

Working Paper 48

# **Culture and regeneration – What evidence is there of a link and how can it be measured?**

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**1. Introduction**

In the last decade, culture has gained prominence as a force for community and economic development. Investment in culture – whether festivals, big-ticket facilities, or youth programmes – is now commonplace. These programmes range from simple festivals celebrating local culture to large set-piece investments, including London’s own Tate Modern. Hundreds of millions of pounds of both public and private money has been devoted to arts, cultural projects and buildings on the basis of their powers to revitalize neighbourhoods and cities, and bring prosperity and employment to areas suffering from long-term economic decline – including in London.

Successful anecdotes abound, but a robust evidence base demonstrating the link between culture and regeneration remains elusive. It is important that we understand whether culture does contribute to regeneration and if it does, how effective it is compared to other means of achieving regeneration.

Cultural programmes are said to achieve a hugely broad range of economic, social and environmental benefits. The benefits attributed to cultural investment can be classified into these categories, as below.

**Reported impacts of cultural investment**

<p><b>Economic</b>          Direct and indirect employment          Inward investment and business location          Attraction for educated workforce          Property values          Visitor and resident spending</p>	<p><b>Social</b>          Confidence and change in perception of area and person          Volunteering and social capital          Community cohesion          Educational and skills achievement          Health and wellbeing          Crime reduction, including truancy</p>
<p><b>Environmental</b>          Re-use of redundant buildings or open space          Improved public realm, increasing use and sense of safety and reducing vandalism          Pride in place</p>	

At first glance, it seems culture can help alleviate many of the problems of urban deprivation, and indeed this is partly why it has been so popular a tool. But, on closer inspection, this is unlikely – even the most ardent supporters of culture and regeneration do not argue that culture is the solution to this. More often than not it is seen as a method of facilitation and as a means for greasing the wheels of change. Sometimes culture can be a powerful political tool to justify other investment.

Regeneration is a significant undertaking and will take some time to play out fully. Measuring the impact of culture-led schemes by a simple evaluation not long after the investment has occurred is probably not the best way to understand how such schemes work, as this paper will show. Instead, it may be more useful to monitor changes over time, both to place and to people. The availability of data poses a great challenge to this, though, and without longitudinal data that records changes to the lives of individual people it may not be possible to determine conclusively whether culture-led regeneration, or indeed any regeneration, works.

This paper investigates the evidence of culture’s role in regenerating neighbourhoods. It will first review the existing literature and then discuss the methods used to evaluate cultural regeneration programmes and follows with a review of the lessons learned from these evaluations. Finally, it proposes a means by which further investigation into the link between

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culture and regeneration can be advanced through monitoring the long-term impact of schemes.

### How cultural investment takes shape

Cultural investment occurs in many ways, including ‘soft’ and ‘hard’ measures, and in many shapes and sizes. Programmes include local festivals, after-school programmes, planning for cultural ‘quarters’, new museums or public artwork. Some of these, like local festivals, can be rather inexpensive, costing in the order of a few thousand pounds. Others, like a new museum, will cost tens of millions of pounds or more.

In all cases, participation in arts and culture is encouraged, which is thought to bring communities together and help develop a sense of local pride while building social capital. Investment in local culture, for example through local events or community centres, is argued to build confidence and remove stigma against neighbourhoods and their residents. New buildings or neighbourhood improvements are said to act as catalysts for change, like many physical regeneration programmes affiliated with housing renewal or transport. Examples include new museums, such as the Guggenheim in Bilbao and the Tate Modern here in London.

Cultural investment is thought to improve the potential for capital investment in neighbourhoods and residents’ labour market prospects. In other words, a culture-led scheme will improve an area, whether physically or in the minds of outsiders, which will spark interest from developers and make residents more confident in themselves. This will bring new investment, improve the neighbourhood, and help residents access work.

Large programmes typically involve investing in buildings and also involve much affiliated investment. For example: public realm improvements, remediation of land or run-down buildings, or transport infrastructure. Scheme promoters may also use a marketing campaign to promote an area or even provide skills training for residents. In some cases all of this will happen. This affiliated investment is itself one of the drivers of change and could be a significant part of the staging of the cultural programme.

### Examples of cultural investment and programmes



Rising costs and scale of direct and indirect investment



To some degree, the level of affiliated investment serves as a way of distinguishing between programmes, which can be useful to understand the impact of different schemes. It also shows which schemes are most purely culture-led. This is illustrated in the figure above. For smaller schemes without any affiliated spending or investment, it is easier to say that culture has led any regeneration that occurs. But for big schemes that have very significant affiliated investment – think of the Olympics – it is very difficult to separate out the impact of culture

from the impact of the affiliated spending. This poses a problem in evaluating the impact of culture-led schemes.

## **2. Research context**

There has been much interest in culture and regeneration in both the policy and academic communities.<sup>1</sup> Since the 1970s, cities have looked to culture to help them compete and develop their economy. Culture has been linked to economic improvement in many ways, but a consistent theme has been its role in quality of life. While initially culture and the arts were seen as means of improving civility and therefore inherently good, culture and the arts began to be seen as a form of capital – a key to attracting companies and labour to cities. This line of thinking culminated in the 1980s but lost some momentum as some called for more proof of the link between culture and economic competitiveness. The idea came back in fashion at the turn of the century, highly popularized by advocates like Richard Florida and his ‘creative class’ and Charles Landry, a consultant. Today it is broadly accepted that one of the key ways cities compete for labour is through quality of life.

Research has identified three general models of culture and regeneration: culture-led regeneration, cultural regeneration, and culture and regeneration.<sup>2</sup> The difference between the models is where cultural programmes fit within the larger regeneration scheme. This has an important implication for how evaluations of each are made and whether lessons learned from one can be applied to another.

In culture-led regeneration, cultural activity is seen as the catalyst for regeneration. This typically includes a large cultural investment, such as a new museum, or a large programme of activity, like an annual festival or year of cultural events. These are likely to be of the more expensive variety and may involve much affiliated investment or marketing. In contrast, cultural regeneration merely shows that cultural activities were included in the drafting of a regeneration strategy, but other activities were expected to contribute more strongly to the area’s regeneration. Finally, culture and regeneration schemes include only largely symbolic cultural ornament on top of a different scheme.

Not all programmes are the same and we want to examine culture-led regeneration, as it includes schemes that aim to promote regeneration specifically through culture. The evaluation of these programmes is more explicitly of the cultural element itself. In the two other models it is doubtful that the cultural element can be split apart from the rest and compared to a culture-led scheme. Three culture-led schemes are highlighted in this report as illustrations: the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, Barcelona’s 1992 Summer Olympics and Glasgow’s reign as European Capital of Culture in 1990. The next section will review the existing evidence of the success of culture-led regeneration.

## **3. Evaluating culture and regeneration**

Interest in culture and regeneration appears to have reached a peak only a few years ago when scepticism grew that culture could live up to ever increasing expectations and there were more calls for evaluation, particularly longitudinal studies to track long-term impacts. To determine whether culture can contribute to regeneration, one must look at the effects of programmes that have already been done. Many in the sector have resisted the idea of evaluation, given the numerous and difficult-to-measure indirect social impacts they are thought to have. To date, most evaluations have been ad hoc, short-term and specific to a

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<sup>1</sup> For a good review, see: Evans and Shaw, 2004; Galloway, 2008; Ruiz 2004; Oakley, 2004

<sup>2</sup> Evans and Shaw, 2004

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particular programme and so are difficult to compare and gather together as an evidence base. This is complicated by the difficulty of evaluating regeneration itself, explained next.

How to evaluate regeneration investment

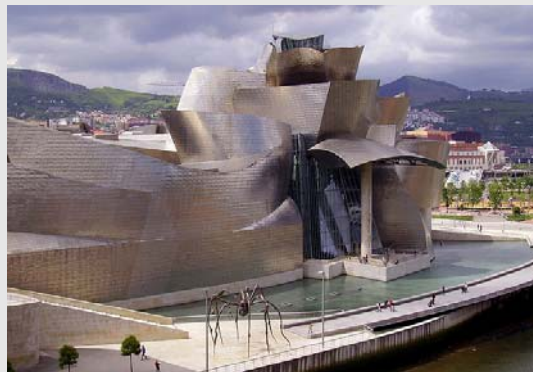
Regeneration is a complex process, and on the whole there have been many challenges in demonstrating how effective government intervention is in this area. The benefits of regeneration are varied and disparate and have eluded simple generalisations. Regeneration is highly contextual – each neighbourhood has its own, often unique, challenges that require a package of targeted interventions. Further complicating the picture is the fact that the benefits of regeneration fall both to people and places and accrue over very long periods of time. There are great challenges for proving causality and determining additionality – the difference between what happens and what would have otherwise happened without the intervention.

The Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG) recently published a review that attempted to value government regeneration spending.<sup>3</sup> This follows many

**Bilbao – Guggenheim Museum**

Date of opening: 1997

Cost: \$100m for building,  
\$70m for acquisitions and  
\$12m annual funding



Bilbao was in the industrial heart of Spain, a banking centre and an important port. From the 1970s the region's economy declined as industry relocated overseas. It is the 5th largest city in Spain. The Basque government put together plans to revive the region eventually coming up with a \$1.5 billion plan, of which the Guggenheim was a key part. The plan also included a new Metro and airport in Bilbao as well as considerable investment in public spaces around the city. Buildings around the city were also cleaned of their industrial grime and graffiti was removed.

It has been nearly 15 years since the Guggenheim opened. The number of tourists to Bilbao has risen considerably, up to more than 600,000. The airport is very busy. Bilbao's unemployment rate and average income are better than the national average. But this doesn't mean that the Guggenheim has regenerated Bilbao. A review in the New York Times in 2007 found that little had changed in the city. Despite a number of visitor attractions, nearly all tourists only visit the Guggenheim. The local art scene has not blossomed significantly – there are few opportunities to sell and artists must still travel to Madrid or Barcelona.

The Basque government invested heavily in Bilbao and it is unclear this was worthwhile investment. The effects of the Guggenheim must be separated from the impact of the other significant infrastructure investment that occurred in the same period. Equally, European economies have transitioned from manufacturing to services in this period both with and without government investment in local infrastructure.

*Sources: Harvard Design School, 2005 and Lee, 2007*

<sup>3</sup> Communities and Local Government, 2010

### **Barcelona 1992 Summer Olympics**

Cost: €979 million to stage the games and  
€5,750 million in investment



Like Bilbao, Barcelona is an important port and trading centre with an industrial heritage that includes textiles and automobiles. It is the second largest city in Spain and capital of Catalonia. Barcelona's economy stagnated after the end of autocratic rule in the 1970s and the city looked to festivals and international events as to attract investment in regional infrastructure. This investment began to take place as soon as Barcelona was selected to host the 1992 Summer Olympics.

In preparing for the Games, more than €5 billion was spent on infrastructure, including more than €2 billion on roads. The organisers targeted investment that would have value long after the games left. The city's ring roads and major upgrades to the sewerage system were installed before the Olympics. Access to the sea was improved and new buildings were constructed along the seafront.

Barcelona used the Olympics to justify much needed investment in infrastructure.

*Sources: Cahyadi, G. and TenBrink, S., 2004 and Brunet, 1995*

years of debate and frustration at the limited evidence base available to determine how successful government programmes are at stimulating regeneration. This exhaustive literature review was able to support a very limited valuation because the available literature is of too poor quality and there is not a sufficient stock of comparable research from which to compile a robust evidence base.

The review did find evidence of direct economic impacts, like new jobs created from regeneration activities. But it could not identify a robust measure for the impact of community development spending or improvements to place, the categories in which culture-led programmes would fall. There is simply a lack of evidence on how the outputs of any programme bring about the purported impacts, and so the effectiveness of the programme is unclear. In other words, it has not yet been demonstrated that the higher levels of cultural participation that result from investment actually do lead to increased confidence levels and, most importantly, better labour market outcomes.

Our own review of the literature confirms this and highlights the lack of demonstrated impacts as a major barrier to evaluating the role of culture in regeneration.

Another problem is that the DCLG review has looked only at direct impacts and does not look at chained impacts over a long period. This highlights one of the main problems facing the evaluation of regeneration in general, and particularly culture schemes – the need for longitudinal studies that track the evolution of people and places in the decades following investment.



**Glasgow as European Capital of Culture**

Cost: Unknown, several million pounds



Glasgow is the largest city in Scotland and was a centre of trade and shipbuilding and industry. Its manufacturing base also includes high-tech components arising from computer hardware technologies thriving in the area in the second half of the twentieth century.

The European Capital of Culture (ECOC) programme involved a year-long programme of cultural activities. The Royal Concert Hall was also constructed for the event. The period as ECOC followed many large campaigns Glasgow conducted in the 1980s, including its famous Smiles Better campaign in 1983. The Burrell Collection opened in 1983 and in 1988 the city hosted a Garden Festival. A longitudinal study conducted long after the ECOC programme was over showed that the perception of Glasgow by local, national and international audiences improved from 1990.

It is undeniable that the Glaswegian economy has improved since 1990, but it is unclear that the improvements in perception that have come since then are the reason for this.

*Source: Garcia, 2005*

But it is important to determine whether culture-led regeneration is successful. It is also necessary to understand the relative value of culture-led regeneration against other initiatives to know what strategy may deliver better value. Robust evaluations are a key step in answering the question of whether culture-led regeneration works. The next section reviews the methods used to evaluate projects and their success in assessing culture-led regeneration schemes.

Existing evaluation methods

Evaluation uses a systematic review of the performance of a project against its aims to determine its wider impact. It requires a consistent logic chain to connect the project inputs to impacts, demonstrating proof that the programme achieves its intended outputs and that these outputs are turned into long-term impacts. If neither step can be shown to happen the programme cannot be deemed a success (and in some cases it cannot even be shown to fail). To compare the evaluation of one programme to another they should follow a similar methodology.

The impact of Regional Development Agency activity is evaluated using a framework set by the Department for Business, Innovation, and Skills (BIS). This framework is the only consistent one found. Its use has created a database of comparable studies and is slowly contributing to an evidence base of the impact of government programmes. The framework recognises a wide range of possible impacts – social, economic and environmental. Though it acknowledges that many impacts are likely, it has devised quantitative measures for only the direct economic impacts (such as jobs), which are the only ones with the most robust evidence base. As a result, programmes are typically evaluated on the basis of jobs created, no matter their other benefits. Because the difficult indirect impacts are left to qualitative assessment, the resulting evaluations are of mixed quality.

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**Evaluation logic chain using a local festival as an example**



Results of conducted evaluations

The database of evaluations by English RDAs contains 20 that deal with culture and regeneration, four of which are in London.<sup>4</sup> Projects include festivals, public realm improvements and new local cultural centres. Some are embedded in wider regeneration programmes while others are more targeted. Many, especially outside London, promote tourism. The costs of the projects range from a few million pounds to a few hundred million pounds though most were in the order of £10 to £20 million. Some were successful at leveraging in significant private sector funding. Two of the London schemes, the Laban Dance Centre and the Bernie Grant Centre, are highlighted in this report.

The evaluations are generally positive in findings, but lacking in specific evidence. This is because they rely so heavily on the monetized benefits of created or safeguarded jobs and leave other impacts to a qualitative judgement. These qualitative assessments are in some cases little more than hopeful statements, lacking the specific evidence that has long been needed. For example, countless evaluations point to improved perceptions of a neighbourhood, but do not demonstrate how this connects to the long-term goals of regeneration. Similarly, projects are said to improve confidence amongst residents, based on small surveys taken shortly after the completion of the project.

Since evaluations are generally carried out shortly after completion, there are none showing the long-term impact that really matters most for regeneration. This is very important because the indirect and chained impacts of schemes are not being recorded. For example, a local cultural festival may not cause regeneration immediately, but it might improve perceptions about a place and its residents, which may then encourage investment at the margins. This starts a reinforcing cycle of confidence that could drive a neighbourhood’s regeneration. This is what proponents of culture-led regeneration believe and so far evaluations have not managed to assess whether it is the case or not.

<sup>4</sup> The database is hosted by OffPAT and is available to members at offpat.info through 31 Mar 2011. After this date the information will be maintained by the National Archives. The 20 evaluations reviewed are listed at the end of this report.

**Culture and regeneration – What evidence is there of a link and how can it be measured?****Laban Dance Centre**

Lewisham

Opened: 2003

Cost: £23.8 million



The Laban Centre is a performing arts centre built on a former waste transfer site on the Deptford Creek in Lewisham. It is a multi-purpose building which includes a 300-seat theatre, dance studios, seminar rooms, café, health and fitness centre, and library. The £24 million facility was built to house an established dance company based at nearby Goldsmith's College.

Following the completion of the Centre a number of residential developments were taken forward on adjacent properties. The evaluation of Laban shows that at least one of these projects was constructed directly as a result of the investment in Laban. Media coverage of the project has been favourable and a cluster of 'creative' activities has been identified in the immediate surroundings.

While much development has occurred since the Laban Centre opened, it is not clear there is a cause and effect relationship. The evaluation of the project was not able to show one, and the growth in the arts scene in may be due to Goldsmith's College rather than the Laban Centre. The remediation of land and public investment in Deptford may have been an equally strong catalyst.

The evaluations also do not illustrate how affiliated spending may be contributing to the outcomes of schemes. One of the examples often held up as a major success illustrates this well. In preparation for the Olympics, Barcelona invested heavily in land remediation, buildings, transport and the public realm. The impact of this investment must be separated from the impact of the cultural element itself. While it is acknowledged that Barcelona's economy has grown much since the Olympics, can the Games be seen as the key reason why?

#### Lessons from the evaluations and remaining gaps in the evidence

Research has noted the need for a systematic evaluation of culture-led regeneration, which has contributed to the uncertainty over whether such schemes work.<sup>5</sup> The evaluations in the RDA database are the best collection of evidence available but do not get us any closer to answering the question of whether culture-led regeneration is successful. Elsewhere, very little progress has been made to develop an evaluation methodology that can be replicated and so serve as a basis for establishing an evidence base. Most have been narrowly focussed and usually only provide a means for project sponsors to evaluate investment against their own internal standards.

There are some lessons to take away from the research into cultural programmes.<sup>6</sup> In general, programmes seem to achieve their objectives. However, the greatest gap in the evidence is showing a link between the outputs achieved and the intended regenerative outcomes. To put it another way, there is evidence that arts programmes in schools can increase self confidence but there is no strong evidence demonstrating that this leads to improved economic outcomes for the participant. In a similar vein, there is evidence that cultural programmes can boost the self-confidence of offenders leaving prison, but

<sup>5</sup> Evans and Shaw, 2004

<sup>6</sup> These are well summarised in Oakley, 2004

**Bernie Grant Centre**

Haringey

Opened: 2007

Cost : £16 million



The Bernie Grant Centre is a multi-arts centre in Tottenham Green. The £16 million facility includes a 300-seat auditorium, an administrative centre, and 20 business units inside a site containing an abandoned Grade II listed building. It was built to promote participation in culture and the creative industries amongst young people in black and minority ethnic groups and to create employment opportunities in arts and media.

The Centre hosts a number of events and performances each year with around half of the audience coming from the local area. The initial evaluation shows that the Centre has introduced people to cultural events. But the Centre generally did not achieve its targets, in terms of jobs and businesses created, and no private funded was levered in. When the evaluation was conducted soon after opening the Centre was not seen to have significant indirect effects in the neighbourhood.

there is no evidence that this leads to a decrease in the reoffending rate. This is also true for public realm improvements and other cultural activities. And so, future evaluation efforts should be concentrated on establishing whether this link exists.

Another challenge in the evidence base is the small number of robust studies. There is, and has been, plenty of anecdotal evidence of success, but can these individual instances be generalised? Is there a causal relationship between culture and regeneration, or is something else driving the results witnessed in London and elsewhere? For example, what role does affiliated spending and investment play in driving benefits? Finally, the duration of impact must be understood; it doesn't appear that Bilbao's initial success has turned into long-term structural change.

Unfortunately the many calls for evidence have been largely unanswered. Few worthwhile evaluations have been done on cultural programmes and facilities and those that have been done are largely of too poor quality to use as part of a wider, rigorous evidence base. There are many reasons for this, including the fact that long-term evaluations are very expensive, that many in the industry do not believe the appropriate metrics exist to do justice to cultural investment, and because the evaluations that have been done are largely ad hoc and not comparable.

So we are still not sure about the role culture can play in regenerating neighbourhoods, but there must be some way to measure this, even if only to observe change over time.

#### **4. Looking forward: how to better assess the culture-led schemes**

Understanding the impact of any regeneration scheme requires an enormous amount of data. The evaluations that have so far been conducted provide a snapshot with which we have judged programmes that are intended to have a very long-term impact. As noted before regeneration takes time, often a generation or more. Therefore it would seem more appropriate to judge the success of a regeneration scheme on evidence gathered over a long period of time.

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Using this logic, a culture-led regeneration scheme should be monitored rather than evaluated. The impacts of the scheme should be recorded over time, recognising that some impacts will be immediate, like a change in the perception of an area, while others will take some time to play out, like the labour market gains from skills gained as part of a regeneration scheme. This requires a series of comparable data over time.

What data to monitor

The evaluations we found focussed very heavily on direct impacts, particularly economic ones. Employment rates and economic activity are obvious things to monitor and data is readily available to do so. Culture-led regeneration relies on a number of indirect impacts, though, and these must also be considered. We might want to consider evidence of people's perception of their neighbourhood and their happiness living there. Other indicators to watch are improvements in confidence and changes in the mindset of local residents. For example, do they begin to consider a wider range of opportunities available to them, whether in terms of housing, social activities, or in work? This will still not demonstrate a link between the outcomes of a regeneration scheme and its impacts – the link between higher participation rates in culture and improved quality of life, for example – but it may gather a better collection of examples from which a general conclusion can be reached.

**Potential data to monitor the impact of a scheme**

<b>Place indicators</b>	<b>People indicators</b>
Number of employees working in area	Resident employment status
Property values – commercial & residential	Socioeconomic status of residents
Number of homes built	Occupational type
Number of vacant buildings or shop fronts	Change in deprivation indices
Number of new businesses in area	Educational attainment of residents
Output and turnover of businesses	Household income
Crime, including vandalism	Health status of residents
Visitor and resident spending	Satisfaction of living in area
	Perception of the area
	Number of businesses started by residents

There are many datasets that contain the sort of information we need, but the problem is that nearly all available datasets in the UK are place-based. In other words, it is only possible to gather much data about a place and the people who live there at a given time. This is true for all common datasets: the census, the labour force survey, the annual population survey, and others. Regeneration is not about places, per se, but instead people, and since people move these datasets are not very helpful.

It is possible to get a picture of the scale of population churn that occurs after a regeneration scheme. Changes in commercial and residential rents will show whether the neighbourhood has become more valuable. The number of transactions in these markets and the churn of the population are available from other surveys, though perhaps not at a fine geography. Surveys would record socioeconomic factors of the population, but again these are usually for residents living in an area at a point in time.

In some countries, there are datasets with longitudinal data available, and it is possible that this research could be advanced more there. Culture-led regeneration is not something that is practiced exclusively in Britain. In Belgium, local governments have collected household data since 1847 through local registers. These contain vital statistics about households and residents that can be linked together to show movements of people. While this would tell us little about improvements in quality of life, it would demonstrate the degree to which the

population changes and the types of neighbourhoods from which incomers move and where those who leave go.

To really understand the long-term impact of regeneration schemes, especially culture-led schemes that focus so much on people, it is necessary to find a dataset that follows people over time. The British Household Panel Survey is one such dataset. It follows a small sample of individuals over time, recording far more than basic demographics, including employment status, household finances, education, health and even opinions. But its sample size is far too small to investigate the impact of regeneration schemes. Without organising a special – and expensive – longitudinal survey, it is simply not possible to follow people and track changes in their quality of life.

## **5. Conclusion**

Culture-led regeneration has received much interest, and buy-in, in past decades. The evidence of its success is fairly limited. There is an extensive literature base on the subject and it has been very popular with politicians. But unfortunately it has not been possible to find any comprehensive evaluations of the effectiveness of culture-led regeneration schemes. Those evaluations that do exist, and there are at least 20 by English RDAs, find mixed results. They show that projects generally achieve their intended outputs, for example by increasing participation in culture or the number of visitors to a region, but they struggle to demonstrate a link between these outcomes and long-term impacts.

Culture-led investment ranges from relatively small programmes focussed specifically on people, like after-school programmes, to very large global events like the Olympic Games. The later type typically involves a very considerable investment in affiliated infrastructure, whether in new transport facilities or improvements to the built environment. They may also involve a significant branding exercise that can change the image of an area or city. The degree to which this affiliated investment contributes to the success of a culture-led scheme has not been examined in much detail and will no doubt be significant.

Regeneration is a significant undertaking and will take some time to fully play out. Measuring the impact of culture-led schemes by a simple evaluation not long after the investment has occurred is probably not the right way to understand how culture-led regeneration schemes work. Instead it would be more useful to monitor changes over time, both to place and to people. One of the criticisms of regeneration is that it often ‘gentrifies’ an area by displacing poor residents or by attracting a different, and often richer, population to move into an area. While this obviously happens, there is no reason to think it is necessarily a bad thing. But it will never be fully understood without longitudinal data that tracks the movement and changes to the lives of people.

Placed-based interventions have played a part in urban policy for decades and the results are unclear at best, but perhaps this is because it is nearly impossible to track the impact of these schemes on people over time. Human capital is a fundamental part of a city’s economic success and it is a wonder that it is so difficult to track a person’s progress over time. Without data to do this it may not be possible to determine conclusively whether culture-led regeneration, or indeed any regeneration, works.

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## Evaluations Reviewed

Bernie Grant Centre*	Regeneration Programme
Bournemouth Enterprise Pavilion	North West RDA Major Events programme
Communities Regeneration Programme	One NorthEast's quality of place activities, 2002-07
Cornwall Maritime Museum	Oxford Castle and Prison Project
Cultural Pathfinder programme	Regional Development Agency funding to four visitor attractions in the North West
Halton Single Regeneration Budget 'Focus for Change' programme	Rich Mix Centre*
Laban Dance Centre*	Shared Prospectus capital investments in cultural projects
Lincoln Castle	Sheffield One
Liverpool Biennial International Festival of Contemporary Art 2006	Theatre Audience Development*
National Museums Liverpool (NML): Into the Future	West Lakes Renaissance (WLR)
North West Coalfields Community	

\* denotes a scheme in London

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## Chinese

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## Vietnamese

Nếu bạn muốn có bản bản tài liệu này bằng ngôn ngữ của mình, hãy liên hệ theo số điện thoại hoặc địa chỉ dưới đây.

## Greek

Αν θέλετε να αποκτήσετε αντίγραφο του παρόντος εγγράφου στη δική σας γλώσσα, παρακαλείστε να επικοινωνήσετε τηλεφωνικά στον αριθμό αυτό ή ταχυδρομικά στην παρακάτω διεύθυνση.

## Turkish

Bu belgenin kendi dilinizde hazırlanmış bir nüshasını edinmek için, lütfen aşağıdaki telefon numarasını arayınız veya adrese başvurunuz.

## Punjabi

ਜੇ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਇਸ ਦਸਤਾਵੇਜ਼ ਦੀ ਕਾਪੀ ਤੁਹਾਡੀ ਆਪਣੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਵਿਚ ਚਾਹੀਦੀ ਹੈ, ਤਾਂ ਹੇਠ ਲਿਖੇ ਨੰਬਰ 'ਤੇ ਫ਼ੋਨ ਕਰੋ ਜਾਂ ਹੇਠ ਲਿਖੇ ਪਤੇ 'ਤੇ ਰਾਬਤਾ ਕਰੋ:

## Hindi

यदि आप इस दस्तावेज की प्रति अपनी भाषा में चाहते हैं, तो कृपया निम्नलिखित नंबर पर फोन करें अथवा नीचे दिये गये पते पर संपर्क करें

## Bengali

আপনি যদি আপনার ভাষায় এই দলিলের প্রতিলিপি (কপি) চান, তা হলে নীচের ফোন নম্বরে বা ঠিকানায় অনুগ্রহ করে যোগাযোগ করুন।

## Urdu

اگر آپ اس دستاویز کی نقل اپنی زبان میں چاہتے ہیں، تو براہ کرم نیچے دئے گئے نمبر پر فون کریں یا دیئے گئے پتے پر رابطہ کریں

## Arabic

إذا أردت نسخة من هذه الوثيقة بلغتك، يرجى الاتصال برقم الهاتف أو مراسلة العنوان أدناه

## Gujarati

જો તમને આ દસ્તાવેજની નકલ તમારી ભાષામાં જોઈતી હોય તો, કૃપા કરી આપેલ નંબર ઉપર ફોન કરો અથવા નીચેના સરનામે સંપર્ક સાધો.



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