

# A collection of essays on place, skills and governance in the Yorkshire and Humber Region



**FACULTY OF BUSINESS & LAW**

## FOREWARD

The election of the Conservative-Liberal Democrat Coalition Government in May 2010 heralded a change of policy in relation to regional governance, with the proposed replacement of the Regional Development Agencies (RDAs) with Local Enterprise Partnerships (LEPs), joint local authority-business bodies to be "...brought forward by local authorities themselves to promote local economic development..."<sup>1</sup> and a renewed emphasis on localism. This policy shift comes after several years of debate about the rationale for and nature of sub-national governance and the role and remit of organisations such as Regional Development Agencies, local authorities and various quasi-autonomous government agencies along with the City Regions which may well become the new LEPs. In the current challenging economic circumstances, rationalisation of the infrastructure, efficiency savings and value for money are currently driving policy developments.

However whilst the policy context may change the challenges for social and economic development of the region remain – how do we improve our localities, encourage visitors and regenerate our local communities? How do we encourage the retention of our graduates, develop the leadership skills necessary for success, ensure that those most at risk of economic disadvantage benefit from the economic recovery and ensure that the connections between physical and human capital developments are realised? Substantial changes to governance in the region are forecast as we continue to get to grips with the ‘bigger picture’ associated with globalisation, demographics, the environment and issues of equity (amongst many other challenges).

These questions and challenges have been the subject of much commentary and literature, and researchers at Leeds Metropolitan University have made notable contributions to the debate. This collection of essays provides an opportunity for these researchers to bring together their contributions in what I believe is an impressive piece of work. The essays are structured into three themes: tourism and the visitor economy; skills, employment and economic development; and governance and inclusion. They cover a range of issues that are central to the sustainable development of the Yorkshire and Humber region and have much to say that is relevant to the debate about the appropriate level of governance for different policy areas as well as providing important research insights into these issues. They illustrate very well the wide-ranging nature and high quality of the research being undertaken at Leeds Metropolitan University.

Thanks are due to all the authors for contributing such an excellent range of essays and particularly to the editors, David Devins, Phil Long and Stratis Koutsoukos, for all their work in putting together an impressive showcase for research at Leeds Metropolitan University that has real relevance for the development of policy and practice in our region.

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June 2010

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<sup>1</sup> HM Government (2010) The Coalition: Our Programme for Government. London: Cabinet Office



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# **Introduction and overview: David Devins, Phil Long, Stratis Koutsoukos**

In 2009, staff at Leeds Met were invited to contribute to a collection of essays on the regional economy to provide an insight into the research and consultancy work undertaken in the Yorkshire and Humber Region by researchers at Leeds Metropolitan University. The collection demonstrates the wide-ranging nature of research undertaken in the University and has provided an opportunity for collaborative working between researchers within Leeds Met and beyond. The papers are founded on a range of research methods and analytical approaches. They were written prior to the General Election in 2010 and some aspects of policies and priorities will be subject to change. However the key themes underpinning this collection (i) tourism and the visitor economy (ii) skills in the region and (iii) governance and inclusion remain central to the region's development.

## **Section 1: The Making of Yorkshire: Tourism and the visitor economy**

The essays included in this section address various matters relating to the development of tourism, the visitor economy and the governance of the emerging place making / shaping agenda in the Yorkshire and Humber region. As the contribution from Stratis Koutsoukos and Catherine Brooks notes, tourism is viewed by Regional Development Agency (RDA), Yorkshire Forward, as being significant for the regional economy in terms of businesses and jobs created and supported. This is an important consideration in times of economic recovery, with tourism being seen as a sector that can create and support jobs and provide training opportunities in the region at relatively low cost. Also importantly, tourism (including for business, conferences, festivals and events etc.) is viewed as having actual and potential value across the region and not only for the more obviously recognisable coastal, countryside and city holiday and short-break destinations.

Tourism is, of course, a highly competitive market with the region facing competition for visitors and their spending from neighbouring English regions, other nations within the UK and also with international destinations attracting UK resident outbound travel, and particularly those places accessible by low-cost airlines. In this context, it is notable that Yorkshire Forward has announced an ambitious target of increasing visitor numbers by 5% per annum for each of the next 3 years, and a substantial investment of around £30 million in the re-launched 'Welcome to Yorkshire' regional tourist board and its network of sub-regional destination management organisations that are charged with achieving the target. The returns on this investment remain to be seen of course. However, there is no doubt that the profile of Yorkshire and the Humber as a potential visitor destination for tourist markets within and beyond the UK will be raised through advertising and other marketing activities in the years ahead.

Critical issues surrounding tourism in the context of urban regeneration programmes, heritage and particular inner-city neighbourhoods are highlighted by David Pendleton's essay in relation to Bradford's 'Little Germany' district. This contribution indicates the importance of adopting historical and political perspectives on development policies, programmes and projects and the connections that exist between attempts to promote cities as visitor destinations alongside competing issues and demands for housing and retail developments. City image is also important here with David arguing that Bradford has suffered from some very negative publicity in recent years.

There are indeed important connections between tourism, place marketing and economic development and urban 'regeneration' programmes and policies. Weaving tourism into these agendas has become widespread in the 'post-industrial' city where destination image, the promotion of the 'creative industries' and attempts to attract inward investment, conference and business tourists and customers for city retailing, entertainment and cultural establishments are typically now mainstays of the urban economy (at least in city centres). The current economic conditions do of course raise questions about the prospects for these consumption led approaches to urban regeneration and their sustainability, with various projects 'on hold' in cities across the region pending an upturn in commercial property markets and consumer confidence.

Aspects of coastal, resort tourism in Yorkshire are the subject of two contrasting essays from John Walton and Stratis Koutsoukos with Catherine Brooks. John presents a rich historical analysis of the construction and representation of 'Old Whitby' and the particular place of the photographer Frank Meadow Sutcliffe in shaping the romanticised tourist imagination of the town, while Stratis and Catherine review European Union Structural Fund contributions in addressing the economic and social challenges faced by coastal towns and cities in the region – issues shared with coastal areas elsewhere in the UK.

The commissioning, installation and promotion of 'iconic' (a much over-used and imprecise term) public art projects, aimed in part at image building and place making for visitor interest, has been a feature in the region in recent years. In their essay, Ian Strange and David Usher present an evaluation of the 'Welcome to the North' public art project. This project connects Yorkshire with the rest of the North of England through various 'gateway' projects. A useful framework for the evaluation of such projects is presented along with a discussion of their implications for policy.

Seeking to attract visitors through the development and representation of favourable images, whether through heritage, regeneration projects funded in part by EU programmes such as the 'Deep' in Hull, 'iconic' public art, and 'traditional' seaside resorts as exemplified here is common to the work of destination management organisations. Tourists make choices about where to visit from a vast array of possible destinations. Tourist boards and destination management organisations seek to influence and develop their markets through product developments and their communication via various media channels. Destinations at regional and local scales attempt to identify and articulate a *genius loci* or comparative advantages in appealing to tourist attention and interest. Such claims are typically based on what are presented as being unique and/or distinctive assets, attractions and associations.

This work is increasingly guided by the 'place making' agenda with its emphasis on the visitor economy having important impacts on the 'economic and social wellbeing of local communities and their environment [and being] integral to creating a sense of place'<sup>2</sup>.

Place making appears to have featured in the discourse of destination management organisations only quite recently. It is a term familiar to architects and planners since at least the 1970s in describing the processes involved in creating squares, parks, streetscapes and waterfronts as public spaces that will attract people because they are distinctive and interesting. This agenda is not without its challenges from, for example, 'cloned' high streets featuring the same chain and charity shops that are a blight in many English towns. The impact of the recession on the high street is

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<sup>2</sup> Partners for England (undated) *Place Making: A charter for destination management* [online] <http://www.enjoyengland.com/corporate/corporate-information/partners-for-england/key-work-areas/place-making-charter.aspx>

compounding this concern although empty retail premises in some towns have been turned over to artistic and community purposes, contributing perhaps to an emerging distinctiveness of place<sup>3</sup>. Fostering this distinctive 'Yorkshireness' will be a challenge for all those engaged in the development of tourism in the region in the years ahead.

### **Skills in the region**

The essays in the second section address the issues of skills, employment and the labour market. They explore public policy intervention which seeks to improve the functioning of the labour market and/or improve the competitiveness of the region or localities within it. Although the current economic context is clearly important the contributions in this section deal with issues which are equally critical for social justice and economic success in times of recession or prosperity. The contributions are all based on applied research conducted in the region for a variety of agencies including the Government Office for Yorkshire and the Humber, the West Yorkshire Learning and Skills Council and the National Council for Graduate Entrepreneurship.

The contribution from Andreas Walmsley and his colleagues investigates the development of higher level skills in the economy. The issue of retaining and realising the potential of the graduates which flow out of the region's universities has been a longstanding concern for the region and higher level skills have been identified as essential to the competitiveness of individual firms and the regional economy. The paper draws on two studies conducted into graduate employment in small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs). The first study explores graduate entrepreneurship, a key issue of concern given the relatively low rate of firm formation and innovation in the Yorkshire and Humber Region and the potential of enterprise to improve economic performance and prosperity at the local, regional and national level. The second study investigates the impact of undertaking graduate placements in SMEs on employment and career intentions. The authors conclude that whilst placements often provide a welcome development opportunity, policy makers need to assist the matching process that constitutes the search for employment in the region. Similarly the authors suggest that if entrepreneurial intentions are to be realised, greater use of careers support and advice and the advantages of the region need to be made more apparent to the generation of entrepreneurs emerging from our universities. If policy makers and HE institutions can find more effective ways of assisting graduate and undergraduate decision-making, the talent of the region's graduates may be realised more effectively, particularly amongst the region's SMEs.

The development of human capital in the SME context is a theme apparent in the contribution by Jeff Gold. Jeff 'tells the story' of the Northern Leadership Academy which was created to stimulate leadership in the region. The essay includes some evidence based 'design principles' which will be of interest to policy makers, practitioners and academics seeking to encourage the development of SMEs. The development of a demand-led skills agenda is a key element of policy at the national, regional and local level and making connections with SMEs, where the issue of market failure and the rationale for public policy intervention is often strongest is a longstanding policy challenge. Jeff's essay highlights the importance of network based intelligence as a resource to inform engagement and support for SMEs and identifies the importance of the establishment of a productive relationship between SME managers and intermediaries seeking to influence development. We can see this thinking informing policy developments through, for example, the call from the

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<sup>3</sup> Bauman Lyons Architects and Design Leeds (2009) *Distinctive Futures: A scoping study to identify how a distinctive rural capitals approach can be developed in Yorkshire and the Humber*. May

UK Commission for Employment and Skills for more flexible funding for employer engagement and the need to invest in 'intangible infrastructure' of community, business and social networks<sup>4</sup>.

The essay by Fiona Walton explores a different aspect of the policy agenda, investigating the contribution of the European Social Fund (ESF) to skills and employment in the region. Addressing the issue of worklessness is a key government priority driven by the desire for both social justice and improved competitiveness. In the current economic climate, as the number unemployed moves towards 3 million, alleviating unemployment and economic inactivity are key policy goals. ESF makes an important contribution to the agenda often funding services beyond mainstream provision and engaging with those most at risk of disadvantage. The effects of the recession, whilst widespread, are likely to be felt disproportionately by certain communities and groups of individuals who face the greatest barriers to accessing work. This will continue to thwart government attempts to alleviate poverty and improve social mobility. Fiona's contribution highlights the need to demonstrate 'positive outcomes' associated with the investment of public funds and the problems associated with the adoption of outcome measures that are not sophisticated enough to reflect the transition from inactivity towards employment. She concludes that interventions which have delivered improvements in skills, confidence and employability are not in themselves enough to lead to employment for many of the most marginalised in the labour market and she calls for more 'joined-up' intervention and more sophisticated outcome measures to support their journey.

The final essay in this section by David Devins and Philip Hunter, champions a 'people centred approach to economic development'. It draws on the literature to highlight the disconnection between traditional approaches to economic development (often based on physical infrastructure development) and a 'people centred' approach which emphasises the development of skills and human capital. The essay identifies some challenges facing policy makers, practitioners and researchers as we seek to work within a policy context that is characterised by complexity and seemingly perpetual change. The duty placed on Local Authorities to undertake an economic assessment in the Local Democracy, Economic Development and Construction Bill<sup>5</sup> provides an opportunity to pursue the people centred agenda in the short to medium term. The essay concludes that a host of organisations and agencies – Local Authorities (and particularly local planners), Regional Development Agencies, business support agencies, further and higher education - need to work together to realise the potential of a people centred approach to economic development. To enable this to occur at the local level and more widely in the region, championing of the agenda is required and governance structures need to be strengthened with a clear connection made between for example the Regional Development Agency, the emergent Employment and Skills Boards and the Local Strategic Partnerships in the region.

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<sup>4</sup> The Employability Challenge. The UK Commission for Employment and Skills February 2009

<sup>5</sup> HOC (2009) Progress of the Local Democracy, Economic Development and Construction Bill [online]  
<http://www.commonleader.gov.uk/output/page2664.asp> consulted August 2009

## Governance and inclusion

The essays in the final section of the collection explore various aspects of governance and inclusion in the region. Written prior to the General Election in 2010, the papers examine key policy concepts and institutional arrangements. However with Coalition policy currently emerging and institutional arrangements in a state of flux, it remains to be seen how the landscape changes in Yorkshire and the Humber.

The trajectory of change in the regional institutional architecture in the region is articulated in the paper by John Shutt and Felix Kumi-Ampofo. The authors chart the regional landscape and identify some key challenges facing the region. They argue that there is a need to build capacity at the regional, sub-regional and local level and to draw resources together to support developments in the region. A further paper by Kevin Thomas and Steve Littlewood examines how the emerging policy concept of *green infrastructure (GI)* is challenging established ideas and how institutional changes are supporting policy development and implementation. They draw on the policy discourses in Yorkshire and the Humber and the North West to chart regional, sub-regional and local developments. They suggest that 'institutional fixes' that have emerged to date are mainly sub-regional and city focussed and that the lessons emerging from across the EU and closer to home in the Manchester City Region can help to inform more advanced approaches to GI in the Yorkshire and Humber region.

The final papers in this collection explore issues associated with inclusion and cohesion. The paper authored by Sally Ann Halliday describes the *Aimhigher Programme* in West Yorkshire and discusses some of the methodological challenges facing those seeking to evaluate such programmes. *Aimhigher* seeks to encourage young people from lower socio-economic groups to enter higher education. Sally draws attention to the importance of the development of appropriate metrics and allowing sufficient time for the impacts of interventions to be realised – critical issues often sidelined in the policy process. The final paper by Max Farrar explores the question of whether community cohesion is under threat. Drawing on national statistics, Max argues for a more nuanced approach to the analysis of inequality. He also provides a case study of an approach to the development of cohesion and the role of Leeds Metropolitan University in the 'Thinking Cohesion' network in Leeds. Max highlights the importance of providing space for people working in a range of sectors to stand back from the day to day demands of delivery in order to apply sustained and systematic thought to the challenge of cohesion.



## **Section 1: The 'making' of Yorkshire: Tourism and the visitor economy**



# **SUSTAINABLE COASTAL TOURISM APPROACHES IN YORKSHIRE AND THE HUMBER: HAS EUROPEAN REGIONAL POLICY MADE A DIFFERENCE? By Stratis Koutsoukos and Catherine Brooks**

## **INTRODUCTION**

The Yorkshire and Humber region covers 15,413 sq km and has a population of around five million people. It contains some of England's most scenic landscapes, including the North York Moors National Park and parts of two other, inland National Parks (the Yorkshire Dales and the Peak District). Tourism is important economically for the region, particularly North Yorkshire and the National Parks (Campaign for National Parks, 2006). It is estimated that tourism is now worth £6.3 billion to the regional economy, about 8.5% of regional Gross Value Added (GVA) in 2007 (Yorkshire Forward, 2008). Tourism supports almost 245,000 jobs, or around 11% of the total workforce, in over 23,000 businesses, over three-quarters of which are micro-businesses employing fewer than ten people. Most of the tourism is domestic, from within the UK, although there are 1.2 million overseas visitors annually. The Yorkshire and Humber region accounts for 10% of England's domestic tourist trips and 9% of total spend (Yorkshire Tourist Board, 2007).

Tourism in the region can be divided into three broad spatial sectors; the coast, the countryside, and the cities and historic towns; however, these are often interlinked. The top tourism destination is the ancient city of York, which attracts around four million visitors a year, and research has shown that over a third of these tourists also go on to visit other parts of Yorkshire during their stay; Harrogate, the coast and the countryside being the most popular (York Tourism Partnership, 2007). Visitors to the coast also frequently make day trips to destinations such as York. Leisure tourism is largely seasonal, peaking in August each year. Business tourism and city breaks are sectors of growing importance in the region, particularly for cities such as Leeds.

Regional tourism is promoted by the Yorkshire Tourist Board (now trading as Welcome to Yorkshire), supported by a number of other sub-regional tourism partnerships and local marketing groups. There is a somewhat different picture of delivery in North and North East Lincolnshire, however, where the local authorities, although technically part of the Yorkshire and Humber region, work more closely with Lincolnshire Tourism for reasons of branding.

The strategic responsibility for regional tourism support lies with the Regional Development Agency, Yorkshire Forward, which produced a *Visitor Economy Strategy* with the aim of achieving a 5% annual growth in visitor spend in the region over the next five years, increasing the value of tourism to the regional economy through quality and sustainable growth based on the assets and opportunities of the region, and using tourism to modernise the region's image (Yorkshire Forward, 2008a). This document superseded the earlier *Strategic Framework for the Visitor Economy* (Yorkshire Forward, 2005). Yorkshire Forward has set the tourism sector firmly within the context of the Regional Economic Strategy (RES) for 2006-2015: "Tourism is already a significant contributor to the regional economy but has the potential to be much more so... Strategic priorities for tourism include quality, sustainability, good intelligence and innovation. A far-sighted approach will be adopted that takes account of how issues like climate change will affect tourism"

(Yorkshire Forward, 2006). Indeed, the recognition given by the Regional Development Agency to the value of tourism is indicated by their recent decision to invest £30 million in tourism over the next three years, to attract new public and private sector investment, to improve the co-ordination of current investment in tourism, and to increase regional visitor spend; Welcome to Yorkshire will work with local authorities, private businesses and area tourism partnerships to deliver this investment (Yorkshire Forward, 2008b).

The Regional Spatial Strategy (RSS) overlaps with the RES in providing overall strategic direction for the region (Government Office for Yorkshire and The Humber, 2008).<sup>6</sup> Tourism is identified in the RSS as one of the key sectors that should be supported in plans, strategies and investment decisions in the region, with a particular emphasis on sustainable tourism (SQW and The Tourism Company, 2004). The RSS recognises that with climate change, the climate in the region will get warmer, with winters becoming wetter and summers drier, leading to opportunities for greater tourism potential, although extreme events such as floods will become more frequent and the rate of coastal erosion is likely to increase.

The RSS identifies improving “the public realm and quality of the built environment of coastal resorts and the coast’s natural environment as the basis for economic diversification and regeneration”, and highlights the importance of “upgrading tourism facilities in ways which promote higher value activity, reduce seasonality and support urban regeneration”.

## COASTAL TOURISM

The region’s seaside resorts developed largely in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as elsewhere in the UK, when the advent of the railways opened up mass tourism to the working classes from industrial areas in the hinterland (Walton, 2000; Beckerson and Walton, 2005). Social and economic changes in the 20<sup>th</sup> century have had considerable impact on traditional coastal tourism, however. The introduction of low-cost flights and package holidays abroad and the decline of British seaside resorts have deeply affected and changed the nature of competition in the sector. With regeneration programmes taking place in many resorts in recent years (English Heritage, 2007), some have adopted strategies of diversification and product differentiation, targeting higher-value niche markets and the increasing public demand for shorter and more frequent holiday breaks through the year, thereby increasing economic sustainability.

The complex issues facing all English coastal towns, such as changes in tourism trends, seasonality of the seaside economy, frequent high levels of deprivation and poor housing, physical isolation which inhibits economic growth, and high levels of in-migration of older people and out-migration of younger people thereby placing pressure on social and community services, have recently been highlighted (House of Commons Communities and Local Government Committee, 2007).

The main characteristics of coastal tourism in Yorkshire and The Humber have traditionally been long-stay, low-spend visits by domestic tourists in lower socio-economic groups, with a high volume of repeat business. In recent decades, coastal towns in Yorkshire have seen the decline of two key sectors, tourism and fishing. The cumulative effect has been a profound loss of employment with resulting social and economic deprivation. Some parts of coastal towns exhibit similar social problems to the worst inner-city areas, with pockets of acute deprivation illustrated by high

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<sup>6</sup> Following the Government’s Sub National Review of Economic Development and Regeneration, the regional policy landscape is changing, and after 2010 the RSS and RES will be replaced by a single Integrated Regional Strategy.

unemployment (particularly long-term and youth), low levels of economic activity, low wage rates, low GDP per head and low levels of educational attainment. Bridlington and Whitby, for example, feature among the most deprived in a recent study of English coastal resorts, which found that a majority of seaside towns have above-average levels of deprivation as measured by the Index of Multiple Deprivation (Beatty *et al.*, 2008).

However, tourism is still seen as a viable economic sector of activity for many coastal towns. A recent study found clear evidence of the visitor economy's disproportionate contribution to rural and coastal locales (Deloitte, 2008). Beatty and Fothergill (2003) confirm that "the seaside tourist industry is one that should be nurtured, not written off as a lost cause". Resorts such as Scarborough and Whitby are now competing by attempting to broaden and improve their tourism offer, linking to the rural hinterland and cultural/heritage themes, to attract visitors from a higher socio-economic background and wider catchment areas rather than their traditional regional working class markets.

## EU REGIONAL POLICY AND STRUCTURAL FUNDS

European Union (EU) regional policy aims to reduce disparities in the levels of development between regions in the EU, and to create economic and social cohesion. EU regional policy is delivered through the Structural Funds and the Cohesion Fund. Regional policy expenditure has increased through time, and now represents over one-third of the EU budget (DG Regio, 2008).

In the current programming period (2007-2013), two financial instruments of the Structural Funds have been particularly important: the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), which provides support for the creation of infrastructure and productive job-creating investment, mainly for businesses; and the European Social Fund (ESF), which contributes to the integration into working life of the unemployed and disadvantaged sections of the population, mainly by funding training measures.

The situation was more complex in the programming period examined here, 2000-2006 with Structural Funds administered through a far greater diversity of financial instruments, namely: the ERDF, the ESF, the European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund (EAGGF) for rural development and aid to farms, and the Financial Instrument for Fisheries Guidance (FIFG) for the adaptation of the fisheries sector. The ERDF and the ESF provided the majority of the funds in the UK. Additionally, smaller amounts of aid were also granted by four Community Initiatives to encourage cross-border, transnational and interregional cooperation (INTERREG III), the regeneration of cities and neighbourhoods in crisis (URBAN II), equality in the labour market (EQUAL), and the development of rural areas (LEADER+).

## STRUCTURAL FUNDS IN YORKSHIRE AND THE HUMBER

The two main Objectives under which Structural Funds were deployed in Europe and the UK were Objective 1, to promote the development and structural adjustment of lagging regions, and Objective 2, socio-economic conversion of industrial, urban or rural zones through economic regeneration leading to the creation of jobs. South Yorkshire was eligible for Objective 1 funding to counteract the effects of the loss of its traditional industrial base, but this is not considered further here as South Yorkshire has no coastline. A large part of the rest of the region was eligible for Objective 2 funding, and within this area the coastal zones are the focus of the present study.

Government Office for Yorkshire and The Humber was the Managing Authority for the regional Objective 2 Programme. The rationale and overall aims and priorities of the Programme were set out in the *Single Programming Document (SPD)* (Government Office for Yorkshire and The Humber, 2004). The SPD was based on the six objectives of the RES, ensuring a good strategic fit with Yorkshire Forward's priorities. The Priorities were broken down into more detail, describing their component Measures, in the *Programme Complement* (Government Office for Yorkshire and The Humber, 2005).

The 2000-2006 Yorkshire and Humber Objective 2 programme was an investment programme to support business growth and entrepreneurship, connect people to opportunities, and fund physical infrastructure developments that promote economic development, with a contribution of almost £350 million of European Structural Funds, mainly ERDF and ESF, alongside UK public and private sector sources. The programme had two business support priorities (Priority 1 and Priority 2), a community-led economic and social renewal priority (Priority 3), a capital investment priority (Priority 4), and a venture capital fund priority (Priority 5). Priorities were further sub-divided into Measure-level objectives covering specific parts of individual priorities, whilst some Measures were targeted on specific areas rather than themes.

#### ANALYSIS OF THE OBJECTIVE 2 PROGRAMME IN RELATION TO TOURISM

Tourism was not a stand-alone priority within the Yorkshire and Humber Objective 2 2000-2006 programme, although a number of Measures were relevant directly or indirectly to the support of tourism activity, and one of the opportunities identified in the SWOT analysis for the SPD was 'Lengthening the tourism season/improving the cultural and tourism product as whole'. The most direct assistance to tourism-related initiatives was within Priority 4, which was targeted also to a number of coastal areas. Measure 4.4, 'Supporting the development of the region's locational assets', which aimed to maximise the benefits of major investments in the Humber Trade Zone and other key locations, was of particular relevance. Eligible activities under this measure included assisting design competitions, establishing and developing business associations, and assistance for marketing and long-term visitor strategies to increase spend and lengthen the tourism season.

A number of Measures were targeted at coastal areas but not directly at tourism. Some Measures within the business support priorities, whilst not directly targeted at tourism and coastal areas, were available and relevant to supporting tourism activity development in the region, for example Measure 2.1, 'The development of new customers and new markets', and Measure 2.2, 'Helping businesses adapt to the demands of new product and process innovation'.

There were a number of tourism-related projects that were financed mostly through ERDF in the course of the programme, but as tourism was not identified either as a priority or within the Government Office database, it was not always easy to extract data on tourism projects in the region. Few ESF-funded projects appear to have dealt directly with training for the tourism sector. Interviews were carried out with key civil servants, and the Compendium of ERDF Projects database was interrogated to identify individual projects with a tourism character. Results were then compiled in an attempt to separate coastal from non-coastal projects. Additionally, a number of interviews were carried out in relation to key tourism projects, which provided the basis for case studies. The resulting data are discussed briefly in relation to three factors:

1. Partnerships, or the degree to which delivery of the programmes and projects was enhanced or hindered through the influence and structures of the European Structural Funds;
2. Financial leverage achieved, or the degree to which Structural Funds helped unlock significant additional financial resources from the public and private sectors;
3. The economic, social and environmental impact of the Structural Funds in the areas affected and the region.

## Partnerships

Partnership structures reflected to a large degree the priorities and measures architecture of the Objective 2 programme, and policies and strategies at regional and sub-regional level that do not focus specifically on coastal tourism, but rather on the whole tourism offer (e.g. the *Moors and Coast Tourism Strategy: Moors and Coast Area Tourism Partnership, 2006*).

Local authorities in coastal areas usually played the greatest part in coastal tourism partnerships; and due to significant market failure, regeneration, including in tourism destinations, was mostly funded by the public sector. Frequently local stakeholders formed partnerships to complement the work of local authorities. For large-scale local Master Plan projects, the best approach was found to be to consult local communities at an early stage and throughout the conceptual development of the project. Conversely, failure to respond to local community aspirations could result in problems later; for example, in Whitby local residents rejected part of the concept for the proposed ERDF-funded marina and environs redevelopment as put forward by Scarborough Borough Council, on the basis that this would alter the appearance of the area significantly and did not match local aspirations.

A number of challenges were identified in developing and sustaining partnerships. Partnership working is resource-intensive, and requires strong public sector support, in particular from local authorities, and especially in areas of high deprivation, low connectivity and localities experiencing market failure and low levels of collective aspiration. It was often very difficult to engage the private sector in partnerships and investment, with differences in approaches and ultimate goals being the main causes identified for this. The best examples of successful collaboration relied on clear and shared visions, well prepared and thought-through plans, and focused public sector investment for a decisive delivery. Often partnerships were too focused on drawing down the funds and did not employ sufficient resources to track delivery and performance and outcomes.

## Financial leverage

In total, 55 projects in the Objective 2 programme were deemed to be in the tourism sector within Yorkshire and The Humber (Table 1), accounting for approximately 8% of the programme and representing a total value exceeding £92.6 million invested. Of those, 26 were on the coast, representing around 68% of the total ERDF contribution towards tourism projects, with a total value of funds invested exceeding £65 million (Table 2). The average rate of ERDF contributions towards coastal tourism projects was approximately 28%, whilst private sector funds represented 23%, and other public sector funds amounted to 50% of the total value (Table 3).

Table 1. Objective 2 (2000-2006) ERDF projects related to tourism

Objective 2	ERDF Grant Offer (£)	Private (£)	Other Public (£)	Voluntary (£)	Income (£)	Original Forecast	
						Gross Jobs Accommodated	Gross New Jobs Created
<b>Priority 1: A new entrepreneurship agenda</b>							
Measure 1.2	10,322	1,475	17,694	0	0	0	5
<b>Priority 2: Bringing down barriers to competitiveness</b>							
Measure 2.1	51,613	7,374	88,473	0	0	0	25
Measure 2.2	303,651	211,687	510,222	25,500	0	0	100
<b>Priority 4: Capturing the employment benefits of diversity</b>							
Measure 4.2	23,528,718	14,938,656	43,237,473	88,669	0	310	832
Measure 4.3	1,244,745	115,000	2,043,102	0	0	20	30
Measure 4.4	2,069,495	1,131,748	2,912,774	116,861	0	0	359
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>27,208,544</b>	<b>16,405,940</b>	<b>48,809,738</b>	<b>231,030</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>330</b>	<b>1,351</b>

(Source: GOYH Compendium of Objective 2 (2000-2006) ERDF Projects in Yorkshire and The Humber)  
Total number of projects = 55

Table 2. Objective 2 (2000-2006) ERDF projects related to coastal tourism

Objective 2	ERDF Grant Offer (£)	Private (£)	Other Public (£)	Voluntary (£)	Income (£)	Original Forecast	
						Gross Jobs Accommodated	Gross New Jobs Created
<b>Priority 4: Capturing the employment benefits of diversity</b>							
Measure 4.2	16,880,260	14,227,925	30,918,298	0	0	252	586
Measure 4.4	1,512,215	889,418	2,097,392	0	0	0	316
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>18,392,475</b>	<b>13,673,748</b>	<b>33,005,690</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>252</b>	<b>902</b>

(Source: GOYH Compendium of Objective 2 (2000-2006) ERDF Projects in Yorkshire and The Humber)  
Total number of projects = 26

Private sector co-financing contributions were concentrated particularly in Measure 4.2 in support of the Hull city centre Integrated Development Plan, giving Hull the highest rate of private sector financial leverage on the region's coast, 38% (Table 3). The majority of those contributions (over £8 million) were for the Hull 'East River Bank Tourism Catalyst' project, the purpose of which was to develop the necessary infrastructure to support tourism growth in Hull and the sub-region by improving the public realm. Most of the private sector contributions were associated with the new three-star hotel that is part of this project. ERDF was used to support the abnormal costs of developing a difficult derelict waterfront site.

The second highest rate of private sector financial leverage was at Cleethorpes, North East Lincolnshire, a traditional seaside resort in decline. Over half of the ERDF funding went towards the Meridian Lakeside Arena project, a package of construction and environmental activity along the seafront. The aim was to improve the connectivity of the various accommodation facilities and tourist attractions, and to extend the leisure tourist season by enabling events earlier and later in the year. Other large projects funded by ERDF included initiatives marketing Cleethorpes as a premier tourist destination and event provider.

Attracting private sector funding for tourism projects was difficult for many localities in the Objective 2 area that had suffered neglect, dereliction and deprivation which would not naturally associate them with tourism. Hull's success has been due to targeting intervention on part of the city centre, the marina and waterfront areas, that was highly visible (central) and neglected, under-used and in parts derelict (i.e. where change would be most visible). Public confidence associated with the density of the investment, and high-visibility and high-profile projects such as The Deep (anecdotal evidence indicates that the number of overnight stays in Hull doubled following the opening of The Deep in 2002), made it easier to attract private investors. Rural coastal areas have in comparison not had the same concentration of public resources, and unlike urban coastal centres they have not been as successful in attracting private finance (Table 3).

Table 3. Coastal tourism projects by town: ERDF (2000-2006) and other funding sources

Town/city	ERDF		Other Public		Private Sector		Voluntary Sector	
	£	% of total for town	£	% of total for town	£	% of total for town	£	% of total for town
Hull	7,106,295	22.6	12,426,605	39.6	11,864,952	37.8		
Bridlington	4,705,166	33.9	8,614,023	62.0	577,800	4.2		
Cleethorpes	3,097,094	34.7	3,915,671	43.9	1,916,709	21.5		
Whitby	1,946,203	33.1	3,564,610	60.6	158,750	2.7	209,313	3.6
Scarborough	1,509,748	23.0	4,458,091	68.0	591,226	9.0		
Staithe	27,789	44.5	26,690	42.8	7,906	12.7		
AVERAGE %		27.6		49.5		22.7		0.3

(Source: GOYH Compendium of Objective 2 (2000-2006) ERDF Projects in Yorkshire and The Humber)

### The economic and social impact

It is very difficult to assess the direct impact that Structural Funds have had in coastal areas, as a complex set of interrelated factors are at work, and studies on the issue and labour market data collected locally tend to be limited. The ERDF-funded tourism-related projects on the coast were forecast to accommodate over 250 jobs and create 902 new ones (Table 2). Some areas were (prior to the recession) showing improvement in employment statistics as part of a longer-term trend. As the tourism product in Hull is improving, for example, so is job creation. However, a proportion of these new jobs are filled by migrant workers from Central and Eastern Europe, although the City Council is trying to encourage training schemes to help Hull residents take advantage of these job opportunities. A combination of approaches has in some instances led to successful "place-making"<sup>7</sup> and "place-shaping"<sup>8</sup> approaches being adopted, often encouraged by the independent and more flexible nature afforded by the application of EU Structural Funds as opposed to national funding streams which are often tied to specific elements of delivery.

<sup>7</sup> "Place-making" refers to an integrated approach to spatial development to create more 'liveable' towns and cities; it is an integral part of the Sustainable Communities approach and the Bristol Accord, where it is described as "an integrated approach to territorial cohesion" (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2006, p.33).

<sup>8</sup> The concept first appeared in the UK Lyons inquiry, *Place-Shaping: A Shared Ambition for the Future of Local Government* (Lyons, 2007), which considers the role of local government in wider local participative decision-making beyond the traditional models of service provider and vehicle for investment in public infrastructure. Place-making through "place-shaping" underlines the importance of communities taking responsibility for their own economic fortunes, and for striking the right balance between economic, environmental and social objectives and concerns.

It is the joint impact of ERDF and other public sector investment that is most noteworthy in the context of evolving labour markets in seaside towns. For example, it was recognised that coastal locations needed to diversify economic activity by investing in new employment sectors. Key areas of investment required included public sector pump-priming in business park developments, and the provision of sites and premises appropriate for local businesses. Office development was seen to facilitate growth in the commercial and financial services sectors and within market towns. It is in these areas where ERDF has had a strong impact.

Results are mixed; on the one hand some localities where traditional industries like fishing are still declining are struggling to re-invent themselves and to identify key growth sectors, and public policy is failing or at best succeeding in slowing down the decline. By contrast, sustained and long-term public intervention in some areas is showing promise in developing new sectors and identities; Scarborough's encouragement of creative industries and entrepreneurship through the Scarborough Renaissance Partnership, leading to its winning the prestigious Enterprising Britain 2008 and Enterprising Europe 2008/09 awards, is a prime example, and the creative and tourism sectors continue to benefit each other. The successful use of the heritage approach to regeneration focusing on historic buildings, as seen in Whitby, Scarborough, Bridlington and Hull, is also notable. Hull's past, for example, was rooted deeply in a strong maritime tradition and historic legacy, which led to a clustering of tourism projects linked to celebrating its heritage, such as the refurbishment, with ERDF funding, of Oriel Chambers and Wilberforce House in the Museums Quarter as a lasting legacy of the bicentenary of the abolition of the slave trade. The restoration of historic Spa buildings at Scarborough and Bridlington, also using ERDF money, has also served to raise the profile of these towns, leverage private sector investment in nearby hotels, and increase visitor numbers and spend.

## CONCLUSIONS

Although tourism is not the highest priority for EU Regional Policy, and in quantitative terms the proportion of Structural Funds expenditure on tourism programmes and projects across the EU is only a small proportion of the total, the impact in qualitative terms on regional development has been found to be substantial, especially in those coastal regions that are highly dependent on the tourism sector (European Parliament, 2008).

The Yorkshire and Humber Objective 2 Programme is still in the process of being wound up, so the full picture of the impact of the Structural Funds here is not yet available. The programme focused particularly on assisting small businesses and building capacity in deprived communities; the final figures for increasing numbers of jobs and employability are not yet known, nor whether the direct effects are long-lasting and sustainable. The indirect effects are even harder to define, for example in terms of community pride and self-confidence within a regenerated area, and may continue to be apparent long after the programme's end.

The programme's ultimate impact on intra-regional disparities is also unclear; however, in areas of deprivation, the causes of social exclusion are so multi-stranded, deep-rooted and complex that there can be no "quick fix", and reducing disparities may take many years to achieve. A good example is a locality such as Whitby, which illustrates 20-25 years of sustained commitment to transformation. Some of the difficulties faced in permanently reducing social exclusion in particular areas were shown in the Objective 2 Mid Term Evaluation, which found no discernible improvement in disadvantaged urban areas (ERBEDU *et al.*, 2003). What is certain, however, is that most of the Objective 2 projects would not have happened

as they did without the Structural Funds, and disadvantaged communities in the Objective 2 areas would have been the poorer for their absence.

In terms of partnerships, a combination of strong local authority roles, public sector investment and the use of master planning and special delivery partnership vehicles have proved to be the most effective delivery mechanism for ERDF-funded tourism projects, particularly in larger coastal urban conurbations, and often also generated a greater confidence in the private sector.

EU Structural Funds have had a varied impact on the coastal tourism offer in Yorkshire and The Humber. Strong targeted and grouped sets of themed projects, as for example in Scarborough and Hull, have provided a “critical mass” of tourism and cultural heritage activity which has been put in place with the aid of EU Structural Funds and other public money, and are likely to be sustainable in the longer term and encourage future development and investor confidence. However, the nature and length of decline suffered by some coastal localities means that regeneration investment in infrastructure through ‘place-making’ initiatives is insufficient on its own. Hull, Scarborough and Whitby have rebranded themselves and changed the way they are perceived, reflecting a need for a ‘place-shaping’ approach.

Notwithstanding the future possibilities of global warming increasing the potential for traditional ‘sun, sea and sand’ tourism in the region, the best hope for the coastal tourism sector is to continue differentiating the coastal tourism offer to target niche and high-value markets, stressing cultural and natural heritage and distinctiveness, and where possible investing in innovative, high-quality ‘flagship’ projects.

In the current programming period (2007-2013), with less EU funding available, the priorities for expenditure are narrower and more focused, with greater emphasis on the renewed Lisbon objectives on developing the knowledge economy and competitiveness; tourism is not likely to benefit from the Structural Funds in this round. This will place greater pressure on national and regional mainstream programmes to continue to regenerate coastal areas and the development of their tourism-based local economies. Tourism remains a fragmented sector in the UK, however, and there are still few signs of concerted action to fill the gaps.

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## Acknowledgement

This essay is based on a case study prepared in 2007 for a report commissioned by the European Parliament Committee on Regional Development. It presents an analysis of the impact of European Structural Funds, largely the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), on the coastal tourism sector in Yorkshire and The Humber over the last funding period (2000-2006). The results and impacts of the

programme are outlined, and the implications for the sector are considered in the light of changed emphases for funding in the current programming period, 2007-2013.



## **CULTURE, TOURISM AND RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENT: THE REGENERATION OF BRADFORD'S LITTLE GERMANY WAREHOUSE DISTRICT** By David Pendleton

Little Germany is one of the defining images of Bradford. The tall warehouses, narrow shadowy streets and quirky name are integral to the city's sense of identity. The area is a reminder of Bradford's industrial heyday as the wool capital of the world. The stunning architecture used to elaborate workaday warehouses gives an indication of the great wealth and prestige Bradford once enjoyed. However, despite those associations, Little Germany feels remote from the bustle of the adjacent city centre. Busy roads form strong physical boundaries that isolate Little Germany, yet when one is within the great caverns formed by the warehouses those roads are barely perceptible. That feeling of remoteness and difference is one of Little Germany's attractions. However, it is the architecture that gives the area its importance on a national and international scale. Arguably, it is unique in Britain as a virtually intact Victorian mercantile quarter.<sup>9</sup> That, allied to its pioneering role in regeneration through tourism, and now as an urban village, makes Little Germany a fascinating place to study the urban regeneration policies of the last thirty years. This essay seeks to examine the efforts to find a new role for the area in the wake of the collapse of the textile industry.

The warehouses were built in a frenetic period between 1856-1874. The short timescale, the widespread use of honey coloured local sandstone and the fact that one architect, Eli Milnes, was responsible for a large number of the buildings, give Little Germany a harmonious feel. Indeed, Milnes' Italianate palazzo theme became the house style for the area.<sup>10</sup> As many of the merchants who built the warehouses were of German origin, the area became known as Little Germany. The buildings were principally export stuff and yarn warehouses. The latter were almost exclusively involved with foreign trade in connection with manufacturing in Germany, Russia and the United States. Stuff, or piece, warehouses handled worsteds, alpacas, mohairs, silks and pile fabrics manufactured in Bradford for both foreign and home markets. They also dealt with roughly two thirds of the West Riding's textile output, which could be anything from carpets to dress fabrics.<sup>11</sup>

Politics and the arts have long standing connections with Little Germany. The Independent Labour Party (ILP) was officially launched at the 'Peckover Conference' in 1893. Among the gathering were George Bernard Shaw and Keir Hardy. The ILP had its headquarters in Little Germany until 1933. The father of the composer Fredrick Delius had a warehouse on Burnett Street. Bradford Community Arts had its first base on Chapel Street from 1908 and the Bradford Playhouse was established on the same street in 1929.<sup>12</sup> JB Priestley was a great supporter of the Playhouse from its inception and gave it the right to stage his play *An Inspector Calls* free of charge in perpetuity.

The decline of the textile trade in the second half of the twentieth century, allied to the changing nature of distribution, saw the closure of many of the warehouses and Little Germany became something of a backwater. The relative isolation saved the

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<sup>9</sup> There are even claims that Little Germany is one of the 'most complete groups of Victorian merchant warehousing in Europe'. *Bradford Neighbourhood Development Framework: Channel* (Bradford Centre Regeneration Company), p.61.

<sup>10</sup> *Little Germany Conservation Area Assessment*, (Bradford Council, 2005), p.30.

<sup>11</sup> John S Roberts, *Little Germany*, (Bradford Art Galleries and Museums, 1977), p.13.

<sup>12</sup> Stanley Varo, *A Mercantile Meander*, (Bradford: Varo, 1989), p.22.

area from redevelopment and in November 1973 Little Germany became a conservation area. Fifty five of the area's eighty five buildings are now listed. With this rich mix of architecture and the arts, Little Germany became part of Bradford's tourism strategy in 1985 when Bradford Council, English Heritage and the English Tourist Board joined forces to promote the area. The following year a Little Germany Task Force was formed from various arms of the Council. A strategy for the area was drawn up by consultancy firm URBED. Their vision was encapsulated by the slogan:

Little Germany *is* reviving: Bradford's Historic Merchant Quarter, which contains a unique heritage, space to grow, and famous links, is rapidly becoming a good location for growing enterprises, an interesting place to live, a centre for design and innovation, and a good place to visit.<sup>13</sup>

Nicholas Falk of URBED spoke of the need for 'signs of action on the ground'. Initially, there was no shortage of action. The key event that planted the perception in the public mind that Little Germany was rapidly regenerating was a two-day festival in 1986 that attracted 10,000 people. From that point on the momentum seemed unstoppable, grants were offered for stone cleaning, a Little Germany Improvement Association was formed and a major landscaping scheme at Festival Square was completed in just thirteen weeks using Manpower Services Commission labour. In the wake of the Festival there was 'a marked increase in commercial investment'.<sup>14</sup> By 1988 ninety companies were established in the area. A large number of the buildings were converted to office accommodation, which in turn sparked the opening of small sandwich shops, bars and restaurants. However, there were dissenting voices. Photographer Harry Poole wrote:

Whilst the Festival focussed attention on Little Germany, its identity was wrong for the 'Covent Garden' image and the local tourist industry is now focussing on creating a West End around the refurbished Alhambra and National Museum of Photography.<sup>15</sup>

Into this vibrant environment came Nick Treadwell with plans to relocate an art gallery from Kent. He had been looking at Leeds, Liverpool and Sheffield when he received a brochure from an estate agent advertising one of Little Germany's warehouses for sale at £75,000. Excited by the architecture, and knowing that Bradford was attempting to rebrand itself using tourism and culture, he purchased the warehouse and opened Treadwell's Art Mill in September 1989. The mill housed the world's largest collection of superhumanist art, fourteen artists' studios, a bar, cafe, cinema and theatre. In the first eighteen months the Art Mill attracted 25,000 visitors. The URBED report three years earlier had highlighted the need for 'some form of specialist museum'; now Little Germany had exactly that. However, the costs in setting up the Art Mill had put Nick Treadwell into considerable debt. Visitor numbers were increasing month on month, but he needed a cash injection to give him time to build numbers up to a projected 50,000 per annum. He asked Bradford Council for £30,000 a year for three years so he could achieve his target. However, despite numerous meetings, and a positive consultants' report into the value of the Art Mill to Bradford, the Council declined to help out. Nick Treadwell wrote:

I still do not understand why Bradford Council allowed me to leave? The Council should have nurtured it. It was intended to be self-supporting. It just needed time.

<sup>13</sup> Nicholas Falk, *The Planner*, (1987), p.41.

<sup>14</sup> Stanley Varo, *A Mercantile Meander*, (Bradford: Varo, 1989), p.35.

<sup>15</sup> Harry Poole, *Good Stuff and Common Sense*, (City & Guilds Certificate in Photography, Bradford College, 1986). Though the title of his piece may give an indication of his stance, Poole was the first to raise concern about the shifting focus of the Council. He also criticised the Improvement Association for being made up of only a small group of resident firms.

Despite the appreciation and support of the people of Bradford, the Council seemed totally unaware of how important the Art Mill could have been to the city's future. I had no choice but to close down. The Council were totally unimaginative about Little Germany. Any initiatives they took were uncoordinated and not thought through. They concentrated too much money on the ten day Bradford Festival.<sup>16</sup>

On 22 November 1997 one of Bradford's most successful visitor attractions, the National Museum of Film, Photography and Television, moved into the vacant Treadwell's Art Mill whilst its permanent home underwent a nineteen month £16m redevelopment. Plans to open the self-styled 'museum in exile' the day after its permanent base closed proved to be impracticable. The logistics of moving the exhibits across the city meant that the museum was closed for three months. That hiatus, combined with limited parking in Little Germany and the reduction in the size of the museum, caused a significant drop in visitor numbers. The National Museum of Film, Photography and Television returned to its revamped home on 16 June 1999, when James Bond star Pierce Brosnan officially reopened the museum.

Treadwell's Art Mill stood empty for another four years before it underwent a £2.4m transformation into thirty three apartments in 2003.<sup>17</sup> It joined Currer House, Silens Works and Behrens Warehouse in the vanguard of Little Germany's residential conversions. It was during the 1980's that the idea of converting some of Little Germany's warehousing into residential accommodation began to be mooted.<sup>18</sup> In the five years between 2003-2008 over a dozen Little Germany warehouses were converted to residential use. The apartments were rapidly snapped up by residents and investors. Such was the strength of the market that in April 2007 Little Germany received an iconic addition to its built environment in the shape of the Gatehaus apartment block. Unashamedly modern, the imposing block at the junction of Shipley Airedale Road and Leeds Road is reminiscent of the bow of a ship, with a curving expanse of black glass anchored to a honey coloured sandstone base. Its design was mulled over by both Bradford Council and English Heritage before being approved, but there is no doubt that it has given Little Germany a new and valuable landmark. However, any thoughts that it would herald an exciting new era for the area were dashed by the economic downturn in the autumn of 2008. For the foreseeable future Little Germany's residential boom has been put on hold.

Little Germany still has an emerging resident population, of which a significant proportion is transient. Building a sense of community against such a background is difficult. The area needs to attract and retain a critical mass of permanent residents if a recognisable community is to emerge. The 2001 census showed that the population had a large number of single people (53%) who were mainly working age adults.<sup>19</sup> Little Germany has a healthy racial mix, but there is a notable under-representation of Asian families. This is partly due to the unsuitability of apartments to traditional family life and the differential in prices between terraced houses in the nearby Barkerend area and Little Germany apartments. It's interesting to note that although Barkerend and Little Germany are immediately adjacent to one another, the

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<sup>16</sup> Nicholas Treadwell, *email to David Pendleton*, (December 2008). Evidentially, the comments are clouded by the rejection of the grant application, but nevertheless pertinent points are made regarding the lack of clarity and the pre-eminence of the Festival. The Art Mill closed in 1993.

<sup>17</sup> 'Rubble at t'mill', *Telegraph & Argus*, 13 January 2003.

<sup>18</sup> The conversion of industrial buildings into apartments came across the Atlantic, where it was particularly associated with New York's SoHo and TriBeCa areas. Images of Andy Warhol partying with the Velvet Underground gave the 'loft living' concept an instant bohemian image, one which is nurtured by developers from Manhattan to Manchester. See Marcus Field and Mark Irvine, *Lofts*, (London: Laurence King, 1999).

<sup>19</sup> *Bradford Neighbourhood Development Framework: Channel* (Bradford Centre Regeneration Company), p.53.

six-lane Shipley Airedale Road is effectively a Berlin Wall that separates the areas, physically and culturally.<sup>20</sup>

Thus far, bars and leisure facilities in the nearby city centre has stifled growth of such communal facilities within Little Germany itself. The one public house, BarTwenty5, doesn't open on Sundays due to a lack of demand. A large proportion of the pub's trade comes from the business community and after 8pm the bar is normally quiet. The one really successful Little Germany leisure business is the Blue Sky Chinese restaurant. It has been established on the site for many years and crucially has an excellent reputation across the city. That reputation brings people into the area on a nightly basis. The key is quality. Due to Little Germany's relative isolation from the rest of the city passing trade is virtually non-existent. Additionally, the emerging resident population will invariably drift into the city centre unless there are stand out businesses to keep them in Little Germany. In time as the resident population grows and matures new leisure outlets may well appear, but in the short term it is difficult to see how such businesses could prosper.

Though the residential population has yet to redefine Little Germany, the construction of the iconic Gatehaus and the restoration of Eastbrook Hall, both for residential purposes, could mark the dawning of a new era. The restoration of Eastbrook Hall was hailed in a speech at its reopening by Prince Charles as 'a triumph of partnership and commitment'. The Prince's Regeneration Trust had initiated a 'powerful alliance' of private and public bodies that had worked together to restore the hall. Prince Charles talked of 'regeneration through heritage' and hoped that Eastbrook would 'become a catalyst to bring new life to Little Germany'.<sup>21</sup> In his 1989 book *A Vision of Britain* Prince Charles had raised the concept of urban villages to act as a focus for regeneration of historic and new neighbourhoods.

A Little Germany Urban Village Company was formed in 1999. However, it only lasted three years before it was subsumed by Bradford Centre Regeneration Company (BCR) in 2003.<sup>22</sup> In effect though the Urban Village Company continued to operate for a further three years whilst BCR found its feet. £1.5m in grants was attracted which contributed to around twenty projects in Little Germany. By far the most significant was the £400,000 contributed to the restoration of Eastbrook Hall.<sup>23</sup> The regeneration of Little Germany is now firmly tied in with BCR's city centre master plan, which placed Little Germany in the Channel neighbourhood.<sup>24</sup> This imagined neighbourhood takes in not only areas with strong historical links with Little Germany, such as the Cathedral and the Canal Road warehouses, but also Forster Square retail park – a 1990's development which is little more than a collection of large tin sheds. One of the first projects to be delivered under the auspices of BCR was improvements to the public realm, which included unique street nameplates intended to 'brand' the area and new street lighting to improve safety.<sup>25</sup>

Despite the improvements to the public realm, there is evidence that office businesses, attracted to Little Germany by the large vacant floor spaces in the 1980's, are beginning to leave the area. The impracticality of the warehouses to accommodate modern information technology, allied to the old problem of car

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<sup>20</sup> It would be interesting to compare the way major roads create economic and racial barriers in other cities. Several American examples come to mind, particularly Washington DC.

<sup>21</sup> Prince Charles, *speech at the reopening of Eastbrook Hall*, (24 November 2008).

<sup>22</sup> BCR is in the process of being wound up and its responsibilities transferred to Bradford Council, a process that should be more or less complete by late 2009. The frequent changes in management must have impacted on attempts to formulate a sustained and consistent policy towards Little Germany.

<sup>23</sup> Nigel Rice, senior development officer, Bradford Council, *email to David Pendleton* (January 2009).

<sup>24</sup> *Bradford Neighbourhood Development Framework: Channel* (Bradford Centre Regeneration Company).

<sup>25</sup> Claire George, Bradford Centre Regeneration Company, *email to David Pendleton* (February 2009).

parking, appear to be the main factors at play. There is also an emerging tension between business and residential. When Bradford Council consulted on plans for the development of the Channel neighbourhood, there was a marked divergence in responses. The business community was strongly opposed to public realm works that restricted car access. They thought that 'road networks should be improved rather than restricted to enable cars to access all local businesses with ease'.<sup>26</sup> Residents took an opposite view, one complained about local roads being 'used heavily by rat running traffic'.<sup>27</sup> The recently formed Bradford City Centre Residents Association (BCCRA) is actively seeking for Peckover Street, which runs right through the heart of Little Germany, to be traffic calmed or closed entirely.<sup>28</sup> At present the balance of power lies with the business community thanks to their established links with the Council and their historical role in the area. However, as the area becomes ever more reliant on residential development the residents, who are already gaining a voice and influence, are likely to become the dominant force in the area. These tensions could lead to the undermining of the mixed use concept of the urban village. Market forces, and changing technologies, are challenging the top down concepts of urban villages and master plans. As ever, events on the ground can blow off course even the most carefully planned public strategy.

Bradford's economic decline, acute social problems and poor national image has to be borne in mind when considering why the regeneration of Little Germany has been only a partial success.<sup>29</sup> Arguably, Bradford has never had a clear and lasting vision of what to do with its architectural gem. For a brief period in the late 1980's the city energetically pursued tourism and Little Germany became part of that initiative. The 1986 Little Germany Festival, and the establishment of Treadwell's Art Mill, raised the profile of the area and put culture firmly at the centre of its regeneration. However, the success of what became Bradford Festival shifted attention away from Little Germany. From then on the tourist promotion of Little Germany has been merely an addition to the list of more conventional attractions. Ask at Bradford's Tourist Information Centre about Little Germany and you will be presented with a leaflet to follow on a self-guided tour.<sup>30</sup> Several sources claim that the area attracts 100,000 visitors per year, as a former resident of the area I am extremely sceptical of such claims. The figures equate to 274 people a day tramping the streets of Little Germany, but there is precious little evidence to support such numbers. From daily observations I would guess that a tenth of the claimed 100,000 is closer to the mark.<sup>31</sup>

On 24 September 1986, two days before the Little Germany Festival, Bradford Council endorsed a plan to develop the West End of the city. It was to become 'a major centre for entertainment, leisure and culture'. That decision effectively ended any serious hope that Little Germany could become Bradford's cultural quarter. The Council's gaze was elsewhere and from then on Little Germany lacked a focus that could have driven its regeneration. The West End plan envisaged a massive new

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<sup>26</sup> *Bradford City Centre Area Action Plan, the channel neighbourhood development framework*, (Bradford Council, 2006), p.12.

<sup>27</sup> *Bradford City Centre Area Action Plan, the channel neighbourhood development framework*, (Bradford Council, 2006), p.9.

<sup>28</sup> The BCCRA held its first public meeting at the Midland Hotel on 2 April 2009. Many of its core group are Little Germany residents.

<sup>29</sup> For a detailed account of Bradford's problems in selling itself as a tourist destination against a background of a worsening national image, see Dave Russell, *Selling Bradford: Tourism and Northern Image in the Late Twentieth Century*, Contemporary British History, Vol.17, No.2, (summer 2003), pp.49-68.

<sup>30</sup> *Bradford's Heritage Trail*, (Bradford City Centre Management, 2003). The leaflet covers the entire city centre; Little Germany has only one page, though the guide does apologetically note that 'Little Germany deserves a separate tour to appreciate its architecture'.

<sup>31</sup> The latest publication to make the claim is Peter Neale Ed., *Urban Villages and the Making of Communities* (2003). When I mentioned the 100,000 visitors to the owner of Little Germany's only public house, BarTwenty5, he burst out laughing. Hardly scientific research, but it was a telling response.

build cultural quarter, including a planetarium, science centre and electronic zoo.<sup>32</sup> The attractions of a West End development were understandable. It would have complemented the National Museum of Film, Photography and Television and the refurbished Alhambra Theatre.

However, the plans were hugely ambitious. Bradford seems addicted to grandiose projects. During the same period there was a plan to transform Odsal Stadium into a 65,000 capacity venue, capable of hosting the Rugby League Challenge Cup Final and FA Cup Semi-Finals. This 'big bang' approach to regeneration is perhaps a tacit acknowledgement of how far the city has fallen over the last thirty years. The urge for a great leap forward to catch up with Leeds, Manchester and Sheffield is seemingly irresistible. The current city centre master plan's success hinges on huge projects such as reopening the Bradford Canal, construction of the Westfield shopping centre and the creation of a city centre park. In the public mind that's where the master plan will be judged, not on developments such as Eastbrook Hall.

Had Little Germany been an area of Leeds, Manchester or Newcastle it would have undoubtedly become one of the most sought after locations in the north of England. In the 1980's Bradford became one of the first industrial cities to recognise the potential of tourism. It was fortunate that the trend during that era was for heritage and industrial tourism. However, since the 1990's consumerism and culture have become the growth areas in big city tourism. Since then Leeds has brushed aside its neighbouring city with its emphasis on shopping and nightlife. Image is crucial in this new market. Though Bradford's image has been declining for decades, the riots of July 2001 made the city a basket case in the national imagination. Though Bradford has made a partial recovery, the riots will define the city for years to come. Bradford's terrible trio of economics, image and race are impossible to ignore, they impact on every single facet of Bradford life. They are undoubtedly the underlying factors in why the regeneration of Little Germany has only been a partial success, but the inconsistent management of the area cannot be ignored. Only rarely has there been a clear vision. For much of the last few decades the area has had several regeneration policies clumsily attached to it. Overseeing those policies has been a frequently changing management structure. It has been Little Germany's misfortune to be exposed not only to the vagaries of the market, but also to the vagaries of local and national politics. The real hope for the future of Little Germany has surely to be in its growing residential population. The transient nature of the population is an issue, but there are signs that a settled and committed group is emerging. If they can be encouraged and nurtured, then perhaps Little Germany will finally find the focus it has been lacking for the last thirty years.

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<sup>32</sup> *Bradford's West End, report to employment and environmental services committee*, (Bradford Council, 1988). The West End development petered out in the early 1990's with only a handful of theme bars having opened in a refurbished Windsor Baths.

## CONSTRUCTING 'OLD WHITBY': FRANK MEADOW SUTCLIFFE, TOURISM, HERITAGE AND REGENERATION<sup>33</sup> By John Walton

A common theme in the history of seaside tourism is the way in which an ailing maritime economy provides cheap accommodation and a picturesque environment to enable and encourage the development of a tourist industry, alongside and within existing economic and social arrangements. Ports, especially fishing ports, offered an exciting 'otherness', access to a different and distinctive way of life, which quickly became attractive to artists during the well-documented changes in attitudes to marine environments from the eighteenth century onwards,<sup>34</sup> generating an aesthetic of the seaport and the 'fishing quarter' that reinforced its attractiveness to tourists who also visited the coast for health and pleasure. Tensions between fishermen and fashionable visitors over desirable stretches of coastline are as old as coastal resorts, but conflicts sharpened when an aesthetic of the 'modern' seaside, healthy, clean, rational and up to date, emerged at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth century, gathering momentum during the 1920s and 1930s alongside persisting celebrations of the old, traditional, informal and scruffy. At this time the fishing port turned resort encountered conflicts at the points of contact between old and new, while the 'authenticity' of fishing communities was challenged in some places by modernisation of boats and practices, and also by engagement with the new economic opportunities of the tourist season. Proposals to demolish 'fishing quarters' as slums and health hazards, to be replaced by new developments on the cliffs above the unplanned and unsanitary environment around the fishing beach or harbour, generated sustained conflict, especially between the 1930s and the 1960s.<sup>35</sup> This chapter explores these issues in twentieth-century Whitby, with particular reference to the role of the photographer Frank Meadow Sutcliffe in responding to and reinforcing the idea and aesthetic of the 'fishing quarter' and turning it into a tourist attraction.<sup>36</sup>

Whitby has been doing much better as a seaside resort than the basic economic indicators might suggest. It came close to the bottom of a set of league tables based on employment, migration patterns and demographic characteristics for the larger British resorts (with census populations of over 8000) in 2003, and it continues to present poorly on this basis.<sup>37</sup> But this is clearly only part of the story, which should constitute a warning not to put too much trust in the quantitative and seemingly quantifiable. Whitby has enhanced its reputation as a popular week-end destination for seekers after distinctiveness and 'authenticity'. Its day-tripper markets from old industrial areas of North-East England and West Yorkshire have been augmented by touring coach parties and more distant affluent visitors, keeping tourism buoyant through times which were harder in other resorts. Like all British seaside resorts, its visitors are overwhelmingly domestic tourists, despite attempts to build an

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<sup>33</sup> This chapter is work in progress. The author intends to publish an expanded account of Whitby as a port and seaside resort, which will share some text with the present publication.

<sup>34</sup> Alain Corbin, *The Lure of the Sea* (Cambridge: Polity, 1994).

<sup>35</sup> John K. Walton, 'Fishing communities and redevelopment: the case of Whitby, 1930-1970', in David J. Starkey and Morten Hahn-Pedersen (eds.), *Bridging the North Sea: conflict and cooperation* (Esbjerg, Denmark: Fiskeri –og Sofartsmuseet, 2005), pp. 135-62; idem., *Tourism, fishing and redevelopment: post-war Whitby, 1945-1970*, University of Cambridge: Institute of Continuing Education, Occasional Paper No. 5, 2005.

<sup>36</sup> Michael Hiley, *Frank Sutcliffe: Photographer of Whitby* (London: Gordon Fraser Gallery, 1974); John Tindale (ed.), *The Streonshalh Files* (Whitby: Whitby Publishers, 1992). The Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society has an extensive collection of Sutcliffe's local photographs, and the Sutcliffe Gallery in Whitby markets the images and publishes collections from them.

<sup>37</sup> C. Beatty and S. Fothergill, *The Seaside Economy: the Final Report of the Seaside Towns Research Project* (Sheffield Hallam University: CRESC, 2003).

international public around associations with Captain Cook.<sup>38</sup> In 2006 it won the title 'Best Seaside Resort' from the British consumer magazine *Holiday Which?* Newspaper publicity was supportive, referring to the town's 550,000 visitors per year, tourism employment running at one in five of the population, sandy beaches, quaint harbour, abbey ruins, picturesque cliffs, fossils, jet ornament manufacture, kippers, folk festival, Goths (responding to the Whitby setting of Bram Stoker's *Dracula*), regatta, literary and historic associations. The *Yorkshire Post* emphasized the town's recovery from high unemployment rates in the mid-1990s, with extensive new investment, especially around the harbour. This was not a flash in the pan: in 2007 Whitby came top of the *Observer* '50 best holidays' list, and in 2008 it won an Enjoy England Award as the best town in England for a day out. At the beginning of 2009 an article on a new hotel venture, again in the *Observer*, was full of praise not only for Whitby's 'retro' charm, but even for the mysterious mists associated with its classic Yorkshire coast sea frets.<sup>39</sup>

Whitby's success was part of a wider renaissance of small British seaside resorts with character and atmosphere, the bearers of attractive traditions from the history of the English seaside. Small resorts with eccentricity and the capacity for catering to niche markets were of the essence, connecting with nostalgia for a secure, rich and interesting past which could be transmitted to a new generation by reviving an idealised family holiday in a 'traditional' and evocative seaside destination. The quaintness associated with fishing industries and declining harbours was a great asset here. Whitby was well placed to capitalise on these preferences. It was hard to reach but not inaccessible, with a meandering railway branch line and winding, hilly road access across moors that challenged without deterring. Close to a preserved steam railway, it displayed a line of beach huts under the West Cliff, reached by an Art Deco cliff lift. Such assets ticked relevant boxes, as did the long sandy beach itself and a plenitude of rock pools, fossils, shells and marine fauna for secure children's play, exploration and education. But its key attraction was its topography, architecture, patina of history and aura of legend, and the ambience these attributes generated.<sup>40</sup> Whitby's tourist success can be ascribed to its membership of a particularly attractive category, the historic seaside resort with literary and artistic associations, from Caedmon, the 'first English poet', to Mrs Gaskell, Lewis Carroll and Bram Stoker. This depended heavily, though far from exclusively (the Abbey on the cliffs was a great draw), on its maritime associations and fishing industry, and therefore on the town's historic negotiation of its roles as port and resort. Sutcliffe fits perfectly into this picture.

The positive side of Whitby's dual identity as ailing urban economy and successful seaside resort is based on presenting and marketing its history, architecture and atmosphere to visitors who seek quaintness, customs and authenticity. Whitby's lack of economic and demographic dynamism enabled it to preserve enough desirable characteristics to offer its seductive combination of the standard attractions of a seaside resort with those of a historic maritime town offering small, specialist shops in narrow, crowded, atmospheric streets. This was not inevitable. It was the historical product of sustained conflict between resort interests and other elements of Whitby's economy during the 1930s and 1950s, involving advocates of modernization, who urged the demolition of many of the old buildings by the harbour, and preservationists who recognised the value for tourist purposes of the courts, alleys and stairways

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<sup>38</sup> John K. Walton, 'Marketing the imagined past: Captain Cook and cultural tourism in North Yorkshire', in Rhodri Thomas (ed.), *Managing regional tourism: a case study of Yorkshire, England* (Ilkley: Great Northern Books, 2009), pp. 220-32.

<sup>39</sup> *Whitby Gazette*, 12 May 2006, 12 June 2007, 24 April 2008; Catherine Mack, 'Checking in: La Rosa Hotel, Whitby', *Observer*, 11 January 2009.

<sup>40</sup> Colin Waters, *Whitby: a Pictorial History* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1992), Introduction.

which climbed the valley sides above the harbour in an eccentric intricacy that delighted some as much as it affronted others. Elsewhere I have traced the relationships between Whitby's maritime past and tourist present, especially its image since the late nineteenth century as a romantic, historic, quaint place to visit.<sup>41</sup>

Whitby was among the first British seaside resorts; but its attractive distinguishing features had more orthodox roots. Its economic heyday came in the later eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century, whose architectural legacy included the opulent Georgian houses for merchants, ship-owners and master mariners that climb the hill from the western side of the harbour; the diminutive Georgian market hall and surviving cottages on the more plebeian East Side of the River Esk; the stone piers and lighthouses of the 1820s which protect the harbour entrance; and the neat classical station of the Whitby and Pickering Railway. Whitby had much deeper historical roots, with the abbey ruins and the engagingly eccentric parish church dominating the East Cliff. There was a local fishing industry from at least the fourteenth century. A rural hinterland of heather moors and deep valleys added romantic landscapes and stories to those associated with the cliffs, the sea and the abbey, reinforced from the mid-1880s by local author Mary Linskill. The town also benefited from the mid-Victorian vogue for ornaments carved and polished from local jet, which contributed to the construction of an attractive 'traditional' artisan identity. Such attributes became staple themes of Whitby's Victorian guide books.

More important to Whitby's reputation as a quaint, old-fashioned settlement in which 'history' was accessible, tangible and democratic, an identification based on the emotions rather than the formal cultural capital of detailed historical and architectural knowledge, were the narrow streets, yards and stairways of the 'old town', on either side of the harbour, especially the East Side, where (in favoured metaphors) warrens and honeycombs of houses were built up the valley sides, piled one on top of another in memorable confusion, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, giving visitors a strong sense of 'living history', a continuum between past and present. Tourist and holiday guides had little or nothing to say about this, but from at least the 1880s this irregularity and informality of layout, with the activity of the fishing and commercial ports, was central to Whitby's attractions for growing numbers of visitors, reinforced by artistic representations of 'old Whitby' and its people through paintings and photographs. The work of Sutcliffe, either side of the turn of the century, was central to this process. The seaside resort, as such, had developed away from the harbour, expressing the standard assumptions of the Victorian family holiday.

Following a common British seaside pattern, as at Brighton and Margate in the mid-eighteenth century, Whitby developed tourism as a counterweight to decline in the economic activities on which the town's Georgian and early Victorian prosperity had been based. Tensions between the older activities of port and harbour and the new requirements of the holiday industry were muted by physical segregation between the tourist accommodation district on and beneath the West Cliff, and the older harbour area, which was somewhere to pass through and inspect with interest while visiting the shops just off the harbour, or walking through to the Abbey and parish church on the East Cliff. It could be constructed as something attractively rather than threateningly 'other', the object of the 'romantic' or at least the 'picturesque' gaze, at a time when the quaintness and picturesque qualities of such places were becoming established, especially among middle- and upper-class visitors with artistic or

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<sup>41</sup> John K. Walton, 'Whitby: une station balnéaire, du XVIIIe au XXe siècle', in Y. Perret-Gentil, A. Lottin and J.-P. Poussu (eds.), *Les villes balnéaires d'Europe occidentale du XVIIIe siècle à nos jours* (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2008), pp. 233-59.

bohemian pretensions. At Whitby these unofficial and informal perceptions were increasingly important to the town's popularity as a tourist destination.<sup>42</sup>

This process began in Whitby and district from the 1880s, with the development of artists' colonies in and around the nearby fishing villages of Staithes, Runswick Bay and Robin Hood's Bay, a common phenomenon on British and European coastlines during this period.<sup>43</sup> These villages were also the objects of Sutcliffe's evocative photographic gaze, and he was important in propagating accessible images of 'old Whitby'. His West Riding origins were similar to those of many of the artists of the Staithes Group. He was particularly successful at capturing harbour scenes and groups of fishermen and their families, who were willing to co-operate in presenting the illusion of spontaneity through the stillness required by a long exposure. By 1890 the local trade directory listed four artists and seven photographers (Sutcliffe included, and alongside four fossil dealers and three antique furniture dealers) in Whitby, at a time of economic transition. 75 master mariners, fourteen ship-owners, five boat builders and two shipbuilders were enumerated alongside 168 lodging-house keepers, nine pleasure boat owners and a bathing-machine proprietor. 27 fishermen were listed as owners or part-owners of boats, ten of whom lived in the old tenement and cottage areas of the west side of the harbour, 16 in the Church Street area of the East Side, and one in Victorian Fishburn Park.<sup>44</sup> The perception of 'old Whitby' as romantic and attractive was enhanced by proximity to the harbour and association with the fishing industry and 'community', which conjured up virtuous images of courage, risk and hard work, and associations with the Royal Navy, the lifeboat service and Britain as island and seafaring nation. Fishing families were a small minority on the West and East Sides of the harbour, but their presence coloured perceptions of the whole area. Sutcliffe's pictures of townscapes, maritime landscapes and local people became associated with a 'spirit of place' identified with tradition, character and authenticity, directing the tourist gaze towards such images and their immediate context, not least through the picture postcard market at the turn of the century and the subsequent development of personal 'holiday snaps', and heightening the attractiveness of the 'fishing quarter' as a place to visit. Sutcliffe's own regular contributions to *Amateur Photography* (1895-1913) and *Yorkshire Weekly Post* (1908-1930) gave him opportunities for furthering such developments, which might well sustain a research project.<sup>45</sup>

Sutcliffe was born in Headingley 1853, set up in business in Waterloo Yard, at the core of 'Old Whitby', in 1875, and later moved uphill to the respectability of Skinner Street. After retiring from photography he was appointed curator of the Whitby Museum in 1922, surviving until 1941. He was never an active player in any sort of Whitby politics. He developed a reputation for being 'able to illustrate real life', though restricted in his most active years by clumsy equipment and long exposures. The 'fisher folk' constituted a strong theme in his work, though far from the only one: he did portraits to make a living, and looked also at sailing ships and commercial harbour activity, rural life and what might be labelled as the 'streets of Whitby'. He is represented, through the collections of the 'Lit and Phil' and the associated Sutcliffe Gallery, as above all an atmospheric photographer of surviving 'olden times' and old

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<sup>42</sup> Stephen Bann, *The Inventions of History* (Manchester University Press, 1990), pp. 125-6; Andrew White, *A History of Whitby* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1993); Mary Linskill, *In and About Whitby* (Whitby: Culva House, 2000); Cordelia Stamp, *Mary Linskill* (Whitby: Caedmon, 1980).

<sup>43</sup> Bernard Deacon, 'Imagining the fishing: artists and fishermen in late nineteenth century Cornwall', *Rural History* 12 (2001), pp. 159-78; Nina Lubben, "'Toilers of the sea': fisherfolk and the geographies of tourism in England, 1880-1920', in D.P. Corbett, Y. Holt and F. Russell (eds.), *The Geographies of Englishness* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002); Peter Phillips, *The Staithes Group* (Nottingham: Phillips and Sons, 1993).

<sup>44</sup> T. Bulmer and Co., *History, Topography and Directory of North Yorkshire* (Preston: T. Bulmer and Co., 1890).

<sup>45</sup> Paulette E. Barton, 'Sutcliffe, Frank Meadow', in John Hannavy (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography* (London: Routledge, 2008), pp. 1363-4.

ways. There is very little visible material on Whitby's conventional holiday industry, though there is clearly some selectivity in curating and presentation on-line, and here again a full-scale research project would be valuable. His 'fishing community' work is much more about people than buildings, which may be why he is invisible in the Whitby preservation movement of the 1930s, which was much more about buildings, streets, views and 'atmosphere'.

Above all he constructed a particular set of images of 'fisher folk' which run parallel to those elsewhere, as illustrated in the writings of Stephen Reynolds on Sidmouth, as well as the work of the artists' colonies at St Ives and other Cornish ports, Hastings' Old Town, and elsewhere.<sup>46</sup> These are invariably fisherfolk on dry land, of course, and the main emphasis is on older men and young women. There are far more images of women seriously at work than men, though this is often combined with child-minding and sociability, and the pictures tend to reinforce the image of the fisherman as pre-industrial worker, task-oriented, not clock-governed (but tide-governed, of course), spending a lot of time waiting around and discussing (including, no doubt, sharing the 'local knowledge' that was coming under attack from government scientists, especially in the inner and middle water fishing that was important at Whitby).<sup>47</sup> The local fishing cobbles appear, but at rest. The heroic side of fishing is underplayed: the high level of risk and danger (at least on a par with coal mining), the lifeboat, membership of the Naval Reserve; but with the photographic technology of the time this could not be expected. Nor does Sutcliffe's work communicate the quiet adaptability of Whitby fishing fleet, its openness to accessible innovation (by-passing steam but readily adopting motor boats), and its seasonal versatility in responding to changing catches and opportunities.<sup>48</sup>

Alongside Sutcliffe's developing work, positive reactions to 'old Whitby' were propagated in the late nineteenth century, when the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings began its campaigns against the destructive 'restoration' of medieval churches, and opposition arose in Whitby's regional hinterland to threats to medieval religious buildings in Leeds and York. James Russell Lowell, United States representative in Britain between 1880 and 1885, visited Whitby regularly, enjoying it as a 'very primitive place' and emphasizing the picturesque steepness of its many-stepped 'yards'.<sup>49</sup> A North Eastern Railway guide-book of 1904 emphasised the town's 'ancient and picturesque character' and its appeal to artists<sup>50</sup>. Nobody actually mentioned Sutcliffe, but his images haunted the discussion. Such perceptions were becoming commonplace, and when Sutcliffe, who had furthered them, retired from his photographic business in 1922, he was looked after by the local artistic and antiquarian establishment, becoming curator of the Whitby Museum. Whitby's place in the canon of romantic topographical and naturalistic maritime painting was illustrated by the *Whitby Gazette* at the end of 1936: 'Whitby has been one of the most attractive beauty spots around the English coast for all members of the painting fraternity, and seldom does a year pass but one finds pictures of it on the walls of the Royal Academy or other London exhibitions'.<sup>51</sup> Three years earlier, J.S. Miller of London provided a conventional eulogy of the romantic appearance of 'old Whitby' from the West Cliff: 'The smile of Whitby viewed from the Khyber Pass on a sunny day, when the light beats through the haze of smoke that seems to hang perpetually

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<sup>46</sup> Christopher Scoble, *Fisherman's Friend: a Life of Stephen Reynolds* (Tiverton: Halsgrove, 2000); S. Peak, *Fishermen of Hastings* (St Leonards-on-Sea: NewsBooks, 1985).

<sup>47</sup> Compare Scoble, *Fisherman's Friend*, and works of Stephen Reynolds cited there.

<sup>48</sup> Ander Delgado and John K. Walton, 'La pesca y los pescadores en Inglaterra y el País Vasco, siglo XIX-1930: los casos de Whitby y Bermeo', *Itsas Memoria: Revista de Estudios Marítimos del País Vasco* 4 (2003), pp. 563-82.

<sup>49</sup> *Whitby Gazette*, 28 Feb. 1919; Brendan Rapple, 'James Russell Lowell and England', *Contemporary Review*, July 2000.

<sup>50</sup> Frank J. Nash, *The Yorkshire Coast: its Advantages and Attractions* (York, 1904), pp. 11-12.

<sup>51</sup> *Whitby Gazette*, 24 Dec. 1936.

over these crazy, red-roofed cottages clustered up the sides of the East Cliff like the seeds in a ripe pomegranate.<sup>52</sup> Nor was this just the province of the self-consciously 'cultivated' connoisseur, as was indicated by a manuscript letter from A. Halliwell of Bury after listening to a radio broadcast on the preservation or demolition of 'old Whitby': 'I think that visitors to Whitby would agree with me that the medieval (*sic*) atmosphere of the place is its greatest attraction... although I am no artist but just an ordinary working man I can appreciate (*sic*) the beauty of your town... and would not like to see any of it disturbed.'<sup>53</sup> The importance attached to vistas and 'atmosphere' in such commentaries, especially those that suggest that these discourses had become conventional, is crucial to understanding the attraction exerted by this unassuming but compelling environment on its visiting public.

G. Douglas Bolton's eulogy of 'Old Whitby', published in 1955, pulls all the strands together: 'A gleam is apt to come into the eye of almost any artist when considering the pictorial attractions of Whitby. No other seaside town or fishing village can surpass it for old-world charm... Best of all, the modern promenade and paths (on the West Cliff) command an unsurpassed view of the East Cliff, a scene of incomparable beauty when there is a fine sunset. At such times the old houses of the East Cliff reflect the setting sun, and glow with a rich emphasis on red pantiles and the irregular roof-lines of the cottages... we look across the gleaming harbour, resplendent with sunset reflections, to the old houses with windows shining like burnished gold and red pantiles climbing towards the venerable walls of St Hilda's Abbey... Whitby's past is rich and fragrant, mellow with age and spiced with the salt tang of the sea... We start our exploration of Whitby from the West Cliff, where one overlooks the harbour, St Mary's Church, the abbey, the swing-bridge, the river estuary, and hundreds of small red houses clinging – almost by their pantiles – to the East Cliff like mussels to a rock... The real fascination of Whitby begins once we are across the Esk... Exploration of the 'ghauts' or alleys can go on for hours. We are now in a land crowded with children; some are maybe dirty, dishevelled and mischievous but they are all friendly. We see fisherfolk in characteristic poses just waiting to be photographed, craftsmen discovered by chance in odd corners, red cottages nodding together, and exciting old houses with an atmosphere of the sea... We next turn down the Tin Ghaut, a short alley leading to the estuary, where artists have gathered for generations. I stood there the whole of one July morning just to watch and photograph the changing scene... After the first flutter of curiosity the local population became quite used to me, the children dispersed, the cats came out and purred, and washing was hung out on the waterfront just as if I was not there. Within three hours I had obtained an entire set of photographs and made friends with the local residents... Eventually I was invited inside Fair Isle Cottage and shown around; spotless inside and out, this old-world building would have cheered the heart of Captain Cook.'<sup>54</sup>

Even as this version of the 'tourist gaze', with all its overtones of 'internal orientalism', sentimentalism about 'red roofs' and the celebration of an exotic imagined 'other', became more influential and more important to the local economy, an alternative discourse of denigration was developing in parallel, seeing dirt, untidiness, squalor and disease where others were drawn to the quaint, the organic, the complex and the weathered. An emergent planning orthodoxy, driven by a majority on the Urban District Council, favoured comprehensive redevelopment: it regarded inconveniently sited old buildings as obstacles rather than challenges, and attracted popular support. I have discussed this threat to 'old Whitby', and how it was challenged and

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<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 13 Oct. 1933.

<sup>53</sup> North Yorkshire Record Office, Northallerton, MIC 1826, Bewlay Report and associated correspondence.

<sup>54</sup> G. Douglas Bolton, *Yorkshire Revealed* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1955), pp. 217-23.

eventually (in part) overcome, elsewhere: the key point here is that the romanticisation of the 'Old Town', especially the 'fishing quarter', proved to be a vital resource for the campaigners against the proposed 'regeneration' of demolition and rebuilding.<sup>55</sup>

Sutcliffe's lens played an important part in making this possible, although I have not found evidence of his active participation in the campaigns of the 1930s. Local painters did get involved. Bertha Doyle of Boston Spa, a minor artist, argued that visitors returned to Whitby because of its beauty and charm, and that, '...real modern Progress preserves and treasures the heritage and beauty of the past', such as the red tiles, 'so cheerful in our grey climate, and so marvellously glowing at sunset time'. She pointed out the dangers of creating all seaside resorts in the same modernised concrete image, and denied any health risk now the Old Town's sanitation had been dealt with. Whitby was 'an ancient monument, and should be jealously guarded as such'. Rowland H. Hill of nearby Hinderwell, another artist, emphasised the 'character and colour for which Whitby has become so deservedly famous... Both on aesthetic and commercial grounds it would be a suicidal policy to mar this beauty in haste'.<sup>56</sup> Such ideas were used by opponents of demolition. When New Way Ghaut, on the East Side, was considered, Mr Graham, for the Council, argued that, 'From a congestion point of view, it would not be possible to reconvert. It was old property, with old-fashioned bay windows,' to be met by Mr Kidson's rejoinder: 'Artists come and paint that class of property, and photographers take photos.' In nearby Blackburn's Yard, Mr Bagshawe spoke eloquently about how conspicuous the site was in the townscape, with 'buildings of very artistic interest', red-roofed and including the birthplace of Mary Linskill herself. T.H. Brown, speaking for threatened East Side owners, commented scathingly that, 'The most searching inquiries should have been made to see what the East Side would be like if demolition orders were made and enforced... before they destroyed Whitby's beauty, which was a great asset to the town.'<sup>57</sup>

The main demolition programme was held up by opponents for long enough to be interrupted by the war, and subsequently, for a decade, by post-war austerity. In 1943 Vivian Seaton Gray, the Clerk to the UDC, looked forward to Whitby's post-war future as a fishing port and tourist resort, combining judicious improvement and the safeguarding of distinctive attributes and atmosphere. His 'Plan for Whitby' identified the 'essential requirements for the advancement of the town': 'First and foremost, must be the preservation of the unique atmosphere of the old-world Whitby, so that it doesn't become just one more concrete and plaster imitation of hundreds of other resorts... a great many inhabitants, and... members of the Council, do not realise that in its relics of the old time... Whitby has something that *no other place has got*, and these things, so familiar to residents as to be regarded with a sort of affectionate contempt, are of the very essence of the place and of the very greatest interest and attraction to visitors.' He was particularly exercised by the current problems of the East Side: 'This looks nearly as picturesque as ever it did, but behind its distant façade of beauty, there is a great deal of decay. A large number of houses are empty, having been condemned as unfit to live in... many more... now show serious signs of decay...' But Whitby had become 'by far the best known of the smaller resorts', due to advertising and exposure on the radio. There were plenty of picturesque and historic buildings to be preserved, including Grape Lane and Douglas Bolton's admired Tin Ghaut: 'I should like to see them both owned by the town. No alteration should be permitted to the few remaining old shop fronts, and

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<sup>55</sup> Walton, 'Fishing communities and redevelopment'.

<sup>56</sup> *Whitby Gazette*, 17 Nov. 1933.

<sup>57</sup> *Whitby Gazette*, 27 Aug. 1937, 15 July 1938.

when Grape Lane requires resurfacing, it should revert to cobbles or sets.<sup>58</sup> Tin Ghaut, much photographed, was lost in the renewed clearances of the 1950s; but much of the rest survived long enough to benefit from a new regime of conversions, using local authority grants, for retirement migration and holiday cottages from the late 1960s.<sup>59</sup>

Seaton Gray's ideas took time to come to fruition; but events were to prove him right. The key to Whitby's survival and success has been its atmospheric sense of history and identity, which sets it out as somewhere distinctive, indeed unique, and makes it worth a journey, even though its weather remains unreliable. Its current popularity with seekers after history, authenticity, atmosphere and the urban picturesque was not inevitable, but has been the outcome of a series of conflicts and accidents, which resulted in the survival of enough of the 'Old Town' to sustain a sense of romance and mystery among a broad spectrum of visitors, some more historically and architecturally informed than others. This has benefited from the survival of a local fishing industry, alongside the development of pleasure boating in the harbour and a history of intermittent conflict between different harbour users, and a belatedly successful effort to remove sewage pollution from the harbour itself. I have delineated the roots of the processes which enabled the Whitby of the late twentieth century to overcome (or make a virtue of) its geographical isolation and economic and demographic stagnation, and take its place among a significant group of British seaside resorts which have defied prognostications of doom and decay, and emerged as twenty-first century success stories. Whitby is a remarkable illustration of the resilience and adaptability of the British seaside when it has a past to embrace, celebrate and exploit; and the part played by the fishing port in the renaissance of the resort, even as the remaining commercial traffic of the harbour declined into oblivion, was at the core of these developments. Its recent history carries lessons for proponents of seaside 'regeneration' everywhere: it is no good remaking everywhere in an identical image derived from the current fashions on the drawing-board, when you can build on existing historic identities, not preserving them in aspic, but modifying them, like Whitby's cottages, to take account of changing standards, expectations and preferences. Whitby's story is not just an isolated case-study, but an important example of a much wider and continuing trend; and the role of Frank Meadow Sutcliffe in this, by reinforcing and propagating the changed 'ways of seeing' directed at the urban landscape and inhabitants of the 'Old Town', though surprisingly lacking in direct acknowledgement by his contemporaries, was clearly central to the local incarnation of this important process.

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<sup>58</sup> V. Seaton Gray, 'Plan for Whitby', typescript dated 31 Aug. 1943, in Scarborough Town Hall, Whitby UDC Archives, pp. 8-9.

<sup>59</sup> Walton, *Tourism, Fishing and Redevelopment*, examines post-war developments.

# **EVALUATION OF PUBLIC ART – FRAMEWORKS, LOGIC MODELS AND EMERGING IMPACT** By Ian Strange and David Usher

## CONTEXT

Over the last decade public art has increasingly become associated with the wider processes of regeneration and place shaping. Every region and city wants a bigger, better and more iconic trophy to enhance its identity on the international stage. Public art is now a feature of many cities as they aim to revive former industrial legacies and to establish their cultural competitive advantage on a global stage. At the same time, the extent to which public art positively contributes to the regeneration of areas and neighbourhoods that have been subject to economic, social and physical decline has become a central concern of government and regeneration agencies.

In an evidence based policy environment evaluation has a key role to play. However, the assessment of impact in relation to wider regeneration benefits is highly complex. This is reflective of a number of factors including the uncontained audience which views public art, its outcomes being time lagged, evolving over time as public art pieces grow in significance, and, reluctance amongst the cultural community to be subject to scrutiny. In short, public investment in art is controversial and public perception can be volatile.

Against this background, one of the aims of the Northern Way (a partnership between the three northern Regional Development Agencies) has been to market the North of England to an international and domestic audience by building on the image of its three regions and maximising the potential of its cultural assets. The 'Marketing the North to the World' priority aims to strengthen the North's cultural offer and image to support economic growth by coordinating and promoting cultural events and attractions including the development of a programme of public art at key gateways and by raising the profile of the North in the media. From the overall Northern Way investment Fund comprising £100 million, public art projects were allocated for investment up to the value of £4.5 million during the period 2006-09 through the 'Welcome to the North' (WTTN) public art programme.

In evaluating the WTTN public art programme, a team based within the Faculty of Business and Law and the Faculty of Arts and Society at Leeds Metropolitan University has used a 'logic model' framework focusing on understanding the 'theories of change' through which the programme is designed to influence medium and long term Northern Way objectives. Logic models provide a means of exploring how the programme works. Within the evaluation of the WTTN programme, logic models were applied at the individual project level and aggregated to provide a framework for the programme. The programme level logic model, sets out the mechanisms through which anticipated outputs, outcomes and impacts are expected to be achieved, the indicators to be used and the other factors that are likely to affect the achievement of the anticipated impacts.

## 'WELCOME TO THE NORTH' PUBLIC ART PROGRAMME

The delivery of the WTTN public art programme led to the installation or rollout of four physical public art installations, a virtual tour (The Wonderful North) and a fifth installation to follow in Middlesbrough (Temenos). Two of the original four installations – Another Place and Turning the Place Over - have the potential to

become iconic pieces in a similar way to the progress of the Angel of the North following its completion. The key initial installations included:

**'Light Neville Street'** - a key component of the Leeds Holbeck Urban Village regeneration and development programme scheduled for completion by autumn 2009. It comprises a light and sonic work created by international artist Hans Peter Kuhn installed at the east side wall of the underpass in Neville Street, Leeds. The installation involves solar light panels to create a sense of transit through the tunnel. An ongoing series of events, partnerships and interventions have been instigated to achieve a cultural and social legacy. One key aim of the installation is to demonstrate the contribution of public art to improving the public realm and solving environmental design problems and as a symbol of the cultural confidence in Leeds and the city region.

**'Halo'** - Panopticons and Land started as the flagship project for East Lancashire's Regional Park programme. Launched during September 2007, Halo is an 18 metre diameter, circular steel structure, raised 7 metres off the ground on a tripod at a site above Haslingden in Rossendale. The plans for the site included improving its quality of place in an attempt to encourage visitors to the area. Halo is at the centre of a wider partnership to reclaim a 32 hectare site. The programme has created works that epitomise the new images, confidence and aspiration of East Pennine Lancashire.

**'Turning the Place Over'** - is the work of Richard Wilson, a twice-nominated Turner Prize candidate. It was launched during Architecture Week in June 2007, to form the jewel in the crown of Liverpool's cultural offering throughout the city's 800th birthday celebration in 2007 and its year as European City of Culture in 2008. The work is a seven metre high and nine metre wide void cut from the façade of the building capable of rotation in three dimensions.

**'Another Place'** - is an iconic public art installation by the internationally acclaimed artist Anthony Gormley. Originally installed in 2005, its exhibition was made permanent in 2007 with Northern Way investment funding. The statues span three kilometres of the Merseyside foreshore at Crosby beach. Another Place won the 'Tourism Experience of the Year' at the Mersey Partnership Annual Tourism Awards and it is estimated that 350,000 visitors view the sculptures annually.

There is an unintentional locational bias in the programme toward the North West of England which reflects the expedient delivery of projects within the three year timescale of the WTTN public art programme. This resulted in the identification and selection of projects which were at a more advanced stage of development. In this way the location of projects has tended to be fortuitous for the North West of England rather than reflecting an intentional skewing of delivery activity in the region. Amongst the gateway art pieces that have been installed there is some debate as to whether these represent pan or inter regional gateway sites in the context of the wider Northern Way evaluation. At least three of the art pieces can be regarded as gateway locations. These include Light Neville Street, as a gateway to the city of Leeds, Another Place in the North West and, more recently, Temenos in the North East.

## EVALUATING PUBLIC ART

An evaluation framework for the programme was developed using project logic models as the foundation. This provided a means of capturing time lagged outcomes and impacts across a ten year timeframe. The evaluation framework was designed

upon the principles identified in the logic models and was based upon the following core programme objectives:

- Improved quality of place in specific sites across the North of England
- Increased positive perception of the North of England
- Raised profile of the North of England

For each of the above objectives a series of output and emerging impact indicators was established together with the identification of potential data sources to inform them across the short, medium and longer term (3, 5 and 10 years). The second and third objectives were designed to impact a wide range of local, regional and national audiences in the first instance including local residents, community groups, visitors, businesses and property developers. The short term (up to three years) indicators are shown for each of the above programme objectives in the following table:

<b>Improved quality of place in specific sites across the North of England</b>	
<b>Output (up to three years)</b>	<b>Data source</b>
Improved resident satisfaction with quality of place within 5 mile radius of public art	Resident survey proximate to public art installation
Percentage of residents who feel that public art has increased local pride	Resident survey proximate to public art installation
Percentage of residents of residents who feel that public art has increased local distinctiveness	Resident survey proximate to public art installation
Reduction in residents intending to leave the area	Resident survey proximate to public art installation
Improved satisfaction/comfort/health and safety of city/district users as a result of public art	Resident survey proximate to public art installation
Number of jobs created	Public art commissioning organisation
<b>Increased positive perception of the North of England</b>	
<b>Output (up to three years)</b>	<b>Data source</b>
Number of consultation exercises with local audiences	Public art commissioning organisation Media sources; stakeholder surveys
Community involvement in designing art work – number of participants; total contact hours; encouraging other integrated design team projects	Public art commissioning organisation
Increased level of tendering for public art work	Public art commissioning organisation

Number of regions aiming to acquire art pieces of similar type	Arts Council England/Northern Way Programme Manager
Number of approaches to Northern RDAs and Arts Council England to initiate public art programme	Public art commissioning organisation
Number of businesses using name of public art piece as logo/strap line	Web search – company websites and brochures; press cuttings
Number of developers who are aware of the public art installation and who have increased their interest in developing in the North	Developer survey
Percentage of visitors who cite public art project as main reason for visit to area	Visitor survey at public art installation
<b>Raising the profile of the North of England</b>	
<b>Output (up to three years)</b>	<b>Data source</b>
Generation of media attention – coverage; website hits/downloads; articles/journals/magazines; conferences	Monitoring of local and national media coverage
Extent of coverage in tourist guides and promotional tourist literature	Monitoring of local and national media coverage; monitoring of tourism guides
Changing perception reflected in use of positive words to describe the North of England in the media	Local resident and business surveys
Percentage of respondents - general population – who feel that public art has raised the image of the North of England	Local resident and business surveys Published city/regional audit/image surveys

The development of an evaluation framework was a key element during the formative stage of the evaluation. The framework was developed using the logic models prepared with the individual art projects during the later stage of phase 1 of the study and reference to the literature gathered to underpin the development of the programme (Annabel Jackson Associates 2007; ixia 2005). The logic models formed the core of the framework focusing on understanding the ‘theories of change’ through which the ‘Welcome to the North’ programme was intended to influence specific short, medium and long term objectives.

The purpose or rationale of the ‘Welcome to the North’ programme is the spring from which everything else associated with it – aims and objectives, projects, outputs and impact flow. It is, therefore, essential in developing a strategic performance framework and associated indicators to agree a specification of the programme’s intent. This intent has been expressed in terms of the changes that the programme is designed to effect in the conditions of the locality or the wider region – in this case changes to perception, profile and quality of place. Whilst the mercurial nature of public reaction to the commissioning and implementation of public art was very much recognised, and commented upon, during the course of the evaluation, the

framework was designed to capture the realisation of potential positive benefits flowing from the respective art pieces once delivery had been achieved.

## IMPLICATIONS FOR PAN REGIONAL ECONOMY

It is still too early to assess the impact of the programme as several installations are yet to be installed as 'pieces of Public Art' and many of the impacts will emerge some time after the evaluation is completed. The views of key stakeholders and secondary evidence provide an illustration of emerging outcomes associated with the programme to date.

In relation to improved quality of place in specific sites across the North of England, resident views toward neighbourhoods in close proximity to the WTTN art installations were examined through data provided by Yorkshire Forward. The dynamics of resident views were found to be broadly similar in each of the areas adjacent to the public art installations with around one half believing their neighbourhood to have improved or stayed the same over the previous twelve months (however the contribution of public art to this view remains unknown).

In terms of increasing positive perception of the North of England, the 'Welcome to the North' programme has attracted artists of international standing such as Antony Gormley, Richard Wilson, Hans Peter Kuhn and Anish Kapoor to tender for art pieces in the North of England. The Olympic Committee has made a recent approach to Yorkshire Forward to enquire about the process of commissioning and installing public art as part of the Olympic Games in 2012. At the local level, one of the Welcome to the North projects had formed the cornerstone of a proposed Art Festival during 2009 and another was an integral part of a wider European City of Culture initiative during 2008.

Private developers had positive perceptions of the role of public art in raising the desirability of an area and one developer enthused about the potential of a WTTN installation to change the nature of the local area in a positive way. Another developer suggested that a different WTTN installation was both a 'talking and a selling point' and it featured in the developer's promotional prospectus. Another project reported increases in visitor numbers visiting the area to view the WTTN Public Art Installation and further claims are made associated with visitors to the North, which indicate that one installation has attracted in the region of 350,000 annual visitors.<sup>60</sup>

In terms of raising the profile of the North of England, the programme has met with considerable success. More than 50 articles on the programme in the North West of England had been published in local and regional newspapers. WTTN installations have been used to promote the North as a tourism and visitor destination. This is particularly the case in the North West region where two of the installations have featured in several national, regional and local tourist guides. The regional tourist board has played a key role in promoting the art installations although there has been very limited survey work undertaken to gauge visitor responses to the respective art pieces.

The communications strategy for the programme was refreshed early in 2008 and was primarily concerned with the external positioning of the programme within the media and aimed to develop a wider sector led debate around public art and regeneration. The overall approach was designed to develop a communications

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<sup>60</sup> (<http://www.thenorthernway.co.uk/icons>)

stream that focused, in particular, on 'marketing and PR elements to generate public and media interest in the public art programme nationally and internationally', through the strap-line 'New Icons of the North'. This approach was summarised in a special issue of the *Art and Architecture Journal* published in the autumn of 2008 which served to raise awareness of the overall programme and its place in the north of England. In addition to these developments, the WTTN programme launched a website during April 2008 which features the background to the programme, the art projects and their associated artists.

## POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The investment by the Northern Way in the 'Welcome to the North' programme has, from a strategic and catalytic perspective, enabled a pan regional art programme to be both commissioned and delivered more quickly than would have been possible if public investment had not been available. Moreover, it is evident that key art pieces would not have gone ahead (including Another Place) in the absence of investment by the Northern Way. However, a number of policy issues have been raised by this programme, most notably those of strategic direction, the complex nature of public art evaluation, the opportunities for inter-agency and collaborative working and programme promotion. It is to a discussion of these issues that we will now turn.

### *Strategic direction*

Given the timescale for the delivery phase of the project (three years) on the one hand, and the lead-in time involved in the commissioning and installation of public art on the other, it is entirely reasonable that expedient delivery of specific projects has directed the nature of commissions in favour of those which were at a more advanced stage of development. Whilst this may have resulted in some degree of strategic opportunity being subdued, exemplified by the original vision for major pieces at Manchester Airport and the M62 Corridor, this factor has not prevented the identification and delivery of high profile art pieces at the regional level. While a number of gateway art pieces have been installed however, there is some debate as to whether these represent pan or inter regional gateway sites in the context of the wider Northern Way. In our view, at least three of the art pieces can be regarded as gateway locations. These include Light Neville Street, as a gateway to the city of Leeds, Another Place to the west and Tenemos to the east.

Another factor contributing to the weakening of strategic direction is the fact that the majority of public investment in the art installations was capital spend, often particularly difficult to manage in the context of public art. Public art tends to be exploratory in nature from both a design and build perspective. In particular, it is intricate and complex to build. The planning and regulatory framework surrounding public art can result in an uncertain and protracted lead in time. 'Tenemos' is currently undergoing planning approval and the Light Neville Street project was delayed for a few months whilst decisions were taken with regard to the removal of a bus stop. These factors make it difficult to profile capital expenditure as they can result in significant and unexpected project delays. It is therefore entirely consistent to anticipate that the development of the WTTN programme became delivery focused with strategic considerations being compromised in some instances.

### *Public art evaluation*

During the course of our evaluation it became increasingly apparent that there were a wide range of factors that makes evaluation of public art complex. While there is a requirement from public funding agencies for robust impact oriented evaluation,

together with calls for accountability and transparency, it is clear that in the arts there are many views as to what should be measured and what the indicators should be. For the Northern Way and RDAs economic impact and Strategic Added Value are priorities. For many of those involved in public art, socio-cultural frameworks have more resonance. In essence, there is a fundamental mis-match between the objectives of RDAs which include the assessment of economic impact arising from programme delivery and the cultural outlook of artists which tends to value the aesthetic nature of a given art installation over and above its potential to improve economic conditions. Within the WTTN programme stakeholders articulated a diversity of orientations towards evaluation. Some, mostly programme sponsors, were keen to see the WTTN evaluation implemented. Others, mostly local projects, were supportive of local project evaluation, but showed little interest in a pan-regional assessment of the WTTN programme. Whichever view was taken, the connection between evaluation and funding presents contentious issues which may lead to evaluation being perceived as little more than a symbolic auditing process.

### *Communications and inter-agency working*

One aspiration has been for the cultural assets of the WTTN programme to benefit tourism and encourage economic development. However, stakeholders suggested that there was little operational connection between the three strategic aims of the Marketing the North to the World objective and the WTTN programme:

- Attracting European and overseas tourists
- Culture, economy and visitor perceptions
- Marketing the North to investors

The limited level of interaction between these three sub-objectives was, in part, expressed as a communication issue between tourism and culture delivery staff. The wider objective 'Marketing the North to the World' was built upon existing foundations in terms of activity in overseas marketing. The intention was to initiate joint working in tourism and the promotion of specific destinations to overseas visitors between the three northern RDAs. The intention was that this would work in a similar way to pre-existing joint working for the attraction of inward investment and marketing targeted at overseas visitors. However, there was no real legacy to build upon in developing public art, as there was no previous track record of the three RDAs pursuing joint working for the delivery of public art.

One of the benefits of the WTTN programme was in enabling collaborative working between the RDAs and organisations such as Arts Council England and Yorkshire Culture, both of whom were involved in sub-contracting roles for project delivery. This required new working relationships for each of the organisations involved. Predominantly these were positive, but with a focus upon identifying potential projects in a pragmatic way. Consequently, delivery focused upon the identification and commissioning of viable art pieces in each region, a process felt by some to have been a missed opportunity to link in the development of public art with place marketing and the attraction of overseas tourists.

As the WTTN programme evolved and became established, promotional activity came to the fore. Until recently the programme (or its constituent parts) achieved a higher profile and prominence at the regional, as opposed to pan-regional level. The limited level of breakthrough beyond the regional level was a cause for concern for some of the local projects who had felt that funding enhancement from a wider pan regional agency would enable them to achieve a higher profile for their respective

projects. However, the WTTN programme communications continues to emerge and evolve. One of the key recommendations from project and stakeholder feedback was the need to maximise publicity and promotional messages during the post delivery stage of the programme in order to ensure that its impacts continue to accrue. Indeed, the presence of the art and its impact upon public sentiment will continue to emerge over time. However, there is also a need to identify ways in which the art can be mobilised to promote quality of place and improve the perception of the North of England in the long term. In practical terms this may require linking the imagery and presence of the public art to major event promotion, such as the 2012 Olympics. To date though, there has been limited interconnection between the WTTN programme's public art as a medium of place marketing and the attraction of domestic and overseas visitors.

## REFLECTIONS ON THE EVALUATION FRAMEWORK & LOGIC MODEL APPROACH

The evaluation framework developed for the assessment of the WTTN programme was designed to provide a consistent basis upon which to assess programme outputs during its early post implementation phase. The development of logic models provided a valuable means of identifying the rationale and associated objectives underlying each of the respective projects as well as a basis for the development of the framework. The value of the logic models has been in promoting discussion and analysis of the programme. They also provide simple illustrations of the relationships between components of projects and/or programmes, although sometimes this is viewed as useful whilst at other times it is viewed as an oversimplification of complex processes. Finally, they provided one input for the development of the detailed evaluation framework for the programme. We would argue that the use of logic models has shown that they provide a valuable framework for assessing the operation of projects and of the programme, which encourages active consideration of the underlying situation and priorities that demonstrate a need for interventions in the form of the programme or project relationships between programme or project resources, activities, outputs and outcome potential for, and evidence of, impact the overall relationships between all of these. Overall the framework developed for this evaluation provided a realistic foundation as it confirmed that outcomes are lagged and reflected the complexity of capturing and demonstrating attributable data even at early stage of installation process.

## CONCLUSION

The 'Welcome to the North' programme was originally intended to influence a range of eight medium and long term Northern Way objectives including improved quality of place and perceptions at a North of England level and a raised profile for the Northern Way. In addition, the objectives also encompassed economic impact through investment in public art and increased awareness of the benefits of public art. As we suggested earlier in this essay it is too early to assess the impact of the WTTN programme as several installations are yet to be realised in terms of 'pieces of Public Art'. Many of the impacts of these public art projects will emerge some time into the future. Our evaluation framework however at least allowed us to suggest what these might be and how they might be measured and captured. Through the articulation of the framework it was recognised that the wider programme objective (to make an economic impact on the North of England through investment in public art) will follow over the longer term as a downstream impact.

Perhaps the strongest conclusion to emerge from the evaluation is that there is a need to allow time for the impacts of public art to become evident, or, of being

supported by evidence. There is clearly a range of reasons for this. In the current phase of stalling economic growth it is more difficult to attribute changes in say, house prices, visitor numbers or crime levels to the presence or otherwise of public art. These types of assertions have, over the period 1993 to date, been made in the context of consistent economic growth, which is now at an end. In a wider sense, the link between the iconic status conferred upon public art and the application of quantitative data can be highly tenuous and a robust evaluation framework can help to establish credibility to claims of social, cultural and economic benefit.



## **Section 2: Skills in the region**



# **HUMAN CAPITAL, GRADUATE EMPLOYMENT AND SMES IN YORKSHIRE AND HUMBER** By **Andreas Walmsley, Stephanie Jameson, Rick Holden**

## INTRODUCTION

The issues of the development of human capital, graduate employment in small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) and regional economic growth lie at the heart of this essay. The number of graduates entering the labour market continues to grow and this has raised questions about graduate utilisation and the nature of graduate employment. The sudden and largely unexpected contraction of the labour market makes these questions surrounding the changing graduate labour market even more pertinent. Against a backdrop of continuing expansion of higher education (HE), the contraction of the labour market adds clout to the perennial voices that claim this expansion should now be reigned in. However, it is useful to remind ourselves why this expansion has been regarded as necessary by successive governments. The justification is of course economic. According to Human Capital Theory (Becker, 1993) investment in education is no different to investment in physical capital insofar as both increase productivity. Indeed, investment in human capital is now considered to be the most important driver of economic growth. Education, in other words, is the key to success in the increasingly competitive and globalised economy, both from the perspective of the individual and the state.

The essay discusses two studies conducted into graduate employment in SMEs which reflect graduate career aspirations and labour market in the region. The essay unfolds as follows. Initially we discuss the national/regional context of the two studies before describing the research and highlighting key findings. We conclude by highlighting implications both for policymakers in relation to the regional economy and research more generally.

## THE NATIONAL/REGIONAL CONTEXT

While the posited relationship between investment in people and economic gain is usually maintained for a nation's economy, or for individual organisations, it is not unreasonable to change the unit of analysis. Thus, at a regional level, the argument has been made that regions need to be aware of graduate flows, that is the movement of graduates into and out of any particular region. The East Midlands Development Agency (EMDA) for example, commissioned research into graduate employment opportunities in its region with a focus on the movement of graduates into and out of the region. Amongst other things it highlighted "...the region should promote and support links between employers, organisations representing key industries and small businesses, HEIs and graduates (including placements and work experience)..."(Pollard, Williams, & Hill, 2004, p. xi). It was also highlighted that businesses, especially SMEs, need to be made aware of the benefits of employing graduates and vice versa (Pollard, Williams, & Hill, 2004).

In a similar manner, the demand for higher level skills in the Yorkshire economy has recently been investigated (Kewin, Casey, & Smith, 2008). Kewin et al.'s (2008) study found that 30% of businesses surveyed had undertaken higher level skills training. While this leaves questions open about the overall demand for skills in Yorkshire, 30% of businesses is too great a number to simply ignore. There is evidently demand for higher level skills in the region and this demand is not restricted

solely to large organisations. On the contrary, most businesses in the region are SMEs (Jameson, Holden and Walmsley, 2009 quote Office for National Statistics' figures that indicate large firms, i.e. those employing more than 250 employees, constitute only half of one percent of businesses in Yorkshire and Humber).

The fact that HEIs have a significant presence in the region has not been lost on the regional development agency, Yorkshire Forward. It promotes academic collaboration, for example in the form of Knowledge Transfer Partnerships and Knowledge Transfer Networks (see [www.yorkshire-forward.com](http://www.yorkshire-forward.com)). But it is not solely those individuals who work in HEIs who, from an academic perspective, support the regional economy; it is predominantly the human capital that flows out of these institutions in the form of graduates who have the greatest potential to meet the demand for higher level skills. Yorkshire Forward also recognises this in its economic development strategy and consequently stresses the importance of regional graduate retention.

It is far from obvious that the demand for, and supply of, higher level skills are matched. Graduates entering the labour market do not necessarily find positions that make the greatest use of their talents. It is one thing to educate someone to graduate level; it is another to ensure that the graduate is suitably placed in an environment that effectively utilises and further fosters talent. Additionally, graduates from the region's universities may decide to move elsewhere beyond the region's borders. This is clearly a drain on the region's competitiveness. As Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA) data show, despite the region educating approximately 29,000 students to first degree level per year, many students subsequently decide to leave the region (Jameson et al., 2009). More specifically, Jameson et al. point to tourism student figures that indicate a regional retention rate of approximately 48% for students that decided to stay in the UK upon graduating. The 'flight of the creative class' that Florida (2007) describes is not a phenomenon restricted to nations, but to regions within nations too. In terms of attracting graduates the region could be doing better. Jameson et al.'s (2009) data show that only 0.2% of UK graduates who were not originally from the region and who did not study in the region subsequently find employment in Yorkshire.

The point we are trying to make is that it is not so much higher level skills that are lacking, but that individuals with these skills are not necessarily ideally placed to make the best use of them, for the benefit not only of the individual but also for the region. Most of the skills discourse points understandably to investment in education. But this investment is squandered if, borrowing marketing terminology, what we might call potential human capital is not turned into effective human capital, if the latent skills are underutilised. The underutilisation of graduates has indeed been of concern for some time (see for example Battu, Belfield, & Sloane, 1999; Mason, 1999). While traditionally this has been associated with the lack of jobs that require graduate level skills, it was argued above that there is significant demand for higher level skills in the region, not necessarily from traditional graduate recruiters. Graduates may also change the nature of their job role once employed (Mason, 2001). Nonetheless, notwithstanding concerns about defining what a graduate level job is, HESA again provide data that indicate approximately 5,000 recent graduates in Yorkshire are in non-graduate jobs (Jameson et al. 2009).

## THE TWO STUDIES

This essay is a reflection on the outcomes of two studies whose participants were, in the main, based in the Yorkshire and Humber region. The first addressed graduate entrepreneurship whilst the second focused upon placement experiences and career

intentions within SMEs. The common factor in both studies relates to their involvement with graduate and undergraduate career decision-making and SME employment<sup>61</sup>.

The graduate entrepreneurship study developed out of a funding opportunity provided by the National Council for Graduate Entrepreneurship (NCGE). One of the NCGE's aims is to inform national and regional policies that affect enterprise and entrepreneurship in universities. As such the NCGE was aware that very little research existed on the transition from graduate to entrepreneur. This made appropriate support difficult and tentative in knowledge of its efficacy. The study was therefore exploratory in nature and aimed to demystify the entrepreneurial experience.

Much literature in the area of entrepreneurship has focused on the notion of entrepreneurial intent, i.e. the intent to start a business. Thus, it has been argued, if policymakers can increase entrepreneurial intent then they are also improving the likelihood of business start-up. This sounds reasonable. What has often been overlooked however is the step from intent to the actual act of setting up a business. While it is fairly easy to express the intent to do something, actually going ahead and doing it is less straightforward. This appears to be particularly true for business start-ups.

Indeed, if intent alone were a guarantor for business start-up then the UK would be awash with graduate start-up enterprises. Greene and Saridakis (2007) review literature on graduate/student start-up intent and conclude that there is substantial evidence of this intent in the student population. A survey of West Yorkshire universities came across similar results (Robertson, Price, & Wilkinson, 2004). Almost 46% of respondents to this survey answered either 'definitely' or 'probably' to the question of whether or not they intended to become self employed. More recently a follow up study to Robertson et al.'s (2004) survey was undertaken. This indicated that approximately one third of the 8,100 students at Yorkshire universities who were surveyed have an intention to start their own business (Ward, Robertson, & Holden, 2008). Ward et al.'s (2008) study also indicated however that the proportion of students considering self-employment or business start-up is falling.

Data collection occurred through storytelling interviews with fifteen graduate entrepreneurs. All participants had graduated within the last five years. Most were at a stage where they had registered either as the sole director or partner in a limited company. Two were not registered as a company, but the individuals concerned were registered self-employed and were clearly of the view that they were running a business. There is an ongoing debate as to the definition of entrepreneurship and although business start-up may be regarded as entrepreneurship in its purest or narrowest form (Bridge, O'Neill and Cromie, 2003), we acknowledge that entrepreneurship can also occur in already established organisations.

Participants were selected on the basis of willingness to participate and availability. All interviews lasted between 45 and 60 minutes, were recorded and subsequently transcribed. Initially a table was produced that highlighted the chronological sequence of events that had led to start-up. Against this backdrop themes and sub-themes emerged through re-reading the interviews.

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<sup>61</sup> The authors would like to acknowledge the contributions of Ghulam Nabi and Rhodri Thomas to the first and second study respectively.

The second study investigated the impact of undertaking placements in SMEs on career intentions. The contextual backdrop to this study is the recognition that the engine of growth in the UK economy is said to be in the SME sector (Small Business Service, 2004) and that graduates, who are traditionally underrepresented in SMEs, can contribute to the running of this engine. While a number of studies exist that have investigated SME placements, only Westhead's (1998) study provides a detailed analysis of the impact of SME placements on subsequent career development. It was clear then that here too further research was necessary and timely.

A strong focus of the study was on career development. In contrast to the entrepreneurship study this study did not go beyond the intent phase. It simply asked students what their career intentions were. However, because of the in-depth nature of the data collected it was possible to gain valuable insights as to how careers develop and the role of intent within this. Given the study's focus, career development theories were used to provide a conceptual framework to the investigation, in particular Gottfredson's (2002) Theory of Circumscription and Compromise and Savickas' (2002) Career Construction Theory were deemed useful in this respect. Data was collected from twenty students who had recently completed or who were very close to completing a minimum 48 week placement in a SME. It is to be noted that the SMEs concerned were all in the tourism industry. Each participant was interviewed twice, one interview focusing on the placement experience and the latter on career intentions. Interviews followed the Biographic Narrative Interpretive Method as outlined by Wengraf (2001). In essence this method provides a compromise between a purely open interview and a more structured interview approach. Data analysis involved listening to all interviews twice, once during transcription and again to increase interpretive understanding (Weber, 1964) of the participant and his or her experience. The subsequent coding scheme emerged both deductively from pre-existing concerns as well as inductively from the data as discussed by Seale (2004).

## OUTCOMES OF THE STUDIES

The discussion now turns to the results of both studies. First we discuss findings from the graduate entrepreneurship study about participants' career trajectories before moving on to a discussion of the placement and career intentions study, also with regard to career development and career decision-making.

Starting then with the entrepreneurship study, while we would not want to dismiss the intent literature, and in fact agree that intent may be the best predictor of behaviour, our study indicated that the way career decisions are made, and more broadly the overall career development of individuals, is less linear and planned than the notion of intent would lead one to believe. Career decisions are for various reasons different to everyday decisions in that they comprise a large number of alternatives, extensive amounts of information, a large number of attributes and the influence of significant other people (Gati and Asher, 2001).

Our study highlighted that there was no one clearly defined point at which participants decided to start a business and then from that point on everything was geared towards this goal. Intent was more often than not tentative. Career paths were anything but linear. Some participants were 'pushed' into self-employment through lack of acceptable alternatives. Some 'fell' into self-employment, i.e. they experimented or continued with a business idea more in play than in earnest before tackling the business more seriously. Some participants had a vague notion of wanting to become self-employed at some stage in the future and then actually started the business sooner than expected. Overall, the transition from graduate to

entrepreneur can scarcely be described as strategic. While certain events have symbolic value such as registering the company, signing the first contract, or moving into commercial premises, start up is a process not a point in time, and an often complex process at that.

Three broad themes were distinguished that characterised the pathways into business start-up: personal characteristics, employment choices and lifestyle, and support. In contrast to much literature on entrepreneurship, our study indicated that in terms of personal characteristics participants' were not necessarily particularly risk friendly. Indeed, much of their behaviour focused on risk minimisation, particularly in financial terms. Businesses were started part-time, from home, with very low levels of investment for example. What was evident was high levels of commitment brought about by passion or ambition for a particular cause, be that music, art or technology for example.

Previous employment experiences, particularly placements, had left participants with a better understanding of themselves, the labour market, and potential positions within the labour market. Often it was prior work experience, both positive and negative, that triggered the desire for business start-up. In the current economic climate it may be envisaged that the desire for self-employment is enhanced if traditional graduate employment opportunities in the labour market are restricted.

Support in various forms (moral, technical, financial, legal etc.) was invariably important for all participants in the start-up process. Again, in some contrast to previous work, finance was not regarded as the major hurdle to entrepreneurship. Any monies received either through winning entrepreneurship competitions or through family donations appeared to be more important as morale boosters. What stood out was that if support was to be beneficial it needed to be meaningful to the individual in his/her context at his/her particular stage of the business start-up process. Regarding support specifically related to career choice, there was a distinct lack of use of university Careers Services, despite their potential added value in the decision-making processes vis-à-vis careers support and guidance. This raises important questions about the positioning and relationship between university Careers Services and non-standard career activity of which 'start-up' might be regarded a part. We should also note that about half of our respondents were not fully aware of the formal support systems available to them.

We now turn to the results of the second study insofar as they relate to the findings from the first. Because of the nature of the data collected which was in-depth and interpretive, it became clear that participants' intentions were anything but clear, something that can be too easily overseen when employing a survey with standardised response formats. The data illustrated, perhaps to an even stronger degree than the first study, that there was an abundance of internal (personal) and external factors that impinged and helped shape the individual's career development.

What stood out in the findings was the vagueness associated with career intentions. Even where initially at least, some participants expressed what appeared to be clear intentions, further dialogue revealed that in fact a strong conviction of what one wanted to do in career terms was very limited. Vagueness of intent aside, participants' hitherto haphazard career development is indicative of what we would presume might be initial turmoil after entering the labour market. If past career decisions were anything to go by future career decisions will be influenced as much by a multitude of external factors as any strong desire to forge one's own way according to some predetermined career goal. This supports findings from the entrepreneurship study according to which career development was anything but

linear. Gottfredson's (2002) theory acknowledges the role of constraints on career development, further limiting the range of an individual's zone of acceptable alternatives. Clearly, labour market characteristics may thwart career goals, which is extremely pertinent at the time of writing although at the time of data collection and analysis there were as yet few if any dark clouds on the economic horizon.

It became apparent that participants were largely in the Crystallization stages of the phase known as Exploration according to Savickas' (2002) Career Construction Theory. Many participants displayed problems associated with this stage of career development: unrealism, indifference and indecision (Savickas, 2002). In other words, they were still exploring career options, not yet sure exactly how they would like their careers to unfold, still trying to establish their strengths and weaknesses, certainly not on any particularly planned career path. Nor did participants make much use of careers guidance provision at their universities. This too was supported by the entrepreneurship study.

As with the first study, past career decisions had often been made spontaneously. These decisions then had long term consequences in terms of career development and should therefore not be taken lightly. For example, many students' choice of HE course appeared almost to be a spur of the moment decision, at least between a handful of remaining career options. Often faced with a number of options the final decision could in many instances not be fully explained at all. Happenstance, the influence of chance events, played an important role in individuals' career development. The role of chance events in shaping careers has in fact recently been gaining greater recognition in career development theory (Bright, Pryor, & Harpham, 2005).

In sum, both studies, independently conducted and with different aims albeit both overlapping to an extent, point to a number of issues of importance to policymakers, in particular within a regional context. The results of the studies indicate that career decisions are rarely wholly rational. Furthermore, career development is not linear (the latter issue in fact being in part caused by the former). Well meaning career interventions such as entrepreneurship education and SME placements will on their own rarely achieve desired outcomes. The implications of this shall now be discussed.

## IMPLICATIONS FOR THE REGIONAL ECONOMY

While the policy discourse has been about investment in human capital and has taken this to mean education and training, much less interest has focused on ensuring this capital reaches a fitting destination. Nurturing talent is not enough for a region to prosper. This talent then needs to find an outlet where it can unfold and develop further. We do not want to sound too pessimistic a note. While early career development is often characterised by flux and tumult, as time progresses individuals do find outlets for their talents. The point is though, that some do not, and for others the process may take a very long time indeed. From an economic perspective, this represents a wasted resource.

The good news is that jobs exist in SMEs that will allow graduates' talents to unfold. Holden, Jameson and Parsons (2002) have provided robust evidence that graduates can make a positive contribution to SME success. The predominance of the SME sector in the regional economy is apparent. As mentioned, Jameson et al.'s (2009) figures indicate that approximately only 0.5% of firms in the region are large. Other regions have recognised this and have focused their attention on promoting SME employment (Pollard, Williams, & Hill, 2004). There is an opportunity for the regional

economy here if only more of the talent that leaves HE in the form of graduates can find its way into suitable SME employment.

The problem is then that while higher education increases the stock of human capital in the region, there is no guarantee that this human capital will remain in the region, or indeed that if it remains in the region it will be utilised to the full. The unrestricted movement of talent lies at the heart of Florida's (2007) work. He illustrates that there is an increasingly mobile knowledge elite and those nations and regions that attract individuals from this talent pool are those most likely to prosper. This has also been discussed by Brown and Lauder (2006) who speak of magnet economies: economies that attract high skilled, high wage jobs and the people to fill them. It seems apparent therefore that the region must try to at least retain the talent it has nurtured. This will be a difficult undertaking, at least with regards to recent graduates who are mostly in the early stages of their careers. The studies have shown that career paths are complex. Influencing career paths is therefore difficult because of the myriad underlying factors and influences that play a role in shaping them.

#### IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICYMAKERS AND RESEARCHERS

The general implications for policymakers are readily apparent. However, the devil is in the detail. Whilst difficult, opportunities nonetheless exist for potentially effective interventions. The key is the non traditional graduate labour market and the deployment here of imaginative policies to enhance both the levels of graduate employment and the returns on investment in such talent.

To ensure graduates improve their chances of finding employment that benefits them as well as the regional economy, policymakers need to assist the matching process that constitutes the search for employment. For example, career decisions are often regarded as implementations of self-concepts (Gottfredson, 2002; Savickas, 2002). Unless individuals have been provided scope to develop these, reaching an appropriate career decision (appropriate here to mean in economic terms) is going to be difficult. In this respect placements in SMEs provide a welcome development opportunity. However, one should not simply expect that these will then strongly influence overall career development because obtaining information/experience is one thing, then knowing what to do with it is another.

This is where policymakers can also help by providing advice and guidance on career development. In other words, policymakers need to ensure that the process of decision-making is also supported. It is not enough to have sufficient relevant information if the process by which one reaches a decision is then haphazard. The studies highlighted how many career decisions were made without too much consideration, sometimes critical decisions were almost made spontaneously. Indeed, results for the entrepreneurship study (Nabi, Holden, & Walmsley, 2006) indicated the lack of use of careers support and advice in our sample. This is also reflected in Ward et al.'s (2008) entrepreneurial intentions survey where only 30% of students in this Yorkshire study were aware of the start-up support available in their institution. Perhaps advocating a detailed career plan is too rigid, and there should be scope to experiment, after all this is what was endorsed above. Nonetheless, this should not mean that individuals need no advice and guidance. Improving career decision-making is critical. This has to date it seems, been largely overlooked.

This also goes for any attempt at retaining graduates in the region, and also attracting graduates to the region. Because there is substantial complexity underlying career development, and because most people do not make career decisions in a mechanistic way, as suggested by career decision-making theories that are based on

quantitative evaluations (see for example Gati, 1986; Gati & Tikotzki, 1989), retaining graduates in the region will prove difficult. Policymakers need to ensure not only that the advantages the region has to offer are made apparent, but that individuals have the ability to make career decisions that take this information into account.

There is, furthermore, substantial scope for increased research into how graduates make career decisions, and the most effective way of assisting them to make decisions that will allow their full potential to unfold. While some research now exists on graduate flows into and out of regions, as well as graduates' desire for business start-up, this work is largely survey based. Further research might usefully take a more qualitative, interpretive approach; one that takes individual meanings of careers into account. The complexity of factors that influence career decision-making and career development is not something that can solely be understood by large scale studies. Researchers should try to make sense of the nitty-gritty of career decision-making. This may then lead to recommendations that are of use to policymakers and the graduates themselves. There may also be valuable lessons for Higher Education.

## CONCLUSION

This essay has discussed the outcomes of two studies as they relate to the regional economy. The studies themselves were largely regionally focussed in terms of participants; and the issues the studies dealt with have implications for the region. At a time when the development of human capital is at the forefront of nations' drive to enhance their economies, regions within nations have also seen an opportunity in the HE sector to nurture talent. However, concerns have been raised about the retention of graduates on the one hand, and the matching of graduate and job role on the other. While this largely relates to a matching of graduate skills to jobs, motivation and organisational fit in terms of organisational culture also play a role in the transition to work process (Wanous, 1992). As a result of the studies discussed it was argued that career decision-making is often a haphazard process with graduates not being fully aware of existing opportunities in the labour market, particularly the non-traditional labour market for graduates which would include SMEs and business start-up. To improve the transition into jobs that will make most use of the graduates' talent, to the benefit of the graduate as well as the region, policymakers and HE institutions should do more to assist in the career decision-making process. Researchers can in turn assist policymakers by undertaking research that further explores career decision-making in both the traditional and non-traditional labour markets. This is crucial if policy is not to run blind on this important issue.

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# **THE NORTHERN LEADERSHIP ACADEMY – TOWARDS LEADERFUL COMMUNITIES IN THE NORTH, ESPECIALLY YORKSHIRE AND HUMBER! By Jeff Gold**

## **CONTEXT**

The qualification in the title to this essay is necessary because even though the Northern Leadership Academy still exists on paper as a partnership between universities across the three regions of the north of England, it is really only in Yorkshire and the Humber that there is any evidence (up to June 2009) of its continuation. How this has come about and why will be considered in this essay.

To go back to the beginning, the Northern Leadership Academy (NLA) was created in 2006 as part of The Northern Way strategy to bridge the £30bn output gap between the North and the average for England. It was seen by the three Regional Development Agencies (RDAs) as its flagship initiative to support and stimulate leadership throughout the North, in order to generate measurable and sustainable growth. Initially collaboration between Lancaster University Management School, Leeds University Business School and the University of Liverpool Management School, there was an early claim that this represented the very best modern thinking and expertise on leadership. The vision was simple:

Central to reducing the output gap is the elevation of leadership development and skill levels. By educating leaders to operate more successfully within their own environments, it was hoped that a new culture of dynamism and enterprise would cascade down through the workforce. The result would be the creation of 'leaderful' organisations that will be well-positioned to make the most of every economic opportunity in the years ahead.

Of course, there would be no easy path to achieving any of this quickly and certainly not within the two years of funding that was made available. It became clear that we needed to do two things. Firstly, establish ourselves as 'thought leaders' relating to what worked in leadership and enterprise development by using evidence to produce principles of good practice. Secondly, we needed to build networks around these principles to provide programmes that could become sustainable. It was important, we felt, to aim to remove the need for public funding for support for development but this would need interventions that added proven value to business.

My aim in this essay is to show how, on the basis of evidence gathering and network building, the NLA has moved to become a vehicle for collaborative working in support of generating and regenerating economic and community development in Yorkshire and the Humber.

## **BASING DEVELOPMENTS ON EVIDENCE**

We set up a process of gathering evidence relating to the practice of leadership and enterprise development. We already knew a great deal but as the evidence accumulated, we found that we knew rather less. Gathering evidence was very much part of a plan to provide convincing and persuasive ideas that could affect the delivery of policy. The main focus for our attention was the field of Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) which make up 97% of business units, many of which seem to operate in a permanent mode of survival in the short term and resistant to offers of help from those outside the business. In addition, we also wanted to provide

evidence of what worked for third sector organisations and social enterprise as well as the public sector. We had decided early on that larger private sector organisations had already had a lot of attention focused on them.

We accessed evidence from a wide range of sources, including systematic reviews of literature, evaluation reports of programmes completed, stories told by advocates of particular approaches and emerging features, workshops with leaders, managers and practitioners and so on. As is often the case in this kind of work, we could not claim to have found a definitive and linear cause-and-effect of one approach against another or a truthful statement about what works. For example, as part of the work we conducted a systematic review of evidence for effective leadership in the contexts of the public and voluntary sectors and in SMEs; we found meagre evidence. In another review, we found a similar result<sup>62</sup>.

‘... the sheer volume of studies to date had not in themselves helped to clarify the picture. Vast numbers of empirical studies were inconsequential in outcome and often trivial in design. The ‘theories’ of leadership were lacking in breadth and were often addressing different phenomena (Storey and Mangham 2004 p339).’

While there certainly was a lack of clarification and definition, there was enough to enable us to point to some key features to help guide practice even though it was important to recognise that we could not claim perfection.

Because they feature so strongly in the NLA’s approach to SME development, it is worth stating here what have emerged as the Design Principles.

1. Engage with the identity and interests of the leader

For leaders in SMEs, learning becomes meaningful when it is strongly related to their concerns, problems and desires. It is important to explore the situation they are in and how this has come about. Every leader will have a story of who they are, how they come to be where they are and, possibly, what they are trying to achieve. The organisations they manage and lead are something that they personally value, both emotionally and financially. There may also be a long history to their position and this needs to be appreciated. Abstract concepts are unhelpful if they do not form part of the sense-making activities which help managers and relate to the image of themselves as leaders. They are also often very sceptical, if not cynical, about outside help and certainly sensitive to exposing potential ‘weakness’. It is therefore also fundamental to gain confidence, mutual respect and trust as well as establish perspective and relativity.

2. Understand the context and build from it

The lived experience of the SME leader both shapes and is shaped by the context of the organisation, so it is important to understand this context before any activity can be provided. The particular context of the organisation and the issues arising from the context provides the reality that the leaders must face and any development must connect with it. The ‘best practice’ approaches of leadership development in larger organisations start from the wrong premise. For many SME leaders the desire to be self employed greatly shapes their disposition to learning. SME leaders have to establish ‘balance’

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<sup>62</sup> Storey, J. & Mangham, I. (2004). ‘Bringing the strands together’, in Storey, J. (ed.). *Leadership in Organisations: Current Issues & Key Trends*, London: Routledge, p.339

between strategic and operational performance as well as between management and leadership. However, through their experiences of running their business, themes of loneliness and isolation are common. They have a desire to understand whether the ways they run their businesses is appropriate and this potentially opens a possibility to explore new ideas but there must be connection to the realities they face.

### 3. Respond to the time-frame as appropriate

It is important to understand a leader's thinking about time-frames. The reality is that most SMEs have extremely short planning horizons and order books that barely last more than one or two months at a time. Indeed, SMEs that operate at survival levels work with a time-frame that can best be summarized as 'here and now'. Thus strategy development and long-term business growth are, more often than not, relegated to the background or do not feature at all in the 'thinking' of SMEs. For such leaders, attempts to move too quickly beyond immediate concerns are likely to be rejected. However, recent research has shown that there is a significant association between a SME's approach to strategic planning and its business performance and those who engage in a "strategic" approach to their organisations, working with time-frames from 1 to 5 years, are likely to be more profitable with a greater capacity to grow, innovate and develop new products.

### 4. Determine the measurement and what is valued

How SMEs measure their performance is strongly connected to the response managers have to what they learn. The measures managers use can constrain and limit learning especially as research suggests that most SMEs find it difficult to participate in performance measurement projects because of the lack of time available for anything other than operational activities. Further performance measurement is narrowly focused, usually on financial and operational aspects with little awareness of integration or systemic consideration. Even where a performance model is employed, the implementation tends to be partial or incorrect – a consequence perhaps of most models being more suited to larger organizations. Measurement is not planned but is responsive to and emerges from solving problems, the consequence of which is that any measures that do emerge are past-oriented and developed to support control.

### 5. Stimulate entrepreneurship and stretch

SME leaders are generally concerned with present interests, seeking to provide improvements to current ways of working. It is important to assess existing capacity and capabilities and explore the potential for making an advance. Each leader will have a meaning for such advances, simultaneously providing the potential and limit for development. Attempting to move the manager too far beyond this point will be seen as inappropriate or unrealistic. However, over time, and through the development of relationships with others, it may become possible to gain command of new capabilities, setting a new and higher limit on the potential and limit for development.

### 6. Develop communities of practice

Learning by leaders in SMEs most often occurs naturally by completing work and solving problems as part of an everyday process. Such learning is the by-

product of a work process rather than the focus of the process itself and is shared with everyone involved in the process. The accumulation of such learning over time, and the meanings attached to what is done become accepted by everyone connected to the organisation. SME leaders also like to learn with and from others who have similar concerns and face similar issues. There is a need for learning to connect to action and being able to consider the possibilities with others who can understand the realities they face is more likely to lead to success. The social and interdependent dimension of learning is therefore crucial. Through conversations during which managers share information, seek help and generally give meaning to their work, collective knowledge is created which enables, sustains, and constrains but also advances its practice.

## 7. Enhance belief, confidence and awareness

Any attempt to provide support for SME management and leadership development requires a space to attract managers into a conversation. Development interventions must recognise the need for appropriate language, appropriate learning contexts (often their context and other businesses) and a pedagogy that is premised on exchanges of experiences and ideas. There is the need to help managers identify how interventions relate to their business, how this helps the development of both the business and themselves, from which they can aspire to an appropriate identity. A key characteristic of this approach is the extent to which managers are able to set the agenda and influence the direction and speed of conversations according to their interests, gaining confidence as they do so. Similarly there is a need to reinforce the identity development process by focusing on areas of competence and skill development.

The Design Principles have been important because they provide a statement of our attempts to understand the evidence. While we could not claim completeness and we recognised the need to refine or challenge them on the basis of new or better evidence, they were at least a move forward and could be used to develop approaches to intervention and development of SMEs. One implication that we could see was the need to evaluate publicly-funded SME programmes more rigorously and over a longer period of time. There is a tendency in such programmes for evaluation to provide a simple review at the completion of interventions without further efforts to provide evidence of impact and business change in the short term or medium term. An evaluation framework at different levels over differing time periods and using a variety of methods was another concern of the NLA in the first phase of the project.

## BUILDING A NETWORK

Working with the evidence and producing Design Principles was also a means of engaging with others while recognising that each would have their own interests to advance. While initially much activity was focused in the three initiating universities of Lancaster, Liverpool and Leeds, it was recognised by some at an early stage that to spread influence we would need to engage with other stakeholders, including other universities but also a wide variety of other organisations and partnerships. We sought to find where there might be mutual advantage in working together and wherever possible this had to be done face to face. We recognised that these stakeholders would not change their own ideas easily, and so there needed to be an ongoing process of dialogue to allow different voices to be heard, assumptions surfaced and modified and challenged. For this to happen, mutual recognition was vital. We were very concerned that the NLA did not appear as an all-knowing 'Big

Brother'. We knew we knew a great deal, but recognised there was a lot we did not know and needed to learn! Our approach, therefore, was to invite others as collaborating partners.

We saw that the future of the NLA, and the development and enactment of principles, lay in a form of working that allowed different partners with different histories and interests and skills to work together. As a consequence of their own experience, many had been adhering to the principles of good practice provision for a considerable period of time. Most professional providers (but not all) undertake their own research and evaluations and, of course, learn from experience and adjust their practice as a natural part of their activity. We also recognised that collaborative working would require a great deal of trust, which could not be taken for granted, and that the facility to argue together, so that we could leverage knowledge to enable the spread of what worked throughout the North, whilst at the same time sharing and capturing our learning, would not be easy. So, we needed to provide opportunities to generate and create knowledge through action and to capture it through evaluation as evidence. If we advocate ideas, such as the importance of strategic space for managers and leaders, we needed to help create these, both within and between partners. In such spaces, knowledge can be shared, assumptions surfaced and challenged, tensions explored and new possibilities agreed. One appealing image is that of tying different strands of expertise together like that of a strong 'knot' – what has been called 'knotworking' (Engeström 2004)<sup>63</sup>.

During the first phase of the project, we identified 10 other universities throughout the North which, to varying degrees, had already established themselves in SME development activity. Most had already contributed to our understanding through their evidence of good practice. While we acknowledged that they were all existing universities, we saw these as providing the most fertile ground for collaboration. Our offer was to join with us to further our understanding of what works in leadership, management and enterprise development and to work with the SME Design Principles. In return, we wanted to work with each as an NLA Centre to spread the idea of collaboration, both within the institutions but also outwards toward local partners.

For each centre, we highlighted two key elements. Firstly, each centre could begin a strategic learning process around leadership, management and enterprise development. This could mean a critical examination of approaches and offers but also finding out about expertise within each institution. It is not uncommon in a university to find fragmentation, with little effort to explore beyond traditional boundaries, even though leadership and enterprise development are usually cross-faculty issues. At Leeds Met for example, we began a series of events to find common interests around leadership and enterprise development and this allowed a sharing knowledge and new ideas.

Secondly, each centre could look to form links with key groups and individuals outside the university or college. We saw private providers as key players, including Chambers of Commerce, that were successful in working and earning their living from helping SMEs. Many have great experience and can pass this on to managers, if the correct links are made. There is mutual learning for both university and providers from collaboration. Following the Leitch Report in 2006, Sector Skills Councils (SSCs) had a crucial role in stimulating demand for leadership development, therefore there could be good opportunities in collaborating with SSCs.

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<sup>63</sup> Engeström, Y. (2004). 'New forms of learning in co-configuration work', paper to the Department of Information Systems' *ICTs in the Contemporary World* seminar, London School of Economics, January

We made contact with the Sector Skills Development Agency<sup>64</sup> who pointed us in the direction of the Cross Sector Management and Leadership Forum, which had been formed in recognition of the common interest, like us, in management and leadership in all SSCs. Of course, while there was recognition of this, the meaning of management and leadership would vary across sectors. In particular, our interest in SMEs had been matched by the Forum, who had already designed, piloted and evaluated a programme of Action Learning for SME managers. The success of this programme formed part of our evidence base to develop our Design Principles. In addition, we had started to work with a number of SSCs, using Action Learning as a way of connecting with employers.

## BACK TO YORKSHIRE AND THE HUMBER

In April 2008, the initial phase of the NLA came to an end. An evaluation report was commissioned and the value of the activities was assessed. Broadly, the main activities had been:

- Development of a market-leading web portal that provided access to high quality resources to help improve leadership and enterprise skills. The portal provided connectivity across the regions and disseminated good practice through sector-specific content.
- A programme of projects and pilots, carefully tailored to cluster and sector needs. This included for example, programmes of action learning for SMEs in each of the NLA centres, coaching and mentoring, workshops for third sector and public sector leaders and master-classes.
- Dialogue with business representatives, based on field research on what really works.
- A fellowship programme for PhD students researching into leadership and enterprise at universities across the North.
- An ongoing evaluation of programmes and methodologies, with a view to informing policy-makers on best practice.

However, probably the most important outcomes related to the articulation of Design Principles based on evidence of what worked and the use of the principles to develop a network of NLA centres across the north of England as well as relationships with SSCs and other agencies and large numbers of providers of leadership and enterprise development. We were very keen to ensure that the momentum could be sustained, although this would require a degree of financial support. At the start of 2008, there followed a period of intense discussion and lobbying to bring this about. Certainly we could not expect financial support at the level of the initial phase, and separate from the portal, we could see there were significant possibilities for a more collaborative approach in bidding, competitively, for various funded projects. For example, in the sub region of West Yorkshire, a Strategic Regional Investment Programme project seeking to advance the Business Case for Diversity in Management and Leadership Development is being delivered by a partnership of a social enterprise consultancy, an FE college and Leeds Met, Bradford and Leeds Universities, each represented by leading academics. The NLA role was to bring these partners together and provide support on the basis of what already works and to help define the questions around what is not known. On this basis, working

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<sup>64</sup> Now part of the UK Commission for Employment and Skills

through a Strategic Learning Partnership, the project has in its first year of work sought to reconsider the argument for diversity in terms of how value is created through differences in talent and skills as applied within the organisation but also in interactions with many others. There is a real potential here to show how a difficult area of management and leadership work is being transformed through a partnership approach fostered by the NLA.

Evidence that the partnership approach was working was enough to persuade Yorkshire Forward to provide support for another year from April 2008. The other Regional Development Agencies came to an agreement with Yorkshire Forward to provide support for the portal, but it was only in Yorkshire and the Humber that support was provided to expand the network. Thus during 2008 we have seen significant development of the NLA partner network. This involves not just the original partners in Yorkshire and Humber but now all Universities as well as Wakefield College. Sufficient funding was provided to each to become an NLA centre, providing Action Learning for SMEs but also to participate in using the Design Principles to develop programmes for growth in SMEs.

We should recall that during the summer of 2008, the credit crunch and subsequent recession had not yet arrived, so growth was still the intention and we knew from our analysis of SMEs, it was unlikely that there would be a single model for development and attention to engagement and response to particular desires and interests of managers were paramount. However, we started to work as a network to construct programmes for SMEs that could be delivered through the NLA centres. The results were a series of 'Journeys', each based on the NLA's evidence-based principles of what works in SME leadership and management development. We called this the Yorkshire Leadership Programme, and the different Journeys are shown in Figure 1.

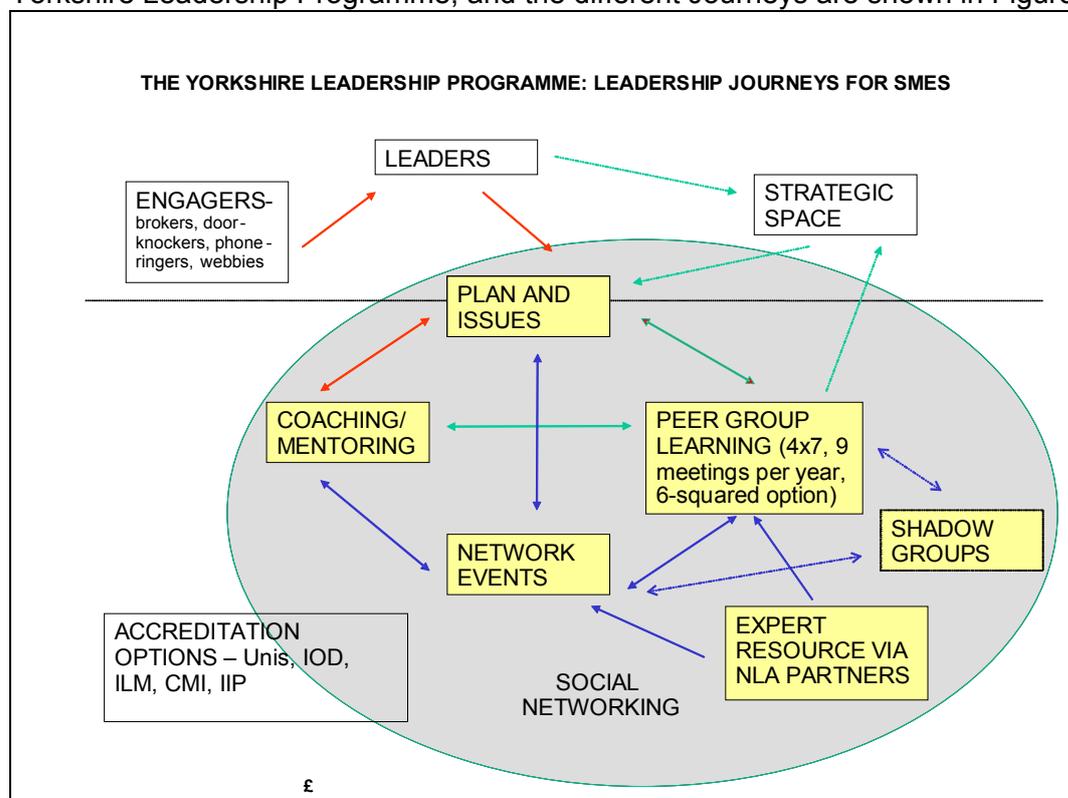


Figure 1

The programme consists of three journeys as follows:

- Journey 1 – this consists of engagement allowing for the development of a plan based on key issues facing the manager/business followed by coaching/mentoring to respond to the plan
- Journey 2 – in addition to engagement and the development of a plan, managers can combine coaching/mentoring with attendance at a peer group learning process. Also, working with their team from the business, managers can also consider a radical challenge to their direction at a Strategic Space workshop (See Thorpe et al 2008)
- Journey 3 – as for Journey 2 but based on the establishment of a network of 28 SMEs organised into 4 peer groups. Network events are provided based on common issues with a social networking facility to support.

The starting point depends entirely on the preference of SME managers or leaders. There are some key stages in the programme:

- Engagement (Journeys 1, 2, 3) – building a relationship with leaders by intermediaries. The evidence suggests that engagement is a complex process. While many SMEs are aware of support and are happy to work with recognized brokers, we also know that most SMEs tend to ignore offers of support. However there is now evidence that shows that some brokers can build good relationships with ‘hard-to-reach’ SME managers but this requires a very particular skills set and strategic understanding. We believe that this evidence can now be used more effectively. In addition, in some sectors, engagement requires working with online communities and use of Web 2.0 technologies.
- Diagnostics (Journeys 1, 2, 3) – this is strongly connected to engagement and requires sensitive understanding of an SME’s concerns and ways of working. We do not advocate any particular instrument; however there are several that can be employed. The crucial outcomes are a clearly defined plan of requirements and actions to be taken which incorporate measurement for improvement.
- Strategic Space (Journeys 2, 3) to allow formation of vision, strategic intent and radical challenge of assumptions. This can be completed by a series of workshops or attendance at a facility located in each NLA partner premises.
- Coaching and mentoring (Journeys 1, 2, 3) – evidence suggests that this is the preferred method of support for most SME managers. This can incorporate specific training at work but more generally, business support to help implement the plan developed. Incorporated into the price are up to 12 hours of coaching and mentoring. Extra time can be purchased by arrangement.
- Peer learning group of 7 leaders (Journeys 2, 3) – for many SME leaders, sharing problems and concerns with others like themselves has also been shown to be effective. Whether it is called action learning, peer to peer learning or team learning, we believe that in combination with coaching and mentoring, this provides a powerful vehicle for development.
- Shadow Groups (Journeys 2, 3) – peer learning can be extended to the organization by opting to participate in a further learning process. This allows leaders to learn about peer learning and recruiting others to join the programme.

- Network events (Journey 3) – if we can attract at least 20 leaders to undertake journey 3, we can hold a number of network events which will also allow guests to attend. Such events may involve expert speakers or experiential processes such as open space and future search.
- Expert resource (Journey 3) drawn from NLA partners and network as required – made available to peer learning groups and network events. In response to needs identified by a peer learning group and across the network, we could provide specific activities such as masterclasses, training programmes, reading and so on.

We also know that most SME leaders do not specifically seek accreditation. Therefore there is no attempt to specify accreditation as part of a Journey, unless required by the participant. It then becomes a question of which qualification is most suited and desired. Fortunately, we have established good relationships with a number of possible accrediting bodies including the Universities, of course, but also the Institute of Leadership and Management, the Chartered Management Institute, Investors in People and the Institute of Directors.

In October 2008, the UK and the rest of the world had started their descent into recession. This stimulated bodies such as Yorkshire Forward to find approaches to help businesses survive. We presented the Journeys as such an approach, and after a period of negotiation, we were awarded sufficient funding to establish a network of SMEs as part of Journey 3. We specified that we would do this in the Leeds City Region, and in collaboration with the National Skills Academy for Manufacturing and two Sector Skills Councils (Semta and Proskills). In addition, we would seek to work with the existing Leadership and Management programme in the region to avoid overlap and duplication. The programme started recruiting in June with centres at York St John University, Huddersfield University, Leeds Met University and Wakefield College.

This programme carries the hopes of finally removing the fragmentation that frequently characterises SME business support as well as connecting Universities with providers who have proved their expertise in working with SMEs. We will clearly pay careful attention to evaluation to ensure the evidence continues to be gathered.

In addition to the collaboration around the Journeys model, the network has held a number of events that clearly would have been more difficult without the support of the NLA. In June 2008 we held a successful event at Headingley Carnegie Stadium to consider the importance of Action Learning to the region. Action Learning is now firmly established in the NLA centres but also, through our support and influence, in Chambers of Commerce, the West Yorkshire Lifelong Learning Network and the Third Sector in Leeds. We estimate around 300 participants have experienced Action Learning in NLA supported programmes over the last year. In addition we have held two open space events to consider leadership in Yorkshire, each attended by over 70 participants and a rather splendid afternoon to consider leadership through stories from Rugby League where we heard about leading the game through its turbulent recent history, leading a club with 25 departments, leading the New Zealand team to glory against Australia and how collectively a team of no-hopers from Ireland could reach the semi-final of the World Cup.

## SUMMARY

The NLA remains a project in emergence. However, through combined events and an ongoing partner forum to share examples of good practice, the network gains the benefit of collective learning which can be disseminated among their partners and beyond. The NLA plays a key role in providing a unique bridge between 'the worlds of academia, the private sector and the public sector'. It is valued because, as one partner observes, 'rather than that of a self-serving entity, its raison d'être is clearly focused on increasing the value of the SME community within the region'.

Another partner explains,

'Through the NLA I have been able to share my thoughts and ideas and to develop the work that my firm does in the SME sector with the help and support of fellow consultants, non-executive directors, coaches, mentors, trainers and academics. I have also been able to participate in discussions with public sector representatives to help influence the direction in which support is given to SMEs to ensure that such support is as cost effective as possible.

Another suggests,

'The NLA has been a fantastic way of bridging the gap between businesses, particularly the SMEs, training providers and academia in creating the type of sustainable infrastructure I value.'

The NLA has been developed at a time when we have started to doubt the efficacy of top-down approaches to supporting SMEs which make broad generalisations about manager requirements but contain little accuracy. There is also doubt that market-led approaches will ever serve those organisations that need the most support. Therefore, it is incumbent upon those who have been gathering the evidence to make it accessible and help formulate something better. The NLA is a network based on evidence of what has worked, using evaluation to make improvements as it emerges. We can already see the benefits of sharing knowledge, collaboration and developing mutually beneficial projects. It is a unique feature of the landscape and is only available in Yorkshire and the Humber; we must not waste the opportunity.

From a policy perspective, we see the development of a network based on evidence as a signal for the need to use intelligence from a variety of sources to offer a much more varied pattern of engagement and support for SMEs and community based groups. We know that engagement has to be based on careful and persistent efforts of third party agents or intermediaries who can work in the language of managers. We know from evidence that generalised approaches such as the Integrated Brokerage Service can only offer a limited approach to SME engagement. Diagnosis of needs is usually too mechanistic and would be better understood as a feature of engagement and the development of relationships with managers. Tick box approaches are seldom beneficial for managers. Development starts with dealing with and learning from solving problems faced. It is mostly informal but coaches and mentors can help as can peers but the choice has to be left with the manager. We believe that if we can get the basics right, we can begin to solve a very long-standing problem of supporting SME managers in the development of their organisations if that is their aspiration.

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# **ADDRESSING WORKLESSNESS: OUTCOMES FOR DISADVANTAGED GROUPS - RESEARCH INTO ESF OBJECTIVE 2 BENEFICIARIES IN WEST YORKSHIRE** By Fiona Walton

## INTRODUCTION

Addressing the issue of worklessness is a key Government priority, driven by two considerations – the desire for social justice and the need for a globally competitive economy. A wide range of interventions have been developed to encourage unemployed and disengaged individuals to ‘reconnect’ with the labour market, including flagship national projects such as New Deal, and projects based on need in particular localities such as Employment Zones and the European Social Fund (ESF) component of the European Structural Funds.

A central element of all worklessness related interventions is the need to demonstrate ‘positive outcomes’ in the form of beneficiaries accessing sustainable employment. This paper argues, however, that projects that aim to address worklessness should not simply be considered a success based on measurement of the numbers of beneficiaries that move into work. Research into the outcomes for beneficiaries of ESF Objective 2 (O2) projects in West Yorkshire suggests that specific projects, particularly those that are small and locally based, perform a valuable service in local communities in encouraging previously disengaged individuals to participate and develop skills and personal attributes that can enable them to make a positive contribution, both economically and socially, to their community in the future. They may not, however, facilitate immediate progression into the labour market. As such, it is important that these projects that focus on softer, less tangible outcomes are set appropriate targets which enable them to evidence their success.

This paper begins by examining the current national policy context in relation to worklessness, before looking in more detail at the implementation of ESF O2 in West Yorkshire and its contribution to the employment policy agenda. The findings from research to examine beneficiary outcomes from ESF funded projects in West Yorkshire are then discussed. The paper concludes by considering some of the implications for policy emerging from the research.

## CONTEXT

Current national policy in relation to worklessness is strongly influenced by two related issues – the integration of employment and skills and the reform of the Welfare to Work agenda.

The Leitch Review (Leitch 2006) presented a strong rationale for the integration of the employment and skills systems in order to provide greater support for the most disadvantaged individuals, including those who are unemployed or inactive with low skills, as well as those who are employed in low skill occupations. His argument that skills development can help to move people from benefit into work and subsequently enable them to stay and progress in the labour market was widely accepted and a range of related reforms were proposed in the Government response, World Class Skills (DIUS 2007). More detailed proposals of how the employment and skills systems will be integrated were presented in the Work Skills command paper (DWP/DIUS 2008), which set out a range of interventions, including Skills Accounts,

the development of the Adult Advancement and Careers Service and the extension of the requirement to train to a number of key out of work groups. The overall aim of the proposals is to increase individuals' chances of accessing sustained employment with skills progression. The significance of Leitch for projects to address worklessness is the focus on skills development as a precursor to employment (as well as a facilitator of progression once in work), which should then contribute to more sustainable long-term outcomes. As such, within a Leitch-driven policy arena, there would appear to be a place for interventions that begin to address those skills issues, without directly leading to employment outcomes. A key question is how to evidence the impact of these projects.

Whilst one area of welfare reform seeks to strengthen the links with the skills development agenda, in other areas the emphasis falls on greater activation of Jobcentre Plus customers, with conditionality and sanctions applied to benefit payments in order to encourage increased job search activity amongst the majority of claimants (Gregg 2008). This approach raises some issues, particularly in the current economic climate, given the potential tensions of created by an increasing requirement on customers to enter the labour market at a time of rising unemployment. At such a time, the recognition of progress towards the labour market, not simply achievement in it, becomes increasingly important.

It is widely acknowledged that issues of worklessness, deprivation and poverty impact disproportionately on certain groups and localities in society; and it has become increasingly accepted, particularly since the election of the Labour Government in 1997, that interventions at the local level are required in order to help individuals to overcome barriers to employment and 'reconnect' to the labour market. There is a general understanding that the need for flexible, personalised and holistic support, often typified by a 'small steps' approach to reintegration for the hardest-to-help groups, is most effectively addressed at the local level; based on local need, local capacity and local labour market conditions, utilising the skills and knowledge of key local partners and building capacity within the local community. Partnership working amongst local, sub-regional and regional stakeholders from all sectors (public, private and third) is required in order to support this process and ensure effective service delivery. This local approach is the model of design, development and delivery that many of the ESF funded projects adhere to.

#### ESF Objective 2 in West Yorkshire

The 2000-2006 Objective 2 (O2) programme was one of four European Structural Funds designed to assist parts of the European Union (EU) which compared unfavourably with the Union's average levels of economic prosperity. The programme aimed to strengthen economic and social cohesion within the EU. Government Offices managed two of the key funding streams: European Regional Development Fund (ERDF, now managed by the Regional Development Agency) and the European Social Fund (ESF). The ESF was set up to improve employment opportunities, aiming to help people fulfil their potential by giving them better skills and better job prospects. In particular, it aimed to:

- Help unemployed and inactive people enter work
- Provide opportunities for people at a disadvantage in the labour market
- Promote lifelong learning
- Develop the skills of employed people
- Improve women's participation in the labour market.

ESF contributed to the dual aims of social justice and a competitive global economy by focusing on those most in need of support and providing the potential workforce with the skills needed by businesses. As such, it strongly reflected UK Government employment policy.

Within Yorkshire and the Humber, ESF O2 funds for 2000-2006 targeted urban and rural areas undergoing economic and social change and was allocated across the following three key priorities and measures:

- Priority 1.4 People skills for the New Objective 2 Entrepreneurship Agenda
- Priority 2.4 People skills for adaptive businesses
- Priority 3.3 Supporting community-led economic and social renewal

Priority 3 funding was targeted at certain wards within the overall Objective 2 eligibility map, equating to approximately one third of the Objective 2 overall eligible population. These target wards comprised the top 10 per cent most deprived in the country (from the Index of Multiple Deprivation 2000), deprived wards in transition from the 1997-1999 programme, and rural wards. This therefore links strongly to the hypothesis that supporting individuals in areas of greatest need is an important element of the worklessness agenda.

ESF funding supported a wide range of diverse projects that varied in terms of size, duration and intensity, focus of training and beneficiary target groups. Examples of some of the projects in West Yorkshire that completed in 2007 include:

- Working with Asian women who have recently arrived in the country and are not able to access mainstream services fully because of language and cultural barriers
- Providing training in community radio and related skills
- Providing access to a training gateway and to gain a range of construction skills
- Providing training in childcare and playwork
- Providing accredited training and work experience opportunities to access employment in the sport and leisure and community development sectors
- Providing support for disaffected young people using a menu based approach to learning in sports, music, youthwork and ICT
- Provision of ICT and Skills for Life training
- Provision of support and training to women from South East Asia in terms of short and long term courses and assistance with job search, CVs, applications etc.
- Provision of a 12 week personal development course to disadvantaged young people.

## THE RESEARCH

The 2000-2006 ESF programme had an overall target to train more than 12,000 unemployed people and for 55 per cent of these to access employment on completion of the training. Monitoring data suggests that, whilst the number of unemployed people that were trained was well in excess of the target figure, the proportion entering employment was below the target. This raises issues about the appropriateness of employment outcome targets for the range of projects funded through ESF, and about the other outcomes that were achieved by project beneficiaries.

The research undertaken by the Policy Research Institute in 2008 sought to examine both of these issues through a telephone survey of individual beneficiaries of ESF O2 projects (n=219) and qualitative interviews with project managers of six of the projects that were delivered through the programme. In order to investigate the different experiences of the two groups, the telephone interviews were split between beneficiaries who had achieved an employment outcome following participation in the ESF project and those who had not. The majority of respondents to the survey had participated in projects in receipt of Priority 3 funding.

Below we summarise the key findings of the research which help to explain why some individuals move into work following participation in projects such as those funded through ESF, and what the outcomes are for those individuals that do not access work.

## BENEFICIARY OUTCOMES

### Factors influencing job entry

The research identified a number of factors that appeared to influence beneficiary outcomes in terms of entry to employment. In relation to project delivery, a higher proportion of those that achieved an employment outcome worked towards a qualification as part of their project than was the case for those that did not; and the former were also more likely to have been given specific information and assistance to help them access work than the latter, including access or referrals to specific employers with job opportunities. These factors could potentially have had an influence on subsequent outcomes, but may also reflect the capacity and motivation of the individuals involved (i.e. these beneficiaries may have received this type of support precisely because they were more likely to be seeking employment, and to be 'job ready' immediately following the project).

What was particularly evident was the differences in the circumstances prior to participation in ESF funded projects between those that achieved employment outcomes and those that did not. It is likely that these differences were a contributory factor to outcomes after participation. These included the following:

- Almost 90 per cent of those who achieved an employment outcome were actively seeking work prior to participation in the project, compared to just 56 per cent of those who did not achieve these outcomes. The latter group was more likely than the former to be looking after home and family, or not working because of sickness or disability. This group, therefore, had some very specific barriers to entry to the labour market.
- In terms of their employment history, those not achieving employment outcomes were more likely never to have worked than those who did enter employment, or to have been out of work for a longer period of time.
- A higher proportion of those that achieved an employment outcome held qualifications at NVQ level 2 or above prior to participation than was the case amongst those who did not achieve these outcomes.
- Those who achieved employment outcomes were significantly more likely to anticipate that they would look for paid work on completion of the project than those who did not; and those who did not enter employment were also more likely to anticipate that they would be looking for part-time work (less than 16 hours per week), the achievement of which would not qualify as an 'employment outcome' under ESF guidelines.

- Key barriers to employment for all respondents were lack of qualifications and lack of experience. A significant minority of those that did not achieve employment outcomes suggested that their personal circumstances (for example, having caring responsibilities or having a limiting illness or disability) were a barrier to work, potentially explaining the preference of some of this group for part-time employment.
- Following participation on the project, only half of those that did not enter employment were looking for paid work. Barriers to employment remained lack of experience, personal circumstances and lack of appropriate qualifications. In this respect, these participants may have required additional support to move them towards the labour market and any employment outcomes would be achieved in a longer timescale.

Overall, these findings suggest that those that failed to access employment following participation in ESF funded projects tended to be those that were the most distant from the labour market at the time of entry, and, therefore could be classed as amongst the 'hardest to help'. It is an inherent tension of such interventions that those who are most disadvantaged will require the most intensive support in order to enter employment, and that employment outcomes are, therefore, a considerable achievement. If high levels of employment outcomes are to be attained, it is almost inevitable that these will be achieved with those that are already closer to the labour market and face fewer barriers to work. The overall capacity and willingness of a proportion of beneficiaries to access work is, therefore, a challenge for the achievement of employment outcomes.

#### Other outcomes

A key element of the research was to examine the extent to which those that did not achieve employment outcomes benefited from the projects in which they participated. Overall, 30 per cent of those that did not enter employment had accessed further education or training following completion, with participation in the project being a significant contributory factor in this process for the majority of these respondents. This demonstrates the importance of ESF projects as a route into further learning and typifies the 'small steps' model of access to jobs i.e. taking an incremental approach to overcoming barriers to employment.

A range of other 'softer' outcomes such as skills development, the development of employment-related attributes and personal development were achieved by respondents to the survey. These are shown in more detail in Figures 1-3.

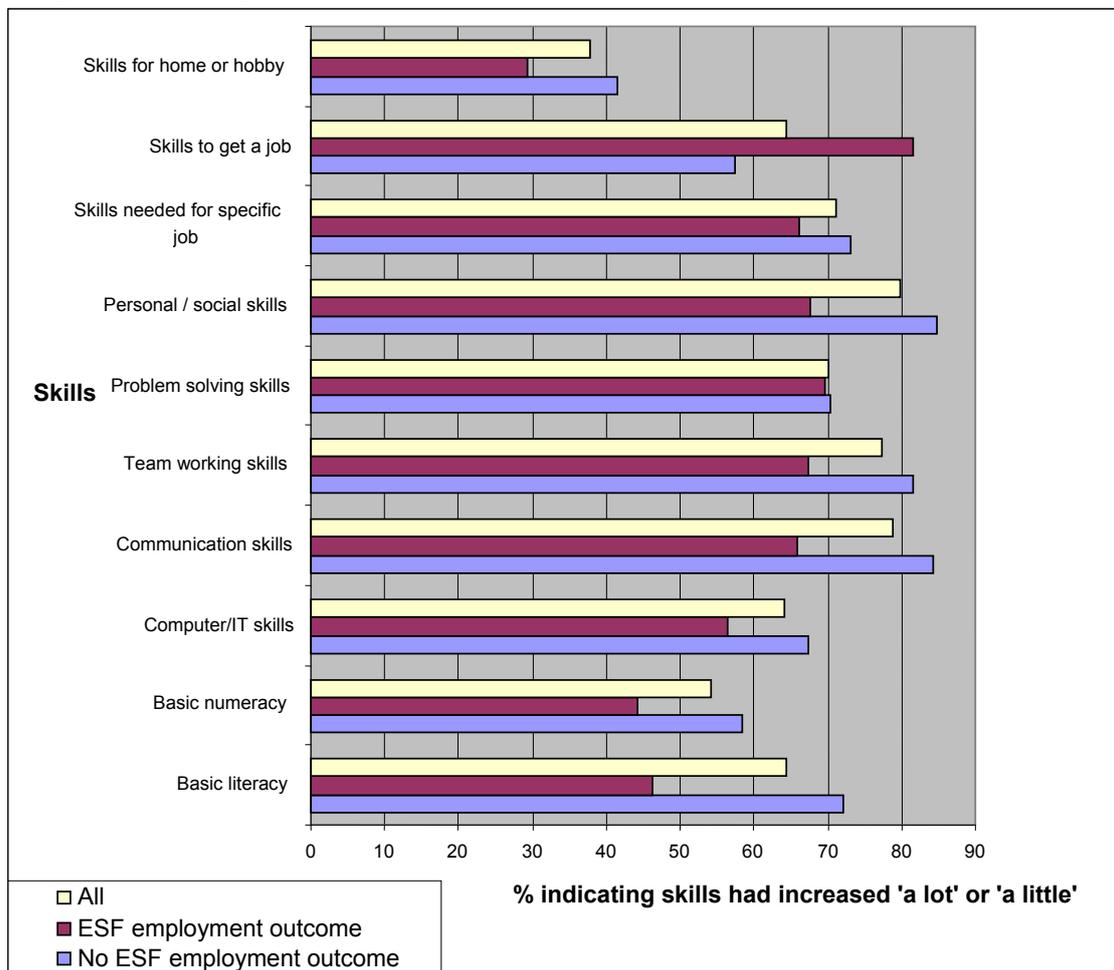
Skills (Figure 1) – Given the identification by Leitch of skills development as an important precursor to sustainable employment, ESF funded projects appear to have made a significant contribution to improving individuals' potential in the labour market. The majority of respondents to the survey indicated that their skills had improved in relation to a variety of areas as a result of participation in the project, including personal/social skills, team working skills, communication skills, problem solving skills and skills needed for a specific job. In addition, more than 70 per cent that did not achieve an employment outcome reported an increase in their basic literacy skills.

Respondents who did not achieve an employment outcome were more likely than those who did to identify an improvement in skills in relation to every area, with the exception of the 'skills that you need to get a job' (i.e. job search, writing CVs, interview techniques etc). The provision of support and training in relation to the

practical skills needed to get a job was clearly perceived to have been influential by the group who achieved the positive employment outcomes.

The difference in findings between those that achieved employment outcomes and those that did not can be interpreted in a number of different ways, particularly given that this is a self assessment of improvement and there is no indication of the baseline from which this is being taken. Given the analysis of the characteristics of these two groups prior to participation in the projects, it could be assumed that those who did not achieve employment outcomes were starting from a lower base (having relatively lower levels of qualifications and being further removed from the labour market than those who did achieve employment outcomes) and that there was, therefore, greater scope for improvement amongst this group. The findings do indicate, however, that respondents who may not have achieved a positive outcome in terms of employment believe that they have developed their skills in a number of areas as a result of ESF funded projects.

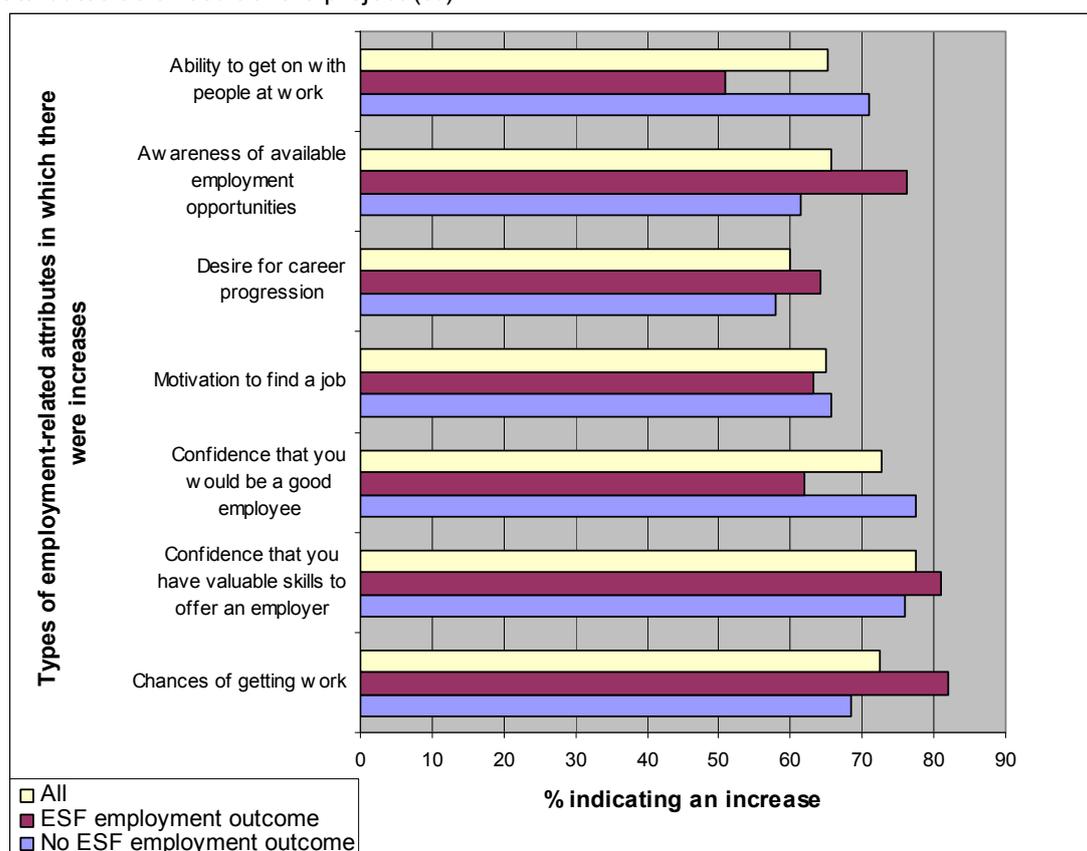
Figure 1: Proportion of respondents whose skills improved either a little or a lot as a result of taking part in the project (%)



Source: Policy Research Institute, 2008

Employment-related attributes (Figure 2) – More than half of those that did not achieve an employment outcome identified improvements in a range of work-related attributes as a result of participation in the project. This included more than 70 per cent who suggested that their confidence in relation to being a good employee and in having valuable skills to offer an employer had increased; and more than 60 per cent that their motivation to find a job had increased. Two thirds of this group also suggested that their chances of getting work had increased as a result of participation in the project. As such, the projects appear to have facilitated the development of a more positive attitude towards the potential to progress in the labour market for a significant proportion of this group.

Figure 2: Proportion of respondents who indicated an increase in employment-related attributes as a result of the project (%)



Source: Policy Research Institute, 2008

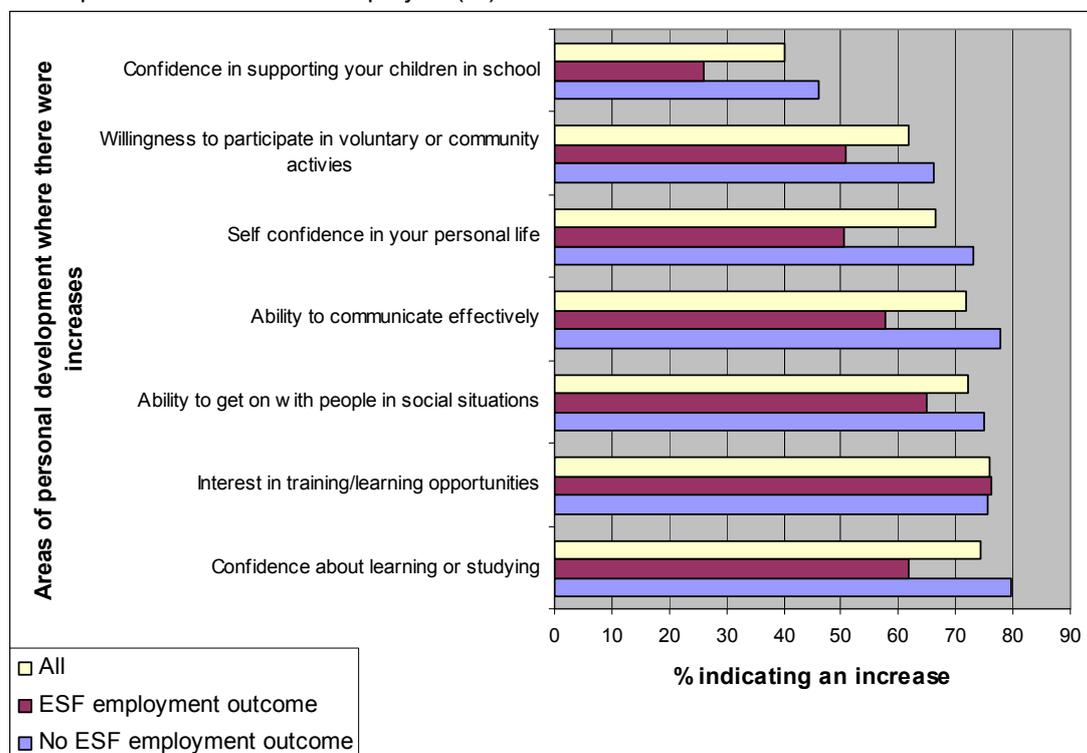
Personal development (Figure 3) – The extent to which projects such as those funded through ESF have an impact that reaches beyond a simple analysis of employment outcomes is clearly evidenced by the findings in relation to personal development. Respondents to the survey, both those that achieved employment outcomes and those that did not, indicated that participation in projects had contributed to personal development in a range of areas including self confidence, communication, interest in training and learning opportunities and willingness to participate in voluntary or community activities. A number of comments were made by respondents to the survey that reflects these findings. For example, when asked to identify the ‘best thing’ about the project, responses included:

“The self confidence they gave me, as it was a very long time since I’d been in any kind of education, and it all came back to me”

“Becoming human again – I was housebound and communication skills were very bad”

“Showing my children after all these years I am still capable of doing something educationally”.

Figure 3: Proportion of respondents who indicated increases in relation to areas of personal development as a result of the project (%)



Source: Policy Research Institute, 2008

Overall, these findings suggest that for a significant proportion of respondents, the ‘soft’ outcomes are where the impact of the projects was greatest. Respondents were positive in expressing the contribution that the project had made to improvements in a range of areas including those relating to skills, employability and personal development, even when this had not resulted in a tangible outcome such as employment or further education or training. There is certainly an indication that, even if they were not participating in the labour market, the majority of respondents perceived that they were more capable of doing so than was previously the case.

### Projects

Research with a small number of the projects funded through ESF confirmed the finding that a key aim of this type of intervention is to support disadvantaged individuals with a range of barriers to employment to begin to take steps towards the labour market, but that employment outcomes themselves may be a longer-term aim. In some cases, projects were of a relatively short duration (for example, one was a three week part-time course, aiming to provide a stepping stone to more mainstream provision). Of the six projects that were visited, only one was strongly and explicitly focussed on employment outcomes; with the others ranging from those that were predominantly about confidence building, to those that sought to overcome barriers to the labour market for those facing multiple disadvantages. As one project manager commented:

“For some participants the project was about escapism – doing something different, having social interaction and building confidence”.

During the research, the projects were keen to identify the ‘soft outcomes’ from their intervention, but only one had put in place a formalised process to evidence this. They had used a ‘distance travelled’ approach, monitoring self-assessed changes in beneficiaries in relation to a variety of areas including:

- Communication
- Knowledge and skills
- Time management
- Finance
- Health
- Presentation
- Life planning

All of the beneficiaries completing this process indicated that they had experienced an increase in knowledge and skills; more than 90 per cent that they had experienced an increase in communication, presentation and finance skills and more than 80 per cent had experienced an increase in relation to each of the other areas. This, therefore, provides some indication of the impact of the project; and it may be of benefit to projects of a similar nature to adopt, develop and formalise this approach to ‘distance travelled’ in order to monitor and evidence performance.

## CONCLUSIONS

The need to deliver effective and appropriate interventions to address worklessness remains acute, particularly given current economic circumstances. The effects of the recession, whilst widespread, are likely to be felt disproportionately by certain communities and groups of individuals who face the greatest barriers to accessing work, and who are likely to find this increasingly difficult due to competition in the labour market from more experienced and better skilled workers who have been made redundant. Whilst entry to employment for this group is the long-term aim, movement towards the labour market, for those currently disconnected, will be a necessary precursor to this outcome. Interventions to achieve this need to be carefully designed; and thought needs to be given as to the most relevant means of measuring and evidencing performance. In particular, the use of mainstream targets, such as employment outcomes, as a primary indicator for some of the interventions funded through ESF may not be appropriate.

The research into outcomes for beneficiaries of ESF funded projects in West Yorkshire highlights the potential issues projects like these face in achieving targets based on employment outcomes. The survey findings suggest that these projects have delivered improvements in skills, confidence and employability; but that these do not, in themselves, necessarily lead directly to employment. As such, greater attention needs to be paid to evidencing the softer outcomes in order for such projects to provide the required accountability to secure and justify public funding. If employment outcomes are to be the predominant target, this has implications for the type of projects that can be funded (largely those with direct and explicit links to the labour market) and the type of beneficiaries that can be supported (potentially leading to a significant gap in provision for those with the greatest need). If we are to support those that are hardest to help, then the focus should be on targets that evidence steps towards employment and ensuring that appropriate provision is in

place to facilitate progression through supported interventions until labour market outcomes become a realistic objective. This requires a considerable amount of joined up working across support services, which can be facilitated by the development of outcome measures that encourage such activity, for example, by including progression to further learning as a positive outcome.

Subsequent to the completion of the 2000-2006 ESF round of funding, a new round was launched to cover the period 2007-2013. This round has two main priorities:

- Priority 1 – extending employment opportunities
- Priority 2 – developing a skilled and adaptable workforce

The Yorkshire and the Humber Regional Skills Partnership (2007) has produced an ESF framework for the region outlining key priorities and profiled outputs and results. According to this document, for Priority 1 there is an aim for 22 per cent of participants to be in work on completion of their ESF project. Other targets relate to the proportion of previously inactive participants engaged in jobsearch or further learning; and the number of young people at risk of becoming NEET (not in employment, education or training) to enter one of these 'positive outcomes'. Targets for Priority 2 solely relate to the achievement of basic skills and level 2 and 3 qualifications. The focus on employment outcomes has clearly reduced from the 55 per cent set in the 2000-2006 round and this appears to far better reflect the type of projects that ESF funding is able to support, as well as the approach advocated by Leitch in terms of skills development as a contributory factor to employment outcomes. As a route into the labour market, a focus on skills development, proxied by the achievement of accreditation and qualifications, provides a basis for measuring success, but, if projects to support the hardest to help are to continue to justify their funding, there remains a need to identify and evidence the other areas of progress towards employment, particularly in terms of personal development, that projects funded by ESF can provide.

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# **TOWARDS PEOPLE CENTRED ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN WEST YORKSHIRE by David Devins and Phillip Hunter**

## **CONTEXT**

Many of the United Kingdom's cities have successfully grown and developed over the last decade, increasingly providing opportunities for employment and leisure for their citizens. Whilst there are many factors driving this growth, the skills and quality of the workforce are identified as a key determinant of competitive advantage and economic activity in our region (YF 2008). The influential Leitch Review of Skills (HMT 2006) highlighted the challenges we face and the opportunities to be realised in pursuit of the national skills agenda and a raft of policy developments has developed which seek to take the UK to the top of the international 'skills table' by 2020.

One such development seeks to devolve elements of skills policy to the local level where the need to harmonise national policy goals and local concerns is perhaps most obvious and urgent. Skills are increasingly becoming a central element of local economic development plans as cities look for new and more effective ways to harness the competitive advantage skills can bring to their locality. Education and training institutions, businesses and local government all have roles to play in developing and implementing strategy. However the process of strategy development and policy intervention is not as straightforward as one might assume given (a) the challenges cities and regions face as they seek to gain competitive advantage and (b) the complex, overlapping governance structures in place.

West Yorkshire is an area which has a growing, diverse population of just over 2 million. It comprises the cities of Leeds and Bradford and the three metropolitan boroughs of Calderdale, Kirklees and Wakefield. Industrial restructuring has led to an economy once reliant upon traditional industries such as coal mining and textiles making the transition towards a diverse and increasingly service-based economy. West Yorkshire has almost 55,000 VAT registered businesses with over half these businesses operating in business services and retail sectors of the economy. Although the vast majority of businesses are small (less than 10 employees) the majority of the workforce is employed in larger enterprises (over 50 employees). The employment rate in West Yorkshire is close to the national average although employment rates for some specific groups (e.g. Black and Ethnic Minority, lower skilled people and lone parent) and in some local areas and neighbourhoods are well below average. Future forecasts suggest that West Yorkshire will experience the highest employment growth in the region and also one of the highest rates of GVA growth with the city of Leeds exerting a considerable influence on economic development.

This essay explores the nature of People Centred Economic Development (PCED) and draws on the literature to recognise the disconnection between traditional approaches to economic development and a people centred approach. The paper argues that further action is required by key actors in West Yorkshire to ensure that economic development benefits local citizens in terms of both employment and skills development opportunities.

## PCED AND THE POLICY AGENDA

PCED means different things to different people. It is often associated with development economics which may study economic progress or transformation of economies at various spatial levels or the policies which seek to support such change. PCED is also associated with human capital theory which studies investment in education and training and the returns associated with this for individuals and society. Labour market economics, with an emphasis on matching the supply of suitably skilled labour with the manpower requirements (or demand) associated with the economy is a further important theoretical basis and justification for PCED. For the purposes of this essay PCED is bound up closely with the skills and workforce development agenda in the UK. This agenda is heavily influenced by an economic view of the world, which identifies the development of skills as central to economic competitiveness and social justice. The influence of human capital theory is strong, particularly the idea associated with investing in people as a form of capital which will provide a return which, in turn, can be measured and assessed (Garrick 1999). Indeed as a means of harnessing competitive advantage, human capital investment is viewed by some as unique, not subject to the diminishing returns associated with for example physical and technological development (Mathur 1999).

The theory of human capital provides a powerful influence on the policy agenda in England as evidenced by the influential Leitch review of skills to 2020. The Leitch Review emphasised the direct correlation between skills, productivity and employment, leading to wealth creation and a reduction in social deprivation. Indeed the report indicates that unless the UK can build on reforms to schools, colleges and universities and make its skills base one of its strengths, UK businesses will find it increasingly difficult to compete. Significantly the review emphasises the importance of demand-led skills and places inputs from employers and the development of 'economically valuable' skills at the heart of the proposed system.

One of the key messages emerging from the Leitch Review is that the majority of the 2020 workforce is already in employment and improvements to mainstream education services will not be enough to achieve the step-change in skills necessary to ensure that the UK remains competitive. The Review emphasised economically valuable skills, apprenticeships, qualifications and accreditation as key measures and targets for policy. The Review recommends the routing of all public funding for adult vocational skills in England (apart from community learning) through Train to Gain and Learner Accounts by 2010, to strengthen the employer's voice through an enhanced capacity for Sector Skills Councils (SSCs) and increase employer engagement and investment in skills through the launch of a new "Pledge" for employers to voluntarily commit to train all eligible employees up to NVQ Level 2<sup>65</sup> in the workplace and increased employer investment in Level 3 and 4 qualifications in the workplace. Leitch also identified the need for an integrated employment and skills service to support unemployed and economically inactive people to move into work complementing a further influential report by Freud (DWP 2007) highlighting the need for people to not only get in to work but also to get on in work so that financial benefits of sustained employment can be realised and poverty reduced.

A key aspiration of skills policy in the UK is to move towards a 'demand-led' system although quite what this means in reality is contested. It is generally seen to be an

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<sup>65</sup> National Vocational Qualifications (NVQs) are the bedrock of the VET system in England. They are organised into 5 levels of competence ranging from level 1 - competence in terms of routine and predictable tasks; level 2 - competence in terms of some complex and non-routine activities; level 3 competence in terms of mostly complex and non-routine activities; through to level 5 competence in terms of personal autonomy and leadership and management of others and substantial resources

approach that encourages those on the supply side such as Education Institutions and training providers to put the employer or the individual learner at the heart of the services provided. It is intended to encourage greater flexibility in delivery and provision in line with the interests of learners. The flagship initiative in this respect is Train to Gain, an intervention which provides a package of support to employers through a broker using a human resource diagnostic and providing advice and access to a range of training providers. The range of mainstream interventions including NVQs, Apprenticeships and Diplomas are supplemented by a number of 'pilot' interventions. These are often developed and delivered by regional or local agencies. These pilots can be innovative, however many are governed by the same performance measures (such as the attainment of qualifications) as mainstream intervention. In return for the public sector investment in the supply side employers have been challenged to 'raise their game' and connect with the skills agenda. This response remains voluntary which means that employers have a choice about how much and what type of skills acquisition activity they choose to pursue. The premise underlying Leitch and much policy discourse is that they do not do enough.

At this point it is also important to note that much economic development activity has not necessarily promoted PCED and the acquisition of skills. Garmise (2005) notes

“...That people matter is such a simple insight it seems obvious and almost trivial. But for someone who has been involved in the world of economic development for fifteen years, the idea that the talents of people determine the state of the economy is almost revolutionary...” (xiii).

There remains a tendency for economic development at the local level to focus on physical development with the people element marginalised by existing practice. When planners sit down and think about inward investment, attracting new businesses or enabling businesses to grow they often focus on place and the development of the physical infrastructure and do not take into account the spatial distribution or nature of the employment opportunities being created with the result that the jobs created are not accessed by local people. An illustration of this is the persistence of an inter and intra generational cycle of deprivation in many thriving cities and the failure to connect some people and groups of people with the jobs that have been created in the local economy. Recent policy developments have seen a realignment of responsibilities between regional and local agencies with an increased emphasis on the role of local authorities in leading economic development. Recent developments have tasked local authorities to work through their local strategic partnerships to establish a clear vision for the economic development of the local economy. At the same time the sub-national review is leading to a transfer of powers and responsibilities with greater discretion and decision-making being placed at the local level (DCLG/DBERR 2008). Skills are a central element of these developments and are identified as a key theme within many local economic development strategies currently emerging.

## **WHY DO WE NEED PCED?**

When we are conceptualising PCED we are drawing on a range of socio-economic thoughts which emphasise human capital, labour markets and the role of partnerships in economic development. Within this conceptualisation, it is people that start new organisations, work in existing organisations and work in organisations that have been attracted to an area. It is also people who are the prime asset in the delivery of physical infrastructure through the planning, design, development and building of roads, hospitals, residential and commercial buildings (and it is people who will work in these buildings). Underpinning this conceptualisation is a belief that

knowledge and skills are the key asset that these people bring to bear in the workplace and which contribute to the success of organisations operating in the economy.

PCED has been around in one form or another for some time now, however scholars, practitioners and policy makers have all called for greater connectivity between workforce development (a concept closely related to PCED) and economic development for a number of years (see for example Harrison and Weiss 1998, Fitzgerald 2004, Harper-Anderson 2008). More recently researchers and policy makers have identified the need to pay equal attention to issues affecting people as well as place-related disadvantage drawing on the growing evidence base which suggests that debates about whether to focus on place or people interventions imposes a false divide (Taylor 2008).

Economic development strategies often focus on economic restructuring and job creation especially through inward investment; however there is little doubt that there is a need for greater connection between economic development (whether it be physical and/or place based) and the residents of cities and regions. The economic development focus on job creation alone often fails to connect local people to local jobs and trickle-down theories are long discredited as evidenced by the persistent, growing inequalities within urban areas (such as Leeds) experiencing substantial economic success over the last decades. The reasons for this labour market mismatch are complex and whilst skills and qualifications are important determinants of economic engagement, a range of other factors including the types of jobs available, employer recruitment practices, transport, child care and attachment to place all feature as important factors in various research studies (see for example Garmise 2005, Taylor 2008).

Whilst recognising that the reasons for the disconnection between economic development and workforce development are complex and difficult to disentangle Harper-Anderson (2008) identifies three interrelated factors that stand out:

- Organisational-Institutional differences – Workforce Development and Economic Development functions are separated by organisational structure and funding streams and are often undertaken by completely different organisations. At the most basic level, evolution in separate silos has led to disconnected thinking and practice, with few opportunities for collaboration and an inability to identify and pursue common interests
- Economic development traditionally focuses on the demand-side of the market with interactions between officers and professionals - business people or developers – and 'hard-headed' negotiations revolving around economics and business related opportunities. Workforce development has traditionally focussed on the supply side of labour market and seeks to deal with a complex set of social issues that present barriers to job seekers' employability. A significant amount of the distance between local economic development and PCED may be attributable to each side's perception of themselves and each other. Some may be viewed as 'social workers' and others as 'business people' with the two sides exhibiting different values and interests which may be difficult to reconcile.
- The goals of economic development and workforce development may be different and subject to independent performance metrics. Although economic development outcomes may be relatively straightforward and easy to measure the more complex outcomes sought after by workforce development are often harder to assess.

Despite the difficult relationship and disjunction between workforce development and economic development, practitioners and scholars generally agree that the two sides must work together more closely if they are to achieve their goals more effectively. This lies at the heart of the PCED approach being pursued in West Yorkshire. PCED seeks to encourage connections between investment, enterprise, employment and the built environment with an emphasis on human capital development at the core of the approach.

## **IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY AND RESEARCH**

The development of PCED faces some challenges in West Yorkshire (and elsewhere in England) given the complex and emergent skills infrastructure at the national, regional and local level where the roles of key players such as Further and Higher Education Institutions, training providers, businesses and local government are in a seemingly constant state of flux. A key to realising the ambition of the Leitch Agenda at the local level is twofold (i) mobilising employer and individual demand for skills (ii) ensuring that delivery is able to meet this demand. In the case of employers, the current economic downturn is likely to have an adverse effect on training budgets in the short term and dampen demand despite government efforts to promote training activity through positive reinforcement and relaxing eligibility rules associated with mainstream interventions such as Train to Gain (with resulting pressures on budgets and the public purse). Recent research in the Sheffield City Region (Etherington and Jones 2009) suggest that whilst supply-side initiatives can make a difference in the right context the key to success in the long term will be the ability to innovate and apply technology. It follows that this should form an integral element of a local approach to PCED and the Human Resource Development Systems which underpin approaches to innovation and the application of technology in terms of recruitment, reskilling and upskilling the workforce are crucial aspects of this system.

The integration of government funded business support, (coordinated by Regional Development Agencies and delivered by 'Business Links') present an opportunity to connect the innovation and skills agendas. However there are some concerns associated with a public policy approach to skills which emphasises the attainment of accredited qualifications when employer reported skills gaps (LSC 2008) are often associated with, for example, business specific technical skills (such as marketing or information technology) or soft skills and employers' preferences for informal learning through for example, e-coaching and mentoring are unlikely to be satisfied by remodelled provision based on 'bite size' courses even if they are delivered at a time and venue to suit the employer. In the case of delivery, the system remains fragmented and of variable quality, characterised by a combination of public, private and third sector organisations often pursuing their own organisational priorities and responding to the demand-led agenda to varying degrees whilst operating in the absence of a strategic framework to support the development of workforce skills at the local level.

A House of Commons Report on the skills systems described it as 'almost incomprehensible' characterised by 'astonishing complexity and perpetual change' (HOC 2009, p3). Consequently connecting economic development and the skills system at the local level is a considerable challenge. At the national level, the enhanced Sector Skills Councils continue to seek to develop the policy mechanisms required to connect national and sub-regional agendas although in practice this is variable and apparently ad hoc. The LSC has been replaced by two new agencies, the National Apprenticeship Service and the Skills Funding Agency and whilst the broad aims of these organisations are articulated the detail of operation remains to

be established. At the same time, changes are planned for the roles and responsibilities of the Regional Development Agency and local authorities, with local authorities set to play an enlarged role in both economic development and skills policy delivery at the local level. The advent of the Leeds City Region has seen a diminished role for the spatial area of West Yorkshire in this arena and the emergence of some uncertainties within and between local authorities which make up the city region. The uncertainty surrounding the roles, responsibilities and funding levels of all the key actors present major challenges and some opportunities for those who would play a key role in taking forward a PCED agenda.

The myriad of changes to the skills policy infrastructure are emergent at this time and it is too early to come to any conclusions as to whether, for example, the enhanced Sector Skills Councils or the emergent Leeds City Region Employment and Skills Board can (a) adequately 'voice' employer requirements (b) whether this process will 'unlock' increased demand for the services of Further and Higher Education Institutions and (c) whether these organisations can develop the flexibility and responsiveness to meet the demands of consumers (both employers and individuals). More generally the framework for PCED reveals an intelligence and research black hole at the local district level, and the information and research that does exist is usually policy driven rather than as part of a strategic intelligence and research programme across the system. The Sub-National Review of Economic Development and Regeneration placed a duty on upper tier and unitary local authorities to undertake an economic assessment (DCLG/DBERR 2008). This provides both the opportunity to implement an intelligence and research process to provide sophisticated and robust critical analysis on the functioning of the local economy and its place in the global market place. The dissemination of economic monitoring and research needs to be built into partnership working arrangements to ensure effective evidence informed policy making across the whole partnership. The sharing of data between partners is critical to the success of this system but is often lacking in practice. A move towards evidence informed discussion may support the development of a common understanding of local social and economic dynamics across the partnership and improve the alignment of the workforce development system's policy analysis, economic monitoring, and decision making.

To ensure that mainstream funding, policies and programmes are aligned across the system, Local Strategic Partnerships (LSP's) need to develop an integrated economic development strategy. Local authorities and partners need to ensure that job opportunities created through economic development activity such as inward investment create accessible employment opportunities for local residents ranging from those living in disadvantaged areas and at risk of exclusion to graduates with higher level skills. Inward investment presents an ideal opportunity for local people to gain new skills, upskill, and fill a newly created job as a route to sustainable employment. The report of the All Party Urban Development Group (2008) draws attention to the failure to link local residents to jobs as a 'wasted opportunity' and calls for action to link regeneration and economic development to employment opportunities for local people. When an inward investment opportunity presents itself, whether from public or private sources, local authorities need to consider how a people-centred approach could add value to the investment process and communicate this to planners, developers and investors so that the local job opportunities associated with construction and ongoing use of the physical build are realised to the benefit of all members of the local community.

Reflecting on the development of PCED in West Yorkshire, it is clear that there is some distance to travel before the anticipated benefits of PCED can be realised. A PCED agenda should not be just about training people to have skills that are deemed

economically valuable or that are accredited at a particular level for the sake of having reached that level, but the development and utilisation of skills that allow people to engage effectively in commercial and civic life. There is a need to balance the development of the high level skills necessary to underpin innovation and enterprise and the growth of local enterprises with the basic skills and emotional support required by those most at risk of disadvantage in the labour market.

In pursuing the PCED agenda in West Yorkshire (or the City Region) there needs to be clear leadership and partnership arrangements of the skills and workforce development system to both recognise its importance and its potential connection with economic competitiveness. The governance structures need to be strengthened with a clear connection made between for example the emergent local Employment and Skills Board and the LSPs in the district. Local PCED champions are required to promote the benefits of an integrated workforce development system and encourage or facilitate the development of shared plans, policies and procedures to pursue the agenda. Our research suggests that there is a need for intense and consistent interaction between people involved with the skills, planning and economic development agendas. Only then will the policy and practice develop which will lead to a clear understanding of the mutual benefits to be realised from PCED.

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### **Acknowledgement**

The research underpinning this paper was funded by the Learning and Skills Council. An earlier version of this essay was a paper by David Devins and Phillip Hunter presented to the Urban Affairs Association, 39th Annual Meeting, Contesting and Sustaining the City: Neighbourhood, Region, or World? Chicago, Illinois, March 4–7, 2009

## **Section 3: GOVERNANCE AND INCLUSION**



# **EVOLUTIONARY DEVOLUTION: BUILDING STRATEGIC CAPACITY THE NEXT STEPS FOR FUNCTIONAL SUB-REGIONS IN YORKSHIRE 2009-2012** By John Shutt and Felix Kumi-Ampofo

## THE CHANGING REGIONAL INSTITUTIONAL ARCHITECTURE

Since 2007, there has been an on-going debate about the best way to accelerate economic growth and the way economic development and regeneration policy is conceived and delivered at all levels. The Leitch Review of Skills (World Class Skills, 2007)<sup>66</sup>, the Sub National Review of Economic Development and Regeneration (SNR), the Regional Spatial Strategy (2008)<sup>67</sup> and the Freud report on welfare reform (2007)<sup>68</sup> are all key national and regional strategic policy reports which, together, are bringing about a significant change in the way regional and local economic development is to be delivered from 2010.

The emerging regional landscape has seen the demise of the Yorkshire Regional Assembly in April 2009. Local Government Yorkshire and Humber (the regional body of local authorities) has since then assumed the role of leadership supporting the new Local Authorities Leaders' Board and will, together with Yorkshire Forward, provide support for the emerging regional governance structures including the new Joint Regional Board (made up of the eight members of the Leaders' Board and another eight from Yorkshire Forward's Board). There is also a Y&H Business Leadership Group.

The role of Local Government Yorkshire and Humber (LGYH) will thus need to be strengthened and widened in the period ahead. LGYH must provide strong leadership as well as play an enabling role in assisting functional sub-regions and local authorities to discharge their growing regional, city regional and local responsibilities.

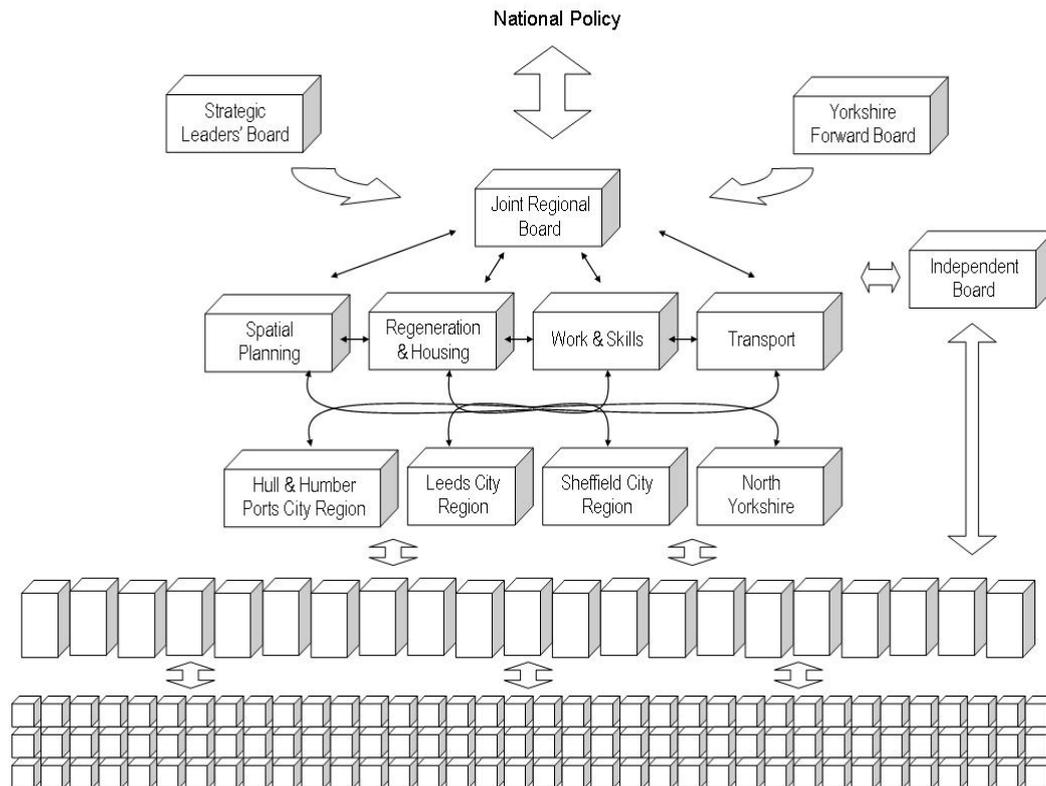
First, there is the need for an adequate supporting capacity – administrative and executive - to enable local authority Leaders and Chief Executives to work effectively with Yorkshire Forward on the new agenda. Secondly, the LGYH Leaders Board needs to provide direction across all the themes to be covered by the IRS to enable the four functional sub regions (Leeds, Sheffield and Hull and Humber Ports city-regions and the York and North Yorkshire sub-region) and the individual local authorities to meet and adapt to the crucial challenges ahead.

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<sup>66</sup> See: [www.dcsf.gov.uk/skillsstrategy/uploads/documents/World%20Class%20Skills%20FINAL.pdf](http://www.dcsf.gov.uk/skillsstrategy/uploads/documents/World%20Class%20Skills%20FINAL.pdf)

<sup>67</sup> See: <http://www.communities.gov.uk/planningandbuilding/planning/regionallocal/regionalsspatialstrategies/>

<sup>68</sup> See: [http://www.dwp.gov.uk/welfarereform/freud\\_report.asp](http://www.dwp.gov.uk/welfarereform/freud_report.asp)



With the expected passing of the Local Democracy, Economic Development and Construction Bill (LDEDC), there will be:

- A joint duty on Regional Development Agencies (RDAs) and local authority Leaders' Boards to prepare and agree an Integrated Regional Strategy for each region outside London.
- Legislation to place a new statutory duty on local authorities to assess the economic conditions in their area.
- Economic Prosperity Boards at sub-regional level. The LDEDC Bill provides for three new options for sub-regional co-operation.
- Economic Prosperity Boards (EPB) - the combination of the functions of an EPB with the functions of an Integrated Transport Authority (ITA).
- Multi Area Agreements with stakeholder duties.

### Functional Sub-Regions

The creation of Economic Prosperity Boards will be voluntary in nature, allowing local authorities to 'opt-in' if they so wish. Following the enactment of the Local Transport Act 2008, the Government has also decided to allow for the functions of EPBs to be combined with the functions of Integrated Transport Authorities to create a consistent approach to economic development and transport. The Government has also decided to legislate to allow for the creation of MAAs with statutory duties. The Government's expectation is that Economic Prosperity Boards will evolve out of existing sub-regional partnerships, such as MAAs. For example, where an EPB is established across an area with an existing MAA, it would be appropriate for the agreed MAA targets to be adopted by the EPB.

In the April 2009 Budget, the Chancellor announced that the government's preferred forerunner city region pilots will be Leeds and Manchester. Both city regions are now involved in advanced negotiations and discussions about the details of the new

arrangements. The Leeds city region is focusing on housing and regeneration, innovation support and higher level skills provision.

Whilst this announcement is most welcome, LGYH and Yorkshire Forward and all stakeholders need to carefully consider the implications of having 'multi-speed' functional sub regions within Yorkshire and Humber and how this could be managed. This is because whilst Leeds city region is proceeding with plans to establish statutory structures and procedures, Sheffield city region is exploring the possibility of proceeding on a non-statutory basis but with similar structures and ambitions. The Hull and Humber Ports city region is adopting a 'wait-and-see' approach and have decided to even hold back their plans to sign an MAA. In North Yorkshire, the focus is on working closely with Leeds city region, with respect to overlapping boundaries and also exploring new ways of promoting growth and development in the rural and coastal areas but essentially North Yorkshire has to look into five different sub-regional localities facing many directions because of the complexities of its scale and labour markets.

### Change Management

The SNR, coinciding with the recession, provides an opportunity for the region and local authorities to assess how it wishes to develop the new joint approach to regional development for the period ahead.

There is a need for a Change Management Programme, to address the resources required at functional sub regional level for the new agenda. This needs to focus on the following key tasks:

- facilitating the new Integrated Regional Strategy (IRS) (between Yorkshire Forward and local authorities);
- co-ordinating the city-region strategies (and the York and North Yorkshire Investment Plan) and their role in the IRS process and with the aim of strengthened capacity and capability for co-ordination at city-region level;
- co-ordination of local economic assessments at functional sub-regional (FSR) level as well as at individual local authority level;
- marshal the capacity to establish the Economic Prosperity Boards, where suitable, and clarify their key tasks beginning with agreement on MAAs where none currently exists;
- examining and boosting local authority economic development capability especially in relation to skills for 14-19 year olds, strategies on employment and worklessness, targeting of the new Working Neighbourhood Fund, and the capacity to articulate and advocate adult skills, business support and social policies relevant to their areas;
- co-ordinating the response to the Local Transport Act 2008 and the development of new Integrated Transport Authorities;
- being clearer on regional, sub-regional and local priorities for the 2010-2020 period ahead; and
- strengthening the existing MAA process and ensure that up-to-date city-region economic plans dovetail with the new IRS and with the local authority economic assessments.

The reforms announced by the SNR emerged as the recession gathered pace. The economic challenges the region now faces place an increased emphasis on embedding the new structures and reaching agreement on new strategies which can lead the region out of recession. Regional Development Agencies and local

authorities need to work closer together in the period ahead to ensure that these new structures can capture and implement the new strategies which are required.

## THE REGIONAL CAPACITY CHALLENGE

### Regional Capacity

The importance of the changes proposed by the SNR is about greater collaboration, changing mindsets and providing a stronger mechanism for sub-regional devolution. It challenges local authority Leaders to move from being gatekeepers – scrutinising the RDA – to having joint ownership of and responsibility for the economic destiny of the region and its component parts. Thus in the new arrangements, the Leader's Board will be jointly responsible - with Yorkshire Forward Board members - for the successful drafting, consulting and delivery of the IRS. This raises the obvious question of how to ensure that the highest level of capacity is assembled to support the Leaders' Board. LGYH has a key role to play here. The resources of the old Regional Assembly need to be fully assessed and re-allocated at the right levels. The challenge is to avoid spreading this pool of resources too thin while retaining enough of a geographical spread to benefit the development of FSRs. The Regional Assembly's key strengths were in spatial planning, transport, housing and scrutiny. These are certainly key skills which will be needed at regional and FSR level in the period ahead and it is imperative that these resources are re-deployed effectively at both levels. This re-deployment is already underway with Scrutiny staff being transferred to Yorkshire Forward and Planning staff moving to LGYH.

The Joint Regional Board needs to work with the Yorkshire Forward Board to agree the process whereby Yorkshire Forward resources fully complement LGYH and FSR capacity in the new context. This will ensure the Joint Regional Board itself as well as the key tiers and functions underneath are well resourced and enabled to make the best decisions.

### Capacity at Functional Sub-Region Level

Assembling the capacity and resources at sub-regional level is critically important. There is a need for discussions between LGYH and Yorkshire Forward about how to use all of the region's resources and capacity more effectively and efficiently. This includes existing Regional Assembly resources, as already discussed, as well as re-examining Yorkshire Forward capacity at regional and sub regional level.

Resources currently residing within local authorities and at Yorkshire Cities should be assessed together with resources at LGYH and Yorkshire Forward. It is in the spirit of such an assessment, conducted jointly between Yorkshire Forward, LGYH and the FSRs, that new and innovative ways of working in the region should also be considered. The bids for enhanced capacity submitted to the Regional Improvement and Efficiency Partnership (RIEP) as part of this process should also be considered within this context. It is aimed at assessing capacity needs which could then be filled by existing resources elsewhere within the region/sub-region. It is vital that the city regions are resourced given the key role they have to play in co-ordinating economic assessments, influencing and implementing the IRS and taking forward MAAs, EPBs and ITAs.

At local authority level, evidence again points to a varying level of capacity with some district authorities now having very limited capacity in economic development. This suggests that a co-ordinated effort will be required to successfully fulfil the new statutory requirement of conducting economic assessments in each area. The impact

of the recession paves the way for new thinking and clarity on regional, sub-regional and local authority roles. This needs to be addressed urgently by all stakeholders led by LGYH and the Leaders Board.

The economic, financial and political cycles all suggest that within the next three years, a great deal of fresh thinking will be required on the response to the recession and the economic strategies required to lead Yorkshire and Humber into a new phase of economic growth. Planning during the next year will be vital and new progress will be required for economic development to deal with rapidly rising unemployment. Local, regional and national stakeholders need to ensure that whilst they respond to the urgency of the current economic climate, we also address the longer-term need to build the capacity at sub-regional and local levels which will be needed to transform local areas and reshape the region for the decade ahead.

The legislation which is being brought forward in 2009 is deliberately flexible with regard to function and constitutional arrangements. Local authorities in each sub-region need to debate the opportunities available and discuss with their respective city-region teams how they wish to respond to the LDEDC bill.

A new generation of City Region Development Programmes are planned in all three city regions in Yorkshire and Humber to mesh with the local authority economic assessments.

## CONCLUSIONS

The National Improvement and Efficiency Strategy has coincided with the Sub National review SNR to create a unique moment and opportunity for regional and local development. The regional institutional architecture is evolving again after a decade of relative stability at a time when local authorities and the RDA need to respond to the recession and ensure a new economic growth agenda is placed at the highest level for the immediate future.

Regional and local stakeholders must however, act swiftly and decisively to ensure that the REIP process backs up the SNR process. In the emerging new “regional world”, local authorities are to inherit greater powers and influence in the development of their regions and how it affects their localities. However, with this new influence comes a joint responsibility with Yorkshire Forward to improve delivery and the opportunity to boost economic growth at city-region level.

So far the Leaders and Chief Executives in Yorkshire and Humber, working with LGYH, have been pro-active and shown a readiness and an encouraging capacity to take crucial decisions. The Leaders’ Board now needs to deal with the following questions:

- What level of resources is best marshalled at regional, sub-regional and local levels to support the work of the Leaders’ Board?
- What resources from the Assembly can be redeployed to strengthen functional sub-regions (FSRs)?
- How to strengthen the capacity of LGYH to perform their role more effectively within the region?
- What are the most immediate and critical tasks to be addressed in the establishment of sub-regional Economic Prosperity Boards?

At FSR level there is an opportunity to build on the work of the existing city regions and sub-regions by assembling support teams that will derive their powers and responsibilities from the elected local authority Leaders. They will be responsible for the implementation of MAAs and need to have policy responsibility for housing, transport, skills and sustainable development at FSR level in order to effectively integrate and link economic, spatial planning and environmental policy into new and integrated ways of working.

The four FSRs in Yorkshire and Humber need to be adequately resourced to carry out the functions expected of them. There are 'buy-in' and boundary issues and areas of overlap which need to be clarified for the sake of efficiency and practicality and this is a task for the LGYH Leaders Board and city regions with their individual local authorities. It will be advantageous for at least one of the FSRs, if not all in this region, to enter negotiations for EPB status. This will ensure that the region is at the vanguard of economic development policy and practise and also position the FSRs to play an enhanced role through the recession in readiness for any upturn of the economy.

A key issue for the Joint Regional Board is how to sufficiently resource the FSR infrastructure to help deliver the new IRS. The SNR clearly spells out the intentions of Government to move the RDAs from a project delivery role to a more policy-making and programme management and strategic delivery role. At present Yorkshire Forward, as well having its regional base in Leeds, also has four sub regional operations across the region working to geographical sub-regional boundaries. For the sake of efficiency and coherence, these will now need to be re-considered with a view to reflecting the new FSR boundaries. There is also the issue of how Yorkshire Forward and LGYH operations could be better aligned with the emerging FSR resources. The potential is there to create synergy and a well-resourced FSR infrastructure capable of delivering on the complex array of responsibilities under the new arrangements. Resources currently residing within local authorities and Yorkshire Cities should also be assessed together with resources at LGYH and Yorkshire Forward as the region explores new and innovative ways of working in the region. The bids for enhanced capacity submitted to the RIEP should thus be considered within this context. It is aimed at assessing capacity needs which could then be filled by existing resources elsewhere within the region/sub-region.

The SNR guidance confirms that all unitary and upper tier authorities will have a statutory duty to assess the economic conditions of their area. This is intended to inform the IRS process among others. The FSRs should be tasked, by the Joint Regional Board, with using this opportunity to rewrite their CRDPs and co-ordinate existing strategies to reflect their new roles and responsibilities. The new FSR economic assessments can then provide the overarching framework for individual local authorities to fulfil their new statutory duties in this regard.

At the local level, unitary, upper tier and district councils now have an enhanced remit. In addition to their existing roles in social, economic and environmental management roles, the new devolution agenda means that local authorities will now also have further responsibilities for skills, worklessness and economic development and for implementing the Geographic Programmes promoted through Yorkshire Forward. A capacity audit performed as part of this project revealed a varied level of resources to adequately prosecute this new agenda across the region. Local authority Leaders, Chief Executives and other partners will need to address this to ensure that resources are not wrongly skewed and 'top heavy' (in favour of the regional and sub-regional development infrastructure) but that local and neighbourhood needs are also sufficiently supported and assessed and again the

RIEP funds need to be utilised to focus on the key neighbourhoods and skills agendas and the priorities at locality level.

The funds made available through the RIEP process to build capacity are certainly needed and timely, but on their own will not be enough to deliver this new and swiftly evolving agenda. There is an obvious need for funds to be disbursed courageously and innovatively in concert with resources that currently reside with other regional factors.

Throughout 2009-10, the task is to move forward with:

- Local economic assessments
- Joint working with Yorkshire Forward on the IRS
- Further MAA and EPB development possibly combined with ITAs
- New City Region Development Plans
- Leadership and elected members Change Management and Strategic Leadership
- Partnership and Commissioning Development
- Sector growth strategies and key recession project priorities
- Governance and policy support for city regions, e.g. transport, skills, housing, sustainable development and capital funding.

**POSTSCRIPT This paper was originally written in 2009 and before the 2010 General Election.**

Since the General Election some aspects of government policies have changed. New choices are emerging in terms of how local authorities in the region shape up the arrangements for collaborative working and governance, and a new national policy framework is on its way.

RDA's have been out of favour and their remit is to be slimmed down and the new Integrated Regional Strategies are unlikely to proceed. RDA's are likely to be retagged as Regional Enterprise and Regeneration Agencies and placed under greater local authority control and focused on their core business and regeneration mission. Some of the regional theme boards may also disappear.

City regions may well be empowered and the capacity of the functional sub-regions enhanced to provide the core building blocks of strategic economic and spatial planning and transport strategies.. The new Government is in favour of Local Enterprise Partnerships (LEPS) - defined as 'joint local authority-business bodies' brought forward by local authorities themselves. City regions may well become the new LEPS.

Interest continues in how local authorities can use the city-regions to achieve significant efficiencies by pooling planning policy functions for example.

Using funding provided by the RIEP, the Leeds City Region commissioned KPMG to provide a white paper on future governance issues, in the context of the pilot 'Forerunner' status.

Thus the regional agenda is in a state of flux and it remains to be seen how local authorities and the new Coalition Government shape up the future of Yorkshire Forward, and of the embryonic City Regions and the nature of promised new legislation to enhance the competence of local authorities. Capacity and decision

making is likely to move away from the region but the task is to make sure that capability increases at city region as well as local levels and that new models of collective collaboration are developed.

#### Annex: A List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

BERR	Department for Business Enterprise and Regulatory Reform
CLG	Department for Communities and Local Government
CRDP	City Region Development Plan
CSR07	Comprehensive Spending Review 2007
EPB	Economic Prosperity Board
FSR	Functional Sub Region
HEP	Humber Economic Partnership
ITA	Integrated Transport Authority
LAA	Local Area Agreement
LCR	Leeds City Region
LGYH	Local Government Yorkshire and Humber
LSC	Learning and Skills Council
MAA	Multi Area Agreement
PCT	Primary Care Trust
RDA	Regional Development Agency
RIEP	Regional Improvement and Efficiency Partnership
RIES	Regional Improvement and Efficiency Strategy
SCR	Sheffield City Region
IRS	Integrated Regional Strategy
SNR	Sub National Review of Economic Development and Regeneration
YHA	Yorkshire and Humber Assembly

# **FROM HARD GOVERNMENT TO SOFT GOVERNANCE IN THE URBAN FRINGE: EMERGING GOVERNANCE ADAPTATIONS AROUND THE EDGE OF CITY REGIONS** By Kevin Thomas and Steve Littlewood

## INTRODUCTION

The last twenty years have seen big changes in the agencies in the English regions and in the strategies they pursue. These new strategies for spatial plans, economic growth, housing, etc, are said to represent a striking shift from government (elected) to governance (a mixture of elected and unelected bodies) in the regions. These changes are usually analysed in terms of what has happened in cities or across regions but little attention has been paid to the urban fringe areas around cities. These areas have a history of institutional and policy fragmentation being neither urban nor rural and overshadowed politically by the dominant city. In this paper we try to redress some of this oversight by taking a closer look at urban fringe areas and how they are treated in the governance of English regions. To do so we make use of a set of explanations about what is happening to governance – institutional theory – and we examine this set of explanations in relation to an emerging policy concept that has rapidly gained acceptance in strategic planning circles – green infrastructure (GI).

The institutional theory we use describes a process of change from government to governance in the regions as a change from traditional elected 'hard' government to contemporary 'soft' governance which is more inclusive, informal, dynamic and unstable than older forms. One claimed advantage of the 'new soft governance' is its openness both to new ideas and new voices. In this paper we discuss green infrastructure as one of these new ideas of the kind overlooked or downplayed in traditional government discourses. We suggest GI is a concept which represents potentially better ways to frame debates about urban fringes than were used in the past. We argue also that the new soft governance can enable new and challenging ideas such as GI to enter public and political discourses which might not otherwise have done so.

In this paper we trace how GI ideas are challenging older ideas such as green belts and how institutional changes are making that possible. This phenomenon can be seen across many of the English regions and we focus on Yorkshire and the Humber (Y&H) by looking at some of the governance changes, at how policies are emerging in response to GI discourses, at how these affect the urban fringe and we consider future implications for the region.

## SOFT SPACES OF GOVERNANCE IN SUB-NATIONAL PLANNING IN ENGLAND

The growing literature about the soft spaces of governance that have emerged to replace or complement traditional approaches to government is linked to a number of related literatures. One prominent strand concerns the new regionalism that emerged to accommodate new spatialities of economic place competitiveness. A 'new conventional wisdom' is said to have emerged which privileges economic growth goals over other policy goals, reinforces the importance of space and place in global economic competitiveness and identifies the regional scale of policy-making as the most appropriate geographic scale for capturing opportunities to increase competitiveness (Buck et al, 2005). This new wisdom has been adopted and applied

by policy makers at international levels, e.g. the Lisbon Agenda and related growth strategies of the European Union (EU), and by many national governments to justify reconfigurations of the way sub-national government is carried out, including the RDAs introduced to England (Allmendinger & Tewdwr-Jones, 2006; MacLeod & Jones, 2006).

At lower spatial levels a number of sub-regional economic governance entities have been initiated by Regional Development Agencies (RDAs), directly by national government or, occasionally, by collaborative actions by city and district councils. These newer entities take a number of forms, including special-purpose development agencies in designated growth areas around London, such as the Thames Gateway and Milton Keynes. Also growing in political popularity is the city-region, especially promoted as a policy container around major cities of Northern England (Lloyd & Peel, 2006). Amongst this plethora of institutional experimentation, mostly focused on urban challenges and opportunities, can be found a number of rural and urban fringe development coalitions which point to new and different ways of doing policy making outside the cities.

The field of spatial planning is especially rich in examples of these institutional reconfigurations:

“There are new ways of undertaking planning that are emerging with amazing speed, involving planning powers being strengthened at some scales, reduced at others, reworked at all scales, and new scales of planning inserted, with sub-regional and meta-regional strategies.” (Counsell & Haughton, 2006: 108)

Whilst old-style democratic local government is seen as regulatory, slow, and rule-bound, the new non-elected governance is perceived as more dynamic, adaptable to new circumstances, new investment and funding opportunities. The new governance is also fluid in its constitution, often narrowly task-specific, capable of assembling expertise appropriate to different circumstances, and often based on networks of stakeholders contingent on emerging opportunities for influencing policy and securing resources. Governance reforms in pursuit of place competitiveness and entrepreneurialism have favoured experimentation in regional scales and informal network styles of governance, searching towards ‘spatio-temporal fixes’ that represent the best opportunities for realising the marketised ideal, in the process ‘hollowing out’ some state powers and structures (Jessop, 2000). Others argue that, rather than the diminution of state power implied by hollowing-out, a corresponding ‘filling-in’ of the state with newly privileged scales of governance (regional, city-region etc.) has occurred which is orchestrated by the state (Goodwin et al, 2005).

A key aspect of the new governance is its operation through networks, rather than formally elected or constituted memberships. A network style of operation can permit influence over policy despite limited material or organisational resources, as long as the ‘right’ members are assembled and key agencies are included as network partners (Hajer, 2003). These qualities of fluidity and adaptability combined with judicious network membership and evidence of the success of the model have led to the idea that ‘soft governance’ is replacing old-style ‘hard government’ in the policy arenas that matter at regional and sub-regional level (Allmendinger & Haughton, 2007).

In spatial planning in particular there is growing evidence that the new soft spaces are reinforcing the primacy of economic development goals above other planning policy goals. There are also claims that informal policy networking in the soft spaces is by-passing and sidelining the formal mechanisms of spatial planning as formal

development plans become containers for the strategies of soft space governance networks rather than initiators of spatial visions, as government policy rhetoric implies (Haughton et al, 2009)

Also growing is government encouragement for planning authorities and others to collaborate to achieve strategic benefits with joint plan-making etc, and to do this with minimal interventions, avoiding accusations of micro-management. Rather than specify precisely how and where the new governance arrangements should operate, the state is content to establish 'rules of the game' for the institutions that 'fill-in' and then engage in overall steering of the resultant institutional landscape in the form of meta-governance (Jessop, 2000). Instead of engaging in periodic lengthy and expensive rounds of formal restructuring of local government, usually with disappointing results, governments now prefer to encourage experimentation within broadly set ground rules, including requirements for collaboration and coordination between different agencies as a condition of access to government funds (Oatley, 1998).

## FROM GREEN BELTS TO GREEN INFRASTRUCTURE

Given the political resilience of the green belt it would need a convincing set of arguments and sustained discursive campaign to undermine or replace this emblematic policy concept and this has been in evidence in England (Elson, 1986). Even the planning profession increasingly embraces an entrepreneurial governance model for the urban fringe; the green belt needs to become self-sustaining by retracting the traditional protectionist reflex in favour of 'earning its keep', by sacrificing land to development and by generating income for maintaining the 'better' parts of the remaining green belt (RTPI, 2005). The Barker Review of Land Use Planning (2006) supported the critique of a lack of flexibility and the need to deal with the increasingly degraded land at the urban fringe and went on to suggest that green belt was often counterproductive in causing development to be displaced to inappropriate, less 'sustainable', sites and thus created housing congestion and over-inflated house prices.

Beyond the planning system there is growing support for green infrastructure (GI) approaches, together with veiled criticism of the rigidity of green belts, at high levels in English policy circles. Natural England, traditionally a stout defender, recently questioned the value of green belts and now supports GI in glowing terms: "Green infrastructure is increasingly recognised as an essential component of any truly sustainable development and the most effective means of providing a wide range of ecosystem services, quality of life and health benefits." (Natural England, 2008:3).

It is within this unsettled deliberative context that the concept of green infrastructure has emerged as a new way of looking at the urban fringe. GI has excited growing attention from policy makers in England, especially in the context of evolving spatial planning strategies, on one hand, and relative to economic development policies on the other (Kambites & Owen, 2007; Prior & Raemaekers, 2007). In a sense the urban fringe has been 'rediscovered' as an arena for policy discourse after years of neglect. The reasons for this rediscovery are many, but the overriding explanation for the recent policy focus is the relentless pressure mounting on the fringe from development and for urban expansion. Other reasons include reassessments of the ecological and social value of fringe areas, political interest in improving health and wellbeing of urban residents, ideas of the urban fringe as complementing urban competitiveness and measures to improve the resilience of urban areas to climate change, flood risks, etc. In recent years much research aimed at measuring and categorising the benefits of the urban fringe has been sponsored by UK government

agencies, in particular the Countryside Agency (now absorbed into Natural England) (Gallent et al, 2004; Mell, 2008).

An important strand of this research has been in itemising and questioning the contributions urban fringe areas make to the environment, the economy and communities. When close attention is paid to the urban fringe it is possible to make out a 'multifunctional' space that overlaps with numerous policy worlds, and this realisation elicits a need to do 'joined-up thinking' across a network of different ministries, authorities and agencies (Countryside Agency and Groundwork, 2005). This new way of looking at the UF seems to demand a new way of doing policy and, by implication, a new way of doing governance if, as is often claimed, the existing geographical boundaries of authorities and governance service sectoral divisions are not capable of grasping the new reality (CUDEM and University of Leeds, 2006). The urban fringe also lacks a political 'voice', because of complex and often inappropriate boundaries, which limits the ability of resident communities to participate in and influence what happens there, beyond making sporadic protests (Gallent et al 2006). This combination of emerging pressures to 'do something' about the urban fringe together with the fractured political realm that typifies the urban fringe creates promising conditions for the development of policy discourse networks to fill the apparent vacuum.

One of the main strands of GI policy discourse, which we elaborate elsewhere (Thomas & Littlewood, forthcoming), is the potential GI offers to incorporate formerly disparate strands of policy about green space into a more coherent analysis, one which foregrounds economic growth factors. This is not yet very evident in the Y&H region, but it has been developed extensively within the soft governance networks of the North West (NW) Region over recent years, where the RDA and others have sponsored studies and strategies around the economic valorisation of 'green assets'. There are two main elements to this economic approach to green spaces in and around cities, which are especially germane to emerging city-region strategy making: the attribution of economic value to objects previously defined in cultural or moral terms, such as green spaces, nature and countryside; and the perception of green spaces as part of a network or system which supports/ protects/ sustains cities and conurbations in ways analogous to 'hard infrastructures' of transport, water supply etc. This kind of thinking is becoming more widespread, especially the second aspect, in parts of the region such as South Yorkshire and Humberside where extensive flooding has recently affected economic prospects and quality of life. The first aspect, which allows green/ natural assets to be calculated for cost/benefit analysis and which permits spending on forestry, nature protection etc to be assessed within a development agency investment strategy relative to economic growth targets, has been explored extensively in the NW region (Natural Economy Northwest, 2008). This approach to perception of green spaces, sometimes categorised as 'smart growth' or as 'ecological modernisation' is growing in importance across the English regions and can be expected to figure more within the Y&H region over time.

## THE URBAN FRINGE AND SOFT GOVERNANCE IN THE REGION

Is there evidence of changes from hard to soft governance connected to these recent discourses about urban fringe spaces in Y&H? We have tracked the development of GI discourses in both Y&H and the NW region. Here we focus on Y&H and add some comparisons with the way things developed in the NW for context.

The introduction of the regional spatial strategy (RSS), a new type of spatial strategy for Y&H, coincided with an enhanced discourse around green infrastructure in the

region. This was to prove highly influential on the way that green spaces were categorised and strategised in the region and culminated in a new language of GI being inserted into a Y&H planning strategy for the first time. In institutionalist terms the spatial planning discourse was introduced within a hard government setting, albeit a reformed one which was therefore quite fluid and untried, and was absorbed into a policy discourse that was relatively bureaucratic and subject to long-established rules of publicly accessible procedures. Following lengthy debate in public forums GI was accepted as a new way of talking about green spaces across the region, especially in and around cities.

In both the Y&H and NW regions strategic green space stakeholder networks were active in the lead-in to the production of the regional spatial strategies. Whilst the RSS drafts were being produced the networks were active with meetings of interested parties, usually convened by regional officials of the Countryside Agency (which was absorbed into Natural England in 2007). As a new species of statutory plan, to which the also newly emerging local development documents at district level would be required to conform, the RSSs offered a rich opportunity to insert the new metaphor of GI into the intensifying discourses around planning for growth at the urban fringe.

Although the lobbying process followed different paths in Y&H and the NW the end result was similar in influencing spatial planning content (for details see Thomas & Littlewood, forthcoming). The first draft of the Y&H RSS did not adopt the concept and failed to mention GI. However there was extensive discussion of GI in the public examination process and the final RSS included substantial commitment to pursuing GI:

“Areas and networks of green infrastructure will be identified, protected, created, extended, enhanced, managed and maintained throughout the region to ensure that an improved, accessible and healthy environment is available for the benefit of present and future communities whilst protecting the integrity of internationally important biodiversity sites.”  
(Policy YH8, GOYH, 2008: 28)

The policy requires local planning authorities to identify a hierarchy of “[...] substantial connected networks of green infrastructure, particularly in urban, urban fringe and adjacent countryside areas.” (idem). As well as this, the economic, social and environmental benefits of ‘green infrastructure assets’ are expected to be addressed in the local development plans with attention paid to the potential of GI to support renewable energy production, urban microclimate control and flood risk management.

## SOFT SPACES OF GOVERNANCE AND Y&H

These changes in policies for green spaces may seem trivial in relation to the broader context of institutional upheaval, but important lessons for future urban fringe governance may be represented in the changes we describe. The broader context includes, in addition to the regionalisation project from 1997, the recent government promotion of the city-region scale, which is potentially very important to the future trajectory of urban fringe policies. As well as formal institutional changes various forms of strategic collaboration between local authorities have been promoted, often encouraged by offers of finance for collective initiatives. Inter-authority collaboration is rewarded in terms of transport funds (for producing integrated transport strategies), economic development funds (e.g. for multi-area agreements and local enterprise grants).

Regional traditions of inter-authority collaboration vary, with the North West region having a strong tradition of sub regional coalitions and Yorkshire and the Humber a weaker tradition (Jones & MacLeod, 2002). There are examples in all regions of how the impetus for strategic collaboration has increased alongside the growth of entrepreneurial spatial and economic planning that accompanied the economic boom of 1996-2008. Importantly for our analysis of urban fringe governance phenomena, there are interesting examples of strategic coalitions in urban fringe areas which address both green space and economic development issues, increasingly in terms of green infrastructure principles.

Institutional reconfiguration is not confined to urban or city-region spaces. For instance in rural areas there are some joint soft governance arrangements built around bidding for money from the England rural development programme (ERDP), EU, RDA and other sources. An interesting example here is Pennine Prospects, which coordinates the bidding activities of a number of districts which straddle the Y&H/ NW regional border. This agency emerged as a bottom-up collaboration of councils with extensive tracts of green belt land in the Pennine hills between and overlapping with what are now termed the Leeds, Manchester and Central Lancashire city regions. It is an area of high landscape value and many semi-rural settlements and in the 1970s the main councils formed an association, the Standing Conference of South Pennine Authorities (SCOSPA), which lobbied to protect the landscape character of the area, promote tourism and protect public services. It survived many years as a subscription-based association with a small secretariat based in Bradford Council and had some success in securing funding for a number of landscape heritage and tourism facilities projects such as visitor centres. In 2005 SCOSPA was succeeded by Pennine Prospects, formed by the majority of SCOSPA councils as a rural regeneration plc to act as a development agency with a more economic development focus than previously.

A primary reason for the change was to compete more effectively for the available funds from higher level agencies, especially the RDAs for NW and Y&H. To achieve this, a clearer focus on economic growth and competitiveness would be needed, as would a more entrepreneurial style of operation if funding opportunities were to be exploited effectively. In addition to the councils the privatised water utilities (the major land owners in the area) help sponsor Pennine Prospects and are partners in a number of project funding bids. However not all the original SCOSPA partner councils have joined Pennine Prospects, which illustrates the fluidity of these sub-regional governance arrangements; the new agency is still a 'work in progress' as the network of partners is extended. In a particular state of flux is the East Lancashire area of the NW region which overlaps with NW part of the SCOSPA area. Councils in this area have yet to join PP and there is much uncertainty about which sub-regional alliance will prevail in this institutionally complex part of the NW region.

At a more local scale, and largely overlapping the PP area boundary, is the Airedale Partnership regeneration company. This 'business led' Bradford City Council owned development company covers a linear corridor linking a segment of urban Bradford, ranging from prosperous areas of Shipley and Bingley to the more deprived district of Keighley, with surrounding countryside areas. The policy emphasis here is to make use of hard infrastructure, built heritage and green assets to increase business investment and enterprise formation. The Airedale masterplan combines typical elements of urban economic development strategy (development of creative and digital clusters, heritage-based retail developments, etc.) with the creative use of the 'rural backdrop' of the surrounding urban fringe. The Airedale Partnership collaborates closely with Pennine Prospects, for instance in the implementation of a

LEADER+ project for investing in rural services and enterprises in the South Pennines area.

The attention paid to rural issues by the city councils is less surprising than it may seem, as the boundaries of all the 'urban' districts comprising the West Yorkshire and South Yorkshire are widely drawn and include substantial areas of green belt, countryside, farmland and nominally rural settlements. Bradford, for example, normally perceived as a highly urban district has large tracts of green belt, of nature protection areas (especially moorland) and numerous commuter villages and towns within its boundary and has been granted 'beacon status' by central government for its exemplary approach to rural policy.

The region contains a number of examples of strategic collaborations based around housing provision, aimed at either 'housing market renewal' (HMR) or at responding to or anticipating housing market growth. *Transform South Yorkshire*, a partnership between Sheffield, Doncaster, Rotherham and Barnsley councils, is an example of a number of government financial injections into apparently failing housing markets following the Sustainable Communities Plan of 2003. The aim was to reverse the relative decline in demand for housing in parts of the sub-region, especially in the former mining towns. After 2003 the increase in demand for housing, together with Treasury pressures to accelerate housing land supply following the Barker report, led to a rethinking of the TSY approach and in December 2008 Doncaster and South Yorkshire was designated a 'new growth point' and nearly £10m allocated by government to facilitate the faster delivery of housing sites (TSY press release 8 December 2008). This followed a bid submitted to the government by a partnership of TSY, the South Yorkshire PTE and departments of the four local authorities.

There is no detail yet on which land will be released for housing in the growth point, but it seems that some sites in South Yorkshire will be in the urban fringe and some will be on green belt land: "There will be greenfield and greenbelt implications in some of the settlements from 2008 onwards which are being addressed through the LDF process." (CLG, 2008). How this and similar urban expansions work in practice will be a critical determinant of the future of green belts and other green space designations. In the Y&H region there is the specific requirement for GI to be incorporated in all the statutory development plans prepared following the new regional spatial strategy of 2008. How this will be achieved is unclear at present, but South Yorkshire should be an interesting test bed in the region for exploring and clarifying how the new expectations of the urban fringe will play out in policy terms and how government/ governance institutions respond to the emerging challenge.

A more specialised form of growth point is represented by the 'eco-towns', a government initiative to promote new approaches to settlement design to try to produce 'zero carbon' towns as part of the mix of new housing developments (HCA, 2009). It is not yet clear that there will be an eco-town in the region, but there was a creative response by the Leeds City Region partners to the government's initiative. The LCR persuaded the Dept for Communities and Local Government that instead of a free-standing eco-town the putative equivalent in the sub-region should be an 'eco-settlement' instead. This would mean integrating substantial new urban development in locations between the main towns and cities to achieve benefits of more sustainable transport using the existing public transport network, more sustainable use of existing public services and hard infrastructure (schools, water supply etc.) as well as contributing to the regeneration of existing urban districts where new investment was needed.

A key element of the eco-towns initiative for this analysis is the strong commitment to pursuit of green infrastructure principles. For the first time at national level a spatial planning programme has been explicitly committed to achieving a defined level of GI outcomes. In language reminiscent of Ebenezer Howards' proposals for the first garden cities, the eco-towns are expected to provide high levels of open green space, including community forests, wetlands and urban parks, linked to surrounding countryside, with walking and cycling prioritised, and with land allocated for local food production by residents. A modern twist is added by reference to climate change mitigation measures and wildlife protection (DCLG, 2009a: ET14 Green Infrastructure). If the Leeds City Region eco-settlement gets built incorporating these principles it would represent an interesting opportunity to replicate in Yorkshire some of the 'sustainable urban extensions' described in other parts of Europe (HCA, 2009).

## CONCLUSIONS

What, then, does green infrastructure have to offer the region, apart from new ways to analyse and talk about the spaces that surround us? And, given all the other pressing issues facing the region, why pay any attention to GI? First, GI has developed surprising momentum as a policy concept over a very brief period and is proving attractive as a strategic metaphor challenging older ideas such as green belts. It makes sense to exploit this building momentum unless we believe existing policy ideas are adequate and to take advantage of higher level political interest in GI ideas.

Second, GI has gone beyond an interesting idea to become an adopted element of strategic policy, gaining formal adoption by regional spatial plans in particular. Given the hierarchical nature of spatial planning this means the GI is now being written into the development plans of local planning authorities in the region and will directly influence development decisions in the near future. As GI thinking is new to most planners this is a work in progress and different interpretations of the regional policies might be expected in different places, some of it influenced by the 'soft governance' networks that influence the planning policies mentioned above. Third, beyond spatial plans other strategies are also responding to the potential offered by GI, for instance in the field of economic policy. Yorkshire Forward, alongside other RDAs is helping to sponsor studies on how to better exploit the economic benefits that GI can offer to make places more attractive and liveable and to build urban resilience to flooding. Strategic housing policy is starting to recognise the importance of effective and joined-up green space planning to ensuring new housing developments are of sufficient quality and public health policies in some regions are promoting the health benefits of investing in accessible and useable green spaces.

At national and EU scales GI thinking may be supported by emerging approaches to both environmental policy and economic policy. Proposals to make the EU into 'a smarter, greener social market' (EU 2020 Consultation Paper) as it emerges from the financial crisis may support new thinking, combined with growing commitment to tackling climate change in EU policy. This may or may not result in broader commitments to promoting GI across the EU but there are some interesting experimental EU projects that will contribute to the discourse, such as the Interreg IV project on promoting a 'sustainable and competitive urban fringe' (SURF) which has two partners from the Y&H region. A fourth reason for taking GI seriously, then, is the growing international interest in the idea, from which the Y&H region is well positioned to learn a great deal. In addition, given the advanced state of GI policy discourses in northern England, the region is also well placed to influence how strategic ideas such as GI are developed across the EU.

Many proponents of green infrastructure see the city region as the natural scale for applying GI ideas and the development of city regions, especially the boost to the Leeds CR from gaining 'forerunner' status should provide scope to develop GI in that context. So far the Leeds CR has discussed GI in terms limited mostly to promoting urban flood resilience, but there is plenty of scope for adopting a more inclusive and multifunctional perspective in future and for relating GI to dominant discourses around economic growth, housing development and transport. How city region ideas and green infrastructure ideas can coexist and complement one another will be explored by CUDEM at Leeds Met University within the SURF Interreg Project.

The new decade promises 'interesting times' for strategic policy making and for regional and sub-regional governance institutions in Y&H as elsewhere. Such times can prove fertile for the adoption of new ideas such as those surrounding green infrastructure or they can lead to conservatism and a retreat to the 'tried and tested'. However in Y&H the GI genie is out of the bottle at least in the spatial planning sphere although it is not yet clear how the concept will be embraced and applied in practice nor how it will coexist alongside other concepts such as green belts, other spatial designations and rural development policy.

Whilst there is clearly much institutional and policy churning affecting urban fringe areas in the region and some interesting policy discourses evolving around green infrastructure and variations on smart growth it is not yet possible to identify a clear pattern. The 'institutional fixes' that have emerged to date are mainly sub-regional and central city focussed, with only occasional examples that explicitly acknowledge urban-rural interdependencies. The evolving city-region structures around Sheffield and Leeds hold promise and they may be able to emulate the level of strategic embeddedness of green infrastructure thinking that seems to be emerging in Manchester city region. There is a great deal of mutual policy exchange and learning going on between the northern city region partnerships (helped by the Northern Way) and lessons are emerging from across the EU, which may lead to similarly advanced GI approaches in the Y&H region.

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# EVALUATION OF THE WEST YORKSHIRE AIMHIGHER PROGRAMME: IMPLEMENTING A PROGRAMME VISION IN DIFFERING LOCAL CONTEXTS By Sallyann Halliday

## INTRODUCTION

This paper will discuss the evaluation of the West Yorkshire Aimhigher programme and briefly explore two of the methodological challenges that have so far been experienced in the first year of the three year evaluation of the programme being undertaken by the Policy Research Institute at Leeds Metropolitan University.

Firstly, the paper will discuss the national context and rationale for Aimhigher before going on to describe the features of the programme in West Yorkshire. It will then discuss how differing understanding and interpretation among West Yorkshire programme staff about what the Aimhigher 'Learner Progression Model' is, and instrumentalism around the link between learner activities and outcomes within the model, present two methodological challenges in measuring the embeddedness and impact of the 'Learner Progression Model', a key element of the Aimhigher programme.

## NATIONAL AND REGIONAL CONTEXT AND RATIONALE FOR ACTIVITY/INTERVENTION

Over recent years there has been an improvement in the attainment of learners through all stages of compulsory education. However, there still remains a gap in attainment between learners in the upper and lower socio-economic groups. This gap is mirrored in the HE participation rates of learners from upper and lower socio-economic groups, despite the broadening of the socio-economic composition of the student population.<sup>69</sup>

In the Comprehensive Spending Review (2007),<sup>70</sup> the Government set out their strategic priorities for the three years from 2008 to 2011. The Comprehensive Spending Review Public Service Agreement number 11 is: "To narrow the gap in educational achievement between children from low income and disadvantaged backgrounds and their peers". One of the indicators for this PSA is the full-time Young Participation by Socio-Economic Class (FYPSEC) measure, which looks at the gap at higher education level. The FYPSEC was first published in a research report in 2007.<sup>71</sup> As Table 1 shows overleaf, although between 2002/03 and 2007/08, the gap has reduced by 7.0 percentage points and since 2005/06 by 3.3 percentage points, there still remains a significant gap in the participation rates of learners from upper and lower socio-economic groups.

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<sup>69</sup> Higher Education Outreach: Targeting Disadvantaged Learners, HEFCE, DfES, LSC, May 2007/12 – Good Practice: Guidance for Aimhigher Partnerships and Higher Education Providers, p6

<sup>70</sup> Treasury Committee, The 2007 Comprehensive Spending Review: Prospects and Processes, Sixth Report of Session 2006-07, HC 279, June 2007, London: The Stationery Office

<sup>71</sup> Kelly, K. and Cook, S. (2007) Full-time Young Participation by Socio-Economic Class: A new widening participation in higher education, Department for Education and Skills Research Report RR806  
<http://www.dfs.gov.uk/research/data/uploadfiles/RR806.pdf>

**Table 1: Overall FYPSEC figures**

	2002/03	2003/04	2004/05	2005/06	2006/07	2007/08
Participation rate for NS-SECS 1, 2, 3	45.2	42.0	42.4	43.8	40.6	41.2
Participation rate for NS-SECS 4, 5, 6, 7	18.1	18.3	18.0	20.3	19.5	21.0
Gap	27.2	23.6	24.4	23.5	21.1	20.2

Source: Full-time Young Participation by Socio-Economic Class (FYPSEC) 2009 Update: Department for Business Innovation and Skills, 1<sup>st</sup> July 2009

A large scale survey of 2,447 pupils in compulsory secondary education aged 11-16 throughout England and Wales carried out on behalf of the Sutton Trust by Ipsos MORI, (Young People Omnibus 2009, Wave 15), is carried out annually to discover what people think about a range of social issues including crime, careers and entry into higher education. This year, the survey has shown that the proportion of young people saying that they are likely to go into HE is at its highest level since 2003 when the survey first began. Most young people (77%) said they were likely to go into HE, an increase of 5% from the survey in 2008.

The Aimhigher programme (what it is now known as) was first launched in September 2001 as Excellence Challenge to address the gap in attainment and HE participation and thus increase the number of young people from disadvantaged backgrounds who apply for and enter higher education. The Aimhigher programme is run by the Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE) with support from the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills (BIS) and aims to raise the aspirations and develop the abilities of young people from lower socio-economic groups, under-represented minority ethnic groups and those with disabilities to widen HE participation among non-traditional entrants.

A key feature of the Aimhigher programme is that it's a 'targeted' intervention. Aimhigher focuses its efforts and resources at learners with the potential to benefit from higher education who come from under-represented communities. The majority of these learners are from socio-economic groups 4-8 in the National Statistics socio-economic classification (NS-SEC),<sup>72</sup> and individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds living in relative deprivation where participation in HE is low. The Aimhigher programme is an integral part of local 14-19 Education Plans which local authorities are required to produce, which are, in turn, part of the statutory Children and Young People's Strategic Plan local authorities are also required to produce.

In October 2007, the decision was taken by the Government to confirm funding for the Aimhigher programme to 2011. The Government and HEFCE have allocated £239.5 million to the Aimhigher programme for the period 2008-2011.

In this phase of the programme, it is expected that the focus should be on the development of an Aimhigher 'learner progression framework'. By 2011, government guidelines state that Aimhigher partnerships will have 'embedded Aimhigher activity

<sup>72</sup> This classification (NS-SEC) is used for all official statistics and surveys. The NS-SEC is an occupationally based classification and has 8 classes. Aimhigher is targeted at groups 4-8 – 4= Lower professional and higher technical occupations, 5= lower managerial occupations, 6= Higher supervisory occupations, 7= Intermediate occupations, 8= Employers in small organisations. For a description of the National Statistics Socio-economic classification (NS-SEC) click here: <http://www.ons.gov.uk/about-statistics/classifications/current/ns-sec/cats-and-classes/analytic-classes/index.html>

in the work of all partners by developing links between higher education institutions (HEIs), schools, colleges and work-based learning providers'.<sup>73</sup>

The work of Aimhigher is important and timely. That the number of young people in employment, education or training (NEET) has increased by more than 100,000 in the past year is of significance when we consider the policy context of the work of the programme. Government statistics recently released show that there are now almost 960,000 16 to 24 year-old NEETS in England, more than 230,000 of whom are aged between 16-18.<sup>74</sup>

## THE WEST YORKSHIRE AIMHIGHER PROGRAMME

The Aimhigher programme in West Yorkshire is a partnership of the five local authority Districts within West Yorkshire – Leeds, Bradford, Calderdale, Kirklees and Wakefield. A key part of the evaluation of the West Yorkshire Aimhigher programme will be to look at the development of the 'learner progression framework' – termed the learner progression model in West Yorkshire.

The West Yorkshire Aimhigher programme has been allocated a total of £12,764,379 over the next three years. Table 2 details the allocation per year alongside other areas in Yorkshire and the Humber.

**Table 2: Yorkshire and the Humber Aimhigher Funding 2007-2011**

Area	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11	Total
Humberside	£1,996,052	£1,796,447	£1,696,644	£1,710,741	£7,199,884
North Yorkshire	£299,488	£377,928	£419,085	£439,486	£1,535,987
South Yorkshire	£3,719,277	£3,347,349	£3,161,385	£3,028,267	£13,256,278
West Yorkshire	£4,945,287	£4,450,758	£4,203,494	£4,110,127	£17,709,666
Area total	£10,960,104	£9,972,482	£9,480,608	£9,288,621	

Source: *Guidance for Aimhigher Partnerships: Updated for the 2008-2011 Programme*, DIUS, LSC, HEFCE

## DESCRIPTION OF ACTIVITY/INTERVENTION

It is the intention of the West Yorkshire Aimhigher partnership, with local authorities, HEIs, and the voluntary sector, to work closely with target schools and colleges, and with School Improvement Partners to ensure that Aimhigher adds value to school improvement activities and is included in relevant plans and reviews.

Aimhigher in West Yorkshire has been implemented with the aim of trying to create a change in attitudes and behaviours which means that higher education becomes a natural progression for young people, and adults, in West Yorkshire. Aimhigher West Yorkshire sets out its objectives as follows:

- Ensure that we raise the aspirations of all young people, and adults, who do not feel higher education is for them
- Work with the learners to help build up their self confidence

<sup>73</sup> Higher Education Outreach: Targeting Disadvantaged Learners, HEFCE, DfES, LSC, May 2007/12 – Good Practice: Guidance for Aimhigher Partnerships and Higher Education Providers, p6

<sup>74</sup> 'Recession blamed for huge increases in Neet figures' in Young People Now, 18 August 2009. Full article here: <http://www.cypnow.co.uk/news/ByDiscipline/Education/927792/Recession-blamed-huge-increase-Neet-figures/>

- Enhance learners' personal and learning skills, and promote attainment levels, in order to increase successful progression

The programme is targeted at schools in areas which have the highest proportion of young people from the 13,000 Lower Super Output areas (LSOAs) with the highest IMD. Aimhigher West Yorkshire is working with around the top 50% of schools and FE colleges in each district with the highest percentage or number of young people from the highest IMD (Index of Multiple Deprivation) areas in each authority, with some flexibility to meet local circumstances. A second level of targeting takes place based on IMD (Index of Multiple Deprivation) and FFT (Fischer Family Trust)<sup>75</sup> data combined with tutor knowledge to select the final cohort of learners for intensive support. The cohort is chosen from those young people with a FFT prediction of 70%+ to ensure that they have the definite potential to progress to HE.

The overall aims and outcomes of the Aimhigher programme in West Yorkshire are set out in Table 3 below.

**Table 3: Overall Aims and Outcomes of Aimhigher West Yorkshire**

<b>Learner Aim: Progression to relevant Higher Education</b>	
<b>Learner Outcomes</b>	<b>Awareness Aspiration Attainment</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Making informed decisions and recognising that choices should be related to career aspirations and personal strengths</li> </ul>	Awareness
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Understanding of financial, social and practical implications of HE study</li> </ul>	Awareness
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Having self-esteem, confidence, motivation and ambition to progress to appropriate HE</li> </ul>	Aspiration
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Achieving the appropriate qualifications to progress to HE</li> </ul>	Attainment
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Demonstrating and applying the skills required for study at HE level</li> </ul>	Attainment

*Source: Aimhigher West Yorkshire*

## THE 'LEARNER PROGRESSION MODEL' AND THE METHODOLOGICAL CHALLENGES IN MEASURING THE EMBEDDEDNESS AND IMPACT IN DIFFERING CONTEXTS

Key to the implementation of the Aimhigher programme in West Yorkshire is embedding the 'Learner Progression Model'. The West Yorkshire 'Learner Progression Model' is based on the national Higher Education Progression Framework,<sup>76</sup> which provides a set of principles and characteristics to guide partnerships and institutions in moving beyond 'one-off' Widening Participation (WP) interventions to a sequence of experiences for learners within a sustained and planned programme "integrated with the activities of the wider learning community of schools and colleges".<sup>77</sup>

<sup>75</sup> The Fischer Family Trust is an independent non-profit organisation <http://www.fischertrust.org/default.aspx>. Since 2001 the Fischer Family Trust has been making available a wide range of 'value-added' data relating to pupil performance at local authority and school level. This data has included threshold measures e.g. percentage of 5+ A\*-C grades and GCSE grades in individual subjects at KS2-KS4, KS3-KS4 and KS4 to KS5.

<sup>76</sup> Action on Access (2008) Higher Education Progression Framework Guide. Available to download from: [www.actiononaccess.org](http://www.actiononaccess.org)

<sup>77</sup> Action on Access (2008) Higher Education Progression Framework Guide. Available to download from: [www.actiononaccess.org](http://www.actiononaccess.org)

Aimhigher 'target' schools and colleges receive funding to appoint an 'Aimhigher Organiser' whose role it is to support the cohort of Aimhigher learners. The 'Aimhigher Organiser' role is an integral part of the delivery of the Aimhigher programme in schools and thus in delivering and embedding the Learner Progression Model (although a range of staff are involved in delivering the programme in schools i.e. teaching staff, including Assistant Heads, Heads of Years, teaching assistants). Though there is an agreement across all five of the West Yorkshire Districts to have a 'standard' job description for Aimhigher organisers in all target institutions, with each school or college receiving funding ensuring that a dedicated post is created to cover the requirements of the Aimhigher Organiser role, there is some variation in delivery across the five Districts – for example, some districts organise a visit to Thackray Medical Museum, some organise a visit to Leeds Metropolitan University, and others may visit Huddersfield University.

Aimhigher Organisers have a choice of activities (set out in an Aimhigher handbook) to deliver to learners in the cohort and are required to ensure that the 'Learner Progression Model' is being followed as a series of 'sequenced' activities. All target and associate schools are aware of the West Yorkshire model for the learner progression framework and that there is an expectation that learners' in the Aimhigher cohort will follow the model. The model includes a series of learner outcomes around aspiration, attainment and progression supported by a coherent programme of activities. These programmes of sequenced activity are intended to form part of a learner's personalised development. The key activities are:

- Aimhigher campus visits
- Mentoring (face to face or electronic)
- Master classes including subject enrichment or revision sessions
- Student ambassadors
- Information, advice and guidance
- Summer schools and other HE residential experience
- School or college based interventions as part of an agreed programme

It can be argued that the differing understanding and interpretation among programme staff about what the Learner Progression Model is, and instrumentalism around the link between learner activities and achievement of learner outcomes after taking part in these activities, present two key methodological challenges in measuring the embeddedness and impact of the model – it is to these two challenges the discussion will now turn to. In doing so, interviews carried out in March 2009 with 12 Aimhigher staff and 16 Year 9 learners in the Aimhigher cohort are referred to. Over the remaining two years of the programme evaluation these students and staff will be re-interviewed each year to collect rich, qualitative data on the impact of the Aimhigher programme in West Yorkshire/the learner progression model.

Methodological Challenge 1: Differing understanding about what the 'Learner Progression Model' actually is and what it measures

In terms of the methodological challenges in measuring the implementation and impact of the Learner Progression Model, the first and most important one is differing understanding and interpretation of what the Learner Progression Model *actually* is.

As stated in the Higher Education Progression Framework Guide (June 2008)<sup>78</sup>, the Higher Education Progression Framework seeks to provide guidance based upon the core principles that any 'progression model' should also 'seek to demonstrate a robust evidence base which evaluates the impact of a sequence of activities on progression and attainment and which articulates with local systems to track learners' (p6).

First and foremost, some Aimhigher programme staff appear to be unfamiliar with the 'Learner Progression Model' *per se*, though in some cases this was due to Aimhigher Organisers being new to their post, in others this wasn't the case. For example, staff interviewee H explained *'If I am being honest I would say no...not as it is a Learner Progression Model. What we have done is looked at some of the skills that aims to develop'*

One Aimhigher organiser commented on how some of the ways Aimhigher tracks impact is through 'hard' data e.g. improvement in assessment marks and explains how some of the other ways its had an impact are 'attitudinal' and thus harder to evidence. She explains how in her school, comparing last year's year 9 choice of options with this year's is one way of looking at the impact of the Learner Progression Model:

'I think it's fit for purpose, it's tracking the right things regularly enough to get a clear picture. You can see how many students have moved on from their practical achievements or their attendance or their aspiration. Aspiration is always the difficult one to measure...you can describe all the things you do and you can evaluate which [activities] seem more successful'.

In line with the findings from national research, it appears that there are challenges in collecting the right type of 'activity' data due to the fact that Aimhigher activities are delivered by practitioners, many of whom have had little training in evaluation.<sup>79</sup>

Feedback from learners demonstrates this point further. One learner interviewed described how they felt they had always had a good attitude to school, but all the others felt they had improved, or at least maintained, their attitude, and felt they wanted to do better and/or had realised the importance of school: Most learners said being involved in Aimhigher had made them want to do better in their school work.

"It has because it's made me start thinking about grades and what job I want"  
(Learner interviewee K)

The difficulties in measuring these outcomes as an evaluator and how the sequenced activity contained in the Learner Progression Model has contributed to this is a challenge, and therefore measuring impact of the Learner Progression Model on the aspirations, attainment and progression of the target cohort is difficult because of this. It is not only a matter of measuring how individual activities themselves contribute to this which presents a challenge – but collectively how a sequence of activities impacts on learners is even more difficult. Further, since most reported outcomes relate to self-esteem evaluators often rely on self-reported improvements in self-esteem rather than observations of any changes in behaviour in particular circumstances.

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<sup>78</sup> Action on Access (2008) Higher Education Progression Framework Guide. Available to download from: [www.actiononaccess.org](http://www.actiononaccess.org)

<sup>79</sup> Passy, R., Morris, M. and Waldman, J. (2009) Evaluation of the Impact of Aimhigher and Widening Participation Outreach Programmes on Learner Attainment and Progression, Interim Report, National Foundation for Educational Research (March 2009).

Further, that staff interviewees frequently commented on the fact that being in the cohort made learners feel they were 'special' and maybe an important success factor in the activities these learners take part in. One staff interviewee explained how she feels the Aimhigher activities have helped motivate learners. Learners feeling 'part of something' is seen to be a particularly important role of Aimhigher particularly if members of the cohort don't have parental support at home, being part of Aimhigher makes learners feel valued.

#### Methodological Challenge 2: Instrumentalism around the links between activities and outcomes

The second methodological challenge as an evaluator is disentangling how staff implementing the programme see how 'activities' they deliver to learners' link to 'learner outcomes'. There seems to be some 'instrumentalism' around the model in that some programme staff talked about how doing X will automatically lead to the achievement of Y – suggesting that there is perhaps an almost straightforward linear link between activities and outcomes in the 'Learner Progression Model'.

One Aimhigher organiser explained how [the Learner Progression Model] *'gives a list and she knows what she needs to do and that links back to the data system'*. The choice of activities selected to meet learner outcomes varies by district and therefore some will inevitably be better at meeting the specified learner outcomes than others.

Another problem in measuring the link between activities and outcomes is because organisers across the five Aimhigher districts in West Yorkshire select a wide range of activities for learners to take part in to contribute to sequenced activity. Indeed, there is variation by district in the selection of activities by Aimhigher organisers. For example, one school reported that they had used a number of Aimhigher activities, including Bright Futures Conference at Cedar Court Hotel, Feel the Pulse of a Career in Healthcare at Huddersfield University, HE4ALL drama group and a visit to Leeds Met, whereas one other school reported using none of the Aimhigher activities, but instead selecting other activities offered by other providers which were more appropriate to their circumstances. These included Armley Mills, the Royal Armouries, enterprise activities and work at Leeds United.

Interestingly, the key perceived challenge in implementing the model appears to be 'time' and organisational structures. There is variation in the activities available and chosen across the District. It appears that selection of activity can be as much about things like 'fitting in' activities with the school timetable which are often pressurised than about 'which activities work best'.

In terms of the Learner Progression Model meeting the specified objectives, overall, in West Yorkshire, it was felt to be difficult to say in Year 1 of the programme. One Aimhigher staff interviewee talked about how in her school some of the cohort had made improvements and some hadn't and that it will be more accurate to look at their progress by the end of the summer in 2009 since Aimhigher work started at the end of November 2008 and that the confidence and motivation of learners is hard to measure. This of course is another problem in measuring the link between activities and outcomes.

#### CONCLUSION

This essay has discussed the evaluation of the West Yorkshire Aimhigher programme and some of the issues faced in Year 1 in measuring the impact of

activities delivered as part of the Learner Progression Model, a key part of the Aimhigher programme in West Yorkshire.

One of the key aims of the evaluation in Year 1 was to start to investigate the extent to which the Learner Progression Model is being developed and delivered across the five districts in West Yorkshire, and this has been discussed here with reference to two key methodological challenges faced in trying to identify the impact of the model on the aspirations, attainment and progression of the target cohort.

In terms of the two methodological challenges I have discussed here – differing understanding about what the Learner Progression Model actually is and what it measures, and instrumentalism around the links between activities and outcomes - a key important point to be made is that it will take time to measure impact of the Learner Progression Model, particularly since the model is based on sequenced activity. The effects and outcomes of these activities will take time and rely heavily on qualitative, narrative data on changes in self-esteem, confidence and motivation over time.

Staff and learners have already spoken of improved attendance, motivation and aspirations among the target cohort. However, as I have discussed, there are differences in choice of activity Aimhigher organisers select in each district to fit with local circumstances, and thus designing research tools and methods to measure the impact of such a wide range of these activities can be challenging especially around collecting evidence beyond the anecdotal. An emphasis on ‘softer’ outcomes such as improved self-esteem, confidence, motivation and ambition to progress to appropriate HE means further interesting challenges in measuring and collecting data on these outcomes as the evaluation continues in Year 2 of the programme.

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# **DIVERSE COMMUNITIES AND THE QUESTION OF COHESION**

## **By Max Farrar**

### INTRODUCTION

This essay opens with a brief statistical overview of the diverse minority ethnic groups which populate the Yorkshire and Humber region. It then places the relevant statistics in the context of the recent national debate on the question of whether 'community cohesion' in the UK is under threat. The essay concludes with a discussion of the government's policy of promoting 'community cohesion' and an example of the role of Leeds Metropolitan University in supporting activities in the city which are linked to this policy.

### ETHNIC DIVERSITY IN YORKSHIRE & HUMBER

#### Statistical data and its limitations

The tables and maps included here (in the Appendices) have been derived from the National Statistics Service web-site and represent the best estimates available for the ethnic composition of the region in 2007. 'Ethnic' is used here in the sociological sense of the term: it refers to the particular cultures that are established by different population groups. 'Ethnic' has to some extent helpfully displaced the term 'race'. But it then gets merged with popular conceptions of 'race' in phrases such as 'Black and Minority Ethnic' (BME or BAME). Both 'race' and 'ethnicity' become misleading concepts when they are used to imply that these population groups are culturally homogenous and are very significantly different from the other population groups in the country. Public discourse and national policy compels us to use these inadequate concepts, but these reservations about their adequacy must always be born in mind. In the statistics which follow, I have selected West Yorkshire, particularly Leeds and Bradford, and provided a brief comparison with the East Riding of Yorkshire in order to highlight the fact that the spread of ethnic minorities across the whole region is quite uneven. The Maps illustrate this graphically (Appendix 1). The outstanding fact is that 90% of the region is white: non-white ethnic minorities constitute a very small proportion of the region's population. West Yorkshire, with 15% of its population from non-white ethnic minorities, contrasts with the East Riding where only 3% of the population is not white. Even within West Yorkshire, Leeds and Bradford provide contrasting pictures: 12% of Leeds is non-white, while 26% of Bradford is non-white (See Appendix 2).

If white/not-white regrettably remains the dominant paradigm in a society like Britain's where racism has still not been eliminated, its usefulness is immediately challenged when we look at the variety of groups within the non-white populations. Examining these groups using national statistics forces us once again to use inadequate categorisations. The terminology I use here reflects the contested nature of the terrain on which 'race' gets written. I place 'race' in inverted commas because it is a biologically bogus category (all humans are of the same species). 'Race' is a social category produced in societies whose elite groups have decided to categorise themselves in terms of a hierarchy which maps itself onto skin pigmentation. Over the past 200 years the societies which have been economically and militarily dominant in the world have been run by people whose pigmentation is described as white (implausibly, given their actual skin colour). These societies have until recently regarded all population groups whose skin colours are described as red, yellow, brown or black as inherently inferior, mentally and culturally (Goldberg 1993, Malik

1997). I reflect this dreadful historical fact in my use of 'white' and 'non-white' (the vast majority of the world's population) because racism – the ideology justifying pigmentation hierarchy – has not disappeared. The persistence of racism is reflected in the decisions we make in collecting population statistics, based on contentious decisions about ethnic categories, which themselves can paradoxically be used by anti-racists to demonstrate and undermine 'racially' based exclusion and discrimination.

The government's own categories indicate just how complex is this field of ethnicity. Asians from the Indian sub-continent (usually collectively referred to as South Asians) are distinguished from people classified as Chinese (from a vast region known as East Asia). South Asians are themselves diverse, from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. Since the late 1980s they have been referred to in academic and popular literature as 'brown', whereas people of African descent tend to get called 'black'. This latter group is then divided into Africans and Caribbeans. All these, apart from the Chinese, are then categorised according to whether their parents have 'mixed' with white people, while the whites themselves are categorised as British, Irish or 'other white'. There is no space here to do anything more than note that these statistical categories fit uneasily with the lived experience of ethnicity, racism and its resistance. For example, in the 1970s and 1980s movements emerged in Britain in which people of the various Asian backgrounds, of the various African ancestries, and even Latin Americans and southern Mediterraneans embraced the term 'black' as their unifying identity – a source of their political mobilisation against racism. Today, many Caribbeans, including people in the 'mixed' category, will describe themselves as African-Caribbeans, while many south Asians will evade a national or ethnic category and call themselves Muslims, Sikhs or Hindus, indicating that their religious culture is more significant than their national culture. And a small but increasing number of non-whites will simply say they are British, rejecting all the other signifiers of identity.

Government statistics are thus not finely tuned to the political phenomenology of diverse ethnicities in the region, but they can be effectively used to indicate the highly variable geography of ethnicity. So, while 21% of Bradford's population is of South Asian origin, only 1.4% of the population of the East Riding have roots in the Indian sub-continent. Of Bradford's South Asians, only 1% originate in Bangladesh, while 16% have a Pakistani background. In Leeds, with almost 6% of South Asian heritage, the proportions from India and Pakistan are the same (2.4%), with only 0.4% of that group coming from Bangladesh. The settlement of peoples of African origin is similarly varied across the region. Only 1.3% of the region is categorised as 'black' (where black indicates Caribbean or African origins), with Leeds having just over 2% of its population in that category, while in the East Riding it is 0.5%. 0.9% of Leeds' black people adopt the term 'Black Caribbean', 1.1% use the term 'Black African', while 0.2% adopt 'Black or Black British: Other Black'. My local knowledge leads me to suggest that some people who once called themselves 'Caribbean', and later called themselves 'African-Caribbean' are now adopting 'Black African', thus merging their statistics with those who were actually born in Africa and have migrated to live in Leeds. I suggest they use this term in order to defy the barbarism of the enslavement of their ancestors. To emphasise again the variation in population distribution across the region, we note that the East Riding is deprived of people of African descent: only 0.5% of its population is 'black' of any sort. The group of people whose parents have crossed the colour boundaries – the so-called 'mixed' population – is spread more evenly across the region. For the region as whole, the percentage described as 'mixed' is 1.3. 1.6% of West Yorkshire is in this group, as is 0.8% in the East Riding. In Bradford 0.7% are mixed white and Caribbean, while 0.8% are mixed white and Asian and it is about the same in Leeds. People of Chinese descent are also spread

in low percentages across the region: the regional figure is 1.2%, with a high of 2.3% in Leeds and a low of 0.5% in the East Riding. Finally, the census takers now identify a white population described as an ethnic minority – those of Irish descent – and they too are spread quite evenly across the region, with 0.8% of Leeds in this category, and 0.4% of the East Riding. My gloss on these statistics is that the region has very low percentages of non-white populations, with only one city, Bradford, seeming to cluster this group – largely people of Pakistani heritage – but even there 74% of the population is white.

#### The persistence of inequality

A comprehensive review of 'equalities' in the Yorkshire and Humber Region published in 2008 indicates the sketchy nature of the government's data on the status of the ethnic minorities in the region (Tym 2008). But where data is available, the unequal social and economic position of ethnic minorities, particularly those of Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi heritage, is striking. Correctly taking equal access to well-paid work as a fundamental social indicator, the report observes: 'In most local authorities in Yorkshire and Humber, employment rate of BAME people falls far below employment rate of white people' (Tym 2008 p. 12). Comparing their map of the region's employment index of multiple deprivation with the statistics provided above on the uneven spread of ethnic minorities across the region (see Map 1, Appendix 2), it is clear from Map 6 that minorities cluster in the most deprived parts of the region.

To make matters worse, the report states: 'Assuming other things remain equal, BAME individuals are less likely to be in "higher occupations" except for Indians and Chinese. It is these individuals who might be most affected by erosions in relative pay of the low skilled' (Tym 2008 p. 17).

While recording the low levels of attainment of boys of Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi heritage in schools across the country, and importantly noting that when class issues are taken into account this performance is comparable with white pupils of similar socio-economic status, the report provides no data for the region's educational achievement by ethnic group. But it does show how some ethnic groups are over-represented among the lowest achieving young people in the region, the so-called NEETs (those 'not entering education employment or training' aged 16-19+). The significance of this category for wider indicators of well-being is brought out by research which shows that 'NEETS are 20 times more likely to commit a crime and 22 times more likely to be a teenage mother' (Tym 2008 p. 25). Whereas around 10% of this age-group are in the NEET category for most of the region (it drops to 5% in York and North Yorkshire), for 'Mixed-race' young people in West Yorkshire it rises to 21%, to 14% in South Yorkshire and to 13% in York and North Yorkshire. For 'Black or Black British' youth, the figure is 14% in West Yorkshire, 12% in South Yorkshire, 5% in Humber and 3% in York and North Yorkshire. Asian or Asian British on the other hand have similar proportions of NEETs to whites across most of the region (around 10%), but lower in Humber and York and North Yorkshire, while among the young people of Chinese heritage the proportions only reach 3% in two areas (West and South Yorkshire) and barely score in the others (Tym 2008 p. 27). It would seem that class is an operative factor here too, with lower proportions of ethnic minorities, compared to whites, among the NEETs in the more prosperous areas of the Humber, York and North Yorkshire.

The report (Tym 2008) further shows that ethnic minorities in the region are over-represented in areas where the physical environment is poor (p. 37), and that black and Caribbean girls under 19 years of age are over-represented in the data on

teenage pregnancy nationally (and thus by implication in the region) (p. 53). Strangely, the extensive data in the report on housing and health issues is not broken down by ethnicity. But, given that Asian and African-Caribbean people are over-represented in low-income groups, from the report's depressing data on housing disadvantage and health problems among the poor, we can deduce that these minorities also suffer disproportionately.

While the people who live with disadvantage are well aware of their situation, the structural mechanisms which produce social exclusion and inequality are rarely examined in public discourse or confronted politically. Thus the structures which differentiate populations by colour, class and gender and place them in hierarchies remain intact. Their dominance in the field of 'race' is assisted by institutional racism normally divorcing itself from direct personal encounters. Violent racism, on the other hand, is by definition highly personal. No account of exclusion or inequality can ignore the persistence of physical attack and abuse. It is a matter of concern, therefore, that there is no simple way of accessing police statistics on recorded racial violence. Only one police force responded to my request. Figure 1 (in Appendix 3) shows the persistence of recorded incidents per quarter in West Yorkshire over the past four years, with a high of 400 just after the London bombs in July 2005 and a low of 170 in February 2009. It is perhaps stating the obvious to mention that official records severely underestimate the actual amount of racially motivated abuse and violence.

#### Diversity's supposed threat to community cohesion

Official writing on 'race' and ethnicity in Twenty-first century Britain is somewhat coded. In the light of the violent urban protest in northern cities in the summer of 2001 and the bombing of London in July 2005, national focus has turned to issues of citizenship, integration and cohesion. 'Race' and ethnicity are muted concepts in reports which strive for non-inflammatory language. Thus, citing Home Office research, Roger Tym's report on equalities in Yorkshire and Humber states, without any reference to 'race' or ethnicity:

Migration inevitably leads to higher diversity – but there is no evidence that higher diversity leads to poorer cohesion. Research produced for the Commission on Integration and Cohesion shows there is no general statistical link between the level of diversity and cohesion. This shows the theory that high diversity axiomatically leads to poor cohesion to be wrong. Education and affluence of residents are the most important factors that act as barriers to poor cohesion.

(Tym 2008 p. 29)

Presumably, the last sentence in the above quote actually means that cohesion is lowest in areas where people are poor and lack educational attainment. Nevertheless, this report goes on to argue that where low integration and cohesion is found, the principal cause is recent immigration, particularly into areas of recent industrial decline. This applies most strongly to areas with a history of textile manufacture; less so in areas where steel was produced. It then repeats the view that tensions in communities are not inevitable in neighbourhoods with recent immigrants, arguing that high levels of deprivation are the most salient factor (Tym 2008 pp. 30-1). Offering a government generated model of 'cohesion scores' and area types, the report states that areas can be ranked as follows (lowest cohesion first, highest last):

1. Changing urban, less affluent, with industrial heritage (Score 68.2)
2. Changing rural, less affluent (Score 72.2)
3. Stable urban, less affluent, with industrial heritage (Score 73.3)
4. Changing urban, less affluent, with no industrial heritage (Score 74.1)
5. Stable rural, less affluent (Score 79.9)
6. Stable urban, affluent (Score 80.5)
7. Changing urban, affluent (Score 80.6)
8. Stable rural, affluent (Score 82.9)
9. Changing rural, affluent (Score 83)

(Tym 2008 p. 32)

Translating this information into a language which is explicit about the operations of 'race' and ethnicity in the region suggests that cohesion is lowest in urban areas like Bradford and Leeds with their history of textile manufacture, and which have witnessed the recent arrival of new migrants from the EU accession countries, plus refugees and asylum seekers, into the neighbourhoods which already suffer high economic disadvantage. Significantly, however, the report stresses that the historic presence of ethnic minorities is not a cause of tension. Formerly industrial areas occupied by low-income people, now subject to social and economic instability, are the places where people report most social tension, along with rural areas with low incomes but subject to change. (One 'change factor' might be the arrival of EU workers and refugees.) Stable, affluent urban neighbourhoods – probably with a small but significant proportion of better-off non-white citizens – and rural affluent neighbourhoods (with even fewer non-white citizens) have high cohesion scores. From the list above, we again must note that 'affluence' – note that the air-brush has been applied to 'upper class' – is the major factor dividing the less cohesive from the more cohesive areas.

Unfortunately this relatively nuanced analysis of cohesion has not had much impact on those national commentators who have argued that the multicultural policies of the UK since the 1960s, and the race relations legislation which has backed these policies, has gone too far. According to Trevor Phillips, the head of the Equalities and Human Rights Commission, the country is 'sleep-walking into segregation'. Phillips was picking up on the argument put forward by Ted Cantle that the Asian populations in the northern towns were living 'parallel lives'. This moral panic is an ignorant response to the increasingly assertive Muslim populations of the UK. The north of England, and Yorkshire and Humber in particular, came to national attention when four cities, including Leeds and Bradford, erupted in 'riots' in 2001, and Leeds proved to be the home of three of the men who bombed London in July 2005. (For discussion on this and sources for Cantle's and Phillips' views, see Farrar 2010. For an analysis of Islamicist violence which blames alienation rather than Islam, see Farrar 2006.) Phillips' argument has been subjected to detailed statistical analysis and utterly refuted (Finney and Simpson 2009), and I have critiqued the retreat from multiculturalism elsewhere (Farrar 2008). My point here is that economic and social matters – particularly access to good employment and education in neighbourhoods with a range of community facilities – are more important factors than the presence of ethnic minorities when considering how best to produce committed, socially responsible citizens who are willing to cross cultural boundaries and build stable neighbourhoods.

#### THINKING COHESION IN LEEDS

How might a university help those who are seeking to develop a commitment to active citizenship in a nation of diverse communities, to improve cohesion and

strengthen neighbourhoods? Making such a contribution was a central feature of the Leeds Met Vision & Character (2009) statement. The 'Thinking Cohesion' network co-ordinated by this author at Leeds Met is one response to this question. In 2007 a group of people who work for the Leeds City Council, its strategic partnership body (the Leeds Initiative), the voluntary-community-faith sector, the West Yorkshire Police, and one academic (the author of this chapter) were invited by the Hamara Centre, a healthy-living project in South Leeds, to form an Advisory Committee to oversee a pilot project designed to bring Leeds' young Muslims together with people of other backgrounds. Each of the people selected by Hamara either had long experience of working in multi-ethnic communities, or had posts dedicated to developing community cohesion, or both. Hamara's short-term project was funded by the government's Department of Communities and Local Government's Preventing Violent Extremism (PVE) programme (DCLG 2008). On completion of its programme, in early 2008, the Advisory Group decided that it would stay in place, since it had turned out to be a unique opportunity for people from different sectors to discuss issues relevant to everyone's work, but in a forum none of us normally had access to. At an inaugural meeting in June 2008 most of the Advisory Group decided that it would form a 'think tank' on the issue of cohesion, meeting every couple of months, addressing pre-arranged topics of mutual interest linked to the national agenda of community cohesion and preventing violent extremism. After an initial meeting, the original group expanded to include another Leeds Met academic, people from Government Office, and Bradford University's Peace Studies department. It has held six meetings up to 2009, with a group of about ten people attending almost every one and another six or seven attending from time to time. What follows is a brief summary of this group's deliberations and some of my own analysis of how its work links to the 'diversity' debate.

#### Aims and process

The group adopted a process for its meetings which characterises the best aspects of practice in the voluntary-community-faith sector: meetings were to be participative, inclusive and democratic. Thus they were facilitated, rather than led or directed, with the following meeting's topic being agreed at each gathering. Notes were taken at each meeting and circulated to ensure that everyone was included, whether or not they had been able to attend. Different organisations hosted each meeting and usually most people stayed after the meeting to have lunch together. This process made what can be a difficult issue – agreeing a name for a group and its aims – much easier than it might otherwise have been. It helped that some of us knew each other before, but the process meant that new people were easily drawn into the discussion. After a couple of fairly lengthy discussions, we agreed to call ourselves Thinking Cohesion. As the name implies, our purpose is to think about the philosophy and practice of creating cohesive communities. Since all of us, in one way or another, are engaged in practical projects in this field, it is significant that we decided that the group's purpose is simply to think about and discuss the relevant issues, rather than to engage in new types of activity. This decision arose from the initial insight during the Hamara PVE project: that there was – until now – no space in the city for standing back from the practical work and simply thinking about the underlying theories, ethics and politics of this field. One of the most obvious – but hardly faced – problems for community cohesion is the paucity of practice in facilitating dialogue between diverse groups. In the Thinking Cohesion group, there is a wide variety of ages and incomes, and some variety of faith (Christian, Muslim and none) and the process described above was crucial to ensuring full participation. This was made much easier because we quickly established that we had a fairly common set of values and similar approaches to the national debate on this issue. But the more

difference there is in perspectives, the more crucial it is that the deliberative process adopted is inclusive and democratic, if we are to ensure respectful dialogue.

## Themes

Utilising this open and democratic process meant that it was quite simple to agree the format for each meeting. Normally, we had someone (on two occasions from outside the group) lead on a particular topic that all felt to be significant, followed by discussion. Usually there would be another period in which people shared information and made announcements about events. Finally there would be a discussion about what to do next time we met. The topics were steered by the initial couple of meetings where we began to develop an overall perspective on the cohesion issue. Briefly, the position we agreed upon was that we were broadly supportive of the government's rhetoric of building stronger and more cohesive communities, but we were deeply sceptical of the government's emphasis on the threat allegedly posed to cohesion by British Muslims labelled as extremists. This, perhaps, can be thought of as the sharp end of the Cattle/Phillips position mentioned above. In search of a more progressive position on this, at an early meeting we examined the report titled *Our Shared Future* by the Commission on Integration and Cohesion (2007) referred to by Tym, (op cit).

The Commission's 'new definition' of an 'integrated and cohesive community' is worth quoting in full, since it makes it clear that cohesion (a) requires equal life chances and social justice, and (b) that all diverse populations, including the new migrants, have a valuable role to play in creating a cohesive society. The definition states that a cohesive community is one where:

- 'There is a clearly defined and widely shared sense of the contribution of different individuals and different communities to a future vision for a neighbourhood, city, region or country.
- There is a strong sense of an individual's rights and responsibilities when living in a particular place – people know what everyone expects of them, and what they can expect in turn.
- Those from different backgrounds have similar life opportunities, access to services and treatment.
- There is a strong sense of trust in institutions locally to act fairly in arbitrating between different interests and for their role and justifications to be subject to public scrutiny.
- There is a strong recognition of the contribution of both those who have newly arrived and those who already have deep attachments to a particular place, with a focus on what they have in common.
- There are strong and positive relationships between people from different backgrounds in the workplace, in schools and other institutions within neighbourhoods.'

(Commission on Cohesion and Integration 2007: 42).

Because we felt we needed to learn about the processes through which some potentially or actually antagonistic communities had been brought together in dialogue, we invited Sam Tedcastle, one of the Commissioners and a staff member of Connect Space North west to make a presentation on the work her organisation was doing in Oldham and Burnley. Based on the peace-making philosophy and practice of Paul Lederach a four stage process of civic diplomacy, creating specific structures, providing training and doing case-work was outlined. (Connect Space is now called the Centre for Good Relations. See [www.centreforgoodrelations.com](http://www.centreforgoodrelations.com) ) At

another meeting, to further our understanding of what we believe to be a potential contradiction between the 'cohesion' and 'violent extremism' agenda we invited Dr Paul Thomas (2009) of Huddersfield University to talk to us about the evaluation he had conducted of the preventing violent extremism programmes conducted by Kirklees and Rochdale councils. While he had positive things to say about several aspects of these programmes, Dr Thomas was also deeply concerned about the singling out of Muslims as extremists, when there was evidence that animal liberationists were more violent, and that the British National Party posed a greater threat to cohesion than do Muslims.

The wider discussion and information sharing that took place at each meeting is perhaps less relevant to this article, but one aspect is of particular significance. A very senior member of the West Yorkshire Police was a regular attendee at Thinking Cohesion. He provided us with information about the West Yorkshire police's efforts to win the 'hearts and minds' of British Muslims, and he was open to the argument that there is a greater threat to cohesion and stability posed by racists. Given the long history in Leeds of conflict between ethnic minorities and the police, his ability to listen to other views and engage in constructive debate was an example of the dialogic process at its best. Since the police have a major influence on how PVE (now called 'Prevent') funds arriving in the region are spent, it was particularly useful for Thinking Cohesion members to be able to engage in discussion on both the underlying thinking and the practicalities of some of the neighbourhood initiatives. One specific outcome of this interaction was the 'Bringing People Together' event organised in Leeds in May 2009 which utilised the 'open space' techniques developed within the peace and reconciliation movement (Leeds Initiative 2009). It is these kinds of processes which are needed if those aspects of diversity which generate conflict, sometimes violent, are to be properly addressed. But I would endorse the argument of the Commission on Integration and Cohesion that real cohesion will only occur if the economic, social and political injustices at the heart of our society are simultaneously eradicated.

## CONCLUSION

The chapter has provided some of the statistics on the diverse populations of ethnic minorities in the Yorkshire and Humber region, focusing mainly on West Yorkshire, and contrasting it with a predominantly white area such as the East Riding. It has argued that this statistical approach has limitations imposed upon it by the racialised categories offered by the government's census, which themselves reflect a public discourse which still has not shed its Eurocentric, imperialist history. In so far as empirical material is available for the region, it has been utilised here to demonstrate the continued inequality that faces most of the region's ethnic minorities, pointing out that class factors operate strongly in influencing those inequalities. The chapter then referred to the controversy that has erupted in the UK, particularly since the violent urban protest in northern towns in 2001 and the bombing of London in 2005. Although I reject the argument that the country is 'sleepwalking into segregation', and the implication that Muslims are somehow to blame, the chapter offers a useful definition of a cohesive community derived from a nationally recognised commission of inquiry into these issues. Finally, I described one initiative in Leeds, called Thinking Cohesion, facilitated by Leeds Met University, which was a creative attempt to apply the power of sustained and systematic thought to the problem of alienation among some of the ethnic minorities in the region. This group provided 'thinking space' for people working in a range of sectors relating to cohesion, and who need to stand back from the day-to-day demands of project management.

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## Appendix 1

### Geographical distribution of ethnic groups in Yorkshire and Humber

#### Distribution of the Yorkshire and Humberside ethnic population by district, 2001

Map 1: Ethnically mixed populations

Map 2: Chinese and Other populations

Map 3: Black and British Black populations

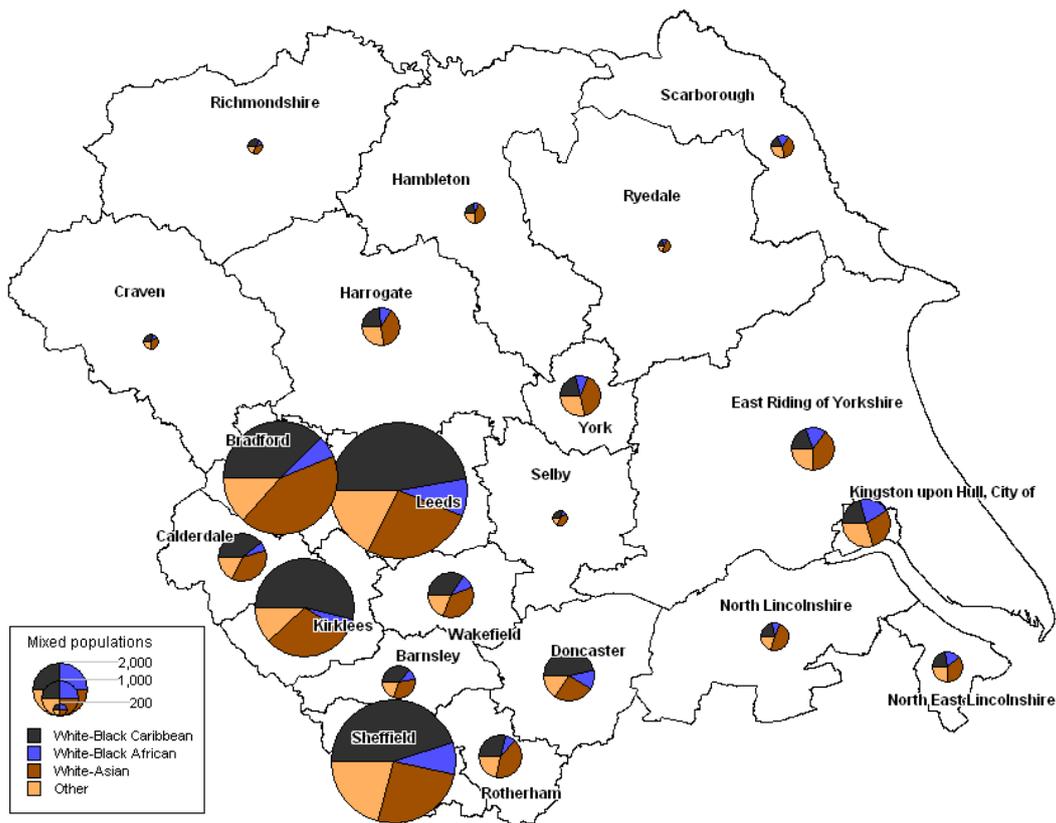
Map 4: Asian and British Asian populations

Map 5: White populations

Map 6: Index of Multiple Deprivation, Employment Deprivation Index

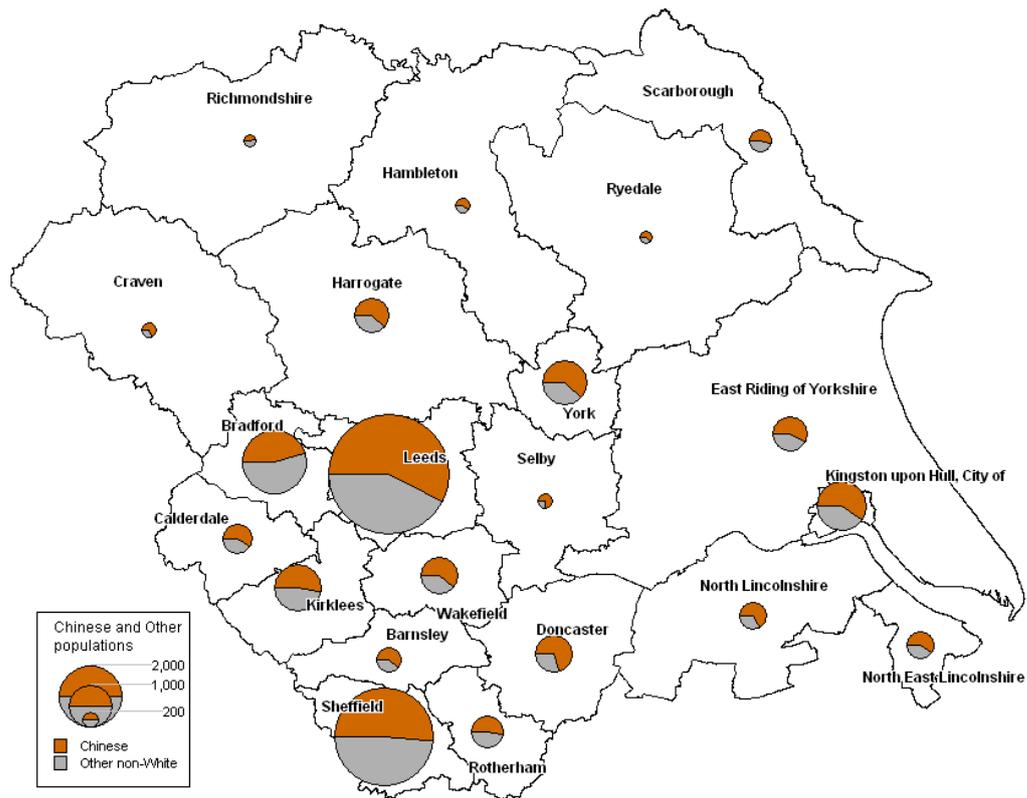
Note: Circle sizes represent 2,000, 1,000 and 200 people for smaller ethnic groups. The scale used is different for Asians and for whites. Circles are proportional to the size of the aggregate populations: White, Mixed, Black, Asian and Chinese/Other – segments of each circle are in proportion to subgroup share of aggregate pops

#### Map 1: Ethnically mixed populations



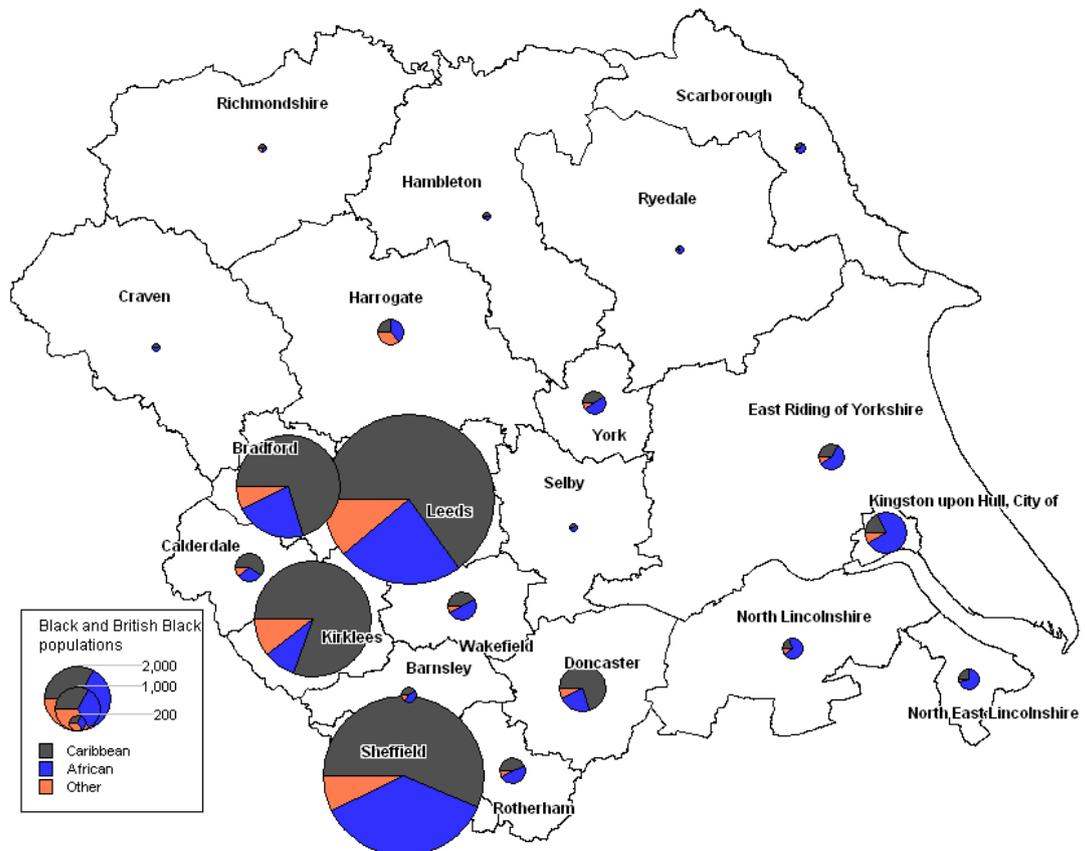
Source: Map kindly prepared by Professor John Stillwell, Geography Department, University of Leeds, utilising Census 2001 Key Statistics Table KS006. Crown copyright

## Map 2: Chinese and Other populations



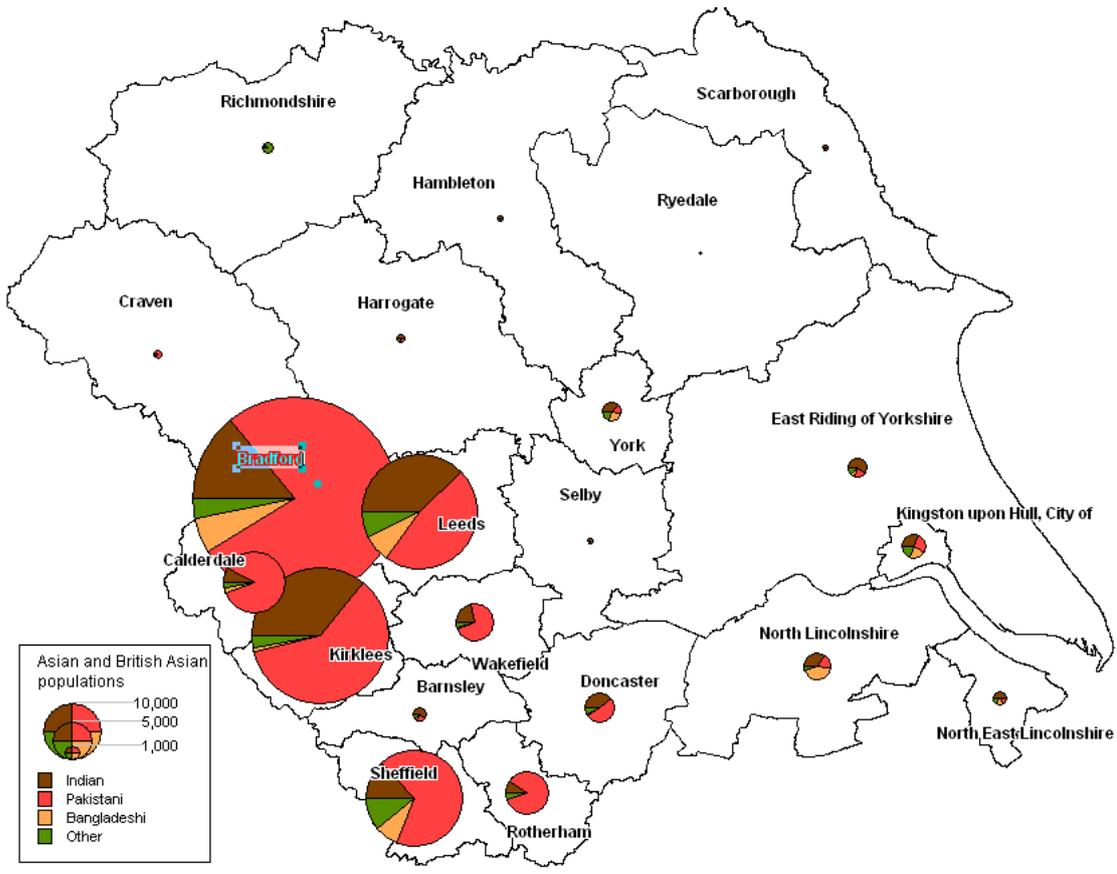
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### Map 3: Black and British Black populations



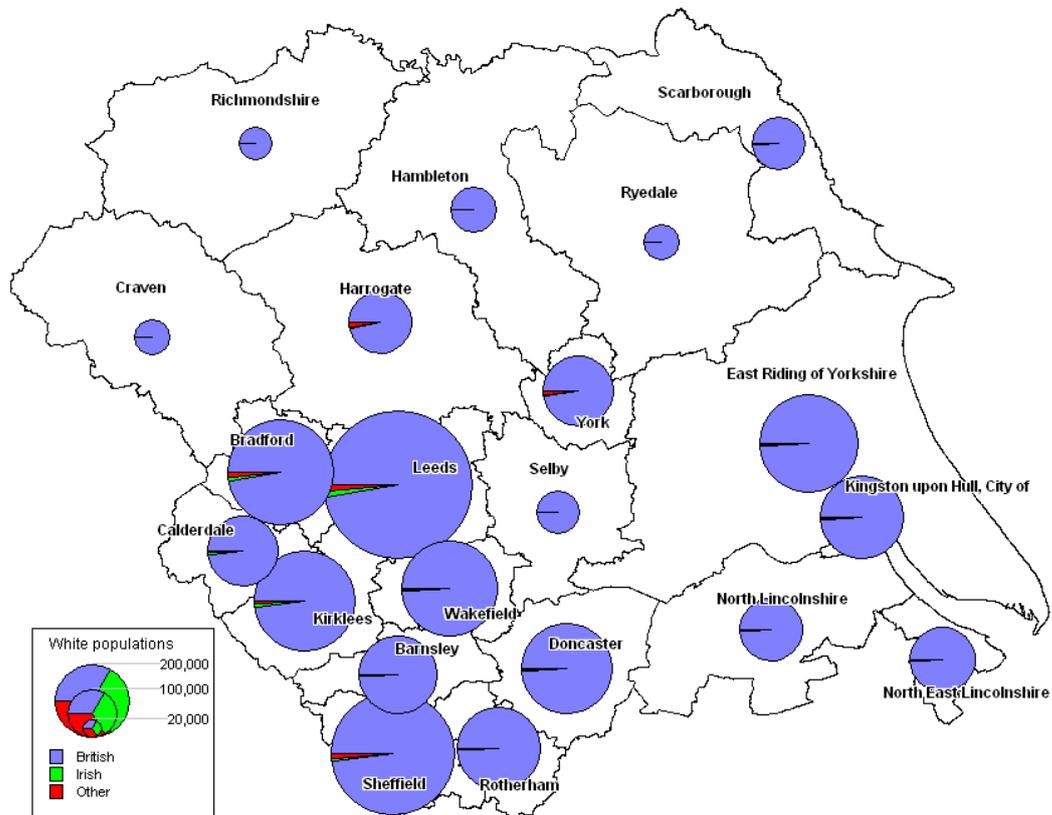
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### Map 4: Asian and British Asian populations



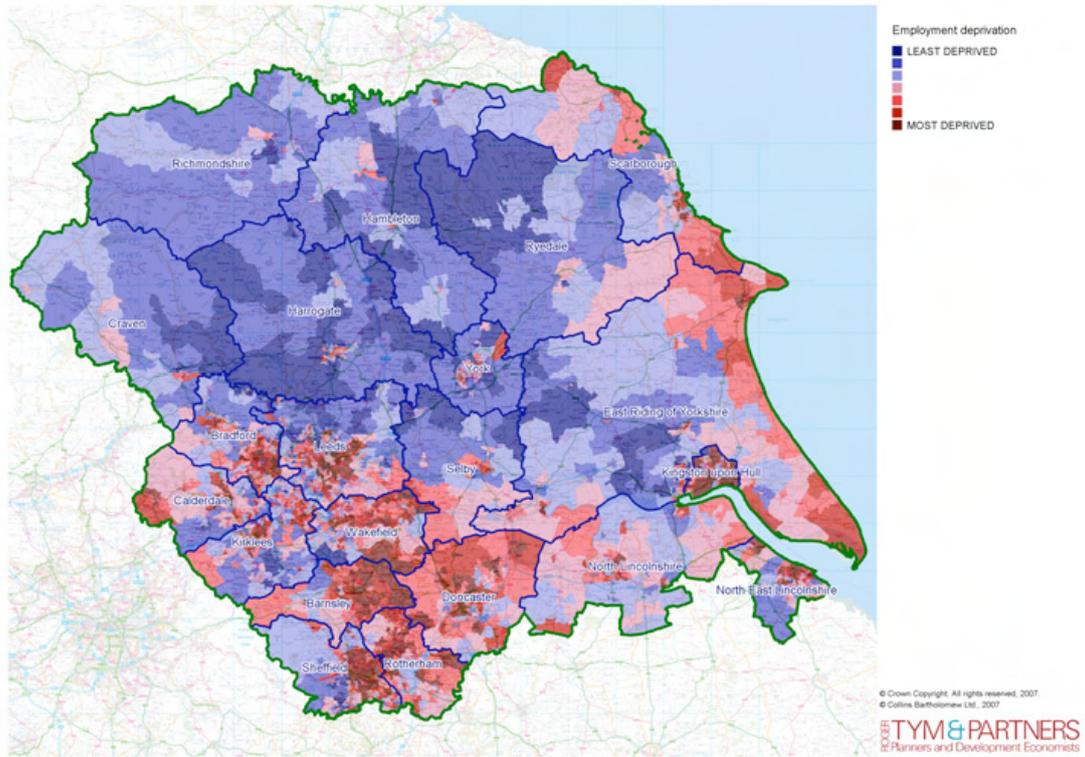
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## Map 5: White populations



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## Map 6: Index of Multiple Deprivation, Employment Deprivation Index



Source: Tym 2008 p. 13

## Appendix 2

### Ethnicity Statistics for Yorkshire and Humber and selected areas

Table 1

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	Persons: All Groups	Persons: White: British	% white British	Persons: White: Irish	% white Irish	Persons: White: Other White	% White Other	Total % White
Yorkshire and Humber	5,177.2	4,556.0	88.0	31.9	0.6	100.2	1.9	90.6
West Yorkshire	2,181.20	1,798.7	82.5	17.3	0.8	43.9	2.0	85.3
Leeds	761.1	639.6	84.0	7.6	1.0	20.4	2.7	87.7
Bradford	497.4	354.8	71.3	3.3	0.7	10.6	2.1	74.1
East Riding of Yorkshire UA	333.0	316.5	95.0	1.4	0.4	4.5	1.4	96.8

Source: UK National Statistic 2007 Estimates. Available at <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/StatBase/Product.asp?vlnk=14238>

**Table 2**

	Persons: All Groups	Persons: Mixed: White and Black Caribbean	% mixed white & Black Caribbean	Persons: Mixed: White and Black African	% mixed: White and Black African	Persons: Mixed: White and Asian	% Mixed White and Asian	Persons: Mixed: Other Mixed	% Mixed: Other Mixed	Total % Mixed
Yorkshire and Humber	5,177.2	23.0	0.4	7.7	0.1	22.0	0.4	13.8	0.3	1.3
West Yorkshire	2,181.20	13.3	0.6	3.6	0.2	11.9	0.5	6.2	0.3	1.6
Leeds	761.1	5.2	0.7	1.8	0.2	4.1	0.5	2.7	0.4	1.8
Bradford	497.4	3.3	0.7	0.8	0.2	4.0	0.8	1.4	0.3	1.9
East Riding of Yorkshire UA	333.0	0.6	0.2	0.4	0.1	0.8	0.2	0.7	0.2	0.8

Source: UK National Statistics 2007 Estimates. Available at <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/StatBase/Product.asp?vlnk=14238>

**Table 3**

	Persons: All Groups	Persons: Asian or Asian British: Indian	% Asian or Asian British: Indian	Persons: Asian or Asian British: Pakistani	% Asian or Asian British: Pakistani	Persons: Asian or Asian British: Bangladeshi	% Asian or Asian British: Bangladeshi	Persons: Asian or Asian British: Other Asian	% Asian or Asian British: Other Asian	Total % South Asian
Yorkshire and Humber	5,177.2	76.4	1.5	177.6	3.4	18.9	0.4	23.9	0.5	5.7
West Yorkshire	2,181.20	54.4	2.5	143.0	6.6	11.6	0.5	12.5	0.6	10.2
Leeds	761.1	18.3	2.4	18.2	2.4	4.1	0.5	4.6	0.6	5.9
Bradford	497.4	14.8	3.0	80.0	16.1	5.9	1.2	4.2	0.8	21.1
East Riding of Yorkshire UA	333.0	2.1	0.6	1.5	0.5	0.3	0.1	0.6	0.2	1.4

Source: UK National Statistics 2007 Estimates. Available at <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/StatBase/Product.asp?vlnk=14238>

**Table 4**

	Persons: All Groups	Persons: Black or Black British: Black Caribbean	% Black British: Black Caribbean	Persons: Black or Black British: Black African	%Black or Black British: Black African	Persons: Black or Black British: Other Black	% Black or Black British: Other Black	Total % Black
Yorkshire and Humber	5,177.2	25.2	0.5	35.5	0.7	4.9	0.1	1.3
West Yorkshire	2,181.20	15.7	0.7	16.7	0.8	2.6	0.1	1.6
Leeds	761.1	6.9	0.9	8.4	1.1	1.3	0.2	2.2
Bradford	497.4	3.6	0.7	4.2	0.8	0.5	0.1	1.7
East Riding of Yorkshire UA	333.0	0.5	0.2	1.0	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.5

Source: UK National Statistics 2007 Estimates. Available at <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/StatBase/Product.asp?vlnk=14238>

**Table 5**

	Persons: All Groups	Persons: Chinese or Other Ethnic Group: Chinese	% Chinese or Other Ethnic Group: Chinese	Persons: Chinese or Other Ethnic Group: Other	% Chinese or Other Ethnic Group: Other	Total % Chinese
Yorkshire and Humber	5,177.2	34.1	0.7	26.2	0.5	1.2
West Yorkshire	2,181.20	15.9	0.7	13.8	0.6	1.4
Leeds	761.1	10.1	1.3	7.5	1.0	2.3
Bradford	497.4	2.8	0.6	3.3	0.7	1.2
East Riding of Yorkshire UA	333.0	1.0	0.3	0.8	0.2	0.5

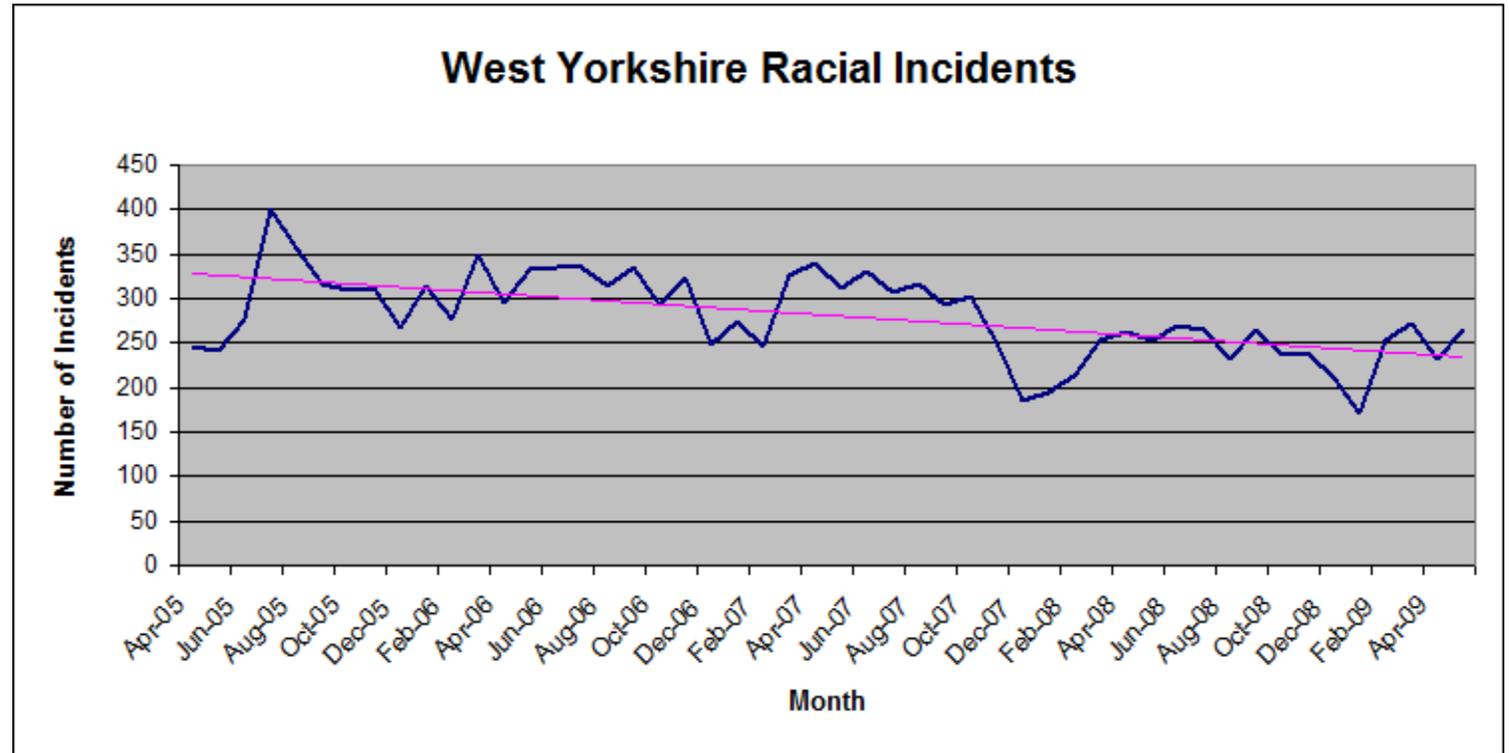
Source: UK National Statistics 2007 Estimates. Available at <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/StatBase/Product.asp?vlnk=14238>



## Appendix 3

Figure 1

Month	Total Incidents
Apr-05	246
May-05	241
Jun-05	277
Jul-05	401
Aug-05	357
Sep-05	316
Oct-05	310
Nov-05	312
Dec-05	268
Jan-06	314
Feb-06	277
Mar-06	350
Apr-06	295
May-06	333
Jun-06	334
Jul-06	335
Aug-06	315
Sep-06	335
Oct-06	293
Nov-06	323
Dec-06	249



Source: Neil Hudson at West Yorkshire Police kindly provided these figures, and he added the following definitions which explain how these incidents are categorised. A Hate Incident is: Any incident which may, or may not, constitute a criminal offence, which is perceived by the victim, or any other person, as being motivated by prejudice or hate. A Hate Crime is: Any hate incident, which constitutes a criminal offence, perceived by the victim, or any other person, as being motivated by prejudice or hate. The prejudice or hate perceived can be based on any identifying factor, including Disability, Race, Religion or Sexual orientation. This may include: Visual: Leaflets, Letters, Posters, Graffiti; Physical: Hitting, Kicking, Spitting, Threats, Assault; Verbal: Abuse, Harassment; Against Property: Damage



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