTEC attempted to calculate the additional off-site spending by visitors to The Lowry's gallery. Extrapolating from a small survey of 107 visitors, it estimated that off-site visitor spending had contributed to the creation of 35 local and 36 sub-regional FTE jobs. However, because this estimate took no account of 'leaks' (see page 29 for details) these figures seem to me rather optimistic. Indirect effects are an important gauge of economic impact and ECOTEC's research set out to assess them. But no data was collected, either by ECOTEC or HLF on the procurement expenditure involving local firm; ECOTEC had to make assumptions. This makes its estimate of 2 FTE created in the local area and 5 in the sub region a wild guess. In a similar vein ECOTEC estimated that indirect tourism spend-related effects led to the creation of 3.5 jobs at the local level and 5.5 at the sub-regional one. ECOTEC also had to undertake guesswork as to the induced economic effects of The Lowry. It estimated that 17 FTE jobs had been financed locally and 26.5 at sub-regional levels as a result of spending by the people who directly

or indirectly obtained wages as the result of the existence of The Lowry. The estimate is highly speculative. ECOTEC estimated the total impact of the museum on GDP at the sub-regional level at around £4.9m. This has been calculated as the sum of the direct income generated for employees of The Lowry Centre at the local and the sub-regional level (estimated wages and salaries) plus visitor spend, plus indirect and induced effects. This has led to the creation of an estimated 187.5 FTE jobs at local level and 203 FTE jobs at the sub-regional level. Much of this is very much guesswork since data was not collected by HLF, in particular concerning indirect and induced effects. This is surprising since HLF requested ECOTEC to undertake analyses of the social, regenerative and community development impacts connected with the construction of The Lowry. HLF might have wanted to obtain more precise indications of the impact of the project it finances. For this reason, ECOTEC itself recommended that a money trail analysis be undertaken in order to reveal more about where project spend goes to.

Perhaps the biggest shortcoming of the method used by ECOTEC is that it gives us no idea whether The Lowry is financially viable. ECOTEC recorded that, 'running costs (facilities management, etc) have been double original estimates and so it has been a challenge to maintain a financially viable operation, particularly given the need to establish the artistic position of the theatre' (ECOTEC, 2008, page 113). The impact of the site has not been measured in relation to what it was costing. It may be that The Lowry requires subsidies in order to survive and that these – depending on the source of them – might have had a significant impact if this meant that the money was therefore withheld from other projects such as a school or a hospital. Key information as to the specific economic impacts of The Lowry Centre at local and sub-regional levels is lacking.

This evaluation presents also shortcomings as concerns the social impacts of The Lowry, which ECOTEC was also requested to evaluate. Social impacts have been understood in this research as fostering or enhancement of individual or collective identity as well as social cohesion, based on key heritage publications (Applejuice Consultants, 2008, p. 5; Dodd and Sandell, 2001). The Lowry's education and outreach programmes have aimed to reinforce community cohesion. As part of its outreach mission, The Lowry has also involved local participants in large-scale projects that have formed part of the official season. This may well have helped boost participants' pride and self-confidence. No assessment of the opening of The Lowry Centre or these activities by the local community has been undertaken against such criteria, so one can only speculate about the benefits. Both BDRC Research and HLF told me that there has been no neighbourhood survey at The Lowry, although neighbourhood surveys have been conducted at other sites that received HLF funding. I have highlighted elsewhere the lack of evaluation of the impacts of the social projects undertaken at heritage sites (Labadi, 2008; but also Annabel Jackson Associates, 2000; Selwood, 2002). Hence, while, it seems that The Lowry Centre has helped to fight against social deprivation

with the implementation of a number of outreach projects, no real evaluation has been conducted to assess the impact of these projects and whether they indeed had any substantial impacts.

3: LIVERPOOL ROPE WALKS (UK):
EVALUATING THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACTS OF HERITAGE LOTTERY FUND'S TOWNSCAPE HERITAGE INITIATIVE:)[1]

INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the evaluation of Liverpool Rope Walks, regenerated through the Heritage Lottery Fund programme entitled Townscape Heritage Initiative (THI). As such it complements the previous chapter but at the same time takes it further. The method used to evaluate this scheme was radically different from that used for the evaluation presented in Chapter 2. I selected this case study because it was based on baseline data gathered at the beginning of the project and assessment of the evolution of these data at the end of the regeneration project. Whilst the previous evaluation chapter lacked data and was based mostly on estimates, I hoped that this method would lead to more data being collected for the evaluation of the Townscape Heritage Initiative. The evaluation was undertaken by Oxford Brookes University for the Heritage Lottery Fund, and was conducted over a five-year period, from 2000 to 2005. This lengthy academic research was based on a mixture of methods, including questionnaires, interviews, landscape survey and townscape evaluation. A complex matrix of four indicators and related 16 sub-indicators was constructed, as well as the use of balanced scorecard to evaluate and measure changes that occurred in the area that was the subject of the THI scheme. This chapter describes the method of evaluation devised by Oxford Brookes University to examine the THI scheme in Liverpool Rope Walks and analyses what the evaluation found. I used published and unpublished documentation produced by Oxford Brookes University.

TOWNSCAPE HERITAGE INITIATIVE

Heritage Lottery Fund – described in Chapter 2 – funded the Townscape Heritage Initiative (THI). The THI programme was set up in 1998 and is still running. It aims to give grants for the regeneration of areas that have both heritage merit and demonstrably high levels of social and economic deprivation. Since 1998 the scheme has allocated grants to 175 towns and cities. The grants range between £500,000–£2m over five years. This scheme requires that, *inter alia*:

- other financial contributions are found and that the HLF grant represents no more than 75 per cent of the funds
- the area must be a designated conservation area
- the historic buildings must be in poor condition due to economic and social problems such as low wages, unemployment or depressed local property market (this should not be due to other issues such as, for instance, a lack of enforcement of planning policies)
- the area or its surroundings are among the 25 per cent most deprived areas of the UK.

1 An earlier version of this article was published in 2009 as 'Impact evaluation of cultural projects in Great Britain : the thirty year Hitch' in Le Duc, F (ed). Culture as a tool for development: challenges of analysis and action; CNFTP, pages 206-222

The highest priorities for THI funding concern:

- repairs of historic buildings still in use as well as the re-use and adaptation of empty spaces for new functions
- the 'authentic' restoration of architectural features and details of buildings
- introducing new buildings to fill sites that are critical to enhancing the appearance of the conservation area.

The expected outcomes of THI schemes are to:

- preserve and enhance the character and appearance of conservation areas affected by high levels of deprivation and in need of regeneration
- bring historic buildings back into appropriate and sustainable use
- safeguard the character of conservation areas through:
  - increasing training opportunities in heritage skills
  - increasing community participation
  - improving approaches to conservation management and maintenance.

One of the conditions of being awarded a THI grant is that the body receiving it should be managed by a partnership constituted by a wide diversity of stakeholders, including local organisations and, above all, the local community. The community through its representatives must be consulted and engaged during the preparation of the scheme and its implementation. The idea behind the requirement to consult local people is to help local communities become more aware of their heritage and widen their understanding of it. The consultation should in particular focus on individuals and groups that do not tend either to know about or visit their heritage. Activities may include open days, school visits, town trails, talks and lectures or exhibitions. Moreover, the local populations need to take an active part in and make decisions about their heritage. One way of involving the local communities through the THI scheme is to address local skill shortages in conservation through providing training courses in conservation for members of the local community. Another condition of the grant is that the THI scheme should be sustainable; the impacts of the funding should be for present and future generations. Applicants must show that the project is realistic but also that it concerns not only one single building but a small and well defined area such as a street. In addition, the scheme needs to be linked to wider regeneration strategies. Finally, a long-term approach to conservation issues must be adopted. As indicated on the THI web pages from the HLF, 'The local planning authority must be prepared to maintain high standards of conservation after the scheme has finished and show a commitment to using statutory powers'.[1]

1 http://www.hlf.org.uk/HowToApply/programmes/Pages/faqstownscapeheritageinitiative.aspx

THE EVALUATION AND ITS METHODS

In 1999, Oxford Brookes University's Department of Planning was commissioned by the Heritage Lottery Fund to undertake a ten-year evaluation of its THI scheme. However, the timetable for my research only allows for the taking into consideration the first five years of evaluation which corresponds to the actual five-year duration of the implementation of the THI scheme which ran from 2000 to 2005. Its aim was to detect the changes brought by the THI to the local areas concerned. Significantly, this study took place at the beginning and end of the five-year duration of the THI grant. In my four case studies, this is the only one that employs this approach. The team established baseline data in 2001 and then analysed the evaluation of these data in 2005. Oxford Brookes University selected 16 cases out of a total of 175 towns and cities that were benefiting from the Townscape Heritage Initiative. This is a small sample, but each of the selected case was analysed in detail and a wealth of information was gathered.

To begin, detailed baseline data was gathered; the same lines of inquiry were followed up at the end the process was repeated. This has helped to provide a full picture of changes during the five-year implementation of the THI scheme. Oxford Brookes focused on four different aspects of improvement and asked:

> First, has the THI scheme contributed to the community's sustainability through encouraging community involvement and access – that is, has it enhanced **quality of life**?
>
> Second, has the THI scheme improved the area's **appearance**?
>
> Third, has the THI scheme facilitated **investment** in the area?
>
> And finally, has the THI scheme created greater **social and business confidence**?
> (Oxford Brookes University, 2008, page 5).

This evaluation thus concentrated on the social, economic and physical dimensions of the project. In its summary report, Oxford Brookes University stressed that the THI programmes were supposed to impact on all these themes. Oxford Brookes' four questions, however, do not run entirely parallel to the THI's main aims as defined by HLF; the latter focus primarily on the conservation of the built heritage of the area. Oxford Brookes, in contrast, was seeking broader indications of change, including the changes to the 16 areas' attractiveness and how it affected the lives of people living there. The main background documents that Oxford Brookes used were the original applications for the THI scheme which needed to demonstrate that the THI eligibility criteria were

met, to present the site description, a list of the partners who will manage the scheme, maps, and appendices with financial and other data. The evaluation team also gathered data using different methods, including questionnaires, interviews, landscape survey and townscape evaluation.

QUESTIONNAIRES

The questionnaires aimed to gather information on the local populations' perceptions of their lives and their surrounding environments, and to track changes in these perceptions and attitudes over the five-year period of the THI scheme, trying to find correlations between these perceptions and this scheme. Around 500 questionnaires with 36 questions were mailed to randomly selected people of the area benefiting from the THI scheme at the beginning and end of the THI scheme. The questionnaire asked respondents how they perceived the site and whether they regarded it as a place to live in, to visit, to work, to shop or to socialise. It also asks about respondents' perceptions of crime and security in the area and whether safety had improved or might improve. Questions were also asked concerning people's knowledge of local history and heritage. The questionnaire further asked people renting or owning a property to say how much they spent on improving their home. Most of the questionnaire was framed as statements or questions with the answer expressed as one of five possibilities: strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree or strongly disagree. For coding purposes, scoring each reply as 1 out of 5 possibilities was very important. In scoring these responses for the purpose of measuring change on the Balanced Scorecard, it was necessary to score them in reverse so that improvements increase the score and deterioration decreases it.

INTERVIEWS

To complement the information from the questionnaires, several face-to-face and written interviews were undertaken. The team approached individuals with firsthand experience in implementing the THI scheme, such as THI managers, local authority planners, police authority representatives, estate agents and chamber of commerce or trade association representatives, as well as community group leaders. The interviews looked for more thorough qualitative descriptions and analyses of the changes in the neighbourhood. Questions focused on the problems of the area, the positive qualities and impacts of the THI or possible threats to the future successes of the THI area.

TOWNSCAPE SURVEY

The townscape survey had three components: condition survey, land use survey and streetscape evaluation. For the condition survey photos were taken at the beginning and end of the THI scheme and monitored 'public spaces or building/space groupings which display some functional and/or visual coherence, usually in blocks or bounded spaces' (Oxford Brookes University, 2005, page 30). It also consisted in recording and monitoring long views terminated by landmarks. The land use survey recorded how the ground and upper floors of buildings were used and monitored any changes in land use at the beginning and end of the THI scheme. Since data was collected through observations, it was easier to gather data for the ground rather than for the upper floors. These land use maps were accompanied by photos, taken during each of the evaluations and, as much as possible, from the same angle, in order to assess physical changes in the townscape. Finally, the streetscape evaluation consisted in assessing different views of the areas using 25 pre-defined variables to analyse:

~ streetscape quality

~ private space management

~ heritage conservation

These 25 variables are presented in the table below. For each variable a score between 0 (absent) and 5 (excellent) as well as an impression score out of 10 (1=couldn't be worse, 10=couldn't be better) was given by the researcher.

Table 3 The 25 variables of the streetscape evaluation

A. Streetscape: quality and maintenance	
A1 - Pedestrian friendly A2 – Cleanliness A3 - Coherence A4 - Edge feature quality A5 - Floorscape quality A6 - Legibility A7 - Sense of threat	A8 - Personal safety: Traffic A9 – Planting: Public A10 - Vitality A11 - Appropriate resting places A12 - Signage A13 - Street furniture quality A14 – Traffic flow. Appropriateness
B. Private space in view	**C. Heritage in view**
B15 - Advertising, in keeping B16 - Dereliction, absence of B17 - Detailing maintenance B18 - Facade quality B19 – Planting : Private	C20 - Conserved elements evident C21 - Historic reference seen C22 - Nomenclature/Place reference C23 - Quality of conservation work C24 - Quality of new development C25 - Neglected historic features

(adapted from Oxford Brookes University, 2005 , page 35)

In the research manual drafted to assist in the collection and interpretation of data, Oxford Brookes explains in detail how to evaluate the townscape, including explanations of each variable and associated scoring possibilities (Oxford Brookes University, 2005, page 35–41). For instance, the variable 'signage' (part of the wider 'streetscape: quality and maintenance'), aims to assess the 'presence of official or good quality signage directing traffic and pedestrians to immediate and more distant destinations' (ibid. page38). A high score would reflect 'sufficient visible and well-designed signs to meet obvious needs' (*ibid.*). Conversely, a low one would denote 'the absence of signs where they should be available or an ill-coordinated surplus of signs cluttering the view' (*ibid.*). After the scoring of each view, an excel sheet was produced with the total view scores for the three categories classifying the 25 variables expressed as a percentage of the possible total that each view could get.

SECONDARY SOURCES

The evaluation team collected information from secondary sources, including:

- data about occupations such as employment and unemployment levels
- socio-economic hardships of the population through deprivation measures and child poverty index rank
- education levels of the population, with GCSE exams results and Key Stage 2 Tests results
- absence rates among primary and secondary school pupil
- safety issues, such as recorded crime rates
- property values through average house price as well as commercial and property value
- development control statistic
- visitor numbers to local heritage sites
- value of tourism as well as tourist information centre headcount.

According to the report produced by Oxford Brookes University, gathering data from secondary sources presented a number of challenges:

> *'Statistical information gathered at the local level proved to be virtually impossible to obtain while nationally collected data often changed in either nature or in the areas for which it was reported. In the first case it meant that traffic counts, footfall surveys, planning application statistics and other items which might have been useful are not included in the analysis'*
>
> (Oxford Brookes University, 2008, page 12).

INDICATORS

The data collected in all these different ways contributed to building four indicators, which corresponded to the impact evaluation's four main questions, about:

~ quality of life enhancement

~ townscape improvements

~ economic regeneration

~ image and confidence-building

Each of the four indicators was further detailed by four sub-indicators and their components as summarised in Table 4.

Table 4 Summary of the four indicators, 16 sub-indicators and their components adopted for the THI impact evaluations

	Main indicators			
	Quality of life enhancement	**Townscape improvements**	**Economic regeneration**	**Image and confidence building**
Sub-indicators	**EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME** ~ Level of local employment and unemployment and occupational profiles (measured against wider regional data) ~ Indices on social well-being; eg Social Deprivation Index ~People's perceptions of their employment situation (as determined by the interviews or questionnaire)	**TOWNSCAPE QUALITY** ~ Design, appropriateness and 'fit' of the physical elements	**LAND USE CHANGES** ~ Number of empty properties ~ Investment in existing building for the development of new activities ~ Investment in the construction of new buildings	**MEDIA COVERAGE AND PERCEPTIONS** ~ Number of articles in the local, regional and national press ~ Local population's opinion and perception of the area.
Sub-indicators	**EDUCATION AND PERSONAL ASPIRATIONS** ~ Educational achievement of the local population on a school-by-school basis ~ Personal aspirations and expectations ~ Intention to live and work in the area	**PUBLIC SPACE MANAGEMENT** ~ Figures related to landscaping, new signage of public spaces, refitting of public spaces	**RETAIL USAGE AND DEMAND** ~ Number of existing retail properties ~ Use of retail space ~ Number of charity shops ~ Number of big chains	**ATTITUDES OF LOCAL CITIZENS AND COMMUNITY LEADERS** ~ Analyses of interviews with key stakeholders including local employers, representatives of educational establishments; local authority planning officers, economic and conservation officers, leaders of local amenity groups, the police and leaders of tenants' and residents' associations
Sub-indicators	**SENSE OF COMMUNITY AND SOCIAL INCLUSION** ~ Amount of active involvement in the life of the community ~ Sustainability of community organisations	**PRIVATE SPACE AND FAÇADE MANAGEMENT** ~ Expenditure on private property ~ Number of privately owned properties, both residential and commercial, that have been well maintained ~ Analysis of the quality of work	**CAPITAL VALUES AND YIELDS** ~ Commercial, retail and residential property market value. ~ Rental value of these commercial, retail and residential properties.	**TOURISM AND SUSTAINABILITY** ~ Number of tourists at sites ~ Number of hotels, number of nights spent in hotel ~ Evaluation of the attractiveness of the sites, through interviews.
Sub-indicators	**SECURITY, CRIME AND ORDER** ~ Reported crime and violence statistics ~Reported acts of vandalism statistics ~Perceptions of public safety, personal and property security	**HERITAGE INTERPRETATION** ~ Explanation and understanding of the heritage value of the site	**PEDESTRIAN USAGE AND TRAFFIC FLOW** ~ Levels of uses of streets ~ Types of users ~ Attitudinal survey of street accessibility	**BUSINESS VITALITY AND INVESTMENT** ~ Induced investment triggered by, or tied to, THI projects. ~ Autonomous investment

(adapted from Oxford Brookes University, 2008, pages 12–15)

This indicator was further defined by the first sub-indicator 'employment and income'. Oxford Brookes' team assumed a correlation between the level of employment in a household and its members' quality of life. This is the reason why the components of the sub-indicator looked at changes in local employment and occupational profiles and compared them to wider regional data. The evaluation also examined existing indices of social well-being and complemented the statistics they discovered with qualitative data – people's perception of employment.

The second sub-indicator 'education and personal aspirations' measured educational achievements and personal aspirations. The research manual advised:

> *Absence of attainment in the local area will be interpreted as being equal to poor employment options and earning capacity. Personal aspirations and expectations will gauge the strength of identity and affinity with the local area and the THI project area. Intentions to live and work in the area, and intentions to leave the area will form a sound basis for judging the relative attractiveness of the locality*
>
> (Oxford Brookes University, 2005, page 80).

The third sub-indicator 'sense of community and social inclusion' is for me an important sub-category for analysing the THI scheme's success. It shows whether the local community is interested in the life of its quarter, in its history and in participating in creating and sustaining some social links and social capital. Low levels of participation might be evidence of the community's lack of social cohesion and people's lack of interest in their surroundings.

The fourth sub-indicator 'security, crime and order' was derived from statistics on reported crime and violence as well as reported acts of vandalism. This was compared with more qualitative data – people's perceptions of public safety and personal and property.

TOWNSCAPE IMPROVEMENTS

The second main indicator 'townscape improvements' was measured first by the sub-indicator, townscape quality, which was in turn a measure of, 'the design, appropriateness and "fit" of the physical elements or components that make up the urban environment' (*ibid*. page 81) based on the streetscape survey, the questionnaire and interviews.

The sub-indicator 'public space management 'assessed the upkeep of public spaces through their maintenance, the use of signage, hard and soft landscaping and their refitting. Data was obtained through streetscape observation and attitudinal survey related to changes in the townscapes. The third sub-indicator of townscape improvements 'private space and façade management' looked at the upkeep of privately owned residential and commercial properties and space. This information was derived from observation and household surveys. Finally, data from questionnaires, interviews and press coverage gave the team a 'heritage interpretation' sub-indicator, which measured changes of perception, understanding and appreciation of the area and its heritage.

ECONOMIC REGENERATION

The first sub-indicator of 'economic regeneration' recorded changes in land uses, taking a reduction in the number of empty properties or new constructions as, 'a positive sign that investors and developers have an optimistic view of future demand' and a rise in empty properties as 'a reflection of a declining market with weak replacement demand' (ibid. page 82). Data was obtained from secondary sources as well as observation from site surveys.

Oxford Brookes' defined the second sub-indicator as 'retail usage and demand', indicating:

> *"The number of charity shops is a lead indicator of weak consumer demand, and of weak replacement demand by retailers. Equally, absence of national multiples was a good lead indicator of low consumer spending and a distorted resident population, which cannot generate acceptable turnover and profit rates of return'*
>
> (ibid. page 82).

Data for this sub-indicator was gathered from questionnaires, interviews, observations and secondary information.

The third sub-indicator 'capital values and yields' measured commercial, retail or residential property market and charted investor or business demand for space; a rise in capital and rental value obviously signifying a shift in the balance of supply/demand. Rising yield would also signal a market in excess supply or a lack of demand, with falling yield expressing rising demand for property.

The attractiveness of some streets, such as shopping areas, was gauged by the sub-indicator 'pedestrian usage and traffic flow'. It also assessed how much traffic was using the streets and the problems of congestion and traffic annoyances. Data for these sub-indicators was obtained from observation, questionnaires, interview information and secondary data.

IMAGE AND CONFIDENCE BUILDING

The fourth main indicator relates to 'image and confidence building'. Its first sub-indicator, 'media coverage and perception' looks at press coverage of the THI scheme over five years, using media coverage data from the THI office and local libraries as well as from data from the questionnaires. The second sub-indicator 'attitudes of local citizens and community leaders' was deemed by me to be an important key to how local communities viewed the changes in their surroundings. The Oxford Brookes team interviewed stakeholders for their opinions of the THI scheme, including 'local employers; chambers of commerce; representatives of educational establishments; local authority planning, economic and conservation officers; leaders of local amenity groups; the police and leaders of tenants and residents' associations' (*ibid*, page 83). With the third sub-indicator 'tourism and sustainability' the team assessed the attractiveness of the local area's heritage and measured visitor numbers at sites. Data for this came mainly through questionnaires. Finally, secondary data, as well as interviews with local businesses and residents, and observations of the townscape contributed to the sub-indicator 'business vitality and investment'.

SYNTHESISING DATA

A scorecard was then used to quantify and synthesise key information as well as all the indicators and associated sub-indicators.

> *'Using the scorecard involves rendering all information including economic measures, attitudinal changes, physical changes in the streetscapes and statistical data, into numerical values. These values can then be compared giving equal weight to both the elements that are traditionally easier to quantify and the aspects that are often disregarded because they are difficult to measure'*
>
> (Oxford Brookes University, 2008, page 7).

Of the wealth of data collected, 64 measurable data items were chosen because they met required criteria of reliability, validity, independence, reproducibility, comparability and linearity:

> *Reliability means that the measure should be consistent over a number of replications. Validity means that the measure must in fact relate clearly to what it purports to measure. In this regard it must be relatively independent of other things being counted. Reproducibility means it must have qualities of rigour when tested at accepted levels of statistical confidence*
>
> (Oxford Brookes University 2005, page 75).

A scorecard using Excel was drawn up for each of the four dimensions, showing the researcher which question needed to be included as well. Embedded within the Excel spreadsheet were also formulae to calculate the data automatically whenever required. Quantitative results of the questionnaires and townscape survey were used in their original expressions on five-point scales, as detailed above.

> *'The remaining data items are derived from secondary sources and each of those is expressed as a ratio. In most cases the ratio is derived by comparing the number measuring a local circumstance such as employment rate or average property value against a comparative number such as the same measure for the county in which the town is located. That ensures comparability since a prescribed norm is always used. For the Baseline report that ratio will be counted as three, mid point of the five point scale, and calibrated in such a way that subsequent measures will be able to indicate movement up or down within the five point scale. This calibration ensures the quality of linearity, which means there is always a direct relationship between what is being measured and scale itself'*
>
> (Oxford Brookes University, 2006, page 79).

THE ROPE WALKS, LIVERPOOL: BACKGROUND

The Liverpool Rope Walks THI project covers about two hectares, within what is, since 2004, the boundaries of the World Heritage site known as Liverpool Maritime Mercantile City (see map). Its name refers to the rope manufacture for ships that thrived in the 18th century. The straight layout of the streets reflects the open areas where the ropes were made. The area also contains several warehouses, used in connection with the port. As a port, Liverpool welcomed many immigrants some of whom provided cheap labour, including Irish (by 1851, 20 per cent of the population of Liverpool was Irish), immigrants from the West Indies or from central and eastern Europe. Liverpool Rope Walks became a fashionable residential area for wealthy merchants as well as one of the most exclusive shopping areas outside London in the 19th century. The area's long decline started in the early 20th century as the docks and the city's manufacturing waned. Bombing during the

Second World War accelerated the area's deterioration. Since then, lack of investment from the owners of the buildings, particularly the city council and, more recently, speculators, meant that the area remained run-down. By 2000 many of the area's buildings were empty and in ruins. Despite this, the Rope Walks were still considered as possessing architectural, aesthetic, historic and industrial values, with their long, straight 18th- and 19th-century streets and historic buildings, including Georgian (18th and early 19th century) houses, old private warehouses – three to five and half storeys high – as well as modest terraced workers' houses. The buildings are generally in brick, some with plastered street frontages and many roofs are of Welsh slate.

The Liverpool Rope Walks THI Project was approved in September 1999 by the Heritage Lottery Fund with a contribution of £15.5m. The project was a partnership of Liverpool City Council, local community representatives and a number of financial partners, such as English Partnerships and the European Regional Development Fund. Contributions from these last two partners was estimated as up to £35m (Oxford Brookes University 2006, page 3).

Work on the scheme started in 2000.

According to the official application to the THI scheme, general objectives were:

~ to prepare a plan with broad local support that reflected the aspiration of the community

~ to develop projects to bring greater commitment by and to local business

~ to expand local cultural and creative opportunities for residents

~ to expand retail, cultural and leisure uses

~ to develop a strategy to completely transform the area and improve the environment for local people

~ to develop fully integrated training and business support programmes

~ to ensure local businesses and the community benefit from investment

~ to develop an implementation strategy to ensure delivery of the aims of the Plan (Oxford Brookes University 2006 *ibid*.)

OVERVIEW OF THE RESULTS OF THE TOWNSCAPE SURVEY, HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE AND INTERVIEWS

At the beginning and at the end of the scheme 24 separate views were photographed. When compared, these showed the tremendous physical change of the area, with some views transformed beyond recognition in the five-year duration of the project. Formerly derelict buildings were rehabilitated and new structures built to fill existing gaps in streets. For this reason, the 'impression score' – an initial overall impression by viewers – has improved.

Out of the 465 questionnaires mailed in November 2000 to randomly selected addresses in the THI area and surrounding streets, only 51 (11 per cent of the total that were mailed) were returned. At the end of the scheme in 2005, only 36 questionnaires were returned. The drop in the (already low) rate of reply might denote a lack of interest in the THI scheme; it could also be evidence of a turnover of inhabitants, because only six (16 per cent) of the 2005 respondents remembered receiving the questionnaire in 2000. In my view, it seems very difficult to deduce anything meaningful out of such a small rate of return. According to the evaluators, however, the questionnaire results

> *'show a modest increase across the board in people's feelings that their part of Liverpool is a good place to live, work, shop and visit but the enthusiasm for the future prospects that was evident in 2000 has waned. Many people feel that their incomes and standard of living will not increase in the coming years. This in spite of a modest increase in reported income'* (ibid. page 7).

For me, the modest increase in reported income might be related to the arrival of a better off population.

The evaluation team undertook five face to face interviews with key stakeholders of the project, including the consulting architect, the Director of Liverpool's World Heritage Site project, a local business operator, a construction supervisor working on one of the restoration projects and a planning consultant employed by a local developer. They sent an additional nineteen requests for

written comments from targeted stakeholders such as local politicians but receive only one reply. For the team this low rate of return 'may reflect some degree of apathy but also may simply be due to people's busy schedules' (2006, page 6). The six interviewees shared a positive overall opinion of the changes brought about by the THI scheme. They nonetheless recognised the need to continue working on the local population's social and economic conditions. As far as I am concerned, these positive attitudes might reflect the optimism bias of those interviewees who were deeply involved in the implementation of the scheme (see the overall conclusion of this report for more information).

EVOLUTION OF THE FOUR INDICATORS AND RELATED SUB-INDICATORS

The four main indicators and accompanying 16 sub-indicators provided in-depth indication of the changes attributable to the THI scheme

QUALITY OF LIFE ENHANCEMENT

The first main indicator is 'quality of life enhancement'. At the beginning of the scheme, the sub-indicator 'employment and income' indicated the low level of income and employment. At the end of the scheme, the situation had not changed much. Worse,

> *'There was a significant drop in full-time employment with accompanying increases in the number of people unable to work because of disability. There were also more retired people and together these two factors explain the drop in the percentage of long-term unemployed since neither group count as employable'*
>
> (Oxford Brookes, 2006, page 9).

The questionnaires reflected generally negative local opinions about what the THI scheme might bring: The percentages of those who thought 'that things will improve at least a little in the next five years fell from 44 per cent in 2000, to 25 per cent in 2005' (Oxford Brookes University, ibid.).

School exam results improved in both primary and secondary levels over the span of the scheme. 'This improvement is particularly marked at the primary level where results have gone from below the national average to considerably above that benchmark while also surpassing the immediate surrounding areas' (*ibid*.). It is difficult, in my view, to understand what triggered these results as the THI scheme did not have a particular educational component; it may have been the fall in absenteeism, particularly noticeable at primary level.

In the questionnaires –- the main source of information about the sense of community and social cohesion – more than twice as many people at the end of the scheme said that they neither agreed nor disagreed that the area was a 'tight knit community' as at the beginning. This might reflect the fact that the area was in transition, with many flats still under construction. The two main churches, unrelated to the scheme, continued to be mentioned as a main focus of community involvement.

In 2005 a quarter of respondents felt that crime in the daytime had slightly worsened compared with 2000, despite physical improvements into the area's buildings and public spaces' and reduced numbers of run-down buildings. These negative opinions might originate, for the evaluation team, from the increase in racial abuse and vandalism, which might be more visible than theft for instance, reports of which fell sharply over the five years of the THI scheme.

TOWNSCAPE IMPROVEMENTS

This main indicator and its four sub-indicators showed some of the most dramatic and positive changes, reflecting the financial investments into the physical rehabilitation of the quarter. There were fewer run-down and empty buildings; streetscapes included more green spaces and planting. As far as public space management is concerned, although the team had observed streets that were cleaner, respondents to the questionnaires showed a strong split between those who felt the streets were cleaner (30 per cent) and those who did not (again 30 per cent) (Oxford Brookes University, 2006, page 13). Additional problems remain, such as the signage of public spaces, which has not improved and the lack of street furniture. As for 'private space and façade management', the scheme's aim was to keep as much of the area's original fabric as possible by restoring or even reconstructing buildings. Only a few buildings have been completely demolished, and the report does not explain why they were knocked down. The 2005 townscape survey demonstrated remarkable improvement in the maintenance and façade quality of the area.

The sub-indicator 'heritage interpretation' denotes, from the outset, positive changes. The evaluation reports that in 2000 two thirds (60 per cent) of those responding to the questionnaire

said that they knew the history of the area passably well; in 2005 this had risen to 90 per cent. What level of knowledge people judge as 'passably well' is, for me, difficult to assess. The only question on the form that assessed awareness to local history asked about knowledge of local visitor attractions. With more signposts to local historic places and more heritage plaques installed, people probably were more aware of such local attractions. This does not mean that that they were visiting such sites or actually knew anything about them, other than that they were in the neighbourhood.

ECONOMIC REGENERATION

Unsurprisingly, the sub-indicator 'land use changes' revealed great changes: in 2000, many buildings were empty, crumbling and with falling roofs; by 2005 they had been restored, and housed commercial, retail and residential properties. The report observed: 'Strict development controls and design guidelines, while considered onerous to some developers, have ensured the consistent quality of the work' (Oxford Brookes University, 2006, page 17). These new retail and commercial spaces have changed local opinions, according to the questionnaire results. Respondents who considered the area to be a good place to shop increased from 22 per cent in 2000 to 47 per cent in 2005. Since information on retail demand through planning application was not available, it was impossible to see whether the area will continue to attract new retail ventures.

The sub-indicator 'capital values and yields' indicates a great change in the price of flats which has risen. In 1999 or 2000 not a single sale had been recorded making it impossible to establish a baseline for property values. By 2005 prices in the THI area, however, were 15 per cent above the average price for the City of Liverpool, thanks to the rehabilitation and restoration work: the place is becoming more and more attractive.

These increases in capital value imply a change of owners of some of the flats, if the data on low local levels of employment and income is taken into account. This change of owners and inhabitants of the quarter does not seem to be reflected in the evaluation because many of the new flats were not yet occupied by the time the evaluation finished collecting data.

Between 2000 and 2005, traffic congestion had diminished; indeed, in 2000 there was little activity on the street. Nonetheless, traffic flow was impeded by the number of construction sites. Concerning pedestrian usage of streets, safety seems to remain a concern, although, as stressed earlier, reports of theft have sharply decreased.

IMAGE AND CONFIDENCE-BUILDING

In 2000 a quarter of respondents (about 12 out of 51) were aware of the THI scheme project; in 2005 this proportion had only risen to a third (12 out of 36). The fact that more than two-thirds (60 per cent) of the 2005 respondents were unaware of a scheme that had been in their neighbourhood for five years is – rather a high figure, I would suggest. Of those who were aware of the scheme, around one in six thought it improved the quarter a lot, the same proportion thought there had been a little improvement and just over one in five people had no view on the matter. This apparent lack of local enthusiasm is rather surprising in my view, considering the marked visible changes in the look of the area. These results are interesting since they may highlight differing perspectives about what 'improvement' of an area entails and what forms it takes.

As for media coverage, whilst the evaluation team indicates that an increasing number of interviewees believed that the press coverage had been fairer in 2005 than in 2000, no information is provided on the content of these news articles and it is difficult to judge from the question asked by the evaluation team what the news coverage has been and its evolution.

The sub-indicator 'attitudes of local citizens and community leaders' points toward an increase in the positive attitude about Liverpool among local residents. According to the questionnaires, opinion that the area was a good place to live rose by 14 per cent between 2000 and 2005 – an increase in positive 'attitudes of local citizens and community leaders'. This rise was, however, from a very low base: in 2000 only 2 per cent of the people who sent back their questionnaires thought that Liverpool Rope Walks could not be a better place to live.

Importantly, in 2000 and 2005 questionnaire respondents agreed with the statement that the area 'has some problems' and 'has serious problems'. In the five years of the scheme, those who believed that Liverpool Rope Walks was a good place to work increased (by almost 10 per cent), from around one in five (20 per cent) in 2000 to roughly one in three (33 per cent) five years later. Those who believed that it couldn't be a better place to shop increased from 4 per cent in 2000 to 13 per cent in 2005.

Views on crime and safety did not shift, according to the questionnaire results: in 2000 and 2005, around half the respondents regarded crime and safety as about the same as in other places. Perceptions of cleanliness, upkeep and appearance of the area did not change either; around a third regarded local standards as pretty much the same as outside the area.

The questionnaire asked where local inhabitants might take their visitors in order to gauge

'tourism and sustainability'. The list of places changed between 2000 and 2005 with the addition of restored and previously little known buildings, for example, restaurants such as Colin's Bridewell (in a former police station) and Hemingway's Coffee House. Although the number of tourists at sites, of hotels, and of tourist-nights spent in them were all indicated as factors contributing to the 'tourism and sustainability' sub-indicator, Oxford Brookes provided no information on them. This reduces tremendously any possibilioty of assessing the evolution of the quarter as a touristic and attractive place.

Business vitality and investment was assessed as not having increased, largely because the high level of ongoing construction impedes street life and commerce.

BALANCED SCORECARD

The balanced scorecard indicated some positive changes between 2001 and 2005: 'the overall score has increased 7 per cent from 51 to 58. There is improvement in 13 of the 16 sub-indicators being tracked' (Oxford Brookes University, 2006, page 8), with the four sub-indicators related to townscape improvements having demonstrated the greatest increase. Three of the 'indicators of economic regeneration', land use change', retail usage and demand' and 'capital values and yields', the four indicators of 'image and confidence building' and three of the four sub-indicators of 'quality of life enhancement' :'education and personal aspirations', 'sense of community and social inclusion' and 'security, crime and order' showed positive change.

Three sub-indicators did not progress. First, 'employment and income'. Oxford Brookes University commented:

> *The employment section is also flat and this is interpreted as resulting from the fact that the new residents of the improved housing were not sent questionnaires and have not yet shown up in national data bases which track incomes and work situations*
>
> (Oxford Brookes University, 2006, page 8).

In other words, the final evaluation was unable to take account of the observed gentrification of the area which would in time register with higher levels of local employment and income. Secondly, the sub-indicator for 'business vitality and investment' went marginally down. Finally, the sub-indicator 'pedestrian usage and traffic flow' remained stable over the five years of the THI scheme.

CONCLUSION

This conclusion analyses whether the aims of the THI programme were achieved in the Rope Walks, Liverpool and whether the aims of the impact evaluation conducted by Oxford Brookes University were accomplished. First, the aims of the THI scheme as expressed by HLF and the focus of the evaluators – Oxford Brookes University – were not the same. This echoed the lack of fit in the previous chapter between the objectives of HLF's Heritage Grants for schemes such as The Lowry and those of its evaluator, ECOTEC. The HLF objectives for the THI scheme focused primarily on the preservation and rehabilitation of the conservation areas (see pages 37-38 of this chapter for the THI programme objectives). The evaluation by Oxford Brookes on the impact of THI focused more on the economic and financial impacts of the regeneration, including a focus on 'investment' and 'business confidence' (see page 39 of this chapter for the Oxford Brookes evaluation questions). These changes between the objectives of the THI scheme and the evaluation conducted by Oxford Brookes might reflect the importance of the discourse of economic spillovers in the field of heritage and the need for HLF to demonstrate the economic impacts of the projects they fund.

Oxford Brookes University accessed and seemed to have used more data than ECOTEC did. Oxford Brookes synthesised its data into numerical values to compare the evolution of the four indicators and 16 sub-indicators; this gave it a technique for presenting quickly the scheme's positive or negative impacts. This method presents some difficult issues. First, as Oxford Brookes recognised, some of the secondary data needed were difficult to collect:

> *It is a continuing challenge to collect the data needed in interpreting the impact of conservation lead [sic] developments in an area such as the Liverpool Rope Walks. Changes in staff and the varied demands on their time and energy make it difficult to collect information. Similarly the national and regional statistics available change in frustrating ways that seems, at times, to negate the very rationale for gathering them in the first place*
>
> (Oxford Brookes University, 2006, page 22).

The very low rates of return of questionnaires – detailed on page 52 – undermine any claims that the samples could be representative. The poor response may have been a symptom of a lack of interest by local people, even of their hostility to the local regeneration; it might have shown that people misunderstood or were unaware of what Oxford Brookes represented or why the evaluation was being carried out. The change in the population might have meant that newcomers did not feel concerned with the questionnaires' purpose. This lack of return is rather problematic considering that a number of indicators were based on the results of the questionnaires.

Secondly, some of the components of the indicators or sub-indicators were rather problematic. It was very difficult to establish a cause/effect link between the THI project and the evolution of some of the components that made up the sub-indicators. This means that some of the positive results are not necessarily related to the THI scheme. The sub-indicator, education and personal aspirations, for instance, has a component that relates to personal aspirations and expectations. The evaluation team explains that 'personal aspirations and expectations were used to gauge the strength of identity and affinity with the local area and the THI project area' (Oxford Brookes

University, 2008, page 13). To even assert that there might be an association between the local inhabitants' personal aspirations and expectations and their affinity with the THI project area is contentious; to establish a direct and causal relation between the two is even more difficult. It is clear that personal aspirations and expectations can be more plausibly linked to several other factors, such as the personal environment of individuals, their circle of friends, the views of their family, their personality, and so on. Another example is the component 'educational achievement of the local population on a school-by-school basis', again a component of 'education and personal aspirations'. Oxford Brookes University explained that 'school achievements results were much improved and with the exception of two secondary schools, attendance was up' (Oxford Brookes University, 2008, pages 78–79). To attribute this in any way to the five-year regeneration of the Rope Walks is difficult and the evaluators did not explain why they did so. Hence the vast amount of data collected might not directly relate to the evolution of the THI scheme. Furthermore, this unrelated quantitative data evolved positively over the five year scheme and might have led to biased improved results. Indeed, an apparent improvement in school achievement and pupil attendance may be the result of the gentrification of the area with new residents with higher social, economic and cultural capital than the previous population, the children of which are performing better at school. However, gentrification is often perceived as a negative impact of regeneration (see, for instance, Miles and Paddison, 2006, page xii). Oxford Brookes itself highlighted the need for caution in interpreting such 'improvements':

> *we need to ensure that gentrification, the provision of high-end accommodation in historic precincts, does not give the appearance of success at the expense of original inhabitants*
>
> (Oxford Brookes University, 2006, page 22).

Thirdly the changes in the indicators within the THI area were not always compared with possible changes in similar indicators elsewhere in the region, to test whether these evolutions were directly related to the THI project or due to external factors that had also affected other areas. Sometimes data outside the THI was used for comparisons, such as the level of local employment and unemployment and occupational profiles. Nonetheless, in other cases, this correlation was not established and this is rather problematical. This is the case for instance for the indicator

'security, crime and order' and its component 'reported crime and violence statistics'. These figures would have needed to be contextualised and related to those at regional levels, identify whether any change is attributable to the THI itself or to external factors.

When analysing the results of the regeneration, it is important to distinguish between the results of quantitative indicators which present a rather positive evolution of the THI scheme and the reality that hides behind the numbers. Certainly, the appearance of the conservation area has undergone dramatic transformations. These results are not surprising, considering that the scheme's main purpose was to rehabilitate and conserve the historic, dilapidated buildings and the neighbourhood. Economic regeneration was also showing great improvements, with rising property prices; although it was not possible to predict whether new retail ventures would come into the area. The place was showing signs of becoming more and more commercially attractive. However, improvements were not so clear cut as concerns the quality of life for the long-term local residents. The new better off inhabitants were likely to pull up the indicators for employment, income, and educational achievements. In 2000 residents of the area who completed questionnaires before the regeneration work began, had expressed high expectations for improvements in the look of the neighbourhood and for a better economic prospects. However, five years later, hostility towards this project was recorded due to the dramatic transformations in the neighbourhood on the one hand but the lack of economic opportunities for the local population on the other (Oxford Brookes University, 2008, page 78). Despite the low rate of return of questionnaires, they did reveal the fact that the long-term inhabitants from the housing estates have not gained much from the THI scheme.

One of HLF's goals for THI schemes was to involve the community in order to safeguard the character of conservation areas. Oxford Brookes University's questions broadened this focus, asking whether the THI scheme 'has contributed to the community's sustainability through encouraging community involvement and access – that is, has it enhanced quality of life?'

Involvement of the local communities in cultural heritage is important since research shows involvement helps to reinforce social cohesion and identity (Applejuice Consultants, 2008, page 5; Dodd and Sandell, 2001). The questionnaires could have asked whether the local communities actually visited the heritage places from the Rope Walks, whether they benefited from them and whether their sense of belonging to the community was strengthened from visiting these places. However, the questionnaires merely asked respondents to list up to five local organisations to which they belong, such as a service club, church, social or sports club. No one listed a heritage place. There was a question aimed at gauging local inhabitants' knowledge of the history and significance of the area. Replies that people know the history 'passably', 'reasonably well' and

'very well' increased over the five years duration of the scheme; In 2000 respondents did not think there were any attractions of interest to visitors within the Rope Walks area – by the end of the evaluation period they were beginning to identify such places. This does not imply that respondents visit heritage places or are involved in them in any way. Therefore no information seems to pertain to the level of access of the local population to the heritage places and their involvement in them as well as on the potential impact that access and involvement in heritage preservation can have on social cohesion and identity. The questionnaires seem thus insufficient to assess whether the THI scheme has enhanced quality of life. It cannot be denied that quality of life can also include other dimensions that are not directly related to the presence of heritage, touched upon in the questionnaire. For instance, Oxford Brookes University highlights that the local

> *populations '[are] feeling better about living, working and shopping in the Rope Walks area (...). There is, however, a downside. There are fears about noise, parking and the problems that may come with a transient population living in the new flats. Significantly, a quarter of the local people surveyed were unsure about the future and there was a feeling that things might not continue to improve as they have in the past five years'*
>
> (Oxford Brookes University, 2006, page 21).

The quality of life might thus not have improved with the THI scheme for the long-term population either in their daily lives and urban environment or in their access and involvement in the local heritage. This reflects one issue with the evaluation. One of the conditions to get awarded a THI grant as explained at the beginning of this chapter was that the local populations got empowered, made decisions about their heritage. They were also to enable some of the local inhabitants to receive training courses in conservation to solve their unemployment situation. Nonetheless, the evaluation did not analyse whether and how the local inhabitants got empowered, succeeded in making decisions about its heritage or received training courses. The different reports drafted by Oxford Brookes University and used all through this chapter did not explain why these analyses were omitted.

This conclusion therefore demonstrates the intricacy and wealth of data collected by Oxford Brookes University. However, this wealth did not prevent some of HLF's aims and Oxford Brookes University's evaluation aims not to be analysed. This included lack of available data and the fact that the questionnaire omitted to evaluate some of the aims. This conclusion also warns against the use of too many data, some of which unrelated to the regeneration strategy. As far as the results of the regeneration are concerned, the evaluation conducted by Oxford Brookes clearly highlighted that regeneration does not automatically lead to economic benefits and social wellbeing for its long-term local population.

4: KAZIMIERZ, KRAKOW, POLAND

EVALUATING THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACTS OF CULTURAL REGENERATION IN CENTRAL EUROPE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to analyse the evaluation of the regeneration of Kazimierz, a part of which was, until the Second World War, the main Jewish quarter of the city of Krakow in Poland. The evaluations presented in chapters 2 and 3 were commissioned by the very organisation that funded the projects under evaluation. This situation might have led, inter alia, to some optimism bias in the evaluations from ECOTEC and Oxford Brookes University. Kazimierz' evaluation, looked at in this chapter, was selected first because it was undertaken by an independent researcher as her PhD thesis (Murzyn, 2006). For this reason, it is expected that this independent evaluation of the regeneration of Kazimierz would present more critical analyses and conclusions than the two preceding cases. A second reason for my choosing to examine this evaluation is that the researcher's method was different from those used in the preceding chapters. Above all, the context for Kazimierz is very different from those in Western Europe, adding yet another layer of complexity and originality. Its regeneration was characterised by it having taken place in the specific conditions of a post-communist country – Poland –during the introduction of a market economy. Finally, the regeneration of Kazimierz hinged on representations of the heritage of the Jewish community that was forced out of the neighbourhood, as were Jews all over Poland during the tragic events of the Nazi occupation during the Second World War. This quarter epitomises some of the darker aspects of the history of Central Europe.

JEWISH QUARTERS OF CENTRAL EUROPE

To contextualise the example of Kazimierz, I succinctly summarise below the wave of regeneration of former Jewish quarters of Central European cities, which took place after the breakup of the Soviet bloc in 1989. 'Central Europe' is a concept that has come into use again since the end of the Cold War, with its division of Europe into simply Eastern and Western Europe, on either side of what the West termed the 'iron curtain'. Its definitions and boundaries are not universally agreed; it includes, usually, the eastern German regions, Lithuania, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Austria, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Moldavia or Croatia. Since the 1990s, countries that were part of the Soviet bloc have turned their backs on the monocultural model of societies promoted by the USSR, which downgraded national heritage. Instead these nations have emphasised their individual histories as well as their diverse minorities, their cultures and their manifestations. This model was certainly encouraged by the representation of this sub-region in Hollywood movies, including Steven Spielberg's *Schindler's List* which emphasised the importance of the Jews and their uniqueness before the tragedy of the Holocaust. Spielberg used Kazimierz as the setting for the story of Oskar Schindler, the German factory owner who came to Krakow and then saved more

than 1,000 of his Polish-Jewish workers from being sent to Nazi death camps (Buruma, 1997). These multicultural representations remind us that from the 4th century until 1939 Central Europe was home to the largest Jewish population in the world – 3.5 million of whom, by 1939, lived in Poland itself (Heumann, 1999). Distinctive Jewish neighbourhoods had become common features in several Central European cities. From 1945 until the fall of the communist regimes the distinctive secular and religious architecture of these areas survived, despite neglect and often the further depletion of their Jewish populations. Examples of such areas included Josefov in Prague, the Zámosti quarter in Třebíč, Czech Republic, inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 2003 or Kazimierz in Krakow, Poland. Since the early 1990s, all these neighbourhoods, especially their synagogues, have been rehabilitated and the areas around them revitalised, with cafes, galleries, museums and festivals celebrating Jewish heritage.

BACKGROUND TO KAZIMIERZ

In March 1335, King Kazimierz III founded the city of Kazimierz, located between the arms of the Vistula River. Jews settled in Krakow as early as the 12th century. In the 14th century, King Kazimierz III welcome Jewish settlers, persecuted in other European countries (e.g. German-speaking countries and Czech lands...), and promised to protect them as people of the King. However, in 1495, King John Olbracht expelled Jews from Krakow proper, issuing the *de non tolerandis judaeis* privilege, and ordered their relocation to Kazimierz. Hence the de facto institution of this Jewish quarter, northeast of the Christian quarter and separated from it by a wall. This concentration of Jews in this quarter led to the construction of several religious and community buildings. By the end of the 18th century the population had outgrown the walled quarter; the walls came down and Kazimierz became a district of Krakow. The wealthier Jews – lawyers, doctors, professors – began then to abandon the overcrowded district to resettle closer to the centre of Krakow. Kazimierz was, until 1939, mainly inhabited by the poorer or most conservative Jews. Its historic buildings were not necessarily looked after as testified by a 1935 *Guide to Jewish Monuments in Krakow* which reported that many Kazimierz buildings were in complete ruin and others dilapidated (Balaban, 1935).

In 1939, around 65,000 Jews were living in Krakow. Following the Nazi invasion of Poland Jews were systematically deprived of their rights and properties. In March 1941, all Krakow's Jews were driven into the Krakow Ghetto. And Kazimierz was abandoned. By 1945 only around 6,000 Krakow Jews had survived the death camps and the hardships of persecution. Poland became a communist country but anti-semitism continued and was not discouraged by the regime. Many Jews left Poland and emigrated. Kazimierz was largely neglected and dilapidated although the authorities, clearly aware of its historic, architectural and symbolic value, included it within the boundaries of Krakow's Historic

Centre, which was then included on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1978. The international recognition contributed little to the protection and rehabilitation of Kazimierz.

According to some guide books, more than the fall of communism, the introduction of the capitalist market or cheap air tickets, it is Spielberg's film, *Schindler's List* that has changed Kazimierz. Kazimierz was not the setting of the movie's plot - most of the events portrayed in the film took place in the Podgórze ghetto, Schindler's factory just outside it and the Płaszów extermination camp, all of which were further southeast, beyond the Vistula. Yet this film turned the world's attention to Krakow's Jewry as a whole, and since Kazimierz is the only substantial visual relic of Jewish heritage, it has benefited the most (Lonely Planet, 2008, page 189).

EVALUATION METHOD

As indicated by map 4.1, Kazimierz was defined, by Murzin, according to its historical boundaries: Dietla street, the Vistula river and the railway line that runs parallel to Starowiślna Street. This boundary encompassed both Kazimierz' Jewish and Christian quarters. In her analysis, Murzyn focuses on the following questions:

~ What was the course of the revitalisation of Kazimierz in the years 1989–2004?

~ What are the factors and conditions of the quarter's revitalisation?

~ What were the initial aims and strategies of revitalisation as compared to its progress in reality?

~ What was the role of public institutions and local authorities in the process of revitalisation?

~ To what extent can the process of revitalisation be measured and monitored?

~ What conflicts in the urban space are caused by revitalisation? Who are the beneficiaries of revitalisation?

~ Which aspects of the revitalisation of Kazimierz reflect similar processes taking place in Western Europe, and which ones are specifically determined by the Central European and Polish context' (2006, page 16).

Table 5 summarises the different dimensions and indicators that were used by Murzyn to measure the changes induced by the regeneration of Kazimierz.

Table 5 Elements of regeneration analysed and their associated dimensions and indicators (adapted from Murzyn, 2006, page 28)

Elements of regeneration	Dimensions and indicators taken into account
Urban tissue, spatial planning and management	~ Number of construction, restoration and adaptation works undertaken on historic buildings; budget spent on conservation, restoration and adaptation of historic buildings ~ New construction activities and new permits; endowment with street furniture ~ Real estate: evolution of ownership and rental structures; volume of transactions in the real estate market
Functional changes	~ Number, type and location of crafts, small scale manufacture and production activities, and wholesale shops ~ Number, type and location of financial institutions, office spaces ~ Number, type and location of catering services ~ Number, type and location of tourist accommodation and services: evolution of the number of beds, conference facilities, tourist trails... ~ Number, type and location of cultural places, institutions and events, evolution of the number of visitors to cultural places ~ Number, type and location of social care institutions
Social changes and uses	~ Evolution of the population ~ Number and types of conflicts and social issues ~ Number of individuals receiving public social care ~ Perception of personal safety; crime rates ~ Residential attractiveness of the quarter ~ Uses of the quarter for and by university students
Images and perception of the quarter	~ Presentation of the quarter in guide books, leaflets (including promotional ones) and the daily press ~ Cultural events ~ Perception of the quarter by school youth and university students ~ Image of the quarter in contemporary literature

To detect changes in the urban tissue and spatial planning and management, data was obtained from

~ the archives of the Office of Urban Planning of the City of Krakow,

~ the Office of Historic Monument Protection in the Department of Culture and National Heritage of the City of Krakow

~ the archives of the offices of the Management of Revalorisation of Historic Urban Complexes of Krakow.

Information was also accessed from published books and articles.

Secondly, data about the functional changes was collected from sources such as a landscape survey, verified and completed with data from the telephone directory, the directory of local firms as well as the Hoppenstedt Bonnier commercial database. To get a time series, this information was 'compared with the results of similar research conducted in Kazimierz in 1994 by J Więcław and in the medieval inner city of Krakow in the years 1990 and 1999 by Zygmunt Górka' (Murzyn, 2006, page 30). Thirdly, in June 2003,questionnaires drafted by Murzin were given to 432 full-time undergraduate and graduate students at Krakow universities, to gather data on social issues as well as perception and use of the place. Students are significant users of the new facilities in Kazimierz, such as the cafes and bars and some might stay on after their studies to be future inhabitants of the neighbourhood.

In addition to the questionnaires to students, Murzyn looked at essays on the topic *Kazimierz – A place on earth, news from its courtyards, streets and corners*, written for a competition by local secondary schoolchildren. These essays provided additional insight into changes in the perception of the quarter. Murzyn also carried out in-depth interviews with employers and managers of institutions and firms of the quarter and drew on a 2004 report about Krakow drafted by J. Czapska and K.Krajewski et al for the European-wide report, Insecurities in European cities (European Commission, 2004). She also analysed foreign and Polish guidebooks, newspapers and promotional publication on Krakow as well as its mention in contemporary literature, to see how the image of Kazimierz had been portrayed since 1989. To determine the changing volume of cultural events on offer in Kazimierz in comparison to the other quarters of Krakow, issues of the cultural events magazine *Karnet: Krakow Cultural events* from 1997 to 2004 were analysed. The three public museums of Kazimierz supplied their records of visitor numbers.

All through her research, Murzyn stressed the difficulty of obtaining reliable statistics on a wide range of topics because of the absence of an efficient data collection system; although Poland is not the only place where this is a problem. She also stressed that interpreting the more qualitative dimensions of regeneration, such as changes in the image of the city or its increased prestige was a difficult undertaking.

BASELINE REVITALISATION DOCUMENT

The first step consisted in analysing existing documents that detail the regeneration strategies, in order to establish what their aims were and the indicators defined. In the early 1990s, Kazimierz was considered a priority zone for regeneration as testified by public documents for the urban development of Krakow. For this reason, in 1993, a Working Team for the revitalisation of the area, composed of European experts, was appointed by the Mayor of Krakow. In 1994 a plan that aimed to regenerate Kazimierz for the benefit of its residents was also published, financed by the European Union as part of the East European City Cooperation Scheme. Its seven objectives, planned to be implemented until 1998 were, as summarised by Murzyn:

- to protect the cultural character of the quarter
- to improve the living conditions of the existing community
- to develop the economic base of the area and its functional mix
- to identify and initiate means of financing revitalisation
- to maintain and improve accessibility
- to promote legal support for the process of clarifying land ownership
- to establish an institutional framework for involving the community in the development of Kazimierz and influencing the process of change (Murzyn, 2006, page 150).

The plan provided a well-defined vision, proposing the regeneration of the quarter based on the changes of function for some buildings, the renovation of synagogues, and the development of its 'cultural offer' that are the range of opportunities available to people to enjoy cultural activities and events. The plan had a strong social emphasis, aiming to preserve the residential aspects of

the neighbourhood, to improve conditions for the existing residents and to avoid gentrification by guaranteeing affordable apartments for long-term tenants. The vision for the development of tourism proposed thematic trails that would allow visitors to access and discover different parts of the area as well as hotels and restaurants to encourage visitors to stay (and spend). Unfortunately, the local authority never adopted the plan and it thus never became a legally binding instrument.

According to Murzyn, the 'only legally binding case for all decisions on construction and building activities in Kazimierz until 31 December 2002' was the 1979 master plan of Henryk Stawicki (2006, page 154). Started in 1979, this plan was only published in 1986. This document seems to have shared the same aims as the 1994 action plan. Murzyn listed its proposed protection of the monuments and historic buildings, the introduction of new public transport to facilitate access to this quarter, its economic and social development, the maintenance of its traditional housing as well as the construction of kindergarten and nurseries. As for the protection of the skyline and townscape, The Stawicki plan argued that,

> *'preservation of the small scale structure of buildings, architecture, plot sizes and historic courtyards…. [as well as retention] of the atmosphere and composition of the interior of each housing block should be the main principle'*
>
> (Stawicki 's report quoted in Murzyn, 2006, page 136).

The city authorities adopted Stawicki's plan during the communist period. It took no account therefore of the market economy with its dynamic transformation of property ownership, the rise of private investors, the diminishing power of state control or the opening of borders to intensive tourism. By the time of the fall of communism the plan was obsolete. This lack of a legally binding plan for Kazimierz' regeneration was all the more problematic as the pressure from private investors for planning permits increased: 'The pressure to obtain building and construction permits is accompanied by the lack of legal basis, which creates a threat that they may be issued on a discretionary, ad hoc, basis' (Murzyn, 2006, page 156). The regeneration projects described in other chapters – in Salford Quays, in the Liverpool Rope Walks and in Lille all followed specific objectives and vision. In Kazimierz the regeneration was spontaneous, driven primarily by the decisions of independent cultural institutions and by private entrepreneurs. How can the impact of such ad hoc regeneration be evaluated?

CHANGES IN THE URBAN TISSUE, SPATIAL PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT

Murzyn looked at changes in the number and type of construction, restoration or adaptation projects as an indicator of the growing attractiveness of Kazimierz. In the two years 1997–99 51 building permits were issued; in the period 2003–05, 105 building permits were issued, – twice as many. (In other parts of Krakow demand was even more intensive, demonstrating the immense changes undergoing by this city and the whole of Poland.) Half of the 105 permits issued for Kazimierz concerned work specifically on the former Jewish area of Kazimierz; the area was not only potentially attractive, but immensely dilapidated. The increase in building permits issued was all the more remarkable because the procedure for obtaining these permits was rather difficult and the Jewish area was a rather small one. According to a report published in 2000 on the revitalisation of Kazimierz, cited by Murzyn, the types of building permits issued in the two years 1997–1999 related primarily to: 'adaptation of buildings' (47 per cent), 'extension' (31.4 per cent) and, finally, 'erection of new buildings' (21.6 per cent)[1]. Murzyn analysed renovation and construction activity undertaken in Kazimierz in the 15 years 1989–2004 and found a similar pattern. Rather than demolishing and erecting new buildings, investors were inclined to adapt or extend existing ones. The Department of Architecture data showed that gas and electric installations were the most common adaptation work undertaken as well as 'refurbishment of individual rooms within buildings, or their elevation. The permit applications for the adaptation of lofts for apartments are also very frequent' (Murzyn, 2006, page 158). However, no indication was provided on whether work on existing buildings respected their architectural specificities.

Information about the function of buildings further clarified the changes in Kazimierz. While partial renovation and adaptation was going on in existing buildings, the highest percentage of permits issued for new construction was for hotels and buildings for mixed services and residential uses.

Recorded changes of ownership shed more light on the reasons for the demand for building permits. From 1994 to 2003:

- the percentage of properties owned by the state fell from 62 per cent to 22 per cent
- the percentage of properties belonging to the municipality increased from 0 to 32 per cent
- the percentage of privately owned properties increased from 27 per cent to 31 per cent
- the percentage of properties owned by the Roman Catholic Church went up from 9 per cent to 14 per cent.

1. Analiza pozwoleń na budowę na Krakowskim Kazimierzu w latach 1997-2000. In Perspektywy rozwoju Kazimierza. Co dalej z rewitalizacja? KIN; Kraków.

New owners might have acquired these buildings with the intention of renovating them, which would explain the soaring demands for permits. The changes of ownership have had a direct impact on real estate prices and vice versa. Prices for real estate in Kazimierz are now comparable with prices for the most prestigious locations in the city centre, such as the Western quarters. From 1997 to 2003 the average price of apartments sold in Kazimierz was 2821 PLN per square metre; by 2005 – that is, in the space of two years – this average almost doubled, to 4438 PLN per sq. m, according to the prices provided by Krakow Real Estate Institute to Murzyn (2006, page 172). The rise in prices has encouraged middle-class owners living in the area to sell their flats in order to profit from the new situation. Many of them do not identify with the new character of the neighbourhood; the tourist facilities have little relevance for them.

The vitality of the real estate market should not conceal some serious problems, including unclear property ownerships. Indeed, during the Nazi occupation Jewish individuals, groups and associations had their property confiscated. A 1997 law allowed for the partial restitution of pre-war communal 'edifices used for the purpose of religious cult or connected with charitable, social and educational activities of religious character'. For up to five years after this law was passed, 'Jewish communities could file claims for restitution of property, which belonged to them prior to WWII' (Murzyn, 2006, page 168). Importantly, the law did not deal with private property. The task of marshalling the paperwork in order to prove claims to communal property was in some cases coordinated by specific organisations, such as the Warsaw-based Foundation for the Preservation of Jewish Heritage in Poland, whose mission is to protect and commemorate surviving religious monuments. There have been, however, some fraudulent claims, based on forged documentation. The temptation to make such claims may be significant, when so many of the original owners died without trace and others – who survived the war – then left Poland and are not interested in claiming their property. Since 1997, according to the Foundation for the Preservation of Jewish Heritage in Poland, only 352 properties have been returned or compensated, out of a total of 5,544 in the whole of Poland. In March 2001, the Polish parliament approved a law for the restitution of privately-owned property, but limited the right to make claims to people who had Polish citizenship as of December 31, 1999. This excluded virtually all Jews as well as many Poles who had fled in 1945 when the Communists took over. Ultimately the bill was vetoed. Sadly, since there can seldom be any opposition from the original owners of many of Kazimierz's buildings, property transactions have been able to go ahead without a hitch.

FUNCTIONAL CHANGES

Changes in the use of buildings in Kazimierz clearly demonstrates how, over the past ten years, the area has become an attraction in its own right, especially for students and tourists, with soaring numbers of catering establishments. In 1994, the recorded number of restaurants, fast food outlets, cafés and bars was just 39; by 2003 there were 117 and by 2004 there were 133. These outlets are primarily around Szeroka Street and Nowy Square, where tourists and students alike gathered in the afternoon and the evening. Szeroka Street contains rather more upmarket places, targeting wealthier tourists. Nowy Square's open air outlets and many bars and cafes, clustered around the former Jewish poultry slaughterhouse are especially popular with the many students.

The boom in catering establishments has been accompanied by a rise in tourist accommodation. In the 1980s there was no tourist accommodation in Kazimierz. By 2003 there were 17 establishments and by 2004 there were 22. Clearly Kazimierz was considered an attractive place to stay. This growing number of hotels reflects the attraction of Krakow as a whole as an international tourist destination, not merely the attractions of Kazimierz. Kazimierz might be attractive because it is within walking distance of the historic quarter of Krakow, but is quieter than the latter. In 2003 more than 1.5 million (1,696,928) people stayed in Krakow, 60,750 of whom were accommodated in Kazimierz. Hotels guests in Kazimierz fall primarily into three main groups. First, there are individuals, coming as part of a package tour mainly from Germany, Italy and France. The second group is American families, many of Jewis h origin. Third, there are Israeli schoolchildren, for whom it is compulsory, as part of their regular educational programme, to visit Kazimierz and the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp. These groups' consumption and behavioural patterns are different; Israeli schoolchildren, for example, tend to provide their own guides and food, spending only on accommodation.

The diversification of the cultural offer denotes another functional change of the quarter and is a major contribution to the attractivity of the quarter. It concerns museums and other cultural institutions. In the early 1990s, the cultural offer of the quarter was shared between four cultural institutions or events. The ethnographic museum – the largest and oldest museum of its kind in Poland - displayed Polish national costumes and reproductions of folk interiors. Secondly, the Old Synagogue housed the Jewish branch of the City of Krakow Historical Museum showing the way of life of Jews in Kazimierz before 1939 as well as explaining Jewish traditions and religious rituals. The synagogue building, one of the oldest Jewish places of worship in Europe, was wrecked by the Nazis and restored in the 1950s. Third, the Centre for Jewish Culture was set up in 1993 by the Judaica Foundation to protect Poland's Jewish heritage, popularise it and encourage research. Each October it runs the *Month of Encounters with Jewish Culture* with lectures, concerts and other

cultural events. Finally, the annual Jewish Culture Festival, started in 1988, revolves around every aspect of traditional and contemporary Jewish culture, including exhibitions, concerts or films. The festival has grown – from 58 events in 12 days in its first year – to almost 160 events in nine days in 2004 with 130 artists taking part.

In the early 1990s cultural institutions and events in Kazimierz were marginal to Krakow's overall 'cultural offer'; from 1997 onwards, Kazimierz has become a key provider of cultural activities. This totally changed the image of the quarter. In 2004, Krakow as a whole hosted 29 per cent more events than it had done in 1997, but Kazimierz hosted 114 per cent more events (Murzyn, 2006, page 300). Kazimierz' cultural venues are smaller than those in the centre of Krakow, and are usually privately-owned. They include cutting-edge cultural institutions, – mainly art galleries or cultural spaces – such as Alchemia on Nowy Square, which provides avant garde concerts, cinema or theatre. Since 1997, a number of museums have also opened. This includes the Museum of City Engineering and Public Transport, founded in 1998 to display objects connected with the development of city communication and municipal utilities. Another addition is the 2004 opening of the Galicia Jewish Museum which aims, according to its website, 'to commemorate the victims of the Holocaust and to celebrate the Jewish culture of Polish Galicia, presenting Jewish history from a new perspective' and explaining the history of European and Polish Jews.2 It is a privately-owned gallery combined with a cafe, a small shop with kosher food, and a bookshop specialising in Jewish culture and history.

This mushrooming of new cultural spaces, some of them cutting-edge has taken advantage of two factors that marked Kazimierz until recently: rents that were lower than those in more prestigious Central Krakow locations and also the dilapidated state of some buildings which, according to Murzyn created a

> *good milieu for artistic unrest and rebellion. Abandoned and unkempt districts are an invitation and inspiration for avant-garde activities which originally have spontaneous, non-profit and small-scale character*
>
> (Murzyn, 2006, page 330).

2 http://www.galiciajewishmuseum.org/

It seems to me that the historic character of Kazimierz makes it a good backdrop for cultural venues and activities and since the 1990s, it has also presented an obvious investment opportunity. The stimulus of international interest in the heritage of Jews brought about by *Schindler's List*, the rise in global tourism and cheap air tickets all contributed at the end of the 1990s to make Kazimierz one of the most dynamic parts of Krakow, with its trendy bars and art galleries.

The increase in cultural attractions brought the visitors and vice versa. At the end of 1980s fewer than 40,000 individuals visited the Kazimierz museums; by 2003, the area was attracting almost 100,000 visitors (Murzyn's figures based on data obtained from particular museums). In 2003 slightly more than half the visitors (52 per cent) were attracted to the Old Synagogue, around a third (29 per cent) visited the ethnographic museum and 19 per cent went to the Museum of City Engineering and Public Transport. Some of the cultural events have been rather successful. The Jewish festival's 2004 concerts drew an audience of 5,000 with the final outdoor concert attracting over 10,000 people. The Centre for Jewish Culture had attracted around 7,000 visitors annually in the early 1990s; in recent years it has received about 25,000 visitors, a third of whom came from outside Poland.

As for shops, their number had not changed over the past ten years, with around 450 in both 1994 and 2003, but their character had altered; the numbers selling electronic equipment, for instance, grew from 8.8 per cent in 1994 to 11.7 per cent in 2003, reflecting changing needs. Small traditional outlets, offering services such as mending or selling knitting wools were slowly disappearing because they were not needed anymore, especially not by the area's new inhabitants and visitors. The neighbourhood's new entrepreneurs have been gradually cooperating with each other to push forward the process of revitalisation through, for instance, publishing promotional leaflets and sponsoring cultural events to continue attracting visitors.

SOCIAL CHANGES

The population of Kazimierz had fallen in the past 20 years: in 1988 the census recorded 17,800 inhabitants; ten years later, in 1998 there were 16,589 individuals (Murzyn, 2006, page 356).[3] The population was characterised by the high proportion of people over 60 years old, and lower proportion of young people 17 years or younger than would expect (in comparison to the other parts of the city). Despite the low proportion of children and young people, only one kindergarten had closed since 1994. In 2003, Kazimierz had two municipal kindergartens as well as five elementary schools, two middle schools, one secondary school and one secondary technical school. Schools are an important facility for families in the quarter and for families thinking of coming to settle there.

3 Murzyn could not access data from the 2002 census due to data protection rules.

Another characteristic of the population of Kazimierz was that many long-term residents did not own their apartments, they were tenants. Murzyn cites a questionnaire conducted in 2002, which showed that more than half the local inhabitants surveyed (57.4 per cent) complained about the high rents (Murzyn, 2006, page 358). Private landlords were carrying out only urgent repairs, which had led to deterioration of the tenements' already poor conditions. Demands for higher rents and less maintenance of flats had driven some long-term tenants out of Kazimierz. Once empty, the flats were either rented out to students who tolerated lower standards of comfort or were renovated and sold, enabling the landlords to make a profit. According to Murzyn's report, 'middle class tenants leave the area, and eventually only the poorest families remain as they cannot afford even the cheapest apartments in the outskirts of the city'. This phenomenon was reflected in those people receiving social care:

> *the percentage of people that received social assistance was significantly higher than its share in the overall number of residents of the city. The main reasons for providing social care included: prolonged illness (19.2 per cent of the entire care of that type distributed in the city), unemployment (12.1 per cent) and poverty (12.4 per cent)*
>
> (Murzyn, 2006, page 372).

Historically, Kazimierz was renowned for its charitable institutions. Before the Second World War, there were several Jewish charitable associations and organisations in the neighbourhood. Now Christian charities have taken their place. Their activities includerunning a kitchen, a dormitory and a shelter – to help homeless people – as well as two orphanages and a youth centre.[4]

The population of Kazimierz had thus become polarised; on the one hand, there were tenants too poor to leave and on the other hand wealthier newcomers paying high prices to buy properties or rent apartments. There was a discrepancy between Kazimierz' updated social and cultural offer and what longer-term residents tended to be attracted to. According to the 2002 questionnaire – cited above –, 73.3 per cent of the long-term local inhabitants liked to go for walks in their free time and 54.7 per cent visited family and friends (Murzyn, 2006, page 370). An overwhelming 60

4 http://www.albertyni.opoka.org.pl/english.html

per cent of those surveyed said that they did not go to the new pubs or cafés *(ibid)*. There was thus a widening gap between the users of the quarter and its long-term inhabitants. Attempts to arouse interest in the history and culture of the different minorities who have lived in Kazimierz have been largely unsuccessful, such as 'Forum Kazimierz', a forum of diverse stakeholders set up by the Judaica Foundation which has tried to get residents mobilised on issues about the future of Kazimierz. I believe this might this be because the long-term tenants feel alienated by the recent changes to the quarter and the newer ones do not feel a strong bond with the place.

Several authors, writing about Kazimierz, have pointed out to a certain 'inertia of [the] local population'. According to Murzyn, the local populations have 'become either passive observers or victims of the process, who are not protected against the negative results of revitalisation and have to accept the course of events set by the free market' (Murzyn, 2006, page 390). Nowadays only 176 Jewish people live in Krakow as a whole; most are elderly and need care and support. Nevertheless some older Kazimierz residents have expressed fears that the 'Jews' will return to the area and buy all the apartments available (Murzyn, 2006, page 380). This lack of respect for cultural diversity or openness towards the history of the quarter might come, I assume, from a lack of knowledge of both Jewish people, their heritage and their history.

THE QUARTER'S IMAGE AND INTERPRETATION OF ITS CULTURAL HERITAGE

Image of the quarter and interpretation of its cultural heritage was the last element of regeneration that Murzin looked at. Changes in the image of the quarter are important for its regeneration. If this was negatively connoted, this might have prevented investment. Since the early 1990s, Kazimierz' image has changed tremendously, particularly as a result of Schindler's List which has publicised the neighbourhood and its character all over the world. As stressed in the Lonely Planet tourist guidebook: 'Schindler's tourism now draws in crowds of visitors – Poles and foreigners alike- to the place which hardly saw any tourists ten years ago. Isn't it bitter irony that a couple of hours on screen can mean more than half a millennium of history?' (Lonely Planet 2002, page 200). Visitors have come to see the Jewish rather than the Christian part of Kazimierz and accordingly the market has supplied an abundance of restaurants, bars and hotels, developed with a Jewish theme. These have offered a commoditised, romanticised and idealised image of pre-1939 Jewish history and life. Numerous authors have criticised this 'disneyification' of the past, such as Ruth Gruber, who believes that what is being reinvented is 'virtual Jewishness', based on Poles reviving the quarter through reinterpreting and even completely inventing Jewish culture and history (Gruber, 2002). What is more, the Jewish population was presented as a coherent whole.

In fact, especially before the Second World War, Polish Jews were not a homogeneous community; they were divided culturally, socio-economically and politically. The nostalgic 'Jewish' décors, entertainment offers and menus in cafés, restaurants and hotels have concealed this complexity.

Furthermore, some decors are pastiche representations of what Jewish interiors could have looked like before the Second World War. The exteriors and façades of the restaurants and cafés are also an attempt at creating the feel of the neighborhood before the war, full of cohesion and open multiculturalism. The sanitised recreation of the neighbourhood papers over the historical antagonism towards the Jews of Poland that prevailed before 1939 and was fuelled by the communist regimes thereafter. The meaning of the Jewish culture on display is not respected and is just superficial; it can be considered as pastiche and innocent marketing package to attract the consumer to an 'exotic' experience of traditional Jewish life. Few, if any of the restaurants owners, their staff, or even the klezmer bands playing in these restaurants are Jewish. As stressed by Smith in a New York Times article, 'Many Jews are offended by the commercialization of their culture in a country almost universally associated with its near annihilation' (2007). In the midst of the theme park treatment, Murzyn found however an increasingly complex presentation of the history and heritage of the former and present Jewish populations being presented in cultural places, such as in museums. Here visitors can learn about the dissonant heritage of the local and national Jewish population. These places represent also an opportunity for Polish people to construct a new, post-communist and multicultural identity, which incorporates a Jewish dimension or reunite with their hidden one. As stressed by Smith, 'This is one of the deepest ethical transformations that our country is undergoing. This is Poland rediscovering its Jewish soul' (2007).

CONCLUSION

Murzyn's evaluation of the impact of the regeneration of Kazimierz records a process that was spontaneous and *ad hoc*, driven primarily by the decisions of independent cultural institutions and private entrepreneurs. The previous chapters presented regeneration with precisely identified aims, planned and orchestrated by an agreed planning procedure. Analysing critically the evaluation undertaken of Kazimierz is thus difficult since there is no indication as to what the regeneration aimed to achieve.

Murzyn's evaluation aimed to reply to the following questions:

~ 'What was the course of the revitalisation of Kazimierz in the years 1989-2004?

~ What are the factors and conditions of the quarter's revitalisation?

~ What were the initial aims and strategies of revitalisation as compared to its progress in reality?

~ What was the role of public institutions and local authorities in the process of revitalisation?

~ To what extent can the process of revitalisation be measured and monitored?

~ What conflicts in the urban space are caused by revitalisation? Who are the beneficiaries of revitalisation?

~ Which aspects of the revitalisation of Kazimierz reflect similar processes taking place in Western Europe, and which ones are specifically determined by the Central European and Polish context' (2006, page 16).

Murzyn's evaluation relied on a diversity of data. However, as she stressed and as was also highlighted in the previous chapters, it was very difficult to obtain reliable statistics.

I was interested in this evaluation because it is an independent one which was not requested by any organisation taking part in the regeneration of Kazimierz. The other evaluations analysed in this report chapters -which are official ones – have tended to present positive quantitative figures concealing some of the failures of the regeneration (see also the overall conclusion for discussion). This evaluation of Kazimierz is more balanced, highlights the positive and negative impacts of regeneration without transforming these negative impacts into positive quantitative results. The immense changes undergone by Kazimierz in the past ten years are acknowledged, described and quantified. This included rehabilitation of buildings, a dynamic real estate market despite unclear ownership of property, a boom in the catering outlets, whose numbers trebled between 1994 and 2004. Hotel accommodation has also boomed as well as cultural visitor attractions.

Importantly, this evaluation provides a clear description of the gentrification of the area and the absence of the social dimension of this private-led regeneration scheme. Landlords have driven the gentrification process by raising rents and cutting down on repairs, as a strategy to get rid of their long-term tenants. Those tenants who could afford it left Kazimierz and the poorest households have remained; they cannot afford even the cheapest apartments in the outskirts of the city. The regeneration has thus polarised the local population; the poorest families who cannot afford to move have wealthy new neighbours arriving to live in the new or improved properties. As far as the long-term poorer residents are concerned the regeneration has not been a 'success

story'. Their conditions have worsened and the noise associated with a trendy quarter full of bars and restaurants – that they have little use for – is an additional aggravation. Murzyn also explains that this regeneration with its introduction of new cultural spaces focusing on Jewish history has led some (older) residents' attitudes to go beyond indifference to the Jewish communities. I believe this is an important finding since it demonstrates that exposure to cultural diversity does not necessarily lead to greater tolerance, despite what is commonly believed.

However, Murzyn's evaluation could have, in cases, been greater developed or more critical. She discusses the disneyfication of the Jewish quarter. She did not however explain whether regulation existed to prevent historic buildings from being renovated according to this fake Jewish theme and the rationale for such a situation. Furthermore, she did not contextualise the surge in Jewish events and cultural spaces which had not organically grown in Kazimierz but were in part the results of investments from Jewish US based foundations. These, I would argue, are major actors in the regeneration of Kazimierz, which Murzyn intended to identify. This is the case for instance for the Taube Foundation for Jewish Life and Culture which is one of the *Festival of Jewish Culture*'s biggest donors. Murzyn did not explain that it might have been this very association between Jewish culture and the USA that might have exerted some influence and fascination on the Polish youth, who might have wanted to be part of this association through discovering more about what is meant to be Jewish and even adopt this religion and culture.

It would have also been interesting to learn more about the uniqueness of the process of regeneration of Kazimierz in relation to other Western and Central European models. Indeed, it seems that the regeneration of Kazimierz shares a number of similarities with other regenerated places primarily in Western Europe and Northern America, including rehabilitated derelict buildings, new catering places, a diversified cultural offer, private investments or the strong dysneification of local heritage and history. What makes the model of Kazimierz different if compared to other models? Is the relative success of the regeneration of Kazimierz in term of heritage revitalisation, building rehabilitation and changes of functions unique or common in Central Europe? What could have helped reduce some of the negative effects of the regeneration of this quarter? The reader can only speculate.

5: LILLE, FRANCE

EVALUATING THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACTS OF EUROPEAN CAPITAL OF CULTURE, 2004

INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to analyse the official ex-post evaluation of Lille 2004, European Capital of Culture (henceforth Lille 2004). This title has been recognised as 'a significant catalyst for culture-led regeneration' (Griffiths, 2006). This evaluation was requested by Lille Horizon 2004, from an external expert, Thomas Werquin and his consulting firm 'Axe culture' (Werquin, 2005). In addition, an A–Z was released, providing an alphabetical description of the different events that took place in 2004 in Lille, all around the Nord-Pas de Calais region and in the Belgium towns that took part in the celebrations as well as key figures about their impacts (Tricart, 2005). As a formerly thriving place for industries that has struggled in the post-industrial era, Lille was in some ways similar to Liverpool and Salford and is also characterised by a high degree of cultural diversity, with different waves of immigrants who had supplied cheap labor to its factories.

I chose to look at Lille first, because it broadly shared the aims of the projects presented in the preceding chapters – to regenerate a historic urban centre. Secondly, the method for the regeneration of Lille was different, because it was carried out through the year-long title of European Capital of Culture, when thousands of events were organised and cultural spaces were created or underwent long-term rehabilitation. Thirdly, Lille 2004 and the city's regeneration have been widely considered as a 'success', based on the evaluation figures released. One of the goals of this chapter will be to unravel through the analyses of both the regeneration and its evaluation how this 'success' was justified and whether it stands any critical analysis.

THE EUROPEAN CAPITAL OF CULTURE

The European Capital of Culture, originally the European City of Culture was proposed by Melina Mercouri, the then Greek Minister of Culture during the informal council meetings of culture ministers in 1982 and 1983. She believed indeed that culture was not given the same attention as politics or economics and argued that, 'it was time for our (the culture ministers) voice to be heard as loud as that of the technocrats. Culture, art and creativity are not less important than technology, commerce and the economy' (quoted in Palmer, 2004a, page 41). This programme was launched in 1985 with Athens becoming the first European City of Culture. This programme intended to further the construction and integration of Europe:

> *The rise of culture on the political agenda resonated with the belief that closer European economic and political integration required associated measures to show the cultural affinities between the peoples of Europe*
>
> (Gold and Gold, 2005, page 222).

It also aimed to showcase the diversity of European cultures and at the same time to highlight what they had in common. In 1999, the European City of Culture programme was renamed the European Capital of Culture. It confers it a more grandiose dimension as the place where all major events converge for a year. Each European Capital of Culture is designated for a calendar year. Capital cities, historical, cultural and major metropolitan centres have held this title, including capitals – Athens (1985), Amsterdam (1987), Dublin (1991), Madrid (1992) and Vilnius (2009). Florence (1986) and Avignon (2000) are major historical and cultural centres. Glasgow (1990) and Liverpool (2008) are major metropolitan centres. Cities that want the designation have to prepare a nomination dossier, for which, until 2005 there were no guidelines (Palmer 2004a, page 43). Over the years, the selection criteria have evolved and the selection process has become more demanding. During the first 20 years or so, cities were chosen primarily for their cultural history, their planned programmes and their capacity to provide infrastructural and financial support. However, in the past few years, the criteria have also included planned socio-economic developments associated with becoming the capital of culture.

The table below presents the objectives identified by nominated cities in the official documents submitted, from the most relevant to the less relevant ones. This information has been gathered by Palmer from the 21 cities that were designated European Cities of Culture in the period 1995–2004 and eight cities that had hosted Cultural Months during that same period (Palmer 2004a and 2004b). It also included a survey of the 10 Cities of Culture and a review of the three cities hosting Cultural Months in the period 1985–1994. Interestingly, 'building social cohesion/ community development' and the 'economic development' of the nominated city are low priority objectives.

Table 6 Objectives of successful cities to the title of European Capital of Culture (adapted from Palmer, 2004a, page 48-49)

Highest priority objectives	Medium priority objectives	Low priority objectives
~ Raising the international profile of the city/region ~ Running a programme of cultural activities and arts events ~ Long-term cultural development of the city/region ~ Attracting visitors from own country and other countries ~ Enhancing feelings of pride and self-confidence ~ Growing and expanding the local audience for culture ~ Creating a festive atmosphere	~ Making improvements to cultural infrastructure ~ Developing relationships with other European cities/regions and promoting European cultural cooperation ~ Promoting creativity and innovation ~ Developing the careers/talents of local artists	~ Building social cohesion/ community development ~ Economic development ~ Encouraging artistic and philosophical debate ~ Improvements to non-cultural infrastructure ~ Celebrating an anniversary or history of the city/region

LILLE – SOME BACKGROUND

Lille, in northern France, close to the border with Belgium, is the fourth largest metropolitan area of France, behind Paris, Lyon and Marseille. In the 19th century, the city and the wider region saw the growth of their textile industries. Production in Lille concentrated on cotton; nearby cities, such as Roubaix worked with other materials, such as wool. In the second part of the 19th century, the textile and metallurgy industries expanded, thanks to the close-by location of coal mines. By 1858, Lille had become the centre of the richest economic region in France, and the region itself, encompassing Lille, Roubaix and Turcoing, was the second largest textile region in the world (after Manchester and south Lancashire) (Fraser and Baert, 2003).By 1901, Lille had a population of 220,000, which it has not exceeded since. The textile mills and metallurgy factories each employed over 15,000 workers and with an additional 5,000 in weaving. The rapid pace of urbanization led to the dependency and blending of the factories and housing. The typical residential accommodation is the 'courée', a long and narrow alleyway with two rows of narrow 2-room houses, built in the backyards located behind the terraced houses lining the main streets. Access to the courée was through an entrance hardly visible from the main street. The courées had no individual water supply, bathroom or sewage systems, just one common toilet and water well. The

density reached up to 400 houses per hectare (Colomb 2007, pages 8-9).

Immigration has always played a key role in the history of Lille and in supplying cheap and most often unskilled labour to its factories. Lille has seen waves of immigrations from Flanders, Portugal, Spain, Italy, Poland and more recently from North Africa.

After the Second World War Lille's industries began to decline. The mines became too expensive to run and suffered from lack of investment. Consumer preferences changed; companies relocated to countries with cheaper production costs. Over 40 years (1946–86) the Nord-Pas de Calais region lost 400,000 jobs and the process of deindustrialisation is still going on. Between January 2003 and February 2004, for instance, the local manufacturing sector lost 3,600 jobs (Dedieu, 2004). Lille was a city devastated by unemployment and the closure of its industrial facilities. Faced with poor job opportunities people have left not only the city but also the region. The fabric of the city has suffered, with increasingly derelict private, public and commercial buildings. In the past 20 years, attempts have been made by Lille's city council to change Lille's fate; one way of doing so was organising or attracting international or European events. This strategy was undertaken together with the development of regional transport and in particular bringing the high-speed Eurostar and TGV services through Lille. In the 1990s, Lille made an unsuccessful bid to host the 2004 Olympic Games. Winning the 2004 title of European Capital of Culture, was seen as especially important for Lille as it had never been considered as having any culture and as being an attractive and interesting place for visitors.

MOTIVATION FOR A 'METAMORPHOSIS'

> *The main motivation behind the city bidding to become Capital of Culture was to undertake a regeneration of Lille and the greater region and transform the image of the city. The rhetoric has focused on bringing the colour back to Lille and thereby transforming the traditional black and white image of the city and the northern region. The broad aims are to promote creativity and exchange throughout the region and involve the whole population to transform the city and region. The key word has been 'metamorphosis' and is perceived within a long-term development process. The key objectives are to promote social cohesion and enhance pride and self-confidence within the region by promoting creativity and cultural experiences. Bringing art into the streets, organising popular street festivals and encouraging encounters between artists and the public are all parts of the strategy*
>
> (Palmer, 2004b, page 346).

The capital of culture designation was the mechanism with which Lille hoped to improve its image, and to reposition itself as a strong capital, capable of attracting investors. Its aims were to raise the international profile of the region, to enable its long-term cultural development, to change the identity of this region on a long-term basis as well as to develop tourism and create employment opportunities. A significant goal was to engage the full participation of the population, who are the primary beneficiaries of this scheme and one of the guarantees of its success. This scheme was based on two fundamental principles. First, a geographical integration of the whole region, with the participation of 193 cities of the Nord-Pas de Calais and also parts of Belgium, to ensure that

the economic, cultural and social benefits were shared across this territory. This ensured that the scheme was devised in a sustainable manner so as to change the image of this northern region as a whole. Some critics have said that the title, 'Lille 2004', is a misnomer, since it does not reflect this regional integration. Second, this regional integration has been the key to unlocking investment from various French authorities, supplementing the resources obtained at the European level. The project attracted financial investment from Europe, the state, the region, the departments, the urban communities and all the cities involved. The table below presents the overall budget disaggregated according to the investor.

Table 7 Contribution to Lille 2004 (figures from Tricart, 2005)

Investor	Amount (€m)
La Ville de Lille	8.00
Lille Métropole Communauté Urbaine	13.70
Le Conseil Régional du Nord– Pas de Calais	10.70
Le Conseil Général du Nord	6.70
Le Conseil Général du Pas-de-Calais	3.35
L'Etat et ses différents Ministères	13.70
Union Européenne, villes et collectivités de l'Eurorégion	4.50
Private businesses	13.00
Total	**73,65**

The significant amount of private investment is remarkable. More than 80 companies contributed 17.6 per cent of the overall budget. This is exceptional for France, which tends to have greater public than private investments in cultural events. This is also high compared with the levels of private investment for other European capitals of cultures. Private companies, for instance, contributed €6.4m for Bruges, European Capital of Culture in 2002 or €5.5m for Stockholm, European Capital of Culture in 1998. This high level of investment is a testimony to the strong interest of the private sector in this scheme as an opportunity to change the image of Lille and the Nord-Pas de Calais region. It also reflects the work undertaken by the President of the Chamber of Trade and Industry of Lille who was behind this project since its inception in 1998. Table 7 also reflects the success of the team behind this scheme in obtaining public funding from all the different administrative strata existing in France. To devise the project strategy, a multidisciplinary council, Lille Horizon 2004, was set up in 2000 to secure the budget for the different events. Under

the presidency of the mayor of Lille, Martine Aubry, it brought together 42 people from the institutional, cultural and economic sectors. A team – 'the 2004 Team' – of more than 100 people was also recruited to coordinate the year of events. This team was organised thematically and included sectors concerned with the visual arts and exhibitions, live shows, urban projects, major events, communication, and tourism.

EVALUATION METHOD

Lille Horizon 2004 requested an external expert, Thomas Werquin - who had been working for the past four years on developing an ex-post method for measuring the impact of Lille 2004 as part of his PhD research at the *Agence de développement et d'urbanisme de Lille Métropole* - to evaluate the European title and yearlong events (Werquin, 2005). In addition, an A to Z was released, providing an alphabetical description of the different events that took place during 2004 in Lille, all around the Nord-Pas de Calais region and in the Belgium towns that took part in the project (Tricart, 2005). The organisation of the events and activities was centralised by Lille Horizon 2004 and the 2004 Team. Therefore a wealth of data was collected by these two organisations. This included, first, comprehensive data on all the events organised during Lille 2004 all over the Nord-Pas de Calais region and the cities of Belgium. In addition, the ticketing system for all the paid events was coordinated by the 2004 Team. Through the ticketing system, data was collected on audiences to the paid events. This was complemented by counting visitors in cultural spaces and events that were freely accessible. The 2004 Team also collected data on the educational events organised during the year, including how many schoolchildren took part in these events, and also about the news coverage in the local, regional, national and international media.

L'INSEE, the National Institute for Statistics and Economic Studies, collected data on the numbers of job created between October 2003 and September 2004, in the retail, cultural, hotel and catering sectors (Werquin, 2005). This national organisation, in collaboration with the regional committee for tourism (Comité Régional du Tourisme) also collected data on the occupancy rates of hotels in Lille and its region in 2003 and 2004. Data was disaggregated according to the purposes of the trip to Lille (tourism or business) and the geographical origin of the patrons – to identify the numbers of international travellers.

In addition, several surveys were conducted, including one among Tables Gourmandes (Gourmet Tables), a regional association of traditional and gourmet restaurants, in September and October 2004. The aim of this survey was to collect and analyse data on the profits and turnover of these restaurants in Lille. From mid-July to the end of August 2004 another face-to-face survey of 300

visitors was conducted by the Lille Chamber de Commerce (Chambre de Commerce et d'Industrie de Lille Métropole, 2004). It was carried out during the summer in order to ensure that as many tourists as possible could be interviewed in major touristic places such as in the Musée des Beaux Arts, the Musée d'Art Moderne and the railway stations. Its aim was to determine the countries of origin of the tourists, find out what means of transport they had used to get to Lille, how long they were staying, the facilities used (hotels, restaurants, and so on), the reasons for coming to Lille, the places visited both in and outside of Lille, what they thought of the places they visited, as well as any plans to come back to Lille. Only tourists from beyond the Nord-Pas de Calais region were questioned.

URBAN METAMORPHOSIS AND REGENERATION

As most European capitals of culture have done, Lille and the other cities and towns located in the Nord-Pas de Calais region renovated their historic and cultural buildings and transformed former derelict buildings into new cultural spaces. This was presented as a part of Lille's ambition to use this European title to 'metamorphose' the city. Key buildings, such as Lille Opera, the Palais des Beaux-Arts in Lille or the Musée de l'Hôtel Sandelin in Saint-Omer, were extensively renovated. Derelict industrial structures were rehabilitated and turned into cultural centres, including the transformation of 12 derelict industrial buildings (former factories, mills, breweries, and so on) spread across the region (three are in Belgium) into 'Maisons Folie'. These 'Maisons Folie' have been conceived as unique cultural venues to be kept after 2004. As industrial structures, they embody the spirit of the northern region as well as the social, economic and cultural history of their local neighbourhoods, in which they historically played a large part. They were also deemed to contain important architecture, worth conserving and have been transformed into major cultural centres with a performance area, an exhibition venue, artists' workshops, a kitchen, dining room and multimedia space. Most of these Maisons Folie were in poorer city districts; this means that now culture and cultural activities are on the doorstep of people in lower socio-economic backgrounds. This might encourage people who do not tend to go to cultural places to visit them, especially as the old industrial buildings are symbols of the working class, rather than hidebound and intimidating cultural venues. Another major transformation has been the former postal sorting office, 'Tri Postal'. Having lost its function, this imposing three-storey building of 5,500sq m was rehabilitated to house exhibitions and contemporary installations as well as a bar and a shop. At night, it has also been transformed into a clubbing space.

During 2004, Lille also transformed its urban landscapes and the city itself became an open air museum. This included for instance the project *Metamorphoses*, which aimed to transform familiar

streets with open air installations spread out all around the participating cities. Residents and visitors were invited to look at familiar places with new eyes. There was an upside-down forest in the middle of the city, a landing strip for UFOs (by Jean-Claude Mézières) and a snakelight (by Daniel Buren). One of the main streets of Lille, Rue Faidherbe, was transformed for five months into a Shanghai street. For people who cannot travel abroad, this was a good introduction to other cultures and urban landscapes. It was also a way of presenting Lille in a cosmopolitan context. All these different investments and rehabilitation for the European Capital of Culture have cost an additional €70m.

EVENTS

A total of 2,500 cultural events were held in all the 193 cities that took part in celebrating Lille, European Capital of Culture; the year started with the celebration of St Nicholas on 6 December 2003 and ended in November 2004. These events were as diverse as possible to attract as many visitors as possible. The breakdown was:

~ performance arts: 40 per cent

~ programmes of the Maisons Folie: 28 per cent

~ exhibitions and installations: 14 per cent

~ events organised for the 'Parallel world' events: 13 per cent

~ open air parties: 3 per cent

~ symposiums: 1 per cent

Although they only represented 14 per cent of the programming, the major visual arts exhibitions were very popular. Lille and its region wanted to prove that it could organise exhibitions as prestigious as those held in Paris, and to locate Lille 2004 as a major national and international cultural destination. Shows included the retrospective *Rubens*, in the Palais des Beaux-Arts de Lille; *Mexique-Europe allers-retours*,in the Musée d'Art Moderne de Villeneuve D'Ascq, which showcased painters such as Diego Ribera or Frida Kahlo; *l'Égyptologie d'Auguste Mariette*, in the Château-Musée de Boulogne sur Mer; *Picasso, objets de peintre* in La Piscine in Roubaix as well as an exhibition on Watteau in Valenciennes and one on Ingres in Cambrai. These exhibitions helped

to highlight the diversity of museums in the whole of the Nord-Pas de Calais region and not only in Lille. This regional spread was considered an important way of keeping visitors in the region for longer and encouraging them to visit a variety of cities.

Performances were held not only in traditional venues, such as theatres, but also in temporary spaces, such as tents in the city centre, which helped to create a less intimidating atmosphere than in more imposing and grand buildings. The tents welcomed, for instance, new circus for children, dances, puppet shows or concerts, and attracted major international artists, such as Nigerian-born singer-songwriter, Keziah Jones. The *Parallel Worlds* events complemented *Metamorphoses*, and contained 32 theme weekends (such as New York, Japan, Africa, Great Black Music, Montreal) of exhibitions, performances, free concerts. Lille shared the title of 2004 European Capital of Culture with Genoa (Italy) and dedicated one of its Parallel World weekends to Genoa. This was the only project that was shared between the two cities, because of the difficulties of 'making a comprehensive common project between the two cities due to their different programmes and approaches.' (Palmer, 2004b, page 348).

On top of all this, six major open-air parties or processions ensured a democratisation of culture, to accommodate all tastes. The parties included the opening ball, *Ouverture!*, in December 2003, in which almost three quarters of a million people dressed in white and danced to the Orchestre National de Lille or Sabor de Brazil, accompanied by technicolour projections. The party that closed the Capital of Culture year saw participants dressed in colourful clothes, accompanied by fireworks and an electric ball. In July 2004 a major event was the procession of the 230 giants from France and Belgium in the streets of Lille. These effigies first appeared in urban religious processions around 500 years ago in many European towns and have continued to serve as emblems of identity for certain Belgian and French towns. They represent mythical heroes or animals, contemporary local figures, historical, biblical or legendary characters or trades.

In addition, part of the Lille 2004 strategy was to enable towns without a museum or gallery to be part of the celebrations. This initiative, *les Beffrois* [belfries]*de la Culture*, was based on exhibiting key artefacts, borrowed from national collections, in public buildings such as town halls or belfries, buildings symbolising the north of France and Belgium. Rodin's most famous sculpture,*The Thinker* , for instance, was displayed in the city hall of Liévin, a painting by Picasso went to the belfry of Aulnoye-Aymeries or in Hesdin there was a work by Rembrandt. This was another way of democratising culture – bringing it to people who might not necessarily frequent cultural institutions and exhibiting it in less 'intimidating' places than museums.

AUDIENCE

Lille 2004 has been deemed a success, in terms of the visitor numbers with around 9 million people taking part in the events (Werquin, 2005, page 3). This success has been attributed to a range of factors. First, some events were free and playful, such as the opening ball, which attracted 750,000 people or the closing ball, which 300,000 people attended. These figures were much higher than the 50,000 predicted (Helme, 2009, page 23). Secondly, 39 per cent of all the cultural events were also free, such as the events in the 12 Maisons Folie, which attracted altogether more than 300,000 participants. Moreover, the major art exhibitions drew large numbers of visitors. *Rubens* attracted more than 300,000 visitors to the Palais des Beaux-Arts de Lille; *Mexique-Europe allers-retours* attracted 214,000 people to the Musée d'Art Moderne de Villeneuve D'Ascq; 110,000 visitors went to *l'Egyptologie d'Auguste Mariette* in the Château-Musée in Boulogne-sur-Mer and the Picasso exhibition in La Piscine in Roubaix welcomed 128,000 people. Above all, the *beffrois de la culture* exhibitions of masterpieces from French collections in cities without museums or galleries attracted almost 100,000 people. Efforts to democratise the cultural experiences of Lille 2004 were also a factor in drawing in large crowds. Access to many events was free; exhibitions took place in innovative venues; steps were taken to accompany people not used to going to museums or concerts to cultural places and events, often with the help of associations or social centres or through municipal services.

This was accompanied by an ambitious educational programme; 66,000 schoolchildren took part in the celebrations, mainly in two key activities. An exhibition, *Satellite des sens*, (Satellite of senses) travelled to kindergartens in more than 150 towns of the region, guiding children to discover their five senses. The second activity revolved around inviting children in hundreds of primary and secondary schools, colleges and high schools to imagine the 'ideal city', one of the structuring themes of Lille 2004, and to transform urban spaces into an attractive place for people to live in and visit. Using different artistic disciplines, including literature, architecture or visual arts, pupils created more than 900 pieces expressing their vision of the ideal future or a new art of living in the city. Some classes even participated directly in events devised by the artists as part of the official programming.

VISITORS' PROFILES AND ATTITUDES

The report of the survey of 300 visitors conducted in summer 2004 acknowledged that its sample might not have been representative (Chambre de Commerce et d'Industrie de Lille Métropole, 2004). The survey was conducted in the main cultural places of Lille and Roubaix, including the

train stations, the museums or the tourist office. The report recognised that the location of the interviewers in the main cultural places might have biased some of the results, for instance, the high responses of visitors indicating culture as the main reason for visiting Lille and Roubaix. But the surveys did shed some light on why people decided to visit Lille, whether these reasons were related to the events of Lille 2004 and which if any of the other towns in the region they intended to visit. The survey provides some indication of the profiles of visitors. French nationals represented 42 per cent of the interviewees. Among international tourists, 20 per cent came from England and 19 per cent from Belgium. Around a third (33 per cent) planned to stay more than three nights; 31 per cent 2–3 nights and 32 per cent just one day. Most people did not stay more than four days, despite the richness and variety of events. This might have been either because people tended to stay only in Lille or that they were not aware of the wealth of events outside Lille. As for accommodation, 50 per cent of visitors stayed in hotels while 24 per cent of them stayed with family or friends.

The main reason for more than half (58 per cent) of the visitors for going to Lille was culture, while for almost half (46 per cent) it was the temporary events. There was an obvious overlap between these two replies; since Lille 2004 was a major provider of cultural events, particularly temporary exhibitions in the sites where the surveys took place. Information about how visitors learnt about their destination underlined the importance of Lille 2004. More than a quarter (27 per cent), the second highest group of replies, had heard of Lille as the European Capital of Culture. Almost 35 per cent of respondents had heard of Lille as a place to visit from their parents and families. The survey also shed light on success of the policy of spreading events all over the region. A question asking how many different cities people had visited showed that 67 per cent of visitors had only visited Lille; 12 per cent of the respondents had visited Roubaix as well as Lille and 10 per cent had gone to Villeneuve d'Ascq as well as to Lille. Less than 5 per cent of those surveyed said they would visit the other cities. Most of the visitors surveyed did not visit the events organised as part of Lille 2004 in smaller cities in the Nord-Pas de Calais region, which seemed to have attracted mainly local people. This was confirmed by the list of the three most cited places visited, first of all, Lille's Palais des Beaux Arts (more than 30 per cent), the Piscine in Roubaix (28 per cent) and finally Lille's town hall and Grande Place. The only other place not in Lille that was mentioned was the Musée d'Art Moderne in Villeneuve d'Ascq, cited by around 7 per cent of respondents. Interviewees said they were fairly satisfied with their trips; more than eight out of ten (84 per cent) said they would return to Lille and nearly all (96 per cent) would recommend the place to family and friends.

One of the main problems I found with this survey and its report is that they provided no information on the range of visitor profiles and patterns over time, in particular before and during

Lille 2004. It was therefore very difficult to understand the impacts of Lille 2004 as concerns visitor profiles and patterns.

ARTISTS AND VOLUNTEERS

Around 17,000 artists participated in the various Lille 2004 events, half of whom originated from the Nord-Pas de Calais region, thereby benefiting the local economy and artistic activities. In addition, 17,800 volunteers helped run the activities and events. The considerable use of volunteers enabled many people to feel intimately involved in the events organised as part of the celebrations. The A–Z highlighted the diversity of profiles of volunteers, ranging from students to employees to retired people (Tricart, 2005). The reasons why people volunteered varied and included individuals who wanted to be in contact with the artists, who wanted to help improve the image of their region or who wanted to feel useful. No information was provided on these schemes and whether they targeted unemployed and socially excluded people.

ECONOMIC IMPACTS

The report on the evaluation of Lille 2004 highlighted the notable impact that all the events organised had on different economic sectors, using figures provided by INSEE (Werquin, pages 8 and 9). Between 2003 and 2004, the number of overnight hotel stays in Lille went up by 27.2 per cent. Data related to tourists was separated out from data about people staying overnight in Lille for other reasons, such as business. The number of tourists' overnight stays in Lille went up 39.7 per cent, from 300,000 nights in 2003 to 400,000 nights in 2004. The overall hotel occupancy rate went up from 63 per cent in 2003 to 70.3 per cent in 2004. Employment strongly benefited from Lille 2004. According to INSEE there was a 7 per cent increase in jobs created in Lille in the hotel, restoration and culture sectors combined, between 2003 and 2004, a figure much higher than for the regional level (+1.5 per cent) or national level (+1.1 per cent). Despite the organisers' hopes that Lille 2004 would benefit the whole region, it was mainly Lille that benefited: 22 per cent of the new jobs were in the culture sector in Lille itself. Outside Lille the figures were less impressive: this sector only increased by 4 per cent at regional and 0.4 per cent at national level between 2003 and 2004. Lille Horizon 2004 created 1341 contracts in 2003 and 2004, 50 per cent of them were of limited duration and a further 15 per cent concerned artists. Residents from the Nord-Pas de Calais region constituted 83 per cent of those benefiting from these contracts. In addition, of this 7 per cent increase, 15 per cent concerned the creation of employment related to the hotel business in Lille. Comparatively, this sector only increased by 0.5 per cent at the national level and remained stable at the regional level between 2003 and 2004.

The catering sector benefited from Lille 2004; restaurants' turnover increased by 7–13 per cent in 2004 compared with 2003. Beverage suppliers – to cafes, bars and restaurants in Lille – saw their turnover rise by 15–20 per cent in 2004. The rise in tourism was an explanatory factor for several of these figures. Tourism increased, thanks to partnerships developed between the tourism office and tour operators from all over Europe, including TUI or Thomas Cook. For the first time, 35 new tour operators proposed Lille as a destination. Lille is likely to continue to be proposed as a destination by these tour operators in the future. The use of public transport also increased between 2003 and 2004. Public transport within Lille increased by 3 per cent between 2003 and 2004 as visitors needed to access events and activities. There was also a 14 per cent increase in Eurostar traffic between Lille and London.

COMMUNICATION POLICY AND IMPACTS

Major efforts were undertaken to publicise the events and activities organised as part of Lille 2004. To communicate about these activities and events, a variety of tactics were used in order to target as many people as possible.

> *The graphic identity of Lille 2004 has been used in all promotional material: the logo of the figure striding, the three colours red, pink and apple green and the code bar indicating the location of events. Banners are used in all 160 partner cities and towns. Print media has been the main promotional tool with 800.000 programme newspapers printed for each season, as well as monthly programmes and individual project fliers. New technologies have also been used such as the website (www.lille2004.fr), e-zines/ newsletters, e-mail messaging, facilities for booking tickets on-line, e-conferences and debates and internet broadcasting.*
>
> (Palmer, 2004b, page 350).

More than 4,000 journalists were received and shown the projects, activities and events. This communication campaign's impact was measured as follows:

~ 2,000 TV reports of the events were broadcast both on French and international channels

~ 5,000 articles were published in the regional press

~ 1,500 in the national press

~ about 1,500 articles appeared in foreign newspapers, including Time magazine and the *Wall Street Journal*.

Understandably, press coverage of Lille 2004 was significant in Belgium because of its proximity and involvement with the events organised. However, there was no information on the content of all the news coverage recorded. Were news features positive or negative? Nor was there any measure of comparison with news coverage in previous years. I found it difficult to know in these circumstances whether the news coverage of Lille 2004 represented a major increase on the media coverage of previous years. In addition, around 140 delegations came to Lille to learn about the organisation of Lille 2004, such as the municipality of Vancouver, which visited as part of its preparation for the 2010 Winter Olympics, or delegations from new EU-member countries, such as Hungary or Poland.

LONG-TERM IMPACTS

As part of my research, I undertook analyses of the longer-term impacts of Lillle 2004 which were not included in the reports I analysed on Lille 2004. Lille had planned several events to prolong the European Capital of Culture experience beyond the designated year. This is original since other 'capitals of culture' only planned activities for one year. Activities organised as a direct continuation of Lille 2004 included, first, Lille 3000 – slogan: *le voyage continue* (the journey continues). Lille 3000 even uses the same logo as Lille 2004 and the narrative on its website clearly links it to Lille 2004. It indicates indeed that the aim of Lille 3000 is to continue the momentum started in 2004 through major cultural events organised around a main theme over the next few years. Like Lille 2004, Lille 3000 is based on a variety of events, public and private partnerships (fitting in with the yearly theme or exhibition) as well as the extensive use of volunteers and a strong presence in regional and national media. Themes included Europe XXL, organised in 2009, which was a celebration and presentation of Central and Eastern Europe through a diversity of events. Lille 3000 also uses some of the cultural spaces created in the framework of

Lille 2004, such as the Tri Postal, which has welcomed key exhibitions over the past years; for instance arts from the collection Pinault held from October 6 2007 to January 06 2008.

Lille 2004 has played a major role in giving the Nord-Pas de Calais region a more positive image, when previously it was associated with industrial decline and unemployment. It has been credited by some people as having influenced the decision to locate the new branch of the Louvre, arguably one of the most prestigious museums in the world, in Lens in the Nord-Pas de Calais region, close to Lille (Nordmag, 2009). The website of this new branch of the Louvre presents the Nord-Pas de Calais as culturally one of the most vibrant regions. The Louvre's decision will certainly help to continue to fulfill the aims of Lille 2004 and transform this region.

CONCLUSION

The evaluation commissioned for Lille 2004 did not include any particular terms of reference; the only objectives ever specified were those for Lille 2004 itself. They were to regenerate Lille, to raise the international profile of the region, to enable its long-term cultural development, to change the identity of this region on a long-term basis as well as to develop tourism and create employment opportunities. Lille 2004 is often presented as a 'success', in particular in the press (see for instance Helme, 2009; Gignoux and Quille, 2009), based on the quantitative data released: more than 2500 cultural events were organised in the 193 cities that took part in Lille 2004 and nine million people participated in the events organised. Thousands of artists and volunteers contributed, tourism increased, jobs were created in the hotel, restoration and culture sectors. The total budget of €73.65m with the private businesses made of 80 companies contributing 17.6 per cent of this total budget was also highly publicised since such level of investment is rare.

These figures are certainly impressive. However, some data, quantitative but also more qualitative ones are missing. The spending of the budget, for instance, is difficult to understand and no data seems to have been published on the itemisation of this spending. It is difficult to understand why this is the case and it might just be because the information was never made available to the evaluator. Second, as detailed above, additional funding of about €70m seems to have been necessary for the rehabilitation and renovation of the main cultural spaces, such as transforming former derelict industrial buildings into 'Maisons Folie'. However, no information is provided on whether these various budgets were sufficient or whether additional funding was needed to undertake such rehabilitation and renovation.

Data on job creation stressed that, combined, the hotel, restoration and culture sectors recorded

a 7 per cent increase in jobs between 2003 and 2004. But there was no information on the nature and length of those jobs, except for those created by Lille Horizon 2004, which stated that, of the 1341 contracts it created in 2003 and 2004, all but 28 were temporary. Much of the work for Lille 2004 was by its nature, short-term so one can assume that most employment contracts were temporary, but without actual data this is an assumption; it is difficult to understand what the 7 per cent increase in employment amounted to.

One of the objectives of Lille 2004 was to involve the whole population in the events organised. The high rate of participation of the local population in the different events organised has been widely publicised. No survey was conducted, however, to ask the local population about events they were attending or not attending, or about the impact such events may have had on their identity and their relation to their city and their region, the social cohesion and integration. The mission of the organisers of Lille 2004 was clearly to democratise culture through making it freely accessible and opening cultural spaces in socially and economically deprived quarters, as was done through the networks of the 'Maisons Folie'. But there was no information on whether the socially and economically deprived segments of the population, who do not tend to frequent cultural spaces, actually visited these new cultural spaces, or the events organised during Lille 2004. Even if the more deprived segments of the region's population indeed visited these cultural places, we do not know how such places affected them. Nor was there any information in the official evaluation of Lille 2004 on the pedagogical impacts of the educational projects.

There have been some criticisms of the events themselves, as published in the press (see for instance, Glu, 2005, pages 7-26). As for the programming of the Lowry, the programming for Lille 2004 had something of a pick-and-mix feel about it. The organisers coordinated an eclectic mass of contrasting spectacles and events, aiming to create a buzz around Lille 2004, to capture media attention, to cater for the largest possible public and to attract as many visitors as possible. The major visual art exhibitions around popular artistic figures such as Frida Kahlo and Rubens were part of the plan to attract large numbers of visitors. This logic of the rapid changes of cultural events and products and the search for profit maximisation in the field of culture has been widely criticised, in particular by Bourdieu:

> *Is it still possible today, and will it still be possible in the future, to speak of cultural production and culture? Those who are making the new world of communication, and who are themselves made by it, love to bring up the problem*

> *of speed, information flows and transactions that become ever more rapid, and no doubt they are partly right when they have in mind the circulation of information and the cycle of products. That said, the logic of speed and profit, combined in the pursuit of maximum short-term profit (with audience ratings for television, sales figures for books and of course newspapers, and entrance tickets for cinema) strikes me as hard to reconcile with the idea of culture*
>
> (2008, page 342).

One of the downsides of private companies having such a significant role in financing the Lille 2004 budget (contributing 17.6 per cent of the total) was that programming choices were influenced by political or economic interests and there were problems and misunderstandings between the artists, the cultural spaces exhibiting them and the commercial sponsors. Because some of the artworks proposed were against the main message of the commercial sponsor, there was censorship. One example released in the press was the censorship of a series of photos on the theme of shoplifting originally included as part of an exhibition on consumption and gratuitousness organised at the Tri Postal. According to press reports1, although these photos were originally accepted, on the second day of the show they were removed, apparently because they presented a negative image of the sponsor (a supermarket), which wanted only a positive image to be conveyed through Lille 2004. This incident raises some of the ethical issues of commercial and private sponsorships of cultural events.

The core of this chapter has described the long-term strategy planned to prolong the year-long experience, such as Lille 3000. Lille 3000's events have also come under fire for absorbing the bulk of funding at the expense of local, smaller organisations and events. Funding for local events and organisations is reported to have dried up, forcing some institutions to close (Lavieville, 2006). Some local authorities in the Nord-Pas de Calais region have complained that they have been ordered to focus their cultural activities, especially those of the Maisons Folie, on better known artists, at the expense of supporting more democratic cultural projects organised with or by the local population. They have expressed concern that the original concept of the Maisons Folie will be distorted, that the local population will be alienated and the community feeling that the Maisons Folie were aiming to create disappeared (*ibid*).

1 http://lille.indymedia.org/article.php3?id_article=1159

This conclusion has thus highlighted that the discourse on the 'success' of Lille 2004, European Capital of Culture has, to some extent, been constructed. Some of the data is missing, no information is provided on the nature and length of most of the jobs created through Lille 2004, no information has been provided on the impacts of the participation of the local population in events organized in terms of identity or social cohesion and integration and the events organised since 2004 have been criticized for not supporting local artists. These aspects are further discussed in the conclusion.

6: CONCLUSIONS

This chapter looks critically at the points highlighted by the preceding chapters. These points concern both the different methods used for regeneration as well as the outcomes. Because the projects that I selected to examine varied –not only in the regeneration strategy that each used but also in the methods devised for evaluating the impact of that regeneration – I have not tried to make any comparisons between the various cases. I have instead discussed some of the strengths and weaknesses of each of the projects analysed, from the viewpoint of the approaches used for the regeneration or the methods used for their evaluation.

REGENERATION STRATEGIES AND MODELS

WHAT IS CULTURE AND HERITAGE?

The four cases studies exemplified the way in which the notion of culture has become extended from its traditional meanings, taking in and combining various elements belonging to different fields as well as highbrow and lowbrow elements (Bianchini, 1993a, page 9). In the cultural venues that were the focus of Chapter 2 (The Lowry) and Chapter 5 (Lille 2004), cultural programming was very broad, aiming to target as wide a public as possible. This has led to an emphasis on 'spectacle' and stimulation which resulted in superficial and trivialised cultural events, not in any way connected to the locality in which they are set.

Lille 2004, for instance displayed a reversed forest, a takeoff strip for UFO or a snakelight. These represent conscious efforts to 'democratise' culture. The artworks were supplemented by opportunities for those people who are excluded or tend to exclude themselves from accessing heritage and cultural places and events, to visit them. While these democratising efforts tend to be associated with actions to reinforce the positive identity of participants and contribute to social cohesion, it is very difficult to understand how the visit to a takeoff strip for UFO contributes to social cohesion or identity. The lack of neighbourhood surveys means that we do not have any information about what impact the programming might have had on the population of Lille and the region that was the target of many of the events.

What counted more in the eyes of the planners of Lille 2004 was, in my view, the programming of as many events as possible, to nurture an image of a 'creative' city, without necessarily finding events and artworks that would have any cultural impact and would strengthen local community's identity and cohesion.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: CONSUMPTION VS PRODUCTION

Theorists and practitioners have often distinguished between two models of regeneration: one based on consumption and one on production-oriented strategies (see for instance Bianchini, 1993b, page 203). The consumption model revolves around urban cultural attractions and activities acting as magnets for tourism, retailing, hotel and catering. The second supports activities in the tertiary sector, such as publishing, media or music-related activities, which require specialised skills and infrastructures Both Kazimierz and Lille 2004 were regenerated using a consumption-oriented model. The Lowry is shifting from a consumption-oriented model to a production-oriented one with the move by the BBC of five of its departments into a new building called *mediacity:uk* in Salford Quays. The arrival of the BBC is expected to attract other media, broadcasting and filmmaking companies to the area, creating new skilled jobs.

Bianchini argues that consumption-oriented models are risky for cities on the long-term basis since they depend on external factors 'over which cities have very limited control' (ibid.), including the number of tourists or their disposable income. For commentators to imply that tourism is an unpredictable driver of regeneration and should not be relied on, is perhaps to underestimate its potency: tourism is one of the fastest growing industries. Provided that destinations, such as Lille or Krakow, can continue to attract segments of the tourist market by offering a choice of travelling and tourist facilities that cater for the range of budgets, then the consumption-oriented model can remain viable, on the long term. Attracting tourists requires continuous marketing of the historic urban area as a distinct brand. The area needs to be seen as a 'not-to-be-missed' visitor destination. There needs to be a constant stream of arts festivals, high-profile cultural or heritage events and the opening of new venues to draw visitors to make repeat visits.

BRANDING AND SYMBOLIC REPRESENTATION

In all the regeneration strategies looked at in this report, branding and symbolic transformation of the historic urban area was a central theme. Lille 2004 showed this aspect particularly clearly:

> *The main motivation behind the city bidding to become Capital of Culture was to undertake a regeneration of Lille and the greater region and transform the image of the city. The rhetoric has focused on bringing the colour back to Lille and thereby transforming the traditional black and white image of the city and the northern region*
>
> (Palmer, 2004b, page 346).

Lille certainly suffered from an image deficit as a post-industrial city with derelict buildings and jobless residents. As detailed in Chapter 5, this rebranding was organised around festivals and ephemeral events. Another approach to rebranding cities and areas which suffered from an image deficit, following the example of Bilbao, has revolved around more permanent structures designed as innovative architectural landmarks, such as The Lowry.

These strategies centred around either ephemeral events or more permanent structures have helped all the urban neighbourhoods presented in this research to transform their image into dynamic, creative and cosmopolitan cities or districts. Their reputations have been enhanced, and they have moved onto the list of trendy destinations. With the aid of spectacular cultural events or landmark cultural venues, cities or urban areas have attempted to create a brand that encourages visitors to visit them again and again. Such branding can also increase educational and employment opportunities by attracting companies into the area, providing jobs for residents.

It should not be denied that the competition between cities and urban areas is fierce. If a city or urban area is complacent about the work it has done to create its image, and does not continually renew its brand, there is a risk of 'brand decay' with the area losing its reputation for ambitious and avant-garde cultural events or venues. To maintain visitor appeal and city marketing distinction requires regular investment in new cultural facilities and experiences and enthusiastic marketing. This continuous branding of the city or the historic urban area can take a number of forms, depending on the structures in places, be they permanent or ephemeral. As highlighted in this publication, but also by Bianchini for instance, this dichotomy between permanent and ephemeral structures is in many ways artificial '"Ephemeral" events, if coherently organised and repeated, can become "permanent" features of a city's cultural landscape, producing long-term benefits in terms of image, tourist and support for local cultural production' (1993b, page 203).

This is the case for instance for Lille 2004. While this was supposed to be an ephemeral event lasting for one year, a number of visible events have been organised since the end of that this European title, within the umbrella of Lille 3000, to foster long-term benefits and ensure a sustainable change of the image of this city. In Kazimierz also, several ephemeral cultural events have been repeated over the years, for instance the Jewish Culture Festival, which has drawn increasing numbers of visitors and helped this neighbourhood acquire a much more permanent positive image. The branding of this historic area has also been based on its permanent structures, including an increasing number of galleries and museums, most recently the transformation of Oskar Schindler's factory into a museum, located in what used to be Krakow's ghetto. The Lowry is an instance in which the regeneration has clearly been focused on creating a permanent landmark, whose innovative architecture is an attraction in its own right. Such landmark buildings have come

under fire because there is a danger with them that 'maintenance costs and loan charges (...) are often so high that they absorb most of the resources available' (Bianchini, 1993b, page 204). ECOTEC's evaluation of The Lowry mentioned that actual running costs had been twice the original estimates, but figures on the overall running costs of the centre in relation to the incomes generated by the presence of the site were not forthcoming (not gathered or not asked for). Such high cost of maintenance might be the reason why Lille, Liverpool and Krakow did not link their regeneration strategy to the construction of a landmark.

REGIONALISATION AS BRANDING

An important strand of the regeneration strategy for Lille 2004 was to involve the whole Nord-Pas de Calais region in of the organization of the cultural events; this was clearly explained in its evaluation report. Since 2004, several cultural projects have been launched in the region to ensure that not only the image of Lille, but also that of the surrounding region, gets transformed positively. First, the belfries of Flanders, Artois, Hainaut and Picardy, located in Nord-Pas de Calais and Picardy were inscribed as a UNESCO World Heritage site in 2005 as an extension to the Flemish belfries World Heritage site (nominated in 1998 and inscribed in 1999). In addition, Arras, another city from the Nord-Pas de Calais region saw its fortifications, designed by Vauban, inscribed on the World Heritage List as part of the *Fortifications of Vauban*. In 2005, the processional giants and dragons in Belgium and France were proclaimed as Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity by UNESCO. The nomination dossier for this nomination mentioned two cities in the Nord-Pas de Calais region that are strongly linked to the tradition of Giants that are Douai and Cassel. The last piece in this cultural scaffolding was the official nomination of the Nord-Pas de Calais coal basin for inscription on the UNESCO List in early 2010. This cultural stratification has been accompanied by the wide development of transport, including, at regional levels, high speed trains connecting both Belgium and England as well as an efficient network of public transport. These initiatives represent a clear attempt to cement this region's reputation as an international destination for culture.

IMPACT EVALUATION MODELS AND RESULTS: KEY ISSUES

LACK OF DATA

The four cases analysed were characterised by a lack of secondary data at the local, regional or national level. As evaluators of the Liverpool Rope Walks scheme, Oxford Brookes University highlighted:

It is a continuing challenge to collect the data needed in interpreting the impact of conservation lead developments in an area such as the Liverpool Rope Walks. Changes in staff and the varied demands on their time and energy make it difficult to collect information. Similarly the national and regional statistics available change in frustrating ways that seems, at times, to negate the very rationale for gathering them in the first place (2006, page 22).

This lack of data compelled evaluators to base their assessments on estimates; that was how ECOTEC, for instance, calculated the indirect and induced effects of The Lowry. This lack of data limits the possibility of having 'hard evidence' for the impacts of regeneration as well as the possibility of constructing longitudinal series of data on the longer-term impact of regeneration over time. It has been pointed out that the lack of access to detailed data, of 'hard evidence' and of a basis to measure impacts over time, have limited more 'scientific' analysis, leaving little scope for anything much beyond political speculation (Evans 2006, page 122).

Collecting primary data was also a real challenge for the evaluators, as indicated in particular by the low rates of return of the questionnaires sent out by Oxford Brookes University . There was an 11 per cent rate of return on the 465 questionnaires mailed to randomly selected household addresses in the Liverpool Rope Walks area. Five years later even fewer forms were returned. Was the low rate of return an indicator of the local community's lack of interest or even hostility towards the regeneration scheme? Was it a misunderstanding or lack of awareness of the evaluation process? Was it a symptom of the change in the population of the district, with the newcomers uninterested in completing the questionnaires? We can only speculate.

The attempt to ascertain local views was all the more important, since, 'To date too little attention has been paid to the voices of ordinary citizens whose cities have been reshaped, who live with these landscapes every day.... ' (Hall, 2004, page 71). Maybe the failure in Liverpool showed that local residents excluded themselves knowingly since they felt that they had no legitimate role within the regeneration scheme and that expressing their views was a pointless exercise.

WHAT IS BEING MEASURED?

The three official evaluations (of The Lowry, Liverpool Rope Walks and Lille 2004) showed that the quantitative results of the impact evaluation have been overtly positive. This situation might have been triggered by the new orthodoxy that culture/heritage-led or cultural regeneration fosters positive social and economic impacts, which are 'out of proportion to their cost' (Matarasso, 1997, page 81). Evaluations have tended not to challenge this new orthodoxy and have sought to prove the social and economic benefits of the public and private investments. Reflecting this new orthodoxy is essential for evaluation. Indeed, these overtly positive quantitative results are necessary to justify public and private funding and subsidies for culture and heritage projects. Less positive evaluations could undermine policies of financing culture/heritage-led or cultural regeneration in favour of other forms of regeneration. This situation certainly explains the popularity and generalisation of these overtly positive results (see also below the section on optimism bias).

At The Lowry the evaluators, ECOTEC, tracked direct effects, the impact of visitor spending as well as indirect and induced effects. ECOTEC calculated that the total impact of the site on GDP at the sub-regional level was around £4.9m and was responsible for the creation of 187.5 FTE jobs at local level and 203 FTE jobs at the sub-regional level. However, these figures, some of them based on estimates, did not take into account the spending related to this site and did not reflect any benefits that may have 'leaked out' of the area, thus presenting a picture that was probably unduly rosy. Second, in its evaluation of the THI scheme in Liverpool Rope Walks, Oxford Brookes University used a balanced scorecard to gauge the project's changes. It found out that the overall score had increased 7 per cent from 51 per cent in 2000 to 58 per cent in 2005 and that there was improvement in 13 of the scorecard's 16 sub-indicators. However, as the evaluators' report itself pointed out, these figures give no hint of the gentrification that took place in the neighbourhood or the fact that the area's long-term inhabitants did not benefit – economically, culturally or socially – from this scheme. In fact, it seems that the regeneration did not alleviate the social or economic hardship of the long-term inhabitants. Besides, no information is provided on the impacts of the THI scheme on the creation of employment for the long-term local inhabitants.

The evaluation of Lille 2004, European Capital of Culture focused on presenting a very positive picture of the impact, at local and regional levels, of this event. It included data about the budget, the sources of funding, the number of events organised and the number of tourists and visitors to Lille and its region. However, no itemisation of the budget is provided or indication as to whether it was sufficient or not; no figures are provided on the FTE jobs created (except for the 28 created by Lille Horizon 2004). There was no indication of the social and economic impacts of the events organised for the local community, in particular the lower classes who were one of the main targets of the cultural activities.

OPTIMISM BIAS

'The idea that culture can be employed as a driver for urban economic growth has become part of the new orthodoxy by which cities seek to enhance their competitive position' (Miles and Paddison, 2006, page ix). However, as already discussed in the previous paragraph, this new orthodoxy has been causing several problems in the evaluation methods and results highlighted. This unquestioned positive link between culture/heritage-led or cultural regeneration has led to optimism bias in a number of the regeneration projects.

> *Optimism bias is the term used to describe the demonstrated, systematic tendency for project appraisers to be overly optimistic about project costs, duration and benefits (outputs and receipts/income). In other words, it is the systematic tendency to view things in an overly positive light. It can arise in relation to any aspect of a project but it particularly applies to:*
>
> *~ costs (capital and revenue);*
>
> *~ works' duration; and*
>
> *~ benefits delivery (outputs and outcomes)*
>
> (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2007, page 5).

The upbeat outcomes in the case studies I have selected certainly count as optimism bias in 'benefits delivery'. This bias is well expressed, first, in ECOTEC's executive summary of its evaluation report which stressed that:

> *The findings of the research will be useful to HLF in helping to demonstrate the achievement of HLF's aims and objectives, and also to assist in reporting back to Government and other key stakeholders on the extent to which HLF is contributing to the delivery of wider objectives (including sustainable development)*
>
> (ECOTEC, 2008, page ii).

Similarly, some of the primary data collected and used by Oxford Brookes University in its analysis of the Liverpool Rope Walks project were tainted by optimism bias; the six people who agreed to be interviewed and had overall positive opinion of the scheme were all deeply involved in the regeneration and therefore could not really have the necessary critical detachment. They nonetheless recognise the need to continue working on the local population's social needs.

A number of reasons can explain these optimism bias, as already hinted at. The United Kingdom's Department for Communities and Local Government and for the UK's Department for Transport have looked at how and why optimism bias arises: 'political-institutional factors have in the past created a climate where only a few actors have a direct interest in avoiding optimism bias' (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2007, page 6; Bent Flyvbjerg, 2004). In other words, optimism bias is tolerated (encouraged?) since it helps to conform to the new orthodoxy described above in the quote by Miles and Paddison that culture/heritage can be employed as a driver for urban economic growth, even though this new orthodoxy might not strictly relates to reality. Conforming to this new orthodoxy is extremely important since it helps to convince public and private funders to finance cultural or heritage projects.

As highlighted in the conclusion to Chapter 2, figures relating to the positive impacts of culture and heritage are key arguments used when public cuts in funding projects relating to these sectors are looming. These figures serve as implacable justifications in keeping on funding heritage and cultural projects. Considering the importance of optimism bias, can we really expect it not to be so

present and taint so much the design and results of impact evaluations? Can it ever be avoided? The first step should surely be to encourage academics, consultants and the media to start portraying more honest results concerning evaluations and impacts of heritage and culture projects. However, why would they adopt such a stance considering that it will surely contribute to the decrease in the funding provided by the public and private sectors in cultural and heritage projects? As highlighted in the Recommendations of this report, one solution would be to encourage regeneration projects to be conducted on a long-term basis so as to ensure that time is allowed for the realisation of their objectives.

NO EVIDENCE FOR SOCIAL COHESION AND INCLUSION

My research focused on a key issue: the extent to which the regeneration of the historic urban centre contributed to a reduction in the social deprivation of the local community and to boosting social cohesion and inclusion. There is evidence that culture/heritage projects can strengthen social cohesion and inclusion and contribute to the social well-being of local communities (see Applejuice Consultants, 2008, page 5 and Dodd and Sandell, 2001). As clearly stressed by Sandell:

> *Recent research suggests that museums can contribute towards social inclusion at individual, community and societal levels. At an individual or personal level, engagement with museums can deliver positive outcomes such as enhanced self-esteem, confidence and creativity. At a community level, museums can act as a catalyst for social regeneration, empowering communities to increase their self-determination and develop the confidence and skills to take greater control over their lives and the development of the neighbourhoods in which they live. Lastly, museums, through the representation of inclusive communities within collections and displays, have the potential to promote tolerance, inter-community respect*

and to challenge stereotypes. As agents of individual, community and societal change, museums have demonstrated their potential to contribute towards the combating of issues such as poor health, high crime, low educational attainment and unemployment (2003, pages 45–46).

Although Sandell referred to museums, this analysis can certainly also be extended to engagement with heritage sites and cultural events, which can:

~ contribute to enhanced self-esteem, confidence and creativity

~ act as a catalyst for social regeneration and the empowerment of communities
~ contribute towards the combating of issues such as low educational attainment and unemployment.

Some politicians, academics, heritage professionals and media commentators have assumed an automatic and quasi-mechanical relationship between heritage participation and individual empowerment, social cohesion, tolerance and economic well-being. It is as if economic well-being and social inclusion are 'something that happen naturally' when people access heritage places or participate in cultural events (Newman and McLean, 2004, page 176).

The aims of the HLF heritage grants programme at Salford Quays included encouraging 'more people to be involved in and make decisions about the heritage' and ensuring 'that everyone can learn about, have access to and enjoy heritage' as well as reducing social deprivation. The THI schemes, such as Liverpool Rope Walks also included the increase of training opportunities in heritage skills and of community participation as one its expected outcomes.

Likewise Lille 2004's key objectives were to enhance social cohesion, pride and self-confidence within the region by promoting creativity and cultural experiences. These priorities, outcomes and aims covered rather broad topics, such as access to, and visiting of the heritage and cultural events by the local community. Lille 2004 made much of its announcement that nine million people had taken part in the celebrations of its year as European Capital of Culture, as evidence of the wide participation of the local community. In Kazimierz, a market-led regeneration, there were no explicit social targets of any kind.

It was clear that access was a key objective in the three projects above. The sites were actually selected for heritage/culture-led regeneration because they were rundown working-class areas and part of the vision was that the local community, who historically have excluded themselves and been excluded from heritage places and cultural events, would be encouraged to take part in such activities. None of the evaluations, however, related attendance of heritage sites and events to the strengthening of social cohesion and inclusion.

In the three planned projects (that is except for Kazimierz) priorities, outcomes and aims referred in different ways to the local community's participation in heritage or cultural activities and events. The evaluation report of The Lowry Centre stressed the variety of educational programmes and outreach activities the centre had organised in Salford, working in partnership with key statutory or voluntary social agencies. As part of its outreach mission, The Lowry involved local participants in large-scale projects that were then part of the centre's official programe.

It is possible that people who took part in such activities did benefit and gained a sense of pride and an increased feeling of their shared cultural and social identity. The outreach projects may even have contributed to social cohesion. However, no evidence was provided in the evaluation reports analysed in this research on the impacts of this participation at individual or collective levels on identity building, social cohesion or inclusion.

Although both Murzyn (Kazimierz) and Oxford Brookes University (Liverpool Rope Walks) referred to neighbourhood surveys, these did not address patterns of visiting and participation and the impacts of these on the local community. The Oxford Brookes University survey asked 33 questions but none concerned visiting the local rehabilitated heritage sites. No information was collected on the impacts of heritage-led regeneration projects on positive interactions, exchanges and networks between individuals and communities, active social relationships or onpeople's sense of belonging to the neighbourhood and the strength of shared experiences, identities and values .

Besides, as highlighted above by Sandell, social inclusion also relates to the empowerment of communities through allowing them to make decisions about their heritage. The reports considered in this research provided no information on steps taken to allow communities to make decisions about their heritage or to be empowered through the presence of new or rehabilitated cultural spaces and the holding of cultural events.

As also stressed above, social cohesion and inclusion are presented as having the potential for promoting tolerance, inter-community respect and for challenging stereotypes. Regeneration

literature has tended to show that exposure to culture leads to respect for cultural diversity and the strengthening of social cohesion and inclusion (see for instance Smith, 2000); Kazimierz, however, demonstrates that this is not automatic.

The regeneration of Kazimierz seems to have reinforced intolerance and stereotypes. The long-term inhabitants were rather suspicious of the representation of diversity as well as Jewish heritage and history in the increasing number of heritage sites that have opened in the neighbourhood. Besides, they were not interested in knowing more about the neighbourhood and its heritage.

Conversely, there needs to be a strategy to ensure that exposure to culture and cultural diversity leads to respect for the latter as well as the strengthening of social cohesion and inclusion (Bailey et al, 2004, page 49); examples could include setting up cultural events and organisations as regenerative elements, in full cooperation with the local community so that the latter can take full ownership of them (*ibid*.). Such events and organisations can be a source of local identity, pride and social cohesion. However, generalisations on the impacts of these events and organisations should be avoided since people react differently according, among other things, to entrenched prejudices, stereotypes, personal and collective histories.

GENTRIFICATION AND THE REPRODUCTION OF INEQUALITY

Another important dimension of regeneration, underlined in the notion of social cohesion and inclusion, is reducing the economic hardship of the local community. Indeed, culture-led regeneration has often been associated with direct, indirect and induced job and wealth creation (Evans and Shaw, 2004, page 20).

Of all the impact evaluations analysed in this project, the estimation of the jobs created by the arrival of The Lowry as calculated by ECOTEC was the most thorough. But its estimates of jobs created at local level and at the sub-regional level were somewhat optimistic and no information was provided on the range of salaries paid to The Lowry's own employees or the level of wages that were paid as a result of the jobs created elsewhere by its presence. We cannot tell whether The Lowry ameliorated the economic situation of people at local and sub-regional level.

Lille Horizon 2004 indicated that only 28 of the 1341 contracts created in 2003 and 2004 were permanent. Since many of the posts only lasted for the duration of the celebrations, one can assume that most of the contracts were temporary, contractual ones and that only the identified 28 jobs could be considered as FTE jobs. No information was provided on the jobs that may have been created by other structures and we cannot tell whether any of these jobs benefited the local

community. It is therefore difficult to assess the impact of Lille 2004 on improving the economic situation of the local populations.

The impact evaluation of the THI scheme for Liverpool Rope Walks found out that the regeneration of this historic urban area did not bring any economic benefits to the local community. At the beginning and end of the scheme the evaluation's sub-indicator 'employment and income' reflected the local community's low level of income and employment. The situation even worsen at the end of the scheme,: 'there was a significant drop in full time employment with accompanying increases in the number of people unable to work because of disability. There were also more retired people and together these two factors explain the drop in the percentage of long-term unemployed since neither group count as employable' (Oxford Brookes University, 2006, page 9). In questionnaires completed by local households negative opinions about what the THI scheme had brought reflected the lack of improvement in the local job market: 'The numbers who think that things will improve at least a little in the next five years fell from 44 per cent in 2000 to 25 per cent in 2005' (*ibid.*).

The Liverpool Rope Walks evaluation noted the gentrification in the area and warned: 'we need to ensure that gentrification, the provision of high-end accommodation in historic precincts, does not give the appearance of success at the expense of original inhabitants' (Oxford Brookes University 2006, page 22). The impact evaluation of Kazimierz highlighted the gentrification that had occurred in the district and the worsening housing conditions of the long-term residents who could not afford to move out.

These two examples of the THI scheme in Liverpool Rope Walks and Kazimierz confirm that regeneration of historic urban area all too often is accompanied by gentrification and either the departing of the lower classes who used to live there for a long time or the worsening of their living conditions.

Because of the erroneous assumption that rehabilitating historic urban areas with the aid of cultural or heritage projects always leads to an improvement for the local community, no real programmes or efforts have been undertaken to achieve such improvement. In fact not only do the conditions of long-term inhabitants of regenerated historic urban areas often not change – in some cases conditions actually deteriorate:there are often tensions with the newly arrivals to the district, belonging to the middle or upper classes as well as rise in the property prices which encourage owners of flats to push their long-term tenants from the lower socio economic classes out. This chapter has discussed several topics arising from regeneration strategies and models presented in this book as well as the impact evaluation models devised to assess them. The recommendations in the next chapter may assist in resolving some of these issues.

7: RECOMMENDATIONS: THE WAY FORWARD

These recommendations are aimed at improving both the way in which culture-led or cultural regenerations are planned and undertaken as well as their associated evaluation. If possible, these recommendations should be considered as a consistent whole. Finally, this chapter identifies future research needs.

IMPACT EVALUATIONS

ENCOURAGING 'EX-ANTE', MID-TERM AND 'EX-POST' EVALUATIONS

A combination of ex-ante, mid-term and ex-post models for the evaluations of regenerated projects should be encouraged to be developed, as well as evaluations three to five years after completion of the project.

Such a long-term framework would provide baseline data enabling changes to be monitored during, at the end and after the implementation of the project. Data collected would reflect the objectives established for the regeneration scheme. To undertake such an evaluation requires the project planners to define clear objectives, priorities and targets within an overall framework that also sets a timetable, provides budgets and assigns responsibilities. All through the project, there needs to be scope for revising the objectives and associated evaluation data should be allowed to take account of the changing internal situation and external circumstances.

IMPROVING DATA COLLECTION

Data related to culture and heritage projects as well as major economic and social indicators should be collected in a more systematic and consistent manner by public and private institutions at national, regional and local levels to allow longitudinal analyses to be undertaken over time.

Currently, impact evaluations of culture-led or cultural regeneration projects, in Europe at least, suffer from a lack of data at national, regional and local levels. Data related to culture and heritage projects as well as major economic and social indicators should therefore be collected in a more systematic and identical manner by public and private institutions at national, regional and local levels to allow longitudinal analyses to be undertaken over time. This represents the basis for any rigorous evaluation. Organisations and researchers evaluating the impacts of regeneration projects should be able to access this data.

PROMOTING QUALITATIVE EVIDENCE

Qualitative evidences and narratives about culture-led regeneration schemes should be given equal importance to quantitative evidence.

Quantitative data is often cited without its context, in particular in the media. Quantitative analyses and results tend to be instrumentalised to provide over positive results of culture-led or cultural regeneration projects. Qualitative analyses should not only concern the economic impact of regeneration schemes but also the impacts in terms of social cohesion and collective and individual identity.

REGENERATION MODELS

AVOIDING OPTIMISM BIAS

The objectives and expected outcomes of regeneration projects should be more realistic. Ensuring the rehabilitation of historic centres and fighting the social and economic deprivation within them is a very ambitious goal. Spending longer carrying out regeneration projects and evaluating them would enable more positive results to be obtained than happens at present. Fulfilling these objectives cannot be undertaken in a quick fix manner.

This would require, as a prerequisite, that funders, politicians and donors shift their frame of reference and ways of working, which are too often based on obtaining short-term results.

ENSURING A SUSTAINABLE SCHEME

Branding and marketing of a regenerated historic urban area should be pursued even after the end of the regeneration scheme, to ensure its sustainability.

One way of ensuring the sustainability of regeneration is through the continuous branding of the historic urban area, through the organisation of cultural and heritage events or the construction of buildings – a more expensive option. This will help ensure that the area remains an attractive destination for tourists and visitors alike. The sustainability of the scheme should be ensured through linking it to wider cultural and economic developments at regional level. Thus, not only would the historic urban area benefit from regeneration, but also the whole region where it is located.

TACKLING ECONOMIC DEPRIVATION

Specific long-term programmes involving people suffering from economic and social hardships should be identified and implemented right from the beginning of culture-led regeneration projects.

They could include, for instance, tailoring the volunteering programs of cultural places and events to disadvantaged individuals. Such programmes would enable people from the local community to access cultural/heritage environments, re-engage with learning and improve their prospects for employment. These programmes could include basic literacy courses and skills for employment. They could be built upon partnerships between cultural spaces and organisations responsible for the social reintegration of these individuals.

These programmes are all the more important because areas being regenerated tend to be post-industrial sites populated by a diversity of first or second-generation immigrants who, unfortunately, have difficulties being integrated within their host country.

ENSURING EFFECTIVE GOVERNANCE FOR REGENERATION

Local communities should be effectively involved right from the beginning of the identification of the objectives of the regeneration scheme and the selection of the projects, up to their implementation and evaluation.

Social cohesion, inclusion and the empowerment of local communities do not happen automatically when urban historic areas are regenerated or when people visit cultural places or participate in events. The local community needs to be involved which requires some consensus–building, since the local residents are seldom a coherent group; people have different agendas and priorities.

Consensus-driven participation will ensure that local communities can help to choose projects that will at the same time regenerate their area and ameliorate their day-to-day life. These projects can concern transport, crime and security or the management of public spaces. Local residents should have the chance to take an active part in selecting the programming of cultural events or spaces to ensure that the latter helps them create or strengthen a sense of their collective and individual identities.

Regeneration projects that were managed in this way would enhance social cohesion and inclusion since they would enable communities to work together to identify those projects that can really

meet their needs and ameliorate their day-to-day life. Above all, such democratic governance will allow for the control of the territory to be not only in the hands of the cultural intermediaries and professionals but also in those of ordinary citizens who live and work in the regenerated area.

COMBATING GENTRIFICATION: BUILDING MIXED COMMUNITIES

Steps should be taken to ensure that affordable and decent housings remain for the long-term inhabitants of the regenerated urban areas so that they are not forced to move out. This would ensure that a socially mixed population can live in regenerated areas.

Ensuring effective democratic governance and the empowerment of communities in the regeneration process (see above) would help to reduce the risk of gentrification through allowing local inhabitants to have a say concerning the changes to their areas. Landlords who agree not to raise their rents and who will undertake all the necessary maintenance could be given subsidies. Another possibility would be to provide better paid jobs for those long-term lower class inhabitants through commercial schemes targeting them, and developed as part of the regeneration scheme.

RESEARCH AGENDA

This report has also highlighted a number of research needs. They include the need to improve knowledge and understanding of:

- the relationships between heritage access and social cohesion and inclusion
- the linkages between historic urban areas and poverty reduction
- the viability of different regeneration models (consumption, production and mixed ones) on a long-term basis
- consensus-building for effective democratic governance in regeneration projects
  the relationships between increased tolerance and openness to cultural diversity and the increasing number of cultural events and heritage places in regenerated urban areas.

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LIST OF CPRA 2008 JURY MEMBERS

Milena Dragicevic Sesic, President of the Jury (Serbia)
Ritva Mitchell, Jury member (Finland)
Lluis Bonet, Jury member (Spain)
Veronika Ratzenböck, Jury member (Austria)
Michael W. Quine, Jury member (UK)
Mikko Lagerspetz, Jury member (Estonia)

Milena Dragicevic Sesic, President of the Jury (Serbia)

Professor at the Faculty of Drama of the University of Arts in Belgrade (Cultural Policy and Cultural Management, Cultural studies, Media studies); Chair-holder of the UNESCO Chair in Cultural Policy and Management University of Arts Belgrade; President of the Orientation Board of the European Diploma in Cultural Project Management (Marcel Hicter Foundation, Brussels); Board member of ELIA (European League of Institutes of the Arts, Amsterdam). Former Rector of the University of Arts in Belgrade; Member of the Art & Culture Sub Board, Open Society Institute (Soros fund), Budapest. Lecturer in Moscow School of Social and Economical Sciences, MA-AMEC, Utrecht School of the Arts, CEU Budapest, Lyon II, Jagiellonian University Krakow, etc. Expert, consultant in cultural policy and management for the European Cultural Foundation, Council of Europe, UNESCO, Marcel Hicter Foundation, Pro Helvetia, British Council, etc. Published 15 books and more then 100 essays. Translated in over 10 languages all over the world.

Ritva Mitchell, Jury member (Finland)

Director of Research CUPORE (Finnish Foundation for Cultural Policy Research), Lecturer at the University of Jyväskylä, Faculty of Social Sciences. former President of the Cultural Information and Research Centres Liaison in Europe (CIRCLE), the European Research Institute for Comparative Cultural Policy and the Arts (ERICArts) and of the Orientation Board of the European Diploma of Cultural Project Management (Marcel Hicter Foundation, Brussels). Lecturer at the Sibelius Academy of Music (MA Programme in Arts Management) in Helsinki. She is involved in a number of research projects in Europe. Member of the editorial board of the Nordisk Kulturpolitisk Tidskrift (Nordic Cultural Policy Journal). She has published articles and papers on youth cultures, artists, cultural policies, new technologies and European issues in Finland and in Europe.

Lluis Bonet, Jury member (Spain)

Professor of the University of Barcelona, and former President of the European Network of Cultural Administration Training Centers (ENCATC). Vice-President of the European Association of Cultural Researchers (ECURES), board member of the Association of Cultural Economics International (ACEI), and member of the Board of Trustees of Abacus (the largest Spanish cooperative on education and culture).External advisor in cultural policies, statistics and economics at the Council of Europe, the European Union, the Inter-American Development Bank, UNESCO, and the Organization of Ibero-American States for Education, Science and Culture (OEI). Director of a large number of research studies in cultural economics and cultural policies. Teaching: Director of the Graduate Programmes on Cultural Management of the University of Barcelona. Professor undergraduate courses at the same university (Schools of Law, Economics, Documentation and Librarianship) on Political Economy Cultural Economics, Cultural Industries, Cultural Management and Policy. Research fellow and Assistant Professor on Cultural Policy at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (1991-1992). Guest Professor in different graduate programmes on arts and heritage management, and lecturer in courses and seminars in more than 20 countries in Europe, Latin America and USA.

Veronika Ratzenböck, Jury member (Austria)

Director of the "Österreichische Kulturdokumentation, Internationales Archiv für Kulturanalysen" a non-university institute for applied cultural research and cultural documentation founded in 1991(www.kulturdokumentation.org). Research projects on culture, economic and social history of the 20th and 21st century; Visiting professor at the Institute of Philosophy of Law at the University of Salzburg (subject: "the European project") . Lecturer in cultural studies and cultural policy at the University of Vienna. Since 1998 consultant to the Council of Europe, Programme: Evaluation on national cultural policies (Croatia and Bosnia&Herzegovina). Research and advisory work in Comparative cultural policy, European cultural and media policy and cultural aspects of European integration, cultural and creative industries, urban cultural policy, culture and employment, EU cultural policy, cultural studies (e.g. the "Exploitation and development of the job potential in the cultural sector" 2001, commissioned by the European Commission, DG Employment and Social Affairs, project: "Cultural Competence. New Technologies, Culture % Employment" 1999, study "The potential of Creative Industries in Vienna" commissioned by the City of Vienna (www.creativeindustries.at)

Michael W. Quine, Jury member (UK)

Senior Lecturer in Arts Management at London City University. Acting Head of Department, Department of Arts Policy & Management, City University London. An extensive career in managing arts organisations, in educating arts managers and in research. Initially from a theatre background, his interests range from the economics of the arts to arts marketing and financing, and into international comparisons. His international teaching experience includes countries as diverse as the US, Greece, Finland, Moldova, Spain and Russia (St Petersburg). Founding member a multi-university exchange programme, funded by the EU SOCRATES programme, encouraging staff and student mobility as well as annual conferences. During the last three years, as a Vice-Chair and Board member of ENCATC (European Network of Cultural Administration Training Centres), he organised the first non-Francophone AIMAC conference, in London in 1995, and also works within the Scientific Committee for successive conferences (e.g. in Australia, Helsinki, San Francisco and Milan) into international comparisons of these and a range of wider policy issues. President of the Thomassen Fund in support of the mobility of educators and trainers in arts management.

Mikko Lagerspetz, Jury member (Estonia)

Professor of Sociology at the Estonian Institute of Humanities. Born and educated in Finland, and since 1989 he resides in Estonia, currently a Professor of Sociology. Rector, 1998-2001.Docent of Sociology at the University of Turku, since 1997. President of the Estonian Association of Sociologists, 1998-2003 (re-elected twice). Member of the Board, Open Estonia Foundation, 2001-2004. Honorary Member, Wind Orchestra of the University of Turku, 1991. Involved in research and evaluation of Estonian cultural policies. Research on cultural policies, social problems, and civil society. Publications (among others): Constructing Post-Communism (Turku, 1996); Estonian Cultural Policy and Its Impact, 1988-1995 (with Rein Raud; Strasbourg, 1996); recent article: "How many Nordic countries? Possibilities and limits of geopolitical identity construction". Cooperation and Conflict, 2003.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE
SOPHIA LABADI

Sophia Labadi is currently a research fellow at Stanford University (California, USA).

She graduated from the Institute of Political Sciences in Grenoble (France) and has a PhD and a Masters in Cultural Heritage from the Institute of Archaeology, University College London (UK). Since 2001, she has worked for several regional and international organisations.

For UNESCO, she has worked in the Secretariat of the 1972 World Heritage Convention and of the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage; she also participated in the strategic planning and drafting of the 2009 UNESCO *World Report on Cultural Diversity*. At the same time she was working as a researcher, on topics such as migration, museums, heritage, regeneration, culture, and development.

She has recently co-edited *Heritage and globalisation*, which explores key issues likely to shape the cultural heritage field in the 21st century and was published in London by Routledge in 2010.

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