

Deconstructing the City of Culture: The Long-term Cultural Legacies of Glasgow 1990

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Summary. This paper evaluates the success of the European Union City/Capital of Culture programme as a model for culture-led regeneration by assessing the long-term cultural impacts of Glasgow's experience in 1990. These cultural impacts, seen as distinct from economic, physical and even social impacts, are measured using soft indicators such as media and personal discourses. Assessment of cultural impacts is seldom undertaken and often dismissed as purely anecdotal in comparison with the hard evidence offered by established economic and physical impact evaluations. Here, this view is challenged and an alternative approach is offered in an exposition of the research design and main findings of a qualitative longitudinal study into the development of narratives around Glasgow's image and identity during the period 1986–2003. From this research, it emerges that the effect of regeneration on local images and identities is the strongest and best-sustained legacy of Glasgow's reign as City of Culture 15 years on.

Introduction

The phrase 'culture-led urban regeneration' has grown from an interesting alternative to urban development policy into a core strategy in an increasing number of cities and regions world-wide. From the US-based 'festival marketplace', "a formula for redeveloping derelict waterfront sites which pivots on consumption, entertainment and spectacle" (Stevenson, 2003, p. 141) to the increasingly adopted 'cultural planning' approach, aiming at "nurtur[ing] and promot[ing] local cultural activity in the city" (p. 141), culture-led regeneration is a core priority in urban centres as diverse as Barcelona, Montreal and Singapore.

This paper discusses a particular instance of such developments in Europe: the European City/Capital of Culture programme (ECOC).

The ECOC started as a rather sanguine EU initiative but has been transformed into what is perceived as an attractive catalyst for cultural regeneration, generating enormous expectations in cities from countries as diverse as the UK, the Netherlands and Greece. The programme is an interesting case study because it has evolved over the past couple of decades in parallel with the growing debate around definitions and uses of culture-led regeneration and has touched all EU countries in turn. It is a programme that did not originate from clearly structured guidelines as to what would constitute a 'European City/Capital of Culture'. Indeed, its history has been one of adapting to the needs and demands of those cities hosting it rather than imposing a prefigured model of

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urban cultural policy. In this context, the issue at stake is whether this programme has managed to address successfully the expected outcomes of culture-led regeneration.

A recent report by Evans and Shaw (2004) reviews the current state of evidence on culture's contribution to regeneration in the UK in which, they note, culture-led regeneration is one of three models.¹ The report establishes that there is a wealth of approaches to 'impact' measurement (the most common term used to study the contribution of cultural activity to other objectives), with tests particularly developed in the areas of environmental (or physical) and economic impact assessment (Evans and Shaw, 2004, p. 6).² However, they note important weaknesses due to the lack of evidence about long-term legacies and the limited understanding of social and, particularly, cultural impacts as opposed to economic and physical impacts (pp. 31–32, 57–59). Contrasting with the poor state of longitudinal evaluation techniques, the notion of long-term impact and 'sustainability'—understood as beneficial inputs for the city and its inhabitants that are able to survive and develop beyond five years—is increasingly seen as a key measure of success within urban regeneration programmes (Bianchini, 1999; Egan, 2004; Frey, 1999; Urban Task Force, 1999). This is because, as argued by Evans and Shaw, "regeneration is a fragmented process that takes place over several years, perhaps a generation or more" (p. 57) and "the complexity of the process of regeneration makes it hard to attribute an effect to a cause, *particularly in the short term*" (p. 29; original emphasis).

Cultural impacts are also increasingly valued as a desired effect in their own terms

[Beyond physical, economic and social impacts,] researchers ... have begun to look ... at a fourth type of impact—*cultural impact*. This term is already being used to describe two rather different effects. One is the impact on the cultural life of a place. For example, the opening of a gallery where there was none before ... The other use refers to the impact of cultural

activity on the culture of a place or community, meaning its codes of conduct, its identity, its heritage and what is termed 'cultural governance' (i.e. citizenship, participation, representation, diversity) (Evans and Shaw, 2004, p. 6; original emphasis).

It is thus through assessing the long-term cultural impacts—or sustainable cultural legacies—of the ECOC that this paper aims to evaluate the success of the programme as a model of culture-led regeneration. The paper focuses on the experience of Glasgow in 1990, the first city to be widely acclaimed for showing how the designation might be appropriated to underpin the wider project of regeneration. The analysis of this experience 15 years on will provide a basis to argue the core benefits of culture-led regeneration and will help to assess whether the experience led to cultural legacies that were sustainable in the long term.

The paper reflects on the findings of a three-year project conducted by the Centre for Cultural Policy Research (CCPR) at the University of Glasgow. The project takes a similar stance to that reported by Bailey *et al.* (2004, p. 47) when arguing the importance of longitudinal studies in providing "an in-depth understanding of geographical and historical specificities" which is in turn the only way to "understand the way in which cultural regeneration potentially strengthens existing sources of identity rather than imposing new ones". In this paper, the effect of regeneration on local identities, including citizens' self-perception and the perception of the place they live in, is seen as a key cultural impact and one with the potential to be sustained in the long term.

The CCPR project is based on retrospective methods of study, tracing the progression of media and personal discourses on the city's approach to regeneration, event hosting and urban cultural policy in the two decades that separate Glasgow's 1986 ECOC nomination from the 2003 nomination of Liverpool as the next UK Capital of Culture in 2008. The paper aims to show the value of assessing soft indicators such as media and personal discourses as an approach to measuring cultural impacts and legacies and a means of

complementing the analysis of other more visible and commonly assessed impacts such as the event's effect on the city's infrastructure, levels of employment and visitor attraction (see Myerscough, 1991, 1994). The paper argues that the most sustainable legacies of Glasgow 1990 have been cultural rather than physical or economic but that they have not been properly assessed over time and are often dismissed as purely anecdotal, partly due to their subjective nature. This situation leads to the conclusion that it is necessary to keep developing longitudinal and qualitative impact and legacy evaluation techniques. In Glasgow's case, understanding the key to its successful experience as an ECOC and the reason why it is still considered a key referent 15 years on will not result from a purely economic and environmental analysis but rather from investigating the formal and informal narratives created around such an event. This paper aims to demonstrate that these are the most important sources of current pride and belief in the city's potential as a creative centre and are thus its more sustainable legacy.

The City/Capital of Culture Programme and Culture-led Regeneration

The ECOC programme was conceived in 1983 by Melina Mercouri, then Greek Minister for Culture. The purpose of the programme was to give a cultural dimension to the work of the European Community (now the European Union) at a time when it did not have a defined remit for cultural action and to celebrate European culture as a means of drawing the community closer. As argued by Evans (2003, p. 425), the ECOC is an example of the European Union's progressive shift from an almost-exclusive focus on the creation of common market (free trade) instruments and regional development, into more localised city-based initiatives.

Evans suggests that a defining characteristic of the ECOC is that it

has acted as an effective 'Trojan horse' by which structural economic adjustment policies and funding have been diverted into

arts-led regeneration ... generally bypassing national and even city cultural and economic development policy. ... The use of culture as a conduit for the branding of the 'European Project' has added fuel to culture city competition, whilst at the same time celebrating an official version of the European urban renaissance (Evans, 2003, p. 426).

The ability of such a programme to surpass local cultural policies has been contested by some (Myerscough, 1994, p. 24). However, there is little question of the programme's effect on increasing city competitiveness and promoting culture-led regeneration agendas in an expanding Europe and within the UK in particular (see Cogliandro, 2001; Davies and Russell, 2001; Gulliver, 2002; Palmer/Rae Associates, 2004).

The selection of Glasgow in 1990 marked the start of the ECOC as a catalyst for urban regeneration. Initially used as an opportunity to reinforce the status of prestigious European cultural centres—such as Athens (1985), Florence (1986), Amsterdam (1987), West Berlin (1988) and Paris (1989)—after Glasgow, the title has been integrated within medium-to-large regeneration projects and used to promote emerging cultural assets in capital, second and third cities alike (see García, 2004a, p. 319). Copenhagen, Thessalonica, Stockholm, Weimar, Porto, Graz, Genoa and Lille are some examples of cities that have linked the ECOC to ambitious urban and regional regeneration strategies, with recent studies showing these cities' dedication to above-average levels of funding to operate specially designed programmes of activity for up to one year (€50–73 million as opposed to €40 million on average by ECOC hosts between 1995 and 2004) and/or fund capital projects (€150–230 million as opposed to €105 million in the same period) (Palmer/Rae Associates, 2004, pp. 85–89).

However, overall, the ECOC programme reveals a series of weaknesses that mirror many of the still unsolved tensions in European approaches to culture-led regeneration. One important problem is the extremely low level

of European funding allocated to the programme. Although the EU has increased its budget from an initial average of €120 000 per city to the current allocation of €500 000 since 2001, these amounts are clearly insufficient to support a full programme of activities, especially in the face of growing public expectations and ever-tougher interurban competition. A recent assessment of ECOC sources of funding from 1995 to 2004 reveals that EU support accounts for barely 1.53 per cent of total income while national governments cover up to 56.84 per cent of all costs and city and regional authorities up to 31 per cent (Palmer/Rae Associates, 2004). A further problem has been the lack of any systematic monitoring of the ECOC programme as it has unfolded, limiting the extent to which cities have been able to learn from one another. As noted by García

Despite attempts at creating platforms to share know-how ... there is no formal monitoring mechanism in place. As such, the information available about ECOC experiences relies entirely on the willingness of host cities to produce final reports. ... Comprehensive reports are ... scarce and mostly restricted to the assessment of immediate impacts, without a follow-up study in the medium to long term. The resulting effect is the creation of virtually unquestioned 'myths' about the value of hosting the title that cover up the lack of serious attempts to learn lessons from the experience and establish replicable models of successful and ... sustainable culture-led regeneration. (García, 2004a, p. 321).

A detailed study of one of the most celebrated ECOC experiences will help to uncover the limitations as well as the successes of the programme in creating long-term cultural legacies.

The Experience from Glasgow 1990 to Liverpool 2008

To understand the influence of the ECOC on approaches to culture-led regeneration, the

experience of the UK is particularly revealing. Beyond the claim that Glasgow was the first city clearly to associate the ECOC with urban regeneration, the UK government, 'New Labour' in particular, is supportive of the use of culture as a tool for regeneration, with the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) framing it as one of its key objectives and embarking on a major consultation programme, 'Culture at the Heart of Regeneration' (DCMS, 2004).

Furthermore, in 2003, Liverpool was nominated to be the second UK city to hold the title. The level of debate surrounding this decision was well above what is common in other European countries, where the title is often allocated to one city without an open competition process (for example, in Spain, Greece and France) and the level of public debate and media interest tends to be far less.³ The analysis of UK press coverage and key promotional messages launched by competing candidates in the bidding period (2002–2003) indicates that Glasgow 1990 was used as a key reference-point and presented as the role model to be replicated in 2008. This situation prompts the question of whether Glasgow is indeed a role model for culture-led regeneration in the first place, demanding a careful consideration of what this means by identifying the elements that are more commonly referred to in existing claims of success and by being aware of the origin of these claims and their context.

The Glasgow Model: A 'Success' Story?

Glasgow is a good case to study the evolution, successes and failures of the ECOC programme because it represents a turning-point in the initiative. It was the first city to win the title after an open national competition, the first to have more than three years to plan the event, the first to gather substantial public and private support to fund event-specific initiatives and the first to understand the potential of the ECOC as a catalyst for urban regeneration through culture. However, Glasgow is also a case framed by controversy, with strong claims made against

the use and abuse of cultural celebrations in a city that has yet to resolve a remarkable divide between the wealthy and the poor (Boyle and Hughes, 1991, 1994; Mooney, 2004). The city remains socially divided both because of the legacy of its industrial past and the nature of the city's gentrification (see MacLeod, 2002; Mooney and Danson, 1997). There exists a wide range of materials produced either in support of or against Glasgow's approach to culture-led regeneration. However, it is rare to find accounts capable of integrating both perspectives and, as noted below, a majority of claims are based on work produced in the early 1990s, thus overlooking any possible empirical update after 1995.

The claim that Glasgow 1990 is a success story and the model to follow 15 years on is strongly reflected in the national press coverage surrounding the bidding process to host the ECOC'2008 in the UK. A review of 350 articles debating the bid between January 2002 and June 2003 (point of final nomination) shows 90 per cent of positive references to Glasgow 1990 with an emphasis on references to the city's image transformation (31 per cent), followed by references to the event's positive economic legacies in general (19 per cent) and the growing levels of tourist visits in particular (17 per cent). These extremely high levels of positive coverage must indeed be understood as an effect of the biases that tend to frame major event bidding processes at a national level and, in particular, within the local press of respective candidate cities. As shown in the section on 'Image legacies', media references to Glasgow 1990 have been increasingly positive in the post-event period, but they are complemented by significant levels of negative and neutral coverage.⁴

Further to the press hype surrounding the 2008 UK nomination, references to Glasgow as an ECOC role model also emerge from a wide range of specialist policy and planning publications. These range from immediate celebratory accounts, which tend to emphasise Glasgow's remarkable transformation since the early 1980s thanks to the development of strong public-private partnerships and city

marketing strategies (Rae, 1993; Sayer, 1992; Wishart, 1991); to medium-term appraisals establishing Glasgow's pioneering role in culture-led regeneration (Myerscough, 1994; Kirkpatrick, 1996); to long-term recollections attempting to identify the event's key legacies (Davies and Russell, 2001; Gulliver, 2002; MacDonald, 2002; Wood, 2002). Glasgow's reputation is also supported by the widely cited *Monitoring Glasgow 1990*, a report produced by John Myerscough (1991) with funding from the city and regional authorities. This is one of the most comprehensive studies of an ECOC hosting process to date and another reason for Glasgow's predominance in debates about the regenerative potential for the city of securing the ECOC. In most if not all of these publications, the praise concentrates on the city's image transformation from grim industrial centre to attractive creative hub, including the growth in leisure and business tourism that resulted partly from this image transformation. This suggests a predominance of the economic rationale to justify Glasgow's success and a trend towards overlooking its wider social and cultural implications.

In contrast, references to Glasgow within academic publications are often dismissive of the rhetoric surrounding 1990 (Booth, 1996; Boyle, 1997; Boyle and Hughes, 1991, 1994; Mooney and Danson, 1997; Spring, 1990). It is also common to find extremely critical accounts within leftist magazines and related publications (Kemp, 1990; McLay, 1988, 1990). From the mid 1990s onwards, these accounts have spread within activist sites in the World Wide Web (Clark, 2002; Richards, 2002). The main criticism emerging from such publications is Glasgow's failure to resolve its social problems. Typically, 1990 success was seen in economic terms generating low-wage jobs and benefiting élites—political, corporate, cultural or otherwise—while doing little to alleviate the city's underlying structural economic problems. In this frame and in line with David Harvey's remarks (1989),⁵ Glasgow's ability to put on a major event and gather international acclaim is considered a mask

aiming to hide the enduring, embedded problems and contradictions resulting from decades of poverty and related housing, health and nutrition problems. These contradictions support Boyle and Hughes' arguments (1991, 1994) about the highly politicised nature of the 1990 event.

Interestingly, there have been practically no published academic studies on the Glasgow 1990 experience beyond the mid 1990s. Liverpool's nomination has already triggered reactions from academics, some of which stem from a Marxist tradition that openly rejects the rhetoric of urban renewal and/or regeneration through major events (see Mooney, 2004). This has resulted in an irreconcilable opposition of arguments. In this context, this paper follows from earlier publications resulting from the CCPR project (García, 2004a, 2004b) that aim to act as a bridge between the more celebratory and the more confrontational accounts by engaging with current arguments about the benefits of event-led regeneration, at the same time as critically assessing its cultural impact on local communities. The issue at stake here is whether we accept claims of success that are exclusively grounded in economic terms or whether we also take into account a cultural discourse that appreciates cultural legacies beyond economic returns and symbolic effects beyond purely social benefits (see Bailey *et al.*, 2004; Evans and Foord, 2003; Mommaas, 2004).

Methodological Challenges: Assessing the 'Cultural' Legacies of Culture-led Regeneration

In formulating the CCPR project, an important decision was to move beyond a focus on economic outputs and assess instead the cultural dimension of urban regeneration, understood as the effect of regeneration on the culture of a place or community (see Evans and Shaw, 2004, p. 6, cited in the introduction). Yet, a major challenge has been finding appropriate methodologies able to assess such cultural effects in a field otherwise

dominated by economic and environmental impact studies.

The general underpinnings of the preference for a 'cultural economic policy' (Kong, 2000) have been widely documented (Greenhalgh, 1998; Griffiths *et al.*, 1999; Peacock and Rizzo, 1994) but the phenomenon is most evident in the context of regeneration discourses (Bianchini, 1990; Evans and Foord, 2003; Mommaas, 2004). The recent report to the DCMS by Evans and Shaw (2004) notes that, although culture-led regeneration strategies are now commonplace, methods to assess the cultural impact of such regeneration are severely underdeveloped. This is because, in addressing the concerns of their funders (typically government agencies and/or corporations), most assessment studies focus on measuring economic, physical and—on occasion—social impacts. However, little explanation is given about the *cultural* benefits of such a process. This suggests that culture is being used as an instrument for other ends and that, given the growing interest in its urban application, it is proving successful at achieving them—but the understanding of cultural impacts and legacies remains unaddressed.

In Glasgow's case, a common claim is that the most successful and sustainable legacy of hosting the ECOC was precisely of a cultural and symbolic nature: the transformation of Glasgow's image. However, in line with Evans and Shaw's claims, the value of such a symbolic legacy is justified in more tangible economic terms: the growth in the number of tourists, business relocation and inward investment. These economic justifications fail to explain the cultural and social dimensions of image transformation. This was the point of departure for the CCPR research project.

Indeed, in trying to evaluate the worth of a 'symbolic legacy', the research had to face the challenge of measuring supposedly intangible elements, which is seen as a common problem of cultural impact studies (Evans and Shaw, 2004, pp. 28–29). To address this difficulty, image change was measured by assessing the progression of personal, institutional and

media produced narratives about Glasgow as a city to visit, work in or live in, in the context of the ECOC'1990 or its aftermath. The measurement involved the identification of key indicators such as references and attitudes towards the city's promotional or marketing strategy and related discourses on city development; published opinion or personal perception about its quality of life and/or liveability; perceptions on the levels and appropriateness of cultural provision, facilities and infrastructure; opinions about the effect of 1990 on local confidence, creative development and creative outputs; and community participation in the arts and other cultural endeavours, civic involvement and/or cultural citizenship.⁶

These narratives were initially traced by undertaking an extensive content analysis of media coverage on Glasgow 1990 published between 1986 and 2003. The analysis of media narratives was then contrasted with the narrative emerging from official promotional discourses or 'city marketing' strategies. This second area of study is particularly relevant as, beyond pioneering an era of culture-led regeneration, Glasgow has been cited as a role model for exploiting city marketing as a core component of urban regeneration (Paddison, 1993). The study of city marketing strategies involved the review of archives and documentation produced by local authorities and the Glasgow Tourist Board between 1983 and late 2003. Finally, media and marketing discourses were placed in the context of the personal narratives of special interest groups representing Glasgow's cultural, political and business worlds. The names of individuals or institutions relevant to the project were identified through the documentation review, media content analysis and initial interviews with key informants. The criteria for selection were a direct involvement (as politicians, managers, artists, opinion leaders, etc.) with the ECOC and its immediate aftermath and/or a current role within institutions, venues or activities considered a direct or indirect legacy of 1990. The assessment of personal accounts was undertaken through one-to-one

interviews with 45 people and 7 focus groups with an average of 5 people each.⁷

These three research strands are strongly interrelated and were often developed simultaneously, using the findings emerging from one area to inform the assessment of the rest. However, due to space limitations, only the first and third strands will be explored in some detail here. The analysis of press coverage is presented below as 'image legacies', reflecting on the claim that media narratives have been one of the main drivers of Glasgow's image transformation. The analysis of personal accounts or perceptions of Glasgow is understood as a form of 'identity legacies' and presented in the following section to explain the impact of Glasgow 1990 on the lives of individuals and/or the local interests they represent.

Image Legacies: Tracing Media Narratives about Glasgow's Image and Quality of Life

In attempting to undertake a longitudinal study about a past event, the research has had to overcome the limitations inherent in any retrospective study. These are the difficulty in comparing current data (over 14 years later) collected according to the project's priorities, with data collected before, during and shortly after the event year by other researchers guided by rationales which do not necessarily respond to our current aims. In this sense, the extensive monitoring report produced by John Myerscough (1991), despite providing a thorough quantitative assessment of materials contemporary to the event, is not particularly useful for the project. This is because its horizons are limited to assessing impacts during and immediately after 1990, and the approach emphasises the event's economic impacts rather than social or cultural effects. To address this limitation, the collection of current personal and institutional narratives has been complemented by the review of media coverage contemporary to the extensive period covered by this project.

The press articles collected offer not only an insight into the narratives produced at

different points in time, but also an opportunity to compare how the publicly stated views from those directly involved (as politicians, event managers, artists, anti-ECOC campaigners, etc.) have changed in the process. Indeed, many of the people we have interviewed in 2002 and 2003 had also been interviewed in the media or written their own articles between 1986 and 2001. This provides a basis to assess the evolution of their perceptions of the city and/or their own aspirations and helps to identify the possible contextual factors influencing such an evolution.

Our interest in media discourses is also a result of our aim to assess Glasgow's image change as a key factor in the formation of local identities and thus as a reflection of the event's cultural impacts. Media discourses are not seen as a direct reflection of the reality of a place but rather as an influencing factor on public opinion and thus a relevant source of information for any local debate about the state of the city and its future. As argued by Jesús Martín-Barbero

Communication media play [a role] in cultural change and the anthropological span of the change produced through communication As suggested in the title of my book, 'From media to mediations', I try to think not only about [the media as] means but also [as] ends: [that is, about] how they are changing the constitution and recognition of collective identities, and the incidence of the media as well as other processes of communication on the reconstitution of such identities (Martín-Barbero, 1991, p. 4; trans. from Spanish).⁸

The analysis of media narratives was conducted through a content analysis of 5700 articles published mainly in UK newspapers between 1986 and 2003. Two phases were identified in this study. The first, from 1986 to 1991, was denominated the '1990 period', as the coverage was dedicated to discuss 1990 issues as they unfolded, both in the lead-up or indeed during the event itself. This period was also distinguished by the articles' format, as they were only available

in print and kept as an archive of 1990 at the Mitchell Library in Glasgow. These articles (from now on 'clippings') had been originally gathered by the Glasgow 1990 press office and were assessed by the research team to ensure their suitability for the research and the validity of the selected sample. The second phase, from 1992 to 2003, was denominated the 'post-1990 period' and was characterised by the retrospective approach taken by journalists towards 1990 issues, which resulted in a progressive emphasis on identifying (or noting the lack of) event impacts and legacies. Clippings from this period were available in electronic format and were selected by undertaking key-word searches in the database 'Lexis-Nexis'.

Following established methods of content analysis (see Berelson, 1952; Bryman, 2001), the clippings were individually coded according to a series of categories reflecting the key indicators we were using to measure image change. These included profile categories such as date of publication; newspaper title; geographical remit (UK national, Scottish national, local paper, international); newspaper type (broadsheet, tabloid); article length and article format (editorial, news, feature, etc.); and qualitative categories, such as thematic focus and paper attitudes towards respective themes. The complexity of such a process of categorisation, in particular, the thematic and attitudinal assessment, is fully discussed in a working paper by Reason and García (2003).⁹ Here, the discussion will focus on a selection of relevant findings resulting from the indicators that we feel best address the paper's objectives. These are the geographical provenance of papers, the main themes covered and respective attitudes towards them.

An assessment of the geographical provenance of newspapers helps to establish the extent to which certain themes are of local, national or international interest. This is also useful to contextualise the origin of current claims about Glasgow's success or failure and to assess whether these claims have predominantly a local basis, framed by household papers and opinion-leaders, or whether they

have been mostly influenced by the views of outsiders.

The range of papers and magazines covering Glasgow 1990 was extremely large. For ease of analysis, papers were grouped in categories based on their provenance (see

Figure 1). The coverage in the 1990 period is clearly dominated by the two main Glasgow-based papers, *The Herald* and the *Evening Times* (42.6 per cent). Combined with the Edinburgh-based *Scotsman* and local and regional tabloids, the Scottish press dominated

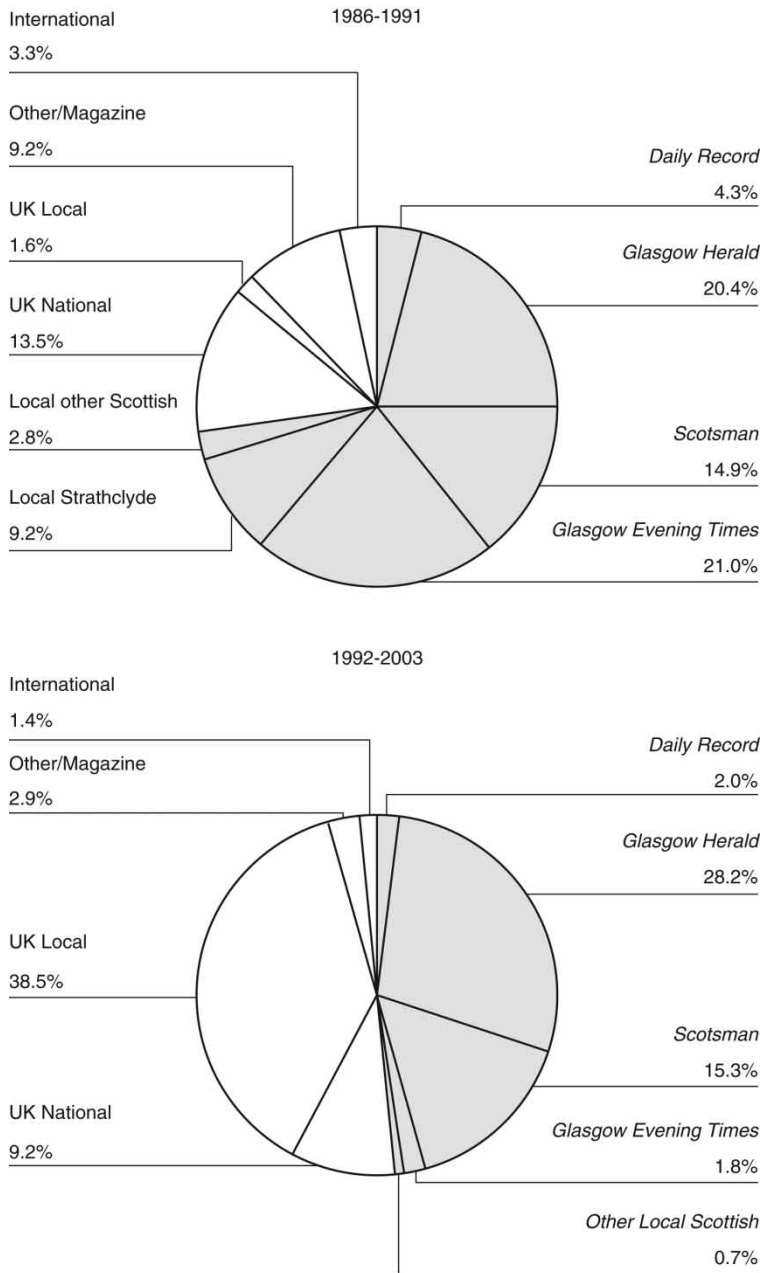


Figure 1. Provenance of newspapers analysed (percentages).

coverage and was thus the main source of the narratives emerging from the first period (72.6 per cent). The rest of the UK coverage is marked by the predominance of national broadsheets (13.5 per cent), most of which have a Scottish base as well. In the post-1990 period, however, there is a greater balance between Scottish-based and rest-of-the-UK papers, with a marked predominance of UK local dailies (38.5 per cent) followed by *The Herald* (28.2 per cent). This implies that post-1990 narratives are less dominated by Glasgow-based papers and are instead more likely to be influenced by opinion leaders external to the city.

Moving into the narratives as such, in the 1990 period, eight thematic areas were identified, each of them sub-divided in sub-themes including, in the case of outstanding levels of coverage, the names of specific events or

individuals. This was the case of Peter Brook's epic theatre piece 'Mahabharata' (placed within the broader theme of 'Highlight Events') and Glasgow's District Council leader at the time, Pat Lally (within 'Organisation, key figures and policy'). When analysing the period from 1992 to 2003, it was necessary to adapt the emphasis as, often, Glasgow 1990 was not the main subject of the article but just a reference in passing used to strengthen specific points. In this context, four main thematic categories were identified: discussion around the legacy of 1990 on Glasgow's image or quality of life; economic legacies; cultural legacies; and governance or policy legacies. Table 1 shows the codes used for each period and the way they interrelate.

Figures 2–5, together with Tables 2–4, show the evolution of these thematic

Table 1. Coding table: main themes in 1986–91 and 1992–2003

1986–91	1992–2003
<i>1 Representing Glasgow</i> Quality of life Image and perceptions of Glasgow Promotion/city marketing	<i>1 Image legacies</i> Quality of life Image and promotions
2 Bringing business to Glasgow Business and leisure tourism/visitor numbers Inward investment/job creation Infrastructural developments	2 Economic legacies Business and leisure tourism Economic and physical regeneration
<i>3 Physical legacies for culture</i> Refurbishments/new cultural venues	<i>3 Cultural legacies</i> Cultural physical legacy
<i>4 Performer and event origin</i> Internationalism/parochialism Local talent/foreign imposition or elitism	Support to international artists/collaborations Support to local artists/cultural endeavours
5 Highlight events	NA
<i>6 Money and funding</i> Sponsorship and/or other private money State and/or council funding Ticketing and ticket sales	<i>4 Governance/policy legacies</i> Arts funding and finance
<i>7 Event reach within Glasgow</i> Accessibility for the people of Glasgow Accessibility for minorities within Glasgow Participation	NA Social inclusion and access to the arts
<i>8 Organisation, key figures and policy</i> Council leadership Event leadership Cultural policy developments	Governance, leadership and policy

Note: The bold within the table shows the transfer from one period to the next.

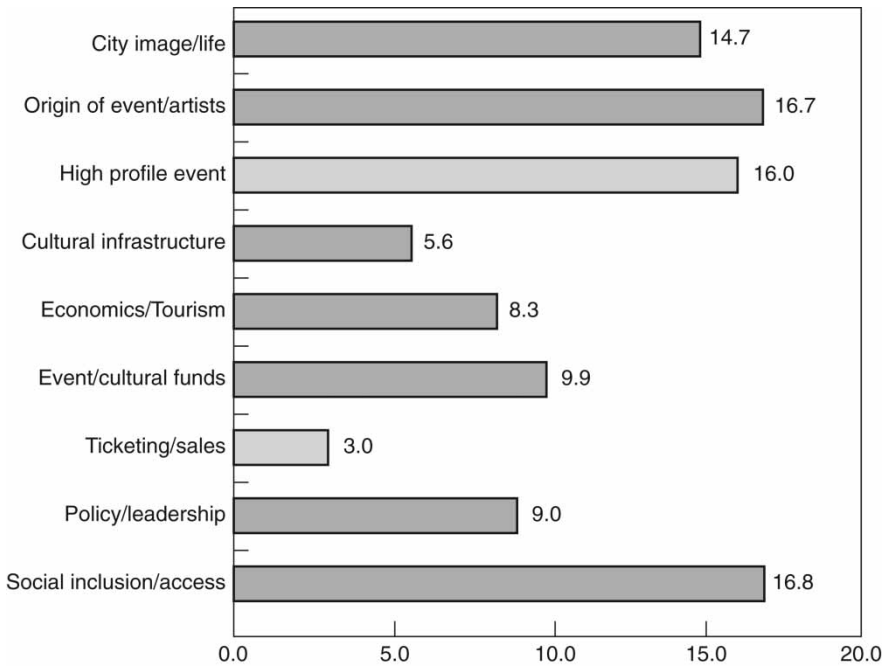


Figure 2. Distribution of main thematic areas, 1986–91. *Note:* the ‘high profile event’ and ‘ticketing/sales’ categories are shaded differently to indicate that they were related strictly to the ECOC programme and will not be compared with post-1990 coverage.

references and the attitudes adopted by the press when reporting them. In the period leading to 1990 and its immediate aftermath, the most frequent issues under discussion were the abilities of 1990 to enhance access to the arts and encourage direct participation. This was closely followed by the origin of events and performers, then discussion

about the events included in the ECOC programme,¹⁰ and Glasgow’s image and quality of life.

The remarkable amount of discussion around access and inclusion indicates that the decision to present a programme that combined traditional arts with other activities of interest to non-arts audiences and minority

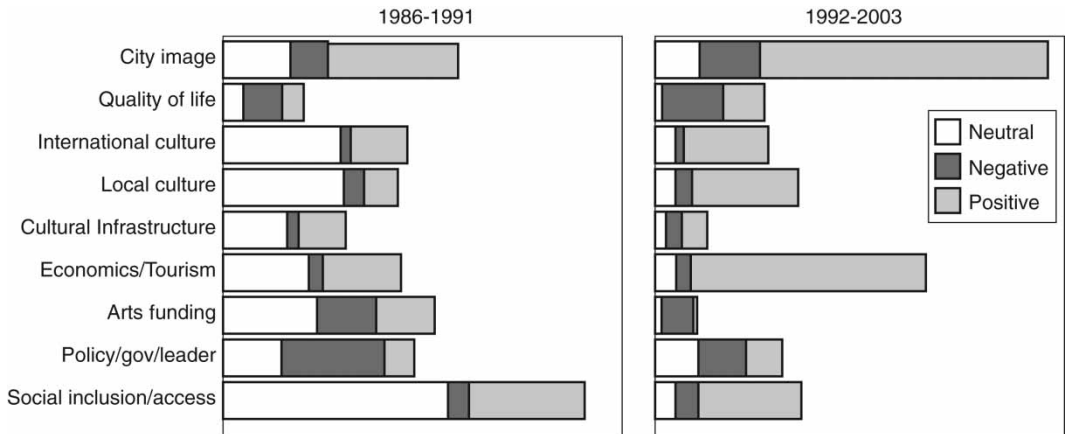


Figure 3. Thematic coverage and attitudes by theme, 1986–2003.

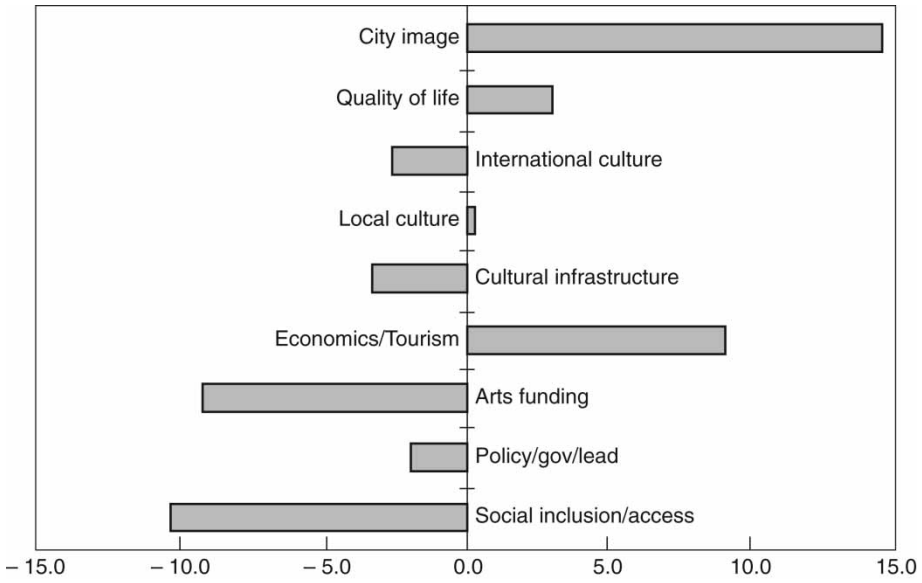


Figure 4. Thematic rate of change between 1986–91 and 1992–2003.

groups had a strong impact. Moreover, 32 per cent of these references were positive (with 62 per cent being neutral and only 6 per cent negative), which suggests that there was a high level of satisfaction among local communities and their opinion leaders. However, it is also important to note that up to 59 per cent of

the coverage on access was presented through Glasgow city and regional tabloids—typically representing the interests of lower-income groups—rather than national Scottish or national UK papers—addressing the interests of middle-class readers. In this sense, it is possible to question the overall level of

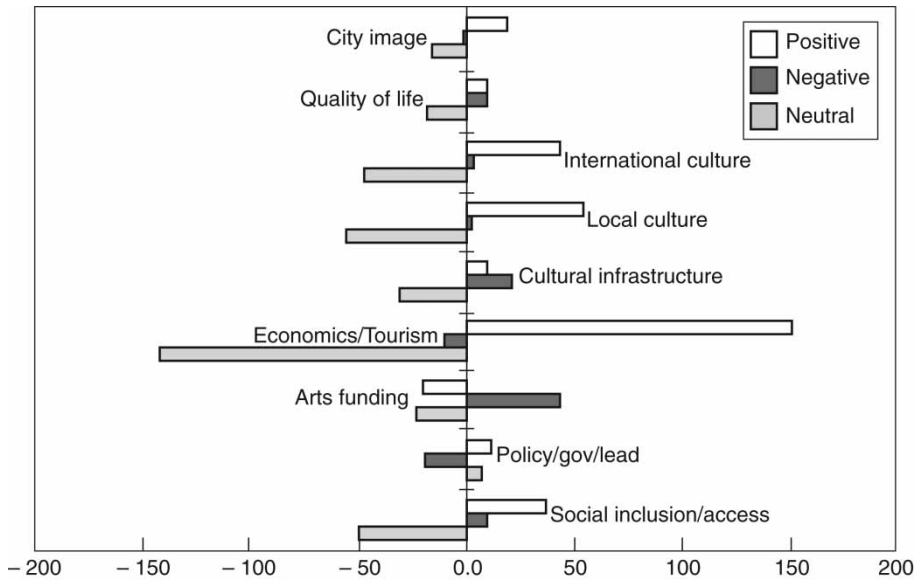


Figure 5. Attitudinal change by theme between 1986–91 and 1992–2003.

Table 2. Main thematic areas discussed, 1986–91

Attitudes/theme	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Total
City image	27.9	16.8	55.3	100
Quality of life	23.8	48.4	27.9	100
International culture	64.3	4.9	30.8	100
Local culture	68.5	13.4	18.1	100
High-profile events	81.5	7.5	11.0	100
Cultural infrastructure	50.7	10.7	38.6	100
Economics/tourism	47.1	8.8	44.1	100
Event/cultural funds	42.6	31.3	26.0	100
Ticketing	19.2	60.6	20.2	100
Policy/leadership	29.2	54.7	16.1	100
Social inclusion/access	61.6	6.3	32.1	100

recognition of this aspect of the programme beyond those communities directly involved and the papers representing them. The apparent division between the reporting of locally based tabloids and national broadsheets hints at an unresolved conflict of interest between those Glasgow communities—in the city centre and outlying estates—characterised by low levels of income, poor education and a traditionally marginal role in arts and cultural activity, and the most privileged groups or city élites, characterised by high acquisition levels and a history of direct involvement in culture, the arts and a strong position within city politics and economic affairs.

This situation relates to the theme coded as ‘Glasgow identity and quality of life’ and is presented in Figure 2 and Table 2 under the overarching theme of ‘City image/life’. Although the generic theme was quite prominent (14.7 per cent), the ‘identity and quality of life’ issue represents only 3.7 per cent,

while the other 10.8 per cent refers to Glasgow’s image and marketing strategy. These two aspects (image and quality of life), despite being strongly interrelated, were discussed in almost oppositional terms (see Figures 3–5 and Tables 2–4). Thus, while references to Glasgow’s image change tend to be positive (55.3 per cent, with only 16.8 per cent of negative references and the rest neutral), references to its quality of life are notably negative (48.4 per cent, contrasting with 27.8 per cent positive). As suggested earlier, most discussions around quality of life focused on the perceived divide between the renaissance of the city centre and the slow progress made in the city as a whole, including its disadvantaged areas. As in the case of references to community access, most references to this issue were concentrated in local tabloid newspapers such as the *Glasgow Evening Times* (19 per cent of all references) but they are

Table 3. Thematic rate of change between 1986–91 and 1992–2003 (percentages)

Themes	1986–91	1992–2003	Percentage change
City image	13.5	28.1	14.6
Quality of life	4.7	7.8	3.1
International culture	10.6	8.2	–2.4
Local culture	10.0	10.3	0.3
Cultural infrastructure	6.9	3.7	–3.2
Economics/tourism	10.2	19.3	9.1
Arts funding	12.2	3.0	–9.2
Policy/gov/lead	11.1	9.1	–1.9
Social inclusion/access	20.8	10.5	–10.3
Total	100	100	

Table 4. Attitudinal change by theme between 1986–91 and 1992–2003 (percentages)

Attitudes	Neutral	Negative	Positive
City image	-16.7	-0.8	17.5
Quality of life	-18.0	9.3	8.7
International culture	-48.0	4.2	43.7
Local culture	-55.5	1.1	54.3
Cultural infrastructure	-30.7	21.3	9.4
Economics/tourism	-142.0	-8.4	150.3
Arts funding	-22.6	43.7	-21.0
Policy/gov/lead	6.8	-18.6	11.8
Social inclusion/access	-48.7	10.9	37.9
Total	-375.4	62.68	312.7

also strongly reflected in UK national newspapers.

Glasgow is more divided now than ever. It is two economies and you really can't have two cities. Everyone should feel enfranchised ... Some of the heat from the centre must percolate out to the schemes. As a city, we must get a sense of balance (Hague, 1989).

In any case, the clear predominance of positive references about the ECOC's accessibility indicates that the overall narrative around 1990 was supporting the view that the event was inclusive and succeeding in generating a buzz both in the city centre and outlying estates.

The overall narrative was also establishing that Glasgow was being successful in transforming its image. The 55.3 per cent of positive references—the highest level in all of the coded themes—is even higher when separating discussion around image and perceptions properly (7.1 per cent of all themes, presented in a positive light in 70.2 per cent of cases) from discussion on the city's marketing strategy (discussed in 3.7 per cent of clippings, with 26.7 per cent positive references while attracting 29.2 per cent negative coverage). The latter denotes that while the press agreed that 1990 had improved the perception of the city, there was a certain cynicism about Glasgow's aggressive approach to marketing. Most of the positive references in the marketing category refer to the successful 'Glasgow's Miles Better Campaign',

launched in 1983 and considered the "first step in ... a slow process of urban revival" (Paddison, 1993, p. 346). Negative references, on the other hand, concentrated on controversies around the chosen slogan for the ECOC ('In 1990, There's a lot Glasgowing on') criticised by its offering a sanitised version of the city and for being a sell-out to English audiences (see Boyle and Hughes, 1991, p. 225; McLay, 1990, p. 87; Mooney, 2004, p. 331).

Contrasting with the local focus of debates on community access, discussions around Glasgow's image occur more frequently in national and overseas papers. This was particularly the case during 1990, when this theme reached 12 per cent of all coverage (as opposed to an average 7.1 per cent between 1986 and 1991). However, while the average was 12 per cent, Scottish national papers dedicated only 9 per cent of their coverage to image issues, a percentage that reaches 22 per cent in UK national papers, 40 per cent in non-Scottish local papers and approximately 60 per cent in papers based abroad. This progression is also reflected in the level of positive attitudes, international papers being positive in 87 per cent of cases between 1986 and 1991. A representative selection of international headlines is indicative of the celebratory tone surrounding references to Glasgow's image transformation

'Glasgow's No Mean City Anymore' (*Wall Street Journal*, 14 January 1988).

'The City that washed its face, Glasgow—one-time Industrial Metropolis; European

City of Culture 1990' (*Der Tagesspiegel*, 29 January 1989).

'Newly scrubbed of soot, the city bustles with cultural events, commerce and fresh hope' (*New York Times*, 25 June 1989).

'Glasgow's reputation as Scotland's biggest, dirtiest, slummiest, most violent city is no more ... The ghost of an ugly past has been laid to rest' (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 July 1989).

'The ugly duckling of Europe has turned into a swan' (*Los Angeles Herald Examiner*, 27 August 1989).

'From tough industrial town to cultural mecca' (*Vancouver Sun*, 10 March 1990).

'Glasgow comes out of the black hole' (*Journal de Geneve*, 25 August 1990).

While it must be noted that these are headlines and, as such, they use an overemphatic tone, it can be argued that this sort of rhetoric had considerable influence on public opinion within the UK and Glasgow because it was often used as direct quotes within event and other tourist promotional materials such as newsletters and special brochures.

Discussion about the origin of events and artists was the second most dominant theme of the period (16.7 per cent). It is divided in two sub-categories that received similar levels of coverage: discussion on the levels of support to showcase local artists and levels of support to bring international stars. As show in Table 2, the first category attracted higher levels of criticism (13.4 per cent as opposed to 4.9 per cent), as many journalists felt that the main programme did not place enough emphasis on portraying home-grown talent. Alternatively, references to international stars were quite positive (30.8 per cent as opposed to 18.1 per cent) and emphasised their relevance to prove Glasgow's status as a European cultural centre.

The significance of other issues such as economic impacts, arts funding and city governance are illustrated in Figures 3–5 and Tables 3 and 4. Together, these permit an assessment of the evolution of references to 1990 throughout the following decade and

will help to establish which themes have sustained a currency in the long term and, consequently, which issues are seen as the real legacy of the event and on which grounds. In order to facilitate the comparison, both periods are presented under the same thematic categories and issues that were strictly related to 1990 (such as high profile events) have been dropped.

The study of the progression of references shows that, over the years, there has been a marked shift in the themes most strongly associated with 1990 (see Figure 3). Most notably, during 1992–2003 there has been continuous growth of references to the image of the city, while discussions around the impact of 1990 on access to the arts and social inclusion have decreased dramatically. At the same time, merely descriptive coverage has practically disappeared and been replaced instead by an overwhelming majority of positive coverage, with the notable exception of references to arts funding.¹¹ This is partly explained by the growing remoteness of the event. References to the ECOC after 1992 tend to occur in order to stress particular points which usually involve a clear positioning on the part of the journalist, rather than as a simple statement of fact or information update as it was the case in the lead to and during 1990 (for example, daily highlights). Figures 4 and 5, together with Tables 3 and 4, show rates of thematic and attitudinal change in percentages.

The themes that have become most strongly associated with Glasgow 1990 in the 1992–2003 period are the image of the city (+14.6 per cent), followed by economics and tourism (+9.1 per cent) and, at a lower level, references to Glasgow's quality of life (+3.1 per cent) (see Figure 4 and Table 3). In contrast, among the issues that lost media coverage are the ECOC's impact on access and participation in the arts (–10.3 per cent), followed by references to cultural funding (–9.2 per cent), cultural infrastructure (–3.2 per cent) and the internationalism of Glasgow's cultural scene (–2.4 per cent). Discussions around the effect of 1990 on Glasgow's home-grown talent and cultural

abilities have remained fairly unchanged (a slight increase of 0.3 per cent).

The most remarkable improvement in attitudes (see Figure 5 and Table 4) relates to the impact of 1990 on attracting conference and leisure tourism and accelerating the city's wider economic regeneration (+150.3 per cent of positive references). This is also one of the few categories for which negative coverage has declined (−8.4 per cent). The progression demonstrates that tourism growth and economic development are two of the strongest arguments presented as evidence of ECOC success today.

Positive attitudes have also increased regarding the ECOC's impact on developing and sustaining support to home-grown cultural talent (+54.3 per cent) and bringing international artists to the city (+43.7 per cent). In the latter case, there has also been a slight increase of negative reporting (+4.2 per cent), which suggests that self-congratulatory remarks about local nurturing have been accompanied by accusations of 'parochialism' and excessive 'cultural protectionism' in Glasgow, both terms heavily used by journalists which have also emerged in our personal interviews with grassroots arts organisations, established artists and business leaders.

Glasgow is a victim of its own propaganda. It believed it was a world-class city with a world-class economy. But in over a quarter of a century and after perhaps three billion pounds of public subsidy, not one world-beating company has emerged from the second city. . . . The culprits in Glasgow's long decline are threefold. The dispirited middle classes who fled the city. The Pol Pot planners whose social engineering halved the city's population. And one-party city government—introverted, sectional, arrogant, parochial and incapable of appealing outside its own narrow constituency (Kerevan, 2000).

Despite the above criticisms, references to Glasgow's image transformation have been sustained at a very positive level, which reinforces the view that this remains a core source of arguments about success.

Overall, the analysis of press coverage shows that Glasgow's image, tourism and economic renaissance are presented as the main legacies of 1990, while access and participation in culture, arts funding, cultural infrastructure and internationalism have progressively diminished in current debates and thus lost currency as possible legacies. Furthermore, attitudinal changes indicate a growth of tolerance towards economic discourses. The substitution of social (access) concerns by economic interests suggests, on the one hand, that Glasgow 1990's social objectives have not been seen to be very sustainable and, on the other, that economic discourses have become more central—and often the top priority—within any debate on urban regeneration. As noted at the start of the paper, this is supported by the progressive change of emphasis (again, from a social into an economic focus) of both academic and practitioner-oriented literature on cultural policy and culture-led regeneration (see Bianchini, 1990; Greenhalgh, 1998; Kong, 2000).

An assessment of how these media narratives transpire within the personal accounts of Glasgow's local creative groups today helps to identify how the legacy of 1990 is lived and thus provide arguments about the most valuable cultural benefits of hosting the ECOC in the long term.

Sustaining Long-term Cultural Legacies through the ECOC: Impacts on Local Identities

As is the case for Bailey *et al.* (2004) our project provides evidence that the most interesting and complex cultural legacy of Glasgow 1990 is its effect on the identities of the local community. Our understanding of how 1990 has impacted on the lives of Glaswegians and the long-term cultural benefits of such experience is a result of deconstructing the media narratives presented above and contrasting them with the current (14 years on) interpretation by selected interest-groups. In the CCPR project, we focused on local creative groups, defined as those individuals (representing an institution

or themselves) directly involved in the production or development of cultural meaning in Glasgow. Cultural meaning was understood in a similar fashion to that associated with current definitions of the creative/cultural industries in the UK (CITF, 2001; Cunningham, 2002; Volkerling, 2001) and included the arts, the media and other fields of particular relevance to Glasgow such as design, fashion and architecture. Table 5 shows a summary of the cultural and creative fields represented by the participants in our interviews and focus groups.

For individuals working in the voluntary arts sector, grassroots cultural organisations and community arts groups, 1990 is seen as a critical point of reference that gave them the level of confidence they needed to keep working despite regular funding cuts and diminishing institutional support. They feel they learnt to be more entrepreneurial and claim that part of the reason why they have survived to this day is the memory of what took place in 1990, when they had access to

mainstream funds and, on occasion, mainstream venues.

We never returned to the baseline that we had before 1990 ... partly because we'd learned a lot about funding, and putting together packages. ... We had been very dependent on one or two sources before that ... 1990 forced us to start looking wider, ... looking at the private sector, ... trust funds. ... We learned a lot ... We were forced to. It was a very painful process, but probably a good process in the end (community arts focus group, 16 September 2003).

In contrast, their disappointment concentrates around structural and policy issues as they believe that 1990 did not have a direct positive legacy on cultural policy and governance

[Ten years later i]t's the immediate thing [that matters] and there is of course a major hang-up about meeting targets.

Table 5. Interviewees and focus group participants: thematic categories

Categories/interest areas	Number of interviewees/focus groups participating
<i>Local authorities, public agencies and quangos</i> City/district council, regional authorities (1986–2003) Development agencies, tourist boards	<i>Total:</i> 17 interviews; 1 focus Interviews: 7 city, 5 region; 1 focus group (city) Interviews: 3 development agencies, 2 tourist board
<i>Opinion leaders</i> Journalists covering the event and related city issues Academics researching the event/city regeneration Local activists/city writers	<i>Total:</i> 16 interviews; 1 focus 3 interviews, 1 focus group 11 interviews/informal meetings 2 interviews
<i>Creative groups</i> Grassroots arts organisations Established artists and cultural venues representing: painting, sculpture, theatre, alternative performance arts Young artists (GSA graduates) Creative industries—excluding traditional arts (i.e. design centres, architecture centres, music studios, film studios) Event organisers (producers, programmers, PR)	<i>Total:</i> 12 interviews; 4 focus; survey 30 2 interviews, 1 focus group 3 interviews, 2 focus groups (visual artists/galleries, venue-based institutions) 1 survey of 30 young people 1 focus group 6 interviews
<i>Overall total</i>	45 interviews; 6 focus groups; survey of 30 people

Note: See further details about interviewee, focus group and survey profiles in Appendix 1.

You've got to have x number of people through your door, or your box office. ... It's actually got nothing to do with ... [the] quality of people's life, or how they engage ... in a creative experience. ... The quality of what we do is not really high on the agenda, so ... then the policy will not be high on the agenda [either]. [The local authorities and funders are] not looking at what to change [in cultural policy terms] [and do not] have what ... used to be called the 'social impact of the arts'. I don't think that exists anymore (community arts focus group, 16 September 2003).

This view is shared by representatives from traditional art-forms (performing and visual artists) and established cultural venues. However, grassroots arts groups and established artists/venues tend to have opposite views about the direction that urban cultural policies should take today. Grassroots organisations lament the lack of effort to sustain 1990 community initiatives and structures in the event's immediate aftermath. They remark that local government reorganisation in the mid 1990s accentuated the problem by further diminishing funding for the arts and provoking a radical change of orientation in local policy (see García, 2004a).¹² But they tend to view the near future with optimism as they see the current City Council emphasis on social inclusion (see GCC, 2001) and the expanding cultural interests of housing associations and other institutions in Social Inclusion Partnership (SIP) areas as an opportunity to argue the case for the arts as a catalyst for social inclusion and multicultural understanding and regain some protagonism in the city and outlying estates.

[Our work in North Glasgow and Easterhouse] ... hasn't been easy, it's a slog like everything else, but you know there are people willing to sit down with you from development agencies and helping you write your funding applications. There [is] support from all these different aspects, ... and I think it's got a lot to do with the SIPs, love them or hate

them—and I [do] both. I think ... they are driving it. [They are claiming that] there should be organisations, arts organisations, resident in specific areas and I think it's certainly quite a cushy position to be in some areas, servicing a particular SIP area because there is such a huge support network. And then from larger arts organisations there are things developing, like Fablevision is working with us. Yeah, and it felt quite strange to realise. It did take a year or so of digging around for the penny to drop, but when it did, yeah, there is so much of a resource there, it's really nice (community arts focus group, 16 September 2003).

In contrast, business leaders, established artists and cultural venues complain about Glasgow's loss of profile as a centre of excellence, the reduction of links with overseas artists and major events and what they call the growing "parochialism", "protectionism" (business focus group, 24 September 2003) and "excessive populist emphasis" of the city leaders (visual arts focus group, 30 September 2003).

[Participant 1] [We need to ensure that] all the relevant stakeholders [in events coming to Glasgow, etc.] can see what the plan is, what's happening, what's on the SECC [Scottish Exhibition and Conference Centre] diary, you know, one easy to read process.

[P2] I sincerely hope so, but I suspect that there is going to be clashes between what the events manager of Glasgow [City Council] wants and what the new chief executive of [the new quango] EventScotland ... wants. We have had several near misses [in past event bids].

[P1] So if everything is brought together in one handy to read form, then Scotland can dip into that and yield the country.

[P3] Yes that could be done if the people concerned got away from parochialism, jobs-worth, large salaries and feeling they have to do something to justify it.

Everything is protectionism not partnership (business/tourism focus group, 24 September 2003).

Some artists feel that 1990 showed Glasgow at its best because the event's artistic directors were daring and provocative and the authorities allowed them to go ahead with their views and, most importantly, funded them. This has had an impact on the local artists' "vision" and "aspirations" but, according to them, has been constrained since by the "conservatism" of current funding bodies and has resulted in artistic migrations to other parts of the UK or Europe (cultural venues focus group, 6 October 2003)

[Participant 1] I don't think there is a critical mass at the moment. I think it is very feeble and people are trying to pull it together but it just doesn't seem to be happening. Which is to do with all these other factors, lack of resources, lack of money, and political will and the uses of art. . . . And the less that happens the more people will . . . disappear. They just move elsewhere.

[P2] When you are approached by a company or an artist . . . there is a kind of tunnel-vision approach. They are not really, really going for it. . . . It is a very conservative approach to how they want to do this show and it is basically [that] the parameters are already set and they won't go beyond them. And it is very kind of 'we've got this show in front of us, that's what we are going to concentrate on'. Rather than, 'I'm director of this company, and my vision extends beyond this show'. . . . It all feels very, very isolationist, and everyone is in their own little pockets and they are just trying to get on with it (cultural venues focus group, 6 October 2003).

Eight out of ten established artists and cultural venue managers argued that the ECOC was important for the city and for their own personal development but that without a political environment sensitive to avant-garde artistic endeavour, the memory of it is also a

source of frustration for "what was possible [back in 1990] and is not [happening] anymore" (cultural venues focus group, 6 October 2003).

According to creative entrepreneurs in the film, television, music and design industries, 1990 was an initiative that helped to regenerate the city's economy but had a low impact on the city's cultural production scene. They resent that the event focused on consumption rather than production, which has led them to question its sustainability. In this sense, they doubt that the ECOC has been a catalyst for the city's cultural industries and do not feel that the event has had a direct impact on their work. This contradicts the official version of Glasgow development agencies, who claim that 1990 provided the necessary arguments to establish a city-specific strategy to support the creative industries, an initiative currently under discussion (see EKOS, 2004). During a personal interview, the director of Regeneration Services at Glasgow City Council tried to bridge this apparent contradiction. He did so by summarising the main findings of a report produced by the think-tank Comedia on Glasgow's creative assets post-1990 (Comedia, 1991) and referring to the Council's response to the report recommendations

[The report indicated that] 1990 had been all about consumption: people came, they visited events, they spent money, and . . . they participated in things which they might not have participated in. But the benefit was largely visitor expenditure, community development [and] community participation; there was no real production feel to it. What [the Comedia report did was] . . . split Glasgow's creative economy into the performing arts, the visual arts, music, design and architecture, . . . fashion. And [it indicated that] in each of those areas there is a consumption part to the economy but there is also a huge production industry, or potential for production. . . . Now I don't know how much the original commissioners paid for that piece of work, but they took it and put it on a shelf. We [the City Council] took it

and used it. So . . . I did a report . . . that said we need to make more of what we invested in . . . 1990 . . . to seek more lasting benefits; and we do that by doing production-based activities as well as events. . . . So we had a music business development programme . . . We also established the Glasgow Film Office. . . . [And] we did a lot on architecture and design between 1996 and 2001 . . . We still do a lot on the consumption side [as well], we are in the process of developing a new events strategy . . . and developing cultural tourism, which features quite highly in the marketing of Glasgow (personal communication, Glasgow City Council Regeneration Services, 25 September 2003).

Despite these explanations, the sustained criticisms emerging from the focus groups suggest that Glasgow's creative groups are sceptical of the official version presented by local authorities and quangos about Glasgow's success in culture-led regeneration. Creative entrepreneurs maintain that, if an event as generously funded and publicly acclaimed as Glasgow's ECOC has not resulted in clearly sustainable cultural schemes, there is little hope for any other such initiative to change the trend. They see more value in direct support to individuals to allow "organic growth" than what they view as an "obsession" with a "carnival of grandiose schemes" generating "massive advertising kudos" perhaps but divorced from the reality of the city and its "creative soul" (creative entrepreneurs focus group, 15 January 2004).

Younger generations, contacted through a personal survey of 30 graduates from the Glasgow School of Art (GSA) in June 2003, do not see 1990 as a reference-point. However, their reasons for being attracted to Glasgow offer some insight into the factors that are most valued in the city (see Table 6). The existence of a strong arts scene, the overall vibrancy of the city and the strong sense of community resulting from its compactness are among the most valued factors. This suggests that young

Table 6. Most valued factors of Glasgow city life for GSA graduates ($N = 30$)

Art scene/community	11
'Lots going on'	8
Humour/friendliness	6
Home town	6
Pubs/nightlife	5
Compact city	4
Near to the Highlands	4
Shopping	3
Affordable	3
Big city	2
Music scene	2
Architecture/looks	2
Industrial/working class	2
Theatre	1

graduates agree with the rest of interviewees and focus group participants that Glasgow offers a good environment for creative development. A common expression is that the city is small enough to give a "sense of community" and diverse enough to feel "cosmopolitan" and "trendy" (arts graduates survey, June 2003; creative entrepreneurs focus group, 15 January 2004).

At this point, the remaining question is whether 1990 is seen as an important contributor to the city's current vibrancy. Representatives from the business world, including tourism agencies, shopping centres, conference organisers and hotel managers, supported the view that the ECOC boosted Glasgow's attractiveness as a centre for business and leisure.¹³ They saw this as a cultural as well as an economic legacy. In contrast, the arts community (in particular, visual artists, writers and musicians) argued that Glasgow's cultural vibrancy had been there well before 1990 and was the result of a strongly rooted sense of community and a tradition of activism and civic involvement.

Glasgow was before and is now still one of the most . . . culturally committed cities in the UK without a shred of a doubt. . . . The Year of Culture definitely put Glasgow on the map as a European city. [But] maybe you could argue it's always been a European city, it's just never been acknowledged (Personal communication,

Glasgow-based theatre company and visual arts venue, 17 October 2003).

In the cultural venues focus group, a further reason for such a cultural vibrancy was a strong leadership that, in their view, has weakened over the years

[P1] [We can say there is a Glasgow model of cultural regeneration] to certain extent, but you have to have the creativity within the city at that point. And you can't really manufacture that. The Glasgow model worked because there were the communities and creativity there.

[P2] Plus the leadership.

[P1] Plus the leadership as well. All these things come together. But if you have the money and you have the leadership, you still wouldn't be able to successfully develop that as a model, I don't believe, without having those creative communities there at that time (cultural venues focus group, 6 October 2003).

For 7 out of 10 artists and cultural venue representatives, the ECOC is seen as a sort of package used to sell this vibrancy to others. They recognise that this 'selling' strategy had attracted not only businesses and tourists but also other artists from around the UK and overseas, which, ultimately, added to the city's creative capacities. But they felt that the distribution of efforts between "championing the arts and championing city marketing" should have been more balanced, especially post-1990 (journalist focus group, 15 September 2003).

Overall, practically all of the individuals interviewed (9 out of 10) agree that 1990 played a role in Glasgow's renaissance and has become a point of reference for artistic and creative endeavour. However, the effect and benefit of such 'renaissance' (and with it, its impact on personal lives) are interpreted in different terms. The strongest differences are found between grassroots organisations and established artists and venues. The former feel that, despite the event's poor structural legacy, the confidence they gained

in 1990 is allowing them to influence the current approach of local authorities and quangos to social inclusion. The latter are, however, disenchanted with the lack of leadership and aspirations of local élites and feel that Glasgow's creative potential has only survived thanks to the strength of the city's informal art community networks. Beyond this, all creative groups with the exception of business/leisure representatives, coincide in their scepticism about the value of the event's economic legacies, a perspective that clearly opposes the main narrative emerging from recent press coverage. This suggests that there is a marked divide between the external and internal image legacy of Glasgow 1990, a divide that is in fact reflected by the growing difference in emphasis and attitudes towards city issues in Glasgow household papers as opposed to UK national or international papers.

Conclusions. Long-term Benefits: Beyond Economics?

The analysis of media and personal narratives on Glasgow 1990 more than a decade later show that the event secured some important long-term cultural benefits. The findings suggest that it is the softer, less tangible cultural benefits that have been better sustained, while other widely acclaimed economic benefits such as job creation are questioned both by local creative groups and recent academic publications (see Turok and Bailey, 2004, p. 169). This is because, although it cannot be denied that 1990 did contribute to job creation in the service sector (for example, with the fillip it gave to the tourist industry), the quality of the jobs was often relatively poor and rarely provided the transferable skills that people need to remain in the job market in the long term. Furthermore, it is difficult to disentangle the specific long-term employment effects of 1990 from other developments that emerged in the decade to follow.

Overall, the contrast between the long-term survival of memories linked to creative

personal development and the poor maintenance (or local appreciation) of tangible outcomes—such as the establishment of creative production centres and related structures to secure cultural provision—indicates that hosting an ECOC can lead to a marked imbalance between the sustainability of tangible and intangible benefits. Yet, as in the case of economic impacts, it is also worth noting that the complex nature of intangible cultural legacies makes it difficult to conclude whether they are a direct result of a particular event or culture-led regeneration strategy. In Glasgow, the most valuable cultural legacies interrelate with other elements that are inherent to the fabric of the city and result from many dimensions beyond 1990.

The difficulty of demonstrating the direct impacts of regeneration will always create temptation to conflate cultural with economic or physical assessments in order to claim ‘success’. However, as reflected in the study of personal narratives, evidence of tourism growth and office relocation is not proof of improvement in local citizens’ well-being. Furthermore, as noted by Bianchini, accepting a business rhetoric to justify cultural achievement may lead to other undesirable situations

Now there is the risk that the incorporation of the arts into urban growth coalitions will reduce the freedom which is necessary to perform this essential critical role. The hegemonic status of the belief that ‘what’s good for business is good for the city’ could seriously weaken the ability of the arts to point at alternative notions of ‘the good’ for both the individual and the community (Bianchini, 1990, p. 240).

Further, while it is common for city boosters to rely on media accounts as a measure of success, a trend evidenced by the heavy reliance on press quotes to promote new or commemorate past events,¹⁴ it is only through contrasting them with personal accounts that we can claim an understanding of cultural legacies. Thus, while retrospective media content analysis provides a good basis for understanding discourses contemporary to

past events, assessing their impact on personal lives allows us to put the media hype in perspective. The study of personal narratives also helps to contextualise the strong criticisms emerging from academia and activist groups opposed to event-led regeneration on the basis of Marxist urban sociology and political economy. The latter is explored by Stevenson when discussing her own understanding of “the politics of urban difference”

A cultural approach to the idea of difference makes it possible to appreciate that, at the level of lived experience, spaces such as the home and suburbia which, when seen in structural terms are said to contribute to the subordination of certain groups, may at the level of the micro be sites of empowerment for those groups. Such insights emerge most sharply from qualitative research that involves actually listening to the experiences and priorities of the people who use particular spaces, rather than focusing on overarching objective structures, such as class or patriarchy (Stevenson, 2003, p. 42).

Although Stevenson also warns against the “dangers in focusing exclusively on micro-situations” and the “idealization of city life” (p. 43) the value of in-depth interviewing and personal narrative cannot be undermined, or denied the possibility of being used as evidence of positive or beneficial cultural legacy. The only note of caution about the approach taken here is that the analysis of narratives by creative groups is not representative of Glasgow as a whole. They speak from the perspective of cultural production and/or development rather than that of average citizens. This was the approach chosen in order to allow for greater consistency and hence to gain a deeper understanding of emerging issues, but it is not aimed at answering the question of how 1990 has affected the city’s general population. This is an area that could be further developed through other emerging methodologies such as Rogerson’s (1999) approach to assessing quality of life in cities.

Lessons for 'ECOC-led' Regeneration ...

After almost 20 years, the ECOC programme could be seen as a mature initiative and a source of lessons to guide urban regeneration. The existence of internationally recognised 'success-stories' such as Glasgow has enhanced the prestige of the programme and generated growing expectations in cities aspiring to improve their image and boost their tourist economy. It may be no coincidence that Glasgow's most acclaimed legacies are also the two aspirations featuring most prominently in the aims and objectives of a majority of cities having since hosted the title (Palmer/Rae Associates, 2004, pp. 43–46).

However, despite its apparently good reputation, it is misleading to suggest that the ECOC offers a good strategic and operational basis for culture-led regeneration. This is mainly because of the poor standards of event monitoring and evaluation, particularly in the long term. This may change in the near future as, due to its ability to stimulate competition between cities, the programme is currently seen as a good contributor towards strengthening the European economy. To maximise the potential of the ECOC, some of the policy developments forecasted by Myerscough (1994, p. 5) are currently taking place. These include strengthening links with the Committee of the Regions and the European Parliament, and increasing the interaction with European Commission competences beyond the cultural remit, such as tourism, urban regeneration and training. But this approach brings again a possible limitation: ECOC's cultural regeneration is likely to be measured and justified in non-cultural terms.

The research presented here and the work by Bailey *et al.* (2004) emphasise that it is possible to assess cultural impacts and legacies, that the process must be longitudinal and that this exercise is fundamental to gain a full understanding of the effects of culture-led regeneration. Without denying the value of determining economic, physical and social impacts, the main argument is that culture needs to get back to the centre of any discussion on this topic. Otherwise,

programmes such as the ECOC may become meaningless and easily dispensable. If the core objective is attracting tourism rather than enhancing the city's artistic and cultural life, hosting the Capital of Culture could be easily replaced by large business conventions, global sport competitions or any major corporate event, without mattering whether these events are sensitive or not to the character and cultural roots of their local hosts.

The narratives and experiences recalled in this paper should be seen as a valuable indicator of success in regeneration and as a first step towards establishing credible and replicable approaches to evaluating cultural impacts. In this sense, any advancement into cultural impact assessment must begin with a broader conceptual and methodological framework regarding the acceptance of 'evidence' than is the case today. Funding bodies and researchers in this field should acknowledge that the assessment of discourses about a place and its people over an extended period of time is valid evidence. Ultimately, through studying Glasgow's experience, this paper claims that further developing techniques to understand cultural impacts seems the most feasible way to ensure the survival of the ECOC as a meaningful, effective and sustainable example of culture-led regeneration.

Notes

1. The other two models are termed 'cultural regeneration' and 'culture and regeneration'. According to the authors, the main difference is that while in the 'culture-led regeneration' model cultural activity is seen as the catalyst and engine of regeneration—the case of high-profile events such as the ECOC—in the 'cultural regeneration' model, "cultural activity is integrated into an area strategy alongside other activities in the environmental, social and economic sphere"—as is the case within cultural planning. Finally, in a 'culture *and* regeneration' model, "cultural activity is not fully integrated at the strategic development or master planning stage" and the intervention is often small (Evans and Shaw, 2004, p. 5).
2. For example, in referring to common tests to measure the environmental impacts or

- cultural regeneration, Evans and Shaw (2004, p. 6) refer to “Quality of Life (ODPM’s *local quality of life* indicators), Design Quality Indicators (DQI—CABE/CIC), Re-use of brownfield land”; and in the area of economic impacts, they mention “Employment/unemployment rates, income/spending and wealth in an area, and distribution by social group and location, employer location, public–private leverage”.
3. This situation has been noted in the study by Palmer/Rae, which recommends the introduction of competitive processes of selection as a standard practice within respective countries as one of the key mechanisms to strengthen the relevance and public impact of future ECOCs (Palmer/Rae Associates, 2004, pp. 173–174).
 4. The levels of positive coverage from Glasgow’s nomination in 1986 to 1991 were much lower than in the post-event period (29 per cent positive, 19 per cent negative and 52 per cent neutral). In the period from 1992 to 2003 (which includes the coverage of the bidding process for 2008), positive references grew up to 61 per cent, followed by 21 per cent negative references and 14 per cent neutral. This is analysed in detail later in the paper.
 5. Harvey argues that prestige arts-led and related large-event regeneration projects function as a “carnival mask that diverts and entertains, leaving the social problems that lie behind the mask unseen and uncared for” (Harvey, 1989, p. 21). He adds that “The formula smacks of a constructed fetishism, in which every aesthetic power of illusion and image is mobilised to mask the intensifying class, racial and ethnic polarisations going on underneath” (p. 21).
 6. These indicators are partly based on the ‘social benefit indicators’ resulting from the report *Creating social capital: a study of the long-term benefits from community based arts funding* (Williams, 1996) as cited by Evans and Shaw (2004, p. 30).
 7. See Table 5 and Appendix 1 for an indication of the profiles of interviewees and focus group participants.
 8. Original quote

Mis consideraciones acerca de los medios de comunicación enfatizan el papel que éstos desempeñan en los cambios culturales y la emergadura antropológica de los cambios producidos por la comunicación. Es decir, tal y como indica el título de mi libro, ‘De los medios a las mediaciones’, intento pensar no sólo los medios sino también los fines: cómo están cambiando

los modos de constitución y reconocimiento de las identidades colectivas y la incidencia en la reconstitución de éstas tanto de los medios como de los procesos de comunicación (Martín-Barbero, 1991, p. 4).

9. See also Appendix 2 for a brief summary of our approach to press content analysis.
10. Note that general preview and review articles were excluded from the analysis. Only articles discussing particular events or the overall programme in the context of the ECOC and/or Glasgow’s cultural regeneration are included here.
11. The remarkable increase in negative references to arts funding (see also Figure 5 and Table 4) denotes a disappointment in terms of the ECOC’s ability to strengthen the economic position of arts activities in Glasgow. This was also a common complaint within the interviews and focus groups, as exposed in the next section.
12. Local government reorganisation was a Scotland-wide process that took place in 1996. In Glasgow, this meant the disappearance of the Strathclyde Regional Council, a key player in 1990 that, combining priorities and resources with Glasgow District Council, made possible the acclaimed balance in cultural provision—élite and grassroots—and spatial distribution—centre and periphery—so unique to Glasgow’s celebrations. The changes in local government resulted in a break with emerging cultural policies born out of the 1990 experience (García, 2004a, p. 320).
13. See the profile of interest groups represented in Appendix 1.
14. This trend is also apparent in the proliferation of press clipping agencies contracted by local authorities and/or private event managers as a basis for up-to-date assessments of public opinion.

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Appendix 1. Interviewees and Participants in Focus Groups

In selecting interviewees and focus group participants, an effort was made to ensure a balance between narratives about Glasgow at the time of bidding for the ECOC and the event lead-up (1986–89), during the event implementation (1990), its immediate aftermath (1991–95) and its medium- to long-term legacy (1996–2003). Hence, the individuals interviewed have held their positions (as artists, politicians, etc.) throughout all or some of these periods.

Interviewees were drawn from

- (1) *Local authorities, public agencies and quangos*: Glasgow District/City Council;

Strathclyde Regional Council; Convention of Scottish Local Authorities (COSLA); Glasgow Action; Scottish Development Agency/Glasgow Development Agency/Scottish Enterprise Glasgow; Greater Glasgow Tourist Board.

- (2) *Opinion leaders*: Freelance journalists and art editors; academics researching the ECOC programme, cultural policy, city regeneration and/or city marketing; and local activists/writers.
- (3) *Creative groups*: Grassroots arts organisations; established arts venues; young artists; and event organisers.

Seven focus groups were convened from the following

- (1) Journalists;
- (2) community arts representations;
- (3) business tourism operators;
- (4) visual arts workers;
- (5) venue-based institutions;
- (6) creative industries; and
- (7) Glasgow City Council.

Appendix 2. Methodological Approach to Press Content Analysis

Content analysis has been defined as

an approach to the analysis of documents and texts . . . that seeks to quantify content in terms of predetermined categories and in a systematic and replicable manner (Bryman, 2001, p. 177).

In a well-known definition, Berelson (1952, p. 18) adds that the technique implies “the objective . . . quantitative description of the manifest content of communication”. The reference to ‘objectivity’ implies that rules and codes are clearly outlined *a priori* for the transfer of the original material into categories. However, a limitation is the focus on counting text rather than analysing content. Without an interpretative frame, the analysis cannot go beyond “quantifying the most straightforward denotative elements in a text” (Ahuvia, 2001, p. 139) and thus cannot touch on the latent meanings and implications of the material

under review. In order to address this limitation, the CCPR project combined established quantitative techniques (centred in coding objective states such as date of publication, etc. and extremely useful to manage large datasets) with a qualitative approach, focused in the identification of themes and dispositions (May, 1997, pp. 171–175). The latter required interpretation on the part of coders and led to non-mutually-exclusive categories. Furthermore, to guide interpretation, this approach required an understanding of the social context for the items under analysis.

The identification of main themes was finalised before embarking on the analysis proper but was drawn from the material itself, after field-testing by two different researchers. A draft thematic codebook was first established, based on an extensive literature review on Glasgow 1990 and the ECOC programme, and was then tested through two independent readings of a sample of articles representing different time-periods: 1986, 1990, 1995, 2003. The final codebook is presented in Table 1. Given the non-computerised nature of clippings from the 1986–91 period, we were never to record how many articles merely mentioned each theme. Instead, respective articles were coded according to their *primary* theme, identified through assessment of heading, sub-heading, first paragraph, photograph (when applicable) and/or overall article emphasis.

Each article was also coded according to the attitude the journalist appeared to take towards the key issues identified. Attitude was recorded as simply as possible, reflecting five potential categories (see Table A1). The coding of the material was conducted with the operational guideline that the primary focus was to mark the overall tone of each clipping towards the ECOC 1990. Where difficulties arose, notice was made of the headline and conclusion of the article.

Clearly, the need to establish mutually exclusive codes prevented a more complex analysis, such as the degree of criticism or praise or variations in thematic emphasis,

Table A1. The five potential attitudinal categories

Code	Category	Description
1	Neutral	Descriptive reports with no clearly discernable attitude
2	Negative, descriptive	Reports that cover news with a clearly negative attitude
3	Negative, analytical	towards the ECOC 1990. Divided between those that cover bad news or negative opinions without the journalist/paper explicitly taking a side and those that reach a negative conclusion following analytical reflection on events
4	Positive, descriptive	As above, but in relation to positive news and debate
5	Positive, negative	about the ECOC

but this enabled a clearer and still meaningful statistical analysis. It is here that the sheer bulk of material (up to 5700 articles) becomes particularly relevant, evening out and balancing most of the coarseness of approach. With each clipping becoming a statistical component of the whole, the consistency of approach becomes more significant than the numerical reduction forced upon each individual clipping. The balance between overarching statistical analysis and

the interpretation of individual press clippings is a central element of our methodology that, ultimately, allows assessing a large dataset over an extended period without artificially reducing it to explicit profile information, but rather accounting for other contextual factors such as the inclinations or attitudes of journalists and the papers they represent.

For a fuller account of the methodology developed to analyse the newspaper archive, see Reason and García (2003).