

Uwe Derksen

Culture-led regeneration in Folkestone and Margate

I have lived in East Kent for over 25 years and for over 20 years have been professionally involved in one way or another, but mainly through the higher education sector, in local regeneration initiatives, especially in Thanet, East Kent and Medway. For the last fifteen years my family and I have lived near Margate. I am currently employed by the University for the Creative Arts. I have not only a professional interest but also a personal interest in the prosperity of the region which is the focus of my research. The implication being that I am approaching the subject matter as a social researcher whilst at the same time being in the midst of ‘cause and effect’ or rather the ‘figurational’ context of the subject matter itself.

William F. Whyte, pioneer in participant observation, advocated a renewed focus of sociology, which he described as “social invention”. He defined social invention as “a new element in organizational structure or interorganizational relations, new sets of procedures for shaping human interactions and activities and relations of humans to the natural and social environment, a new policy in action (that is, not just on paper), or a new role or a new set of roles” (1981: 1).

With this temperament in mind my research aims to gain a better understanding of the actual role of creative and cultural sector and industries in the regeneration of Folkestone and Margate. The research should provide a useful reference for local and regional (and hopefully national) policy makers and other stakeholders to inform their decision-making and planning in so-called 'culture-led' seaside town regeneration ambitions. My research focuses on narratives around culture-led regeneration in two seaside towns that have suffered from a certain amount of social deprivation. I am trying to distinguish between narratives of advocacy, hopes, ambitions and the dynamics of the cultural sector within broader regeneration agendas. I am testing the validity of these assumptions, whilst furthering the understanding of impact and unintended consequences that typically follow policy decisions at different political levels. I am trying to isolate those factors that matter and that that can sensibly be associated with regeneration efforts on the one hand and investments (time, financial, level of effort) in culture, be it public or private sector or philanthropic investment, on the other.

Culture appears to be now a standard reference point in urban regeneration programmes. Regardless of specific urban economic and social contexts, policy makers and officers assume the benefits of culture-led regeneration. A literature search and review reveals that there is a substantive body of academic literature covering the areas of urban regeneration with specific reference to the creative

and cultural industries (CCIs) as well as the role of the CCIs in the economy more generally. Most of the literature deals with larger conurbations and inner cities rather than smaller towns or indeed small seaside towns. When dealing therefore with British seaside town regeneration, and even more when dealing with the specific locations of the two specific seaside towns of Folkestone and Margate, the towns I am focusing on in my research, then there is a very limited body of research available (Beatty, C. and Fothergill, S. 2003, 2004, 2008; Buck N., Gordon I., Pickvance C. and Taylor-Goodby P. 1989; Kennell, J. 2007, Wood, P. 2011) and even less research that investigates the role and contribution of the creative and cultural industries within it. There is almost no recent research that has specifically focussed on the seaside towns of Folkestone and Margate, an exceptions being Kennell (2007). There is some government or local authority commissioned consultancy research for example Powell, D. and Gray, F. (2009) *South East Coastal Towns: Economic Challenges and Cultural Regeneration*, commissioned by the Creative Foundation on behalf of a number of local authorities or Rickey, B. and Houghton, J. (2009) *Solving the riddle of the sands: Regenerating England's seaside towns* in *Journal of Urban Regeneration and Renewal* Vol. 3, 1, 46–55. A number of coastal town authorities have come together to set up the Coastal Communities Alliance in 2007 (<http://www.coastalcommunities.co.uk>) which collates information and data sets about coastal town economic development and regeneration. It has produced a continuously updated handbook, which does includes a discussion on culture-led

regeneration of seaside towns. A few years ago there was also the British Urban Regeneration Association (BURA), which set up the Seaside Network in 2008, however since then BURA went into voluntary liquidation.

The social, economic and historical context of seaside towns is different from the large industry generated urban areas and they certainly play a different role in Britain's industrial history. More documented evidence is needed to evaluate regeneration developments of British seaside towns and how these can be addressed by culture-led or -informed regeneration initiatives. Beatty, C. and Fothergill, S. (2004) found that "Seaside towns are the least understood of Britain's 'problem' areas" (p.467) as they have not been researched as much as more industrial based areas of regeneration and coal mining towns. And referencing the creative city agenda more generally Markusen and Gadwa (2010) found that despite the increased academic and political interest in creative city concepts and cultural economy more research is required as to what models of cultural as urban and regional development tools work. "In guiding urban cultural development, researchers should examine and clarify the impacts, risks, and opportunity costs of various strategies and the investments and revenue and expenditure patterns associated with each, so that communities and governments avoid squandering "creative city" opportunities" (ibid: 379).

Research Context

The term 'culture' is used in different ways: as a set of values, life-style, aesthetics and tastes, sometimes as a value in-itself to separate a group or community from others as in 'cultured' and 'uncultured' or it might describe a particular field of practice and content, such a studio being a place of cultural production or a gallery a place of cultural products to be viewed. Tension occurs among those who operate within the field of culture, that is producers, users, consumers investors of culture as well as those who utilise culture as an instrument of policy. To distinguish between high and popular culture matters for particular reasons. Raymond Williams , On High and Popular Culture published in the New Republic on 22 November 1974, reminds to distinguish between the notion of 'high culture', which he describes as "the great body of cultural skills and the great works which embody and represent them. There would be argument about which skills to include or exclude, but in common usage the skills of organized thought, writing, music, the visual arts and architecture would certainly be included". He suggests the issue is not so much between high culture and popular culture but occurs around selectivity, access and dissemination. The professional structure and wider social structure within the former is embedded needs to be scrutinised. As such high culture can not simply be contrasted with popular culture, the one associated with a dominant class and the other with the rest of the population. This is an issue of access and particular social and historical

relationships. A more crucial aspect is that “there is a kind of culture that has been developed by a people or by the majority of a people to express their own meanings and values, over a range from customs to works. There is also a different kind of culture that has been developed for a people by an internal or external social group, and embedded in them by a range of processes from repressive imposition to commercial saturation”. The debate continuous in the studies about culture’s contribution to the economy and the production of exchange value. Richard Caves in his book *Creative Industries* explores the tension between the creative production and associated risks of ‘success’ or ‘failure’ and the ability to convert creative content into value of commerce or some kind of income: “The artist needs an art dealer, the novelist a publisher” (Caves 2000:1). On the other hand public culture policy is increasingly gauged in economic terms. According to Throsby this “causes a dilemma for the process of valuation” (2010: 18) “Valuing cultural goods and services in economic terms requires a recognition of the fact that such goods fall into the category of *mixed goods*, i.e. goods that have both private-good and public-good characteristics. It is of course of philosophical debate whether a ‘good’ can ever be solely private in character and indeed solely public.

There is much debate about the definition and nature of the creative industries, the tension between culture set apart from the creative industries, that is the

more commercially orientated businesses but also those publically funded organisations, such as large galleries and museums, which operate as quasi-businesses and part of a cultural industry.

Part of the dynamics of the creative and cultural industries are professional intermediaries who can negotiate the symbolic with the economic value, a theme with Keith Negus (2002) expands following Bourdieu. 'Cultural intermediaries shape both use values and exchange values, and seek to manage how these values are connected with people's lives through the various techniques of persuasion and marketing and the construction of markets' (2002:504). Again this aspect of the creative and cultural industries is an important one to consider by planners of cultural regeneration, whereby proximity to market and market potential will no doubt be crucial.

Consulting the Oxford English Dictionary online, the term 'regeneration' was originally associated with spiritual renewal or biological reinstatement of lost tissue and was later extended to economic and social improvement. The latter became eventually associated with measures of town planning and urban renewal in the wake of industrialization, urbanization and population growth over the last 200 years. Andrew Tallon divides urban regeneration into different categories of 'economic', 'social and cultural', 'physical/environment' and 'governance'.

Regeneration as urban and public policy intervention seldom focus on one

category only, as the reality of urban deprivation presents a complex picture of high levels of unemployment and low employment opportunities for quality jobs, low educational attainment and low aspirations, unbalanced demographics, health issues, deteriorating building stock and so on.

Below is a list of terms associated with urban regeneration and culture, which I searched against back in 2011 in journal article titles held in the British Library whilst controlling the finding by a second search within Google Scholar. As can be seen from the list and graphs below (Figures 1 and 2), there is a very similar distribution in both cases with the top ten most popular terms used in articles referenced in the respective data sources (BL/Google):

1. Cultural heritage/Cultural heritage;
2. Philanthropy/Urban policy;
3. Urban policy/Philanthropy;
4. Cultural policy/Cultural tourism;
5. Cultural capital/Cultural policy;
6. Cultural impact/Cultural impact;
7. Urban regeneration/Cultural capital;
8. Cultural tourism/Urban regeneration;
9. Creative industry/Cultural economy;

10. Cultural economy/Cultural planning;

whereby the most popular approximately achieves a ten times higher score than the lowest. There are very few references to culture-led regeneration, cultural quarters or coastal regeneration, the latter term is somewhat misleading as it also includes a substantive number of articles related to coastal ecology and marine life.

My approach has therefore been to go beyond the terms, descriptors or labels that policy makers and researchers have employed in this field and to try to gain a better understanding of the social and socialisation processes in these specific two populations of Folkestone and Margate affected by cultural initiatives.

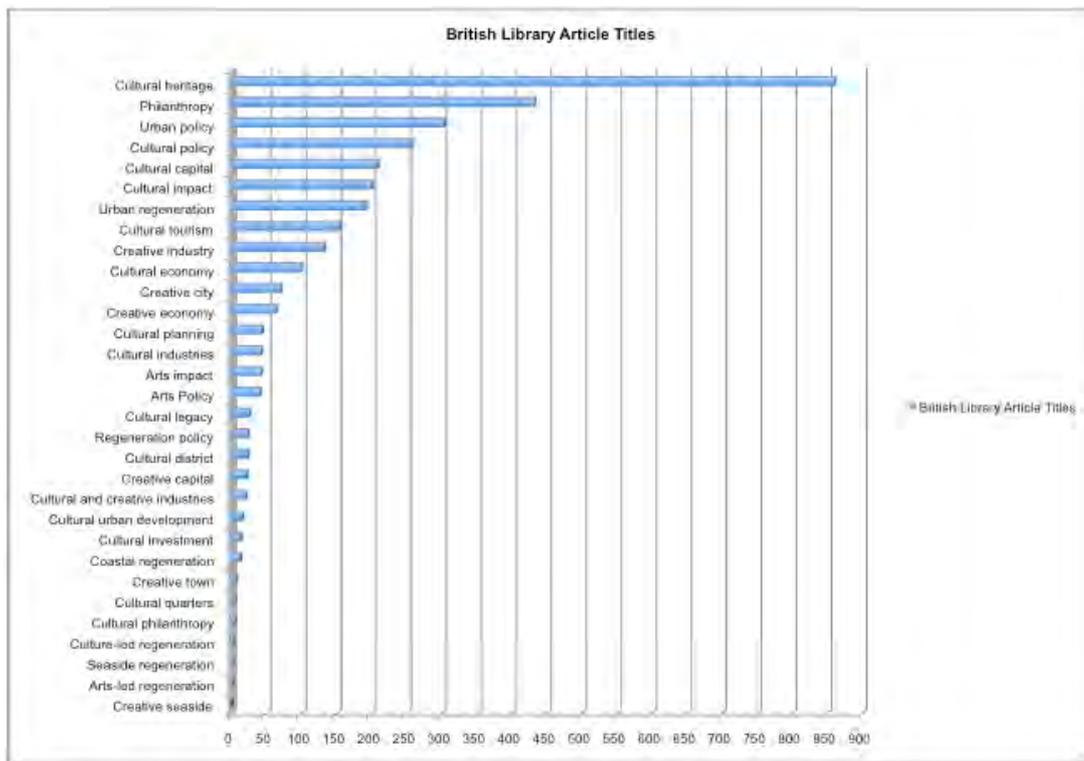


Figure 1: Article title search British Library, 2011

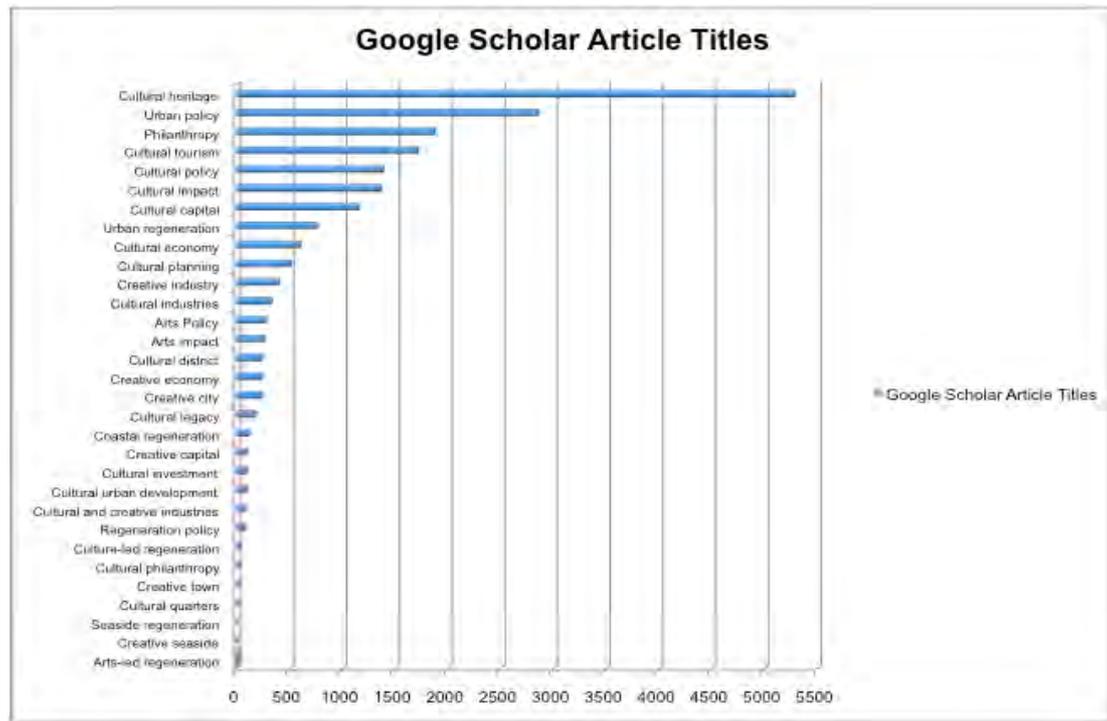


Figure 2: Article title search Google Scholar, 2011

Folkestone and Margate

Folkestone and Margate are two seaside towns that are approximately 54 miles apart located on the southern and the northern coast of East Kent in South East England (see figure 3). Both towns have a history as fishing towns and both developed into thriving seaside resorts in the late 18th century but especially in the Victorian time receiving a major boost with the arrival of the railway links to London. Tourism and leisure remained a major seasonal industry in these towns but has declined since the late 50s with the onset of ‘cheap’ holiday opportunities abroad (see Gray 2006, Wood 2011). They became part of newly created local authorities Shepway District Council and Thanet District Council respectively

following the 1972 Local Government act. They are similar in size with around 45,000 and 58,000 inhabitants respectively according to the 2001 census data (ONS 2004). Folkestone (see figure 4) is made up of eight wards, *Folkestone Cheriton*, *Folkestone Morehall*, *Folkestone Park*, *Folkestone Foord*, *Folkestone East*, *Folkestone Harbour*, *Folkestone Harvey Central* and *Folkestone Harvey West*. Margate (see figure 5) is made up of seven wards, *Margate Central*, *Cliftonville West*, *Cliftonville East*, *Westbrook*, *Garlinge*, *Dane Valley* and *Salmestone*.

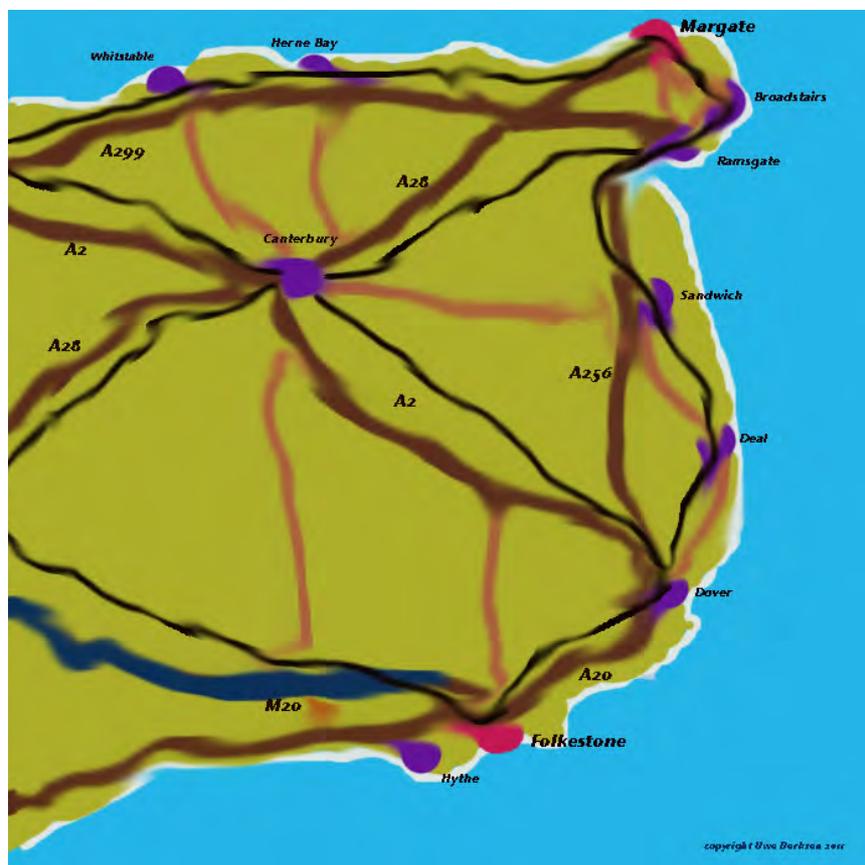


Figure 3: Map of East Kent

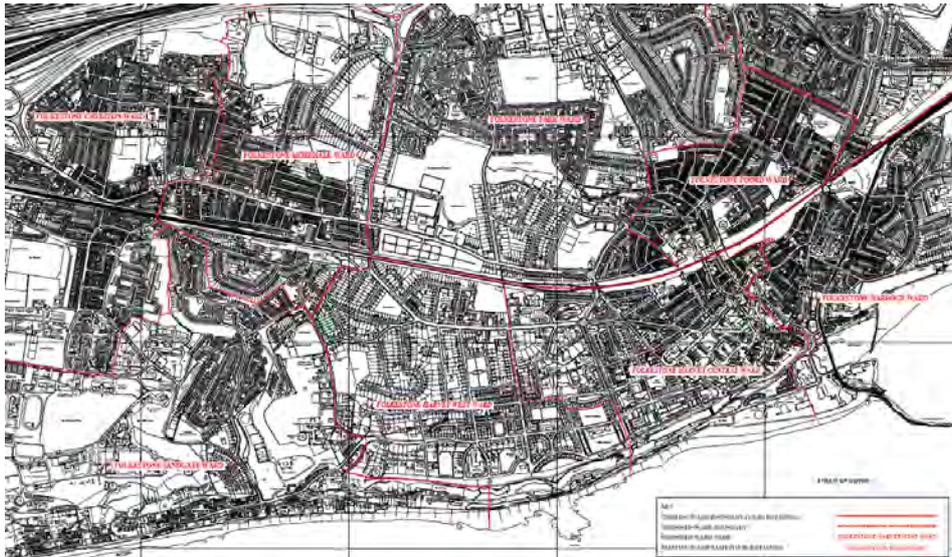


Figure 4: Folkestone political wards



Figure 5: Margate political wards

Deprivation in Folkestone and Margate

When talking discussing regeneration it is necessary to understand urban deprivation. Discussions of urban and economic regeneration are linked to levels of deprivation, which is typically measured through a range of indicators such as

health, education and employment (see the Department of Communities and Local Government English Indices of Multiple Deprivation 2010).

Margate, like a number of other seaside towns, suffers from above average deprivation whilst Folkestone experiences 'average' deprivation according to the Indices of Multiple Deprivation According to data from the IMD 2010 for England, all top ten most deprived LSOAs within the district of Shepway are situated in the town of Folkestone across the four wards of *Folkestone Foord*, *Folkestone East*, *Folkestone Harbour* and *Folkestone Harvey Central*. Margate is made up of seven wards and six out of the top ten deprived LSOAs within the district of Thanet are within four wards of Margate: *Margate Central*, *Cliftonville West*, *Dane Valley* and *Westbrook*. The wards of Margate Central and Cliftonville West are also in the top fifty most deprived wards in the whole of England. All of combined eight wards for Folkestone and Margate identified here are in the top 20% of the most deprived LSOAs in England.

The table below provides an overview of the level of deprivation according to the IMD identifying LSOAs and wards:

Indices of Multiple Deprivation 2010 adapted table for Folkestone and Margate					
LSOA CODE	LA NAME	GOR NAME	IMD SCORE	RANK OF IMD SCORE in England (where 1 is most deprived)	Ward
E01024676	Thanet District	South East	80.01	22	Margate Central
E01024657	Thanet District	South East	78.94	33	Cliftonville West
E01024678	Thanet District	South East	74.93	81	Margate Cenral
E01024660	Thanet District	South East	67.58	339	Cliftonville West
E01024506	Shepway District	South East	63.21	581	Folkestone Harvey Central
E01024658	Thanet District	South East	63.05	595	Cliftonville West
E01024504	Shepway District	South East	61.37	713	Folkstone Harbour
E01024663	Thanet District	South East	59.10	900	Dane Valley
E01024507	Shepway District	South East	55.73	1298	Folkestone Harvey Central
E01024498	Shepway District	South East	50.77	2044	Folkestone East
E01024710	Thanet District	South East	50.16	2150	Westbrook
E01024500	Shepway District	South East	40.54	4415	Folkestone Foord
E01024508	Shepway District	South East	38.46	5033	Folkestone Harvey Central
E01024517	Shepway District	South East	38.19	5118	Folkestone Foord
E01024505	Shepway District	South East	37.72	5282	Folkstone Harbour
E01024496	Shepway District	South East	37.44	5363	Folkestone East
E01024502	Shepway District	South East	35.70	5973	Folkestone Foord

Figure 6: Indices of Multiple Deprivation for Folkestone and Margate, 2010

Or to put it another way (also see Figure 3 below), almost 40% of Folkestone's LSOAs are in the top section of the index of multiple deprivation, with 21% upper middle, 25% in the middle, 14% in the lower middle and 0% in the bottom section or least deprived area. Whilst for Margate the distribution (in the same order) is 52%, 18%, 15%, 15%, 0%. All of combined eight wards for Folkestone and Margate identified here are in the top 20% of the most deprived LSOAs in England, which has a total of 32482 LSOAs. (see Community and Local Government, Neighbourhoods Statistical Release, 24 March 2011).

A LSOA is basically a geographic area. It is a geographic hierarchy designed to improve the reporting of small area statistics in England and Wales. LSOAs are built from groups of contiguous Output Areas and have been automatically generated to be as consistent in population size as possible, and typically contain from four to six Output Areas. The Minimum population is 1000, the maximum population of 3000 and the mean is 1500. There is a LSOA for each postcode in England and Wales. Assuming the latter this could mean that up to 67% of Folkestone's population and 31% of Margate's population could live in the top 10% classified as the most deprived LSOA's. However, the LSOAs excludes the wards of Westbrook and Garlinge from its map definition of Margate, whilst for Folkestone it includes the wards of Folkestone Sandgate and Hythe Central, Hythe East and Hythe West.

The South East Regional Development Agency commissioned a report into the economic challenges and cultural regeneration of South East coastal towns and in their report researchers and consultants David Powell and Fred Gray described Margate and Folkestone as follows:

“Margate has a strong arts and cultural emphasis in its regeneration programme, co-ordinated by the Margate Renewal Partnership centred on regeneration of Margate's Old Town and Turner Contemporary. Other important elements include the anticipated redevelopment of the Dreamland amusement park into a major heritage attraction. ... Folkestone has developed a broadly based arts,

cultural and education approach to regeneration, founded on the regeneration of the old town; use of events and cultural interventions such as the Folkestone Triennial; and the role of the Creative Foundation as a regeneration lead body. University Centre Folkestone is part of a wider commitment to invest in improving and delivering a broader educational offer”. (2009: 2)

The data and examples here is sufficient to indicate that there are demands on local policy to address the issues of employment, quality of life, health, education, economic development that aim to lessen the impact of deprivation of those directly and indirectly affected by it.

Research Questions

There are four questions that guide my research. The first question is meant to help me to understand as to how cultural and regeneration is presented and represented and who describes it how whilst focusing on different stakeholders, i.e. residents, visitors, officers, organisations, politicians, the media:

1. What are the narratives about cultural regeneration in Folkestone and Margate?
(includes factors considered to require regeneration)

With the second question I am trying to assess whether these narratives have affected or are reflected in policies and investment strategies:

2. Are the regeneration narratives that refer to the creative and cultural industries reflected in actual policy and investment decisions and at what level, when compared to other investments?

The third question is mainly about impact distinguishing between advocacy and actual differences made in the towns:

3. What is the actual level of influence that the creative and cultural industries have on the regeneration of the two seaside towns?

The fourth question especially seeks to assess whether and how far the two towns differ in their approach to regeneration with reference to culture within it, given major philanthropic investment by the entrepreneur Roger de Haan through his trust:

4. What are the differences between privately (philanthropic) and public supported culture-led regeneration?

Research approach

As part of my research into culture-led regeneration in Folkestone and Margate I am exploring and comparing the official with local narratives of regeneration and the perceived role of culture therein. In addition to those narratives I am reviewing official government data, including social deprivation statistics (see above) that provide further pieces to the complex jigsaw of regenerating local communities and the role of culture within it. My approach may be described as a

mixed research method or methodological triangulation in that I use more than one method for gathering data (Denzin 1970).

Given that there is a very limited academic body of research that deals with urban development and regeneration of British seaside towns and even less research that investigates the role and contribution of the creative and cultural industries within it, my research demands a great deal of explorative primary data and inferred secondary data collection. So my research approach is empirical and included primary data collection, but it is qualitative rather than quantitative research and as such the data will not support any statistical probability testing of hypotheses.

Given the methodological considerations , the lack of research into the subject matter also referred to above, I framed my research approach around determining or limiting the geographic area broadly to the political wards of Folkestone and Margate (see Figures 4 and 5 above); by undertaking desk research of reviewing newspaper articles dating back to around 1999; reviewing government and consultancy reports; a literature review; exploring the towns by walking the streets of the towns and then with volunteers from Folkestone and Margate; conducting with the help of volunteers some initial street interviews; conducting an online questionnaire; identifying key stakeholders and arranging a range of interviews with them. These various research stages or aspects of data collection are therefore not strictly sequential but in part reiterative and overlapping.

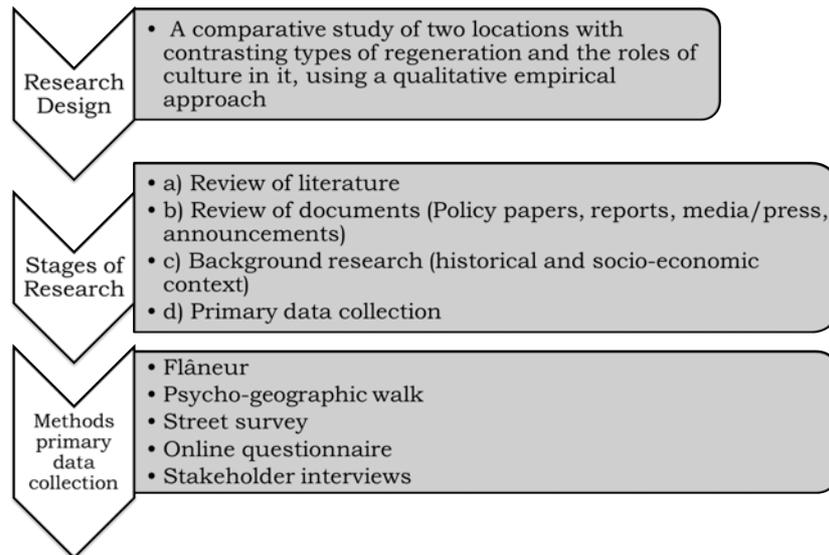


Figure 7: Overview of elements of research framework

<p>1. Decision-makers/Leaders/opinion makers</p>	<p>Investors Public (IPub), Investors Private (Ipriv), Ward Councillors (WC), Council Leaders (CL), Senior Council Officers (SCO), Members of Parliament (MPs); Local Community Leaders (LCL); Chief Executive Officers (CEOs), Chairs (C), 'Celebrities' and 'Very Important People' (VIP),</p>
<p>2. Operational actors</p>	<p>Community Workers and Activists (CWA), Council Officers (CO), Artists (A), Creative Businesses (CB), Teachers (T) and Academic and Experts with interest in subject matter (AE), Art and Cultural Officers (ACO); Culture-related business people (CRBP)</p>
<p>3. Local Residents and general business owners</p>	<p>Residents and business owners from the 8 wards of Folkestone (RFW)/(BOFW) and 7 wards of Margate (RMW)/(BOMW)</p>

4. Visitors and Leisure industry	General Tourists (GT), Travelling Trade (TT), Local Leisure industry staff (LLIS); Local Leisure Industry Customers (LLIC); Local Cultural Industry Consumers (LCIC)
5. Media/experts	Reporters and Media People (RMP), Experts Consultants (EC)

Figure 8: List of research target groups

A further concern was that of place, space, territory and boundaries in the context of Folkestone and Margate. As a starting point I took the political wards of the two towns as mentioned earlier (also see Figures 4 + 5 above) to confine my research area to a specific territory. But how would it be possibly to ascertain territorial references as well as place identities, which narratives of culture-led regeneration inevitably (however loosely) implicitly refer to, without the understanding the perceptions, interpretations and experiences of the local residents? In order do at least part justice to these concerns, I approached the primary data collection in a number of ways.

5.3.1 Flâneur and Psycho-Geographic walk

Peter Berger said that “the sociologist moves in the common world of men [he meant people], close to what most of them would call real”, but he goes on to say that “things are not what they seem”. With this in mind I commenced my fieldwork with taking on a kind of flâneur-like persona, walking the streets of Folkestone and Margate armed with a camera. According to Chris Jenks: “The flâneur moves through space and among the people with a viscosity that both enables and privileges vision... The flâneur possesses a power, it walks at will, freely and seemingly without purpose, but simultaneously with an inquisitive wonder and an infinite capacity to absorb the activities of the collective, – often formulated as ‘the crowd’”. For me it helped to get an initial ‘feel’ for the towns, removing myself from my professional role or persona. Philip Bowland (2010) took on the role of the *flâneur* in reviewing the narratives surrounding Liverpool’s capital of culture bid and development and analysed the difficulties in bridging three competing narratives related to the re-branding efforts of Liverpool08 officials; how these ignore or conveniently paint over the needs of the disadvantage groups situated away from the centres of cultural development; and those who are supportive of the cultural development but have not directly benefited (2010:628).



Figure 9: Image of Folkestone Sandgate Rd, 2011



Figure 10: Images of top of the Old High Street, 2011



Figure 11: Image of Folkestone Harbour, 2011



Figure 12: Image of Margate seafront area train station end, 2012



Figure 13: Image of Margate harbour/old town area, 2012



Figure 14: Image of Margate High Street lower end, 2012

Building on the walks and encouraged by O'Neill, M. and Hubbard, P. (2010) use of ethno-mimesis, “ethno-mimesis – as a methodological and performative praxis – involves the combination or interweaving of ethnographic and participatory methods and the subsequent production of art forms to represent experience”

(p.47), I drew up a concept for an intervention, allowing local residents to not only actively participate in the research at this initial stage and thus (albeit limited) potentially become co-researchers and co-creators of knowledge. With the support of two locally community-based arts organizations I organised a 'recruitment day' advertised in the local papers and through emailing local networks. The arts organisations' premises also served as a base for the walks and subsequent street 'surveys', I recruited 10-12 local residents in Folkestone and Margate respectively. Residents came together in each arts organization located in the heart of each of the towns and explored and brainstormed questions around culture-led regeneration, identity and locality facilitated by myself. 'Armed' with mutually generated context and questions as well as a local map, a note pad, a drawing pad and a Polaroid camera, residents explored in groups of 3-4 members the respective town (wards) and develop visual and literal narratives about their town whilst critically referencing aspects of cultural regeneration. With reference to an arts walking project I produced a few years ago in Margate, called the Wild Flower project, volunteer researchers were asked to divide the space like an overlapping flower petal. However, the actual route of the walk was in the end self-determined with the aim to return to the respective arts organizations as the base, where the co-researchers provided feedback (visual and literal) from their walks and compared those with the record of the discussions from before the walk.



Figure 15: Volunteer recruitment poster and postcard locally distributed



Figure 16: Local advert seeking volunteers in Margate, 2012



Figure 17: Volunteers recruitment day at Strange Cargo, Folkestone, 2012

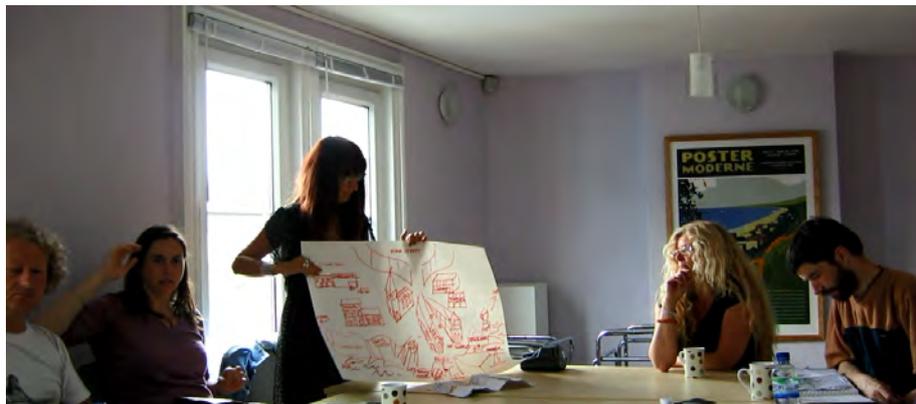


Figure 18: Volunteers at Strange Cargo, Folkestone, 2012



Figure 19: Volunteers at CRATE, Margate, 2012

Street ‘survey’ and online questionnaire

Following the walks with the volunteers and debriefing sessions with them discussing their recorded perceptions and observations through photographs, drawings and written or recorded notes, the same volunteers then took part in a second day interviewing other local residents and visitors. They used a set of questions prepared by me and partly based on the findings of psycho-geographic walk days as well as the research questions. Questions focused on the perception of the towns, their cultural offer, the towns’ visions.

For the online questionnaire I formulated a set of 108 closed questions and sub-questions and 2 open questions, which were initially tested by some of the volunteers. The questionnaire was divided into different sections seeking respondents personal details, their views on the towns' places and spaces, culture and people and communication. Many of the questions were rated being guided by the Likert scale for rating. The online survey tool Smart Survey was used.

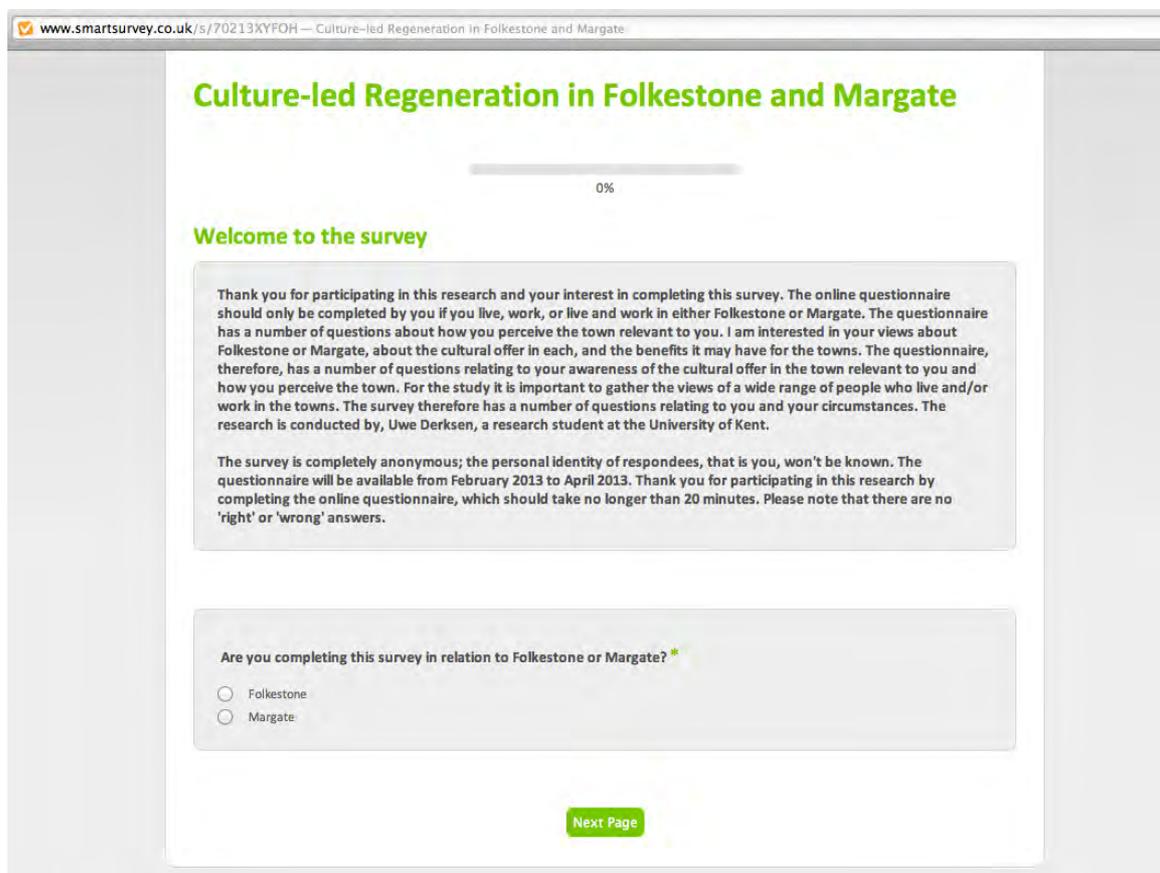


Figure 20: Smart Survey home page

Various networks, groups and individuals from Folkestone and Margate were contacted to disseminate the request for respondents. Circa 50 respondents complete the online survey for each of the two towns. Smart Survey allows for

some cross-tabulation. In terms of the questionnaire design I was guided by the previous field-work and my overarching the research questions.

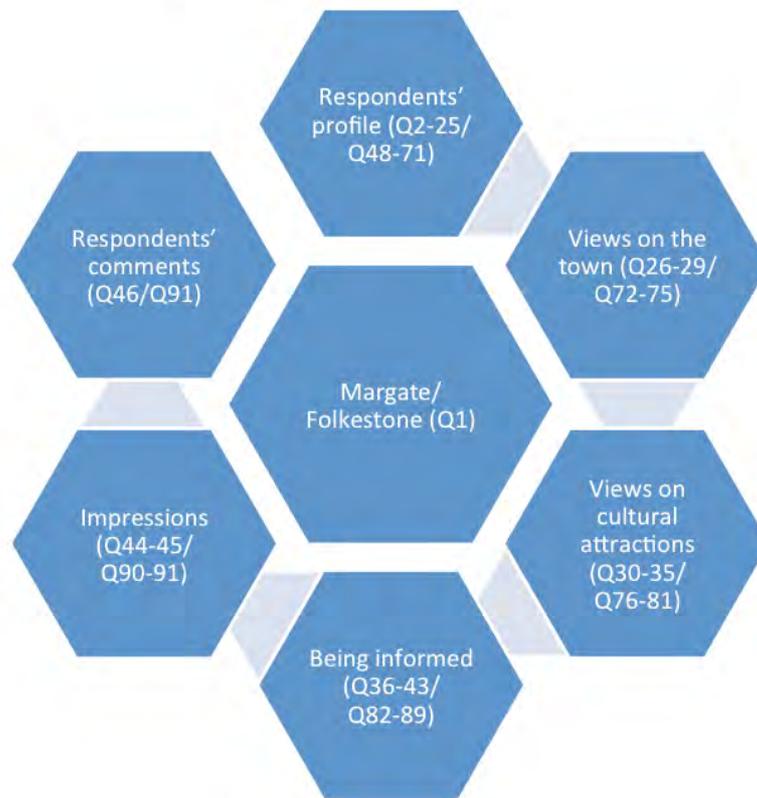


Figure 21: Overview of type of questions

A preliminary analysis, though not statistically representative, indicates that there is a receptiveness to associate the towns of Folkestone and Margate with the arts, though somewhat stronger in the former than the latter, see figures 20 and 21.

RESPONDENTS TOP MESSAGES TO PORTRAIT THE TOWN
FOLKESTONE

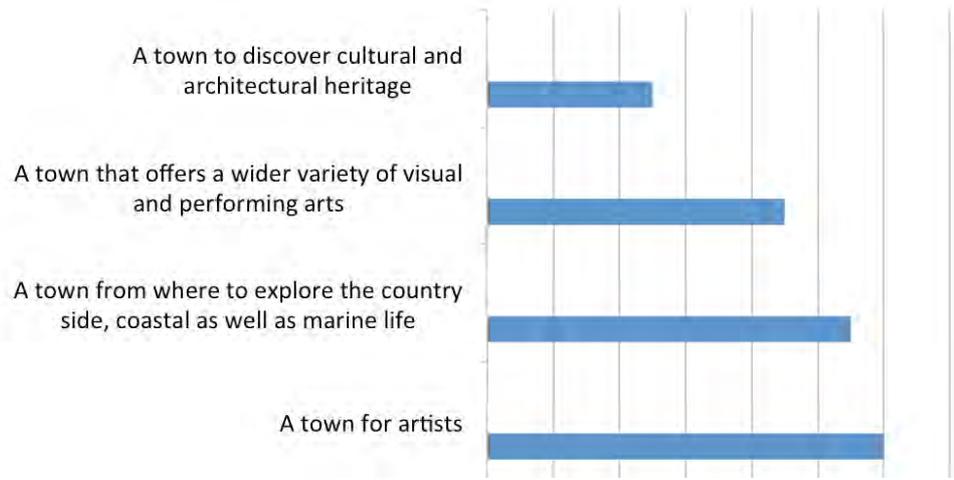


Figure 22: Example responses – of portraying Folkestone

RESPONDENTS TOP MESSAGES TO PORTRAIT THE TOWN
MARGATE

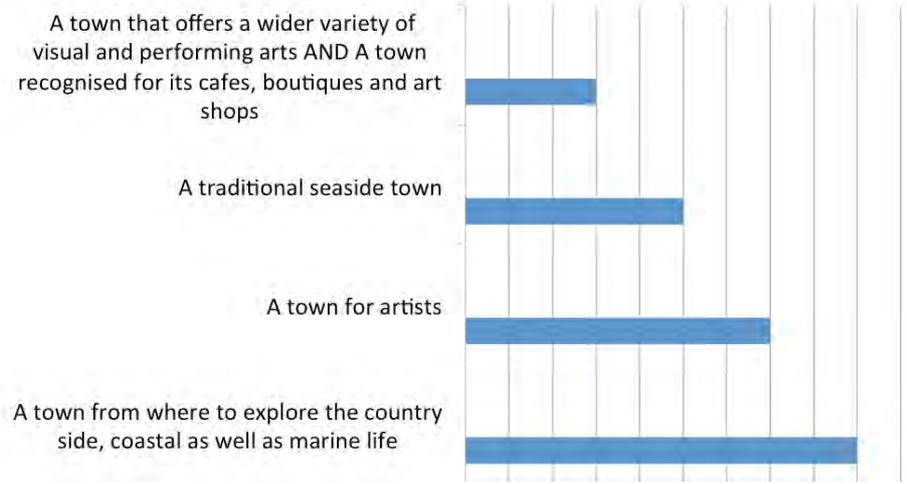


Figure 23: Example responses – of portraying Margate

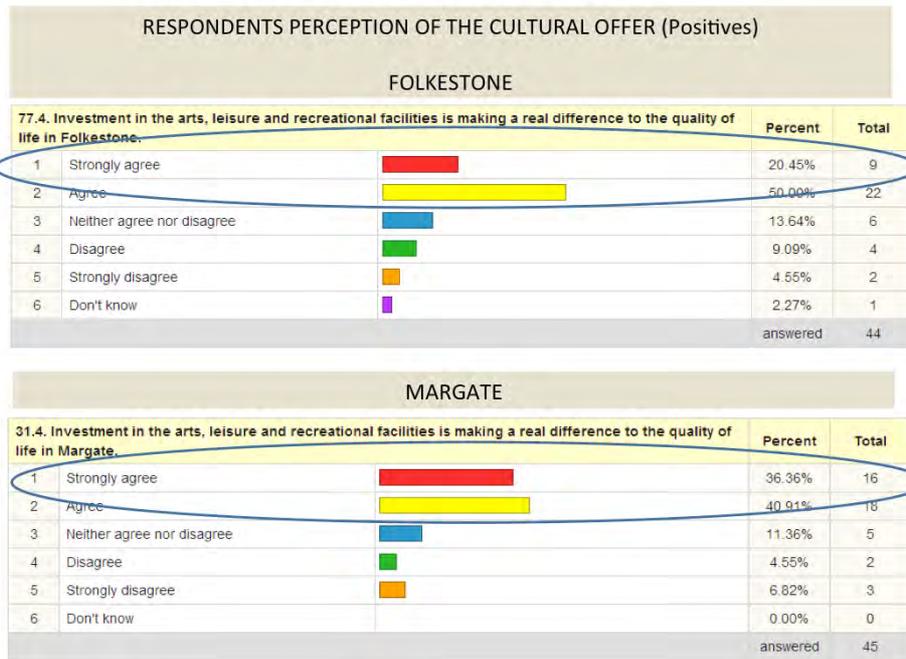


Figure 24: Example responses – cultural offer in Folkestone

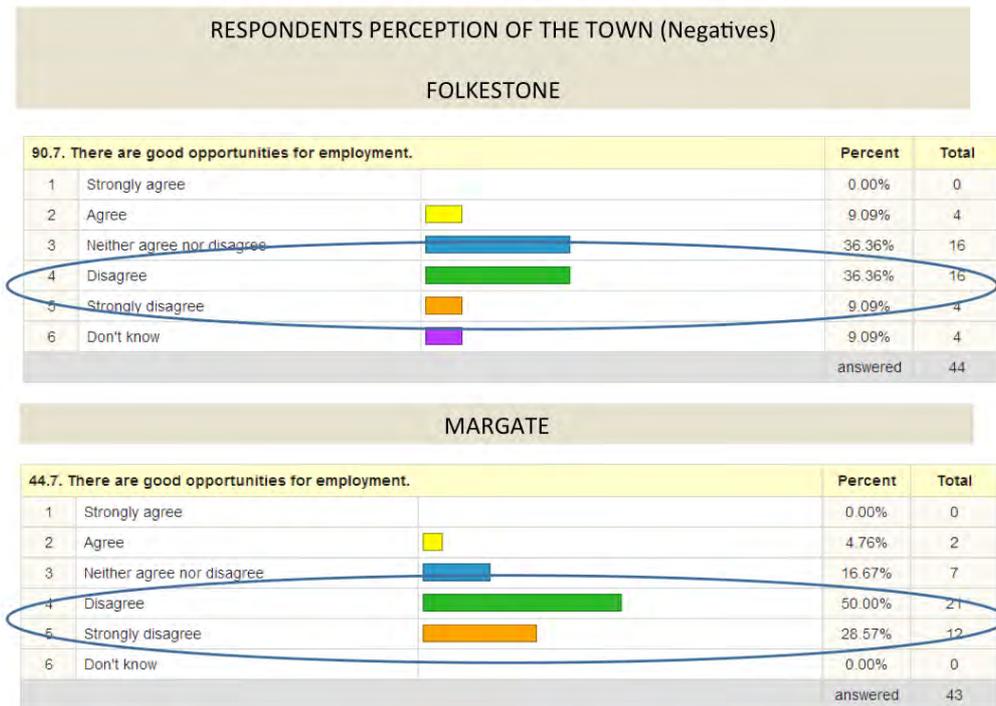


Figure 25: Example responses – cultural offer in Margate

The interviews and elite interview

For the interviews I devised a semi-structured interview script as a kind of rather aide-memoire. The interviews are an essential element of my research, especially the first and second category of stakeholders, targeting Investors Public, Investors Private, Ward Councillors, Council Leaders, Senior Council Officers, Members of Parliament; Local Community Leaders; Chief Executive Officers, Chairs, perceived 'Celebrities' and 'Very Important People' and also Reporters and Media People (RMP) for the first group. Community Workers and Activists, Council Officers, Artists, Creative Businesses, Teachers and Academics with interest in culture, Art and Cultural Officers; Culture-related business people for the second group. Because of logistical, work load and time pressures I will not be able to target stakeholders from all four categories and therefore made the decision not to pursue the latter groups whilst focusing on decision-makers and operational actors. Issues of course are around the quality of the interviews.

References

Beatty, C. and Fothergill, S. (2004) *Economic Change and the Labour Market in Britain's Seaside Towns*. In: *Regional Studies*, 38 (5) pp. 459 - 478

Beatty, C., Fothergill, S. and Wilson, I. (2008) *England's Seaside Towns: A benchmark study*. London: CLG

Boland, P. (2010) “*Capital of Culture - you must be having a laugh!*” *Challenging the official rhetoric of Liverpool as the 2008 European cultural capital*. in : *Social and Cultural Geography*. 11 (7) pp. 627-645

Buck, N., Gordon I., Pickvance C. and Taylor-Goodby P. (1989) *The Isle of Thanet: restructuring and municipal conservatism*. In: Cooke P. (Ed.) *Localities: The Changing Face of Urban Britain*. London: Unwin Hyman. Need page nos. Cannot access contents on line.

Caves, R. (2000) *Creative Industries: Contracts Between Art And Commerce*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S. (eds.) (2000) *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. London: Sage Publications.

Department of Communities and Local Government (2010) *English Indices of Multiple Deprivation*.

<http://data.gov.uk/dataset/english-indices-of-deprivation>

(Accessed on: 1.4.2014)

Department of Community and Local Government (2011) *Neighbourhoods Statistical Release 24 March 2011*.

https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/6871/1871208.pdf (Accessed on: 1.4.2014)

Gray, F. (2006) *Designing the Seaside: Architecture, Society and Nature*. London: Reaktion Books

Kennell, J. (2007) *Arts-led Regeneration and Community Cohesion: A study of Folkestone, Kent*. In: Holmes, K., Slater, A. & Robinson, M. (eds.) *Sport, Leisure, Culture and Social Capital: Discourse and Practice*, Eastbourne: LSA pp. 139 - 154

Markusen, A. and Gadwa A. (2010) *Arts and Culture in Urban or Regional Planning: A Review and Research Agenda*. In: *Journal of Planning Education and Research*. 29 (3) pp. 379-391

Negus, K. (2002) *The Work of Cultural Intermediaries and the Enduring Distance Between Production and Consumption*. In: *Cultural Studies*. 16 (4) pp. 501–515

O'Neill, Maggie and Hubbard, Phil (2010) *Walking, sensing, belonging: ethno-mimesis as performative praxis*. In: *Visual Studies*. 25 (1) pp. 46 — 58

Powell, D. and Robe, P. (c. 2001) *Creative Industries in Brighton and Hove*. Hove: Brighton and Hove City Council pp. 4-6

Tallon, A (2010) *Urban Regeneration in the UK*. London: Routledge

Walton, J.K. and Browne, P. (eds) (2010) *Coastal Regeneration in English Resorts*. [online] <http://www.coastalcommunities.co.uk/library/pdfs/coastal-regeneration-handbook.pdf> (Accessed on: 2.4.2014)

Whyte W.F. (1981) *Social Invention for solving Human Problems*. 1981 Presidential Address, American Sociological Association [online] <http://www2.asanet.org/governance/PresidentialAddress1981.pdf> (Accessed: 2.4.2014)

Williams, R. (1982) *The Sociology of Culture*. New York: Schocken Books.

Wood, J (2011) *From Port to Resort: Art, Heritage and Identity in the Regeneration of Margate*. In: Borsay, P. and Walton, J.K. (eds) *Resorts and Ports: European Seaside Towns since 1700 (Tourism and Cultural Change)*, Bristol: Channel View Publications. pp. 197-214