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**‘The Arts and City-Marketing:  
The Study of Glasgow’**

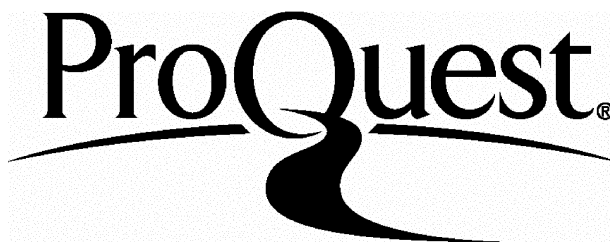
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## ABSTRACT

✓ Responding to the process of de-industrialisation as a result of global restructuring, urban planners have adopted innovative forms of urban policy in an attempt create a new role for their city in the 'post-industrial' era. Born out of this entrepreneurial spirit, has been the rise of cultural policy and promotion of place as cities construct new forms of attractions to entice potential investors, in terms of inward investment or consumer-spending, communicating their new cultural strengths and identity to the rest of the world in an attempt to rebuild and redefine their image as a 'post-industrial' city.

Examining the experiences of Glasgow, this paper assesses how the promotion of select images of the city, focus on the Arts and culture through the hosting of high profile events such as the '1990 City of Culture', can counter-act the prevailing negative images of the city which were regarded as a major disincentive to potential investment and fuelling Glasgow's spiral of urban decline. This initiative has been relatively successful in achieving both its immediate goals, in terms of job creation and increased revenue as a direct result of the event, and in generating more longer term outcomes, especially in relation to overseas tourism and the creation of a more attractive business climate.

However it is clear that the momentum that the event generated in boosting the cultural sector has failed to be sustained ~~as~~ once the event itself had finished and the city was removed from the limelight of the press. Furthermore, the targeting of only select images of the city appears to have created a rather compartmentalised perception of the city, as the initiatives failed to dispel the more deep-rooted negative images ~~with~~ still transcend <sup>?</sup> much of the city.

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carefully prepared

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

### **Innovative Forms of Urban Policy:**

One of the greatest challenges facing the planning system of cities in the advanced capitalist countries has been the rapid process of de-industrialisation that has characterised their urban development over the last two decades. Many academics, such as Henderson and Castell (1987) and Massey (1988), have attributed this widespread erosion of the manufacturing base of these cities to the global processes of economic restructuring and uneven development that have created a new spatial division of labour on a global scale (the explanations for this global phenomena <sup>will</sup> be explored in more detail in the next chapter).

The planning system has responded to this loss in its manufacturing base by developing new initiatives to attract inward investment and to harness a new role for itself as a 'post-industrial' city. Due to the heightened inter-urban competition that arises during periods of economic restructuring, local policy makers are forced to adopt a more entrepreneurial approach to urban governance, as localities develop innovative means of enhancing their competitiveness in the race to secure new forms of investment (Harvey, 1989). From this perspective, the rise of a culture-led regeneration approach, which has become apparent in many former industrial city~~s~~, such as Boston, Baltimore and Glasgow, in the last decade, can be viewed as a local policy response to these structural changes.

### **The Arts and City-marketing:**

Born out of this new entrepreneurial spirit, city planners have become more actively involved in the promotion of the city in an attempt to secure new forms of capital, in terms of inward investment and consumer-spending, and the construction of a range of new attractions to "lure" this capital into their city. Although, as van den Berg et al (1990) has identified, the concept of 'city-marketing' is not a new phenomena, and has indeed been

in the widest sense.  
Sometimes ED is separate.

not in bibliography

vigorously employed in the US for a number of decades, the form and objectives of 'city-marketing' has evolved significantly. In particular, the style of promotion has experienced a move away from general advertising *per se*, towards more targeted forms of marketing. According to Paddison (1993), this constitutes "more than mere promotion of place, being used in some cities to rebuild and redefine their image, allied to which has been a strategy of targeting specific types of activities which both reflect and bolster the image" (Paddison, 1993 p.340).

A study of the case of Glasgow - a city which has experienced a severe decline in its manufacturing base as a result of this economic restructuring process, falling from 424,000 jobs in 1952 to just 135,000 jobs in 1989 (Lever, 1996) - can be used to illustrate how this process of 'image-reconstruction' can improve external perceptions of the city and counter-act existing negative images which are regarded as an impediment <sup>to</sup> new investment. In particular, Glasgow's marketing campaign has focused around select images of the Arts and cultural <sup>e</sup> as a means of increasing urban tourism and conveying the notion of Glasgow as a 'post-industrial' city.

*Canhart with "Glasgow's miles better?"*

### **The Role of Events:**

High profile events, such as the '1990 City of Culture' have been extensively employed in the case of Glasgow as a mechanism for projecting this new image for the city. According to Harvey, interest in the role of events in aiding this restructuring process has arisen as local policy-makers attempt to develop quick fixes to their urban problems. They perceive these events as having the advantage of yielding rapid, if not instantaneous, benefits in terms of generating new sources of revenue and job creation, whilst also providing a focus for the city-marketing campaign, with the longer term objective of improving the image of the city as a place to visit, live and work in.





not exclusive to  
arts & culture eg Glaston Festivals

## Hypothesis:

This growing interest in the role of events in restructuring the local economy and reversing the spiral of economic decline that prevails as a result of de-industrialisation, can lead us to hypothesis that:

*'Due to the erosion of their manufacturing base over the last two decades as a result of the process of global economic restructuring, many cities in the advanced capitalist countries have been forced to adopt innovative forms of urban policy in an attempt to create new comparative advantages which will enable them to compete for new sources of capital. Many of these cities have turned towards cultural policy, and in particular the use of high profile events, as a means creating the conditions of production and consumption required to secure this capital and to reconstruct the image of the city as a post-industrial city'.*

This hypothesis would therefore suggest that these events have a broader role in improving the competitive status of a city, in relation to attracting inwards investment, in developing the cultural sector and in expanding its various tourist markets. The momentum generated by these events will therefore produce a range of benefits which extend well beyond the duration of the event itself. Before outlining how this study aims to assess the successful of this culture-led regeneration approach in meeting its immediate and longer term objectives, the definition of the concepts that are to be used in this assessment need to be established.

## Definitions:

### The 'Arts':

The role of the Arts in the urban regeneration process in Glasgow first received formal recognition in 1988 in a report conducted by Myerscough on behalf of the Policy Studies



Institute, entitled 'The Economic Importance of the Arts in Glasgow'. This report, defined the Arts as the following:

“that part of the economy which has the function of developing and supplying artistic ideas and experiences to the public” (Myerscough, 1988 p.4).

Included in this description is the hosting of events and attractions. The report considers the Arts in a number of contexts, which involved looking at them : -

- As a form of productive activity
- In terms of levels of employment, income generation and patterns of economic organisation.

Applying this definition of the Arts, Myerscough (1988) argued that they had the ability to boost tourism and also provide a catalyst for urban renewal: “Arts facilities act as a lure, attracting people to areas of the city and making them magnets for other developments” (Myerscough, p. 12). This report also claimed that they may also help to foster pride in locality and aid the growth of the existing cultural sector. This recognition of the role of the Arts in urban regeneration would, therefore, illustrate both an economic and a social dimension. In addition, Myerscough also identified a number of less tangible economic benefits which include:

- Image Improvement;
- New firms wishing to locate in the city may take into account its cultural amenities as part of their decision to move;
- Key personnel may be encouraged to stay in a city with good cultural amenities;

- Good cultural amenities may boost the confidence of the business community.

It is these less tangible, longer term outcomes of the '1990 City of Culture' initiative, that will form the main focus of this study.

### **The Cultural Sector:**

This definition of the Arts has been widened in more recent studies, such as the 'Glasgow Cultural Statistical Framework' first published in 1995 by Myerscough, allowing for the inclusion of the 'Cultural Industries'. This broader definition has been termed the cultural sector, and consists of the following main components:

- museums and galleries;
- performed arts (venues, companies and promoters)
- Heritage (monuments and historic buildings)
- Cultural industries

### **The Cultural Industries:**

There appears to be no generally-agreed definition of the cultural industries. According to Myerscough's 'Glasgow Cultural Statistics Framework' they might loosely be characterised as "commercial providers of goods and services which convey cultural ideas and experiences to the public". In the Myerscough earlier 1988 report, these industries covered the art trade, book publishing, design trades, the music industry, independent film and video production, broadcasting and the cinema. However, the 1995 'Glasgow Cultural Statistical Framework' adopts a broader definition of the cultural industries to

include “intermediate services”, which provide inputs involving cultural ideas or creative training into other business sectors, such as graphic design, advertising and architecture. For the purpose of this study, this broader definition of the cultural industries will be used to define the cultural sector.

### **‘City-Marketing’:**

As shall be referred to in the next chapter, the definition of ‘city-marketing’ has varied over time and between localities. As stated by Paddison (1993), the form of city-marketing adopted by Glasgow over the last eight years, has specialised on promoting the Arts and culture, in particular targeting the tourist market. This style of targeted marketing represents an attempt to reconstruct the image of the city centred on selected images of the city. Gold and Ward (1994) define this form of image-reconstruction campaign as the:

“... conscious use of publicity and marketing to communicate selective images of specific geographical localities of areas to a target audience”

(Gold and Ward, 1994 p. 24).

The ability of this selective style of marketing to change the overall image of Glasgow and dispel some of the more deep-rooted negative images which prevail in certain areas, shall *will* be examined in this study.

### **Structure of Thesis:**

The theoretical explanations for the rise of cultural policy, and in particular the use of high profile events, shall be explored in the next chapter. Chapter 3 outlines the main methodologies employed in undertaking an assessment of the success of the ‘1990 City of Culture’ initiative in meeting its immediate and longer term objectives. A study of how policy initiatives in Glasgow has evolved in the post-war era, away from comprehensive

redevelopment programmes towards the more fragmented and entrepreneurial approach associated with cultural events, and how subsequent policy regarding these events has itself progressed over the last decade, shall be explored in Chapter 4.

An attempt shall be made in Chapter 5 to evaluate the success of the '1990 City of Culture' initiative in aiding Glasgow's economic restructuring and reversing its spiral of urban decline. A 'cost-benefit' analysis of this event will identify its ability to meet its immediate objectives of providing new employment opportunities, at a relatively low cost to the public sector, and to generate additional sources of revenue. A study of the longer term outcomes of this initiative shall be attempted by examining how a range of indicative trends have changed since the hosting of this event.

The main trends that have been identified are: the changing contribution of the cultural sector to Glasgow's labour market and economy; the growth of the domestic and overseas tourist markets, along with the growth of 'business tourism' and the conference market; changing levels of inward investment into the city and the impact this has had on Glasgow's economy; and how external perceptions of the city, which influence a number of these trends, has also changed since the hosting of the '1990 City of Culture'. How successful this initiative was in reconstructing the image of Glasgow and what impact it has had on strengthening the city's economic position shall be further discussed in Chapter 6, along with a series of recommendations for building upon the potential benefit that the '1990 City of Culture', and future events, may pose.

## **CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW : THE RISE OF CULTURAL POLICY**

### **INTRODUCTION**

Cultural policy has been steadily climbing its way up the political agenda in Western Europe since the 1950<sup>s</sup>. Recognition of its importance as a mechanism of economic and physical regeneration has grown as innovative forms of urban policy have been implemented in an attempt to counteract the spiral of urban decline which faces many of the advanced capitalist cities. In many of these cities, cultural policy has become both a highly topical and relevant new local authority policy areas as attention has turned towards the value of a culture-led approach to urban regeneration. The history of how this strand of planning policy has evolved and the theoretical context within which it is set, is outlined in this chapter.

### **THEORIES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF CULTURAL POLICY**

Cities have traditionally been the centres of cultural life and artistic movements and the use of culture as a means of urban policy is by no means novel. However, it is only over the last two decades that it has become envisaged as a source or condition for economic development. Whilst in Victorian Britain, culture was used more as an emblem than as a means of economic success- as an expression of the civic pride and strength of the local bourgeois'- since the beginning of the 1980s it has become regarded more as an engine of economic growth in its own right (Bianchini, 1993). The upsurge and evolution of cultural policy over the last two decades needs to be explained within the context of the changing economic and political forces which influence urban policy. This new and enhanced role of culture and the Arts in the urban policy framework can be attributed to a number of factors.

de-industrialization is  
not a crisis - more a state.

Henderson & Castell  
in bibliography

### Local Economic Response to 'Global Restructuring' Process:

According to Castell and Henderson (1987) "The world is undergoing a process of global restructuring that redefines capital-labour relations and the role of the state, while furthering the asymmetrical interdependency of economic functions across national boundaries". How this process manifests itself differs according to the individuality of places and how the local policy makers respond to this new wave of 'economic crisis'. verb?

what crisis? Restructuring ≠ crisis.

This latest economic crisis is characteristic of the capitalist system and continues a long wave of economic boom and bust that has been observed since the 19th century. New attempts to resolve this crisis have relied on forms of reconstruction similar to those that have been used in previous economic crises - social relations of production have been altered by means of reorganisation of labour process and new technologies have been utilised as part of the restructuring process. However, what makes this most recent period of economic crisis distinctive is that it has experienced a more global dimension than previous ones in which the process was usually confined to a given territorial unit (Castell and Henderson, 1987).

According to Harvey (1989), the 'Global restructuring' associated with this contemporary period can be related to the diminution of transport cost and consequent reduction in spatial barriers to movement of goods, people, investment and information. The revolution associated with information technologies, which has significantly reduced transportation costs, has enabled capital to become more mobile as it is no-longer tied to fixed resources of a locality within which they operate. Instead, it can now trade far greater distances, exploiting the lower labour and production costs offered in distant localities, such as around the Pacific Rim. This has resulted in decisions governing the urban economy being taken out of the hands of the national economy and placed in the hands of the large Multi-National Corporations (MNCs) who can now afford to be far more discriminatory in selecting where to invest. Consequently, many of the former industrial cities of western Europe experienced widespread erosion of their economic and

1 number of had much  
older notes eg Team Valley  
Colony



fiscal base, as industries migrated to these Newly Industrialising Countries which possessed these more favourable conditions of production (Lever, 1996).

### **Shift Towards a more Entrepreneurial Approach:**

According to Harvey (1989) this global process of economic restructuring, forced policy makers to become more innovative and entrepreneurial in exploring new avenues through which to alleviate their distressed conditions. This therefore marked a move towards a more entrepreneurial stance of urban governance, increasingly preoccupied with new ways in which to foster and encourage local development and employment growth. Such a stance contrast<sup>with</sup> the managerial practices of earlier decades which primarily focused on local provision of services, facilities and benefits to urban populations. This was a response witnessed across much of the older industrial cities of Western Europe and North America which shared in the problems of de-industrialisation. ✓ ✓

The development of a culture-led regeneration policy<sup>is</sup> is one popular form of local policy response that has evolved from this shift in style of urban governance. As increased attention was given to the role of culture in generating new sources of capital and employment, the role of the local authority has evolved from a direct supplier of cultural facilities for more socially-orientated reasons (such as public access to the Arts and Community Arts Programmes) to assume a more enabling and co-ordinating role, taking advantage of the perceived economic opportunities that the Arts may pose and gauging<sup>engaging?</sup> greater private sector interest and funding. This form of "private-public" partnerships, which lie at the heart of this new entrepreneurialism has reinforced the growing importance of economic objectives for cultural policy and has encouraged the integration of cultural policy with city-marketing

Another way in which cultural policy, and in particular the use of events, represents a more entrepreneurial approach is that, by their nature, they tend to be fragmented as opposed to comprehensive policy coverage. According to Harvey, this may herald a move

in urban regeneration practice from rationalism towards the implementation of creative ideas. This can be particularly apparent in the hosting of cultural events which tend to be located in the city-centre and are often only temporary <sup>structure</sup>. Although these initiatives may therefore be very place-specific, according to Harvey, they can cast a seemingly beneficial shadow over the whole metropolitan region by up-grading the image of the whole area and distracting public attention away from the more negative aspects of the city. ✓

Harvey argues that urban governments must develop alternative strategies for local economic development if they are to compete more successfully within the new international division of labour. In particular this requires exploiting new comparative advantages to compensate for the loss of their earlier advantages, namely those relating to manufacturing and productive sectors. Harvey notes how the older industrial regions are turning towards more consumer-based goods and services, realising they can improve their competitive position with respect to the spatial division of consumption as well as production, as factors of consumption have become almost as important as factors of production in attracting new sources of capital into a place. This consumerist style of urbanisation that has characterised the 'post-industrial' city provides some explanation for this rise of cultural policy across much of the advanced capitalist world over the last two decades, and is discussed in more detail below. ✓

### **Consumerist Style of Urbanisation:**

Paradoxically, during this period of recession, investment <sup>to</sup> attract consumer spending ~~have~~ have grown. These have increasingly focused on factors relating to 'quality of life', creating the image of the city as an innovative, exciting, creative and safe place to live or visit or to consume in. Consequently, gentrification, cultural innovation, physical improvements of the environment (such as public realm works), consumer attractions (including marina, convention and retail centres and leisure complexes) and entertainment, such as urban spectacles and events, have become increasingly important strategies for

I realize Glasgow is going to be  
the main example but I think  
at least putting reference to a  
few other examples would help  
this chapter.

urban regeneration (Harvey, 1989). These acts as symbols of a new direction for the city as it moves towards becoming a 'post-industrial city', enabling it to compete in a more consumer-based market controlled by a new set of comparative advantages.

This emphasis on cultural assets and the consumerist style of urbanisation also reflects and supports the 'new urban lifestyle' that is associated with the post-industrial city. The growth of the service sector and the emergence of a 'service class' has created new demands for goods and services within the city. According to Griffiths (1993) cultural policy has become more important as policy-makers respond to these new demands by creating policies that would be "congruent with the consumption preferences of the culturally dominant and politically influential 'service class'" (Griffith, 1993 p.41).

The 'Fordism regime of accumulation' which had governed the previous era of capital expansion, and which was based on the mass production and mass consumption of commodities, began to give way to new 'post-Fordist' methods, characterised by 'flexible specialisation'. This model allowed for more flexibility in the 'terms of production' encouraging the differentiating of products which, via the media, which would be targeted towards specialised niches markets. Culture has become a more highly valuable commodity in this 'post-Fordist' regime, as consumer preferences seek more individual and creative goods.

Griffith argues that this 'service sector' uses culture as a means of expressing its prestige, which it gains from being able to define standards of fashion and taste. Thus it has become the 'service class' that has become the primary audience of the cultural industries. More cynically, Booth and Boyle (1995), view this promotion of specific cultural activities as a reward for upper and middle class commitment to the city. In this sense, Harvey 1989, would argue that urban entrepreneurialism, and its shift towards cultural policy, contributes to increasing disparities in wealth and polarisation within the city.

The extent to which polarisation has occurred within the city as a result of the local economy attempts to restructure itself, is illustrated in the increasingly accepted concept of a 'dual city' beginning to emerge. This urban system is characterised by a local economy dominated by the service sector which tends to create employment that is either low-paying (often occupied by women) or very high paying positions at the very top of the managerial spectrum. Beyond this there is an growing proportion of the city that do not even feature within this dual system, many of whom were dependent upon the declining manufacturing sector and have now become trapped in a cycle of perceptual poverty. This group, termed by academics such as Wilson, 1987, as the 'underclass', has been recognised as a feature of modern society in many large cities in the US and elsewhere in the advanced capitalist world.

As Griffiths<sup>s</sup> (1993) illustrates, this 'renaissance with art' is an attempt by policy-makers to cater to this groups' preferences as part of a response to the restructuring of urban economies referred to earlier. He argues that this process can be most clearly observed through the process of gentrification, where the tastes and fashions of the 'service class' are most visible.

'The gentrification of inner city neighbourhoods; supports for a witty, playful 'post-modern' architecture of irony and subtle historical and stylistic references; demands for the re-creation of lively, animated, public spaces, and for city centres that remain alive after the shops and offices close for the day - it is possible to regard all of these as emanating from the urban aesthetics of the service class' (Griffith, 1993 p. 44).

This process of gentrification reflects not only a social polarisation, but also a spatial polarisation of the city, as the cultural districts which begin to emerge form a magnet for further gentrification of these exclusive areas. Although this may have the advantage of animating these formerly degraded inner city areas, their link to the 'service class' to an



extent widens the gap between those who can gain access to these new cultural commodities and those who can not.

*But isn't it better than having the rich more art altogether?*

### **Shift in Policy Objectives: Economic Importance of the Arts:**

The growing recognition of the Arts and culture as a viable commodity, related to the new tastes and preferences of modern society, can be reflected in the shift from away from the social towards more economic objectives related to cultural policy. Whereas cultural policy in the 1950s and 1960s constituted a relatively insignificant and uncontroversial aspect of local policy-making, being rarely incorporated into the general framework of urban renewal policies, by the 1970s and 1980s its potential as a valuable political tool began to be recognised. In particular a clear social objective was firmly rooted in the development of the new cultural strategies that emerged in the 1970s. These were generally initiated by left-controlled local authorities in response to the rise of the post-1968 social movements, such as feminism, youth revolts, environmentalism, community action, gay and racial minority activism (Bianchini, 1995).

The definition of 'culture' widened as these minority groups developed alternative forms of culture to challenge the traditional conception of culture as 'high art', which they perceived as a means of domination by elite and social exclusion to 'cultural capital' (Griffith, 1993). This broader definition of culture combined old and new elements expressed through experimental theatre groups, rock bands, independent film-makers and radical newspapers. Politicians soon recognised the demand for these objectives to be met and, as in the case of Tony Banks, the first Chair of the GLCs Arts and Recreation Committee under the left-wing Labour administration lead by Ken Livingston, devolved substantial powers and resources to grassroots groups (Bianchini, 1993). ✓

Whilst the emergence of urban social movements and the substantial political reforms of the 1970s lead to a preoccupation with social objectives for cultural policy during this decade, the 1980s witnessed a significant shift towards achieving more economic goals

from cultural policy. This shift in policy can be largely attributed to the rationalisation of local government as the severe cut backs in funding, which were characteristic of the neo-conservatism or neo-liberalism, spread across much of Europe during the 1980s (Bianchini, 1993). This squeezing of the public purse, along with rapid restructuring and decline of the manufacturing base, forced local authorities to take a defensive strategy to shift from social to economic objectives.

By prioritising their objectives, some much needed revenues were hoped to be raised from cultural projects and an incentive be given to entice the private sector into supporting these projects. This shortage of resources forced the local authorities to consider the opportunity costs of investing their restricted resources into cultural policy and pushed them to assess and monitor more efficiently their local cultural resources and to clearly justify their use of culture in urban policy (Bianchini, 1995). Consequently much research was turned towards supporting the potential of cultural policy in meeting the broader goals of urban economic and physical regeneration, and in particular the role that flagship cultural projects and the importance of the private sector can have in achieving this overriding goal.

This shift in policy objectives was given significant political weighting with the growing evidence to support that the Arts in themselves could be used as a means by which to foster economic regeneration. Realisation of the economic value of investing in the Arts and culture became the driving force for the adoption of cultural policy since the 1980s. This led many academics (Urry, 1990, Bianchini 1990 and Griffith 1993) to regard cultural policy as an effective form of local economic policy response, with the aim to generate spending and create employment. In this sense, culture has been promoted with tourism and the leisure industries as part of a wider strategy to diversify the local economy.

In particular, there has tended to be an emphasis on the role of indirect or induced employment opportunities arising from cultural policy. One of the most comprehensive of

these studies was conducted by Myerscough in 1988, entitled 'The Economic Impact of the Arts'. This study concluded that in Britain, the Arts contribution was worth about £31 billion or 25% of total tourist earnings and that the Arts turnover amounted to 25% or £10 billion of all goods and services brought by British residents or foreign buyers (Myerscough, 1988). ✓

The objective is that cultural activities can help to <sup>make</sup> generate spending and that this will in turn create further jobs and surpluses, acting as a break on the continual spiral of decline of the local economy. This body of work had a significant influence on the evolution of cultural policy in the late 1980s and reinforced the role of cultural policies in obtaining economic objectives in relation to urban renewal. Consequently this rationalisation supported the implementation of large-scale cultural projects that could generate maximum revenues and encourage the significant involvement of the private sector (such developments were often on the scale of the regeneration of the Albert Docks, Liverpool, the Broad Street development in Birmingham or the Grand Opera House, Belfast). ✓✓

### **Inter-Urban Competition and City-Marketing:**

The economic value of the Arts has also been increasingly appreciated in light of the heightened inter-urban competition that is characteristic of periods of economic restructuring, as reductions in transportation costs and improvements in the information technologies has enabled capital to exercise greater choice over location, highlighting the importance of particular production conditions prevailing in an individual place. Small differences in locational factors, such as the quality of labour supply, infrastructure and resources assume far greater significance than when locational decisions were dominated by transportation costs. This requires urban governments to become much more orientated towards the provision of a "good business climate" with the task to lure highly mobile production, financial and consumption flows into its city. Policy-makers can only speculate about which packages of production and consumption conditions will succeed in



attracting this investment, making this level of competition highly risky and, according to Harvey, creating a global economy that is unstable and volatile. Thus in participating in this heightened level of inter-urban competition, the need for localities to vigorously promote their competitiveness and individuality has also grown. ✓

The selling of the city as a location for activity depends heavily upon the creation of an attractive urban imagery. This image creation is particularly important for the ailing industrial cities which need to project a new identity for themselves, symbolising their transition from an industrial to a post-industrial city. The techniques of image creation and image promotion are not new tools by which to foster economic regeneration, but have been aggressively employed in the US since the 1950s in the form of civic boosterism (Gold and Ward, 1994). However, since the 1970s there has been an intensification in the use of promotional techniques as cities have employed them as a means of aiding their restructuring process.

Today's city-marketing efforts are distinct from these earlier policies, reflecting the new style of urban entrepreneurialism. In particular techniques have changed with regards to how promotion of a place is expressed and the adoption of more targeted forms of marketing to bolster, what Paddison 1993 terms as, the process of 'image reconstruction'. This would conform with the definition of city-marketing as proposed by Gold and Ward (1994), referred to in the introduction, as the 'conscious use of publicity and marketing to communicate selective images of specific geographical localities of areas to a target audience' (Gold and Ward, 1994 p. 24).

According to Paddison (1993), this has resulted in cities using specific projects to act as symbols to rebuild or reconstruct the image of the city, rather than advertising *per se*. The less specific and targeted marketing campaigns that were a feature of the 1970s and early 1980s revolved around the idea that images could be marketed whilst the product (the city) is delineated or even non-existent. A good example of this was the 'Hearts and Minds' campaign in Glasgow which was very vague and was more concerned with raising

was this the  
'smiles' campaign?

the international profile of the city in general rather than promotion of the city's particular strengths.

However, a realisation soon emerged that fancy imagery and glitter will only get you so far and that a city actually needs to have something to sell if promotional activities are to be successful (Ashworth and Voogh, 1990). As Gold and Ward's analysis shows, far too frequently, marketing strategies only come into operation when the local economy is in a state of crisis, when deindustrialisation has eroded the economic base of the area and unemployment is rife. This means that the primary task for many of these cities is to dispel their former 'negative' images and construct a new image more in-line with the demands of the post-industrial society. Transforming the external image of these cities will therefore require not only a raising of the international profile and press coverage of the city, but substantial physical improvements and vigorous promotion of the city's new strengths to counter-act the negative stereotypes.

Harvey (1989), illustrates through the example of Baltimore, that gaps are likely to emerge between the reconstructed image of a city and its reality. Baltimore, a city whose extensive redevelopment of its harbour earned it the title of "renaissance city", shedding its image of dreariness and impoverishment, continues to be besieged by overall urban deterioration, and in some aspects its level of impoverishment has worsened. This led Harvey to conclude that despite significant improvements in its image there appeared to be plenty of "rot beneath the glitter". This would suggest how partial and limited the benefits of the campaign were in aiding the overall restructuring of the city, indeed concluding that the city as a whole was experiencing an acceleration, rather than a reversal, of its urban decline, throwing the value of a culture-led regeneration approach into question.

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## The Role of High Profile Events:

This use of the Arts to reconstruct and project the image of a city is one of the most recent and intensive forms of cultural policy. Targeting this marketing campaign around the Arts was regarded by many cities as a means of not only increasing tourism but also as conveying the notion of a post-industrial city. One of the most intensive forms of city-marketing through the Arts, has been the use of major cultural events, such as the Olympic Games, 'European Cities of Culture' and world expositions.. These events have tend to flagship developments, focused on a central site within the city and are often only temporary structures, dismantled once the event itself has finished. However, as mentioned earlier, despite their place-specific nature, by acting as a symbol for how a city has changed, and providing a forum for communicating a city's new strengths, these events are perceived as providing benefits that extend well beyond the boundary of the site and lasting far longer than the duration of the event itself. *but do they?*

This style of culture-led regeneration policy which specialise on the hosting of international events has become a highly popular and competitive field, leading Bianchini (1991) to refer to a 'festivalisation of urban development policy'. Harvey proposes how this specific form of cultural policy provides a clear illustration of the entrepreneurial style of urban governance. He attributes this growing interest in the use of events to the desire of policy-makers to develop quick fixes to their urban problems, stating how they have the advantage of yielding rapid, if not instantaneous, turnover whilst providing a focus for the city-marketing campaign, acting as symbols of the dynamic nature of the city.

According to Krantz and Schatzl (1996), as a form of city-marketing, the goal of these events is to "reconstruct the city, mobilise endogenous potential, improve the city's image in the world outside and identify the inhabitants within their city" (Krantz and Schatzl, 1996 p. 470). The organisation and hosting of events can therefore have a lasting influence on the host city and region. Whilst cost-benefit analysis can identify and quantify effects arising immediately from the event (in terms of direct and indirect economic effects and

*no evidence yet*

non-pecuniary costs and benefits), assessing the medium to long term effects can be more challenging. Krantz and Schatzl, identified four possible outcomes, namely: the city profits fiscally from direct surplus revenues and increased income from taxes; the city enjoys multiplier effects in the employment field; the city derives benefit from improvements to its infrastructure; and finally, there is an improved image and an increased identification of the inhabitants within their city. ✓

This would suggest that the potential benefits derived from hosting an event on this scale could be substantial, meeting a range of social and economic objectives. Initial economic benefits can act as a system boost to the cultural sector and the local economy as a whole. Social objectives are also fulfilled by improving civic pride and by becoming a locus for community solidarity, potentially reducing internal conflict and political instability. The associated physical improvements to the city, such as the provision of new cultural facilities and environmental improvements (such as stone-cleaning), provide a legacy of 'soft infrastructure' that will enhance the attractiveness of the city as a place to visit and live and work in once the event itself has finished. Less tangible, but more far reaching benefits, can be derived by the improvements in the external image of the city as more positive images of a dynamic and improved city are projected through the media. Thus, these promotional campaigns act as clear symbols of rebirth, renewed confidence and dynamism in many of the declining cities of Europe. ✓

However, participating in the bid to secure events on this scale can also be a high risk venture. In their paper, Krantz and Schatzl also voiced concern over conceptual weaknesses in the organising of events and the neglect of existing internal conflicts of interest in using these events, which could jeopardise not only the event itself, but also the general goals of urban development policy. They identified a number of risks that could be entailed in the hosting of such large-scale events. One of these is the substantial planning and acquisition costs incurred before the city is finally rewarded, this proving only too late that the event was a bad investment. Furthermore there is a considerable expenditure risk that results from incorrect estimates of costs and mistakes in the ✓



Sheffield instant games!

implementation of the events and the problems of working within an often unpredictable political and administrative system. A lack of appropriate use after the end of the events means there is also a danger that surplus capacity will be established in the infrastructure. There is also further planning risk and possible delay if the population affected object to the development.

g

Harvey (1989) warns of the repetition and serial reproduction of certain patterns of development as cities compete in the race to find new comparative advantages. As he states "the search to procure capital investment confines innovation to a very narrow path built around a favourable package for capitalist development and all it entails. Innovations to make cities more attractive cultural and consumer centres are quickly imitated, rendering any competitive advantage that a city possesses" (Harvey, 1989 p. 10). This results in any competitive edge a city may have as a result of constructing a new cultural attraction or hosting an event, being quickly lost as other cities develop similar culture-led strategies. Once another city obtains this competitive edge, it is likely that new forms of capital investment will migrate to this locality.

eg

eg Manchester

The bidding for events is also highly speculative and can prove very expensive (for example the large scale investment in new stadiums and facilities required as part of the bidding process to host the Olympic Games). Consequently, this bidding process can only produce one winner. As mentioned earlier, this places doubt on the effectiveness of a culture-led policy to alleviate the urban problems associated with global restructuring and substantial amounts of public sector resources will be invested in the bid for an event, without any guarantee of winning the right to host the event. This highly speculative nature of the bidding process and concerns about the ability of a tourist-based strategy to counter-act the loss in employment from other sectors of the economy, especially the manufacturing sector, raises the question of how much emphasis should be placed on cultural policies at the expense of other forms.

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The following chapters will use the example of Glasgow to illustrate how effective the employment of its cultural policy, which has specialised in the use of events such as the '1990 City of Culture', has been in counter-acting its spiral of urban decline and has reconstructed its image as a post-industrial city.

and answer the questions  
you've posed in this chapter  
I hope!  
Summarise the issues raised?

### **CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY SECTION**

Evaluating urban policy has become increasingly important in recent years as cuts in public expenditure and calls for greater political accountability have forced local authorities to increase their monitoring and evaluation of such policy instruments. Since the late 1960s there have been a series of Urban Programmes aimed at British inner cities and their problems (Robson, 1995). The development of a culture-led regeneration programme, based on the use of high profile event, represents a new form of urban initiative. To enable local authorities to justify their decision to invest their increasingly limited resources in this particular form of initiative over another, such as supporting the manufacturing sector, it is imperative that they can illustrate the beneficiary impact of this chosen policy. For a comprehensive assessment of this initiative, evaluation of both the immediate and longer term impacts must be ascertained. This will require an examination of both the direct inputs and outputs and the wider outcomes relating to the event.

yes ✓

#### **Research Design:**

For the purpose of this thesis, a single case study approach has been adopted. This is the preferred methodology when studying complex social phenomena as it makes a larger contribution to our knowledge of individual, organisational, social and political factors. Thus, by applying the case study approach greater insight can be gained into why and how policy initiatives within a study area have evolved whilst also allowing a focus on the specific role of events within this process. The case study of Glasgow has been selected because it has clearly demonstrated a move towards a culture-led approach to urban regeneration over the last decade.

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#### **Qualitative Information Sources**

This analysis is based on both qualitative and quantitative information. In the first instance, interviews with key people involved in the formulation of Glasgow's urban

policy were asked to express their views on the success/failure of this initiative according to their own criteria. This covered a range of issues, such as what their own objectives of the event were and how compatible these were to the objectives of other actors involved in the formation of this initiative. They were also asked to comment on how successful they believed the initiative had been in meeting both its immediate and longer term objectives and what they felt the failings of this initiative were and how could they be overcome in subsequent initiatives. Specific questions asked are set out in the Appendix 1. The representatives of a range of public sector who were interviewed, are listed below:

- Don Bennett (Planning Officer, Glasgow City Council)
- Pamela Blane (Client Executive, Glasgow Development Agency)
- James Gorie (Former Director of Scottish Development Agency and present spokesperson of the Forum of Private Businesses)
- Steve Inch (Chief Executive, Economic Regeneration Dept., GCC)
- Dylan Patterson (Tourism Associate, Glasgow Development Agency).

Qualitative information on the objectives of different agencies for this initiative and their perception of the success/failure of this initiative was also extracted from a range of policy documents, such as strategic business plans, annual reports and mission statements produced by a range of agencies and government bodies. These have included, Strathclyde Regional Council, Glasgow City Council (formerly the Glasgow District Council), Glasgow Regeneration Alliance (GRA), Glasgow Development Agency (GDA), Greater Glasgow Tourist Board (GGBT) and specific branches of the City Council such as the Economic Regeneration Unit and the Economic and Industrial Development Committee.



### Inputs and Outputs: 'Cost-Benefit' Analysis

Evaluation of the impact of this form of initiative required an examination of its inputs, outputs and outcomes. This assessment was based primarily on quantitative information. To illustrate the broader impact of an events-based initiative, the example of the '1990 City of Culture' was selected as, although subsequent events have occurred such as the 'Festival of Visual Arts 1996', these did not occur on the same scale as the 1990 event and are too recent to ascertain any medium or longer term impacts. ✓

To assess the immediate impact or direct outputs of the '1990 City of Culture' on Glasgow's economy and its labour market, a cost-benefit analysis was conducted. This can provide information on number of jobs created, revenue raised or money levered from the private sector as a direct result of the initiative. This required comparisons between the direct inputs into the initiative (namely the relevant additional public sector expenditure on the hosting of the event) and the direct outputs derived from the event in terms of income received and employment created. This crude calculation can approximate the net quantifiable benefits derived from hosting the event. An estimate of how efficient this initiative was can also be extracted from this information by calculating the average cost per job to the public sector and comparing this to the cost per job of earlier initiatives. ✓

### Outcomes: Longer Term Goals

Events, such as the '1990 City of Culture' aim to achieve a wider and often less tangible set of benefits than those which emerge in the short-term. The use of this event as a means of marketing the city (communicating the city's strengths as a cultural centre, thereby improving and reconstructing the existing image of Glasgow) was conceived as generating more lasting benefits that would exist long after the event itself had finished. Assessing the ability of this event to achieve this longer term outcomes requires the study of wider measures, such as perceptions of the city as an attractive place to visit, live and

work in. To evaluate how perceptions have changed and how these have encouraged the development of key tourist markets and created an attractive business climate for inward investment, a series of trends need to be examined.

The main trends have been identified as: the changing contribution of the cultural sector to Glasgow's labour market and economy; the growth of the domestic and overseas tourist markets, along with the growth of 'business tourism' and the conference market; changing levels of inward investment to the city and the impact this has had on Glasgow's economy; and how external perceptions of the city, which influence a number of these trends, has also changed since the hosting of the '1990 City of Culture'. By using the '1990 City of Culture' as a bench-mark an indication of how successful this initiative was in achieving these outcomes can be ascertained by studying how these trends have changed since the hosting of the event

### **Sources of Quantitative Information**

Trends in the development of the cultural sector, tourist market and business tourism and conference market were extracted from a range of surveys by market research bodies, including NOP Consumer Market Research Limited, IPS and System III Scotland. These studies generally covered the period 1986 to 1995/96, however there was significant variation between them..

To assess the impact of this initiative on company's <sup>ies</sup> decisions to relocated to Glasgow, a study was undertaken of recent levels of inward investment to Glasgow. Evaluating the specific influence of the '1990 City of Culture' event on inward investment decisions is difficult as these decisions are made within a matrix of locational factors, of which 'quality of life' is only one. A study by Heafy & Baker conducted in 1990, showed that 'quality of life' was an increasingly important factor, especially for the financial and service sector, however other factors such as good communications and skilled workforce proved more important. Therefore to ascertain the impact of this initiative on levels of inward

investment a small sample of companies (see Appendix II) which had recently relocated to Glasgow were asked to prioritise<sup>se</sup> which factors had most influence on their decision and specifically asked how important they felt Glasgow's cultural initiatives had been in their decision-making process.

good

Examining individual's perceptions of Glasgow provides insight into how effective this city-marketing initiative has been on reconstructing the image of the city. A study by Satchi & Satchi in 1990 illustrates how the '1990 City of Culture' shaped external perceptions of Glasgow during the course of the event. By updating this study to include perceptions of Glasgow in 1998, an assessment of how resilient these perceptions are and how subsequent initiatives have build upon them can be made.

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Source?

The Satchi & Satchi 1990 study conducted a survey of residents in London and the South East from the ABC1 socio-economic category, to uncover their perceptions of Glasgow in terms of its cultural standing and its repute as a place to visit, live and work (these shall be examined in detail in Chapter 5). To assess how perceptions of these aspects of Glasgow changed during the course of the event, surveys were conducted at three intervals throughout the run up and hosting of the event.

By conducting a similar study in 1998, this thesis aims to assess how these perceptions have continued to evolve after the event has finished and the press coverage of Glasgow returns to pre-1990 levels. As in the case of the earlier Satchi & Satchi study, the sample group comprised residents from London and the South East who fell into the category ABC1s. In total 118 surveys were conducted and a copy of this survey can be found in Appendix 3. This sample group was selected as demographic studies of people taking short city-breaks and those attending art galleries or exhibitions every two or three months, shows that these characteristics tend to be concentrated in this group.

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Data extracted from Target Group Index (October 1996 - September 1997) produced by MBMG (1997) shows that London has the second highest rate of art gallery attendance in

excellent methodology

the UK at 47% higher than the national average (only Central Scotland has a higher rate at 76% above the national average). Categories A, B and C1 also all expressed significantly higher levels of attendance to art galleries at 144%, 85% and 16% above the national average respectively. The popularity of short-city breaks is also significantly higher for those who fall into the category ABC1s. The TGI index showed that groupings A, B and C1 were 127%, 39% and 37% respectively more likely to take a short city-break than that of the national average. Residents in London and the South East were only marginally shown to be more likely to take a short city break than that of the UK as a whole (MBMG, 1997).

Another part of this study of perceptions, involved respondents ranking in order of preference which of a series of five provincial British cities they would most like to visit and to live and work in. This aims to provide some insight into the comparative status of Glasgow as a tourist destination and the desirability of the city as a place to relocate to. The four other cities which were selected were: Manchester, Newcastle, Birmingham and Edinburgh. The cities of Manchester, Newcastle and Birmingham were chosen because they share Glasgow's urban problems of de-industrialisation and have also recently adopted a similar cultural-led regeneration programme. Edinburgh, unlike the other cities, does not have the 'image problem'. This is likely to result in a skewing of opinions in favour of this city, but it is important that it is included as it constitutes Glasgow's only real competition in the Scottish context and there has traditionally been much rivalry between the two cities in terms of Scottish tourism.

### **Methodological Problems:**

As with almost all research studies, a number of methodological problems can be identified in this study. In particular the calculation of outcomes represent a number of problems as these tend to be less tangible and more difficult to measure, such as perceptions which are subjective and abstract. It can also prove difficult to obtain valid data over a long period of time as methods of data collection change and sources of information for particular



years are not available, as was the case for data on the domestic tourist market in Glasgow. Therefore comprehensive analysis of topics from pre-1990 up to the last year can not always be achieved.

Drawing a direct linkage between these trends and the event itself poses many methodological problems. Many of these trends are subject to a range of influences and exist within a matrix of complex social and economic conditions. Inward investment is particularly influenced by more structural and external forces. Changes in the economic strength of the national economy and periods of recession and rapid growth in the global economy as a whole, have dramatic effects on the behaviour of business. Consequently, 'plips' in levels of investment must be regarded within the context of these structural factors.

Similarly, national and global changes in the economy can have a significant influence on the behaviour of potential visitors, or investors in new cultural attractions, such as a gallery or retail complex. This makes an assessment of local policy action difficult. However, some attempts can be made to overcome the methodological problem of external forces by comparing Glasgow's performance with that of the national average. This has been applied to the study of tourist and employment trends when Glasgow's performance is often compared to that of the Scottish and UK average.

The following two chapters show the main findings from this study. Chapter 4 focuses more on the qualitative information extracted from the interviews and policy documents, applying this to illustrate how urban policy in Glasgow has changed in the post-war era, providing some insight into why the city has decided to specialise in an events-based form of cultural policy in the last decade and what it aims to achieve through this. Chapter 5 attempts to evaluate how successful this initiative has been in achieving its objectives (both in the short term through cost-benefit analysis and in the longer term through the study of range of indicative trends).

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## **CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS PART I - POLICY EVOLUTION**

Glasgow has experienced an unprecedented rise and fall of its international profile over the last century. The process of economic restructuring, discussed in Chapter 2, is a feature that has greatly influenced the development of Glasgow as the city has witnessed a series of phases of restructuring and crisis in the capitalist system over the last two centuries. What is different about this current phase is, firstly, the speed of the change and, secondly, the nature of public-sector involvement (what Harvey, 1989, refers to as the entrepreneurial approach). It is this unique and erratic economic development that has provided this city with a rich cultural heritage and has often made it the subject of innovative urban regeneration policies. This chapter aims to explore how urban policy in Glasgow has changed since the 1950s and in particular how a culture-led regeneration approach, based on the hosting of high profile events, has become such a central feature of urban policy in the last decade.

### **STRUCTURAL SHIFTS IN GLASGOW'S LABOUR MARKET.**

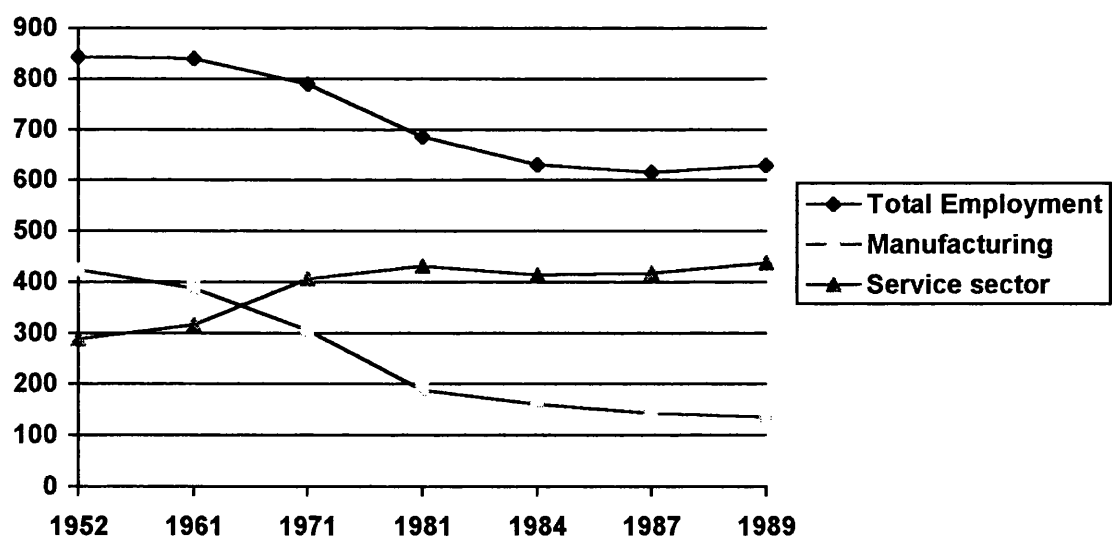
Glasgow's rapid ascent to the top of the international trade market in the late 19th century with the rapid development of the shipbuilding industry, earned the city the prestigious title of the "Empire's Second City". Its domination of the world's sea-faring trade created some 60, 000 jobs in shipbuilding and a further 40,000 in ancillary and related industries, resulting in Glasgow possessing the lowest unemployment rate of any of the British industrial regions by the turn of the century (Lever, 1996).

However, this wave of economic prosperity came to an abrupt end in 1930 following the globally felt depression. During this period, cities such as Glasgow who had become heavily dependent on the specialised industries such as shipbuilding, disproportionately felt the blow of the depression. A process of deindustrialisation quickly set in, despite the efforts of policy-makers counteract this erosion of the manufacturing base in the 1960s

through the attraction of consumer goods industries, especially those with assembly line plants, to produce goods such as cars and light electronics.

Although there was some moderate success in securing these new industries, they failed to generate jobs on the scale of the earlier wave of economic activity. Consequently, since the 1950s three clear trends can be discerned in Glasgow's economic region. Firstly, there was a substantial decline in total employment between 1950 and 1987, followed by a slight rise. Secondly, there has been a major shift out of manufacturing and into services. Thirdly, there has been considerable suburbanization of employment (Lever, 1996). The table below illustrates these major structural shifts in employment and spells out this pattern of deindustrialisation between 1952 and 1989.

**Table 1). Employment Change in the Glasgow Conurbation, 1952-1989**  
( thousands).



(Lever, 1996).

As the table shows, during this period there has been an overall loss in employment from 844,000 in 1952 to 615,000 in 1987, although rising slightly to 629,000 in 1989. The largest absolute falls occurred in periods 1978-81 and 1981-84 (when the recession was

most acute). Manufacturing provides a disproportionate share of this loss, declining from 424,000 jobs in 1952 to 135,000 in 1989 (this has resulted in a fall in the manufacturing sector's share of the labour market from just over half of Glasgow's total employment in 1952 (50.2%) to just over one-fifth (21.4%) in 1989).

The service sector has experienced a steady growth over this period, rising from 289,000 in 1952 to 431,000 in 1981. However this growth momentarily receded between 1981 and 1984 as levels declined to 414,000 before rising back up to 438,000 in 1989 (this would again highlight the depth of the recession during the early 1980s which, when combined with the heavily loss of manufacturing jobs during these years, resulted in an accelerated total level of job loss which was nearly five times what it was in 1961-1978). The overall importance of the service sector has nearly doubled between 1952 and 1989, as its total proportion of employment grew from 32.4% to 69.6%.

Yet despite the rapid growth of this sector, it has been unable to counter-balance the substantial loss in the manufacturing sector, as total levels of unemployment continue to fall. Furthermore, this dramatic structural shift in labour demand, resulted in the emergence of a skills mismatch as polarisation of the workforce emerged with a substantial proportion of the workforce facing long-term unemployment as their manufacturing skills became redundant, whilst at the same time those in the managerial levels of the service sector experienced greater prosperity. It was through this recognition of the growing unemployment problems and need to diversify the economy to replace the loss of the manufacturing base, that policy initiatives turned to new areas of employment opportunity, such as cultural policy.

## **PAST URBAN POLICIES : COMPREHENSIVE REDEVELOPMENT.**

Glasgow has been recognised for its development of innovative and comprehensive urban policies in the past. Since the 1950s, a number of strands of urban policy were implemented in Glasgow in response to the deindustrialisation process and to tackle some



of the social and environmental problems that have emerged from the city's former reliance on heavy industry. One of the most significant forms of urban policy during this period, was the implementation of large scale comprehensive redevelopment programmes (Booth and Boyle, 1993).

The aim of these initiatives was to tackle the legacy of the degraded inner-city housing stock and poor infrastructure in the city, which marked the rapid urbanisation of the city in the 19th century. This constituted a large scale rehousing programme of residents from the inner-city to newly constructed peripheral estates and a massive road construction programme which ran through the heart of the city. More recently comprehensive redevelopment programmes have focused on the inner city, such as the GEAR project (Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal) which took a more expansive view of urban renewal.

The impact of these comprehensive redevelopment schemes on the social and physical structure of the city was immense. It was an era in which planning was going through a mechanistic phase which, according to Don Bennett (Planning Officer for Glasgow City Council) gave little consideration to local opinion, often tearing up communities and generating further social and economic problems. This created substantial public revulsion to this type of approach to renewal. ✓

This comprehensive approach reflects the managerial style of urban governance, as outlined by Harvey (1989) in Chapter 2. The growing public discontent with this style of urban regeneration and the extensive costs to the public purse that it entailed, encouraged the development of more a grass-roots planning process. This took a more fragmented approach and involved a change in the role of the local authority as private-public partnerships took centre stage. This signalled the arrival of a more entrepreneurial approach to planning and a shift to new forms of urban policy to alleviate the continuing economic stagnation. In particular, this encouraged the rise of cultural policy and the use of high profile events to market the city. ✓

## DEVELOPMENT OF GLASGOW'S CULTURAL POLICY

The recognition of the value of culture as a tool of urban regeneration began to be realised in the early 1980s in Glasgow. This was largely substantiated by the findings of the Myerscough Report, 1988 'The Economic Importance of the Arts' referred to in Chapter 2. It identified clear links between the Arts and employment, income generation and economic organisation. This report, which used Glasgow as one of its three case studies, stated that this industry accounted for a significant proportion of the city's total economic activity, employing 2.25% of the city's economically active population, either directly or indirectly. The report also concluded that the cultural sector as a whole generated £240 million for Glasgow's economy, of which £174 million was attributed to the cultural industries. This report was used by the Council in its justification of a series of large cultural projects that had begun in the 1980s and provided the impetus for the continuation of this strand of urban policy.

In the early 1980s a number of small-scale renewal projects were implemented which began to incorporate this new entrepreneurial approach to cultural policy. One of these was the implementation of the McKinsey and Co. (1983/84) city centre proposals by Glasgow Action. Commissioned with a brief to recommend action to realise the full economic and environmental potential of Glasgow city centre by developing the service industries, the McKinsey & Co. report identified a number of inter-related proposals. These included the improvement of the city centre's physical environment, removal of negative images, attraction of inward investment and the improvement of consumer services (Glasgow Action, 1987).

During the mid-1980s several prestigious flagship cultural projects also came into fruition in Glasgow. These included the opening of the Burrell Collection, the launching of Mayfest in 1984, the construction of a New Concert Hall, a new Royal College of Music and Drama and completion of the Scottish Exhibition and Conference Centre (Glasgow Action, 1987). These capital projects also reflect the fragmented nature of the

entrepreneurial approach, as they are very place-specific, focusing solely on the city centre.

The 'Miles Better Campaign' initiated in 1983 represents Glasgow's first attempt to integrate the Arts with city-marketing, generating civic pride and promoting Glasgow's artistic and cultural pride (Booth and Boyle, 1995). As mention in Chapter 2, this style of campaign was very vague, lacking any real direction or substance, but did signal a move towards an entrepreneurial approach and, according to Steven Inch from Glasgow's Economic Regeneration Unit, provided the foundations for future marketing campaigns. ✓

## **THE ROLE OF EVENTS IN GLASGOW'S CULTURAL POLICY**

The use of high profile events has become a central area of cultural policy in Glasgow over the last decade. Indeed the hosting of four major cultural events over this period, starting with the 1988 Garden Festival, the '1990 City of Culture', the '1996 Festival of Visual Arts' and the forthcoming '1999 City of Architecture and Design', would suggest a specialising in this particular form of policy and could even infer that it is being used in a strategic manner (Booth, 1996). However, a study of policy documents and discussions with agencies involved in the formulation of policy relating to the role of events, shows how the objectives of these events and how they were implemented has changed over the last decade. Similarly, the emphasis placed on the importance of high profile events, and cultural policy in general, has also not remained static over this period. ✓

### **The 1988 Garden Festival:**

The 1988 Garden Festival constitutes the first of these high profile events, and consequently played an important role in raising the profile of Glasgow. The direct benefits derived from the event itself were relatively insignificant. The event was a flagship development with a very narrow set of objectives and was confined to one

centrally located site. The prime purpose of the event, according to Bennett, was to raise the international profile of the city, stating that,

“this event provided a reason for people to come to Glasgow who would before have given little thought to the idea. Once the decision has been made to come to Glasgow the opportunity is there to change people’s preconceived perceptions of Glasgow and for the word to be spread to others about how the city has changed”.

It therefore acted as a springboard for further initiatives to raise the profile of the city and make it more attractive for tourism and new investment. The event was a temporary structure, lasting for only the summer months, and was dismantled immediately after the event finished. Consequently the economic outcomes it produced were short-lived with employment levels in the Arts returning to pre-event levels in 1989 and visitor levels sharply tailing off after the event finished at the end of the summer (Booth, 1996). However, Bennett did feel that it did provide a significant bench-mark in the marketing of Glasgow, as the city was given a substantial amount of positive international press coverage. The site itself has been plagued with a saga of ownership disputes since the event was dismantled and has remained undeveloped. However, the infrastructure from the hosting of the event remains intact and proposal for to develop new Science Park on the site are expected to commence soon.

### **The ‘1990 City of Culture’:**

Building on from the success of the 1988 Garden Festival in raising Glasgow’s national and international profile, the city soon secured the bid to host the 1990 City of Culture. This event received far greater national and international press coverage, but also provoked much internal debate and controversy. The strategy for the bid was clearly promotional and stated Glasgow’s intentions to direct attention towards international

tourist markets. The objectives of Glasgow's District Council in its bid for the title of 'European City of Culture' are stated below:

- 'To maintain momentum already generated by the image building initiatives and the marketing effort;
  - 'To provide a corporate marketing platform for the city's various artistic activities;
  - 'To utilise and build upon the existing organisational experiences and co-operative effort within the city, and;
  - 'To stimulate increased awareness, participation and cultural development in Glasgow'.
- (GCC, 1992)

The decision by both the Glasgow City Council and Strathclyde Regional Council to adopt an all-encompassing approach which aimed to meet a range of social and economic objectives and to host an event that would span over the entire 12 month period, illustrates a progression from the 1988 event. Particular importance was attached to the involvement of the community through a series of community arts programmes and extensive free outdoor concerts, such as the "Big Day". ✓

Much of this marketing effort was also focused on the portrayal of Glasgow as a cultural and creative centre, with the aim to stimulate the cultural sector by attracting artistic venues and encouraging investment in cultural projects. The most significant of these developments was the completion of the Royal Concert Hall in 1990. In its report on the 1990 event "The 1990 Story: Glasgow Cultural Capital of Europe" the GCC stated that it had hosted one of the most successful 'City of Culture' held to date. This was reinforced in the report's conclusion that:

“More than most British cities, Glasgow has used the arts to strengthen and communicate its regeneration. The positive outcome of Glasgow 1990 has created further opportunities for the city to address in the pursuing of its chosen future as one of the Great Cities of Europe”.

(GDC, 1992 p. 25)

As shown in the Councils objectives for bidding for the event, longer-term and less tangible outcomes were also sought. The heightened awareness of the city's cultural standing and dynamism that the event aimed to project would further promote it as a destination for international tourism. This image campaign was also hope to produce the additional spin-off effect of increasing the attractiveness of Glasgow as a place for inward investment and as a place to live and work which would in turn further the development of the service and cultural industries.

Such long-term outcomes were unable to be assessed in the 1992 report published by the City Council, which was based on an independent study undertaken by Myerscough entitled 'Monitoring 1990' (Myerscough, 1991). However, this report did observed at the end of the 1990 event that the:

“1990 Capital of Culture programme itself has had an enormous impact on the image of the city.... Millions of visitors have been attracted, including national and international colleagues of Glasgow business people, who were invited to the city to attend various flagship events which took place throughout the year” (GCC, 1992 p 24).

The success of the 1990 event to meet these longer-term goals and sustain the momentum it generated throughout the duration of the event will be discussed in the next chapter.

## CRITICISMS OF THE '1990 CITY OF CULTURE' :

Despite its praise of the 1990 event by the Council, a number criticism can be made of these high profile events, in particularly from many of the Glaswegians themselves who have questioned the relevance of this events to them and the allocation of so much of the local policy and fiscal budget to it.

Both the Garden Festival and City of Culture clearly fell into the category of being consumer-based. These events were all endorsed by a high profile image building campaign, focusing almost exclusively on the city centre. This central bias lead to much discontent about the focus of this cultural policy as has been strongly expressed by the 'Worker's City' community group who felt that city's cultural programme failed to relate to the citizen (Booth and Boyle, 1993). They believed that much of the 1990 programme had little relevance to the working-class heritage of Glasgow. ✓

In particular, they were highly critical of the portrayal of Glasgow's economic, social and political history in "Glasgow's Glasgow", a major exhibition of the city's history and the most expensive event of the Year of Culture, costing £4.6 million. The decision to concentrate efforts on the city's core was partially defended by Inch who described the heart of Glasgow as the "engine that drove the rest if the city. Once that stops functioning, the rest of the city will fall into decline too".

The 'Worker's City' also voiced their criticism of the missed opportunity to link urban regeneration and economic growth with cultural development, as the physical improvements to the city and boost in the tourism market were not matched by employment opportunities or in the strengthening of the commercial and manufacturing sectors. The deliberate policy to have no policy on economic growth, based on the assumption that once awareness of the city's cultural richness had been heightened, economic growth would follow, left many citizens angry that the policy makers were neglecting the deep-rooted problems which were prevalent throughout much of the city, ✓ *note*



instead focusing on the wants of the more affluent service sector workers and tourists (Booth and Boyle, 1993).

Criticism has also been expressed in the ability of the event in sustaining the momentum it generated during the course of the event and in continuing the growth of the cultural sector, arguing that many of the aspirations and outcomes predicted by the Council would be short-lived. The fact that many of the 5700 new jobs created by the event were only temporary and employment in the Arts sector fell back to almost the pre-1990 level of 16,000 by 1992, illustrates that this is a legitimate concern (Booth, 1996). This places the ability of cultural policy to generate lasting employment opportunities to alleviate the growing level of unemployment into question. The ability of events to promote the city as an attractive place to live and work also appeared is also negligible as the city continued to lose its population in the period immediate following the hosting of the 1990 event with a decline in population levels from 774,068 in 1981 to 681,470 in 1993 (GCC, 1995).

#### **Creating a more 'balanced' economy:**

This concern over the ability of cultural policy to offset the substantial loss in employment experienced in Glasgow since the 1970s, particularly in the manufacturing sector, placed growing pressure for policy makers review their prioritising of policy. As table 2 illustrates, between 1991 and 1993 jobs have been lost across all sectors of the economy with the noticeable exception of other services (this includes the public sector, which currently accounts for nearly a quarter of all Glasgow's employment). The biggest losses were borne by the manufacturing sector which experienced a decline of 21% in the two years. Employment contraction in Glasgow's manufacturing base has been a particular feature of the local economy for over two decades, as was shown in table 1). earlier.

**Table 2). Employment Change by Sector 1991-1993**

<b>Employment SIC 92</b>	<b>1991 Total</b>	<b>1993 Total</b>	<b>% Change</b>
Primary	3,781	3,507	-7.2
Manufacturing	46,663	37,050	-20.6
Construction	25,295	20,432	-19.2
Distribution, Hotels, Restaurants	64,194	63,924	-0.4
Transport, communications	22,691	20,842	-8.1
Business, financial, services	62,578	60,917	-2.7
Other services (inc. public).	111,549	115,439	+3.5
<b>Total Employees in employment</b>	<b>336,751</b>	<b>322,111</b>	<b>-4.3</b>

(Sources: GCC Economic Regeneration Unit 'Glasgow Economic Monitor' July 1996)

This continual decline in employment levels across almost all sectors in 1991 and especially in the manufacturing sector, caused the Glasgow City Planning Department to reconsider its international policy focus and its position on events. Instead its objectives clearly stated a return to more localised issues and tackling the productive needs of the city to try to create a more 'balanced economy'. By this it aimed to develop a package of policies which aim to stimulate a range of employment creating sectors, as opposed to the former specialisation on the cultural sector which was proving to generate relatively insignificant levels of employment when placed within the context of the overall level of unemployment. This can be seen in the Glasgow City Council 1991 annual report which states its prime objectives as the following:

- to continue public sector involvement in urban regeneration;
- to have less focus on culture/ arts/ tourism/ service sectors;
- to have more focus on manufacturing;
- to promote Glasgow's location and quality labour force;

- to provide public sector support to small industries;
  - to develop more partnerships with Scottish Enterprise and the Glasgow Development Agency to enable wider and larger opportunities to be exploited, and
  - to develop the public sector's role in land assembly and site preparation for urban regeneration.
- (GCC, 1991)

This would suggest a sense of disillusionment of the ability of events and cultural policy to counteract the continual contraction of the manufacturing sector or indeed its ability to support the growth of the service sector, which also experienced a relative decline between 1990 and 1993. Contradicting the Council's earlier policy stance, this states a return towards more productive sectors, such as manufacturing. According to Bennett, this disillusionment can be clearly seen in Glasgow's decision in 1991 not to bid for the Arts Council's award of 'City of Design 1993'.

The establishment of the Glasgow Regeneration Alliance (GRA) was a response to these growing concerns over the need to develop a more balanced economy. This would focus upon maximising growth in the economy as a whole by developing the opportunities within disadvantaged areas within the city, targeting their key social and economic problems, with the overall aim of the strategy to create sustainable communities. This shifted the direction of Glasgow's policy focus away from the international market and more towards the internal needs of the city, expressed in its 'City-Wide Regeneration Strategy' (GRA, 1996). This Alliance consisted of a partnership between the Glasgow City Council, Strathclyde Regional Council, Scottish Homes and the Glasgow Development Agency and illustrates a move back towards a more managerial approach to

urban regeneration, in identified specific problems and drawing up targeted policies to resolve them, as opposed to the more speculative and non-specific objectives of events.

### **Developing a framework for selecting events:**

Also responding to the criticism of the earlier high profile events, a 'City Vision' for Glasgow was developed to provide a framework within which decisions could be made about which types of events should be bid for and how these events should relate to the urban regeneration process as a whole. This would enable policy-makers to justify their decision to allocate extensive amounts of their resources and efforts to bidding for these particular events, ensuring that they fulfilled a series of set criteria. This set of criteria focus around three inter-related development paths outlined below:

- the development of a design-led economy that will focus on manufacturing; ✓
- the development of the cultural sector that focuses on production; and ✓
- the continuation<sup>o</sup> of high quality physical urban improvements. ✓  
(GCC, 1995 'City Vision Statement').

By producing a clear vision and strategy for Glasgow, it would be possible to be selective about which events to bid for, as only those event that would enable the progression of these development paths and contribute towards this vision would be chosen (Booth, 1996). Bennett strongly endorsed the importance of this vision and over-riding strategy for Glasgow in helping policy-makers identify what kind of city they want Glasgow to be in the 21st century and providing a clearly defined framework within which individual policies, such as those relating to events, can be formulated and justified. This again shows a the continuation of the managerial style of governance alongside the emergence of a more entrepreneurial approach as, while it exhibits a number of features of the entrepreneurial approach, in that it is speculative in execution and focuses on partnerships, ✓

it is also reminiscent of the managerial approach associated with earlier comprehensive redevelopment programmes in that it adopts a more holistic view of the city.

## **THE '1999 CITY OF ARCHITECTURE & DESIGN'**

It was within this vision that the bid for the '1999 City of Architecture and Design' was set. The bid for this event corresponded with the three development paths described in the 'City Vision' stated above. This event will constitute the world's largest festival centred around architecture and design, promoting both internal and external awareness of Glasgow's strengths as a city of leading innovative design and outstanding architectural heritage. This event marked a return to an events-based cultural policy, after an absence of four years following the criticisms of the '1990 City of Culture'. However, the Council justifies its decision to bid for this event on the grounds that it meets the criteria outlined above. This Bennett states that these criteria will be met through the three assertions referred to below:

### Increased local participation:

Complying with the City Vision's regard for debate and consensus, the bid for the 1999 award expressed a move to greater involvement of the public in the planning and hosting of the event. As stated in the 'Glasgow 1999' public information booklet: "Conceived with and built upon the participation of thousands of individuals, our programme seeks to involve people from every background by being lively, innovative, involving and fun!" (Glasgow Company 1999 p. 4).

This emphasis on public accessibility and involvement is clearly illustrated in the number of educational and community programmes set up for the event. The event will provide a mechanism for linking educational establishments with architects, designers and artists, and organisations such as the Glasgow School of Art, the National Society for Education in Art and Design and the Design Council; it also proposes a series of seminars on design

awareness along with workshops, exhibitions and residencies in schools and colleges, were expected to touch upon some 50,000 young people and students.

The event has also aims to touch more upon the everyday lives of its residents by relating to aspects such as housing. The 'Homes for the Future' initiative aims to explore new ways of living, addressing such issues as sustainability, the changing family structure and new patterns of living and working.

#### Stimulating the Productive-Side of the Economy:

Responding to the earlier criticisms of the '1990 City of Culture' for being too consumer-based, in their bid to host the 1999 event, the Council emphasised the role of this event in stimulating the productive-side of the economy. By focusing on the design sector, this event will also contribute to the development of the cultural industries that focus on production and develop a design-led economy that will focus on manufacturing (as outlined in the 'City Vision'). According to Inch, the 1999 event may therefore act as an innovative aid to intervene in the development of the manufacturing sector which has in the past proved difficult. The growth in the number of designers working in manufacturing companies is hoped to improve the quality of goods and promote Glasgow's manufacturing and design industries as innovative and adaptive. ✓

#### The International Dimension:

Whilst clearly stating its internal focus by emphasising the value of local participation and a city-wide approach to the event, the event also clearly aims to promote its design abilities and architectural wealth to the rest of the world. One of its central aims is to promote Glasgow's innovative and creative strengths by "highlighting new thinking and to help position Glasgow as a major European City of Ideas" (Glasgow Company 1999, p 1). ✓

According to Inch, a major feature of the 1999 event will be the hosting of the 'Creative City Exhibition'. This will follow the history of major design innovations since 1899, examining designs from across the world. By adopting a global perspective, this event will bring together design companies from around the globe to present in this exhibition, heightening international press coverage and interest, ensuring that awareness is risen of Glasgow's comparative advantages in innovative design.

By viewing the '1999 City of Architecture and Design' in the context of the proposed 'City Vision' for Glasgow, it can be shown that policy relating to the role of the events in urban regeneration has progressed and learnt from the experiences of its earlier events. ✓

## **STRATEGIC USE OF EVENTS**

As stated above, the 'City Vision' provided a framework within which decisions regarding the selection of events could be made. Bennett described the use of events as a 'pacing-device', with large events being conducted every two or three years. By using events only periodically they can act as a focus for the city's renaissance. Inch agreed that by staging the occasional big event, attention from the national and international press would be concentrated and would show the rest of the world the how much Glasgow has changed since the 'bad old days'.

It is on these big events that smaller events and other initiatives are hung, according to Inch. For the momentum generated by these events to be sustained (in terms of job creation, development of the tourist industry and improvements in the external perceptions of the city) these events can not operate in isolation but need to be supported by a package of cultural initiatives. Recognising the need to develop upon the initial benefits created by '1990 City of Culture', Myerscough recommends three policies to maximise the potential of this event:



- a programme of market development - to build on the opportunities created by 1990 and to tap the areas of latent demand;
- a cultural tourism strategy - to develop the promotion of Glasgow as a European cultural tourism destination; and
- the development of the cultural industries - to address this sector of opportunity by building on existing training <sup>?</sup>straightens<sup>al</sup> and business resources in order to secure Glasgow's position as the UK's principle cultural industry centre outside London  
(Myerscough, 1991).

Acknowledging Myerscough's recommendations, since the hosting of the 1990 event the Council and a range of other agencies have developed a series of initiatives to build upon the benefits created by the event itself, such as improvements in the perception of the city, physical improvements to the city and growth in the tourist markets. Dylan Patterson, who specialises in tourism development for the GDA, referred to the importance of developing ongoing promotional activities for the tourism industry to ensure that 'troughs' do not occur in the market between the major events. Three of the main groups of initiatives are discussed below.

#### Improving the City Marketing Effort:

As many of the interviewees stated, the 1990 event acted as a springboard for the future marketing of the city. Tourist Development Group in their 'Action Plan and Tourism Strategy 1995 - 1999' emphasis this need to improve and co-ordinate the city-marketing effort to ensure maximum penetration of the tourist market. It states that it must focus on key market segments in the most efficient way, including the use of new marketing techniques, such as the inter-net, with the overall aim to "promote Glasgow nationally and

internationally to key markets as a major tourist destination and Gateway to Scotland” (GGTBCB, 1995 p. 4).

An important aspect of this initiative, is the aggressive marketing of key market segments. In particular, Patterson mentioned a number of initiatives being undertaken to try to reduce some of the seasonal differences in the tourism market and especially to try to promote city-breaks and second holidays which are becoming an increasingly important feature of the tourism industry. This is what he referred to as the ‘Event for All Seasons’ campaign. This corresponds with the TDG’s desire to diversify the tourism market, targeting a number of niche markets, such as design, retailing, business tourism and conferences.

There has been significant moves to try to promote Glasgow as the ‘Winter City’. This focuses on Glasgow’s new retail strengths, which have been significantly boosted by the new ‘Buchanan Galleries’ development. This £150 million development will constitute the country’s largest city centre retail project. It will house some of the largest and most prestigious retail outlets, some of which are not found outside London, such as Selfridges and possibly Harvey Nichols and Fenwick. The project is aimed to be completed by the Spring of 1999, providing 400 construction jobs and an estimated 1,600 further jobs when completed (GCC Regeneration Unit, 1997). This development provides a good example of the growing level of invest into capital projects relating to the tourist and leisure industries since the hosting of the ‘1990 City of Culture’ which shall be discussed more fully in the next chapter.

Business tourism is another market increasingly targeted by the TDG. The TDG regards this as one of the most lucrative markets and quoted the attraction of conference delegates, through the development of programmes to improve the city’s performance in the association conference market and the corporate meeting market, as one of their prime objectives. To achieve this objective, the TDG have included a proposal to expand the existing Scottish Exhibition and Conference Centre (SECC), the largest capital investment

1. Transport and employment in the  
sector fell back to pre 1990 levels

project in their Action Plan at an estimated cost of £35 million. This has provided Glasgow with a conference facility and capacity unrivalled elsewhere in Britain. The growth of this market since 1990 shall also be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

#### Development of the Cultural Industries:

Whilst the '1990 City of Culture' proposed no direct policy relating to the development of the 'cultural industries', since the hosting of this event, Bennett referred to the significant expansion of this sector since 1990. The Council's recognition that the cultural industries provide a valuable economic opportunity, can be illustrated in the emphasis placed on this sector in the proposal for the '1999 City of Architecture and Design' event, which proposes far greater links between the event and these industries than the earlier events

Support to the cultural industries has grown significantly in recent years, as shall be discussed in the next chapter. According to the 'Economic and Industrial Development Committee Annual Report 1996/97', during 1996/97 grants or loans totalling £57,000 were awarded to 16 businesses which in turn were expected to create 37 jobs. Specific attention has focused on what has been identified as key industries, such as the film industry according to Inch. Following on from successful investment in the Glasgow Film Fund, which invested in £1.3 million in eight film since 1995, the Council and the GDA have jointly established the Glasgow Film Office as a focus for developing the film and video sector. This provides support for location managers and operates a 'locations finding service', publishing brochures promoting Glasgow as a 'film friendly' city. ✓

#### Environmental Improvements:

As discussed in Chapter 2, the promotion of a city as an attractive tourist destination or a locality for inward investment, will only be successful if there is an attractive product to sell. In the case of Glasgow, this has required substantial improvements to the urban fabric of the city, in particular improving the amenity of the city centre. Major events such

as the '1990 City of Culture' and the 1999 'City of Architecture and Design' in themselves act as important catalysts for environmental improvement projects, such as stone-cleaning, floodlighting, signage and public art displays in preparation for the event. The 1999 event in particular will exploit the rich architectural inheritance of Glasgow's Victorian buildings.

Bennett claimed that these major events provided much of the impetus for these initiatives and that they have contributed to a whole spectrum of urban design projects that have been undertaken since 1990, aiming to promote and improve the city centre's distinctive assets. These projects range from large 'Public Realm Initiatives' such as the renovation of St. Andrew's Square and Royal Exchange Square, to smaller projects such as the provision of CCTV and general improvements in waste management and maintenance. As part of an initiative to upgrade the central area, a network programme will be implemented to connect together all the individual public realm schemes in an attempt to improve the overall environment and create a city centre that is lively and accessible.

Another initiative aimed at up-grading the whole of the city centre area is a scheme called 'Dressing the City'. Bennett explained how this initiative will be used to decorate the city's main streets, arrival points and venues with flags and signs throughout the year. This aims to help create and sustain a festival atmosphere in the city, even when there is no event actually in action. This would avoid the city looking dull and less active when events are not running, whilst also, according to Bennett, acting as a valuable tool in marketing future events for the city and provide sponsorship from businesses. By revitalising the city centre, the potential of the tourism market can be expanded. New initiatives are underway to develop a '24 hour City' programme, which aims to continue the liveliness and productivity of the central area beyond the time the shops and offices close. This would be achieved through more outdoor cafes, bars, street entertainment etc.

Bennett concludes that “on the strength of these events and on the strength of the latest public realm works, that there is now a realisation that improvements in the environment is money spent on attracting inward investment”. This he feels is particularly important in a world of increased inter-urban competition and can significantly aid decisions on investing in an area. Such initiatives are vital if any marketing campaign is to be successful, as according to Beneath “without these improvements we would not have a product to market”.

## **BEYOND 1999: PROMOTION OF NEW STRENGTHS**

All the interviewees clearly expressed the view that events will continue to be a persistent and important feature of urban policy well after the 1999 event. Patterson envisaged major events continuing well into the next century. These future events would be used to highlight Glasgow’s new strengths and dynamic image. In particular he thought that an event signifying Glasgow’s new strength as a major centre of Science and research and development (the third ‘Science City’ in the UK, according to the GDA Annual Report, 1996-97) would be valuable. ✓

This major growth area constitutes a new strand in the marketing campaign, which is now vigorously targeting software and R&D companies, for example in the GDA’s promotional brochure ‘Glasgow: The Location for Software’. This new promotion of Glasgow as a centre of science and knowledge has been greatly aided by the construction of the £35m ‘X-Site Science Centre’ to be situated at Pacific Quay on the River Clyde on the site of the former 1988 Garden Festival. This represents a progression of Glasgow’s marketing effort away from events based on a more traditional definition of culture, to one that includes a diversity of cultural aspects, including education, science and technology. ✓

These discussions with the key agencies involved in the formulation of Glasgow's urban policies, revealed strong support to the role of events in aiding Glasgow's restructuring process. Recognition of some of the criticisms of the earlier events, such as the '1990 City of Culture' has provided a valuable learning experience in what form of event is likely to create the most beneficial and lasting outcomes, this can be illustrated in goals and objectives of the '1999 City of Architecture and Design'. All parties upheld the opinion that the 1990 initiative had been successful in achieving a range benefits for Glasgow, justifying the investment of resources into this policy area and advocating the continuation of this style of policy initiative. The next chapter will examine the validity of this support for the role of high profile events, by evaluating the direct and indirect impact of the '1990 City of Culture' both initially and in terms of its longer term outcomes.

role of the universities / art  
colleges / higher ed  
of L'pool City of Learning?  
Must mention Renewal Partnership!



## **CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS PART II - EVALUATION OF POLICY IMPACT**

Policy evaluation of events is problematic due to the speculative nature of these events. The outcomes envisaged during the bidding for the event are often vague and intangible, focusing on changes in the external perceptions of the city or civic pride. Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter 4, many of the more direct impacts derived from these events, such as employment creation, tend to be short-lived. This makes an overall assessment of the role of events in urban regeneration challenging. For a more comprehensive analysis of the role of events to be made, the longer term impacts of the event also need to be taken into consideration.

This requires the study of trends which indicate the ability of the event to improve perceptions of the city, supporting the continued development of the city as a tourist destination and centre of consumption and an attractive locality for inward investment. To achieve this, the example of the '1990 City of Culture', Glasgow's most prestigious event to date, shall be used as a benchmark against which developments in these trends shall be measured. Before examining these longer term impacts, a 'cost-benefit' analysis shall be attempted to illustrate the initial benefits that have derived from the hosting of the 1990 event.

### **COST - BENEFIT ANALYSIS OF THE '1990 CITY OF CULTURE'**

The data used to calculate this cost-benefit analysis was provided in a report commissioned by Glasgow City Council in 1991 entitled the 'Monitoring 1990' based on an independent study conducted by John Myerscough which attempts to evaluate the initial impact of this event on Glasgow's economy and employment base. This report has estimated the total additional public sector expenditure on the hosting of the 1990 event, shared between Glasgow City Council, Strathclyde Regional Council and the Scottish Office, to be £ 21.84 million. The breakdown of this total cost is shown in table 3. This

illustrates that over 70% of this expenditure was spent on arts events and attractions with the remaining proportion relating to marketing and administrative costs.

**Table 3 ). Additional Public Sector Expenditure on the ‘1990 City of Culture’.**

<b>£ million</b>	
1990 arts events & attractions	15.99
Marketing	4.93
Administration, public relations	0.92
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>21.84</b>

( Source: Myerscough, 1991 ‘Monitoring 1990’)

The substantial costs involved in the hosting of an event on the scale of the ‘City of Culture’ have also been shared by the private sector. As stated in earlier chapters, the importance of private-public partnerships in the hosting of events is paramount to their success. The total amount of revenue levered from the private sector totalled £6.01 million, representing a substantially higher level of private sector commitment to a culture-based initiative than in the past. This funding took the form of sponsorship, donations and corporation membership.

Through direct comparison between the total costs incurred to the public sector in hosting the event and those benefits derived initially from the event, a crude evaluation of the opportunity cost of allocating these public revenues to this events, as opposed to other policy areas such as subsidising the manufacturing sector, can be made. Table 4). shows the value, in terms of income and employment creation, of the main benefits generated by the event.

**Table 4). 'Cost-Benefit' Analysis of the '1990 City of Culture'**

<b>COSTS</b>		
Total additional public costs	<b>£21.9 million</b>	
<b>BENEFITS</b>	<b>INCOME (£ million)</b>	<b>EMPLOYMENT</b>
Direct impact on income	21.3	3,715
Income generation at facilities and events	2.4 - 5.6	225 - 415
Indirect and induced impacts	7.3 - 7.9	1,220 - 1,260
General tourism impact	1.2	195
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>32.2 - 36</b>	<b>5,350 - 5,580</b>

( Source: Myerscough, 1991 'Monitoring 1990')

By subtracting the total additional public costs from the benefits outlined in table 4, in terms of short term direct and indirect/induced impacts, the net quantifiable benefit can be calculated to be in the range of £10.3 - 14.1 million. This analysis also shows that the number of jobs estimated to have been generated by the event are within the range of between 5,350 and 5,580. The majority of these jobs created, nearly 3,800, can be attributed to the need to support the range of ancillary service activities, such as hotels, catering and retailing which tended to rely on expenditure from outside the event itself by tourists, day visitors and local residents..

To assess the efficiency of this initiative, in terms of value for money, the cost to the public sector for creating each of these new job opportunities needs to be calculated. This is referred to as 'gross public sector cost per job'. To calculate this cost per job, the total additional public costs are divided by the total number of jobs created. As referred to in Chapter 4, in their annual report in 1994, the Council acknowledged that many of the jobs created by the event would prove to be temporary, stating how by 1992 employment in the Arts sector had fallen back to almost pre-1990 levels (approximately 1,600). This has an influence on how we calculate gross public sector costs per job, as this cost tends to be far higher if the jobs are only temporary.

*excellent*

According to Myerscough's calculation, it was assumed that only half the jobs created were categorised as permanent, the remaining half being temporary. Taking this assumption into consideration, the gross public sector cost per job can be estimated at £6,980 per job. The Myerscough report claims that this net cost per job is favourable when compared to earlier research on initiatives, such as Regional Policy and Enterprise Zones, which were estimate to incur a net cost of £20,000 plus per job.

This shows that the 1990 event provide a relatively successful initiative in terms of providing employment growth at a comparatively low cost to the public sector when compared to earlier initiatives in Glasgow. However, despite this growth in employment, equivalent to around 1.5% of total employment of Glasgow based on 1989 levels, the labour market for the city continued to worsen. As the table below illustrates, Glasgow continued to experience a decline in total level of employment between 1989 and 1991 (down 3.8%) - a rate significantly worse than the Scottish average, which experienced a positive growth of 1.8%. This would suggest that this moderate increase in employment was only a drop in the ocean and unable to offset the more fundamental structural problems affecting the labour market.

**Table 5). Comparisons of Employment Change 1981-1993, Scotland, Great Britain and Glasgow.**

	Scotland	Great Britain	Glasgow
1981	1990.7	21314.1	378.0
1984	1903.9	20845.9	347.5
1987	1880.7	21271.0	348.6
1989	1967.8	22234.5	349.9
1991	2003.8	21569.0	336.5
1993	1972.3	21105.3	322.1
<b>% Change</b>			
1981-84	-4.4	-2.2	-8.1
1984-1989	+3.3	+6.7	+0.7
1989-1991	+1.8	-3.0	-3.8
1991-1993	-1.6	-2.1	-4.3

(Sources: GCC Economic Regeneration Unit 'Glasgow Economic Monitor' July 1996)

*very interesting*

## **LONGER TERM IMPACTS OF THE '1990 CITY OF CULTURE'**

The above cost benefit analysis illustrates that the event was relatively capable of meeting its immediate objectives of providing a systems boost to the cultural sector, creating employment opportunities and raising revenue for the city from a range of direct and indirect sources. However, to comprehensively assess the effectiveness of this policy, a study of how the cultural sector and tourist industry has continued to develop and how perceptions of the city have continued to evolve, needs to be conducted. ✓  
gal

This would enable a evaluation of how events such as the '1990 City of Culture' can contribute to the overall regeneration of Glasgow and illustrate the ability of these events to sustain the momentum which they generated and act as a catalyst for further expansion of the cultural sector. To make this assessment, four trends have been identified, namely: development of the cultural sector, growth of the tourist industry and conference sector, levels of inward investment and changing external perceptions of the city.

## **DEVELOPMENT OF THE 'CULTURAL SECTOR' AND THE 'CULTURAL INDUSTRIES':**

A major objective of the 1990 event was to act as a systems boost to the cultural sector and promote Glasgow as an importance cultural centre. This aimed to attract new firms involved in this sector, especially those relating to the cultural industries, creating additional employment opportunities and raising new sources of revenue for the city. Much local government support has been provided to investigate how this sector has grown since the hosting of the 1990 event, enabling them to make more informed decision to be taken on the development of cultural policy.

One of the most important sources of information was a report produced by John Myerscough, commissioned by the City Council. This report, entitled 'Glasgow Cultural Statistic Framework' was first published in November 1995 and provided a digest of



statistics for 1992/93, however it has been recently been updated in June 1997 to incorporate data from 1994/95 with figures for 1995/96 where available. The aim of this report was to act as an “information tool in the evolving debate on cultural development in Glasgow”(GCC, 1997 p.2). The report identifies a series of ‘Cultural Indicators’ which generally provide trend information based on 1989 - 1992/93 and 1992/93 - 1994/95, however in a few examples figures for 1985/86 have been included to define the overall scale of the sector and its longer term trajectories.

### **Contribution of the Cultural Sector to Glasgow’s Labour Market and Local Economy:**

Taking the cultural sector as a whole (consisting of museums and galleries, theatres and halls, self-employed artists/performers and the cultural industries), this sector accounted for some 8,911 direct jobs in 1994/95. How this figure is comprised is illustrated in table 6). This table also shows the extent to which employment levels in these sub-sectors have changed since 1985/96. Placing this figure into the context of Glasgow’s total employment (standing at 317,869 in 1995) the cultural sector accounted for some 2.8% to 3% of employment in the Greater Glasgow area in for this year. This is a relatively moderate proportion of total employment when compared to other sectors, for example manufacturing accounted for 11%, whilst banking, finance and insurance provided nearly 21% of all employment in Glasgow (Glasgow Economic Monitor Report, Jan. 1997).

However, the relative importance of employment in the cultural sector can be shown to have grown when compared to the proportion of total employment calculated in the PSI study for 1986 which stated this figure as 2.2% (total number employed 7,945). As table 6). shows, most of this growth occurred in the period 1985/86 to 1992/93 with a total growth rate of 13%. This would suggest that the 1990 did have a significant impact on employment levels in the cultural sector, as it is in this period of the pre-event warm up, the hosting of the event itself and the period immediately following the event, that fastest growth occurred. However, the relative decline of 1% in the subsequent period, between

1992/93 and 1994/95, challenges the ability of the event to sustain the momentum it initially created in terms of employment generation.

**Table 6.): Cultural sector in Glasgow, employment by sub sector, 1985/86 - 1994/95.**

	<b>1985/86 (a)</b>	<b>1990 (b)</b>	<b>1992/93 (c)</b>	<b>1994/95 (d)</b>	<b>% change (a-c) (c-d)</b>	
<b>Museums, galleries, studios</b>	657	630	689	729	+2	+6
<b>Theatres, halls, ensembles</b>	1,146	1,293	1,444	1,512	+26	+5
<b>Independent/ support</b>	631	720	835	1,220	+32	+46
<b>Cultural industries</b>	5,493	5,710	6,005	5,450	+9	-9
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>7,945</b>	<b>8,353</b>	<b>8,973</b>	<b>8,911</b>	<b>+13</b>	<b>-1</b>

(GCC, 'Glasgow Cultural Statistical Framework', 1997)

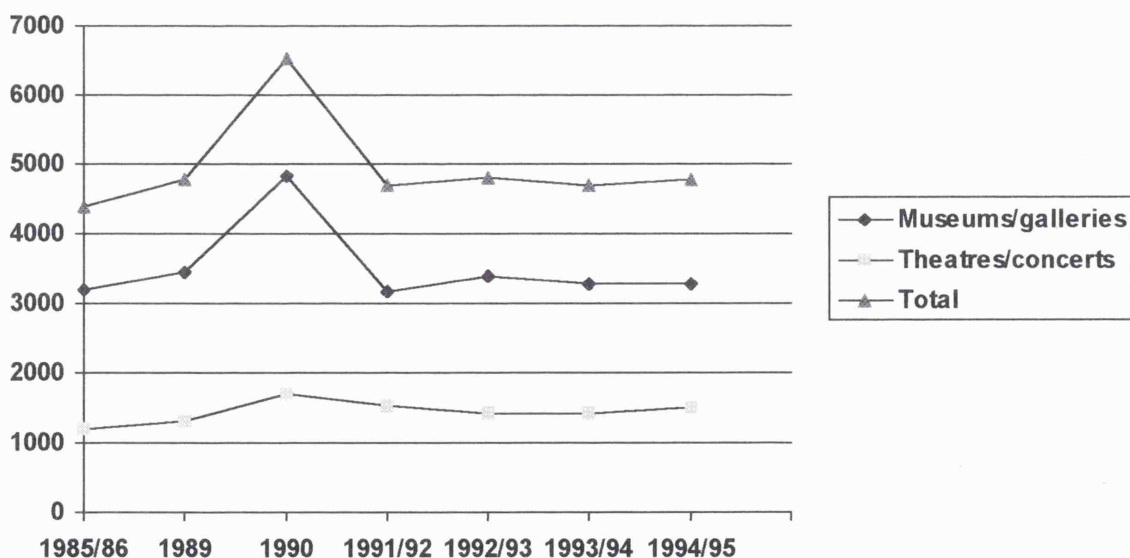
This decline in employment can, however, be largely attributed to the major cut-backs experienced in the cultural industries which are the most significant employers, accounting for 61% of all employment in the cultural sector as a whole. In particular cut-backs in the Broadcasting industry, can explain why the cultural industries have experienced a decline of 9% between 1992/93 to 1994/95 to pre-1986 levels, despite a growth of 9% in the earlier period between 1986 and 1992/93. These cut-backs have significantly distorted the pattern of growth of the cultural sector as a whole, however if these were discounted it would be acceptable to state the cultural sector has continued to record significant expansion.

In particular, the number of independent artists, including writers, visual artists, actors and musicians, have continued to increase in this latter period, resulting in the employment of 2,250 creative artists working full-time or part-time in Glasgow in 1995. This illustrates the growing recognition of Glasgow as an important cultural centre. Employment in the museums and theatre sectors have also experienced a positive growth rate, albeit at a substantially lower rate for theatre sector.

### Growing importance of Glasgow as a Cultural Centre:

Alongside the more economic objectives of creating new employment opportunities and sources of revenue for the city, the 1990 event also aimed to improve local public accessibility to the Arts and encourage the attractiveness of the city as cultural centre and consumer centre for domestic and overseas tourist. Trends in the tourist market will be discussed in the next section, however an assessment of how the level attendance to arts and cultural events in Glasgow has changed since the hosting of the 1990 event is outlined below. Table 7). below shows the how attendance's at museums/galleries and theatres/concerts have fluctuated since 1986. Comparisons are also made to the English context, to illustrate the significance of the developments in Glasgow's museum and theatre markets.

**Table 7.) : Attendance at cultural events and attractions in Greater Glasgow:  
Museums and Galleries; Performed Arts; and Popular Entertainment,  
1985/86 - 1994/95.**



(GCC, 'Glasgow Cultural Statistical Framework', 1997)

This graph shows that distinct peak can be identified in 1990 for both attendance at museums and theatres during the hosting of the event itself (up 41% on the previous year



for museums and 34% for theatres). In total attendance to museums reached a record 4.8 million, with a combined figure for attendance to museums and theatres for this year reaching 6.5 million. The museum sector in particular experienced a significant decline in attendance following the 1990 event decreasing in numbers in 1991/92 to 8% below its 1989 level (totalling only 3.2 million visitors). Although this figure recovered slightly in 1992/93, this had then dropped back to that of 1991/92 by 1994/95, with a total difference of 49% between 1990 and 1994/95.

Comparative figures for England (see table 8) demonstrates a 10% increase between 1989 and 1994/95, in contrast with Glasgow's 8% decline over the same period. This declining figure in attendance to museums following the hosting of the 1990 event, shows how this sector has failed to sustain its popularity once the event itself had finished, questioning the ability of the city to keep its image as an important cultural centre alive without the presence of a major cultural event.

However, attendance at theatres and concerts in Glasgow have shown a generally more positive trend. As programming returned to "normal" after 1990, which witnessed a rise in number of visitors to nearly 1.7 million, the market for theatres and concerts shrank. However, unlike the museums attendance levels this has settled at between 10% and 15% above the 1989 level. Interest in classical music grew dramatically in 1990, mainly due to the opening of the Royal Concert Hall, but this too has dropped annually after 1991/92. Overall though, this trend is more positive than the national context, out-performing theatres in London's West End.

**Table 8.) : Indices of attendance at Museums/Galleries and Theatres/Concerts in Glasgow and England, 1985/86 - 1994/95:**

	1989 = 100						
	1985/86	1989	1990	1991/92	1992/93	1993/94	1994/95
Glasgow musue/ galls	93	100	141	92	98	95	92
English Museums	95	100	105	106	109	109	110
Glasgow theatres	92	100	134	115	108	110	114
London's West End	92	100	103	100	100	105	102

(GCC, 'Glasgow Cultural Statistical Framework', 1997)

### **Levels of Public and Private Sector Expenditure on the Cultural Sector:**

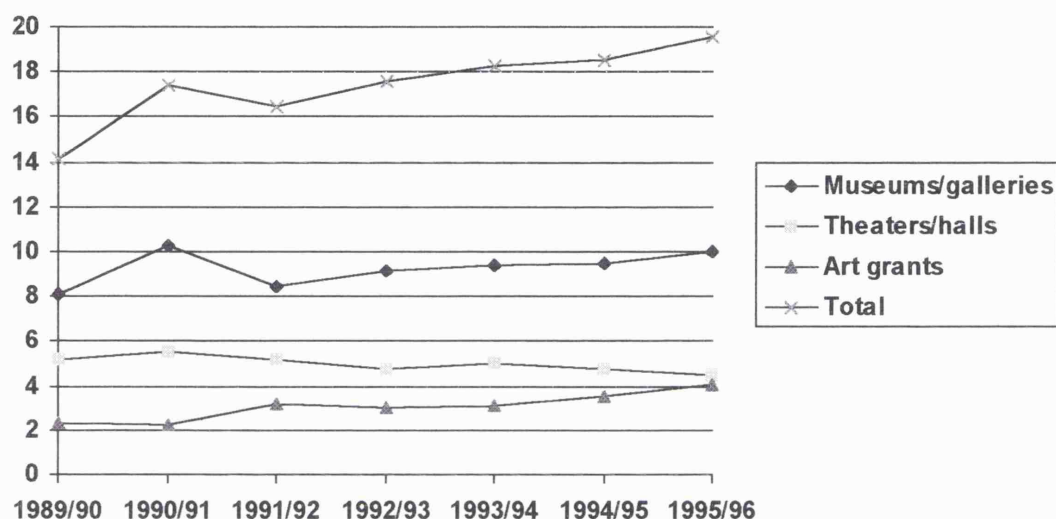
As was discussed in Chapter 4, there has been much controversy over the Council's decision to allocate a substantial proportion of public funds to the area of cultural policy. Indeed a survey conducted by SAC/COSLAC entitled 'Local Authority Arts Expenditure 1994-95' shows Glasgow to be the highest-spending local authority on culture in Scotland, with the highest per capita spending (£42.67) on museums and libraries among Scottish local authorities. In 1994/95, Glasgow City Council's total revenue expenditure on the Arts was second only to that of Edinburgh City Council. This clearly illustrates Glasgow's continued commitment to cultural policy since the hosting of the 1990 event is indicated in their growing financial support to the cultural sector.

The City Council are the main provider of public funding for the cultural sector, spending a total of £18.7 million on directly run museums/theatres/halls and on grants to independent organisations and the cultural industries in 1995/96. Table 9). shows how this level of revenue expenditure has grown, increasing 5% in real terms compared with 1989/90. Although this level has remained relatively constant over the last three years, individual budget lines show more marked variations. For example, whilst revenue expenditure on museums and galleries has been cut back to 4% below the 1989/90 level by 1995/96, art grants have seen an increase in 33% more revenue support over this period, much of this relating to the support of individual artists and subsidising of the cultural industries.

Many of the major capital projects and events that have occurred since 1990 have experienced greater collaboration between a range of different public sector agencies. For example the '1996 Festival of Visual Arts' which cost an estimated £1million was funded through a joint venture of both the City Council, the Glasgow Development Agency and European Regional Development Fund. Similarly, these agencies also provided the main sources of revenue for the '1999 City of Architecture and Design' which is projected to cost a total of £12 million and the newly completed Gallery of Modern Art which cost an estimated £9million. It could be argued that this level of public spending represents just

another form of subsidising local industries, diverting subsidies from other sectors of the economy, such as manufacturing. However, in terms of efficiency, as the evidence in the cost-benefit analysis shows, this form of policy initiative tends to yield lower net costs per jobs than other initiatives.

**Table 9.) : Changing levels of Public Expenditure on Culture 1989-1996 (£million)**



(GCC, 'Glasgow Cultural Statistical Framework', 1997)

Another feature of expenditure on the cultural sector over the last decade, has been the growing contribution of the private sector, shown in table 10). The significant increase in the contributions of the private sector in 1990, totalling £3.9 million (which excludes the additional £2.12 million sponsorship of the 1990 Festival Office) reflects the ability of high profile events such the 'City of Culture' in leveraging private sector funds. Subsequently, this level has declined. However, it had begun to grow again in 1994/95.

**Table 10). Private expenditure on Glasgow cultural organisations, sponsorship and other, 1985/96 - 1994/95.**

	<b>£ Thousands</b>			
	<b>1985/96</b>	<b>1990</b>	<b>1992/93</b>	<b>1994/95</b>
Sponsorship	630	2,950*	1,772	2,207
Other	530	940	807	725
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,160</b>	<b>3,890*</b>	<b>2,581</b>	<b>2,797</b>

(GCC, 'Glasgow Cultural Statistical Framework', 1997)

\* Excluded £2.12 million sponsorship of 1990 Festival Office and 1990 projects.

### **GROWTH OF THE TOURIST MARKET:**

As shown in the above section, the hosting of the '1990 City of Culture' aimed to develop the city's cultural sector, promoting Glasgow as one of Britain's premier tourists destination and a competitive cultural centre in Europe. This event was perceived not only as posing a major focus for generating tourism, but also as a means of raising the profile of Glasgow as an exciting place to visit long after the event had run its course. By highlighting the cultural strengths and attractions that Glasgow had to offer, it was envisaged as providing a springboard for further developing the tourism market.

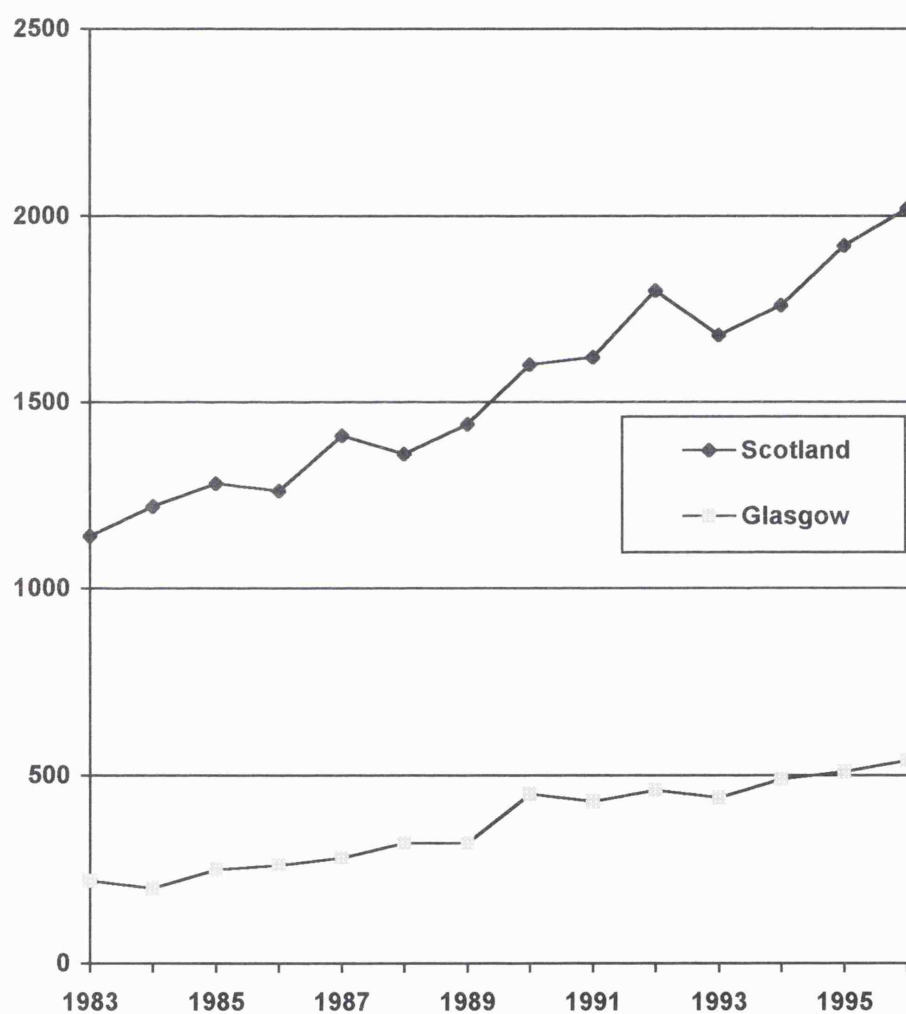
### **Trends in Tourism:**

The above section on the development of the cultural sector as a whole, clearly illustrates the important impact these high profile events can have on the development of this sector during the hosting of the event itself. However, as the relative decline in the number of attendance's to cultural attractions in Glasgow following the event, along with the decline in employment levels in this sectors illustrates, the ability of events to sustain the momentum they generated during the course of the event is negligible and questions their ability to achieve their longer term outcomes. An assessment of the longer-term benefits of this event to the cultural sector can be enhanced by studying development in the tourist markets in the post-1990 period.

### Development of the Overseas Market:

Table 11). shows the main development in the overseas tourist market in Glasgow between 1983 and 1996, starting at the very beginning of Glasgow's image-campaign with the 1983 'Glasgow Miles Better' initiative.

**Table 11). Volume of Overseas Tourism to Glasgow and Scotland, 1983-1996**  
(in thousands).



(STB, 1996)

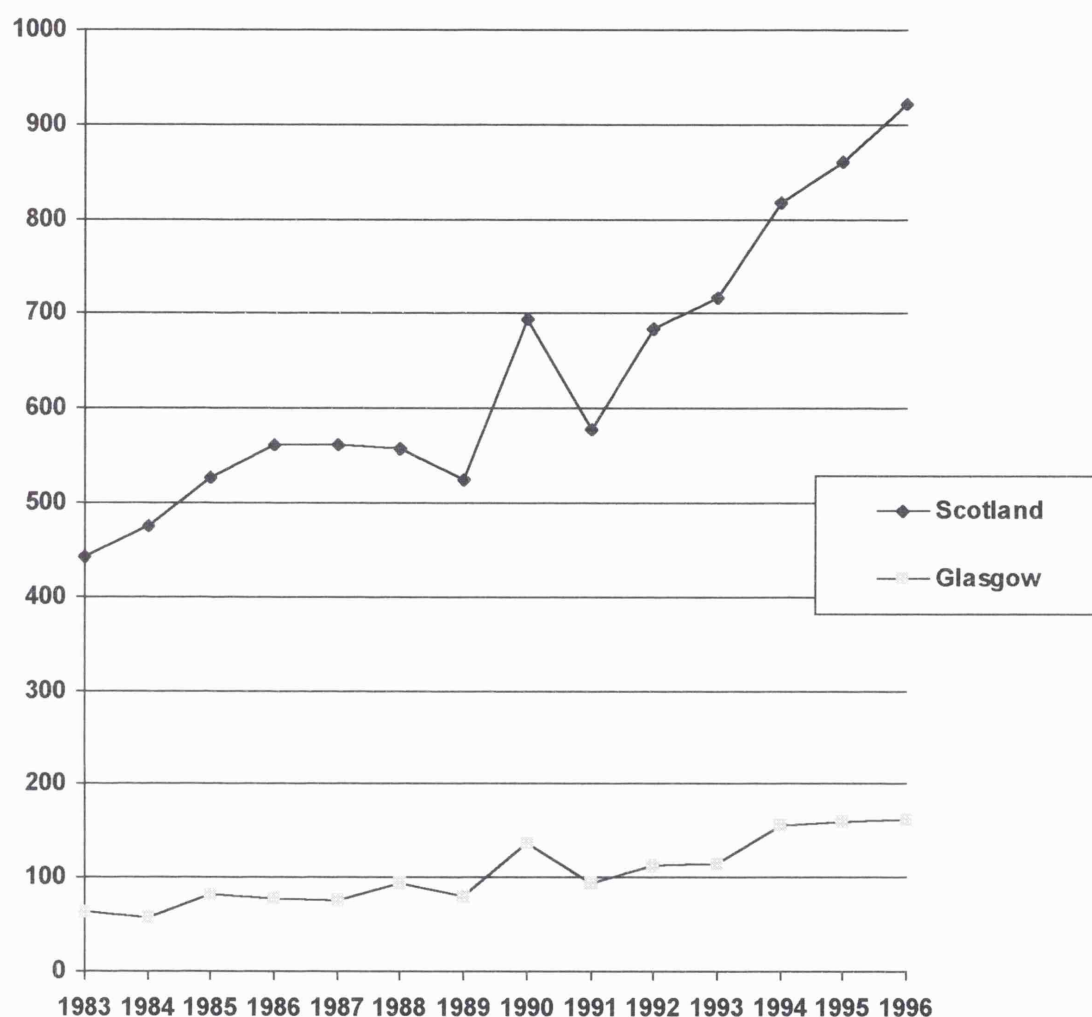
The substantial growth of this market in Glasgow is clearly illustrated with a total growth of 145% over the 1983 to 1996 period, bringing the annual overseas trips to 540,000 in 1996, compared to 222,000 in 1983. The growth of this sector is even more significant when it is placed within the Scottish context, which experienced an overall increase of 77% to 2,020,000 over this period. The STB report states how the rate of growth of this market in Glasgow has been significantly greater than the growth rate of any other UK city.

The impact of the 'City of Culture' event on this market is clearly evident by the period of rapid growth experienced between 1989 and 1990 (from 320,000 to 450,000). However, this momentum is not continued into 1991, when this level declines to 430,000. This may add weight to Bennett's concerns of 'troughs' occurring between events. However this does not prove to be the case in the longer term as numbers sharply rise to above 1990 levels after 1991, reaching 540,000 in 1996. The growth of the Scottish market as a whole has not been so turbulent, with no significant growth, or subsequent decline, occurring in 1990.

The level of expenditure, shown in table 12), has followed this general trend, with a significant boost in levels in 1990 (a total of £138 million) in Glasgow. However, after declining in 1991, the level of expenditure took a slightly longer time to recover after the 1990 event. Despite this, by 1996 this level had grown to a record £162 million. Overall between 1983 and 1996, expenditure from overseas tourism to Glasgow has risen by 157%. Scotland as a whole has witnessed a more steady, though less significant increase in expenditure over this period (+108%), contributing a total of £923 million to the Scottish economy by 1996.



**Table 12). Levels of Expenditure from Overseas Tourism to Glasgow and Scotland**  
**(£millions, at 1996 Prices).**



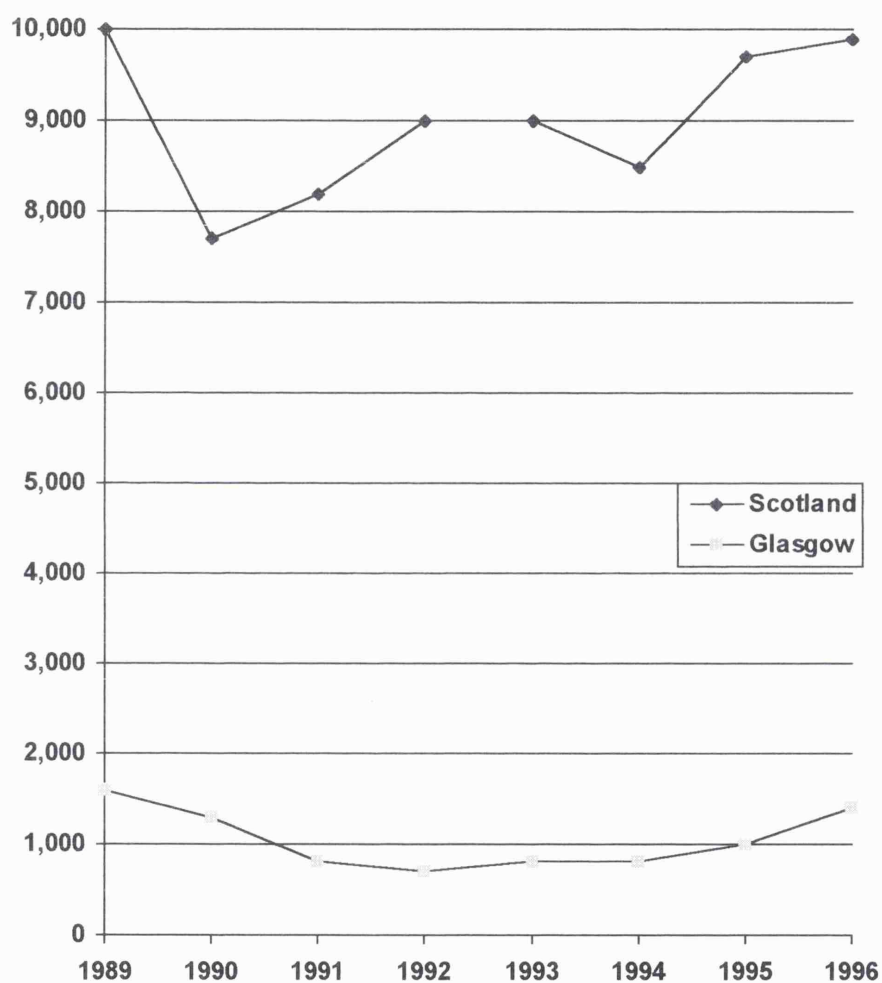
(Source: STB, 1996)

### **Development of the Domestic Market:**

Similarly, table 13.) shows the main trends in the domestic tourist market in Glasgow during the period 1989 to 1996. This market has not expanded on the scale of the overseas market during this period. The impact of the 'City of Culture' has also been less significant, as tourist levels actually declined from 1.6 million in 1989 to 1.3 million in

1990. However, the sharp decline in levels in 1991 to 8 million which remained relatively constant until 1996, suggests that the level for 1990 would have been significantly lower if the ‘City of Culture’ event had not been hosted.

**Table 13). Volume of Domestic Tourism to Glasgow and Scotland, 1989-1996 (in thousands)**



(Source: Scottish Tourist Board, 1996).

This delayed decline in levels of domestic tourism may be partially attributed to the growing popularity of overseas holidays over domestic holidays for residents in the UK



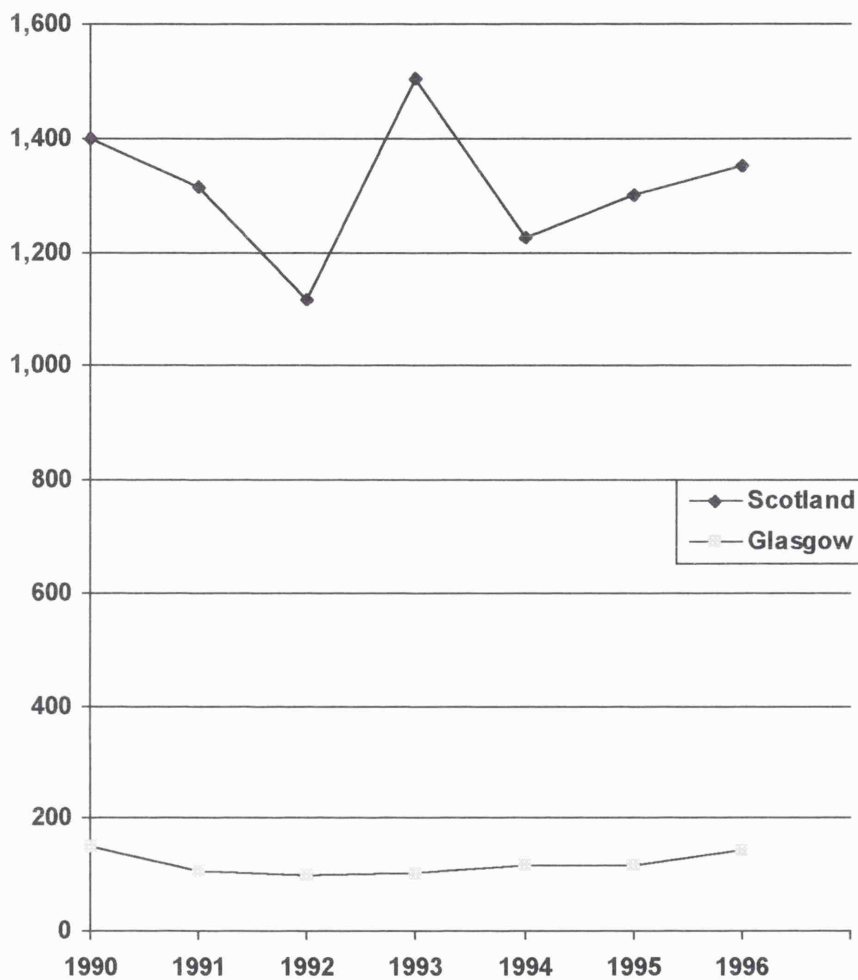
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since the late 1980s, as levels of consumer- spending began to improve following the recovering from the recession which characterised the 1980s. The impact of this more general trend is reflected in the sharp decline in tourist levels after 1989 for Scotland as a whole, with an apparent fall of 23% between 1989 and 1990. However, according to the STB report this substantial decline since 1989, may be largely due to methodological changes in the collection of domestic tourism statistics that was introduced after 1989 which makes for some uncertainty in the comparability of data before and after 1990.

However, significant improvements were experienced in levels of domestic tourism in 1995 and 1996. In particular, 1996 witnessed a growth in numbers to 1.4 million trips from 1.0 million in 1995. The hosting of the '1996 Festival of the Visual Arts' in this year may explain the boost given to the tourists market. This can be highlighted by an independent report commissioned by the Greater Glasgow & Clyde Valley Tourist Board (GGTB, 1997), which estimated that around one million people attended more than 300 individual events during the Festival's principal duration of seven months.

The growth in the market value of the domestic tourist market (shown in table 14.) reflects this change in domestic tourist levels between 1989 and 1996 with total expenditure failing to regain their 1990 levels (an estimated 150 million) by 1996. However, the substantial increase in levels of expenditure between 1995 and 1996, from £116 million to £144 million, also represents the importance of the 1996 event, which was calculated by the GGBT (1997) survey to have generated approximately £25 million. The growing popularity of Glasgow in the last couple of years, may also be explained by the increase in 'secondary trips' to the city, as a short-break destination, which accounted for nearly three quarters of all trips to Glasgow for domestic visitors, compared to only 51% for Scotland as a whole (GCC, 1997 'Glasgow Cultural Statistical Framework'). This may reflect subsequent marketing campaigns, such as Glasgow as the 'Winter City'.

**Table 14). Levels of Expenditure from Domestic Tourism in Glasgow and Scotland, 1989-1996 (£millions, 1996 Prices).**



(Source: Scottish Tourist Board 1996).

### **Main Purpose for Trip.**

The importance of the Arts and culture in expanding Glasgow's tourist market can be illustrated by the number of tourists, especially overseas, visit Glasgow for recreational reasons. This can be illustrates in table 15). which shows how 62% of all visitors cited

‘leisure’ as their main purpose for visiting Glasgow. The importance of the arts and cultural attractions has also remained the most important factor for British visitors to Glasgow (see table 16.).

**Table 15). Main Purpose of Trip for Overseas Tourists, 1986-1994.**

	Trips (thousands)		
	1986-1988	1990-1992	1992-1994
Leisure	165	248	253
Visiting Friends and Relatives	64	95	97
Business	49	85	87
Study/other	12	22	23
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>290</b>	<b>400</b>	<b>460</b>

(Source: Scottish Tourist Board, 1996)

The importance of Glasgow as a centre for ‘business tourism’ is also shown to be highly significant, with a quarter of British visitors citing it as their main reason for coming to Glasgow, and a marked increase in the number of overseas visitors (+78%) citing its as their main reason for visiting Glasgow between 1986/88 and 1992/94. According to the GGTBCB’s projections for Glasgow’s tourist market, the business tourism segment for both the overseas and domestic market is expected to witness a growth rate of 2% between 1995 and 2000 (GGTBCB, 1995). The development of this particular tourist market will be discussed in more detail in the following section.

**Table 16). Main Purpose of Trip for Domestic Tourists, 1989 - 1995.**

	Trips (percentages)	
	1989-91	1993-95
Leisure	44	43
Visiting Friends and Relatives	19	26
Business	25	23
Study/other	12	6
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

(Source: Scottish Tourist Board, 1996)

## **BUSINESS AND CONFERENCE TOURISM:**

As the section above illustrates, business tourism and the development of the conference market, is proving to be an increasingly important and lucrative segment of Glasgow's tourists industry. Although the 1990 'City of Culture' revolved around the demands of the holiday tourist, providing cultural attractions and leisure activities, by raising the international profile of Glasgow, this event also hoped to stimulate other sectors of the tourist market.

The popularity of Glasgow as a conference and exhibition centre has significantly increased since 1990, according to a report published by KPMG Management Consulting Division in 1995. The growth of conference market has been even more pronounced since 1996 following the up-grading of Glasgow's Scottish Exhibition and Conference Centre (SECC) which forms the city's premier conference venue. The up-grading of this venue, which cost the City Council an estimated £35 million, comprised of the addition of a new main auditorium of approximately 3,050 seats, a second auditorium of around 350 seats and a new Business Centre. ✓

By expanding the conference facilities, Glasgow could compete more successfully in the conference market, especially enabling it to compete in the market for hosting conferences with over 2,500 delegates, as there presently exists no purpose built, well equipped conference venue in the UK able to compete in this niche market. This new structure (referred to as the armadillo due to its innovative shell-like structure, designed by Richard Rogers) was completed in 1997 and forms a central feature of the '1999 City of Architecture and Design'.

### **The Confex Market:**

The KPMG consultants, in their Economic Appraisal of the Glasgow's conference market, recommended this up-grading of conference facilities in Glasgow in an attempt to compete

more effectively in the growing 'confex' market which involves a mixture of conferences and exhibitions. This particular market has been shown to be especially lucrative, generating levels of expenditure that substantially exceeded those of the pure exhibition market. This can be largely attributed to the fact that Conferences and especially Confexes, tend to attract visitors from overseas who generate greater expenditure levels, for example through higher accommodation and travel costs. This can be shown in table 17), which illustrates visitor origins to a range of events.

**Table 17): Visitor Origin % to a Range of Events at the SECC, 1993:**

Event Type	Visitor Origin		
	Strathclyde	Rest of Scotland	Rest of World
<b>Conference</b>	19	12	69
<b>Confex</b>	8	12	80
<b>Exhibition</b>	38	54	8
<b>Concert/ Event</b>	52	44	4

(System III/ KPMG, 1995).

To compete in this specialist market the report identified the need for good seminar and conference facilities coupled with exhibition space (i.e. Confex). Up to 1995 the SCEE had performed well as a conference centre, and the share of Glasgow's conference market was rising with growing occupancy levels and numbers of delegate. However the KPMG report concludes that Glasgow's existing facilities were unable to tap into this new demand, stating how "it is clear that the SECC will not be able to continue to compete in terms of facility quality, even though in all other significant location factors - city quality, access parking, hotel stock, technical facilities and sheer size- it is an ideal conference centre" (KPMG, 1995 p.32). This would suggest that earlier initiatives, such as the '1990 City of Culture', by improving the image of the city, provided the pre-requisite conditions for growth of the conference market by creating the demand for new developments in this market such as the extension of the SECC.

By up-grading Glasgow's conference facilities, it is envisaged that an additional 50,000 conference/confex delegates per annum will visit the city, the majority of whom are likely

to be overseas visitors. The growth of the conference market is also projected to create new employment opportunities for Glasgow and its wider region, expecting to provide an additional 844 full time equivalent jobs, with a further 1000 temporary construction jobs in the initial stage. The contribution of this market to the Strathclyde economy is also expected to receive a significant boost with a growth in market value from £50 million to just over £70 million per annum - a net increase of £20 million. The success of the newly upgraded SECC can be illustrated by the benefits derived from two recent conventions which have been held there: the Rotary International Convention and 'American Society of Travel Agents' (ASTA) World Travel Congress. ✓

The growing importance of Glasgow as an international conference centre in the last couple of years largely relates to the substantial improvements made to provision of conference facilities. However, much of the demand for these improvements depends on the perception of Glasgow as a dynamic city that offers a range of additional cultural attractions to encourage delegates and business tourists to visit the city. The importance of promoting Glasgow as a culturally rich centre, for purposes other than those relating directly to tourism and the cultural sector, is discussed further in the next section which examines the impact of the '1990 City of Culture' on attracting of inward investment.

### **INWARD INVESTMENT TO GLASGOW:**

One of the central claims of employing flagship events and image-improving campaigns, is that they can have longer and less tangible benefits by promoting the attractiveness of a place for capital investment. Assessment of this less tangible benefit is difficult as investment decisions need to be set within a matrix of a business factors, including availability of sites, access to communications, qualifications of the labour force and the provision of financial packages. Although 'soft' factors, such as cultural attractions and amenity value can have an influence, any immediate link between the promotion of Glasgow's cultural strengths through events such as the 1990 'City of Culture' and levels

of inward investment is negligible as a range of external and structural factors may influence the behaviour of capital.

A survey conducted by Healy<sup>E</sup> and Baker (1990) illustrates the growing importance of 'soft' factors such as the 'quality of life' in business attitudes to major locations. Whilst this study clearly showed that the three most important factors affecting decisions on business location related to communications (access to markets, clients or customers; transport infrastructure; and the quality of telecommunications), quality of life for employees was considered "absolutely essential" by 14% of respondents (Myerscough, 1991). ✓

This finding supports Harvey's assertion that factors relating to quality of life are exerting a greater influence, as heightened inter-urban competition has enabled multinational capital to be much more discriminating and sensitive to small variations between places in terms of their conditions of production and consumption. This forces cities to develop new ways of expressing their individuality and, as discussed in Chapter 2, many local authorities are turning to non-cost factors, such as quality of life, as a means of promoting their difference and competitiveness.

Using quality of life factors to attract inward investment is unlikely to yield few benefits in the short-term, as it involves changing external perceptions which, in the case of cities such as Glasgow, are likely to be slow to alter where deep-rooted negative images of a declining industrial city tend to exist. This could explain the observation made by Locate in Scotland (LIS) that the 1990 event had "no discernible impact on its business" (Myerscough, 1991 p 180). The LIS reported that in 1990 it could not recall any company registering interest in investing in Scotland on the basis of the 'City of Culture' event. However, it added that although the resulting general improvement in Glasgow's image at home and abroad may not generate business leads, it may help "down the line". ✓

This possible longer-term benefit was further advocated by Pam Blane, Client Executive for the GDA, who believed that the use of high profile events acted as a springboard for attracting new investment, through initially improving perceptions and promoting awareness of the cultural strengths of Glasgow. Thus, in this context, the perception of improved amenity could be a major benefit.

### **Glasgow's competitive position:**

Business confidence in Glasgow appears to have grown significantly since 1990 as the city enters into the big league for new business investment. The attractiveness of Glasgow as a centre for office business would appear to be improving according to a more recent survey by Healy & Baker. In their recent study entitled, 'European Cities Monitor 1996' they illustrate a marked improvement in Glasgow's standing as a centre of office business ranking it as top of the city league for best-value office space and fourth in respect of availability of office space in Europe. With regard to the former, this is the first time in the seven years that the survey (which covers all factors that decision-makers consider when assessing a locations potential as a centre of business) has been conducted that Glasgow has ranked first in the list of 30 major cities. In overall terms Glasgow was one of only three UK cities featured in the top 30 - London (ranked 1), Manchester (ranked 11th) and Glasgow (ranked 17th). ✓

This improvement in Glasgow's ranking as an attractive business location was further confirmed by a report by Black Horse, 'Relocation 1996', which indicated in a survey 700 Chief Executives and Managing Directors of UK companies, that London was voted the UK's top business location followed by Birmingham, Manchester, Newcastle and then Glasgow. This move to fifth position for Glasgow is an improvement over 1995 when Glasgow was ranked in seventh position. The cost and availability of business property again proved one of Glasgow's greatest assets along with the cost of overheads, which both placed Glasgow in third place. Its success in securing Government funding to help with the relocation of business was also acknowledge, with Glasgow ranked sixth. ✓



interesting

Another study conducted by the Healy and Baker in 1997, 'Britain's Best Working Cities', provides additional evidence of the growing attractiveness of Glasgow for new investment. Here Glasgow was voted third best (behind Newcastle and Milton Keynes) by office workers as the most attractive place to work in relation to a range of factors. This survey of 15 British cities, asked office workers to comment on categories including; ease of travelling to and from work; good public transport; good for shopping, places to eat and drink, lively city to work in, good career opportunities, conveniently located offices, good modern offices and ease of parking (Healy & Baker, 1997). This survey was less concerned with broader economic factors, such as production costs and financial packages, instead highlighted the importance of quality of life factors, which affect the day to day lives of the workers.

#### **Glasgow's Success in Securing Levels of Inward Investment.**

As table 18). below shows, Glasgow has been relatively successful in the attraction of inward investment over the course last three year, creating a total of approximately 10,700 jobs. These new investments and employment opportunities have been strongly dominated by the financial and service sector, especially that of telebusiness and Callcentres. This has reinforced Glasgow's position as one of Britain's leading call centre destinations, with 90% of all call centres in Scotland located in or around the city in 1996 (GDA, 1996).

The influx of call centre investment of the city is a reflection of the vigorous targeting of this sector by Glasgow's Business Location Services (BLS) which acts as the city's principle means of attracting inward investment. This body, which comprises of a partnership between the GDA and the GCC, in its mission statement aims to achieve fullest exploitation of the "Call Centre Market" attracting new companies and expanding existing ones (BLS, 1998).

**Table 18). Levels of Inward Investment to Glasgow 1994-1997**

<b>Major Inward Investment To Glasgow 1994-1997</b>					
<b>Company (1994/95)</b>	<b>Jobs</b>	<b>Company (1995/96)</b>	<b>Jobs</b>	<b>Company 1996/97</b>	<b>Jobs</b>
Abbey national Life	1300	Barclays Stockbrokers	380	Direct Line	400
TSB Direct	1000	BT Callcentre	300	NAB	200
MOD	400	Direct Line	200	Abbey National Direct	270
Foster Wheeler	200	Securicor	80	Compaq	250
PCL	270	Prudential Insurance	230	Select Direct	50
Britainia Life	250	Direct Line	200	Eaton Corp.	150
BT	180	Teledata	120	Royal Bank Cheque	200
BBC Helpline	110	Excel Multimedia	260	NAB software	100
National Australia Life	100	Daewood	80	Geo-conference	50
Barclays	100			Hussan	50
Mercury	100			Polariod	150
British Airways	100			Scottish Power	650
				Scottish Telecom	500
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>5280</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1940</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>3470</b>

(Source: BLS, 1998)

Consequently, few of these newly attracted companies relate specifically to the cultural sector, although Excel Multimedia and Geo-Conference entail some cultural connections. However, over the past few years however, Glasgow has been success in securing capital investment in a range of retail and leisure projects. According to property experts Richard Ellis, these areas are becoming a magnet for big money international property investors.

The conclusion of deals such as the St. Enoch Centre (£160 million sale to German Investment fund Despa) the development of the £150 million Buchanan Galleries and the recent Singaporean purchase in the Copthorne and Thistles Hotels, has given the city a massive boost in the international investors market with prime buildings in prime locations being the concentrated target. The level of this capital investment in cultural and leisure attractions, reflects the business confidence in this sector and illustrates the growing recognition of Glasgow as an important cultural centre.

### Impact of Inward Investment on Glasgow's Labour Market.

The impact of this wave of new investment on the structure and strength of Glasgow's labour market can be shown in the table below. The latest figures from the Office for National Statistics indicates that in 1995 there were a total of 317,900 employees in employment in Glasgow. This is an increase of some +9,200 jobs (+3%) on the 1993 level, out-performing both the Scottish and British average (+1.3% and +1.6% respectively). This represents a reversal of the pattern set over the previous 10 to 15 years when employment trends in the city were consistently worse than the regional or national trends (GCC Economic Regeneration Unit 1996).

**Table 19). Changes in Employment Level and Structure of Labour Market in Glasgow 1991-1995.**

<b>Employment SIC 92</b>	<b>1991 Total</b>	<b>1993 Total</b>	<b>1995 Total</b>
Agriculture and Fishing	488	389	223
Energy and Water	3,232	3,099	2,971
Manufacturing	43,506	34,255	34,566
Construction	23,991	19,126	17,075
Distribution, Hotels, Restaurants	60,437	60,115	64,076
Transport, communications	21,886	20,115	22,041
Business, financial, services	59,943	59,154	66,394
Public Administration	92,774	95,580	94,546
Other services (inc. public).	16,160	16,823	15,977
<b>Total Employees in employment</b>	<b>322,417</b>	<b>308,656</b>	<b>317,869</b>

(Sources: GCC Economic Regeneration Unit 1996).

Reflecting the pattern of inward investment outlined above, the majority of this increase between 1993 and 1995 was experienced in the service sector, which witnessed a growth rate of +4.5% (11,200 jobs), more than twice that of services in Scotland (+2.0 %) and the UK (+2.2%). In particular, investment in the callcentre and retail and leisure markets resulted in significant growth in Banking/Finance sector (+12.2%: 7,200 jobs) and Distribution/Hotels & Restaurant sector (+6.6%: 4,000). The lack of investment in the manufacturing sector resulted in little growth in employment levels. However, after

decades of job losses, recent figures indicate a marginal increase of 300 jobs in the manufacturing sector. Despite this, the 1997 Glasgow Economic Monitor report still views this sector as highly vulnerable.

The growth of the service sector has dramatically restructured the form of Glasgow's labour market with marginally more women than men in employment for the first time in 1995 (52% for women compared to 48% for men). Between 1993 and 1995 Glasgow experienced a dramatic increase in female part-time work in particular, up 18.7% (compared to 6.9% for Scotland and 1.6% for the UK). This reflects the labour demands of the financial and retail/leisure industries which are re-orientating to female, and in particular part-time, working. There has however be some concerns over the quality of jobs created by the new forms of investment. Bennett refers to the employment of 'battery-people' in the Call Centre sector where employment tends to be part-time and temporary due to the relatively short life span of these companies which tend to migrate again when their technology becomes dated.

#### **Locational factors:**

As mentioned earlier, attributing these trends in inward investment to the promotion of Glasgow's cultural richness and enhanced quality of life is negligible. The 1990 Healy and Baker study showed that 'soft' factors are important, but that these are usually secondary to more tangible and physical factors, such as site provision, good communications and skilled labour force. This prioritising of locational factors was reaffirmed through discussions with Pam Blame from the GDA and James Gorie (former director of the Scottish Development Agency and the spokesman of the Forum of Private Business). Responses from case examples of companies recently relocating to Glasgow also confirmed this priority (see Appendix 2).



### Site Provision:

As the Healy & Baker 1996 'European Cities Monitor' and the Black Horse 'Relocation 1996' surveys illustrated, Glasgow's improved status as an attractive business locality can be largely attributed to its provision of high quality sites. According to Gorie, this is the key to attracting inward investment to metropolitan areas, especially from the manufacturing sector, which requires effective land assembly and rapid servicing of sites.

He attributes much of Glasgow's failure in securing mobile investment in the past, to its lack of fully serviced sites, as a result of what he calls the '1960 mindset in location strategy' (i.e. channelling investment into green field sites). Realising that this lack of good quality industrial sites is acting as a major impediment to attracting industrial investment, the GDA in partnership with the GCC launched the 'Glasgow Business Locations' initiative in the spring of 1997. The programme focuses on creating seven well-located sites/business parks throughout the city.

Discussions with examples of recently relocated firms to Glasgow revealed that the provision of sites was paramount. These companies emphasised the need for excellent IT facilities. Direct Line, which has seen two major periods of expansion in Glasgow (one in 1993 and the second in 1996), expressed the need for large open-planned sites. This resulted in the exchange of its original 16,000 sq. ft. premises to a new 50,000 sq. ft. site able to accommodate its new financial service business. The BBC radio Helpline centre, which relocated to Glasgow in 1995, cited the City's wealth of quality buildings as a major reason for its selection, adding that this was proved by its securing of the bid to host the '1999 City of Architecture and Design'. The comparative advantage that Glasgow possesses in terms of site rental was also presented as an important factor by BA's telephone call centre in its decision to relocate from Heathrow to Glasgow.

### Communications and IT facilities:

As these companies were located in the service sectors and all relied heavily upon the availability of excellent IT infrastructure and good communications with the rest of the UK, especially London, it was not surprising that factors relating to communication were considered very important. Thus this generally quoted the most significant factor. Geoconference noted how the rapid expansion of the IT industries in Glasgow, was in itself an important locational factor, stating that “Glasgow, more than any other location, has a very competitive telecoms marketplace”. This enabled Geoconference to have a choice of six highly-competitive telephone suppliers in the area. This suggests that the notion of synergy is an important factor.

### Workforce:

The importance of the quality of the workforce was also shown to be a highly significant locational factor. Glasgow, which boasts three major universities and several colleges, was felt to produce a high calibre of staff, according to Geoconference. In particular it noted the ready available supply of graduates with European language skills. BA also believed that the loyalty of the Glaswegian workforce was far more higher than their London counterpart, with an annual staff turnover averaging 8% or 9% compared with 35% for Heathrow.

### Financial Packages and Support:

Assistance and support from Glasgow’s agencies and in particular the GDA, was also expressed as very important. Direct Line welcomed the GDA’s positive approach to attracting new investment, helping them find and establish new sites and providing financial support for the training of Direct Line staff. BA also welcomed the non bureaucratic and professional approach of the new Business Location Service. Polaroid, one of the latest and largest companies to relocate to Glasgow, in employment terms, also

cited the substantial financial packages and support that the BLS provided as a major factor.

#### Quality of Life:

*but it would be an  
adverse factor if not there*

The quality of life and the provision of amenities was mentioned by all the companies as important, although no one company stated it as their prime influence. BA referred to the number of compelling attractions that Glasgow presented. It stated how the “city’s regenerated image and cosmopolitan character was in line with BA’s own profile”. Direct Line added that other factors, such as close availability of amenities for staff in terms of their social activities and shopping were also important. In selecting Glasgow, the BBC radio helpline centre stated that “the city’s architecture is beautiful, and the place buzzes”. Geoconference went a step further and noted ‘Life Style Environment’ as one of their five prime interests. In reference to this they state that “To attract the right calibre of employee, the Company sought a city centre location that could offer a modern working environment, vibrant lifestyle, and a reliable transport network that could service a 24 hour operation”.

The range of these locational factors illustrates the complexity of issues involved in making business decisions on where to invest. In accordance with the Healy & Baker studies, factors relating to communications and site provision remain the prime locational factor. Quality of life factors, such as cultural attractions, leisure and retail activities and amenity value did register but these were generally perceived as secondary in importance to other factors. However, the improvements in the city’s images and higher international profile as a result of the ‘1990 City of Culture’ can not be dismissed as attributing some influence on the substantial amount of inward investment into Glasgow since the beginning of the 1990s. This needs to be viewed with regards to external factors, such as the UK’s emergence from a period of recession in the mid 1980s, which are likely to stimulate higher levels of inward investment. However, Glasgow’s comparatively high rate of employment growth in the service sector between 1993 and 1995, exceeding regional and

national levels, is indicative of the effectiveness of local policy action and may illustrate how promotions of the city's cultural assets distinguished Glasgow, providing it with a competitive edge in the race to secure new investment. ✓✓

### **CHANGING THE EXTERNAL PERCEPTIONS OF GLASGOW:**

Individuals decisions about where to invest capital, in terms of inwards investment or consumer spending, is dependent upon their pre-conceived perceptions of what that locality is like. As discussed in Chapter 2 the image of a city has become increasingly important over the last decade as inter-urban competition for new investment and tourist markets has intensified as capital has become more mobile. The need to project the image of a city as dynamic is particularly important for declining industrial cities, such as Glasgow, whose negative images were viewed as a major disincentive to potential investors. Many cities envisaged an image-reconstruction campaign, based on the city's new strengths as a 'post-industrial' city, as the most feasible point at which to break the cycle of economic decline facing these cities by improving perceptions of the city.

As the objectives of the 1990 'City of Culture' outlined in Chapter 4 illustrates, this event was regarded by the Council as providing a major opportunity to market Glasgow and clearly demonstrates an underlying intention to use the event as a means of contributing to the longer term economic development of the city by communicating the "new reality" of Glasgow and help lay to rest older, more negative, images of the place.

The hosting of the '1990 City of Culture' unarguably raised the profile of the city in terms of the amount of national and international press coverage it received - during the event the Festival Office Press Centre collected 9,418 UK press cuttings; 168 foreign press cuttings; 27 special overseas features; and an estimate total of 41 hours of television coverage and twelve hours of radio coverage relating to the event, concluding that Glasgow had succeeded in presenting itself as a "positive and forward thinking cultural city in the Scottish and the UK press" (Myerscough, 1991 p. 179). However, how this ✓



positive press coverage does not automatically equate to improvements in individuals perceptions of Glasgow as these images tend to be subjective and how effective this new image is in changing perceptions varies depending on how these images are received and are interpreted by the individual.

### **Satchi & Satchi 1990 Tracking Study:**

During the course of the '1990 City of Culture' a tracking study was undertaken by the advertising company, Satchi & Satchi to evaluate the extent to which awareness of Glasgow's cultural standing had developed and attitudes towards the city changed throughout the course of the year long event. To achieve this, Satchi & Satchi conducted a tracking study which involved a survey of ABC1 adults resident in London and the South East on four occasions: October 1989; February 1990; September 1990; and once shortly after the event had ended in January 1991. Table 20). below shows that perceptions of Glasgow improved markedly during 1990. The findings suggest that these perceptions of Glasgow were quick to change, with greatest improvements in perceptions occurring in the first quarter of the study (between October 1989 and February 1990).

**Table 20): Perceptions of Glasgow throughout the course of the 1990 'City of Culture': its cultural standing and repute as a place to visit, live and work.**

	Percentages			
	Oct. 1989	Feb. 1990	Sept. 1990	12 month change
<b>Percentage agreeing Glasgow:</b>				
European Cultural Capital 1990	21	62	77	<b>+56</b>
Increasingly important for the arts	23	45	54	<b>+31</b>
Has interesting museums/galleries	23	37	41	<b>+18</b>
Has a wide variety of theatre/ music events	17	26	29	<b>+12</b>
Exciting place to visit	18	25	28	<b>+10</b>
Happy to live and work there	9	11	12	<b>+3</b>

Source: Satchi & Satchi 1990.

There was a significant increase in the awareness of respondents to the fact that Glasgow had been awarded the title 'European Cultural Capital 1990', which saw an increase from 21% to 62% during these three months, further rising to 77% by September of that year. The recognition of Glasgow as 'increasingly important for the arts' also showed a marked increase, with over half the respondents agreeing with this statement by September 1990, compared to only 23% in October 1989. Thus the principal step change in attitudes had occurred by February 1990, linked to the onset of Year of Culture and commencement of its promotion.

Improved perceptions were also registered in terms of its appeal as a place to visit, live and work. Some 28% of London/ South East ABC1s agreed in September 1990 that Glasgow would be "an exciting place to visit", 10% more than in October 1989. The perceptions of Glasgow as a 'happy place to live and work' was less apparent though, with less than half this number (12%) agreeing, but this too was slightly higher (by 3%) than 12 months previously.

### **Rapidly changing for the better:**

The survey also asked respondents whether they thought that Glasgow was "rapidly changing for the better". Through the course of the event, this perception rose by 15% resulting in nearly half the respondents stating that they believed Glasgow was "rapidly changing for the better". Correspondingly, whereas almost half (48%) had originally perceived Glasgow as a "rough and depressing place", twelve months later a substantial proportion (13%) had changed their minds, with only 35% of respondents retaining this negative perception. This would suggest that Glasgow's 'image problem' was not as deep-rooted as many people believed, but rather that these perceptions were relatively quick to change, with greatest improvements occurring in the first quarter.

**Table 21). : Perceptions of Glasgow: Rapidly Changing for the Better, 1990.**

	Percentages			
	Oct. 1989	Feb. 1990	Sept. 1990	12 month change
<b>Percentage agreeing Glasgow:</b>				
Rapidly changing for the better	34	48	49	+15
Is rough and depressing	48	40	35	-13

Source: Satchi & Satchi

### **Loss of Momentum:**

This tracking study would suggest that the marketing campaign indeed had a positive impact on changing perceptions during the course of the event. However, there is a concern that the momentum of this type of campaign will drop off once the event has ended and the new image of Glasgow has been removed from the limelight. The Satchi & Satchi comparison between responses taken in September 1990 and January 1991 would appear to confirm this possibility (see table 22. below).

**Table 22). Satchi & Satchi Follow-Up Study of Perceptions, January 1991.**

	Sept. 1990	Jan. 1991	Difference
<b>Percentage agreeing Glasgow:</b>			
Increasingly important for the arts	54	51	-3
Exciting place to visit	28	23	-5
Rapidly changing for the better	49	48	-1
Rough and depressing	35	36	+1
Has a wide variety of theatre/ music events	29	29	-
Good pubs, restaurants & nightlife	23	21	-2
Happy to live and work there	12	12	-

Source: Satchi & Satchi

Of particular concern is the 5% slide in those thinking that Glasgow is an “exciting place to visit” and the marginal growth in the belief that Glasgow is “rough and depressing”. By conducting an up-date of this study based on perceptions of ABC1s residents in

London and the South East in 1998, an fuller understanding of how resilient these perceptions are and how they continue to evolve in the absence of the event, can be provided.

### Perceptions of Glasgow in 1998:

To assess the extent to which these perceptions may have changed since the 1990, this thesis aims to provide an update of the tracking study conducted by Satchi & Satchi in 1990. In particular it aims to assess whether the momentum generated by the 1990 marketing campaign has been sustained in the longer term, or indeed built upon by subsequent marketing-campaigns, such as the “Festival of Visual Arts 1996” and smaller initiatives such as “Glasgow the Winter City” and the promotion of business tourism. The tables below shows the main findings of this study.

**Table 23 ). Perceptions of Glasgow: its cultural standing and repute as a place to visit, live and work in (Sept. 1990 - March 1989)**

	<b>Sept. 1990 (a)</b>	<b>Jan. 1991 (b)</b>	<b>Mar. 1998 (c)</b>	<b>%change (a - c)</b>
<b>% Agreeing Glasgow is:</b>				
Increasingly important for the arts	54	51	56	<b>+2</b>
Has interesting museums/ galleries	41	-	54	<b>+13</b>
Has a wide variety of theatre/ musical events.	29	29	55	<b>+26</b>
Good pubs, restaurants & nightlife	23	21	76	<b>+53</b>
Exciting place to visit	28	23	64	<b>+34</b>
Happy place to live and work	12	12	23	<b>+11</b>

Table 23). above shows how the perceptions of Glasgow, with regard an number of cultural aspects of the city, have changed since the end of the 1990 event. These figures show a positive trend in the changing perceptions to all the of the aspects listed above. In particular ‘pubs and nightlife’ appeared to be regarded more highly in Glasgow, with over three-quarters of respondents agreeing that Glasgow offered “good pubs, restaurants and

nightlife". Music and theatre events have also appear to have a higher profile (this may be a result of increased awareness of the Royal Concert Hall which only opened in 1990). However, there was only a marginal improvement in the perception that Glasgow was "increasingly important to the arts" (+2%). Although the majority of respondents still held this positive perception of Glasgow as an increasingly important cultural centre, it would appear that following the rapid improvement in this perception before and during the hosting of the event (an increase from 23% to 54%) its importance has levelled.

Substantial improvements were achieved in the perception of Glasgow as an "exciting place to visit" (64% of respondents in 1998 compared to 28% in Sept. 1990). This would support the increasing popularity of Glasgow as a tourist destination, especially for short breaks, which was illustrated in an section of Glasgow's tourist industry to have increased significantly over the last couple of years. Subsequent marketing-campaigns, such as Glasgow as the 'Winter City' and the hosting of the 'Festival of Visual Arts 1996' may have built upon this popularity of Glasgow as tourist destination that was established during the hosting of the '1990 City of Culture'.

Despite the improvement in the perception of Glasgow as an "exciting place to visit" this was not mirrored in the perception of Glasgow as a "happy place to live and work". Although this figure nearly double from 12% to 23% from 1990 to 1998, the fact that less than a quarter of respondents agreed that they would be happy to live and work there shows that Glasgow still possess an image problem in terms of encouraging individuals to commit themselves to the city on a more permanent basis, as opposed to just a holiday visit. This would appear to contradict the findings of the Healy & Baker "Britain's Best Working Cities" report (1997) in which office workers voted Glasgow in third place in relation to the attractiveness of the city to work.

This may be due to the fact that the 'City of Culture' event was primarily consumer-based, focusing on the tourist sector and confined to only the city centre. This results in a rather compartmentalised image of the city, as only specific aspects of the city, such as its

cultural heritage, are projected. Consequently, although respondents may express positive views on specific aspects of the city, primarily its cultural value, their perception of overall image of the city and particularly the more negative aspects, such as the high level of deprivation in some of the peripheral estates, remains relatively unaffected.

The failure of the '1990 City of Culture' to counter-act the more deep-rooted negative images of the city, can be further shown in table 24). below. The perception that Glasgow is "rapidly changing for the better" has continued to improve, despite a minor set back initially following the hosting of the 1990 with the percentage of respondents upholding this opinion growing by 10% over the last eight years. This reflects how the image of Glasgow as a dynamic city has been maintained since 1990. However, the 7% growth in the perception of Glasgow as "rough and depressing" between 1990 and 1998 contradicts this dynamic image and reverses the 13% decline in number of respondents agreeing that Glasgow was rough and depressing between 1989 and 1990. This could again relate to the rather compartmentalised image that the '1990 City of Culture' presented, failing to challenge the more negative perceptions of specific localities and features of the city.

**Table 24) : Perceptions of Glasgow: changing for the better (Sept. 1990 - March 1998):**

	<b>Sept. 1990 (a)</b>	<b>Jan. 1991 (b)</b>	<b>Mar. 1998 (c)</b>	<b>% change (a - c)</b>
<b>% Agreeing that Glasgow is:</b>				
Rapidly changing for the better.	<b>49</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>+ 10</b>
Rough and depressing	<b>35</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>+ 7</b>

#### **Comparison to other British cities:**

Respondents were also asked to rank Glasgow in relation to four other provincial British cities in terms of, firstly, which city they would most like to visit, and secondly, which city they would most like to live and work in. This aimed to provide some insight into the comparative status of Glasgow to these cities, several of whom face similar image-



problems relating to their industrial decline and are adopting similar marketing strategy in response. The comparative position of Glasgow is shown in the two tables below.

**Table 25) : Ranking of five British cities in relation to which respondents would most like to Visit, 1998:**

Selected British Cities					
Ranking (no.)	Glasgow	Manchester	Newcastle	Edinburgh	Birmingham
1st	17	15	4	82	-
2nd	44	25	22	17	4
3rd	27	29	48	12	11
4th	22	39	24	8	29
5th	8	10	20	2	74

Comparing the perception of Glasgow as an exciting place to visit with other provincial cities, revealed a strong comparative advantage for Edinburgh. This is not surprising as it has traditionally been Scotland's premier tourist destination and is Britain's most popular tourist destination outside London. However, more recent figures show a narrowing of the gap between the Glasgow and Edinburgh tourist markets, with substantial improvements in tourist levels to Glasgow over the last 10 years, resulting in Glasgow becoming the third most visited city in the UK (GDA, 1996). This growth in the popularity of Glasgow, would explain its confident position as second place, cited significantly more often than the other contenders.

**Table 26) : Ranking of five British cities in relation to which respondents would most like to Live and Work in, 1998.**

Selected British Cities					
Ranking (no.)	Glasgow	Manchester	Newcastle	Edinburgh	Birmingham
1st	3	24	7	73	7
2nd	29	27	14	23	18
3rd	25	33	30	8	20
4th	29	22	37	10	15
5th	25	8	26	-	53




A similar pattern of preference can be seen for the choice of where respondents would most like to live and work outside London (table 26.). A strong bias is still apparent for Edinburgh, however it is less acute as there was more variation and generally greater popularity for cities further South (this may be due to a 'distance-factor' as respondents may be more concerned about committing themselves to somewhere so far away, as opposed to just visiting).

Although Glasgow was still most frequently regarded as the second most popular city, it would appear that the marketing efforts have had less impact on altering opinions as to the desirability of relocating to Glasgow, as responses are more evenly shared between second, third, fourth and fifth place. As discussed above, this lack of desire to live and work in Glasgow, may derive from less favourable perception of the overall image of the city. This could explain the lower overall ranking of Glasgow as a place to live and work, resulting in it being voted almost jointly with Newcastle as the second least popular place to live.

These findings demonstrate the considerable impact events such as the '1990 City of Culture' can have on improving selected images of a city. The 1990 Satchi & Satchi study illustrates how many of these perceptions can be quick to change, especially those relating to Glasgow's cultural standing. By reassessing these perceptions in 1998, it can be shown that they are relatively resilient, and in some cases (such as the perception of Glasgow as an "exciting place to visit" and its cultural activities, such as the theatre and nightlife) have been significantly built upon by subsequent marketing campaigns.

However the ability of this event to reconstruct the overall image of the city appears to be more negligible. Although the perception of Glasgow as a dynamic city continues to grow, this has failed to continue to change at the pace experienced between 1989 and 1990. More worryingly, the last eight years has experienced a reversal in perception as Glasgow as rough and depressing, acting as an impediment on the attractiveness of the city as a place to live and work. Events, such as the '1990 City of Culture' may therefore provide



an effective tool in altering selected images of a locality, however they prove less capable of dispelling the more negative images which transcend the city. These longer-term outcomes of the '1990 City of Culture' and what they entail for future policy relating to high profile events, shall be further discussed in the next chapter.

## **CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATION**

### **INNOVATIVE FORMS OF URBAN PLANNING:**

As the hypothesis set out in the Introduction states: 'Due to the erosion of their manufacturing base over the last two decades as a result of the process of global economic restructuring, many cities in the advanced capitalist countries have been forced to adopt innovative forms of urban policy in an attempt to create new comparative advantages which will enable them to compete for new sources of capital. Many of these cities have turned towards cultural policy, and in particular the use of high profile events, as a means of creating the conditions of production and consumption required to secure this capital and to reconstruct the image of the city as a post-industrial city'. The study of Glasgow's urban initiatives, clearly shows a rise in the importance of cultural policy since the 1980s, as local planning authorities have become actively involved in the development of several prestigious cultural projects, such as the construction of the Royal Concert Hall, redevelopment of the Modern Gallery of Art and the extension of the SECC.

In particular, the hosting of four major cultural events, the '1988 Garden Festival', the '1990 City of Culture', the 'Festival of Visual Arts 1996' and the forthcoming '1999 City of Architecture and Design' over the last decade, illustrates how this cultural policy has specialised in the use of high profile events, reflecting the international focus of this policy and its role as marketing the city. This constitutes an important change in Glasgow's planning approach and the role of the local planning authority, signalling a move away from earlier comprehensive redevelopment initiatives towards a more fragmented and entrepreneurial approach to urban regeneration, focusing on high profile events, such as the '1990 City of Culture'. The aims of these policy initiatives has been to diversify the local economy, creating new employment opportunities in the city and reconstructing its image in an attempt to break the cycle of economic deprivation that faces Glasgow and assisting it to find a new role for itself as a post-industrial city.

## **Learning from the experiences of ‘1990 City of Culture’:**

Glasgow’s cumulative use of events has provided a valuable learning experience in determining the role of events in urban regeneration and what type of event proves most successful. Much criticism has been voiced about the form and focus of the 1990 event, in particular its ability to generate lasting employment opportunities (especially in light of the growing level of unemployment) and develop links to the producer industries. Building on the criticisms of this events, the key objectives of subsequent events have become less consumer-based, instead developing new mechanisms for stimulating the productive-side of the economy.

This is reflected in the aims of the ‘1999 City of Architecture and Design’ which strives to achieve greater production outputs. In particular it aims to have a direct impact on the cultural industries, especially those of the design trade, and provide longer term benefits in terms of job creation, improving the quality of the manufacturing sector, physical improvements to the city and lasting educational and social benefits. Thus, it represent a move away from the ‘image-based’ flagship events of the ‘1990 City of Culture’ towards a more holistic form of event based on more tangible and lasting outcomes. The experiences of the 1990 events shows the problematic nature of a tourist-based strategy and the need to spread the benefits into other sectors if sustainable growth is to be experienced across the whole of the city’s economy.

## **SHORT-TERM IMPACT OF THE ‘1990 CITY OF CULTURE’**

An preliminary assessment of the validity of these criticisms of the ‘1990 City of Culture’ can be shown in the cost-benefit analysis found in Chapter 5. This analysis illustrates the boost that the hosting of such a large scale event can have on a city’s cultural sector. This initiative generated a net revenue of between £10 and £14 million for Glasgow’s economy, creating approximately 5,400 jobs at a relatively low cost per job for the public sector compared to earlier initiatives. This would suggest that in terms of these short-term

benefits alone, the event was worth hosting, justifying the substantial allocation of public sector resources into this initiative. However, the continual deterioration of Glasgow's labour market between 1989 and 1991, illustrates how this initiative alone would not be capable of breaking the cycle of economic decline, at least not automatically, and how the level of job creation was only a "drop in the ocean", unable to offset the growing unemployment rate. Furthermore, it was debatable whether or not these initial benefits would be sustained once the event itself had ended, following the removal of Glasgow from the limelight of the press and the closure of the temporary cultural attractions.

### **ACHIEVING LONGER TERM GOALS:**

According to the hypothesis, investment in cultural attractions and events can promote a city's new strengths as an attractive cultural and consumer centre, thereby improving its competitive status in relation to attracting inward investment, in developing its cultural sector and in expanding its tourist markets, producing benefits which extend well beyond the duration of the event itself. The success of the '1990 City of Culture' in achieving these longer term objectives has been evaluated in Chapter 5.

### **External Factors:**

The analysis section illustrates that significant improvements have been made in a number of these trends since the hosting of the '1990 City of Culture', most noticeably in the level of inward investment to the city (especially in the service sector) and the growth of overseas tourism. This would indicate that the event was relatively successful in achieving its longer-term goals. However, when attempting to identify a causal link between these trends and the event itself, consideration must be given to a host of external factors which impinge on all these trends to some extent, especially business relocation decisions which take place within a matrix of social and economic conditions.

The effectiveness of local action is clearly limited by more structural factors, such as national and global economics, and Glasgow does not exist in isolation but is effected by these global decisions. Global and national economic changes, such as periods 'boom' and 'bust' can have dramatic effects on the behaviour of businesses, potential visitors and investors in new cultural attractions. Consequently, a study of these trends must be viewed in the context of these structural factors, making the determination of a direct link between the event's role in raising the profile of the city and changes in the cultural sector, tourist markets and levels of inward investment, negligible. However these trends can provide an indication of how successful international events, such as the 1990 'City of Culture', can be in meeting their longer term goals.

### **Cultural sector:**

The trends for the development of the cultural sector as a whole would suggest that the 1990 'City of Culture' has been unsuccessful in sustaining the momentum it generated during the course of the event. Despite producing a substantial increase in the turnover of this sector as a whole in the run up to the event and during the event itself (an increase of 41% between 1986 and 1992), the subsequent period, 1992 to 1995, experienced a relative decline in this level of turnover of 2%. The events long-term contribution to Glasgow's labour market also illustrates a decay in the impact of the 1990 event over time. Although employment in the cultural sector in 1995 accounted for 3% of total employment, as opposed to 2.2% in 1986, much of this increase occurred in earlier period of 1986 to 1992 (+12%) followed by a decline of 1% in the latter period.

Much of this employment change can be attributed to the cultural industries, which were not perceived as a direct benefactor of the event, but whose growth represents an indirect impact as a result of the improved image of Glasgow as an important cultural centre. However even this more dynamic sector of the cultural sector experienced a levelling of its market value in more recent years and indeed a marginal decline in employment levels following major cut-backs in the broadcasting industry.

The persistent fall in attendance to Glasgow museums and art galleries to below 1986 figures in 1995, following a record year in 1990, is also indicative of this loss of momentum. However Glasgow's level of attendance at its theatres and concerts remained relatively constant over this period, despite declining gradually following the 1990 event, out performing the national average overall.

The limited development of the cultural sector following the hosting of the event, demonstrates that the systems boost that the 1990 event gave to the cultural sector will deteriorate over time if new initiatives are not implemented to keep this momentum alive. However, the fact that levels of employment, revenue and attendance's (except for museums and galleries) remained securely above pre-event levels could suggest that in the absence of this event, the strength of cultural sector could have been far weaker. ✓

#### **Tourist Markets:**

The impact on the development of the tourist industry since the hosting of the '1990 City of Culture' varies according to the type of market. The overseas market in particular experienced a pronounced improvement during the hosting the event, with an increase from 320,000 in 1989 to 450,000 in 1990. The concern that troughs may develop between the hosting of events is evident in the temporary decline in numbers in 1991, however the rapid up-turn in the level of overseas visitors in more recent years, puts this concern to rest. The effectiveness of local policy action is evident here in the substantially higher rate of growth in this market experienced in Glasgow compared to the Scottish average (+145% compared to +77% respectively). ✓

The impact of the '1990 City of Culture' is less pronounced for the domestic market. Indeed, a marginal decline in numbers for domestic visitors was registered between 1989 and 1990 (however, this may be partially due to a change in the methodology of British tourism data collection after 1989). Following the 1990 event, tourist levels declined more acutely before quickly levelling. This decline in domestic holidays in the early 1990s



was a national trend, as a result of the growing popularity of overseas holidays for British citizens. In this sense, the '1990 City of Culture' may have acted as break on the inevitable decline of the domestic tourist market, which set in earlier and more acutely in the national context. More recently though, Glasgow has regained the growth of its domestic tourist market with a substantial increase in 1995 and 1996, compared to only a moderate improvement in the Scottish market as a whole. This may again illustrate the impact of local policy action, as Glasgow implemented a series of new initiatives to improve the attractiveness of the city for short city-breaks, such as Glasgow the 'Winter City' campaign and the 'Festival of Visual Arts 1996' aimed at British residents over the last couple of years.

This study of the trends illustrates the importance of the '1990 City of Culture' on levels of overseas and domestic tourism, in the case of the former acting as a catalyst for the subsequent development of this sector to a level that far exceeds its national context, and in the case of the latter, acting as a break on the general decline in the domestic tourist market. The case of the domestic market, however also shows that the events ability to delay this decline is only short-term as levels quick drop off after the event.

#### **'Business/ Conference Tourism':**

Business and Conference tourism has grown to become one of the most lucrative tourist markets during the course of this study period. Glasgow has seen a growing share of this market in the last decade with 24% of British visitors and 18% of overseas visitors citing it as their main purpose for visiting Glasgow, compared to only 14% for Scotland as a whole. Although not initially identified as a directly benefit of the '1990 City of Culture', the improved image of the city and especially its cultural standing, has had an influence on the level of demand for visiting Glasgow for business purposes. This enhanced level of demand provided the impetus for the extension of the city's conference facilities, in turn generating more demand for the growth of the conference market in Glasgow. In this

sense, the hosting of the 1990 event may be regarded as significantly contributing to the rapid development of the city's conference market over the last eight years.

### **Inward Investment:**

Glasgow has been relatively successful in the attraction of inward investment over the course study period. In particular Glasgow has been successful in securing a number of firms from the service sector, especially Call Centre, resulting in Glasgow and its surrounding area accounting for 90% of all Call Centres in Scotland in 1996. This has entailed a pronounced improvement for Glasgow's labour market, with employment trends illustrating a positive growth for the first time in over a decade, largely attributable to the creation of 11,200 jobs (+4.5%) in the service sector between 1993 and 1995. This has been reflected in the improved status of Glasgow as a business centre as documented in the Healy & Baker 'Monitoring European Cities 1996' and the Black Horse 'Relocation 1996' studies.

Discussions with recently relocated firms to Glasgow, revealed that improvements in the quality of life, in terms of its cultural and amenity value, were important factors in the growing popularity of Glasgow as a locality for inward investment. Indeed a couple of companies actually made specific reference to the 1990 'City of Culture' and the '1999 City of Architecture and Design'. However, these soft factors proved secondary to other locational factors, such as site provision, access to communications, a skilled workforce and financial packages and support from public agencies. This suggests that the improvements in the city's images and higher international profile as a result of the '1990 City of Culture' did exert some influence on the decision of companies to select Glasgow as their choice of locality to invest in, although not creating any direct business leads, thereby contributing to the substantial amount of inward investment into the city since the beginning of the 1990s.

## **Changing External Perceptions of Glasgow:**

Perceptions of Glasgow lie at the heart of several of these trends: influencing business decisions to locate to Glasgow and encouraging potential tourists to visit the city. Creating lasting perceptions of a new 'image' and the dispelling of the old negative images of a place is complex and can take a long time to formulate. The tracking study conducted by Satchi & Satchi in 1990 would suggest that these external perceptions are quick to change initially, with the most significant improvement in perceptions occurring within the first quarter of the study. However, the relative decline in perceptions in the follow up study in January 1991, especially in the perception of Glasgow as 'an exciting place to visit', suggests that these improvements were only temporary and dependent on the presence of the event itself. By updating this study in 1998 to include the more recent perceptions of Glasgow, it can be generally concluded that the perceptions of Glasgow as an important culture centre have remained, and in many cases improved.

In particular, the popularity of Glasgow as a place to visit was greatly higher than that registered for 1990 (+ 34%). This may reflect subsequent marketing campaigns to promote Glasgow as a short city-break destination and supports Glasgow's confident position in second place as the most attractive city to visit after Edinburgh in the ranking study. These improvements in perceptions would dismiss the concerns expressed in the Satchi & Satchi follow up study that improvements in perceptions experienced during the course of the event would fade once the event itself had finished and the publicity it generated disappeared from the public's attention. This would indicate that lasting perceptions can change only incrementally and through cumulative reinforcement of a new image for a city.

Although the perception of Glasgow as a "happy place to live and work" continued to improve between 1990 and 1998, the fact that still less than a quarter of respondents agreed that they would be happy to live and work in Glasgow illustrates that the '1990 City of Culture' initiative has been less successful in improving the overall image of

Glasgow. This is further reflected in the joint position of Glasgow as the second lowest ranked city in terms of its desirability as a place to live and work. This shows that Glasgow still possess an image problem in terms of encouraging individuals to commit themselves to the city on a more permanent basis, as opposed to just a holiday visit. This may be due to the fact that the 'City of Culture' event was primarily consumer-based, focusing on the tourist sector and confined to only the city centre.

This results in a rather compartmentalised image of the city, as only specific aspects of the city, such as its cultural heritage, were projected. Consequently, although respondents may express positive views on specific aspects of the city, primarily its cultural value, their perception of overall image of the city and particularly the more negative aspects, such as the high level of deprivation in much of the peripheral estates, remains relatively unaffected. This illustrates the failure of the '1990 City of Culture' to counter-act the more deep-rooted negative images of the city. The growing perception of Glasgow as "rough and depressing" between 1990 and 1998 (+7%), further demonstrates the inability of cultural events to challenge the more fundamental issues which stigmatise Glasgow's image.

It can be concluded from these findings that although select perceptions of Glasgow's cultural value can be relatively quick to change and continue to persist and grow once the event itself has finished, the ability of cultural events to reconstruct the overall image of the city appears to be more negligible. Events, such as the '1990 City of Culture' may therefore provide an effective tool in altering selected images of a locality, however they prove less capable of dispelling the more negative images which transcend the city.

## **ROLE OF PARTNERSHIPS AND A NEW STYLE OF URBAN GOVERNANCE:**

As indicated by all the interviewees, high profile events such as the 1990 'City of Culture', due to their dependence on large sums of finance and high level of organisation, require effective partnerships between a wide range of agencies. They thereby provide a valuable opportunity to bring together the various policy-makers in the city to discuss what sort of city they want to create and promote to the rest of the world. In this sense, the use of events has provided a learning experience in how effective forms of partnerships can be established and work together to produce a coherent vision for the city, identifying Glasgow's strengths and thus finding niche markets upon which to focus policies. In particular, the bid for the '1999 City of Architecture and Design' illustrates a recognition of the need for greater local consultation and involvement in the formation of an events-based cultural policy.

### **Managerialism and Entrepreneurialism:**

This growing importance in the role of partnerships in events, has also been accompanied by a change in relationships within these partnerships and especially the role assumed by the local authority. This can be viewed as reflecting a shift away from managerial to a more entrepreneurial approach to urban governance, as identified by Harvey (1989) in Chapter 2. This is an approach increasingly associated with the post-industrial cities where inter-urban competition has forced cities to develop new roles and innovative ways of competing in the post-Fordist era. One common response to this, is a move towards a more consumerist styles of urbanisation and the development of a culture-led regeneration programme. This form of urban policy can be identified as indicative of a more entrepreneurial approach in a number of ways.

As mentioned above, 'public-private' partnerships are an essential ingredient in the hosting of high profile events. They also represent the key stone of this new spirit of entrepreneurialism, as the role of the local authority has evolved from one of a direct

facilitator of cultural facilities to more of an enabler by leveraging private sector resources to assist in the funding of these cultural initiatives. The success of this new approach is clearly illustrated in the hosting of the '1990 City of Culture' where the local authority managed to lever £6.01 million from the private sector and the substantial contribution of the 1990 Festival Office, comprising of over 100 private companies in the organisation of the event.

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The geographical focus of events are also indicative of the entrepreneurial approach. According to Harvey, the movement away from comprehensive redevelopment projects (such as GEAR) towards fragmented, flagship projects, such as the 1990 'City of Culture', further symbolises this change in approaches. Harvey, argues that by improving the image of the city through these cultural centres, they can cast a seemingly beneficial shadow over the whole metropolitan region. However, the criticisms of the '1990 City of Culture' would appear to challenge this assumption as much resentment was expressed by residents (such as the 'Workers City') about the relevance of the event to them, which in their eyes only catered for the desires of tourists or the more affluent residents living in the gentrified inner city. The notion of compartmentalised perceptions of the city would also challenge the ability of events to improve the overall image of the city as opposed to select images and specific localities.

The speculative nature of an events-based cultural policy is also characteristic of the entrepreneurial approach, reflecting a move away from the rational planning approach associated with the earlier comprehensive redevelopment schemes. The lack of any corporate vision for the role of the arts resulted in events being bid for in a non-strategic way. The high risk nature of these events also makes them very speculative as there is usually only one 'winner' in the bidding process. The high level of involvement of the local authority in the bidding process results in them absorbing most of the risk. However, it is this lack of clarity and strategy, according to Harvey (1989), that enabled policy-makers to be flexible and pragmatic enough to respond to new opportunities as they arrive.

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Married to this entrepreneurial spirit has been the continual presence of a managerial approach. With the arrival on the local political forum of a wider range of public agencies and the increased involvement of the private sector, local authorities or other public sector agencies have assumed a more co-ordinating role, rather than directly taking action themselves. This can be most clearly illustrated in the formation of the Glasgow Regeneration Alliance, the umbrella public body which developed the 'City-Wide Vision' for Glasgow. This over-viewing role provides some control and guidance about what events should be bid for and what form they should take, ensuring that they are complementary to other urban policies and that they contribute towards the overall vision for the city. However role of the public sector as a direct provider of cultural facilities persists as funding from the local authority to the cultural sector continues to grow since 1990, assuming much of the costs of new cultural projects, such as the SECC (£35 million) and the Gallery of Modern Art (£9 million).

#### **CREATING A NEW COMPARATIVE ADVANTAGE:**

The loss of Glasgow's earlier comparative advantages in areas such as heavy industry and light manufacturing to the Newly Industrialising Countries in the Pacific Rim, has forced it to turn its attention towards new 'products'. Generally unable to undercut these countries in terms of production costs, Glasgow has shifted its focus towards more non-price factors which have become increasingly important in the 'post-industrial' city. These include factors such as cultural richness, quality of life and innovative forms of design and research. The use of events have been instrumental in developing Glasgow's strengths in these new sectors and communicating this strength to the rest of the world.

In some senses Glasgow's successive hosting of four high profile events over the last decade could itself constitute a comparative advantage. Learning from the experiences of earlier events, Glasgow has been able to formalise a framework in which to decide which type of event it should bid for and what form it should take in terms of its focus and



relation to other policies. It could be argued that it was partially due to this hind-sight, that Glasgow secured the bid to host the '1999 City of Architecture and Design'.

However, due to the accelerated level of inter-urban competition, possession of these comparative advantages tend to be short-lived as, according to Harvey, repetition and serial reproduction of similar forms of cultural policy emerge. Bennett claims that this can be illustrated through the marked similarity of 'City Visions' of cities such as Manchester and Birmingham with Glasgow, which area also employing cultural events as a mechanism for promoting their new strengths, quickly rendering an comparative advantage Glasgow may have possessed over other cities in terms of its image as a cultural centre.

Thus the bid for events can prove a risky manoeuvre, consuming many resources in terms of finance, time and organisation, in what will eventually turn out to be a 'win or lose' scenario. In securing four major international events over the last decade, Glasgow's appears to be competing well in this game to host new events. However, the picture could have be very different if Glasgow had been unsuccessful in securing the bid for the 1999 event, and illustrates the risk of placing too much emphasis on the role of events in urban regeneration. This therefore shows the constant need for alternative forms of urban policy to be applied in parallel to that of the events-based policy.

yes

### **POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS:**

Through this assessment of how the role of events have developed since the hosting of the '1990 City of Culture' and how successful they have been, both in the short term, and in their ability to sustain their momentum and meet longer term goals, it can be concluded that high profile events can contribute to the urban regeneration process and should remain an important feature of Glasgow's planning system. However, if these events are to be successful in reaching their full potential, the local authority needs to adhere to the following recommendations:

- The local planning authority needs to support and encourage the enhancement of cultural attractions in the city, such as the renovation of the Modern Gallery of Art, to provide the substance for Glasgow's image as an important cultural centre.
- To ensure that the benefits of the events are spread throughout the city, improving the overall perception of the city, initiatives must extend into the peripheral areas including Community Arts programmes in these areas to increase public participation and improve the aesthetics of these often very degraded areas.
- Public realm initiatives within the city centre must continue to improve the infrastructure and amenity of the city centre for urban tourism and attracting inward investment back into the heart of the city.
- The growth in demand for Glasgow as a business centre since 1990 calls for substantial improvements in site provision and infrastructure availability to meet this demand (the GDA have begun to take steps to achieve this through its proposal to develop seven business parks in the inner city area).
- To generate lasting employment opportunities and stimulate the manufacturing sector, events must not be purely consumer-based, but must also relate to other sectors involved in the productive-side of the economy - especially the cultural industries.
- These events must be supported by a package of ongoing marketing and cultural initiatives to build on the momentum generated by the event and to avoid 'troughs' in the tourist markets in the absence of these major events. This includes a programme of minor events, improvements in the public realm, new cultural

attractions and initiatives such as the 'Winter City' to promote Glasgow as a tourist destination throughout the year.

- The bidding process has to be selective, hosting major events only every two or three years, to avoid the emergence of 'event fatigue' and criticisms of over indulgence of public finance on cultural policy at the expense of other sectors, especially manufacturing.
- Due to the high risk nature of events, in terms of producing clear winners and losers, policy makers must develop a range of policy strands relating to different economic sectors, ensuring that a more 'balanced economy' can be created. They must also devise 'back-up' plans in the likely case that they fail to secure the bid for an event, therefore not falling into the trap of putting "all their eggs into the one basket".

Some of these policies link directly to planning, such as ensuring that the appropriate infrastructure and cultural facilities are in place to be able to host events on the scale of the '1990 City of Culture', illustrating the central role of the planner in the implementation of this form of cultural policy. Planners also have a responsibility to ensure the distribution of the benefits of the event throughout the city, whilst establishing initiatives to further enhance the value of the city centre as an attractive and culturally rich environment and the provision of appropriate sites and infrastructure to accommodate the new wave of inward investment. Planning for the hosting these major events therefore requires a substantial amount of co-operation between the different Council departments and public sector agencies and the private sector, of which the planning system plays an important role in ensuring that city possesses the facilities and infrastructure to support such an event and to maximise the potential benefits derived from it.

## CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

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In accordance to the hypothesis set in the introduction, the development of a culture-led regeneration programme, specialising on the hosting of high profile international events such as the '1990 City of Culture', represents a response by the local planning authority to the process of de-industrialisation and heightened inter-urban competition associated with the most recent wave of economic restructuring. ?

These event were regarded as posing a quick fix to the growing problems of economic stagnation that was becoming apparent in many of the former industrial cities of the capitalist countries, such as Baltimore, Boston, Liverpool and Glasgow. They were conceived as yielding not only rapid, if not instantaneous benefits, in terms of job creation and revenue, but also generating more lasting outcomes. In particular, the international focus of these events aimed to improve perceptions of Glasgow from the outside world, communicating the city's new strengths as a cultural centre and symbolising its dynamic and 'post-industrial' identity. By improving, and even reconstructing the image of Glasgow, more long term benefits were sought by boosting the attractiveness of the city as a place to live, work and visit, reflected in recent levels in inward investment, the strength of the cultural sector and the growth of the various tourist markets, including the conference sector.

The success of the '1990 City of Culture' in achieving these initial and longer-term benefits has been variable. The initial impacts were substantial, generating over £10 million net revenue for the public sector, creating over 5,000 new jobs, at a relatively low cost per job to the public sector and producing record levels of attendance<sup>s</sup> to cultural attractions and growth of the tourist industry. However, these initial impacts failed to offset Glasgow's worsening labour market, as employment levels continued to fall and the popularity of the city as a place to live weakened with further de-population.

Furthermore, the ability of the 1990 event to sustain the momentum it created in terms of employment and the growth of the cultural sector is negligible. Although levels of employment in this sector, and levels of turnover and volume of visitors and attendance's in 1995/96, were almost unanimously higher than pre-event levels, there was a general tendency for these levels to decline sharply immediately after the event, before rising gradually (although rarely exceeding levels recorded in 1990, with the exception of overseas tourism which continued to experience record growth). However, the fact that virtually all the indicators remained at levels significantly higher than those registered before 1990, suggest that these overall improvements would not have been so pronounced if the '1990 City of Culture' initiative had not been implemented. ✓

The enhanced image of Glasgow as a result of hosting this event, with improvements registered across most perceptions of the city's cultural standing between 1990 and 1998, also generated more indirect outcomes. In particular the growing popularity of Glasgow as a destination of inward investment, especially from the service sector over the last five years, illustrates the value of promoting a city's strengths in non-price factors, such as 'quality of life' which are increasingly important features in the decision-making process of where to invest. However, the 1990 initiative has been less successful in altering overall perceptions of Glasgow, as its projection of only selected images of the city, targeted more at the potential tourist, has resulted in a rather compartmentalised perception of the city. This may explain the persistently poor perception of Glasgow as a place to live and work, as opposed to just visiting, questioning the ability of the event to dispel the rough image of Glasgow which still holds strong in certain areas of the city.

This culture-led regeneration approach signals a new style of urban governance, with a move towards a more entrepreneurial spirit, recasting the role of the local planning authority, as it assumes a more enabling and facilitating role, co-ordinating private-public partnerships which host a range of Council departments and public sector agencies and leveraging private sector funds. The role of the planner remains central within this mosaic of actors involved in the organisation and hosting of the event, as they need to ensure that ✓  
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the appropriate infrastructure and attractions are available to support the hosting of the event and maximise the potential benefits by ensuring that they are spread throughout the city.

Recent data on Glasgow's attractiveness as a business centre and tourist destination, would suggest that it has been relatively successful in securing its longer term goals. However, there is no room for complacency in this race to secure new forms of capital, as other cities soon develop similar attractions to "lure" new investment. Although Glasgow's vigorous use of its cultural base as a tool for marketing itself, with the hosting of four major international events in less than ten years, would appear to have put Glasgow firmly on the path to becoming a competitive 'post-industrial' city, recognition must be made of the risky nature of this events-based strategy and its inability to stimulate the productive-side of the economy to date.

Consequently, this style of initiative should be used selectively and not function in isolation, but should be placed within a framework of policy initiatives adopting a more holistic approach to urban regeneration. Learning from the experiences of earlier events, it would appear that these issues have been taken into consideration in the Council's bid for the '1999 City of Architecture and Design' setting this style of culture-led regeneration firmly into the policy agenda for the millennium, as Glasgow continues to remould itself into a 'post-industrial' city.

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## **APPENDIX 1**

### **MAIN QUESTIONS FOR INTERVIEWS WITH KEY PERSONS INVOLVED IN THE PLANNING OF CULTURAL POLICY IN GLASGOW**

- Why do you think Glasgow has employed a culture-led urban regeneration approach, specialising on the use of events as part of its overall regeneration strategy.
- What are the prime objectives of this policy and have they changed over the last eight years.
- How persistent has cultural policy regarding events been over the last eight years and, given that Glasgow will have hosted four major events in the last decade, would you agree that this policy is being used in a strategic way.
- How do these events fit into the broader regeneration framework outlined in the 1996 'City Vision' and to what extent do they support the development of other sectors (such as manufacturing).
- How has this policy responded to the of criticism of 1990 'City of Culture' as being too consumer-based and undemocratic as expressed by the 'Worker's City'.
- How successful do you think this policy has been in achieving its longer term objectives of improving the image of Glasgow and what contribution has it made to the city's economy and labour market. In particular, how successful has it been in promoting Glasgow as a desirable locality for inward investment and as a tourist destination.
- What is the role of partnerships in the hosting of events: do they provide a valuable opportunity to bring together a range of agencies and what is the specific role of the planning department in the bidding and hosting of events.
- What other initiatives have been introduced to help support these events meet their objectives.
- Do you envisage events remaining an important component of urban policy after the 1999 and how do you imagine it may develop.

## **APPENDIX 2**

### **EXAMPLES OF FIRMS RECENTLY RELOCATING TO GLASGOW**

**BBC RADIO ONE HELPLINE**

**BRITISH AIRWAYS - Telephone Sales Centre.**

**DIRECT LINE**

**GEOCONFERENCE**

**POLARIOD**

### **APPENDIX 3**

#### **SURVEY OF LONDONERS PERCEPTIONS OF GLASGOW**

1. DO YOU LIVE IN LONDON? Y / N ELSEWHERE:
2. WHAT IS YOUR OCCUPATION?
3. HAVE YOU EVER VISITED GLASGOW BEFORE? Y / N  
IF YES, WHY AND WHEN:
4. ARE YOU AWARE THAT GLASGOW :
- HOSTED THE '1990 YEAR OF CULTURE' Y / N
- HOSTED A 'FESTIVAL OF VISUAL ARTS' IN 1996 Y / N
- WILL BE HOSTING THE 'CITY OF ARCHITECTURE & DESIGN 1999'. Y / N
5. WOULD YOU AGREE THAT GLASGOW :
- IS INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT FOR THE ARTS Y / N
- HAS INTERESTING MUSEUMS / GALLERIES Y / N
- HAS A WIDE VARIETY OF THEATRE / MUSICAL EVENTS Y / N
- HAS GOOD PUBS / NIGHTLIFE Y / N
- HAS VERY GOOD SHOPPING FACILITIES Y / N
- IS AN EXCITING PLACE TO VISIT Y / N
- IS A HAPPY PLACE TO LIVE AND WORK Y / N
- IS RAPIDLY CHANGING FOR THE BETTER Y / N
- IS ROUGH AND DEPRESSING Y / N
6. COULD YOU RANK IN ORDER WHICH OF THESE CITIES YOU WOULD MOST LIKE TO :
- A). VISIT
- GLASGOW MANCHESTER NEWCASTLE EDINBURGH BIRMINGHAM
- B). LIVE AND WORK IN
- GLASGOW MANCHESTER NEWCASTLE EDINBURGH BIRMINGHAM

**\*THANK YOU FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION\***