Cultural Regeneration in English Seaside Towns under New Labour: A Political Economy Perspective on the Restructuring of Tourist Destinations

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DECLARATION

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I certify that the work contained in this thesis, or any part of it, has not been accepted in substance for any previous degree awarded to me, and is not concurrently being submitted for any degree other than that of Doctor of Philosophy being studied at the University of Greenwich. I also declare that this work is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise identified by references and that the contents are not the outcome of any form of research misconduct.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis critically analyses the ways in which cultural regeneration was applied by successive New Labour Governments in English Seaside Towns, as a response to the decline of English seaside tourism. This research was carried out from the perspective of political economy, using a modified régulation theory approach in which Bourdieu's cultural sociology was used to supplement the standard concepts of the régulation school. Primary research was carried out using a Critical Realist methodology that was based on a multiple-embedded case study design. The case study chosen was the region of East Kent, and, specifically, the English Seaside Towns of Whitstable, Folkestone and Margate. Cultural Regeneration policies and practices were analysed within this case study in order to draw conclusions about the broader New Labour context. Data was collected from 93 policy documents and 49 interviews during the final New Labour Government, from 2007-2010. This research shows that the local variability in the governance of cultural regeneration had a significant impact on the implementation of national and regional cultural regeneration policy, and that this affected the restructuring of English Seaside Towns during the New Labour Period. Specifically, the degree to which the local state governed using post-Fordist approaches, affected the degree of success of the attempts to inaugurate post-Fordist tourist economies in each destination. The primary original contribution made in this thesis is in the application of an adapted régulation theory perspective to tourism destination development, an approach which can be applied in further studies of tourism destination development, in particular where these involve cultural tourism and cultural regeneration.

CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

ACE	Arts Council England
CABE	Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment
CCC	Canterbury City Council
CLGSC	Communities and Local Government Scrutiny Committee
CLSP	Canterbury Local Strategic Partnership
CME	Coordinated Market Economies
DCLG	Department for Communities and Local Government
DCMS	Department for Culture, Media and Sport
EKLAAP	East Kent Local Authority Arts Partnership
EKLSP	East Kent Local Strategic Partnership
GOSE	Government Office for the South East
HCA	Homes and Communities Agency
KCC	Kent County Council
LGA	Local Government Association
LME	Liberal Market Economies
MC	Medway Council
MLA	Museums, Libraries and Archives Commission
NI	New Institutionalism
NOMIS	National Online Manpower Information System
NRU	Neighbourhood Renewal Unit
ODPM	Office of the Deputy Prime Minister
ONS	Office for National Statistics
SDC	Shepway District Council
SEEDA	South East of England Development Agency
SEERA	South East of England Regional Assembly
SSP	Social Systems of Production
TDC	Thanet District Council
VoC	Varieties of Capitalism

TABLES

FIGURES

1. INTRODUCTION

This research is about the long-term development of tourism destinations, and how they are affected by restructuring and change. Tourism, as a resource-intensive, market driven and constantly innovating industry, consumes places (Hall et al 2013) and this thesis considers the period when the tourist industry has moved on from destinations, and what can be done to bring them back to life. To do this, this thesis draws on the areas of both tourism studies and political economy to analyse the impacts of a series of policy and governance interventions in the economies of English Seaside Towns, during the New Labour era of Government in the United Kingdom (1997-2010). During this time, attempts to regenerate these tourism destinations were dominated by a focus on cultural regeneration and cultural tourism.

English seaside towns are an under-defined phenomenon perhaps, as Walton (2000) claims, because of their omnipresence in English cultural history. The seaside town is a recurring location and destination for children's literature as well as the site for many novels and films. It is also an enduring setting for television programs, both those themselves set in seaside towns and those who use the seaside as an 'alternative' location, usually taking advantage of the liminal nature of seaside resorts to stretch their plots and characterisation in unorthodox directions. In addition to these media texts, the seaside landscape and seaside entertainments are recurrent elements of English art, music and popular culture. As late as the early 1990s, at least half of all English Holidays were taken in English seaside resorts (Walton 2000: 3) and this, along with the cultural factors outlined above, have enabled Walton to highlight the "importance of the seaside as basic cultural capital" (ibid).

Walton's (2000) historical study of English seaside towns rejects the notion that there can be one definition of its subject; 'We are dealing with a recognisable and distinctive kind of town, but with as many variations as a hawkweed or burnet-moth.' (p.22). Walton also asserts that despite the diversity of towns and experiences that make up the seaside, 'the English seaside resort retains a robust identity, which in turn reinforces its importance as a subject for investigation and analysis'. However, despite Walton's aversion to giving a categorical definition, it is possible to highlight key areas of concern in his writing that, taken together, provide a definitional framework for his study.

1. Seaside towns have evolved out of a specific historical era, the industrialising 19th century.
2. Class factors have been central to seaside development patterns
3. Seaside towns exhibit specific patterns of land use
4. Specific forms of culture have been developed in seaside towns
5. Seaside towns share specific environmental qualities

This matrix of factors highlights a materialist conception of the seaside town, where the specific spatial, economic and cultural characteristics of the towns as we find them today can be explained through their emergence through an identifiable social-historical process with its roots in the industrialisation of northern England, the emergence of an affluent middle class and the way in which these factors combined to allow for the construction of the seaside resort as a cultural phenomenon in the 19th century. Gale (2007:1) refers to these seaside towns as "first generation" tourism resorts, but Agarwal and Shaw (2007: 3) point out that, although the English resorts are the most prominent in the tourism literature, it seems likely that the ideas behind the coastal resort diffused rapidly across northern Europe at similar times. In the late 18th and early 19th century the northern French coast and the regions that became Belgium and the Netherlands also saw growth in coastal areas and this developed through the 19th century with early tourists visiting resorts in northern and south-western France, Scandinavia, the Baltic region and the north German coast.

Beatty and Fothergill's (2003) study into the economies of seaside towns points out that a list of every town with some claim to seaside resort status would include 120 towns, some of which are more accurately described as ports, industrial towns or residential areas. Beatty and Fothergill apply three criteria in their study in order to identify 'seaside towns', which:

1. are seaside resorts, rather than just all developed areas by the sea – this excludes towns whose main function is as a port or industrial centre;
2. are significant urban areas in their own right, rather than suburbs of larger settlements or sections of a settlement that happen to be by the sea;
3. had a population of over 8,000 in 1971, the starting point for their own research and a way of concentrating their research in large seaside towns.

This is the definition of 'seaside towns' that will be used in this study. Using the 2001 census data and their above criteria, Beatty and Fothergill identify the following towns as Britain's principle seaside towns, shown in figure 1, below, which shows their location. Each of the three towns

researched in this thesis are classified as one of the UK's principle seaside towns according to this typology.

Figure 1 - Locations of the UK's seaside towns
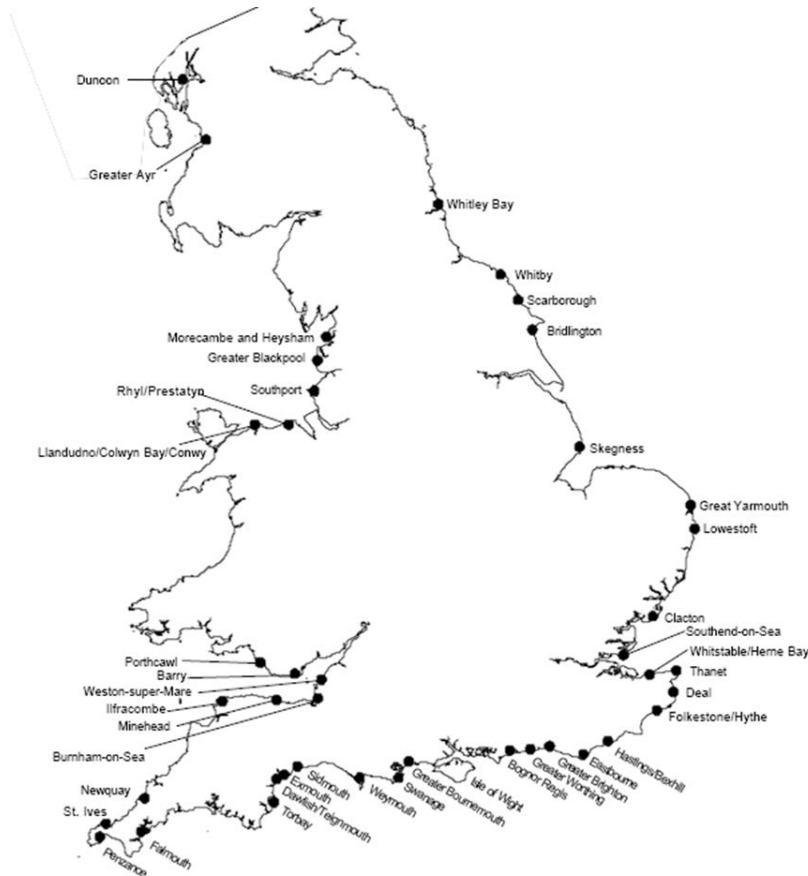
English Seaside Towns were the first mass tourism destinations to emerge from the long period of industrialisation that began in the late eighteenth century (Walton 2000) and which continued to develop through a series of crises into the late twentieth century (Harvey 2010). Although many of the towns that became famous seaside resorts began as health and wellness destinations in the early seventeenth century, it was the arrival of the railways and the mass leisure culture of the newly urbanised working classes that drove their eventual growth (Urry & Larsen 2011). This growth was significant and proceeded at a pace; seaside towns grew at a faster rate in the first half of the nineteenth century than any other urban areas (Walton 2000a, Brodie & Winter 2007). At their peak, English Seaside Towns were attracting millions of visitors every year. In the 1930s, visitor numbers in some English Seaside Towns were comparable to those currently experienced by the resorts of Southern Spain today, with Blackpool receiving in excess of seven million tourists each year, Southend five and half million and even the small Northern Welsh town of Rhyl

accepting two and half million tourists, mainly concentrated three months of the year (Walton 2000b). None of these towns had the benefits of the Mediterranean climate which would have allowed them to spread these arrivals across a longer holiday season. Following the second world-war, and the militarisation of the British coastline, a period of austerity meant that the British tourism industry took some time to recover, but by 1960, British tourists were enjoying approximately sixty million overnight stays a year, with 96% of these being domestic (Morgan & Pritchard 1999) and the majority of these being in seaside towns. The high point for domestic tourism in the UK is generally acknowledged to be 1974, when 40.5m people holidayed in Britain for 4 days or longer (Brodie & Winter 2007: 30). This changed dramatically in the period 1975-1985 as the number of domestic holidays fell from 27m to 20m and the number of overseas holidays taken by UK tourist rose from 12m to 22m. This proportional change coincided with the 1979-82 recession in the UK economy and a succession of poor summers, making cheap overseas sunshine destinations more attractive to British tourists (Morgan and Pritchard 1999: 42). Although Walton claims that "The death of the British seaside had been prematurely anticipated and greatly exaggerated" (Walton 2000a: 140), sources generally agree that from the mid-1970s, British seaside resorts have been in a period of decline. As Urry and Larsen (2011) point out tourism has become a hugely important industry in contemporary Britain but, paradoxically, seaside towns have not shared in this growth. This thesis investigates the consequences of decline and attempt to rejuvenate these towns during the period 1997-2010. Despite the large scale investment that was made into urban regeneration during this period, the fortunes of many of these seaside destinations did not see significant improvements. The UK's Office for National Statistics reported in 2013 that English Seaside Towns were still the most deprived urban areas in the country in 2010 (ONS 2013), and at the time of submission of this thesis, deprivation in English Seaside Towns continues to be a cause of policy concern (Balata 2016, DCLG 2017).

At the beginning of this research project, a period of ethnographic data collection took place in order to immerse the author in the local context of each of the case study towns. This ethnographic phase involved some participant observation, defined by Brewer as 'data gathering by means of participation in the daily life of informants in their natural setting: watching, observing and talking to them in order to discover their interpretations, social meanings and activities' (2000: 59). This ethnographic research took place during a particularly difficult socio-economic time for the towns under study, as the global economic crisis that began in 2007 gathered pace, leading to severe public spending cuts and a slowing of the pace of regeneration in each destination. Finn et al note the value of using these styles of ethnographic methods for assessing "social and cultural impacts on host populations" of tourism development (2000: 73). During this time, the community impacts

of the cultural regeneration schemes being researched became a particular concern of the author and led to two publications on the impact of cultural regeneration schemes on community cohesion and social exclusion (Kennell 2008, Kennell 2011).

This early ethnographic phase of the research has not been included in this thesis, but has informed it in a number of ways. Significantly, this period of immersion, which lasted for three months, allowed for the identification of the social structure of each town as it is experienced in the areas undergoing regeneration. It became obvious that in each of the towns, the majority of people that were experiencing the regeneration, other than tourists, were local working class communities who felt excluded in many ways from the cultural regeneration activity that was taking place. These observations could have led the author to research class conflicts in the destinations. However, further investigation revealed that the social structure of the towns would have led to difficulties in developing this analysis further in terms of class conflicts in the developments. Firm structure in seaside towns, and particularly in those suffering from deprivation, is often dominated by micro-enterprises and family businesses, and the presence of highly influential local businessmen with strong links to the informal and grey economies. In addition, most regeneration activity was linked to the public or third sectors, with only a limited role for private enterprise. Because of this, analyses that focused on class conflicts would have been problematic for this research. What became apparent, during the ethnographic phase, was that seaside towns in Kent were the objects of sustained and significant policy interventions and that the social conditions in each town were, to some extent, being determined by the style and pace of these initiatives. For that reason, the decision was taken to identify an appropriate conceptual framework for this research which would concentrate on issues of power and governance, in order to develop an understanding of the social consequences of these structural issues.

Between 1997 and 2010, the Labour Party formed the Government of the United Kingdom, during a period of its history when it was dominated by the 'New Labour' philosophy (Jessop 2003, L'Hote 2010, Giddens 2010). Under New Labour, some authors have argued that that a new model of the state was inaugurated where a third-way (Giddens 1999, 2001) approach was taken between state-controlled and market-controlled economies, leading to a social-investment state (Lister 2003). Under this model, the Government raised funds through the taxation of newly liberalised market activities in order to spend them on the traditional concerns of the labour movement: unemployment, housing, welfare and urban renewal (Clift & Tomlinson 2006). This research explores the impact on seaside towns of the policies of the New Labour Governments, in order to develop a concrete analysis of the regeneration of these destinations that is grounded in the

historically contingent policies and practices that gave regeneration during this period its specific characteristics (Bevir 2006). After the long period of Government that ended in 2010, the Labour Party has entered a new phase of internal disagreement and policy development of a similar kind to that which preceded the birth of New Labour (Barker 1997, White & de Charnatony 2002, Allemendinger & Tweder-Jones 2000) and this research reflects on how the policies that the Labour Party implements when in Government can impact on tourism destinations and urban areas. Although this research is historically situated, it asks questions about the role of state in tourism development and how the orientation of the state at the national and local level can have an impact on the development of destinations. The role of the state in the United Kingdom is a topic that has come under increasing examination since the global financial crisis which began in 2008, with debates about the appropriate level of state intervention in the economy dominating the post-Brexit General Election and its analysis in 2017 (see, for example, Dombey 2017, Kettle 2017, Macaes 2017).

1.1 Aim of the research

The aim of this research is to critically analyse the ways in which cultural regeneration was applied by successive New Labour Governments in English Seaside Towns as a response to the decline of English seaside tourism.

1.2 Objectives of the research

1. To critically review the literature on the political economy of tourism and destination development (This is achieved in Chapters 2 and 4)

2. To critically analyse the policies and practices associated with cultural regeneration as method for economic restructuring in seaside towns (This is achieved in Chapters 3 and 7)

3. To evaluate the impacts of cultural regeneration on English Seaside Towns during the New Labour period (This is achieved in Chapters 6 and 7)

4. To critically analyse the impacts of New Labour's policies on English Seaside Towns (This is achieved in Chapter 8)

1.3 Chapter Structure

Chapter 1 is the introduction to this thesis, in this chapter, the significance of the research is explained and it is placed into its socio-economic and historical context. Chapter 1 also contains the aim of the research and its four objectives, as well as a brief summary of each chapter.

Chapter 2 clearly situates this research within the political economy tradition. The chapter provides an overview of political economy research into tourism and demonstrates the utility of the political economy perspective for meeting the aim and objectives of this research. In this chapter, the approach of political economy is critiqued in order to develop a conceptual framework for this research. Firstly, the general conceptual approach of political economy is introduced, along with its application to tourism studies. Then régulation theory will be critically explained, a branch of political economy concerned with the relationship between the periods of crisis, the state, capital and society that offers a specific perspective on the development of seaside towns. Finally, the work of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu is introduced, in order to bring an understanding of the relationship between culture and political economy to this research, which is specifically concerned with the role of culture in the regeneration of English Seaside Towns. This chapter ends with a visual representation of the conceptual framework of this thesis, which adapts régulation theory to provide a perspective from which to view the impacts of cultural regeneration.

Chapters 3 and 4 provide background research that forms the context of this thesis. Chapter 3 gives a critique of the New Labour political project and places this into the framework of post-Fordism and neoliberalism. Chapter 3 analyses the political context of the New Labour period and the specific approaches that were taken to regeneration and economic development by successive New Labour Governments. It also introduces and analyses the concept of Cultural Regeneration and its links to cultural tourism and destination development. Chapter 4 critically reviews approaches to understanding destination development in English Seaside Towns from the tourism studies and tourism management literature. In the final section of Chapter 4 the conceptual framework of this thesis is re-introduced, to explain why it was chosen in preference to the approaches reviewed previously. There are clear links between the literature reviewed in this thesis, and the methodology that is developed in Chapter 5. In particular, the qualitative research design that was employed involved the use of thematic design principles, where a content analysis approach was informed by the literature that had been reviewed earlier in the research. The

literature reviewed relates to the period of the New Labour Government in the UK and although in some places more contemporary sources have been used, this has only been to clarify key theoretical or conceptual points. Although this adds rigour to the methodology used for this thesis, future research can be developed that draws on a broader body of contemporary literature.

Chapter 5 presents the methodological approach that was taken to the primary research aspect of this thesis. The primary research phase of this thesis was carried out between 2007-2010, during the final years of the New Labour administrations (Heffernan 2011) and was based on the content analysis of 93 policy documents relating to cultural regeneration in seaside towns, and 49 stakeholder interviews. The first section of this chapter presents the approach of Critical Realism (Platenkamp & Botterill 2013) that was chosen as the overall research paradigm for this research. This paradigm has been linked to régulation theory by Jessop (2001a) and provided a way of thinking about the research which guided the collection and analysis of data. The next section sets out the rationale for the multiple-embedded qualitative case study design (Yin 2003) that was used for this research. Within the overall case study design, three comparative case studies (Eisenhardt 1989) were chosen, Whitstable, Folkestone and Margate, and this choice is also explained in this chapter.

Chapter 6 presents the results of the case study methodology that was developed in Chapter 5. In this Chapter, the content analysis of national policy documents is presented first, in order to set out the broad national context of the case study. The following three sections then present the content analysis of relevant policy documents, followed by the content analysis of stakeholder interviews, for each of the East Kent region, Whitstable, Folkestone and Margate. The findings for each town are presented alongside maps and socio-economic data to give a detailed account of regeneration activity in each seaside town.

Chapter 7 presents the cross-case synthesis and analysis described in Chapter 5, which allowed for the analysis of contradictory or otherwise divergent data between cases, as well as an analysis of the case study as a whole, which is the case of the Cultural Regeneration of Seaside Towns in East Kent. This synthesis makes use of the regional and national findings presented in Chapter 6, using the same unit of analysis structure that has been applied throughout, in order to develop a holistic analysis of the case study as a whole. In this Chapter, the results presented in Chapter 6 are critically compared to the literature reviewed in the earlier chapters of this thesis, and categorised

according to the units of analysis that were identified through the development of the conceptual framework for this research, a modified régulation theory approach.

Chapter 8 provides the conclusions of this thesis. It is structured around the four research objectives stated above, and aims to fully address the aim of this research: to critically analyse the ways in which cultural regeneration was applied by successive New Labour Governments in English Seaside Towns as a response to the decline of English seaside tourism. Sections 8.2 to 8.4 provide a critical summary of the relevant material from this thesis in relation to the first three research objectives. Section 8.5 provides a critical summary of the findings of primary research carried out for this thesis, which is put into the context of the more broad analysis of régulation theory and the national picture of the New Labour period, which was explored in Chapters 2 and 3. Finally, section 8.6 explains the contribution that has been made by this research and clearly highlights where this contribution has been made within this thesis.

2. POLITICAL ECONOMY AND TOURISM

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of political economy research into tourism and demonstrates the utility of the political economy perspective for meeting the aim and objectives of this research. In this chapter, the approach of political economy will be explored to develop a conceptual framework for this research. Firstly, the general conceptual approach of political economy will be introduced, along with its application to tourism studies. Then Régulation Theory will be explored, a branch of political economy concerned with the relationship between the periods of crisis, the state, capital and society that offers a specific perspective on the development of seaside towns. Finally, the work of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu will be introduced to bring an understanding of the relationship between culture and political economy to this research, which is specifically concerned with the role of culture in the regeneration of English Seaside Towns.

Political Economy research into tourism has been an important, but not central concern of tourism studies. Within the tourism field, the dominant conceptual frameworks of the last fifteen years have emphasised aspects of tourism consumption and the personal experiences of tourists, but tourism studies have less often considered the relationships between tourism development and structures of power (Bianchi 2002, Richter & Steiner 2008, Bramwell 2011, Bianchi 2012), other than within specific case study approaches (e.g. Gotham 2002) and with some notable exceptions (e.g. Bianchi 2004, 2009, Mosedale 2011). Williams and Montanari (1999) argue that tourism research has tended to focus on the moral and advocacy issues involved in sustainable tourism and not on structures and relationships of tourism production and consumption. The limited Political Economy research in tourism has tended to focus on the Less Developed Countries from the perspective of development and dependency theory (Britton 1980, 1982, Telfer 2002, Williams 2004), with limited application to developed economies. Dredge and Jenkins argue through a review of key journals and recent textbooks, that the political economy aspects of tourism have been under-represented within tourism studies and that "domestic political economy transformations, changes in the world economy and economic policy were largely ignored" (2007: 39). Meethan (2003:11) has criticized the 'apparent reluctance of many tourism researchers to engage in a critical appraisal of theoretical approaches within the social sciences' or to 'view tourism as a particular manifestation of wider social, economic and cultural phenomena'.

The growing field of 'critical tourism studies' (Ateljevic et al 2007) has recently challenged the political economy approach in tourism, by building on the post-structuralist turn in the academy generally and in tourism and leisure studies more specifically. This emerging body of thought's development can be traced back to Urrry's (2002) concept of the tourist gaze with its Foucauldian influences, and treats tourism and the tourism industry as 'predominantly cultural phenomena' (Aitchinson 2006: 419), de-emphasising the economic context of tourism and focusing primarily on aspects of tourist consumption. A positive aspect of the critical turn is that it seeks to distance itself from a pro-business approach in much of contemporary tourism studies and re-create tourism studies as 'more than simply a way of knowing, an ontology, it is a way of being, a commitment to tourism enquiry which is pro-social justice, equality and anti-oppression: it is an academy of hope' (Ateljevic et al 2007a: 3) However, it emphasises the cultural and the individual over questions of politics, economics and collective issues (Bianchi 2009) and there is a lack of interest from this new field in investigations of material inequality, working conditions and living conditions in the tourism industry. This lack of engagement undermines its ability to stand as a transformational project:

"At precisely the moment at which the nexus of economic and political forces has begun to promote an aggressive economic liberalism in tourism, the 'critical turn' appears to have retreated into a preoccupation with discourse and representation, leaving the study of the economic and political relations of power to those who whole-heartedly embrace neoliberal globalization and the free market" (Bianchi 2009: 493).

In contract to this, Williams (2004), identifies three key areas of concern in political economy that are relevant to tourism: commodification, the labour process and Régulation theory. Commodification is the most explored and understood aspect of Political Economy in tourism studies (e.g. Sheperd 2002, MacLeod 2006, Cole 2007, Hernandez-Ramdwar 2013) and has been particularly prevalent as a concept in the more sociological and cultural studies-influenced literature in the field. Shaw and Williams (2004) suggest four possibilities for commodification in tourism: Firstly, direct commodification, for example charging directly for the use of tourist facilities. Secondly, indirect commodification, the market exchange of hospitality and other services that support the tourism experience. Thirdly, Part-commodification, where commodified and non-commodified aspects of the tourism industry are intertwined, for example self-catering accommodation. Finally, non-commodification, where there is no market exchange involved in the tourism experience, such as when walking. The labour process is the organisation and productive deployment of work and it involves wages, conditions, the division of labour across

divisions such as class, gender and ethnicity, and the involvement of organised labour and trade unions. Many analyses of labour in the tourism literature have focused on the Fordist / post-Fordist transition – remarking that tourism is a place-rigid and demand-variable industry that requires significant levels of workforce flexibility (Williams 2004, Ladkin 2011). Tourism studies have "largely neglected" (Williams 2004: 5) the study of the labour process in the tourism industry, although there have been significant studies of the labour within the hospitality literature (Duncan et al 2013). The other aspect of political economy identified as relevant to tourism, régulation theory, will be explored later in this chapter.

In order to develop this research, the political economy approach has been utilised due to its focus on the relationship between the state and capital and the implications of this approach for understanding social change. Due to the prominence of the state in urban regeneration and tourism policy in the United Kingdom and the relationships between private enterprise, government and social change that have driven the development of English Seaside Towns (see chapter 3), it was necessary to apply a conceptual framework to this research that allowed for a suitably critical approach to issues that structure the experiences of tourists and tourism businesses within destinations. Macionis & Parrillo (2007: 263-264) set out four principles of political economy, as it has been applied to the study of urban environments, such as English Seaside Towns: A city's form and growth result not from "natural processes," but from decisions made by people and organisations that control wealth and other key resources. Following on from this, urban forms and urban social arrangements reflect conflicts over the distribution of resources. They identify that urban growth patterns significantly result from economic restructuring and that government continues to play an important role in urban life. These principles provide a perspective from which to view the use of cultural regeneration in the regeneration of English Seaside Towns, by drawing attention to the underlying political and economic transformations and conflict that have resulted in both the need for regeneration, and the responses to it. In the following section, the general principles of the political economy approach will be introduced.

2.2 Political Economy

Political Economy has been variously viewed as an area of study, a social sciences methodology, or an approach to the management of an economy (Weingast & Wittman 2008). Levine (1995) describes political economy as the study of the political control of economic relationships between strangers, distinguishing these relationships from those that take place within smaller units of

family in terms of scale and importance, but not in their fundamental qualities. This perspective sees individual actors making transactions within a free market system, with the 'best' social outcomes being merely the aggregates of the best individual outcomes. This simplistic view of political economy is line with the view of classical economists who conceive of the study of economics as the relatively value-free process of understanding the 'use of scare resources which have alternative uses' (Sowell 2007: 2). Generally, these classical views of the operations of economies and, thus, views of how economies should be governed, are influenced by two key concepts, rational choice and the invisible hand (Nell 1980). Rational choice theories assume that there are rational actors making decisions in a free market and that, for example, the supply of goods and services will only take place in response to measurements of demand for these, expressed through the market's price mechanisms (Dasgupta 2007). The concept of the invisible hand, first coined by Adam Smith in 1776, is the idea that the operation of the free market creates the illusion of external control, when in fact a free market is a self-regulating entity that does not require direction (Nell 1980). Callinicos (2006) explains how the insertion of political power into the economic governance of society makes possible a more radical critique of the popular perception of the power-neutrality of economic processes. Zizek (2009: 20) supports this, stating that 'the very term "political economy" opens up the space for…introducing politics into the very heart of the economy, that is, of denouncing the very "apolitical" character of the economic processes as the supreme ideological illusion." The political conflicts that take place within society over the distribution of resources, in particular the conflict between capital and workers, then become 'constitutive of the economic' (Callinicos 2006: 255).

The conflicts and developments that take place within the system that is set out in the political economy approach are not abstract, but (as political economy has a materialist foundation) take place in concrete social situations and places, meaning that political economy has a significant "empirical dimension" (Bramwell 2011: 464) which means that it can be used as a method of analysis of concrete situations. Nielsen (2002: 731) explains that, "political economy is primarily a substantive and empirical, not a philosophical exercise". This more critical political economy approach has come to be associated primarily with the Marxist and neo-Marxist positions in recent decades (Williams 2004, Callinicos 2006, Bianchi 2011) and, although there are a range of perspectives on society associated with political economy, these perspectives generally maintains a focus on the uneven distribution of social and economic capital, mostly along lines of social class (Bramwell 2011). For the purposes of this research, the term Political Economy is used to refer to a disciplinary perspective on the study of society, in its broadest sense, which sees the social system as a whole, with the conflicts and synergies between elements of the whole being the

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drivers of social change (Bramwell 2011). Laibman (2012: 1) explains that the role of political economy is to critique 'the real social relations underlying economic phenomena…To get hold of that substratum of what is normally seen as the "economic" means to embrace the contradictory - that is evolutionary, relative, transformational – qualities of social systems and social life.' Acemoglu and Robinson (2008) provide a framework for understanding the inter-relationships between politics and the economy within the political economy discipline, which give it its specific character as an approach. In considering the historical development of capitalist nations and the divergent development paths that they have taken, they summarise the underpinning political economy perspective on the factors that have influenced this development. Firstly, institutions, and particularly economic institutions, are a key element of understanding how societies develop as they shape decisions and patterns of investment in physical and human capital, and in technology, as well as governing the relations of production in a society. This affects not only the economic growth potential of a country, but also the distribution of this growth between its citizens.

These institutions are endogenous to the society in which they operate and are developed as a product of the collective will of its citizens. However, this collective will may be imperfectly expressed and there will be conflicts of interests between groups and individuals in its expression. As a consequence of this, political power is a key factor in determining the shape of these institutions. The distribution of political power in a society is also endogenous and although it relates to economic factors, it is not determined solely by them and is not used solely for the achievement of economic growth. Political power is uneven and can be conceptualised in two ways, as *de jure* or *de facto*. De jure political power is linked to the control of political institutions and, hence, to the system of government in a country. De jure political may be held by a monarch, a parliament or by the executive(s) in any other form of state. De facto political power results from the uneven distribution of economic resources within a state. Individuals and groups with de factor power can form complementary or opposing poles of power within a state in the exercising of de jure power. For example, in contemporary capitalist states, interest groups representing business communities or social interests may exercise significant influence over the processes of policy formation and institutional operations. This combination of de jure and de factor political power then, in turn, influences the creation and development of the institutions that are responsible for economic performance and the distribution of resources.

Although this approach emphasises the centrality of institutions, the political economy approach views all interactions within the social system as embodying relationships of power (Turley 2005).

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This involves investigating how macro-economic and political factors affect developments within society. Imrie et al (1996: 1258 cited in Gotham 2002: 1738) state that political economy "maintains a critical focus on issues connected to poverty, inequality and systemic structures of people's existence."

Political economy has been criticised for over-emphasizing the economic aspects of society and limiting the role of the state and other actors to responding to economic imperatives. However, this critique of economic reductionism as a rationale for action is also a part of the critique provided by some political economy theorists of the operation of society (e.g. Harvey 2010, Choonara 2009), who seek to emphasise the over-determining role of economic factors in social life as a critique of the way in which society has been shaped by contemporary capitalism. In addition, many political economy theorists claim that states and other actors are influenced by a range of other factors, including public opinion, the media and political and policy objectives (Bramwell 2006). The 'New Institutionalism', for example, is an approach within political economy that places the analysis of institutions at the heart of its approach. From this perspective, institutions of all kinds are neither mirrors of society, nor the simple sites in which rational decisions are made, but are both the outcome of political and economic processes and have a determining influence on political and economic processes (Rutherford 1994). This strand of political economy attempts to respond to critiques of both the invisible hand theorems, by identifying and analysing sites of regulation and value within the operation of the market, and also to critiques of the economic over-determination of the political economy approach, by showing the existence of alternative and persistent sources of power within the political-economic operations of society (Peters 2005). In the next section of this chapter, the régulation school of political economy will be introduced as a way of showing how political economy has responded to another critique, which questions how the political economic system of society reproduces itself through periods of crisis and despite the significant institutional changes that accompany these changes.

Frieden & Pzerowski (2008: 2) categorise political economy research as taking place in three 'strands'. Firstly, studies of the impact of political factors on economic and economic-policy outcomes. Secondly, studies of the reverse relationship, of the impacts of economic factors on politics. Finally, the third strand uses economic methods and models to study political interactions. This research will combine elements of the first two strands, by critiquing the relationships between economic and political aspects of the development of English Seaside Towns.

The literature on tourism destinations and crises has a strong focus on endogenous crises such as the impacts of local terrorism on destinations (Pizam & Flesicher 2002, Drakos & Kutan 2003, Gurtner 2007, Thompson 2011), environmental or natural disasters (Huan 2007, Henderson 2007, Biggs et al 2012, Machado 2012), or political unrest. Recently, with the advent of global terrorism as a factor affecting the international tourism market, there have been more international analyses that take into account specific exogenous factors connected to this (Bianchi 2006, Litvin & Crofts 2007, O'Connor et al 2008, Lisle 2013). The global economic crisis that began in 2008 has also generated recent scholarship on the effects of this on the tourism industry (Papatheodoru et al 2009, Song & Lin 2010, Stylidis & Terzidou 2014). However, due to the relatively recent maturation of tourism studies as a subject, there has been little critical engagement with the impacts of the economic crises of the 1970s and 1980s on tourism, despite frequent mention of this, and the responses to it, as one of the contributing factors to the decline of the English Seaside Town (Morgan & Pritchard 1999, Agarwal & Shaw 2007, Gale 2005). The following section on regulation theory sets out a conceptual position derived from political economy, from which the responses to these earlier crises in English Seaside Towns can be analysed.

2.3 Régulation Theory

Régulation theory is a broad body of work most closely associated with a school of thought that developed in France from the 1970s (Benko & Lipietz 1997, Danielzyk & Ossenbrugge 2001, Berberoglu 2002, Cornelissen 2011). Aglietta's (2000) study of the development of the economy of the United States of America, originally published in 1976 in French as *Regulation et crises du capitalisme* is the founding text of the régulationist approach. In it, Aglietta develops a historical analysis of the American economy from the Civil War period until the 1980s through which he identifies the major elements of a system that had produced periods of rapid economic growth and subsequent collapse, alongside times of remarkable stability. This study explored how there had been long term and frequent changes in the development of capitalism that demonstrated that the fixed capitalist system of earlier Marxist analysis could not be taken for granted – this flexibility explained the persistence of the capitalist state despite the periods of crisis and transformation that it had undergone in order to maintain the capitalist mode of development. Although related to other branches of Political Economy that have developed from the Marxist tradition (Palan 2006), the Régulationists refused the classical Marxist interpretation of the evolution of capitalism and its periodic crises as a reflection of the underlying laws of capitalism, and instead developed an analysis of how "networks of institutional forms, during the successive epochs in which they have

held sway, have affected the expression – or actually modified – the underlying tendencies or laws of capital accumulation" (Brenner & Glick 1991: 46). Régulation theory thus is grounded in a critique of Marxism, but also refutes the *homo economicus* of neo-classical economics in which free subjects operate rationally within unfettered markets exercising personal choice in all matters. The régulationists instead propose a series of relationships and institutions that, through their existence and permanence, constrain the actions of individuals within a network of relations that vary between time and place (Boyer & Salliard 2001). As Peck (2000: 198) explains, régulation theory explores the 'intertwining of economic and extra-economic factors in the institutionally embedded and socially regularised process of capitalist development'. The remainder of this section will examine the principles of the régulation approach in more detail, so that they can be developed into a conceptual framework for this research, at the end of this chapter.

Régulation theory characterizes society has having a 'regime of accumulation': production, consumption, circulation and income distribution, and an accompanying 'mode of Régulation': the set of institutional forms and activities that stabilize and coordinate economic activity (Hoffmann 2003). The system of Régulation smoothes the capitalist system's tendencies towards crisis (Williams 2004).

This method of analysis brings together the economic insights of political economy with an analysis of civil society and the state (Mosedale 2011), with four key concepts helping us to understand the means and methods of Régulation. An 'accumulation regime': a complementary pattern of production and consumption that is reproducible over a long period. A 'mode of Régulation': an emergent ensemble of rules, norms, conventions, patterns of conduct, social networks, organizational forms and institutions which can stabilize an accumulation regime. A 'mode of development': the result of when an accumulation regime and a mode of Régulation complement each other sufficiently. (Danielzyk & Ossenbrugge 2001: 3). The regime of accumulation is an identifiable set of arrangements within capitalism that guide the mechanisms of capitalism within a particular period. These arrangements can include the distribution of income between wages, profits and taxes; the volume and composition of demand in the economy and the connection between capitalist and non-capitalist modes of production; institutional structures governing inter- and intra-form relationships and the relationship between capital and labour (Brenner & Glick 1991). The mode of Régulation is here conceived of in a similar way to Foucault's 'Discursive formations' (1982), the assemblages of knowledge, social relationships, power and institutions that underpin much of the school of 'critical tourism studies' discussed

above, and offering a way to synthesize the political economy tradition with this new current in tourism studies.

Distinctive from Foucault's discursive approach however, is that for the Régulationists, this mode of Régulation is relatively transparent and contains identifiable relationships between institutions and networks that are governed by rules and norms. This mode of Régulation is most obvious in the laws governing capital-labour relations, laws governing the competencies and activities of firms and in the way in which the state intervenes in the economy (Brenner & Glick 2001). The state adjusts its activities over space and time to reduce the tendency of any mode of development towards generating internal crises, which leads to place and time specific interventions to "reduce contradictions and conflict, to promote capital accumulation or to establish more stable social relations" (Bramwell 2011: 471). The mode of development is a function of the interaction of these two regimes and is a relatively stable context that can be clearly situated in time and space, with identifiable characteristics that allow the historical development of capitalist economies to be split into identifiable stages. These stages generate their own specific "cyclical, non-threatening and self-regulating crises" (Brenner & Glick 2001: 48). As a mode of development lengthens in time, these crises eventually become unsustainable, prompting change in the regimes of accumulation and Régulation that lead to a new settled mode of development. Whitehead (2003) argues that régulation is a *process* that is best viewed as ebbing and flowing over time and space but which, although it maintains a degree of homology consistent with a particular mode of development, never fully achieves the consistency and rigidity that the term *mode* suggests. Ward (2001:128) agrees, referring to the 'economic and social fluidity' necessary for régulation to successfully manage periods of crisis in the mode of accumulation. Harvey (2010) sets out descriptions of crises as periods of a severe contraction in economic activity, often associated with asset bubbles fuelled by speculation and surplus credit, which are then followed by the large-scale devaluation of capital. Harvey identifies crises of this scale as having taken place in 1848, 1929, 1973 and 2008.

Boyer (2001a) explains what he calls the four founding hypotheses of régulation theory as a research programme. Firstly, the application of régulation theory requires the reconstruction of the field of analysis in political economy, so that the relevant units of analysis can be identified that relate to the regulation approach. To do this, régulation theory draws on contributions from other fields, notably history, sociology and political science, from which it takes working

hypotheses on which to further its analysis. Secondly, régulation theory suggests that particular times and places will be fertile grounds for testing its assumptions and models. It does not proceed from axiomatic laws, but from a 'gradual generalisation' (ibid: 5) of its basic ideas and concepts, which have now been applied over more than forty years in a range of geographical and historical contexts (Khakee 2005). Thirdly, the regulation approach is concerned with the historicity of the development of capitalist economies. In contrast to neo-classical economics, which makes claims for the existence of ahistorical economic processes, regulation theory claims that economic processes are products of the historical period in which they were developed. Finally, Boyer explains that régulation theory is characterised by a reasonably unified set of explanatory hypotheses which can be applied consistently using a range of methodologies. In the next section of this chapter, the previous application of régulation theory to tourism will be considered.

2.4 Regulation theory and tourism

Despite its significance in recent political economy régulation theory has not been frequently applied in tourism studies, perhaps in part due to the tourism academy's focus on consumption and individualism as exemplified in the Critical Tourism Studies approach, and discussed above. Gladstone & Fainstein (2001) describe how studies of tourism could be viewed from the perspective of régulation theory: the choice to develop a tourism industry and then how to govern, support and locate it will be dependent on the prevailing mode of regulation in a given area. Tourism is a globalised industry, which includes national, regional and local state actors and is highly effected by community relations, patterns of immigration, firm structure and the labour process. Whilst noting that tourism appears to function well as an economic engine for urban areas, Gladstone & Feinstein note that 'the distributional consequences of tourism are more debatable' (2001: 38).

Hoffman (2003) studies the development of Harlem, New York in the post-Fordist period from the perspective of regulation theory and shows how changes in the modes of accumulation and regulation have provided specific opportunities for tourism development in the area. For example, cultural diversity has become a key aspect of marketing in a highly differentiated market place and the area of Harlem can offer products and services that meet the needs of many different cultural segments, as well as the desires of tourists to consume diverse products, leading to a growth in niche tourism products such as cultural tourism which are an example of 'flexible specialisation',

a concern of regulationist approaches to understanding post-Fordist economies. The rapid pace of change in Harlem and the presence of numerous disadvantaged groups in the area has led to debates over what mode of development is appropriate for the future of Harlem and these debates can benefit from the application of the régulation theory approach. Lafferty and Van Fossen (2001) provide an analysis of strategies of vertical and horizontal integration in the tourism industry from the perspective of régulation theory. They note that the airline sector still operates on a largely Fordist mode of production, where strategies of horizontal integration have led to economies of scale that have increased the competitiveness of the very large businesses involved in the sector. However, the hotel sector contains a wider variety of post-Fordist management approaches that reflect the greater diversity of the sector in terms of firm size and ownership, but where Fordist models have generally broken down and been replaced by a range of flexible management practices that emphasise local distinctiveness and labour flexibility, for example. In the hotel sector, vertical integration has been a more successful strategy for the competiveness of larger firms as it allows a greater proportion of distinctiveness to be retained. In this way, Lafferty and Van Fossen (2001) suggest that the tourism industry displays characteristics of both Fordist and post-Fordist modes of development.

Williams (2004: 8) states that "Régulation theory provides a framework for a more holistic understanding of tourism, by setting tourism production and consumption in a broader societal context", however, where tourism studies has been seen from the perspective of Régulation theory, the regime of accumulation has received greater focus than the mode of Régulation (William 2004, Mosedale 2011, Cornelissen 2011). For example, Ioannides and Debbage (1998) have categorized the diverse contemporary regime of accumulation in tourism as being characterised by three approaches. Firstly, Pre-Fordist, including craft shops, independent souvenir shops, small restaurants, guest houses. This approach often involves family labour and investment and flexible working arrangements. Secondly, Fordist mass consumption based on large hotels, airlines, tour companies and cruise ships, which is characterized by economies of scale, industrial concentration and integration strategies. Finally, Neo-Fordism, which is increasingly evident in new forms of niche tourism.

Costa and Martinotti (2003) attempt to use régulation theory to provide a critical overview of four key theories that have been applied to tourism studies: critical theory, relational theory, theories of sustainable tourism and theories of city-users and hyper-tourists. They show that critical theory, although it has been applied with some success in understanding the differentiation between

certain typologies of tourists from the perspective of understanding mass and niche cultures, does not offer sufficient insight into the management and transformation of these relationships, other than in affirming the 'superior' aesthetic position of certain types of non-mass tourism. Costa and Martinotti (2003) explain relation theories as those that include the sociological concepts of ritual inversion and staged authenticity. Ritual inversion is a way of understanding the place of dualities in tourism experiences such as work/play, clothed/nude, sacred/profane. This perspective sees tourism as primarily concerned with the experience of difference and diversity. Staged authenticity describes the provision of tourist experiences that play on this aspect of touristic consumption to create inauthentic experiences that meet tourist needs. Although these relational theories help us to understand the ways in which tourist experiences relate to their non-tourist experiences and help to explain the desire for holidays that emphasise difference from day-to-day life, they rely on dualities that do not accurately reflect the post-Fordist experience of tourism generating countries. Tourists from developed countries now live diverse and less obviously work-structured environments than might have been assumed by early theorists of tourism authenticity such as MacCannell (1973) and simple based on the contrast between tourist and host experiences do not necessarily have the same explanatory power.

Theories of sustainability that have been applied to tourism potentially offer a better fit with the régulationist approach, due to their attempts to bring together production and consumption within specific regulatory and policy frameworks and their emphasis on behaviour change. Costa and Martinotti (2003) describe sustainable tourism as the first attempt to systematise and approach to tourism after mass-tourism, implicitly aligning it with the transition from Fordism and they explain that regulation theory may provide a perspective from which to understand sustainable tourism as an approach. The relationship between regulation and city-users and hyper-tourists is more complex in their work. City-users is a catch-all term that describes everyone involved in the consumption of a city, including tourists, whilst hyper-tourists are those tourists who are actively pursuing the consumption of hyper-real (Bourdieu 1991) tourist attractions such as shopping malls, media-based attractions and invented destinations such as Las Vegas. These theories suggest that, for urban tourism especially, there is no fixed tourist subject that can be considered as the focus of tourism governance and development and that, in addition, the embedding of tourism consumption within broader patterns of consumption and production within a place cannot take place in an uncritical way. This perspective offers some challenges to the economic determinism of political economy approaches to tourism, including regulation, by not presenting neat categories of

analysis, but it offers little in the way of an explanatory framework for understanding large scale industrial changes in tourism such as the development of large tourism destinations.

Studies of the mode of régulation in terms of tourism have tended to focus on specific state-interventions, rather than the nature of the interaction between the tourism and the wider frameworks of Régulation (Mosedale 2011). The substantial literature on tourism policy, policy-making and governance exemplifies this, as it tends to focus on specific institutional arrangements (Dredge and Jenkins 2007, Hoffmann 2003) for tourism without looking at linkages between this and broader social contexts or the links to the mode of accumulation in tourism. Régulation theory suggests a number of ways in which the state influences tourism:

- 'Mediating relations with the global economy through exercising control over the mobility of people, goods and capital.
- Providing a legal framework for production, which includes health and safety laws, requirements for company reporting, the application of competition law, environmental protection and consumer protection.
- Shaping production and consumption through national macroeconomic policies
- Intervening in local and regional development, although this is increasingly likely to be the preserve of subnational bodies
- Contributing to the reproduction of the labour force, especially through the collective consumption of education, health and housing
- Social investment in response to the perceived inability of private capital to ensure its own reproduction, e.g. in waterfront development, or roads
- Providing a climate of security and stability for tourism'

(Williams 2004: 8-9)

Cornelissen (2011: 40) highlights that the application of régulation theory to tourism has been 'of a generally eclectic and partial nature, drawing on some, but not all of the central concepts of the approach'. There have been a number of individual place-specific studies of the political economy of tourism that show the benefit of bringing together analyses of accumulation and régulation, including those on Egypt (Richter & Steiner 2008), the Gambia (Dieke 1994), Morocco (Scherele 2011) and the United States (Webster et al 2011), but these have generally not utilized régulation theory as a conceptual framework.

As with régulation theory, most attempts to categorise the development of contemporary capitalism share concerns with the relationship between the market, the state and labour. This often places economies on a spectrum between market-based and state-centred foundations (Hancke 2009). In the following section, three alternative approaches to understanding capitalist development are presented which offer alternative conceptualisations to the régulation school, but which have attempted to conceptualise the structure and restructuring processes of capitalist economies (Regini 2003, Crouch 2005). Each of these alternative approaches are considered in terms of their potential value for this research.

2.5 Varieties of Capitalism

This perspective refutes the idea that global economies have been converging on a new model of economic development that can be seen in evidence to varying degrees in different international contexts, and instead are diverging into a much more fractured arrangement of complementary and competing models of capitalism (Regini 2003, Hall & Sockice 2001, Hancke 2009). This section will outline this perspective on the development of capitalism and critique its potential utility for this research.

The varieties of capitalism (VOC) thesis places the firm at the centre of the comparative analysis of economies, rather than the state or other macro-economic factors, which have been the focus of alternative analyses. Hall & Soskice (2001) argue that the firm is the most appropriate level at which to begin an analysis of contemporary capitalist forms, given that, in their view, the state is both, on the one hand, a much weaker entity than in previous capitalist periods and, on the other, that the state often hinders capitalist development. From the perspective of VoC, firms are embedded in an institutional framework, which comprises of the policy environment, regulations, institutions, norms and other external factors governing the operation of firms within society. This helps VoC to offer a firm-centrered analysis of contemporary capitalism that analyses 'the coordination problems that firms face in their strategic environment (Hancke 2009: 2), a problem that is fundamentally 'relational' in nature (Hall & Soskice 2001: 25). VoC posits two forms of 'institutional equilibria' (Hancke 2009: 2) that can identified in the operations of contemporary capitalism: Liberal market economies (LMEs) where contractual relationships between firms form the basis of coordination within the economy, and coordinated market economies (CMEs), where coordination takes place above the level of the firm, at the strategic level. For example, north-western European countries can generally be considered to be examples of CMEs, with structured

labour markets, strong trade unions and coordinated relationships between public investment, banking and finance. Anglo-Saxon countries such as the USA however, are examples of LMEs with flexible labour markets, low levels of state intervention and laissez-fair economic policies (Hall & Soskice 2001, Regini 2003).

The contemporary diversity of capitalism then, is attributable to the different institutional arrangements within these two equilibrium forms; within any given national economy, the interplay of interests and institutions within the prevailing equilibrium context will give rise to a specific context in which firms develop and hence to a different variety of capitalism at the national level (Hall & Sockice 2001, Crouch 2005). From a comparative perspective, some economies then become more effective at certain forms of production that others, due the interplay between firms and the context in which they operate, leading to what Hall & Soskice (2001: 51) describe as 'comparative institutional advantage' for nations, based on the uneven distribution of institutions and arrangements between nations.

The VoC approach has not been applied programmatically in tourism studies, reflecting the general lack of engagement with political economy in the field (Dredge & Jenkins 2007), although numerous studies of tourism policy and development would be appropriate for the application of such an approach. Williams & Shaw's (1998) text on 'Tourism and Economic Development' emphasises the importance of understanding the 'national economic context' (5), but does not address these contexts in a comparative sense. More recently, Costa et al's (2014) text on tourism planning in the European Union mentions provides a comparative perspective on tourism policy and industrial structures across Europe, but applies a conceptual framework based on sustainability and does not engage fully with issues of national variation. Dredge & Jenkins (2007, 2011) and Hall (1995) do discuss ideological influences on tourism policy-making and, hence, tourism development, however they take an approach more in line with liberal convergence theory and make assumptions that the developed tourism countries are becoming more and more alike in terms of their move towards a neoliberal governance model. A critique of this model of diversity, shared by the liberal convergence theorists and the neo-Marxians, is that, rather than seeing increasing institutional divergence in capitalist economies, we actually see both a convergence of institutional forms and actors and a convergence in institutional frameworks between states (Hancke 2009). This critique points to the growth of international institutions and agreements in the regulation of capitalism, such as the International Monetary Fund, the European Central Bank or the World Bank and suggests that these highlight growing commonalities between capitalist economies. Within the state too, this critique highlights the similarities between national financial institutions

and institutional frameworks that have become increasingly aligned in order to manage and influence international capital flows. For example, the tendency towards increasingly flexible labour markets in Europe, regardless of the institutional equilibria that might prevail more generally, which is exemplified by the changing structure of the German economy, one which would have been considered an example of a CME under the VoC analysis, but is moving away from this into LME territory to maintain international competitiveness (Streeck 2009). A second critique of the VoC thesis is that the broad categorisations of LME and CME, as well as the notions of convergence and divergence are too broad to be useful in understanding the complex dynamics of contemporary capitalism at the level of the individual and the firm. Constructivist critics of VoC argue that individual actors are normally engaged in forms of 'pragmatic experimentation' (Hancke 2009: 7) in which they try out a range of strategies for achieving their objectives within institutional frameworks and also engaging in attempts to alter the framework that they find themselves in (Sabel & Zeitlin 1997). Chaperon and Bramwell (2013) make use of Jessop's (1990, 2008) ideas of agency and structure in much the same way in their analysis of the role of a range of actors in tourism development in Malta and Gozo. In particular they highlight the 'strategic selectivity' of approaches taken by tourism actors within the institutional frameworks for tourism development which they operate in, showing the value of a constructivist critique of the influence of the hard structures (Dredge & Jenkins 2007) of theories such as VoC. These critiques imply that there are a potentially infinite number of local VoCs, rendering the concept of little use.

The VoC framework was not used for this research due to its lack of focus on the state, as this research is concerned with policy and the role of the state in response to the decline of English Seaside Towns. It is problematic to begin an analysis of seaside towns in England at the firm level when the structure of the economies in question has been so dependent on state intervention. An alternative would have been to examine firm perspectives on changes, but the high level of business turnover in the destinations would have meant that the diversity of views captured would have been insufficient. Also, at this stage of the research, there is no international comparison being made of regeneration policies. For these reasons, the VoC approach was not chosen to inform this research. An alternative major strand in contemporary political economy research is the New Institutionalism perspective, which is explored below.

2.6 New Institutionalism

New Institutionalism (NI) describes an approach to the comparative analysis of economies which foregrounds the role of the 'institutional structure of societies, not only purely economic institutions but also political and wider social ones' (Crouch & Streeck 1997: 1). The term 'new' refers to its differences with previous approaches to the study of institutions which viewed them as 'collections of stable rules and role sand corresponding sets of meanings and interpretations' (Czarniwaska 2008: 771), whereas the new approach sees institutions as always in-process. This approach provides a critique of the market- and technological-determinism of neoliberalism (Davies 2014) and suggests that there are national structures which influence the development of capitalism and that these often express collective ideas about how best to run society (Palmer et al 2008). These structures are 'complex inter-related structure(s)' (Coase 2000: 5) that must be studied in order to appreciate the ways in which societies differ from one another in terms of their institutions. These institutional differences, for the NI school, present the best way from which to analyse the development of the modern capitalist state.

The NI analysis emphasises the way in which states differ with regard to two core institutions of capitalism: competitive markets and organisational hierarchies. The flexibility and relative importance of the market as a mechanism for managing an economy can vary significantly between nations. The approach to the organisation of firms in terms of hierarchy can also vary significantly between states. As Crouch & Streeck (2009) explain, firms are organised around a set of structures and relationships that reflect the nature of the society in which they operate. For example, Japanese businesses often display characteristics of rigid hierarchical structures, whilst large German businesses make use of high levels of internal negotiation on issues such as pay and benefits. Viewing firms as social institutions helps us to analyse their relative performance in a range of contexts. Three other areas of analysis have also been focused on by the NI school. Firstly, under NI analyses, the role of the state is assumed to be very significant, to the extent to which the 'traditions of the state' in terms of its levels of economic intervention, approaches to policy-making and so on. Secondly, there is a major role given to the understanding of collective associations, trade bodies and organised labour, again emphasising their role as social institutions in economic development. Finally, informal arrangements such as families, communities and social networks are seen to be fruitful areas of analysis. (Keefer & Shirley 2000)

The NI approach to the analysis of tourism policy and development has been utilised across a range of tourism studies. For example, McCarthy (2012) examines the role of social, cultural and

political institutions in the shaping of the entrepreneurial environment for cultural tourism in Ireland and draws on the NI literature to do so. Strambach & Sermier (2013) use NI to examine the adoption of fair trade programmes in South African tourism businesses and conclude that the organisational perspective offered by NI helps to understand policy implementation in tourism. Zapata & Hall (2011) examine the implementation of public-private-partnerships for tourism in Spain, using the institutionalist perspective.

Another critique of NI is that, in its attempts to locate the sources of international capitalist diversity in a broad range of locations, it lacks specificity and rigour in its analysis and could be viewed more as 'an umbrella for a diverse range of theory and research' (Palmer et al 2008: 740). Lowndes (1996) identifies six different currents within NI research and portrays these in terms of six different conceptions of institutions:

- The 'mythic' institution: This sees institutions as influenced by 'mythic' representations of social norms and arrangements that become foundational elements of an institutions practices, which dominate over any attempts to impose new narratives, processes or arrangements.
- The 'efficient' institution: This approach views institutions as embodying an economic logic in which institutions arise solely to solve problems of complex economic exchange.
- The 'stable' institution: This approach views institutions as inherently stable structures which represent long held cultural and political beliefs in society.
- The 'manipulated' institution: This perspective sees institutions as fatally flawed – although once stable structures they have been manipulated by external interests to such a degree that they no longer represent any fixed values.
- The 'disaggregated' institution: This approach is influenced by network theory, which sees institutions as dispersed and informal, but relatively stable over time.
- The 'appropriate' institution: This view describes institutions as providing a stabilising and conservative pressure in public life, expressing norms in the decision making process.

This ambiguity at the core of the NI adds significantly to its ability to engage with diverse manifestations of capitalism and the firms that it analyses within them, but supports the critique that NI is perhaps too diverse too be truly programmatic as a research project. For this reason, NI wasn't chosen as a conceptual framework for this research, as régulation theory offers a more discrete set of units of analysis for use in this study. These units of analysis are developed in the

final section of this chapter and explained in detail in Chapter 5. The final alternative perspective on the political economy of tourism that was considered for this research is critiqued in the following section.

2.7 Social Systems of Production

This school of thought in Political Economy is influenced by the régulation perspective, but eschews the macro-level of analysis of the state for a more firm-centred approach. The Social Systems of Production (SSP) approach emphasises changes in the nature of production as firms move away from mass-markets to flexible production regimes that meet the needs of niche markets (Hollingsworth 1998, Hall & Soskice 2001). These flexible production regimes rely on new, collective, sectoral institutions at the local, regional and national levels. Analyses from the SSP perspective have tended to focus on regional development issues and examples such as those found in the post-industrial regions of developed countries, leading Schmitter (1997: 313) to suggest that contemporary analyses of capitalism should be examining the specific social arrangements of "Emilia-Romognola, Baden-Wuttermburgische or Juttlandische capitalism" to understand how industrial restructuring is taking place at the level below the nation state. Peck (2000: 134) sites this approach to research as being concerned with attempting to answer a long-standing question in the analysis of economic restructuring: "Were the problems of capital flight and economic decline problems affecting the region or where they problems *of* the region?". This regional and local analysis is not exclusive, however, with some analyses of the activities of trans-national companies also drawing on the role of SSP at the national and local levels (Dicken 2003).

Hollingsworth & Boyer (1997) explain that the SSP approach is concerned with the social context which binds institutions within any given context. They give a list of which kinds of institutions will be included in such a context: "the industrial relations system; the system of training of workers and managers; the internal structure of corporate firms; the structured relationship between firms in the same industry, on the one hand, and one the other firms' relationships with their suppliers and customers; the financial markets of a society; the conceptions of fairness and justice held by capital and labour; the structure of the state and its policies; and a society's idiosyncratic customs and traditions as well as norms, rules, moral principles, laws and recipes for action." This approach does not suggest that all the elements of a SSP operate in tandem or in agreement, but that the wider social context of an economy frames all of its activity and, crucially,

set limits beyond which individual actors find it difficult to go. In this system of institutions, specific social structures perform the function of market co-ordination described as CME or LME under the VoC perspective, but the emphasis is given to the social aspects of this co-ordination rather than the relationship between the state and the market, which can explain how national hybrids of market and state driven capitalism can succeed (Regini 2003, Campbell & Pederson 2007).

There has been some limited application of this approach within tourism studies. For example, Erkuz-Ozturk & Terhorst (2010) examine the modes of firm governance within tourism value chain between The Netherlands and Turkey, focusing on the creation of value within the chain in the two countries. They found that the national and local social structure was the main determinant of the creation of value in Turkey and that the governance and performance of tourism firms within Turkey was very locally specific. Niewiedomski (2013) has argued that the global hotel industry, by virtue of its business models of franchising and management contracts, is subject to large local variability in its operations, which can be explained by the different social structures in which its business operate between and within nations. However, there has not been widespread application of the SSP perspective to tourism despite recent research into cluster-formation and performance in tourism (Novelli et al 2006, Estevao & Ferriria 2012).

Critiques of SSP have highlighted the fact that it is difficult to conceive of economies at any level that are not somehow embedded in non-local institutional frameworks and that even very regionalised systems of production are impacted upon by globalisation and global political economy, whilst still rejecting the liberal convergence thesis (Hollingsworth 1998). Also, as Deeg & Jackson (2007) point out, it is difficult to disaggregate small regions or nations from larger arrangements as they are all defined (geographically and symbolically), to some extent by their relationship to each other. Crouch (2005) goes on to point out another issue with the notion of social specificity in economic development by critiquing how far these analyses can be extended to the non-economic realms of society. Is there a determinism in these concepts that puts production at the heart of the social system and how far does can this organise metaphor take us in analysing the social arrangements of which it is a part? "We soon come to see that the clear division between endogenous and exogenous that is so fundamental to nation-state-based theories becomes replaced by a continuum of accessibility" (452). The SSP may have been a useful alternative to régulation theory for this research, especially given its emphasis on niche production in the context of seaside towns' turn towards cultural industries. However, the SSP emphasises

local and regional variability and the aim of this study is to investigate the national context. Also, it has become clear through reviewing the literature on the historical development of seaside towns (see chapter 4) that the historical embeddedness of English Seaside Towns in global tourism flows is a core aspect of their development and the SSP approach would not be adequate for conceptualising this.

The Régulationists have developed an important analysis of the time period in which the decline and regeneration of English Seaside Towns has occurred. This period, from the mid-1970s onwards is characterized by the Régulationists as the period in which the transition from the 'Fordist' to the 'post-Fordist' modes of development has taken place (Danielzyk & Ossenbrugge 2001) and this will now be explored to show its value for understanding the development of English Seaside Towns.

2.8 The Fordist transition

Following Aglietta's foundational historical work in régulation theory, the primary focus of régulation research has been into the transformations that have taken place in capitalism following the end of the Second World War in 1945 (Benko & Lipietz 1997, Berberoglu 2002). The Fordist mode of development took root in the postwar period in the United States of America (Brenner & Glick 1991, Laffery and Van Fossen 2001, Vidal 2013). The Fordist economy was a national economy with high levels of domestic demand and an interventionist national government (Jessop 2013). Vidal (2013: 456) defines Fordism as 'a nationally bound, mass production-based economy with producer-driven supply chains, oligopolistic competition in core sectors and a Keynesian welfare state.' In this period, technological innovation and the effective management of economies of scale allowed firms to expand quickly and this period was marked by the transfer of workers from low-productivity, often rural, sectors into industrial production centered on expanding urban centres (Jessop 2013). This period also saw collective bargaining in which 'labour ceded to management full sovereignty over the labour process in exchange for wage increases in line with productivity growth and inflation' (Brenner & Glick 1991: 88). This had the effect of maintaining levels of effective demand in the economy, creating a virtuous circle between rising output and productivity, growth in mass consumption capacity and increasing corporate profit. This predictability meant that firms could increase the pace of innovation and fixed capital investment, without worrying about a drop in demand or unpredictable wage demands or drops in labour productivity. State intervention in this period was governed by a Keynesian approach,

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which sought to maintain levels of aggregate demand in the economy through state spending and a supportive welfare state, to keep pace with the growing productive capacities of capital, preventing crises of production or consumption that could lead to wider social crisis (Brenner & Glick 1991), leading Harvey (1990) to name this period the 'Fordist-Keynesian' era. In this period, conflicts between capital and labour were mediated by their representatives at the level of the nation-state (Uitermark 2002).

All modes of development contain inherent contradictions that the mode of Régulation attempts to smooth over. Jessop (2013) draws on Althusser (1965) to characterize these contradictions in three ways: as non-antagonistic, where these contradictions can be managed through the stable mode of Régulation within a society; as antagonistic, where the contradictions cannot be easily contained and managed, leading to crises in the regime of accumulation and then in the mode of Régulation. These crises can develop to threaten the coherence of the mode of development and lead to serious unrest. The final category of contradictions are explosive, leading to dramatic events that in themselves can lead to the disruption and replacement of the mode of development. The crisis of Fordism that led to its eventual replacement, or at least partial replacement, was caused by a number of factors. These causes are contested, but include: saturation of consumer markets (Shott 1998), a reduction in the availability of new markets and productive investment opportunities (Shott 1998), rising wage demands of labour that outstripped productivity gains in capital (Jessop 2013), worker discontent with the labour process (Gottfried 2000) the dramatic rise in the price of oil in the mid-1970s as a consequence of the arrival of the OPEC on the world stage (Shott 1998, Berbeoglu 2002), increasing globalization of markets and the consequent internationalization of corporations to the super-national scale (Jessop 2013) . Peck and Tickell (1995) have argued that the globalisation of capitalism in this period led to a crisis that spread quickly between newly interconnected economic units.

The period from the mid-1980s onwards has been characterized as post-Fordist by the Régulationists (Jessop 2013, Vidal 2013) and is characterized by a diversity of modes of development between and sometimes within states within a globalised economy. Although the crises of Fordism and the attempts to resolve them announced the transition to a new mode of development it is not clear whether this transition was complete or uniform in many respects (Lafferty & Van Fossen 2001). Carnelissen (2011: 42) explains that there has been no general 'sense of agreement' among scholars about whether Fordism has been entirely superseded by a new regime and, if it has, what the features of the new mode of development are. Jessop (2013)

identifies two key post-Fordist modes of accumulation and Régulation within the post-Fordist mode of development, for example, the 'Knowledge-based Economy' and the 'Finance-led' Economy, both of which were regulated, after a fashion, according to the tenets of the 'Washington consensus' that governed the operation of neoliberal governments during the period. Both of these regimes are characterized by specialization, deregulation, competition, meta- and multi-scalar forms of governance and globalization (James 2009, Jessop 2013), in stark contrast to the mass production and consumption regimes of Fordism. These were not alternative modes of development, but co-existed within and between states and regions and were also co-present with a resurgent Fordist-style industrialization in the developing world and China and with other, pre-Fordist modes of development based on agriculture in many poorer parts of the globe. Among the diversity of development modes that has characterized the post-Fordist epoch, neo-Fordism is another perspective that has gained much attention. Aglietta (2000) predicted that the crisis of Fordism would lead to its replacement by a neo-Fordist regime characterised by 'mass production combining flexible automation with the new flexible working arrangements' (Vidal 2013:453). This emphasizes a continuity with Fordism (Amin 1994) rather than the resolution of Fordist crises through the initiation of a new mode of development. Under this model, Fordist techniques such as Taylorist methods of worker and process control would be extended to the newly developing services sector and globalizing firms would increase the intensification of production and seek to re-establish the favourable conditions of Fordism on new spatial scales. Vidal (2013:452) reinforces this perspective, from a labour perspective, by highlighting that labour relations in contemporary capitalism are often characterised by some combination of 'declining employment security, work intensification and rising inequality' which do not sit easily with utopian visions of post-Fordist accumulation regimes (Thompson 2003).

Macleod and Goodwin explain how the crises in Fordism had impacts not only at the economic level, but also 'in a profound reworking of geographical scales' in the regulation of production, money, consumption and welfare (Swyngedouw, 1997: 153–54). Drawing on the work of Jessop (1997), they examine how the restructuring of the state in response to the crises of Fordism also entailed a restructuring of the operations of the state in terms of national, regional and local governance. Fillion (2001) shows how critiques of post-Fordism have maintained that the activities of post-Fordism are too incoherent to allow for a single form of post-Fordist governance, but demonstrates that in the case of urban policy, state structures have progressively adapted to post-Fordism. Although Renualt (2007) argues that the post-Fordist state is one where there has been a loss of political control and influence over the activities of the economy, Jessop (2001b) suggests that the post-Fordist state is intertwined with capital into a 'historic bloc' in which the

state remains part of the capitalist system as under Fordist-regimes, but takes on a different organizational form despite the persistence of a deep 'structural coupling'. Breathnach (2010: 1180) reinforces this perspective, contending that the post-Fordist state has taken on 'complex spatial configurations as elements of economic and political power have shifted both downwards to subnational territorial levels and upwards to the supranational level'. This multi-scalar governance context is evident when analyzing the reconfiguration of the state in terms of urban regeneration under New Labour, which is explained in Chapter 3, below.

Palan (2006: 259) puts forward the concept of the *competition state* as a way of explaining the way in which the state has restructured in the post-Fordist period. In this new form, the state in the advanced industrialised economies has been reconfigured along the lines of a 'new dogma'. In an increasingly globalised economy, nation-states can no longer fully control their own economies. As states are fixed territorial units and capital is highly mobile, states should now compete with each other to attract international capital and abandon the Keynesian project of state governance of the economy. States should now work more closely with business, to ensure that the conditions of the nation-state are favourable to capital. This entails not only giving business access to policy-making and governance, but also adopting the techniques and management styles of business. In addition, states should not compete with business and should restrict their activities to the provision of collective goods and services. States' economic policies should be guided by the market mechanism: specifically, faith in the equilibrium models of neo-classical economics. States should refrain from interference in markets and should seek instead to create conditions favourable to the operation of perfect markets. James (2009) carries out a similar analysis into the new form of the post-Fordist *local* state, against four categories, as it has emerged from its previous form within the Fordist-Keynesian mode of development:

Table 1 - the orientation of the post-Fordist local state (James 2009: 188)

Economic	**Social**
o Supply-side intervention, promoting competition and labour flexibility o Local economic strategies o Attraction of capital and high-income residents o Private-sector involvement in policy-making	o Two-tier service provision o Constraints on public spending
Political	**Managerial**
o 'Networking' and external focus o Fragmentation of local governance o European community and transnational influence	o 'New management' thinking o Dominance of private-sector methods

Uitermark (2002) posits that the dominant economic scale in the post-Fordist era has become the *region* and that the new regimes of accumulation that have followed the crises of Fordism can be partly understood as embodying this new scalar logic. Jessop (1994: 24) describes how the attendant mode of regulation has seen the power of the nation-state 'limited through a complex displacement of powers upward, downward and outward' producing the new complex systems of governance required to manage this new period of flexible, regionalized capital accumulation. Benko and Lipietz (1997) describe a 'spatial regime' as an addition to the régulationist approach – the economic and social division of space as a component of the mode of development. As Khakee (2005) points out, the study of the expression of these spatial regimes arrangements through urban regimes provides one lens through which to view these new dimensions of the mode of regulation and Ward (2001: 130) notes that since the 1990s, régulation theory has made a 'substantial contribution to the study of urban politics'. James (2009: 182), in applying régulation theory to a case study of the city of York in the UK, highlights the contribution that the theory can make to understanding the role of 'broader hegemonic political studies and economic change' to the local patterns of economic development.

These considerations of the role of régulation theory in understanding transformations in the local state and economic development provide a useful set of concepts from which to study the regeneration of English Seaside Towns. However, it is necessary to supplement this with a critical understanding of the role of culture in political economy in order to develop a conceptual framework for this research that can apply the insights of régulation theory to the phenomenon of cultural regeneration in these areas.

2.9 Bourdieu's sociology of culture

In this section of this chapter, the cultural sociology of Pierre Bourdieu will be explained and incorporated into the régulationists approach, in order to develop a conceptual framework appropriate for understanding the specifically cultural aspects of regeneration in English Seaside Towns.

In common with broader currents in political economy, Pierre Bourdieu is concerned with the intertwined relationships between state, economy and society and, in particular with how power is exercised within this system. Bourdieu shares these concerns with a number of other theorists whose work has been used within tourism and urban studies to critique these relationships. For example, Foucault's work (e.g. 1972, 1978, 1980, 1982) has been particularly influential in the field of critical tourism studies (Ateljevic et al 2007), critiqued at the start of this chapter. For example, Hollinshead (1999) provides a detailed analysis of the influence of Foucault's work on that of Urry (2002), showing how Foucault's understanding of surveillance and the power of discourse in shaping subjectivities has come to inform the concept of the tourist 'gaze', which is seen as imbued with the power to create and shape various social scenarios associated with tourism, to the benefit or disadvantage of those involved. Cheon & Miller (2000) extend this concept to examine how tourists, locals and intermediaries are enmeshed in a 'composite gaze' within which their identities and behaviours are mutually constructed and impossible to isolate. Although Foucault's concepts of discourse and, especially, governmentality, could have been used to inform the conceptual framework of this thesis, their application in tourism studies has tended to concentrate on research into the demand side of tourism in general, or the centrality of individual tourist experiences in creating tourism phenomena. Jordan & Aitchinson (2008), for example, investigate the embodied experiences of women travelling alone in South West England, using Foucault's notions of power experienced by tourists at the level of micro-interactions. Ek &

Hultman (2008) also prioritise the individual in their study of how the interactions between golf tourists and the booking process for golf tourism products helps to shape the mobilities and landscapes associated with this niche tourism product in Sweden, arguing that a Foucauldian perspective on this form of tourism offers opportunities for understanding process of mobility and spatial fixation. Wearing et al (2010), in their study of sustainable tourism development in Papua New Guinea describe their Foucauldian approach as being concerned with the 'microphysics of power' in tourism development and investigate interactions between tourism operators, tourists and villagers, concluding that this understanding of power helps to explain the success or otherwise of sustainable tourism projects. There have been numerous studies that draw on Foucault's later work on sexuality and embodiment and that use these ideas to look at, for instance, the body and sexuality in beach experiences (Andriotis 2010), tourism as an embodied performance (Larsen & Urry 2011), tourists as experimenting with their own subjectivities (Hanna 2013) and tourists as being engaged in the self-discipline of mobility through their consumption (Sheller 2016). Some more recent work has applied Foucauldian concepts from a destination development perspective. Nunkoo & Gursoy (2015) analysed power relationships within tourism planning, but note the paucity of research in this area and Moscardo et al (2017) used Foucault's work to critique issues of non participation in attempts to build social capital models tourism destinations, but to a limited extent.

Non-structuralist or post-structuralist (Franklin 2004) accounts of tourism provide a useful antidote to much of the business-school style research that dominates tourism studies, but the view that the social phenomena associated with tourism are the accumulation of individual subjectivities, expressed primarily through tourism consumption, tends to dominate this area of tourism research (Voase 2007, Bianchi 2009). As explained at the start of this chapter, the critical tourism studies literature that draws heavily on Foucault could have provided an alternative conceptual foundation for this research, but its treatment of the tourism industry as 'predominantly cultural phenomena' (Aitchinson 2006: 419) and its lack of emphasis on the political economy of tourism, and the influence of exogenous factors on the tourism industry, shows that it is not suitable for this research, which aims to situate tourism within a broader political and economic context.

Another school of thought that could have been drawn upon for this research is the area of critical theory developed by Adorno & Horkheimer in the *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1947/2002) and later by Adorno in the *Culture Industry* (1975/2005). In this work, the concept of the culture industry is introduced to explain the way in which a type of mass culture is developed that exists in order to support and legitimise the dominant forces in contemporary capitalism, and to keep the

majority of people in a subordinate position. The culture industry is distinguished from the more positive associations of mass culture, in order to establish the fact that this form of culture, enabled by mass production and technological innovations, is created and distributed from above, rather than reflecting a more genuine organic bottom-up cultural expression. In this manner, contemporary culture serves to act against the more progressive social ideals of enlightenment, instead functioning as a form of 'mass deception' designed to mitigate against the more transformational potential of 'high art' and folk cultural practices alike. This body of work has been applied in tourism research mainly through its value in understanding the cultural elements of tourism, and in particular in cultural tourism research. Hutnyk (2006) is typical of many writers on this topic, who criticise the way in which culture has come be seen as a resource for tourism, echoing Adorno and Horkheimer's concern that the bringing of culture into the economic sphere (in this case the tourism industry) lessens its transformational perspective and removes its authenticity. Graham (2010: 69) argues that, in the context of the marketing of tourism destinations, 'the tourist industry is an obvious site for the peddling of the authentic in an explicit and populist way'. Fox-Gotham (2005), in his discussion of the New Orleans Mardi Gras, splits the role of tourism in the event as alternatively either 'from above' or 'from below', referring to the tourist spectacle of the mardi gras and its attendant commercialisation as 'from above', using Adorno's work to explain how this imposition of a tourist practice on an otherwise authentic cultural practice leads to concerns over authenticity and attendant negative local perceptions. Of particular pertinence to this research is how the term 'culture industry' has been used by researchers to understand the role that culture plays in economic development and urban regeneration strategies under the rhetoric of the 'cultural industries' or 'creative industries'. The explicit use of culture to promote economic growth has been identified in the literature as adding contemporary substance to Adorno and Horkheimer's critique of the role of culture in capitalism (Pratt 2000), and this has been particularly noted in an urban context where the agglomeration of cultural producers and consumers lends itself to this convergence of economic and cultural interests (Scott 1997, Power 2002). Despite its potential value for this research, the concept of the cultural industries in critical theory was not adopted for its conceptual framework. Firstly, this was because of the lack of congruence between its key conceptualisation of the state and capitalism with regulation theory, which provides the core of this thesis' conceptual approach. Regulation theory is primarily concerned with the periodic crises of capitalism and the ways in which the capitalist system responds to these crises. The way in which the state is theorised by Adorno and Horkheimer pessimistically points to a symbiosis of the state and capital, rather than a dialectic relationship between them of the kind proposed by the regulationists ((Brenner & Glick 1991, Boyer & Salliard 2001, Peck 2000). The crises of capitalism envisaged by Adorno are of a kind

with the crisis predicted by Marx that will lead to the overthrow of capitalism (Harvey 2010), rather than an explanatory device that can be used to explain the persistence of capitalist economies over time and space, which is a fundamental aspect of the approach taken in this thesis, which seeks to understand the development of English Seaside Towns through successive crises. As well as this lack of fit with regulation theory, the concentration on the authenticity of the aesthetic experience in Adorno and Horkheimer's work has led to a similar concentration in tourism research that takes this perspective. Within the cultural tourism literature, arguments about authenticity that have been directly or indirectly informed by these concepts are prominent (Macleod 2006, Smith 2009, Timothy 2011, Cohen 2012), but are not so important for this research. In the context of English Seaside Towns in the New Labour Period, culture was being used as a type of product diversification (Bramwell & Benur 2015) in tourism development, not as a reflection or development of an 'authentic' or 'indigenous' local culture, meaning that explanatory power of some of these concepts from this field would be of limited use.

Significantly, Bourdieu is concerned with the dominance of power through *legitimation*, the role assigned to ideology for Marx or hegemony for the Italian Marxist, Gramsci (Jones 2006). Despite departing from classical Marxism, Bourdieu can be grouped with the post-Marxists (Therborn 2008) and maintains a number of Marxism's key features; primarily the concern with social stratification and classes, and how this system is reproduced, concerns that align his work with that of the regulationists in some regards. However, Bourdieu criticizes Political Economy for neglecting the symbolic dimensions of class relations, or for relegating these to the superstructure of an economically overdetermined system. To overcome this problem, Bourdieu proposes a political economy of symbolic goods that forms a reflexive structure with the economic field; this division between economic and symbolic power is then replicated within all areas of struggle for power in society (Bourdieu 1984, 1993). Political and Economic relationships of power are reinforced and reproduced within the social world through what Bourdieu identifies as *symbolic violence* (1990), a process through which power is exercised symbolically, taking cultural forms as a strategy to reinforce the processes of physical and economic domination. Although this approach has strong similarities with those proposed by Foucault and Adorno and Horkheimer, the integration of culture as a form of capital within the capitalist system, and the role that this can play in the inauguration of new modes of development as described by the regulationists means that it offers a better fit with the core concepts developed in this chapter than other, competing explanations of the relationship between the state, capital and culture, in the context of this research. In the following sections these key features of Bourdieu's sociological model will be explained.

2.9.1 Cultural Capital

For Bourdieu there are three kinds of capital, economic, social and symbolic (Bourdieu 1993). Economic capital is conceived of by Bourdieu as the ownership and control of economic goods, as fixed or fluid financial assets. Social capital describes the relationships between individuals and groups and how this can be transformed or converted into advantage within a particular field of struggle. As such, social capital is treated almost as a proxy for economic capital by Bourdieu, who understands its value primarily in terms of its convertibility into economic capital[1]. Symbolic capital however, although it can be translated into economic advantage, is also a 'a way of talking about the legitimation of power relations through symbolic forms' (Swartz 1997: 92) and so has an independent role in Bourdieu's system alongside economic capital, through which we consent to and produce the power relations that structure society and that, paradoxically, is also structured by those same relations. Jenkins (2002: 120) elaborates on this by explaining that "Culture and the means of cultural (re)production…are resources and weapons in the struggle over political hierarchy and domination. They are also the terrain over which those struggles take place. Culture is both a means and an end, simultaneously." (Jenkins 2002: 120).

Although Bourdieu does on occasion mention other forms of symbolic capital such as 'respectability', 'honorability' and 'competence' (1984: 291), his primary use of the term is in describing the role of culture within and his theoretical and research focus has been on the development of and research into, *cultural capital*. Cultural capital is defined broadly by Bourdieu as referring to a 'wide variety of resources' that can be drawn upon within the struggle for the legitimation of power and Bourdieu assigns an important role to cultural producers such as writers, teachers, artists and journalists in legitimating the social order through the production of symbolic capital via symbolic labour (Swartz 1997: 93). Whereas economic and social capital can be identified as existing 'objectively' and relatively unproblematically, cultural capital is more complex; it consists of a combination of perceptions, tangible and intangible properties, authority and content. For Bourdieu, cultural capital exists in three states: institutionalized, objectified and embodied.

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[1]   Although social capital plays a minor role in Bourdieu's tripartite system, this concept has been developed separately and more significantly by a number of theorists and most recently in the work of Putnam (2001), who has helped to popularize the concept as a stand-alone explanatory device.

Cultural capital is institutionalized mainly through the educational system, explicitly through its curriculum and implicitly through the social structures which it replicates and legitimizes. The schooling system sets out standards, both in terms of form and content, for appropriate cultural production and consumption as well as inculcating acceptable behaviours and attitudes (Bourdieu & Darbel 1991). The way in which cultural capital is produced and distributed within the education system is at the heart of Bourdieu's first major study into symbolic violence, which examines the French education system and its role in relation to power in society (Bourdieu 1990). It is through the twin institutions of the school and the family that an individual 'acquires' cultural capital, which they can operationalise through participation in cultural activity. Cultural goods and services are the objectified form of cultural capital, which require a certain level of cultural competence to identify and engage with. The desire or need to appropriate cultural goods can only exist for those who have the means to first value them as such and then to appropriate them as a contribution to their own life-style. The more cultural goods that an individual appropriates, the more they become valued by the individual and the conditions of their consumption in turn impart more cultural capital as an individual becomes familiar with the art gallery, exam hall or museum interpretation, leading to a positive feedback system where individuals with the most cultural capital are able to acquire more through expending that which they already have. Conversely if, through not possessing sufficient cultural capital, you fail to identify, value and appropriate cultural goods, you become alienated from them and your potential for acquiring further capital is diminished. (Bourdieu 1993, Bourdieu & Darbel 1991).

The third manifestation of cultural capital is for it to be embodied. This is to say that cultural capital and the relationship of the individual to its distributive mechanisms, rests finally within the individual. For Bourdieu there are two ways in which this can be understood. Firstly in terms of *habitus*, a structure of dispositions to act in a certain way that has a psychological character and, secondly in terms of *hexis*, the way in which the habitus and its conditions are physically manifested in the corporeality of the individual. This model, which locates cultural capital in institutions, cultural goods and services and as embodied with individuals, provides a way of conceptualising the links between the use of culture in regeneration and its distribution, production and consumption. To understand the impacts that these relationships have on society, it is necessary to consider Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence.

2.9.2 Symbolic Violence and Cultural Capital

The primary function of culture for Bourdieu is the reproduction of social structure. Bourdieu states that the cultural field can only be understood if we treat it 'as a field of competition for the monopoly of the legitimate exercise of symbolic violence.' (Bourdieu 1993: 121), a process which 'exerts an effect of symbolic imposition' (1984: 231) by attempting to represent the social status quo as both objectively necessary and beneficial for wider society:

"[the production of cultural goods is] charged with the legitimizing, reinforcing capacity which objectification always possesses…so that it functions as an authority which authorizes and reinforces dispositions by giving them a collectively recognized expression." (ibid)

Culture, subsumed into a more anthropological culture, by Bourdieu, is the primary mechanism through which distinctions between individuals and groups are marked and maintained (Jenkins 2002) and, in the process of making this distinction, is obscured through the deployment of the concept of 'taste' as a natural or inspirational quality that explains the differing abilities of individuals to recognize and judge cultural categories. The idea of good or bad taste masks the social conditions of the acquisition of cultural capital, which is then manifested through behaviours that demonstrate the individual's possession or otherwise of appropriate cultural competence in a given cultural field, marking the distinction between the cultural 'haves and have nots'. By promulgating a discourse that explains the distinction between groups on cultural lines, and by grounding this discourse in an appeal to 'natural' taste, dominant groups replace the distinction between culturally determined classes with a faux-objective distinction between alternative 'natures' (Bourdieu 1991) and an appeal to common sense and an ahistorical inevitability about the relative social positions of groups within society.

"Thus, the sacralisation of culture and art fulfils a vital function by contributing to the consecration of the social order: to enable educated people to believe in barbarism and persuade the barbarians within the gates of their own barbarity, all they must and need do is manage to conceal themselves and to conceal the social conditions which render possible not only culture as a second nature in which society recognizes human excellence or good form, but also the legitimized dominance (or, if you like, the legitimacy) of a particular definition of culture." (Bourdieu 1984: 236)

Bourdieu's theory of symbolic violence is a description of how the social order is reproduced through indirect, cultural mechanisms as well as economic power, by imposing systems of symbolism and meaning upon groups of classes in 'such a way that they are experienced as legitimate' (Jenkins 2002: 104). It is through the legitimization process that these systems are accepted and the social inequalities that they rest upon and support are obscured. In *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*, Bourdieu and Passeron set out their theory of symbolic violence in the education system, beginning with the foundational statement that: "Every power to exert symbolic violence, i.e. every power which manages to impose meanings and impose them as legitimate by concealing the power relations which are the basis of its force, adds its own specifically symbolic force to those power relations." (1990: 4) That is to say, the exercise of symbolic violence reproduces the conditions of its own legitimacy, solely through its exertion. This is linked to the idea of the *cultural arbitrary*, which refers to the cultural form of symbolic violence. Symbolic Violence involves the imposition of a particular set of meanings and values which cannot be deduced from a universal position but that are in fact linked to the particular social conditions that have produced the relationships of dominance within society. Symbolic violence is a necessary function of dominance which effectively *maintains* the social structure. The aim of symbolic violence is to inculcate the twofold misrecognition of the cultural arbitrary, firstly in terms of its content – legitimizing a particular cultural form by an appeal to a phantom universal standard of taste –and secondly in terms of its authority, by presenting the agents of symbolic violence as possessing a natural taste or intellect to mask their actual possession of acquired cultural and economic capital (Bourdieu & Passeron 1990). Bourdieu emphasizes a homology of form between the symbolic violence carried out on behalf of the dominant groups in society through the education system and the media (for example) and the state's monopoly on the legitimate use of physical violence more generally. In particular, Bourdieu and Passeron note that symbolic violence, as a form of social violence, is increasing in its reach and ambition at a time when the public's acceptance of the need for physical and legal coercion to ensure the smooth running of society is rapidly diminishing in the face of an apparent economic, technical and moral 'growth' in Western societies (1990: xxi).

Cultural regeneration, based on a rhetoric of cultural development and the beneficial effects of culture for individuals and communities, involves the imposition of a particular system of meanings and values onto the social realm through cultural investment and the attempt to re-represent locations in line with a more 'cultural' aesthetic. From a régulationist perspective, cultural regeneration is an expression of a post-Fordist mode of development, with its own mode

of accumulation and régulation. Cultural regeneration functions as a form of symbolic violence through how it reproduces the twofold cultural arbitrary. Firstly it promotes the dominant aesthetic of the privileged classes, through its fetishisation of galleries, concert halls and museums. Secondly, it reinforces a contemporary post-Fordist mode of development, through promoting the misrecognition of new zones of consumption and production as 'cultural' quarters and districts. Bourdieu's model of symbolic violence and cultural capital suggests that, in the case of the use of culture as a mechanism in regeneration, we should expect it to reproduce conditions of inequality and distinction, rather than to address them. Like the régulationists, Bourdieu is fundamentally concerned with the reproduction of the social and economic structure of society. Whilst the régulationists seek to explain the persistence of capitalism despite its recurrent crises, Bourdieu offers a model of symbolic violence that can be used to explain the way in which the mode of development is legitimised within the working classes who serve it and how the same system reproduces the power of dominant groups. Integrating Bourdieu's concepts of cultural capital and symbolic violence into the regulationists' perspective helps to explain the ways in which local state strategies of cultural regeneration are an expression of attempts to impose post-Fordist modes of development based on the creative industries and the knowledge economy. This model provides a framework with which to analyse firstly, the ways in which the political economy of English Seaside Towns has affected their recent development and, secondly, the way in which culture is being used to respond to the conditions of Post-Fordism in these towns. Figure 1 gives a visual representation of this model.

Figure 2 - The Conceptual Framework of this research
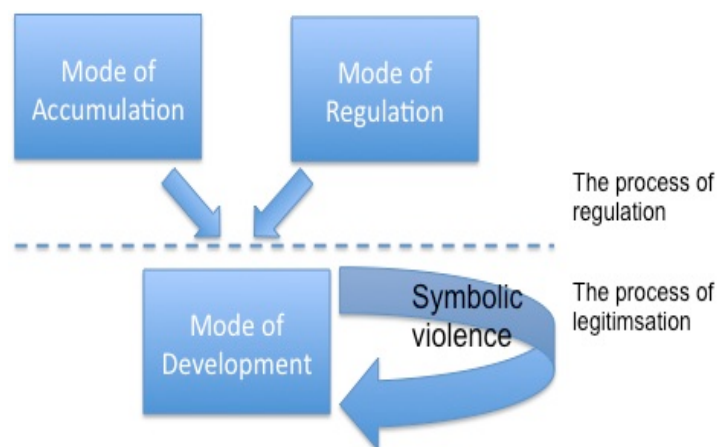
In the following chapter, the development of English Seaside Towns will be explained in order to set out the context in which this model will be applied.

3. NEW LABOUR AND THE REGENERATION OF ENGLISH SEASIDE TOWNS

3.1 Introduction

This chapter explains and analyses the political and socio-economic context within which this research is situated. It has been argued that the New Labour period saw the inauguration of a new 'third-way' (Giddens 1999, 2001) model of the state which saw a reconfiguration of the balance between state and market control, leading to a social-investment state (Lister 2003). Under this model, the Government raised funds through the taxation of newly liberalised market activities in order to spend them on the traditional concerns of the labour movement: unemployment, housing, welfare and urban renewal (Clift & Tomlinson 2006).

This research is aligned with Bevir's (2005, 2006) and Bevir & Rhodes' (2000, 2003, 2004) interpretative studies of British politics, which seek to explain periods of change and continuity in public policy through an approach that "focuses on practices composed of actions in flux. It explains actions by referring to the conscious, sub-conscious, and unconscious beliefs embedded in them. And it explains these beliefs by reference to historically contingent traditions, which situated agents modify as they respond to specific dilemmas" (Bevir 2006: 90). This approach concentrates on the beliefs, behaviours and opinions of policy stakeholders, to develop an analysis of policy that emphasises the importance of political ideologies and the perspectives of the actors involved in public policy.

This chapter analyses the political context of the New Labour period and the specific approaches that were taken to regeneration and economic development by successive New Labour Governments.

3.2 New Labour

In order to understand the historical context of this research, it is necessary to examine how the 'New Labour' period of Government was influenced by developments within the Labour Party. The British Labour party was founded in 1900 as the 'Labour Representation Committee' at a conference that brought together three distinct groups on the British left: The trade unions,

specifically those federated under the newly formed Trades Union Congress, which boasted nearly 2 million members by 1900 (Nairn 1967); the 'ethical socialists', whose main representative organisation was the Independent Labour Party, and 'state socialists' such as the Fabian Society and the Social Democratic Federation (Reid & Pelling 2005). When the Labour Representation Committee gained 29 seats in the 1906, it changed its name to the Labour Party (Marwick 1967) and it has been a permanent feature in British politics since that point.

This research is concerned with the policies associated with a particular period in the history of the Labour Party and in British politics, when Labour was in Government following its political re-branding as 'New Labour' (White & de Charntony 2002, Brown 2011). The term 'New Labour' refers to a period in the history of the Labour Party in the United Kingdom, spanning roughly the years 1994-2010, from the point where Tony Blair became the leader of the party whilst in opposition, to when the Labour Party was removed from government following the general election in 2010 under the leadership of Gordon Brown (Heffernan 2011). The New Labour position emerged within the British Labour Party after a period of ideological struggle, following four consecutive election defeats and Randall (2003) has argued that this was the most recent of many historical ideological conflicts within the party that have prompted changes of direction or policy emphasis. For instance, in 1981, part of the party split off to form the SDP as a reaction the perceived take-over of the party by the extreme left and the loss of the 1979 election – leading to the replacement of the left-leaning Michael Foot as leader by the more centrist Neil Kinnock (Newman 2003, Cerney & Evans 2006). By the mid-1980s, facing the possibility of losing their long held position as the official party of opposition due their dwindling support, modernising tendencies within the party began to gain more influence (Barker 1997, White & de Charnatony 2002, Allemendinger & Tweder-Jones 2000), with significant portions of the parliamentary party now promoting a policy agenda which emphasised 'pro-Europeanisation, pro-nuclear defence, the rejection of a general commitment to nationalisation and a commitment to a market oriented economy' (Cerney & Evans 2006: 54). This new tendency within the party can be explained by viewing it as a reaction to the polices and electoral success of successive Conservative Party governments from 1979.

The election of the Conservative government led by Margaret Thatcher, in 1979, is identified by Jessop (2003) as the first step of a 'neo liberal regime shift' in the United Kingdom, which was happening in tandem with the United States and some other developed countries, and that was a political response to the crises of capitalism that began in the 1970s which heralded the symbolic end of the Fordist era. Allemendinger & Tweder-Jones (2000) categorise the Conservative

governments of the 1979-1997 periods as part of the 'New Right' in politics, who saw the need for a stronger, more authoritarian state in order to create the conditions for a freer, more economically liberal society. Jessop (2003) identifies six aspects of what he calls 'consolidated Thatcherism' (denoting the period of Thatcher's and the John Major's governments), which together describe the new accumulation regime that was constructed as part of a new mode of development following the crises of Fordism. Firstly, *liberalisation* as a guiding principle of economic growth, invoking the principles of the free market, as opposed to statist or monopolistic alternatives. Secondly, *deregulation* of economic agents, freeing them from excessive state intervention or legal restrictions. This was also accompanied by *privatisation* of public assets and services, reducing state control over economic activity and *re-commodification* of the public sector to promote market forces. Economic modernisation and growth was further sought through *internationalisation*, the opening up of British markets to overseas investment and the export of British goods and services. Finally, the lowering of rates of *direct taxation* was seen as necessary to promote consumer choice and promote investment. These aspects are summarised by Smith & Morton (2006: 402) as representing a "commitment to market exchange as the basis of socio-economic policy." Table 2 below, presents a range of data that show changes in key economic indicators from in election years, from the 1974 Labour administration lead by Harold Wilson and then James Callaghan, which immediately preceded the Thatcher Government elected in 1979, through the last Conservative government of the period led by John Major in 1992 and, finally, data is shown for 1997, the year that Tony Blair's New Labour was elected to Government.

Table 2 - Economic indicators for the pre New-Labour period

Indicator	1974	1979	1983	1987	1992	1997
GDP[2]	£21,168m	£50,436m	£85,602m	£118,314m	£181,025m	£239,998m
Unemployment rate[3]	3.6%	5.4%	11.3%	11.1%	9.7%	7.3%
Benefit claimant rate[4]	468,700	1,089,000	2,691,700	3,014,900	2,564,400	1,818,400
Inflation rates[5]	12%	9.3%	4.9%	3.9%	4.1%	2.8%

[2] ONS (2018a)
[3] ONS (2018b)
[4] ONS (2018c)
[5] ONS (2018d)

BOE interest base rates[6]	(1975 first available data) 11.5%	12.5%	10%	10.9%	10.3%	5.9%
Contribution of Manufacturing to UK GVA[7]	28%	26%%	24%	23%	21%	20%
Contribution of Services to UK GVA[8]	57%	57%	59%	61%	67%	69%

Table 2 confirms the economic impact of the political and ideological shifts that have been associated with Thatcherism specifically, and neoliberalism in general (Allemendinger & Tweder-Jones 2000, Jessop 2003). Firstly, in common with other neoliberal governments, a priority of the Conservative Government in this period was to control inflation, which was at historically high levels at the start of the administration. In order to do this, the Government pursued a monetarist policy through the manipulation of the Bank of England base rate, keeping this high to encourage saving, increase the return on long term investment and bring down what was seen as wage-led inflation, driven by the excessive wage demands of unionised workers (Tomlinson 2012). By the end of this period of Government, before New Labour came into power, inflation had fallen by 9.2% and the base rate had returned to 2.8%. However, this had also involved a number of conflicts between the Government and unionised labour, at great social and political cost (Steber 2017), breaking the settlement between labour, capital and the state (Uitermark 2002) that was the foundation of the Fordist-Keynsian era (Harvey 1990, Gottfried 2000).

The restructuring of the economy that took place in the Thatcher and Major periods can be seen firstly in the changing proportion of national Gross Value Added (GVA) contributed by the manufacturing and services sectors. This restructuring was presented as a necessary (Peck & Tickle 2002) response to the crises that had affected industrialised capitalist economies from the mid-1970s onwards and which has been characterised by a number of authors as involving the

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[6] Bank of England (2018)
[7] House of Commons Library (2016)
[8] House of Commons Library (2016)

deindustrialisation of many developed western economies (Shott 1998, James 2009, Jessop 2013). During the period shown in table 2, there was an 8% decline in the GVA share of manufacturing and a 12% growth in services. The decline in manufacturing in the UK was mostly felt in the industrialised northern and midland areas of England and in Scotland and Wales, whilst the growth in services took place mostly in the south, especially in financial services. The impacts of this restructuring on employment can be seen in the significant growth in unemployment during this period, which peaked in 1983 with more than three million people claiming unemployment benefits, before it began to fall again over the next decade. The economic picture in the UK at the start of the New Labour period showed a number of improvements against key indictors (as shown in table 2) when compare to the picture at the start of the Thatcher government. However, this twenty year period of industrial restructuring led to large regional disparities in economic performance and long lasting inequalities in other areas as a consequence, which were particular seen in deindustrialised towns and cities outside of the south east of England and London.

It has been argued, by way of understanding what led to the long period that the Labour Party spent in opposition, that the Labour Party, in contrast to the Conservatives who were to govern from 1979-1997,   struggled to adapt to the changes in Capitalism that prompted the economic crises of the 1970s. Couch et al (2011) show that the United Kingdom was the first of the major Western European countries to fall into recession in this period, and the most badly affected by that recession in terms of its impacts on GDP, especially compared to its closest competitors, France and West Germany. Coates (1996) suggested that the main difficulty facing the Labour Party in articulating a policy programme in such a way as to move society towards a more socialist system was the pressure put upon it by the institutions of capitalism, for example, Wickham-Jones (1985) argues that the growing influence of capital on social relations in the 1980s led to the Labour party developing a more pro-business agenda whilst in opposition, limiting the party's freedom to develop socialist alternatives to neoliberalism.

From within the Party, thinking about how to respond to changes in the capitalist system had emerged from as early as the 1960s, with the prominent Labour MP Anthony Crossland reflecting on the historical mission of the Labour Party and declaring that 'many of the old dreams are either dead or realised' (1963:63); the growth of the British economy, the establishment of a welfare state, universal education, a national health service and other political innovations had rendered much of the Labour Party's mission redundant. Hobsbawm (1981) considered changes in the composition of the electorate to be more salient in understanding the decline in fortunes of the party. The improved living standards of the majority of the population and the shrinkage of the

part of the population employed in traditional working-class industries, meant that the party had a smaller core constituency. Marquand (1999) developed this thesis further by arguing that Labour could only maintain any political relevance by supporting coalitions of interests between working class and middle-class votes, which would inevitably mean a reorientation of the party away from concentrating on solely traditional working class concerns and changes to the structure of the party such as a lessening of the involvement of trade unions in its decision making processes. The relationship between Labour and the trade unions had, as Minkin (1991: xii) states 'shaped the structure and, in various ways, the character, of the British left' and was to become a central theme in the emergence of 'New Labour'. Brown (2011) has argued that creating distance between Labour and the trade unions was one of the primary motivations for the re-branding involved in the New Labour project, as the relationship with the trade unions was viewed negatively by the British public.

An important ideological influence on the development of the New Labour project was the concept of a 'third way' in politics, often taken to mean a path between the extremes of capitalism and socialism, but defined by it most prominent proponent in the UK, Anthony Giddens, as 'social democratic renewal' (1998: viii). The concept was taken up by a number of centre-left parties in Europe and North America, but had a strong influence in policy circles in the Democratic Party in the United States and with the Labour Party in the United Kingdom (Cerney & Evans 2006). Giddens articulation of the third-way (1999, 2000, 2001) emphasised, in particular, the need for social democratic politics to respond to increasing globalisation by becoming more internationalist in outlook and embracing the opportunities presented by the global economy. Callinicos (2001), however, criticised Gidden's work as an accommodation with post-Fordist capitalist development that did not offer possibilities for radical critique or the articulation of counter-positions that could promote socialist ideals in the face what was presented as a historical inevitability. New Labour policies developed this third-way emphasis on how the nature and extent of globalisation conditions the 'parameters of political possibility' for governments (Coates & Hay 2001: 448, Lister 2001), and because of this, New Labour sought to both respond to and have influence over, the forces of globalisation (Jessop 2003, L'Hote 2010), as part of the transformation of Britain into a 'competition state' (Cerney & Evans 2006) that could continue to enjoy its status as one the world's most developed economies. During the 1990s, social democratic parties of various kinds were returned to power in Western Europe (Glyn & Wood 2001), but New Labour was the most successful of these in terms of the length of time over which it retained its leading position (Giddens 2010)

Davis (2003:53) argues that the long period of opposition contributed to the acceptance of the need for modernisation within the party, but that an effect of this was the tacit acceptance of much of the 'social, political, economic and ideological legacy of eighteen years of Conservative rule as unchallengeable'. Hewison (2011: 236), echoes this by claiming that the ideological hegemony of neo-liberalism survived the 'rebranding' of New Labour, as do Smith & Morton (2006: 402) who claim that New Labour 'explicitly adopted' the neoliberal approach of the previous government. Coates & Hay (2001) identify 1996, two years into the New Labour period, as the point at which Labour policy began to take on a character more aligned with the neoliberal agenda, and to move away from the social democratic, northern-European-style model expounded by influential Labour thinkers such as Will Hutton (1995). This view is challenged by Fielding (2002) who identifies a continuity with the policies of the historical Labour Party, with a reformist political stance that distinguished it from Conservatism. Lister (2003:428) describes the formation of a "social investment state" in this period, characterising the UK economy as inaugurating a "new welfare architecture" in line with third-way thinking. Smith (2003) suggest that New Labour was in fact a hybrid between Neoliberalism and Social Democracy but Hall (2003), whilst concurring to some extent , qualifies this by pointing out that market forces were in the ascendancy in the political settlement of the New Labour period and that this explains some of the pro-market emphasis in New Labour thinking. Heffernan (2011) suggests that some form of inheritance from Thatcherism was inevitable, but that this should be seen as a practical consequence of the transfer of power between governments, rather than an ideological transformation. This point is supported by Cutler & Waine (2000), who argues that the new managerialist public sector culture that had been developed purposefully by the Conservative party through its reforms, formed part of the inheritance bequeathed to New Labour when it took power from the period 1997-2010, forming four governments following general elections.

Although there is much continuity in the policies of the New Labour governments between 1997-2010, it cannot be said that the party remained consistent and unbending in its policies during that period (Fuller & Geddes 2008, Heffernan 2011, Wallace 2010), despite the persistence of a number of policy themes. Despite the very public rebranding of New Labour, a core part of New Labour policy continued with traditional Labour aims to support and fund a wide range of public services and welfare programmes, although as Jessop (2003) points out, there was a rising acceptance of the idea of 'workfare' – framing benefits in terms of their relationship to claimants ability and willingness to work. Levitas (1998) shows how this gradual assimilation of the idea of workfare from the United States shows the primacy of the private sector labour market as a solution to the problems of unemployment and disadvantage.   Glyn & Wood (2001: 50) explain how

"Preoccupation with the supply side is the most distinctive aspect of New Labour Policy, combining a wholesale reorientation of the welfare state towards encouraging work with abandonment of the interventionist policies towards industry and collaboration with trade unions that so characteristic of social democracy in the 1960s and 1970s." New Labour's first budget raised £5.2bn from a windfall tax on privatised utilities to fund a 'New Deal' for the unemployed, seeking to progress unemployed people into the workforce (2003), and this was characteristic of the funding of many New Labour policies, with the money raised from taxation on economic growth to fund policies that promoted social equality (Clift & Tomlinson 2006). New Labour recognised deep seated structural problems in British society and developed policies to address these systematically, in a clear break from the approach of the Thatcher-Major governments (Fuller & Geddes 2008). For example, the concentration on the development of new policy approaches to childcare provision and early-years interventions attempted to address structural inequalities of place and circumstance through the provision of Sure Start Centres, as well as the pledges to eradicate Pensioner and child poverty (Lister 2001). This attempt to reform the status quo distinguishes New Labour from the conservative nature of its predecessor governments (Brown 2011), as did a general emphasis in policy on issues connected to equality such as race, gender, ethnicity and sexuality (Rake 2011). The following section of this chapter concentrates on New Labour's approach to one policy area, urban regeneration, which is the policy area critiqued throughout this thesis in the context of English Seaside Towns.

3.3 New Labour and regeneration

3.3.1 Regeneration in the United Kingdom

Most authors agree that regeneration has emerged as a policy / practical construct as a response to the restructuring of the global economy in the last thirty years and the negative consequences of the attendant de-industrialisation and socio-economic change in western nations, understood from the perspective of régulation theory as caused by the Fordist transition (McGuigan 1996, Diamond & Liddle 2005, Rogers 1997, Jones & Ward 2002, Carter 2013). McGuigan (1996) highlights two competing models for regeneration policy that has responded to this transition. The first is the 'American model' which usually involves developer led strategies based on private property, including out-of-town retail and leisure. This is contrasted with the 'European model' which aims to reclaim disused or degraded urban areas for public culture, café culture and emphasises:

inclusion, improvements to the public sphere, transport improvements and mixed-use development.

The European model of urban regeneration is the most pertinent to this study. Across the European Union in the 1990s, there was a growing concern about the conditions of urban areas, especially those which had suffered from the effects of deindustrialisation (Atkinson 2001). This led to the adoption of urban policies as core elements of EU strategy throughout the New Labour period and beyond. Marshall (2005) explains that this led to the proliferation of funding mechanisms to support common European approaches to urban regeneration across the Union. Many of these approaches utilised large scale urban development projects as catalysts for wider regeneration in a city, for example the development of new EU office buildings in Brussels, the construction of the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, the large science – university complex at Adlershof in Berlin or the World Expo in Lisbon (Swyngedouw et al 2002). These large urban interventions have mostly been justified within European and national policies as an ameliorative response to the global shifts in capitalism that have left a legacy of deindustrialisation and a need for economic diversification, or as an opportunity to take advantage of these same new global conditions to create a competitive advantage in a neoliberal competition between cities and regions (Degen & Garcia 2012, Marshall 2005, Mega 2000, Swyngedouw 2002). Towards the end of the New Labour period, the Lisbon Treaty established a competency in tourism for the European Union for the first time (Estol & Font 2016), and which linked the growth of the European tourism industry to its impacts on competitiveness, job creation and the European Capital of Culture programme, bringing tourism within the scope of broader EU urban policies for the first time. The European Capital of Culture (ECC) programme is an example of the way in which EU policies in tourism, culture and urban regeneration are linked together and have an impact on the regeneration activity of member states, including the UK. Originally, the ECC programme was intended to showcase the cultures of members states and to promote a shared European sense of identity. However, over the 35 years since its inception in Athens, host cities have used it ever more strategically to contribute to wider urban development priorities including quality of life issues, physical regeneration and city branding with cultural tourism as a key economic driver of these developments (Richards & Wilson 2004, Yi-De Liu 2014). The similarity of many large European urban regeneration projects, especially in terms of their use of tourism and culture as economic engines (Kennell 2013) has been described in terms of the policy transfer (Gonzalez 2011) that has taken place between them in a multi-scalar way, involving policy at the supra-national, national and regional-levels. These projects share a vision of a new, European competitive urbanity, with

Marshall (2005: 551) arguing that 'they illustrate the actual concrete process through which postmodern forms, post-Fordist economic dynamics, and neoliberal systems of governance are crafted and through which a new articulation of regulatory and governmental scales is produced.'

Zukin refers to this spatial restructuring as a process of "creative destruction", indicating that the processes involved lead to both growth and decline when seen at a global level. Diamond and Liddle discuss this in terms of the 'uneven development' (2005:18) involved in urban change, linking their own work to Harvey's exposition of the restructuring thesis, a move mirrored by Mcguigan (2005). Roberts (2000) accepts the importance of external factors as one part of the process of urban change but also discusses the role of internal pressures in promoting growth or decline. Jones and Ward note that, "it is now almost axiomatic to situate urban and regional policy and politics in relations to the context of globalisation" (2002: 380).

Roberts (2000) identifies key themes which have affected the evolution of regeneration. Firstly, the relationship between the physical conditions evident in urban areas and the nature of the social and political response to this. As the role of an urban area and the relative importance of its functions changes over time, this produces changing demands for space, land, infrastructure and services – also leaving other spaces as redundant. A common response to this has been to expand urban areas but there are social consequences to urban growth (e.g. slums) that need to be managed properly. Diamond and Liddle (2005) emphasise the last point in the list above, suggesting that the approach to regeneration at any point is defined by the priorities of whoever is in government. However, it is important to note that the regeneration policies of New Labour, which are the subject of this thesis, were also influenced by the UK's membership of the European Union, a relationship that is discussed above.

Booth (2005: 258) reflects on the wide scope of urban regeneration projects in the United Kingdom: "the definition of urban regeneration in Britain has always been singularly broad, encompassing physical regeneration and the development of urban projects, the restructuring of economic activity and the reconstruction of social frameworks." Regeneration policies can be implemented with a variety of themes. Each theme places emphasis in terms of policy and resources on one particular aspect of urban policy. Economic regeneration projects attempt to influence both the supply and demand side of deprived economies (Noon et al 2000). Projects within an economic regeneration strategy include such methods as: Business Improvement Districts (BIDs), economic diversification strategies, support for local business and enterprise

zones. Social regeneration is an area of regeneration that has been emphasised recently alongside traditional approaches to regeneration and, although the creation of employment opportunities is often the main intended community benefit of these other approaches (Hart & Johnson 2000), social regeneration can also include: community development, education and training schemes, health projects, capacity building, youth work and inclusion and cohesion strategies. In housing-led regeneration strategies, new and / or improved housing is seen as a stimulus to physical and environmental improvements as well as increasing the attractiveness of an area to investors and inward migration (Edgar & Taylor 2000). Some regeneration policies focus on the physical appearance and environmental quality of deprived areas (Jeffrey & Pounder 2000). Tyler et al (2012) identify three core outputs for regeneration policy during the New Labour period. The first of these is 'worklessness, skills and business development', the second is 'Industrial and Commercial property' and the third is 'homes, communities and environment'. These three broad categories help to categorise the activity and impacts of regeneration programmes in the UK in this period. Recently, the fields of cultural policy and urban regeneration have come together as a new regeneration theme of *cultural* regeneration, which has emerged as a form of urban policy. The changes in approach to the relationship between regeneration and culture on a policy level can be usefully outlined by Bianchini's (1999) categorisation of the development of urban cultural strategies in Western Europe.

The age of reconstruction, from the late 1940s to the late 1960s, was characterised by a concentration on economic development, welfare provision and physical reconstruction (Bache & Catney 2008, Couch et al 2011). Notions of culture in this period were tied up in ideas about the distinction between 'high' and 'low / mass' culture, influenced by the work of the Frankfurt School who held that the realms of culture and economics were necessarily separate from each other, to the extent that either would somehow be lessened by too much contact with the other (Jarvis 1998: 73). As a consequence of this, the development of cities and regions was focused on the physical expansion of housing stock, infrastructure and transport, whilst cultural development was enshrined in the building of new 'high' arts institutions such as Museums, Galleries and Opera Houses. Macleod & Johnstone (2012: 4) characterize this period as involving "spatial Keynesianism", with urban development focused on distributing the benefits of national growth fairly and stimulating local and regional affective demand to support macro-economic policies of restructuring and the move to a service-led economy.

During the *age of participation*, from the 1970s to early 1980s, a combination of social movements such as feminism, gay activism and minority rights groups were redefining the political landscape.

The success of these movements in changing the terms of public and political debate was accompanied by radical developments in Cultural Theory and the Social Sciences / Philosophy such as Deconstruction which were challenging previous held ideas about culture and eroding the distinctions between 'high' and 'low' in the establishment of an inclusive, post-modern system of difference and diversity.   As a result of these changes, newly invigorated debates about ideas such as 'identity', 'community', 'equality' and 'diversity' began to inform policy decisions across the political and academic spectrum. Urban and regional development policies during this time began to look at community participation (Bache & Catney 2008) and the establishment of Cultural Industries strategies as a way of regenerating economies and rejected the modernist, instrumentalist planning / design, of architects such as Corbusier in favour of a new aesthetic of public space, that was inclusive of newly understood identities and social formations. Bailey (2010: 38) discusses this by comparing terms such as "public participation, community engagement and empowerment" and suggesting that research into these topics in regeneration should look beyond policy rhetoric to ask questions about the specific roles played by communities in contributing local knowledge to decision making. This change was promoted, in part, by the realization that the problems of inner-city housing, in particular, were complex and multi-dimensional and that traditional policy approaches were not working (Henderson 2012).

The move to the right in western politics in the 1980s was accompanied by a shift back towards an understanding of regeneration that focused primarily on economic policy (Booth 2005, Bache & Catney 2008), producing the *age of city marketing*; funding was initially diverted from cultural policies as part of this transformation. Keith and Rogers suggest that successive government have been seeking, as their prime motivation in the wake of the economic crises of the 1970s and '80s to "re-establish the conditions for successful capital accumulation" (1991: 2) and this can be seen in the increasing tendency to justify spending on culture as a way of stimulating growth in the economy and contributing to key policy outcomes in other areas such as crime, unemployment and health (Martin 2003: 4). Macleod & Johnstone (2012) describe regeneration in this period as being part of a wider Thatcherite-discourse that saw economic liberalisation and diversification as vital to the success of urban economies.   Cultural regeneration strategies came to be valued as producing diversified and sustainable economic frameworks for communities and for re-invigorating regions that had suffered from the decline in industrial production and / or new patterns in immigration and re-settlement associated with the Fordist transition. The 1980s saw the emergence of a market-led approach to regeneration in the UK with an increased role for private developers and programme management taken over by independent bodies, with local authorities taking an oversight role (Rogers 1997, Diamond & Liddle 2005, Jones & Ward 2002).

Regeneration in the early part of the 1980s was characterised by an increase in local approaches to development and especially housing-led growth (Shaw & Robinson 2010), but as the decade progressed approaches became more centralised. Post-Thatcher, the conservative government from 1992-97 concentrated on urban regeneration over new growth as a development policy, setting up rigid planning rules to prohibit further development of greenbelt land (Rogers 1997, Allemendinger & Tweder-Jones 2000). The two major regeneration programmes of the 1990s were the Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) and City Challenge (Booth 2005), both of which involved a competitive bidding process for funds and that were managed by independent boards, monitored by local government as the 'lead partner' in the majority of cases.

Keith and Rogers provide a useful context for New Labour-era regeneration projects, positioning them within the wider field of macro-economic changes in western economies since the economic crises of the 1970s and 80s. This economic analysis suggests that government interest in 'regeneration' as a tool for change in cities and regions is driven by a need to "re-establish the conditions for successful capital accumulation" (1991: 2). This emphasis on a new regime of accumulation was evident in the move towards a knowledge based, service economy with high growth from financial services, in New Labours macro-economic policies (Jessop 2003, Heffernan 2011). Other writers have added to this with observations that increased government spending on culture is predicated on the belief that this will have knock-on effects in other policy areas such as economic development, crime and unemployment (Minton 2003:4). Landry explains that spending on culture and cultural regeneration strategies provide another avenue for governments keen to revive areas that have suffered from the decline in heavy industry and traditional patterns of employment caused by post-Fordist economic restructuring in *The Creative* City when he describes cultural regeneration processes in one such area, "The town saw that it had only one resource – its people: their intelligence, ingenuity, aspirations, motivations, imagination and creativity. If these could be tapped, renewal and regeneration would follow" (Landry 2000: 83). Whilst government motivations for regeneration in general and culture-led regeneration in particular are sometimes difficult to discern, what is clear is that these projects increased in both their scope and frequency during the New Labour period. As Evans notes, "the creation of cultural flagships, architectural masterpieces and their (re)location in industrial districts, waterfronts and depopulated downtown areas has not been paralleled since the Victorian civic building and celebrations…cities have again embraced these politically and economically high-risk ventures" (2003:419). This was the context of regeneration projects under New Labour, caught between producers of culture, advocates of community involvement, economic imperatives and social programmes. Approaches such as that championed by Bianchini (1999) and Gilhardi (2003)

purport to resolve these tensions creatively and with measurable outcomes within a framework of *cultural planning*, but evaluative techniques for such wide-ranging projects with sometimes extremely nebulous 'soft' objectives are notoriously difficult to develop and prone to re-interpretation and suspicion by structures concerned with economic and social renewal (Lees & Melhuish 2015).

3.3.2 Regeneration under New Labour

Regeneration in the UK fundamentally altered with the election of New Labour in 1997, with a new focus on the community or neighbourhood and an increased devolution of responsibility for urban policy to the regional and local level (Allemndinger & Twedwr-Jones 2000, Pugalis 2010), away from the traditional sate-centred modes of urban governance (Bache & Catney 2008) . Fuller & Geddes (2008: 252) point out that although multi-scalar governance arrangements have been evident in the UK since the 1980s, these were given 'fresh impetus by New Labour'. The new Labour period saw not only a spatial proliferation of policy actors, but an increase in polycentric policy making and implementation in general, with an increased role for think-tanks, arms-length bodies and third sector groups (Ball & Exley 2010). The growth of sub-national frameworks for regeneration must be framed in the context of this new emphasis in regeneration policy and the requirement for partnership working (Jonas & Ward 2002), some of which was in response to pressure from the European Union for the establishments of partnerships at the regional level for the dispersement of EU structural funding (Bache & Catney 2008). Nine new Regional Development Agencies were created by the Regional Development Agencies Act in 1998, to bring together multi-departmental funding streams in England's regions, with the aims of furthering economic development and regeneration, supporting business growth, promoting employment and supporting sustainable development (Pugalis 2010).

In addition to this, changes in local government, especially the out-sourcing of previously state-delivered services, fragmented the responsibility for regeneration at a local level. This encouraged a greater role for the private sector as well as Voluntary and Community Sector (VCS) organisations and therefore the concept of 'partnership working' became central to regeneration discourse (Booth 2005, Diamond & Liddle 2005). This shift can be seen alongside a more general move from 'government to governance' in developed countries (Cento Bull & Jones, 2005 Wallace 2011), which has been explained by Lowndes & Sullivan (2008) as a series of transformations in institutions that have led to the proliferation and hybridization of sites of policy-making and implementation. A governance approach has been promoted by various governments and public

agencies as a progressive move to include non-state actors in the public policy process, but its critics (e.g. Davis 2005, Raco & Flint 2001, Cento Bull & Jones 2005) have suggested that discourses of governance and participation can serve to mask deep inequalities in power in these processes and do not tend lead to policy outcomes that contradict prescriptive government objectives.

A common phrase used to describe New Labour's approach to regeneration was 'Urban Renaissance', a term coined by a specially convened Urban Task Force in 1999 (MacLeod & Johnstone 2012). In this period, the two major regeneration programmes (New Deal for Communities and the National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal), as well as economic development programmes such as the Area Investment Frameworks, have been area based initiatives (ABIs) (Booth 2005, Bailey 2012, Henderson 2012) with a focus on inter-agency working and exit strategies, dependant on "the capacity of local state agencies and the local community" (Diamond & Liddle 2005: 8). ABI / Neighbourhood regeneration goes back to the 1960s, despite the different emphases over time between strategies, such as social exclusion, physical renewal, or business development (Lister 2001, Dargan 2009). The NDC programme was the cornerstone of New Labour's regeneration agenda, and it was created by several government departments working together including the Social Exclusion Unit, the Department for Environment, Transport and the Regions and the Treasury. It was designed to fund projects in defined urban areas of not more than 4000 households, and awarded grants over a ten year timescale. Its terms and conditions mandated third sector partnerships and community roles in the leadership of projects. (Dragan 2009) 39 of the most deprived urban communities in England were selected for NDC programmes, each with a ten year plan to reduce social exclusion. (Fuller & Geddes 2008). Lawless & Pearson (2012) describe the NDC as the most intensive ABI ever launched in England.

Although ABIs can provide a clear spatial focus for regeneration activity, they have been critiqued for generating 'pathological' discourses about particular places (Matthews 2010) and this strategy of identifying problem places and spatial solutions is a feature of New Labour policy in this area. Morgan (2002) identified this approach as a "new regeneration narrative" (NRN) post-1997, which emphasised community issues, partnership working and 'joined-up' policy approaches to regeneration: this NRN had its own jargon and was the most devolved approach since the 1960s. Coaffee (2005) describes this 'new localism' in the management of regeneration in the UK as having the following characteristics: a reduction in centralism, democratic orientation, increased accountability, stakeholder engagement, diversity and innovation. Lodge & Muir (2011) show how

these themes became characteristics of New Labour policy across a range of policy arenas, but that this did not necessarily imply a decreasing role for central government; in fact quite the opposite occurred as new local governance arrangements were subject to a high number of centrally imposed targets and monitoring frameworks. This also involved the creation of the Regional Development Agencies and Regional Assemblies to monitor them.

There was a role for Local Authorities in providing community leadership and leading Local Strategic Partnerships and all of this devolved work was monitored through treasury-set Public Service Agreement targets set for public bodies at the regional and local levels. Local Strategic Partnerships were new public-private partnership bodies that were intended to connect the multiple actors involved in local governance arrangements. 88 local strategic partnerships were set up in the most deprived areas of the country to develop Local Neighbourhood Renewal Strategies to support convergence between areas with low GVA and the economic mainstream. (Booth 2005, Fuller & Geddes 2008, Bailey 2012) Fuller & Geddes (2008) highlight the fact that these new institutional arrangements were necessary because of the growth of 'state spatial strategies' and 'state spatial projects' under New Labour. State spatial strategies sought to influence the geographies of socio-economic development, whilst state spatial projects aimed to bring internal coherence to national projects, by providing opportunities to differentiate the implementation of national projects at a range of spatial scales.

Bache & Catney (2008) discuss how the bottom-up approach to urban regeneration was a feature of the New Labour approach to this area, which saw the formation of numerous neighbourhood level and community-led partnerships, but rather than seeing this as evidence of the implementation of third way ideology, they see it instead as evidence of the Labour Party's traditions of associationsism and local organisational strategies. Ball & Maginn (2005) take a historical perspective on this phenomenon, explaining that while it is accurate to state that partnerships between landowners, governments and developers have been feature of urban development since the nineteenth century, the involvement of community groups is a more recent innovation, described by them as the new 'partnership orthodoxy', where the involvement of communities is seen as a requirement of the planning process. 'Community' became an increasingly prevalent word in New Labour policies on urban regeneration over its three terms in office (Lister 2003, Gosling 2008, Wallace 2010), but the language of these policies often just assumed that communities existed in particular places (Raco 2003, Dargan 2009). Hidden in this assumption are views about the form and function of communities, and also about the nature of places themselves.

Community groups began taking an active role in the planning process in the 1970s following legislative changes that ensured some degree of participation and consultation. This engagement has continued and been institutionalised, culminating in the contemporary rhetoric of participation and empowerment (Brindley 2000, Jones 2003). This has led to the widespread use of direct methods of community engagement, such as public meetings, consultative surveys, focus groups and media campaigns, but participation via these means is generally at a low level and does not guarantee that participants will be representative or that they will possess the requisite cultural and political capital to make a meaningful contribution to the planning process (Edwards et al 2003). Gosling (2008) notes that engagement usually takes place at the level of representation, rather than through genuine involvement, because the distribution of power within regeneration partnerships tends to be in favour of those groups with financial or political capital to express and the training and cultural competencies necessary to do so in a public forum. Indeed, the rhetoric of community empowerment has not led to a gradual decentralisation of power, rather it has undertaken to redefine areas and groups through which power can be operationalised and maintained in the pursuit of political agendas. Local communities can be involved in "micro changes locally" (Gosling 2008: 613), but the large scale economic and social transformations that influence them and their environment are beyond their reach.

Communities are not homogeneous entities, they may also overlap and contain past histories, as well as ongoing conflicts and orientations towards the future (Diamond and Liddle 2005). Geographical places also do not represent simple, uncontested policy units and any attempt to view them as such assumes an overriding shared interest within them that cannot be found in practice. A focus on place community cannot capture the dynamic nature of social interactions inside and outside of its boundaries. Also, economic restructuring, technological development and cultural change are promoting increasingly rapid changes in the nature of the social interaction which is the foundation of classical notions of community. Contemporary urban communities are a complex mix of competing voices where stability and homogeneity has been disturbed by "decades of social and economic change" characterised by high levels of immigration and emigration and where changes in patterns of living and work have generated "highly differentiated and unintegrated communities" (Brindley 2000: 373) who have competing needs but who share the same urban space. In attempting to define the term community, we can identify a split between sociological conceptions of community and renewed political interest in communitarianism which sees communities as the site for the expression of policy and responses to social problems (Delanty 2003, Lees 2003). Contemporary sociological conceptualisations of community tend to begin by

establishing community as something that once existed in a pure, often rural, form, but that has since been destroyed by modernity and, especially, urbanisation (Bauman 2001). Individuals are considered to move between varying kinds of community and to belong to multiple communities at once. All of this has led to the term community being seen as something problematic and, perhaps, as a term with very little use-value in contemporary sociological discourse (Day 2006, Wallace 2010). McGhee points out the centrality of community to the Labour government's policy agenda, stating that:

"The concepts of citizenship, community, social capital and civil society are central to the discourses, recommendations and the programmes dedicated to 'healing' the wounds of disharmony and cultural polarization in some of Britain's most economically marginalized and ethnically and culturally diverse areas. What is emerging [...] is that these concepts are increasingly being presented as the panacea for disorder, disharmony and conflict." (2003: 377)

As Raco suggests, "it is unsurprising, perhaps, that urban policy has been a key site for the articulation and implementation of reformist agenda, for it is in urban communities that the contradictions and impacts of neoliberal programmes on everyday lives are experienced most strongly."(2003: 236). Burton (2003) sets out a tri-partite rationale for the increasing community participation in regeneration. Firstly, there is the belief that participation is, in and of itself, a desirable feature of a democratic society. Secondly, there is the more instrumental argument that many issues of public policy are hugely complex, and of growing complexity. In this scenario, it makes sense to extend the decision making process to involve the widest level of resource. Thirdly, the social capital argument suggests that, by developing the associative capacities of communities, this will reverse the increase of social problems by virtue of increasing local social capital. The idea of community was prominent in New Labour's political discourse along with a renewed interest in communitarianism as a philosophy which has attempted to provide a moral and ethical foundation for social policies in neoliberal regimes such as those developed by New Labour in the UK. Community for New Labour, was "the natural and desirable social formation, based on the diminution of difference and conflict, and the inculcation of shared values" (Lees 2003: 8).

Community in New Labour policy was the natural site for partnerships between the state and civil society – the third way between the market and the state exemplified as "government through community" (Lees 2003: 7). As part of this third way agenda, successive New Labour administrations have sought to define community and explain its utility as an instrument of

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regeneration policy. The Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions, in providing guidance for regeneration programmes, defined community as "the people working and living in defined areas covered by regeneration programmes": (1997 in Jacobs & Dutton 2000: 110). Further attempts by government to grapple with an instrumental definition of community include identifying it as something that they intend to "revive and empower" (Social Exclusion Unit 2000: 5) as a means to combat social exclusion that had been caused by or that was contributing to, the problems that regeneration policy was attempting to solve. In the last two terms of New Labour government, community cohesion' became a term that was used to articulate the need for interventionist public policy, yet the term community was used paradoxically in this case (Wallace 2010). Derek McGhee critiques the development of community cohesion as a policy term and puts it into a sociological context that shows strong theoretical links to Putnam's (2000) concept of 'social capital'. Cento Bull & Jones (2006) also identify this role for social capital, as a concept that was deployed by policy makers to explain and guide the dynamics of community involvement in urban regeneration. In common with communitarian approaches to policy, communities were seen by New Labour as both causes of problems and solutions to them, usually held together by an appeal to a utopian vision of a national or shared community of values. New Labour described a cohesive community as one where:

1. There is a common vision and sense of belonging for all communities.
2. The diversity of peoples' different backgrounds and circumstances are appreciated and positively valued.
3. Those from different backgrounds have similar life opportunities.
4. Strong and positive relationships are being developed between people from different backgrounds in the workplace, in schools and in neighbourhoods.

(DCLG 2006, CRE 2003, LGA 2002)

With these ideals of community put in place by New Labour as a model, achieving them became a matter for public policy, approached directly through government initiatives (i.e. The Commission for Community Cohesion) and indirectly through the public funding regime and Non-departmental public bodies (i.e. Arts Councils, Commission for Racial Equality). This centrality of community to New Labour regeneration polices in the UK was not allied with a clear set of community benefits or community-level targets for regeneration schemes (Burton et al 2006). Usually the benefits of regeneration to communities are explained through an increase of employment and training opportunities, improvements to local housing stock and increased

opportunities for local businesses (Giddings & Shaw 2000) and little mention is made of the communities that are so prevalent in the policies themselves.

Burton et al (2003: 300-301) set out the seven areas of concentration in New Labour ABI-style regeneration and discuss how these impact on communities : Local economy and labour market, local housing market, education, including pre-school provision, public health, crime and community safety, physical environment and the delivery of local public services. In each of these arenas, the community benefits will be: "to the individuals who get more involved; to the wider community or society of which they are a part; to the programme or policy decisions in which they get involved." Individual benefits to community members will accrue from either direct benefits (e.g. employment or training) or indirect benefits such as an increase in self-value or confidence that takes place through participation. The benefits to the wider community are usually conceived as the increase in social capital or "greater and denser social ties and connection" (*ibid*: 301) that develop through community participation in the planning and delivery of regeneration policies, which can then be utilised for further positive change. Improvements to policy or specific programmes will come about through the assumption that "better decisions will be made about the substance or content of ABI programmes if local residents are more involved" (*ibid*: 302). In addition to these instrumental benefits, non-tangible community benefits such as an increase in local pride (Minton 2004), cohesiveness (Giddings & Shaw 2000) and integration (Ginsburg 1999) are referred to, usually tangentially, in the literature, whilst the overwhelming focus tends to remain on tangible, quantifiable indicators of community benefit.

Within this model there is a tendency to simplify the idea of community, using it as shorthand for homogeneous spatial groups that can easily identified by policy initiatives and which can be harnessed in the pursuit of positive change within a regeneration area (Jacobs & Dutton 2000, Gosling 2008, Lees 2003, Raco 2003). There is a tradition in the UK of community and voluntary organisations playing a significant role in the public sphere, especially in areas such as social care, health and education and now these groups, and the communities from which they developed are frequently referred to, along with the private sector and the state, as *stakeholders* in the regeneration process (Diamond & Liddle 2005, Chapman et al 2010). Raco highlights the fact that, "Integral to New Labour's vision for an urban renaissance is the belief that empowered and mobilised communities can and should play an enhanced role in the development and implementation of urban policy agendas." (2003: 235). We see here the contradiction in communitarian policy formations within New Labour: simplified versions of community are seen as both problems requiring a solution and the solution to social problems. In addition to this, the

tension between and within different communities is often at the root of problems that regeneration sets out to solve (North 2003).

Another key element of New Labour's regeneration policy was a concentration on social exclusion in urban areas (MacLeod & Johnstone 2012). In 1997, the UK Government established a social exclusion 'unit' (SEU) within the Cabinet Office, whose function was to tackle social exclusion by working across government departments to promote joined-up solutions to social exclusion issues (Agarwal & Brunt 2006). The SEU took a broad view of social exclusion, but a core element of their strategy, as enshrined in the 2002 National Action Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal, placed their focus at the urban neighbourhood level and linked social exclusion to issues of residential segregation and the uneven distribution of resources across areas (Buck 2007, Lees 2013). The term social exclusion was first used by Lenoir (1974) who, as Secretary of State for Social Policy in France, used it to refer to the condition of those who were not able to participate in the shared life of the citizens of France (Bossert et al 2007). The term has been used with multiple meanings (Agarwal & Brunt 2006) and has been subject to wide ranging applications and critiques (Sen 2000), but is most often used to refer to the conditions of cumulative disadvantage that affects deprived parts of populations at national, regional and local levels. (Beland 2007, Halerrod & Larsson 2007, O'Brian & Penna 2007). As a policy construct, social exclusion is related to, but distinct from, considerations of poverty or economic disadvantage in two ways. Firstly, it is multi-dimensional, covering economic, cultural, social and physical domains (Bossert et al 2007, O'Brian & Penna 2007, Halerrod & Larsson 2007). Secondly, it is relational (Sen 2000), which is to say that it has a social component. It is relative disadvantage that is of prime importance when considering social exclusion, rather than an absolute measure of disadvantage.

There is no absolute measure of social exclusion, rather individuals and groups can only be said to be excluded from specific situations within their society (Bossert et al 2007). Social exclusion also has a temporal component. How an individual or group's deprivation is likely to change over time is also an important consideration when assessing social exclusion. The impacts of multiple deprivations worsen the longer an individual is suffering from them and so we can consider degrees of social exclusion that vary by dimensionality, relative social circumstances and time. Crucially, social exclusion affects the ability of an individual or group to participate in a shared social and spatial context. Social exclusion "often occurs when people or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime environments, bad health and family breakdown" (Agarwal & Brunt 2006: 658). Those suffering from social exclusion are excluded from interaction with, and incorporation into dominant social

groups. This can be experienced in a range of spatial and social contexts from the street level to neighbourhoods, communities, towns and cities, institutions and nations (O'Brian & Penna 2007). This makes it problematic for socially excluded people to benefit from the positive aspects of education and welfare systems, hinders access to political and administrative institutions, presents barriers to the labour market and creates feelings of alienation, mistrust and other grievances within areas (Kahirk 2006). According to Room (1995: 243) it is a dynamic process 'of becoming detached from the organisation and communities of which society is composed and from the rights and obligations that they embody'. From its initial application in France, social exclusion eventually became a key area of policy at the European level (Beland 2007). Social Exclusion became a plank of EU social policy (Hallerod & Larsson 2007), replacing areas such as the 'poverty programme' in the 1990s, and being reinforced by the Nice and Lisbon Councils in 2000.

As well as this European adoption of the concept, it has also become part of policy debates and documents in Australia, Canada and the United States (Bossert et al 2007). Although the term itself is new, there is a significant tradition of academic research that examines areas such as residential segregation, access to services, socio-economic distinctions and social identities and of policy programmes to address these issues in the UK. In this sense, studies of social exclusion and attempts to promote social inclusion are not new (Buck 2001), but its deployment as an overarching policy theme at local, regional, national and international levels (O'Brian & Penna 2007) is a more recent innovation.

English Seaside Towns display the characteristics of multiple deprivation associated with high levels of social exclusion, and consistently rate amongst the most deprived areas in England when measured using the government's preferred Index of Multiple Deprivation system. However, despite this, there has been very little research that addresses this issue directly. Agarwal and Brunt (2006) is a notable exception to this. They posit that the lack of academic research in this area reflects the parallel lack of attention by successive governments given to the decline of seaside towns when compared to inland urban areas that have also been affected by the economic restructuring of the past four decades. In 2008, a benchmarking study commissioned by the Department for Communities and Local Government found that seaside towns could be said to be suffering from high levels of social exclusion in accordance with the following indicators:

- 30% of jobs in Seaside towns are in the catering or hospitality sectors, with the public sector also overrepresented in areas such as public administration, health and education.

- Employment levels, income and skills levels are all below national average in the 37 principal English Seaside Towns

- Seaside towns have a benefit claimant rate of 13% against the 11% national average

- GVA is almost always below the national average in sub regions containing Seaside towns.

- 26 of the 37 principal seaside towns in England have an overall level of deprivation greater than the English average.

- On most individual domains within the Indices of Deprivation, with the notable exception of crime, a majority of seaside towns have above-average deprivation.

The Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, in written evidence submitted to the Housing, Planning, Local Government and the Regions Committee (ODPM 2006) set out what they considered to be the key issues facing seaside resorts in Britain, of which changes in tourism formed only one part. These issues were:

- Shifts in tourism demand and the growth of tourist subcultures

- High rates of in-migration

- High proportions of retired in-migrants

- High rates of younger people, many with low skills

- A growing 'benefit culture' associated with transient population

- High levels of multiple deprivation indicators

- High rate of house price increases

- Low wages and seasonal employment

- Peripheral locations and weak transport links

Clearly, many of these elements of social exclusion can be traced back to the impacts of the decline of the tourism economy within seaside towns, but they are by no means specific to them, being seen in equal measure in other urban areas, although their specific local qualities will have emerged from the phenomenon of tourism area change as a result of the economic restructuring that accompanied the Fordist transition (Beatty & Fothergill 2003). This research will analyse the attempt to use cultural regeneration as a strategy for addressing these issues in English Seaside Towns. The next section of this chapter explores the concept of Cultural Regeneration.

3.4 Cultural Regeneration

"Each story of regeneration begins with poetry and ends with real estate."

(Klunzman 2004 cited in Evans 2005: 959)

During the period of this research, cultural regeneration was a growing phenomenon in which governments and regeneration agencies were showing an increasing interest (Evans 2005, Smith 2007a, Vickery 2007). In this section, the literature on cultural regeneration relevant to the New Labour period will be reviewed. This will mostly refer to literature from the early 1990s until the end of the New Labour Governments in 2010, although some reference will be made to more recent sources to clarify particular points, or which reflects on the New Labour Government's approach to this area. The roots of cultural regeneration are in the 1970s, when cities such as Pittsburgh, Massachusetts, Bolton and Baltimore in the United States began to re-invent themselves in the face of the economic restructuring taking place in that period.   Flagship cultural projects for regeneration schemes started to appear in the 1980s in Britain and Europe (McGuigan 1996). Landry (2000) argues that the reason why some post-industrial cities have prospered since the economic crises of the 1970s and 80s is precisely because they made this turn to cultural investment and creativity in the context of urban decline and renewal, and this can be contextualised as part of the post-Fordist shift towards a knowledge economy paradigm in many developed countries (Carter 2013). This approach to urban development has also been described as the 'Barcelona Model' (Degen & Garcia 2012) because of the apparent success of that former industrial city in transforming itself into a successful cultural tourism destination through investment in culture and events to drive the city's reputation.

Gonzalez (2011: 1398) describes both the 'Barcelona Model' and the 'Bilbao Effect', as examples of policy models that have been subject to high amounts of policy-transfer in Europe, with various governments keen to import what are seen as ''role models for regeneration''. Cultural regeneration and its associated benefits such as creative industries development and cultural tourism are now a core part of urban redevelopment and competitiveness strategies (Zukin 1995, Richards & Wilson 2007, Spirou 2007, Smith 2007b), but this only serves to reinforce the historically central role of culture in the development and image of urban areas. As Zukin points out, "For several hundred years, visual representations of cities have 'sold' urban growth. Images, from early maps to picture postcards, have not simply reflected real city spaces; instead they have been imaginative reconstructions – from specific points of view – of a city's monumentality" (1995: 16). Evans highlights the potential for cultural development as a mode of action within the

policy arena as one of the few available strategies that can engage with globalisation and "capture the twin goals of competitive advantage and quality of life" (2005: 960), perhaps helping to explain its current popularity. Cultural regeneration offers policymakers a strategy for integrating new visions of urban competitiveness and lifestyle indices of class and diversity and their relationship to urban vitality, such as those advanced by Landry (2000) and Florida (2002).

Florida's work is primarily concerned with growth economics and inter-city competitiveness and suggests that the key to the revival or development of cities is their ability to attract what he calls the 'Creative Class', defined broadly as an economic group who "add economic value through their creativity" (2002: 68). This class includes knowledge workers, artists, symbolic analysts, those with high-tech skill sets and all those working in the creative economy. The individuals grouped together in this class are seen as both producers and consumers of "the vibrancy of street life, café culture, cultural and creative activities" (ibid: 232) which, along with qualities of openness and diversity and the combination of the natural and built environment, provide the key quality of place indicators for attracting the 'creative class' and their high value employment and lifestyles to an area. Grodach & Loukaitou-Sideris (2007) reinforce this perspective, highlighting how cities pursue cultural development strategies to catalyse inward business investment, increase consumption by residents and tourists, improve city image and enhance local quality of life. Hewitt (2011) identifies three ways in which New Labour used state funding of the arts and culture to achieve policy aims: Firstly, as an instrument of cultural democracy – spreading participation and engagement in art more widely; secondly, as a driver of economic development and, thirdly, to address social policy issues. Lees & Melhuish (2015) describe the status of cultural regeneration within New Labour policy as having being elevated to that of a 'social fact', by which they mean that the value of using culture to achieve instrumental regeneration goals was seen as incontrovertible and had become policy orthodoxy. This coming together of the strategies and tactics of cultural regeneration with a neoliberal political outlook a in the last thirty years helps to explain why strategies of cultural regeneration that have only been seen as viable in major urban centres, are now increasingly being used by smaller urban areas as diverse as Huddersfield (Wood & Taylor 2004) in the UK, Bergslagen in Sweden (Cassel 2008) and North Adams, Massachusetts in the US (Zukin 1995). Some however, have questioned the utility of cultural regeneration outside of the major metropolitan centres at a functional level:

"How do places that have lived with notoriously negative images, anachronistic economies and numerous sites of industrial decline, come to believe that at least a part of their economic recovery depends on something as elusive (or material) as the arts?" (Breitbart & Stanton 2007: 112)

Jim McGuigan (2004) and Georg Yudice (2003) produce a more ideological critique, noting that the sublimation or immaterialisation of culture into economics and politics can be seen as part of a broader neo-liberal agenda of instrumentalism and economic rationalisation that, by undermining the uniqueness and independence of cultural activity, seeks to stifle political debate in the cultural sphere, marginalising dissent whilst maximising the economic impacts of cultural investment. Redhead (2004) describes this intertwining of culture and the state under neoliberalism as the e?mergence of the 'cultural state', suggesting that this has the double meaning of both the way in which culture and the cultural industries have become a pervasive part of contemporary capitalist society, but also the proliferation of interventions in the cultural sphere by governments seeking economic or other competitive advantage. Miles (2005b: 891) has described this as the 'universalised cultural intervention in national and urban life'. Sasaaki (2010) has highlighted the variability in success of creative-class led regeneration strategies, suggesting that while many governments use the rhetoric of creativity to increase acceptance of their strategies, it is necessary to embed creativity meaningfully into urban development for the benefits of such an approach to materialise. From the tourism literature, we can find similar critiques of the practices of cultural tourists as part of the circuits of neoliberalism, from concerns over the commodification of place in Guatemala (Devine 2017), the over-writing of contested heritage in Lithuania (Čepaitienė 2011), or the commercialisation of ethnic identities in Chinatown (Sze 2011). Ioannides & Petridou (2016) examine how the creation of tourist districts and products in American cities has supported the use of tourism as a neoliberal change agent, restructuring the economies of declining cities along the lines of postmodern cultural consumption. Duffy & Moore (2010) argue that tourism and the travel behaviours of tourists themselves have opened up more frontiers in the spread of neoliberalism, and that understanding the localised variations of neoliberalism that result from this is important for understanding and managing tourism impacts in a destination.

In the context of urban regeneration, culture is defined broadly, but can involve elements or combinations of architecture, heritage buildings and attractions, visual and performing arts, festivals and events, tourism development, entertainment and leisure complexes, and also the marketization of "culture as a way of life" within a destination. (Smith 2007b: 2) Evans (2005) sets out three models for the use of culture within the regeneration context. These are not

conceived as mutually exclusive, especially over the long term as projects change and develop, but provide a useful starting point for the analysis of the cultural regeneration phenomenon. Firstly, 'Culture-led regeneration'. In this model "cultural activity is seen as the catalyst and engine of regeneration" (Evans 2005: 968). These projects will typically have a high public profile and will employ cultural investment explicitly, making claims for uniqueness in their approach that other regeneration schemes are unable to make. Secondly, 'Cultural regeneration'. Under this model, "cultural activity is...integrated into an area strategy alongside other activities in the environmental, social and economic sphere" (Evans 2005: 968). Evans (2005) final model is described as 'Culture *and* regeneration'. This describes a situation where "cultural activity is not fully integrated at the strategic development or master planning stage" of a regeneration scheme. This is usually a legacy of fragmented responsibilities for regeneration delivery within local and regional government. In this model, culture is added to the regeneration scheme at a late stage. Vickery (2007) also categorises cultural regeneration by focusing on delivery arrangements and the relationship between culture and other aspects of regeneration strategy. These categories include 'urban design-led', 'creativity-led', 'arts-led community development' and 'arts-led civic development'. Grodach and Loukaitou-Sideris (2007) provides a categorisation that is goal-, rather than process-oriented, based on a study of cultural regeneration in the USA. This categorisation splits cultural regeneration into three strategies: e*ntrepreneurial strategies*, which are market driven strategies, dominated by economic considerations. They aim for economic growth through tourism and the attraction of private investment. These programmes will typically involve flagship projects and spectacular events. *creative class strategies*, which aim for economic growth through the development of cultural amenities such as cultural districts and new entertainment centres, with the aim of attracting young urban professionals and knowledge workers to an area. Finally, *progressive strategies* are distributive, participatory cultural development strategies based on community-level project work and education programmes.

Richards & Wilson (2007) suggest an alternative conceptualisation, based on the specific forms of culture that are used in the regeneration strategy, complementing the process- and goal-oriented definitions above. They suggest that cultural regeneration can be analysed by looking at the role of iconic structures, the extent to which local heritage is valorised in the project, the role of events (especially mega events) and also the degree to which an area is subject to the development of a specifically cultural 'theme' for its development, through its association with a historical cultural figure, for example. Richards and Wilson (2007) go on, however, to identify a 'creative turn' in regeneration discourse and planning. This recent development has seen a move away from the older conceptions of 'high culture' and the traditional 'cultural industries' which have been

perceived as elitist and lacking dynamism, and the embracing of the idea of the 'creative sector' as a more inclusive and more usefully broad conceptualisation of activities which include the cultural industries but also takes in other sectors such as new media and technologies, film, advertising and video games. Taken together in this way, the creative sector is more clearly linked to innovation and dynamism (with high participation by small and medium-sized enterprises), including many more aspects of cultural consumption yet still retaining the structural coherence offered by the 'cultural industries' term. Taking this analysis as their starting point, Richards and Wilson offer the term 'creative development' (ibid) as new term for the analysis of cultural regeneration. Key elements in creative development are:

- Clustering of creative production
- Clustering of creative consumers
- Co-makership (between producers and consumers – links to experience economy)
- Clarity (visibility and permeability)
- Confidence (in investing in creativity and the ability of creative people)
- Materializing the effects of creativity, rather than just the symbolic aspects of development
- Creative spectacles
- Creative spaces
- Creative tourism

A common theme for Zukin is that cultural regeneration schemes "reduce the multiple dimensions and conflicts of culture to a coherent visual representation" that can be exploited, reproduced, marketed and sold:

"Cultural strategies of redevelopment are complicated representations of change and desire. Their common element is to create a 'cultural' space connecting tourism, consumption, and style of life. They appreciate archaic living and working sites, but push them deeper into the past. They incorporate these sites into an image of local identity by defusing their contentiousness. Regardless of their bloody past or current social tensions, these sites become a 'happy face'. Cultural strategies, moreover, are often consensual strategies of change. They preserve rather than tear down; they rely on alliances between unlikely groups." (Zukin 1995: 83)

Historically, state spending on cultural development has been primarily concerned with ideas like self-expression, creativity and empowerment. Economic development however, is traditionally concerned with the politics of growth and capital accumulation. There is not necessarily a link between these two policy modes and although recent policy discourse makes creativity more central in economic and social concerns, there is always the danger that high-profile spending on culture may mask political issues of power and access to resources in the interest of economic restructuring and gentrification (Evans 2005, Vickery 2007), indeed Florida (2002) notes that socio-economic inequality is highest in the very creative epicentres of the US that he thinks should be emulated elsewhere. The rhetoric of using creative development to make urban spaces available to all groups can be undermined by historical symbolic functions of many regeneration sites, especially brownfield sites, as markers of social divisions, knowledge that contemporary planners and consultants find it hard to access and which can be an important factor in addressing social exclusion (Miles 2005a). This may be of particular concern when regenerating areas where economic restructuring has left redundant former places of employment and leisure. In addition to this, the public spaces created through these strategies often develop, "small places within the city as sites of visual delectation...urban oases where everyone appears to be middle class." (Zukin 1995: 10), making local patterns of exclusion invisible, especially to tourists.

This re-imagining of space is one of the characteristics of cultural regeneration, but on the whole, the relationship between cultural regeneration and social exclusion is under-researched and poorly understood (Miles 2005a). Taking Zukin's term of 'cultural strategies of economic development' which subordinates cultural development to economic interests and the above discussion of creative and cultural regeneration, we can identify a critique of these processes that brings together contemporary insights into the role of creativity and the creative class and discourses of place-making into a framework that is conscious of the relationships of political economy in the spatial strategies of cultural regeneration. The re-creation of urban spaces will attract new residents to an area, often with the effect of inflating rental and purchase prices for housing and commercial space, leading to a processes of gentrification with both social and economic impacts. Incoming residents will tend to be more homogeneous and more affluent than the host population, leaving the city to manage the impacts of displacement and exclusion of these original residents from the benefits of development (Richards & Wilson 2007: 23). In some cases, however, a strategy of planned gentrification is employed with the conscious aim of re-engineering an area. A key aspect of this gentrification process is displacement – the movement of individuals, families and groups from gentrifying areas into areas that replicate the conditions of the pre-gentrified host community, or that suffer from worse deprivation themselves. Incoming commercial tenants may also squeeze

out businesses with a local heritage or, ironically, those urban pioneers whose creative investments in the early stages of gentrification contribute much to the character of newly regenerated spaces, such as has happened in parts of East London such as Shoreditch, replacing them with commercialised spaces of consumption such as in Vienna's MuseumsQuartier (Richards & Wilson 2007).   This is also linked to the problem of 'homogenisation' (Breitbart & Stanton 2007) or 'generica' (Florida 2000): the proliferation of generic developments and copycat structures, including shop-frontage, architectural design and the design of public space.

The evidence for the impacts of cultural regeneration is limited, partly because of the timescales involved in regeneration – a project may take twenty years to be judged successful or otherwise – but also due to the lack of an agreed set of evaluative methodologies or techniques in this field. It is, however, desirable to evaluate the short and, in some established cases, medium term impacts of cultural regeneration, especially within the contemporary context of evidence based policy evaluation (Evans 2005). An important area for investigation is how the social and economic benefits of cultural regeneration are distributed. For example, in a given area, how does Cultural Regeneration serve: cultural producers, property owners, real estate developers and marginalized groups? (Breitbart & Stanton 2007).   During the New Labour period, numerous studies were produced which collected and presented arguments for the benefits of cultural regeneration, although these included very little substantive evidence that could be used to conduct a thorough evaluation of the impacts of cultural regeneration projects (see, for example: (ACE, 2006a, 2006b; DCMS, 1999a, 1999b; Evans and Shaw, 2004; Matarasso, 1997, 2009; Moriarty, 2002).

Criticisms have been made that Culture-led initiatives, especially landmark projects, have not produced the economic benefits that they promised (Landry et al 1996) and that the 'trickle-down' effect of these projects has failed to materialise (McCarthy 2002). Cultural regeneration strategies claim to diversify economies (Milton 2003) and also to re-brand cities and regions to make them more attractive to tourists and businesses (Evans 2003). Whilst there is no doubt that diversifying economies is one measurable outcome of Cultural Regeneration, concerns exist as to whether this is to the benefit of local communities or whether they serve only to benefit "high-spending visitors" (McCarthy 2002: 2).

In deprived areas, local people may not have the economic or cultural capital (Bourdieu 1993) necessary to engage with cultural interventions, which often take the form of 'cultural quarters' that can be exclusive in both conception and price, if not developed with local communities in mind. Key to understanding this issue is the idea of cultural consumption. Crewe and Beaverstock

(1998) indicate that Cultural Consumption cannot be understood in terms of classical economic models. Consumption in this manner is not merely the acquisition and use of goods and services, but is also a symbolic and cultural practice. It is not enough to analyse the effect of a cultural district in terms of job creation and tax revenue; we must also look at what effect the introduction of a non-traditional model of consumption has on the people who access it and the culture that encloses it. Cultural consumption suggests that people are increasingly defining themselves, not through their paid-jobs, but by decisions they make outside of the workplace (Worpole 1992). The diversification of industries and development of new sites of consumption such as galleries and museums offered by cultural regeneration, increases the 'lifestyle choices' available to a population and the attractiveness of a place as a destination for both tourists and those relocating permanently. Cities now compete on a symbolic / cultural level to attract the inward investment of people and capital and well publicised cultural developments seem to be successful in achieving this. A study of Bristol (UK) has found that its emergence as a cultural centre and its reputation as an ethnically diverse, creative city has gone hand in hand with its economic resurgence (Griffiths et al 2002: 160). This re-branding of an area with a new or re-affirmed image has occurred with varying degrees of success across the world. Bilbao, once an insignificant city on a European level, has become inextricably linked with its Guggenheim Museum and the associations of culture that go with it and Rotterdam has successfully repositioned itself as a 'city of culture' after a high profile Culture-led regeneration process led to the establishment of the city as a cultural tourism destination (McCarthy 2002). Smith (2003: 30) cites the European Association for Tourism and Leisure Education and Research (ATLAS) definition of Cultural Tourism, as developed by their Cultural Tourism Research Project in 1991. This is a very general definition, split into two aspects, a technical one for the purposes of empirical research and a conceptual definition that is intended to provide a means of furthering and stimulating debate on this topic:

"Technical definition: All movements of persons to specific cultural attractions, such as museums, heritage sites, artistic performances and festivals outside their normal place of residence.

Conceptual definition: The movement of persons to cultural manifestations away from their normal place of residence, with the intention to gather new information and experiences to satisfy their cultural needs."

This second definition, which tends towards more experiential and diverse perspectives on culture in the tourism economy, is the one that will be employed in this study when conceptualizing the

tourism aspects of cultural regeneration, as it provides a way of thinking about tourism in the context of cultural regeneration projects, which draw on a diverse range of cultural resources in the regeneration process.   Although Smith goes on to set out a list of what might be contained within this broad conceptualisation of culture, the policy engagement of this research suggests that it will be more fruitful to critique cultural development as it is encountered within specific schemes than to categorise projects as cultural or non-cultural.

More recently, the discourses of creativity and the creative industries, including the creative class approaches to regeneration mentioned above have led to a growth in research into 'creative tourism' (Sepe & Trapani 2010). This way of analysing the role of culture within tourism is linked to Richards and Wilson's (2007) discussion of the creative turn within regeneration, explained above, and focuses on the participation of tourists within creative experiences during their travels, situating the experience itself as the core of the tourism product. UNESCO (2006: 3) define creative tourism as a form of tourism in which, 'the visitor has an educational, emotional, social, and participative interaction with the place, its living culture, and the people who live there. They feel like a citizen.' Smith (2009: 159-160) suggest that creative tourism experiences can be based on direct participation in creative production through specialist tourism products, or on 'holistic holidays' incorporating creative activities alongside other wellness practices, or through interactive experiences linked to the creative industries. Richards (2011: 1230) argues that 'Creative resources are now regularly employed to generate more distinctive identities, offering regions and cities a symbolic edge in an increasingly crowded marketplace', showing that creativity and the economic activity associated with it, including creative tourism, are being harnessed to drive urban development in the same way as the cultural industries have been. Richards (ibid) suggest that the possibilities offered by 'creativity' as a concept offer opportunities to promote cities based on intangible cultural resources, when so many cities lack the significant built heritage needed to compete in an increasingly crowded cultural tourism market. The growth in interest in creativity in urban policy and development has been strongly linked to the emergence of the knowledge economy (see Jessop 2013 and the discussion of the Fordist transition in Chapter 2, above) as a mode of development (Ashworth & Page 2011), which means that urban regeneration projects that contain a creative element, whether through creative tourism or the creative industries, are well aligned with EU policies regarding competitiveness and growth and likely to receive funding and legitimisation from the EU, facilitating further policy transfer in this area (Matthews 2005). Because of this, the idea of the 'creative city' that originated in the 1980s has become part of the repertoire of urban developers and policy makers (Sepe 2013), not just in Europe and North America where the concept originated but in more geographically diverse

tourism markets including Taiwan (Chang 2014), South Africa (Booyens & Rigerson 2015) and Indonesia (Blapp & Mitas 2017).

Cultural tourism, in a diversity of forms, is seen as both a 'good' form of tourism in that it promotes sustainability and intercultural communication, and as a high-value industry because of the high-spending tourists who take part in it. In 2004, in the middle of the New Labour period, average total spending in destinations by cultural tourists was over €1500 ($1920), which is higher than for rural tourists (€1030 / $1320), beach tourists (€1425 / $1825) or urban tourists (€1200 / $1535) (Richards 2007b: 18). This combination of sustainability and economic impact makes cultural tourism an attractive tool for policy makers seeking to regenerate an area through diversification and stimulation of its economy, a key aim of regeneration projects. A number of authors, however, have critiqued the impacts of cultural tourism. Smith (2007c) explores the impacts of cultural tourism in terms of how it transforms places and can create non-places of touristic consumption providing generic cultural tourism products and services such as celebrity-architect designed museums and galleries, which can impact on the 'sense of place' felt by local communities, leading to disengagement and displacement. This concern is also expressed by Maitland (2007) who questions whether the demand for authenticity placed on a destination by cultural tourists can lead to the commodification of local cultures, alienating the host population from the visitors and the visitor economy more generally. Franquesa & Morell (2007) note that tourist spaces are areas of contention and potential conflict because the design of tourist spaces happens in the interests of visitors and in line with commercial interests, and can leave residents alienated and excluded. These concerns over impacts of cultural tourism mirror those expressed in research into the impacts of cultural regeneration.

Cultural and economic perspectives on regeneration are not mutually exclusive; rather they can be and often are linked. There are "inextricable relations between cultural and economic aspects of the way society works" (Haylett 2003: 56) and Cultural Regeneration seeks to recognise and exploit these links in the regeneration process. It is important to recognise that the aim of a Cultural Regeneration approach is not solely economic regeneration, although it may deliver this, but a usually more holistic and wide-ranging social regeneration of an area (Landry et al 1996). However, Keith and Rogers contend that there is a danger that "a concentration on spatial manifestation masks the realities of social processes, that space itself is fetishised". Linked to this is another concern that concentration on the cultural redevelopment of specific area can lead to satellite areas of deprivation and this is tied to concerns about gentrification and displacement (Uduku 1999: 97, Ghilardi 2003: 3). Both these criticisms cast doubt on the impacts of Cultural

Regeneration in addressing the most pressing needs of residents of deprived areas. The next chapter of this thesis will provide further background on the regeneration of English Seaside Towns, through a consideration of destination development models that have been applied in the tourism literature.

4. DESTINATION DEVELOPMENT IN ENGLISH SEASIDE TOWNS

4.1 Introduction

This is the second background chapter of this thesis. In the followings sections, approaches to understanding destination development in English Seaside Towns from the tourism studies and tourism management literature are critiqued. In the final section of this chapter, the conceptual framework of this thesis is re-introduced, to explain why it was chosen in preference to the approaches reviewed below.

There is not a single 'cause' of the decline of seaside tourism and seaside towns, but a mixture of changes on the supply and demand side of the tourism industry that have contributed to this (Agarwal 2002, Sedenak & Mihalic 2008, Lashley & Rowson 2010). Gale describes the conventional wisdom expressed on the themes of resort decline as occupying a compelling "surface ontology, which much of the debate on the condition of traditional cold-water resorts has failed to penetrate." (2005: 90). Despite the individual internal complexity of resort economies and structures and the high levels of regional variation between destinations (Shaw & Coles 2007), there is a tendency in the tourism literature to focus on the "most obvious reasons" (Gale 2005: 87) for decline – competition and resource depletion – and to rely on Richard Butler's (1980) Tourist Area Life Cycle (TALC) model as a framework for understanding resort change with little research examining the possibility of resort rejuvenation through regeneration strategies (Agarwal 2002).

As Urry (2002) points out, in Britain, tourism has become a hugely important industry but, paradoxically, seaside towns have not shared in this contemporary growth. Urry (2002: 36) points to mainly cultural factors in explaining this discrepancy, locating expressions of cultural change in the de-industrialisation of cities and towns, stimulating less of a need for escape to the seaside. This de-industrialisation has been accompanied by the growth of city / urban tourism as a competitor to traditional 'resort-based' tourism and the proliferation of urban leisure centres and sports facilities, replicating and improving upon seaside leisure functions. Finally, Urry points to the re-colonization of the seaside by the upper-classes as a means of distinction, re-establishing pre-industrial tourism patterns in seaside destinations. Gale (2005) argues that deterministic models such as the TALC fail to appreciate the significance of cultural shifts that have occurred

during the transition from modernism to post-modernism as the dominant cultural trope, emphasising that decline in seaside towns may be based on broader changes in society, rather than solely in changes specific to tourism in the destination. Chapman & Light (2011) point to changes in the 'tastes' of consumers as an expression of these changes.

Much of the recent academic work in this field tends to emphasise the internal processes associated with aspects of resort change (Agarwal 1997, Agarwal 2002, Agarwal 2005, Gale 2007, Shaw & Cole 2007) and this review reflects this research focus whilst noting the scarcity of information on the political economy aspects of resort decline, other than seen through changing patterns of employment (e.g. Beatty & Fothergill 2003). Notable exceptions to this are Agarwal and Brunt's (2006) paper on social exclusion within seaside resorts and Ward's (2015) paper on social exclusion and houses of multiple occupancy. The issues of destination development have been examined from a number of perspectives in the tourism literature, for example path-dependency (Gill & Williams 2011), transformation theory (McLennen et al 2010), evolutionary perspectives from economic geography (Ma & Hassink 2012), the influence of the balance between mass and alternative tourism products (Weaver 2000) and the importance of local culture (Ioannides 2008), but the most commonly referred to model (Lagiewski 2006) of destination development is the Tourism Area Life Cycle (Butler 1980). In the following section, this model will be critiqued in terms of its usefulness as an alternative conceptual framework for this study.

4.2 Tourism Area Life Cycle

The TALC reminds us of "tourism's self-destructive tendencies in any given locality" (Gale 2007: 27). It is an evolutionary model that makes claims about changes in destination development over time as defined by historical changes in tourist numbers and infrastructure (Walton 2009), Johnston (2006: 10) has suggested that the TALC could be explained as the description of a 'basic geographical process', to emphasise not its simplicity but its applicability to a wide range of case studies. There are a number of life cycle models (Swann 2010) or tourism maturation models (Litvin 2010) used in tourism, but the one put forward by Butler (1980) is the most widely applied (Agarwal 2002, Paptatheoreou 2004, Swann 2010). Similar kinds of life cycle model which show the changing fortunes of an area in relation to its core markets have also been applied to industrial districts and clusters (Swann et al 1998). The fundamental premise of the TALC model is that 'there can be little doubt that tourist areas are dynamic, that they evolve and change over time'

(Butler 1980:5). The model has six stages, through which destinations are said to pass as they develop and is represented in figure 2, below:

Figure 3 -The Tourism Area Life Cycle
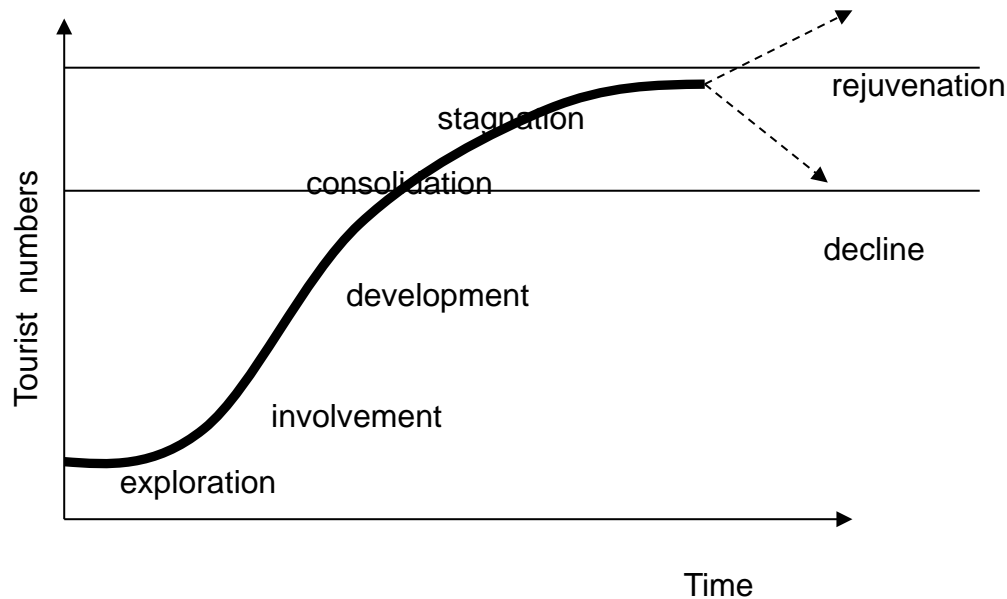
Adapted from Butler (1990)

Exploration is the first stage of tourist destination development, "characterised by the presence of low numbers of tourists...making individual travel arrangements and following irregular visitation patterns" (Butler 1980: 5). In this phase the contribution of tourism to the local economy is small and there have been correspondingly few changes to the natural or built environment as a result of tourism. *Involvement* refers to the period in which local residents become more significantly *involved* in the provision of services to visitors. It is in this stage that we see the beginnings of tourism industry developments, including the emergence of tourism entrepreneurs (Russell 2006) advertising, bespoke services and the emergence of tourism-affected seasonality in the economy. The *Development* period sees the establishment of a developed tourism industry in a locale, linked to tourism-generating areas and usually indicating the presence of large, external, tourism organisations. In this period tourism will have produced a range of impacts upon the local environment, society and economy. The number of visitor will, at times, exceed the total host population. It is in the *consolidation* stage that the 'critical elements of capacity' (Butler 1980) become significant. These are the range of variables crucial to the sustainability of a destination and may include infrastructure issues such as transport capacity and hotel provision, environmental factors such as pollution and erosion and socio-cultural indicators such as community cohesion and the nature of host-guest interactions (Lozano et al 2008). In this period, the total number of

visitors continues to rise, but the rate of increase slows as further development comes up against the limits of the destination's capacities. In the *stagnation* stage of the TALC model, destinations have reached their peak in terms of the relationship between visitor numbers and destination capacities. The area will now be an established tourism destination and will most likely be served by mass tourism operators, suffering a consequent loss of fashion-status. The resort will be dominated by new and artificial attractions and facilities, to the detriment of indigenous cultural and environmental offers. Tourism will be the dominant economic sector but will be suffering from a crisis of over-production and will be struggling to maintain profit margins. Post-stagnation, a destination will be characterised by a period of either *rejuvenation* or *decline*.

The period of *rejuvenation* or *decline* is characterised by five potential development routes, according to Butler (2009). Firstly, successful redevelopment could lead to renewed growth and expansion of the destination at rate similar to that experienced in the *development* stage. Secondly, growth could continue, but at a reduced rate, following minor modifications to capacity levels. Thirdly, after an initial drop in visitor numbers, significant changes to capacity across arrange of resources could result in a period of more sustainable growth. Marked decline would occur if resources continued to be over-used and competition from other destinations continued and, finally, catastrophic decline could occur following events such as war or disaster.

Although the TALC model has been criticised in the literature, Sedenak & Mihalic (2008) point out that the majority of European seaside resorts have entered a period of decline that fits the TALC model. The TALC has been applied most commonly in case studies of destinations where the local tourism industry is reliant on scarce natural (Boyd 2006, Zhong et al 2008, Avidimiotis 2009), or heritage (Russo 2002, Malcom-Davies 2006) resources, that are subject to degradation by tourists (Romao et al 2011). Agarwal (2002) highlights a number of problems with applying the TALC in examining seaside towns. Firstly, the model relies on hindsight and has low value as a predictive model for identifying when resorts are experiencing the different stages and when they reach turning points, a point reinforced by Priestley & Munedt in their 1998 paper on Spanish resorts and explained by Pratt (2011) when examining economic linkages during TALC stages in Hawaii. Secondly, both the stagnation and post-stagnation stages share the features of decline and counter-measures, leading to problems distinguishing between the two stages, again reducing the value of the TALC as a diagnostic or management tool. Finally, Agarwal questions the sequencing of stages, pointing out that destinations may jump stages or reverse their order, a point also made by Romao et al (2013), who explain that 'ready-made' destinations such as resorts built specifically for tourists that have not developed from previous settlements, such as Cancun in

Mexico, can jump straight to the *development* stage. Agarwal also suggest that there may be a need for extra stages such as "re-orientation" between stagnation and post-stagnation due to the mono-industrial context of seaside resorts and the size of their investment in the built environment, for example, the move towards conference tourism in the 1980s. Butler himself has argued (2009), that it is probably unrealistic to suggest an omni-directional model of tourism destination development given the complexity of development pathways available. Baidal et al (2013) argue that deterministic models such as the TALC that appear to predict an inevitable worsening of the situation of a tourism destination do not reflect the reality of the complex and dynamic interactions between destinations and their markets and environment.

There has been one significant attempt to link the TALC to régulation theory, the conceptual framework used in this research. Garay & Cánoves (2011) use regulation to add explanatory description the development of tourism in Catlunya, Spain, aligning the stages of the TALC with specific historical periods in Spain. They examine the external factors in the wider Spanish socio-economic and political context which have influenced both the type of local tourism development and the nature of Catalunya's tourism markets. They identify four distinct periods of development, which they call *Proto-tourism, Pre-Fordism, Fordism and Post-Fordism*, using language from the régulation school. Garay & Cánoves (2011) approach was potentially useful as part of this research, but it suffers from a limitations which meant that it was not suitable. Firstly, it does not consider the historical changes within Spain as part of broader global changes in the capitalist system. Perhaps because Spain was emerging from dictatorship at the same time as the Fordist transition was taking place more widely, the research concentrates on the specific factors at play in the changing governance arrangements for tourism in the region, as Catlunya gained more independence from the central state For example, it does not examine the role of international tourism operators in Catalan tourism development, despite the emphasis in the régulation school on understanding the internationalization of capital. Secondly, although it puts forward the ideas of the régulation school as an explanatory tool for the transitions between stage of development in the TALC, addressing a critique of the model that it does not provide mechanistic explanations of the transition between stages (Johnston 2006) it does not specifically explain *how* changes in accumulation and regulation impacted on specific places, in ways that would be useful for this research. As a conceptual paper, it makes a valuable contribution to deepening our understanding of the interplay between the TALC and the 'macrostructural conditions' (Johnston 2006: 21) that affect destinations, but it does this in a mostly descriptive manner, with an emphasis on local factors.

The value of the TALC model for the understanding of the contemporary regeneration context of seaside towns is that it makes links between local involvement in tourism within a destination and its development. The 'involvement' stage of the model indicates where local people become engaged with tourism development and in the phases of *consolidation* and *stagnation* (Butler 1980) we can see how the host population of a resort become dependent on tourism as a source of employment. Local employment then becomes another casualty of resort decline and the reasons for this can be found within the boundaries of the critical range of the resort's elements of capacity, a set of internal, destination specific factors. The TALC views resorts purely in terms of their tourism function, which is limiting when examining resorts who have lost, or are losing, their tourism function, but taking the model on these terms, we would expect the 'rejuvenation' of a resort to lead to a corresponding upturn in local engagement with the tourism industry and thus to provide benefits to host communities in terms of income and employment. However, the built-in tendency of the TALC to take a one-dimensional view of resort development limits its value in considering the position of complex tourist areas (Haywood 2006) such as seaside towns which, as discussed in the first pages of this chapter, exist within the multiple contexts of globalisation (Saarinen & Kask 2008) and are seldom now one-industry towns, especially following a long period of decline and change such as that experienced by the English seaside tourism industry.

4.3 Restructuring thesis

Another perspective from political economy that has been applied specifically to understanding English Seaside Towns in the tourism literature, is the restructuring thesis. The restructuring thesis is a body of work that has emerged from a number of different sources (Agarwal 2006), but which has been most frequently applied in economic geography, that puts forward a set of propositions about the changes that have taken place and are still taking place in society as part of a macro-economic and cultural shift in contemporary capitalism (Lagiewski 2006). The restructuring thesis has contributed to debates on "capitalist development…transnational ownership…uneven development and regional restructuring…changes in labour markets, division of labour and related processes, and on the development of localities" (Agarwal 2002: 28). These changes have a spatial dimension resulting in changing patterns in the geography of production and consumption, what David Harvey has called "uneven development" (2010). A core proposition of the restructuring thesis is that, in the search for new forms of accumulation, capital has become highly mobile, leading to high levels of spatial variance in economic performance which has led in turn to spatially

differentiated cultural and social change, some of which has had highly negative effects and which serves to benefit those localities to which capital pays tribute, mainly the economies of the global north.

The restructuring thesis has been only recently applied to service industries and is only emerging as a concern to tourism (Agarwal 2002, 2006), perhaps because the restructuring of the tourism industry has been gradual and diffuse, in contrast to the rapid restructuring of industrial sectors during the 1970s and 1980s. Macro-economic restructuring has led to the decline of "selected mass tourism areas" as a "crisis of overproduction" (Agarwal 1999: 512) has taken its toll on less innovative or less flexible destinations who are now competing for global market share. "The empirical and theoretical neglect of tourism within this area of study is surprising since the tourism industry displays many features that have been central to debates on restructuring" (Williams and Montanari 1995: 2)

The restructuring thesis provides a conceptual framework for understanding how changes in global competition and the mobility of global capital have led to decline in seaside towns. Agarwal argues that, despite the lack of a coherent research programme to apply this thesis to tourism, individual studies on particular aspects of change in the tourism industry point towards the value of the restructuring thesis as a framework for analysis. However, the way in which Agarwal (2002: 32) applies this to tourism is to look very much at the impacts of globalization and macro-economic change on the practices of firms within tourism, in terms of product reorganisation, labour reorganisation, spatial relocation and product transformation. Sedenak & Mihalic (2008) and Cooper (2006) show that resort restructuring across Europe has tended to focus on product reorganization and product transformation through initiatives to (for example): regulate volumes of tourists, reselect tourist market segments for resorts, repositioning of resort brands, develop and emphasis on place identity and uniqueness and a new emphasis on connectivity to resort hinterlands and local natural and cultural resources. Spatial reorganization is not open to resorts (although it is to tourism businesses) and labour reorganization in English resorts has been mainly experienced through unemployment through the decline of seasonal work opportunities. The model would suggest that we could expect to find tensions between globalised tourism business and local tourism businesses within seaside towns and that this tension would result in the dominance of international tourism firms. The impact of this on communities would be one of dis-empowerment from decision making and reduced local employment in the tourism industry. However, the majority of tourism businesses in seaside towns are micro-businesses, run by local residents (Lashley & Rowson 2010). A strength of this position however, is that it predicts that

the effects of global restructuring will be felt at multiple levels including economic, social, political and technological aspects of resorts and this mirrors the multiple disadvantages faced by English Seaside Towns in the global tourism marketplace, as well as the multiple deprivations at the social level identified by the ODPM in the introduction to this thesis. However, by reducing the importance of local, internal factors in resort decline, the restructuring thesis fails to provide a clear developmental path for resorts, other than by increasing their competitiveness by opening themselves up more fully to the global tourism market.

Both the TALC and restructuring thesis models provide insights into the dynamics of resort areas. The TALC "under-emphasises the role of long-term structural change in favour of a more detailed discussion of the internal dynamics of resort areas" (Agarwal 2002: 38), but viewing it alongside the restructuring thesis enhances our understanding of the TALC process. However, joining the two together is problematic: The TALC is a universal model, whilst the restructuring thesis is specific to an identified period of change, and both fail to provide clear categories that can show the difference between the causes and consequences of decline (Agarwal 2006). The cultural perspective on tourism development suggested by both Urry (2002) and Gale (2007) is able to consider global shifts in the economic and political environment along with local and culturally-specific factors that have contributed to changes in tourism and the trajectory of resort development. By emphasising the role of image and cultural factors in seaside development, it provides a useful standpoint from which to consider the contribution of cultural regeneration strategies to seaside towns, but in common with the 'critical tourism studies' (Ateljevic et al 2007) approach critiqued in chapter 2 of this research, it over-emphasises the role of consumption and demand side drivers of tourism, at the expense of drawing connections to the wider political and economic context in which the tourism industry operates. None of the most cited approaches to understanding destination development in this context, explored above, offer a critique of the role of the state in tourism, concentrating instead in changes at the level of the consumer, or the firm. They concentrate on the *regime of accumulation* to understand the level of tourism development in a destination, but under-emphasise the *mode of regulation* that is its counterpart (Danielzyk & Ossenbrugge 2001). Régulation theory suggests that only by combining an analysis of both aspects of a *mode of development*, can we arrive at a thorough analysis of the situation. In chapter 2, it was argued that where régulation theory *has* been applied to tourism, these studies have also mostly concentrated on accumulation process and this research aims to address this bias. Saarinen and Kask (2008:45) explain, tourism destinations are "… historically produced structures, which are experienced, represented and developed through different economic, political, social and cultural forces, and discursive practices". Dredge and Jenkins (2007) have argued that tourism

studies has generally not connected with changes in global and domestic political economy and the perspective of régulation theory offers the potential to supplement existing tourism-centric models from the tourism literature to enhance our understanding of the political economy of destination development.

5. METHODOLOGY

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodological approach that was taken to the primary research aspect of this thesis. The primary research phase of this thesis was carried out between 2007-2010, during the final years of the New Labour administrations (Heffernan 2011). The first section of this chapter presents the approach of Critical Realism (Platenkamp & Botterill 2013) that was chosen as the overall research paradigm for this research. This paradigm has been linked to régulation theory by Jessop (2001a) and provided a way of thinking about the research which guided the collection and analysis of data. The next section sets out the rationale for the multiple-embedded qualitative case study design (Yin 2003) that was used for this research. Within the overall case study design, three comparative case studies (Eisenhardt 1989) were chosen, Whitstable, Folkestone and Margate, and this choice is also explained in this chapter.

Although much tourism research is dominated by quantitative approaches from within a positivist paradigm (Chambers & Rakic 2015), Goodson & Phillmore (2004: 30) point out that tourism researchers 'have started to questions the shortcomings of positivism and quantification on the grounds that that they are not fully equipped to explore questions of meaning and understanding', although the full range of qualitative research paradigms employed in other areas are not fully expressed in the tourism literature. Harrison (2017), reviewing the role of paradigms in tourism research, notes the proliferation of approaches to research described as paradigms in the social sciences literature including (inter alia): positivism, constructivism, critical theory, pluralism, pragmatism, dialectics and critical realism. Characterised as paradigms by various authors, each of these offers a set of ontological, epistemological and methodological perspectives from which to carry out research. As core paradigms used in tourism research, positivism and constructivism will be briefly considered below in terms of their suitability for this research, in order to provide part of the justification for why a critical realist approach was chosen for this thesis.

Positivist studies comprise a large portion of tourism research, which has traditionally favoured positivistic studies and quantitative approaches (Riley & Love 2000, Ainley & Kline 2014). Positivism derives from the work of the philosopher of science, Karl Popper, who established a scientific method based on verifiable facts that are subject to the process of falsification (Popper

1975). Under the positivist paradigm, scientific methods of observation and verification are used which involve quantitative techniques and experiments (Tribe 2008). However, positivism in the social sciences has been criticised for attempting to apply methods from the natural sciences to the social sciences and for sustaining the fiction of the value-free researcher (Tribe 2001). Some of these criticisms have been addressed through the emergence of a post-positivist paradigm in social sciences research (Henderson 2011) which is more open to the use of qualitative data and which is concerned with social, and therefore often contradictory, data. The post-positivist approach however, shares positivism concerns with the correctness of methodological approaches and the importance of the role of measurable, empirical evidence in the investigation of research problems. Positivism was not chosen as a paradigm for this research because of its lack of fit with the conceptual model developed in Chapter 2. Researchers in the regulationist tradition have made use of an eclectic range of research methods and there is no agreement in the literature about exactly what to analyse, or how, in order to carry out research from this perspective. Boyer (2001) explains that regulation theory as a research programme draws on methods from across the social sciences and does not proceed on the basis of testable hypothesis and falsification, but instead on a 'gradual generalisation' (ibid: 5) of its basic ideas and concepts that must be adapted to meet the contingencies of the time and place in which it is applied.

As an alternative paradigm in social science research, constructivism is a more reflexive perspective that views social phenomena as constructed by the perceptions of those active within it, and which attempts to build complex pictures of the often contested nature of social science research problems, from a diversity of perspectives (Botterill 2001, Hunter et al 2015). Hollinshead (2006) identifies the key features of the constructivist paradigm as including: an interest in the narratives and stories involved in the construction of the social sphere; a lack of accepted definitions of reality; the inter-relations that exist between the researcher and the object of their research; the lack of concern with generalisability to other social settings. Pernecky (2007) has argued that the rise of constructivism as an alternative to positivism in the tourism literature has given tourism researchers access to a much wider range of methodological approaches than had previously been available. Constructivism in tourism research has been used in tandem with a diversity of innovative qualitative research methods including ethnography (Martin 2010), grounded theory (Nyaupane & Poudel 2012), Memory-work (Small 1999) and semiotics (Hunter 2016), for example. However, constructivism has been criticised for lacking a rigorous underpinning that can be applied across multiple studies, with its openness to contingencies meaning that there are many variations of constructivism, social constructivism and interpretivism

that make similar claims on knowledge but which are not always consistently applied by researchers (Pernecky 2012). Constructivism has not been chosen as a paradigm for this work because it lacks a realist ontological foundation, which is the foundation of both regulation theory and the work of Bourdieu, outlined in Chapter 2 above. This thesis is not concerned with the social construction of the destinations that are the focus of this research, but with the more realist issues associated with their development and the social relations that exist within them. In order to develop a methodology that is consistent with the conceptual framework of this research, a third paradigm, critical realism, was reviewed and applied, as explained in the next section of this chapter.

5.2 Critical Realism

Critical realism is, compared to more established methodological paradigms, a relatively recent innovation in the social sciences that is being applied increasingly within a diverse range of fields including economics, sociology and management studies (Platenkamp & Botterill 2013). Critical realism is a paradigm that accepts the possibility of causal relationships within a hermeneutic notion of social reality, but which does not follow the constructivist logic of reflexivity that can make it difficult to make positive statements about social facts (Botterill 2001). It differs from positivist and post-positivist perspectives in that it sees the causes of social phenomena as being rooted in deep-lying causal mechanisms that are not immediately apparent through reductionism or experience (Creswell 2007), and suggest that the task of a researcher is to investigate social phenomena to discover 'deep lying generative mechanisms which are independent of the events which are independent of the events to which they give rise' (Botterill 2001: 211). Paltenkamp and Botterill (2013: 119) explain this by emphasizing the realist foundations of critical realism, the view that there is a 'mind-independent external reality and that it can be known'. The roots of Critical Realism are generally considered to be in the early works of the philosopher Bhaskar (1997, 1998), which have been influential in many fields of social sciences research (Mahoney & Vincent 2014). Critical realism refutes both positivist and postmodern critiques of research (Patomaki & Wight 2000) through its assertion that it is possible to make definite statements about social phenomena, and to take account of the social production of knowledge, without denying the possibility of objective critical positions (Mahoney & Vincent 2014). Critical Realism has been critiqued for its ontological foundations (Cruickshank 2004) which seem to suggest that researchers are able to both define *and* discover reality, and for ignoring the value of established methodologies in favour of radical epistemological approaches (Downward et al 2002). It has also

been accused of misrepresenting the dogmatism of post-positivist research in order to position itself as a more radical alternative to traditional scholarship (Walters & Young 2001). Gale and Botterill (2005), applying critical realism to tourism studies suggest that the central question to be asked in this context is 'what makes tourism possible?', which contrasts with the more constructivist approaches taken within the critical tourism studies field which tend to pose questions about how tourism as an object of study is conditioned by the nature and experience of tourism, rather than accepting it as an ontological reality. Critical Realism has been applied recently to the study of tourism (Botterill & Platenkamp 2012) in a diverse range of contexts including Backpacking (Botterill et al 2013), Food Tourism (Everett 2010), Technology (Gharavi et al 2007) and Tourism Policy (Pastras & Bramwell 2013) and it was chosen for this study because of the possibilities it offers when aligned with régulation theory.

Jessop (2003) explores the relationship between the work associated with the régulation school and critical realism as a research paradigm, or worldview (Creswell 2007). Régulation theory's methodological foundations are rooted in the Marxist account of capitalism, which sees the social manifestations of political economy as driven by underlying tendencies in the operation of capitalism. Although the régulationists moved away from Marxist theorizing in an attempt to understand the self-perpetuating nature of capitalism and to gain a better understanding of periods of crisis (Aglietta 1979), they maintained an approach to the study of political economy that is grounded in the analysis of concrete social phenomena, with the aim of understanding the 'underlying structures and causal mechanisms that generate them'. (Jessop 2003: 96). Lipetz was explicit in his description of the wide range of methodological tools that should be used within régulation theory to gain a thorough understanding of the causes of social phenomena, claiming that régulationists should ''study each national social formation in its own right, using the weapons of history, statistics and even econometrics to identify its successive regimes of accumulation and modes of regulation' (1987: 20). This research made use of multiple sources within a comparative case study approach. Sayer (2000) explains that critical realism is compatible with a wide range of methods in the social sciences, and Easton (2010) argues that there is a good fit between this paradigm and the case study method (Yin 2003) which aims to marshal multiple sources of evidence within a research frame in order to investigate social phenomena. For this research, comparative qualitative case studies were carried out. The following section of this chapter explains ways in which the case studies were selected and designed.

5.3 Case Study Design

Creswell (2007: 74) claims that a case study approach is appropriate when the "inquirer has clearly identifiable cases with boundaries and seeks to provide an in-depth understanding of the cases or comparison of several cases" Yin (2003: 1) also indicates that a case study methodology is appropriate when exploratory questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over events, and when the focus is one a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context." Case studies are useful when the causal relationships between phenomena and their underlying causes are not well understood, as they help to bring together both primary evidence and theories that may be valuable in interpreting that evidence (Ragin 1987). Botterill & Platenkamp (2012:19) describe case studies as 'a tried and tested concept in tourism studies', which is supported by Xiao & Smith (2006) who studied research published in highly ranked tourism journals over a five year period and found that not only were articles based on case studies methods frequently published, that they were not found to be deficient in terms of generalisability or analytical rigour, as they have often been criticised as being. In table 2, the components of Yin's (2003: pp.13-14) technical definition are isolated and aligned with the objectives of this research design as they have been explored in preceding chapters of this study.

Table 3 - Application of Yin's (2003) case study definition

Yin's technical definitional terms for case study research	Context of this research design
Investigation of a contemporary phenomenon, within its real-life context	Literature review has placed the research into the contemporary context of cultural regeneration in seaside towns
Boundaries between phenomenon and context not clearly evident	The régulation theory approach suggests that the observable social phenomena related to study are both manifestations of and influenced by the broader political economy
Research object involves more variables of interest than data points	The study of urban areas and their social relations can commence from a plethora of perspectives and the nature of regeneration brings together a wide range of actors
Relies on multiple sources of data, which are convergent in analysis	Triangulation between data sources will be used in each case study to develop a rigorous analysis of each case, using a single conceptual framework
Benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis	Literature review led to the development of a conceptual framework that has in turn guided the development of the research methodology

The definitions of case study research offered by Creswell and Yin clearly indicate that case study methods were an appropriate choice for this research project, and that the choice of case study methods follows on naturally from the insights of the conceptual framework chapter and literature review. In the following section, the choice of case study design is explored.

In order to increase the robustness of the findings of this study, a multiple case design was chosen. Yin (2003) notes that, within such a design, every case should serve a distinct purpose within a "replication logic", that is to say that rather than the sampling logic common to quantitative studies, multiple cases should be chosen to either predict similar results (literal replication), or to predict contrasting results for reasons that are consistent with the conceptual framework of the research and the literature in the field (theoretical replication). Yin (2003) suggests that for 2-3 case study

design, literal replication where similar results are predicted for each study is the most appropriate. An alternative approach would be based on theoretical replication, where contrasting results are predicted, but for reasons that are predictable within the conceptual frame of the research. In this research, a literal replication logic has been used in the design of the cases, with direct replication of data collection techniques between cases, and the cases have been chosen because of their similarities to each other in terms of their regeneration context and use of culture as a regeneration strategy. However, the design remains open to the possibility of divergent results from each case due to the different approaches being taken to cultural regeneration in each case, as they are conceived in the literature review and conceptual framework of the research. However, there is no literature to support the view that results will differ between the cases as both the tourism and regeneration literature tends to view cultural regeneration projects as directly comparable, with a lack of published research that critically compares projects. Although a range of typologies of cultural regeneration have been discussed in this research, they tend to focus on either the planning processes or stated outcome of projects and part of the contribution of this research is to differentiate between projects in terms of their political economy. For this reason, a literal replication logic is followed in the research design, the researcher remained open to the possibility of divergent data.

Yin's (2003) guidelines for designing a case study emphasize the importance of identifying the *units of analysis* of the study, based on the areas of concentration in the research questions of the study. These units of analysis then become areas of concentration for data collection and help to define the structure of the case study, from the wide range of potential data points within a case. A conceptual framework developed from régulation theory was used in this research to understand the political economy of the cultural regeneration of English Seaside Towns in this period. This framework suggests that the mode of regulation and the regime of accumulation, as well as the process of legitimisation (see chapter 2) should all be studied to allow for an analysis of the prevailing mode of development. In addition, it was necessary to analyse the relationship between the regeneration of each case, and the prevailing New Labour political context of the period. These considerations led to the identification of the following units of analysis:

Uoa 1: The regime of accumulation
Uoa 2: The mode of regulation
Uoa 3: The process of legitimisation
Uoa 4: New Labour context

Because this design involves multiple units of analysis within one over-arching context, this can be described as an *embedded* design (Yin 2003: 42). Using multiple units of analysis also allows for triangulation (Silverman 2005) between different data sets. Decrop (1999: 159) describes this as 'method triangulation', where different methods are used to investigate the same phenomenon. Silverman (2005) cautions that triangulation of multiple methods within a case study should be carried out in a way that ensures that the integration of the resultant data is meaningful and maintains the validity of the research, for example by making sure not to use approaches that have different epistemological foundations. Fielding & Fielding's (1998) guidelines for the use of triangulation in qualitative research emphasise that a single theoretical perspective or model should be used uniformly across the study and that methods and data for triangulation should be chosen to provide perspectives on both structural issues and the meaning given to a situation by its participants. These guidelines were followed in the design of the case studies by approaching each unit of analysis from the perspective of régulation theory and by investigating both the broad policy context of each case study to identify structural issues, and through in-depth interviews that allowed for the capturing of participant's perspectives. A visual representation of a multiple-embedded case study design is shown in figure 3, with units of analysis embedded within each case and all the cases embedded in a shared context:

Figure 4 - Generic multiple embedded case study design
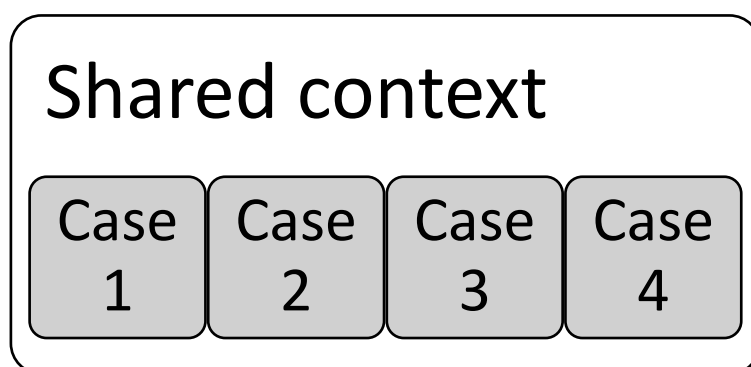
Creswell (2007) identifies a key challenge in case study research as choosing the case or cases for investigation and identifies purposive sampling as the method through which decisions in this area can be made. Cautioning that although generalisability in the sense in which it is understood in quantitative research is not an appropriate category through which to evaluate qualitative research, Creswell emphasizes that, despite this, the researcher should still develop a rationale for the choice of case or cases.

This research has followed a non-probability sampling method (Bryman & Bell 2007) described as *purposeful sampling* (Cresswell & Plano Clark 2007: 112) in choosing the locations to be examined in order to gain information on contemporary seaside cultural regeneration. The particular variant of purposeful sampling employed for this study is *extreme case sampling*, where locations will be chosen who are following the cultural regeneration route for their regeneration, rather than those who are seeking to integrate culture into other approaches. It is believed that this will increase the validity of the results of this research by reducing the number of variables in the regeneration process. Eisenhardt (1989: 537) also explains the theoretical sampling process that can be followed in designing case study research: "(a) controlling variation that is not important for answering the research question (b) defining the limitation of the research findings regarding the ability to generalize, (c) replication, extension of emergent theory [by] fill[ing] theoretical categories and providing examples of polar types". Eisenhart's *polar types* approach is similar to extreme case sampling in that it suggest that it is valuable to choose case studies for comparative research that exemplify specific characteristics of the phenomena under study. The following table was developed to allow for a comparison between five potential cases, identified through extreme case, purposeful sampling in the first instance. This comparison assesses the demographic and other characteristics of each of these seaside towns to discover which town are the most suited for a multiple-embedded case study. A case study of this design must incorporate cases within a *shared context* and by investigating the specific characteristics of each urban area, it is possible to ensure that the towns selected as case studies are comparable within a shared context.

Table 4 - Potential case comparison

Potential case	Population	Unemployment rate	Average IMD score	% pupils attaining 5 A* - C grades at GCSE	County Council	RDA
Brighton	247,817	6.4%	25.56	59.5%	ESCC	SEEDA
Folkestone	53,411	6.3%	21.35	65.5%	KCC	SEEDA
Hastings	86,400	6.9%	32.21	49.1%	ESCC	SEEDA
Margate	58,400	7.2%	27.61	63.3%	KCC	SEEDA
Whitstable	30,195	4.2%	16.17	68.0	KCC	SEEDA

Source: ONS (2009)

The categories of data in table 3, above, relate to key aspects of social and economic development that are of concern in regeneration policy – unemployment, deprivation and educational attainment. In the case of Brighton and Hastings, data relates only to the cities themselves. In the other cases, the unit of analysis is broader than the specific area under study as the smaller size of the urban areas under consideration means that they are surveyed by the Office for National Statistics within larger, mostly rural areas. For the purposes of this comparison, sub regional data is taken to be proportional to the data pertaining to the urban areas within these regions.

Following this strategy, the towns of Folkestone, Margate and Whitstable in Kent were chosen as extreme cases of cultural regeneration in seaside towns. These towns are all on the east coast of the county of Kent, within the broader south-east region of England. They share a common policy context and set of institutional arrangements, as described below, making them suitable for cross-case comparisons.

- A county council policy context – including tourism and cultural policy, infrastructure and transport responsibilities and general strategic policy framework
- A regional development agency policy context – including regeneration funding and policy, enterprise support and regional development issues
- A regional assembly policy context – with overall responsibility for spatial planning and the implementation of government policy at the regional level.
- An arts and cultural partnership at the local authority level (EKLAAP)
- An arts and regeneration officer at the county level, with a particular policy focus on seaside towns
- Similar population sizes and levels of educational attainment.

Although the levels of deprivation as rated by the IMD statistics show a low level of deprivation for Whitstable, this is due to the fact that these figures are aggregated with the cathedral city of Canterbury, which exerts a positive distortion on the sub regional statistics. The regeneration activity taking place there over the last fifteen years, indicates that the town is an identified area of deprivation at the sub regional level. These similarities in the towns' strategic and policy contexts allow for clarity of analysis of their regeneration at the policy level and enhance the ability of the research to illuminate differences at the local level. The three towns chosen offer differing models of the cultural regeneration process which cannot be easily categorized into the definitional frameworks for cultural regeneration offered in the literature as reviewed above. All three

regeneration projects have included culture as a core element of their policies, and as such could be considered as either *culture-led or cultural regeneration* under Evans (2005) typology, but this categorization does not adequately reflect the differences between the projects which incorporate different balances of private, public and 3rd sector involvement.

The regeneration of Margate has been driven by the local state, and continues to be supported by a public/private partnership delivery vehicle that receives significant public funding. Folkestone's renaissance has been driven by a charity set up by a philanthropic local businessman and the local state is playing a secondary role. In Whitstable, a more organic gentrification has taken place following the in-migration of an artistic community over a fifteen year period, with the local state following belatedly in their wake. Vickery's (2007) typology is excessively city-focused, but would include all of these towns under the categorization of 'arts-led civic development', because of the way that the arts have become integral to the regeneration projects. Again, this categorization fails to differentiate between the very different delivery structures involved in these seaside schemes and the very different ways in which they have been implemented to this point. Grodach & Loukaitou-Sideris' (2007) typology of cultural development splits development into *entrepreneurial*, *creative class* and *progressive* strategies, based on a study of US cities, however these English projects involve elements of each of these processes due to the neoliberal, 'third-way' relationship between the public and private sectors embodied in contemporary British regeneration policy. The towns of Whitstable, Folkestone and Margate are all following the cultural regeneration route, but within the context of a mature policy arena in which cultural regeneration has become an accepted mode of regeneration delivery, with a specific set of predicted outcomes which are almost entirely economic. For this reason, we see strategy documents relating to each location discuss economic benefits and sharing a similarly uncomplicated conception of the social sphere, usually expressed as 'community'. Referring back to the European Model (McGuigan 1996) of urban regeneration discussed in Chapter 3, the three towns chosen for this research all display elements of this approach given their use of flagship buildings and cultural districts, attempts to diversify their economies using culture and knowledge economy initiatives, and the framing of their regeneration in terms of regional and global competitiveness, both within the tourism industry and other fields.

The projects do not differentiate between themselves in terms of the integration of culture into their strategies, or the use of particular methodologies such as cultural quarters, flagship buildings or festivals, which they all make use of to a greater or lesser degree. The research literature in this field treats cultural regeneration as a particularly novel form of development, when it has already

become part of official discourse in the policy arena, particularly in the south-east of England where it is being implemented in a wide range of locations. From the régulation theory perspective adopted by this study, these different institutional and policy frameworks imply differences in the mode of regulation in each destination, despite them all implementing regeneration strategies that share the same regime of accumulation – cultural regeneration and its associated cultural tourism and cultural industries activity. Following the visual model used above, the multiple embedded case study design for this research is shown in figure 4.

Figure 5 - Multiple embedded case study design

Cultural Regeneration in Seaside Towns in Kent

Folkestone	Margate	Whitstable
• UOA 1	• UOA 1	• UOA 1
• UOA 2	• UOA 2	• UOA 2
• UOA 3	• UOA 3	• UOA 3
• UOA 4	• UOA 4	• UOA 4
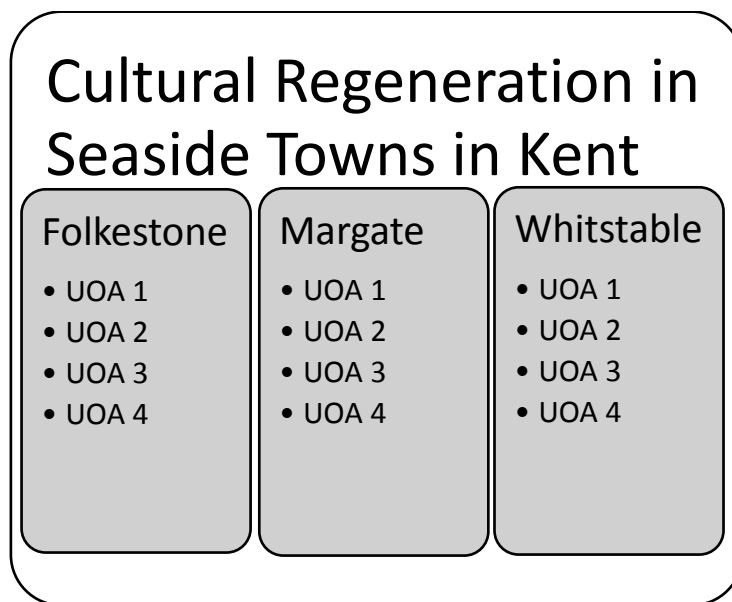
Within this case study design, qualitative methods are being used. Miller et al (2004: 332) explain that qualitative research does not involves the 'context stripping' that can occur with quantitative research and, as such, is well positioned to clarify 'social, cultural and structural contexts', of the kind that are under investigation in this study. The following definition of qualitative research was being used in this study:

"Qualitative research begins with assumptions, a worldview, the possible **use of a theoretical lens**, and the study of research problems inquiring into the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. To study this problem, qualitative researchers use **an emerging qualitative approach** to inquiry, the collection of data in a **natural setting** sensitive to the **people and places** under study, and **data analysis that is inductive and establishes patterns or themes**. The final written report or presentation includes the **voices of participants**, the reflexivity of the

researcher, and a complex description and interpretation of the problem, and it **extends the literature or signals a call for action**." (Creswell 2007: 37 *emphasis mine*)

The areas highlighted in the quotation above relate directly to the conceptual framework of this research and the literature in this field, as shown in the table 4, below:

Table 5 -qualitative elements of research design

Definitional term in qualitative research	Element of conceptual framework
Use of a theoretical lens	This research design is grounded in the conceptual framework provided by political economy and régulation theory
Emerging qualitative approach	The research design was informed by the review of the literature specific to this study.
Natural setting of research	Data was collected from participants in the destinations that were selected as case studies
Study of people and places	This research focused on specific destinations and the perspectives of stakeholders within them
Inductive data analysis	Data analysis was based on thematic content analysis of documents and interviews, using a mixture of inductive and deductive codes
Use of participant's voices	Emphasis on representing stakeholder perspectives in the research
Extends the literature, or signals a call for action	This research adds to the literature on political economy and tourism, and on destination development. Its findings have direct relevance for future policy development.

Finn et al (2000) also characterize qualitative research as being characterized by an emergent design approach, the analysis of meaning from words and texts, being accrued out in natural, interactive settings and as intuitive in terms of its processes and procedures. As can be seen from the discussion above, the design of this research has been influenced by the reviews of the literature on régulation theory and on cultural regeneration, as well as on the historical development of

English Seaside Towns. In the sense, the design has been emergent, as it has been shaped by consideration from early stages of the research process. However, in order to ensure that the 'quality' of the research design (Silverman 2004: 209), the methodology chapter for this research has established the design of the research in advance of the primary research being carried out. Using qualitative methods allows this research to make an additional minor contribution to the tourism literature, because as Ren et al (2010) highlight, tourism research is still dominated by quantitative approaches which often fail to engage with broader social and political processes, instead focusing on more narrow problems of management, perhaps because of the tendency for tourism researchers to be concentrated in business schools.

5.4 Policy analysis

Critical Realism, which guided the design of this methodology, requires that the researcher looks beyond the 'compelling surface ontology' (Gale 2005: 19) of social phenomena, to look for underlying causes (Botterill 2001). As Jessop (2003) explains, régulation theory offers a set of concepts that can be used when carrying our research in this vein. When using régulation theory to analyse a situation, one of the key components of the analysis should be of the mode of regulation, the ensemble of rules, norms, conventions and institutions that govern a social sphere (Brenner & Glick 2001, Danielzyk & Ossenbrugge 2001) and which are the underlying causes of policy interventions that aim to "reduce contradictions and conflict, to promote capital accumulation or to establish more stable social relations" (Bramwell 2011: 471). For this reason, the first stage of analysis within each case study involved the analysis of policy and other official documents that related to the overall shared context of the cases, and to each case specifically. This phase of the research dealt with the analysis of materials that can be read as a text, but that have not been produced for the purposes of research (Bryman and Bell 2007), often referred to as *grey literature*. Grey literature is often not commercially published and usually incorporates reports, policy documents, local and national government documents, conference presentations and other publications. (Mathews, 2004, Kennell & Macleod 2009). Following the analysis of the structures of regeneration in the UK during the New Labour period presented in the literature review, it was possible to construct table 5, below, as a guide for identifying relevant documentary sources form the grey literature.

Table 6 - Documentary sources

Agency	Activity	Source
Central Government	Policy formulation, funding	DCMS
		DCLG
		ODPM
		Treasury
		Legislation
		Cabinet Office
Non-departmental public bodies	Strategic contribution to government policy, funding, project delivery	Arts Council England
		Arts Council England South East
		Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment
		English Heritage
		English Tourism Council
		Homes and Communities Agency
		Museums, Libraries and Archives Commission
		South East of England Development

		Agency
Regional Government	Policy formulation, funding, strategy	Government Office for the South East
		South East Regional Assembly
		Kent County Council
Local Government	Policy formulation, funding, strategy	Canterbury City Council
		Shepway District Council
		Thanet District Council
Regeneration Partnerships	Partnership brokering, funding, management of regeneration processes	Various
Non-governmental regeneration bodies	Involved in regeneration practice	Various
Third-sector organizations	Involved in regeneration practice	Various

The information in the table above was used to identify and categorize sources and to ensure that sources were been collected from the full range of regeneration stakeholders for the areas under study. These documents were analysed using content analysis to identify themes within the data and develop a strategic overview of the field of cultural regeneration in the three seaside towns under study. The results of this first stage of the research in each case, also informed the purposive sampling of key respondents for the second phase of the research, described in the next section of this chapter. The full list of documents used in this research is given in the relevant sections of Chapter 6, below.

5.5 Stakeholder interviews

This research used the perspectives of stakeholders in the case study destinations to gain a deeper understanding of the social phenomena involved in the implementation of cultural regeneration strategies in each case study. Fielding and Fielding (1998), in their guidelines for triangulation suggest that collecting data from the participants in a situation alongside other data can help to provide additional validity for the methodology, so long as a single theoretical perspective is applied in analysing all sets of data. Stakeholders, their networks, and their perspectives are frequently studied in research considering tourism development (Bramwell & Sharman 1999, Buhalis 2000, Pavolvich 2003, Holden 2010, Hazra et al 2014). Timur & Getz (2008) explain that it is important to consider a wide range of stakeholders in urban tourism settings in order to ensure that the widest possible range of views is taken into consideration when formulating policy and making recommendations for development.   Mitchell et al (1997) explain that stakeholders differ from one another in terms of their relationship to an organisation or a context. In particular, they are characterised by differing levels of power (their ability to impose their will on a situation), their legitimacy (the degree to which others perceive their exercise of power to be justified) and their urgency (the degree to which the stakeholder can make a claim for immediate attention in a process). Studying stakeholder perspectives is important, therefore, as their relationships to local situations in terms of their power mean that the implementation of cultural regeneration strategies will depend on the extent to which different stakeholders are engaged and mobilised, and on their views of the legitimacy of other actors in the process.

A strategy of purposive sampling (Creswell 2009) was used to identify the stakeholders to be interviewed in this stage, based on their involvement in cultural regeneration strategies in each case study destination either as individuals or, more frequently, as representatives of organisations identified in the policy documents listed above. Respondents included representatives from regional, county-level and local regeneration bodies, community organisations, tourism destination professionals and tourism and cultural businesses. Lists of respondents for each part of the case study is given at the start of each case study in Chapter 6, below. 1-2 hour long semi-structured interviews (Bryman & Bell 2007) were carried out with each participant, with each interview based around a set of questions organised thematically (Kvale 1996) around the key themes (Holloway 2003) established in the earlier chapters of this thesis. The questions were informed by the results of the first phase of this stage of the research, into policy documents, and a series of prompts (Saunders et al 2009) were also incorporated at the design stage to ensure that the researcher was able to probe the interviewee on each topic to elicit further information, if

required. See table 6, below, for a list of the questions and themes, showing thematic design of the interviews. The interviews were recorded using a digital recorder, the use of which was planned and carried out according to Branley's (2004) guidelines for good practice in this area.

Table 7 - Thematic design of interviews

Themes	Topic	Interview questions	Prompts
Mode of regulation – institutions and institutional arrangements	Role of organisation and informant in Seaside Regeneration in Kent	Can you explain your role in local regeneration activity? Can you explain the role of your organisation in local regeneration activity?	What kinds of projects are you involved in locally? What exactly is it that your organisation does in the town?
	Partnerships that the informant works in Seaside Regeneration in Kent	Who else do you work with as part of your role in local regeneration? What other organisations do you work with in local regeneration?	Are there are any people or groups that you work with regularly in the town?
	Role of regeneration institutions Seaside Regeneration in Kent	What other organisations are involved in local regeneration that you know about?	What other organisations are there in the town who you think I should speak to?

Mode of regulation - Policies	Role of policies in guiding and funding regeneration	What policies have an impact on your work?	Are there any national policies or guidelines that you have to work with? Are there any regional policies or guidelines that you have to work with? Are there any local policies or guidelines that you have to work with?
Regime of accumulation – Economic profile of the case study	The contemporary economic profile of seaside towns Kent	How would you describe the local economy?	How do you think the local economy is doing?
Mode of development – crisis and crisis-responses	Character of the areas of cultural regeneration in the destinations	How would you describe the areas in the town that are going through regeneration?	What do you think about the bits of the town where regeneration is happening?

	What decline is being addressed in seaside regeneration and what are its causes?	What are the problems that local regeneration is trying to solve? What do you think the causes of these problems are?	Why do you need regeneration here? What do you think is behind these problems?
	What methods are being used to address decline in seaside regeneration	How would you describe the approach to regeneration that is being taken locally?	If someone asked you what was happening with regeneration in the town, what would you tell them?
	Specific challenges of seaside town regeneration	How do you think seaside regeneration differs from regeneration in other areas?	Is there anything that happens in seaside regeneration that doesn't happen in cities? Is there anything that happens in regeneration in cities that doesn't happen here?
Regime of accumulation – New economic activity	Role of Culture within Regeneration strategies in seaside towns	What role does culture play in local regeneration?	How important do you think cultural activity is in regeneration here?

	Relationship between Cultural Regeneration and economic development	How does cultural activity support local economic development?	Is culture good for the local economy here?
	Role of cultural tourism in Cultural Regeneration in the towns	How significant is cultural tourism in local regeneration?	Do you think that there is a lot of tourism that goes along with this regeneration?
Mode of development – the impacts of cultural regeneration	Role of Communities in regeneration	What role do local communities have in local regeneration?	How can local people get involved in local regeneration?
	Positive impacts of cultural regeneration	What have been the positive impacts of local regeneration?	What do you think is working well locally, in terms of regeneration?

	Negative impacts of cultural regeneration	What have been the negative impacts of local regeneration	What do you think is working badly locally, in terms of regeneration?

This thematic design produced a set of interview questions which were used to create a specific interview guide for each participant.

The interviews were transcribed into written texts to increase reliability (Kvale 1996: 164), but the issue of validity is more complex as Kvale describes: "Transcribing involves translating from an oral language, with its own set of rules, to a written language with another set of rules. Transcripts are not copies or representations of some original reality, they are interpretive constructions that are useful tools for given purposes." (1996: 165). There are no universally agreed standards for interview transcription, but the researcher attempted to record the complexities and ambiguities of spoken language, using the transcript in tandem with the original recording at the analysis stage to resolve problems in interpretation. The interview transcripts were coded for analysis using a combination of pre-determined codes relating to key themes in the research questions, and codes that correspond to emerging themes in the data as the process of analysis takes place, following the strategy outlined for data analysis, below.

5.6 Design quality

Silverman (2004: 209) emphasizes the role of design quality in qualitative research:

"Just because we do not use complicated statistical tests or do much counting does not mean that we can wallow in comforting hot baths of 'empathic' or 'authentic' discussions' with respondents. After all, if this is the limit of our ambitions, can we do better than a talk show presenter?"

Silverman goes on to cite Hammersley (1990, 1992) on validity and reliability in research in order to emphasize the key roles that these two terms play in the value of the qualitative approach to research: "By validity, I mean truth: interpreted as the extent to which an account accurately represents the social phenomenon to which it refers." "Reliability refers to the degree of consistency with which instances are assigned to the same category by different observers or by the same observers on different occasions" Yin (2003) uses the same terms, adding two more elements of design quality when evaluating case study research design specifically. These are:

1. Construct validity
2. Internal validity
3. External validity
4. Reliability

Each of these will be dealt with in turn in this section to demonstrate the quality of this research design. The principle of construct validity ensures that the methodological tools being used within a case are appropriate to the concepts being used to frame the study (Yin 2003). The methodology has been linked clearly to the conceptual framework of political economy and régulation theory, in order to achieve this. This conceptual framework has been linked to the methodological approach of critical realism (Jessop 2003) and this has operationalised within a multiple-embedded case study design (Yin 2003). The test of the internal validity of a research design is only relevant where the intention of a case study is to be explanatory and to seek causal links within the case (Yin 2003). This research is supported by a conceptual framework that suggests certain structural relationships between its elements, but emphasises the importance of carrying our primary research to explore these in specific times and places. In this instance, it would make sense to view this case study design as a hybrid explanatory / exploratory design in which a certain set of structural relationships are implied in the research design, but that remains open to the contingencies of research. When referring to explanatory designs specifically, and case study design more generally, Yin identifies "cross-case synthesis" (2003: 133) as a method for increasing the internal validity, that is the validity of the relationship between the methods used within a case, of a case study design. This synthesis requires a multiple case design and is so appropriate for this research. This process involves dealing with each case as a separate unit of analysis in its own right and then synthesizing the analysis of each case in order to increase the validity of the analysis of the multiple-case design by forcing the researcher to analyse what may be contradictory or otherwise divergent data, rather than risk selecting only confirmatory data from each case as part of a broader analysis. This method of cross-case synthesis was applied to the analysis of the case study data from this research.

The test of external validity concerns itself with the generalizability of the findings of the case study (Yin 2003). Important here is the concept of analytical generalization, as opposed to statistical generalization. Case study research, informed by conceptual concerns, aims to

"generalize a particular set of results to some broader theory" (*ibid*: 37). The theory that is being used then predicts in what circumstances the findings of the case study should be generalizable. In order to address concerns that single case studies do not provide a sufficient base on which to make analytical generalizations, Yin (2003) suggests that a replication logic is applied across multiple cases, something that has been carried out in the design of this research. Reliability is a measure of the rigor of the research design and, specifically, a measure of how well errors and biases have been designed-out of the study (Yin 2003). This is often conceived as the repeatability of the study – if the same research design was followed again, would the same conclusions be arrived at? Yin recommends that, in order to ensure the reliability of the case study design, a record of all methodological procedures is kept during the research and that the data used is appropriately archived. These steps were followed for this research. Yin also recommends the creation of a *case study protocol* (*ibid*: 67). Yin's protocol outline includes the research objectives of the study, rationale for case study design, data collection procedures and analytical and evaluative procedures being used in the case. Although Yin's introduction of the case study protocol is widely cited in case-study research, it is not appropriate for this research within a doctoral context, in which a methodology chapter is produced as part of the study, which serves the same purpose.

5.7 Data analysis

Content analysis is a method of qualitative data analysis (QDA) that involves "careful, detailed, systematic examination and interpretation of a particular body of material to identify patterns, themes, biases and meanings" (Berg 2007: 304). This method of QDA contains elements of a more quantitative approach as it typically involves a systematic unitizing of textual data, amongst which the researcher will look for relationships; frequently the results of this method will be presented numerically or analyzed using statistical techniques. However, Berg (2007: 308) points out that to think of content analysis as a quantitative procedure is to concentrate too heavily on the process of data manipulation and to under-represent the process of analysis of the data which "involves developing ideas about the information found in the various categories, patterns that are emerging, and meanings that seemed to be conveyed. In turn, this analysis should be related to the literature and broader concerns and to the original research questions." Approaching content analysis in this way brings it in line with interpretive QDA methods and this is the approach taken to content analysis in this research. In order to carry

this out, categories of source have been identified in table three that build on the analysis carried out in the literature review. In addition to this, a system of codes was employed to categorize the data that similarly refers to themes and concepts of relevance to this research that have been developed in the preceding chapters. This is a *deductive* method of code generation (Berg 2007), that formed a starting point for an *inductive* process of further categorizing the data to allow for the emergence of additional information of relevance to the research. Creswell (2009: 186-187) suggests four categories of codes: Codes on topics that are expected; codes that were unanticipated; codes that are unusual and therefore of conceptual interest and; codes that address a larger theoretical perspective in the research.

Bryman and Bell (2007: 595) provide an additional description the structure of each category of code. The first level should be a basic code that indicates the broad type of the data being coded, for example 'regeneration need'. The second level will relate to the specific content of that data, for example 'industrial decline'. The third category may be needed to relate the data to the "broad analytical themes" of the research, for example 'agrees with the cultural change perspective. Following this schema, examples of coding used in this research include:

RND: Regeneration need

RND-ID: Regeneration needed because of industrial decline

RND-ID-CC: Regeneration needed because of industrial decline, seen from the cultural change perspective

The list of deductive codes used is presented in table six. These codes have all been entered in to the CAQDAS package being used for this research.

Table 8 - List of deductive codes

Code	Description
RND	Reasons why regeneration is needed.
RPOL	Regeneration Policy
RFUND	Regeneration Funding

RGOV	Regeneration Governance
RTYPE	Type of Regeneration
RCULT	Cultural Regeneration
CTOUR	Cultural Tourism
CIND	Creative Industries
SREN	Social Regeneration
RIMP	Regeneration Impacts
SIMP	Social Impacts
COM	Community
SEAR	Seaside Regeneration
SEAD	Decline of seaside towns
SEAC	Seaside culture
URFORM	Urban Form
ECONR	Economic Restructuring
URCOMP	Urban competitiveness
SYMECON	Symbolic Economies
CLASS	Class
CULC	Cultural Capital
SCAP	Social Capital

SPAT	Spatial
PLACE	Place
ECON	Economic Development
EMP	Employment

The data presented by the documents collected according to the categories set out in table three was coded and sorted using QDA software (NVivo 11). The results of this content analysis established the policy and institutional arrangements for cultural regeneration in the seaside towns under study. In the first instance, the data gathered informed the purposive sampling of individuals to be interviewed for the second stage of this first phase of research. The results of the content analysis provided a guide for the design of in-depth interviews which were administered in order to triangulate with the findings of the content analysis and achieve a deeper level of analysis of each case.

Data gathered in this project was analysed using NVivo software. NVivo is an example of computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS). These software packages have evolved from basic tools for counting frequencies of words into sophisticated tools for coding and categorizing data (Seale 2005). NVivo is also used for theory-building and understanding relationships within data, and also contains a number of visual tools for assisting in these processes. NVivo 11, the version of the program being used for this research, is capable of working with imported documents, transcriptions, directly entered text, video and audio sources as well as web-pages. There are two advantages of using CAQDAS highlighted by Seale (2004) of relevance to this research. Firstly, CAQDAS can increase the speed at which a researcher can proceed with qualitative analysis, replacing time-consuming processes of coding by hand, photocopying, highlighting, cutting and pasting and sorting through large volumes of paper. This then frees the researcher to engage with analysis at an earlier stage in the research project. Secondly, the consistent approach that can be developed through the use of detailed banks of codes and the use of precise tools in analysis can add to the perceived rigour of the qualitative research process. Bazeley (2007) adds to this list, specifically in relation to NVivo. The software also allows for the management of large amounts of data through an archival system. The ability to generate graphical representations of data and to query it in complex ways using automated functions also aids the analysis process.

Seale (2004) also notes three main objections to the use of CAQDAS packages, whilst noting that traditional resistance to these innovations has come from researchers suspicious of early, overly mechanistic manifestations of this kind of software. The first objection is that this software does not add anything to the research process that already existing word-processing software does not already provide. This concern can be addressed by drawing attention to the ability of NVivo to integrate the analysis of textual, audio and video data and also in its capacities for the visualization and presentation of data. The second concern is that CAQDAS promotes a narrow 'code and retrieve' approach to qualitative data. This objection may hold in particular circumstances, but NVivo is a tool that can be used in many ways, and if used within a project with a sophisticated conceptual framework and, in particular, if the visual capacities of the software are used, then it can provide a rigorous platform on which to develop more complex modes of analysis such as discourse or conversational analysis. The final concern is that, for small data samples, CAQDAS may be less useful or, worse, a distraction. This would seem to be dependent on the manner in which NVivo is used and the experience and ease of use, or otherwise, that the researcher brings to the application of the program. In this case, the use of multiple sources of data and the investment of time on the behalf of the researcher, avoids this criticism.

The NVivo software provides a mechanism for archiving and retrieving data in a flexible and reliable way (Bazeley 2007), which is of particular importance for this research which will bring together large amounts of documents, field notes and images. As well as organizing data into a folder structure within the software, researchers using NVivo can also append memo documents to sources and create links to unimportable sources, classed as 'externals' by NVivo, such as websites. One aspect of data management that is offered by NVivo is of specific relevance to this research design, which is the ability to categorize data by *cases*. The researcher can set up specific meta-nodes called 'cases', which can then have all relevant data for that case assigned to them. In this research, cases for Whitstable, Folkestone and Margate were set up within NVivo at the beginning of the research project. Queries asked of the data can then be limited to particular cases, allowing for within-case analysis to be carried out, limiting analysis to sources attached to that particular case. Cross case analysis is also facilitated by NVivo, which allows for matrix coding queries of saved case data, comparing cases within this multiple-embedded case study design. This matrix query then highlights differences, similarities and relationships between the analyses of each case (Bazeley 2007).

Analysis in NVivo is based on the development of a system of codes by the researcher. These initial codes are set up as 'nodes' within NVivo, initially as 'free nodes' that stand alone and that are generated during the early stages of data analysis. As analysis proceeds, the system of nodes is refined and developed tree-like into a branching system of nodes and sub-nodes, as well as meta-nodes that make links across units of analysis (Bazeley 2007). These trees of nodes help to organize and categorise data, apply conceptual frameworks to data and to identify patterns and relationships within the qualitative data sets. In NVIvo, it is possible to develop linkages and describe patterns within data by using *queries*, *sets* and *models*. Queries are Boolean searches that the researcher can make of the entire data set, or of parts of it. Sets can be organized within the data that group together coding nodes, or particular sources and these sets can then be analyzed as discrete units. Visual models can also be generated through NVivo, using graphic tools and incorporating indicators of relationships and linkages between nodes and sets. Additionally, the software provides the ability to develop links and hyperlinks within sources and to attach notes to sources, allowing researchers to build and keep records of emerging relationships within the data.

This chapter has explained the methodology applied in the primary research that forms the main body of this thesis. Taking a critical realist approach, this research was based on a multiple-embedded case study of East Kent, within which three English Seaside Towns were chosen as cases – Margate, Whitstable and Folkestone. Units of analysis were selected for each case, and data was collected from the analysis of policies at the national, regional and local levels, as well as from stakeholder interviews. The following chapter of this thesis contains the results of this case study approach and is broken down in the national, regional and local levels.

6. CASE STUDIES

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the results of the primary research carried out for this research will be presented. In line with the methodology set out in the previous chapter, three case study towns were selected which shared a common context for their cultural regeneration projects.

The first section of this chapter analyses this common context using data from the analysis of national and regional policy documents as well as from qualitative interviews with respondents working at the regional level in Kent and the South-east of England. The next three sections of the chapter cover each of the case study towns in depth, and the final section of the chapter brings together the analysis in a comparative way to develop a critical, comparative understanding of the ways in which cultural regeneration was being implemented in each destination.

In Chapter 5 the multiple-embedded case study design of this research was explained, which involves multiple-comparative case studies within an over-arching shared context. This complex case study design has been designed around four units of analysis, suggested by the conceptual framework for the research, which was presented in chapter 2. In Chapter 5, it was explained that this has produced a hybrid explanatory / exploratory design in which certain structural relationships between the units of analysis are presumed, but which remained open to the contingencies of research and variation between cases. For this style of case study design, Yin recommends "cross-case synthesis" (2003: 133) as a method for increasing the internal validity of the design. In order to carry out this analysis, each case study was presented in turn following a description of their shared regional and national context. In this chapter, the case studies will be analysed through a cross-case synthesis which will allow for the analysis of contradictory or otherwise divergent data between cases, as well as an analysis of the case study as a whole, which is the case of the Cultural Regeneration of Seaside Towns in Kent. This synthesis makes use of the regional and national findings presented in Chapter 6 in order to develop a holistic analysis of the case study as a whole. In the conclusions chapter, the implications of the analysis of this case for the understanding of seaside regeneration under new labour will be explained.

6.2 National Policy Context

In order to analyse the role of cultural regeneration in regeneration policy at a national level, the following national policy documents were analysed:

Table 9 - National and regional policy documents

Source	Document
Legislation	*Regional Development Agencies Act 1998, Chapter 45*, London: HMSO
	Sustainable Communities Act 2007, *Chapter 23*, London: HMSO
	Housing and Regeneration Act 2008, Chapter 17, London: HMSO
Cabinet Office	Cabinet Office (1999) *Urban Task Force Report*, London: HMSO
	Cabinet Office (2001) *A New Commitment to Neighbourhood Renewal: National Strategy*, London: HMSO
	Cabinet Office (2006) *Strong and Prosperous Communities*, London: HMSO
Treasury	HMT (2007) *Sub-national Regeneration and Economic Development Report*, London: HMSO
Department for Communities and Local Government / Office of the Deputy Prime Minister	ODPM (2000a) *Our Towns and Cities: Full Report*, London: HMSO
	ODPM (2000b) *Our Countryside: The Future*, London: HMSO
	DCLG (2008a) *Communities in Control*, London: HMSO

	DCLG (2008b) *Prosperous Places*, London: HMSO
	DCLG (2009a) *Transforming Places*, London: HMSO
	DCLG (2009b) *World Class Places*, London: HMSO
	DCLG (2009c) *Central-local Housing and Regeneration Agreement*, London: HMSO
	DCLG (2010) *Strategies for Seaside Success*, London: HMSO
Department for Culture, Media and Sport	DCMS (1999) *Policy Action Team 10 report*, London: HMSO
	Culture at the Heart of Regeneration (2004) DCMS (2004) *Culture at the Heart of Regeneration*, London: HMSO
	DCMS (2009) *Lifting People*, London: HMSO
Communities and Local Government Select Committee	CLGSC (2007) *Coastal Towns: Second Report of Session*, London: HMSO
Homes and Communities Agency	HCA (2009) *Corporate Plan 2009-2011*, London, Homes and Communities Agency
Arts Council England	ACE (2001) *Arts and Social Exclusion*, London: Arts Council England
	ACE (2003) *Arts in Urban Renaissance*, London: Arts Council England
	ACE (2005) *Arts and Regeneration*, London: Arts Council England
	ACE (2006a) *Arts and Creative Industries*, London: Arts Council England
	ACE (2006b) *Power of Art*, London: HMSO

	ACE (2008) *Great Art for Everyone*, London, Arts Council England
Museums, Libraries and Archives Council	MLA (2001) *Renaissance in the regions*, London: Museums, Libraries and Archives Council
	MLA (2008) *Value of the MLA to Southeast Community Agendas*, London: Museums, Libraries and Archives Council
	MLA (2009) *Review of Renaissance*, London: Museums, Libraries and Archives Council
English Heritage	English Heritage (2005) *Regeneration and the Historic Environment*, London: English Heritage
Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment	CABE (2003) *Ten Year Review*, London: Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment
	CABE (2008a) *Shape the Future*, London: Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment
	CABE (2008b) *Sea Change Open Grants Guidance*, London: Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment
English Tourism Council	ETC (2001) *Sea Changes*, London: English Tourism Council

6.2.1 Content analysis of national policy documents

The following two sections present the findings of the content analysis of national policy documents, which was carried out to evaluate to apply the conceptual framework of this research. This was done to evaluate the extent to which the insights of régulation theory help to explain the approach that was taken to the restructuring of seaside economies through

cultural regeneration during the New Labour period in the UK. The analysis of these findings are presented in Chapter 7.

6.2.1.1 Associated with the Regime of accumulation

National policy documents relating to seaside cultural regeneration were analysed using keywords associated with the literature regarding the regime of accumulation. These keywords were associated with concepts such as production, consumption, market circulation and income distribution, as well as with the knowledge economy and the creative industries, in order to focus on whether a post-Fordist regime of accumulation (Ioannides and Debbage 1998, Danielzyk & Ossenbrugge 2001, Costa and Martinotti 2003, Hoffmann 2003, James 2009, Mosedale 2011) was being developed through national policies in this area, through an emphasis on the knowledge economy and the creative industries in government urban policy.

Throughout national policy documents, a number of statements were found that acknowledge the New Labour government's adoption of third-way (Giddens 1999) positions on the contemporary position of the UK economy, which was seen as being in a transitional phase away from Fordist industries towards post-Fordist, service industry-led industries. A foundational document in understanding New Labour's urban policies is the Urban White Paper (ODPM 2000a), which explicitly stated that the decline of manufacturing would be overcome through the growth of 'service, new technology and creative industries' (ibid: 15), which would enable to the UK economy to compete internationally for jobs and investment. This national perspective on the future trajectory of the economy remained constant throughout the New Labour period, with successive policy documents containing similar statements. In 2004, the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) published *Culture at the Heart of Regeneration* (DCMS 2004), a wide ranging policy statement which aimed to articulate the government's views on the instrumental role that culture could play in urban policy. Within this document, the growth of the creative industries and tourism was seen as a marker of the UK's move away from its traditional 'manufacturing base to the service-based industries' (ibid: 1), with evidence provided that the creative industries now employed more than twice as many people as the motor industry and were responsible for 12.7% of GDP.

In 2007, The Treasury carried out a detailed national review of the different approaches to urban regeneration and economic development taking place across the UK, through the *Sub-national Regeneration and Economic Development Report* (HMT 2007). Throughout the report, mention is made of the restructuring (Jessop 2003) of the UK economy which has been driven by a combination of factors such as technological change, international competitions and globalisation which will require sub national economies in the UK to become increasingly flexible, innovative and specialised if they are 'to increase prosperity and tackle effectively concentrations of disadvantage' (HMT 2007: 1). However, in line with other policies of an increasingly outward looking, international Labour party, these changes are also seen as an opportunity because of the structural changes that had taken place as a result of decades of economic reform: '"As an open, flexible economy, the UK stands to benefit from global economic integration, demographic mobility, more competitive markets, and continued technological change' (HMT 2007:18).

The way in which these broader economic forces could be harnessed to the benefit of the UK was expressed in the DCLG's (2009b) policy statement on place-making, *World Class Places*, as being through the competition for 'attracting private sector investment and skilled workers' (DCLG 2009b: 19), echoing the point already made by the Treasury that the cities and towns should compete on the basis of providing a supportive and welcoming environment for business and employees to encourage business relocation to 'to maximise their competitive advantage in globalised markets.' (HMT 2007: 19).

When considering which industrial sectors would drive this new period of economic growth in the UK, the Treasury were clear that 'We need further concentration on the high value-added, knowledge intensive activities in which experience shows that UK firms have a comparative advantage, including in services such as business, legal, creative and financial services.' (HMT 2007: 5). The DCMS saw the cultural and creative industries as providing solutions across a variety of locations and contexts, for example seeing them as 'essential to rural economic diversification, with their potential to employ local people, attract tourism and harness traditional crafts and skills' (DCMS 2004: 14). Arts Council England justified their support for the creative industries by stating that 'they are a source of jobs and growth' (ACE 2006a: 13) and even placing their support for the traditional arts in England into this economic context by explaining that 'It is clear that funding for the arts is a powerful stimulus for creative industries" (ACE 2008: 11). In *Transforming Places* (DCLG 2009a), the government

discussed how to take forward their approach to urban regeneration and stated that one of the aims of policy was 'Realising a knowledge-rich economy… Developing leading edge sectors, clusters, organisations and businesses (e.g. land-based, construction, creative and cultural industries, tourism, eco-enterprises and social enterprises)' (DCLG 2009a: 19). This consistent perspective on the process and end-state of economic restructuring in the UK contributed to increasingly instrumental statements from the DCMS, placing their work and the work of the non-departmental bodies which they supported at the heart of this broader programme of economic development:

'DCMS sectors help by providing employment and creating new jobs. They also help build skills which help people enter and remain in work. The 1980s and 90s saw the decline of traditional and labour-intensive industries. New industries emerged – many of those we helped grow are now at heart of the 21st century economy, providing well-paid jobs that sustain families and communities in a high-tech world.' (DCMS 2009: 9)

6.2.1.2 Associated with the Mode of regulation

National policy documents relating to seaside cultural regeneration were analysed using keywords associated with the literature regarding the mode of regulation. These keywords were associated with concepts such as institutional arrangements, partnerships, governance and coordination, in order to focus on whether a post-Fordist mode of regulation (Ioannides and Debbage 1998, Danielzyk & Ossenbrugge 2001, Costa and Martinotti 2003, Hoffmann 2003, Mosedale 2011, Jessop 2013) was being developed through national policies in this area, through an emphasis on new governance arrangements in New Labour urban policy.

The *Regional Development Agencies Act* (1998) was a major part of New Labour's policy in their first term of government. It established nine regional economic development bodies in England's regions, with the following purposes:

- 'to further the economic development and the regeneration of its area,
- to promote business efficiency, investment and competitiveness in its area,
- to promote employment in its area,
- to enhance the development and application of skills relevant to employment in its area, and

- to contribute to the achievement of sustainable development in the United Kingdom where it is relevant to its area to do so.' (ibid: 2)

These new agencies were initially seen as leaders for development in the regions and were given control over all European Union funding in their regions to enable them to make a significant contribution to projects that met their local priorities. The Urban White Paper also emphasised this new regional emphasis in national economic policy and suggested that each region would be free to 'implement a strategy that builds on its strengths and tackles its weaknesses' (ODPM 2000a: 18). This regionalism was a key aspect of New Labour's approach to economic development in the UK that re-appears at many points across the three administrations. For example, in 2006, the Local Government White Paper, *Strong and Prosperous Communities*, stated that 'The challenges of the global economy and of sustainable growth require greater power and resources to be devolved to regional and local levels.' (Cabinet Office 2006: 9). The Treasury in 2007 identified that "reducing the disparities between the poorest six performing regions and the rest of England, bringing the poorest up to the national average, would be worth approximately an extra £60 billion boost to the UK economy." (HMT 2007: 1). However, policy on this matter was often seemingly contradictory with regional differences being seen as a contributing factor to economic underperformance, but greater variability in approaches taken by regional economic development bodies being seen as vital to reducing these differences.

Political oversight of the Regional Development Agencies was carried out by the partly democratic Regional Assemblies that were also created by the Regional Development Agency (1998) Act. These Regional Assemblies were given responsibility for creating a Regional Spatial Strategy that would set the overall planning goals for each region that the RDA would then support. These institutional arrangements only lasted ten years however, as the RDAs were given responsibility in 2007 for producing a Regional Economic Strategy that would supersede this function, after a review which concluded that the persistence of significant market failures in the regions was inhibiting future growth and would require more concerted government intervention (HMT 2007).

Governance arrangements for regeneration in New Labour policies were often complex and frequently multi-layered. The Urban Task Force, led by Richard Rogers as one of the most high profile policy initiatives of the first New Labour administration recommended that Local

Authorities should be given the powers and resources to lead regeneration and that significant public investment should be used to 'lever larger amounts of institutional investment into the process of regenerating our towns and cities' (Cabinet Office 1999: 4). Ten years later, this central role for local authorities was still being emphasised by government in a local government white paper, stating that '"as well as leading local partnerships to deliver regeneration, councils have a key role to play in maintaining momentum in these difficult times, including through: maintaining public sector investment in infrastructure; supporting housing and property markets; supporting firms, individuals and jobs" (DCLG 2009a: 10).

In 2001, the National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal (Cabinet Office 2001) created Local Strategic Partnerships (LSPs) as a local governance arrangement designed to bring together the wide variety of public sector bodies with an interest in regeneration and economic development to work in partnership to identify local problems and solutions, and to channel £800m of new central government to the country's 88 most deprived local authority areas. During the final New Labour administration, the combination of RDA, Local Authority and LSP was further complicated through the creation of the Homes and Communities Agency (HCA) in the Housing and Regeneration Act (2008), which was launched in 2009 to 'work in conjunction with local Government and regional partners to deliver a tailored package of regeneration investment for communities across England that responds to both local and national priorities' (DCLG 2009a:15). The main aim of the HCA was to identify where market failure was holding back large scale regeneration projects or leading to a failure to achieve 'government objectives of social and economic equity' (HCA 2009: 18). Importantly, the HCA differed from previous institutions in that it was explicitly tasked with bringing non-state actors into partnership working: 'bringing together the key partners in the public; private; and third sector to deliver a tailored package of regeneration investment to support the needs of local people and businesses.' (DCLG 2009a: 8) This followed on from the acknowledgement in the Sub National Review (HMT 2007: 8) that the state needed to develop its 'capacity to work effectively with the private sector' (HMT 2007: 8).

The final two initiatives taken by central government to reformulate governance arrangements at the local level were policy support for the proposals for new city-regions, as a further unit of economic governance that would link regional economic performance to major urban centres (DCLG 2008a) and an attempt to link local authority funding to new contracts between local and central government through Local Area Agreements and Multi Area Agreements, through

which local and national government would agree local priorities and the local contribution to national priorities and work together with local private and third sector partners to deliver on these (DCLG 2009a).

6.2.1.3 Associated with the process of legitimisation

National policy documents relating to seaside cultural regeneration were analysed using keywords associated with the literature regarding the process of legitimisation, as outlined in the conceptual framework chapter of this thesis. These keywords were associated with concepts such as symbolic violence, the personal and social impacts of culture, the impacts of cultural participation and the role of cultural institutions in society, in order to focus on whether culture was being used to legitimise the economic and governance arrangements of New Labour policies, in the manner set out by Bourdieu and others (Bourdieu 1984, Bourdieu & Darbel 1991, Bourdieu & Passeron 1990, Bourdieu 1993).

In 1999, as part of the first New Labour government's drive to place social exclusion at the heart of their social policy agenda (Lees 2013), all government departments were required to prepare a report outlining how their work would contribute to this. The DCMS response (DCMS 1999) clearly placed their work supporting the cultural sector into an instrumental framework that contained implicit assumptions about the positive impacts of culture on individuals and communities. The report claimed impacts for culture across a wide range of government policy agendas including 'using the arts to combat social exclusion and promote community development' (DCMS 1999: 59) and contributing to 'neighbourhood renewal and…health, crime, employment and education in deprived communities' (DCMS 1999:8). The Museums, Libraries and Archives (MLA) Commission recommended in 2001 that areas of the country facing significant social exclusion problems should become the focus of new cultural pathfinder projects which would assess the contribution that that the arts and sport could make to local regeneration and that these pathfinders would make recommendations for how to use culture to engage excluded residents and how best to make use of 'their creativity in the regeneration process' (MLA 2001: 50). The MLA were the non-departmental public body (NDPB) responsible for museums during the New Labour period and their policy documents from this time demonstrate a clear perspective on the perceived benefits of culture for individuals and society as a whole. In 2001, the MLA described museums and galleries as

acting as 'agents of social change' (MLA 2001: 43) who 'create a shared sense of belonging by acting as a mirror to society, representing and validating a wide range of histories and experiences." (MLA 2001: 45) and encourage 'people of all ages and backgrounds to broaden their horizons' (MLA 2001: 7). This view did not develop or change over the New Labour period, with a review of the contribution that the MLA could make to social exclusion in 2008 claiming that museums were 'protectors of a community's assets, able to involve people in the story, renewal and regeneration of their community, and give individuals a sense of place and belonging that few others services can provide' (MLS 2008: 5). In 2009, the MLA stated that 'individuals and communities need, more than ever, the combination of solace and stimulus that they provide' (MLR 2009: 13).

Arts Council England, the NDPB responsible for the arts and creative industries present a similar view of their own sectors, stating that 'the arts animate, inspire and revitalise. It is for this reason that the desire to regenerate our towns has often led to the establishment of arts and cultural facilities' (ACE 2003: 2). As well as traditional arts activities, they also justified their support for more innovative and temporary forms of cultural activity such as carnivals and festivals which would 'transform the way we feel about where we live, revitalising our towns by encouraging us to celebrate and take pride in our surroundings' (ACE 2003: 8). In particular, the Arts Council emphasised the role that the arts could play at the community level through 'community engagement and participation in planning, and in creating a sense of identity and pride' (ACE 2005: 1). Strong claims were made for the power of the arts in this regard, with a document on the role of the arts in regeneration putting forward the idea that 'the arts can make an effective contribution to creating or regenerating strong, cohesive and vibrant communities' (ACE 2005:1). As the New Labour period progressed, the Arts Council presented a series of stronger positions on the instrumental benefits of support for the arts such as:

> *"We believe that the arts have the power to change lives and communities, and to create opportunities for people throughout the country."* (ACE 2006b: 1)

> *"The drivers of regeneration are complex but artists can often lead the way"* (ACE 2006b: 2)

Many of these ideas promoted through the policies of the cultural sector's NDPBs were inspired by the most important statement of the New Labour government's position on the role

and value of culture in public policy, the 2004 DCMS document *Culture at the Heart of Regeneration* (DCMS 2004). This policy statement, which was informed by a national and international review of cultural regeneration projects, set the tone for New Labour's instrumental perspective on the role of culture. *Culture at the Heart of Regeneration* made a strong argument that, 'the identity of an entire city can be revived by a substantial programme of cultural regeneration, improving its status as a tourist destination and enhancing the quality of life for its inhabitants' (DCMS 2004: 11), demonstrating the New Labour thesis that economic growth could take place alongside social investment. These arguments were explicitly linked to international research and specific knowledge economy approaches to economic development. For example, the work of Florida (2002) was cited to explain that 'cities will only thrive if they are able to attract the new breed of creative, skilled people who want to live in places with high quality cultural facilities' (DCMS 2004: 1).

The list of areas that the DCMS claimed culture could positively benefit included crime, education, health, employment (DCMS 2004: 1), economic diversification, tourism and specifically heritage tourism, civic pride, improvements to the physical environment, the visitor economy, building stronger communities and restoring 'the soul of a community' (DCMS 2004: 8). In common with many New Labour policies, narratives of community were present throughout the document with culture being seen as providing benefits for communities in terms of 'employment, inward investment and tourism' (DCMS 2004: 31) and 'improving the skills and confidence of individuals and improving the quality of life and the capacity of communities to solve their own problems (Ibid). However, these benefits would only be realised when they were 'owned' and 'embraced' by the local community (ibid) in a regenerating area. By the end of the New Labour Period, the DCMS policy document *Lifting People* (DCMS 2009) retained this instrumental language when discussing the public value of investment in culture:

"Keeping our towns, cities and regions dynamic and interesting not only contributes to local people's sense of well-being but also helps to protect the future of businesses and attract visitors." (DCMS 2009: 16)

However, by this stage of New Labour, more emphasis was being placed on the evidence base for public investment and this final DCMS policy document made use of specific research into the relationship between social capital (Putnam 2000) and culture and links were made to social

networks and civic engagement, more measureable concepts than those that were often referred to in the *Culture at the Heart of Regeneration* policy period. Increasingly in policy during the last New Labour administration, as the economic crisis which began in 2008 began to take hold, departments were required to justify their spending in more explicitly economic terms and in *Lifting People*, these links were stated very clearly:

"Helping people is a valuable end in itself but social capital is also linked to improved economic outcomes. Regions with higher economic performance have higher levels of social trust and there is a clear association between levels of trust in a community and membership of sport and cultural groups." (DCMS 2009: 13)

6.2.1.4 New Labour Context

In chapter 3, this research was placed into the historical context of the New Labour period of government, 1997-2010. In this phase of the content analysis, national policy documents relating to seaside regeneration were analysed to investigate to what extent the general critiques of New Labour policy (Levitas 1998, Lister 2003, Jessop 2003, Cento Bull & Jones, 2005, Cerney & Evans 2006, Clift & Tomlinson 2006, L'Hote 2010, Heffernan 2011) would also provide insights into the regeneration of seaside towns during this period. This was carried out using keywords associated with terms such as internationalisation, governance, neoliberalism, social investment, welfare and community.

Numerous authors have explored how the development of the New Labour political project involved a shift towards a more neoliberal orientation (Jessop 2003, Cerney & Evans 2006) and this research found evidence of this orientation across a range of documents relating to the regeneration of seaside towns in this period. For example, the Urban White Paper (ODPM 2000a: 19) foregrounded the role of business in urban policies with the statement, 'We need to promote a culture of enterprise and innovation and encourage private investment' and the National Policy for Neighbourhood Renewal (Cabinet Office 2001: 18) showed the dominant (within New Labour) conceptualisation of economics as the driver of all social phenomena: 'No neighbourhood will ever be sustainable if the underlying economics cannot be made to work' (Cabinet Office 2001: 18), along with an acceptance of the inequalities and urban poverty that are associated with capitalism: 'There will always be some people and places that are poorer than others' (Cabinet Office 2001: 24). The future of the UK economy was seen by

New Labour as being 'an open, flexible economy' (HMT 2007:18) with 'competitive markets' (ibid) and a 'responsive regulatory regime' (DCLG 2009a: 17) that would create a welcoming environment for business and investment. As later New Labour policies began to grapple more with the governance arrangements for delivering urban change (see 1.1.3, above), the role of the state under successive New Labour administrations was cast in an explicitly neoliberal (Harvey 2005) vein.

In 2008, the *Communities in Control* white paper was published, which set out plans for a rebalancing of power between central and local government and an increased role for communities in local governance arrangements. This white paper said that 'the state should be a platform under people's feet, not a weight holding them down' (DCLG 2008a: 13) and that 'the state's role should be to set national priorities and minimum standards, while providing support and a fair distribution of resources (DCLG 2008a: 1).

The Sub Regional Review of Regeneration explained that the government's primary objective was to 'raise the rate of sustainable growth and achieve rising prosperity and a better quality of life, with economic and employment opportunities for all' (HMT 2007: 12) and this was reinforced in *Prosperous Places* (DCLG 2008b), a Government policy document that was published jointly by the Department for Communities and Local Government and the newly-created Department for Business, Enterprise and Regulatory Reform, which stated that the 'Government's central economic objective is to achieve high and stable rates of economic growth and employment' (DCLG 2008b: 15). This statement was intended to show the economic competence of the New Labour government of the time, but also positioned within a statement on urban regeneration to show the centrality of the economic case for all government thinking in this area. In *Transforming Places* (DCLG 2009a: 18) this case was stated more explicitly in a discussion of how to achieve successful regeneration, and how to evaluate regeneration projects:

'Experience shows us that if we can effectively tackle the underlying economic causes of deprivation the social benefits will follow. Regeneration investment should create more jobs or help people to access jobs over the longer term. That is why the most important indicators are: overall employment rate (NI 151); and working age people claiming out of work benefits in the worst performing neighbourhoods (NI 153).'

The rationale for regeneration in policy documents from the New Labour period is most frequently developed from a discourse of comparative disadvantage and regional economic underperformance. Early policy statements emphasise that each area of the country requires different economic strategies 'that builds on its strengths and tackles its weaknesses' (ODPM 2000a: 18). The concentration on regionalism is maintained as a priority throughout the later New Labour policies where, for example, the potential economic benefits of improvements to the six poorest regions of the UK is claimed to be an 'extra £60 billion boost to the UK economy' (HMT 2007: 1); a statement supported by the economic rationalist idea that 'Economic convergence theory suggests that when regions or areas are fully economically integrated with well-functioning markets, firms and people will move so that per capita disparities between them are reduced (HMT 2007: 15). However, this view that the markets can solve urban problems, involving the movement of people to meet workforce needs, is not a strong theme in New Labour Policy. More frequently, the need for Area-Based-Initiatives (Glyn & Wood 2001, Lister 2001, Booth 2005, Bailey 2012, Henderson 2012, Lawless & Pearson 2012) is expressed, in order to tackle the causes of place-specific economic underperformance and to remove the need for people to leave their communities to seek work. The Urban Task Force provided a summary of this perspective which was frequently referred to in later documents:

"There are neighbourhoods where regeneration can only be achieved through comprehensive packages of measures to tackle not just the physical environment, but also the economic and social needs of local people. These areas include inner-urban ex-industrial districts with large amounts of derelict, vacant and under-used land and' buildings; and more built-up areas, including many publicly owned housing estates, suffering from concentrated social deprivation." (Cabinet Office 1999: 9)

The PAT 10 report identified, at the start of the New Labour period, that there were four key areas involved in regeneration: Health, Education, Crime and Employment and that the quality and range of cultural and leisure opportunities available to local residents should also be considered (DCMS 1999). The National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal clearly linked the need for regeneration to industrial activity and economic restructuring, including the decline of coal mining and manufacturing highlighting that although the most deprived local authority wards in the country were overwhelmingly urban, 'at least 16 of the 88 most deprived

districts contain substantial rural areas' (Cabinet Office 2001: 13) which contain high concentrations of vulnerable people and a growing drug economy.

The Sub National Review of regeneration acknowledged that 'Economic inequalities between places are often manifested in spatial concentrations of deprivation' (HMT 2007: 17) and that, whilst the causes of this were fundamentally economic in nature, the interaction of place-specific factors could lead to some communities facing extremely complex symptoms of deprivation that could 'perpetuate or worsen poor outcomes for a community' (HMT 2007: 17). This emphasis on the complexity of multiple interacting factors in social exclusion was a common theme in regeneration policy documents with social exclusion being seen as something which 'blocks the routes out of poverty, as having had a poor education or coming from an area with a bad reputation makes it harder to get a job. This deprives the economy of workers, customers, entrepreneurs and taxpayers, and costs society dear in terms of higher unemployment, poor health and high crime rates' (Cabinet Office 2001: 17). Conversely, communities who 'embraced' regeneration would see benefits in terms of 'employment, inward investment and tourism' (DCLG 2004: 31). In *Transforming Places* (DCLG 2009a), regeneration was again linked to economic imperatives. Regeneration was seen as providing new economic opportunities for communities which would, in the long term, remove the need for mainstream funding to address disadvantage in these area. The aim of regeneration, however, was not described as wholly economic, but instead as an 'ambition to create sustainable places where people want to live, work, and raise a family' (DCLG 2009a: 2).

In *Word Class Places*, the need for regeneration was not explained as 'not just about poor education, unemployment or low wages, and lack of opportunity. It is typically associated with poor housing and poverty of place – badly designed housing estates or low quality neighbourhoods, with dysfunctionally designed, energy inefficient homes, unsafe passageways and poor public spaces' (DCLG 2009b: 2), showing evidence of a shift in later New Labour policy towards a more sophisticated understanding of the impact of place-specific factors on poverty and social exclusion, sometimes expressed as 'quality of place' (DCLG 2009b: 11). In the majority of cases though, policy documents continued to frame the benefits of regeneration in terms of achieving 'improved economic outcomes over the longer term' (DCLG 2009a: 17).

Central to the achievement of long term regeneration outcomes for urban areas under New Labour, was the recognition that the shift towards a services-led economy had caused urban problems, but that this shift was both irreversible and desirable, creating opportunities for British businesses in the 'service, new technology and creative industries' (Cabinet Office 2001: 13), areas which were seen as success stories in the UK economy due to their high contribution to employment ('twice as many [employees] as the motor industry' (DCMS 2004: 1)) and 12.7% p.a. contribution to GDP (DCMS 2004: 1). According to later period New Labour policies, this growth in 'the knowledge economy, and services in particular, means that towns and cities are increasingly places of wealth creation' (HMT 2007: 19), creating new economic opportunities for communities and businesses in a virtuous circle where increasing specialisation within high-value knowledge economy industries would in turn attract inward investment and generate increased economic growth, leading to urban infrastructure and employment improvements.

Cultural and the Creative Industries policies explicitly supported this place-making agenda, with the Museums Libraries and Archives Council explaining that 'Museums act as catalysts for urban regeneration, as elements of specific redevelopment schemes or as part of the wider renewal of a city's profile' (MLA 2001:8). Arts Council England claimed that the arts could make a contribution to 'social, economic and cultural renewal' (ACE 2003: 11). *Culture at the Heart of Regeneration* provided a comprehensive statement that culture 'does not just bring direct economic improvement by providing employment and generating revenue, but can have a wider economic impact on the general prospects of an area, by making it a more desirable place to live and work, and, subsequently, for businesses to invest' (DCMS 2004: 37). This policy statement explicitly discussed the work of Florida (2002) on the 'creative class' and demonstrated the influence that the emerging literature on the instrumental benefits of culture in urban development was having on policy at this time, which could also be seen in documents from the Arts Council (ACE 2006) and the MLA (MLA 2008). *Living Places* situated the New Labour approach to the role of culture in regeneration within the broader European approach to Cultural Regeneration that was taking place at the time:

"We are not simply arguing culture for culture's sake, but that a vibrant cultural base has economic benefits, particularly for the visitor economy. Regeneration on the Bilbao model, led by cultural projects, can be the most successful and durable." (DCLG 2009b: 16)

Integrating culture into more broad regeneration schemes was advocated by the DCMS during the first New Labour administration, but this was before the field of cultural regeneration had matured as a policy area and, at this stage, it was suggested that regeneration schemes offered an opportunity for 'innovative approaches using arts and sport to be tried out, including those which involve a greater risk of failure than have traditionally received public funds' (DCMS 1999: 53). In 2001, when the new Public Service Agreement targets for deprived areas that all government departments were required to agree to were first published, there was no role given to the DCMS, or any mention or culture, the creative industries or tourism (Cabinet Office 2001: 30). As the decade progressed, however, the language of instrumentalism and social and economic impacts began to become more prominent in the policies of the cultural NDPBs. For example, in 2001, the MLA reframed its core mission in the document *Renaissance in the Regions* in order to explain a new role for Museums in the communities of the UK, by saying that 'Alongside learning, the two biggest challenges that museums and galleries need to address in their community are social inclusion and cultural diversity' (MLA 2001: 43).

The Arts Council linked the core nature of arts activity itself to regeneration, claiming that the ability of the arts to 'animate, inspire and revitalise' (ACE 2003: 2) meant that it was logical that arts and cultural facilities should be included in regeneration projects. By 2004, the DCMS was proposing that it took 'more of a lead in helping ensure that culture is firmly embedded in regeneration' (DCMS 2004: 45). *Culture at the Heart of Regeneration* suggested that culture could contribute to regeneration in practical ways through providing new economic opportunities in the face of restructuring, creating heritage areas in former industrial districts and sites, improving the physical environment through design, but also in more nebulous ways such as 'increasing local pride', 'building stronger communities' and restoring 'the soul of a community' (DCMS 2004: 8), ultimately claiming that the 'identity of an entire city can be revived by a substantial programme of cultural regeneration, improving its status as a tourist destination and enhancing the quality of life for its inhabitants' (DCMS 2004: 11). These less functional benefits of using culture with regeneration are often cited in policy documents from the New Labour period.

The Arts Council in 2005 suggested that the arts could be used to engage communities in the planning process and that this would in turn create 'a sense of identity and pride' as well as making 'effective contribution to creating or regenerating strong, cohesive and vibrant communities' (ACE 2005: 1). In 2008, the MLA reviewed the impacts of its work in this field

and concluded that museums and the cultural activities associated with them can support community networking, divert young people from criminal behaviour, protect community assets, create a sense of place and belonging and 'involve people in the story, renewal and regeneration of their community' (MLA 2008: 5).   In 2009, the MLA published a review of their national *Renaissance* strategy, which argued that 'communities need, more than ever, the combination of solace and stimulus that [museums] provide' (MLA 2009: 13).   The role of culture was seen as particularly valuable in towns and cities, with very limited mention given to the potential benefits of culture for rural destinations, apart from one policy document from English Heritage, the Heritage NDPB, which suggests that 'sensitive re-use or promotion' of rural heritage sites can help to 'address pockets of social exclusion or to adjust to structural changes in agriculture and the rural economy' (English Heritage 2005: 1).   The role of the sector supported by the DCMS were recognised in *Living Places* in 2009, where the DCLG summarised the now decade-long policy debate about the role of culture in regeneration:

"DCMS sectors help by providing employment and creating new jobs. They also help build skills which help people enter and remain in work. The 1980s and 90s saw the decline of traditional and labour-intensive industries. New industries emerged – many of those we helped grow are now at heart of the 21st century economy, providing well-paid jobs that sustain families and communities in a high-tech world." (DCLG 2009a: 9)

Toward the end of the New Labour period, regeneration policy had begun to consider the specific challenges faced by seaside towns.   In line with the general direction of New Labour's approach to the role of culture in regeneration, a new funding scheme was set up to support seaside towns.   This scheme, known as *Sea Change* (CABE 2008b) was delivered through the Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE), the architecture and urban design NDPB.   The aim of this scheme was 'to use culture to make a difference to seaside resorts, contributing to sustainable, social and economic regeneration' (CABE 2008b: 2).   *Sea Change* would provide funding for 'cultural projects which will contribute to local place-making, linking to and complementing other local cultural initiatives. Arts projects which provide new opportunities for local communities and visitors and which make a positive contribution to quality of life in the resort' (CABE 2008b: 14).   This funding scheme marked a significant shift in New Labour policy towards seaside towns, which had not consistently recognised these urban areas as requiring support from specific initiatives, beyond those regeneration programmes which were available to all urban areas across the country.

The Urban White Paper (ODPM 2000a) mentioned seaside towns once, as an example of towns that have historically been dependent on one dominant industry, and the Rural White Paper (ODPM 2000b) only mentioned the seaside in the context of the places that tourists like to go for walking activities. The fact that the needs of seaside towns were not being met addressed through Government policy for either urban or rural areas was noted by the then English Tourism Council (ETC), who recognised that 'the Government has recently announced substantial funding for the renewal of our most deprived neighbourhoods' (ETC 2001:2), but that this did not have a focus on seaside towns, which could lead to 'them becoming the major regeneration problems of tomorrow, with the attendant costs and social implications that that entails' (ibid). The ETC noted that tourism alone could not be relied upon to provide a regeneration solution for all English resorts, and that a national product development strategy was required, which may entail some resorts diversifying and 'move away from tourism altogether' (ibid). In 2003, CABE published a ten yearly review of its activities, that included a discussion of its work in seaside towns, which put forward the view that seaside regeneration suffered from a lack of agreement about how to measure its success, given the specificities of the towns when compared to 'standard' urban regeneration, noting in particular that 'the traditional mix between resident and visitor and the strongly seasonal nature of seaside tourism has, to date at least, given the seaside economy a curiously lop-sided character' (CABE 2003: 6).

Later New Labour administrations recognised that seaside towns were in need of bespoke approaches to regeneration, and *Living Places* attempted to give some context to the period of historical decline and the (then) contemporary approaches to cultural regeneration that were being taken in English Seaside Towns:

"Many of our coastal resorts have borne the brunt of past recessions, victims of location and social changes. Through Sea Change programmes a number of those worst hit by past decline are being reinvigorated though investment in culture and heritage – drawing on fascinating local histories and unique cultural traditions to restore local people's pride in their towns and to ensure visitors keep coming back year after year to the great British seaside." (DCLG 2009a: 8)

In March 2010, two months before the New Labour Government lost power in the United Kingdom, the first government policy for Seaside Towns was published (DCLG 2010). This policy was developed following the 2006-7 Select Committee Coastal Towns enquiry (CLGSC 2007), which collected evidence from a wide range of stakeholders on the challenges facing coastal towns in the UK. This enquiry, and the subsequent policy, identified a set of common characteristics shared by many Seaside Towns which presented 'particular challenges for their regeneration and socio-economic development:

- disproportionate levels of worklessness, with associated poor health
- reliance on a declining tourist trade and other low wage, low skill and sometimes seasonal employment sectors
- an imbalance in seaside labour markets with low representation of jobs in economic growth sectors (professional and financial services, the knowledge economy)
- a polarisation in the quality of local housing between highly desirable owner-occupied property, and often poor quality private rented accommodation (including high concentrations of caravans in some areas)
- peripheral location (both in terms of road, rail and digital links)
- demography (particularly ageing and transient populations)' (DCLG 2010: 11)

The policy recognised that 'The way in which national policy is developed and funding is distributed does not always take account of the needs and circumstances of seaside communities' (DCLG 2010: 12) and set three priorities for seaside regeneration: Firstly, tackling worklessness and economic development issues; Secondly, improving housing quality and, as a third priority; Improving the quality and type of support given by the public sector to support seaside town. The flagship funding mechanism identified by this last New Labour administration for seaside towns was the *Sea Change* (CABE 2008b) programme, which had by this stage given around £40m to support cultural regeneration in 32 coastal areas. The final statement of the policy on the future of seaside towns, and the final statement on regeneration of any kind given by the New Labour government was that:

"Tourism and cultural activities continue to be the mainstay of many seaside resorts and are likely to remain so. The challenge is how the assets and potential assets of the traditional seaside town offer can be broadened to appeal to a wider range of visitors, and to reinvent

seaside towns as year round places that balance the needs of visitors and residents." (DCLG 2010: 18)

The following section of this chapter analyses the policy documents and interviews associated with seaside regeneration in the New Labour period within the South-East of England and Kent, the case study area of this study.

6.3 Regional Context

The following sections present the findings of the content analysis of regional policy documents and interview relating to the case study, which was carried out to apply the conceptual framework of this research. These documents come from the regional level of the Southeast of England, or the county level of Kent, within which all three case study towns are located. This was done to evaluate the extent to which the insights of régulation theory help to explain the approach that was taken to the restructuring of seaside economies through cultural regeneration during the New Labour period in the UK. The analysis of these findings are presented in Chapter 7.

The following regional policy documents were analysed as part of this research:

Table 10 - Regional Policy documents

Source	Document
East Kent Local Strategic Partnership	EKLSP (2009) *Sustainable Community Strategy*, Canterbury, East Kent Local Strategic Partnership
Government Office for the South East	GOSE (2001) *Regional Planning Guidance for the South East (RPG9)*, Guildford: Government Office for the South East

	GOSE (2009) *South East Plan*, Guildford: Government Office for the South East
Kent County Council	KCC (2009) *Regeneration Plan 2009-2020*, Maidstone: Kent County Council
	KCC (2004) *Regeneration of East Kent's Coastal Towns*, Maidstone: Kent County Council
Kent County Council and Medway Council	KCC & MC (2001) *Kent and Medway Structure Plan*, Maidstone: Kent County Council
	KCC & MC (2006) *Kent and Medway Structure Plan*, Maidstone: Kent County Council
Kent Partnership	Kent Partnership (2005) *Kent Local Agreement*, Maidstone: Kent Partnership
	Kent Partnership (2008) *Kent Local Agreement 2*, Maidstone: Kent Partnership
	Kent Partnership (2006) *Kent Vision*, Maidstone: Kent Partnership
South East of England Development Agency	SEEDA (2002a) *Coastal Southeast Framework*, Chatham: South East of England Development Agency
	SEEDA (2005) *Coasting Along*, Chatham, South East of England Development Agency
	SEEDA (2009*) Coastal Towns and Cultural Regeneration*, Chatham: South East of England Development Agency

	SEEDA (2002b) *Regional Economic Strategy*, Chatham: South East of England Development Agency
	SEEDA (2006) *Regional Economic Strategy*, Chatham: South East of England Development Agency
South East Regional Assembly	SEERA (2006) *Regional Sustainability Strategy*, Guildford: South East of England Regional Assembly
Visit Kent	Visit Kent (2004) *Tourism and the Visitor Economy*, Canterbury: Visit Kent
	Kent and Medway Tourism Development Framework (2006) Visit Kent (2006) *Kent and Medway Tourism Development Framework*, Canterbury: Visit Kent

Interviews were also carried out with the following regional stakeholders:

Table 11 - Regional stakeholder interviews

Position	Organisation	Type of organisation
Senior Manager with responsibility for the study area	Government Office for the South East	Regional Government
Senior Manager with responsibility for the study area	English Partnerships	National Regeneration Agency

Board Member	East Kent Local Strategic Partnership	Local Strategic Partnership
Senior Manager	South East of England Development Agency	Regional Development Agency
Senior Representative	Tourism South East	Regional Tourism Development body
Senior Officer	Arts Council England	Arts Development agency
Board Member	Kent Invicta Chamber of Commerce	Chamber of Commerce
Board Member	Kent Economic Board	Regional Economic Partnership
Officer, Arts Development	Kent County Council	Local Authority
Senior Manager, Arts Development,	Kent County Council	Local Authority
Member	East Kent Local Authority Arts Partnership	Public sector cultural partnership

6.3.1 Associated with the Regime of accumulation

Regional policy documents and interviews relating to seaside cultural regeneration were analysed using keywords associated with the literature regarding the regime of accumulation. These keywords were associated with concepts such as production, consumption, market circulation and income distribution, as well as with the knowledge economy and the creative industries, in order to focus on whether a post-Fordist regime of accumulation (Ioannides and Debbage 1998, Danielzyk & Ossenbrugge 2001, Costa and Martinotti 2003, Hoffmann 2003, James 2009, Mosedale 2011) was being developed through regional policies in this area, through an emphasis on the knowledge economy and the creative industries in regional policy.

Regional Planning Guidance for the South East during the first New Labour administration (SEERA 2001) explained that developments in the global economy had affected many of the traditional sectors that the southeast had relied upon for economic growth, including agriculture and manufacturing, but also highlighted the potential benefits for the region in new economic

opportunities associated with information technology and advanced logistics. Kent County Council's *Regeneration Framework* listed these key industries as 'traditional ship building, docks, mass tourism, paper and cement manufacturing and coalmining' (KCC 2009: 19). An economic development manager from the upper-tier local authority responsible for the areas of this case study commented that 'It's their peripherality, it's the change in the economic drivers locally, the change in economic circumstances, so in east Kent in particular it's the loss of mining and in some cases the loss of port activity.' However, many other interviewed took the view that it was the decline in tourism specifically that was the biggest factor. An arts development manager explained that 'Everyone knows that the decline in tourism hit these towns hard so that've got to turn that tap on again or do something else and what else can they do?' The Kent and Medway Structure Plan described how the Kent economy had seen substantial improvements from the late 1990s onwards, following a recession, but noted that there were still 'significant economic disparities' (KCC & MC 2001: 4) within the county and that overall economic performance in the county did not compare well to the wider southeast region. The 2001 Kent and Medway Structure Plan was the first strategic planning document for the county of Kent, within which three case studies seaside towns are located, from the New Labour Period. This plan recognised that 'Unemployment in the coastal areas has declined substantially during the prolonged period of national economic growth in the 1990s but structural weaknesses in the local economy remain' (KCC & MC 2001:39). The plan identified that the supply of land and investment sites at the coast had improved significantly, but that it was vital to diversify the economies of coastal towns and to attract new private sector investment. As well as infrastructure and workforce issues, the plan recognised that in order to attract investment 'other quality of life considerations such as housing, education, shopping and leisure facilities now need to be tackled' (KCC & MC 2001: 39). In 2002, the South East of England Development Agency (SEEDA), the Regional Development Agency for the case study area published a *Coastal Southeast Framework* (SEEDA 2002a) to guide regional approaches to growth on the coast. At this stage in regional coastal development, the cultural and tourism offers of seaside towns were being underplayed in favour of emphasising that the 'Coastal South East includes businesses from all sectors' (SEEDA 2002a: iv) and highlighting where new businesses could grow as, for example, in South Hampshire, where the potential for advanced manufacturing was being supported by the RDA. This more broad view of development opportunities was summed up a senior manager from the Regional Development Agency for the South East, who said that:

'I always say that the other thing that you have in the east of the county, in the coastal districts in particular is a huge opportunity, lower land prices can actually mean more attractive for local investors, look at the other side of Thanet, Thanet earth have set up there, that's a huge company, ok not many local jobs, but I think in time that will improve, you've got the airport with one of the longest runways in the country, you've also got what's happening in terms of offshore wind in Ramsgate, the biggest offshore wind in the world is about to start there'

By 2004, Kent County Council (KCC) had carried out a strategic policy review of approaches being taken to regeneration in Kent's coastal towns (KCC 2004), which again foregrounded the benefits of diversifying these economies in an increasingly 'new knowledge-based economy' (KCC 2004: 22) which would provide an economic base for the future which would enable the towns to become part of a globalised service industries economy. Creative businesses were mentioned in this review, in the context of the knowledge economy, as were the specific developments beginning to take place in Folkestone, which the review linked to 'the need to offer the right environment and build on the asset of being on the coast, offering investors not just a place for business but also a 'quality of lifestyle and a pleasant and creative environment' (KCC 2004: 23). Although most interviewees did discuss the need to stimulate business investment, they did not present a unified voice about private sector stimulus being the primary focus of regeneration activity. A regional tourism manager observed that,

'People say the private sector is the answer, but in fact in some of these places, it's the private sector that's kind of the enemy...they've trashed the place over the years. to some extent the public sector are the guardians of the public realm and some of these towns have presided over their own decline, not painting the bloody railings and all that sort of stuff....but in certain cases you've got some individuals that are really preying on the community...they want to drive it right down to the lowest common denominator they can get away with....the last thing they want is a cappuccino society'

An economic development manager explained that the drop in local housing prices made coastal towns attractive to 'to private landlords looking to house just DSS, they're attractive to public and private sector looking to place difficult individuals, you've got that whole problem then with HMOs....that's how it is...how do you break through that?'. Despite this, some respondents were clear that their main focus was growing private sector investment. For

example, a senior representative from a sub-regional economic partnership said that 'our chair has to come from the private sector because our work has to always be relevant to private sector business, private investment, because that's our main priority.' The second Kent and Medway Structure Plan, however, identified social deprivation in coastal towns as a significant problem for this kind of development, citing the influence of low skills, poor quality accommodation, the high numbers of vulnerable people in local populations and the remoteness of many coastal towns as having led to a 'spiral of deprivation' (KCC & MC 2006: 32) in some cases. The focus on deprivation was not always welcomed by respondents, many of whom saw it as detracting from the positive developments in the coastal areas of Kent and creating presentational problems. For instance, an interviewee from a regional economic partnership stated that 'talking about deprivation doesn't work for us and our partners, we need to keep promoting opportunities and options. Nobody will invest if they think they have to solve a social problem even section 106 agreements put developers off don't they?' In the *Coastal Southeast Framework*, SEEDA identified a regional trend in the growth of the cultural creative industries and the role that these parts of the knowledge economy could play in 'attracting people to live, work, learn and visit' (SEEDA 2002a: iv) based on the attractiveness of coastal town centres. As well as arguing for the support of local projects, SEEDA highlighted 'the opportunity for coastal south east to capitalise on the displacement from London of many creative businesses through redevelopment and high costs, by the provision of advice, networks and facilities, including more live / work space' (SEEDA 2002a: v). An Arts Council England manager explained that the local arts infrastructure at the coast in Kent was not well developed when they said that, 'There is a serious lack of proper arts infrastructure in the coastal towns, Whitstable is ok because there are so many artists, but the Horsebridge is pretty poor and it's only the biennial that brings high quality artists into the town unless someone in Whitstable just happens to be good, but then they probably leave and go to Canterbury or London or Brighton.' An arts development officer working across Kent explained how this lack of infrastructure impacted on local artists:

'what I am really aware of is that the fact that there's a certain level I think, at which lots of Kent based artists work at, and are comfortable working at, and are experienced working at that level, but I think there's a strong desire with lots of them to step up a level. They see other artists who maybe are from outside the area, winning commissions in Kent to do a piece of public art or whatever and they see that and they kind of think well 'I want to do

that, I want a slice of that, but I don't know how to achieve it'. I think there is a real need for

some kind of real, focussed professional development in that sense.'

Arts Council England reviewed the ways in which their sectors were supporting the regeneration of towns in the South East and showed that the Creative and Cultural Industries were generating £46bn a year for regional GVA and employing nearly half a million people. A regional manager for Arts Council England stated that 'We have to fly the flag for employment and economic growth because our sector gives back about £7 for every £1 we get in public funding but that's a hard argument to make…In Brighton the creative industries employ loads of people but that's a million miles away in Folkestone and in Margate its mostly students or lifestyle businesses.' The second Kent and Medway Structure Plan was published in 2006 and again emphasised the importance of 'high value added activities and skills development, business clusters and knowledge-based industries to boost the competitiveness of the Kent economy and existing businesses' (KCC & MC 2006: 11). A Regional Spatial Strategy was published in 2009 by the Government Office for the South East (GOSE 2009) which emphasised the restructuring of the south east economy to ensure that it became 'Flexible and open' (GOSE 2009: 8) to support both regional businesses and residents and to make its full contribution to the 'UK's long term competitiveness' (GOSE 2009: 42). The Local Strategic Partnership for East Kent reinforced the importance of a high skills, flexible economy in the case study area, with the aim to support the development of 'Economic enterprise that is confident, resilient and with the support of local higher and further education institutions, innovative enough to seize opportunities presented by new markets and emerging technology' (EKLSP 2009:3), with an emphasis on 'meeting the skills needs of the knowledge economy' (EKLSP 2009: 74). Kent County Council's *Regeneration Framework* clearly stated that 'It is particularly important that the "high value" sectors such as pharmaceuticals, IT, construction, financial services and creative industries are supported to drive Kent's future economic growth' (KCC 2009: 31). It was recognised by SEEDA in their first Regional Economic Strategy (SEEDA 2002b) that not all parts of the region had benefited from capital flows associated with the knowledge economy, but that the Southeast should attempt to attract new inward investment from 'in high value added functions such as research and development and corporate headquarters' (SEEDA 2002b: 25). Multiple interviewees noted that the peripherality of seaside towns meant that they were unlikely to attract this kind of investment. A Senior Manager from the East Kent Local Strategic Partnership suggested that 'places like Thanet have their location against them for a start. It costs so much more to do business there when

they're so far away and so all your costs are higher and can you get the right people, so you have to recruit people and get them to relocate.' A regional economic development manager linked peripherality to deprivation: 'you're peripheral so you've not got that investment coming in and it hasn't and it didn't for a long time, that affects values locally, prices generally are trickle down so it then becomes an area of decline in some circumstances, there are still hotspots of activity, but prices come down and there's decline.'

The second Regional Economic Strategy (SEEDA 2006) sought to encourage the development of globally competitive regional economy which was built on 'creativity, innovation, technology' (SEEDA 2006: 10). The second Kent and Medway Structure Plan (KCC & MC 2006) identified that the coastal towns in particular should receive support that would encourage private investment from local and outside sources, and the East Kent LSP highlighted that one of the main difficulties in harnessing this potential global engine of growth was the high skills deficit: 'If this challenge is not addressed, then levels of benefit dependency will remain as high as they have proved to be over the last few years. Ultimately, this will discourage continued inward investment and undermine economic prosperity in the future' (SCS 2009: 11). Regional disparities in economic growth were frequently mentioned in regional policy documents as part of the rationale for regeneration plans, with KCC, for example, stating that ''We want to attract more businesses and professionals to Kent that will reduce current gaps in GVA' (KCC 2009: 8). The South East Plan clearly explained that, 'the Government's regional policy is focused on enabling every region to perform to its full potential in both economic and employment terms. The contribution of the South East's economy to the performance of the UK as a whole is of critical importance' (GOSE 2009: 40)

6.3.2 Associated with the Mode of regulation

Regional policy documents and interviews relating to seaside cultural regeneration were analysed using keywords associated with the literature regarding the mode of regulation. These keywords were associated with concepts such as institutional arrangements, partnerships, governance and coordination, in order to focus on whether a post-Fordist mode of regulation (Ioannides and Debbage 1998, Danielzyk & Ossenbrugge 2001, Costa and Martinotti 2003, Hoffmann 2003, Mosedale 2011, Jessop 2013) was being developed through regional policies

in this area, through an emphasis on new governance arrangements in regional regeneration policy.

In 1999, policy changes at the national level (Regional Development Act 1998) led to the creation of new regional governance structures, which included the South East of England Regional Assembly (SEERA). SEERA published *Regional Planning Guidance 9* (RPG9) in 2001, which aimed to provide support for regional spatial planning, including regeneration schemes, the southeast. RPG9 indicated that there was a need for 'a co-ordinated approach between various agencies and bodies at all levels' (SEERA 2001: 26), especially in light of evolving new forms of local governance that were being applied in the regeneration of large areas of social housing and in town centres in the southeast. RPG contained clear indications that the broader rhetoric of partnership and consultation within New Labour policy should be implemented at the regional and local levels: 'In preparing their development plans local authorities need to be as inclusive as possible, involving all sectors of the local community, including the business community' (SEERA 2001: 98). The *Regional Economic Strategy* in 2002 also emphasised the importance of new governance structures built on partnerships and the use of Area Investment Frameworks in the southeast as mechanisms for the co-ordination of the 'strategies, priorities and funding' (SEEDA 2002b: 46) of partners. Issues to do with partnerships in East Kent were highlighted by many interviewees. A representative of the local authority arts partnership claimed that 'east Kent is notorious for people not working together. It's always we're doing this in Canterbury, you can do your thing in Thanet and who cares what happens in Ashford.' A representative from the Government Office for the South East put this into a broader context by saying that, 'a real challenge is to encourage, convince some people and some very strong opinions that the perspective of the wider south east region is good for everyone.' When discussing partnerships, a representative of the regional tourism development agency was of the opinion that, 'the destinations tend to feel threatened by something like this, because we say we've got this fantastic idea, it's called the south coast, in the old days we'd but £200K into it , all you've got to do is chuck 50 grand our way and we'll do this massive great campaign....but they feel threatened by it....even visit Kent...they're going to feel like they've got their own territory.' In the *Regeneration of East Kent's Coastal Towns* report, KCC identified that strategic priorities should be set within partnership agreements and that working together through Local Strategic Partnership and Area Investment Framework offered opportunities to reduce fragmentation and duplication in delivery and to bring together the 'public, voluntary and private sector to tackle issues jointly' (KCC 2004: 31). A countywide

Local Strategic Partnership for Kent was formed in 2001 in order to facilitate joint working between the public, private and voluntary sectors on county-wide issues and to co-ordinate the efforts of 'nine Local Strategic Partnerships and 12 Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships led or facilitated by District Councils, each with their own local plans and strategies' (Kent Partnership 2005: 7). The increasing complexity of governance arrangements explained above, at the national level, was clearly mirrored at the local level in Kent in this period, with the necessity for the Kent-wide Local Strategic Partnership explained as 'helping to ensure the effective delivery of services' (Kent Partnership 2008: 1) within these complex arrangements. Interviewees highlighted that partnerships were not always equal and that competing priorities were not always resolved. An interviewee from the regional economic partnership said that 'some of the big government agencies they think that a partnership is other people helping them out without giving anything back', and an arts council representative explained that 'Some of these projects have so many different partners you don't know who to talk to and everyone has a priority don't they, and a boss.' A manager from the upper tier local authority explained that, 'It is complicated, really complicated sometimes with SEEDA, us, the boroughs and everyone trying to work together and it's not always clear who is in charge or who has the most work to do but mostly it's about who has the most money, the most funding in the pot.' The Kent Vision, published by the Kent Strategic Partnership (Kent Partnership 2006), also indicated that global governance arrangements would have an impact on the future development of Kent, identifying the importance of international partners, in particular the influence of EU policy and legislation.

6.3.3 Associated with the process of legitimisation

Regional policy documents and interviewees relating to seaside cultural regeneration were analysed using keywords associated with the literature regarding the process of legitimisation, as outlined in the conceptual framework chapter of this thesis. These keywords were associated with concepts such as symbolic violence, the personal and social impacts of culture, the impacts of cultural participation and the role of cultural institutions in society, in order to focus on whether culture was being used to legitimise the economic and governance arrangements of regional policies, in the manner set out by Bourdieu and others (Bourdieu 1984, Bourdieu & Darbel 1991, Bourdieu & Passeron 1990, Bourdieu 1993).

Analysis of regional policy documents did not generate the same depth of information on this aspect of the conceptual framework of this research. The 2002 Regional Economic Strategy (SEEDA 2002) claimed that the cultural and creative sector made an important contribution to the social life of the region and could provide 'key tools to engage excluded groups' (SEEDA 2002b: 52), but mostly included references to culture as part of the economic activity associated with the knowledge economy, as indicated above. The 2006 version of the strategy also stated that 'creative and cultural businesses and practice… offer ways of engaging with communities in areas of multiple deprivation' (SEEDA 2006: 18), but otherwise described the sector mostly in terms of its contribution to the visitor economy, which was an approach common to almost all regional policy documents of this period. A report published by SEEDA in 2009 linked culture to the prevalent placemaking agenda of the time and talked about how culture could help to raise 'individuals' aspirations in towns like Folkestone' (SEEDA 2009: 43), but analysis of regional policy documents during the New Labour period did not show that culture was being used to legitimise new economic and governance arrangements for regeneration in the southeast and Kent. There were a range of views on these topics put forward by interviewees although there was general agreement about the positive impacts of culture. A Kent County Council manager claimed that 'Culture can touch people on a level that nothing else can and you can share it with your friends and family and so everyone benefits, it's not just an individual thing, it's more immediate too so you can have an instant impact and improve someone's life or make them think about something from a different perspective'. Some respondents did note that investment in culture was only part of a bigger picture in achieving positive social outcomes. An economic development manager commented that 'cultural can work, but often it doesn't work standalone and its recognising that it is part of that broader picture, that other things have got to come in, some will come in from the private sector just naturally, funding will come in potentially naturally if it's around, but there's got to be that broader mix'. For some interviewees, cultural activity wasn't a core part of what they were involved in, despite their engagement with regeneration, because, for example 'Culture isn't really on our radar because it's not big enough for us to get involved with' or 'The chamber doesn't have many cultural members, some theatres, like the Marlowe in Canterbury and a gallery or some artists I think, but some of the councils are our patrons and they have that kind of thing covered.' There was some cynicism about the potential impacts of culture amidst the generally positive views of culture's social impacts. A regional tourism manager questioned, 'The people who live on those streets, those difficult streets with the problems, are there people in there engaged with the turner contemporary?' An Arts Council England representative said 'I don't think it's

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a lack of culture that makes places like Folkestone crap to live in, those places have serious, serious issues that you can't just fix, no-one can fix them apart from people who live there.' The negative impacts of the concentration of cultural development tended to be expressed in terms of the negative impacts of tourism, with respondents most frequently mentioning capacity issues, especially traffic.

6.3.4 New Labour Context

In chapter 3, this research was placed into the historical context of the New Labour period of government, 1997-2010. In this phase of the content analysis, regional policy documents and key informant interviews relating to seaside regeneration were analysed to investigate to what extent the general critiques of New Labour policy (Levitas 1998, Lister 2003, Jessop 2003, Cento Bull & Jones, 2005, Cerney & Evans 2006, Clift & Tomlinson 2006, L'Hote 2010, Heffernan 2011) would also provide insights into the regeneration of seaside towns during this period. This was carried out using keywords associated with terms such as internationalisation, governance, neoliberalism, social investment, welfare and community. Although the regional level of Government and the Regional Development Agency for the South East were not party-political in character, the County Council for the case study area was controlled and led by the Conservative Party throughout the New Labour period, so this phase of the research was particularly important in considering whether the dominant national rhetoric and policy of New Labour had influenced the regeneration of the three towns included in this study.

The shift towards a more neoliberal orientation within British politics during New Labour is well documented (Jessop 2003, Cerney & Evans 2006) and the preceding sections of this chapter demonstrated how this was also evident in national policies related to seaside regeneration during this time. This research also found evidence of this orientation across a range of regional policy documents relating to the regeneration of seaside towns in the southeast and Kent during this period. The socioeconomic condition of the region was consistently linked to the influence of globalisation and developments in the global economy. Regional planning guidance stated that the region was 'competing on the international stage and will be influenced by international and global events and decision-making" (SEERA 2001:

7). The 2001 Kent and Medway Structure Plan stated that the Kent economy had 'diversified and adapted to national and global pressures' (KCC & MC 2001: 4). This global context was seen as consistently important throughout the New Labour period, with the South East Plan explaining that there would be an ongoing need for local economic policies to 'be sufficiently flexible to respond positively to changes in the global economy' (GOSE 2009: 42) and the Sustainable Communities Strategy for East Kent tying the future development of the case study area to global developments:

"Over the next 20 years, East Kent is bound to feel the effects of increasingly rapid worldwide changes – economic, environmental and social. Some of these will have a significant impact on people's lives (EKLSP 2009: 13)

RPG9 (SEERA 2001) foregrounded economic considerations in its guidance for regional strategic planning, framing most discussion of the social aspects of planning in terms of achieving 'a more equitable distribution of prosperity around the Region' (SEERA 2001: 16). The first Kent and Medway Structure Plan put forward the creation of jobs and economic growth as the main priority in improving 'quality of life and well-being' (KCC & MC 2001: 13). Kent County Council stated their aim in 2009 to become 'the most business-friendly council in England' (KCC 2009: 37).

The rationale for regeneration in policy documents from the New Labour period is most frequently developed from a discourse of comparative disadvantage and regional economic underperformance. This discourse is also reflected in policies from the region of the case study. The Regional Sustainability Strategy identified that, 'apart from London, the South East is the region with the widest range of social deprivation and economic disparities' (SEERA 2006: 12). This was a common theme in policy documents, with the first Kent and Medway Structure Plan showing that 'economically large parts of Kent are under- performing judged against other parts of the South East' (KCC & MC 2001:4), and giving special attention to East and North Kent, the coastal areas of the county in 'response to colliery closures, a decline in port related employment and others sectors such as tourism' (KCC & MC 2001: 13). The Kent Partnership explained that West Kent was more prosperous than East Kent (Kent Partnership 2005) and SEEDA noted that 'if the economic performance of the coastal southeast was to match the regional average, GVA would need to increase by £13bn' (SEEDA 2002a: i). The need for major economic development and regeneration schemes in East Kent was consistently noted

throughout the New Labour Period. The East Kent LSP pointed out that East Kent had 19 Super Output Areas that were amongst the top 20% of the most deprived local areas in England and that six of these were in the top 5%, all of which were in the county's seaside towns (EKLSP 2009). The *Kent Vision* however, recognised that the location of these deprived areas on the coast also provided assets that could be used to drive regeneration 'in the form of the potential of coastal towns, a spectacular environment and a rich heritage' (Kent Partnership 2009: 8). The issue identified most frequently in regional policy documents as contributing to the continuation of multiple deprivation in the case study area was the lack of educational attainment and skills in the local workforce to enable them to grasp the new economic opportunities offered by restructuring. The Kent Regeneration Framework set out that there had been gradual improvements in skills levels in East Kent, but that, for high skills in particular, the workforce 'still lags behind the regional and national averages' (KCC 2009: 22). This lack of skills was seen as discouraging 'continued inward investment and undermine economic prosperity in the future' (EKLSP 2009: 11), and leading to a situation where some communities would be 'left behind' in a growing regional economy (GOSE 2009: 12). A representative from the East Kent LSP identified these communities as needing specific support: 'Strengthening coastal communities one of our five priorities, a great example of how we have to work together in Kent on shared issues, transport, housing and so on to support these communities.' A regional economic development manager made the interesting point that, from their perspective when considering public funds, 'A huge percentage of people are on benefit for a variety of reasons and in some ways that's public money going in to maintain, continue that culture, subculture perhaps that exists in those areas.' In common with national policy during this period, regional policies frequently make reference to communities as an object of policy, both as suffering problems symptomatic of economic disadvantage and to be engaged in policy solutions to those symptoms (Jacobs & Dutton 2000, Raco 2003, Wallace 2010, Burton et al 2003, MacLeod & Johnstone 2012, Lees 2013, Rake 2001).

The Regional Economic Strategy suggested that there was a duty on communities to become engaged in partnership structures 'in order to play their full part' (SEEDA 2002b: 46). The second Kent and Medway Structure Plan pointed out the specific needs of 'deprived communities' (KCC & MC 2006: 39) and noted that there were concentrations of these in East Kent. Regional interviewees repeatedly referred to multiple deprivation at the coast, often as an intractable problem. An arts development manager claimed that, 'Clearly you've got groups of people in places like Margate who will maybe never be able to do all this stuff, go to college,

get into the arts, it's just they're too old or don't want to, or don't know how, so we've got to reach out to them and include them.' SEERA compared the levels of deprivation in the otherwise prosperous southeast with the rest of the country and found that although the southeast was one of the world's highest performing regions, that it also had the highest number of deprived or socially excluded people in the UK. Of the 400,000 deprived people living in the southeast, 83% were living in coastal areas (SEERA 2006: 32). The South East Plan showed that the nature of social exclusion in the region, and the ways in which it was linked to economic underperformance in policy documents, meant that combating social exclusion was often referred to as a key strategic aim in regional policy documents. The Regional Economic Strategy stated that 'Combating social exclusion through economic inclusion is therefore integral to all the themes of the Regional Economic Strategy' (SEEDA 2002a: 42) and the *Coastal Southeast Framework* identified a number of community issues as being part of a 'primary cause of economic under-performance' (SEEDA 2002a: v): isolation, socio-economic inclusion, inter-generational challenges and transient population groups. The South East Plan specified that social inclusion was a priority for the region and that local authorities and other public sector bodies in the region should 'align policies and programmes to reduce the overall extent of, and as a result the significant spatial disparities in, socio-economic deprivation (GOSE 2009: 18). The South East Plan (GOSE 2009) recognised that communities were already in existence in the areas undergoing regeneration, but the Regeneration Framework for Kent was the first policy document in the case study area to acknowledge that the scale of new developments in the county meant that new communities were being created and that these groups of people must also become included in development plans (KCC 2009). Some interviewees did talk about how to use culture in new development, but almost always in terms of infrastructure investment and using section 106s for public art and community centres.

In common with the trend within national policy to place culture within the remit of urban regeneration strategies, regional policy increasingly advocated the instrumental role that culture could play in regeneration and economic development in the case study area. In the first Regional Economic Strategy of the New Labour Period, culture was seen as 'an important contributor to the economic and social life of the region' (SEEDA 2002b: 52) that would support community development, health promotion, crime reduction and reduce social exclusion, as well as having a role to play in lifelong learning. The second Regional Economic Strategy provided similar lists of instrumental benefits, whilst also explicitly linking culture to regeneration and explaining that it was an important driver of the visitor economy (SEEDA

2006b). The specific role that culture was playing in the regeneration of Kent's coastal towns was recognised by the time of the second Kent and Medway Structure Plan, which highlighted Turner Contemporary in Margate as an exemplar of this approach (KCC & MC 2006) and also by the East Kent LSP who said that the cultural regeneration approach 'goes beyond conventional tourism and has the potential to create new jobs; enhance educational attainment and to open up more rewarding careers' (EKLSP 2009: 8). The LSP linked this to improvements in local quality of life which would in turn spur further inward investment and lead to a competitive advantage to drive economic growth in East Kent. Kent County Council used the relationship between quality of life improvements and economic development to explain their 'investment in culturally-led regeneration, especially in Kent's coastal towns' (KCC 2009: 34) and a SEEDA report stated that 'Cultural vitality is as importance as business vitality' (SEEDA 2009: 2), ending with the programmatic statement that:

'Creative and cultural businesses and practice combine to make places more exciting and better to live in and visit, offer ways of engaging with communities in areas of multiple deprivation, and provide some of the conditions in which a forward looking business community can flourish' (SEEDA 2009: 25)

This eventual concentration in regional policy on the role of culture in regeneration in East Kent develops from a gradual increase in policy attention that was given to seaside towns in the region over the New Labour period. This research identified, above, that national policy was slow to consider the specific approaches needed to regenerate seaside towns, however in the southeast and Kent, policy began to address these issues fairly early on. Regional Planning Policy Guidance in 2001 mainly divided regeneration into a simple binary of urban versus rural regeneration, with some discussion of 'suburban areas' that could cover the mixed urban / rural geographical context of seaside towns. Despite this, a number of coastal areas were identified in the guidance as Priority Areas for Regeneration, one of which was the 'arc of nine coastal towns in east Kent in the local authority areas of Canterbury, Thanet, Dover and Shepway' (GOSE 2001: 89), which includes all of the towns used in this case study. The guidance identified the reasons why these towns were in need of regeneration as the 'cumulative effects of decline in a number of traditional industries. In particular, the problems of the area include a declining ferry port industry as a consequence of the channel tunnel, the aftermath of the closure of the East Kent coal-field, the loss of the holiday trade and the perception of remoteness' (GOSE 2001: 89). Interviewees from Kent County Council and SEEDA all stated

that the recent focus on seaside towns and coastal areas was part of a longstanding commitment to these areas and that cultural regeneration was just one technique that was being developed in some areas. One interviewee commented that 'To be fair to Kent, I sometimes think that we've post-rationalised some of it [cultural regeneration].' Another said, 'I'd question the cultural regeneration tag, that would be my starting point, I'd say what are we doing in seaside towns and what are we doing around culture in seaside towns and what do we think the regenerative effects will be?'

The three towns used in this research were mentioned specifically in the first Kent and Medway Structure Plan: Margate was identified as a location for cultural and tourism related development; Whitstable (as part of Canterbury's coastal areas) as a location for inward investment, and; Folkestone as the focus of a major regeneration effort to improve the town centre, harbour and seafront areas to support tourism (KCC & MS 2001). SEEDA's *Coastal Southeast Framework* pointed out that in 17 of the 22 local authority areas of the Southeast's coast, earnings were below the national average and claimed that:

'By 2016, a profound transformation of the economy of the Coastal South East – consistent with its assets and its prime location in relation to London and the Greater South East – will be well underway.… In the process, decades of under-investment in the built environment and physical infrastructure will be reversed, and spirals of inter-generational economic exclusion and deprivation will be broken' (SEEDA 2002a: i)

Despite the decline of tourism mentioned numerous times in regional policy documents (KCC & MC 2001, SEEDA 2002a, KCC 2004, KCC 2009), tourism was consistently seen as part of the future of Kent's seaside towns (Visit Kent 2006). Visit Kent highlighted that over 70% of Kent's £2.5bn per year tourism income was contributed by its seaside towns (Visit Kent 2004). The KCC report into the regeneration of East Kent's coastal towns looked to Brighton to argue that good transport links and access to high quality tourism products and services were central to sustaining a seaside tourism industry, especially within the day visitor market, considering the developing niche markets for seaside tourism in Kent might be the most sustainable tourism-led development option (KCC 2004). Only one interviewee, from Kent County Council, discussed broader economic activity in coastal areas of Kent, with all other interviewees focusing on tourism, and especially cultural tourism. The heritage, leisure and environmental assets in seaside towns were seen by SEEDA as providing resources on which

economic development and regeneration could take place to enhance the economic performance of the region (SEEDA 2005). Visit Kent (2006) focused on the ways in which regeneration in seaside towns was leading to new product development and differentiation in the tourism market when arguing that tourism in these traditional destinations was a growth area for the region. The second Regional Economic Strategy pointed to the potential of 'culture and leisure based growth at the coast' (SEEDA 2006b: 5) for supporting economic development in the region and the second Kent and Medway Structure Plan identified regenerating the coastal towns as a priority, including supporting tourism development in East Kent and in Shepway and Thanet in particular (KCC & MC 2006). In 2009, the East Kent LSP pointed out that, despite attempts at regeneration, when considering the socioeconomic profile of Kent's seaside towns, 'there has been little change in either the location of deprivation, or its severity, since 2004' (EKLSP 2009: 11). However, the LSP then went on to paint an aspirational picture of the future of these disadvantaged areas claiming that 'By 2030, East Kent will have blended the best of its coastal location, landscape, culture and heritage to build a lasting beacon of success for the benefit of all its communities' (EKLSP 2009: 30) and the Kent Partnership was similarly optimistic, recognising the challenges but describing these coastal towns as 'a major asset yet to reach their full potential' (Kent Partnership 2009: 10).

6.4 Folkestone

6.4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the first of the case study destinations explained in the methodology will be analysed. The chapter begins with some descriptive information on the case study, including its geographical context, tourism history and its socio-economic profile during the New Labour period.

6.4.2 Location

As shown in figure 5, below, Folkestone is one of the three case study town selected for this research on the Kent coast. Folkestone is the southernmost of the towns of the case study towns. The map shows its important strategic position for transport and tourism, at the end of a major motorway and as the location of the British end of the channel tunnel.

Figure 6 - Case study locations
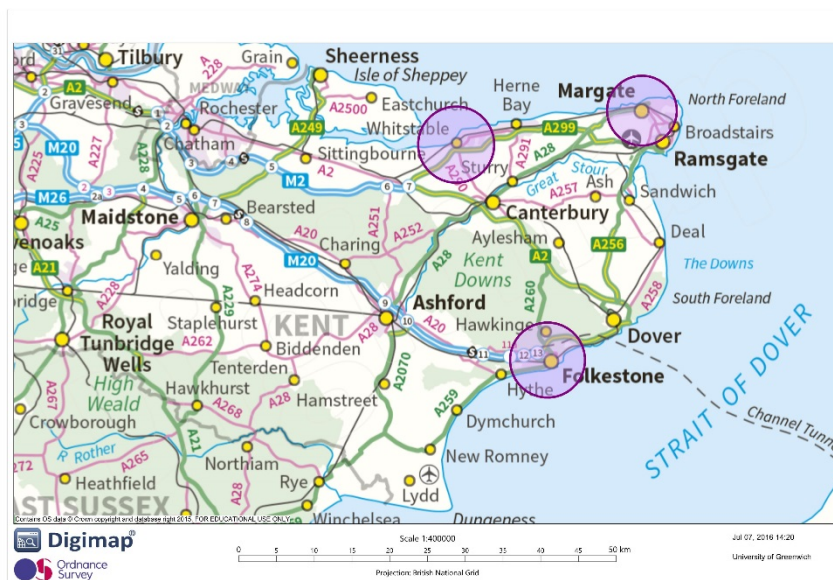
Figure 6, below, shows the urban area of Folkestone, bordered to the east by the smaller town of Hythe and to the west by the port town of Dover. The highlighted area indicate the location of the cultural regeneration activity that has been taking place in the town.

Figure 7 - Folkestone's urban area

Figure 7, below, shows the area of cultural regeneration activity in Folkestone. The main locations in which this has taken place include Tontine Street and the Old High Street, known locally as the 'Creative Quarter'. Linked development was also taking place around the harbour area.

Figure 8 - The area of cultural regeneration activity in Folkestone
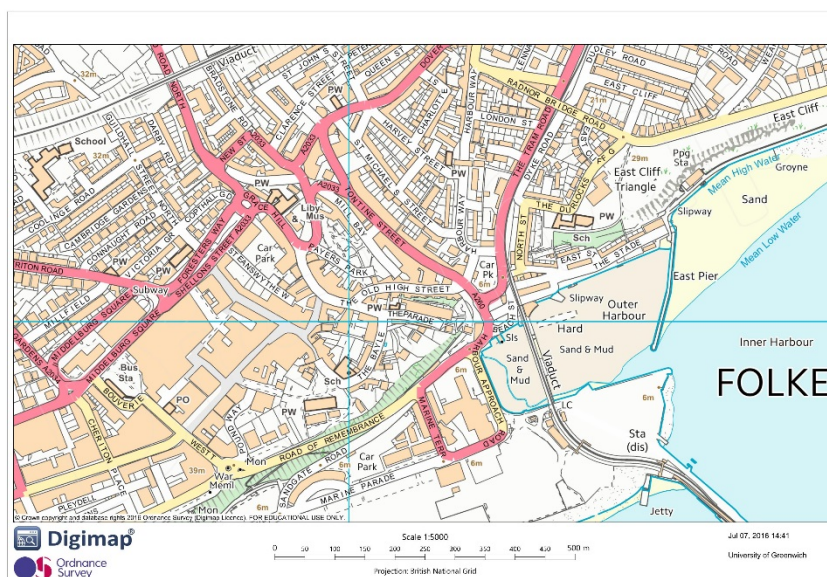
6.4.3 Background to the study area

In 1843, the railway line from London was extended to Folkestone, prompting the development of a sleepy fishing town into a significant tourist destination, as both a resort and major transitional port between the UK and mainland Europe (Hannavy 2008). In the 1840s, the harbour was developed to provide steamer services to mainland Europe. During the same period, a cliff-top lift was opened and a small gauge railway line to transport tourists to and from the harbour. This led to the rapid growth of Folkestone's tourism industry in the Victorian period (Folkestone Seafront 2012). At this time, the commercial area around the port was developed by a company called the Folkestone Tontine Building Company, who constructed the Tontine Street area between 1848-1873. By the late nineteenth century, Folkestone's beach tourism offer had grown to the extent where, in common with other resorts such as Blackpool and Great Yarmouth, tracks had been laid on the beach to facilitate steam and gas powered bathing machines which would move bathers to and from the sea (Brodie & Winter 2007). In 1844, Folkestone's first large hotel, The Pavilion, was opened to cater to cater for upper-class and European tourists, and at this time the grand buildings that dominate the landscape to the west of the town, the Leas, were built to provide a more genteel leisure and residential space away from the business of the port and the town's developing mass tourism offer, policed by its own uniformed private police force (Rennie 2009). In the early part of the twentieth century, the tourism in the town was at its peak, with a newly established pier and pavilion and an offer built on popular entertainment performances, including the country's first ever beauty pageant (Keown 2009). During the two world wars Folkestone, in common with most English Seaside Towns (Brodie & Winter 2007), was fortified with mines and defensive structures, and the cross-channel ferry services that sustained the town did not re-open until 1947.

During the latter part of the twentieth century, tourism in the town relied heavily on the port to support the Victorian legacy of large hotels, leisure facilities and public spaces. In 1991 the Channel Tunnel opened; this was very detrimental to Folkestone's port and the local tourism industry. To begin with, the in-migration of thousands of construction workers to work on Europe's largest ever civil engineering project boosted the economy significantly, in particular the leisure economy (Ewbank 2011), but in September 2000 the last existing cross-channel service was withdrawn and the port finally closed. The twin effects of the closure of the port on the local economy, affecting both the transport and tourism industries, may go some way to explain why Folkestone has not experienced the 20% growth in employment experienced by

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seaside towns more generally in the UK (Beatty and Fothergill 2003). In 1997, at the start of the New Labour period, the Local Plan (the statutory development document for the district) identified that the area suffered from significant structural problems in the economy which had led to high unemployment and low wage levels and the awarding of Assisted Area Status (Shepway District Council 1997).

In 2002 a charitable trust called the Creative Foundation was formed and funded under the leadership of a prominent local businessman with the aim of regenerating Folkestone's 'Old Town' through a creative-quarter style development (Whybrow 2016). The trust acquired more than 60 buildings in the area immediately surrounding Folkestone's harbour and combined a traditional approach to physical regeneration through property redevelopment with innovations in the way that these properties are then supported and let to individual artists and creative organisations. This new development took place in an area of Folkestone that has suffered significant decline in recent years and is currently home to a mix of commercial and residential property. The same businessman acquired the harbour area itself for redevelopment and committed to the construction of a new city academy for Folkestone with an arts focus (Kennell 2007). These developments led to a new interest in the town and how the arts were being used locally as a catalyst for regeneration. One of the main aims of the Creative Foundation has been to develop a new 'Creative Quarter' (Roodhouse 2006) in the town, based on the adjacent streets of Tontine Street and the Old High Street. This development is characterised by the renovation of derelict and / or empty properties and their subsequent provision as live / work and retail spaces for the creative industries. In 2008, the first triennial contemporary art festival was held in Folkestone, as part of this cultural regeneration scheme, which brought high-profile international artists into the area, as well as providing space for the exhibition of more local work, with the aim of generating increased visitation to the town and establishing it is a creative destination within Europe (Whybrow 2016). There was a surge in arts activity locally following this point, and the development of the Creative Foundation, although Folkestone has been home to a high-profile community arts company Strange Cargo since 1994 and has had a constant low level of arts activity for many years. As well as the Creative Foundation itself, Folkestone is also home to the Metropole gallery, a significant regional gallery space, and a number of smaller galleries and artists groups. Public art is well integrated into the development of Folkestone and pieces such as a 150ft long bronze casting of hands at Folkestone's Central Station have received critical acclaim as well as local support (Davies 2005, Baggini 2004). In 2008, Folkestone hosted the first event of a planned sculpture triennial,

featuring work by 24 international contemporary visual artists. Six of these works were retained to form the nucleus of a new sculpture park for the town. Along with the more obviously cultural-regeneration-style investments in the town, the Charitable Trust began to invest in education in the area, not just through the funding of a new academy development, but through the renovation of the town's former glassworks building, within the creative quarter development area, as a new higher education campus, which would have a focus on the creative arts (Ewbank 2011).

6.4.4 Socio-economic profile in the New Labour Period

Tourism and port activity in Folkestone has left a significant physical legacy to the town in terms of its spatial development and architecture. Areas of affluence and grand Edwardian Architecture in the west of the town, away from the port, sit geographically close to the poorer east and centre of Folkestone, but separated by poor transport links, a sloping landscape and a history of separate but conjoined development. Folkestone's affluent hinterlands in the Borough of Shepway slope down towards the Romney Marsh to the South and into the North Downs to the North. At the start of the New Labour period, the uneven patterns of deprivation and affluence in Folkestone are reflected were the Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) scores for Super Output Areas (SOA) in the area: Folkestone Harvey Central ward is 1,191st most deprived in the country, while North Downs east is ranked at the opposite end of the scale at 30,046th out of 32,482 in the UK. Overall, Folkestone contains 7 SOA in the worst 1% of all SOA nationally (GOSE 2007). Four wards in the east of Folkestone fell with the South East England Regional Development Agency's (SEEDA) 120 most deprived wards and the town is a priority regeneration area in SEEDA's Regional Economic Strategy (SEEDA 2006), as well as a Priority Area for Economic Regeneration (PAER) under RPG9 (GOSE 2001).

The following tables contain descriptive data on a range of socio-economic indictors that help to set the context within which regeneration activity was taking place in Folkestone. The data has been compiled from a variety of sources that draw on data collected during the New Labour period. In all cases, data has been compared between the Shepway Local Authority district of which Folkestone is one part, and the either the Harbour Ward area, or the Super Output Area (see below) which covers the same territory.

Table 12 - Population figures (Office for National Statistics 2016, 2016a)

Population	Local Authority Area	Harbour ward
2001 Census (first set of data online)	96,238	4,538
2011 Census	107,969	6,618

This data shows the population of Shepway, which grew by 10.1% during the New Labour period, and Harbour Ward, which 31.4% in the same timeframe.

Table 13 - Approximate social grade of working age population (Office for National Statistics 2016b, NOMIS 2016)

Approximate Social Grade	2001		2011	
	Shepway	**Study Area**	**Shepway**	**Study Area**
AB	17%	10.4%	18.2%	6.9%
C1	36.8%	35%	31.7%	21.7%
C2	20.3%	26.3%	23.7%	23.3%
D & E	25.8%	28.3%	26.3%	48.1%

Table 11 shows the approximate social grade of residents of working age in Shepway and the study area, using data that has been collected from the 2001 and 2011 census and translated into the categorisation used by the market research and marketing industries. This data is useful for understanding the changing social structure of the area during the New Labour period. During this period, in Shepway, the proportion of the population classified as AB, the highest social grouping, grew slightly, by 1%, while in the study area it fell by 3.5%. The most dramatic difference however, is in the lowest social grouping, D & E, which includes those in unskilled work and in receipt of unemployment benefit. Shepway as a whole, this grew by 0.5% during the New Labour period, but in the study area, this category grew by 21.8%.

Table 14 - Highest level of qualification held by working age population (Office for National Statistics 2016c, 2016d)

	2001		2011	
	Shepway	*Study area*	*Shepway*	*Study area*
No Qualifications	30.5%	31%	24.70%	27.6%
Level 1	18.5%	19.2%	14.90%	16.9%
Level 2	20.9%	18.9%	17.50%	17.6%
Level 3	7%	7%	11.90%	11.8%
Level 4+	1.4%	10.2%	21.80%	17.6%

Table 12 shows the highest level of qualification held by the working age population in both Shepway and Harbour Ward, the study area. This data was collected in both the 2001 and 2011 census, near to the start and at the end of the New Labour period. The data shows that, over this period in Shepway as a whole, the proportion of people of working age with no qualifications fell by 5.8%, and the proportion of people with a level four qualification or above rose by 8.8%. Other qualification categories remained broadly static. In the study area the proportion of people with no qualifications, and with qualifications at level one or two, fell slightly in each case. However, the proportion of people with level three or four qualifications rose by 4.8% and 7.6%, respectively; significant increases in each case.

The following table contains data drawn from successive national studies of multiple deprivation. Measures of multiple deprivation are an attempt to construct a multi-dimensional measure of area-based disadvantage, and were introduced by the New Labour government as part of their use of social exclusion as a policy category, rather than traditional measurements of poverty , as discussed in chapter 3. This data was collected from 1998-2009 and so forms the most comprehensive attempt to describe the relative disadvantage of areas in the United Kingdom during the New Labour period. Each Local Authority area (in this case Shepway) received an overall quantitative measure of deprivation and a relative ranking in terms of the 354 local authorities in England. In addition, in the 1999 data, Harbour Ward received its own score and ranking, along with every other council ward in the country. In later data sets, a more fine-grained approach to collecting data was taken in the research, using 'Super Output Areas', a smaller still level of spatial analysis. For the purposes of this research, the SOA E01024504

was used, corresponding to the area immediately surrounding the highest concentration of cultural regeneration activity in Folkestone, in the Creative Quarter. In all cases, the most deprived area according to the data would have a ranking of 1.

Table 15 - Measures of deprivation over time (Department for Communities and Local Government 2016, National Archives 2016, 2016a, 2016b)

		1999	**2004**	**2007**	**2010**
Shepway	*Score*	26.59	20.75	21.35	23.53
	Ranking	119/354	131/354	123/354	97/354
Study area	*Score*	38.19	46.96	57.74	61.37
	Ranking	1253/8414	2859/32482	1141/32482	713/32482

Table 14 shows the change in the extent of multiple deprivation in Shepway and in the study area, using government data that was collected between 1998-2008, and published between 1999-2010, spanning the New Labour Period. At the start of this period, Shepway was ranked in the top third of all local authority areas for deprivation. The study area, at this point, was ranked in the top 15% of comparable areas. In 2004, the ranking of Shepway had improved slightly, but the study area ranking had declined to being in the top 10%. In 2007, the ranking of Shepway worsened again, and the study area moved to be in the top 5% of deprived super output areas in the country. In the 2010 data, Shepway's relative position had more dramatically, by 26 places and the study area was now within the top 2% of deprived super output areas in the United Kingdom. As these rankings are relative, they are not affected by national-level changes in deprivation that affect the entire country, for example the global economic crisis that began in 2008.

6.4.5 Local policy context and stakeholder responses

In order to analyse the local context for cultural regeneration in Folkestone, policy and other documents from organisations concerned with cultural regeneration in the United Kingdom, the wider south-east and Kent and in Folkestone itself were analysed as set out in the methodology chapter of this thesis.

The following local policy documents were analysed.

Table 16 - Local policy documents

Organisation	Document
Shepway District Council	SDC (2000) *Shepway Community Strategy*, Folkestone: Shepway District Council
	SDC (2001) Lo*cal Plan*, Folkestone: Shepway District Council
	SDC (2003) *Shepway Performance Plan*, Folkestone: Shepway District Council
	SDC (2004) *Empty Property Strategy*, Folkestone: Shepway District Council
	SDC (2006a) *Local Plan update*, Folkestone: Shepway District Council
	SDC (2006b) *Choose Shepway - Economic regeneration strategy*, Folkestone: Shepway District Council
	SDC (2007) *Community plan*, Folkestone: Shepway District Council
	SDC (2007) *Local Development Framework*, Folkestone: Shepway District Council
	SDC (2008) *Community regeneration service plan*, Folkestone: Shepway District Council

	SDC (2009) *Arts Development strategy*, Folkestone: Shepway District Council
Shepway Community Partnership	SCP (2008) *Sharing in Success*, Folkestone: Shepway Community Partnership
Folkestone Harbour Company	FHC (2006) *Masterplan*, Folkestone: Shepway District Council

The following local stakeholders were also interviewed, as set out in the methodology chapter:

Table 17 - Local stakeholder interviews

Position	Organisation	Organisation type
Senior Manager	Public-Private Partnership	Local regeneration partnership
Senior Manager in Economic Development	Shepway District Council	Local Authority
Senior Manager in Cultural Services	Shepway District Council	Local Authority
Senior Manager	local DMO	local DMO
Board Member	Creative Foundation	Local regeneration charity
Senior Manager	Creative Foundation	Local regeneration charity
Member	Folkestone Artists Collective	Local Arts group
Advisor	Community Action South East	Voluntary and Community Sector network
Senior Manager	Strange Cargo Arts Company	Local Arts group
Officer	Folkestone Triennial	Local Arts organisation
Owner	Contemporary Art Gallery	Local Arts group
Senior Manager	University Campus Folkestone	Local HEI
Board Member	Go Folkestone	Local Community Group

The following sections present the results of the content analysis of policy documents and interviews relating to the case study destination of Folkestone, which was carried out to apply the conceptual framework of this research. The documents come primarily from the District Council, the relevant local authority, but also from the Local Strategic Partnership and a key local stakeholder in regeneration. The main aim of this phase of the research was to investigate in more detail what was taking place at a local level within the case study and to what extent the critique of New Labour's national and regional approach to seaside cultural regeneration was also valid at this scale. In order to do this, the perspective of régulation theory set out in the conceptual framework chapter of this thesis.

6.4.5.1 Associated with the Regime of accumulation

Content analysis was carried out using keywords associated with the literature regarding the regime of accumulation. These keywords were associated with concepts such as production, consumption, market circulation and income distribution, as well as with the knowledge economy and the creative industries, in order to focus on whether a post-Fordist regime of accumulation (Ioannides and Debbage 1998, Danielzyk & Ossenbrugge 2001, Costa and Martinotti 2003, Hoffmann 2003, James 2009, Mosedale 2011) was being developed through local policy, through an emphasis on the knowledge economy and the creative industries in regeneration and economic development policy.

Throughout this set of policy documents, there is a strong emphasis on developing new employment opportunities in Folkestone and Shepway, to "compensate for job losses, including those lost through any reduction in the scale of port operations" (SDC 2001: 4.5, 8), which is a core concern given the industrial changes that have taken place locally over the preceding thirty-year period including the loss of the local mining industry, the closure of the traditional port function in the town and the decline in seaside tourism. This point was reinforced by a senior manager working in economic development for the local authority who stated that "Our main priority is creating jobs in Shepway, trying to keep jobs in the area and make sure that there are enough jobs for everyone who moves here", and also by a senior manager from the local HEI, who explained that "The only reason we are here at all and that we got all the support we did to move here, is because we employ lots of people, directly and

indirectly, not just in our buildings, but in the cafes in the creative quarter and the shops and the bars that our students go to". Folkestone also faced challenges to its retail function, losing out to regional competitor towns such as Canterbury and Ashford, partly due to the ending of duty-free shopping opportunities (SDC 2001: 13.2). In recognition of this Shepway was granted Assisted Area Status in 1993, and this continued up until 2006, mid-way through the New Labour period (SDC 2001: 4.1).

In 2003, the Shepway Performance Plan clearly identified economic diversification as a local development priority in order to 'provide more, better paid, jobs in employment sectors that are likely to grow, and to redirect local tourism towards expanding and more profitable markets' (SDC 2003: 3). In the revised Local Plan, this need to 'revitalise and broaden the local economy, the need to stimulate employment opportunities, and the importance of encouraging industrial and commercial development' (SDC 2006a: 2.4,4) was still evident as a core priority. Key areas for this diversification are the creative industries and tourism, and these two economic activities are seen as linked when considering the future of Folkestone in many policy documents. The location for Creative Industry development was identified early in the New Labour period as the 'old town' area, highlighted on maps above (SDC 2001) and the aims of local economic development policy included, 'Building a more distinctive and contemporary image for Shepway which, in particular, embraces the creative arts and is linked to a new vision of sustained growth in the district's economy' (SDC 2001: 5). In the review of the Local Plan in 2006 (SDC 2006), it was clear that the creative industries were still a key element in local economic development and regeneration, as well as developing the tourism industry through new visitor attractions and tourist activities which could 'have significant economic and tourism benefits, contributing to local employment and incomes, and improving the image of the local area' (SDC 2006: 6.10). During the later part of the New Labour period, it became clear that these new tourism developments would come primarily through creative industries and arts activities and that these new activities would attract tourism and inward investment that would support wider regeneration priorities (SDC 2000, 2001, 2007, 2008, 2009). However, this gradual emergence of the creative-industries or cultural regeneration-led approach was not presented in such a straightforward way by local stakeholders.

Although a local authority arts office noted that the Shepway area had had periods of intensive cultural activity in previous decades, they were clear that the regeneration of Folkestone had only recently been linked to the arts and creative industries and that this was causing some

local tensions: "I read a letter that was sent to the herald, the local paper recently that was saying why aren't we doing such and such and getting away from all this arty stuff?". A manager responsible for economic development in the local authority was keen to emphasise that that there were "lots of different projects, lots of programmes in Folkestone, and all the creative stuff, most of that isn't even being done by us, to be honest", suggesting that the growing centrality of cultural regeneration discourse in local policy documents may have reflected the growing prominence of the Creative Foundation, rather than a shift in local authority policy.

6.4.5.2 Associated with the Mode of regulation

Policy documents and interviews about cultural regeneration in Folkestone were analysed using keywords associated with the literature regarding the mode of regulation. These keywords were associated with concepts such as institutional arrangements, partnerships, governance and coordination, in order to focus on whether a post-Fordist mode of regulation (Ioannides and Debbage 1998, Danielzyk & Ossenbrugge 2001, Costa and Martinotti 2003, Hoffmann 2003, Mosedale 2011, Jessop 2013) was being developed through local policies in this area, through an emphasis on new governance arrangements in local regeneration activity.

The new governance arrangements that were a characteristic of New Labour approaches to public policy (REF) and evident at the national and regional levels of this analysis, were not immediately visible in local policy documents in Shepway. In the 2001 Local Plan there are no mentions made of partnership working arrangements of any kind, but by 2003 the Local Strategic Partnership for the District had been developed and the rhetoric of partnership began to feature more prominently in policy documents. The Shepway Performance Plan (SDC 2003: 10), for example, mentioned not only the LSP, but also an ambition to create 'community forums, adequately resourced, to enable local communities to be able to make and carry out decisions for themselves. We want to make sure that our approach is comprehensive, complete and inclusive'. In 2006, the Shepway Economic Regeneration Strategy (SDC 2006b) highlighted the importance of both strategic partnerships with other agencies and actors, as well as individual projects that would benefit from 'the public, private and community sectors working together to transform Shepway and the lives of local people' (SDC 2006b: 4). By 2008, the newly formed 'Community Regeneration Service' directorate within the District

Council was able to list its key strategic partners for delivery as 'The Shepway Community Partnership; The Shepway Economic Regeneration Partnership; The Shepway Sports and Leisure Partnership; The Shepway Children's Trusts; The Hawkinge Partnership; Sure Start Folkestone ; The Shepway Crime and Disorder Reduction; Partnership and Community Safety Unit; The East Kent Private Sector Housing Partnership' (SDC 2008: 1). Responses from interviewees were mixed when discussing issues related to the governance of local regeneration. A manager from a local voluntary and community sector organisation described working with the Local Strategic Partnership, as well as the Channel Corridor Partnership (a regeneration body) and working pro-actively with the new local HEI in the creative quarter, but this was an unusually high level of engagement. When discussing general regeneration issues in Folkestone, respondents were aware of different partnership arrangements and often described them in positive terms such as:

"We have a very, very good relationship with SDC here, we're very, very lucky. It's not the same all over our areas, but through SRB the regeneration department here had quite an altruistic approach to the delivery of projects and they we're giving out these projects and they didn't employ community development officers in house at SDC, so there's never been any competition between them and us. They support us in mutual partnership working, it's fantastic."

The interviewees from the newly formed Town Council had developed strong working relationships with Kent County Council and Shepway District Council and were positive about these relationships. However, when it came to the work that was being done on cultural regeneration and by the Creative Foundation specifically, the situation was described in more problematic ways. An arts officer in the Local Authority described how their wide geographical remit could cause problems: "the reason I'm stumbling a bit, is because I'm keen to think that I'm not just for Folkestone, I'm for the whole of Shepway and the creative foundation is just for Folkestone, obviously and that does skew…" and a representative of local third sector organisations explained that the Creative Foundation's work wasn't aligned closely enough with their core client groups to facilitate deep engagement:

"We've obviously worked quite closely with the Creative Quarter because […] is on the LSP, so we kind of touch base, but obviously bearing in mind that our service level agreement has been with social services, traditionally the client groups that we have dealt with are children

and families, learning disability, physical disability, mental health and older people. However, we are here to serve all aspects of community development and we do our level best to do so."

This ambiguity in the relationships around the creative quarter wasn't seen in the same way by interviewees working for the Creative Foundation. A senior manager put partnership working at the heart of what they did, claiming that, ""The work that we've done in the creative foundation has been all about bringing people together, forming partnerships, getting people round a table because that hadn't been done by anyone, really, for a long time in any significant way", although a board member also pointed out that "we've really struggled, to be honest, to get people involved who don't have something to get out of it for their own business". From a non-institutional perspective, a local gallery owner also unidentified problems in local governance when discussing how different organisations could work together: "We've got the Lions' Club, Charivari, the Council, GoFolkestone, the Creative Foundation. It just doesn't seem very well joined up, but I think it's something we're aware of and trying to address", although they were positive about the work of the Creative Foundation generally, as were most respondents, saying that these kinds of difficulties were "just not in the spirit of what the creative foundation is trying to do and there's all this lot of money and peoples' time going in and it has been a bit destructive at some points."

6.4.5.3 Associated with the process of legitimisation

Policy documents and interviews from Folkestone relating to seaside cultural regeneration were analysed using keywords associated with the literature regarding the process of legitimisation, as outlined in the conceptual framework chapter of this thesis. These keywords were associated with concepts such as symbolic violence, the personal and social impacts of culture, the impacts of cultural participation and the role of cultural institutions in society, in order to focus on whether culture was being used to legitimise the economic and governance arrangements of local policies, in the manner set out by Bourdieu and others (Bourdieu 1984, Bourdieu & Darbel 1991, Bourdieu & Passeron 1990, Bourdieu 1993).

Analysis of local policy documents did not generate the same depth of information on this aspect of the conceptual framework of this research as was found in the analysis of national and regional policy documents from the New Labour period. Where cultural activity was

mentioned, it was normally in the context of economic diversification, or attracting tourists (SDC 2000, 2001, 2007, 2008, 2009), with the exception of the Arts Development Strategy from the end of the New Labour period (SDC 2009). This document linked the arts to a number of areas that indicate that the District Council had begun to view the role of the arts and culture as having a number of benefits that align with Bourdieu's critique of the relative distribution of cultural capital set out in the conceptual framework of this research, such as 'Broadening people's horizons… Bringing the community together… Being a universal language of self-expression… Including everyone… Helping us discover talents… Offering us opportunities' (SDC 2009: 2). In a strong statement of 'Why the council supports arts development', this policy claimed that 'It is not just pleasant to be able to participate in the arts: it is important, for healthy people and healthy communities" (SDC 2009: 13), with this nebulous term of 'healthy communities' indicating the instrumental view of culture being taken within the local authority at the time. However, interviews revealed that the role of the arts and creative activity in Folkestone was seen as having a range of impacts of concern to this research. A number of respondents described what they saw as the positive impacts of arts and creative activity, where it had a community or grassroots focus, described by a local authority manager as "arts that the community can join in with, as opposed to just watching it. It's where they actually get their hands dirty…" The benefits of this activity were most frequently referred to as being linked to its accessibility. A Town Councillor described a project that they had supported:

"And that was very random, great fun, because we had adults, younger children, chavs, you name it coming in and once we made swans out of different types of material, other times we had all the walls just covered with white paper and allowed them to go berserk on those, but, along with a lot of the f-words, we found some wonderful examples of art, which we then have catalogued and put on film."

The benefits of this cultural participation were most frequently described in terms of social benefits. A Local Authority manager explained that, "It does make a difference, whether it makes a difference economically is another thing sometimes but if it makes people feel better about where they live, a bit more proud and get on a bit better then we're all for it.". A councillor linked the arts to community cohesion, as well as to personal health:

"And if you have this cohesion through the arts, we're talking specifically about the arts, but we're talking about any binding element, it can only be good for the community…. The arts

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have now been recognised as...within the national health system as being good for one's health. I think even if one can't draw, or paint, or perform, if you go along to a gallery, or if you go to a theatre, or if you go to a dance, especially dance for me, you can come out of there...you can go in feeling pissed off to the eyeballs and come out feeling amazing."

A more cautionary approach to cultural regeneration was advocated by many interviewees, when compared to the very positive portrayal of this process in the policy documents. A member of a prominent local artists group put forward concerns about possible gentrification linked to creative industries activity. A manager from an organisation that supported community groups in Shepway noted that the number of people commuting from Folkestone to high paid jobs in London was increasing and "so obviously it's going to result in property prices going up a lot". Most interviewees discussed the consumption of the arts and culture locally as being linked to the social status of different groups in Folkestone. One gallery owner linked this very clearly to cost, explaining that "If you want people to be involved it's got to be cheap and people can't afford ten quid a session or something, they just can't afford it?", but another respondent took a less economic view, stating that "some of the communities in Central and East Folkestone, that is the biggest barrier to participation, it's just the aspiration and the motivation and I think that's developed over three generations, so it's obviously going to be major amount of labour-intensive work to change peoples' standpoints and make them sort of, I suppose, open their eyes to potential opportunities for them". A community development officer also linked engagement with cultural regeneration to class, but without necessarily seeing this as problematic:

"I mean I think the more, how can I put this without being patronising? The more well-off people are more positive about it because they appreciate arts more, whereas the people that aren't so well off don't always appreciate it and maybe just see it as a bit of a...meet up because it's a party going on. I don't know, I mean I like the arts and I think I do like to look at galleries or whatever and I love the likes of the Tate museums and places like that and I do find appreciation for it, but y'know a lot of my friends don't. So, it's different, different things to what people want. I don't know but I think you've got to have something else in Folkestone for the other range of people, but you can't do it all at once can you?"

Interviewees from the Creative Foundation claimed that these issues weren't significant in Folkestone, "because art hasn't got much to do with money or age, or anything. It's about

everything else." These respondents were keen to emphasise the positive social impacts that their work was having: "It is difficult because there's crime and some of these places were…probably still are brothels, but certainly were, the places that we've bought another one that was a bank, I think it was probably…like the people who were in there were drug dealers, you know, by the state of the place when we got it, so it's difficult to keep, to build some kind of unity…community…"

6.4.5.5 New Labour Context

In chapter 3, this research was placed into the historical context of the New Labour period of government, 1997-2010. In this phase of the content analysis, policy documents and interviews relating to seaside regeneration in Folkestone were analysed to investigate to what extent the general critiques of New Labour policy (Levitas 1998, Lister 2003, Jessop 2003, Cento Bull & Jones, 2005, Cerney & Evans 2006, Clift & Tomlinson 2006, L'Hote 2010, Heffernan 2011) would also provide insights into the implementation of seaside regeneration projects at the local level. This was carried out using keywords associated with terms such as internationalisation, governance, neoliberalism, social investment, welfare and community. Although the regional level of Government and the Regional Development Agency for the South East were not party-political in character, the District for the case study area was either in no overall control, or under the control of the Conservative or Liberal Democrat parties during the New Labour period, so this phase of the research was particularly important in considering whether the dominant national rhetoric and policy of New Labour had influenced the regeneration of Folkestone.

Numerous authors have explored how the development of the New Labour political project involved a shift towards a more neoliberal orientation (Jessop 2003, Cerney & Evans 2006). The results above show how this was reflected in New Labour's approach to seaside regeneration and was also apparent in regional documents relating to seaside regeneration in the south-east of England and Kent. Interestingly, an interviewee from the Creative Foundation explained that the focus on the creative industries wasn't inevitable for Folkestone: "It was quite a knowledgeable thing. They did feasibility studies and stuff. If they decided artists weren't the way they could have easily done it through sport, you know? They could have decided that sport was the way to get people down to Folkestone." Analysis of local policy

documents relating to regeneration in Folkestone shows that this creative industries orientation did not feature strongly in the 2001 Local Plan, which, in common with other contemporary policies, emphasised the sustainable development concept as a guiding principle for local development:

"The Council is committed to promoting and applying the principles of sustainable development through development plans, local transport plans and all other activities of the Council. This means that a policy approach which seeks to ensure that the sum total of decisions taken today do not deny future generations the best of today's environment." (SDC 2001: 1.15b)

This sustainable development approach was specifically linked to the Local Agenda 21 process, which had resulted from the 2000 Rio Earth Summit and which emphasised the responsibility of local government agencies to promote a holistic approach to well-being, based on identified local needs. By 2006, the Economic Development Strategy for the District demonstrated that a more neoliberal agenda had begun to influence local policy, highlighting the importance of competitiveness in the local economy (SDC 2006b) and becoming more aligned with the dominant economic philosophy of the period. The District Council made reference to the Lisbon Treaty of the European Union (SDC2006b) which aimed to create a more integrated single market for goods and services within Europe and highlighted the importance of access to a global economy and the free movement of people, especially regarding access to and from mainland Europe, which had historically provided Folkestone with a competitive advantage due to its location. The Community Strategy (SDC 2000: 2) still made reference to Folkestone being a 'European Gateway' and explained that the peripheral location of the town conferred 'natural advantages' in terms of its leisure and quality of life offer, but the changes to Folkestone's historic function as a port, compounded by the opening of the Channel Tunnel are often cited in policy documents as the root cause of why regeneration is needed in the town (SDC 2001, 2006a, FHC 2006). Policies in Folkestone took a similar view of the future of tourism in the area as regional policy, seeing its recent decline as the major problem affecting the area, and at the same time planning for a future increase in tourism arrivals to the town (SDC 2000, 2001, 2006a, 2006b, 2008, 2009). The Shepway District was identified as suffering from 'structural imbalances' in its economy (SDC 2001: 1.15c) which had led to relatively high levels of unemployment and low wages and the subsequent award of Assisted Area Status in 1993 and significant funding from the Single Regeneration Budget, the flagship

central government regeneration funding programme of the first New Labour administration. The focus of regeneration in the District has consistently been identified as the town centre (SDC 2001, 2003,2004, 2006a, 2006b, 2008, 2009) with only later documents making reference to the potential of developing the seafront (SDC 2008, 2009, FHC 2006). One respondent from the Local Authority suggested that this town centre focus had meant that some of the more deprived wards around the harbour and seafront "are being left out a bit".

The 2001 Local Plan identified the plans for a major new retail development in the town to drive regeneration and indicated that this would be enhanced by leisure and residential growth at the seafront that would need to protect the possibility of re-establishing a cross channel passenger ferry link, however this aspiration to re-establish ferry crossings had vanished by the later stages of the New Labour period, opening the way for the Folkestone Harbour Company to propose a new masterplan for the seafront (FHC 2006). The area of the contemporary Creative Quarter in Folkestone was identified as needing 'significant enhancement' (SDC 2001: 13.29), but did not feature in a prominent way in local policies, other than as a link between the proposed new retail developments in the town centre and the harbour area. In interviews, this became clear in the way that the CF was only being included in local partnership working towards the end of the new Labour period. By 2008, the Local Strategic Partnership recognised that the Creative Quarter was an established feature of the regeneration of Folkestone and identified it as one of the 'key regeneration projects' that the partners were involved in (SCP 2008: 10), and the work of the Creative Foundation in Folkestone's regeneration was not clearly acknowledged in Shepway District Council documents until the same period, when they were listed in a long list of partners in the plans for the new Community Regeneration Service directorate of the local authority in 2008 (SDC 2008).

As with national and regional regeneration policy during the New Labour period, local policies make frequent reference to community issues as being both a contributor to local problems and a significant focus of regeneration efforts (Jacobs & Dutton 2000, Raco 2003, Wallace 2010, Burton et al 2003, MacLeod & Johnstone 2012, Lees 2013, Rake 2011). The Community Strategy identified the council priority of 'addressing deprivation in disadvantaged communities' (SDC 2000: 5) and this message was consistent throughout local policies during the period under study. In 2003, the Shepway Performance Plan stated that social inclusion, especially in central and east Folkestone was a priority (SDC 2003). In 2006, the importance

of tackling social exclusion and inequality on local communities as emphasised as being the most important impact of regeneration (SDC 2006b) and the Community Plan of 2007 stated that communities should be 'thriving, healthy and creative' (SDC 2007: 4) as well as 'fair, open and inclusive' (ibid: 4), as well as identifying the most significant areas of social disadvantage as being in 'East Folkestone where incomes are low, benefit dependency is high and the living environment is poor' (ibid: 7). Interviewees were very clear, consistently, about the east/west split in Folkestone, with the East of Folkestone hosting the communities who were experiencing the highest levels of deprivation. Communities in this part of the town were described as "quite fragmented really" by a community development manager, with another local authority officer saying that "but of course you do have this mistrust of people of the east of Folkestone". A local councillor explained that,

"There are some people that are way down here that have got no money. So you've got these massive divides and a lot of those people don't actually mix with those people down there. You've got a very big divide in Folkestone which is a little bit unfortunate and it is a case of some people don't know how the other half live. So, you've got a lot of deprivation in Folkestone as well."

The new Community Regeneration Service brought together a number of previously existing council departments including Culture and Leisure Services, Regeneration and Economic Development, Community Safety and Housing (SDC 2008), integrating culture in an instrumental way into more established local authority services and mirroring the increasingly instrumental way in which culture was being viewed at the national and regional levels at this time. The first local plan of the period did make some reference to cultural facilities, but concentrated on the benefits of public art in creating a 'sense of place' (SDC 2001: 8) and in creating employment opportunities for 'local artists and craftspeople' (ibid). The revisions to the plan in 2006 (SDC 2006b) picked up on the changes in regional policies that were, by this period, advocating for new visitor attractions and tourism products to support the regional economy, and linked these to support for the local cultural and creative sectors. The Arts Development Strategy of 2009, claimed that the arts were 'crucial for the regeneration of Shepway' (SDC 2009: 1) and throughout the document a number of benefits of supporting the arts and culture were listed that could also be found in national and regional policies of the period: community cohesion, social inclusion, inspiration, self-esteem, regeneration, improving town centres, attracting inward investment, improving the image of the area. Only

one mention was made of the Creative Foundation in this document, relating to a project to engage young people in cultural opportunities (SDC 2009).

6.5 Margate

6.5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the second of the case study destinations explained in the methodology will be analysed. The chapter begins with some descriptive information on the case study, including its geographical context, tourism history and its socio-economic profile during the New Labour period.

6.5.3 Location

As shown in figure 8, below, Margate is one of the three case study town selected for this research on the Kent coast. Margate is the most peripheral of the three towns used in this study, at the north-eastern tip of the county.

Figure 9 - Case study locations
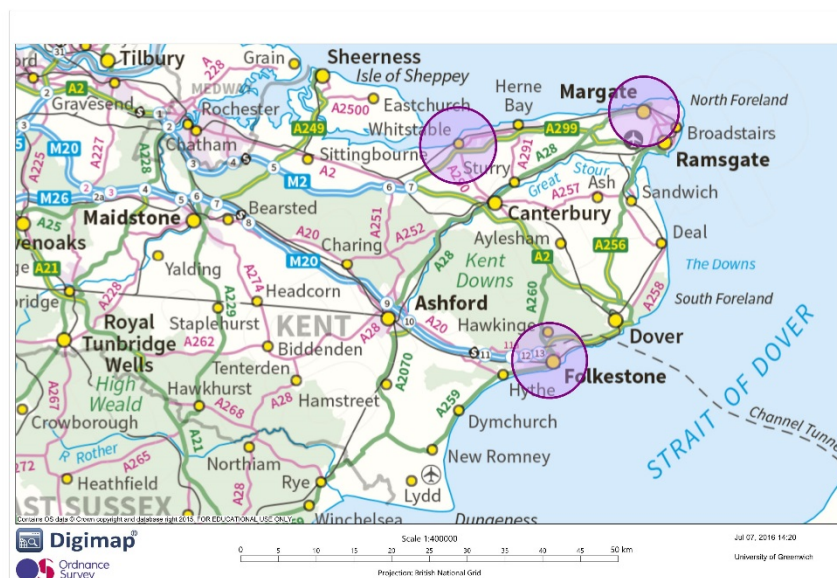
Figure 9, below, shows the urban area of Margate, bordered to the west by Westgate-On-Sea and to the right by the town of Broadstairs. The highlighted area indicate the location of the cultural regeneration activity that has been taking place in the town.

Figure 10 - Margate's urban area
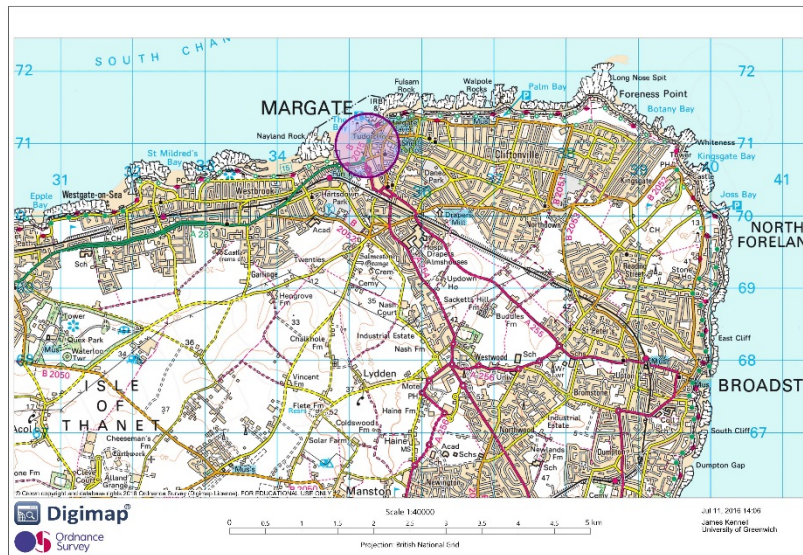
Figure 10, below, shows the area of cultural regeneration activity in Margate. The main locations in which has taken place are Rendezvous street in the North, the site of the Turner Contemporary Gallery, and the area bounded by the High Street and The Parade to the South and the West and Fort Hill and Trinity Street to the North and the East, the area known locally as Margate's 'Old Town'.

Figure 11 - The area of cultural regeneration activity in Margate
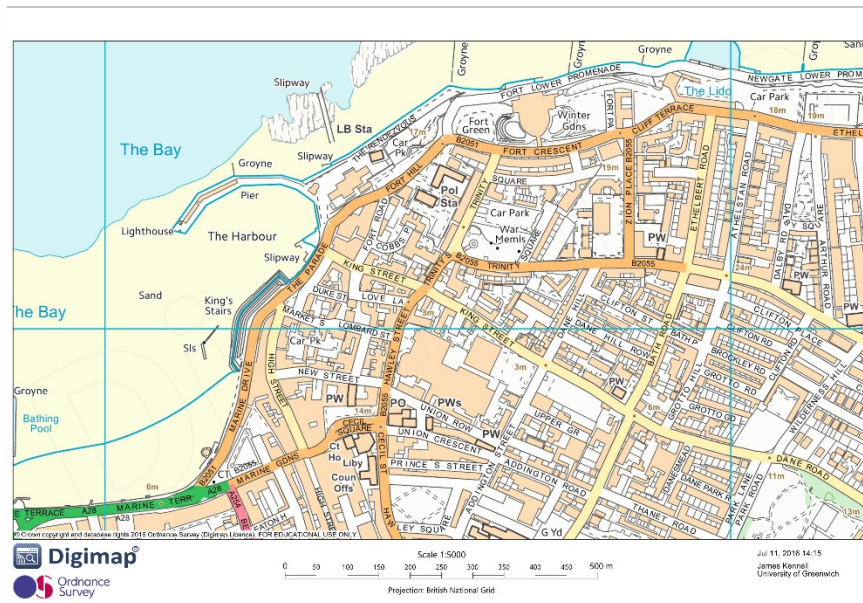
6.5.4 Background to the study area

Margate in Kent is certainly one of the first three, and possibly the first, of England's seaside resorts (English Heritage 2007) and makes the claim to be the birthplace of the bathing machine (Hannavay 2008). It was first served by coaches and then steamers which came up the river Thames from London to this destination on the North Kent coast. Later, the opening of the Margate Sands railway station made this one of the most popular seaside resorts of the 19th and 20th centuries. In 1830, Margate was receiving more than 100,000 visitors a year by sea and, by the 1960s, annual visitor numbers had risen to 32 million (Elsea 2005). The period of growth in Margate saw high levels of investment in cultural projects in the town, especially at the start of the 20th century, when a large 'winter gardens' was built to host year-round concerts, along with two large cinemas and a scenic railway. Leisure facilities also grew in this period, with the addition of lidos, bathing pools and pavilions (English Heritage 2007). At its height, Margate was a cultural jewel of the southeast of England, catering to both middle class and working class visitors and innovating in the provision of cultural and leisure attractions. The decline of the seaside tourism market from the 1970s was felt particularly keenly in Margate, where the economy was overwhelmingly dependent on tourism income, and its geographical separation from other urban or industrial centres left it with few opportunities to pursue to maintain its economic sustainability. The legacy of this period of decline has been

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high unemployment, a declining population with an ageing demographic, benefit dependence and numerous redundant sites and buildings (Kennell 2011).

At the start of the New Labour period, in the late 1990s, local government and funding agencies took the decision to seek new forms of economic activity to stimulate the visitor economy and revive the town. This decision led to the development of local regeneration plans, including the promotion of a cultural quarter in the 'old' town area of Margate, and also incorporated the vision for a major new international art museum to be built on the seafront. From this point it became clear that a strategy of cultural regeneration was being followed in Margate, with the stimulation of cultural tourism its primary aim. It was hoped that the economic impacts of this form of tourism, through direct benefits and secondary spending in the local economy, would drive the regeneration of the town. In 2003, an international competition chose the architects who would design the new museum. Initially, this was costed at £7m, which had risen to £25m by 2005, with predictions of a possible 100 per cent overrun in costs. At this stage, faced with significant public opposition and continued concerns over costs and design issues, regional government withdrew its funding from the scheme, and it was put on hold. In 2006, the Margate Renewal Partnership was constituted as a body to oversee the town's regeneration (Shared Intelligence 2007) and more holistic plans for the town's regeneration were developed. The role of the Turner Contemporary project was re-examined and a new museum planned, in a process involving extensive consultation. In addition to this, extensive audience development work continues to take place around the new development. The old town area was designated as the cultural quarter, with support given to local cultural producers and businesses to help them to take advantage of the opportunities that this brings. Importantly, key local heritage sites such as the former amusement park, which was once a landmark feature of the town and a significant employer, were integrated into the future development plans for the town (CABE & English Heritage 2009). Originally, the site of the former 'Dreamland' theme park was the source of serious conflict between planners and residents. This attraction occupied a position of symbolic importance in the collective consciousness of the town, having been a feature of the seafront for two generations .Eventually, the new plans for the town brought the Dreamland site into their ambit, and a local pressure group became institutionalised as the Dreamland Trust. This charitable trust is now an important third-sector stakeholder in local regeneration planning and was instrumental in the central government award of £3.7m for the redevelopment of the theme park site as a heritage attraction celebrating seaside culture, which has made a £12.4m development project viable on the site.

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6.5.5 Socio-economic profile in the New Labour Period

By the 1990s, the economy had failed to diversify and was still heavily dependent on a shrinking tourism market. In contemporary popular culture, Margate had become a byword for the faded seaside town, featured in films and TV to evoke the feeling of decline and decay. Thanet, the local government district of which Margate is the most significant area, was the 60th most deprived of 354 local government areas in England, and Margate itself contains some of the most deprived council wards in the south-east. The town's physical development has been a legacy of its dominance by the economic activity associated with earlier periods of mass tourism (Ward 2016), leaving it with, for example, a surplus of housing stock, much of which had been converted into low value houses of multiple occupation, considered to make a significant impact on the town's socio-economic prospects (DCLG 2010).

The following tables contain descriptive data on a range of socio-economic indictors that help to set the context within which regeneration activity was taking place in Margate. The data has been compiled from a variety of sources that draw on data collected during the New Labour period. In all cases, data has been compared between the Thanet Local Authority District of which Margate is one part, and the either the Pier Ward (an area now replaced with the Margate Central Ward , following boundary changes), Margate Central Ward, or the Super Output Area (see below) which covers the same territory.

Table 18 - Population figures (Office for National Statistics 2016, 2016a)

Population	Local Authority Area	Margate Central Ward
2001 Census (first set of data online)	126,702	4,770
2011 Census	134,186	5,383

This data shows the population of Thanet, which grew by 5.6% during the New Labour period, and Harbour Ward, which 11.4% in the same timeframe.

Table 19 - Approximate social grade of working age population (Office for National Statistics 2016b, NOMIS 2016)

	2001		2011	
Approximate Social Grade (2001)	**Thanet**	**Study Area**	**Thanet**	**Study Area**
AB	16.2%	10.6%	15.5%	8.37%
C1	31.6%	26.6%	29.2%	22.6%
C2	15.5%	15.7%	23.5%	18.9%
D & E	36.7%	47.1%	31.9%	50.0%

Table 17 shows the approximate social grade of residents of working age in Thanet and the study area, using data that has been collected from the 2001 and 2011 census and translated into the categorisation used by the market research and marketing industries. This data is useful for understanding the changing social structure of the area during the New Labour period. During this period, in Thanet, the proportion of the population classified as AB, the highest social grouping, dropped slightly, by 0.6%, while in the study area it fell by 2.2%. In Thanet as a whole, the proportion of people in grade C1 fell by 2.4%, but in C2 rose by 8%. The proportion of residents of working in age in the lowest social grade, including those on benefits, dropped by 4.8%. However, in the study area, the proportion of residents in the lowest social grouping rose by 2.9% to 50%; there was also a 4.6% rise in residents in group C2. C1 dropped by 4% and the proportion of residents in professional and higher managerial occupations, AB, dropped by 2.23%.

Table 20 - Highest level of qualification held by working age population (Office for National Statistics 2016c, 2016d)

Qualifications	2001		2011	
	Thanet	**Study area**	**Thanet**	**Study area**
No Qualifications	34.3%	38.5%	28.4%	31.9%
Level 1	18.4%	19.7%	14.8%	17.0%

Level 2	19.6%	19.0%	16.4%	16.3%
Level 3	6.3%	6.2%	11.3%	11.0%
Level 4+	12.9%	8.7%	19.6%	13.3%

Table 18 shows the highest level of qualification held by the working age population in both Thanet and Margate Central ward, the study area. This data was collected in both the 2001 and 2011 census, near to the start and at the end of the New Labour period. The data shows that, over this period in Thanet as a whole, the proportion of people of working age with no qualifications fell by 5.9%, and the proportion of people with a level three or four qualification or above rose by 6.7%. Other qualification categories also showed improvement, with a fall in the proportion of people with level 1 qualifications accompanied by rises at levels 2 and 3. In the study area the proportion of people with no qualifications fell significantly, by 6.6%. The proportion of people with qualifications at level one or two, fell slightly in each case. However, the proportion of people with level three or four qualifications rose by 4.8% and 4.6%, respectively; significant increases in each case.

The following table contains data drawn from successive national studies of multiple deprivation. Measures of multiple deprivation are an attempt to construct a multi-dimensional measure of area-based disadvantage, and were introduced by the New Labour government as part of their use of social exclusion as a policy category, rather than traditional measurements of poverty , as discussed in chapter 3. This data was collected from 1998-2009 and so forms the most comprehensive attempt to describe the relative disadvantage of areas in the United Kingdom during the New Labour period. Each Local Authority area (in this case Thanet) received an overall quantitative measure of deprivation and a relative ranking in terms of the 354 local authorities in England. In addition, in the 1999 data, Margate Central Ward received its own score and ranking, along with every other council ward in the country. In later data sets, a more fine-grained approach to collecting data was taken in the research, using 'Super Output Areas', a smaller still level of spatial analysis. For the purposes of this research, the SOA E01024676 was used, corresponding to the area immediately surrounding the highest concentration of cultural regeneration activity in Margate, in the northern most parts of the Old Town, near to the Turner Contemporary gallery. In all cases, the most deprived area according to the data would have a ranking of 1.

Table 21 - Measures of deprivation over time (Department for Communities and Local Government 2016, National Archives 2016, 2016a, 2016b)

		1999	**2004**	**2007**	**2010**
Thanet	*Score*	33.61	25.60	27.61	28.47
	Ranking	64/354	85/354	65/354	49/354
Study area	*Score*	70.64	68.33	71.3	80.01
	Ranking	77/8414	357/32482	192/32482	22/32482

Table 19 shows the change in the extent of multiple deprivation in Thanet and in the study area, using government data that was collected between 1998-2008, and published between 1999-2010, spanning the New Labour Period. As can be seen from this data, both the district of Thanet and the study area experience nationally high levels of relative deprivation. At the start of the New Labour period, Thanet was in the top 20% of all local authority areas for deprivation, and the study area was in the top 1%. In 2004, the ranking of Thanet had improved slightly, but the study area ranking had not changed. In 2007, the ranking of Thanet worsened again, and the study area moved to be in the top 0.5% of deprived super output areas in the country. In the 2010 data, Thanet's relative position had worsened more dramatically, to leave it in the top 15% and the study area was now within one of the most deprived super output areas in the United Kingdom. As these rankings are relative, they are not affected by national-level changes in deprivation that affect the entire country, for example the global economic crisis that began in 2008.

6.5.6 Policy context

In order to analyse the policy context for cultural regeneration in Margate, policy and other documents from organisations concerned with cultural regeneration in the United Kingdom, the wider south-east and Kent and in Margate itself were analysed as set out in the methodology chapter of this thesis.

The following local policy documents were analysed.

Table 22 - Local policy documents

Organisation	Document
Thanet District Council	TDC (2001) Local Plan, Margate: Thanet District Council
	TDC (2002) Local Planning Guidance, Margate: Thanet District Council
	TDC (2003) Cultural Strategy, Margate: Thanet District Council
	TDC (2004) Empty Property and derelict land strategy, Margate: Thanet District Council
	TDC (2006) Local Plan Update, Margate: Thanet District Council
	TDC (2007) Economic Growth and Regeneration Strategy, Margate: Thanet District Council
	TDC (2007) Corporate Plan: Healthy Communities, Margate: Thanet District Council
	TDC (2007) Corporate Plan: Economic Strategy, Margate: Thanet District Council
	TDC (2008) Cultural Strategy, Margate: Thanet District Council
	TDC (2009) Core Strategy Options, Margate: Thanet District Council
	TDC (2010) Local Development Framework, Margate: Thanet District Council
Thanet Local Strategic Partnership	TLSP (2004) Community Strategy, Margate: Thanet Local Strategic Partnership

Margate Renewal Partnership	MPR (2005) Margate Renewal Strategy, Margate: Margate Renewal Partnership
	MRP (2008) Creative Margate 10 year plan, Margate: Margate Renewal Partnership

The following local stakeholders were also interviewed, as set out in the methodology chapter:

Table 23 - Local stakeholder interviews

Position	Organisation	Organisation Type
Senior Manager	Public-private partnership	Local Regeneration body
Officer	Public-private partnership	Local Regeneration body
Senior Manager	Turner Contemporary	Landmark art gallery
Senior Manager	Public sector partnership	Public sector social policy taskforce
Officer in Arts Development	Thanet District Council	Local Authority
Senior Manager in Economic Development	Thanet District Council	Local Authority
Member	Margate Civic Society	Local Community Group
Owner	Independent Hotel	Tourist business
Owner	Independent Hotel	Tourist business
Officer	Visit Thanet	Local DMO
Board Member	Dreamland Trust	Local visitor attraction
Senior Member	Public sector partnership	Public sector social policy taskforce
Owner	Visitor Attraction	Local visitor attraction

6.5.6.1 Associated with the Regime of accumulation

The following sections present the results of the content analysis of policy documents and interviews relating to the case study destination of Margate, which was carried out to apply the conceptual framework of this research. Policy documents and interviews relating to cultural regeneration in Margate were analysed using keywords associated with the literature regarding the regime of accumulation. These keywords were associated with concepts such as production, consumption, market circulation and income distribution, as well as with the knowledge economy and the creative industries, in order to focus on whether a post-Fordist regime of accumulation (Ioannides and Debbage 1998, Danielzyk & Ossenbrugge 2001, Costa and Martinotti 2003, Hoffmann 2003, James 2009, Mosedale 2011) was being developed through local policy, through an emphasis on the knowledge economy and the creative industries in regeneration and economic development policy.

When discussing the future of the area and the plans for development in Margate, local policy documents clearly emphasise the role of the knowledge economy and creative industries in diversifying the local economy, with economic diversification being given prominence as a policy outcome in the 2001 Local Plan and its 2006 update (TDC 2001, 2006). In the 2007 Economic Growth and Regeneration Strategy this was still the main priority; the sectors identified as having the most growth potential locally included 'creative and cultural industries…life sciences…bio technology…transport and communications (TDC 2007: 5). The Core Strategy options document produced in 2009 also added 'cultural and tourism markets' (TDC 2009: 17) to this list. The Local Strategic Partnership identified the Cultural Quarter and Turner Contemporary as important drivers of the local tourism economy (TLSP 2004) and the revised Local Plan linked the growth of tourism to the encouragement of inward investment and in-migration (TDC 2006). The first cultural strategy for Thanet in the New Labour period showed the contribution that culture was already making to the local economy:

'Many people are already employed in Thanet in culture related jobs. These include the tourism sector, which is estimated to support 4,481 actual jobs (Thanet Tourism Economic Impact Estimates 2003). Research has also shown that creative and cultural industries in Thanet already employ nearly 800 people, around 2% of the total workforce, in 148 predominately small businesses.' (TDC 2003: 4)

The strategy suggested that by 2012, the Thanet District would have experienced an upsurge in economic activity 'thanks to a thriving and sustainable cultural community and economy' (TDC 2003: 11), but by 2007, these employment figures had remained at 2%, despite the claim that the sector had experienced significant growth over the intervening years (TDC 2007). The ten-year vision for Margate launched by the Margate Renewal Partnership clearly placed the creative industries and tourism at the heart of Margate's regeneration and economic development, claiming that 'Its vacant heritage buildings will be laid open for renewal by upwardly mobile cultural organisations and creative businesses. Creative Margate's central role in place shaping will attract creative entrepreneurs, developers, creative work place providers and opinion forming intermediaries.' (MRP 2008: 3) A senior manager from the local regeneration partnership confirmed that their cultural regeneration approach was central to driving the regeneration of the town: "Our role is to get everything aligned so that all these different pots of funding and all these projects have some consistency. If Margate is going to be this creative place then you need someone to keep it all on track, make sure that everyone is pulling in the same direction". A Local Authority manager reinforced how central the creative industries had become to the town's development by saying, "Everyone knows now that Margate is this creative place, if anyone wants to do something in Margate, it's going to be because of that not because of the things that used to happen here or anything that we're doing that isn't getting any publicity anyway."

6.5.6.2 Associated with the Mode of regulation

Policy documents and interviews relating to cultural regeneration in Margate were analysed using keywords associated with the literature regarding the mode of regulation. These keywords were associated with concepts such as institutional arrangements, partnerships, governance and coordination, in order to focus on whether a post-Fordist mode of regulation (Ioannides and Debbage 1998, Danielzyk & Ossenbrugge 2001, Costa and Martinotti 2003, Hoffmann 2003, Mosedale 2011, Jessop 2013) was being developed through local policies in this area, through an emphasis on new governance arrangements in local regeneration policy. The new governance arrangements that were a characteristic of New Labour approaches to public policy (REF) and evident at the national and regional levels of this analysis, were frequently seen within policy documents relating to cultural regeneration in Margate. In the

2001 Local Plan, key public sector partners in the development of the district were listed, including all of the regional stakeholders identified in the policy analysis earlier in this chapter (TDC 2001). A manager from a local community development partnership of public sector agencies explained that "There are so many different teams working here. Working together we can pool our resources and otherwise we'd have to be checking everything we do with about 15 different people all the time." Another public sector partnership manager working on social policy issues in the town clarified that their work involved bringing "together 14 different agencies, mostly to work in the area in the centre of town and in Cliftonville." The Margate Masterplan was produced in 2004, involving all of these stakeholders, with the aim of promoting partnership working between public agencies to drive local regeneration activity, especially around the Old Town area of Margate which would (TDC 2006), 'encourage cultural and artistic quarters, together with offering a central location for small 'high-tech' industries, such as for information technology' (TDC 2006: 15). The Margate Renewal Partnership was then founded in 2006 to embody this partnership through the pooling of £35million of public funds to invest in the town (TDC 2007, MRS 2005), bringing together funding from 'Thanet District Council, Kent County Council, the South East England Development Agency (SEEDA), the Arts Council England, the Government Office of the South East (GOSE), the Heritage Lottery Fund, English Partnerships and English Heritage' (MRP 2005: 2.6). Interview responses indicated however, that these partnership working arrangements in Margate were dominated by the public sector, to the detriment of private sector and third sector organisations. The Chair of a local community organisation claimed that, "We're happy for anyone to join our group who has an interest in Margate but we never get invited to join any of these new projects." A hotel owner complained that, "I'm on the board of … but it doesn't do much really. I think the big decisions are made about funding and who gets what and people like me don't get a say." A local accommodation provider explained their perspective:

"It's just ridiculous that all these men get together from KCC and the council and whatever and decide what happens then small businesses just get told 'oh, this is happening, deal with it' rather than actually get consulted. If it wasn't for us there wouldn't be anything in the old town or anything distinctive in Margate if it was just left to the council and Dreamland to do it all."

6.5.6.3 Associated with the process of legitimisation

Policy documents and interview from Margate relating to seaside cultural regeneration were analysed using keywords associated with the literature regarding the process of legitimisation, as outlined in the conceptual framework chapter of this thesis. These keywords were associated with concepts such as symbolic violence, the personal and social impacts of culture, the impacts of cultural participation and the role of cultural institutions in society, in order to focus on whether culture was being used to legitimise the economic and governance arrangements of local policies, in the manner set out by Bourdieu and others (Bourdieu 1984, Bourdieu & Darbel 1991, Bourdieu & Passeron 1990, Bourdieu 1993). Analysis of local policy documents did not generate the same depth of information on this aspect of the conceptual framework of this research as was found in the analysis of national and regional policy documents from the New Labour period. Where cultural activity was mentioned, it was normally in the context of economic diversification, or attracting tourists (TDC 2001, 2006, 2007), although there were occasional mentions of the non-economic impacts of cultural industries activity that were aligned with this aspect of the conceptual framework. The 2003 Cultural Strategy claimed that culture was 'inclusive and provides opportunities for the whole community' (TDC 2003: 4). A Local Authority arts officer said that "Actually Margate is a mixed place, but you can find something for everybody here" when talking about the range of cultural activity on offer in the town and an economic development manager explained that, "When we support cultural things like a festival or something that goes in an empty shop, its good because it is something that everyone can get involved in. It's a bit more immediate for people than us saying we're investing in a new road junction or this industrial park isn't it?" The same document linked culture to improving educational attainment in the lifelong learning and higher education sectors.

The Creative Margate Plan, published in 2008, is more closely representative of the dominant instrumental view of culture that had taken hold in public policy by this point of the New Labour period, claiming that at the end of the regeneration process in Margate culture would be 'for everyone' and would encourage people to 'feel that they have a voice and a role that will be valued: they will be active, excited that they are part of Creative Margate, working together to make their Town not just better, but the best' (MRP 2003: 3). According to this vision, culture would have role in policies on community engagement, education, housing, job creation and social cohesion. Despite this, however, most interviewees described the benefits

of cultural activity in Margate much more in terms of the economic benefits provided by increased culture tourism. A senior manager from a public partnership organisation said that, for them, "the cultural stuff is great, but it's not the core of what we do. It doesn't really do much for our problems. If it means more jobs, opportunities, especially for young people in this area, then that's what is going to make a big difference, long term I think." A local tourism business owner was keen to point out that "The amount we spend on like drycleaners and local DIY people is just crazy. If you added all that up and then people paid tax and spent their money locally, then all that tourism is bringing in so much more money." An officer from the local regeneration partnership was clear that just getting new tourists into the resort was the priority: "It's just about bringing people into Margate isn't it? Once they're here, who knows what happens, but if they're here then that's a good thing." This point was reinforced by an interviewee from the tourist information centre who said "Numbers [of tourists] have been going up, definitely but I can't tell you what they're doing that's different from before really. They ask about Turner sometimes but usually they just want to know where to eat, where to park, stuff like that. Any tourist is a good tourist for us!" Only two interviewees expressed concerns about gentrification, both of whom were cultural professionals. However, they were both convinced the community participation work that they were engaged in meant that it wouldn't happen in Margate.

6.5.6.4 New Labour Context

In chapter 3, this research was placed into the historical context of the New Labour period of government, 1997-2010. In this phase of the content analysis, policy documents and interviews relating to seaside regeneration in Margate were analysed to investigate to what extent the general critiques of New Labour policy (Levitas 1998, Lister 2003, Jessop 2003, Cento Bull & Jones, 2005, Cerney & Evans 2006, Clift & Tomlinson 2006, L'Hote 2010, Heffernan 2011) would also provide insights into the implementation of seaside regeneration projects at the local level. This was carried out using keywords associated with terms such as internationalisation, governance, neoliberalism, social investment, welfare and community. Although the regional level of Government and the Regional Development Agency for the South East were not party-political in character, the District for the case study area was either in Labour Party control from 1995-2003 and Conservative Party control for the second half of the New Labour period,

so this phase of the research was particularly important in considering whether the dominant national rhetoric and policy of New Labour had influenced the regeneration of Margate.

Numerous authors have explored how the development of the New Labour political project involved a shift towards a more neoliberal orientation (Jessop 2003, Cerney & Evans 2006). The results above show how this was reflected in New Labour's approach to seaside regeneration and was also apparent in regional documents relating to seaside regeneration in the south-east of England and Kent. Analysis of local policy documents relating to regeneration in Margate shows that local policy shared New Labour's analysis of the structural causes of economic decline in the UK economy, but the remedies for these problems were usually expressed in terms of possibilities for public sector intervention in an economy that was seen as suffering from multiple deprivation problems and extreme peripherality. Interviewees supported this view, with a majority of respondents discussing the success of failure of state interventions, and only a minority of respondents seeing a significant role for the private sector. For example, a senior member of staff from the local regeneration partnership pessimistically said that "To be honest there have been so many tries at this for so many years and nothings really worked yet." This point was echoed by a community group leader who said that "[this community group] has been going since the 60s and we've seen it all before here." An Economic Development Manager from the local authority claimed that "Out here, we're so far away, you can't get the private sector to invest without us or KCC starting something."

Thanet was awarded European Union Objective 2 status in 1995 and retained this until 2006, which meant that public agencies were able to access significant levels of European funding to support regeneration projects and to increase the impact of local and regional funding streams. A regeneration manager explained that "Part of what we do is work out how to get EU projects for Margate, that is so important here" and a local authority officer made the claim that "We've been lucky in the last few years because of EU projects, otherwise I think I'd have been out of a job." In addition to EU support, Thanet benefited from Assisted Area Status and Single Regeneration Budget funding, which together brought more than £25million into local regeneration schemes (TDC 2001, 2006). Despite this high level of public investment, indictors of development in Margate remained poor throughout the New Labour period.

The 2007 Corporate Plan set out a number of ways in which the local community was disadvantaged: health outcomes were the worst in the south east, and worst of all in Margate, there was a large amount of in-migration of people with low skills creating employment and housing pressures, local self-reported satisfaction levels were amongst the lowest in the country and there were significant problems with community cohesion (TDC 2007: 2). The narrative of comparative deprivation and social exclusion was consistent throughout the New Labour period. The Core Strategy Options document linked the decline of traditional English seaside holidays to Thanet's persistently weak economic and employment situation and highlighted the housing situation as particularly dire as 'Due to low property prices and its seaside location the district has also been attractive to immigration by unemployed people and asylum seekers and to other local authorities for placing "looked after" children and other vulnerable people.' (TDC 2009: 9). The Empty Property Strategy showed how this was perceived as being a direct consequence of the 'decline in the long stay holiday business [which] has led to a number of hotels and guesthouses being given over to private renting and multiple occupation' (TDC 2004: 11). These factors were also repeatedly referred to in the final policy document of the New Labour Period, the Local Development Framework (TDC 2010). Interviewees frequently mentioned housing pressure and the relocation of migrant communities and benefit communities as being at the root of many of Margate's social problems. A senior arts manager in the town said "A lot of new people coming into the town, I hate to say this, but if feel like they've been forcibly removed by London boroughs" and an officer from the local regeneration partnership explained that, for their work, "The big problem that we can't solve is HMOs - that's up to the council and they don't seem to be getting anywhere." A community group representative put this into a tourism context by commenting that, "They've got to sort the housing out before anything can happen that makes any difference. Who wants to come and stay in a nice B&B when next door you've got a load of noise and god knows what?"

The approach taken to address these significant issues of multiple deprivation has been a long-term and 'wide-ranging regeneration strategy' (TDC 2001: 2.7) which is of the kind seen in many post-industrial towns during the New Labour period. The 2001 Local Plan included consideration of transport, social inclusion, community participation, new areas of public spaces, social enterprise development, incubator space and a significant role for culture and the arts, linked to the establishment of what was at that time known as the 'Turner Centre' (TDC 2001: 2.9) and the improvements to the old town, which was viewed as an area with significant potential despite being part of an area facing major social and economic problems, due to its

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'obvious historic charm' (TDC 2001: 2.98). Capital funding in this area and the nearby Margate High Street focussed on mixed use property development that could encourage 'retail, creative industries and residential developments' (TDC 2004: 8). By 2007, the emphasis in policy had begun to shift much more towards the visitor economy and cultural tourism development (TDC 2007). In general, interviewees agreed that, despite the decline in tourism in recent decades, this concentration on tourism would be fruitful for local economic development. The long-standing owner of a medium sized independent hotel had the opinion that "We've never not had tourism, it just goes up and down and now it's going back up." The chair of an organisation tasked with bringing a former major visitor attraction back into use commented that "We're very confident, actually. We know that we've got the right site and the history, if we can just get the marketing right and the funding."

In 2009, the District Council was placing the Old Town and Turner Contemporary at the forefront of regeneration locally, suggesting that a combination of offers for locals and tourists could provide the social and economic activity necessary for 'renewal' (TDC 2009: 16). In common with national and regional policy, there was a gradually increasing emphasis on the instrumental role that culture could play in regeneration generally and on its place in the development of Margate specifically. The 'major investment in culture over the last decade' was highlighted by the council as helping to transform the area economically from a low point in the mid-1990s, when unemployment rates rose above 15% (TDC 2003: 4, TDC 2010), but culture was also linked to improvements in health and wellbeing in local communities and the plans for Turner Contemporary were frequently mentioned as a catalyst for further investment. A senior arts manager in the town held that the role of culture in local regeneration was more holistic:

"Cultural Regeneration for me, really, it's about attitudes, changing mind-sets…Some of the challenges for me here have been around changing attitudes, changing perceptions…People are quite insular actually, they've come here for a specific reason, they've stayed here and their horizon...their world is quite small."

It was clear from analysing the policy documents for Margate that the council was committed to a strategy of cultural regeneration, linking it to 'the area's rich coastal heritage' (TDC 2008: 11) as well as to improvements to the areas destination image and inward investment (TDC 2010). Primarily, this concentration on culture was linked to the reestablishment of a thriving

tourism industry in Margate, which would be based on higher-value niche tourism activities, rather than the mass tourism which had experienced such significant local decline. The future for tourism was still viewed optimistically by the local authority and it was seen as a significant component of the local economy (TDC 2001), but one which had fallen short of 'its potential to thrive' (TDC 2010: 15). Interviewees from the local authority agreed that tourism and culture had been underfunded locally, despite the big budgets on offer for landmark regeneration schemes from regional and national funding. A number of key local resources were seen as providing a platform on which future tourism could be developed including the nearby Kent International Airport, the port at Ramsgate, high speed rail links to Ashford and London, local heritage assets, open spaces and coastline (TDC 2010).

6.6 Whitstable

6.6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the third of the case study destinations explained in the methodology will be analysed. The chapter begins with some descriptive information on the case study, including its geographical context, tourism history and its socio-economic profile during the New Labour period.

6.6.2 Location

As shown in figure 1, below, Whitstable is one of the three case study towns selected for this research on the Kent coast. Whitstable is the northern-most of the three towns used in this study, on the North Sea coast.

Figure 12 - Case study locations
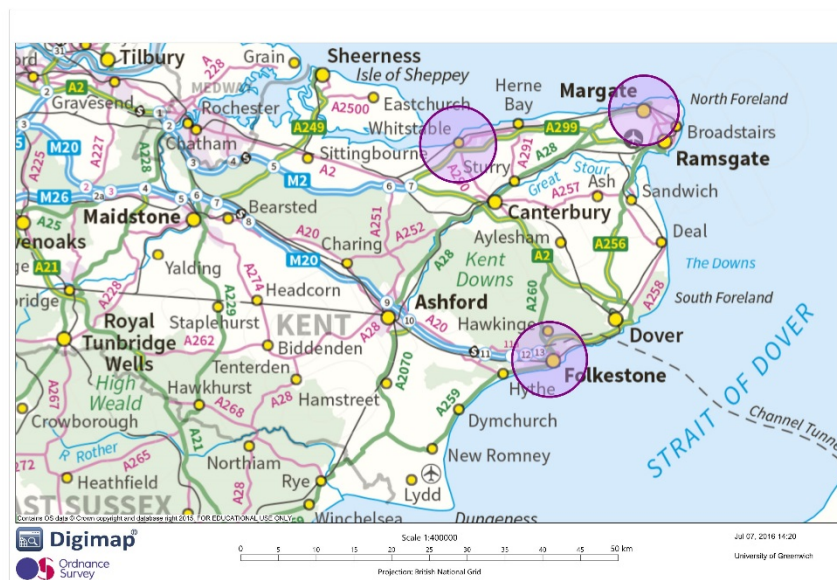
Figure 12, below, shows the urban area of Whitstable, bordered to the west by Seasalter and the rural seas alter levels, to the east by the next urban area of Swalecliffe and to the south by the rural hinterlands of the Canterbury district, within which Whitstable is located. The highlighted area indicate the location of the cultural regeneration activity that has been taking place in the town.

Figure 13 – Whitstable's urban area

Figure 13, below, shows the area of cultural regeneration activity in Whitstable. The main locations in which this has taken place include the Harbour area, the High Street, Harbour Street and Sea Street.

Figure 14 - The area of cultural regeneration activity in Whitstable

6.6.3 Background to the study area

Despite its relatively small size, Whitstable is referred to as One of England's 'Larger Seaside Towns' according to the national benchmarking study by Beatty et al (2011), although elsewhere the same authors refer to it as one of the 'smaller and medium sized towns' (Beatty & Fothergill 2004: 476). Walton (2000: 33) notes that Whitstable was one of the smaller seaside resorts that doubled in size during the early part of the twentieth century. Bathing machines were introduced in the town in 1768 (Johnson 2013). By the end of the nineteenth century, large numbers of people for bathing, and much of the land around the harbour area was developed as accommodation or facilities for a growing seaside tourism industry (Canterbury City Council 2004). A major contribution to the growth of the town's tourism industry was made by the opening of the Canterbury and Whitstable Railway, known colloquially as the 'Crab and Winkle Line' in 1830, which has some claims to be the country's first passenger railway (Johnson 2013). In 1860, this was joined up to the mainline between Canterbury and London which ran parallel to the sea (Brodie & Winter 2007), opening up the town as a popular day-trip destination. To a greater extent than Herne Bay, the next nearest small seaside town on the Kent coast (Hannavy 2008), Whitstable developed a tourist offer whilst retaining maritime industries such as fishing and cargo. The Whitstable Oyster Fishing Company was formed in 1792 (KCC 2004) and this aspect of local trade remains a key feature of the local tourism industry. Whitstable's harbour was re-built and its pier constructed in 1832 and in 1836, a steamer service was set up, running between Whitstable and London three times per week (KCC 2004). By the late nineteenth century, Whitstable was a popular destination for day-trips by visitors from London by steamer (Cormack 1998). Between 1840-1914, tourism to Whitstable slowly increased until it became a significant contributor to the growth in the local population and the economy (KCC 2004). It was in this period that Whitstable became a more truly urban settlement – up until this point, the majority of the population had been engaged in rural employment in agriculture, horticulture or fishing (Canterbury City Council 2010).

During the early to mid-1990s Whitstable was suffering from high unemployment and the high-street area was characterised by a number of empty shops (Whitstable Maritime 2015) following the national recessions of the 1980s and 1990s. In 1995 a comparative ranking of all

districts in the Government Offices for the South East (GOSE) showed Whitstable in the worst 10% in terms of long-term unemployment. The unemployment rate was then at 9.6%, and of those unemployed the long-term unemployment rate was 41%. (GOSE 1995). In 1998, the District Council successfully bid for funding from the Townscape Heritage Initiative and used this to invest in the quality of the built environment in Whitstable town centre, specifically in the improvement of roads, pavements and shop facades in the area covered by this case study. This supported the development of a cultural and creative tourism offer in the town (CCC 2010), supplementing the maritime and food heritage that was already drawing tourists to Whitstable (Chase 2005).

6.6.4 Socio-economic profile in the New Labour Period

The following tables contain descriptive data on a range of socio-economic indictors that help to set the context within which regeneration activity was taking place in Whitstable. The data has been compiled from a variety of sources that draw on data collected during the New Labour period. In all cases, data has been compared between the Canterbury Local Authority of which Whitstable is one part, and the either the Harbour Ward or the Super Output Area (see below) which covers the same that is the focus of cultural regeneration activity in the town.

Table 24 - Population figures (Office for National Statistics 2016, 2016a)

Population	Local Authority Area	Harbour ward
2001 Census	135,278	5,698
2011 Census	141,145	5,791

This data shows the population of Canterbury, which grew by 4.6% during the New Labour period, and Harbour Ward, which grew by 1.6% in the same timeframe.

Table 25 - Approximate social grade of working age population (Office for National Statistics 2016b, NOMIS 2016)

Approximate Social Grade	2001		2011	
	Canterbury	Study Area	Canterbury	Study Area
AB	20.7%	12.5%	24.7%	23.5%
C1	35.9%	39.8%	34.9%	34.7%
C2	16.7%	44.0%	20.0%	21.8%
D & E	26.7%	18.5%	17.5%	20.1%

Table 23 shows the approximate social grade of residents of working age in Canterbury and the study area, using data that has been collected from the 2001 and 2011 census and translated into the categorisation used by the market research and marketing industries. This data is useful for understanding the changing social structure of the area during the New Labour period. During this period, in Thanet, the proportion of the population classified as AB, the highest social grouping, rose by 4.0%, while in the study area it rose by a much larger 11%. In Canterbury as a whole, the proportion of people in grade C1 rose by 3.9%%, and in C2 rose by a similar 3.7%. The proportion of residents of working in age in the lowest social grade, including those on benefits, dropped by 10.2%. However, in the study area, the proportion of residents in the lowest social grouping rose by 1.6%; but there was a drop of 22.2% in residents in group C2. C1 dropped by 5.1% and the proportion of residents in professional and higher managerial occupations, AB, rose by 11.0%.

Table 26 - Highest level of qualification held by working age population (Office for National Statistics 2016c, 2016d)

Qualifications	2001		2011	
	Canterbury	Study area	Canterbury	Study area
No Qualifications	26.04%	22.43%	20.46%	16.86%
Level 1	15.57%	18.33%	11.78%	12.59%
Level 2	18.36%	20.83%	14.33%	15.72%
Level 3	11.96%	7.58%	17.56%	11.57%
Level 4+	20.42%	24.68%	27.30%	36.07%

Table 24 shows the highest level of qualification held by the working age population in both Canterbury District and Harbour ward, the study area. This data was collected in both the 2001 and 2011 census, near to the start and at the end of the New Labour period. The data shows that, over this period in Canterbury as a whole, the proportion of people of working age with no qualifications fell by 3.61%, and the proportion of people with a level four qualification or above rose by 4.26%. Other qualification categories also showed improvement, with a fall in the proportion of people with level 1 qualifications accompanied by rises a rise at level 2. In the study area the proportion of people with no qualifications fell significantly, by 5.57%. The proportion of people with qualifications at level one or two, fell by 5.74% and 5.11%. However, the proportion of people with level three or four qualifications rose by 3.99% and 11.39%, respectively; significant increases in each case.

The following table contains data drawn from successive national studies of multiple deprivation. Measures of multiple deprivation are an attempt to construct a multi-dimensional measure of area-based disadvantage, and were introduced by the New Labour government as part of their use of social exclusion as a policy category, rather than traditional measurements of poverty , as discussed in chapter 3. This data was collected from 1998-2009 and so forms the most comprehensive attempt to describe the relative disadvantage of areas in the United Kingdom during the New Labour period. Each Local Authority area (in this case Canterbury) received an overall quantitative measure of deprivation and a relative ranking in terms of the 354 local authorities in England. In addition, in the 1999 data, Harbour Ward received its own

score and ranking, along with every other council ward in the country. In later data sets, a more fine-grained approach to collecting data was taken in the research, using 'Super Output Areas', a smaller still level of spatial analysis. For the purposes of this research, the SOA E01024072 was used, corresponding to the area immediately surrounding the highest concentration of cultural regeneration activity in Whitstable, in the northern most parts of the Town Centre, adjoining the Harbour area. In all cases, the most deprived area according to the data would have a ranking of 1.

Table 27 - Measures of deprivation over time (Department for Communities and Local Government 2016, National Archives 2016, 2016a, 2016b)

		1999	**2004**	**2007**	**2010**
Canterbury	*Score*	19.93	16.19	16.17	17.12
	Ranking	184/354	190/354	198/354	166/354
Study area	*Score*	25.61	22.81	19.7	20.75
	Ranking	2559/8414	11859/32482	14577/32482	13436/32482

Table 25 shows the change in the extent of multiple deprivation in Canterbury and in the study area, using government data that was collected between 1998-2008, and published between 1999-2010, spanning the New Labour Period. As can be seen from this data, both the district of Canterbury and the study area experience nationally median levels of relative deprivation. At the start of the New Labour period, Canterbury was in the only just outside the bottom 50% of all local authority areas for deprivation, and the study area was just outside the top 25%. In 2004, the ranking of Canterbury had improved slightly, and the study area ranking had also worsened slightly to just outside the top 35%. In 2007, the ranking of Canterbury worsened slightly again, and the study area moved to be in the top 45% of most deprived super output areas in the country. In the 2010 data, Canterbury's relative position had improved, to leave it in the bottom 50% of local authority areas for deprivation and the study area was also improved slightly, to place it just outside the top 40% of deprived super output areas in the United Kingdom. As these rankings are relative, they are not affected by national-level changes in

deprivation that affect the entire country, for example the global economic crisis that began in 2008 (Kennell 2013).

6.6.5 Policy context and stakeholder responses

In order to analyse the policy context for cultural regeneration in Whitstable, policy and other documents from organisations concerned with cultural regeneration in the United Kingdom, the wider south-east and Kent and in Whitstable itself were analysed as set out in the methodology chapter of this thesis.

The following local policy documents were analysed.

Table 28 - Local policy documents

Organisation	Document
Canterbury City Council	CCC (2001a) Conservation areas, Canterbury: Canterbury City Council
	CCC (2001b) Shopfront design guidance, Canterbury: Canterbury City Council
	CCC (2001c) Local Plan 2001 review, Canterbury: Canterbury City Council
	CCC (2002) Crab and winkle way guide, Canterbury: Canterbury City Council
	CCC (2004) Transport Action Plan, Canterbury: Canterbury City Council
	CCC (2005) Marine Parade Design Guidance, Canterbury: Canterbury City Council)
	CCC (2006a) Canterbury Futures, Canterbury: Canterbury City Council
	CCC (2006b) Local Plan, Canterbury: Canterbury City Council

	CCC (2007) Development Contributions, Canterbury: Canterbury City Council
	CCC (2008a) Destination marketing plan, Canterbury: Canterbury City Council
	CCC (2008b) Economic Development and Tourism Strategy, Canterbury: Canterbury City Council
	CCC (2009a) Local Development Framework, Canterbury: Canterbury City Council
	CCC (2009b) Cultural Policy, Canterbury: Canterbury City Council
	CCC (2009c) Whitstable Harbour Development Plan, Canterbury: Canterbury City Council
Canterbury District LSP	CLSP (2004) Canterbury Strategy, Canterbury: Canterbury District Local Strategic Partnership

In addition, the following local stakeholders were also interviewed:

Table 29 - Local stakeholder interviews

Position	Organisation	Organisation Type
Senior Manager Economic Development	Canterbury City Council	Local Authority
Senior Manager with responsibility for Tourism	Canterbury City Council	Local Authority
Officer	Arts Development, Canterbury City Council	Local Authority
Officer responsible for issues in the town Centre	Whitstable Town Centre Partnership	Local retail and town centre partnership
Manager	Contemporary Arts Gallery	Arts organisation
Senior Manager	Local Festival	Cultural event
Senior Manager	Arts Festival	Cultural event
Senior Manager	Cultrural Centre	Arts Organisation
Senior Manager	Local Development Trust	Local Community Group
Manager	Local Community Centre	Community Sector support organisation
Manager	Mid range hotel	Local Business
Owner	Bed and Breakfast property	Local Business

6.6.5.1 Associated with the Regime of accumulation

Policy documents and interviews relating to cultural regeneration in Whitstable were analysed using keywords associated with the literature regarding the regime of accumulation. These keywords were associated with concepts such as production, consumption, market circulation and income distribution, as well as with the knowledge economy and the creative industries, in order to focus on whether a post-Fordist regime of accumulation (Ioannides and Debbage 1998, Danielzyk & Ossenbrugge 2001, Costa and Martinotti 2003, Hoffmann 2003, James 2009, Mosedale 2011) was being developed through local policy, through an emphasis on the

knowledge economy and the creative industries in regeneration and economic development locally.

When discussing the future of the area and the plans for development in Whitstable, local policy documents clearly emphasise the role of the knowledge economy and creative industries in diversifying the economy of the wider Canterbury District (CCC 2008b), but Whitstable (and the District's other seaside town of Herne Bay) are more frequently described as areas of leisure and tourism development in local planning documents and regeneration policies. (CCC 2001c, CCC, 2006a, CCC 2006b, CCC 2008b). In particular, the presence of two universities within the city of Canterbury was seen as a catalyst for 'a growing knowledge-based industry' (CCC 2006b: 10). Regeneration efforts in Whitstable were more frequently linked to attracting new investment into the town and especially the Harbour area, which adjoins the locations in the town considered in this case study. The Horsebridge Arts Centre, which was established in 2004 was seen as a key factor in making the town attractive to investors from the business and leisure industries' (LP2: 1.22). The Local Strategy Partnership identified 'the creation of a vibrant cultural and experience economy' (CDLSP 2004: 11) as an important factor in attracting this investment. The John Wilson Business Park, which is on the edge of Whitstable in the village of Chestfield was seen in planning documents as a core element of employment growth in the town, with mixture of light industrial uses, building on the location of existing business and skills linked to manufacturing which have historically been present in the coastal areas of the district, rather than its historical core city, but where employee numbers were project to shrink in the period up to 2007 (CCC 2001c, CCC2006b). A local authority economic development manager explained how this split between creating a leisure economy, 'with real jobs that keep local people in employment' around the outskirts, supported by improvements to the local major road interchanges on the A259, was a conscious decision on behalf of planners. The 2008 Economic Development Strategy stressed that the shift to a more knowledge based economy would 'not happen overnight' (CCC 2008b: 4), but showed how manufacturing employment in the economy had fallen by 31% since 1998, but that employment in the hospitality and distribution sectors had risen by 29%. This restructuring was not viewed positively in local policy documents as it was seen as leading to the existence of 'relatively low-value, low-skilled, low-income industrial structure… to some extent the result of the district's success as a visitor destination, which creates jobs in the service-sector." (CCC 2008b: 6) This point was echoed by a local authority tourism manager who said 'I have to think about jobs across the whole of Whitstable, Canterbury, Herne bay, the villages, and the

fact is that these jobs aren't the ones that are going to keep people here and give them enough money to buy houses and do all the things they want, especially families'. This perception can cause problems for local business in Whitstable, as explained by a hotel manager who said, 'Of course everyone wants a job but some people here they don't want the kind of jobs we have, they don't always have the skills, or the pay isn't good enough, so it's tough to get the right people'.   The second local plan singled out these kinds of jobs as ones that 'traditionally offer relatively low levels of earnings and … particularly vulnerable to downturns in the economic cycle and the associated decline in consumer confidence and spending.' (CCC 2006b:3.8) before recommending that the local economy of the district should be further diversified towards higher-value service industries throughout the district, whilst still retaining a role for tourism that would contribute to the economy of Whitstable. A local authority office responsible for supporting Whitstable town centre had the opinion that

'Canterbury is completely different because obviously they've got the tourism and the cathedral and everything but also they got loads of retail, the universities, different kinds of businesses, Whitstable is more just tourism, especially at the weekend and in the holidays but in the evening I think it's a better nicer place to go out than Canterbury'

6.6.5.2 Associated with the Mode of regulation

Policy documents and interviews relating to cultural regeneration in Whitstable were analysed using keywords associated with the literature regarding the mode of regulation. These keywords were associated with concepts such as institutional arrangements, partnerships, governance and coordination, in order to focus on whether a post-Fordist mode of regulation (Ioannides and Debbage 1998, Danielzyk & Ossenbrugge 2001, Costa and Martinotti 2003, Hoffmann 2003, Mosedale 2011, Jessop 2013) was being developed through local policies in this area, through an emphasis on new governance arrangements in local regeneration policy.

The new governance arrangements that were a characteristic of New Labour approaches to public policy (REF) and evident at the national and regional levels of this analysis, were not frequently mentioned in policy documents relating to the regeneration of Whitstable. Generally, policy documents from the start of the New Labour period did not refer to partnerships or joint working arrangements, and although Canterbury was part of the Local Strategic Partnership that was formed for Kent in 2001, the LSPs for East Kent and for

Canterbury District were not formed until 2008. In the Local Plan update of 2006, the Council stated that it was 'committed to the vision behind Community Strategies' (CCC 2006b: 1.3), a flagship partnership working arrangement of the New Labour government and in 2008 it became a lead partner of the Canterbury Partnership, the local LSP that was established to 'strengthen the connection between public sector agencies, local government, the voluntary and community sectors, businesses and local residents in the Canterbury district' (CDLSP 2008: 2). This lack of emphasis on partnerships was mirrored to some extent by interviewees, who tended to describe the relationships between stakeholders in quite antagonistic ways, especially in terms of the role of the local authority. For example, a representative from a local community group explained that,

'It wasn't the council that made the biggest difference in Whitstable, although I know they say it was all about the EU money on the shopfronts, but we were doing stuff here to support business and improve the area before they got involved and now they've stopped spending any money it's us who are pushing for things to keep happening. They make stupid decisions like suggesting an underground car park and we have to keep putting up our hands and saying, er , no, that's not a smart idea.'

However, a local authority manager saw this interaction differently: 'People just think we're there to give, give, give, but we can only do so much and then we do try and say why not try this or have a consultation on a plan for something then they just argue and say they don't want us to tell them what to do, or we just care about Canterbury or whatever'. Another senior manager from the local authority described the local community as, 'a fiercely independent community, they were probably always really independent in Whitstable, but they are fiercely now, about Whitstable and its heritage'. The role of the local authority in Whitstable was described differently by two different senior managers with responsibility for local regeneration. The first commented that 'we have to have quite a lot of power in decision making to get things done and so we tend to set the big priorities and think about the bigger issues then we will work with local partners when it comes to the detail.' However, the second took the view that 'It is more organic, it is little interventions, not huge great masterplans, huge great strategies for investment'.

6.6.5.3 Associated with the process of legitimisation

Policy documents from Whitstable and the wider Canterbury District relating to seaside cultural regeneration were analysed using keywords associated with the literature regarding the process of legitimisation, as outlined in the conceptual framework chapter of this thesis. These keywords were associated with concepts such as symbolic violence, the personal and social impacts of culture, the impacts of cultural participation and the role of cultural institutions in society, in order to focus on whether culture was being used to legitimise the economic and governance arrangements of local policies, in the manner set out by Bourdieu and others (Bourdieu 1984, Bourdieu & Darbel 1991, Bourdieu & Passeron 1990, Bourdieu 1993). Analysis of local policy documents did not generate the any in-depth information on this aspect of the conceptual framework of this research, especially when compared to the analysis of national and regional policy documents from the New Labour period. Where cultural activity was mentioned, it was normally in the context of economic diversification, or attracting tourists, although there were occasional mentions of the non-economic impacts of cultural industries activity that were aligned with this aspect of the conceptual framework. A number of respondents took the view that much cultural activity was designed for outsiders, and that it wasn't really aimed at local people. For example, a manager of a local art gallery stated that 'lots of shows that happen in town now they're just for the DFLs and local people won't even find out about them. I'm not saying that's a bad thing, but that's just how it is now and community galleries like us don't get the attention.' A representative from the local publically-funded arts centre suggested that, for their visitors, 'in the summer it's probably 50% tourists and 50% locals, in the winter it's more like 20% tourists.', but this wasn't always seen a problem for the town, as suggested by the director of a popular local festival event:

'It's really important that the festival is for everyone but obviously it's one of the things that Whitstable is known for so of course it's really a tourist event, but the extra stuff we do around the edges for schools and kids the tourist wouldn't always know about, but yeah it is definitely an event for people coming to Whitstable but that's not a bad things if it make Whitstable a better known place and nicer to be in'

A senior local authority manager saw this, from a reverse perspective, when discussing the investments made by the council in local regeneration: '"If you get it right in a place that is good to live in, to shop and all the rest of it then it's probably good for visitors as well'. A

local bed and breakfast owner saw the arts focus of development in the town as quite peripheral to their successful business: 'It doesn't affect us to be fair, maybe it helps bring us guests, but we don't ask them, I mean, we don't quiz our guests, but they do seem to want to be here for the whole Whitstable thing, food, the sea, all that, and the art stuff especially the festival must help.'

The majority of interviewees, when asked about the impacts of cultural regeneration in Whitstable, discussed impacts in terms of negative environmental and social impacts caused by the rapid growth of tourism in the town. A local authority economic development manager said that 'In some people's view in Whitstable, all this gentrification and all this down from London types is as much of a disadvantage as an advantage because of house prices going up but also just the sheer congestion and activity, particular at weekends'. A voluntary and community sector manager claimed that 'Big problems here are old people who don't always get on with how Whitstable is now, it's changed a lot and it so busy now.' Some concerns were raised that, in the longer-term, this could have a negative impact on tourism. A gallery manager and long-term local resident explained that he 'won't even bother going down to the harbour at the weekend it's just too busy, but if you live here you can go any day you want to. I think people coming to Whitstable at the weekend must just think what do people like it so much, it's full of cars and it's so busy.' A community centre manager explained that 'Now obviously Whitstable is really busy in the summer, it's absolutely rammed, the oyster festival was unpleasant at times really last summer because it was just so full.'

6.6.5.4 New Labour Context

In chapter 3, this research was placed into the historical context of the New Labour period of government, 1997-2010. In this phase of the content analysis, policy documents and interviews relating to seaside regeneration in Whitstable were analysed to investigate to what extent the general critiques of New Labour policy (Levitas 1998, Lister 2003, Jessop 2003, Cento Bull & Jones, 2005, Cerney & Evans 2006, Clift & Tomlinson 2006, L'Hote 2010, Heffernan 2011) would also provide insights into the implementation of seaside regeneration projects at the local level. This was carried out using keywords associated with terms such as internationalisation, governance, neoliberalism, social investment, welfare and community. Although the regional level of Government and the Regional Development Agency for the South East were not party-

political in character, the District for the case study area was either in no overall control from 1991-2005, or under and Conservative Party control for the second half of the New Labour period, so this phase of the research was particularly important in considering whether the dominant national rhetoric and policy of New Labour had influenced the regeneration of Whitstable.

Numerous authors have explored how the development of the New Labour political project involved a shift towards a more neoliberal orientation (Jessop 2003, Cerney & Evans 2006). The results above show how this was reflected in New Labour's approach to seaside regeneration and was also apparent in regional documents relating to seaside regeneration in the south-east of England and Kent. Analysis of local policy documents relating to regeneration in Whitstable shows that local policy shared New Labour's analysis of the structural causes of economic decline in the UK economy and in local seaside towns, but that the shift towards the services industries through tourism and creative industries was balanced with an emphasis on other kinds of knowledge economy activities and more traditional job creation schemes. In Whitstable, the causes of decline were identified by interviewees as the drop in domestic coastal tourism, but also the decline of the harbour / fishing industry. A local authority interviewee with responsibility for retail issues in the town claimed that 'people blame different things here don't they, it's the decline of the seaside holiday, but it's also the fishing and the port and the EU quotas and a recession and so many things.' As a relatively prosperous area, viewed nationally and regionally, the main concern in policy was in addressing relative, rather than absolute, underperformance, and in maximising the opportunities available for local economic growth (CDLSP 2004). A senior local authority manager, when discussing the history of regeneration in Whitstable, reflected that:

'We had an SRB programme but it was quite tricky in the late 90s, where you'd bring these officials down and government people and they'd see this emerging cafe culture, but you only had to go a couple of streets back from the seafront and it was still pretty grim in terms of the quality of the housing, there were real issues in terms of the employment structure and a volatility to seasonal work as some of it still is and was.'

The 2006 Canterbury Futures study, which was commissioned by the council to plan the future economic development of the district linked the future of the District to a number of global trends, in a similar way to the New Labour policy rhetoric of the period, including the rising

power of emerging economies, a growth in global tourism, the experience economy, individualism, technological change and global warming (CCC 2006a). The Economic Development Strategy stated this globalised orientation very clearly:

"In an ever-changing and increasingly inter-connected global economy local economies cannot stand still. Failing to address negative characteristics of the local economy will only cause them to worsen, while new economic opportunities that need to be pursued and capitalised upon will be seized elsewhere. In the Canterbury district, there are some key economic issues that fall into both these categories. In this way, the local economy economic strategy seeks to be corrective and preventative, as well as prospective." (CCC 2008b: 6)

Developing a diversified services-based economy was seen as the best way of adapting to these global pressures and policy documents highlighted that many jobs in the district could already be classified in this way, although tourism and retail were predominant (CCC 2006a, 2006b), with a large proportion of jobs also being dependent on the public sector (CCC 2008b) and only 13% being in the financial and business services sectors, which were seen as more economically valuable to the District and that would be where future growth targets would be set (CCC 2006b: 3.6). The 2001 Local Plan, as well as its 2006 update demonstrated that the council had concentrated, through infrastructure improvements and land allocations, to create employment opportunities for local people linked to major transport hubs, mainly through work in construction and in new or improved business parks, and that most of this concentration of job creation had been in coastal areas (CCC 2001c, 2006b). This had partly been in response to the designation of Whitstable and Herne Bay as within Priority Areas for Economic Regeneration in RPG9 (GOSE 2001). Single Regeneration Budget funding was also secured for the Harbour Ward in Whitstable from 2000-2006 to support local regeneration projects (CCC 2006b). Harbour Ward covers the area that is the focus of this case study and has consistently been identified as an area requiring regeneration due to relatively high levels of multiple deprivation (CCC 2006a), despite the gentrification that had already taken place in that area since the mid-1990s (CCC 2001a).

Deprivation within the case study area has been shown to be less about poor education and low incomes, and more to do with barriers to housing and services for excluded groups and individuals who had not benefited from contemporary developments (CCC 2006a). An

employment-led regeneration strategy was followed for the Whitstable area for the majority of the New Labour period (CCC 2004), and this was envisaged as coming primarily from employment outside of the cultural and creative industries including within new office developments and peripheral business parks that would provide jobs for those people who were excluded from participation in the locally resurgent cultural tourism industry (CCC 2001a). In addition to the jobs-led strategy, other traditional elements of regeneration were included in developments in Whitstable including public space improvements, enhanced transport links, public art and environmental improvements (CCC 2006a, CCC 2006b, CCC 2007). Local interviews identified unemployment as a factor locally in deprivation, but generally said that the major work of regeneration had been accomplished at the start of the new labour period – contemporary concerns were about managing the success of regeneration as seen in increased tourist numbers, as described above. In policy documents related to regeneration in Whitstable, culture was frequently included, but rarely as the main driver of regeneration. The 2001 Local Plan gave culture a role in promoting social inclusion and social enterprise (CCC 2001a) and the 2006 update claimed that cultural activities would make a 'positive contribution towards the economic, social and environmental well-being of the local population." (CCC2006b: 4.30). All new developments within the district defined as 'major developments' during the planning process were required to incorporate the commissioning of public art, although this was not linked to any instrumental benefits beyond the enhancement of the quality of public space (CCC 2007). The most frequent link drawn from culture to other policy areas was through tourism, which was then itself seen as promoting local social and economic development:

"The Council's corporate plan includes culture as a key means of creating the dynamic, strong economy and distinctive cultural and visitor experience from which our communities will prosper. Specifically, the plan emphasises the importance of having a range of good quality leisure and cultural facilities for the local community. These will provide opportunities for existing and new audiences to participate in culture and sport and enhancing Canterbury's reputation as an international tourism destination." (CCC 2009b:1)

Within the Canterbury District, Whitstable is regularly explained as a tourism destination within local policies and its growth in tourism arrivals from the mid-1990s is not described as problematic, other than in terms of parking and accessibility (CCC 2004). Whitstable is seen as both a generator of tourists for other destinations in the District, specifically Canterbury, and also as a secondary destination for tourists whose primary motivation is to visit Canterbury

(CCC 2006a). In the first Local Plan, Whitstable is described as a 'character seaside town' (CCC 2001a: 4.21) that contribute to the overall appeal of the wider East Kent destination. The Destination Management Plan for Canterbury District produced in 2008 notes that both Whitstable and nearby Herne Bay attract very similar tourist segments, despite the widely held perception that Herne Bay is a more traditional bucket and spade destination and Whitstable has a more niche tourism offer (CCC 2008a). In 2009, the new Local Development Framework (CCC 2009a) was produced which did not include Whitstable as a specific designated area for development; the first local policy document of its kind not to do so. However, also in 2009, the Whitstable Harbour Plan was produced, which signified a switch of development activity away from the peripheral business parks and central cultural developments, and towards enhancements to an adjoining area of the town. The re-development of Whitstable's working harbour was seen as the next stage in regenerating the town, building on local heritage as well as contemporary industrial activity, to further enhance the towns appeal to tourists (CCC 2009b)

7. CASE STUDY ANALYSIS

7.1 Introduction

In Chapter 5 the multiple-embedded case study design of this research was explained, which involves multiple-comparative case studies within an over-arching shared context. This complex case study design has been designed around four units of analysis, suggested by the conceptual framework for the research, which was presented in chapter 2. In Chapter 5, it was explained that this has produced a hybrid explanatory / exploratory design in which certain structural relationships between the units of analysis are presumed, but which remained open to the contingencies of research and variation between cases. For this style of case study design, Yin recommends "cross-case synthesis" (2003: 133) as a method for increasing the internal validity of the design. In order to carry out this analysis, each case study was presented in turn following a description of their shared regional and national context. In this chapter, the case studies will be analysed through a cross-case synthesis which will allow for the analysis of contradictory or otherwise divergent data between cases, as well as an analysis of the case study as a whole, which is the case of the Cultural Regeneration of Seaside Towns in Kent. This synthesis makes use of the regional and national findings presented in Chapter 6, using the same unit of analysis structure (Yin 2003) that has been applied throughout, in order to develop a holistic analysis of the case study as a whole. In the conclusions chapter of this thesis, the implications of the analysis of this case for the understanding of seaside regeneration under New Labour will be explained.

7.2 Socio-Economic profile of the case study towns

The following table contains descriptive data on a range of socio-economic indictors that were used to describe the case studies presented in Chapter 6. The data was been compiled from a variety of sources that draw on data collected during the New Labour period. In all cases, data has been compared between local authority ward area relating to the concentration of cultural regeneration activity in each towns, or the Super Output Area which covers the same territory. See Chapter 6 for more detailed descriptions of these data sets.

Table 30 - Change in key measures during the New Labour period

Measure	Folkestone – Creative Quarter				Margate – Old Town				Whitstable - Harbour			
Population	+31.4%				+11.4%				+1.6%			
Social composition	AB	C1	C2	DE	AB	C1	C2	DE	AB	C1	C2	DE
% Change	-3.5%	-13.3%	-3%	+19.8%	-2.2%	-4%	+3.2%	+2.9%	+11%	-5.1%	-22.2%	+1.6%
Qualification levels	No	1	2	3	4+	No	1	2	3	4+	No	1	2	3	4+
% Change	-10.9%	-11.9%	-6.9%	+40.6%	+42.1%	-17.9%	-13.7%	-2.7%	+43.6%	+34.6%	-24%	-31.3%	-24.5%	+34.5%	+31.6%
Relative deprivation ranking[9]	1999 – Top 14.89% most deprived 2010 – Top 2.19% most deprived				1999 – Top 0.91% most deprived 2010 – Top 0.06% most deprived				1999 – Top 30.41% most deprived 2010 – Top 41.36% most deprived			

This table shows that there were significant differences in progress against key socio-economic indictors for each case study, during their regeneration in the New Labour period. The population of the Creative Quarter in Folkestone grew the fastest (31.4%), and three times faster than its parent local authority district, of Shepway (10.1%). Two local factors explain this rapid growth. Firstly, the opening of the University Campus Folkestone building in the old Glassworks building within the Creative Quarter, which led to the provision of new local accommodation and, secondly, the work done by the Creative Foundation to bring derelict properties back in to use as live-work units for creative industries businesses, which directly increased the local population. In Margate, the population of the area going through cultural regeneration grew by 11.4%, which although not as dramatic as in the Creative Quarter, did grow more than twice as fast as Thanet as a whole (5.6%). There were no obvious reasons for this growth evident from local developments such as in Folkestone, but interviewees in Thanet attributed local population growth to in-migration of a combination of asylum seekers and refugees housed by government agencies and benefit claimants and looked after children re-housed by local authorities elsewhere in the country. In both cases, this rehousing was a result of the depressed local housing market and a prevalence of cheap HMO-style properties. The population of the Harbour Ward area of Whitstable grew most slowly during the New Labour period, by just 1.6%, compared to 4.6% in the wider Canterbury area. Much of the area under study in Whitstable is within a conservation area, meaning that there are very few opportunities

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[9] Due to changes in data collection methodologies, it is not possible to directly compare these figures in terms of a % change. The data is included for comparative purposes as part of a cross-case synthesis

to expand the housing stock. In addition, characterful properties on the high street and Harbour Street have been converted from residential to holiday accommodation, again limiting the possibility for in-migration.

The social composition of each area under study also changed during the New Labour period. In both Folkestone and Margate, the percentage of the population in the Creative Quarter and the Old Town area from social classes AB and C1 dropped, whilst the percentage in social classes DE rose in both cases. In Folkestone, this may be attributable to the in-migration of students and creative industries businesses, which is supported by the significant growth in numbers of those with qualifications and levels 3 and 4. In Margate, the changes in social composition are less significant, because it lacked any significant new developments that would attract migration of those with higher levels of education or in higher-income occupations; the new businesses attracted to the old town were mostly retail and hospitality, rather than in the higher-value creative industries. Whitstable's Harbour Ward saw an 11% growth in population from those in social class AB, but falls of 5.1% and 22.2% from groups C1 and C2, suggesting that individuals in the lower middle class and skilled occupations classes were leaving the area, supporting again the observation that the conversion of town centre businesses to holiday accommodation and lifestyle businesses was promoting social change. In interviews, local authority respondents acknowledge this phenomenon and indicated that employment opportunities were being preserved around the edges of the town, the centre of which was now focused on tourism. On this evidence, the process of gentrification through cultural regeneration (Evans 2005, Vickery 2007, Richards & Wilson 2007) was most clearly seen in the Whitstable case study. The process in Folkestone and Margate was much more mixed, as the social composition of the areas began to change, but with both towns at an earlier stage of regeneration than in Whitstable, where the cultural regeneration process could be seen to have had more strong effects.

The final socio-economic indicator used to describe each case study was the Indices of Multiple Deprivation relevant to each case study area. Although the methodology used to measure deprivation and the spatial area in which it was measured changed over the New Labour period, this reflected a refining of the Government's approach to measuring and understanding multiple deprivation as a way of tackling social exclusion (Beland 2007, Halerrod & Larsson 2007, O'Brian & Penna 2007) and expressing this in terms of relative deprivation (Sen 2000). The 1999 measurement used local authority wards as the spatial unit of analysis. By 2010, this

was measured at the Super Output Area (SOA) level, a smaller level of measurement which could comprise as small an areas as a few streets within a ward. In both cases, multiple deprivation was measured in relation to the full set of national cases and can be expressed as a percentage. In Margate, the change in ranking was not hugely significant. The Old Town area of Margate was referred to consistently in national, regional and local policy documents as amongst the most deprived in the United Kingdom, and it remained this during the New Labour period, moving from being in the top 0.9% of most deprived areas, to the top 0.06% most deprived. This significant relative deprivation helps to explain the concentration of public sector activity and funding in the area, including multiple public partnerships, major EU-funding and high levels of state investment in a landmark art gallery to regenerate the area. In Folkestone, deprivation worsened quite significantly during the New Labour period in the study area, with the area around the Creative Quarter moving from being in the top 15% of deprived wards, to being in the top 2.2% of the most deprived SOAs in the country. There is no immediately apparent reason for this that can be identified in the analysis of policy or interviews in this research. It is possible that the drawing back of the local state and the problems in engaging local non-state actors in partnerships to address social issues (as expressed by some interviewees) meant that issues connected to measurements of deprivation were not being addressed adequately. In contrast to Margate and Folkestone, the situation regarding deprivation in the regenerating area of Whitstable improved, with the Harbour Ward area moving from being in the top 30.4% of deprived areas to the top 41.4% of most deprived areas. This further supports the observation that the cultural regeneration approach taken to the Harbour and Town Centre area of Whitstable has been successful in addressing deprivation locally, but raises the same issues about gentrification and also displacement (Gilhardi 2003, Maitland 2007, Richards & Wilson 2007) following tourist-focused cultural regeneration.

7.3 Associated with the regime of accumulation

This unit of analysis was developed from the concept of the regime of accumulation in régulation theory, which is concerned with the production, consumption, circulation and income distribution (Hoffmann 2003, Mosedale 2011) and the ways in which these are structured within a particular system that remains stable over a define historical period. Applying this concept from the conceptual framework of this research, as outlined in Chapter 2, involved examining the dominant economic ideas of the New Labour period, as they related

to seaside regeneration, including the economic explanations for the periods of decline in seaside towns and the economic remedies put forward to reverse this decline.

The way that the historical decline of seaside towns in east Kent was characterised in regional policy was multi-faceted, with tourism as just one part of this story. This reflected a stronger local understanding of the influence of mining and shipping (for example) than in crude national guidance on seaside towns. This understanding of the causes of regional decline is linked to the period of industrial restructuring that took place in the United Kingdom and other Western economies following the economic shocks of 1973 (Harvey 2010). The restructuring that took place during and following this period has been described as the post-Fordist transition by a number of authors associated with régulation theory (Shott 1998, Berbeoglu 2002, Jessop 2013, Vidal 2013) and their analysis that this decades-long period has had far reaching social and economic consequences for particular places more than others is apposite when considering the particular effects of this period on East Kent. Policy documents and interviews, however, did not consider the decline in mass tourism to the English seaside as part of this restructuring, blaming this instead on either social factors to do with increased income and changes in leisure time usage, or simple narratives of competition from Mediterranean resorts. The majority of interviewees viewed the decline of tourism as the main explanatory factor in the decline of the towns in this case study. In most cases, this was presented as self-explanatory, with only two very senior regional respondents taking a more broad economic perspective. However, tourism researchers have analysed changes in contemporary tourism from a régulation theory perspective, and developed explanations of exactly these kinds of changes using the concepts applied in the conceptual framework of this research. Hoffmann (2003), for example, has shown how niche tourism alternatives to mass products can be seen as part of the flexible specialisation adopted by post-Fordist development. Lafferty and Van Fossen (2001) have explicitly examined the interplay between Fordist and post-Fordist approaches to integration and product distribution within the mass tourism industry to show how the industry has adapted to changing developmental conditions to offer an increased range of products in new destinations. Ioannides and Debbage (1998) suggested that contemporary tourism was moving away from its mass (Fordist) mode, to a neo-Fordism that offered a mixture of mass and niche products, but in new markets. Situating the decline of the seaside tourism industry in Kent within the context of the Fordist-transition would allow policy makers to consider it alongside shipping and mining, and the decline of manufacturing, as part of the

structural causes of decline affecting the towns under study, rather than as a separate phenomenon altogether.

Regional policies identified a range of issues in seaside towns associated with the consequences of decline, which needed addressing through regeneration. These issues were frequently expressed in very long lists, indicating the extreme multiple deprivation facing many seaside communities. Policies discussed employment and economic diversification as the most pressing issues, along with infrastructural weaknesses, peripherality and educational attainment. Interviewees discussed many of these points. In Whitstable, for example, changes in the local labour market were a concern. The Local Authority had made significant investments as part of a jobs-led strategy which saw improvements to major roads to support haulage companies and the creation of new business parks to create jobs in logistics and light manufacturing. However, this was being done at the same time as the town centre economy in Whitstable was moving towards a cultural tourism driven regime of accumulation that some offered few new employment opportunities for local people. In Margate, the main issue identified by interviewees as needing attention through regeneration was housing, not part of the traditional toolkit of cultural regeneration (Evans 2005, Grodach and Loukaitou-Sideris 2007, Vickery 2007). Decades of decline within an urban area that had grown to meet the demands of mass tourism had left the town with hundreds of empty or derelict properties that had once been guesthouses and hotels and these were being brought back into use as Houses of Multiple Occupation (HMO), to meet the need for low cost accommodation for in-migrating benefits claimants. In Folkestone, interviewees did not consistently identify one particular policy area as a cause for concern, but did frequently identify the Creative Quarter as being located within an area of unique and severe deprivation, evident to interviewees through a concentration of sex work, drug use, poor housing and anti-social behaviour. The fact that this area was located immediately next to the now closed leisure port, the closed funfair and a number of empty and derelict properties that had housed tourism businesses such as amusement arcades was put forward as a cause of these problems by respondents. In all of these cases, the consequences of the decline of mass tourism, and of other Fordist industries in the region, are analogous to the social and economic consequences of the Fordist transition in other industries and in other regions that have been addressed by regeneration, such as uneven development (Diamond and Liddle 2005), unemployment (Haart and Johnson 2000), environmental problems (Jeffery and Pounder 2000), housing and community issues (Tyler et al 2012), low

growth (Martin 2003) and crime (Minton 2003). Despite this, the decline of mass tourism in the seaside towns of Kent was never referred to in policy or by interviewees as connected to broader economic restructuring.

Following the crises of Fordism, régulationists have described the variety of attempts to 're-establish the conditions for successful capital accumulation' (Keith and Rogers 1991: 2) under the umbrella term of post-Fordism (Danielzyk & Ossenbrugge 2001, Jessop 2013, Vidal 2013). Policy documents relating to the case study frequently adopted much of the language of post-Fordism when discussing the future for seaside towns in Kent. In particular, new economic activity associated with what James (2009) and Jessop (2013), amongst others, have called the knowledge economy was frequently proposed. Policies from SEEDA and Kent County Council, for example suggested that the coastal regions of the South-East could develop new specialisations within the green economy, high-tech manufacturing, digital and the creative industries. This view of the future of seaside economies is aligned with the régulationists analysis of the attempts to restructure local economies to adapt to the post-Fordist period (Ioannides and Debbage 1998, Danielzyk & Ossenbrugge 2001, Costa and Martinotti 2003, Hoffmann 2003, James 2009, Mosedale 2011). Cultural sector interviewees at the regional level cast doubt on the practicalities of developing creative industries activities in the towns included in this case study, however. Both the Arts Council and Kent County Council interviewees perceived the cultural infrastructure at the coast to be lacking, in terms of business support, opportunities for artists and audiences.

Interviewees at the local level took less wide-ranging views of the options available in the case study towns than was seen in policy. In Folkestone, maintaining existing jobs in the service industries and creating new jobs associated with retail and tourism was the main priority for local authority stakeholders. Although the Creative Foundation aspired to encourage digital and creative industries businesses to start-up or relocate in Folkestone, respondents described the value of this as supporting the growth of cultural and other forms of tourism in the area. Interviewees saw the growth of the creative industries in the Creative Quarter as having a significant impact on the destination image of Folkestone, which would help to attract more tourists. In Margate, a similar picture was painted by respondents, who acknowledge that the new high speed rail link and improved broadband connectivity would help to attract business investment, but saw the opening of Turner Contemporary and the regeneration of the Old Town

as the main economic engine for local development, with this development characterised entirely in terms of growing tourism in the destination. In the case of Whitstable, it was clear from local authority interviews that the economy of the town of Whitstable itself was seen as now being entirely tourism-led. Some respondents did talk about the role of Whitstable Harbour in the local economy, but market opportunities connected to this were considered to be limited, other than as a unique tourism attraction as a working fishing harbour in the area. The majority of the other interviewees viewed the tourism industry as the only significant economic activity in the town and had the opinion that managing the impacts of tourism in terms of congestion, for example, was the major development challenge for the destination. Of the three case studies, it appeared that Whitstable had been most successful in terms of implementing a new regime of accumulation, with the centre of the town now dominated by creative retail opportunities, a reputation for arts and cultural events, a busy arts centre and high tourism demand for these products.

A number of interviewees, from each town and at the regional level, linked the opportunities for tourism to the peripherality of the destinations. Conversely, this peripherality was seen as a fatal flaw in terms of attracting investment in other industries. This contrasted with the optimistic views of the economic future of the coast in regional policy documents and interviews. Despite significant policy support for the development of knowledge economy activity in the seaside towns included in this study, this was being interpreted locally as only really relevant where this supported tourism development, as only tourism was seen as capable of supporting the jobs and business that these town relied on.

7.4 Associated with the mode of regulation

Régulation theory proposes that following a crisis, along with the drive to establish a new regime of accumulation, there is a need to develop a new mode of regulation; the set of institutional forms and activities that stabilize and coordinate economic activity (Hoffmann 2003). The mode of regulation smoothes the capitalist system's tendencies towards crisis (Williams 2004) and allows for the establishment of a new mode of development that can persist into the future, until the next crisis occurs. At the regional level, the mode of regulation was analysed through the examination of the rhetoric of policy documents and descriptions of new governance arrangements with an influence over the regeneration of seaside towns in

Kent. Regional Planning Guidance and the Regional Economic Strategy clearly indicated that the expectation of local authorities and other public sector actors involved in regeneration was that they would work in close partnership with both the private sector and local communities. Governance arrangements and formal partnerships such as Area Investment Frameworks and Local Strategic Partnerships were formed to give a structure to partnership working and strategic planning documents emphasised the ways in which the workings of the state were being restructured in terms of the governance of regeneration, an aspect of restructuring highlighted by Jessop (1997). Regional level interviewees noted the historical challenges in partnership working in East Kent and many respondents commented on the complexity of the multiplication of new partnerships and joint working arrangements.

At the level of the individual seaside towns included in this case study, relationships between stakeholders in cultural regeneration were very complex. In Folkestone, the key non-state partner in regeneration was the Creative Foundation, but evidence of partnership with them did not emerge in local policies until quite late in the New Labour period. Despite the identification by local authority and community sector interviewees that the area undergoing cultural regeneration was also the site of the highest concentration of deprivation in the town, the Creative Foundation was not regarded as part of the solution to these problems. From the perspective of the Creative Foundation, respondents explained that they found it challenging to engage local stakeholders other than businesses in the area who saw the direct benefits of their work. Despite the proliferation of partnerships in East Kent, there was no incentive to encourage the Creative Foundation to join them as the Foundation had its own, private source of income. Equally, as the Creative Foundation had its own set of priorities for the outcomes of its work that was not always aligned with local authority priorities, local public sector bodies did not feel incentivised to engage with the Foundation, either. As Bache & Catney (2008) explain, many of the new governance arrangements developed under New Labour were created to apportion and account for funding, from both national and EU funding streams. New arrangements such as LSPs were also Neighbourhood Renewal Partnerships were also created in order to deliver on shared public service priorities (Ball & Magin 2005, Bailey 2012), which were not in fact shared by the financially independent Creative Foundation.

Because of this, the New Regeneration Narrative identified by Morgan (2002) as the orthodoxy for the governance of regeneration under New Labour, was not implemented in the cultural

regeneration of Folkestone. In the case of Margate, partnerships were a key feature of local development and were evident in policy documents throughout the period. The proliferation of partnership working in Margate was deemed necessary by local interviewees because of the presence of at least 14 different agencies working in the town due to its high levels of deprivation. However, these partnerships were dominated by the public sector and did not involve the partnerships with the private and community sectors envisaged by New Labour and referred to in regional policy.

The Margate Renewal Partnership was formed to take forward the regeneration of the town, but was a wholly public sector organisation, with the responsibility for dispersing public funds, including EU funding to support the regeneration of the area. In interviews, the role of the local authority was frequently discussed, but respondents expressed a sense that the local authority was both very powerful and slightly incompetent, meaning that local businesses had to be very reactive in terms of their contribution to local development. Local authority officers and managers also discussed local regeneration as if they were the sole drivers of change, perhaps reflecting the large amount of public sector investment into local cultural regeneration. In the case of Whitstable, it took more time for the new governance arrangements to start being talked about in local policy documents. In 2006, the Council announced a commitment to 'the vision behind' community strategies, a key New Labour innovation in governance, with an LSP for Canterbury District not being formed until 2008. Interviewees from the public, private and community sectors tended to describe relationships between stakeholders in the destination as quite antagonistic, with the local authority described as either too interventionist, or unconcerned, and local communities portrayed as 'fiercely independent' by local government respondents. This lack of partnership working involving the local authority in Whitstable, however, was a consequence of decisions taken by senior managers within the local authority about the development of the town and the role of the public sector in this.   A conscious decision was taken by the Local Authority to let development in Whitstable be dominated by private sector growth in tourism business and cultural tourism, which was reflected in both policy documents and interviews. The District Council made some key investments to encourage this, for example in transport, an arts centre, and conservation initiatives, but then pulled back and only really concerned itself with planning issues.

Using James' (2009) model of the post-Fordist local state, it is possible to analyse the approaches to the mode of regulation taken in each town. In Folkestone, in the area around the

Creative Quarter, it appeared as if the local authority had withdrawn from intervention in social and economic matters altogether. The presence of a large private-interest stakeholder and lack of incentives for engagement in partnership working had created a situation where the local state was not intervening on the supply-side to support business growth, or involving the private sector in governance, two key features of the post-Fordist local state as set out by James (2009). In this regard, the restructuring of the local state (Jessop 1997) had not kept pace with the restructuring of the local economy in a post-Fordist direction, helping to explain the persistence of local social and economic issues despite years of work by the Creative Foundation, who saw themselves as predominantly a property-development company at the time. In Margate, the predominance of public bodies working in the town, and the high levels of public funding available, meant that the local authority and the Margate Renewal Partnership had a disproportionate amount of power, when compared to other regenerating areas. Margate did not have any large private sector organisations who could form effective partnerships with the public sector, or contribute significantly to delivering local growth, and so James' (2009) model of the post-Fordist state was also not in evidence in Margate, due to the lack of private sector involvement in economic policy, or partnerships. Although there was evidence of a strong influence of international influence in Margate, through EU funding, and numerous supply-side interventions by the state in the economy, the lack of private sector involvement meant that the mode of regulation locally was more in keeping with a Keynesian model (Vidal 2013), due to the high level of state control. The case of Whitstable was the one in which the role of the local state was more closely aligned to a post-Fordist regime of accumulation. Although interviewees views suggested that local partnership working was problematic, the evidence from the analysis of policy documents and interviews suggests that the absence of formal partnerships as part of an interventionist state, was a deliberate decision taken in response to the development of a tourism and leisure based economy in Whitstable. In terms of James' (2009) model, the local state has restricted itself to supply-side interventions and allowed market forces to determine the direction of development; this has led to a fragmentation of local governance, but has limited the need for public spending and indirectly attracted private investment and the in-migration of residents of a more affluent social group.

7.5 Associated with the process of legitimisation

In Chapter 2 of this thesis, a conceptual framework was developed which drew on the political economy of Bourdieu (1980, 1990, 1993) to add a process of legitimisation to the establishment of the mode of development as seen from the perspective of régulation theory. This was done in order to incorporate a political economy of culture into the analysis of cultural regeneration in seaside towns under New Labour, because the models of political economy considered for this research did not consider the role of culture in social and economic change, which is a key feature of cultural regeneration policy. For Bourdieu, the primary function of culture in society is the reproduction of dominant social structures, because of this, culture is frequently used as a way of signifying and enforcing social boundaries through a process of 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu 1984, 1993). This sets out the kinds of cultural activity that are associated with the desirable social groups and then controls access to these cultural activities. The imposition of a set of cultural institutions (galleries, education programmes and festivals for example) and practices (creative industries, cultural tourism) on an area with the aim of achieving social and economic transformation, can then be seen as a kind of symbolic violence that serves the purpose of legitimising (Swartz 1997) what is, in fact, a post-Fordist restructuring of the local economy.

Bourdieu's model of symbolic violence rests on the assumption that cultural capital, like economic capital, is distributed unequally in society and those in positions of social and economic dominance tend to also be in possession of greater amounts of cultural capital (Bourdieu & Darbel 1991, Bourdieu 1993). Cultural capital exists in institutional forms, such as in arts organisations and the education system, but also in an objectified form as cultural goods and services themselves and, finally, in an embodied form, as part of the psychological make up of an individual (Bourdieu 1993). When analysing regional policy documents, the institutionalised form of cultural capital was not strongly evident. Some regional policies discussed the role of culture in engaging excluded communities, or as having the power to raise the aspirations of individuals, highlighting the role of the 'cultural arbitrary' (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990) in exercising social control, but more frequently the role of culture was expressed in terms of its contribution to economic output through the creative industries and tourism. Interviews at the regional level suggested that those responsible for the creation and delivery of policy in the area of cultural regeneration were in possession of the embodied forms

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of cultural capital that allowed them to exercise their 'monopoly on symbolic violence' (Bourdieu 1993: 21) when promoting culture as a mechanism for change through regeneration. Respondents frequently described culture as having improving effects on individuals and communities, in the same way as describing other kinds of public policy interventions.

Policy documents from the case study towns gradually adopted the language of a more instrumentalist approach to culture during the New Labour period, as this discourse filtered down from national and regional policy. Again, the role of culture in policy was most frequently explained in terms of its economic contribution. In Folkestone, local authority interviewees often described culture as having specifically social benefits such as civic pride, community cohesion, and health. Cultural sector interviewees also advocated the positive role that culture could play in transforming the area through participation, and how this would raise the aspirations of otherwise excluded individuals. Despite this, there was a strong sense from a number of interviewees that the kind of culture that was being employed as part of local regeneration was not necessarily accessible to everyone. The strong visual arts-focus in Folkestone was noted as problematic by some respondents and the consumption of the products of the local creative industries was also descried as class-based. Taken together, these concerns reflect the worries about gentrification (Florida, 2000, Richards and Wilson 2007) expressed in the cultural regeneration and cultural tourism literature and can be understood from the perspective of this research as an impact of the process of legitimisation taking place through symbolic violence. In Margate, the role of culture was seen as having instrumental benefits as part of regeneration and interviewees communicated a strong commitment to making cultural activities as inclusive as possible. Respondents noted the success of placing arts projects into empty shops in the town centre, for instance, and were clear that cultural investment had to support other policy areas including education, health and housing. Interviewees did not raise significant concerns about gentrification, and the secondary data above shows that the social composition of the regenerating area had not changed greatly during the study period. When discussing the role and impacts of culture in the regeneration on Whitstable, the majority of interviewees explained this in terms of the tensions between local residents and tourists, or DFLs (Down From London). There was an acceptance that much local cultural activity was aimed at tourists and that it wasn't strongly connected to the lives of local people. However, the social and economic impacts of attracting large numbers of mostly cultural tourists were a core concern for most interviewees outside of the local authority. This concern, however, was

not linked to the potentially divisive nature of culture itself, but to problems such as congestion and overcrowding.

Comparing the three case study towns from the perspective of the conceptual framework outlined in Chapter 2 of this thesis, clear differences can be seen between each town in terms of the role that culture is playing in local cultural regeneration. All three towns have been through a process of crisis in a mass tourism industry which has led to similar decisions about economic restructuring through the establishment of a creative industries led economy. The process of legitimisation of this restructuring in Folkestone has taken place through the imposition of a contemporary, visual-arts led approach by a private organisation with high levels of institutional cultural capital, on the Creative Quarter and its wider area, seen in the encouragement of creative arts spaces and public contemporary art events. However, this has led to serious local concerns about gentrification and exclusion. Taking the analysis of the mode of regulation, above, into account, it is possible to link this to the lack of public sector engagement in this regeneration project, especially when compared to another case study town. In Margate, although this research has identified a potential difficulty in the restructuring of the local state to support local economic restructuring, the way that culture has been used to legitimise this restructuring has been managed by the public sector, meaning that issues of gentrification and exclusion have been considered from the outset of the regeneration project. In this way, the embodied cultural capital of those involved in local cultural regeneration evident in interviews, which could have led to symbolic violence in the delivery of policy outcomes, has been tempered by the intuitional priorities of the state. Whitstable was the town where interviewees spoke the least about the impacts of culture on local communities, but the theme of conflicts of interest between tourists and locals was commonly expressed. Tourists in Whitstable were described as just 'tourists' rather than as cultural tourists as they were in the other destinations in this case study. There were no questions raised about whether the concentration on cultural activity was the correct way to grow the local economy, but the impacts of tourism were frequently debated. The symbolic violence (Bourdieu 1984, 1993) predicted by the conceptual framework of this research was seen most strongly in Folkestone where gentrification was a prominent local concern, whilst in Margate the mode of regulation (Hoffmann 2003) was operating in ways that reduced this. As seen by the changes in the social composition of the local population in Margate (table 1, above), it is possible that the process of gentrification had already taken place in Whitstable, but interviewees did not note it as a

concern at the time of this research, by which point Whitstable was already regarded as a middle-class area by local authority interviewees.

7.6 New Labour context

The final unit of analysis used in this case study design was the prevailing New Labour political context of the study period, as explained in Chapter 3. In common with Bevir's (2005, 2006) and Bevir & Rhodes' (2000, 2003, 2004) interpretative studies of British politics, this research has undertaken to understand cultural regeneration in English Seaside Towns, by situating it within a specific historical-political period.

The analysis of regional policy documents relating to seaside regeneration in Kent during the New Labour period showed a gradually stronger emergence of neoliberal (Jessop 2003, Cerney & Evans 2006) ideology from 1997-2010. There were strong narratives of competition and market logics expressed in a range of policy documents, with this being framed as completion between regions of the United Kingdom, as well as competition between the United Kingdom and other countries. This is consistent with how Cerney and L'Hote (2010) described New Labour's vision of the UK as a 'competition state'. Regional development policies described the greater South East as the United Kingdom's world class region and indicated that it was competing with regions of a similar status in the USA, Europe and East Asia. Within the south-east itself, the coastal regions were consistently identified as economically underperforming and this was often given as the reason for a policy focus on the coast and seaside towns. The remedies for this economic underperformance were, in line with other New Labour economic policies (Fuller and Geddes 2008), increasing liberalisation of economic development, a greater role for the private sector and privatisation along with the selling-off of public assets for development. The rhetoric of many regional policy documents was also in line with what Lister (2003) described as the 'social investment state' approach taken by New Labour and a social democratic commitment to tackling inequality (Rake 2011), seen through a commitment to raising skills and education levels in regenerating areas, along with economic growth through direct investment and business growth. When discussing the approach being taken to cultural regeneration, interviewees at the regional level gave mixed views when analysed for evidence of neoliberal orientation within their policies. The level of public funding for regeneration was

a common concern, with the imperative to reduce this in the long term evident from a number of respondents in regional governance and economic development contexts, but interviewees from the cultural sector expressed a strong understanding of the social and community aspects of regeneration, and the need to address deep-seated problems in these situations through concerted public sector investment.

Cultural regeneration as a specific approach to regeneration policy became increasingly promoted through regional policies affecting the seaside towns of Kent during the study period, perhaps reflecting an element of path-dependency as many destinations moved down this route, but also mirroring the emergence of cultural regeneration as regeneration orthodoxy during the New Labour period (Hewitt 2011). In Folkestone, in the first half of the New Labour period, the approach taken to regeneration in local policy was neoliberal in orientation in terms of its concentration on a move towards a service economy. However, it focused on stimulating growth in the town centre through retail and the possibility of attracting private investment to re-open the cross-harbour ferry link. Only in the post-2005 period did local policy documents begin to acknowledge the creative industries focus to regeneration in the town that was being driven by the Creative Foundation. Interviewees from the Creative Foundation and its partners expressed beliefs in the beneficial effects of private investment and business growth that could be regarded as neoliberal, but local authority and community organisations did not tend to link economic growth to the solution to social and economic problems in the area. In Margate, local policy documents shared New Labour's analysis of the structural problems affecting the UK economy (Giddens 2010), but due to an acknowledgements the issues caused by the peripherality of the town and the scale of its social an economic problems, a more traditional state-driven approach to regeneration (Bianchini 1999), making use of large amounts of public funding, was recommended by policies throughout the New Labour period. Interviewees echoed policy when it came to the need for public investment to what were often expressed by interviewees to be the intractable problems of geography and deprivation. In Whitstable however, a market-led approach to developing the local economy was presented in an entirely unproblematic way in policy, which uniformly referred to Whitstable's economy as being driven by the tourism and leisure sectors. Interviewees also presented unanimity in this regard, with no sense expressed that greater public investment was needed, despite some calls for specific policy decisions to guide development.

The second aspect of New Labour policy identified in Chapter 3 of relevance to this research was its focus on communities, and its communitarian (North 2003, Lees 2013) policy orientation in general, where simplified versions of community are seen as both problems requiring a solution and the solution to social problems. Communities in regional policy were most frequently described in terms of their level of skills, or their dependency on specific forms of welfare benefit. Regional policy described seaside communities in Kent as lacking the skills necessary to benefit from economic restructuring towards the knowledge economy and often as suffering from geographically specific disadvantages in relation to housing, education and employment opportunities. Despite this, regional policies overwhelmingly suggested that engaging and mobilising local communities was the key to successful regeneration. Regional interviewees were much more pessimistic about the contribution that communities could make to regeneration and economic development, commenting that some communities at the seaside may never benefit from regeneration projects, other than indirectly, and may have no substantive contribution to make to cultural regeneration. In Folkestone, local policy documents repeatedly identified tackling social exclusion and inequality as a priority. In addition, communities in the streets surrounding and including the Creative Quarter in East Folkestone are repeatedly identified in policy as the most socially excluded in the Shepway District.

Interviewees in Folkestone were also clear that the community living in and around the Creative Quarter were subject to multiple deprivation, and that addressing this was a priority for the regeneration of the town. However, in agreement with the regional-level interviewees, local respondents did not express the view that these communities could support the regeneration process; they were the object of regeneration policy, but not active within it. In Margate, narratives of community deprivation and social exclusion dominated both policy documents and interviews. This was seen as a consequence of the decline of mass tourism, which had left behind a community without the skills to engage with new economic opportunities. In addition to this, the physical legacy of the decline of mass tourism meant that Margate contained high numbers of properties which were now home to benefit claimants that had been placed by other local authorities and by national government. In particular because of this housing problem, interviewees viewed community problems in Margate as a specific problem affecting the destination. In the case of Whitstable, deprivation in terms of social exclusion and incomes was not seen as a serious concern in policy. Instead, access to housing and services was seen as more a more pressing issue, reflecting the fact that the case study area

was less relatively deprived than Folkestone and Margate, shown in table 28, above. The Local authority followed a jobs-led strategy for local economic development in Whitstable during the study period, and invested in creating business parks and office development on the fringes of the town during the New Labour period, which helped to generate jobs for local communities who could not benefit from cultural tourism opportunities in the town. Local interviewees identified unemployment as the major issue facing some local people in the town, but the only other area of exclusion mentioned by interviewees was that faced by some older people locally who might not be included in the new cultural focus of local economic activity.

Cultural regeneration as policy for the development of seaside towns was increasingly supported by regional policy during the New Labour period, in step with its assimilation as a mainstream regeneration technique in New Labour's urban policy (Landry 2000, Gonzalez 2011, Carter 2013). Although it took time to be assimilated into local regeneration policy, both Folkestone and Margate's local authorities reflected this approach in their own policies by the second half of the New Labour period. In Whitstable, the process of cultural regeneration began earlier, but was supplemented by more traditional forms of economic development through local authority intervention throughout the study period. In Folkestone, the communities who lived within the study area were seen as the object of policy, but without the skills or capacity to contribute actively to regeneration. Instead the focus was on in-migration of creative industries professionals and students to improve the area, which can be seen in the changing distribution of qualification levels in the area during the New Labour period, shown in table 1, and reinforcing the concerns about gentrification discussed above. In Margate, the decline of tourism was blamed directly for a concentration of local residents without the skills or motivation to engage with local economic opportunities, but in addition the physical legacy of mass tourism was seen as to blame for the in-migration of yet more socially excluded groups. In this way, the communitarian philosophy of New Labour was only partiality realised locally, with communities being seen as a public policy problem locally, but not as contributing to the resolution of policy problems. In the final case study, Whitstable, local communities were not seen as problematic in a regeneration context, most likely because the social composition of the area had already changed significantly during the study period, but also because of the policy interventions of the local authority, which had followed a jobs-led strategy in the district. Instead, the tensions between local communities who were not necessarily suffering from exclusion in the New Labour sense, and incoming tourists, were seen as the source of social problems in the area.

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7.7 Discussion

The table below summarises the different aspects of the case study in each town, using the conceptual framework and units of analysis developed in Chapters 2-5.

Table 31 - Case study town summary

Unit of Analysis	Case study town			Region
	Folkestone	Margate	Whitstable	Kent
Mode of accumulation	Creative Industries led knowledge economy	Creative Industries led knowledge economy	Creative Industries led knowledge economy	Knowledge economy
Mode of regulation	Weak partnerships	Public sector dominated	Enabling state	Strong partnerships
Process of legitimisation	High levels of symbolic violence	Low levels of symbolic violence	Low levels of symbolic violence	Low levels of symbolic violence
New Labour context	Neoliberal environment with poor community outcomes	Keynesian environment with strong community focus	Neoliberal Social Investment State environment with tourism focus	Mixed Neoliberal and Social Investment State

All three towns within the case study were developing a post-Fordist regime of accumulation (Aglietta 2000, Danielzyk & Ossenbrugge 2001, Cornelissen 2011) in response to the decline of traditional Fordist industries in the region, which included mining, shipping, large-scale fishing, manufacturing and most-importantly, tourism. The particular variant of post-Fordist economic development being established in in each town was a knowledge economy, one of the most dominant approaches to economic development taken in Western countries (Jessop 2013). This was well aligned with the aspirations expressed at the regional level to restructure the economy of the coast of the South-East and Kent towards a knowledge economy, although the conception of the knowledge economy offered at this level included a wide variety of knowledge economy activities including high-tech manufacturing and digital industries, for example, that were not evident in the case study towns. In each of the case study towns, the mode of accumulation that was most evident was a creative industries led variant of the knowledge economy, which has become one of the most frequently used economic drivers of urban regeneration (Zukin 1995, Richards & Wilson 2007, Spirou 2007, Smith 2007b) and also a key feature of New Labour's urban policies as seen in the wide range of policy documents and government studies promoting this approach (ACE, 2006a, 2006b; DCMS, 1999a, 1999b; Evans and Shaw, 2004; Matarasso, 1997, 2009; Moriarty, 2002). This regime of accumulation also has a strong link to tourism, as the cultural consumption (Crewe and Beaverstock 1998)

that is associated with it on the demand side of cultural regeneration (Kennell 2013) then allows urban areas to redefine themselves as cultural tourism destinations (McCarthy 2002).

In Folkestone, this new regime was in the process of being established, with some early signs of creative retail options in the Creative Quarter and some landmark events, such as the arts biennale beginning to draw new cultural tourists to the town. However, the most significant new arrivals to the town that were attracted to this creative industries activity were students and creative industries professionals. In Margate, this new regime was concentrated in plans for the Turner Contemporary gallery and, to a lesser extent, the refurbishment of the dreamland amusement park as a heritage attraction. It was envisaged that this would provide the landmark cultural attraction needed to stimulate cultural tourism to the town, but this uplift had not yet had significant impacts locally during the study. In Whitstable, the new regime of accumulation was well developed, due to the local authority taking early planning and development activities to support this economic activity in the town centre and harbour areas. These areas were now dominated by tourism and creative industries businesses and cultural tourism was the core component of the local economy. Taking the case study as a whole, it can be seen that the seaside towns of Kent were going through the transition from being part of a Fordist mass tourism economy to a post-Fordist knowledge economy, focusing on the creative industries and cultural tourism, and that this was supported by regional policy.

Looking at the mode of regulation across the three towns, there is significant variation within the case study. All regimes of accumulations contain inherent contradictions that the mode of regulation attempts to smooth over (Jessop 2013). Analysing the mode of regulation that conditions the governance of economic activity in an area (Peck 2000) is important for understanding whether the regime of accumulation will be stable and persist over time, allowing for the rise of a new local mode of development (Danielzyk & Ossenbrugge 2001, Williams 2004, Mosedale 2011). At the regional level, New Labour's emphasis on multi-agency and public-private partnerships, which has been noted as a key feature of its approach to the governance of urban regeneration (Morgan 2002, Coaffee 2005, Bache & Cateeny 2008) was seen strongly in polices from regional government agencies and the regional development agency affecting the case study, through the policies of the upper-tier local authority. Although regional interviewees remarked on the practical difficulties of working in partnership, these institutional arrangements (Dredge and Jenkins 2007) were well supported by regional policy and funding. The regeneration of Folkestone was being driven by the Creative Foundation, a

powerful private sector stakeholder, with the local authority and other public and community sector organisations lacking a strong presence in the projects centrered on the Creative Quarter. Although the rhetoric of partnership did begin to appear in later policy documents, governance arrangements for local cultural regeneration were characterised by very weak partnerships and the absence of the local state, even in some statutory functions such as housing and planning. In Margate, the governance of regeneration was heavily dominated by the public sector, with a multiplicity of public sector agencies working in the town to address nationally-significant levels of deprivation (see table 28), a situation which local businesses and entrepreneurs found it hard to engage with productively. In Whitstable, the local authority was perceived by many local interviewees as not being sufficiently engaged in local regeneration, however the analysis of policy and interviews revealed this to be a strategic decision for the state to work in an enabling role and to allow a market-led cultural tourism and leisure industry to develop in the town. Looking across the case study as a whole, it is clear that these different approaches to the mode of regulation had implications for the trajectory of the regime of accumulation in each destination. Only in Whitstable had a mode of regulation been established that was appropriate for a post-Fordist economy, as the state drew back into a position of enabling and facilitating (Hancke 2009) development rather than either removing itself entirely, as in the case of Folkestone, or dominating development as in Margate. This meant that the mode of regulation in Whitstable was more in line with Lister's (2003) conceptualisation of New Labour's governments as a Social Investment State, a third-way (Giddens 2010) approach to managing the benefits of post-Fordism.

The third unit of analysis used throughout this case study was the process of legitimisation, based on Bourdieu's explanation of the process of symbolic violence (1990, 1993) that underpins the instrumental role of culture in society. As shown in Chapter 2, the concept of symbolic violence is useful in understanding the negative impacts of culture identified in the cultural tourism and cultural regeneration literature (Smith 2007c) by adding a specifically cultural aspect to the economic models of political economy. Regional policy documents and interviews did not show evidence of the exertion of symbolic violence against the communities of seaside towns in Kent. Culture was typically represented as having specific economic benefits, through the creative industries or tourism. Interviewees did make claims for the positive impacts of culture in terms of community development, especially in terms of 'hard to reach' groups, but this was almost always linked to other more traditional public policy

interventions. In contrast in Folkestone, many interviewees expressed concerns about the negative impacts of using culture as a tool in regeneration, linking this frequently to its potential to exclude people and the gentrification (Uduku 1999) that was perceived to be taking place in areas that were the site of long-standing deprived communities. These effects can be understood as the effects of the symbolic violence being used to legitimise a new mode of development in the area, driven by a private organisation which institutionalised high levels of cultural capital (Bourdieu 1993) in an area with very low levels of cultural capital in its residential community, without significant public sector oversight. In Margate, although a similar approach was being taken of using culture as a tool to restructure the economy of a deprived area, local policies maintained a strong emphasis on issues of social exclusion and interviewees did not report major worries about gentrification or displacement. This indicates that the process of legitimation of the new mode of development in Margate's Harbour and Old Town areas did not involve high levels of symbolic violence. Linking this back to the state-dominated mode of local regulation, it is likely that this is due to the strong focus on addressing social exclusion that was evident from local public sector work. In Whitstable, the lowest levels of symbolic violence were seen. Local authority interviewees were confident that local communities were able to benefit from either the additional secondary economic activity in the destination associated with cultural tourism, or with non-tourism activity elsewhere in the area.

Other local interviewees, when questioned about the impacts of cultural activity and cultural tourism locally, focused on the impacts of tourists on the community as a whole, rather than on specific excluded groups, with the exception of one concern about whether older people benefited from arts activity. However, a limitation of this analysis is that the statistical data provided in table 1 shows that the social composition of the area changed significantly from the start to the end of the New Labour period, with interviews taking place in the later stages of this period. Some interviewees noted that the gentrification of Whitstable had already take place and it possible that the symbolic violence associated with the establishment of a new mode of development had already occurred. Therefore, at the overall level of the case study, the amount of symbolic violence involved in legitimising the restructuring of a destination appears to be a function of the level and nature of state involvement in the process. At the regional level, the language of policy and the responses of interviewees do not suggest high levels of symbolic violence, but the different modes of regulation at the level of the individual towns show that this process of legitimisation can vary significantly, with various social and economic outcomes.

The final aspect of the case study that was analysed was the relationship between the case and the more broad New Labour political context of the period. The first aspect of this that was examined was the extent to which the local state reflected the neoliberal orientation of New Labour's national governments (Raco 2003, Smith 2003, Jessop 2013). This was of particular interest in this case study because although the regional government office and regional development agency were non-political branches of the administration, the top tier local authority for the case study was controlled by the Conservative Party and, of the case study towns, only Margate's local authority had a period of Labour party control, from 2000-2003. Despite this, analysis of regional policies and interviews showed that the top tiers of regional governance could be considered as showing elements of both a neoliberal orientation (Harvey 2010) and the approach of a social investment state (Lister 2003), in common with New Labour's third-way orientation (Giddens 2010). In the context of this case study, this supports Heffernan's (2011) critique of New Labour as showing continuity with ideological positions held by previous conservative governments and Jessop's (2013) view of the consolidation of Thatcherism as a new political orthodoxy in the United Kingdom. In Folkestone, as explained above, the partnership working, especially with the private sector, which characterised New Labour governance was not evident. A large private stakeholder was able to determine the style and pace of development in a manner that suggested that the local authority was taking a neoliberal approach to local development, with non-interventionist state orientation, however this led to a lack of attention being given to the resolution of local social and economic problems, a common critique of neoliberal approaches (Harvey 2010).

In Margate by contrast, a strongly interventionist local state was in operation in local development, setting priorities and both funding and delivering large regeneration projects. This state orientation could be best described as Keynesian (Brenner & Glick 1991), with the state driving economic development in the absence of sustainable local private sector growth. In Whitstable, the role of the local state was aligned more closely to the orientation of the state at the regional level, with a mixture of lassiez-faire economic policies and occasional interventions to sustain and promote jobs growth for Whitstable's residents. The other aspect of New Labour's programme that was analysed through this case study was the role of communities in regeneration. Regional policy was strongly aligned with New Labour's communitarian approach (Delanty 2003), with communities seen as being simultaneously the beneficiaries of regeneration and the agents of regeneration policy, despite some interviewees

expressing cynicism about the contribution that some of the most excluded communities at the coast could make to local development. In Folkestone, as described above, the area containing the Creative Quarter was home to communities facing serious multiple deprivation issues. Although this fact was evident in policy and reported on by interviewees, communities were not being engaged in the regeneration process in a communitarian fashion by either the Creative Foundation, who did not see themselves as having a responsibility to address these issues, or the local authority, who were not active partners in the regeneration scheme. In Margate, the extent of relative deprivation meant that addressing social exclusion was a clear priority for the Margate Renewal Partnership and the local authority, although the excluded communities of Margate were most often characterised as in-migrated groups, without a stake in the future of the town. For this reason, local communities were seen as benefitting from regeneration, without having a strong role to play in the process. Finally, in Margate, local communities were not often mentioned by local stakeholders, other than as a homogenous entity in opposition to 'tourists'. As described above, this may be due to the process of gentrification that had already taken place, but could also represent the concentration of cultural-tourism led projects on high-spending visitors (McCarthy 2002) that has been critiqued as a negative impact of cultural regeneration. Consequently, despite the lack of party political alignment between New Labour and the local authorities involved in the case study, it can be seen from the case study that the dominant third-way political orientation of the New Labour state was evident to a greater or lesser extent throughout Kent, although how this was implemented in each town gave rise to different social and economic outcomes for local communities.

The elements of the conceptual framework for this research are drawn from the régulationists attempt to understand the prevailing mode of development (Aglietta 2000) in capitalist society at any given historical point. In order to do this, this case study has analysed the chosen destinations using the two key concepts of régulation theory; the regime of accumulation and the mode of regulation. In addition, concepts from Bourdieu's sociology of culture were added to the conceptual framework, in order to create a framework for the analysis of a specifically cultural approach to urban regeneration. This led to the creation of a conceptual model for this research, that was first presented in Chapter 2 and which is replicated below:

Figure 15 - The Conceptual framework of this research
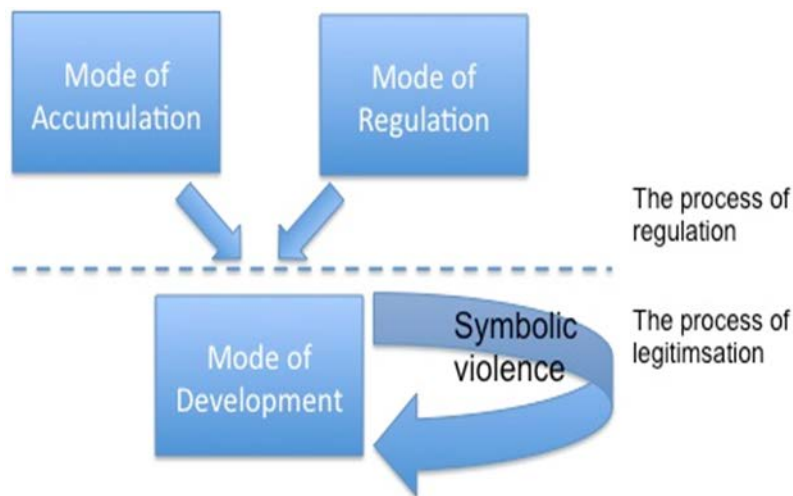
Using these concepts as units of analysis in a multiple-embedded case study design, as explained in Chapter 5, has allowed for the generation of a critique of the principal mode of development that is being implemented through the restructuring of Kentish seaside towns through cultural regeneration. As Bramwell (2011) explains, political economy research is not abstract, but grounded in particular places and times, so this research has also been situated within the period of New Labour government in the United Kingdom, which made up the final unit of analysis in the case study. The analysis of this case study has shown that the seaside towns included in this case study were going through a period of economic restructuring following the crisis of Fordism (Shott 1998, Berbeoglu 2002, Jessop 2013, Vidal 2013) that was also experienced in other single industry towns in the United Kingdom, and that the methods chosen for this restructuring were similar in substance to those chosen in other New Labour-era regeneration projects.

The post-Fordist mode of development that was being created in these towns involved a regime of accumulation based on the knowledge economy, with a creative industries and cultural tourism focus. In order to govern this period of restructuring and to impose a stable mode of development on these crisis affected town, a mode of regulation was supported through regional and local policy that emphasised partnerships between multiple destination stakeholders, in line with the New Regeneration Narrative (Coaffee 2002) that characterised New Labour's urban policies. This mode of regulation, however, was implemented in different ways in each of the case study towns and a clear finding of this research is that variations in

the mode of regulation during a period of restructuring cultural regeneration can have significant influence over the impacts of the restructuring itself, even when the regime of accumulation remains constant. In particular, the mode of regulation appeared to have a significant impact on the levels of symbolic violence experienced in the destinations, as seen through issues connected to gentrification and social exclusion through cultural regeneration. In the final chapter of this thesis, the implications of this case study for the understanding of the restructuring of tourism destinations and New Labour's approach to regeneration will be explored.

8. CONCLUSIONS

8.1 Introduction

The aim of this research, as explained in chapter one, was to critically analyse the ways in which cultural regeneration was applied by successive New Labour Governments in English Seaside Towns, as a response to the decline of English seaside tourism. In order to carry out this analysis, four research objectives were set. The first was to critically review the literature on the political economy of tourism and destination development. This objective was met in chapters two and four, both of which provided the conceptual background and literature review for this thesis. The second objective was to critically analyse the policies and practices associated with cultural regeneration as method for economic restructuring in seaside towns, which was achieved in chapter 3, which looked at these issues in a broad context and in chapter 7, which presented the analysis of the case study used in this research. The third research objective was to evaluate the impacts of cultural regeneration on English Seaside Towns during the New Labour period. This objective was achieved through the methodology of this research, which utilised a multiple-embedded case study design, the results and analysis of which are presented in chapters 6 and 7. Finally, the last objective was to critically analyse the impacts of New Labour's policies on English Seaside Towns. This last objective is addressed in section 8.5, below.

In this chapter, sections 8.2 to 8.4 provide a critical summary of the relevant material from this thesis in relation to the first three research objectives. Section 8.5 provides a critical summary of the findings of primary research carried out for this thesis, which is put into the context of the more broad analysis of régulation theory and the national picture of the New Labour period, which was explored in Chapters 2 and 3. Finally, section 8.6 explains the contribution that has been made by this research and clearly highlights where this contribution has been made within this thesis.

8.2 Political Economy and Tourism Destination Development

As explained in Chapter 2, tourism research has recently been dominated by studies that emphasise tourism consumption and the personal experiences of tourists (e.g., Ateljevic et al 2007, Hall 2013, Andrews 2014), a trend which has been criticised by tourism researchers from within the political economy tradition as failing to engage with critical issues of power, control and politics (e.g. Bianchi 2009, Mosedale 2011).

A political economy approach was chosen for this research because political economy research brings together a critique of the relationship between the state and capital, and applies this critique to the understanding of social and political change. Given that this research is situated within an urban regeneration context that involves high levels of political intervention, through both policy and investment, and also within an industrial context of tourism, which retains a strong element of state action, it was necessary to utilise concepts from political economy to develop a conceptual approach to this research.

A review of political economy models which could have been used to develop the conceptual framework of this research was carried out in Chapter 2, and from these, régulation theory was chosen. This was deemed the most appropriate because it brings together economic analysis with an understanding of the role of the state (Peck 2000), and because of its concentration on periods of crises and restructuring (Bramwell 2011) which was the context of this research. However, in order to fully account for the way in which culture was being deployed as part of the restructuring process, the régulationists' model was supplemented with the concepts of legitimisation and symbolic violence from the work of Bourdieu (1993). This allowed for the development of a conceptual model that could explain four things: Firstly, the ways in which new regimes of accumulation were being inaugurated through strategies of cultural regeneration; secondly, the use of new governance arrangements to create a new mode of regulation to manage these new regimes; thirdly, the way in which cultural activity and investment was used to legitimise these new approaches. Finally, this model examined the relationships between all three of its aspects in a coherent mode of development.

In practical terms, this conceptual model was applied in chapter 5, the methodology chapter of this thesis. Each of the aspects of the model became a unit of analysis within the multiple-

embedded case study design (Yin 2003) that was used in this thesis. This approach was followed in the design of the content analysis phase of the primary research (Berg 2007) and also in the thematic design of the interviews with local stakeholders (Holloway 2003). Applying the conceptual model in this way meant that, in the analysis of the case study in chapter 7, valid (Yin 2003) conclusions could be drawn about the relationships between each aspect of the model within the case study.

In chapter four, key models of tourism destination development were critiqued in order to examine whether the changing fortunes of English Seaside Towns could be adequately explained from the tourism literature. The Tourism Area Life Cycle (Butler 1980) provided a foundational and well-applied way of understanding destination development, but as critics have pointed out, its tendency to focus on internal destination factors and to struggle to integrate external political and market changes (Agarwal 2002, Butler 2009, Baidal 2013) meant that it was not suitable for application in this research. The restructuring thesis, as advanced primarily by Agarwal (2002, 2006) but drawing on the work of economic geographers such as Harvey (1992, 2010) offered a potentially useful perspective on this research, primarily because of its shared concerns with re-establishing the conditions for capital reproduction and its emphasis on the global inter-relationships within tourism. However, English Seaside Towns have primarily been destinations for domestic tourists, dominated by local micro-enterprises, with a key role for the local state in their development. For this reason, the macro-economic perspective of the restructuring thesis was not appropriate for this research. The final approach that was critiqued in chapter four was a cultural-change perspective (Urry 2002, Gale 2007), which emphasised how changes in taste and fashion could explain changing patterns of tourism consumption, leading to the decline of resort areas which did not sufficiently move with the times to attract tourists in a new economic context where destination image and the experience economy have become drivers of the success of new tourism destination. However, this approach over-privileges the demand-side aspects of tourism consumption and struggles to draw links to the wider political, economic and social context of tourism destinations that is vital in this research.

This thesis has shown that the complex socio-economic context of English Seaside Towns can be understood through the application of régulation theory, from within the tradition of political economy. Frequently applied models of tourism destination development from the tourism literature can provide useful insights into the growth of tourism destinations, but cannot

adequately explain the multi-faceted period of decline and restructuring taking place within significant urban areas, such as that faced by English Seaside Towns during the New Labour period. The existence of numerous non-tourism factors, the influence of political ideology and policy and the socio-economic situation of these towns, means that the more established model of regulation theory can be used to carry out a rigorous analysis of destination development in destinations of this type. Post-mature (Gale 2005) destinations of this kind can be found in many European and North-American regions. This thesis shows that the conceptual model and methodology developed in this research can be replicated to analyse the restructuring of a large number of tourism destinations.

8.3 Cultural regeneration and the restructuring of English Seaside Towns under New Labour

This section of the conclusions chapter deals with the way in which cultural regeneration policy and practice was applied to English Seaside Towns during the New Labour Period. Using the conceptual model applied in this research, this section focuses on the establishment of new regimes of accumulation and modes of regulation (Aglietta 1979) in destinations through cultural regeneration.

As mentioned in 8.2, above, this thesis made use of a case study methodology, with multiple sources of data. This approach was chosen in order to engage with the concrete social phenomena (Jessop 2013) associated with cultural regeneration in seaside towns and to be well aligned with the régulationists' approach to analysing specific historical periods from a wide range of perspectives (Lipetz 1987). This section and the two that follow it make generalizations about the wider New Labour context of this research, based on the analysis of the case study that is presented in chapter 7. The external validity of this approach has been justified in chapter 5 in two ways. Firstly, this generalization is 'analytical' rather than 'statistical' (Yin 2003). Case study research, informed by conceptual concerns, aims to "generalize a particular set of results to some broader theory" (ibid: 37). The theory that is being used then predicts in what circumstances the findings of the case study should be generalizable. Because the conceptual model developed in chapter 2 has been applied rigorously throughout this thesis, as explained in section 8.2, it is then possible to make analytical generalizations based on the findings of this case study. Secondly, to increase the

internal validity of this case study method, a replication logic (Yin 2003) was applied to the design of the study, with each town within the case study design analysed using the same units of analysis.

Analysis of the East Kent case study showed that the causes of the decline that had led to restructuring in seaside towns were multi-faceted, and drew on local knowledge about the importance of other industries such as mining and shipping that had been affected during the more broad industrial restructuring of the last forty years, placing the restructuring of these towns' economies into the context of the post-Fordist transition (Shott 1998, Berbeoglu 2002, Jessop 2013, Vidal 2013) identified by the régulationists. Analysis of relevant policy documents at the national level, shown in chapter 6, also shows that New Labour policies viewed the necessity for economic development and urban regeneration to have arisen following these more broad structural changes. However, national policy on seaside towns, which was not developed until late in the New Labour period, focused for the most part on the decline of seaside town's tourism functions and did not consider the impacts of non-tourism factors in any depth. In neither the case study region, or the national context were the post-Fordist restructuring of the UK economy and the decline of English seaside tourism linked. These links, however, have been explored in the tourism literature, which has considered the existence of Fordist and Post-Fordist tourism models (Ioannides and Debbage 1998, Lafferty and Van Fossen 2001, Hoffmann 2003), situating changes in the tourism industry within the more broad economic restructuring of contemporary capitalism. Therefore, in terms of the conceptual framework applied in this thesis, the need for economic restructuring in English Seaside Towns was correctly identified by policy-makers, but their diagnoses of the reasons for this were incomplete.

During the New Labour period, as shown in chapter 3, there was a strong trend towards implementing cultural regeneration strategies in English Seaside Towns. This was an attempt to establish a new regime of accumulation in these destinations, in response to the decline of traditional seaside tourism. This regime of accumulation can be characterised as one of a variety of Post-Fordist approaches, namely as a creative industries strategy within a more broad knowledge economy emphasis (Jessop 2013). National policy documents from the period consistently emphasise this view, from the foundational *Urban White Paper* (ODPM 2000a) through to *Transforming Places* (DCLG 2009a). The case study used in this thesis shows that

there was synergy between national and regional approaches to the establishment of new regimes of accumulation in Kentish seaside towns, with an emphasis on creative industries development and cultural tourism-led consumption. All three of the towns included in this case study were implementing this same new regime of accumulation and this reflected a national trend for seaside towns to move in this direction. This turn towards the creative industries and cultural tourism in English Seaside Towns was not particularly distinctive however, as many post-industrial towns and cities in the developed world had already been following this path since the late 1980s, as shown in chapter 3. In fact, the relative lack of specific attention given to English Seaside Towns in national policy that was not remedied until the 2006-7 Select Committee Coastal Towns enquiry (CLGSC 2007) and the first specific Government policy for Seaside Towns in 2010 (DCLG 2010), meant that the high level policy support and funding that is needed to achieve successful urban regeneration was not available to these towns until very late in the New Labour period.

A prominent concern of New Labour's economic development and regeneration policies was establishing new forms of governance to help to address multiple deprivation, especially through the creation of new regional and local partnership and delivery structures, as explained in chapter 3. These new structures concern what régulationists describe as the mode of regulation (Aglietta 1979); the system of institutions, rules, laws and discourse that governs the regime of accumulation and smoothes out the capitalist system's tendency towards crisis (Williams 2004). In common with the contemporary approaches to governance implemented in many developed countries, a shift from 'government to governance' (Cento Bull & Jones, 2005 Wallace 2011) took place under New Labour. This was seen firstly in a dramatic regionalisation of economic development and regeneration policy (Allemndinger & Twedwr-Jones 2000, Pugalis 2010) involving the creation of Regional Development Agencies (Regional Development Agencies Act 1998), but then more gradually during the New Labour period through the creation of a range of sub-regional partnership bodies. Key to the establishment of these bodies were the concepts of public-private partnership, community involvement and area-based interventions in regeneration (Lister 2003, Booth 2005, Fuller & Geddes 2008, Bailey 2012).

Policy documents from the period, analysed in chapter 6, show that the intentions of these new arrangements were to make the delivery of regeneration more efficient, more accountable to communities and to create better long-term outcomes. Despite this constant and consistent narrative of partnership and devolution in New Labour's policies during their period in Government, considerable variance in the mode of regulation was seen at the local level in the case study that forms the basis of this thesis. This research agrees with Jessop's (2001b) analysis that the post-Fordist state is intertwined with the operations of a post-Fordist economy and with Breathnach's (2010) conclusion that the post-Fordist state has taken on extremely complex spatial and governance forms in order to adapt to new economic activity. This adaptation has led to innovations in the mode of regulation, which have been identified by authors throughout this thesis as characterising the New Labour approach to governance, For example, at the regional level, the New Regeneration Narrative (Coaffee 2005) of partnership and communitarianism was strongly in evidence, but this was not reflected in the approach taken by each different local authority to each of the three case study towns. Chapter 7 shows that differences in the mode of regulation had a significant impact on the implementation of cultural regeneration strategies within the case study.

The next section will look at the implementation of cultural regeneration in English Seaside Towns in terms of its impacts on the destinations, making use of the case study analysis presented in chapter 7 and with reference to the third element of this thesis' conceptual model, the mode of legitimisation.

8.4 The impacts of Cultural Regeneration on English Seaside Towns

This section of the conclusions chapter considers the political economy of the impacts of Cultural Regeneration strategies on English Seaside Towns. In chapter 2, the conceptual model for this thesis was developed, which supplemented the standard model of régulation theory with a process of legitimisation, drawing on the work of Bourdieu (1980, 1990, 1993). This was done in order to incorporate a political economy of culture into the analysis of cultural regeneration in seaside towns under New Labour, because the models of political economy considered for this research did not consider the role of culture in social and economic change, which is a key feature of cultural regeneration policy. This process of legitimisation involves the imposition of a set of cultural institutions (galleries, education programmes and festivals

for example) and practices (creative industries, cultural tourism) on an area with the aim of achieving social and economic transformation, which can be seen as a kind of symbolic violence (Bourdieu 1990) that serves the purpose of legitimising (Swartz 1997) what is, in fact, a post-Fordist restructuring of the local economy, which is a process that will have both positive and negative impacts for local communities. In this section, this political economy perspective will be applied to examine the positive and negative impacts of cultural regeneration identified in this thesis' case study. These will be summarised and conclusions drawn about them using the conceptual model of this research.

As shown in chapter 6, the DCMS (1999) made a number of claims for the positive impacts of culture on social exclusion and urban regeneration, at the start of the New Labour era, and this rhetoric was also prevalent throughout a range of departments and policies during the period. Strong assertions were made by departments and the various cultural NDPBs about the power of culture to 'make an effective contribution to creating or regenerating strong, cohesive and vibrant communities' (ACE 2005: 1), for example. The benefits of culture were seen as accruing through the opportunities that it gave for community engagement, the improving elements of cultural education and the psychological impacts of being in the presence of public art, or artist-designed public spaces. This approach to the instrumental value of culture can be seen to be clearly captured by Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence, which critiques the use of cultural means to change behaviour and attitudes to bring them in line with the worldview of a dominant group (Bourdieu & Darbel 1991, Bourdieu 1993).

Policy documents from the regional level of the case study did not reflect this strong emphasis on the improving power of culture in public policy. Some regional policies discussed the role of culture in engaging excluded communities, or as having the power to raise the aspirations of individuals, highlighting the role of the 'cultural arbitrary' (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990) in exercising social control, but more frequently the role of culture was expressed in terms of its contribution to economic output through the creative industries and tourism. This was also the case for the most part in the case study towns, although towards the end of the New Labour period, this instrumentalist approach to culture was seen more strongly in policies and interviews. Where the cultural elements of regeneration were described in terms of their positive impacts, these varied between the towns, depending on the orientation of the local state, as shown in chapter 7.

Perceptions of the impacts of cultural regeneration in terms of its negative impacts also varied between the towns. Only one of the towns was analysed as experiencing very high levels of symbolic violence through the process of legitimisation, where respondent concerns about gentrification and displacement were strongly expressed. This was also the town with the least active local authority in local partnership working within the case study area. The public sector in Whitstable and Margate, in different ways, was actively engaged in local regeneration, meaning that a strong focus on the community impacts of cultural investment was maintained throughout the period under study. However, in Folkestone, the domination of local activity by a very influential non-state actor meant that this focus was not present.

The application of a political economy conceptual framework to understand the impacts of cultural regeneration, shows that the variability in the implementation of the social investment state (Lister 2003) envisaged by New Labour had a significant impact on the ways in which the symbolic violence that could be a feature of the process of legitimisation was experienced by local communities. This process is a key feature of the stabilisation of a new mode of development for these towns, as established in the conceptual framework of this thesis. The following section will draw conclusions about how far it is fair to say that a new mode of development (Aglietta 1979) was inaugurated in English Seaside Towns under New Labour, the final concept in the conceptual model of this research.

8.5 New Labour and English Seaside Towns

In this section, the political economy model set out in chapter 3 is applied to draw conclusions about the overall impacts of New Labour's policies for Seaside Towns. As shown in chapters 3 and 6, New Labour's overarching economic development and policy agenda was to respond to and direct the restructuring of the UK economy following the economic crises of the previous three decades (Coates & Hay 2001, Lister 2003, Jessop 2003, L'Hote 2010). In order to achieve this restructuring, New Labour promoted a post-Fordist mode of development, where the new regime of accumulation could be characterised as a knowledge economy approach (Peck 2000) and the mode of regulation was a combination of a neoliberal orientation to the state (Harvey 2010) with a social-investment programme (Lister 2003), especially at the level of local economic development and social policy. This approach was characterised as a 'third-way'

approach between market-driven and state-driven economies (Giddens 1999, 2000, 2001). Taking the perspective of the conceptual model used in this research, the attempt to inaugurate a 'third-way' model of development in Seaside Towns would be seen by the regulationists as the creation of a new 'mode of development' (Aglietta 2000). This section of the conclusions chapter will conclude whether this mode of development was implemented in English Seaside Towns and what the implications of this process have been.

The national policy documents that were and sections 8.2 to 8.4, above, show that New Labour's approach to urban regeneration and, thus, cultural regeneration were consistent with its broader economic and social policy agenda. From very early in the New Labour period, culture and the creative industries were seen as part of the toolkit of urban regeneration, with instrumental benefits across a range of policy areas. Strategies of cultural regeneration had already been employed in areas including Manchester, Sheffield and Newcastle before the Government began to consider a specific approach to regeneration for England's seaside towns. In response to the collapse of Fordist-industry in other areas of the UK, post-Fordist development approaches had been implemented to re-establish the conditions for capital accumulation and address the social consequences of restructuring, including strategies led by financial services, research and education and the creative industries.

This case study shows that English Seaside Towns were suffering from the impacts of the Fordist transition (Peck & Tickell 1995), as the Fordist-era English domestic seaside tourism industry was overtaken by a more globalised, differentiated post-Fordist, or neo-Fordist (Vidal 2013) international tourism industry. This transition, and others like it, are a core part of the regulationists' arguments concerning the crises of capitalist development (Jessop 2013, Vidal 2013). Unlike in the industrial towns and cities of the UK, this decline was gradual and incremental, a rare example of the decline of a services industry, with distributed employment, rather than in the traditional Fordist industries where the closure of a factory or production line would have immediate and dramatic consequences. This slow decline meant that policy attention under successive governments was slow to materialise. By the time of the Sea Change funding programme (CABE 2008) and the first Government policy for Seaside Towns (DCLG 2010), cultural regeneration had become part of the orthodoxy of urban regeneration in the UK. In many seaside towns, the turn towards cultural regeneration had happened more quickly at the local level, where the need for intervention was felt more keenly.

This thesis shows that variations in the mode of regulation at the local level had a significant influence over the successful implementation of a creative-industries led mode of development. Applying a political economy conceptual approach has allowed for the identification and evaluation of the impacts of cultural regeneration in these destinations, which goes beyond the rhetoric of policy and government studies. Differences in regulation led to varying degrees of symbolic violence (Bourdieu 1991) in the mode of legitimisation, meaning that the positive and negative impacts of using culture and cultural tourism to drive regeneration were more or less effectively managed. English Seaside Towns were the focus of significant and serial cultural regeneration activity during the New Labour period, as part of successive Government's attempts to restructure the national economy, but the success of this activity, as explained through the conceptual approach developed in this thesis, was dependent on its governance at the local level.

8.6 The contribution of this research

This thesis makes a contribution to knowledge in three main ways. Firstly, it adds to the limited literature on tourism and political economy. It does this in chapter 2, where the study is put into the context of the political economy literature and aligned with previous political economy studies in tourism. It also does this in chapter 3, where the research is situated within a defined political period and links are drawn between the concerns of this research and its broader socio-economic context.

Secondly, this thesis extends the scope of régulation theory to cultural tourism by supplementing the traditional model of régulation with elements of the work of Bourdieu. This allows for the application of the insights of régulation theory in a domain where its concepts would not previously been sufficient, or would have been seen as overly reductive. The value of this approach is seen from chapters 5 to 7, where the model is applied consistently from the design of the methodology to the eventual case study analysis, and in this chapter, where the application of the model has produced valid conclusions.

Finally, this thesis places the discussion of tourism destination development into the broader field of political economy. As shown in chapter 4, the destination development literature does not currently provide adequate models for understanding the process of decline and

restructuring that continue to take place in English Seaside Towns. These destinations are not unique in suffering from the effects of decline and this thesis shows that the approach of political economy can be powerful in analysing their situation.

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