

**SEASIDE TOWNS IN TRANSITION
AND THE DISCOURSE OF TOURISM
IN URBAN REGENERATION:
THE CASE STUDY OF HASTINGS**

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Thesis Abstract

The establishment of regeneration programmes as part of urban policy has triggered an upsurge of interest in the study of tourism as a factor of urban change. The inner city and the urban waterfront in large post-industrial cities have become the common ground for research in tourism and regeneration but the recent regeneration of declining seaside towns in the UK has not received the same attention. This thesis presents a study conducted into the dynamics of change in a seaside town through the exploration of the formation of the discourse concerning the role of tourism in regeneration.

A single embedded case study was formulated to study the Greater Hastings area in the South East of England. It included a post-structuralist analysis of spatial change and the discourse analysis of wider urban regeneration policies. An analysis was undertaken of relevant policy literature, official documents and related projects, programmes and initiatives. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with representatives from the formal institutional actors, business community and third sector, and focus groups with representatives from the third sector.

The findings in this study revealed that the urban tourism model adopted for the regeneration of large cities was replicated in Hastings where the implementation of tourism rejuvenation projects and programmes included commodification and promotional activities and triggered the politicization of the process of change. It is however argued that the development of the knowledge economy, including the creative and culture sectors, the enhancement of the local quality of life and some informal regeneration initiatives resulted in the marginalization of tourism rejuvenation in the regeneration of Hastings.

This study contributes to the debates over urban tourism and seaside towns' regeneration. It identifies the marginalization of tourism as a regeneration feature in Hastings and extends the understanding of the transition of declining traditional seaside towns in the UK.

List of Abbreviations

- 1066DMS (1066 Destination Management Strategy)
BPCR (Business Plan for Coastal Regeneration in Hastings and Bexhill)
BURA (British Urban Regeneration Association)
CC (Coastal Currents)
CLG (Communities and Local Government Select Committee)
CS (Community Strategy)
CTR (Culture, tourism and regeneration)
DTI (Department of Trade and Industry)
HA (Hastings and St Leonards Hotel Association)
HBC (Hastings Borough Council)
HBEA (Hastings and Bexhill Economic Alliance)
HBSS (Hastings and Bexhill Seafront Strategy)
HBTF (Hastings and Bexhill Task Force)
HFPS (The Hastings Fisherman Protection Society)
HLP (Hastings Local Plan)
HPWRT (Hastings Pier and White Rock Trust)
LEGI (Local Enterprise Growth Initiative)
LSP (Local Strategic Partnership)
OHPS (Old Hastings Preservation Society)
RES (Regional Economic Strategy)
SEEDA (South East England Development Agency)
SEERA (South East England Regional Assembly)
SEP (South East Plan)
SLF (St Leonards Festival)
SWF (Seafood and Wine Festival)

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¹ Adapted from Paul Theroux's dedication to *The Kingdom by the Sea*, 2001, who, as a grateful migrant to the UK, adapted from Charles Dickens' dedication to *American Notes*, 1842.

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DECLARATION

I declare that the research contained in this thesis, unless otherwise formally indicated within the text, is the original work of the author. The thesis has not been previously submitted to this or any other university for a degree, and does not incorporate any material already submitted for a degree.

Signed: _____

Dated: _____

Chapter 1 – Introduction.

1.1 The study context.

‘Regeneration! Regeneration! Regeneration!’ is the mantra that framed the urban debate from the early 1970s to the present almost universally in the late-capitalist world. Since then, urban regeneration, urban waterfront revitalization, urban renaissance, urban redevelopment, urban rejuvenation have become the buzzwords of a distinct narrative of urban change. Governments have embraced the urban regeneration rhetoric to respond to the aftermaths of deindustrialization and, in turn, foster the revival of declining urban settings. Ever since this phenomenon was charted in academic literature back in the 1980s, the relationship between *forces of change* and *spatial transformation* has dominated the postmodern study of urban change. As Susan Fainstein and Scott Cambell (2002) contended, economic, cultural, and political factors have interacted to foster this process of change and to create distinctive spatial forms. Tourism, in its varied urban expressions, was charted as a key and highly controversial feature in this process.

During the last thirty years or so, mounting awareness of the regenerative potential of tourism has turned the nascent urban tourism phenomenon into a regeneration imperative for a number of local administrations. Mushrooming museums, cultural centres, hotels, shopping malls, waterfront developments, convention and exhibition halls, megaevents and the like has moulded the form and function of non-traditional tourist areas in large post-industrial cities. This way, rusty cranes and abandoned berths were reused as heritage landmarks, obsolete power stations and granaries adapted to serve the culture industry, and derelict dockyards redeveloped as new urban playgrounds at a time when the post-industrial city detach from a history of production and enters the global market of urban destinations. From North America to Europe, this narrative of change results reproduced almost universally: Baltimore, Boston, Vancouver, Sydney, Freemantle, Melbourne and, moreover, Rotterdam, Bilbao, Bourges, Barcelona, Madrid, London, Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, Bristol, Swansea and Cardiff are only few among the wider spectrum of cases where urban regeneration programmes and tourism related projects have merged to create a renewed urban landscape.

Recent government’s recognition of constraining levels of deprivation and underperformance in a number of English seaside towns fostered a revival of public interest in the future of these coastal areas as sustainable communities and as spaces of

significant tourism flow (DCMS, 1999; ETC, 2001). Hence, the launch of a new wave of research and consultation exercises and an apparent shift in focus towards the regeneration of these spaces make the case for fostering inquiry into the role of tourism in the regeneration of declining seaside towns in the UK. Reflecting on these assertions, this thesis presents a research conducted into the role of tourism in the regeneration of a declining English seaside town.

1.2 Chapters description and research aim and objectives.

With the general aim of fostering knowledge of the relationship between tourism and urban regeneration this thesis features 10 chapters. Chapters 2, 3 and 4 propose a detailed review of the literature on the relationship between tourism, urban transformation processes in general and urban regeneration in particular.

Chapter 2 is an overview of the range of approaches and frameworks adopted for the study of tourism in relation to the *city*. The aim is to highlight a first set of epistemological issues and theoretical propositions deemed instrumental in defining the wider thematic boundaries of this research and, also, guiding through the next stages of the literature review. Hence, it identifies complexity and descriptivism as major issues in urban tourism research as well as culture, political economy, policy approaches and related research frameworks to urban tourism. More importantly, however, the chapter concludes by substantiating the theoretical link between urban regeneration initiatives and the phenomenon of urban tourism.

On these bases, chapters 3 and 4 deepen into the many facets of the urban tourism and urban regeneration debate by reviewing the literature on urban tourism, tourism and urban regeneration. Chapter 3 focuses on policy and post-structuralist approaches to urban tourism: it describes and problematizes the strategy of urban tourism, its economic restructuring and redevelopment rationale and defines urban tourism as an urbanization model. Chapter 4, instead, expands the review of the literature to the contributions that discuss the relationship between tourism, culture and urban regeneration and continues on a number of aspects emerged in the previous chapter. Both chapters substantiate the distinctive context of the urban tourism discourse. They identify the large post-industrial city as the spatial referent of urban tourism as regeneration strategy and urbanization model and call for the need to extend the breadth of this review to the literature on resort regeneration. Chapter 4 concludes

by bringing attention to the English seaside town as the focus of an emerging wave of urban regeneration programmes.

In the light of this conspicuous body of knowledge produced in relation to the role of tourism in the regeneration of non-traditional tourism spaces in post-industrial cities, chapter 5 draws attention to the seaside town as a resort city type. It reviews the literature on seaside towns' regeneration and coastal resort change to pinpoint the current state of the debate on the regeneration of seaside towns. The chapter highlights a lack of analytical complexity featured in the study of change in these coastal areas and a very limited body of research conducted into the latter phase of seaside towns' regeneration. Accordingly, it calls for a reevaluation of the theoretical precepts that dominated much of research hitherto conducted in this field and forwards the option of embracing breadth analysis frameworks.

The following chapters (6 and 7) focus on the formulation of aim and objectives, related research strategy and paradigm of inquiry, and a discussion about the empirical research. Chapter 6 offers a synthesis of the themes and theoretical positions emerged from the literature review. With the recognition of the array of theories, issues and positions brought to light in chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5 this chapter frames a bridge between the literature review chapters, the methodology and the data discussion chapter. It leads to the formulation of the final research aim and objectives in section 6.3. Overall, this research aims to explore the discourse concerning the role of tourism in the regeneration of a resort city under structured regeneration programmes. This is achieved by assessing how tourism is rendered a dominant or, conversely, marginal regeneration feature in relation to the change of a seaside town. This research aim is then broken down into a set of related objectives:

1. Undertake an analysis of the regeneration and tourism related strategic scenario at national and regional level in order to:
 - examine how tourism is positioned in plans and strategies in relation to urban regeneration;
 - determine the strategic policy drivers for the regeneration of seaside towns.
2. Undertake an analysis of a local regeneration scenario in order to:
 - analyze the local policy and planning literature, and emerging regeneration projects;

- examine the institutional arrangements and the regeneration model pursued;
- determine the role played by community actors in the process of change and the discourse of regeneration;
- determine how identifiable declined traditional seaside tourism spaces are reintroduced into the urban dynamics, the formation of new spaces of tourism flow, and the process behind their formation.

Chapter 7 exposes the choices operated at theoretical and methodological level to tackle the research aim and objectives. It justifies the choice of Hastings as the research context for the conduct of a single embedded case study research strategy, that of undertaking inductive research and a poststructuralist theoretical perspective, to the critical study of change. The research methodology (i.e. discourse analysis) draws on the Foucauldian theory of discourse and proposes an analytical framework for the discussion in chapters 8 and 9. The chapter concludes with an overview of the empirical research period and issues encountered.

Chapters 8 and 9 offer the discourse analysis of the regeneration scenario considered and presents the findings. Drawing on the framework imposed by the research methodology adopted, the chapters juxtapose the many *discursive practices* and related *statements* that put tourism either at the centre or at the margins of the regeneration narrative scrutinized. Chapter 9 concludes by discussing the marginalization of tourism in the regeneration of Hastings and highlighting the emergence of a formal and informal regeneration divide.

Chapter 10 is the final chapter of this thesis. It draws some conclusive remarks by aligning the research findings with the broader debate on urban tourism and seaside towns' regeneration. It also identifies a more general trend about the disengagement of the English seaside town from the tourism imperative and, also, a turn to the culture, creative sectors and the knowledge economy as dominant regeneration catalysts. It concludes with some final remarks and recommendations for further research in the field of both urban and tourism studies.

The reader should appreciate the exploratory profile of this research. The choice of undertaking a breadth analysis model and operationalizing discourse analysis led to a research that is deliberately a lengthy scenic journey aiming at tackling the complex phenomenon it investigates.

Chapter 2 - What is *urban tourism*? Defining the research field.

2.1 Introduction.

The rationale that underpins the relationship between tourism and urban regeneration is embedded in the urban tourism phenomenon. This is what has emerged from the review of both the urban and tourism literature published during the last two decades. In order to give breath to this assertion, delimiting the research boundaries for this thesis and substantiate both epistemological and theoretical aspects involved in the study of this phenomenon, this chapter deploys the range of approaches undertaken in the study of the relationship between tourism and the *city*.

Drawing on the seminal study on urban tourism by Ashworth (1989) the structure of this chapter discusses three major research approaches to urban tourism. What follows helps to define tourism as an urban phenomenon; moreover, relative to the features of cities, user-oriented approaches see urban tourism as related to the activities of the tourist in the city whereas a policy-oriented approach identifies urban tourism as a strategy for regeneration in old industrial cities (Law, 1992). This chapter forms the platform upon which the third and fourth chapter on tourism and its role in urban regeneration is built.

2.2 Issues in urban tourism research.

The 1990s have seen increasing attention being paid to the urban tourism phenomenon from both urban and tourism studies. Geographers however pioneered investigation into this topic already in the 1960s: discussions ranged from research approaches to tourism and recreation in the city, to the more general implications of recreation and tourism as determinant forces in urban (trans-)formation processes (Stansfield, 1964; Stansfield and Richert, 1970; Pearce, 1981; Jansen-Verbeke, 1986a; Jansen-Verbeke, 1986b). Following this initial wave of research, further contributions ended up defining urban tourism as a ‘distinctive field of study’ (Pearce, 2001:926). This ‘increase in attention’ (Pearce, 2001:927) to urban tourism reflected the occurrence of two interwoven and, as contended by Swarbrooke (2000), simultaneous phenomena namely: ‘the growth of tourism in cities’ (Pearce, 2001:921) on one hand, and the resulting involvement of tourism at strategic level within the urban policy scenario on the other. Although the latter is the epicenter of the literature taken into account in the third and fourth chapter, an account of both aspects is also proposed in

this chapter. The literature contended that the growing demand from tourists for urban environments, being the historic city, seaside or inland resorts (Ashworth, 1992; Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2000), raised concern about tourism planning and management. Planning and management activities have been central to the urban tourism debate as it will be apparent in chapters 3 and 4. The justification for this interest relies on the notion that planning and management activities can transform urban tourism from a potential ‘threat’, if not accurately planned and managed, into a real ‘opportunity’ (Ashworth, 1989: 46) when purposely and reasonably developed in the hosting city (Law, 1992). Therefore, ‘an increasingly proactive stance toward tourism’ has been incorporated in the regime of urban policies. This occurred in response to the recognition of tourism ‘as a strategic sector’ (Pierce, 2001:927) for the urban economy and, therefore, ‘an industry of great potential importance and one that should be encouraged’ (Law, 1992: 599). It was ultimately defined as a significant element, device, ingredient, tool, or mechanism for the revitalization of ‘older industrial [...], non-tourist cities’ (Law, 1992: 599). As it is explained in the following paragraphs, the literature has at times questioned the value of investigating the urban tourism phenomenon.

Commentators from a planning perspective such as Ashworth (1992: 5) for example contended that ‘an understanding of the role of cities in tourism will enhance the effectiveness of the provision of the tourism experience and is therefore critical to the providers of that experience’. While questioning the existence of an urban tourism, Ashworth (1992: 5) also added that ‘an understanding of the tourism function of cities is a precondition for success in urban policy making which must take into account an important and ubiquitous function of cities, whether this is viewed defensively as a threat to be mitigated or as an opportunity to be exploited’. Reflecting on these general aspects, urban tourism research took on Ashworth’s (1992) assertions and engaged in the field with a range of complementing perspectives. Fainstein and Gladstone (1997) for instance identified cultural and political economy as two approaches undertaken in urban tourism studies. According to the authors however, an overlap has frequently occurred to conflate the two. Possible explanation for this claim may be grasped in the cultural geography literature with Ringer (1998: 1) discussing the cultural landscapes of tourism. According to the author, tourism can be discussed as ‘a cultural process as much as [...] a form of economic development’ (Ringer, 1998). As will become

increasingly apparent in chapters 3 and 4, aspects as diverse as those of culture, governance, economy, and urban policy make recurrent appearance within the tourism and regeneration debate. It is therefore believed that these overlapping perspectives are worth exploring to substantiate the complexity embedded in urban tourism research and of which the urban tourism discourse elucidated in the following chapters is imbued. A wider range of research perspectives focusing the culture and political economy of urban tourism are identifiable in the literature (i.e. ETB, 1980; DOE, 1990; Karski, 1990; Mullins, 1991; Law, 1992; Roche, 1992; Law, 1993; Ashworth and Dietvorst, 1995; Jansen-Verbeke and van de Wiel, 1995; Law, 1996; McGuigan, 1996; Selwyn, 1996; Maitland, 1997; Fainstein and Gladstone, 1999; Meethan, 2001; Berg, 2003; Evans and Shaw, 2004; Morgan, 2004). At times they even pertain to those that undertake a behavioural and experiential approach and put the user at the centre of the investigation and support planning and management arguments. Before discussing the details of these approaches to urban tourism, the next section introduces the aspect of complexity that is rendered a key epistemological issue in urban tourism research. It reflects ongoing developments in urban and tourism studies that consider the interaction between the tourist and the urban environment as an activity space; it also considers the call for research sophistication in urban tourism research and offers a backdrop for the discussion that follows on the range of research approaches to urban tourism.

2.2.1 The complexity of studying urban tourism.

Investigating tourism as an urban phenomenon was deemed complex and problematic in academic literature since the late 1980s. This remark emerged from the literature that discussed urban tourism research frameworks (Ashworth, 1989; Page, 1995; Selwyn, 1996; Pearce, 2001; Selby, 2004a). The *search for a focus* was in fact rendered problematic in early contributions to urban tourism. It usually entailed a thorough discussion about the approaches involved in the study of urban tourism. The emerging recognition of the complex nature of urban tourism has clashed with this categorization. Conducting research in urban tourism has revealed a high degree of complexity featured, at times, in the developing research approaches, perspectives and frameworks.

The argument of complexity stems from the interrelation between a mix of factors that operate simultaneously in the same context. The complexity embedded in urban tourism research dwells in the intrinsic relationship between *tourism* and the *city*. Pearce (2001) contended that the complexity embedded in the urban context melds ‘into the structure and nature of urban tourism, giving it characteristics that set it apart from other forms, particularly resort-based, in coastal or alpine environments’ (Pearce, 2001:927). Accordingly, Selby (2004a: 3) described urban tourism as a ‘slippery phenomenon’ as it is intertwined with concepts of place, space, consumption and human agency. Beforehand however, Ashworth (1989; 1992), Burtenshaw et al (1991), Page (1995), Law (1996), and Pearce (2001) had already commented upon the overlap between space, resources and users in the city featured in figure 1, and on the difficulties that this generates at research level.

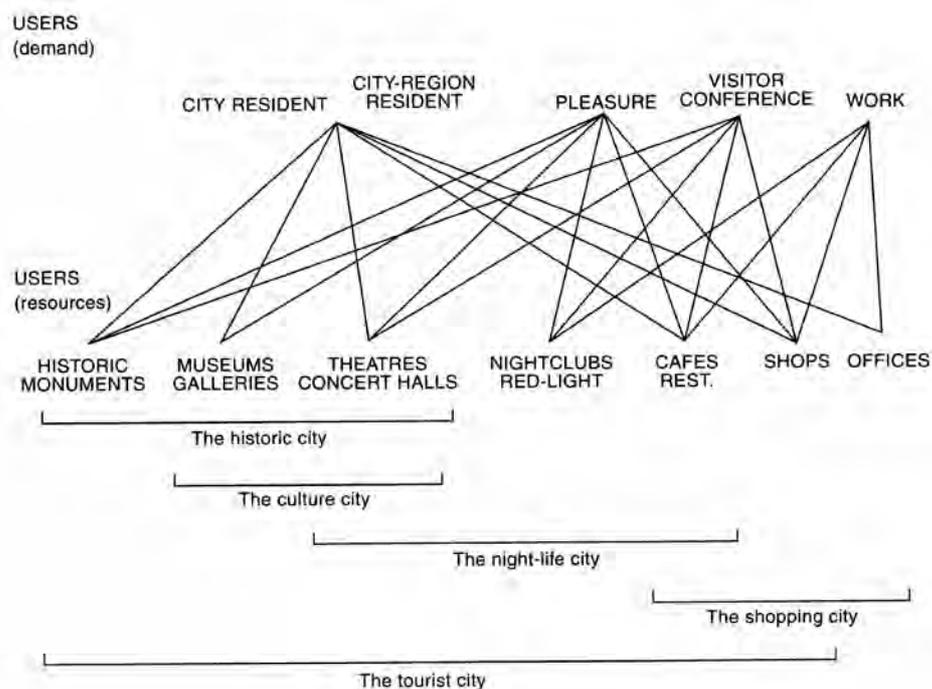


Figure 1: Visual representation of a user-oriented approach to the city featuring the interrelationship between urban *users* and *resources*. Source: Burtenshaw et al (1991: 165).

According to this illustration, Ashworth (1989: 34) described urban tourism as ‘intrinsically more difficult to study than tourism in rural areas’. The author justified this assertion by claiming that ‘tourism was less obvious’ in cities than it was in rural

areas as it is only one of a ‘variety of functions embedded in the urban economy’ as figure 1 again clarifies Ashworth (1989), and stated:

‘On both the supply and demand sides tourism was closely linked with other urban facilities and activities. Few exclusively tourist facilities could be identified and visitors to cities had a wide variety of motives, spatial origins and patterns of behaviours’ (Ashworth, 1989: 34).

Moreover, reflecting on Ashworth (1989), Shaw and Williams (2004) contended that the urban tourism resources are ‘very rarely solely produced for, or consumed by, tourists but by a whole range of users’. In this respect, the supply-oriented representation of the city as leisure product by Jansen-Verbeke (1986b) (figure 2) helps clarify this overlap and corroborates further the argument of complexity exposed in this section.

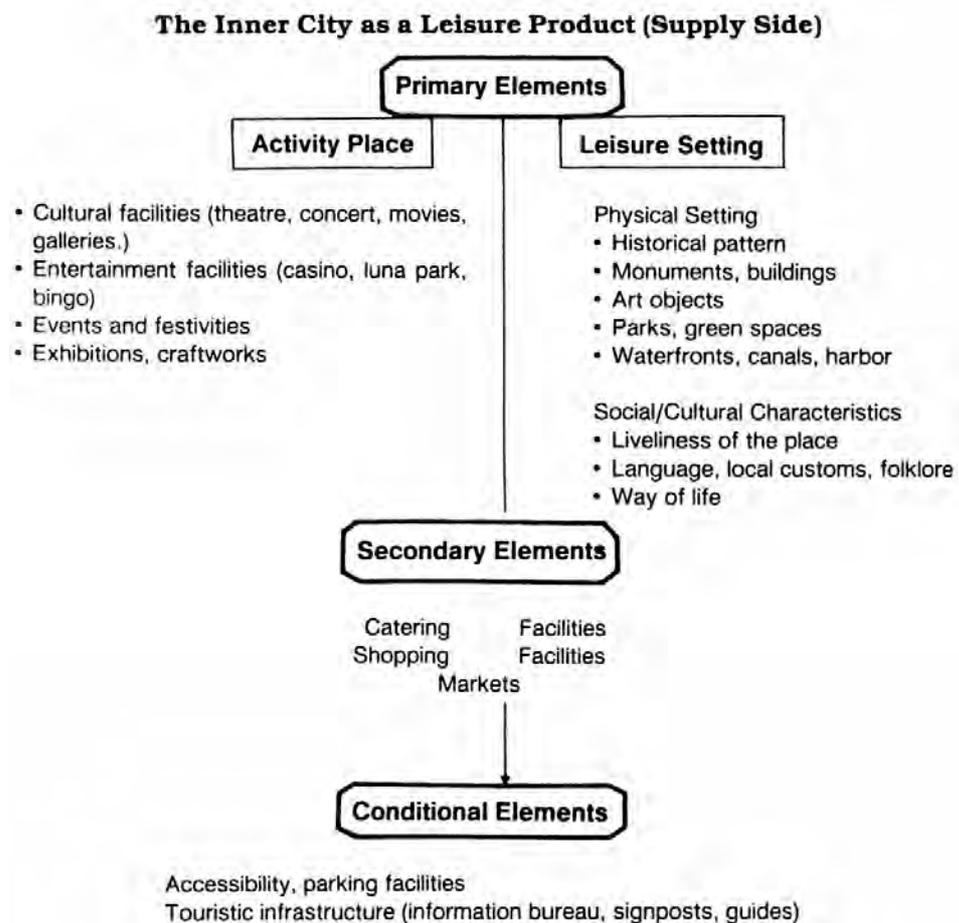


Figure 2: The inner city as a leisure product (supply side). *Source:* Jansen-Verbeke (1986b: 86).

Discussing the above assertions Pearce (2001:927) also contributed to this debate and, in unison with others (e.g. Page, 1995; Law, 1996) explained that ‘[i]n

cities, tourism is but one function among many, with tourists sharing and/or competing with residents and other users for many services, spaces, and amenities'. In this respect Ashworth (1992: 5) concluded that the five main qualities that help define the city as complex context (i.e. the 'physical densities of structures', 'people and functions', 'social and cultural heterogeneity', 'economic multifunctionalism', and 'physical centrality within regional and inter-urban networks'), relate to urban tourism in many ways: by means of supplying facilities and 'experiences on offer within a restricted area', 'the inextricable relations between the tourism function and other urban functions' in a wide variety of multifunctional mixes, and the links between tourism among cities and within the wider region (Ashworth, 1992:5).

The complexity featured in this field of research brought scholars to raise some considerations in respect of validity and effectiveness of research approaches undertaken in urban tourism. In *Is there an Urban Tourism?*, Ashworth (1992) expressed concern about the development of a coherent body of theories, concepts, techniques and methods of analysis to delve in urban tourism in its full complexity. Three years later, Page (1995: 8) expressed criticism about the lack of 'quality' in urban tourism research, and, in agreement with Ashworth (1992) and Pearce (2001), the author denounced the limitations brought about by site specific, 'descriptive' (Page, 1999:163), 'isolated' and 'ideographic' case studies (Pearce, 1987:209). Law (1996), van den Berg (1995), Donnison (1987), Paddison (1993), Mazanec (1997), Parlett et al (1995), and Tyler et al (1998) are just a few among the contributors who undertook this approach. In the end, as Page (1995) advocated, these approaches retain the disadvantage of constraining the theoretical and conceptual understanding of the phenomenon investigated.

This weakness in urban tourism research was discussed by Ashworth (1989: 33) as an 'imbalance in attention' and a 'double neglect' (Ashworth, 1992:4) traceable in both tourism and urban literature. The author maintained that 'those interested in tourism have been blind to the urban context in which so much of it is set, whereas those interested in cities have largely ignored their tourism functions' (Ashworth, 1992:4). This criticism was acclaimed and re-evaluated by contributions such as Pearce (2001) and Tyler (2000), and, more recently, acknowledged by Selby (2004a). Drawing upon Vetter (1985), Ashworth (1989), Page (1995; 1999), and Pearce (2001), Selby (2004a) reinforced the need of an 'integrated' (Selby, 2004a: 4), comparative,

‘systematic and comprehensive approach’ (Pearce, 2001:928) to the study of urban tourism. The latter was in fact deemed an instrumental research approach in overcoming the obstacles posed by the ‘complex problem a city is’ (Jacobs, 1961) and the related complexity of urban tourism. In response to the call for systematic and integrated analysis of urban tourism, authors such as Jansen-Verbeke (1986b), Ashworth (1989; 1992), Page (1995), Fainstein and Gladstone (1997), Tyler (2000), Pearce (2001) and Selby (2004a) discussed research frameworks based on the structured and comprehensive analysis of this urban phenomenon. Building on the above, what follows is an overview of the range of approaches to urban tourism that were identified and discussed in the urban tourism research literature.

Ashworth (1989; 1992) pointed out three complementing approaches. Although claiming each as ‘exclusive method of understanding the complexities of the cities’ (Ashworth, 1989: 35), the author envisaged the study of urban tourism with orientations that range from that of the supply, to the demand and policy side. Besides being advocated as an effective mode to investigate this form of tourism, this multiple approach has also proven convenient to trace the development of urban tourism research. Evidence of this statement may be grasped in academic literature fostering discussion about researching, planning, managing and promoting urban tourism (i.e. Law, 1993; Page, 1995; Page and Hall, 2003; Pender and Sharpley, 2005). To a wider extent the structure of this chapter also resorts to this same subdivision.

Back to the three research orientations, a facility-based approach pursues the identification and analysis of the facilities that are potentially available in the city for tourism consumption. Ashworth (1992:5) denounced the limit of this approach by advocating that it ‘cannot fail to be partial, selective and simultaneously incomplete’. Identifying the constitutive elements of the urban tourist product however, was deemed necessary to study the urban tourism system and discuss the relationship between urban tourists, resources and promoters. Accordingly, the model formulated by Jansen-Verbeke (1986b) highlighting primary and secondary tourism resources (figure 2) helped define the inner city as an ‘activity place’ (Jansen-Verbeke, 1986b:87). As a seminal contribution to urban tourism, this model was repeatedly borrowed by authors investigating and commenting upon the urban tourism supply side (Middleton, 2000; Shaw and Williams, 2002; Page and Hall, 2003). Given the limitations of this first approach, Ashworth (1989) juxtaposed the supply-oriented to a more complex,

holistic/ecological perspective. The advantage of the latter method was that of considering the ‘tourism function’ in its context, and, therefore, that of featuring integration of tourism within the city as a whole. A deeper understanding of urban tourism however was claimed to be achievable through the adoption of a demand-oriented approach. As far as it inspired research from a range of different perspectives this approach will be discussed in greater depth in the sections that follow.

Page (1995) and Pearce (2001) enriched the three folded framework proposed by Ashworth (1989, 1992) by adding a cross-analysis dimension. Pearce (2001) related *scale* dimensions (i.e. site, district, city-wide, regional, national, and international) to a range of *themes* such as demand, supply, development, and impacts. The objective of this framework was, once again, to respond to the argument of complexity, and, in turn, to the call for systematic and coherent research approaches to urban tourism. The systems framework suggested by Page (1995) pursued the formulation of a similar approach. The objective was to develop an integrated approach to urban tourism and reduce the ‘complexity of urban tourism into a number of constructs and components which highlight the interrelated nature of different factors affecting the system’ (Page, 1995: 17). Core issues in this framework were the total tourist experience and the interrelation of the tourist with constitutive urban features. Despite these responses, ‘methodological pluralism’ (Church, 2005:448) in urban tourism research was pursued by Selby (2004a) in his recent contribution.

According to Church (2005), Selby (2004a) set out ‘philosophical and theoretical writings’ with the purpose of providing an ‘epistemological basis for advancing the conceptualization of urban tourism’ (Church, 2005:447). Selby’s (2004a) attempt to reach a deeper understanding of tourism as an urban phenomenon proposed a discussion of the culture of urban tourism, and juxtaposed materialist to more humanistic approaches. In respect of the latter, the claim was that ‘a culturally informed analysis of urban tourism landscapes and representations must also be integrated with the examination of the knowledges, actions, and decision-making of urban tourists’ (Church, 2005:447). Fainstein and Gladstone (1997) also proposed an overview of urban tourism research. To some extent, the authors had presented a simplified version of the framework proposed by Selby (2004a) and shifted research undertaken in the field of urban tourism in two main perspectives namely: *cultural* and *political economy*. This way the system of signs and values embedded in the urban

tourism phenomenon are separated from a materialist perspective which emerging theme was about the relationship between tourism and urban regeneration as a process of urban transformation. Lastly, the framework proposed by Tyler (2000) also aimed at overcoming the constraints brought about by site-specific approaches that attempted to explain the role of tourism in the formation of the contemporary city (i.e. Pinder and Kenneth, 1988; Ashworth and Voogd, 1990; Law, 1992; Hannigan, 1998; Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2000). This framework exhibited pluralism and political concern: a core focus is the relationship between city form and function and, as a consequence, political, economic, social aspects taking place within urban change. This confrontation is at base of the framework proposed by Tyler (2000). Its ultimate purpose was to analyze ‘the reasons for the rise in urban tourism and the processes that underlies this rise’ (Tyler, 2000: 287) from which stems the definition of urban tourism as being about the political management of change.

From the above discussion, *complexity* emerges as a key epistemological issue that needs to be considered when formulating a sophisticated and integrated urban tourism research agenda. A range of approaches emerged that demonstrate the current state of developments in urban tourism research and, also, some new orientations aiming at increasingly sophisticated, comprehensive and critical endeavours. Hence, two major research orientations are identified: the first puts the user at the centre of urban tourism research, the second looks at urban tourism as a policy feature. The next sections explore user-based research approaches to urban tourism as key to tourism management and planning purposes on one side, and as a basis for a cultural analysis of urban tourism on the other. Also, a policy approach is brought to the fore that considers urban tourism as a policy ingredient in urban regeneration programmes.

2.3 User-oriented approaches.

The tourist becomes the focus of analysis in user-oriented approaches. In *Is There an Urban Tourism*, Ashworth (1992) explored and commented upon the relevance of studying urban tourism by posing the tourist at the centre of the investigation. His argument (1992:6) built upon the parallelism between the notion of *tourism product*, as defined by tourism studies, and that of *products*, as conceptually defined by marketing science. Thus, on the one hand, the *tourism product* was defined as a ‘composite entity formed from a selection of various quantities of diverse

resources to form a new and distinct consumable item'. On the other, *products* were considered as 'ultimately demand derived', and constructed by customers on the basis of available resources and personal requirements. Ashworth (1992) concluded that the tourist, and not the industry, was the manufacturing agent in the process of urban tourism product formulation. This is a theory that received wide recognition in post-structuralist informed literature (e.g. Fainstein and Gladstone, 1997) contending that 'it is the relation between visitor and space that constitutes the commodity being consumed', but, also, in more general culturally informed circuits featuring, for instance, in Urry's (2002) and Rojek and Urry's (1997) contributions to the culture of tourism. The urban tourism product was finally defined as potentially unique as it reflects the values and the knowledge of the tourists themselves and therefore their experiences of the place (Dietvorst, 1995). Drawing on these assertions, two research traditions are discernible: one concerned with quality management, the other engaging in cultural-oriented discussions. They are exposed as follows.

Investigating urban tourism through a demand side approach was contended to be useful at both tourism management and planning level (Ashworth, 1992; Ashworth and Dietvorst, 1995; Pearce, 2001; Selby, 2004a). Various commentators acknowledged that 'density and complexity of the urban environment pose many challenges' to recording tourist movement and monitoring behaviour (Pearce, 2001:930). A detailed investigation into urban tourists' behaviour was however suggested as providing insights into *who* visits cities (Bull and Church, 2001), *what* tourists do in cities (Page, 2003: 148), and *what* are motivations for tourists to prefer visiting one city instead of others (Ruetsche, 2006; Ashworth, 1989). In addition to the latter points, Pearce (2001:931) maintained that an examination of tourists behaviour 'as they arrive in a city, travel around within it, and visit particular sights' can reveal 'ways in which particular places are linked together, of how tourism districts function (or not), and what interaction occurs'. An example of this type of research is Hartmann (1988) implementing multiple methods, ranging from interviews, to participatory and non-participatory observation, for the purpose of monitoring tourists' behaviour within an urban context.

By contrast, the study of the experience and the behaviour of tourists in cities resulted of particular interest to those involved in quality management in urban tourism. Page (1995: 17) located the total tourist experience at the centre of a 'systems

approach' to urban tourism. One explanation to this choice may be drawn on Fainstein and Gladstone (1997: 125) who claimed 'tourism providers are in the business of selling experience'. Building on Leiper (1990) discussing an interdisciplinary perspective to tourism systems, Page (1995) claimed that the systems approach allows a deep understanding of the 'complexity and relationships which coexist within urban tourism'. According to Page (1995), the objective of such analytical framework is that of 'synthesising the multiplicity of factors, processes and issues affecting the process of urban tourism in different contexts' (Page, 1995: 17). Therefore it looks at analyzing inputs, outputs, and external factors conditioning the system. Among the outputs, the experience of the urban tourist received particular attention in scholarly situated literature.

As anticipated by Ashworth (1989) and discussed further by Page (1995), the focus of experiential studies is on tourist's motivations, activities, expectations, perceptions of the city. In agreement with the reflections by Ashworth (1989; 1992) and Page (1995) on the relevance of undertaking a demand-oriented approach to urban tourism, Selby (2004a: 136) stressed on the 'need to consider the experiential dimension of tourism'. Accordingly, the author explained that 'the same product is experienced in very different ways' by different tourists (Selby, 2004a:136). Indeed, rising demand from tourists for urban destinations and related increasing need in managing quality in urban tourism has encouraged the formulation of 'experiential' approaches to urban tourism research (Selby, 2004a: 125). On one side these approaches feature in tourism management and planning research, and aim at guiding the enhancement of the urban tourism product and related experience. On the other, they are adopted in the cultural analysis relative to the construction of the urban tourism product and experience the tourism has of the visited city. A brief account is proposed below.

In the context of service quality models (i.e. Gilbert, 1992; Postina, 1997; Haywood, 1998), customer satisfaction and dissatisfaction is the leading analytical dichotomy. In this context, the relationship between tourist experience and tourism management is essential element in experience-based management research in which the focus of investigation is the 'subjectively experienced outputs' (Selby, 2004a: 133). Selby (2004a) drew upon Graefe and Vaske (1987) to assert that the comparison between the benefits gained by consumers experiencing the destination and their

expectations is deemed vital for the tourism industry to the purpose of monitoring and evaluating the complexity of the tourist experience. In principle this evaluation approach evades a purely economic-based observation (Sheenan, 1997), and privileges instead qualitative-oriented research methods (Bowen, 2001). Insofar as methodological aspects are concerned two major arguments were brought to attention: on one side Bowen (2001) substantiated the potential of qualitative methods in tourist satisfaction research; on the other, Bramwell (1998) explained how researching user satisfaction can help planning activities and, as a consequence, the development of the tourism product. The argument here was that by monitoring expectations and perception at destination level, visitor satisfaction research becomes potential instrument in place marketing and product development. It was concluded that by informing the development process, this information has a resonance on effective resource management and, in turn, on a user dissatisfaction index.

A cultural-oriented perspective can also be identified within a user-oriented approach. It was argued that research exhibiting this profile concentrates far less on the product, but on the tourist and their experience of, and behaviour in, the city (Ashworth, 1992). This culturally grounded analysis of the urban tourism product and experience features in the post-structuralist debate that surrounds the study of urban tourism as a post-modern phenomenon (Judd and Fainstein, 1999; Urry, 2002). To a wider extent, a culturally informed approach to urban tourism considers ‘cities as harbingers of cultural change’ (Fainstein and Gladstone, 1997: 121). The city is therefore defined as a centre of cultural production, of spectacle, and of ‘symbolic capital formation’ (Fainstein and Gladstone, 1997: 121). Selby (2004a:5) hearkened back to the geographical materialism of Harvey (1989), so much referred to in both urban and tourism literature, as engaging in a culture-oriented analysis of the relationship between tourism and the city, and discussed urban tourism as ‘a symptom of late capitalism’. Accordingly, by questioning the ‘meaning of tourism for the (post)modern world’ (Fainstein and Gladstone, 1997:121), the culture approach sees tourism as a cultural commodity that contains both material and non material dimensions. The material can easily be related to the economic, social and infrastructural urban features and amenities. The symbolic, or the immaterial side of the city, is instead related to cultural aspects of tourism such as values, signs, and the meanings transferred to, and associated with, places (Cosgrove, 1987; Crouch, 2000b).

Ultimately, as Williams (1981: 207) explained, the culture-oriented approach observes the ‘signifying system’ rather than the signifier.

Within this dimension, the *space-place* debate has fostered the tourism and culture debate for a long time. One possible explanation for this may be found in Ashworth (1992) who discussed *spatiality* as basic feature/attribute of the urban environment and, therefore, as parameter around which to frame and conduct research in the city. This belief was reflected in the research choices of cultural approaches to urban tourism that engaged in the relationship between the tourist and space. According to this paradigm, the cultural approach to tourism regards a number of intertwined aspects. These range from the construction and reconstruction of tourist spaces (Ringer, 1998; Judd and Fainstein, 1999; Judd, 2003a), to the reproduction of tourist landscapes (i.e. Edensor, 2001), and, therefore, to contentious aspects such as authenticity, identity, hyperreality and simulation (MacCannell, 1973; Butler, 1995; Pretes, 1995; Rojek and Urry, 1997; MacCannell, 1999), and, moreover, the shift from Fordism to post-Fordism, spatial commodification and consumption (i.e. Urry, 1990; Watson and Kopachevsky, 1994; Urry, 1995; Meethan, 1996; Wynne, 1998; Meethan, 2001; Miles and Miles, 2004; Shaw and Williams, 2004). In relation to the above, a range of aspects was identified in both the tourism and urban literature. These were summarized by Fainstein and Gladstone (1997: 126) and include the ‘creation of the fortified city, its cultural meanings and social effects; spatial commodification, the functions of the spectacle, and the fabrication of a false authenticity, and tourism and postmodern consciousness’. The ‘creation and reconstruction of geographical landscapes’ was the focus of the cultural geography perspective undertaken by Ringer (1998). The emergence of new urban landscapes as places of entertainment and consumption in old industrial cities however was also the topic of much of sociologically situated discussions (i.e. Ley, 1988; McGuigan, 1996; Meethan, 2001; Urry, 2002; Smith, 2003; Clark, 2004) and often claimed the result of intertwined tourism development and urban regeneration efforts.

By focusing on aspects of culture, a culture-oriented approach to urban tourism also reveals that this urban phenomenon, urban tourism, ‘is closely bound up in the characteristics of globalization and postmodernity’. The cultural study of urban tourism is therefore deemed instrumental in interpreting the ‘significance of place, and the actually lived and socially created spatiality’ (Selby, 2004a: 39). The user-oriented

approaches discussed above help define urban tourist as a ‘object of economic development’ (Selby, 2004a: 150) when discussed as an ‘agent of capital’ (Selby, 2004a: 150). These aspects are discussed in further depth in the following chapters where key topic will be the role of tourism in the transformation of post-industrial cities. The spatial context for these discussions has received conspicuous attention in both urban and tourism literature as argued in chapters 3 and 4. The last section of this chapter introduces to this debate by considering the policy oriented approach to urban tourism as identified by Ashworth (1989, 1992). It evades the *tourist* as a research focus, and concentrates on the *context* of urban tourism and, in turn, on tourism as a strategic ingredient and mechanism in urban transformation processes.

2.4 Policy oriented approach.

Urban tourism was also scrutinized as a policy feature taking part in urban transformation processes. The policy-oriented approach was often commented on as part of an integrated framework to study the complexity of cities and their change (e.g. Tyler, 2000; Selby, 2004a). In the concluding chapter of *Managing Tourism in Cities* (Tyler et al, 1998:229), the editors maintained that ‘the study of urban tourism should not just be about the demand and supply of the tourism product’. Indeed, ‘tourism development should be viewed in terms of the management of change of cities, and their functions and the decision-making processes that leads to the change’. Drawing upon these assumptions, the policy-oriented approach to urban tourism is discussed in the next paragraphs with the purpose of formulating a backdrop to the regeneration and tourism debate explored in chapters 3 and 4.

The literature revealed that a policy-oriented approach to urban tourism, considers tourism ‘both as an urban regeneration strategy and as a dominant industry in single-function locales’ (Fainstein and Gladstone, 1997:121). Whereas the latter is of marginal relevance to the current discussion, the former is critical to the formula that is going to be introduced in this section and fully discussed in the upcoming chapters. Selby (2004a: 31) explained that geographical, planning and sociological studies engaging in the topic of urban regeneration marginalized tourism to a ‘mere component’ of a wider process of urban change. Page (1995) however had already responded with the claim that only when geographically situated literature investigating urban regeneration (Hoyle et al, 1988; Hoyle and Pinder, 1992) engaged in the study of

tourism, geographers, planners and sociologists started to consider urban tourism as a 'serious area of study' (Page, 1995: 8). Further comments followed: Page (1995: 7) asserted that 'urban regeneration has formed the focus of a significant range of research that has subsequently emphasized the benefits of tourism development as a strategy for redeveloping redundant spaces in the older industrial cities'. A few years earlier however, Law (1992) had already suggested a definition of urban tourism that resulted as 'the phenomenon of tourism in older industrial (or non-tourist) cities' (Law, 1992: 599). Nevertheless, in a rather specialized, policy oriented monograph published one year later, the author further developed his arguments and associated urban tourism with a set of strategies for the regeneration of large cities (Law, 1993). It encouraged further research in the field of urban tourism and urban transformations, ranging from management (i.e. van den Berg et al, 1995; Murphy, 1997; Tyler et al, 1998; Page and Hall, 2003; Pender and Sharpley, 2005), to development and planning (i.e. Ashworth and Dietvorst, 1995; Montanari and Williams, 1995; Robinson et al, 2000; Russo, 2002; Vanhove, 2002), place promotion (Smith, 2005a), and cultural perspectives (i.e. Roche, 1992; Smith, 2003; Watkins and Herbert, 2003). Some of these sources are textbooks, often offering a compendium of standpoints juxtaposing positive and negative impacts, benefits and issues emerging from tourism-led regeneration. An in-depth review of the arguments concerning the relationship between tourism and urban regeneration initiatives is however the objective of the third chapter. The above only aimed at drafting a general picture about the core topic of the following chapter that is tourism as a strategic component, force and mechanism mechanism of urban change within regeneration programmes. As the purpose of this chapter is that to provide an overview of the approaches and frameworks to urban tourism theorized in the literature, attention is now taken back to the contribution by Tyler (2000) proposing a comprehensive and holistic approach to urban tourism.

Tyler (2000) proposed a framework to investigate the emerging relationship between the strategy of urban tourism and changing city form and function. The author recognized the constraints brought about by existing research models targeting tourism in the city such as those suggested by Ashworth and Tunbridge (1990), Ashworth and Voodg (1990) Law (1992), Pinder et al (1988), Hannigan (1998). Tyler (2000) suggested a research framework that condenses the research features of the approaches commented on above and proposes the paradigm urban *form, functions, and change* as

core in urban tourism research. Accordingly, urban tourism was primarily related to urban change, hence considered as agent of transformation in the economic, functional, physical, and symbolic sphere. The assertion made by the author was that ‘urban tourism is about the political management of change’ (Tyler et al, 1998). This assumption goes hand in hand with recent developments in urban tourism management studies that consider urban tourism ‘as the culmination of multiple complementary and competing processes’ (Raffay and Clarke, 2007: 1). Thus, changing city form and function, together with socio-economic processes that underlie its symbolic and material transformation, become central concepts in the study of the complexity of urban tourism. In this framework the economic and social forces performing in the context of regeneration through tourism are related to one another: contestation of space was matched with visitor management to identify power relations, whereas city marketing was combined with the fantasy city concept to investigate urban governance (Tyler, 2000). This is a framework for studying the processes of urban tourism development in the context of urban regeneration and is taken into account again in chapters 6 and 7 that outline the research aim and objectives, and the research strategy and inquiry paradigm.

A policy-oriented approach to urban tourism brings a wide range of aspects into account such as those concerned with urban governance, market planning and, therefore, place marketing and place promotion activities. To a wider extent, the involvement of the tourism strategy in regeneration is bound up with these other practices. Key sources in this respect are the seminal work by Harvey (1989) commenting on the shift from managerialism to entrepreneurialism in urban governance and the related arguments by Ashworth and Voogd (1990) on the shift from traditional planning to city marketing prioritizing marketing stances in place making. It was stated that place marketing and urban tourism development are merely a ‘reaction to the latest phase of capitalism’ (Selby, 2004a:5). In this instance the relationship between urban tourism, place marketing and place promotion is indivisible. Those who discussed this relationship claimed that it is hard to draw upon the literature and discuss the policy implications of urban tourism within a context of urban regeneration without investigating marketing and place promotion stances. Selby (2004a) for example related place marketing to the formation of both the theory and the practice of urban tourism. From a place marketing perspective in fact, ‘the urban tourism product [...] is

both a container or stage for activity-based products, and a product in itself where activity-based products typically consist of cultural facilities, attractions, events and festivals' (Selby, 2004a: 10). A policy orientation in urban tourism research highlights the symbiotic relationship between tourism and regeneration. It is therefore instrumental to introduce the topic of this thesis that is the urban tourism and urban regeneration paradigm. Drawing upon the arguments commented upon in the sections of this chapter, chapters 3 and 4 review both urban and tourism literature to explore the role of tourism in urban regeneration process.

2.5 Chapter summary and conclusion.

This chapter provided an overview of the urban tourism research agenda. Research approaches, perspectives and frameworks to the study of urban tourism were brought to the fore to emphasize the complex nature of this urban phenomenon and pinpoint some thematic and theoretical aspects relative to debates over tourism and urban regeneration. Due to the indeterminacy of tourism and the related multidisciplinary nature of tourism studies, as Page (1995) and Urry (2002) contended, the identification of research traditions and frameworks, in place of pure disciplinary standpoints, was thought to be an effective approach to discussing the study of the relationship between tourism and the city which includes on the one side the examination of the tourist experience and, on the other, a broad concern for tourism and urban transformation processes.

As commented on above, and expanded in chapters 3 and 4, an increase in research sophistication has triggered the formulation of various theorizations in the field of urban tourism. This chapter already emphasizes the clear differences between simplistic and partial research approaches (i.e. supply-oriented), and increasingly complex (i.e. user-oriented) and theoretically sophisticated (i.e. culturally situated) frameworks to urban tourism. Urban tourism research now includes not only a wide ranging user oriented approach featuring behavioural, experiential and cultural stances, but also a policy related perspective.

In the light of the variety of contributions discussed in this chapter, it is notable that key theorists of tourism (e.g. Urry and Rojek) still elude any significant and direct addition to the urban tourism research debate. Instead, they remain focused on the culture of tourism in more general terms. This neglect makes the case for further

theoretically informed examination of the literature on tourism and urban regeneration in general and urban tourism in particular. Alongside the above thematic and theoretical overview, this chapter also identified an ideological friction between two research traditions: one fostering urban tourism research for the enhancement of planning and management responses to a mounting demand for urban tourism experiences; the other endorsing a critical position to the culture of urban tourism development by confronting changing spatial outcomes and referents with the market and related policy imperatives that shape urban tourism. It is in the light of these two research positions that chapters 3 and 4 review the literature produced respectively on urban tourism and on the role of tourism in regeneration by highlights the thematic and theoretical scenario that supports the debate on tourism and urban transformation processes. Chapter 4 broadens the discussion on urban tourism and shows how tourism is considered in studies that are primarily concerned with urban regeneration and thus examine tourism as part of a wider process. Hence, the material in these two chapters demonstrates the differing perspective that some developed in relation to tourism and urban regeneration. Chapter 5 focuses on the literature that discusses the regeneration of coastal resorts and shows that the contrasting perspectives above are also found in the analysis of the regeneration of these urban environments. Collectively, these three chapters indicate the range of conceptual and theoretical standpoints that must be acknowledged when researching tourism and regeneration in cities generally, and coastal towns in particular. Chapter 6, therefore, draws on this broad discussion and outlines emerging key arguments upon which aim and objectives of the primary research are set out.

Chapter 3 - Urban tourism: regeneration strategy and urbanization model.

3.1 Introduction.

The urban tourism literature has grown in recent years with studies engaging with tourism as an agent of physical, socio-economic and symbolic urban change. Urban tourism has thus become a common ground to both urban and tourism scholarship contributing, since the early 1990s, to the broader post-modern urban debate featuring urbanization trends, urban regeneration policies and related practices, planning, management of change and cultural issues.

This chapter is divided into two sections reflecting the policy and post-structuralist approaches taken in the urban tourism literature. The policy orientated literature considers the objectives, spatiality and components of urban tourism as a regeneration strategy and examines the contribution of tourism to the urban and regional economies and, in turn, the well being of the residents of tourist destinations. The post-structuralist approaches are more concerned with problematizing the culture of urban tourism by putting the relationship between the tourist and space at the centre of the debate: it discusses tourism in relation to urban transformation processes in general and urban regeneration in particular and emphasizes the symbolic aspects of tourism (e.g. the formation of new spatial referents) alongside the changing nature of the urban experience. The chapter concludes by highlighting the distinctive spatiality of the emerging urban tourism discourse.

3.2 Urban tourism: a policy approach.

A policy-oriented approach to urban tourism was undertaken in both urban and tourism studies since the early 1990s. The strategy of urban tourism was first discussed, although with a certain degree of partiality, in government reports (Law, 1991a), addressed further in reports by some practitioners (Karski, 1990; Owen, 1990) and in scholastic literature (Page, 1995; van den Berg et al, 1995; Page, 1997). It was however comprehensively theorized in geographically situated contributions by Law (1992; 1993; 1996; 2000) and Page and Hall (2003).

Karski (1990) and Owen (1990) also contributed to the debate on the urban tourism strategy. Karski (1990) engaged in a supportive discussion about urban tourism: he suggested the implementation of tourism development strategies only as ‘part of a wider set of economic and planning objectives and policies’ and claimed

‘tourism development is not a universal panacea for economic and environmental ills’ (Karski, 1990: 17). The main recommendation from the author however regarded the integration of urban tourism development with economic policy, land use and traffic planning, and urban design. The urban tourism phenomenon also provided the ground for some geographically situated monographs discussing aspects of urban tourism development in post-industrial cities (Law, 1993; Page, 1995; van den Berg et al, 1995; Law, 1996; van den Burg, 1996; Page and Hall, 2003). The relationship between tourism and regeneration however featured more prominently in the arguments raised by Law (1992, 1993, 1996) than in the other contemporary publications on urban tourism (Page, 1995; van den Berg et al, 1995; Law, 1996; Page, 1997). Page, (1995) and van den Berg et al (1995) also discussed tourism in relation to economic and physical change of both American and European post-industrial cities.

With the marginalization of regeneration as an area of study in favour of a better understanding of the phenomenon of tourism in old-industrial cities however, these contributions looked at other aspects of the urban tourism debate. van den Berg et al (1995) for instance discussed performance and strategies in eight European cities by taking on a supply-side approach (van den Berg et al, 1995). Page (1997) only proposed an analysis of the urban tourist’s experience, whereas Page (1995) pursued the formulation of an integrated approach to the study of urban tourism, and highlighted place marketing, management, and planning aspects. Accordingly, Page (1995: 177) proposed four approaches to address inquiry into urban tourism namely: ‘boosterism’, ‘economic-industry approach’, ‘physical-spatial approach’, and ‘community approach’. Law (1992) also identified a spectrum of approaches to pursue the evaluation of the role of tourism in regeneration, and, therefore, the effects of tourism-related projects. They ranged merely from economic oriented impact studies, to assessment studies pursuing an evaluation of environmental, and social impacts. In the late 1990s however, Law (2000) proposed a conceptual revision of his early contributions and identified leisure and tourism as a means to regenerate the inner city. Law (2000: 118) concluded by detecting a lack of focus on tourism in regeneration policy that makes it ‘difficult to evaluate the role of tourism in urban regeneration’. This assertion can raise some perplexities in respect of the real existence of urban tourism as a strategy in regeneration, as opposed to its reification in the literature. The argument of reifying the urban tourism strategy may be lessened by taking aspects of

regeneration policy integration into consideration as Karski (1990) recommended. Law (1992) acknowledged a number of tourism strategies being produced by cities such as Belfast, Cardiff and Glasgow for instance. No mention was made by the author however about the degree of integration of these strategies within regeneration plans. Nevertheless, this does not mean that those strategies were independently conceived and following different objectives than those of the regeneration plans. In fact, Law (1992: 601) mentioned ‘investments for tourism’ were designed to change the city at a physical, social and economic level. Following Law’s (2000) call for evaluating the role of tourism in regeneration, urban studies fostered a contentious debate on urban tourism as a force of spatial transformation. It is within the breath of these approaches and remarks that the literature on urban tourism developed a comprehensive analysis of the phenomenon by bringing to the fore a range of intertwined planning, management, and cultural issues as the following corroborates.

Unlike the contributions commented on above, Law (1992; 1993; 1996; 2000) and Page and Hall (2003) fully articulated, problematized and spatially contextualized the strategy of urban tourism by discussing its rationale and objectives, spatiality, strategic features and related issues. Law (1992; 1993; 1996; 2000) defined the aftermaths of de-industrialization, and the resulting explosion of economic and physical regeneration activities in post-industrial cities, as the backdrop of the development of the urban tourism infrastructure and the expansion of the urban tourism economy since the 1980s in the UK. According to Law (1992, 1993) the urban tourism strategy has assisted the economic and physical regeneration of the post-industrial city by making it suitable for entering the global competition of urban destinations for mobile capital. On one side, Law (1993) emphasized tourism’s strong multiplier effects, and then its potential for regional and local socio-economic development and environmental improvement. On the other, Page and Hall (2003: 338) reinforced the economic and physical rationale and advocated that within the current regime of flexible accumulation of capital, tourism and leisure can be considered ‘the economic rationale or a substantial element of what makes the place exist economically, socially and culturally’. These assertions define tourism as an alternative to the range of socio-economic activities that underwent decline during deindustrialization experienced in many industrial cities since the 1970s. Hence, Law (1992, 1993, 2000) and Page and

Hall (2003) noticed the adoption of the urban tourism strategy in large cities and defined its distinctive spatiality.

The spatial referent of the urban tourism strategy is unanimously defined as the large, post-industrial city as opposed to the resort or historic urban setting. Law (1992: 599) described urban tourism as the phenomenon of tourism in ‘older-industrial (or non-tourist) cities’ while referring to the urban policy scenario of the 1980s and 1990s. Similarly, Page and Hall (2003: 319) defined the ‘new urban tourism’ as a ‘mechanism to regenerate urban areas through the creation of leisure, retail and tourism spaces’ (Page and Hall, (2003: 319). The main argument in relation to the distinction between the post-industrial, the resort, and the historic town, is relative to the different role that tourism has played in the socio-economic and physical development of each of them: tourism is basic and consolidated industry for the later two but virtually alien to the former. Law (1992) explained that as historically poles of mass production, large cities are normally associated with the raise of manufacturing and marine industries. With the aftermaths of deindustrialization they have become potentially unattractive to a significant tourist flow. Hence, Law’s (1992) emphasis on non-traditional tourist spaces in post-industrial cities as the spatial reference for the urban tourism strategy, Law (1996: 11) also added that as an industry, tourism was believed to have the potential to breathe new life into old cities: ‘it is perceived to have long-term growth potential based on growing affluence, increased leisure time and easier travel, and to be capable of development in urban locations’. Spending by tourists is also among the arguments favoring the establishment of the urban tourism strategy as it secures the economic viability of the facilities that are also of community use (Law, 1993). In conclusion, Law (1992) corroborated the symbiotic relationship between urban tourism development and regeneration initiatives, identified a spectrum of objectives underpinning the adoption of urban tourism as a solution to deindustrialization and the related practices conducive to the expansion of the urban tourism infrastructure.

In combination with the argument concerning the idiosyncratic spatiality and symbolic referents of urban tourism, Law (1992, 1993; 2000) also highlighted the attraction of a critical mass of visitors and the reestablishment of a vibrant socio-economic environment as the overarching objectives of the strategy under discussion. Law (1992, 1993, 2000) in fact noticed a substantial increase in the number of visitors

attracted to these postindustrial urban areas as the ultimate objective of the urban tourism strategy and explained:

‘large cities already are tourist centres and have many facilities for visitors, but if the industry is to play a role in economic regeneration then it must be substantially increased’ (Law, 1992: 601).

Law’s (1993) most complete contribution to urban tourism *Urban Tourism: Attracting visitors to large cities* focused on this strategic objective. The author clarified that, in essence, the urban tourism strategy entails the construction, or expansion, of the business and cultural tourism economy and infrastructure in large cities. The components and practices embedded in the urban tourism strategy reflect a renovation narrative that entails the provision of a range of primary and secondary resources such as: conferences and exhibition facilities promoting the business tourism industry; permanent and temporary flagships as cultural facilities and amenities in the form of museums, art galleries, heritage, and mega events for the development of the cultural industry (Law, 1992; 2000).

As anticipated, at the core of regeneration initiatives is also the reestablishment of a vibrant environment. In this respect, both Law (1992, 1993, 1996, 2000) and Page and Hall (2003), discussed the catalytic profile of the strategy of urban tourism and the related relationship with place marketing initiatives. Drawing on Law’s analyses (1992, 1993, 1996, 2000), the provision of the alleged urban tourism facilities and amenities seems to serve more than the purpose of attracting visitors alone but to create a renewed urban environment for new lifestyle opportunities.

The catalytic profile of tourism in regeneration was discussed in unison with Owen (1990) and Karski (1990) recalled above. Law (1992) further corroborated the symbiosis between urban tourism and regeneration by discussing the catalytic role of tourism in spurring broader regeneration. Urban tourism was therefore discussed as a means to bolster a process of comprehensive regeneration integrating physical rejuvenation, social revitalization and economic restructuring resulting in the creation of a renewed post-industrial urban environment (Law, 1992). Law (1992, 1993) commented on the expansion of the business and conference tourism and the cultural industries, as a trigger for public realm enhancement initiatives promoting improved accessibility to post-industrial urban areas for the creation of a ‘walking city’ (Law,

1992: 601), and the provision of other specialized and ancillary facilities (i.e. accommodation, entertainment, catering).

The urban tourism literature also suggested enhancement of place image and place attractiveness as core to this approach to regeneration. Accordingly, Page and Hall (2003: 320) concurred with Bramwell and Rawling (1994) and Law (1992, 1993, 1996), and described urban tourism as ‘a key component of urban policies tied into place-marketing and urban re-imaging strategies’. According to Law (1992, 1993) the adoption of the urban tourism strategy enhances place perception and visibility through the development of the tourism industry and infrastructure. It, in turn, generates new income and job opportunities, improves the quality of urban facilities and amenities while increasing the quality of life of the resident community. With reference to the components of the urban tourism infrastructure (i.e. business and cultural amenities and facilities), Law (1996: 13) also explained that ‘the amenities and environments which attract tourists are usually those which appeal to middle-class values’. Another key goal of this strategy is in fact that to attract new investments and new economic activities into the disadvantaged community under regeneration, and, also, ‘people of the right sort’ as Harvey (1990: 92) denounced. The catalytic role of tourism and its relationship with the place marketing rationale was also related to the establishment of culture industries as a strategic strand of urban regeneration policies. As Law (1992: 610) clarified, the promotion of culture-related strategies is believed to give prestige and confer a positive image to the city given the ‘high profile and the quality label’ of the arts and culture. Cultural strategies, with sport and special events (i.e. Olympic Games, football World Cup, arts festivals, garden festivals), have the potential to raise the quality of life in the area where these strategies take place, increase visibility in the international market of urban destinations, and, in turn, attract the affluent middle class, new industries and major companies. Law (1992: 611) then concluded that ‘they may also attract tourists’ as well as bringing ‘life and variety back to city centres’.

Reflecting on the points made by these contributions, there is agreement among the literature sources so far reviewed on most positive arguments relative to the urban tourism strategy. What was theorized as urban tourism strategy in fact was believed to serve more the purpose of encouraging regeneration in an area, and, therefore, spurring a complex process of urban change in demarcated areas of urban centrality. Despite increasing popularity of urban tourism as a strategy in formal regeneration practices

since the 1970s (Law, 1992; Law, 1993; Law, 1996), the urban tourism literature brought attention to some contentious aspects concerning the strategic profile of urban tourism. The following sections propose an overview of this debate and, also, bring to the fore some responses from the urban tourism literature.

Despite the arguments in favour of tourism as a spur in regeneration, Law (1992) recalled also attention to some negative aspects. Law (1992, 1993, 1996) highlighted discrepancy between growth and welfare policy objectives, described the development of urban tourism as ‘inextricably bound up with growth strategies’ (Law, 1992: 615) favouring only one part of the community while, also, making reference to urban regime and growth machine theories and stressing the role of business elites in shaping market-oriented urban policies. Accordingly, the potentially elitist profile of urban tourism developments was deemed to reflect the desires, values and lifestyles of one part of the society only (i.e. the affluent community) at the expenses of the disadvantaged parts. Law (1996: 13) analyzed the justifications supporting public expenditure for the promotion of the city as an urban tourism destination and asserted that ‘the development of the urban tourism industry diverts attention and resources away from social needs in the city’. Accordingly Page and Hall (2003) questioned the effectiveness of quick fix regeneration measures commonly embedded in catalytic planning practices, and the resulting temporary and permanent flagship developments embedded in the development of the urban tourism infrastructure as presented above.

In response to catalytic planning and quick fix regeneration measures, the urban tourism literature then proposed discursive and cultural planning models. Page and Hall (2003) proposed a gradual, small-scale, and adaptive process of change supported by the inclusion of a large number of stakeholders. The claim in this respect is that this approach is more likely to secure the sustainable success of regeneration through tourism compared to the catalytic model. In respect of large-scale urban regeneration projects (i.e. mega-events; waterfront redevelopments) Page and Hall (2003: 328) also raised the need of perceiving them as ‘part of a broader social contract in which public debate and argument are an exercise of social democracy’. According to Page and Hall (2003) the debate about *slow growth* and *community involvement* in the regeneration of post-industrial cities through tourism development under growth and city marketing regimes is by no means encouraging. Page and Hall (2003) in fact lamented the limited visibility of these *best practices* in urban policies featuring place-marketing and urban

re-imagining principles which urban tourism planning is so much tied into. Nevertheless, the authors concluded that tourism and place planning is often poorly conceptualized with respect to participatory procedures.

The issue with *replication* of the urban tourism strategy in different cities was also brought to the fore in the urban tourism literature that refers to the quality of the tourist's experience. The debate on strategy replication features again both proponent's and opponent's views. Replication of the urban tourism model was claimed to be the result of a widespread tendency among local urban government to adopt urban tourism as a growth-related strategy. Nevertheless, strategy replication is also claimed to clash with the tourist's search for distinctiveness (Law, 1993, Page and Hall, 2003) although some commentators of urban tourism assert that 'tourism development is often an exercise in accentuating the local uniqueness of a destination site' (Chang and Huang, 2004: 223). The aspect of replication and homogenization was further problematized in the post-structural literature that is taken into account is section 3.3 and, also, in the literature on urban regeneration in chapter 4 which proposes cultural planning as an alternative.

The urban tourism literature reviewed in this section proposed a discourse that reflects both proponent's and opponent's views on the urban tourism strategy. It focused on the strategic profile of urban tourism that becomes a key mechanism and component of urban policies for the regeneration of post-industrial and allegedly non-tourist urban areas. Along with this policy approach, the urban tourism literature highlighted valuable approaches to evaluate the role of tourism in urban regeneration. It discussed the strategic rationale behind the expansion of the urban visitor economy, related infrastructural developments and its relationship with catalytic planning and place marketing and finally corroborated the symbiotic relationship between urban tourism development and urban regeneration initiatives. On the side of a community approach to urban tourism some criticisms emerged that rebalanced previous positive claims on the strategy. Despite some remarks and recommendations however the urban tourism literature reviewed above did not expand sufficiently on these issues if compared to the urban tourism post-structural literature discussing the relationship between urban change and tourism that is going to be the focus of section 3.3. It is with the replication issue, however, that the policy oriented urban tourism literature opened a gate to the culture of urban tourism. Following Law's (1992, 2000) call for evaluating

the role of tourism in regeneration, a poststructuralist perspective to urban tourism emerged that fostered a contentious debate on urban tourism as an urbanization model and, in turn, as a force of spatial transformation.

3.3 Urban tourism: a post-structuralist analysis.

The urban tourism literature that undertook a critical approach to the phenomenon of urban tourism defined by Law (1992) draws on research conducted mainly in the USA, Europe and Australia. The tourism and regeneration formula was not the prime concern of these studies. Direct reference to urban regeneration, however, appears in this branch of the literature especially when discussing political-economy aspects alone (Fainstein and Gladstone, 1999; Judd, 1999, 2003a). The topic of regeneration performed mainly as a thematic backdrop to introduce a broader argument concerning the socio-cultural implications of developing the urban tourism infrastructure as a conversion/transformation mechanism in the post-industrial city. In short, tourism was put at the centre of the post-modern urban debate where political economy and cultural aspects merge in a post-structuralist approach to the ‘new urban culture’ (Judd, 2003c: 32). In contrast to the ‘new urban research paradigm’ (Kalltorp et al, 1997: 2) featured in much of Manuel Castells’ and David Harvey’s contributions, this literature looked at aspects of social and cultural change in the urban context. It shifted attention away from a mere neo-Marxist analysis that draws heavily on political and economic aspects and embraced the post-structuralist urban research agenda to explain the urban change in its complexity (Kalltorp et al, 1997). A key assertion was that tourism, like any other urban activity, is a dominant force shaping contemporary ‘urban form’ (Fainstein and Gladstone, 1999: 23) and ‘symbolic referents’ (Fainstein and Gladstone, 1999: 25).

In this respect Fainstein and Judd (1999a: 261) stated that ‘[t]ourism has been a central component of the economic, social, and cultural shift that has left its imprint on the world system of cities in the past two decades’. Accordingly, the spatial referent of urban tourism and its social, physical, and cultural implications were at the core of these contributions. Fainstein and Judd (1999a) and Mullins (1991; 1999) reaffirmed the argument concerning the distinctive spatiality of the urban tourism strategy developed by Law (1992; 2000). Instead of continuing on the strategic profile of urban tourism, however, Fainstein and Judd (1999a) and Mullins (1991; 1999) defined urban

tourism as an urbanization model. The argument proposed in relation to tourism is that cities can be of three types namely: resorts cities, tourist-historic cities, and converted cities (Fainstein and Judd, 1999a). According to this classification, Mullins (1991; 1994; 1999) proposed a distinction between two models of urbanization in which tourism plays a key role, namely: *tourism urbanization* and *urban tourism*. The former was described as the process by which cities are created explicitly for tourism consumption as resort cities. For the latter instead, urban tourism entails a process of restructuring that converts existing cities ‘for the purpose of attracting visitors’ (Fainstein and Judd, 1999a: 262) while conferring idiosyncratic spatial referents to the urban space. According to Fainstein and Judd (1999b: 11), these are described as declining post-industrial urban areas ‘forced to construct a new narrative of regeneration and a physical infrastructure that evokes that narrative’: hence the rise of urban tourism as an urbanization model in the urban literature. Despite this evident demarcation, the same literature forwarded the theory by which the difference between the resulting two city types is leveled, and maintained:

‘The different types of tourist city are governed by different regulatory strategies. Resort cities conform most purely to the image of cities as theme parks, though much of the literature on urban tourism expresses the fear (or conviction) that all cities are traveling down the same path’ (Hoffman et al, 2003: 5).

By undertaking this post-structuralist approach, the American urban tourism literature went well beyond the mere definition of the strategic relationship between tourism and urban change. It fostered a critique concerning the exclusivist profile of urban tourism in the policy approach discussed earlier and developed further the juxtaposition between a consumerist regeneration model with a community oriented one. Accordingly Judd (2003c: 14) highlighted two opposite approaches to urban regeneration. The first prioritizes the development of the tourism infrastructure and the reclamation of the urban core with the main purpose of fulfilling the capitalist imperative. The second, instead, reflects the precepts of the ecological approach to tourism development planning discussed by Hall (2000) according to which the improvement of the quality of life for the resident community enhances the attractiveness of place to visitors as well. It is especially in relation to the affirmation of the first approach as a normalized practice in tourism-led regeneration initiatives that the American urban tourism analysts fostered investigation into the construction of the

tourist city (Judd and Fainstein, 1999; Fainstein and Judd, 1999b; Hoffman et al, 2003). Aspects as varied as those of power relations and control, conspicuous consumption and spatial commodification, were brought to attention with the purpose of discussing the creation of the fortified city on one side, and the fabrication of a false authenticity on the other. In relation to these symbiotic processes, Fainstein and Gladstone (1997: 119) explained that:

‘When spaces function to nurture the fantasies of tourists, their structures diverge from that of locations which just serves the needs of nearby residents. The construction of place in accordance with the tourist’s hopes requires a manipulation of social and geographic relations by suppliers’.

Reflecting on this assertion, the two processes of the fortified city and falsification shape the discourse concerning the construction of tourist spaces in the post-industrial city by means of employing the urban tourism model. Judd (1999, 2003b; 2003c) shifted his comments on these tourist spaces in two broad discourses and discussed the intertwined concepts of *tourist enclave* and *tourist bubble*. It is necessary to emphasize that the focus of these analysis was a spectrum of cases from the US experience (Judd, 2003c: 25), that are post-industrial American conurbations. Despite this focus, reference to the Asian and European models was also made for comparison as confirmed later below (Mullins, 1999; Shachar and Shoval, 1999; van den Berg et al, 2003).

The argument of building tourist enclaves in the USA was bound up with notions of regulation theories, power relations and institutionalized control discussed by Hoffman et al (2003). Hence, by building on the theorizations formulated by the ‘post-structuralist’ (Fainstein, 2001: 204-13) urban literature, Judd (2003b; 2003c) discussed tourism and entertainment spaces as spaces of control and raised some criticisms about this urbanization model. The creation of tourism spaces through the development of the urban tourism and entertainment infrastructure is bound up with notions of separation and ‘enclosure’ (Judd, 2003b:7), ‘domination’ and manipulation, ‘surveillance’ (Judd, 2003c:23) and control. Judd (2003c: 29) discussed ‘enclavic tourist spaces’ as ‘designed to regulate their inhabitants through the control of four principal aspects of agency: desire, consumption, movement, and time’. In the light of these four aspects, flagship developments, as integral elements of the urban tourism strategy, are seen as spaces of control totally planned for shopping and entertainment.

In the case of stadiums and festival malls for example, ‘depthless consumption and a calculated hedonism’ (Judd, 1999: 49) is encouraged to satisfy a cultural imperative to consume (Mullins, 1999).

The tourist city was also defined as a segmented, fortified, and themed environment, allegedly, a patchwork of tourist bubbles. The arguments proposed by Judd and Fainstein (1999) are those of segregation and ‘spatial demarcation’ on one side (Judd, 2003b:7), and commodification, manipulation, and staged authenticity on the other. In respect of the former, the spatiality of the tourist bubble is described as ‘well-defined’ (Judd, 1999), ‘fortified’ (Fainstein and Gladstone, 1999: 26), ‘specialized’ (Judd, 1999: 36), and as ‘defensible spaces’ (Fainstein and Gladstone, 1999:26). In the tourist bubble, the visitor is enveloped and allowed/forced to move only inside ‘secured, protected, and normalized environments’. As Fainstein and Gladstone (1999: 26) clarified:

‘hotel and convention facilities, sports stadiums, restaurant districts and downtown shopping malls are cordoned off and designed to cosset the affluent visitor while simultaneously warding off the threatening native. Private police, video surveillance, and architectural design all work to keep undesirables out of touristic compounds and reserves. This militarization and privatization of urban space has reached its extreme in United States, Brazil and many poor countries’.

Bound up with the tourist enclave and bubble theories, the argument of *fierce privatization* was also rendered highly problematic due to its social consequences. Some contributions to urban design and urban social change also dealt with the topic of spatial privatization (i.e. Christopherson, 1994; Carmona et al, 2003) but overlooked tourism totally. Within the spatial studies framework, Burgers (1995) also engaged with the transformation of public space. The author substantiated the relationship between broader economic and cultural changes, urban renewal practices, and the increasing dominance of market-oriented policies and city marketing activities in regeneration to forward the issue concerning the ‘quality of public space’ (Burgers, 1995: 147). Burgers (1995), however, did not go into any detail with regard to privatization practices that regeneration through urban tourism development entails. By contrast, within the urban literature concerned with the USA, Perry (2003: 43) fostered understanding about the ‘privatizing discourses’ of the urban tourism infrastructure. The author claimed that ‘in no area of city building, perhaps, is the notion of infrastructure as public good more readily made problematic than in the privatizing

discourse of tourism infrastructure' (Perry, 2003: 34). The construction of convention centres, atrium hotels, restored harbours coupled with a sports stadium, a downtown shopping mall and new office tower, elements of the material and non-material tourism infrastructure, is believed to be the essential equipment for a first class city. Nevertheless it mixes the public and the private elements that make a city as such. Perry (2003), however, concentrated only on building, expanding, marketing and community persuasion practices as part of this privatizing discourse while resorting to the most traditional questions launched by the opponents of the economic oriented approach to tourism development planning namely *who pays* for and who benefits after all from these changes.

Besides the spatial and political aspects highlighted above in relation to a narrative of fierce privatization fostering the construction of tourist bubbles and enclaves, the American post-structuralist literature also brought the tourist's experience of place into discussion. Judd and Fainstein (1999) claimed that the experience that the tourist has of the tourist city is partial and constructed: by restraining access to some spaces and projected images only the experience of place that results is limited and partial. The American literature has proliferated with contributions to these aspects. The sociological analysis undertaken by Hannighan (1998:67), for instance, highlighted *simulated experiences* and a *culture of consumption* as the outcome of the tourist city that is a 'sanitized razzmatazz'. Christine Boyer (1992) condemned the American-borne process called *Rouse-ification* as it fails to provide for an authentic sense of place as places result that are disconnected from the rest of the city. Judd (2003b: 6) claimed that 'tourists who visit converted cities are unlikely to see the city of decline at all for tourists, the city can be reduced to simulacrum, a set-piece representing the city in its entirety'. In respect of post-industrial cities again, a romanticized version of history is created through a process of simplification and reduction to promote images of an unthreatening past (Boyer, 1992). 'Authentic reproductions' (Judd, 1999: 38), simulations, representation, and manipulation of reality are all synonyms recalling a process of fierce commodification of culture and its signifiers.

In respect of the core topic of this research, namely the role of tourism in urban regeneration processes, the literature just reviewed added a cultural perspective to the urban tourism debate. It engaged in a more culturally grounded and critical discussion concerning the development of *urban tourism* as an urbanization model. The physical

and cultural contexts that allowed these arguments to come to the fore were indeed those of the post-industrial type of American conurbation. It is questionable whether the same urban tourism debate flourished in America is also applicable to the European city. Indeed, the same urban tourism literature makes reference to an essential difference between the European and the Anglo-American model of urbanization.

Judd (1999) pointed out that in Europe the scenario is different from the one discussed so far in the American urban tourism literature. Judd (1999: 36) in fact remarked that ‘most European cities are still vibrant’ and the tourism infrastructure blends into the urban compound becoming part of the everyday life. The opposition between European and the Anglo-American model of urbanization was already at the centre of geographically and sociologically situated literature in the 1990s (Worpole, 1992; McGuigan, 1996). Their arguments highlighted discrepancy at both context and policy level. Emphasis was for instance on American *privatopia* as opposed to the European sense of ‘public realm’ (McGuigan, 1996:104); monofunctionality as opposed to vibrant and lively European urban centres with the USA and the UK inner city experiencing decline to a much wider and noticeable extent during the late 1970s and 1980s as compared to the European. McGuigan (1996) and Worpole (1992) asserted that in continental Europe the city centre has remained vibrant, due to the retention of social and cultural activities. By comparison, the USA and UK cities have experienced decline to a much wider and noticeable extent. The European urbanization model is characterized by longer-term tangible attempts to recover the city centre as the ‘continental-European-style of urbanity’ expresses connection with the city centre to a wider extent: the space of urban centrality are defined as a ‘neutral territory’ for nobody’s and everybody’s sake in which all elements reinforce a ‘sense of civic identity’ (McGuigan, 1996:104). Whereas the American model was claimed to be based on ‘private property-led redevelopment strategies and on out of town leisure and retailing complexes’ (McGuigan, 1996:104), the European model is characterized by longer-term strategies to keep the city centre a vibrant public space. The latter model is still associated with the ‘café society’ representing a city centre of conviviality and safety at all hours during the day (McGuigan, 1996:104).

In respect to urban tourism in Europe, an integrated discussion about urbanization models and urban tourism development emerged in the contribution by van den Berg et al (2003) who questioned the existence of a European model of urban

tourism development. The authors examined the extent to which the peculiarities of the European city respond to the choice of developing the urban tourism infrastructure within a regeneration policy context. Based on the comparative analysis of some mega projects in four European cities, the authors pointed out diverging public-private priorities and increasing power on the side of the private sector in ‘determining the pace and quality of development processes’ (van den Berg et al, 2003: 296). The authors concluded that with increasing pressure from global forces ‘Europe is on the verge of becoming a global marketplace, just like the United States’ (van den Berg et al, 2003:296). Nevertheless, according to Berg et al (2003), the relationship between the peculiarities of the European urban tourism market on one side (see van den Berg et al, 2003:318) and those of the European cities on the other, has prevented, in many cases, the implementation of the American-type of urban tourism development. van den Berg et al (2003: 317) also asserted that despite the increasing influence of the private sector in policy making and planning activities, urban tourism development in continental Europe ‘is harnessed within a vision that takes into consideration the basic requirements of the harmonious growth model’ entailing ‘multifunctionalism, accessibility and environmental quality’. Moreover, it was stressed that ‘the peculiar structure of European cities will continue to make the difference, commanding a growth model that respects those fundamental tenets’ (Berg et al 2003: 317). Reflecting on Judd (2003b) commenting on two possible urban regeneration approaches, continental Europe seems to privilege the improvement of the quality of life of the resident community, that makes, in turn, the city attractive for visitors. Thus, instead of creating ‘tourist spaces *tout-court*’ (van den Berg et al 2003: 302) in European cities, tourism planners privileged the development of mixed-use environments with the purpose of increasing urban attractiveness first. This approach was sustained by a political debate at both local and national government level that supported the harmonious (physical, cultural and economic) development of the European city. van den Berg et al (2003) helped to clarify the fundamental difference between the American and European approach to urban tourism development as part of regeneration measures. The discussion brought about by van den Berg et al (2003) in fact highlighted a contextual and cultural specificity that helped negotiate urbanization choices and the pressure from global forces in Europe.

3.4 Chapter summary and conclusion.

The policy and post-structuralist approaches to urban tourism featured in the literature above proposed some theorizations relative to the urban tourism phenomenon. By drawing on both American and European cases, the urban tourism literature reviewed in this chapter rendered the spatiality of the urban tourism strategy and model distinctive of an establishing discourse concerning the transformation of declined industrial spaces into urban resorts. It first theorized the strategic and increasingly symbiotic relationship between urban regeneration initiatives and urban tourism development. Then, it outlined the relationship between urban tourism and converted cities as well as delving into the culture of urban tourism. Despite overlapping at times in discussions about the issues that stem from the implementation of the urban tourism strategy and model, the policy approach focused on the rationale, objectives and spatial referents. The attraction of a significant number of visitors and the related development of the cultural and business tourism infrastructure were deemed ancillary objectives of regeneration measures to the attraction of the more affluent and the investor class. The post-structural literature highlighted the exclusivist, allegedly elitist and consumerist profile of urban tourism, that was problematized, then juxtaposed to a suggested discursive and cultural planning framework to urban change management. As a growth strategy, urban tourism was defined as a consumerist approach to urban change, deemed to favour the interests and needs of one part of the community solely whereby intense privatization of public space was rendered dominant practice in the fabrication of a commodified and replicating environment.

Despite featuring engagement with both American and European cases, the regeneration of resort cities and towns was generally overlooked in the urban tourism literature as direct result of the theorizations above. The exception was Mullins work on Australian resorts which concern was, however, the expanding resorts rather than the regeneration of declining resorts. This neglect is supported by a few arguments emerging from the same literature: Fainstein and Gladstone (1997: 121) for example hearkened back to postmodern cultural critics (e.g. Harvey, D. and Jameson F.) to assert that ‘cities are harbingers of cultural change because they are centres of cultural production’. Chang and Huang (2004: 224) maintained that ‘urban tourism provides the ideal ground for developing paradigms that engage with broader theories because it is in cities that global capitalism, economic restructuring, and social change coalesce’.

These remarks however do not consider the reducing differentiation between the resort city and the post-industrial, as allegedly converted, city type.

This chapter in particular brought to light the culture of urban tourism by discussing the conversion of centrally located urban areas in American and European post-industrial cities. Urban tourism was hence proposed in the guise of urbanization model, a framework determining urban forms that remind of *privatopia*, inequality and social polarization and, also, foster a visitor experience that is constructed around the capitalist imperative to consume. This chapter also shows how the spatial and cultural context significantly shapes tourism policy and urban tourism. Besides the differences commented on in relation to the American and European contexts, there is the need to examine the role of tourism in the regeneration of declining resort cities and towns. The distinctive spatiality of resort cities and towns are likely to result in particular urban tourism outcomes. The existing research on resort cities and towns is discussed in chapter 5.

Before examining research on resort towns and cities, it is necessary to examine the relationship between tourism and regeneration in the more general urban regeneration literature that developed alongside the urban tourism scholarship reviewed in this chapter. The next chapter dwells on the literature that discussed the relationship between urban regeneration and tourism. This serves to highlight emergent themes and research perspectives that add to the insights of the urban tourism literature discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 4 - Urban regeneration and tourism.

4.1 Introduction.

Chapter 3 discussed the establishment of urban tourism as a dominant component of urban policies and an agent of urban change. It brought to the fore the urban tourism discourse by corroborating the symbiotic relationship between tourism, regeneration and urban transformation processes and discussing policy and cultural aspects. These scholastic advancements in the field of urban tourism are however paralleled by an overlapping debate fostered by the increasingly contentious relationship between urban regeneration and tourism related measures. Drawing on the assertions made in relation to the distinctive spatiality of the urban tourism discourse in chapter 3, this chapter takes into account the literature that engaged, more generally, with the topic of tourism and regeneration while seeking to expand the theoretical and thematic breadth of this review.

The body of literature hitherto produced on the relationship between urban regeneration and tourism is conspicuous and comprises studies of urban regeneration and also studies of tourism more generally as well as some government official reports. This chapter divides in three main sections. Although the literature features an overall political economy and cultural approach to tourism and regeneration as the urban tourism literature did, the chapter reflects emerging thematic demarcations. The urban regeneration and more general tourism literature in fact features a concerted effort to unravel the culture-led approach to regeneration, hence theorized and problematized the symbiotic relationship between culture, tourism and regeneration. Although the opening section brings the main aspects of the tourism and regeneration formula to light in fact, the remaining sections attempt to deconstruct the culture, tourism and regeneration formula (CTR) and focus on the economic revitalization, place marketing and mobilization of spectacle theories. It concludes with a few remarks about culture, distinctiveness and the theoretical divergence between the concept of citizenship, urbanity and successful regeneration, and practices of exclusion while proposing postmodern models of urban planning as seen in the literature. In addition, on the shadow of the conclusive remarks in chapter 3, chapter 4 raises again the idiosyncratic and exclusive spatiality of these discussions and calls for secondary research into the current state of knowledge relative to tourism and regeneration in the resort city type.

4.2 Urban regeneration and tourism: an overview.

At a general level, the urban regeneration literature expanded on the spatiality of the urban regeneration and tourism formula and exalted its symbolic referents and economic rationale that were discussed in section 3.2. The factors conducive to the development of the visitor economy are also unanimously acclaimed in the urban regeneration literature and in a similar manner to discussions of urban tourism. The regeneration literature, for example, highlighted the decline of the traditional export industries and the shift to a service-based economy, the increasing awareness among planners and policymakers of the advantages represented by the disposal of marine-related historic environment for reuse, and the growing demand at international level for urban tourism resources (Tunbridge, 1988). By drawing on the urban tourism literature of the 1990s, the studies of urban management and development also synthesized the rationale behind the strategic involvement of tourism, and related strategies, and extolled tourism's strong multiplier effects and its related potential for regional and local socio-economic development and environmental improvement (William and Shaw, 1988a; Inskoop, 1991; Hall, 1994; Swarbrooke, 2000; Sharpley and Telfer, 2002; Pender and Sharpley, 2005). In agreement with these assertions, Tunbridge (1988) contended that the social, economic and physical revitalization of the postindustrial urban waterfront was driven by the replacement of the basic-export economy with the growing service sector. In this respect, Hayuth (1988) added that with the penetration of new land uses in the area, the character of the urban waterfront underwent a process of deep transformation. The author stated that 'the pitch-dark corners of the waterfront are being transformed into illuminated tourist and recreational facilities' (Hayuth, 1988:62-63) and so becoming more accessible and attractive to a widening public. In agreement with the assertions made in chapter 3, the waterfront regeneration literature (Mann, 1988) engaging in the regeneration policy scenario defined the development of tourism as the direct outcome of market-led approaches to regeneration. As noted earlier, Law (1988) also explained that policies for the regeneration of central and inner city can be of two sorts namely those pursuing the interests of the private and the market, and those of the wider social base. In the late 1980s, the author remarked that the development of tourism and the visitor economy within a regeneration context respond exclusively to a market rationale. Although these assertions are context specific, the 1980s in the UK, they retain the dual nature of

regeneration approaches in which tourism-related developments respond to an economic and market rationale as much of the government literature on regeneration and tourism helps to substantiate (e.g. DOE, 1990; Williams and Shaw, 1991; Law, 1991a; DCMS, 1998). Under the pressure of an entrepreneurial approach to urban governance and the resulting wave of place marketing activities, this process bolstered the material and symbolic transformation of post-industrial urban areas. Mann (1988:178) noted that:

‘waterfronts [...] enjoyed a marriage with the market-place, others [...] sustained and broadened the romance with nature and art, creating new environmental forms, preserving niches of significant natural environment, and introducing cultural form and activity into park settings that address the individual as well as the group’.

Reflecting on this scenario, the urban regeneration literature features two major areas of scrutiny namely: land-use policy, land-use management and property issues on one side (i.e. McCarthy, 1995; Gordon, 1999; Couch et al, 2003; Porter and Barber, 2006); aspects of governance and strategic approaches to regeneration on the other (i.e. Healey, 1995; McCarthy, 1995, 1998; Stead and Hoppenbrower, 2004). On the side of the former, a reasonably insightful discussion of tourism in regeneration emerged from early academic contributions to waterfront revitalization (e.g. Hoyle et al, 1988), and to the use of flagship projects in urban regeneration (Bianchini et al, 1992). The literature that commented on the urban trends concerning changes in land use through reclamation and adaptive reuse of centrally located tracts of declined and vacant land provides an explanation for this interest (Healey et al, 1992; Hoyle and Pinder, 1992; Bruttomesso, 1993). These geographically situated studies were driven by an interest in the land-use shifts taking place along the post-industrial urban waterfront in an age of economic restructuring and ascribed a strategic profile to declined centrally located urban areas. Tunbridge (1988: 69) for example explained that the waterfront in transition ‘acquired potential for adaptive reuse for a variety of functions for which water constituted an active or passive amenity’. Likewise, studies ascribed to the postindustrial urban waterfront in transition a special appeal as it retains the ‘aesthetic framework [...] that make for good entertainment and good social interaction’ (Mann, 1988:178). Hayuth (1988: 61) explained that once recognized as an ‘asset’ rather than a socio-economic plague, these centrally located urban areas started to be considered as an exceptional opportunity to restore a historic connection between city centre and the

adjacent obsolete, derelict, underused post-industrial areas. It is in reflection of these discussions that the potential of centrally located areas (i.e. the urban waterfront and the city centre) were considered within a more strategic perspective to a comprehensive and geographically widespread kind of urban regeneration (Tallon et al, 2005).

Hence, Tunbridge (1988) and McCarthy (1995) confirmed Law's (1992, 1993, 1996, 2000) theorizations on urban tourism. They claimed that in addition to promoting the growth of the real estate, office, high tech and retail market, this policy scenario encouraged the explosion of the entertainment, leisure, recreational and visitor economy in areas of the city that were not traditionally associated with such uses (Tunbridge, 1988; McCarthy, 1995). The process of transformation above entailed adaptive reuse practices that involve, for instance, abandoned storage facilities, obsolete aprons and rundown quays. These spaces are turned into retail areas in the form of festival market-places, recreational-commercial such as maritime museums, aquariums, restaurants, waterfront parks and marinas, and accommodate the programming of special events and spectacles (Hayuth, 1988; Tunbridge, 1988). The list of historiography oriented and descriptive case studies of waterfront regeneration produced so far to substantiate and contextualize these claims is large as the following corroborates.

Among the cases of waterfront revitalization and urban redevelopment in the US, Boston and Baltimore are described as the pioneers. Boston experienced the establishment of the *Marketplace*, the biggest tourist attraction in the US in the 1970s, and the *Boston National Park*, a landmark of conservation policies triggered by tourism development goals. Baltimore soon became an internationally recognized model and example of successful waterfront regeneration whose success was contended to be due to the proximity of central and inner harbour areas. This was in addition to the implementation of a set of market-oriented measures promoting the development of the leisure and tourism economy. These entailed marinas, museums, a waterfront park, a festival marketplace (the Harbourplace by Rouse), an aquarium, the Convention Centre, hotels and amusement centres, stadia, tourism related retailing were constructed and landmark events hosted (i.e. the Vity Fair; the Tall Ships Festival) (Law, 1988). Furthermore in the US, San Francisco developed the Fisherman's Wharf; New York the Seaport Museum; Vancouver the Expo 86 World Fair (Tunbridge, 1988:70); then it was the turn of Buffalo, Toronto, Seattle, New Orleans, Savannah, and Philadelphia all

ended up emulating Baltimore (Desfor et al, 1988). Europe also contained cases of waterfront regeneration such as Rotterdam displaying the Maritime Museum and Museum of Inland Shipping (Pinder and Kenneth, 1988); Manchester emulating Baltimore despite experiencing difficulties while attempting to build the visitor economy (Law, 1988); Swansea replacing traditional economic activities with leisure and recreation by building leisure complexes, the Industrial and Maritime Museum, and a marina (Edwards, 1988). Newcastle upon Tyne, Cardiff, Birmingham, London also had a regenerated waterfront area.

This long list of cases suggests that the strategic involvement of tourism in regeneration have appealed to politicians and policymakers since the 1970s. Critical positions are raised, however, in both urban regeneration and more general tourism literature about this narrative of urban interventions. Tunbridge (1988), for instance, highlighted urban standardization, *Rousification* and urban development ‘carbon copies’ (Tunbridge, 1988:70) as the outcomes of establishing adaptive reuse-policies for waterfront regeneration. Reflecting on this widespread regeneration narrative, prominent contributors to the tourism scholarship, such as Urry (2002) and Hall (1994), also observed that every city in the late-capitalist world has a tourism related project in place. Hence, Urry (2002: 128) lamented: ‘how many museums, cultural centres, convention and exhibition halls, hotels, marinas, shopping malls, waterfront developments can we stand?’. The issue with replication of successful tourism-related regeneration models was rendered already contentious in the urban tourism literature reviewed in chapter 3. The urban tourism literature already problematized the replication issue whereas neither regeneration nor tourism literature has delved into it to a similar extent.

Serial reproduction of successful regeneration models aside, the urban regeneration literature (Hoyle et al, 1988; Tunbridge, 1988; Craig-Smith and Fagence, 1995) echoed Law’s (1992, 1993) contributions to urban tourism and introduced tourism and recreation as catalysts for waterfront development. Hoyle (1988: 79) stated: ‘Tourism and recreation is a significant promoter of waterfront development through its facilitation of marina and related projects’. Craig-Smith (1995: 8) also reinforced the catalytic role of recreation and tourism to spur urban waterfront redevelopment and noted:

‘In an era of increased leisure, recreational participation and increased environmental and heritage concern, many of the world’s major waterside city areas have been redeveloped with conservation, recreation, and tourism in mind. There is little doubt that recreation and tourism can be used as catalysts for redevelopment’.

The catalytic profile of tourism-related strategies in regeneration emerged already in the urban tourism literature. The urban regeneration literature in particular expanded on this aspect by commenting on flagship developments.

Reflecting on these assertions, McCarthy (1995) advocated that waterfronts in general, and dockyards in particular, were favourite sites for the development of flagship developments. Ample space was given to flagships in the regeneration literature. Bianchini et al (1992: 245) provided an insightful discussion of flagships, meaning ‘pioneering high-profile projects’, ‘prestigious land and property developments’, and ‘large-scale urban renewal projects’, from the angle of property-led development. Bianchini et al (1992) undertook a leftist perspective towards property-led regeneration, and commented upon the relationship between regeneration, flagship developments and tourism. The authors discussed tourism within the broader scenario concerning the rationale behind these projects and asserted that ‘flagships have [...] spearheaded economic development or tourism strategies (Bianchini et al, 1992: 249). Bianchini et al (1992) explained that ‘cities strive to exploit the high-profile symbolism of flagships by using them as magnets to attract further investment, tourists and consumer expenditure’ (Bianchini et al, 1992: 249). Although limiting references to tourism almost exclusively to the assertions cited above, the critical tone of their arguments went well beyond an informative overview on the subject. In fact, Bianchini et al (1992) set up a critical stance towards the reasoning and the political underpinnings that supported the thriving of this kind of projects in the UK. Accordingly flagship developments are discussed as one way for cities to ‘make the most of their marketable assets, such as waterfront real estate, heritage, tourism, leisure facilities are attractive environments’ while triggering a property-led, sometimes private sector funded kind of regeneration (Bianchini et al, 1992). A theoretical division was traced among these high-profile projects for which ‘orthodox property development’ were distinguished from ‘temporary flagships as innovative events’. Despite this separation, Bianchini et al (1992) confirmed that these processes responded to the urban redevelopment rationale of the 1980s in the UK.

As regeneration measures, *flagship projects* entered the British urban scene in the 1980s as manifestation of an establishing *neoliberal* ethos (Harvey, 2005) and the resulting power retained and objectives pursued by the Urban Development Corporations (UDC). Law (1988) argued that this happened in response to the internationalization of regeneration models originating in the US such as that of Baltimore and Boston discussed above. Overall, flagships reflected the need of signaling the intention of cities to regenerate derelict and inhospitable urban areas: while enticing a favourable physical and financial environment they perform as engines for the attraction of private financial capital ‘via rising land values’, and therefore as ‘magnets for further developments’ (ibidem). Moreover, as ‘prime property developments’, these kinds of projects are believed to promote ‘new land uses in spatially specific areas’ such as the postindustrial urban waterfront (Bianchini et al, 1992: 250). As ‘vital place marketing device[s]’ (Bianchini et al, 1992: 250) instead, they were used as spurs for image enhancement of declining post-industrial cities such as Glasgow offering high profile cultural and tourist attractions (i.e. the Burrell Collection, and the 1988 Garden Festival). Accordingly, they are considered effective methods to exploit, enhance, and make visible those assets of the city that are not well known to a wider audience.

Within this scenario, the argument concerning the development of the visitor economy on one side, and that of increasing the city’s visibility at international level on the other, were employed as a means to rationalize and justify the adoption of a catalytic approach to regeneration. Hence, both urban regeneration and the more general tourism literature questioned the effectiveness of these projects. Bianchini et al (1992: 245) raised concern about the effectiveness of these market-led regeneration measures as tools to tackle ‘widespread and balanced regeneration’. The authors claimed that although the economic benefits generated through these projects should not be underestimated, they are conducive to socioeconomic issues namely: redistribution and access, impact on public spending priorities, accountability and, moreover, cultural standardization as well as ideological and political diversion (Bianchini, 1992). *Catalytic planning* was also problematized in the tourism literature echoing the commentary above and discussing issues relative to democracy, resource allocation, redistribution of costs and benefits, community involvement, exclusion, and displacement, space contestation, partnership arrangements, and relationship between

tourism and other industries (Swarbrooke, 2000; Page and Hall, 2003; Pender and Sharpley, 2005).

Overall, the urban regeneration literature reviewed in this section offers only an overview of the distinctive spatiality, rationale, objectives and issues relative to the development of tourism as part of a distinctive narrative of urban change. In this context, tourism was related to market-oriented regeneration approaches of declined, centrally located, non-traditional tourists areas. Flagships were then discussed as embedded in the regeneration programmes adopted during the 1980s in the US as well as in the UK. Despite proposing some positive arguments, the urban regeneration literature concluded by highlighting contentious socio-economic impacts of flagships. The regeneration literature, however, delves deeper into these aspects only when relating culture, and the adoption of culture policy, to the consolidated tourism and regeneration formula. The next section proposes a review of both urban regeneration literature on the relationship between the development of urban tourism and the adoption of culture-related policies as a strand of urban regeneration programmes.

4.3 Urban regeneration, culture and tourism.

This section substantiates the relationship between culture, tourism and regeneration (CTR) by drawing on regeneration and tourism literature. It is structured in a way to reflect three emerging theories concerning this relationship and expands on both strategic and cultural aspects. With few exceptions (e.g. Tiesdell et al, 1996; Nobre, 2002), the regeneration literature analyzing the relationship between culture and urban regeneration is only marginally oriented at discussing tourism in its own right. It discussed an historic backdrop to the adoption of strategies pursuing the development of culture-related projects and the consolidation of the role of culture in urban regeneration programmes by juxtaposing the pros and cons of these choices. As it will become apparent in the following sections instead, the general tourism literature that engaged with the topic of tourism in the culture and regeneration debates responded to the adoption of this formula by expanding on critical aspects and solutions. What follows helps to position tourism within the CTR theoretical context. It is useful to include this positioning exercise in this commentary as often the literature that is reviewed below adopts the term *culture policy* to signify a wide range of activities, facilities and amenities.

The regeneration literature that engaged with culture-related policies and urban regeneration also attempted to position tourism within the regeneration and culture scenario. The collection of case studies that contribute to the edited book by Bianchini and Parkinson (1993) for example provides for an early, comprehensive and critical illustration of the implications of culture in regeneration plans in Western Europe. In many cases it was used as a term of reference to frame a conceptual background for further discussions on cultural planning (i.e. Griffiths, 1993; Griffiths, 1995; Tiesdell et al, 1996; Garcia, 2004; Miles, 2005). In this publication, Bianchini and Parkinson (1993) positioned tourism, together with heritage and leisure industries, at the outer reaches of *cultural policies* adopted by western European city governments from the 1980s onwards. Evans and Shaw (2004) instead distinguished cultural industries from creative industries, and local cultural strategies claiming that, the latter, included the arts, libraries, museums, heritage, tourism, parks and sports. Overall, tourism is commonly subsumed into a complex scenario concerning the strategic involvement of culture policy in urban regeneration plans and programmes.

The main aspects of this debate are proposed in the upcoming sections as they are deemed instrumental in clarifying the consolidating symbiosis between tourism and the use of culture to spur urban regeneration. This section concludes by highlighting three theories that summarize the many aspects emerging from this debate. The involvement of culture in the regeneration policy scenario has indeed generated a contentious debate echoing in academic premises since the late 1980s and embracing a wide range of social, economic as well as policy-related issues (Bianchini et al, 1988; Montgomery, 1990; Worpole, 1992). Booth and Boyle (1993: 22) summarized this debate in ‘three convergent urban theories’: they concern the relationship between the promotion of urban culture and economic revitalization, cultural policy and place marketing, and culture policy and the ‘mobilization of spectacle’. These theories help to disentangle the strategic relationship between culture, tourism and regeneration and, therefore, are presented below by examining the urban and tourism literature that expanded on them. What follows then helps to clarify how the three theories outlined by Booth and Boyle (1993) fit in the broader picture of urban regeneration strategies and how tourism links to the role of culture in regeneration. Despite overlapping in the many discussions about culture, tourism and regeneration featured in both urban and

tourism literature, an effort is made below to treat them separately for analytical purposes.

4.3.1 Promotion of urban culture and economic revitalization.

This section opens with a brief account of the conditions that facilitated the adoption of culture-related strategies in regeneration. This serves as a backdrop to the following arguments proposed in the literature about the relationship between culture, tourism and urban regeneration. The increasing interest in, and importance of, culture as a regeneration policy ingredient was related to the urban regeneration and economic revitalization policies of the 1980s. Booth and Boyle (1993: 22) claimed that culture was used as a policy ingredient to ‘cushion the negative effects of the painful transition from an industrial to a post-industrial economy’. The literature on culture and regeneration discussed the conditions that favoured the establishment of these strategic choices in the urban policy scenario in the following way.

Bianchini (1993a) for instance put globalization of corporate profitability strategies and the crisis of the Fordist regime of accumulation at the forefront of these conditions. The author also claimed that these two trends resulted in the failure of the capitalist cities as nodes of regional economic growth and socio-cultural production and suggested that:

‘by the 1980s city decision-makers in western Europe realized that they had to develop their own strategies to respond to the economic and social problems generated by the restructuring’ (Bianchini, 1993a: 14).

Bianchini (1993a: 13), in line with the assertions by Law (1988) in chapter 3, also commented on the policy shift occurring between the 1970s and 1980s prioritizing economic restructuring and physical redevelopment to wider social welfare objectives, and wrote:

‘The 1970s emphasis on personal and community development, participation, egalitarianism, the democratization of urban space and the revitalization of public social life was replaced by a language highlighting cultural polity’s potential contribution to urban economic and physical regeneration’.

In turn, fostered by a turn to entrepreneurialism in urban governance (Harvey, 1989; Andrew and Goldsmith, 1998), political pressure induced the reduction of local government expenditure in support to the economic transition from industrial to post-industrial. In essence, these trends resulted in the replacement of the ‘language of

subsidy' (Bianchini, 1993a: 13) with that of investment and, then, the increasing of global urban competition for mobile capital and a share of the urban tourism market (Bianchini, 1990; Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993; Gratton and Henry, 2001). Authors such as Bianchini and Parkinson (1993), Griffiths (1993; 1995) and Gratton and Henry (2001) then charted the increasing significance of culture policy, including policy for sport, as a tool to boost economic restructuring and physical redevelopment in many west European and Northern American cities. In this respect, Griffiths (1993) claimed that:

'city planners and administrators in Europe and North America have turned to the arts and culture as tools of urban regeneration' with the purpose of assigning new roles to cities 'in an era of deindustrialization and deep economic restructuring' (Griffiths, 1993: 39).

According to Griffiths (1995: 255) the notion of 'civic boosterism' is at the core of the culture and urban regeneration formula and, therefore, strongly embedded in the culture and economic revitalization theory by Booth and Boyle (1993). Both Griffiths (1993) and Booth and Boyle (1993) in fact explained that civic boosterism entails the promotion of urban culture as a strand of local economic development and related place marketing measures. Griffiths (1995: 25) described this model as 'a product of business-led politics of local growth coalitions', a notion that reflects the policy shift recognized by Bianchini (1993a). Beforehand, however, Bianchini (1993a: 5) had already extended the notion of civic boosterism to policies and programmes combining tourism, culture and regeneration. The author claimed that this combination involves the prioritization of consumption over production-oriented strategies, pursues the attraction of cultural and business tourists, entices private investments and helps project a better quality of life for professional and executive employees and the 'investor class'. Relative to this point, Bianchini (Bianchini, 1993a; Bianchini, 1993b) and Booth and Boyle (1993) argued that tourism is one of the triggers adopted to justify a consumerist-promotional approach when using culture in regeneration. In turn, this consumerist approach to regeneration received criticisms because it is seen as being at the forefront of gentrification, social exclusion and polarization (i.e. Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993; Tiesdell et al, 1996; Nobre, 2002; Seo, 2002; Garcia, 2004; Miles, 2005). Accordingly, Bianchini (1993b: 204) discussed some 'anti urban tendencies' stemming from the adoption of culture and tourism related strategies as regeneration drivers. They range from the 'unidimensional

logic of commodification' (Groth and Corijn, 2005: 503) to cultural 'standardization/homogeneization' (Hoffman, 2000: 218), 'monofunctionalism', 'erosion of urbanity' and control (Bianchini, 1993b: 204). These *tendencies* were already highlighted and rendered problematic in the urban tourism literature in chapter 3. They are nevertheless proposed again in a similar guise in the regeneration literature on CTR but critically discussed again in the tourism literature reviewed in the following section that expanded on the culture policy, place marketing and mobilization of spectacle theories.

The commentary in this section has brought to the fore some contentious aspects relative to the use of urban culture as a spur for economic restructuring. It was claimed that deindustrialization, the turn to entrepreneurialism in urban governance, and related prioritization of economic restructuring and physical redevelopment, promoted the adoption of civic boosterism as a model of urban intervention where culture and tourism-related strategies heralded a controversial consumption-oriented approach to regeneration. The relationship between CTR, was also discussed in the urban literature that expanded on the second theory proposed by Booth and Boyle (1993) about the interaction between culture policy and place marketing which is considered in the next section.

4.3.2 Culture policy and place marketing.

According to Evans and Shaw (2004: 5), the culture-led regeneration model differs sensibly from other models such as those of 'cultural regeneration' and 'culture and regeneration'. Culture was in fact discussed as a regeneration catalyst in the culture-led regeneration model with cultural flagships performing as a physical manifestation of this formula.

Tiesdell et al (1996) considered the revitalization of post-industrial/historic quarters through cultural strategies and discussed the strategic role of tourism in regeneration. Beside the economic rationale *per se*, Tiesdell et al (1996) emphasized the establishing symbiosis between cultural policy, place-marketing and tourism development activities. The literature on place marketing and place promotion is extensive (i.e. Ashworth and Voogd, 1990; Keans and Philo, 1993; Kotler et al, 1993; Gold and Ward, 1994) and it is not going to be reviewed in full length in this chapter. The regeneration literature, however, (Tiesdell et al, 1996) proposed a synthesis of the

place marketing rationale and explained that the activities of place promotion trigger the enhancement of place perception by constructing a new image of place as a replacement of existing and old ones. In essence, the place promotion literature above claims that the main objective of these practices is that of enhancing place image and attractiveness of place by capitalizing on, and promoting, distinctiveness and uniqueness of place. According to Tiesdell et al (1996) the contribution of tourism development to this scenario is twofold: on the one hand the development of the tourist infrastructure helps to counter image obsolescence by enriching the urban environment of both primary and secondary resources; on the other, tourism development provides the justification for taking on conservation and preservation measures that trigger the adaptive reuse of existing natural and built environment. The following paragraphs expand on these two aspects.

In respect to the former, the regeneration and tourism literature highlighted the emerging symbiosis between flagship developments and culture policy. An overview of the debate on flagship projects has already been proposed in section 4.2 while discussing land use policy and property-led regeneration. The urban literature on culture and regeneration also associated prestigious flagship projects with regeneration. This was in response to the establishment of culture in the regeneration policy scenario and the development of permanent and temporal flagships as advocates of a consumption-oriented approach to urban regeneration. The literature claimed that prestigious art festivals (e.g. Sydney 2000 Olympic Arts Festival; Barcelona 2004 Universal Forum of Cultures), major sports competitions (e.g. Olympic games; soccer World Cup; World Athletics Championships) and other high-profile cultural events (i.e. Glasgow European Capital of Culture), were organized by urban policy-makers to ‘support internationalization strategies’ (Bianchini, 1993a) pursuing a double objective namely: to enhance the cosmopolitan image and appeal of cities in need of regenerative interventions and respond, in turn, to a mounting international urban competition for mobile capital (Bianchini and Schwengel, 1991; Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993; Gratton and Henry, 2001). Smith (2001) also discussed the role of major sporting events as temporary flagships, and the consequent construction of prestige sport facilities, to the purpose of enhancing the image of the post-industrial city as a tourist destination. The author made reference to the tourism literature to discuss the strategic profile of sport mega events and claimed these act as promotional tools leveraging on

substantial media exposure. His arguments remained however vague about tourism, tourist images, and tourist representations. Nevertheless, Smith (2001) focused on the symbolic transition of the city to a reinvigorated centre of conspicuous consumption, spectacle, pleasure and play.

The broad tourism literature also commented on the symbiotic relationship between place marketing and culture policy with a more critical tone. Echoing the regeneration literature on catalytic planning discussed in section 4.2, flagships are presented, in the tourism literature, as ‘the image builder of modern tourism’ (Shaw and Williams, 2002: 267). Mega events in particular were discussed as a way to show off the city (Hall, 1994), and, then, position it as a *product*, or commodity on the map of the global market of urban destinations (Shaw and Williams, 2002). The idea of using prestigious sport and cultural events as place promotion practices (Morgan, 2004) to spur economic revitalization and image enhancement was however rendered contentious. Socioeconomic and cultural studies of tourism (Roche, 1992; Sudjic, 1999; Palmer, 2002; Shaw and Williams, 2002; Smith, 2003; Smith, 2007) problematized the choice of adopting the flagship development model in regeneration (i.e. Bilbao Guggenheim Museum, the Angel of the North on Tyneside, or the Olympic Games, World Expos, and the European Cultural Capital initiative) (e.g. Robertson and Guerrier, 1998; Avery, 2000; Smith, 2001). As anticipated in section 4.2 on flagships, the issue of redistribution of costs and benefits was claimed to be contentious (Palmer, 2002) as it fosters social polarization (e.g. Wall, 1988; Shaw and Williams, 2002; Waitt, 2003; Gursory and Kendall, 2006; Smith, 2007). Mega events in particular were claimed to promote gentrification, social inequality, exclusion, and uneven distribution of costs and benefits. Smith (2003: 159) hearkened back to Sudjic (1999) to discuss the legacy of these culture-led strategies. The author asserted that it is ‘one of high levels of debt, redundant buildings and a community that has been displaced or bypassed’. In contrast, the arts and festivals attained more positive comments in the tourism literature. The arts and festivals are in fact believed to contribute to cultural inclusion and, then, democratization of culture, celebration of diversity, animation and empowerment of community, by ultimately increasing the community’s quality of life (Smith, 2003, 2007b). In the binary game of promoters and opponents to these regeneration strategies, however, Smith (2003) also highlighted community rivalry as a potential outcome of the latter practices.

The second role of tourism in the wider culture-led regeneration process as defined by Tiesdell et al (1996) concerned culture policy and place promotion as a means to protect and conserve the local distinctive physical and cultural environment. In practice, this can happen through the exploitation of characteristics of place and the capitalization on its historical legacy. In reference to the place marketing and economic revitalization paradigm, the point made in the regeneration literature is that local diversity and urban distinctiveness are pull factors in the symbolic and material regeneration of the post-Fordist city (Hoffman, 2000). The tourism literature on culture and regeneration also incurred in this debate by noting that ‘destinations clearly need to be unique in order to place themselves on the tourist map’ (Smith, 2007b: 7). Hoffman (2000: 215) also identified the significance of diversity, targeting *niche* market segments, to city marketing and asserted that, ‘at the most basic level, urban tourism is about diversity’. The cultural tourism literature also contributed to consolidate the theory about the symbiotic relationship between cultural policy, place marketing and urban tourism but stressed the aspect of distinctiveness (Smith, 2003, 2007b). It confirmed that the strategy of urban tourism, as theorized by Law (1992, 1993), reflects the entrepreneurialist turn in urban governance charted by Harvey (1989) and confirmed again that it is bound up with the city marketing and place promotion tenets. Although claiming these policies are a means of generating environmental distinctiveness that is exploited by city marketing level to face a mounting intra-urban competition, the regeneration (Tiesdell et al, 1996) and tourism (Smith, 2003; Richards and Wilson, 2006; Richards, 2007; Richards and Wilson, 2007; Smith, 2007a, 2007b) literature discussed some of the controversial outcomes of these policies confirming some of the assertions made in the urban tourism literature above.

The combination of tourism, city marketing and the strategic use of preservation and conservation measures for instance is believed to foster the development of the heritage industry that displays the signs of simulation, heritage as ‘simulacrum’ (Tiesdell et al, 1996: 70) and ‘façade’ of history (Tiesdell et al, 1996: 79) on one side, and the notion of ‘mobilization of the spectacle’ (Booth and Boyle, 1993:22) and the ‘carnival mask’ (Bianchini, 2001: 4) on the other. Smith (2003, 2007b), in unison with Richards and Wilson (2006; 2007), questioned the quality of place produced by urban tourism as a strategy bound up with place marketing and cultural policy. By recalling the seminal contribution by Pine and Gilmore (1999), Richards and Wilson (2006;

2007) and Smith (2003, 2007b) echoed the American literature on urban tourism (Hoffman, 2000; Judd, 2003b). The authors discussed the centrality of *experience* to tourism and problematized the quality of experience that result from this urbanization model. They concluded with the assertion that, overall, it tends to be homogenized, unauthentic, and disconnected from the local sense of place, and, in turn, unattractive to an increasingly selective postmodern tourist demand searching for *diversity*. The literature abounds with cases of cities that undertook culture/tourism led-regeneration policies for the development of the heritage/cultural industry and tourism purposes in post-industrial cities. Preservation and conservation measures to develop the culture/tourist product were implemented as regeneration strategies in Lowell (Massachusetts), Castlefield (Manchester), Temple Bar (Dublin) (Tiesdell et al, 1996), Newcastle-upon-Tyne (O'Brien, 1997) Liverpool and Glasgow, Lamu (Hoyle, 2001), Lisbon (Alden and de Rosa Pires, 1996), the Boston Naval Shipyard (Gordon, 1999), Salvador de Bahia (Nobre, 2002), Swansea (Watkins and Herbert, 2003), Bristol (Griffiths, 1995), Portsmouth (Riley and Shurmer-Smith, 1988) and London (the Tate Modern) (Leslie, 2001).

Despite both urban regeneration and urban tourism literature recognizing the issues above, only the cultural tourism literature proposed an alternative model. It challenged the profile of the urban tourism strategy as tied up with place-marketing and urban re-imagining practices, and contended that planning for urban tourism should entail more than just thinking of developing product and image. Hence, Smith (2003; 2007b) and Richards (2006; 2007) also proposed the principles of postmodern and cultural planning, creativity and the creative economy, as a solution to serial reproduction and monotony, and 'placelessness' (Smith, 2007b: 2). These are increasingly charted solutions or alternatives to reset a consolidating governance model that has determined the path of regeneration initiatives.

Culture and tourism have hitherto been described as a strand of economic restructuring and place marketing measures. For the latter, culture policy in regeneration was primarily perceived as a means to project a changing image of place. Despite featuring both positive and negative arguments, the literature so far reviewed paid less attention to the spatiality of the CTR formula. As comprehensively addressed in the urban tourism literature in section 3.3, spatial change and spatial formation are key aspects of the urbanization model that the CTR formula is designed to foster. In the

following paragraphs the cultural policy and mobilization of spectacle theory, the third theory proposed by Booth et al (1993), is discussed to highlight the issues of space and spatiality associated with the CTR formula.

4.3.3 Culture policy and the mobilization of spectacle.

In this section the issues introduced above are related with the dynamics of spatial formation fostered by the adoption of culture policy in regeneration. Spatial theming and quarter urbanization has already been discussed in the regeneration literature reviewed above that addresses the relationship between culture, tourism and urban regeneration. Three other key aspects consistently emerged in relation to physical change fostered through the CTR formula. The first concerns the opportunistic approach to tourism development for the regeneration of historic/post-industrial quarters; the second is about the commodification of space under the pressure of culture policies in regeneration; the third regards the adoption of urban design principles triggering the formulation of mixed-use developments. These are discussed in turn below.

4.3.3.1 Opportunism and insurgent urbanism.

Tiesdell et al (1996) claimed that in some cases the development of the tourism product was just the result of the opportunistic exploitation of an area's potentials. This is because it is set off by interest groups and private sector entrepreneurialism and, often, unplanned. The tourism planning literature that promoted planning for tourism as an imperative is extensive (Gunn, 1988; Burtenshaw et al, 1991; Inskeep, 1991; Getz, 1993; Jansen-Verbeke and van de Wiel, 1995; Hall, 2000; Costa, 2001; Gunn, 2002) and goes back to the assertions made by Young (1973) and Ashworth (1989). Bramwell (1993) highlighted the essential role of planning to give spatial coherence to those tourism resources that are the result of opportunism. A parallel debate also emerged in the urban literature that charted the emergence of an 'insurgent urbanism' (Groth and Corijn, 2005: 520) and the emergence of 'non-planned planners' (Groth and Corijn, 2005: 503) as 'civic or informal actors' (Groth and Corijn, 2005: 506) in the urban development process.

Among the arguments highlighted by Groth and Corijn (2005) for example attention was given to the conflicts between two forces acting within the same urban scenario. The first is about informal actors reclaiming indeterminate/no-go-spaces in

post-industrial cities whereas the second is about city authorities and the role of the institutions reflected in the urban planning activities. The issues under discussion here pertain to the urban political economy debate within the post-Fordist urban restructuring framework. They primarily concern the antagonizing views separating the resident community reclaiming urbanity, from the authorities' views pursuing urban development and economic growth policies. Groth and Corijn (2005) did not make any reservations about the strong pull these initiatives, out of direct authority control, had on the visitor market. To give an idea of the positive effects these unplanned, spontaneous and bottom-up projects had on the complexity of the urban environment, the authors pointed out the number of visitors attracted by the newly adapted sites. Accordingly, the case of *Makasiini*, an old and abandoned warehouse in Helsinki, become:

'residence of small businesses mainly related to green commerce and cultural production, a versatile and peculiar event space, a springboard for cultural novelties and the setting of the city's most popular flea market attracting more than 400000 people a year, the warehouse allowed for certain things to happen which would not have happened anywhere else in the city' (Groth and Corijn, 2005: 509).

Despite reifying success by highlighting the number of visitors, this contribution to urban studies did not discuss tourism at any length. Instead, it ascertained the need for uncontrolled, non-commodified places that are socially sustainable and capable of integrating a mix of socio-cultural, economic and political activities. Overall, Groth and Corijn (2005: 521) recalled the notion of 'differential space' elaborated by Lefebvre (1991), and that of planning as public debate and argument (Bianchini and Schwengel, 1991), and 'discursive practice' (Ploger, 2001: 64) to claim the need for 'free zones' (Groth and Corijn, 2005: 521). Tiesdell et al (1996) claimed, however, that the CTR formula tends to impose a distinctive form on the urban environment (Tiesdell et al, 1996) as the following corroborates.

4.3.3.2 Spatial formation and commodification of space.

The culture-led regeneration model is deemed to foster the implementation of quarter urbanization and the formulation of clustered developments (Mommaas, 2004). The regeneration literature made reference to urbanization policies that tend to organize the urban space in specialized zones labeled according to the facilities and amenities that are on offer. The *cultural quarter*, as Wynne (1992) explained, displays a high

concentration of cultural and entertainment facilities within a restricted geographical area. The literature also commented on the construction of *thematic precincts* such as that of the city centre and the waterfront (i.e. Dovey and Sandercock, 2002), and turned to discussions about *cultural quarters* (i.e. Bassett et al, 2002; Tallon et al, 2005; Tallon, 2007), and more specialized ones such as, for example, the *Café'* and the *Maritime Quarter* in Swansea (Tallon et al, 2005), the *Liberty Village* in Toronto, and Manchester's *Northen Quarter* (Evans and Shaw, 2004). Tiesdell et al (1996) highlighted the formulation of the *tourist quarter* that results from the clustering of tourist attractions. Temple Bar in Dublin is one example of this model where visitor attractions are grouped into a specific district.

In addition to these comments, the spatial relationship between tourism and urban theming has also been explored. Paradis (2004) for instance asserts that 'the emergence of themes in the built environment has coincided with the growth of tourism as a form of economic development in the 1960s and 1970s' in the US (Paradis, 2004:195). The theory that Paradis (2004) supports in this case is that themed environments, as 'other-directed places' (i.e. restaurants, gas stations, motels, airports, historic business districts, city parks, casinos, theme parks, shopping malls, resort communities, and local festivals) are 'predominantly designed to appeal to tourists and visitors' (Paradis, 2004:195). The topic of urban theming is well articulated in the literature that discussed the reconstruction of urban spaces and the construction of tourism landscapes (Meethan, 2001; Paradis, 2004; Shaw and Williams, 2004). Positive arguments were made in relation to this cluster/theme-based urbanization model. It was said that it helps enhancing the image of place: by generating a strong destination pull it stimulates the change of investor's perception and attitude towards former unattractive areas. Tiesdell et al (1996: 94) also explained that concentrating tourist attractions into a tourism quarter 'creates a clear focus for both visitors and investors alike'. Tiesdell et al (1996) however dichotomized single-function and mixed-use quarters, and claimed 'single function quarters are less likely to sustain their achievements as competition with other places is a continuing process' (Tiesdell et al, 1996:205). Despite these positive remarks, a cultural approach to the spatial referent of the CTR formula, and related culture policy and the mobilization of spectacle theory raised, once again, some concerns.

The commodification of space that results from this formula was thoroughly discussed in the tourism literature on culture and regeneration. The cultural approach to tourism, culture and regeneration undertaken by Ringer (1998) Meethan (2001) and Shaw and Williams (2004) for instance fostered the debate on production and consumption of space in the postmodern world. This aspect was extensively discussed in the urban tourism literature in section 3.3 but iterated in the tourism literature that commented on the creation of tourism spaces. Although seemingly disconnected from any discussion of urban governance, it was also issued in the tourism literature that juxtaposed spaces of consumption and *placelessness*, to the role of the local community in cultural regeneration and place-making (Smith, 2003, 2007a) as the following sections report.

The sociologically situated contribution to tourism by Meethan (2001) is very relevant to this debate as the author hearkened back to Lefebvre (1991) to discuss a symbolic economy of space. Among the founders of urban theory, Lefebvre (1991) was discussed by Parker (2004: 22) as one aiming at bringing ‘the philosophy and epistemology of space (mental space) into dialogue with real or empirical space’. Accordingly, the situationist philosophy of Lefebvre (1991: 38-39) embedded in *The Production of Space* distinguished ‘representational spaces’, from ‘representations of space’ and ‘spatial practice’. According to Lefebvre (1991: 38-39), the former are ‘directly lived [...] tending to a more or less coherent systems of non-verbal symbols and signs’; the second are ‘conceptualized’; whereas the latter are only perceived. It is in relation to these concepts that Meethan (2001) claimed production and consumption of tourist spaces embedded in a process of commodification of the symbolic and material attributes of space. Meethan (2001) claimed that ‘tourism or tourisms’ are at the same time ‘forms of commodification’ and forms of consumption of space (Meethan, 2001). The tourism literature had already discussed the commodifying nature of tourism with Watson and Kopachevsky (1994: 645) explaining that tourism itself may be considered as an ‘expression of the commodification of modern social life’. It is on the shadow of the latter assertion that Meethan (2001:169) commented on the interrelationship between tourism, consumption and the role of tourism in shaping the urban space and stated that space may be considered: ‘as both a material and social order mediated by symbolic forms that are both imposed on, and derived from it.

Tourism or tourisms are forms of commodification and consumption of these socio-spatial forms’.

The result is that the involvement of tourism in urban regeneration triggers this narrative of spatial commodification whereby the urban space is transformed into distinctive places for tourism consumption (Ringer, 1998; Shaw and Williams, 2004). Within the CTR debate the argument of commodification of space is recurrent and contentious. The tourism literature explained that for the purpose of competing for mobile capital in the global market of urban destinations and the tourism dollar, postindustrial cities implemented the urban tourism strategy to produce spectacular, fantastic themed environments and capitalize on the distinctive qualities that it offers (Hannigan, 1998; Urry, 2002; Shaw and Williams, 2004). This process of spatial fabrication is deemed the result of paradigmatic processes such as that of ‘ahistoric aesthetization’ (Smith, 2007b: 4) and heritagization (Walsh, 1992) as industrialized representation of historical signs and symbols (Hewison, 1987), commodification of ethnic quarters and creation of cultural/tourist districts (Caffyn and Lutz, 1999) and thematization, spectacularization, beautification and sanitization of the urban space (Urry, 2002). The common denominator to these practices was discussed in sociological studies of tourism and defined as staged authenticity by MacCannell (1973; 1999). Smith (2007b) hearkened back to Judd’s (1999, 2003a; 2003c) tourist bubble theory and explained that this fabrication process entails a material and symbolic change of the urban space. The post-industrial city becomes associated with entertainment, play (Clark, 2003; Clark, 2004) and simulation (Baudrillard, 1994; Baudrillard, 1998), and described as an homogenizing and homogenized (Smith, 2007b), ‘passive’ (Richards and Wilson, 2006:4), and potentially elitist space for conspicuous consumption where the experience of place is re-engineered and contrived to fulfill the postmodern imperative to consume. In this respect, the tourism literature joined with the American post-structuralist literature reviewed in chapter 3 and claimed that these practices impoverish the quality of place insofar as a ‘universal cultural space’ is produced and experienced uniformly ‘wherever one is in the world’ (Rojek, 1995: 2). It is then believed to contrive to falsify the tourist’s experience of place (Auge, 1995) while making it potentially unattractive to an increasingly sophisticated and demanding audience (Maitland, 2007) such as, for instance, the Florida’s (2002) creative individual.

In addition, to these counterarguments relative to the spatiality of the CTR formula, the regeneration and tourism literature continued on the quarter urbanization topic. It expanded on the relationship between urban design strategies, tourism and mixed use developments as a potential response to the issues above. Within the length of the last few paragraphs, urban design measures, such as spatial theming and quarter urbanization and mixed-use developments were only touched upon. What follows brings this discussion further and focuses on the urban and tourism literature relating mixed-use developments as establishing urban planning practice, with the development of urban tourism.

4.3.3.3 Urban design, mixed-use developments, culture policy and regeneration.

Urban design was mentioned above in relation to an integrationist approach to urban change (Bianchini, 1993a). It concerned the benefits of combining the development of flagship cultural projects with more general municipal policies (Bianchini, 1993a: 11). It also emerged in discussions about the gap between single function vs. mixed use quarters (Tiesdell et al, 1996). A number of positive arguments related urban design strategies with mixed-use developments as alleged epitome of the establishment of diversity in urban planning. These strategies were contended to increase place attractiveness while improving both place vitality and viability (Hoppenbrower, 2004). Tiesdell et al (1996) in fact contended that the formulation of a mixed-use environment is to ‘create a diverse economic base and a balance between different needs and demands’ (Tiesdell et al, 1996: 205). Stead and Hoppenbrower (2004) discussed mixed-use developments in relation to the sustainability development framework and argue that mixed-use environments benefit the resident community as much as the visitor as it promotes urban renaissance. Tallon et al (2005: 72) also commented upon the strategic profile of city centre regeneration in relation to adaptive reuse of derelict buildings within a mixed-use framework and contend that these measures can create a pleasant and attracting leisure, entertainment, and residential environment while the evening economy can give life to the ‘twenty-four hour city’ (Tallon et al, 2005: 73).

In relation to the topic under discussion however, urban regeneration and tourism, urban design was mostly discussed in the regeneration literature in relation to

place promotion activities, economic and social revitalization (Hubbard, 1995; Hubbard, 1996; Tiesdell et al, 1996) and to cultural animation (Bianchini, 1993a). Rarely in fact was discussed with sufficient detail in the regeneration literature urban regeneration and tourism. From a planning and development perspective, however both Gospodini (2001a, 2001b) and Hubbard (1995) reflected on urban design interventions as determinant factors of urban development in general, regeneration, and local economic revitalization in particular. Only Gospodini (2001a, 2001b) however discussed the positive contribution of urban design practices to the development of urban tourism. Hubbard (1995; 1996) describing the case of Birmingham limited his arguments to a governmental perspective and focused the relationship between entrepreneurial policy regime in regeneration, the activities of place promotion and urban design. The author discussed the strategic role of urban design and place promotion activities in the construction of spectacular urban landscapes, promoting environmental quality, and implanting flagship projects, for the sake of attracting inward investments, new industries, government funds and ‘the new affluent’. Nevertheless, although mentioned, urban tourism was virtually cut out of this paradigm. Gospodini (2001a, 2001b) on the contrary built upon postmodern urban development trends and claimed that urban design can make the difference at urban planning level for the development of urban tourism. Harkening back to urban literature discussing intra-urban competitiveness (e.g. CEC, 1992; Brotchie et al, 1995; Cox, 1995), and reflecting upon Harvey’s (1990) ‘volatility of capital’ (Gospodini, 2001b:291), Gospodini (2001b) pointed out key factors prompting successful urban development. These are for example a diverse economic base, modernized infrastructures, a high quality urban environment, services with high technology and strong local linkages, and with knowledge-based institutions (see Gospodini, 2001b: 288). The author contended that the resulting mixed-use environment contributes to the development of urban tourism. Gospodini (2001b: 290) also claimed that ‘urban design may become a determinant factor [to tackle] decline and restructuring [the] local economy towards services and urban tourism’, and added that:

‘in the era of globalization, the quality of urban space has become prerequisite for economic development of cities; and urban design is consciously used as a means of enhancing the development prospects of cities’

Both Gospodini (2001b) and Hubbard (1995; 1996) claimed that the current urbanization trends, namely the ‘refashioning of the city’s economic attractiveness, or alterations of the city’s image through manipulation of its soft infrastructure (eg. cultural and leisure amenities)’, encouraged ‘new urban economies’ to flourish (Gospodini, 2001b: 290). Among these economies, those related to culture and leisure are described as the most visible manifestation of the economic novelty in cities and operate as a magnet for inward investments and resource development trigger. Gospodini (2001b) concluded with the assertion that innovative design, large scale urban design interventions, avant-garde physical design of both open spaces and buildings can make urban space morphology in itself, and of itself, a sightseeing and tourist attraction. The most renowned Iberian cases of regeneration were brought to attention to support the last assertion. In both cases, namely Barcelona and Bilbao, an urban design approach to regeneration transformed the two peripheral cities into international tourist places. The installation of the Guggenheim Museum of Modern Art by Frank O. Gehry and the success it engendered as major visitor attraction is emblematic, according to the author, of the intrinsic relationship between urban design, urban space morphology, urban attractiveness, and urban tourism practices.

The above commentary has corroborated the relationship between urban design measures, mixed-use developments and the development of urban tourism. The recognition of diversity and the creation of a varied urban environment was claimed to foster place vitality and help to develop urban tourism as a soft industry in the new urban economy. More importantly, however, the regeneration literature above discussed mixed-use developments as an alternative to an urbanization model fostering the formation of single-function quarters. The tourism literature also contributed to the debate on culture, mixed-use developments, tourism and regeneration. Unlike the urban regeneration literature, it delved deeper into aspects of citizenship, difference and discursive planning while discussing the contribution of tourism, and the ‘ACE industries’ (Maitland, 1997: 87) to the formation of mixed-use environments.

Discursive planning, community empowerment, recreation of a sense of place, and the reaffirmation of urbanity were at the core of the general tourism literature discussing a rhetorical turn in urban planning, and the role of tourism and the ACE industries in regeneration. The expansion of business and cultural tourism has already been recognized as the objective of the urban tourism strategy in section 3.2. It was

discussed as the process by which ‘rust belts’ (Roche, 1992: 564), namely declined post-industrial urban areas, are physically and symbolically transformed and reintroduced into the urban dynamics (Smith, 2003). Indeed, the involvement of the culture industries as ‘instrument in the entrepreneurial strategies of local governments and business alliances’ (Smith, 2007b:2) in American and European cities from the 1970s onwards is neither new as a paradigm in the urban development scenario nor a novelty in this review. Recent mounting interest in the creative and cultural industries has indeed concerned also the tourism literature that engaged with the relationship between cultural and creative industries, urban tourism, and urban regeneration, revitalization, restructuring and re-imaging (i.e. Caffyn and Lutz, 1999; Hope and Klemm, 2001; Atchinson and Tom, 2003; Smith, 2003; Shaw and Williams, 2004; Murphy and Boyle, 2006; Smith, 2007a). It is with the issue of citizenship as main concern that the tourism literature engaged in a discussion about the mixed-use development model and discursive planning (Maitland, 1997; Smith, 2003; Maitland, 2007; Smith, 2007a). The reassertion of citizenship and re-distribution of power embedded in the rhetoric of ‘difference’ acclaimed in postmodern approach(es) to urban planning (Allmendinger, 2002:164), was in fact claimed to be retained in the urban design framework (Marshall, 2004; VivaCity, 2007) and expressed in the formulation of mixed-use developments (Aldous, 1992; Aiesha and Evans, 2007; Smith, 2007b). Smith’s (2007a) latest comprehensive contribution to tourism, culture and regeneration clarified this point and claimed that mixed-use developments ‘cater for numerous social and cultural needs simultaneously’ (Smith, 2007b: 7). On the shadow of the urban tourism and regeneration literature reviewed above, Maitland (1997) contextualized the potential contribution of the tourism and the ACE industries in mixed-use developments. The author discussed the potential advantages of mixed-use urban areas in attracting visitors and residents in search of entertainment in the city, and looked at the role that tourism and leisure industries can play within this process. Although economic revitalization remains a prominent aim of regeneration through tourism and leisure, the tourism literature explained that the rationale underpinning the implementation of mixed-use developments encompasses a wider array of objectives. As noted above, however, it stressed the propulsive role of tourism and the ACE industries in adding variety, vitality and visibility to declined urban areas while helping to turn redundant buildings and spaces into assets and by changing the image and

perception of cities (Maitland, 1997) whilst being at the forefront of ‘strategic opportunism’, social ‘displacement’, space ‘commercialization’, ‘sanitization’ and ‘inauthenticity’ (Maitland, 1997: 103-104). Discursive and cultural planning has emerged consistently throughout this commentary on the role of tourism in urban regeneration despite the differing intensity of emphasis in the regeneration literature compared to studies focused on tourism. The next section outlines some final remarks and recommendations in relation to the CTR formula to substantiate a shared disapproval for the way tourism and related strategies were merged in regeneration programmes to favour the physical and symbolic formation of the post-industrial city.

4.4 Remarks and recommendations: discursive planning and cultural planning.

Some conclusive remarks and suggestions emerged in the urban regeneration and general tourism literature on the regeneration narrative above. Despite the positive claims made especially in relation to the contribution of culture policy to urban regeneration as physical redevelopment and economic restructuring, some perplexities in fact consistently emerged.

Miles (2005: 890) for example claimed that ‘seeing culture with its legacy in liberal reformism as a universal benefit, as a universal solution to present-day urban problems may be romantic’. Accordingly, Tiesdell et al (1996: 96) suggested that the promotion of regeneration through cultural strategies and tourism development, ‘can play a catalytic role in the wider revitalization aims of the city’ but only as part of an ‘integral package of measures’. The leftist perspective adopted by Bianchini and Parkinson (1993) is even more critical about the use of culture as a policy ingredient in economic revitalization measures. This is especially true, according to Bianchini (1993b), at policy planning stage when the dilemma is about choosing between consumption and production-oriented strategies. In respect of city marketing, tourism development and culture-led regeneration, Bianchini (2001) remarked that policymakers should consider the city as a complex and multifaceted entity encompassing organic interaction between geographical, socio-economic and political forces. For this reason, the author claimed that ‘policy-makers should not simply be exploiting cultural resources as tools for achieving non-cultural goals, but should let their own mindsets and assumptions be transformed by contact with local culture’ (Bianchini, 2001: 7).

Bianchini (1993b: 203) then warned about the risks hidden behind the glittering façade of consumption-oriented measures and stated:

‘It can be risky in the long term for cities to rely on consumption-oriented models of cultural policy-led economic development, even if they may be profitable in the short term, by creating visibility and political returns’.

This warning can be taken as a summarizing statement expressing a shared reserve concerning the use of the urban tourism development rationale as a justification for the adoption of cultural strategies in regeneration. According to the literature discussed in this and the previous chapter in fact, this policy choice is believed to overlook more community-oriented priorities. It is therefore deemed to limit the breadth of regeneration efforts to economic revitalization and physical redevelopment purposes favouring the middle classes as well as the visitor and the investor economy almost exclusively (Bianchini, 1993a; Bianchini, 1993b). Despite mounting criticisms, some positive arguments also emerged in relation to the use of culture and tourism as regeneration policy ingredients.

Both urban regeneration and the tourism literature explained that cultural policy can be a potential instrument to assure the future of citizenship, local democracy and the creation of a more diverse urban environment through regeneration practices. The collection of case studies that give breadth to the arguments proposed by Bianchini (1993b) in fact highlighted successful regeneration through the implementation of cultural policies. Among the factors of this success is the formulation of public-private partnerships, the integration of development strategies, and the combination of flagship cultural projects with municipal policies claimed to be successful practice to reclaim the city centre for community use (Bianchini, 1993b). Bianchini (1993a) and Griffiths (1995) also agreed on several other points. Griffiths (1995: 254) hearkened back to the cultural planning literature of the early 1990s (i.e. Montgomery, 1990; Fisher and Worpole, 1991) and defined culture policies as a means to promote civic identity, revitalizing public social life, ‘reviving a sense of civic identity and shared belonging’, ‘creating a more inclusive and democratic public realm and raising expectations about what city life has to offer’. Moreover, by echoing Law’s (1991a) contribution to tourism and urban regeneration, Bianchini (1993a) contended that this policy scenario is likely to pursue the creation of ‘new public spaces and make the city more attractive and legible through pedestrianisation and traffic claiming measures, the provision of

evening and late night public transport, good street lighting, community policing and childcare' (Bianchini, 1993a: 11). In Castlefield (Manchester) for example the development of cultural tourism and the amenities and facilities that are annexed to it, was discussed in terms of the 'spin-off benefits' that were generated for the business community, as well as for the residents' quality of life (Tiesdell et al, 1996: 87).

On a similar note, the tourism literature brought the *cultural planning* framework into discussion stressing local distinctiveness, citizenship, and place making, and reinforced the need to dispel the consumerist approach to regeneration. Cultural planning, despite concerns over replication and distinctiveness mentioned in the previous chapter, was described in the tourism literature on regeneration as a means to secure an inclusive and community-based, comprehensive and gradual, hence sustainable, process of urban change fostered by urban regeneration programmes featuring the strategic involvement of culture policies and the prioritization of community development practices (Smith, 2007b). In essence, principles of *postmodern urban planning* (Ploger, 2001; Allmendinger, 2002; Taylor, 2004), *cultural planning* (i.e. Mercer, 1991; Bianchini, 1999; Evans, 2001; Ghilardi, 2001) and *cultural regeneration* (Evans, 2005) share the imperative of integrating local cultural resources into urban regeneration strategies while complying with 'local structures of meaning' (Smith, 2007b: 7). The promotion of cultural diversity and creativity, as well as principles of democratic planning and the concept of community as dominant agents in the place making process, were deemed to be at the core of the cultural planning framework. *Cultural planning* was then discussed as an approach that empowers the local community to generate a sense of place, place distinctiveness and attractiveness (Smith, 2007b). Hence, by recalling arguments already highlighted by Page and Hall (2003), Smith (2003, 2007a) proposed cultural planning as a potential practice to challenge the alleged consumerist rationale and top-down approach that supported the establishment of urban tourism as dominant regeneration strategy and urbanization model. In short, Smith (2003; 2007b), Richards (2007) and Richards and Wilson (2007) reasserted the validity of Jane Jacobs' (Jacobs, 1961) recommendations on regeneration and diversity. They finally hearkened back to Sandercock (1998), Landry (2000) and Florida (2002) to claim for democratic cultural pluralism and creativity as a way to nurture difference and diversity in cities, safeguard place uniqueness, and, in turn,

generate the competitive profile and place attractiveness so persistently chased by politicians and policymakers.

In conclusion, the assertions above converge in aspects of urban governance, hence the reaffirmation of urbanity and, then, the assertion of citizenship in urban change practices. The need to shift to a production-oriented model of urban regeneration through integration of creativity, and culture cultural planning, while a consumption-based model, seems to be the overarching message broadcasted in both the urban regeneration and the tourism literature. The literature in fact advanced understanding of alternative directions in urban transformation processes (i.e. discursive and cultural planning) while undermining established and normalized notions of successful regeneration. In this respect, both the urban regeneration and the tourism literature commenting on the tourism and regeneration formula, related the issue of community involvement, inclusion and participation with notions of successful regeneration.

The tourism literature in particular argued that recreating a sense of place in de-industrialized areas experiencing socioeconomic decline should be among the chief objectives of regeneration programmes that aim at promoting distinctiveness and the creation of a community spirit. The creation of this *sense of place* however was discussed as a process involving notions of civic life. Smith (2007b: 2) explained that, according to many theorists, place ‘must have a human dimension [and] therefore the role of local communities in the development of cultural regeneration is pivotal if local or indigenous character and uniqueness are to be maintained’. By reflecting on government guidelines relative to notions of successful regeneration, allegedly comprehensive, inclusive, balanced and long lasting (LGA, 2000; ODPM, 2001; DCMS, 2004), the tourism literature claimed that the local community should be involved in, and at the forefront of the objectives of, socio-economic development programmes (i.e. OMA, 5-6 February 2005; Smith, 2003). Swarbrooke (2000) had already recommended community involvement at both planning and implementation stages as a prerequisite for the positive contribution of the urban tourism strategy to regeneration. The report of the *International Conference on Built Environments for Sustainable Tourism (BEST)* (OMA, 5-6 February 2005) also emphasized these assertions and claimed active involvement of local population in the regeneration process as a means to successful regeneration. Likewise, the tourism management

literature hearkened back to the tourism literature that discussed community involvement in tourism planning and development, and concluded by condemning practices that determine the exclusion of the local community from decision-making (Pender and Sharpley, 2005). Finally, the cultural tourism literature charted ‘commitment to strategic planning and participation’ (Smith, 2003: 158) in the regeneration process as one of the most controversial topics within the urban regeneration and tourism debate. The tourism literature has contributed extensively to the issues of community participation and *discursive* planning in relation to urban tourism planning in general. Community involvement was advocated as a prerequisite for local economic regeneration and development in tourism planning literature (Rosenow and Pulsipher, 1979; Krippendorf, 1982; D’Amore, 1983; Murphy, 1985; McIntosh and Goeldner, 1990; Inskip, 1991; Brent Ritchie, 1993; Getz and Jamal, 1994; Simmons, 1994). Nevertheless, as Bahaire and Elliott-White (1999:271) concluded, at times contributions to this topic are ‘sectoral’ (i.e. rural), ‘contextual’ (i.e. developing countries) and less committed to *urban tourism* as the phenomenon under discussion. Community involvement in the context of urban tourism and regeneration appears then to be a relatively under-researched area. Hence there is arguably scope for some more research to be conducted in this subject.

In the light of the remarks and recommendations above, the tourism literature also recognized a recent shift in the political rhetoric concerning the management of change through regeneration in the UK. Bahaire and Elliott-White (1999: 244) observed that the political rhetoric of the 1970s and 1980s in the UK based on consumption-oriented policies was superseded in recent years by one featuring ‘indigenous potential, the need for community support and a widening of partnership to embrace a broader network of interest groups’. Smith (2007a) also noticed this shift away from a model of regeneration pursuing the capitalist imperative, towards one that is, allegedly, community-oriented. In line with Adair et al (2000), Smith (2007b:1-2) noticed in the UK increasing social cohesion and inclusion in urban regeneration programmes. The author claimed that with increasing concern of regeneration agencies for the ‘supposed beneficiaries’ (i.e. the wider community) of regeneration strategies, economic development is no more seen as exclusive synonym with regeneration. Instead, ‘community development’ and *quality of life* seems to have become more central to the regeneration rhetoric (Smith, 2007b:2) as recent government literature

substantiates (LGA, 2000; ODPM, 2001, 2005; SEEDA, 2007). Nevertheless, as Bahaire and Elliott-White (1999) concluded, the rhetoric of public participation, community consultation and partnership are by no means measures implying a community empowerment approach to developing the urban tourism economy and infrastructure. The urban tourism literature also concurred with this assertion. Page and Hall (2003: 335) for example contended that the institutional arrangements for many of the so-called partnerships for urban redevelopment actually exclude community participation in decision-making procedures while also ‘seeking to achieve a *quick fix* solution for complex urban problems’. A cursory glance at the official government strategies and reports formulated since the 1980s also help to confirm that, in effect, the use of culture policies in regeneration, of which tourism and the ACE industries are a component, is mainly supported by an urban redevelopment and economic restructuring rationale. Some reports discussed urban tourism development as a talisman of national, regional and local economic policies bound up in place marketing activities during the 1980s (DOE, 1990; Williams and Shaw, 1991; Law, 1991a). Despite these claims, the shift to discursive and cultural planning is still an unresolved matter with both the urban regeneration and the tourism literature engaging with the issue and the institutions responding with evidence-based reports on the contribution of culture and tourism to regeneration (Evans and Shaw, 2004; SEEDA, 2007).

4.5 Chapter summary and conclusion.

In the conclusive statements of chapter 3, some remarks were made in relation to an emerging urban tourism discourse. They concerned the American versus the European debate on urban tourism development but, more importantly, a missing discussion about the regeneration of resort cities and the contingent role of tourism in the process. Hence, this chapter has reviewed the urban and the tourism literature that engaged, more generally, with the relationship between tourism and urban regeneration.

The thematic and theoretical overlap between chapters 3 and 4 is noticeable. Chapter 4, for instance, concurred with chapter 3 and consolidated the symbiotic relationship between tourism, regeneration and the transformation of declined, non-traditional tourist areas in postindustrial cities. Nevertheless, unlike the urban tourism literature, very rarely did the regeneration and the tourism literature disassociate

culture, and culture policy, in discussions about tourism and urban regeneration. Thus, by reflecting the dominant role of culture in the overall urban regeneration and tourism debate, this chapter highlighted precise thematic and theoretical positions. It defined tourism as an intrinsic aspect of culture policy and, then, the economic revitalization, place marketing and spectacularization rationale supporting the adoption of culture-led regeneration as a model of urban change.

The chapter's overall structure features, also, constant juxtapositions between the arguments of the proponents with those of the opponents. It offers three intertwined discussions concerning: the theory by which the strategic development of tourism, and related regeneration strategies, reflects a consumerist model of urban change; the social, spatial and cultural implications of this model; and discursive planning and cultural planning as alternative approaches triggering the successful management of urban change through culture-led regeneration. Despite the overlap between chapters 3 and 4, the latter problematized further the underpinnings of the CTR formula (e.g. civic boosterism, spectacularization) and their impacts (e.g. social polarization and exclusion, spatial theming and cultural standardization). Overall, despite being assessed as a catalyst for wider regeneration, the development of the business and cultural tourism infrastructure in cities fosters a narrative of change that prioritizes economic restructuring and urban redevelopment, favour the urban elites and the formation of a socio-economic urban environment based on the consumption imperative. In this light, the critical literature proposed alternative models of change management (e.g. policy integration, community involvement) charting, and challenging, a rhetorical shift in establishing successful regeneration practices.

Indeed, the literature reviewed above has widely responded to the remarks by early contributors to urban tourism research in the second chapter calling for more critical and less descriptive investigation in this field. Despite the analytical complexity achieved, the regeneration and tourism literature reviewed in this chapter featured very limited engagement with the regeneration of resort cities as traditional tourist urban environments. Almost a decade ago Swarbrooke (2000: 283) maintained that 'the debate around tourism as a regeneration tool has, to date, largely centered upon issues of industrial and port towns and cities in western Europe, North America and Australia'. In the light of the arguments in this chapter, Swarbrooke's (2000) assertion remains valid. Urban tourism, regeneration and tourism literature so far reviewed has in

fact established the paradigmatic connection between the process of regeneration, urban tourism and the transformation of post-industrial cities in the late-capitalist world solely. Chapter 5, however, shows the emergence of a government literature with an increasing concern for the regeneration of disadvantaged coastal areas and proposes the regeneration of declining seaside towns in Britain as a key policy priority. Reflecting on the assertions above, chapter 5 reviews the body of the government and academic literature that engaged with the transformation of coastal resorts. The purpose will be to consider the current state of knowledge relative to tourism and its role in the regeneration of this type of urban environment.

Chapter 5 – Besides the seaside: seaside towns' decline, restructuring and regeneration.

5.1 Introduction

Chapters 3 and 4 outlined the various aspects regarding the urban tourism strategy and urbanization model. It concluded by challenging the spatiality of much of research conducted in urban tourism and proposed to look at the resort as another urban setting which to address research into the relationship between tourism and urban regeneration. Hence, what follows considers the current state of the debate on seaside towns' regeneration and draws on available and relevant government, practitioner and scholarly situated literature. It focuses mainly on the English case and argues that there has been a narrow economic, management, and socio-historical approach to the study of the dynamics of change at resort level. Despite critical arguments emerging in recent contributions to the debate on seaside towns' regeneration, there is a scarcity of research in the role of tourism at resort level in relation to a recent wave of structured regenerative programmes tackling disadvantaged coastal communities in the UK.

5.2 Government literature.

In recent years, a number of strategies and reports drawn up by governmental and non-governmental organizations have expressed concern for the disadvantaged socio-economic circumstances many coastal communities in the UK have faced (e.g. DCMS, 1999; BRA, 2000; ETC, 2001; Beatty and Fothergill, 2003; EH and CABE, 2003; CLG, 2006-2007; EH, 2007a; Fothergill, 2008). After the post-industrial city, *regeneration* has recently become a buzzword for many declining seaside resorts, and coastal towns more generally, in need of regenerative intervention along the British coast. The media has soon followed up with, and reported, the growing public interest in this phenomenon (MacCarthy, 06-08-05; BBCNews, 7 March 2007; Davies, 08 March 2007; Dear, 19 August 2006; Cadwalladr, 2004; BBCNews, 2007; Geoghegan, 2007; Economist.com, Feb 8th 2007; Jenkins, Friday 16 September 2005; Summers, Monday, 26 September 2005; Pearman, September 11, 2005; Stokes, Sunday August 5, 2007). There has also been a growth of new national seaside regeneration networks such as that promoted by the British Urban Regeneration Association – BURA, namely *Seaside Network* (Landor, 5th July 2005, 2006; BURA-SeasideNetwork, 2007a, 2007b; EH, 2007b; BURA-SeasideNetwork, 2007c, 2008).

Despite being a base for structured government intervention at local level, the debate on the urgent need for action to redeem these coastal communities is contentious. The picture drawn by different reports is by no means universal and corroborates resorts' problematic idiosyncrasies celebrated already in the government literature. It advocates that 'the Government has no specific policy or initiatives for coastal towns, based upon the premise that coastal towns are too diverse to warrant such an approach' (CLG, 2006-2007: 3). Among the contributors to *Coastal Towns* (CLG, 2006-2007), second report by the Communities and Local Government Select Committee (CLG), Professor Fothergill challenged many of the accepted assumptions concerning the state of coastal resorts in Britain. The scholar drew on a study conducted by Sheffield Hallam University (Beatty and Fothergill, 2003) to assert that 'there is a strong growth in employment and in population in seaside towns' (CLG, 2006-2007: Ev 16). The Sheffield Hallam University study (Beatty and Fothergill, 2003) is the result of a narrow demographic and economic examination of the change that occurred at a sample of 43 large British seaside towns. It found that several large seaside towns have demonstrated strong employment growth over the past 30 years, often based on substantial in-migration driven by residential preference mainly due to plentiful availability of relatively cheap and diverse housing of character. Fothergill (CLG, 2006-2007: Ev 16, Q 98) concluded that 'this is not to say that they are all without problems, but this is a very different scenario to that which you find in some of the old industrial areas'. His main argument was that, in reality, seaside towns had not 'entered a spiral of decline rather similar to some old industrial areas - that would be marked by loss of employment, particularly in the tourist sector and that, in turn, would trigger further job losses in the local economy, out-migration of population (etc.)'.

The CLG (2006-2007: 5) report, however, hearkened back to the English Indices of Deprivation 2004 (ODPM, 2003) and confirmed that 'the Indices of Multiple Deprivation [...] show that many coastal areas suffer from high level of deprivation' and that 'this is not a phenomenon limited to inner-city areas'. In the same report the South East England Development Agency (SEEDA) also reported that 'nine out of ten of the South East's most deprived wards are in coastal towns or cities' (CLG, 2006-2007: 8) as shown in figure 3. *The English Indices of Deprivation 2004* (ODPM, 2003: 54) also indicated that 'the South East [...] remains more uniformly less deprived than any other region, despite having some pockets of deprivation, principally in former

resort towns such as Margate and Hastings’. Accordingly, the CLG (2006-2007: 3) report positioned the regeneration of these coastal towns high on the government’s agenda claiming that it is ‘of critical importance’.

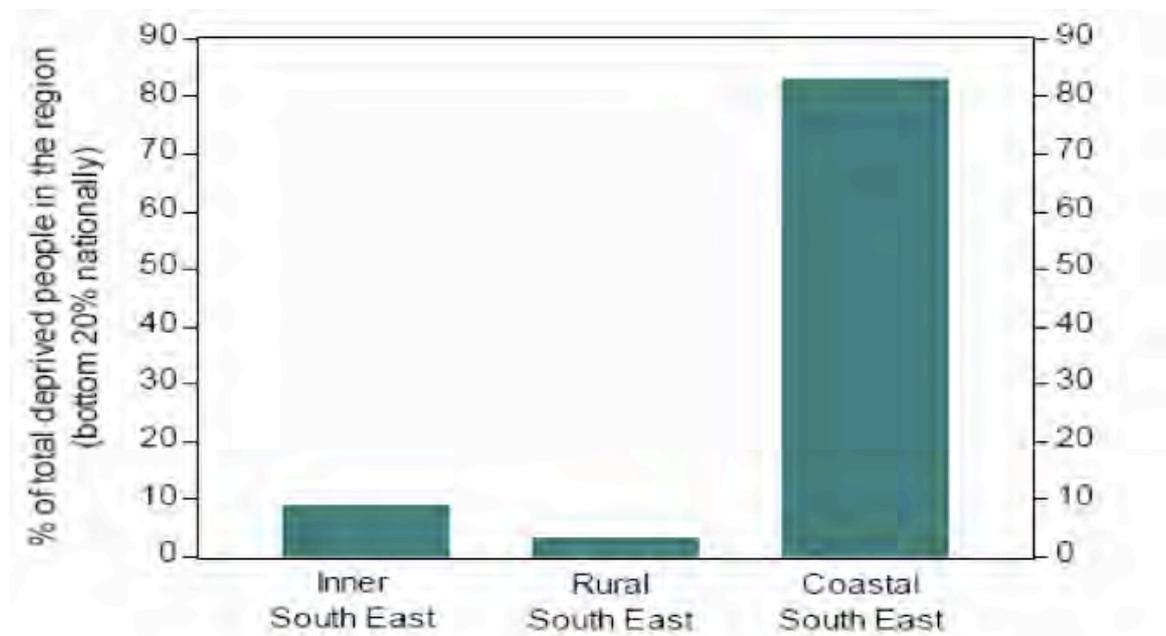


Figure 3: SEEDA estimates derived from *Indices of Multiple Deprivation* (2004) data.

The contribution by Beatty and Fothergill (2003) and Fothergill (2008), in particular, problematized the attempts by researchers and policymakers to divide the existing spectrum of British coastal towns into coherent categories or typologies. Beatty and Fothergill (2003) argued that a one sized fit all approach to seaside towns is inappropriate and Fothergill (2008: 13) maintained that ‘socio-economic research on seaside towns needs a consistent and defensible definition of the towns and that statistical research feeding the evidence base on seaside towns also requires ‘a clear geographical definition of the towns’ (Fothergill, 2008: 4). Despite these comments, along with a widespread recognition of the uniqueness, commonality and diversity of coastal towns in the government literature (CLG, 2006-2007, 2008), there remains a lack of agreement among the contributors to this debate on a unique definition. As Fothergill (2008) argued, ‘there is little prospect of carrying out meaningful new research’ until this matter is resolved.

Some options, however, were considered in the official documents. Fothergill (2008: 2) explained that ‘it is hard to identify unifying features across the whole group’

of coastal towns and that ‘there isn’t a hard and fast dividing line between a resort and other places along the coast’. Nevertheless, the author reported on the definition of seaside towns considered in a recent unpublished analysis by the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) (unpublished analysis, in Fothergill, 2008). The DTI formulated a typology of seaside towns and divided those that are “performing well”, from those that are “maintaining” and “declining”. Fothergill (2008) concluded that this typology is however too rigid as it does not consider the real gradation of these places (from the very best to the very worse) and focuses only on employment rates while overlooking the multi-dimensionality of the context under discussion. Fothergill (2008) argued that a more usable definition was instead provided in the study by Beatty and Fothergill (2003).

Beatty and Fothergill (2003) and Fothergill (2008) made a distinction between coastal and seaside resort/towns. Fothergill (2008) argued that, although ‘the recent policy debate has tended to use the terms interchangeably, which is misleading’ (Fothergill, 2008: 2), *coastal towns* and *seaside resorts* indicate different places. Accordingly, Beatty and Fothergill (2003) divided coastal towns in three categories namely: seaside resorts, other significant coastal towns, and estuary towns. They are all large settlements, but the first group features a resort function while the second is mainly composed of industrial and port towns. Hence, Beatty and Fothergill (2003) concluded that the terms *seaside resort* and *seaside town* are more interchangeable as coastal towns are believed to be a wider and more diverse group than seaside resorts. On the contrary, seaside resorts are a more clearly identifiable group of places due to their history of tourism and feature places like Brighton, Blackpool, Hastings and Bexhill, St Ives, Great Yarmouth and Torbay among others. Hence, Beatty and Fothergill (2003) went on using the term *seaside town* and adopted the definition above as a categorization instrument to help their means to conduct an economic study of seaside towns. Despite their focus on seaside resorts/towns, as spaces that are historically associated with significant tourism flows, Beatty and Fothergill went onto consider wider processes of change in these urban setting and looked at levels of employment, the benefit economy, in-migration and deprivation. Moreover, despite recognizing the need for more research into current tourism trends in these areas, Fothergill (2008) also went on recommending a seaside towns’ research agenda that is wide ranging and by no means tourism centred.

The above scenario is reflected in a recent meeting of the South East England Development Agency Board an occasion in which a new initiative concerning the revitalisation of growth in coastal towns was under scrutiny. The resulting paper reported (Hudson, 2004: 1):

‘There is no shortage of studies into the social, economic and physical circumstances of coastal towns. Recent reports by the Local Government Association, (A Picture of Health, 1998) the English Tourism Council (*Sea Changes*, 2001), English Heritage/CABE (*Shifting Sands*, 2003), Sheffield Hallam University (*The Seaside Economy*, 2003), South East England Regional Assembly (*Proposed Alterations to RPG/Tourism*, 2003) are just some of the recent analyses and suggested solutions to seaside towns as problem areas. The general picture is one of sustained decline: as the traditional seaside economy disappears, and where a coastal town has no other function, for example as a port, the future can be bleak. The challenge for seaside towns is to find a new future, often exploiting the substantial housing resource, and the most successful examples have been spectacular in demonstrating the potential in the South East for value uplift to support sustainable regeneration. Brighton and Hove at one end of the size range, and Whitstable at the other, are now well recognized as exemplars’.

Increasing interest in the future of English seaside towns as tourist destinations had been previously expressed in national tourism centred strategies such as *Tomorrow's Tourism* (DCMS, 1999), and the resulting strategy for the regeneration of traditional seaside resorts namely: *Sea Changes* (ETC, 2001). *Tomorrow's Tourism* (DCMS, 1999) positioned the traditional resorts in general, and seaside/coastal resorts in particular, among the 15 priority areas of intervention. The document claims that the regeneration of these areas is deemed to support the expansion of the tourism industry in the UK. Nevertheless, it did not explicitly comment upon the role of tourism in the regeneration of traditional seaside resorts and stated: ‘we propose to help resorts that have the potential to benefit from regeneration programmes to develop modern and high quality tourism services’ (DCMS, 1999: 25).

Sea Changes (ETC, 2001), the national strategy for coastal resorts regeneration compiled by the English Tourist Board emphasized the strategic importance of coastal resorts for the national tourism product and, also, identified tourism as a potential development sector for their regeneration. It provided suggestions in respect of the role that tourism can play in the regeneration of these environments and recognized that ‘resorts remain strategically important for English tourism and have an important and

sustainable role to play in England's future tourism product' (ETC, 2001: 18). The strategy however also expressed the importance of creating sustainable and diverse economies in resorts with tourism as a major component of a more mixed economic base. *Sea Changes* (ETC, 2001) also challenged the belief that all coastal resorts can benefit from tourism in regeneration and wondered: 'Can tourism provide the road to recovery for all resorts?' (ETC, 2001: 30). The argument it made was that tourism alone cannot be a regeneration solution for all resorts: 'most will need to diversify their economy to some extent; indeed, some are unable to compete any longer and may need to move away from tourism altogether' (ETC, 2001: 7).

Two recent collective case study based reports emphasized the link between coastal towns regeneration, heritage, and the creative and cultural industries while also proposing the argument of contemporary tourism (EH and CABE, 2003; EH, 2007a). EH and CABE (2003) discussed aspects of seaside town regeneration, image change and good urban design. In particular, however, the collaboration between English Heritage (EH) and the Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE) (EH and CABE, 2003) suggests that a geography of seaside town regeneration had already been forming around the British coast. The joint report indicated that a number of seaside towns around the UK have already developed, changed and re-invented. As shown in map 1, these encompass Bexhill (01), Bournemouth (02), Brighton (03), Eastbourne (04-13) in the East Sussex, Folkestone (05) in Kent, Hunstanton (06) in Norfolk, Jawick Sands (07) in Essex, Morecambe (08) in Lancashire, Newquay (09) and St Mawes (11) in Cornwall, St Ives (10) in Wales, Southport (12) in Merseyside, and Whitby (14).

The diversity of approaches undertaken to regenerate these areas features, once again, the distinctiveness of each locality and tourism was presented as a way forward for some, but not for all seaside towns. The refurbishment of the De La Warr Pavilion in Bexhill, for example, expresses the will to preserve local distinctive features, use the project as a catalyst for broader regeneration, and a means to put Bexhill on the cultural tourism map. Bexhill is not alone as a seaside town taking the way of cultural tourism. According to the CABE and English Heritage report (EH and CABE, 2003) St Ives and Whitby have also expressed the same intent with the Tate St Ives project in Cornwall, and the Whitby Abbey Heritage Centre undertaking a catalytic form of regeneration through capital flagship projects.



Map 1: English Seaside Towns and the geography of regeneration. Source: (EH and CABE, 2003: 3).

The second report mentioned above (EH, 2007a) also emphasized the need consider the declined coastal built environment as an asset rather than a challenge for broader regeneration. It discussed the potential role that heritage can play in spurring regeneration in these coastal areas by capitalizing on the emerging contemporary forms of tourism, and the creative and cultural industries in the broader sense. It stated:

‘The natural and heritage assets found in coastal towns give them an advantage in the generation of creative industries, the fastest growing sector of the UK economy [...] the development of a high quality hotel and leisure sector can itself help to stimulate a modern visitor economy. Customers are increasingly demanding quality of service and facilities, and coastal towns are well placed to meet this demand, in part because of their high quality historic fabric’ (EH, 2007a: 7).

The government literature hitherto reviewed expressed concern for the socio-economic conditions affecting a number of seaside towns in Britain. It provided some insights in respect of the impact that the regeneration of coastal resorts can have on the

national tourism economy and the consequent role of tourism in the regeneration of some coastal areas. It consequently proposed adaptation measures as a means to reuse the cultural heritage and spur regeneration. This move would capitalize on growing culture related sectors (cultural tourism) while securing a more sustainable tourism economy. Although providing a dense case study based discussion of this culture-led, heritage-based regeneration approach, it only offered an overview of the conditions affecting many seaside towns and some possible solutions. Overall, it lacks a critical stance towards the change that is under way in these urban environments.

The issue of categorization has emerged as controversial. Some progress was however, made with the choice of *seaside town/resort* as a coherent and usable category to address new research and guide policy endeavours. Differences, however, may still persist within this group and, for this reason, this issue will be considered again in the next sections of this chapter where other categorizations are discussed while considering also contributions to the coastal resort regeneration debate.

Moving away from the literature reviewed above, scholarly situated literature is taken into account in the next section to assess academic engagement with the topic of regeneration and tourism at seaside resort level.

5.3 Coastal resort studies.

Academic research on coastal resorts has grown exponentially during the last two decades and features mainly in the tourism literature. Despite this growth, the recent account on coastal tourism resort management by Agarwal and Shaw (2007) described the coastal resort as a neglected area of investigation. It claimed that ‘coastal resorts have received somewhat inadequate attention and have largely been neglected, relative to other tourism destinations’ (Agarwal and Shaw, 2007: 2). Similarly, Rubin drew on Fothergill (Rubin, 2007: 2) who noticed that ‘seaside resorts are the least understood of Britain’s problem areas. They have never received the same attention as the inner cities and rural areas’. At the end of 2007, Agarwal and Shaw (2007) still reported paucity of critical research on aspects of coastal resort development and management. Accordingly, they called for a global perspective aiming at compensating for virtually exclusive academic attention to Northern and Southern European coastal resorts (e.g. Pollard and Rodriguez, 1993; Shaw and Williams, 1997; Twining-Ward and Baum, 1998; Walton, 2000; Jordon, 2001; Bramwell, 2004). They looked at

aspects as diverse as those of coastal resorts' in transition, diversification and sustainable development, peripherality and the management of the postmodern coastal resort, resort structures and state intervention in resort planning and development. There is a conspicuous body of literature documenting the development of these coastal settings. Overall, it features perspectives ranging from the economic (Clegg and Essex, 2000; Beatty and Fothergill, 2003), to the socio-historical (Soane, 1992; Urry, 1997; Walton, 1997, 2000; Urry, 2002), the geographical (Shaw and Williams, 1997; Shaw and Williams, 2004; Smith, 2004; Agarwal, 2005; Gale, 2005) and the management of change (Cooper, 1990; Agarwal, 1994, 1999, 2002; Coles and Shaw, 2006; Shaw and Coles, 2007).

The first perspective has already been partly discussed above while reviewing the government literature and, as already mentioned, is not sufficiently explicative of the involvement of tourism in seaside resort regeneration. The latter three instead are concerned with two intertwined aspects that most often drew on the Butler's (1980) resort life-cycle model, namely: resort failure and decline on one side, and resort restructuring and regeneration on the other. All perspectives highlighted above are going to be discussed in the next sections.

5.3.1 Seaside resort decline.

The decline of a number of seaside resorts in Britain has concerned scholastic research since the early 1980s. It is certainly not the intention of this chapter that to rewrite the history of the *rise* and *fall* of the seaside resort system in Britain as this subject has already been extensively discussed in the literature (e.g. Shaw and Williams, 1997; Walton, 1997; Walton, 2000). Nevertheless, the narrative of decline that this literature proposed requires elucidation. It discussed triggers, geography of decline while also highlighting the elements of the socio-economic and physical realm that were mostly affected.

Along with discussing the socio-economic and cultural development of these coastal environments, geographically and sociologically situated literature corroborated the causes and geography of their decline (Shaw and Williams, 1997; Morgan and Pritchard, 1999; Walton, 2000; Meethan, 2001; Agarwal, 2002; Urry, 2002; Shaw and Williams, 2004). Overall, two main arguments were proposed to explain the steady reduction of demand for traditional seaside holidays since the 1960s in the UK namely:

the aftermaths of global economic restructuring and the shift to the post-Fordist mode of production and consumption on one side, and related changing patterns of consumer behaviour on the other (Urry, 1997; Agarwal, 1997a; Meethan, 2001; Shaw and Williams, 2004; Agarwal, 2005; Agarwal and Brunt, 2006).

The reasoning for decline was a complex matter. The literature unanimously blamed the inability of those resorts displaying the physical and symbolic signs of decline already in the 1960s, to change their tourism product and thus respond to changing trends in the tourism market (Shaw and Williams, 1997; Walton, 2000). Since the 1970s, the cheap ‘flight to the sun’ (Meethan, 2001: 18) and packaged holidays encouraged the relocation of the domestic seaside (mass) tourism to newly fashionable and exotic Mediterranean destinations. The rise of alternative forms of domestic tourism (i.e. urban, rural, heritage tourism; short off-season breaks holidays) also diverted tourists’ attention away from the increasingly standardized and less attractive seaside English holiday destinations (Morgan and Pritchard, 1999; Walton, 2000).

Despite these claims, the literature remarked that the attractiveness of natural resources in the South West coast of England (i.e. Bournemouth, Dorset and Cornwall) was not the only factor that sustained the local tourist economy. Shaw et al. (2007: 50), for example, ascribed the growth of this part of the country to the strengthening of the ‘retirement industry together with fashionable second home locations and the perception of better lifestyle environments’. Indeed, the implementation of product diversification policies enforced by the English Tourism Board (ETB) since the late 1980s played a cardinal role. They entailed injection of new private-public investments for the enhancement of primary resources and promotion activities that allowed the largest tourist resorts (i.e. Brighton, Torbay, Scarborough and Newquay) to keep a vibrant tourism economy across and over the 1980s (Shaw and Williams, 1997; Walton, 2000). Medium-sized resorts lacking distinctive products and successful revitalization strategies in the South East region instead collapsed into the retirement and commuter economies (Walton, 1997). As Walton (2000) maintained, the traditional seaside tourism product based on a mass and long stay-based tourism economy was badly affected by decline during these years:

‘the resorts elements in the local economies were shrinking even as the towns themselves continued to grow. At the end of their product cycle as resorts, they were transmuting into other kinds of place, dormitories and retirement centres which happened to have seaside locations’ (Walton, 2000: 46).

Back in the 1970s, ‘major resorts’ such as Brighton, Southend, Hove, Worthing, Ramsgate, Hastings and Southport had already lost their ‘old identities’ as seaside resorts ‘on a grand scale’ (Walton, 2000:46).

‘At the end of the twentieth century, defying rumors of its demise, the British seaside resort system was still in place, challenged through it was by a proliferating array of competitors for free time and leisure spending and despite growing importance of residential (commuting and retirement) rather than holidaymaking functions to many old resort economies, as such towns become more like suburbs which happened to be at the seaside’ (Walton, 2000: 47).

Morgan and Pritchard (1999) however argued that claiming absolute decline in the popularity of the British tourism product is inaccurate. Instead, the authors gave more credit to an overall condition of stagnation whereas Walton (2000) and Shaw and Coles (2007) emphasized an uneven geography of resort decline in the UK. Shaw and Coles (2007: 50) in fact noticed that regional patterns of decline ‘also hide variations between resorts at intraregional level’ and describe the South West as a good example for this trend:

‘the major resort of Torbay sees itself as having high levels of multiple deprivation and suffering from what it calls a benefit economy where there are a high number of claimants having a disproportionate impact on the general economy. In contrast, other smaller South Devon resorts such as Budleigh Salterton and Sidmouth have relatively large numbers of fairly affluent retired people’.

Cultural studies of the English seaside resort decline also features in the literature. It unraveled the social dynamics that helped enforce the shifts mentioned above and supported the argument of change in consumer taste. Urry (1997), Agarwal (1995; 1997a) and Gale (2005) argued that cultural aspects should not be underestimated when investigating processes of urban and regional change. According to Urry (1997: 105) in fact, the ‘service class’ in Britain helped to construct the *vulgar* and *basic* image that pervaded many traditional seaside resorts as a negation of *culture*. Braggs and Harris (2006: 23) reporting on the great British seaside holidayed stated: ‘Working people liked crowds. They lived in crowded towns and cities and worked in crowded factories. They enjoyed the noise and bustle of a big resort – or so it was assumed’. In contrast, the cultural capital of the middle class was so influential in the social practices that it helped promote more contemporary destinations and alternative

tourism practices (i.e. cultural and natural tourism) far from crowds and abroad (Urry, 1997). In the light of these arguments, and in antagonism with the evidence brought up by Beatty and Fothergill (2003) discussed above, Agarwal (1997b) claimed that there is enough evidence to ascertain the need for restructuring in many coastal resorts. The author claimed that many of them share problems that are commonly ‘associated with the inner-city areas’ (Agarwal, 1997b: 138) such as high unemployment, low-paid seasonal employment, skewed economic and population profiles, and increasing homelessness.

Given the grim picture proposed above, and in the light of post-modern social practices in general and tourism trends in particular, Shaw and Williams (2004) and Shaw and Coles (2007) put forward some concerns for the future of tourism in traditional coastal resorts. Shaw and Williams (2004: 240) claimed that ‘it still remains the case that many British resorts are essentially failing tourist destinations’, when Shaw and Coles (2007: 41) also wondered whether the British coastal resorts are ‘in terminal decline reaching the final stages of death as significant tourism spaces’.

This section explored the many aspects of resort decline. It engaged with both management and cultural reasoning of the demise of the British seaside resort system occurring from the 1960s onwards, with the argument concerning the geography of resort decline and that of the decline of the resort tourism industry and related resort identity as spaces of significant tourism flow. Alongside the argument of seaside resort failure and decline however, that of regeneration also features in the tourism literature. The following paragraphs provide for an overview of the main aspects touched upon.

5.3.2 Resort restructuring, coastal towns regeneration and institutional arrangements.

Scholarly contributions to the topic of coastal resort restructuring and regeneration have figured in the literature since the early 1990s. Overall, relevant contributions to the regeneration debate in respect of traditional coastal resorts in the UK were economic, development and management oriented on one side (Cooper, 1990; Agarwal, 1994; 1995; Cooper, 1997; Agarwal, 1997a, 1997b, 1999, 2005; Gale, 2005; Coles and Shaw, 2006; Agarwal and Shaw, 2007), geographically (Smith, 2004) and historiography (Walton and Wood, 2007; Walton, 2007b) situated on the other. At the centre of the arguments proposed by the first of these considerations was Butler’s

(1980) tourist area life cycle model (TALC) and, accordingly, aspects of seaside resort decline as well as stagnation and post-stagnation. Butler's (1980) model has already been extensively discussed and developed as subject to considerable controversy and debate for almost two decades (e.g. Haywood, 1986; Cooper, 1992; Gordon and Goodall, 1992; Agarwal, 1995; 1997b; Baum, 1998). Although it will not be discussed in full length in this section, reference will be often made to some of the stages it identified. This is because it often provided a theoretical platform for tourism management studies in particular, and, also, for broader geographically and historiography oriented contributions that discuss how resorts responded to the narrative of decline described above.

Coastal towns regeneration approaches have been documented in the literature as early as the 1990s. Cooper (1990, 1997) for example investigated managerial responses to decline undertaken in Rhyl and the Isle of Man during the 1980s. The author explained that a narrative of *rejuvenation* had already taken place in some resorts in Wales as early as the late 1980s as part of broader and comprehensive regeneration programmes. *Rejuvenation* was discussed by Agarwal (1994) as entailing tourism product diversification. It regards the adoption of repositioning strategies that tailor the destination to compete for a new tourism market and, therefore, the choice of maintaining the resort status for seaside tourism performance. Cooper (1990) considered the successful case of Rhyl on the north coast of Wales where rejuvenation practices were integrated within the broader regeneration vision. This integrated and comprehensive approach was problematized by the ETB (1991) that recognized the limitations brought up by the visitor economy to support development on a year-round based resort economy. It raised issues of policy integration while proposing the implementation of mixed-use policies for the consolidation of both the visitor economy and the establishment of a residential environment.

On a similar note, Agarwal (1997a, 1997b, 1999, 2002) developed the argument of seaside resort economic restructuring while engaging in aspects of governance, local and regional economic development and destination management. Together with Morgan and Pritchard (1999) and Gale (2005), Agarwal (1997a, 1999, 2005, 2007) investigated the role of the local government in developing coastal resorts in the UK. At base of her contribution (Agarwal, 1997a) was the idea that tourism is to a large extent a local-resource based industry: hence the author's choice to contextualize

inquiry in Torbay ‘an excellent example of coastal tourism regeneration’ featuring joint co-operation of the local authority and the private commercial operator (Agarwal, 1997a: 153). Agarwal’s goal, however, was to elucidate the role of the local state in planning for renewal, and she concluded that it was pivotal in setting off and co-ordinating development (Agarwal, 1997a).

Moreover, Agarwal (1995; 1997b, 2002) provided an assessment of the applicability and validity of Butler’s (1980) resort life cycle model to resort development by undertaking collective and comparative case studies and looked at Torbay (English Riviera, Devon), Minehead (north coast of south west England), Weymouth (south coastal of England) and Scarborough (northeast coastal of England). The author described the post-stagnation phase during which Torbay took the way of *rejuvenation* as opposed to that of stagnation and decline. Seaside tourism rejuvenation measures were undertaken in Torbay to adapt to changing tourism patterns by enhancing the tourism product, and, therefore, to reposition and compete within national and international tourism markets. Alongside recognizing the applicability of the Butler’s (1980) model and its usefulness for the study of resort evolution (Agarwal, 2002), Agarwal (1995) criticized it for being mainly a descriptive tool. Agarwal (1995: 24) remarked that it is inappropriate to ‘really explain the internal dynamics of change, but instead offers a holistic approach, integrating most of the elements of supply and demand within one explanatory framework’. Accordingly, Agarwal (1995) proposed remodeling the TALK, but, also, engaged with the restructuring thesis as a neo-Marxist approach to structural processes of change (Agarwal, 2002). Agarwal (2002) in fact explored the joint applicability of Butler’s (1980) resort life cycle model and restructuring thesis (Agarwal, 2002) to tackle the complexity embedded in resort development. The author’s claim was that both theoretical constructs, resort life cycle and restructuring thesis, ‘provide insights into the occurrence of, and responses to, decline’ (Agarwal, 2002: 32) and explained:

‘these theoretical insights are potentially very useful to destinations experiencing decline or restructuring, to enhance understanding of the causes and consequences of decline, and to inform planning and management responses’.

While attempting theoretical links between the two constructs, Agarwal (2002) contended that Butler’s (1980) model favour a ‘more detailed discussion of the internal dynamics of resort area’ (Agarwal, 2002: 39), whereas the restructuring thesis may

‘enhance understanding of the broader external processes that also shape resort trajectories’ (Agarwal, 2002: 39). In conclusion, the author called for a more in depth understanding of the relationship between internal and external forces of resort decline and restructuring, and confirms the effectiveness of the combination of the two theoretical construct to these purposes.

In relation to the South West Britain, Agarwal (1999) examined the relationship between seaside tourism restructuring and economic development in the local and regional context. While commenting also upon the aftermath of economic restructuring at seaside resort level, Agarwal (1999) analyzed achievements of the Tourism Development Action Programmes (TDAPs) initiated in Torbay, Cornwall, and Weymouth and Portland. The TDAPs were public-private sector partnerships promoted in the UK as a form of local governance during the 1980s to stimulate local economic development and tourism rejuvenation (Agarwal, 2005). As Agarwal (1999: 513) explained, the TDAP were ‘projects designed to encourage resorts to think strategically about their market position, and formed a part of a wider national effort to rejuvenate seaside tourism’. In conclusion, Agarwal (1999: 521) raised concern about the future of tourism in some of these areas that, as she claimed, ‘continues to be crisis-ridden’.

According to the analysis of economic development indicators (product improvement, business performance, employment), the results of the above mentioned programs were disappointing. Cross-organizational co-operation between private and public sector was contended to inhibit resort capacity and, therefore, success. Agarwal (2005) continued on aspects of resort restructuring where the role of tourism in regeneration only raised the argument of institutional capacity to change. The author in fact provided for an overview of the institutional scenario that triggered resort restructuring and regeneration and recommended concerted, joined-up efforts at local and regional level to tackle change in the post-stagnation stage (Agarwal, 2005). It was revealed that a lack of cooperation between the public and the private sectors has limited institutional capacity at local level (Agarwal, 2007).

Moreover, on governance issues, the author recognized the shift from local government to *local governance* and *collective action* as the outcome of rescaling and re-territorialization of central state functions. In this respect ‘networking, brokering, and partnership formation’ were discussed as ‘alleged characteristics of local governance and collective actions’ and ‘striking features of the contemporary tourism

landscape' (Agarwal, 2005: 357). The author discussed the Coastal Renaissance Partnership (CRP) as an example of collective action in the East Sussex region. Its members shared a common vision and strategy that features inclusiveness, is representative, and aims at stimulating regeneration. These sub-regional partnerships determine the degree of involvement of local institutional forces in English coastal resorts regeneration. With the participation of groups from local authorities and local organizations, and the support of the English Regional Development Agencies, they coordinate area-based economic strategies. If on the one side this institutional arrangement may respond to both complexity and distinctiveness of each locality, it is argued that they may not reflect the interests, needs and visions of the local community as a whole. Moreover, in relation to the debate on *resort restructuring*, there are several actors at different levels of the institutional ladder (central, regional, sub-regional and local government) sharing same priorities and interests: in this respect the recent study conducted by Agarwal (2007) argues that the consolidation of regional and sub-regional institutional arrangements 'has led to the proliferation and increased importance of different levels of government which operate at different sociospatial scales, resulting in the development of complex multigovernance arrangements'. In this respect the contribution by Shaw and Agarwal (2007) and Shaw and Coles (2007) have similar concerns. The authors argued that 'certainly at the resort level there are still many policy gaps between [...] regional-based strategies and those being formulated by local authorities' (Shaw and Coles, 2007: 54), and challenged the current debate on coastal resort restructuring by wondering 'who builds the resort' (Shaw and Agarwal, 2007: 12).

Overall, the literature on coastal resorts reviewed so far was mainly interested in pursuing the study of the resort life cycle, then, the decline and post-stagnation phases of traditional seaside resorts in the UK. On one side, it identified both the geography of resort decline and the complexity of factors that are conducive to it; on the other, instead, it looked at responses and management of resort restructuring by undertaking economic-oriented measurement approaches, or management-based frameworks. Hence the literature engaged with a reconsideration of the role played by tourism rejuvenation policies within broader seaside resort regeneration programmes. It then expressed the need for policy integration practices to tackle an unsustainable seasonal economy and promote, instead, a year-round socio-economic environment.

Moreover, research into the applicability of general frameworks (TALC) for the study of coastal resort development resulted in both positive and negative responses. Despite corroborating the value of the TALC model, it was criticized for being too general an analytical framework to delve deeper into the internal dynamics of resort change. At governance level instead, the literature engaged with the relationship between *tourism rejuvenation* and *resort restructuring*, and the related impacts and issues raising from new policy and institutional arrangements: it highlighted the issue concerning the gap between the local and the regional policy scenario, and the role of the agents involved in the process of resort building. The need for joined-up and inclusive regional and local efforts was ultimately rendered an optimal arrangement despite some concerns about its actual effectiveness and mismatching priorities. In relation to these aspects, some considerations can be put forward. They link up with a review of recent contributions to the tourism, culture and seaside towns' regeneration debate in the next subsection and are discussed below.

The considerable attention given, at academic level, to tourism rejuvenation strategies in the context of resort restructuring has diverted attention from the critical study of the relationship between tourism and urban regeneration practices in seaside/coastal towns. Hence, it has overlooked the role of tourism in broader and structured urban regeneration processes occurring, more recently, in English seaside towns. This neglect is arguably the result of two factors. On one side there is the key role tourism has played, for an extended period of time, in economic development policies regarding a number of coastal areas in the UK. On the other, there is a lack of 'planned' (Walton, 2007b: 1), structured and comprehensive regenerative initiatives in coastal/seaside towns until the late 1990s. Recent official government reports and academic literature confirm and expand on these assertions. A NEF (NEF, 2007: 8) report explained that:

'No coherent targeted regeneration programme was directed at coastal towns until the late 1990s. Until 1999 seaside towns were not eligible for European availability to other areas facing similar levels of economic structural change. Coastal resorts received less than 5 per cent of funding in SRB Rounds 1–3 and less than 3 per cent in Round 4. By Round 5, the Government had shown signs of recognising the problems and announced in 1998 that SRB would be used to target areas of deprivation outside the main areas that had hitherto received funding. Coastal towns were specifically targeted and 44 of the bids for Round 5 were for regenerating coastal towns'.

This issue was also considered in most recent scholastic contributions to coastal resort management. Shaw and Coles (2007), for instance, problematized a recent policy turn relative to resort regeneration in the UK. The authors discussed four phases of resort regeneration policies stretching over a period of seventeen years (1989-2006) and aiming to respond to coastal resort structural changes. Shaw and Coles (2007) then dichotomized the emphasis of the late 1980s on the use of public funding schemes pursuing seaside tourism rejuvenation efforts at resort level (e.g. TDAPs), and more recent central government reports responding to more complex socioeconomic circumstances in coastal towns more generally. The latter, the most recent phase of seaside towns' regeneration, involves a shift in government emphasis on coastal towns more generally and was described, by Shaw and Coles (2007), as being marked by structured formal urban regeneration programmes (i.e. Single Regeneration Budget) and the publication of the CLG report (CLG, 2006-2007) on coastal towns. Accordingly, they argued: 'the state has increasingly withdrawn financial support from the tourism industry in coastal resorts' (Shaw and Coles, 2007: 53). This gave Shaw and Coles (2007) the chance to concur with Agarwal (1999) who questioned the future of British seaside resorts as significant tourism spaces. Reflecting on the varying emphasis given to the resort economy in the 4 different phases, it may be argued that the scenario above limited the breadth of academic studies undertaken during the 1990s and the early 2000s to the study of resort changes and tourism rejuvenation practices solely.

Drawing on the discussion above, there are a number of issues that need to be considered. First, there is the need for academic inquiry to be undertaken into the latter phase of coastal towns regeneration. Secondly, the research context of much of academic inquiry into coastal resort management hitherto conducted needs also to be challenged as it is mostly limited to the South West coast of Britain. This is despite the recent contribution by Agarwal and Shaw (2007) that gave a global twist to this debate with case studies from virtually all continents. Nevertheless, the traditional seaside resorts in the South East England were only briefly discussed. This is not surprising considering the comments above on policy shifts, the only recent government recognition of 'a pattern of significant concentration of deprivation located in coastal towns in the South East' (NEF, 2005: 9), and the comments, by Agarwal and Brunt (2006: 656), reporting from the DETR (1998) that Brighton and Hove, and Hastings

‘are classed [...] within the top 100 most deprived areas in the UK’. Thirdly, these comments help to raise, again, the issue with categorization discussed in section 5.2. A final consideration hereby concerns the theoretical distinction between *coastal/seaside resorts* and *seaside/coastal towns* that emerged with the review of academic contributions to the coastal resorts debate.

Overall, exclusive academic concern for tourism and the management of coastal/seaside resorts in the UK, and abroad, has prevented scholars from engaging with the issue of categorization and the distinction between coastal towns and coastal resorts. This issue was discussed in section 5.2 as a hindrance to the development of a new research agenda as *coastal resort* appears to be a too narrow category that does not reflect the diversity of settlements in need of regeneration in the UK. Instead, the terms *coastal resort*, *seaside resort*, *traditional seaside resort* and *seaside towns* were used, interchangeably, in management, geographical and historiography studies of seaside/coastal tourism and related spaces as shown above. Research projects on coastal resorts ended up suggesting categorization criteria by considering tourism as a key parameter and then selecting some coastal towns while excluding others where seaside tourism is no longer considered a dominant economic trigger.

Butler’s (1980) resort cycle model (TALC) is also a means to categorize preexisting typologies. It considers possible trajectories a resort can take when choosing, during the post-stagnation phase, the way of rejuvenation or decline and then considering to move away from tourism as socioeconomic driver or to reinvent the resort economy. A categorization can be operated according to the choices made. The coastal resort literature above had considered the coastal towns in Wales (e.g. Rhyl) (Cooper, 1990, 1997), Torbay, Minehead, Weymouth, Portland and Scarborough (Agarwal, 1995; Agarwal, 1997a, 2002) because their resort economy was still dominant in the local economy. Agarwal and Brunt (2006) also selected a sample of resorts within the *seaside districts* category while excluding those in *coastal districts* with the justification that the former still consider tourism as the dominant form of employment. Their argument was that ‘the majority of seaside districts are located in southwest England, whilst the majority of coastal districts are situated in southeast England’ (Agarwal and Brunt, 2006). Hence, despite recognizing the Isle of Thanet, Margate, Ramsgate, Broadstairs, Hastings, Worthing, and Sedgmoor as well established resorts within coastal districts, the author asserted that ‘tourism, in these

resorts, is no longer the main source of employment as they either have more diverse economies or perform different economic functions such as commuter settlements' (Agarwal and Brunt, 2006: 661). Drawing on the considerations in section 5.2, it emerges that there is a lack of consensus on whether some coastal towns can be classified as coastal resorts, or more broadly, seaside towns as in the case of Hastings, Margate and Scarborough and there is therefore a need to identify new typologies within these broad and loose categories. In keeping with this literature, however, this thesis refers to Hastings as a seaside town.

Alongside the focus of the coastal resort literature above, there is another body of literature that considered other aspects of the debate over seaside towns' change in the UK. A cultural approach to seaside towns was undertaken in geographically (Smith, 2004) and historiography (Walton and Wood, 2007; Walton, 2007a, 2007b) situated literature. These overcome some of the limitations commented on above and proposes the adoption of cultural planning as well as the inclusion of cultural heritage and the heritage of the recent past as a means to foster a successful regeneration of the British seaside town.

5.3.3 Culture, heritage, and seaside towns' regeneration.

There was mounting interest in the role of *culture* in seaside towns' regeneration following from that already extensively expressed in both government, urban and tourism literature reviewed in chapter 3. Smith (2004), in particular, delved in the role of tourism and cultural development in a restructuring approach to seaside resort regeneration by drawing on aspects of urban tourism theory explored in chapter 3. The author undertook a single embedded case study strategy to investigate the appropriateness of this approach to regenerate Southend-on-Sea, a resort that 'ended tourism as a major function because of reduced interest and lack of distinctive identity' (Smith, 2004: 19).

By analyzing general programmes (e.g. the EU Objective 2 Programme, the Single Regeneration Budget), schemes (e.g. Pride in Our Town, Sshape) and strategies (e.g. Local Cultural Strategies) tackling the regeneration of Southend-on-Sea, Smith (2004: 25) noticed the centrality of tourism in the regeneration of the town and stated:

'rather than tourism being subsumed into a broader regeneration or cultural strategy, it appears to be (perhaps surprisingly) one of the most prominent features of Southend's redevelopment vision'.

It is on aspects of cultural development and cultural planning, however, that Smith (2004) particularly dwelt on. The author highlighted the priority given at institutional level to culture in regeneration activities. It encompassed the valorization of the resident amateur arts scenes and the traditional heritage with a Heritage Regeneration Scheme, the promotion of Leigh-on-Sea as a ‘authentic fishing village’ (Smith, 2004: 26), the display of cultural events, and the vision for Southend-on-Sea to become the Cultural Capital of the East of England. Smith (2004: 27) concluded that Southend-on-Sea’s cultural regeneration would ‘help to enhance the sense of local and external place identity’. In respect of the role of tourism in the town’s process of change, the author asserted that it was a viable economic option ‘especially when coupled with culture, leisure and retail’ (Smith, 2004: 27).

Despite being another case specific study, Smith’s (2004) contribution added in a number of ways to the existing seaside resort regeneration literature. It represented a move away from what has become the traditional geographical setting for much of the existing coastal resort regeneration literature namely: the southwest coast of England, and the English coastal resort as typified, for example, by Agarwal (2006). Moreover, it dispelled economic-based analytical and measurement frameworks and re-contextualized the urban tourism discourse tenets to discuss resort restructuring while looking at the latest phase of formal seaside resort regeneration. Hence, despite recognizing the central role given to tourism as a trigger in economic regeneration, Smith (2004) put forward the argument of the role of culture in seaside towns’ regeneration. The author echoed the arguments concerning discursive and cultural planning as well as those of cultural regeneration. Smith (2004) discussed the extent to which seaside resort regeneration in Southend-on-Sea took the way of *place identity* enhancement, place uniqueness and distinctiveness promotion in place of urban development narrative based on a “brick and mortar”. Similarly, the historiography-situated literature contributed to the seaside towns’ regeneration debate with a critical and suggestive tone on the role of culture while expressing concern for alleged *best practices* in urban regeneration.

Walton (2007a, 2007b) and Walton and Wood (2007) brought the comparative case study of Blackpool and Scarborough to the fore to discuss the symbiotic relationship between heritage and seaside resort regeneration. The role of cultural heritage in seaside resort regeneration was already high on the English Heritage agenda

(EH and CABE, 2003; Brodie and Winter, 2007; EH, 2007a), and some aspects of this debate have already emerged in this chapter. Walton (2007a, 2007b) and Walton and Wood (2007) however dwelt on critical aspects one of which regards the ‘importance of local distinctiveness and sense of historic identity in the construction of regeneration strategies’ (Walton, 2007b: 2).

In the recent response to the *Seaside Network Annual Conference* (BURA-SeasideNetwork, 2007a) held in Scarborough in March 2007, and two contributions to the *Seaside Heritage: Colourful Past, Bright Future* conference held in Hastings in October 2007 (EH, 2007b), Walton emphasized the importance of respecting the idiosyncrasies of each seaside town by celebrating both tangible and intangible heritage, as well as the ‘heritage of [their] recent past’ (Walton, 2007b: 8). Accordingly, Walton dichotomized homogenizing regeneration policies, and practices that promote ‘distinctive place identities and local characteristics derived from the diverse histories of individual resorts’ (Walton, 2007b: 1). In essence, Walton (2007a, 2007b) and Walton and Wood (2007) problematized the UK government reliance on evidence-based regeneration policies, as well as regeneration practices that reflect ‘best practice as promoted by developers’ (Walton and Wood, 2007: 4). As Walton and Wood (2007: 2) explained, this is due to the fact that:

‘urban regeneration is still capable of replacing low-key but much-loved emblems of the spirit of place with the standard currency of the developer’s driving board showing no interest in what has gone before or the nature of the setting’.

In this sense, Walton (2007b) and Walton and Wood (2007) juxtaposed the case of Blackpool to that of Scarborough. The purpose was to distinguish the former, embracing the concept of cultural heritage as the *heritage of the recent past* to bid for the UNESCO World Heritage Site, and the latter, implementing instead a clone town regeneration model that would annihilate the local seaside identity. The concept of the *recent heritage* features a high degree of *informality*, *accessibility*, and *imperfection* compared to the much more formal, polished and institutionalized *heritage* construct and regeneration practices. Despite recognizing *recent heritage* as a controversial conception, Walton and Wood (2007: 2) described it as ‘pasts that can be accessed by living memory’. The authors indeed suggested the English traditional seaside tourism infrastructure, and related social practices, as constituents of this construct and discussed the re-making of Blackpool as the first working class seaside resort and a unique

cultural landscape (Walton and Wood, 2007; Walton, 2007b; Walton and Wood, 2008). In conclusion, the call for the urge to capitalize on both formal and informal idiosyncratic cultural features in seaside resort regeneration was at the core of these contributions. In relation to tourism and regeneration instead, both Walton (2007a, 2007b) and Walton and Wood (2007) were very evasive. Nevertheless, Walton (2007b) argued that the future of regenerating seaside towns as tourism spaces was related to the value of *place* distinctive identity in an ever-evolving tourism market.

The last few contributions display a clear critical tone. This is in relation to formal regeneration initiatives potentially overlooking place distinctive features and local structures of meaning and reflecting the vision of some interest groups only. Directly or indirectly, these contributions extended the controversial debate on discursive planning, cultural planning and cultural regeneration in urban context, already discussed in chapter 4, while delving into the study of the latter phase of seaside towns regeneration. They stressed the opportunity of declining seaside resorts to take the way of culture, related culture strategies and cultural planning practices. This, it is argued, entails capitalizing also on the tangible and intangible heritage, celebrating the heritage of the recent past, and embracing the concept of *place* as a distinctive, attractive, communal, representative and unique socio-cultural environment.

5.4 Chapter summary and conclusion.

This chapter made the point on the current state of the debate on seaside towns' regeneration. Particular attention was given to the English case, and related literature, to highlight research perspectives and arguments in relation to the role played by tourism in the regeneration of declining coastal resorts/seaside towns. Economic, management, geographical and socio-historical studies featuring in government, practitioner, as well as academic literature have corroborated the idiosyncratic character and circumstances that distinguish a collection of coastal towns in the UK. Hence, seaside towns' distinctiveness was expressed in the argument concerning the uneven geography of resort decline, and in the adoption of location specific corrective measures for the management of strategic structural changes at resort level.

The recent government literature that was reviewed above consists of an array of economic and descriptive reports, as well as policy documents. Overall, these

expressed mounting concern for the disadvantaged socioeconomic circumstances of many seaside towns in the UK and resorted to prioritize broader regeneration efforts aiming at turning these urbanized areas into newly livable places. By contrast, the evolution of British coastal resorts was at the centre of many, development (e.g. Agarwal, 1999, 2002; Bramwell, 2004), management and historiography oriented (e.g. Shaw and Williams, 1997; Walton, 2000; Agarwal, 2002, 2005; Coles and Shaw, 2006; Agarwal and Shaw, 2007) contributions featuring in both tourism and social history literature. In particular, both tourist area life cycle models and the restructuring thesis supported most of the coastal resort restructuring and regeneration debate that comprises corrective policies (e.g. tourism rejuvenation through diversification measures) and institutional arrangements (e.g. regional-local, private-public collaborations). On the whole, under the pressure of a far reaching traditional seaside tourism decline in Britain, the aforementioned literature have been preoccupied since the 1990s with documenting changes occurring at resort level, and testing general resort management models (TALC) and the restructuring thesis. The final objective of this inquiry seems to be that of formulating a model that increases understanding of the dynamism between endogenous and exogenous forces of change performing at the local level (Agarwal, 1995). The result would have informed planners and policymakers to manage resort decline and restructuring and, moreover, preserve the tourist profile of these spaces. The analytical capacity of both TALC model and the restructuring thesis however were in part limited by the complexity embedded in resort change when Shaw and Agarwal (2007: 2) also noticed ‘how little is known in detail about the functioning of coastal resorts due to inadequate levels of information at the resort level’.

The literature discussing the relationship between culture, heritage and regeneration instead echoed some of the arguments that form the urban tourism discourse proposed in chapter 3 and extended in chapter 4, and is expressively critical about the nature of the regeneration narrative formally formulated at resort level. For instance, it entailed the dichotomization of inclusion/exclusion approaches within a perspective of seaside towns regeneration and cultural planning (Smith, 2004), and the juxtaposition of value-laden regeneration approaches and capital-oriented best practice-driven regeneration strategies (Walton and Wood, 2007; Walton, 2007a, 2007b; Walton and Wood, 2008).

The research reviewed above seems to unanimously suggest that not all declining seaside towns are alike. Some are more suited to pursue the tourism rejuvenation way to regeneration and then diversify the local tourism product to fulfil the demand for post-modern forms of tourism; others, on the contrary, are not. Both Agarwal (1999) and Shaw and Coles (2007) in fact questioned the future of declining British seaside resorts as spaces of significant tourist flow given their charted failure as tourist destinations. Nonetheless, they also put forward the assertion that ‘the British seaside resort is not in terminal decline but rather continuing to experience a shift in its role’ (Shaw and Coles, 2007: 55) maybe echoing the literature supporting the theory by which ‘old destinations rarely die; they simply rejuvenate!’ (Smith, 2003: 169).

It is in respect of the latter point that some observations emerged in this fifth chapter. Firstly, the geography of inquiry conducted into coastal resort regeneration has been limited to certain coastal areas in the UK, those, in particular, where tourism was still leading local economic activity, or that displayed clear tourism rejuvenation potentials (e.g. the south west coast). Secondly, it was argued that the 1980s government emphasis on funding resort restructuring on one side, and the lack of structured regenerative intervention on the other, provided fertile ground for tourism-centric, most often deductive, management and economic oriented academic research. Moreover, the lack of attention featured in the urban literature for these resorts as far as the relationship between regeneration and tourism is concerned corroborates further this view.

Thirdly, the relationship between urban regeneration and tourism development in declining seaside towns in the UK has not been addressed in the urban literature. Hence, the ‘double neglect’ (Ashworth, 1992: 4) and ‘imbalance in attention’ (Ashworth, 1989: 33) which chapter 2 brought attention to while commenting on early contributions to urban tourism can also be extended to this context of certain coastal towns. Ashworth (1989, 1992) explained that tourism studies concentrated on urban tourism while overlooking the broader context, whereas urban studies disregarded the tourism factor and functions and concentrated instead on the urban. This is an issue to which both urban and tourism literature responded while discussing urban tourism development and management in large post-industrial cities, as shown in chapters 3 and 4. Nevertheless, it remains valid for the English seaside town. In conclusion, there is scope to argue that the dominance of the tourism factor embedded in the resort

dynamics is at base of the neglect of urban studies of these coastal areas. Indeed, this is the case as far as investigation into the tourism and regeneration dichotomy is concerned.

Furthermore, there is a lack of research conducted into the latter phase of seaside towns' regeneration especially in relation to the role played by tourism within this process of change. This phase is marked by the Communities and Local Government Committee report on *Coastal Towns* (HC, 2006-2007) prioritizing the transformation of disadvantaged coastal communities into liveable places. It reflects the central government rhetoric of creating sustainable communities in Britain and an alleged reduction of financial support from the state to the tourism industry in coastal resorts.

In relation to the role of tourism in regeneration, the most recent government literature has conveyed the potential of new forms of tourism (e.g. cultural tourism) to regenerate these areas into livable places for the resident and the visitor community alike, then seeing tourism as a component of a diversified local economy. During the 1990s, the coastal resort regeneration literature has problematized tourism rejuvenation practices as a means to tackle seasonality and resort decline. Recent critical contributions to discursive approaches to planning and seaside towns' regeneration instead highlighted a single case study based assertion that put tourism at the core of the local regeneration agenda as a viable economic regeneration trigger. More recently, historiography (Walton and Wood, 2007, 2008) literature has related the argument of the role of regeneration measures that celebrate local cultural heritage (encompassing the heritage of the recent past), place distinctive features and identity, to that of an ever evolving and increasingly, sophisticated and diverse tourism demand. Despite these comments, a critical stance to the relationship between tourism and urban regeneration in seaside towns is limited, in the literature, and needs readdressing.

The need for the formulation of categories and typologies came through in most recent official literature following a mounting governmental and non-governmental concern for the disadvantaged socio-economic circumstances many coastal communities have experienced in the UK. The literature above, however, still features a lack of agreement on typologies and categorizations. They are now based on a number of parameters that do not allow the differentiation and coherent grouping of the existing spectrum of coastal towns in the UK and this was discussed as a hindrance for

further research and the formulation of effective regeneration policies. Although the term *seaside town* was critically put forward as a coherent and usable category (Beatty and Fothergill, 2003; Fothergill, 2008), it still remains the chance that, drawing on Butler's (1980) model, some typologies (e.g. decline or rejuvenation) might be identified within this same category. Despite these issues, whatever categorization is used, or typology considered, there are certain coastal towns in the UK, like Hastings, Margate and Folkestone, among others, that remain highly problematic and high on the central government regeneration agenda and mostly overlooked in the academic circuits and, therefore, in need of considerable scrutiny. Also, in the following chapters, the term *seaside town* will be used, in place of *coastal resort* or *coastal town*, to attune with the latest developments of the debate over coastal towns regeneration.

Chapters 3 and 4 led to the recognition of a lack of attention in both urban tourism literature and the regeneration and more general tourism studies to the regeneration of resort cities. Whereas recent academic contributions displayed limited engagement, at both geographical and theoretical level, with seaside towns eligible for structured regenerative interventions, the government literature reviewed in this chapter raised mounting concern for disadvantaged coastal areas and declining seaside towns in the UK. In the light of these assumptions, the next chapter proposes a summary of the emerging theorizations drawing on chapters 2, 3, 4, and 5 and forwards the research aim and objectives.

**Chapter 6 - Literature review summary: themes,
theory and research aim and objectives.**

6.1 Introduction.

The exploratory profile of this research project features in the deconstructive approach undertaken to sift through the literature and pinpoint emerging thematic streams and related theoretical propositions in relation to the role of tourism in urban regeneration processes. The following sections bring together the salient points that emerged from chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5 and finalizes research aim and objectives. This is to deploy the collection of theoretical aspects and thematic streams that are taken into account to guide the formulation of research aim, objectives and research strategy.

6.2 The urban tourism discourse and the regeneration of the declining seaside town.

Chapters 2, 3 and 4 proposed a very distinctive urban tourism research narrative. In the second chapter the phenomenon of urban tourism was defined in a range of ways stemming from a variety of research interests and perspectives. At the end of it, a mix of cultural, policy and political economy approaches were claimed to be of particular relevance to the study of the role of tourism in urban regeneration. Some analytical frameworks were identified that reflect the arguments emerged later on in chapters 3 and 4. Among them, Tyler's et al (1998) urban tourism framework was claimed to have a comprehensive range of perspectives potentially involved in, and allegedly applicable to, a wider array of urban contexts and able to help explain the complex role of tourism in the post-modern city. It stemmed from the notion of urban tourism as being about the political management of change (Tyler et al, 1998) as its development leads to an inexorable change of both urban form and function. This assertion retains a high degree of symbiosis with the American post-structuralist research agenda exposed in section 3.3 and, also, with the spatiality of the culture, tourism and regeneration formula in sections 4.3.3.2/3. The underlying assumption was that, as far as different interests collide in the same ground, this process of change becomes political. In essence the message passed by Tyler et al (1998) was that if the *consumerist model* (promoting growth, elitist, and civic boosterism-oriented measures) illustrated by Bianchini (1993a, 1993b) (section 4.2) takes the lead in regeneration, the celebration of commodities, and, consequently, a culture of conspicuous consumption, supersede the celebration of civic values and place idiosyncrasies. As a result, urbanity, civic pride, and place distinctive characters loose their primacy as the focus of the

management of urban change. Reflecting on these arguments chapter 3 and 4 presented the urban tourism and regeneration and tourism debates by drawing on urban tourism, urban regeneration and tourism literature and some government contributions. It resulted in a complex scenario framed by policy, political economy and cultural aspects. In the end, two intertwined and overarching thematic streams were identified in the review of the literature. They are briefly summarized below together with more specific research topics.

Firstly, both chapters 3 and 4 concluded with the assertion that the strategy of urban tourism played a cardinal role in the physical, economic and cultural change of many post-industrial cities. Urban tourism development took part in the process of change that transformed centres of production into spaces of entertainment and tourism. Secondly, since the early stages of its inception into the scholarly situated literature, the urban regeneration policy scenario was typified by a dichotomy juxtaposing a political rhetoric bordered by the linguistics of sustainable development, but in practice implementing a policy framework triggering fierce privatization and the development of exclusive schemes (Byrne, 1998). In relation to these arguments, some specific research streams can be identified that underpin the overall discussion about tourism and regeneration.

Geography, planning and management situated literature discussed urban transformation processes and the regeneration policy scenario. It linked the increasing attractiveness of centrally located and de-industrialized urban waterfronts to a new narrative of urban transformation. This narrative was contended to promote adaptive reuse of the physical legacy left behind by deindustrialization (Tunbridge, 1988; Page and Hall, 2003). It also privileged a consumerist approach to regeneration that stemmed from market-oriented policies and facilitated the establishment of catalytic planning. Hence, urban tourism development acted as a catalyst mainly for physical redevelopment and economic restructuring purposes. It was also discussed as an alternative to the declining basic export industry (Inskeep, 1991; Hall, 2000; Swarbrooke, 2000; Sharpley and Telfer, 2002; Shaw and Williams, 2002; Page and Hall, 2003): its development capitalized on the ruins of an industrial past, on the mounting interest among politicians and policymakers in the rising profile of the cultural industries within a growing global knowledge-based economy, and on the need to attract foreign capital. In this sense, urban tourism development was advocated to

counter image obsolescence by spurring provision of primary and secondary tourism resources, and implementing preservation and conservation policies, enhancing environmental appeal, while producing a distinctive urban form. On one side, it supports the assumption that both tourism development and regeneration processes ‘seek to transform old places while re-creating new ones’ (Smith, 2003: 169). On the other, it reflects the late-modern turn to entrepreneurialism in urban governance leading to the affirmation of city marketing and place promotion activities (Bramwell and Rawling, 1994; Smith, 2001; Shaw and Williams, 2002) whereby the city became subject to branding strategies and manipulated as a product (Hall, 1994). Accordingly the post-industrial city was strategically marketed in the global market of urban destinations for the attraction of financial capital from international corporations, the affluent and the increasingly selective and mobile visitor community.

In relation to this simplified view of physical and economic change, more complex and controversial was the debate on the consumerist nature of the urban tourism way to regenerate declining urban environments. The urban tourism strategy (Law, 1992; Law, 1993) and urbanization model (Mullins, 1991, 1999), constituted fertile ground for urban analysts engaging in a range of socio-economic and cultural aspects stemming from urban transformation processes in general, and urban regeneration practices in particular. Borrowing from the vocabulary of the post-structuralist research framework, *discourse* is a keyword for a wealth of recent critical contributions to the urban tourism debate. Hence, urban, and in particular cultural planning, urban tourism and cultural tourism literature, engaged in intertwined discourses of spatial and cultural urban change while expressing at times a leftist orientation to urban regeneration policies, or a post-structuralist approach to urban transformation processes (e.g. Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993; Hall, 1994; Burgers, 1995; Judd and Fainstein, 1999; Meethan, 2001; Hoffman et al, 2003; Page and Hall, 2003; Perry, 2003; Smith, 2003; Judd, 2003b; Smith, 2007a). The urban tourism discourse can thus be divided in two parallel segments: one concerning the construction of the urban tourism infrastructure; the other focusing governance and planning aspects.

The former problematized the spatial idiosyncrasies of the urban tourism model. The dominance of a culture of fierce privatization and spatial commodification embedded in flagship projects and specialized, fortified, themed environments, shaped

by both material and symbolic referents of the postmodern urban landscape. In response to the capitalist imperative, the reproduction of successful regeneration models entailing environmental sanitization, beautification and *spectacularization* measures (Law, 1991a; Law, 1993; Richards and Wilson, 2006; Richards, 2007; Richards and Wilson, 2007; Smith, 2007b) promoted the fabrication of a false and staged authenticity with standardization and homogenization of the urban experience (Boyer, 1992; Maitland, 1997; Hannigan, 1998; Judd and Fainstein, 1999; Hoffman et al, 2003; Judd, 2003a; Smith, 2005b).

Parallel to literature concerned with these spatial aspects are studies of intertwined governance and planning. The construction of the *tourist city* featuring tourist enclaves and tourist bubbles as spatial epitomes of the marriage between urban tourism development and urban regeneration initiatives was claimed to entail relations of power (Law, 1996; Judd, 1999, 2003b; Judd, 2003c). It generated social polarization and gentrification, as well as normalized spaces of control and exclusion through the implementation of elitist policies causing erosion of both urbanity and sense of place (Law, 1993; Krausse, 1995; Law, 1996; Swarbrooke, 2000; Smith, 2003, 2007a). In response to this narrative, the literature proposed progressive measures towards a more sustainable, namely comprehensive, gradual, inclusive regeneration initiatives while discussing discursive and cultural planning (Bianchini and Schwengel, 1991; Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993; Bianchini, 1999; Evans, 2001; Ghilardi, 2001; Ploger, 2001; Smith, 2003; Evans and Shaw, 2004; Evans, 2005; Richards, 2007; Richards and Wilson, 2007; Smith, 2007a).

Discursive planning and cultural planning respond to the regeneration narrative so far summarized by proposing public debate and the reassertion of citizenship (Bahaire and Elliott-White, 1999; Ploger, 2001; Allmendinger, 2002). The active involvement of the local community in the regeneration process was advocated as a means to successful regeneration (OMA 2005), with cultural planning promoting the involvement of the arts and the local community in reasserting a sense of place and place distinctiveness (Meethan, 2001; Smith, 2003; Chang and Huang, 2004; Richards and Wilson, 2006; Richards, 2007; Richards and Wilson, 2007; Smith, 2007a, 2007b).

Another aspect of the planning and governance debate concerned the topic of formally and informally driven change. The early literature on tourism and urban regeneration dichotomized planned and top-down approaches to urban tourism

(Bramwell, 1993), and unplanned, opportunistic (DOE, 1990; Law, 1993), spontaneous and informally driven (Groth and Corijn, 2005), bottom-up, community-led processes of urban change. In this respect, the power of formalized institutionalized partnerships and the related issue with representation (Bahaire and Elliott-White, 1999) was juxtaposed to that of the informal actors and an insurgent urbanism. The argument for unplanned and opportunistic regeneration, the related call for policy integration for the coordination of tourism development and urban regeneration policies, clashes with the revival of the notion of spontaneous and informal urban change (Karski, 1990; Law, 1992; Page, 1995; Tiesdell et al, 1996). The rhetoric of urban design strategies promoting mixed-use developments was also discussed as being at the forefront of inclusiveness and urban vibrancy: a solution to an array of socio-cultural needs (Maitland, 1997; Gospodini, 2001a, 2001b; Smith, 2007a, 2007b) and a catalyst for recreating a sense of place despite some culturally situated criticisms (Page and Hall, 2003). This critical discussion of urban tourism development tended to question the quality of the nature of change it promotes. The most immediate questions to rise are: what is the vision and ideology that dominates the regeneration scenario, and, in turn, who are the actors and what the mechanism that lead change?

Reflecting on the analytical complexity achieved in the field of urban tourism, the fifth chapter moved attention away from the regeneration discourse that originated in large, post-industrial cities. It concentrated, instead, on a *resort* type of city and, consequently, addressed inquiry into the role of tourism in the regeneration of an urban setting that is traditionally associated with tourism rather than the traditional export industry (e.g. manufacturing), and pinpointed the current state of the debate on seaside towns' regeneration. The purpose was, again, to highlight theoretical and thematic streams as well as possible research opportunities.

The topic of seaside towns' regeneration featured in government, practitioners and academic contributions. Among the many aspects commented on, recent concern for the disadvantaged state of many seaside towns in the UK was featured in the government literature that expressed the urgent need for structured and comprehensive regenerative intervention. The argument of resort distinctiveness matched with that of tourism as an option in regeneration. The assumption was that locality specific measures needed to reflect the real potentials of tourism in regeneration that can be a means to recovery and part of the solution to decline. Hence the raising concern for the

future of many seaside towns as significant tourism destinations, and the related transition thesis.

In relation to the broader spectrum of research conducted in this field, it was claimed that limited methodological breadth restrained both geography of inquiry and research focus to some coastal areas and aspects of the resort evolution only. Corrective measures for resort restructuring, approaches to tourism rejuvenation, as well as analytical frameworks to study resort development were in fact the focus of much of the literature. A paucity of critical research in both urban and tourism literature was thus noticed in relation to an emerging wave of seaside town's regeneration programmes in the UK.

6.3 Research aim and objectives.

This resume can be misleadingly interpreted as the foundation for a comparative study juxtaposing two differing urban contexts namely: the post-industrial city on one side and the seaside town on the other. This research however does not aim at comparing processes of change that occurred in postindustrial cities with the recent narrative of regeneration affecting a number of seaside towns in the UK. Instead, the overall aim of this research is to:

explore the discourse concerning the role of tourism in the regeneration of a resort city under structured regeneration programmes. This is achieved by assessing how tourism is rendered a dominant or, conversely, marginal regeneration feature in relation to the change of a seaside town.

This is important because, as demonstrated through the arguments proposed in chapters 3, 4 and 5, there is a need for further insights into the relationship between tourism and regeneration that overcomes the consolidated spatial referent of the urban tourism discourse and, also, the traditional theoretical and methodological trajectories undertaken in the study of change in seaside towns. Chapters 3 and 4 highlighted the consolidated tendency in both the urban regeneration and the general tourism literature to associate the strategy of urban tourism to regeneration practices that changed the form and function of non-traditional tourism spaces in post-industrial cities. It ultimately problematized the seemingly complete lack of critical research in the context of other urban typologies such as that of the resort. This is one where the tourism urbanization model theorized by Mullins (1991, 1999) determined path and nature of urban development while establishing tourism as the dominant practice of spatial and

symbolic formation. Chapter 5, on the whole, recognized instead the dominance of tourism-centric, narrow economic, management and historiography oriented research favouring depth instead of breadth analysis based on, at times, rigid and formulaic research methodologies and approaches to the processes of change occurring at coastal resort level. This resort research often endeavored to document the evolution of the British coastal resort, concentrating only on few distinctive coastal areas while excluding others, to test analytical frameworks to formulate management responses to decline, and to put forward a critical stance to change while suggesting progressive regeneration practices.

In response to the above synopsis, the recent wave of regenerative interventions promoted at institutional level to tackle the aftermaths of the decline of tourism in many seaside towns in the UK provides scope for the conduct of further research into tourism and urban regeneration. Consequently, with particular reference to chapters 3 and 4, there is the opportunity to take advantage of the emerging themes identified, and theoretical propositions observed along with the study of the narrative of urban change occurring in many post-industrial cities. Accordingly, the research aim above can be broken down into a set of related objectives:

1. Undertake an analysis of the regeneration and tourism related strategic scenario at national and regional level in order to:
 - examine how tourism is positioned in plans and strategies in relation to urban regeneration;
 - determine the strategic policy drivers for the regeneration of seaside towns.
2. Undertake an analysis of a local regeneration scenario in order to:
 - analyze the local policy and planning literature, and emerging regeneration projects;
 - examine the institutional arrangements and the regeneration model pursued;
 - determine the role played by community actors in the process of change and the discourse of regeneration;
 - determine how identifiable declined traditional seaside tourism spaces are reintroduced into the urban dynamics, the formation of new spaces of tourism flow, and the process behind their formation.

Alongside these specific aim and related objectives, the formulation of research strategy and paradigm of inquiry should also address three aspects that emerged from the urban tourism debate. It should endeavour to tackle the *double neglect* raised by Ashworth (1989, 1992) as there is the opportunity to contribute to the urban and tourism debate on the role of tourism in urban transformation processes and readdress an imbalance in attention featured in the theoretical distinction between world, large, paradigmatic cities (Nijman, 2000), and ordinary cities (Amin and Graham, 1997). The research will secondly seek to respond to the issue of descriptivism featured in much of case study based research in tourism and regeneration and thirdly the related challenge of examining complexity embedded in the study of tourism within a complex urban environment in transition. There is the chance to develop critical inquiry into the dynamics of seaside town's change in order to address also the issue of complexity embedded in the study of tourism and regeneration. Indeed, the choices of method and methodology discussed in chapter 7 develop original knowledge in relation to the corroborated and highly contextualized symbiosis between tourism and urban regeneration practices.

Chapter 7 - Research methodology and methods.

7.1 Introduction.

This chapter is divided into two distinct parts. The first (section 7.2) outlines the choice of the research strategy and paradigm of inquiry; the second (section 7.3), instead, proposes a detail discussion about the final choices concerning the case study strategy type, the study setting, and the empirical research conducted.

At the outset of *The Foundations of Social Research*, Crotty (2003) put two issues at the forefront of the research process namely: the choice of methodology and methods on one side, and the arguments that justify this choice on the other. In relation to these issues, Crotty (2003: 2) proposed four questions that touch upon what he claimed to be the four basic elements of research:

- What *method* (original emphasis) do we propose to use?
- What *methodology* (original emphasis) governs our choice and use of methods?
- What *theoretical perspective* (original emphasis) lies behind the methodology in question?
- What *epistemology* (original emphasis) informs this theoretical perspective?

The issues and questions proposed above are taken as a template to structure the succession of arguments in this chapter. It opens with theoretical notes that introduce the debate on the case study as research strategy. Key objective is to frame a case study strategy that overcomes descriptivism and embraces a critical theoretical perspective on the subject under investigation. The role played by *context* and *complexity* as core research features in this study are discussed within the qualitative-quantitative debate to pave the way for the choices relative to the paradigm of inquiry. In this chapter, the term *paradigm of inquiry* is employed to signify the combination of research approach (inductive-deductive), theoretical perspective, research methodology and related methods of data gathering.

Section 7.2.2 includes a discussion about post-structural inquiry as a theoretical perspective and related epistemological issues such as those of complexity, contextuality and criticality. The choice of adopting a post-structuralist perspective is to reflect the theoretical choices of much of critical literature reviewed in chapters 3 and 4 and support, theoretically, the research methodology. As elucidated in section 7.2.2.3, this methodology, discourse analysis, draws on the Foucauldian theory of discourse

namely *discursivity*. It is an analytical framework that fosters the analysis of relations of power between *discursive statements* and entails the study of *how a discourse is formed*. At the core of this methodology is a post-structuralist perspective that supports, theoretically, the study of the dynamics of change occurring at local level. Together, post-structuralism and discourse analysis foster the analysis of discursive relations of power that is between discursive statements and related practices, and the change of space and the formation of new spaces. Then, discourse analysis determines the way investigation into these dynamics of spatial change and formation is conducted, and guides both data collection and analysis.

Section 7.3 outlines the choices concerning the adoption of a single embedded case study research strategy. It continues with an overview of the research process, the selection of the research setting, the regeneration moment and units of analysis as well as the methods of data gathering. It concludes with a short commentary about the issues of accessibility to the field and research criteria of evaluation while also introducing the structure of the data discussion chapters.

7.2 Research strategy: theoretical debates.

The strategy of the case study was discussed, although not exclusively, as one form of applied research in the field of the social sciences. Within this area of studies, the *case study* strategy is believed to be an effective approach to carry out intensive and comprehensive examinations of a particular setting, understand the complexity and particular nature of either a case, a set of cases, or complex social phenomena, or examine meaningful characteristics of contemporary real life events (Stake, 1995; Yin, 2003; Bryman, 2004). The complexity involved in the study of urban tourism and, in turn, the role of tourism in urban regeneration processes, runs all through the arguments in the second chapter. The body of literature that informs it reinforced the need for systematic and structured case studies that overcome descriptivism and observes, instead, a critical research perspective. The case study is also among the most common research strategies employed in the field of urban regeneration, urban tourism and coastal towns regeneration as emerged in the literature review chapters (2, 3 4 and 5).

The case study research design literature proposed a selection of case study types on which the researcher engaging in the social sciences field can draw. Both

Stake (2000) and Yin (2003) noticed, however, that only when the strategy is contextualized within the broader research theoretical setting can a clear definition of the type of case study be proposed. This recognition suggests scope, data gathering, and analytical propositions as determinant factors revealing the nature and qualities of the strategy that is to be undertaken. Hence, this classification exercise is directly dependent on the choice of conducting either inductive or deductive research (Bryman, 2004), or, a mix of the two as the mixed methods research literature suggests (i.e. Brannen, 1992; Creswell, 1994; Walle, 1997; Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Bryman, 2006, 2007; Creswell and Plano, 2007).

Glazer and Strauss (1967), Flick (2006), and Bryman (2004) contend that the deductive and inductive dichotomy is determined by the relationship between theory and research. Bryman (2004) opposed the deductive profile of quantitative research to the inductive, and, in unison with Janesick (1998), the author associated the latter to qualitative research. Reflecting on these assertions, the next section lingers upon the choice of the broader research approach and paradigm undertaken before completing the discussion about the choice of case study strategy types in section 7.3. This is to observe the recommendations made by the research literature recalled above. The ultimate goal here is in fact that of reasoning the choice of the research strategy type that, more than others, suits this research project's aim and objectives. Beforehand however two citations are worth being put forward as introductory statements to the discussion below. As it will become apparent in the following sections, they entrench the theoretical foundations of this commentary while, also, reflecting the many facets of this research project as a whole.

‘Theory cannot be separated wholly and objectively from the reality it seeks to explain, as theoretical practices are themselves partly constitutive of (and shaped by) the social worlds in which the subjects and objects of research find themselves’ (Howarth, 2000: 6).

‘Theories and facts are quite interdependent – that is, that facts are facts only within some theoretical framework’ (Guba and Lincoln, 2004: 20).

7.2.1 Debates around qualitative research.

In recent years, the qualitative research literature in general, and qualitative tourism research in particular, has corroborated the increasing popularity of qualitative-oriented approaches undertaken in the field of the social sciences. It engaged in a discussion about the latter developments in respect of the theoretical tenets that underpin research in this field and opposed quantitative to qualitative research (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998b, 2000; Riley and Love, 2000; Jamal and Hollinshed, 2001; Crotty, 2003; Bryman, 2004; Goodson and Phillimore, 2004; Phillimore and Goodson, 2004b; Silverman, 2005; Flick, 2006). Hence, the several limitations brought about by objective epistemologies, positivist and post-positivist paradigms traditionally associated with the rigor of the *hard* sciences, were juxtaposed with the strengths of more subjectivist and constructionist epistemologies of the *soft* counterparts (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998a, 2000; Flick et al, 2000; Bryman, 2004; Flick, 2006). Overall the complexity of this argument is overwhelming and it is not the objective of this chapter to render the whole of the quantitative-qualitative divide given that the research literature has already extensively provided for its consolidation. Nevertheless, for the purpose of formulating a satisfying discussion about the choice of appropriate research strategy, methods and methodology in relation to the qualitative turn in social science research, a few essentials need to be put forward.

In a nutshell, the qualitative research literature expressed the essence of the quantitative and qualitative divide by claiming that quantitative research differs from its counterpart in that it is essentially *nomothetic* (Bryman, 2004; Guba and Lincoln, 2004). It displays a deterministic outlook entailing, to a greater extent, ‘measurement and analysis of causal relationship between variables’ (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000: 8). It privileges quantification, prediction, formulaic precision, detached and *etic* verification and falsification of a priori hypotheses or theory, in the place of analyzing complex social qualities, meanings, and processes (Bryman, 2004; Flick, 2006). Both qualitative and qualitative tourism research literature insisted on the fact that the study of social phenomena requires a different approach, one that supersedes ‘naïve quantification’ (Goodson and Phillimore, 2004: 32) and naïve and partial knowledge production, and allows the social researcher to overcome the ‘deficiencies of natural science methods’ (Phillimore and Goodson, 2004b: 5). Among the many arguments raised in this respect the one concerning the relevance of *context* as a key research feature in social sciences

research received particular attention. The next section lingers upon the qualitative research literature that discussed this research feature as it is particularly relevant to matching research questions and objectives with the theoretical choices made and exposed along the development of this chapter.

7.2.1.1 *Context and complexity: distinctive features in qualitative research.*

The social science research literature is particularly supportive of the intrinsic relationship that exists between a few research aspects. These range from the choice of the subject being studied and related theoretical assumptions, to its idiosyncratic, spatial and temporal (contextual/contingent) uniqueness, the issue and the role, values and behaviour of the researcher, and the essence and general aims of qualitative research. In a comparative discussion about *pro* and *cons* of qualitative and quantitative methodologies Silverman (2000) highlighted the analytical capacity of the former and claimed that ‘there are areas of social reality which [...] statistics cannot measure’. Accordingly, the author explained that ‘the methods used by qualitative researchers exemplify a common belief that they can provide a deeper understanding of social phenomena’ (Silverman, 2000: 8). This assertion relates easily with the belief expressed by Flick (2006: 15) about the exploratory profile of qualitative research and one that aligns with the objectives of this research. The general goal of qualitative research is to ‘discover and develop the new’, new grounded theories, and new hypothesis. It is indeed less than that to test what is already known (i.e. theories and hypothesis formulated in advance). These general assertions seem disconnected from the issue that is at stake here, namely *context* as a feature in social sciences research. Instead, when merged with the practices of designing and conducting qualitative research, *context* becomes a contentious research aspect.

Harkening back to authors such as Denzin and Lincoln (1998a, 2000), Bryman (2004), and Flick (2000; 2006), qualitative research is discussed as a situated activity that locates the researcher in the world. For this reason the literature also suggests that ‘qualitative design demands that the researcher stay in the setting over time’ (Janesick, 1998: 42). Qualitative research is seen as involving an interpretive and naturalistic approach to the world. Accordingly, the researcher is immersed in the study of ‘things in their natural settings attempting to make sense of, or interpret phenomena’ (Denzin

and Lincoln, 2000: 3). Bryman (2004:275) also contributed to this point by adding an epistemological scent to the debate on qualitative research and contextuality. The author reinforced on the idea that ‘qualitative findings tend to be oriented to the contextual uniqueness and significance of the aspect of the social world being studied’. Qualitative research is claimed to dispel methodological tenets that entail the isolation of phenomena from their natural spatial and temporal settings. Indeed, it privileges research designs that valorize contextual specificity and situational complexities (Guba and Lincoln, 1998; Guba and Lincoln, 2004). Thus depth of inquiry is made to merge with the contextuality and complexity issues. Flick (2006: 15) for example noted that ‘most phenomena cannot be explained in isolation, which is a result of its complexity in reality’ and raised a subtle critique to quantitative research approaches stating:

‘If all empirical studies were exclusively designed according to the model of clear cause-effect relations, all complex objects would have to be excluded [...]; the fields of study are not artificial situations in the laboratory but the practices and interactions of the subjects in everyday life’ (Flick, 2006: 15).

These assertions bring also attention to another dimension of *context*. The two citations at the outset of this chapter made reference to the symbiotic relationship that exists between the subject of research (i.e. the researched) and theory. In this respect, both qualitative (e.g. Flick et al, 2000; Flick, 2006) and tourism literature (Jamal and Hollinshed, 2001; Phillimore and Goodson, 2004a) recognized ontological and epistemological shifts occurring during the 20th century the contextualization and condensation of which resulted in what became known as the fifth and sixth moment of qualitative research (see: Denzin and Lincoln, 1998a; Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). In relation to the aspect that is under discussion here, this recognition brought about a reevaluation of the role of *context* in the field of social research. Flick (2006) for example reflected upon the range of aspects that are conventionally attributed to the names of the postmodern cultural analysts such as Foucault (1980), Lyotard (1984), Jameson (1991, 1998), Harvey (1990, 1993), and Lash (1990). Hence, Flick (2006) proposed the postmodern argument concerning the end of metanarratives and, in turn, unifying and totalizing distinctions and theories, and their substitution with more locality-related discourses. Thus, the author pinpointed ‘rapid social change’ and the resulting ‘pluralization’, ‘diversification’ and ‘differentiation’ of life worlds to champion that locally, ‘temporally, and situationally limited narratives are [...]

required’, at a time when ‘knowledge and practice are studied as *local* knowledge and practices’ (Flick, 2006: 12):

‘To formulate [...] situation-related statements is a goal that can be attained with qualitative research’ (Flick, 2006: 14) [...] ‘Qualitative research is oriented towards analyzing concrete cases in their temporal and local particularity and starting from people’s expressions and activities in their local context’ (Flick, 2006: 30).

Alongside *contextuality*, *locality* is indeed another key concept in this research. It supports the adoption of a case study research strategy by providing for both spatial and theoretical dimensions holding the various elements of the paradigm of inquiry together. The aspects that related to locality-oriented research were widely debated in geographically situated literature. Often, were they the object of confrontation when discussed in relation to deterministic theoretical stances as opposed to postmodern geographical positions (e.g. Jackson, 1991; Warf, 1993; Byrne, 1998; Peet, 1998; Agarwal, 2002; Chang and Huang, 2004). In the mid 1990s, geographically situated literature proposed a turning point in the social sciences in general, and in geographically situated research in particular, and emphasized the need for, and relevance of, locality-oriented research. Agarwal (1995; 2002) for example looked at global-local factors conducive to coastal resort change and joined in the locality debate. Agarwal (1995: 49) claimed that:

‘it is no longer acceptable to examine national and international origins of social and economic change alone. Rather, thorough investigation must also incorporate spatial aspects, focusing upon small-scale sub-national localities in order to evaluate specific change on the ground. The concept of the locality has as a result recently emerged as one of the most popular ideas in social science’.

Agarwal (2002: 40) also borrowed from Cooke (1987) to explain that:

‘it is impossible to understand universal processes without appreciating small scale local changes since localities are actively involved in their own transformation as they internally articulate to wider socioeconomic processes’.

In this context, localities are defined as ‘not only simply places or even communities; they are the sum of social energy and agency resulting from the clustering of diverse individuals, groups, and social interest in space’ (Agarwal, 1995: 51). The contribution by Chang and Huang (2004: 228) to this debate is also significant in that the author problematizes the ‘mediating role of local factors’:

‘cities may look and operate like each other because of globalization’s homogenizing tendencies but they are also unique and distinctive because of site-specific influences’.

The concern with *locality* as research feature has also found space in the post-structuralist philosophy of Foucault. Further clarifications in this respect will follow in section 7.2.2.3 that expands on the French cultural analyst's theories. He disputed 'phenomena, processes, and structures of history are always fragmented by geography – that is, things turn out differently in different places' (Peet, 1998: 230).

The statements above corroborate the relevance of bringing the exploration of the role of tourism in urban transformation processes down to locality level. For the purpose of this commentary however it needs to be noted that part of the above drew on the evidence from quantitative research endeavouring to respond to *external validity* as one among the evaluation criteria in social research (Bryman, 2004). This is a critical aspect and one that is going to be brought to attention later on in section 7.3.2.2. On a different note, despite the positions above, the debate concerning locality studies did not fail to raise a few more concerns. Agarwal (1995: 51) for example hearkened back to Elander et al. (1991) and remarked that the study of locality is in practice 'merely case-study research'. The practice of case study research was already rendered problematic at the beginning of this chapter; it will be fully addressed again along with the development of the following discussion.

In conclusion, the recommendation forwarded by Flick's (2006) about the need for the social researcher to privilege inductive research strategies at the expense of deductive methodologies can be easily seen as a straight forward exhortation and a theoretically sound ground on which the theoretical choices operated for this research dwell. Drawing on the range of arguments above, it appears that the qualitative approach is the most suitable to tackle the subject that is under investigation in its full complexity as it reflects the kind of analysis and contextual specificity needed to tackle this research's aim and objectives. Nevertheless there is a whole range of aspects (i.e. ontological, epistemological and methodological) that need to be addressed before incurring in any cursory justification supporting the choice of quality in place of quantity. They are discussed below.

7.2.1.2 The indeterminacy of qualitative research.

The research literature contested the belief that qualitative research consists of a well-defined theoretical construct. Arguments as strong as the following run in fact all through the literature: Atkinson et al (2001: 7) questioned whether qualitative research

is a substitute for a discipline or a research paradigm; Flick (2006: 16) discarded the idea that qualitative research is based on unified theoretical and methodological concepts; Denzin and Lincoln (1998a: 5) discussed qualitative research as ‘a set of interpretive practices’ that privilege no single methodology over another and remarked:

‘As a site of discussion, or discourse, qualitative research is difficult to define clearly. It has not theory, or paradigm, that is distinctly its own [and] is used in many separate disciplines [but] it does not belong to a single discipline [nor] it has a distinct set of methods that are entirely its own [and therefore] use semiotics, narrative, content, discourse, archival, and phonemic analysis, even statistics’.

Qualitative research textbooks recommended to tailor the choice of the paradigm of inquiry around research aim, objectives and questions (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998a, 2000; Crotty, 2003; Bryman, 2004). To this purpose, qualitative tourism research literature discussed a variety of theoretical perspectives. They range from positivism and post-positivism, to interpretivism and its theoretical tenets (symbolic interactionism, phenomenology and hermeneutics), critical inquiry and critical theory, and the postmodern positions.

Drawing on the case study literature, the choice of the inquiry paradigm is discussed as determinant step towards the formulation of a thorough case study research strategy. It is therefore increasingly apparent that both choices, that of the inquiry paradigm on one side, and that of the type of case study strategy and related methods of data gathering and discussion on the other, are not independent. They are indeed mutually supportive and related, as Crotty (2003) substantiated at the outset of his contribution recalled in section 7.1. Guba and Lincoln (1998; 2002), however, pointed out theories and issues related to competing qualitative paradigms of inquiry to corroborate the subordination of questions of method to those concerning theoretical perspective and research methodology. For this reason, and for the purpose of presenting systematically the research methodology, the next section introduces the choice of the inquiry paradigm that precedes a more thorough discussion concerning the research strategy and methods of inquiry. The ultimate goal is to substantiate the relevance of undertaking a post-structuralist theoretical perspective to the aim and objectives of this research. Post-structuralism entails in fact a set of theoretical assumptions that reflect the objective of exploring the discourse concerning the role of tourism in regeneration, while, also, underpinning the methodological inclination of the research.

7.2.2 The paradigm of inquiry.

The call for less descriptive and isolated case studies in the second chapter is particularly relevant to this section. The assertion made in that context was that the inclination of the literature towards uncritical descriptions produced overall isolated and uncritical case study research. This aspect will be tackled in the sections of this chapter that finalizes the choice of the case study type (section 7.3). For the moment it is sufficient to start off this commentary about the paradigm of inquiry by recognizing that within the qualitative research framework this issue is believed to be contained, neutralized or temporarily cauterized, by undertaking *thick descriptions*.

This concept was borrowed from Ryle Gilbert and found a new context in the interpretive anthropology proposed by Geertz (1973). The qualitative research theory literature that hearkened back to Geertz (1973) and extended this concept to the broader range of qualitative perspectives however, failed to mention about the compliance of this option with ethnographic research in anthropology. Janesick (1998: 49) however managed to capture the interpretive profile of Geertz's (1973) theoretical underpinnings and contended that 'thick description makes thick interpretation possible'. If, on the one hand, thick description can be an option for the purpose of tackling the issue of *descriptivism* in case study research, on the other *interpretation*, as research activity within the *interpretivist* tradition, needs also careful scrutiny. According to Crotty (2003: 112, 113) in fact, interpretivism is by and large 'an uncritical form of study [...] that seeks merely to understand'.

Reflecting on these insights, on the need to formulate a research strategy that exceeds descriptivism in place of a critical endeavour and, meanwhile, responds to the complexity factor commented on above, the option of thick description seems inadequate. How to achieve these goals without falling into the most traditional critical stances featured in the notable critical circuits associated with the historical materialism of Marx (*critical inquiry*) and that of neo/post-Marxism of the Frankfurt School (*critical theory*)? How to avoid the traditional exclusive scrutiny of economic and political aspects of urban change which the 'new urban research paradigm' (Kalltorp et al, 1997: 5) reified by David Harvey and Manuel Castells focused on then, while undertaking a critical stance nonetheless? Sayer and Stopper disputed that (1997: 1) 'any social science claiming to be critical must have a standpoint from which its critique is made'. Why avoiding these circuits of critical analysis while still embracing

a *legitimate* research standpoint? What is a *recognized* and adequate alternative to these circuits? As it will become apparent in the next few paragraphs, the answer to these questions resides in the choice of post-structuralism as an appropriate theoretical perspective for a suitable research methodology, and on its theoretical tenets.

7.2.2.1 Post-modernism, post-structuralism and the rejection of modern modes of knowledge production.

A definition of the theoretical and methodological tenets underpinning the range of post-structuralisms identified in the literature has usually related post-structuralism to postmodernism as paradigm (Sarup, 1993) and historic *condition* (Crotty, 2003). The social sciences and geography research literature in particular juxtaposed both paradigms to the precepts of Marxism and structuralist philosophies (Harland, 1987). As it will become increasingly apparent in the following sections this debate features significantly less prominently in the tourism research literature. It is not the aim of this section to discuss the traits that mark the distinction between post-structuralism and postmodernism (and its correlated terms such as *postmodern* and *post-modern* for example), such would be only one way to make the choice of the paradigm seemingly more accurate. This is because the two have been frequently discussed as interrelated, if not synonymous, although the latter assertion has been extensively problematized (Best and Kellner, 1991; Milner, 1991; Wolin, 1992; Peet, 1998; Crotty, 2003) as what is to follow summarizes.

The research theory literature explained that the two terms, postmodern and post-modern, inform one another with a range of post-structuralisms developing in direct relation with the postmodern (historic) condition discussed in full length, for example, by Jameson (1991) and Lyotard (1984). In this context they were considered instances of ‘postmodernism-as-cultural-response’ (Crotty, 2003: 196). Wolin (1992) brought the post-structural/postmodern Lyotard (1984) into the equation and concluded that post-structuralism can be seen as the epistemological corollary of postmodernism, and, that it can be subsumed to a broader form of thought. Furthermore, in a survey of postmodern theory, Best and Kellner (1991: 2) also declared that ‘there is no unified postmodern theory, or even a coherent set of positions’. Contrary to Best and Kellner (1991), Peet (1998: 215) remarked that there are indeed a number of recurrent positions that are critical of modern philosophy: post-structural theory is one of them. No matter

what the thin boundary is that delimits the two seemingly indivisible theoretical constructs, post-modern and post-structural theory, what is particularly significant to the development of a rationale that supports this research's inquiry paradigm resides in the suffix *post-*.

Like any other *post-* in fact, post-structuralism entails estrangement from, if not rejection of, a previous condition of thought. In the case of post-structuralism, this is structuralism and its ontological and epistemological precepts. As suggested above by Peet (1998), what makes post-structuralist (and postmodernist thinkers by and large) as such is a manifest rejection of modern modes of knowledge production. This is because, according to Peet (1998: 215) these modes share 'the rationalism of modern life'; the assumption here is that they do not match with the postmodern idiosyncrasies. These assertions find recognition in the arguments brought up by the observers of post-structuralism and postmodernism commenting on their protagonists. Sarup (1993), Crotty (2003), Harland (1987) and Harrison (2006) for instance hearkened back to the philosophies of Derrida, Foucault, Deleuze, and Lyotard. They unanimously maintained that this group rejected the objectivist, positivist, unitarian, totalitarian, foundational, absolutist, essentialist and universal stances embedded in the grand narratives put in place by the metaphysical philosophies of Kant, Hegel and Marx. This is because, as these commentators agreed, post-structuralist theory is, in essence, 'anti-essentialist' (Harrison, 2006: 122): it follows the postmodern credo, hence its ontological relativism and subjective epistemologies. Accordingly, as some postmodern geographical literature disputed (Warf, 1993; Fainstein, 1996), for the comprehension of reality it embraces pastiche and fragmentation, and, more significantly, concepts such as that of criticality, contextuality, contingency and complexity.

Thus, to the same extent that Nietzsche, the group took distance from Kant's philosophy as well as Hegel's and Marx's dialectic with the claim that the belief of the former is reductionist and 'no longer connects with the present' (Sarup, 1993: 106). Peet (1998: 215) further clarified this point and explained that:

'Poststructural theory draws from nihilism and existentialism to find [modern] philosophy narrow, exclusive and complicit with the very problem found prevalent in modern society, its rationalism – overbearing in the sense that rationality cripples the modern subject'.

As an anticipation to one of the core topics in the following sections, Edward Soya (1989) claimed that a historical epistemology has pervaded critical social theory during the past century when understanding of the making of history was the source of emancipation. In this sense, Soya (1989) claimed that the sensitivity to the *spatiality of social life* resulted, when *space* was an undialectical feature, in the modern study of history, as opposed to *time*. Responding to Foucault (1986: 22) claiming that ‘the present epoch will perhaps be above all the epoch of space’, this lack of sensitivity has drawn urban analysts to review their positions. With particular reference to Marx’s historical materialism then, Sarup (1993: 143) added that ‘it is outmoded; it does not and cannot apply to the new social developments’, but can instead only repress much of the ‘reality’s richness’ (Crotty, 2003: 211). Sarup (1993: 143) in the end concluded that there has been a shift in the way of thinking, living, and making sense of reality and recognized a move from a modern to a postmodern condition. The author then stressed further a subtler social shift namely that from a Marxist to a ‘post-Marxist’ kind of society (Sarup, 1993: 143). According to the sociology situated literature that associated complexity theory to the postmodern world (Byrne, 1998; Urry, 2005), this is one that gives space to complexity and reflects an alleged turn to pluralistic values.

These are certainly only some of the reasons why some of the research inquiring into postmodern urban change since the 1970s took distance from simplistic and deep economic and political analysis based on class division and modes of production. According to the account proposed by Kalltorp et al (1997: 5), the ‘new urban research paradigm’ has been in fact partly superseded by a post-structuralist turn in urban studies that now focuses on social and cultural aspects of change: *consumption* patterns in place of production modes, post-Foucauldian theories (i.e. actor-network theory) in place of class struggle analysis (Fainstein, 1996; Kalltorp et al, 1997; Peet, 1998; Bosco, 2006; Murdoch, 2006).

These claims are already suggestive of the inquiry paradigm that is believed to be particularly suitable to tackle this research. They can operate as general arguments to justify the choice of leaving the critical inquiry and critical theory tenets aside and observe post-structuralism as a belief system. Before continuing with the other aspects of the inquiry paradigm however (i.e. research methodology and methods of data gathering), the next section proposes applications and functional working definitions of post-structuralism that can add to the arguments so far exposed. What follows lingers

upon geographical studies of urban change in general, and urban tourism in particular, and reminds of arguments extensively discussed in previous chapters. While clarifying the object of much of post-structuralist analysis, reference will be made to the theoretical origins of this geographical form of inquiry by hearkening back to the Foucauldian philosophy. The Foucauldian theory of discourse is then taken into account as a means to reason the choice of the research methodology employed that frames the inquiry paradigm. This is because it is one among the prominent theoretical conundrums to which geographical studies have drawn on while undertaking a post-structuralist perspective to urban change and urban tourism as the following discusses.

7.2.2.2 Post-structuralist inquiry: research subjects and elements.

In chapters 3 and 4 the urban analysts that undertook a leftist and post-structuralist perspective to urban tourism rebalanced the arguments of the proponents with a critical opposition. This debate was proposed in a clarifying and summative manner in chapter 6 and it is not going to be proposed again in this commentary. Developing on Murdoch's (2006) ideas, however, what is significant to highlight in respect of this debate is that it entails, at times, a rescaling of the spatiality commonly associated with the Foucauldian post-structuralist philosophy (e.g. prisons, asylums).

By extolling everything left out in the totalizing theories, these post-structuralist positions focused on the 'marginal and excluded' (Sarup, 2003: 100) 'as normalized minorities' (Harland, 1987: 165) and emphasized the effects of a tourism driven socio-economic change. They also noticed a narrative of surveillance and control and problematized the formation of tourist enclaves as 'defensible space' (Fainstein, 2001: 226) that underwent *privatization* and *fortification* processes. Key issue here is that these spaces foster a contrived tourist experience of a fabricated, illusionary safe, predictable, and consumption oriented urban setting. On this base, the immediate contributors to the urban tourism discourse (e.g. Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993; Hall, 1994; Burgers, 1995; Judd and Fainstein, 1999; Meethan, 2001; Hoffman et al, 2003; Page and Hall, 2003; Perry, 2003; Smith, 2003; Judd, 2003b; Smith, 2007a) advanced criticisms about the exclusionary and marginalizing nature of urban tourism as a process of physical, and socio-economic change and called for the urgent need for a turn to discursive planning practices as opposed to the catalytic approach. Hence, the rationale behind planning specifically for a consumerist and top-down model of urban

tourism development was criticized and opposed to a bottom-up, organic, inclusive and informally driven approach. The arguments of the urban tourism analysts certainly contributed to the formation of the discourse of the role of tourism in the regeneration of large post-industrial cities. According to this discourse, it can be asserted that the discursive practices of market planning and place promotion (Ashworth and Voogd, 1990; Keans and Philo, 1993; Kotler et al, 1993; Gold and Ward, 1994) and the resulting catalytic planning and induced exclusive schemes (Bianchini et al, 1992; Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993; Byrne, 1998) superseded more progressive instances modeled in discursive and cultural planning literature (Mercer, 1991; Bianchini, 1999; Landry, 2000; Evans, 2001; Ghilardi, 2001; Ploger, 2001; Smith, 2003; Taylor, 2004; Richards, 2007; Richards and Wilson, 2007; Smith, 2007b). Drawing on the post-structuralist vocabulary embedded in Foucault's later writings, the urban regeneration and urban tourism practices generated just another discourse that holds together the current late-capitalist/post-Fordist/postmodern *episteme*²: the urban tourism discourse.

Reflecting on the above, post-structuralist inquiry within the social sciences in general, and geographical studies in particular, has given birth to a well-defined research narrative. A few definitions have emerged that emphasize the key points made so far. They are instrumental to help identify a relevant methodology for this research as they stress subjects, modes and research perspectives of much applied post-structuralist theory. In the opening paragraph of *Visitors and the Spatial Ecology of Cities* for example, Judd (2003c) referred to Fainstein's (2001) take on post-structuralism as a critical theory of urban development. For these authors, post-structuralism denotes:

'a body of scholarship that emphasizes what is often labeled the postmodern geography of the city, which is described as a landscape fractured by walls, barriers, and a geography of difference and separation, a form of development brought about by the economic and political influences of globalization' (Judd, 2003c).

In his later account on post-structuralist geography, Murdoch (2006: 107) explained that 'post-structuralism in geography focuses on the ways that dynamic and complex processes move through and across space, modifying spatial entities, recasting spatial relations'. The shared understanding of post-structuralism especially in respect

² This term relates to the vocabulary adopted in the Foucauldian discourse theory. It will be explained in the following section when the Foucauldian philosophy is merged with Discourse Analysis as research methodology.

of the way spatial change is understood in a complex dynamism is apparent. Even more apparent is the non-prescriptive framework on which postmodern and, as a consequence, post-structuralist geographical enquiry dwells. It is structured epistemologically around four sets of issues namely: complexity, contextuality, contingency, and criticality (Fainstein, 1996; Byrne, 1998; Peet, 1998; Wylie, 2006).

Complexity, contextuality and criticality have already been independently problematized in previous sections. Contextuality, and complexity were also discussed in relation to the qualitative turn in the social sciences with locality studies as the focus in much of geographical research. The criticality issue in particular was the focus of this section about the inquiry paradigm. Criticality was related to the choice of the research strategy, to the need for a clear standpoint from which to perform criticality, and adopt a critical theoretical position while also avoiding traditional approaches to urban change. In this respect, the research literature has corroborated the critical profile of much post-structural theory. As already mentioned above, Fainstein (1996, 1999) sided post-structuralism with political economy analysis and urban populism as theoretical approaches taken by contemporary critical theorists of urban development. Wylie (2006: 298) also help corroborate these beliefs and discussed post-structuralist methods as critical methods above all, and claimed:

‘Poststructuralism may be reasonably called a critical philosophy, it is very different from the types of critical or radical geographies, sociologies, histories and so on that are ultimately rooted within Marxist philosophies. [...] poststructuralism in fact offers a more radical and critical approach than these, because it is not based upon one particular diagnosis of how the world is organized (such as Marxism), and because it does not offer a systematic alternative (as Marxism is held to do)’.

This section was concerned with clarifying the theoretical underpinnings that support other choices relative to the paradigm of inquiry. It discussed the post-structural theory proposed mainly in the geography research literature as one that responds to the issues of complexity, contextuality, contingency and criticality recurrently problematized above as well as in previous chapters. It also provided for a range of arguments that pave the way for the topic of the next section. The Foucauldian post-structuralist philosophy and related theory of discourse are now proposed as the base for the research methodology adopted for this research.

7.2.2.3 Michel Foucault and the *Theory of Discourse*.

This section relates the aspects above to the Foucauldian post-structuralism. It discusses how the latter suits this research's objectives more than others and how it informs the choice of the research methodology. The adoption of the Foucauldian theoretical positions is believed to create continuity with the post-structural perspective, the research methodology and methods of data gathering. It is not intended however to propose here another copy of Foucault's work the way of his commentators (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1982; Rabinof, 1984; Sheridan, 1990; Mills, 1997; Danaher et al, 2000; Paolucci, 2003) as it would be an unnecessary addition to the point that needs to be made in this section. Indeed, it is necessary to point out some essential aspects of the Foucauldian philosophy so as to liaise his work with the methodology adopted to respond to this research's aim and objectives.

The scholastic literature divided the structuralist from the post-structuralist Foucault and juxtaposed the archeological (i.e. Foucault, 1969; Foucault, 1973, 1982) with the genealogical period (i.e. Foucault, 1978; Foucault, 1980, 1995). Carabine (2001) and Peet (1998) explained that archeology and genealogy are the methodologies Foucault adopted to the study of *history*: 'archeology is a technique for isolating [the] place [of science] in a discursive formation; genealogy adds another level, the historical and political role played by a science' (Peet, 1998: 203). In effect, although the academic rationale behind this approach is understandable, it also brings some limitations. I personally appreciate his work as a complex whole without beginning or end, but with a solid epicentre holding its margins. This personal position is supported by a comment from Foucault (1972: 17) who spoke of himself as being the subject of the same 'labyrinth' he made. His work cannot be seen as a progressive thought marked by a definite succession of stages, but as a unique patchwork of interrelated parts: at its epicentre, is the narrative he constructed alongside his *theory of discourse*, that is, the very focus of this section and the foundation for the discourse analysis adopted at methodological level to conduct this research.

The last decade has seen an upsurge of interest in the Foucauldian philosophy in geographical and tourism studies in general, and geographical studies of tourism and urban tourism in particular. The Nietzschean notion of *power* proposed in the Foucauldian philosophy was often put at the centre of the tourism debate (e.g. Hollinshead, 1999; Cheong and Miller, 2000; Coles and Church, 2007; Raffay and

Clarke, 2007). It focused, as Coles and Church (2007: 271) argued, only on particular aspects of tourism, namely: ‘gaze, identities, semiotics and discourses’. It engaged, although with a certain degree of marginality, also with the Foucauldian theory of discourse: it proposed a *power*-based stakeholder analytical framework to tackle the complexities operating within and around urban tourism development (Raffay and Clarke, 2007); brought in the vocabulary of “discursive practices” and focused on the emerging ‘post-Foucauldian’ (Coles and Church, 2007: 27) actor-network theory (Bramwell, 2006) that is core of recent post-structuralist developments in geographical studies of space (e.g. Bosco, 2006; Murdoch, 2006); and studied the spaces of tourism and the emergence of ‘tourismscapes’ (van der Duin, 2007: 967). As proposed above, post-structural geographical studies have instead avoided the isolation of the Foucauldian theory of *power* from its philosophical context (*discourse* and the vocabulary of *discourse formation*) especially when studying urban tourism as a dynamic urban transformation force and process. The geography research literature (e.g. Peet, 1998; Pile and Keith, 1998; Murdoch, 2006; Wylie, 2006) has thus reinforced this practice. It engaged with the vocabulary of *discourse formation* and highlighted a narrative of binary oppositions that juxtaposes *active* and *reactive*, *domination* and *resistance*, *included* and *excluded*, hence everyday dominant and marginal discursive *practices*, *events*, *episodes* and *micropractices*. Despite the impact of the Foucauldian theory of power on geographical and tourism studies, what follows does not put *power* per se, as a loose concept, at centre of the discussion. Instead, emphasis is given to the dynamic mechanism of discursive formation that entails the *power relation between discursive statements*. In order to clarify the latter assertions, in the following passages an overview of the Foucauldian conception of *history* precedes a commentary on how *discourse formation* works. This is to pave the way for a few definitions of *discourse* and introduce *discourse analysis* as a research methodology that draws principally on the Foucauldian philosophy.

The contribution of the French cultural theorist Michel Foucault to the theory of discourse is undeniable. Mills (1997: 14) noticed the crucial role played by Foucault in the development of a range of different theories which have been grouped under the term ‘discourse theory’. Commentators embarking on the Foucauldian theory of discourse (i.e. Harland, 1987; Sheridan, 1990; Milner, 1991; Sarup, 1993; Danaher et al, 2000) highlighted a narrative of horizontal and mutually constituting, anonymous

and unstructured power relations, domains of knowledge, and games of truth. In order to grasp how the Foucauldian *theory of discourse* (i.e. discursivity) works it is however useful to linger upon the philosophical context from which Foucault's reflections originate. In the following paragraphs the philosopher's view of *history* is thus proposed to pave the way for a discussion about what *discursivity* entails.

The narrative above dispels any structured conception of *reality*. It fully reflects the post-structural intent put up by Foucault to undermine the Marxist essentialist and absolutist view of *history* as a linear, structured, inevitably progressive, continuous and predictable process. The same applies to Foucault's rejection of the notion of *ideology* as concept underpinned by inevitable progress towards an ultimate and complete form of civilization (Harland, 1987; Sarup, 1993; Mills, 1997). Accordingly, Sikka (2008) agrees with Harland (1987: 166) when describing Foucault as anti-Marxist 'not only when he rejects the reduction of all power relations to class-relations, but also when he rejects the ideal of an ultimate social harmony and the belief in an inevitable social progression towards the ideal'.

Further clarifications aligned the Foucauldian understanding of history with the theory of discourse. Sarup (1993: 98) explained that 'Foucault's latter work [the genealogical] "replaced" the model of repression and emancipation developed by Marx and Freud with a pluralism of power/discourse formations'. Mills (1997) also noticed that in *L'Archéologie du Savoir* it is clear that, for Foucault (1969), history does not exist as a process, but as discontinued and disconnected periods of domination and subjugation: *histories* and *episteme*, rather than *history* the way of Marxism. Rabinof (1984), Peet (1998) and Sikka (2008) also dwelt on genealogy to explain Foucault's detachment from Marx in favour of a different ontological conception of reality. Rabinof (1984: 83) explained that:

'using the method of genealogy, Foucault illustrates exactly how discursivity works by re-establishing the systems of subjugation and the hazardous play of dominations subjugation'.

Together with Rabinof (1984), Peet (1998: 203) also explained that, in the genealogical sense, 'history is not the progress of universal reason but, rather, humanity moving from one domination to another'. The idea of a *fabricated, constructed* reality is therefore at the core of the Foucauldian theory of discourse that entails

discursivity/discourse formation. This aspect was particularly emphasized in Peet (1998) and Sikka (2008: 231) contributions:

‘Foucault tries to detotalize history as a whole unified by a telos or essence and to decenter the subject as a constituted rather than a constitutive consciousness. Foucault sees history as a non-evolutionary, fragmented field of disconnected knowledges and society as a dispersed regularity of unevenly developing discourses and practices’ (Peet, 1998: 200).

‘To Foucault contrast his approach with traditional approaches to history whose focus is, more often than not, on the search for origins or essences. Genealogy is overtly poststructural in its attempt to reveal something quite different: “not a timeless and essential secret, but the secret that [things] have no essence or that this essence was fabricated in a piecemeal fashion from alien forms (Sikka, 2008: 231).

The Marxist notion of history is instead the reign of the universal, absolute and ‘ahistorical’ (Danaher et al, 2000: 11) a ‘global totalitarian theory’ (Sarup, 1993: 98) of truth/reality (i.e. that progress exists and is the objective of class struggle). The discussion above then juxtaposed the objectivist dialectic of Marx (historical materialism) with the “objectivist relativism” of Foucault (Harland, 1987). The latter statement may appear paradoxical but it is very much in line with the Foucauldian view of history/episteme/discourse as the result of complexity, contextuality and contingency. For Foucault, Danaher et al (2000) asserted, reality cannot exist outside *episteme*. Epistemes are described as ‘periods of history [...] organized around their own specific world-views’ (Danaher et al, 2000: 15). Accordingly, Peet (1998: 201-202) explained that:

‘Foucault calls the setting which decides whether statements count as knowledge the epistemological field, or episteme. So by episteme he means the set of relations between discursive practices in a given period that create formalized systems of knowledge’.

Epistemes, and their organizing principles, ‘determine how we make sense of things, what we can know, and what we say’ (Danaher et al, 2000: 17). In turn, each episteme (Foucault - 1969 - distinguished the *Renaissance* from the *Classical* and the *Modern* for example) *produces* discourses and, at same time, is the *product* of discourse formation, that can be either discipline-based (when specific and local), or culture-based (when general) (Certeau, 1986; Sheridan, 1990; Danaher et al, 2000).

Thus, the constitutive elements of discourse(s), namely discursive statements and related practices are recognized as organizing principle(s) of each episteme. To conclude, Sarup (1993) explained that post-structuralism looked at reality, and its

fabrication/construction, as the result of discourse (and discursive formation by reflex) whereby reality becomes the prisoner of the same discourse that it produces. The author clarified this point in the following way:

‘If reality was constructed by our discourse rather than reflected by it, how could we ever know reality itself, rather than merely knowing our own discourse? According to this dogma, we can never know anything at all; we are the prisoners of our discourse’ (Sarup, 1993: 97).

In accordance with the commentary above, discourse is understood as ‘narratives of domination/resistance’ (Wylie, 2006: 307): ‘the vast network of conflicting and inter-validating discursive practices constituting reality’ (Foucault, 1975: 27). From this commentary stems the question of how discourses, in the Foucauldian sense, get to be formed. The following paragraphs bring the Foucauldian theory of power, core to a *productive* mechanism of discourse formation, into account to explain how *discursivity* works, and then complete this overview on the Foucauldian theory of discourse.

According to the commentary above *discourse* can be seen as the philosophical construct that supports the Foucauldian’s post-structuralism (Sheridan, 1990; Sarup, 1993). The post-structuralism embedded in the philosophies of Derrida (1974) and Lyotard (1971) share some of the Foucauldian precepts such as incredulity towards metanarratives, contextuality, contingency, non linear notion of time, language as a one-sided medium. Unlike Foucault, however, the latter tends to focus on the ‘philosophy of language’ where ‘discourses are theorized as moves in language games’ (Peet, 1998: 209) and language as a ‘system of differences’ (Wylie, 2006: 300). Foucault concurred with the Derridean belief according to which language is at centre of experience and reality construction (in *Of Grammatology* Derrida (1974: 158) substantiated the belief that ‘there is nothing outside the text’). Wylie (2006: 303) observed that for Foucault ‘a discourse refers more broadly to the totality of utterances, actions and events which constitute a given field or topic’. Danaher et al (2000: 31) also explained that ‘Foucault is not so much interested in language systems as a whole, as individual acts of language - or discourse’. Instead the authors claimed that the Foucauldian *discourse* can be understood as the result of ‘language in action’ that is about the ‘discursive practices’ (Danaher et al, 2000: 31, 34) concurring in the production of *discursive statements*. These statements are then described as the basic

units of discourse and as ‘windows which allow us to make sense of and see things’. Within this perspective Danaher et al (2000: 31) explained that:

‘these discursive windows [...] shape our understanding of ourselves and our capacity to distinguish the valuable from the valueless, the true from the false, and the right from the wrong. [...] our thoughts and actions are influenced, regulated and to some extent controlled by these different discourses’.

According to Harland (1987) the arguments developed by the genealogical Foucault have indeed a strong political substrate due to his Nietzschean view on *power*. In his view, this was the case especially after the 1970s when Foucault moved from an archeological to a genealogical approach to history and when the focus on *power relations between statements* superseded that on *language and text* (Harland, 1987). The genealogical Foucault was more interested in the power ‘mechanism[s]’ (Foucault, 1980: 104) that form discourses (the *how*) rather than the identification of *who* concurs in the formation of a discourse (Sarup, 1993; Mills, 1997). Hence, the Foucauldian rejection of the Marxist notion of vertical, top-down, localized, negative and repressive conception of power (Harland, 1987; Sarup, 1993). Instead, he embraced the *relations of power, knowledge, and truth* paradigm as determinant instance occurring within a given context/field (Mills, 1997). Sarup (1993: 104) highlighted the Foucauldian rejection of the traditional conception of power as ‘invested in a central, organizing state from which it filters down to successive levels [...]’. Foucault view of power in fact rejects ‘class analysis in favor of a vision of a complex of forces which continuously disaggregate and coalesce’ (Sarup, 1993: 104). Again, rather than providing a definition of power, Foucault looked at it as a productive mechanism of discourse formation (Mills, 1997). In essence, *discourse* is understood as the result of *relations of power*; as such, it is the product of the *power struggle between discursive statements*. This struggle generates a narrative of domination and resistance between discursive statements. It constructs *reality* in ‘domains of objects’ (Sarup, 1993: 74), regimes/rituals of truths, other discourses through ‘practices of exclusion’ (Mills, 1997: 11, 17) taking place in a particular field or context, anyhow within a constructing and constructed *episteme*. Hence, *discourse* is a regime of truth that ‘construct social reality’ (Pratt, 1991: 261): ‘discourse *is* (original emphasis) everyday practice’ (Wylie, 2006: 304).

This section added some theoretical insights that are key to the formulation of the paradigm of inquiry. The main concern was to take a clear position in respect of the interpretive and critical stances that are recognized within the qualitative research framework. To reinforce this point Coles and Church (2007: 29) argued that ‘it is no surprise that research influenced by post-structural theory has been central to developing qualitative methods’. Thus, the commentary above focused on the Foucauldian post-structuralism and explained how his genealogical study of history produced a theory of discourse. The above commentary describes *discourse* as the outcome of the power relation between discursive statements that, according to their resulting dominance or marginality in *discourse formation*, construct *reality*. The relevance of this theory to this research’s aim and objectives will become apparent in the following sections and, especially, in chapters 8 and 9 where the research methodology (i.e. discourse analysis) will enable the analysis of a large number of primary sources of data. There have been various attempts to adapt this theory’s precepts to a research methodology framework (i.e. discourse analysis). The methodology literature is in fact prolific of publications concerning the analysis of discourse. Nevertheless, as the next section highlights, the same literature struggles with providing a unique and clear definition of *discourse* and a univocal approach to its study. The above commentary is indeed instrumental in responding to this indeterminacy, hereby the choice of hearkening back to the Foucauldian discourse theory framework. In this commentary it emerged that the geography research literature has expressed particular interest in the Foucauldian post-structuralism mainly due to the spatial focus of much of the philosopher’s theorization. This is also among the reasons behind the choice of drawing on the Foucauldian post-structural inquiry as the foundation for this research methodology. What follows is therefore an overview of discourse analysis as generally discussed in the research literature. It also closes this first part of a more theoretical discussion of methodology and paves the way for a commentary about the practicalities involved in the empirical research.

7.2.2.4 Discourse analysis: the research methodology.

As anticipated, the discourse analysis literature does not present a clear and unanimous theorization of discourse analysis. It has indeed expressed no clear consensus in respect of what discourses are, and, in turn, how to analyze them. Mills

(1997) reasoned this indeterminacy by claiming that the meaning of *discourse* has different disciplinary referents and draws often on differing theoretical assumptions. Accordingly, Phillips and Jørgensen (2002: 1) made reference to discourse analysis and claimed that ‘discourse analysis is not just one approach, but a series of interdisciplinary approaches that can be used to explore many different social domains in many different types of study’. Taylor (2001a: 5) reminds us that ‘discourse analysis is best understood as a field of research rather than a single practice’. van Dijk interchanged the term discourse studies with discourse analysis (van Dijk, 1997) that was defined as a ‘cross-discipline’ (van Dijk, 1997: 1), a ‘multidisciplinary’ enterprise (van Dijk, 1997: 22) and ‘activity’ (Fairclough, 1992: 74), and a series of ‘interdisciplinary approaches’ (Phillips and Jørgensen, 2002: 1). van Dijk (1997) specified linguistics, psychology and the social sciences as disciplines within humanity studies that are involved in the study of discourse. Respectively, these disciplines target language and language use; social beliefs and the way that these are communicated; and the interactions in social situations. Despite these comments, some categorizations were attempted.

While providing an account of discourse theory and contextualizing the Foucauldian philosophy within the field of discourse studies, Mills (1997) discussed *discourse analysis* and *critical discourse analysis* as approaches employed in areas of study that draw on linguistics. Scrolling through the discourse analysis literature, it is clear that Foucault’s work has had a noticeable impact on the fields of literary and cultural studies where language is the main subject of investigation (Fairclough, 1992; Fairclough, 1995; Mills, 1997; Howarth, 2000; Howarth et al, 2000). In previous paragraphs, the Derridean and Foucauldian conception of *language* as constituted and constitutive of reality was highlighted as a cornerstone of much of their ontological beliefs. In this respect, Mills (1997: 38) echoed the Foucauldian theory of discourse by stating that ‘within discourse theory language is the site where [...] struggles are acted out’. The discourse analysis literature has also proposed examples where the theory of discourse was applied to investigate the social (Howarth et al, 2000; Wetherell et al, 2001). Howarth et al (2000) stated the intent of taking a different task to the prevailing currents of research, and published an edited book in which discourse theory was directly applied to empirical case studies. The purpose of his contribution was in fact that of avoiding the application of discourse theory to the ‘technical analysis of

discourse viewed narrowly as speech or text' (Howarth et al, 2000: 1). This in fact was the main concern for *discourse analysts* such as Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) and Coulthard (1977), *conversation analysts*, *discursive/social psychologists* (i.e. Wetherell and Potter, 1992; Wilkinson and Kitzinger, 1995), and *critical discourse analysts* (Fowler et al, 1979; Fairclough, 1989; Fairclough, 1992; Fairclough, 1995). Despite being indebted more than others to the Foucauldian discursivity, the latter for instance modified the term discourse and performed a ground-level approach to language (Mills, 1997). Howarth et al (2000) aimed at filling a gap in the discourse studies literature and directed analysis to key *political* issues.

Howarth et al (2000: 1) widened the theoretical tenets underpinning the various case studies in his contribution and embraced the research program put on by Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe. According to Howarth et al (2000) this program comprises a novel fusion of recent developments in Marxist, post-structuralist, post-analytical, and psychoanalytic theory. In general terms, Howarth et al (2000: 4) bestowed discourse analysis as the 'practice of analyzing empirical raw materials and information as discursive forms'. With Taylor (2001a: 5), Howarth et al (2000: 4) agreed discourse analysis as the 'close study of language in use' that entails the *search for patterns*. It implies that the analyst treats a wide range of linguistic and non-linguistic data (i.e. speeches, reports, manifestos, historical events, interviews, policies, ideas, even organizations and institutions) as 'texts or writing' (Howarth et al, 2000: 4). Taylor (2001a), in fact, identified four variants of discourse analysis. The first three deal with language (although at different degrees) as a system; the fourth, instead, is much more concerned with identifying 'patterns across wider social and cultural contexts' and studies *language* and *practices* to show how these constitute aspects of society (Taylor, 2001a: 15). Taylor (2001) claimed that the concept of 'controversy', or 'dialogue' as Macdonnell (1986: 1) would describe it, is basic in this form of discourse analysis because it involves the study of *power* and *resistance* between discursive statements and aligns with the model described in the previous section. This variant reflects the genealogical Foucault theorizations and informs the methodological directions taken in this research: it regards contextual specific research that does not pursue the positivist uncovering of *truth*, but the provision of a version of reality that is inevitably 'partial, situated and relative' (Taylor, 2001: 12). In this direction Howarth et al (2000: 5) had already moved when stating:

‘From a discursive theory perspective [there is] the need to avoid the twin pitfalls of empiricism and theoreticism. [...] Discourse theorists acknowledge the central role of theoretical frameworks in delimiting their objects and methods of research, thus rejecting crude empiricism and positivist approaches, they are concerned to prevent the *subsumption* of each empirical case under its own abstract theoretical concepts or logics. In other words, instead of applying a pre-existing theory on to a set of empirical objects, discourse theorists seek to articulate their concept in each particular enactment of concrete research. The condition for this conception of conducting research is that the concepts and logics of the theoretical framework must be sufficiently open and flexible enough to be adapted, deformed and transformed in the process of application. This conception excludes essentialist and reductionist theories of society which tend to predetermine the outcome of research and thus preclude the possibility of innovative accounts of phenomena’.

Another qualifying definition of this kind of discourse analysis was proposed by the human geography research literature commenting on post-structuralist theories and critical methods. It condenses much of the theoretical and methodological aspects hitherto commented on and provides for a reasonably complete methodological framework for data collection and discussion. By drawing on the Foucauldian theory of discourse, Wylie (2006) defined discourse analysis as a ‘post-structural method [...] insofar as [it is] concerned to go beyond top-down structuralist conceptions of how power is exercised’ (2006: 305) and explained:

‘it is a critical method which seeks to describe how certain identities and narratives are produced, privileged, sometimes naturalized, and asserted over identities and narratives which are comparatively marginalized, excluded or silenced. Discourse analysis seeks to describe in detail, with close attention to particular events, episodes, and practices, how certain behaviours, attitudes and beliefs come to be sedimented’.

In the light of the arguments above, the application of discourse theory to empirical cases remains the aspect that Howarth et al (2000) wished to problematize the most in his contribution. This issue is indeed the same that justifies the need for fostering an exploration of the various theorizations of discourse analysis as research methodology featured in the research literature that were proposed above with the final intention of identifying an existing framework that more than others suits this research’s aim and objectives.

In the course of this section about the paradigm of inquiry, some key points have emerged. Post-structuralism was selected as an alternative critical perspective to allegedly outmoded modern modes of knowledge production. Hence, it is one that puts space, the complex and contextual dynamics behind its formation, at the centre of the

research by engaging with the epistemological issue of contextuality, criticality, contingency and complexity. The charted emphasis of the Foucauldian post-structural philosophy on *how* reality is constructed/formed in *discourse*, led instead to the choice of discourse analysis as a critical research methodology that responds, in turn, to the aim and objectives of this research. *Discursivity* (the Foucauldian theory of discourse formation), was in fact described as the epicenter of the post-structuralist philosophy of Foucault that is, in effect, the theoretical backdrop on which the methodology adopted in this research dwells. Together, post-structuralism and related discourse analysis reject empiricism and positivist approaches by pursuing, instead, a breadth kind of analysis that assesses the power relation between identifiable *discursive statements* and, more importantly, their dominance or marginality in the formation of the discourse under scrutiny. For the purpose of this research, theorizations of discourse analysis that draw on the Foucauldian post-structuralism, as discussed above, are sized down and adapted to the exploration of the discourse concerning the role of tourism in the regeneration of an English seaside town.

Alongside describing how discourse analysis was actually implemented in this research, the next section outlines the choice of the case study strategy and presents the various phases of the empirical research. At the outset of this chapter in fact, the definition of the paradigm of inquiry was claimed to be instrumental to delimit the theoretical boundaries of the research strategy to be adopted. The next section aims to explore the final choices of the case study type as research strategy and the related methods of data gathering, while also leading to the presentation of the practicalities of the empirical research.

7.3 Research strategy: the case study.

At the outset of this chapter the *case study* was claimed to be a suitable research strategy to pursue the aim and objectives of this research. Following the recommendations by the research literature in relation to the choice of the case study type, discussion moved to theoretical and methodological aspects. The argument was that a clear definition of case study types could be grasped only by fostering theoretical contextualization which included the selection of research approach (i.e. qualitative or quantitative) and paradigm of inquiry (i.e. post-structuralism, Foucauldian theory of discourse and discourse analysis) underpinning this research was therefore operated.

The following paragraphs discuss in depth this choice by drawing on the case study research strategy literature and some core arguments emerged in previous sections.

The research literature identified a range of case study types. It distinguished for example the ‘intrinsic’ case study from the ‘instrumental’, ‘collective’ (Stake, 2000: 437), and, moreover, the ‘critical’, ‘unique or extreme’, ‘revelatory’, ‘exemplifying’, ‘comparative’ (Bryman, 2004: 51), ‘exploratory’, ‘descriptive’, ‘explanatory’ (Yin, 1981), ‘single’ or ‘multiple’ (Yin, 2003: 14), ‘holistic’ and ‘embedded’ (Yin, 2003: 19). It is not intended here to go deep into theoretical aspects for each type. For the purpose of justifying the choice of the case study research strategy attention needs to be brought to one of the most contentious aspects as far as case study research is concerned namely the criteria employed for judging the quality of case studies designs. The research strategies literature recommended tailoring the choice of the case study type around the aim and objectives of the study to be conducted (Yin, 1981; Stake, 1995, 1998; Stake, 2000; Yin, 2003). Accordingly, a range of arguments is developed below favouring one case study type to the expense of the others.

The literature recurrently juxtaposed single to multiple/collective/comparative case study strategies, and disputed the weakness of the single as opposed to the multiple-case version (Stake, 1995; Stake, 2000; Yin, 2003; Bryman, 2004). The most problematic aspect in relation to the case study research is that of drawing analytic generalizations from the findings. In this respect, both Yin (2003) and Bryman (2004) confirmed the limitations brought about by the single case study strategy when aiming at generalizing a study’s findings beyond the immediate case study. According to Yin (2003) in fact, the weakness of the single-case design dwells in the limited chance for direct replication of findings on one side, and the weakening of external validity on the other. In this respect, Yin (2003: 54) claimed that most criticisms about single-case studies ‘reflect fears about the uniqueness or artifactual condition surrounding the case’ that may ultimately result in skepticism concerning the quality of empirical research conducted. Promoters of the multiple-case strategy claimed that this form is more ‘likely to be stronger than single-case designs’, and that ‘trying to use even a two-case design is therefore a worthy objective compared to doing a single-case study’ (Yin, 2003: 19). Having two or more cases is therefore believed to produce a stronger effect as ‘the evidence from multiple cases is often considered more compelling. The overall study is therefore regarded as being more robust’ (Yin, 2003: 46) as the purpose, in this

case, is to overcome the issues of descriptivism and pursue the external validity objective (Stake, 2000; Silverman, 2005). In essence, as Bryman (2004: 55) contended, ‘the main argument in favour of the multiple-case study is that it improves theory building’. Despite these exhortations and the emphasis on the qualities of the case study strategy based on a multiple-sample framework, functionality and compatibility remain the orientating principles when it comes to tailor the choice of the relevant research strategy type to research aim, objectives and related paradigm of inquiry. Accordingly, what follows sets out the arguments for a single case study strategy. By echoing the above commentary, it touches on *context and complexity* as the highlights of much of the qualitative approaches and post-structuralist inquiry.

7.3.1 A single embedded case study strategy.

In support to the effectiveness and thoroughness of the single case study approach commentators juxtaposed the epistemological issues of contextuality and complexity with the limitations brought about by comparative case study research. Stake (1998: 90) proposed a narrative of the ‘particular’, the ‘unique’, the contextual as ‘each case has important atypical features, happenings, relationships, and situations’ (Stake, 2000: 439). The urban theory literature echoed the arguments made in section 7.2.1.1 about *locality studies* and reinforced a narrative of *uniqueness* and *singularity*. Parker (2004), for instance, remarked that ‘no two cities have an identical politico-administrative profile’ and that this difference makes particularly problematic any comparative generalization. Stake (2000: 440), then, juxtaposed single- to comparative-case studies and reflected on the ‘situational nature of social phenomena’ to stress the relevance of context specific studies. This way Stake (1998; 2000) deflated the arguments concerning the exclusive external validity potential of comparative case studies, and maintained that ‘case-by-case uniqueness is seldom an ingredient of scientific theory’ (Stake, 2000: 439). The author also contended that researching the particular actually competes with the ‘search for generalizability’. The argument in the literature was that drawing generalizations from the findings is however neither the goal in every case of qualitative research, nor should it be emphasized in all research (Stake, 2000; Flick, 2006).

Hence, comparison was even claimed to be one of the epistemological strategies that ‘obscures case knowledge’ and, paradoxically, ‘fails to facilitate comparison’

(Stake, 2000: 444). For Stake (1995; 1998; 2000) and Dyer and Wilkins (1991) for instance, the focus of the study should be the specific case itself, as comparison actually compete with learning about and from the particular case. These authors claimed that in doing multiple-case study attention is driven away from the specific context: concentration is on the bases for comparison, and uniqueness and complexities are glossed over. In this respect Flick (2006: 142) advocated that ‘in comparative study, you will not observe the case as a whole and in its complexity, but rather a multiplicity of cases with regard to particular excerpts’. In agreement with Stake (1995, 1998; 2000) and Dyer and Wilkins (1991), Raging and Becker (1992) also contributed to this topic and highlighted *precise description* or *reconstruction of a case* as the ultimate aim of the case study approach. The argument here was that research design featuring comparison substitutes the comparison for the case, whereas the focus of the case study approach should necessarily be the case itself and, more precisely, ‘a specific one’ (Stake, 2000: 436). On a similar note, Yin (2003: 47) put up a narrative of *necessity* and *functionality* while suggesting the use of single case study research strategies to tackle particular research agendas. The author claimed that for some cases ‘the rationale for single-case designs [...] cannot be satisfied by multiple cases’. As Yin (2003) maintained, this is true by definition for the *unusual* or *rare* (also labeled *unique* or *extreme* by Bryman, 2004), the *critical*, and the *revelatory* case. To conclude this section on the *pro* and *cons* of undertaking single in place of multiple-case studies, the research method literature also acknowledged the argument concerning the practicalities of doing case study research. This aspect was already discussed in the second and fifth chapter when limited time and limited resources (both financial and human) were discussed as constraining the choice of the strategy. This belief was supported by Yin (2003: 47) who remarked that ‘the conduct of multiple-case study can require extensive resources and time beyond the means of a single student or independent research investigator’.

Reflecting on the range of arguments explored above, the *exploratory*, *representative*, *exemplifying* and *instrumental* case study types respond to the call for context specific research embedded in the research approach, theoretical perspective and related methodology selected above. These four types share similar features. Each of them is context specific and can be applied to the spatial and temporal dimensions of a single case study design. For the *instrumental* for instance, the *case* is used to provide

insights into an issue (Silverman, 2005), where the main focus is not the case itself but, rather, the issue at stake. It can be sided with the *representative* type as the latter aims to ‘capture the circumstances and conditions’ that surround the case (Yin, 2003: 41). Insofar as the purpose of intertwining research approach with paradigm and a single case study type is concerned, the possibility of choosing between a *holistic* or *embedded* case study presents some advantages. Yin (2003) drew a conceptual demarcation between the two and claimed that within the same case the units of analysis may be more than one. This is the case for the embedded version where different units of analysis are selected through sampling techniques. For the holistic one instead, the focus is on the global nature of the phenomena under investigation. According to these highlights, a single embedded case study design attunes better than others with the aim of this research, and the paradigm of inquiry. In the next section discussion moves to the practicalities of the empirical research, the selection of the case study context (i.e. a relevant urban region), relevant units of analysis and methods of data gathering. The last part of this chapter considers the criteria for assessing *quality* in qualitative research and some ethical issues.

7.3.2 The case.

This section exposes the many practicalities of the fieldwork together with some basic choices responding to the paradigm of inquiry, and the research aim and objectives.

7.3.2.1 The choice of the case study setting.

Alongside research aim, objectives and related research strategy and methodology, the choice of the case study context needed to reflect also the three aspects outlined at the very end of chapter 6. The overarching aim of this research is to challenge the spatiality of much of research conducted in the field of urban tourism and look at the discourse concerning the role of tourism in the regeneration of declining traditional tourist areas. Chapter 5 already highlighted a scarcity of research in relation to a recent wave of structured regeneration programmes tackling disadvantaged urban areas along the coast in the UK. Accordingly, the selection of the case study setting took into account the distinction discussed in chapter 5, between coastal resorts and seaside towns as spaces traditionally associated with tourist flows, and coastal towns as *towns by the sea*. Moreover, with the main focus of this research

being *urban regeneration* as a process of urban transformation, and *tourism* as a factor of spatial and socio-economic urban change, the research setting had to be a seaside town experiencing formal urban regeneration at the time the empirical research took place. Scope for further investigation into the change of coastal resorts in the UK was also highlighted in relation to a lack of research conducted in the South East where a number of seaside towns are undergoing structured regeneration programmes.

According to these aspects and drawing on the directions provided by the case study strategy literature above, a collective case study design would have entailed the study of the discourse concerning the role of tourism in the regeneration of a collection of seaside towns in the South East of England. At the time the empirical research was conducted the region contained a number of settings with potential for this research and of particular appeal for the formulation of a collective case study strategy. Margate and Folkestone would have been, together with Hastings and Bexhill, potential candidates for the formulation of a collective case study design. These coastal towns in fact are all experiencing a very similar wave of structured regeneration programmes. They are also subject to the same European, national, and regional conditions such as the adoption of the Lisbon Strategy and the availability of EU funding regimes at local level (e.g. Objective 2), the recognition of the need for structured regeneration in coastal towns and seaside towns in policy documents and reports (DCMS, 1999; ETC, 2001; CLG, 2006-2007), the presence of SEERA and SEEDA regulating the quality of change and administering European and national funding regimes in partnership with organizations at local level, and the paradoxical proximity and isolation from the London urban region. More importantly however, they all experienced a similar history of development and decline with traditional seaside tourism as a leading factor of change.

On the one hand, a collective case study research could have built on the post-structuralist perspective and related methodological framework (i.e. discourse analysis) discussed above to explore the role of tourism in the regeneration of major exemplars of seaside towns under regeneration in the South East England. The main goal in this case would have been that of fulfilling the external validity criteria that, in the case of this research, does not feature among the key objectives. There could be the chance to add to the urban tourism literature by delineating, for instance, centrality or marginalization of tourism in this process of change at broader level, detect replication

of regeneration models undertaken for the transformation of large post-industrial cities and further corroborate the *replication* issue emerged in chapters 3 and 4. In relation to the discourse theory framework, these findings could already be seen as *statements* forming a regional discourse concerning the role of tourism in the South East England. On the other hand however, the arguments exposed in section 7.2 make a collective case study strategy unnecessary and being unrealistic as far as resources at PhD level are concerned. The actual choice of a thorough single embedded case study exposed in section 7.3.1 is believed to reveal already the complexity embedded in the object of investigation and be the prelude to further research in the field.

Besides theoretical and methodological justifications supporting the choice of a single embedded case study strategy as commented in section 7.3.1, the *convenience* and *feasibility* criteria need to be acknowledged as well. Silverman (2005: 127) claimed that very often a case is ‘chosen simply because it will allow access’, whereas Taylor (2001a) discussed the aspect of convenience. The aspect of *feasibility* is thereafter at the base of Silverman’s (2005) and Taylor’s (2001) comments. Folkestone could have been studied as an *emblematic case* where a single visionary actor leads the process of change for the town. At international level the recent regeneration of Polish, German and even Latvian coastal towns would have been interesting terrain as well, without mentioning the case of Barcelona, although already analyzed with upsurge of interest at academic level especially after the Olympic Games. The argument of convenience, feasibility and accessibility played indeed a determinant role in the choice of the case study context alongside more conceptual ones. According to the above in fact, Hastings was a suitable and convenient setting for this research. As it will become apparent in section 8.2 in fact, Hastings is a declining seaside town in the South East of England experiencing structured and formal regeneration at the time the empirical research was conducted. Moreover, the choice of focusing on Hastings and overlooking Bexhill-on-Sea, despite being partner town in the Hastings and Bexhill Economic Alliance and the related Hastings and Bexhill Task Force, also takes the key argument of deprivation into account. At the time the empirical research was conducted in fact, major formal regeneration efforts targeted the most deprived areas in Hastings. At first, the empirical research practices were extended to the neighbouring Bexhill. The evidence collected during the first few contacts with formal and informal actors in Bexhill highlighted however a higher concentration of

structured regenerative efforts in the area of Hastings. The ultimate choice was then to fully embrace the arguments supporting a single case study design, focus on a specific area and concentrate on a range of units of analysis as the embedded case study strategy entails. The Hastings urban region was therefore chosen as the setting for this research.

7.3.2.2 Empirical research: access to the field and data collection.

The empirical research took approximately six months. It started the 19 August 2007 with the decision of relocating to Hastings. This choice was mainly made on the bases of the recommendations by the qualitative research literature referred to in section 7.2.1.1. It supported the idea that qualitative research is a situated activity demanding that the researcher stays in the context over time. This choice however drew also on the example by Jane Jacobs (1961) in her seminal post-structuralist contribution to urban geographical studies namely *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. The scholar exhorted the urban researcher to make direct experience of a city's 'behaviour' (Jacobs, 1961: 5) as this practice is an effective way to understand the dynamism beyond its change. Being in the context was undoubtedly instrumental in conducting successfully the empirical research. At the end of the fieldwork in fact it was possible to argue that interdependent issues such as those of selection of the units of analysis, accessibility and collection of relevant data could be effectively tackled only as the result of this choice. In the following sections these aspects are commented on to highlight selected *regeneration moment* (i.e. 2001-2007) and related units of analysis, accessibility and methods of data gathering.

7.3.2.2.a The choice of the regeneration moment.

In close relation to the selection of the units of analysis that is discussed in the following section is the choice of the regeneration moment to which empirical research was to be addressed. According to the arguments in chapter 5, the regeneration of the seaside towns appears as an ongoing process of change and, therefore, it seems arduous to justify the choice of focusing, only, on a specific moment of change for a given context. Agarwal (1995), in fact, remarked that destination areas are dynamic entities in a continuous stage of evolution. At the end of the fieldwork in Hastings this theory revealed to be accurate. As a traditional seaside resort, Hastings has always been under the spotlight for tourism rejuvenation efforts tackling emerging tourism trends. Since

the late 1800s, in fact, major changes occurred, and in the 1930s and 1970s as section 8.2 illustrates. In the 1997 Hastings became a major recipient of the structured formal regeneration programmes in the UK, the Single Regeneration Budget. As already anticipated in chapter 5, and in previous sections of this chapter (section 7.3.2.1), a recent wave of structured regeneration programmes, tackling disadvantaged coastal areas in the UK, gives scope for inquiring into the change of Hastings as a declining traditional seaside town.

This definition of Hastings as a *declining traditional seaside town* is recurrently employed also in chapters 8 and 9. As Beatty and Fothergill (2003) explained in they report on the state of the British seaside economy, Hastings is among those seaside towns that were heavily affected by the highest levels of deprivation in the country and, also, one that experienced a substantial loss of its traditional seaside tourism market share with obvious impacts on the related infrastructure and image. Also, reference to *traditional seaside tourism* is made in the following chapters in relation to the quality of tourism that developed, almost universally in the major British seaside towns, during the 20th century as discussed, for example, by Urry (1997; 2002), Shaw and Williams (1997) and Walton (1997, 2000) in chapter 5. It relates to the democratization of leisure time and the turn to seaside mass tourism: it features the development of those ‘traditional resort attractions’ (Walton, 2000: 94) and facilities that defined the distinctive character of the seaside town’s culture (i.e. pleasure piers, fairgrounds, eccentric forms of transports, hotels and pensions and bathing pools).

With this in mind, this study was conducted during a six months period (mid August 2007 – mid February 2008) and focused the latest wave of structured regeneration programmes for the Hastings urban region: it is marked by the formation of the Hastings and Bexhill Task Force in 2001 and the consequent formulation of the *Five Point Plan* as discussed, in detail, in section 9.2. A few days after the end of the fieldwork the proposal for a major capital cultural development project took the local regeneration debate further: the Jerwood Foundation, a leading private arts foundation, made its way to Hastings where the local arts community, represented by the Arts Forum, was called to play a key role in the regeneration scenario. The choice was to overlook this other project and conclude the fieldwork with a sufficient amount of data. With regeneration as ongoing process in Hastings, and a regeneration moment counting six years of regeneration activities in town, it could be argued that a planned six months

fieldwork is inadequate to respond to this research's aim and objectives. Indeed, both the breadth analysis undertaken and the related discourse analysis framework outlined above are believed to have overcome these issues.

In relation to the selection of the regeneration moment to be taken into account is also the selection of the units of analysis as anticipated in section 7.3.1. It is discussed below.

7.3.2.2.b Selection of the units of analysis.

The aspect of complexity discussed in section 2.1.1 and proposed again as an epistemological issue in section 7.2.2.2 played a major role in the selection of the units of analysis. This selection exercise considered the concept of 'total tourism product' explored by Maitland (1997: 96), hence, the theoretical overlap between urban resources, users and uses represented in figure 1 and the related concept of inner city as leisure product discussed by Jansen-Verbeke (1986b) (figure 2) where a spectrum of primary and secondary resources, both material and immaterial, merge to shape a unique tourism product. Overall, these concepts converge into that of *destination* that is increasingly adopted in the recent tourism development and planning literature (e.g. Godfrey and Clarke, 2000). It embraces both material and immaterial attributes of space that are considered as potential assets for the tourism market but, also, takes into account the appeal of the urban resources available to both resident and visitor community alike. Hence, chapter 2 expanded on the complexity of studying tourism in relation to the city as a dynamic and complex environment shaped by resources, users, and symbolic referents but, also, by processes of change. The issue of complexity highlighted in section 7.2.1.1 was instead discussed as an exhortation to overcome reductionism and general metanarratives and privilege, instead, breadth analysis as a means to reflect the true nature of *reality* as Byrne (1998) discussed. In line with these arguments, Raffay and Clarke (2007: 1) also stressed the argument of complexity and defined urban tourism 'as a complex multi focused offer' and as 'the culmination of multiple complementary and competing processes'. Moreover, Tyler et al (1998) problematized the political profile of the strategy of urban tourism while highlighting conflicting visions and interests. In the light of these assertions, the theory of 'organized complexity' (Jacobs, 1961: 559) is highly relevant to the selection of the units of analysis. It was first formulated by Jacobs (1961) and discussed at full length

by Byrne (1998) and it is a means to overcome reductionism while studying the city as a complex environment. It reflects the post-structuralist perspective and the methodological position observed in this study as it proposes to deal ‘simultaneously with a sizable number of factors which are interrelated into an organic whole’ (Jacobs, 1961: 563).

Studying the dynamic relationship between tourism and urban regeneration in Hastings entailed the selection of a variety of units of analysis that resulted instrumental in identifying and analyzing the factors conducive to change. As the aim and objectives of this research demand, a broad view on the process of change was undertaken. In order to foster the exploration of the formation of the discourse concerning the role of tourism in the regeneration of Hastings, the wider regeneration scenario was studied through the analysis of three broad units of analysis namely:

1. planning, policy literature and official documents,
2. established organizations and regeneration partnerships as formal actors, and their related regeneration programmes and projects,
3. third sector/voluntary organizations as informal/civil actors and related regeneration initiatives.

Various history, narrative and journalistic literatures appearing in section 8.2 were only used to set the research context and, therefore, they have not been subject to discourse analysis practices. The first unit of analysis comprises instead a total of 23 official documents formulated at national, regional and local level and consists of planning, policy documents and some official reports that are listed in figure 4. The national and regional policies and plans were selected according to their relevance to the topic of seaside towns’ regeneration and tourism development but, also, for their relation with the development of the South East region and the coastal towns. For the local official literature, instead, documents were selected according to their degree of relevance to aspects of regeneration and tourism development. The selection of these sources, however, responds also to the issue of accessibility. In some cases, some highly relevant sources become available only during interviews scheduled with both formal and informal actors (e.g. the Tourism and Visitor Strategy, 1066 Destination

Management Strategy, Keeping Afloat Programme, Hastings Fisheries Study) a few months into the fieldwork.

National plans, official policy documents and reports	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Communities and Local Government Committee Report on Coastal Towns</i> (Communities and Local Government Committee, 2006-2007) - <i>Tomorrow's Tourism</i> (Department of Culture Media and Sport, 1999) - <i>Sea Changes</i> (English Tourist Board, 2001)
Regional plans, official policy documents and reports	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>South East Plan</i> (South East Regional Assembly, 2006) - <i>Regional Economic Strategy for the South East</i> (South East England Development Agency, 2006a) - <i>South East Coastal Strategy</i> (South East England Development Agency, 2006b) - <i>Regional Economic Strategy Implementation Plan</i> (South East England Development Agency, 2006d)
Local plans, official policy documents and reports	
Hastings Borough Council	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Community Strategy</i> (CS) (HBC, 2003a) - <i>Tourism and Visitor Strategy</i> (HBC, 1999) - <i>Cultural Strategy</i> (HBC, 2002b) - <i>Hastings Local Plan</i> (HBC, 2002a) - <i>Hastings Local Development Framework</i> (HBC, 2007a) - <i>Public Art in Hastings: a strategy for developing public art in Hastings</i> (HBC, 2005) - <i>Central St Leonards Renewal Strategy</i> (HBC, 2004)
Partnerships	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>5 Point Plan/Regeneration Plan</i> (SeaSpace, 2003b) - <i>Business Plan for Coastal Regeneration in Hastings and Bexhill</i> (SeaSpace, 2003a) - <i>Making Waves: the regeneration strategy for Hastings and St Leonards</i> (Hastings Regeneration Partnership, 2002) - <i>1066 Destination Management Strategy</i> (1066Country, 2007) - <i>Hastings and Bexhill Seafront Strategy</i> (GHK/Tibbalds/Halcrow, 2005) - <i>Keeping Afloat Programme</i> (CSR Regeneration & Research Consultants, 2006) - <i>Hastings Fisheries Study</i> (Nautilus Consultants, 2004) - <i>Hastings and Bexhill: the regeneration story</i> (SeaSpace, 2007)

Figure 4: List of planning and policy documents analyzed.

With urban tourism as an urbanization process and, indeed, a political one as discussed in chapters 3 and 4, the selection of units of analysis also entailed the identification of *actors* involved, both formally and informally, in the regeneration process. Post-structuralist inquiry, in fact, privileges the identification of actors as research practice overlooking a more management-oriented vocabulary (e.g. stakeholders) commonly adopted in much of tourism planning and management literature. According to Murdoch (2006) the identification of actors entails an exploratory approach to research that, once again, reflects the theoretical underpinning of this study. Alongside these theoretical remarks, the adoption of the formal/informal vocabulary echoes the choices made by Groth and Corijn (2005) in their research exercise discussed in section 4.3.3.1. In that context the authors discussed the rise of non-planned actors in the planning process, and juxtaposed the formal urban agenda with a narrative of change determined by the affirmative action of informal/civil actors. It is believed that the adoption of this vocabulary respects the theoretical precepts of post-structuralist enquiry. By dismissing a consolidated conception of power as retained and performed at institutional level only, the adoption of this vocabulary allowed the analysis of the broader spectrum of active and reactive discursive practices forming the discourse under scrutiny while, also, subscribing to the definition of (urban) tourism development as a political process. Among the members of the Hastings and Bexhill Task Force, the Hastings Borough Council (HBC) and SeaSpace are the formal actors involved in this research. The identification and selection of the actors to be approached through data collection methods considered, as with the official literature, their involvement with the regeneration of the town in general, and the development of tourism in particular.

As shown in figure 5, the representatives from the HBC and Sea Space who participated in this research were part of the Planning and Regeneration Department, the Economic Regeneration Department and the Leisure Department at HBC, and the Destination Development Department at Sea Space. The representatives of formal bodies considered for interviews were mid to high-ranking officers. This was to understand in detail partnership processes and, in turn, how discursive statements developed. The informal actors involved included a number of local business and voluntary organizations as in figure 6. Drawing on the assertions made in the literature review chapters, the selection of the informal actors was led by the potential

relationship of community groups and individuals with the most common urban regeneration activities, as far as tourism development is concerned. These range, for example, from groups engaging with protection and conservation matters (e.g. the Old Hastings Preservation Society and Burton St Leonards Society), the development of the retail (Judges Bakery) and the basic tourist infrastructure (Hastings and St Leonards Hotel Association) and, also, the well being of the local community (Hastings Wards representatives). The selection of interviewees also took into account the existing stock of tourism facilities and amenities in Hastings for which the Coastal Users Group was involved. Also, the selection of the informal actors took into account the involvement of community-based organizations in the regeneration process through affirmative actions. The latter entail, for example, the community's reaction to formal regeneration projects, the formulation of alternative plans and the formation of non-statutory organizations responding to formal regeneration plans and programmes deemed to neglect some areas of the town (the Arts Forum, Hastings Pier and White Rock Trust, Thirty-Six Hours Ltd).

For both groups, however, the selection of the formal and informal actors responded, as with the official documents mentioned above, also to the issues of availability and accessibility. Alongside the selection of the units of analysis is, in fact, are the combined issues of accessibility to the field and availability of desired representatives to be involved in the research. The next section expands on these aspects and clarifies the approach taken to choose semi-structured and focus groups as methods of data collection.

Formal Actors	Organization's department	Representatives Code
Hastings Borough Council	Planning and Regeneration Department	HBC1
		HBC5
		HBC8
	Economic Regeneration Department	HBC2
		HBC4
		HBC6
		HBC7
	Leisure Department	HBC3
Sea Space	Destination Development Department	SS1

Figure 5: List of interviews with representatives of formal actors and related codes.

Informal Actors	Organization	Representatives Code
Business community	Hastings Adventure Golf (Coastal Users Group)	HAG1
	Hastings Fisherman Museum (Coastal Users Group)	HFM1
	Hastings Fisherman Protection Society (Coastal Users Group)	HFPS
	Thirty-Six Hours Ltd.	36H1
		36H2
	Judges Bakery	JB1
	Hastings and St Leonards Hotel Association	HA1
		HA2
Arts Forum	AF1	
Community Forums - Third sector	Hastings Wards	HW1
		HW2

Figure 6: List of interviews with representatives of informal actors (business community, community forums and third sector) and related codes.

Informal Actors	Organization	Representatives Code
Third sector	Old Hastings Preservation Society (6 representatives)	OHPS
	Hastings Pier and White Rock Trust (7 representatives)	HPWRT

Figure 7: List of focus groups with representatives of informal actors (third sector) and related codes.

7.3.2.2.c Data collection: negotiating access and methods of data gathering.

The exploratory profile of this research rendered, at times, the collection of data the result of a progressive awareness of the wider regeneration scenario. Despite the degree of unpredictability that this entails, a certain amount of planning and scheduling activities were adopted. Hence, the data collection phase featured two overlapping stages: the first regards the familiarization with the research context and a first assessment of available official documents, and interviews were scheduled with available representatives of the formal actors; the second stage concerned the expansion of the spectrum of official documents initially identified and actors with the subsequent refinement of the data collection schedule. Both stages are discussed in detail below.

The first stage entailed the choice of the researcher relocating to Hastings for the whole duration of the empirical research period. This choice was made as the result of the recommendations in the research literature. It was also believed to minimize the predictable constraints engendered by the issue of accessibility to the field and increase the chance of broadening the spectrum of actors and related regeneration programmes, projects and initiatives that needed to be identified as discussed below. Indeed, the choice of relocating to Hastings for the whole length of the fieldwork facilitated the identification, access and analysis of the three units of analysis above.

Flick (2006) and Bryman (2004) discussed *accessibility* as entailing a highly crucial and political process especially when research is conducted within the qualitative paradigm. Flick (2006: 116) then argued for the need to get to be closely involved with the field as a ‘social system’. According to Flick (2006: 117), this triggers the creation of the human conditions that generate ‘enough trust’, for the participants, to disclose their views on the subject under investigation to an outsider that is, in fact, a professional stranger (Agar, 1980). The choice of playing openly was also to negotiate the ‘role and position’ (Flick, 2006: 114) of the researcher in the community. Choosing to play an ‘overt role’ (Bryman, 2004: 295) demonstrated to be in harmony with the subject and the methodological choices of this research that did not require a covert role, or close setting, to gain access to information. On the contrary, playing an overt role had a snowball sampling effect. Snowball sampling is described in the research literature (Flick et al, 2000; Jennings, 2001; Bryman, 2004; Silverman, 2005) as a ‘convenience’ (Bryman, 2004: 100) sampling technique adopted,

most often, in qualitative research. It is used, as Jennings (2001: 139) asserted, ‘with difficult to reach participants because the researcher may not be informed about formal or informal network connections’. Similarly, Bryman (2004: 100) clarified that ‘with this approach to sampling, the researcher makes initial contact with a small group of people who are relevant to the research topic and then uses these to establish contacts with others’. Along with reflecting the exploratory nature of the research conducted, this sampling technique helped to identify and select the official documents mentioned above when unavailable as on-line resources and, also, other representatives from both formal and informal groups and organizations as clarified below.

Following the choice of relocating to Hastings was the familiarization with the formal regeneration scenario that preceded the design of a first schedule of interviews with available representatives of the formal actors. The contact with the formal regeneration scenario entailed a preliminary assessment of national, regional and local level documents in most cases available as on-line resources. These are the seven national and regional plans and strategies showed in figure 4 and, also, the Community Strategy, Making Waves: the Regeneration Strategy for Hastings and St Leonards, the Business Plan for Coastal Regeneration in Hastings and Bexhill and the Hastings and Bexhill Seafront Strategy. The Hastings Online website was a key source of information. The regeneration section in it provided downloadable policy and planning documents and, also, a clear indication of the wider spectrum of formal organizations and partnerships involved in the regeneration of the town (i.e. Local Strategic Partnerships, Hastings and Bexhill Task force and Economic Alliance) (see section 9.2.1). It is in relation to this information that two interviews were initially scheduled with representatives of the HBC and Sea Space as the members of these partnerships. They provided difficult to reach official documents, key to understanding combined aspects of regeneration and tourism development (i.e. the Tourism and Visitor Strategy, the 1066 Destination Management Strategy, and the Hastings and Bexhill Seafront Strategy) and they also triggered a snowball sampling effect that favoured the contact with other representatives of the formal regeneration scenario in key departments (see figure 5). As already remarked, the issue of accessibility and availability constrained, sometimes, the chance of conducting the desired interviews. These obstacles, however, were tackled by considering the involvement of other representatives within the same

organization. Hence, the 8 interviews conducted with the representatives from the HBC.

Following this initial exploration, the second stage of the empirical research saw the continuous refinement of the interview schedule. Contacts were made with some informal actors selected, as discussed in the previous section, and approached both directly and indirectly through the exercise of the snowball sampling technique. A number of civil/informal individuals and organizations, both members of the business community and the third sector, emerged as actively involved in the regeneration of the town (figure 6 and 7). The Central Government Communities in Control report (CLG, 2008: 13) defines the third sector as ‘individual active citizens, social entrepreneurs, campaigners, volunteers and political activists’. They provided access to more difficult to reach official documents (i.e. the Public Art in Hastings, the Keeping Afloat Programme, the Hastings Fisheries Study and the St Leonards Festival 2007-2008) and the possibility of including other semi-structured interviews and some focus groups, as data collection techniques, in the original interview schedule.

The research into the informal actors involved both semi-structured interviews and focus groups. After a preliminary documentary analysis relative to some of these organizations it became clear that, some of them, were composed of individuals representing other, smaller, organizations. This was the case, for example, for the Coastal Users Group that included the Hastings Adventure Golf, the Hastings Fisherman Museum, the Hastings Fisherman Protection Society, the Hastings Attractions and other smaller organizations along the seafront. Among other organizations identified, there was also the Old Hastings Preservation Society, the Arts Forum, the Hastings Pier and White Rock Trust, and the Hastings and St Leonards Hotel Association. It was, therefore, believed that the most desirable research method to be undertaken could be a focus group as it would allow the emergence and confrontation of a range of views within the organizations. It was soon recognized, however, that other consultation exercises in Hastings taking place in a similar time had generated a condition of survey saturation. The evidence-based regeneration funding mechanism adopted for the regeneration of Hastings had required extensive consultancy work for the monitoring of change underway. After recognizing an expressed focus group fatigue, these organizations were offered the choice of becoming involved in either semi-structured interviews or a focus group. Many of their members

believed that they could represent the views of their organization and felt, globally, that a focus group would not be relevant. Others, instead, such as the Old Hastings Preservation Society (OHPS) and the nascent Hastings Pier and White Rock Trust (HPWRT), considered the focus group the more relevant option.

In the end, a total of 20 semi-structured interviews were conducted, 9 with representatives from the formal actors, and 11 with the representatives from the business community and the third sector, and 13 representatives were involved in focus groups. The choice of the methods of data gathering, semi-structured interviews and focus groups, reflects, once again, the qualitative and exploratory profile determined by the adoption of the theoretical backdrop set out in previous sections. As far as interviews are concerned, Bryman (2004: 319) determined that they are, probably, ‘the most widely employed method in qualitative research’. Key determinant of the choice of the most suitable interview type concerned, however, the negotiation between *openness* and *focus*. Openness was preferred to focus, although focus needed to be kept around the overarching aspects of tourism development and regeneration with each interviewee. This was to avoid the interview being driven away by the professional remit, expertise or position of the interviewee rather than being led by the research’s aim and objectives. The semi-structured interview type was therefore selected as a flexible (Bryman, 2004) method of data collection as it combines the focus of structured interviews with the openness and informality (Saunders et al, 2000; Jennings, 2001; Wengraf, 2001) of the unstructured. Structured interviews, in fact, are discussed in the research methods literature as being based on a *standardized set of questions* (Healey and Rawlinson, 1994) that are repeated at each interview meeting regardless of the role and position of the interviewee in the selected organization or group. For this reason, Bryman (2004: 109) remarked that this type of interview is ‘most commonly employed in survey research’ that is, indeed, unsuitable to the aim and objectives of this research. On the contrary, unstructured interviews are described as being *non-standardized* and *non-directive* (Saunders et al, 2000) sometimes resulting in an open conversation.

Hence, the choice of conducting semi-structured interviews was to maintain the exploratory attitude needed to uncover areas and aspects of the regeneration scenario, omitted from the available official literature, such as aspects relative to the subtle relationship between tourism and regeneration (e.g. the wider range of remit of

tourism-rejuvenation oriented projects; the prioritization of regional objectives). At the same time, however, this choice reflected the need to guide the interview through a determined range of aspects relative to tourism and the change of the town, spaces of change, regeneration priorities and objectives that, in effect, triggered the formulation of 'follow-up' and 'probing' (Bryman, 2004: 236) questions. In line with these requirements, the research literature determined that semi-structured interviews entail a flexible, although guided, process. It is based on an interview guide, that is as a list of questions, or specific topics that need to be covered, but can also trigger the formulation of questions that are not originally in the guide as the interviewee picks up on new information during the interview (Flick et al, 2000; Jennings, 2001; Wengraf, 2001; Bryman, 2004; Silverman, 2005). Moreover, this flexibility, indeed unattainable with the conduct of structured interviews, facilitated the collection of data through interviews in two ways. It permitted the interview guide to be tailored to the position and role of the interviewee within the wider regeneration scenario and, also, allowed the reformulation of the interview guide reflecting a mounting awareness of the regeneration scene triggered as it was, for instance, by increasing accessibility to an expanding spectrum of official documents.

Accordingly, the 20 semi-structured interviews conducted feature tailored questions, although some introductory questions remained unaltered especially when interviews were conducted with representatives of the HBC and Sea Space. Overall, they concerned the role of the interviewee in the department, and the role of the department in relation to the relationship between tourism and regeneration. The selection of the representatives, as discussed above, facilitated the response to these questions as they are all involved, directly or indirectly, both in the regeneration of the town and in the design and delivery of projects that are tourism related. As anticipated, a range of follow-up and probing questions followed, and revealed the true nature of the regeneration activities taking place, the various priorities, objectives and the related position of tourism oriented projects and strategies within the broader and complex regeneration planning system.

The formulation of the interviews with the informal actors was guided by a growing knowledge of the formal regeneration programmes but, also, by the assertions made in the literature review chapters. These concerned, for instance, the concepts of spontaneous/informal regeneration, informal affirmative actions, discursive planning

and community involvement and potential conflicts among the range of actors formally and informally involved in the change of the town. These interviews with representatives of the third sector groups and the business community tended to uncover the role that these groups played in the change of the town. The interview questions were therefore formulated in a way to elicit the interviewee to reveal informally driven responses to the formal regeneration programmes.

All interviews took place in private places, usually the interviewee's office, home or any other work place. They were systematically recorded, after receiving unwritten permission, and transcribed. This was to avoid being distracted during the interview by having to concentrate on getting down notes and, also, to have a printed record of the interview that would be used as a text from which to draw 'units of data' (Saunders et al, 2000: 381) and that could be used to conduct an accurately contextualized discourse analysis later on, after the end of the data collection stage.

As outlined in section 7.3.2.2.b, some third sector groups were selected to be involved in focus groups: two were successfully conducted with the OHPS and the HPWRT.

Contributions to the theory and practice of focus group research are varied (Stewart and Shamdasani, 1990; Krueger, 1994; Morgan, 1997; Barbour and Kitzinger, 1999; Wibeck and Abrandt, 2007). Across the board, however, there is a shared recognition about the qualitative profile of this method that is, in effect, often described as 'semi-structured group interviews' (Jennings, 2001: 172). Although Bryman (2004) marked a clear distinction between group interviews and focus groups, there is agreement among the various commentators on the rationale behind conducting focus group research. This method is used when 'the facilitator believes that the interaction between group members will add to the richness of the data collected' (Jennings, 2001: 172) and, in turn, when the 'focus group practitioner is invariably interested in the way in which individuals discuss certain issues as members of a group rather than simply as individuals' (Bryman, 2004: 346). The focus group literature also established that focus group research has to take some key aspects into account namely: the choice of the groups, the number of participants and the participants themselves, the design of the interview guide and the use of stimulus material, the role of the moderator/facilitator and the choice of a comfortable setting.

Hydén and Bülow (2003) pointed out, three different perspectives according to which a group can be understood. It can be as an aggregation of individuals sharing some common experiences or social features, a small group in which the members share values, norms, roles and goals, or as a focused gathering in which participants share a temporary situation with a common focus. The quality of groups selected for this research reflects the second perspective and, in fact, they are composed of individuals sharing values, norms, roles and goals that relate to the change of Hastings on one side and, consequently, to the ongoing regeneration process. Their relevance to tourism is instead determined by their shared goal of preserving and protecting the material and immaterial elements of Hastings (the Old Town Hastings and the wider historic built environment) as local cultural capital for the resident community and, also, for the potential tourist. As mentioned above, the choice of the groups was also induced by the willingness of these actors to share their views on the ongoing urban regeneration process in Hastings alongside their planned activities. The selection of the participants occurred with the help of the OHPS and the HPWRT chairs with whom 6 participants were chosen for the former and 7 for the latter. Despite the homogeneity of the two group's values and goals, single participants were selected according to their expertise, profession, interests and role within the community in a way to achieve a balanced range of points of view. Hence, as shown in figure 7, the two focus groups involved ex-councilors, members of the business community, engineers and architects, transport advisors, regeneration practitioners, developers and artists.

The issue concerning the negotiation between openness and focus emerged, once again, for the formulation of the focus groups interview guide and the related definition of the role of the moderator (the researcher himself). In this respect, Wibeck and Abrandt (2007: 261) determined that the moderator can perform either a 'directive' or a non-directive 'voiceless participant' role. Nevertheless, they also stated that the moderator faces the challenge of balancing between guiding the group and not imposing a pre-determined agenda on the discussion. Despite priority being given to openness, both focus groups conducted started with an introduction to the research project. Guiding questions triggered a deep understanding of each group's position in relation to the formal regeneration programmes, projects and agenda, their role in the regeneration of the town, and the perceived role of tourism in the process of change of Hastings. Stimulus material was hereby used to entice interaction between participants.

These range from the *Cultural Strategy for Hastings and St Leonards* (HBC, 2002b) where protection and conservation of the cultural capital was suggested as a priority for the enhancement of the local tourism product; the *Hastings Local Plan* (HBC, 2002a) discouraging the conversion of Victorian tourist accommodation locales into residences; and the *Hastings and Bexhill Seafront Strategy* (GHK/Tibbalds/Halcrow, 2005) introducing the strategic revitalization of the Pier and the wider White Rock Baths area for the regeneration of the seafront. The focus groups were conducted in the official premises of the two organizations, the History House in Hastings Old Town and in one of the White Rock Hotel's meeting rooms; they were recorded, after gaining unwritten permission, and then transcribed as for the interviews.

All the resulting texts (policy, planning literature and official reports, the transcripts from semi-structured interviews and focus groups) and emerging formal regeneration programmes, projects and informal regeneration initiatives were analyzed following the analytical framework (discourse analysis) discussed in section 7.2.2.4. The qualitative research literature suggests, however, a range of detailed practices that are instrumental in conducting a discourse analysis of qualitative data. These entail disaggregating the mass of qualitative data collected into meaningful categories, then identify *units of data*, or *fragments*, that are in the form of paragraphs, sentences and 'bits' and 'chunks', as Saunders (2000: 381) described them, relevant to the research's aim and objectives.

The first part of the discourse analysis process involved a *coding* or *indexing* exercise. This is described also as a mechanism for thinking about the meaning of data collected (Huberman and Miles, 1994), when in fact, the emerging categories, according to Dey (1993 : 96-97), must be 'meaningful in relation to the data' and 'to the other categories' as well. Accordingly, Strauss and Corbin (1998) suggested that the names or labels to be employed for this coding/categorization exercise can draw on terms that emerge from the data as well as on terms used in existing theory and literature. According to these indications, what follows clarifies how coding for the discourse analysis was operated.

Along with the underlying objective of discourse analysis described in section 7.2.2.4 (consisting in the study of how power relations between discursive statements and practices construct a discourse), texts were coded according their origins. Section 7.3.2.2.b highlighted 3 units of analysis the first of which regards the official literature.

Coding was manually conducted and figure 4 features the categorization of the selected official documents as national, regional and local. Also, at local level, the official literature was divided in three groups indicative of the actors in charge of formulating and implementing each policy and plan. The second and third units of analysis, instead, were categorized in two main groups (figure 5-6-7) namely formal actors on one side, and informal actors on the other. The categorization of what is defined in the qualitative research literature as *units of data* or *fragments* (Dey, 1993 ; Strauss and Corbin, 1998; Saunders et al, 2000; Bryman, 2004) was also operated according to the discourse analysis framework. The discourse analysis adopted in this research however imposes the use of a specific vocabulary. In place of units of data or fragments in fact, this methodology adopts the terms *discursive statements* and *practices* as explained in section 7.2.2.4. Among the commentators of the Foucauldian theory of discourse (i.e. discursivity) discussed in section 7.2.2.3, Danaher et al (2000) defined discursive statements as the basic units of discourse whereas discursive practices respond to the range of actions that form discursive statements. Hence, these selected *statements and practices* were divided in two groups: the first includes those that position tourism at the heart of the regeneration agenda, programmes and projects by defining it as a key regeneration device and objective; the second, instead, comprises those that determine the marginality and marginalization of tourism development to the regeneration and transformation of the town.

The lengthy, complex and discursive profile of the methodology adopted to analyze the data collected prevents the possibility of listing the spectrum of discursive statements and practices in a single table for each unit of analysis. Accordingly, chapters 8 and 9 propose the discourse analysis of the wider regeneration scenario comprising the policy and planning documents, official reports, interviews with representatives of formal and civil/informal organizations and emerged projects, programmes and initiatives. The conduct of discourse analysis triggered the juxtaposition of the two groups of discursive statements and practices identified: they compete in a dynamic power relation exercise that ended up determining the dominance of some statements and the marginalization of others.

7.3.2.2.d Criteria of evaluation.

Alongside the choice of regeneration moment, the selection of the units of analysis and data collection methods, the evaluation criteria for applied social research need also to be addressed. According to the qualitative research literature, the choice of conducting qualitative research limits the criteria of evaluation to principles of *trustworthiness* and *authenticity* only (Bryman, 2004; Flick, 2006). This literature in fact questioned the effectiveness of employing evaluation principles that are traditionally associated with the quantitative paradigm (i.e. reliability, validity and generalizability) for the evaluation of qualitative research (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Denzin and Lincoln, 2000; Guba and Lincoln, 2004). The latter are substituted with *credibility*, *transferability*, *dependability* and *confirmability*, which, according to the authors, can be achieved by a thorough and detailed account of the research process. This point was already made at the beginning of this chapter to comment on the profile that this chapter would have acquired. At that stage a thorough theoretical and methodological framework was also claimed to be instrumental in this respect when criticality was rendered an objectivist research feature. The issues of external validity (i.e. generalizability), was problematized in this chapter when the choice of a single case study strategy. Both Bryman (2004: 52) and Yin (2003) claimed that most common manoeuvre undertaken by case study researchers to face the issue of external validity is by supporting the single case strategy with a thorough theoretical and disciplinary framework. It entails the adoption of a thorough theoretical and methodological framework and, when possible, the provision of ‘reference cases’ for a possible comparison or association (Stake, 2000: 444).

The aspects of interdisciplinarity and transdisciplinarity of tourism studies (Tribe, 1997; Farrell and Twining-Ward, 2004; Tribe, 2004, 2006) are key in this context. Phillimore and Goodson (2004b: 20) contended that ‘one of the strengths of tourism research is that it is not bound to fixed disciplinary boundaries with their associated methods and is therefore free to combine a range of approaches and even research paradigms to give a more fluid approach to research’. However they also recognized that from an epistemological point of view, this could become an obstacle. This alleged lack of constricting disciplinary boundaries described by Tribe (1997) as the indisciplinary of tourism studies, fostered the formulation of a thorough theoretical backdrop, as recommended in the research literature, to tackle aim and

objectives in this research. It therefore builds on a geographical theoretical research framework (i.e. post-structuralist inquiry). Another option to overcome the issue of *external validity* is by drawing on the literature in chapters 3 and 4 and relating this study to those already published on the same area of investigation.

As anticipated in section 7.3.2.1, drawing generalizations from the findings is at the outer reaches of this research's remit and by no means a key objective. Also, the research literature discussing the issue of external validity is also inconsistent. On one side the literature purports generalization as a common objective in research, on the other it is not claimed a necessary objective of all qualitative research projects. Nevertheless, in chapter 10 this research's outputs are related to the urban tourism in general, and seaside towns' regeneration in particular with the objective of bringing the findings at broader level and stating their implications.

The self-awareness and reflexivity issues in qualitative research were deliberately left at the end of this commentary as they are bound up with the research process as a whole and, in turn, with the aspect of research evaluation. This debate stems from the assertion that no matter how neutral, objective, and detached the qualitative researcher is during the process of data gathering and analysis, the product of any research is a mere representation of the reality that is under scrutiny (Flick et al, 2000; Taylor, 2001a, 2001b; Flick, 2006). This is due to the fact that, as Denzin and Lincoln (2000: 3) determined, qualitative research 'consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible [...]. They turn the world into a series of representations (such as interviews)'. The work of the qualitative researcher is most often termed 'exploratory', personal and 'full of bias' (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998a: 7). According to Janesick (1998: 41) 'qualitative researchers accept the fact that research is ideologically driven' as there is no value-free or bias-free design. For, the qualitative researcher has to identify at early stages his or her biases and to articulate the ideology or conceptual frame for the study. Central to this argument is the idea that researcher's identity is the main driver of research (Taylor, 2001a: 16) and it entails a pervasive *human factor*. The controversy of this aspect is high and it is believed that both breadth analysis and the discourse analysis framework undertaken limited the chances of incurring in biased research findings.

In relation to aspects of self-awareness, reflexivity and bias, the issue concerning the *positionality* of the researcher in the research process was also identified

as a crucial issue in the research literature. It was considered, in recent years, especially in discussions about research ethics and qualitative research methods, methodologies and processes (Dwyer and Limb, 2001; May, 2001; Jones et al, 2006). This is mainly due, according to the research literature, to the turn to postmodern modes of knowledge production, hence to the adoption of constructivist theoretical perspectives (e.g. poststructuralism), and related research methodologies (e.g. discourse analysis), used to inquire into the complexities of the social world and its many practices (Taylor, 2001a). Overall, the research literature conveyed that it is increasingly important to understand how research is shaped by the actions and the values of the researcher and the many negotiations with the context. This is because, as Dwyer and Limb (2001: 8) argued, ‘qualitative research requires an engagement with how the values and subjectivity of the researcher are part of the construction of knowledge’. The key assertions in this area are that, although not exclusively, in postmodern and poststructural research traditions neutrality is unattainable ‘because the researcher and the research cannot be meaningfully separated’ (Taylor, 2001a: 17) as the result of reflexivity is that ‘the researcher acts on the world and the world acts on the researcher, on a loop’ (Taylor, 2001a: 17).

Taylor (2001a) considered these aspects in relation to discourse analytical research and identified the researcher’s identity as a key factor influencing the research process as a whole. Accordingly, the researcher’s identity would determine the choice of the topic, led by personal interests and political beliefs (Kobayashi, 2001), as well as the selection of units of analysis and the collection of data, conditioned by a number of factors such as gender, nationality and language, age, social status, appearance, research position (insider/outsider), power differences (Taylor, 2001a). Indeed Taylor (2001a) claimed that the identity of the researcher influences the collection of data most extensively through interviews and that it is important to acknowledge the limits to the closeness and understanding which can be achieved between analyst and participant.

These issues are important for consideration as they determine the quality of the research outcomes, the rigour of the research process, and the objectivity of the findings. In turn, a reflection on positionality for this research needs to consider the Italian origins of the researcher as well as the relative linguistic and cultural

differences, research motivations, but also power differences and the negotiation between an insider and an outsider position.

As for the former, the Italian origins of the researcher facilitated the data collection stage in many ways. The obvious cultural and linguistic differences, together with the choice of moving to Hastings for the whole period of the data empirical fieldwork, was attractive to the many interviewees who responded positively and openly during the interviews and focus groups. This needs to be considered, however, also in relation to a declared PhD research student profile and with the researcher acting the part of the professional stranger with no personal interests but a will to inquire, objectively, into a foreign context. The research process cannot be said to be value free as for the researcher's specific knowledge and theoretical perspective observed. Nevertheless, it was value free in that the rigor of the methodological framework used for both collection and analysis of data did prevent the researcher from becoming either solely an insider or outsider while living and being involved in the research context. The same overall aim of the research was certainly not to demonstrate that certain regeneration visions are more important than others, but to explore the range of factors, events, practices interacting in the same ground and providing a clear picture of how regeneration is triggering a certain change in a particular urban context.

7.3.2.2.e Ethical considerations.

The research literature purports ethical issues as another key aspect of the research process that needs to be addressed. The research literature (Diener and Crandall, 1978; Bryman, 2004; Silverman, 2005; Saunders et al, 2007) outlined five ethical principles that the social researcher needs to consider namely: harm to participants, consent, privacy and confidentiality, deception and accuracy. The first discourages any research to take place when physical or mental harm may be caused to the participants; the second, instead, is discussed as the most hastily debated principle in social research ethics although regarding only the adoption of a disguised or covert role as a researcher. In this case, the literature suggested that informed consent should be always obtained whereby the participant is given as much information about the research as possible before giving or denying consent. The third area of ethical concern, confidentiality, is very much linked to the previous principle. It entails the respect of the anonymity of the participant who is providing for confidential

information. Deception relates instead to the provision of a false presentation of the research to the participant whereas accuracy concerns more the research analysis and reporting stages.

All these principles were considered at each stage of the research where they are applicable. In relation to the former (harm) this research could not present any risk of harming the participants either physically or mentally. For the second, participant's verbal consent was achieved always after a very detailed introduction of the research projects and, also, after discussing ethical issues such as anonymity. The overt role adopted by the researcher during the fieldwork and performed during a period of six months also created a high level of trust with the participants. The participation of a spectrum of formal and informal actors raised the issue of confidentiality and privacy. Complete anonymity was achieved, however, by coding the participants according to the department, organization or group they were representing during the interviews and focus groups as shown in figures 5-6-7. Discourse analysis entails a contextualized analysis of data collected that increase the degree of analytical accuracy. Interviews and focus groups recordings and transcripts were also kept to ensure accuracy in data reporting.

7.4 Chapter summary.

The two main sections in this chapter outlined the many choices made in relation to the research strategy and paradigm of inquiry adopted in this research to tackle aim and objectives. The chapter opened by prioritizing the choice of the research strategy and, in turn, the selection of the most appropriate case study type. After recognizing that these choices were dependent on research question, aim and objectives and related paradigm of inquiry (research approach, theoretical perspective and methodology), section 7.2 went onto discuss the issue of contextuality and complexity as key features in qualitative research. As essential aspects in this research, contextuality and complexity were sided with criticality and discussed as three among the epistemological issues in post-structuralist inquiry. The formulation of paradigm of inquiry and research strategy sits on these three issues. The post-structuralist philosophy of Foucault was brought to the fore to structure a methodological framework that triggers the exploration of how discourses are formed. The study of the

Foucauldian theory of discourse was rendered necessary by the lack of consensus about how to implement discourse analysis.

With the justification of theoretical and methodological choices, section 7.3 went on to consider the choice of a single embedded case study strategy and the case study setting (the Hastings urban region). The last part of the chapter described how the empirical research was conducted and focused on aspects of accessibility to the field and data collection and concluded with some ethical remarks.

Following on the arguments in this chapter, chapters 8 and 9 feature the discourse analysis of the wider regeneration scenario taken into account in this research. Reflecting on the selected units of analysis that are listed in section 3.2.2.b, the discourse analysis of this scenario is divided in two parts. Chapter 8 opens with an introduction of the research context but soon turns to the discourse analysis of national and regional policy documents and plans to highlight the position of tourism in relation to the regeneration of the British seaside town. Chapter 9, instead, focuses on the local context. It draws on the discourse analysis of the wider local regeneration scenario comprising official regeneration policy, plans and reports, as well as interviews and focus groups with representatives of both formal and informal actors.

Chapter 8 – Research context, data, and discourse analysis of the national and regional strategic scenario.

8.1 Introduction.

This chapter features two main sections. Section 8.2 introduces the research context and provides a picture of the evolution of Hastings as a seaside town by drawing on history and narrative literature, but, also, some evidence from interviews conducted with representatives of the local institutions. This section does not involve the analysis of discursive statements and practices. Instead, it highlights the centrality of seaside tourism to both the development and decline stages of Hastings. This is to introduce the town's socio-economic idiosyncrasies and, more importantly, to identify a distinctive geography of deprivation reflecting the consequences of the demise of the traditional seaside tourism economy. This context section will facilitate the development of the arguments in chapter 9 where discussion focuses on the power relation between discursive statement and practices.

Alongside this descriptive introduction, section 8.3 starts the discourse analysis of national and regional policy documents and plans and highlights how tourism is positioned in relation to the regeneration of the British seaside town. From this analysis it emerged that there is agreement on the key role that tourism can play in the regeneration of seaside towns. Although economic diversification is a suggested measure to encourage the creation of a total tourism product and spur regeneration, policy and planning documents for the South East England prioritize the development of the wider culture sector and creative industries to address a regional growth based agenda.

8.2 The research context: resort development, decay and place idiosyncrasies.

This section introduces the research context. It is set to go beyond a mere geographical and historical description of Hastings as a seaside town experiencing both development and decline within a 100 years period. It proposes a commentary concerning the town's idiosyncrasies that are significant to pave the way for the upcoming discussion concerning the regeneration of the town. By drawing on a combination of historical and narrative literature, some official documents and the evidence from some interviews, this section charts key turning points in the evolution of Hastings as a seaside town. It introduces the days when Hastings was a fashionable seaside resort for the "well-to-do" in the 1800's and continues with the 1930s and the

policy shift promoting a new seaside product that triggered the development of mass-tourism. It concludes with the most recent narrative of decline concerning the traditional seaside tourism economy and infrastructure reflected in the tables of the English Indices of Deprivation (ODPM, 2003). Alongside this presentation, this section attunes with the aim and objectives of this research and corroborates the relationship between the demise of the local traditional seaside tourism industry, the establishment of a community of fisherman, artists and a transient social base (e.g. benefit claimants, refugees), the related geography of multiple deprivation spreading along the seafront areas, and a reactive call for structured regenerative interventions.

Varying literature sources have exalted Hastings at different time of its long history as a seaside town. John Manwaring Baines FSA (1963), local historian and once president of the Old Hastings Preservation Society (OHPS), hearkened back to the first Hastings Guidebook published in 1794 by John Stell that extolled the town as a raising fashionable seaside resort for the upper classes in the South East of England (map 2).



Map 2: South East England, Hastings and St Leonards (source: HRP, 2002: 8).

The author went for a delicate description of a very welcoming place:

‘the entrance to Hastings by the London Road, from Fairlight Down, is one of the finest that can be imagined. At the bottom of the hill you enter a pleasant shay lane, on either side of which are tall spreading trees, whose branches in the summer form an impenetrable arch, through which you enter to the town’ (Manwaring, 1963: 305).

Paul Theroux (1984) borrowed from Henry James to propose his reflections after leaving Hastings and St Leonards, and reaching Bexhill-on-sea and echoed the still often pinned ‘London-on-Sea’ (Mattis, 2008: 1) label for many seaside towns: ‘like all the larger English watering places, it is simply a little London *super mare*’ (Theroux, 1984: 59). During the Edwardian period, F.C. Ball, alias Robert Tressell, depicted the distinctive pattern of employment opportunities available in Hasting for the working-class and spotted the reliance of the town on tourism. In the socialist-profiled novel *The ragged-trouserred philanthropists* Tressell described Hastings as a:

‘town being entirely without factories and industry, the working classes lived off the Corporation (and men literally fought for jobs there), the public utilities, the railways (and horse-busses), shops and hotels (the two worse paid occupations), and domestic service, or the “kiss-me-Aunt” trades as they were referred to by an irascible elderly gentleman of my youth [...]. And last of all there was the building.

Matthews (2006) also drew on the local press of the early 1900 and added to Tressell’s parody emphasizing the historic dependency of the town on tourism:

‘Hastings is a non-industrial town, which depends entirely upon visitors for its prosperity [...] beside the fishing industry, holidaymakers were the life-blood of the town’ (Matthews, 2006: 6).

These alluring comments go however hand in hand with a less positive narrative highlighting the seeds of a slow decline that since the turn of the twentieth century contributed to the current arguments for regeneration. A recent publication by Mike Matthews discussed the origins of the decline of Hastings as a fashionable resort for the ‘well-to-do’ (Matthews, 2006: 6). The author wrote:

‘If we were able to travel back in time to the late 18th century, we would discover that the well-heeled holidaymaker viewed Hastings as a select south coast watering place renowned for its high moral tone. The town’s position as an upper class seaside resort went largely unchallenged for over a century’ (Matthews, 2006: 6).

Braggs and Harris (2006) also reported the first impression of Sydney Little after a few hours he was gazing around town. Better known as the “Concrete King” due to his modernist profile, he was appointed Borough Engineer in 1926. At that time Hastings (including St Leonards) was already a ‘sleepy and slightly run-down

Victorian seaside town’ (Braggs and Harris, 2006: 65) that the engineer was determined to reanimate with a huge injection of cement along the seafront and the creation of the existing underground car park and pedestrian promenade (plate 1).



Plate 1: First underground car park built in a seaside town in the UK underneath the White Rock Baths (Decembre 2007; author own collection).

As anticipated, the seeds of a first “decline” (most likely to correspond to the development-consolidation stage according to the Butler’s (1980) model), were detected by Matthews (2006) in his recent studies. The author explained that in the 1880s Hastings did not manage to keep path with the upmarket, and pursued instead a tourism policy that encouraged an incoming low profile, seaside mass-tourism demand: ‘The growing influx of boisterous and often unruly day-trippers crowding into the eastern parts of the town with their rowdy comradeship undermined a sense of Hastings old but precious charm – a certain drowsy social exclusiveness so prized by the well-to-do of St Leonards and threatened to disrupt the uneventful calm of long stay visitors. Members of Hastings upper social strata were dismayed that a section of their prized ‘pitch’ had been invaded by a mob of inferior, rowdy, ill-bread, plebeian east-enders – an underclass more akin to their lowest servants. Without warning the old, rather sedate days had gone’ (Matthews, 2006: 9)

Despite the downward spiral that these comments portray, the locality managed to remain an attractive tourist destination until the mid 1950s despite the early decline

as a fashionable Victorian upper class seaside resort. This was the result of the opportunistic choice bargained at the beginning of the twentieth century to attune to the mounting seaside mass tourism market. HBC1 explained that:

‘Hastings was one of the top three seaside resorts in the country until the 1950s. In 1951 Hastings counted a population of 65000 people compared to 8000 visitor beds’.

More recently, Paul Theroux’s (1984) round-Britain travelogue set against the backdrop of the Falklands War captured a few snapshots of Hastings during the year 1982. Hastings artists and fisherman at that time are the two prominent characters in the author’s account Hastings:

‘Hastings, the bargain paradise of the south coast! [...] Hastings was full of painters. “It’s the cheapness, and the big houses, and the light is super” [...]. The painters brightened Hastings and it seemed to me full of energy and industry and good humour, just the sort of place to recommend to a sensitive friend or relation with an artistic bent. All this and salubrious air, from Cliff End to Bulverhythe! [...] an artist colony full of optimistic romance and spirited intimacy. [...] if Hastings had been richer, all the Victorian buildings would have been torn down. The town was too poor to be vulgar and it had enough friendly artists to avoid being philistine [...]. Painters and fisherman seemed to go together [...], the sole was the best in the country [;] at the tall Scandinavian-looking net sheds, made out of black planks, the fisherman sat with basins of fish, mending nets, saying very little [...]. St Leonards was dull and colourless, full of low forbidding houses in which plants with dusty leaves were arranged in waist-high windows’ (Theroux, 1984: 56-59).

The British imaginary has also been recently aware of a new narrative of change affecting a number of seaside and coastal towns. As discussed in chapter 5, the urban regeneration rhetoric reached the coast: the regeneration vocabulary has then been adopted by some of the twenty first century English seaside and coastal towns as the new buzzword for change (DCMS, 1999; BRA, 2000; ETC, 2001; Beatty and Fothergill, 2003). To back up this regeneration narrative and justify a considerable injection of public funding into the area, governmental and non-governmental literature has recently described Hastings as a coastal area scoring the highest level of deprivation and underperformance compared to the rest of the region. As Hanna and Cross (2001: 7) remarked in fact, ‘Hastings has had more than a fair share of negative publicity in recent years, largely focusing on social problems’.

English Heritage (2007a) also reported that:

‘Hastings continues to be a centre of multiple deprivation: the Castle (Town Centre) and Central St Leonards wards both lie within the worse 10% nationally, earnings are

68% of the south east average and 31.7% of residents between 16 and 74 have no qualifications. Benefit dependency is a particular issue, with £14 million passing through the Council's books every year in the form of DSS-originating housing benefit payments to residential landlords' (EH, 2007a: 44).

A number of regeneration policy documents reinforced this argument. The Local Development Framework for example recognizes for Hastings a large number of socio-economic problems:

'Hastings and St Leonards, whilst having enormous potential for change, is the thirty-ninth most deprived area nationally (Rank of Ward Ranks, Index of Multiple Deprivation 2004). Five of our wards fall within the most deprived 10% of all communities in England and eleven wards are in the most 20%. Areas in Particular need include: Central St Leonards, Castle, Gensing, Hollington and Broomgrove' (HBC, 2007a: 16).

To emphasize further the gravity of this situation, the same Development Framework (HBC, 2007a) explains:

'Hastings is in the top 11% of the most deprived Local Authorities areas in England (39th most deprived out of 354). Deprivation is widespread, 53 Super Output Areas³ within Hastings, 12 fall within the worst 10% in England and a further 8 in the worse 20%' (HBC, 2007a: 17).

The Community Strategy for Hastings and St Leonards (HBC, 2003a) opens with a description of the Hastings urban region as a place of contradictions:

'It enjoys the very best of coast and countryside but is known as the most deprived local authority area in the South East. Its communities are strong and united but crime rates are among the highest in the country. It has become a byword for innovation and excellence in the arts and yet it still has one of the highest teen conception rates in the country. It has a potentially huge labour supply and yet one third of economically active people in the town have no formal qualifications (HBC, 2003a: 1).

The Regeneration Strategy for Hastings and St Leonards (HRP, 2002: 8) repeats:

'Hastings and St Leonards is amongst the most deprived areas in England. Of the 354 English districts, Hastings and St Leonards is the 27th most deprived. As a result [...] the most deprived town in the South East'.

For the specific area of Central St Leonards, the Central St Leonards Renewal Strategy (HBC, 2004: 4) reports:

³ Super Output Areas (SOAs) are geographical areas of a consistent size comprising on average 1500 people. There are 53 Super Output Areas within the Borough of Hastings ODPM (2003). *The English Indexes of Deprivation 2004 (revised)*. London: Office of the Deputy Prime Minister. Creating sustainable communities .

‘there is also something seriously wrong with Central St Leonards. It has some of the worst unemployment and poverty in the country and crime rates are still among the highest. Health and mortality figures are similarly alarming, and many of the streets are unkempt and degraded. More than a quarter of the housing is classified as unfit and a further quarter shows substantial disrepair. Deprivation on this scale is of serious concern anywhere in the country, but in the affluent South East it is nearly unique’.

The scenario above reflects the assertions made in the acclaimed report by Beatty and Fothergill (2003) on the state of the English seaside economy brought to attention in section 5.2. Despite proposing a generalized and, surprisingly, a positive account of the socio-economic conditions of a sample of British seaside towns, the report noticed a group of poorly performing seaside towns of which Hastings is part.

In an era marked by the market planning and place promotion-oriented urban policies, as discussed in chapters 3 and 4, it is not surprising to come across a completely different scenario in the columns of the local press. The pages of the *Hastings and St Leonards Observer* dedicated to the 1066 Area (1066Today, 12 October 2007) (figure 8) advertised a face of Hastings that dissociates from the image proposed in the government literature above and commented:

‘Shabby and run-down? Think again. Hastings is fashionable again ... Once again become a must-visit destination and not just for holiday-makers in search for a fish and chips by the sea, and a kiss-me-quick hat ... Hastings is now just as popular with style hounds and trendy types as it is with families and traditional tourists ... a magnet for the stylish and alternative ... it has a strings of thriving art galleries ... the new ‘Hoxton’ as far as artists are concerned ... increasingly bohemian Old Town ... trendy shops ... shoppers hungry for a unique painting ... a thriving comedy scene to rival any in the south ... Whatever its problems in the past the name Hastings is now synonymous with artistic innovation and this shows no signs of changing’ (1066Today, 12 October 2007: 33).

It also remarked that:

‘it is easy to see why so many people flock to the town ... an array of attractions ... and festivals ... The Seafood and Wine Festival ... the ever-popular Jack-in-the Green celebrations ... Coastal Currents ... Hastings Week ... the extra events help to prolong the tourist season in Hastings ... The town has something for everyone and continues to be a top quality destination for tourists all year around’ (1066Today, 12 October 2007: 36).

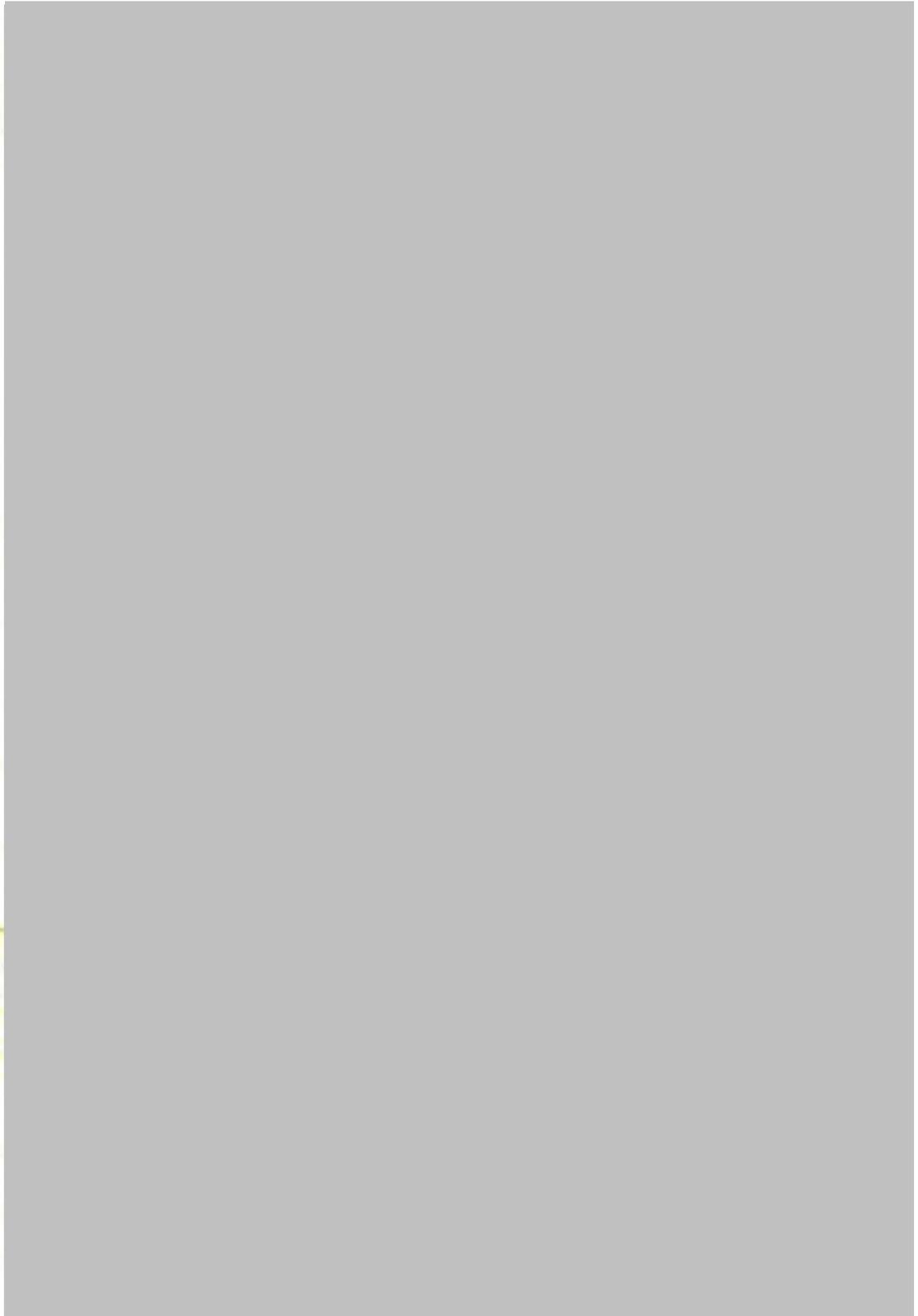


Figure 8: Hastings and St Leonards Observer 12 October 2007: 33.

Between these two opposing narratives, one marking the town according to indices of deprivation, the other celebrating the cultural revival of a coastal town that is newly attractive to both residents and visitors, there is that concerning the regeneration of Hastings. The Local Development Framework for Hastings in fact conveys:

‘Regeneration is the key theme in practically all the current strategies and plans for the town’s future’ (HBC, 2007a: 20).

So far this section has proposed an overview of the stages of Hastings’s evolution, its growth as a coastal resort, the demise of the seaside traditional tourism industry and the current disadvantaged conditions. The next section builds on this ground and takes advantage of the well of information collected during the fieldwork to expand on the origin of the town’s decline. It attempts to assess the contribution of the decline of the local traditional seaside tourism economy to the current levels of deprivation. The goal will be to link the spaces associated with the declined traditional seaside tourism economy and the local geography of deprivation. This should set up the ground for the analysis of how traditional seaside tourism spaces are reintroduced into the town’s socio-economic dynamics and regeneration in keeping with the aim of the research in chapter 6.

8.2.1 The demise of the traditional seaside tourism industry and the origins of the current deprivation.

The literature on regeneration, tourism and urban tourism discussed in chapters 3 and 4 often puts the demise of the leading economic sector, the basic export industries, at the forefront of the socio-economic decline of the Fordist urban waterfront. Changing use of the spaces left behind by deindustrialization and the adaptation to a service-based economy was a key aspect of this debate. This occurred through the implementation of adaptive reuse policies (e.g. conservation, preservation, heritagization) determining the shape and the culture of obsolete urban waterfronts attuning, as a consequence, to a changing local/global economy. Given the relevance of Hastings as a declining traditional seaside tourism collector to this study, a brief inquiry into the causes of its current deprivation reveals the role that tourism played in this degeneration process. In conclusion it is stated that there is a relationship between the declined traditional seaside tourism spaces and the current geography of deprivation. This excludes other areas similarly affected by high levels of deprivation more inland

(e.g. the Ore Valley) that are not traditionally associated with tourism but are now linked to regional regeneration plans nonetheless.

At a theoretical level, two contributions are significant to the following discussion as they render tourism a dominant industry of the resort town while, also, highlighting the consequences of its demise. Walton (2000: 143) described a resort as an industrial town:

‘At bottom the seaside resort is an industrial town, selling access to and enjoyment of a desirable environment [...]. Its dominant employments involves servicing the needs of visitors and residents: building and maintaining accommodation, selling goods and entertainment, keeping up an attracting environment, sustaining a sense of security, moving people to and fro, and ministering to their daily needs’.

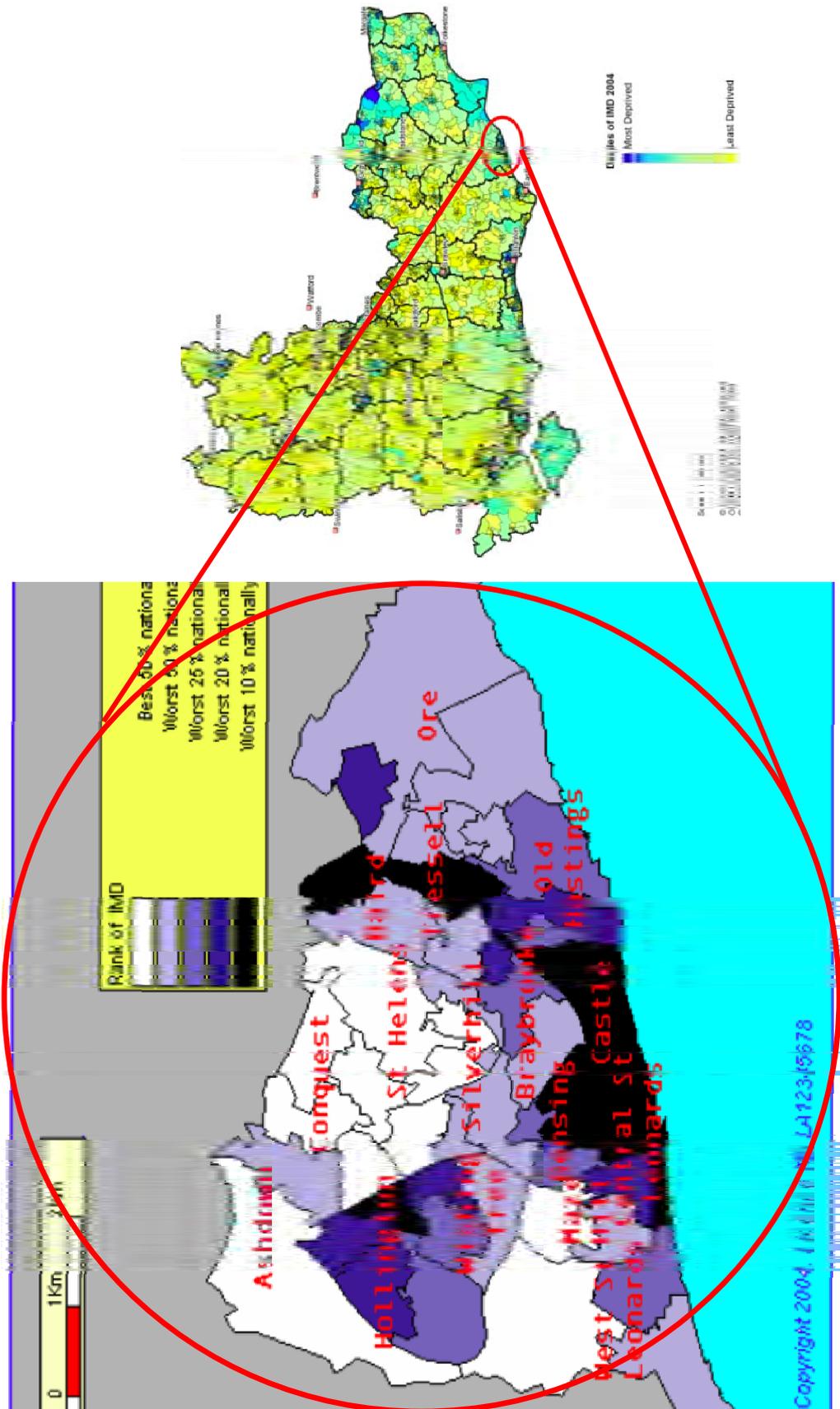
If this scenario is seen in combination with the statement proposed below by Shaw and Williams (1997), the demise of the tourism industry can be considered as catalyst for broader decline:

‘These are features which make a resort attractive to its residents as well as to its tourists, so that the decline of tourism can have wider implications for the quality of life of the community as a whole’ (Shaw and Williams, 1997: 16).

In the light of these comments, the interview with HBC1 provided some insights that relate the decline of the local tourism economy with that of some core areas of the town, most of which are adjacent to the seafront. Map 3 shows this geography of deprivation for the South East in general and Hastings in particular. It indicates, in black, a concentration of multiple deprivation along the seafront.

HBC1 remarked that:

‘the reason why Hastings needs regenerating is because of the decline of the tourism business in Hastings. In 1951 Hastings counted a population of 65000 people compared to 8000 visitor beds. Now the population is 85500 compared with 1000 visitor beds. In service accommodation such as bed and breakfast, guest houses and hotels the number of beds has declined of 87.5% over the last 50 years and clearly to loose 7000 bed spaces means that tourism cannot be as important now as it was in the past. Whereas Hastings relied very heavily on tourism as its major economic activity in the 1950s that decline has caused Hastings to stagnate and therefore you can argue fairly convincingly that it was the decline of tourism that caused the de-generation of Hastings and the current need of regeneration. I actually think that Hastings reached its low point in the 1980s, although the perception is that it reached its lower point 10 years ago’ (HBC1).



Map 3: Visual representation of concentration of multiple deprivation in the Hastings Borough (Source: ODPM, 2003: 71).

The decline of the traditional seaside resort infrastructure was also discussed by HAG1 who confirmed that:

‘In the 1970s Hastings was spiralling down: a terrible decay. At some stage we were loosing a hotel every week. The council had no money to invest, there was no private business: this was doom and gloom’ (HAG1).

A recent report compiled by English Heritage (2007a) also confirms the above and recognizes that:

‘the collapse of seaside tourism in the 1970s hit Hastings particularly hard because of the town’s single reliance on the tourist industry. This was compounded by a lack of retail or public realm investment since the 1930s, a problem which was not addressed until the 1990s’ (EH, 2007a: 44).

Beforehand however, the Hastings and Bexhill Seafront Strategy (GHK/Tibbalds/Halcrow, 2005: 1) had already explained that:

‘With changing times the relevance of the sea to the economies of both Hastings and Bexhill has also changed. The economic drivers that saw the development of the seafront in the late 19th and early 20th centuries are no longer relevant in the 21st Century. The most obvious example of this is the decline of the traditional seafront resort as a holiday destination, and the consequent decline in the economies of seaside towns is a national trend’.

According to the interviews with HBC1, HBC3, HW2 and the arguments of local strategies (HBC, 2002b, 2007a) the decline of tourism triggered a downward process. The current levels of deprivation are also dependent on external factors that incremented the effects of the decline of tourism locally: this implies that deprivation in Hastings is not exclusively imputable to the decline of the traditional seaside tourism economy. As Shaw and Williams (2004: 236) already recognized the decline of tourism only generated the fertile ground for the current deprivation to take place:

‘the combined effect of the traditional patterns of seasonal unemployment, along with an increase in general unemployment and an influx of economically vulnerable people, has created problematic conditions in many resorts’.

In the case of Hastings, the ‘Greater London Plan’ (GLP) (Self, 2002), had a major impact in this sense:

‘The second half of the twentieth century saw the borough decline. There were major changes in population as the London ‘town expansion scheme’ resulted in the relocation of whole new communities into the area’ (HBC, 2002b; 9).

Among the challenges proposed by the Greater London Plan (GLP) there was that to ‘reconcile the goal of a good residential environment with the location of employment’ (Self, 2002: 148). This phenomenon was discussed in its full complexity by HBC1 and HBC3. HBC1 remarked: ‘I was studying the GLC town expansion scheme at school and I well remember when it took place here in Hastings, and what it caused because I am born and bred in Hastings’, and went on explaining:

‘From the 1950s onwards several towns were created to accommodate an overflow from London as the city was becoming overcrowded: small towns were transformed into big cities (like Crawley for example). In the 1960s the scheme was announced in Hastings. In late 1960s Hastings was one of the very latest towns to be expanded. They started to build the infrastructure, mainly housing (at Church Fields; see Plate 2, 3 and 4) and industrial estates. An example is the Castleham Industrial Estate (Plate 5 and 6) in Hollington; ongoing transport issues were always an obstacle for these industries to flourish. As soon as people started to move down to Hastings the scheme ended because too many people were leaving London’ (HBC1).



Plate 2. Housing Estate, Hollington, Tile Barn Road (Saturday, October 12, 2007; 11.14am). Author’s own collection.

HBC3 also explained that:

‘1950s and 1960s deindustrialization in London, need of people for the new industries, London suburbs accommodation becoming increasingly expensive, coastal towns resorts suffering from internationalization of mass tourism; in reflection central



Plate 3. Housing Estate, Hollington, Tile Barn Road (Saturday, October 12, 2007; 11.14am). Author's own collection.



Plate 4. Wishing Tree Lagoon; artificial pond south Crowhurst Road; Hollington Housing Estate (October 2007; author's own collection).

government deliberately offered the chance to these communities at margins of London to move to these seaside towns with the promise of relocation of heavy industry. The issue was that no heavy industry was relocated due to connectivity issues: roads, limitation with railway. So the story is that lots of people attracted to Hastings by this

scenario moved in but than they were unemployed. So what you have now in Hastings is third generation unemployment level higher than the South East average. And than you have all social problems .. so there are people with no expectations, culture of no learning' (HBC3).



Plate 5. Castleham Industrial Estate. Hollington, Gresley Road (Saturday, October 12, 2007; 11.30am). Author's own collection.



Plate 6. Castleham Industrial Estate. Hollington, Gresley Road (Saturday, October 12, 2007; 11.30am). Author's own collection.

More relevant to this discussion however is the relationship between the GLC town expansion scheme and the current pockets of deprivation located especially in the declined traditional tourists areas along the seafront (Plate 7, 8 and 9). In this respect, HFM1 and HBC1 proposed a few insights. HFM1 explained that:

‘among those who left London under the pressure of the GLC town expansion scheme, and came down to populate Hastings seafront and surrounding areas, had health problems, they were elderly people, people out of prison, people with mental problems etc..’ (HFM1).

HBC1 added further details about the way the two phenomena triggered the degeneration of Hastings:

‘Hastings like many other resorts in England declined during the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. The infrastructure in Hastings was traditional Victorian: it was old, and as tourism declined the owners of tourist accommodations looked at alternative sources of income. So they started to take in people with unemployment benefits: bedsits became almost like hostels. Some of the big hotels degenerated into hostels: Hotels, especially those along the seafront, started off with people on benefits and than become care homes. In the 1980s people that were unemployed were allowed to be unemployed anywhere in the country and still claim their own unemployment benefits. So if you lived in London with no prospects you were able to go anywhere in England and still claim your unemployment benefits from the government. So those unemployed on

benefits that did not want to stay in big cities migrated to the seaside. At the time that scheme took place Hastings was already declining as a resort. If there would be a thriving economy here with full employment and no spare accommodation these people from London would not have come here. They came here because the economy was already failing I believe. They had very cheap accommodations because the hotels were old and got converted as they were consistently losing tourists and able to accommodate people on benefits. People did not go to Brighton or Southend for example. In turn, seaside resorts were more and more populated with people with social problems. The law changed because it was becoming a problem, but by that time some of the damage had already been done and the hotels degenerated into hostels; after that they became nursing homes that again did not provide for any money for the local economy really. People who are stuck in nursing do not provide money. Now for political reasons we have lots of asylum seekers here who are not allowed by law to spend any money. So you have all these people in Hastings with no job, no money to spend and nothing to do. We ended up with major problems like crime, drug taking, the highest male suicide rate in southern England and the highest number of underage conceptions in the country' (HBC1).



Plate 7: Hastings Seafront towards St Leonards. Author's own collection.



Plate 8. Hastings White Rock Baths towards Castle Ward Hastings (Sydney Little Promenade, December 2007). Author's own collection.



Plate 9: Hastings White Rock Baths (Seafront, December 2007). Author's own collection.

The internationalization of seaside mass tourism discussed in chapter 5 (e.g. Agarwal, 1995; Shaw and Williams, 1997; Walton, 1997, 2000) contributed extensively to the socio-economic decline of Hastings as a resort. The arguments brought up by the contributors above help to better interpret the local scenario: national urban policies after the 1950s worsened the aftermaths of the post 1960s shifts in tourism trends at local level. As for Hastings, they failed to help rebalance the misfortunes of the areas most affected (i.e. Central St Leonards and Gensing, Castle along the seafront and nearby areas) by the decline of the once leading industry. Drawing on the evidence above, it is apparent that the combination of a demographic change caused by the immigration of economically inactive people and the related transformation of a low quality primary tourism infrastructure into even lower quality homes can be related to the current geography of deprivation in these areas.

Reflecting on the above and the assertions made in the report on the seaside economy by Beatty and Fothergill (2003) Hastings is a singular case. The report, in fact, criticized the simple theory by which seaside towns, in Britain, entered a spiral of decline similar to some old industrial areas and experienced loss of employment, particularly in the tourist sector that triggered further job losses in the local economy. Indeed, it is arguable that Hastings features very strong similarities with old industrial areas (i.e. high levels of deprivation) and there is the need to ask whether the regeneration scenario for Hastings will take the same path of many post-industrial cities where the urban tourism strategy/model becomes a dominant feature of spatial, cultural and socio-economic change.

This section consolidated the relationship between the decline of the local traditional seaside tourism industry and the current geography of deprivation that, as showed in map 3, occupies many of the areas adjacent to the seafront. In the light of the arguments so far discussed, the next section pursues the aim and objectives of this research by conducting a discourse analysis of plans, strategies and official reports produced respectively at national and regional level. It identifies a first range of the discursive statements relative to the role of tourism in the regeneration of British seaside towns in general, and those in the South East in particular.

8.3 Tourism and regeneration: national and regional policies and plans.

According to the strategic scenario set up at national level, tourism is believed to have a cardinal role to play in the regeneration of declined seaside resorts in the UK. The report by the Communities and Local Government Committee (CLG, 2006-2007) suggests to consider tourism at strategic level within a local economic diversification perspective to tackle the regeneration of coastal towns:

‘A number of coastal towns suffer from deprivation and their economic regeneration is of critical importance. Tourism continues to be an important industry in many areas, especially in traditional seaside resorts [...]. The economies of coastal towns can not, however, rely on tourism alone to be economically successful; and there is a role for economic diversification strategies to provide opportunities for local people to work in a range of industries’ (CLG, 2006-2007: 3).

Similarly, the national strategy for tourism, *Tomorrow’s Tourism* (DCMS, 1999), discusses the role of tourism in the regeneration of seaside resorts. This strategy positions the regeneration of traditional seaside resorts within the 15 priority action points and states:

‘where tourism is popular, it underpins local commercial activity and services and it can help to regenerate urban and rural areas. [It] can be a driving force in bringing about sustainable development and has enormous potential for helping to regenerate our towns and cities, and our countryside’ (DCMS, 1999: 6)

It also confirms some of the arguments discussed in chapters 3 and 4 about the benefits of tourism in the regeneration of areas that experienced the decline of traditional industries, and remarked:

‘Tourism has tremendous potential to benefit local communities, especially in areas where traditional industries or agriculture are in decline [...] It can contribute to the preservation and re-use of existing resources; to the protection and enhancement of the local environment; and to maintaining the economic viability of local businesses (through diversification such as farm tourism)’ (DCMS, 1999: 66)

It is arguable that these assertions can be extended to the case of Hastings and similar contexts. In line with the above, *Sea Changes* (ETC, 2001), the strategy for resort regeneration set up by the English Tourism Council in response to the call for resort regeneration in the *Tomorrow’s Tourism* (DCMS, 1999: 66), recognizes the importance of coastal resorts’ regeneration for the further development of the national tourism product and states:

‘resorts remain strategically important for English tourism and have an important and sustainable role to play in England’s future tourism product’ (ETC, 2001: 18).

In relation to tourism and regeneration, the strategy encourages the formulation of a diversified environment and the related creation of a ‘complex tourist experience’ and a ‘total tourism product’ (ETC, 2001: 35). *Sea Changes* (ETC, 2001) in fact questions the effectiveness of tourism as a strategic tool and as a panacea for the recovery of all resorts:

‘creating sustainable and diverse economies in resorts with tourism as a major component of a more mixed economic base. It is believed that tourism alone cannot be a regeneration solution for all our resorts. Most will need to diversify their economy to some extent; indeed, some are unable to compete any longer and may need to move away from tourism altogether’ (ETC, 2001: 7)

It also subscribes to the idea that the public sector has the remit to:

‘invest in the quality and general ambience of a resort to create a climate that will attract private investment’ (ETC, 2001: 49).

The argument of economic diversification for resort regeneration is also recommended in the strategies at regional level where tourism is discussed as a key player for regional economic growth. Under the new planning system introduced by the Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act 2004 (see: ESCC, 2007), the regional structure plans have been substituted with the Regional Spatial Strategies (RSS). In so far as tourism is concerned, the RSS for the South East and the South East Plan (SEP) (SEERA, 2006), corroborate the symbiotic relationship between economic diversification, tourism infrastructure development, and resort regeneration, and states:

‘opportunities should be sought to diversify the economic base of the region’s coastal resorts while consolidating and upgrading tourism facilities in ways which promote higher value activity, reduce seasonality and support urban regeneration’ (SEERA, 2006: 206).

It is within the argument of regional growth in regional plans and strategies, however, that ample space is given to the aspect of seaside towns regeneration and tourism development. It is arguable that regional plans (SEERA, 2006) and strategies (TSE, 2004; SEEDA, 2006a, 2006b) reflect the shift from ‘new localism’ to ‘new regionalism’ theorized by Deas and Ward (2000). In their contribution, the authors outlined the entrepreneurial turn in urban governance debated in chapters 3 and 4 and noticed the replacement of a logic of ‘re-distribution and equity’ with one pursuing

economic growth based on opportunism (Deas and Ward, 2000: 274). According to Deas and Ward (2000) this approach is embedded in, and performed by, a ‘regionally based model of intervention’ (Deas and Ward, 2000: 275) that signals a turn to a ‘more robust regional dimension to governance and policy’ (Deas and Ward, 2000: 287). Within this regionalist perspective the argument of *performance* and *underperformance* is indeed prominent in regional plans and policies and needs to be scrutinized. In the light of the comments above about tourism, seaside town’s regeneration and economic diversification, dwelling on these issues can help to delineate emerging discursive statements relative to the promotion of tourism development at a strategic level for the regeneration of Hastings.

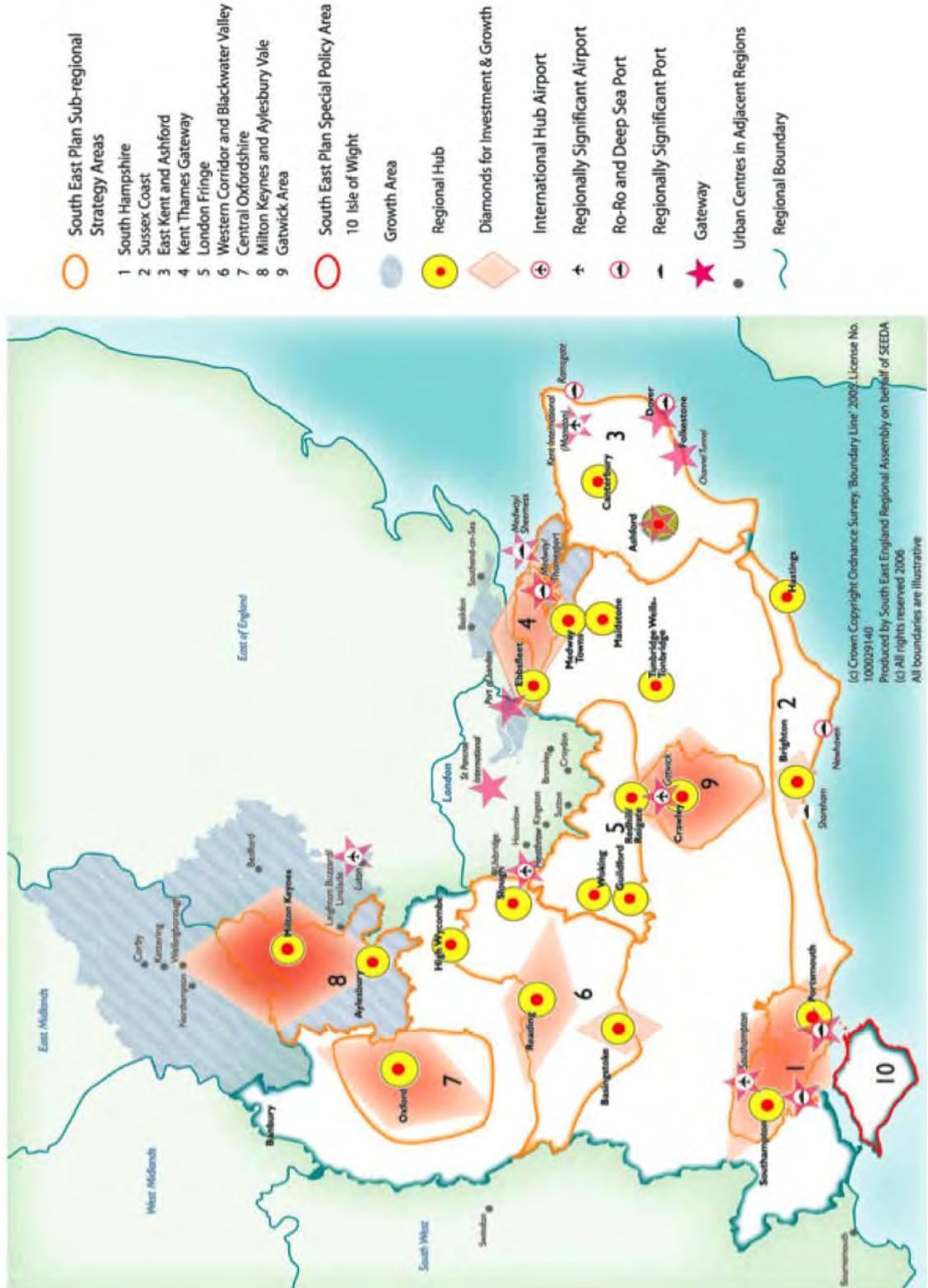
8.3.1 New regionalism, tourism and the argument of *performance*.

Alongside the emphasis on deprivation used to support the need for substantial regeneration in seaside towns, the notion of *performance* and *underperformance* are also major referents in the regional documents. The SEP (SEERA, 2006) for instance highlights a narrative of socio-economic intra-regional disparities and proposes performance equalization as a main objective:

‘The South East Region contains significant variations in socio-economic performance and tackling these intra-regional disparities is a key objective for both the South East Plan and the Regional Economic Strategy’ (SEERA, 2006: 50).

The *Regional Economic Strategy* (RES) for the South East (SEEDA, 2006a) and the SEP (2006) bring the concept of *regional hubs* into discussion to stress the role that the performance of each regional hub can play in increasing the wider regional growth. The SEP (2006a) identifies 21 Regional Hubs potentially performing as centres of economic activity and transport services (map 4). The RES (SEEDA, 2006a: 42) specifies that these hubs have:

‘the potential to act as a catalyst to stimulate prosperity across wider areas, and offer scope for further sustainable growth based on targeted investment in their infrastructure’.



Map 4: Growth areas and diamonds for investments. Source: SEEDA (2006a: 43).

In this respect, the RES (SEEDA, 2006a) defines the *Coast* as one among the three distinctive economic contours in the South East. The strategic priorities for the southern coastal area are two ‘Diamonds for Growth’ Urban South Hampshire (including Southampton and Portsmouth) and Brighton & Hove, and Hastings and Bexhill is a hub, along with Brighton, Southampton and Portsmouth. In 2006 the Regional Development Agency for the South East England (SEEDA) announced the development of a Coastal Strategy (SEEDA, 2006b) aligned with the RES (SEEDA, 2006a) and claimed:

‘Realizing the potential of the Coast will help to narrow the gaps in economic performance within the South East, so that more people in the region can share in its prosperity’ (SEEDA, 2006c: 1).

On the occasion of the launch of the South East Coastal Strategy, the then Deputy Prime Minister John Prescott commented on the strategic approach undertaken and said:

‘across the country, we are seeing the benefits of a regional approach to jobs and growth, backed by the RDAs’ (SEEDA, 2006c: 3).

Within the *Spatial Strategy and Policies* section the SEP (SEERA, 2006: 252) establishes that:

‘the overall aim for the [Sussex Coast] sub-region is to secure sustainable economic regeneration, substantially reduce the social and economic disparities with the rest of the region whilst protecting and enhancing the environment and the quality of life of residents. By doing this the sub-region will make an increased contribution to the wealth of the regional economy rather than depressing overall performance’.

In addition to the latest assertion, and with reference to Hastings and Bexhill-on-Sea as a regional hub and a ‘Small City and Primary Urban Area’ (1066Country, 2007: 5), the arguments of *new regionalism* and *performance* are echoed in the *Hastings Local Development Framework* (HBC, 2007a). It corroborates the concerns for Hastings as an underperforming urban area and claims:

‘without Hastings the East Sussex performance is excellent and exceeds the regional figure’ (HBC, 2007a: 15).

New regionalism is reflected in the arguments on tourism and coastal towns regeneration in the plans and strategies below. In the case of the SEP (SEERA, 2006) tourism is discussed as a means to enhance the quality of life of the region that is, in

effect, the ultimate goal of the plan. The SEP (SEERA, 2006), however, does not propose again the symbiotic relationship between tourism and regeneration in the same way as the urban and tourism literature reviewed in chapters 3 and 4 did when discussing the catalytic potential of the urban tourism strategy in regeneration. On the contrary, it champions regeneration, and urban renaissance, as the catalysts for maximizing the performance of tourism at region level. Accordingly it reports that:

‘the contribution of tourism to the overall vision for the quality of life in the South East can be significantly enhanced by [...] providing stronger support for urban renaissance and regeneration especially in the south coast resorts [...]’ (SEERA, 2006: 203).

Alongside the prominent aspects of regional performance and growth, another key element in regional policies and plans in fact is *culture*, the creative sector, and their role in spurring economic growth and regeneration at regional and sub-regional level.

8.3.2 Culture and creative sector development: a policy priority.

The symbiotic relationship between *culture*, its material and immaterial referents, tourism and urban regeneration was at the core of the literature discussed in chapter 4. It was also recalled in chapter 5 where Smith (2004) pursued an evaluation of the role of tourism and cultural development in the regeneration of a stagnant seaside resort. Tourism and culture are recognized as triggers to quality of life enhancement in both SEP (SEERA, 2006) and RES (SEEDA, 2006a). The RES (SEEDA, 2006a) states:

‘the quality of the natural and built environment is a major element in the quality of life in the South East, and a key source of competitive advantage. Culture and the environment are also important drivers of the visitor economy; can help build integrated sustainable communities; and can lead and support regeneration in both urban and rural areas’ (SEEDA, 2006a: 18).

In this context, tourism is called into play at sub-regional level. With particular reference to the coastal sub-region, the *South East Coastal Strategy*⁴ (SEEDA, 2006b) and the *Regional Economic Strategy Implementation Plan* (SEEDA, 2006d) substantiate the strategic role played by the creative and cultural sector, and the visitor economy. The former reinforces the strategic role that the smaller towns (a String of Pearls) along the coast can play as renewed tourist destinations to spur wider (regional)

⁴ Coastal South East is broadly represented by four sub-regions and one special policy area as defined in the SEP (SEERA, 2006a): Kent Thames Gateway, East Kent and Ashford, Sussex Coast, South Hampshire, and the Isle of Wight (*source*: SEEDA, 2006b).

regeneration:

‘The Sussex coast area is also shaped by [...] a scenic coastline in which a number of smaller towns – Worthing, Eastbourne and Hastings and Bexhill as part of the string of pearls – are located. These smaller seaside towns are important assets for the region [...]. They can re-invent themselves as leisure and tourist destinations as a catalyst for wider regeneration’ (SEEDA, 2006b: 11).

The latter instead proposes the promotion of the coastal sub-region as a ‘Creative Coast’ (SEEDA, 2006d: 17) and commits to support:

‘the continued development and success of the creative industries, including links to the visitor economy’ (SEEDA, 2006d: 16).

The discourse analysis of regional plans and strategies identifies the development of the creative and cultural industries as dominant discursive practice for regional regeneration compared to tourism and visitor economy development. Following up the work by Richard Florida (2002; 2004, 2005) theorizing the socio-economic growth potential of the creative sector and class, already the fastest growing sector in the UK economy (DCMS, 2008), the development of the culture sector and creative industries emerges in the policies and plans as a key regional objective. The regional plans and strategies in fact prioritize the development of the cultural sector and the creative industries by describing them as leading forces for growth within an establishing and consolidating global knowledge-economy. In the RES (SEEDA, 2006a), culture is a cross cutting theme. The goal set up by the RES (SEEDA, 2006a) is to capitalize on the recognition of the positive influx of culture to spurring economic growth:

‘promote culture as an economic catalyst in developing underperforming areas and growth poles in all economic areas of the South East, but particularly Growth areas, the Coastal Towns and the Diamonds for Investment and Growth’ (SEEDA, 2006a: 111).

Further analysis in relation to the regeneration of the Coastal South East reveals a relative marginalization of tourism development and the dominance of education, skills and knowledge-economy based development. Emphasis on creativity, innovation, culture, connectivity, and knowledge-based economic growth runs all through the RES (SEEDA, 2006a: 104) and ‘education-led regeneration’ appears to be core ingredient for the overall transformation of the South East:

‘Groundbreaking collaborations have already brought new skills opportunities to some of these area. Multiversity projects such as University at Medway and University Centre Hastings demonstrate that the catalytic effect of Higher Education on regeneration is an essential part of the delivery of the vision of an enterprising,

innovative, and creative region' (SEEDA, 2006a: 104).

In relation to this emphasis on creativity and knowledge-based growth, the RES (2006a) defines innovation and the attraction of the creative individual as the key drivers for regional regeneration:

'to drive the vision of an innovative region forward we need to attract and develop the creative individuals who will provide leadership and inspiration, and ensure that we have the capacity to deliver innovation. Creative human capital is a key driver of both regeneration and innovation in the region' (SEEDA, 2006a: 53).

The objective in this section was to highlight the discursive statements emerging from the analyses of how tourism is positioned in relation to the regeneration of the British seaside town in general, and the seaside towns in the South East England in particular in national and regional policy documents and plans. Overall, some positive remarks emerged regarding the key role that tourism can play in the regeneration of seaside towns at both levels. Nevertheless, economic diversification was charted as the way forward for the creation of a total tourism product and the maximization of tourism's potential to tackle a growth agenda focusing on regional performance. Despite featuring high on the national and regional regeneration agenda tourism seems to be superseded by the prioritization of other economic sectors within a new regionalist approach to growth. The promotion of culture and creative sectors development is believed to play a more prominent role along with skills and education in spurring regeneration and redevelopment in areas of high deprivation along the South East Coast sub-region. Tourism, however, is believed to play a strategic role as far as Hastings is concerned. As a regional hub, a regenerated Hastings is believed to help the region to grow while contributing to regional performance. Culture, as the cultural sector and creative industries, emerged however as a priority for development measures supported by a narrative of innovation, knowledge and creativity deemed to be the motor for service sector growth.

8.4 Chapter summary and conclusion.

This chapter introduced the evolution of Hastings as a seaside town. It offered a discourse analysis of national and regional policy documents and plans to identify statements that put tourism in relation to the regeneration of the British seaside town. The context section corroborated the relationship in Hastings between the steady

decline of the traditional seaside tourism industry and the formation of a distinctive geography of deprivation concentrated along the seafront areas and in some public sector housing developments on the edge of Hastings. Although the call for structured regeneration interventions at resort level was already charted in the review of the literature in chapter 5, this section highlighted the underpinnings of the regeneration narrative that is analyzed in the next chapter. In section 8.3, tourism is generally presented as a key ingredient for the regeneration of seaside towns. The development of the culture sector and the creative industries was, compared to tourism, rendered a key policy priority for regional innovation, growth and regeneration in regional documents. Drawing on the positioning exercise offered in section 4.3, tourism, heritage and the leisure industries were positioned only at the outer reaches of culture policies by Bianchini (1993b). The *Creative Britain* report DCMS (2008) utterly excluded tourism from the creative industries that are listed as advertising, architecture, the arts and antiques market, crafts, design, designer fashion, film and video, interactive leisure software, music, the performing arts, publishing, software and computer services, and television and radio. With the prioritization of innovation, creativity, connectivity, and knowledge-based economic growth at regional level, is tourism really rendered a marginal/secondary strategic feature to the regeneration of seaside towns such as Hastings? The discourse analysis of the range of documents undertaken in this chapter has shown that *economic diversification*, the *creation of a complex tourism product*, *regional growth* and *performance*, *culture and creative sector development* and *innovation* are the discursive statements competing in the formation of the discourse under scrutiny. They will be taken into account again to foster discussion in the next chapter.

In section 7.2.1.1, it was noted how the geography literature discussed the value and necessity of locality-oriented studies. It claimed that it is at the local level that change takes place and it is where the study of the dynamics of change should be conducted. Reflecting on the aim and objectives of this research, and the discursivity framework adopted at methodological level, there is the need to analyze the power relations between statements emerging from the analysis of the local regeneration scenario. Accordingly, the next chapter considers the discursive statements, and related practices, that emerge from the analysis of the formal and informal regeneration scenario in Hastings. It analyses the local strategic scenario, related institutional arrangements as

well as the discursive practices embedded in regeneration projects and informally driven initiatives.

Chapter 9 – Discourse analysis of the local regeneration scenario: policies, plans, formal and informal regeneration programmes and initiatives.

9.1. Introduction.

The discourse analysis of the primary sources taken into account in this chapter highlights relations of power among a range of *discursive statements* and related *practices*. Together, they compete in the formation of a discourse that is revealing of the reasoning, nature, objectives and outcomes behind the strategic involvement of tourism in the regeneration of Hastings and St Leonards. These discursive statements emerged from the analysis of the national, regional and local policy and planning literature described in sections 8.3 and 9.2, and from the interviews and focus groups with formal and informal actors. The range of *discursive practices* is also revealed by the regeneration projects and initiatives fostered at both formal and informal level. Emerging discursive practices and statements relate tourism (strategies, programmes and initiatives), spaces of change and actors, to the broader urban regeneration scenario and compete in defining the centrality or marginalization of tourism as a regeneration priority, catalyst, objective and solution.

This chapter is divided in two main sections. Section 9.2 is a descriptive overview of the organizations and related policy and planning documents that are key to the analysis of the discourse under scrutiny. It provides details about the bodies, both formally and informally constituted, participating in the regeneration of the town, the way they emerged, and their goals. Section 9.3, distinguishes instead a range of discursive statements and practices competing in the formation of the discourse under scrutiny. It analyzes a range of large and small capital projects alongside informally driven initiatives and a cultural programme of community festivals and special events.

9.2 Organizations, key partnerships and the strategic scenario.

The institutional regeneration scenario in Hastings is composed of a complex set of strategies and plans that reflects the array of actors formally involved in the planning and delivery stages of regeneration programmes. They frame a regeneration approach pursuing policy integration and institutional collaborations and compose a crowded and at times confusing tapestry of remits. What follows is a descriptive account of the local regeneration policy and planning scenario as well as the institutional (formal) and non-statutory (informal/civil, voluntary) organizations that

are taken into account as primary sources of data in following sections. It will be indicative of their constitution, remits, and contribution to the regeneration of the town.

9.2.1 Organizations and regeneration partnerships.

The *Hastings Borough Council* (HBC) is the local statutory body. It is responsible for the formulation and delivery of a range of strategies and plans. Those that are regeneration-related and taken into account in this research, are: the *Tourism and Visitor Strategy* (HBC, 1999) and *Cultural Strategy* (HBC, 2002b), the *Hastings Local Plan* (HBC, 2002a), the *Hasting Local Development Framework* (HBC, 2007a), the strategy for developing public art in Hastings (HBC, 2005) and the *Central St Leonards Renewal Strategy* (HBC, 2004).

The *Hastings Local Strategic Partnership* (LSP) is, according to the Planning Policy Statement 12 (DCLG, 2008) a non statutory organization that is ‘growth and economic-development focused’ (idea, 2007: 1). It includes residents, business leaders, people working in voluntary organizations, representatives of the Hastings Borough Council and East Sussex County Council as well as other key agencies such as the police, education and health care providers. The LSP is in charge of formulating a Community Strategy (HBC, 2003a) and is formed of five thematic partnerships namely the Safer Hastings Partnership, the Learning and Skills Partnership, the Housing Partnership, the Healthier Partnership and the Regeneration Partnership (the Hastings and Bexhill Economic Alliance). They cover a range of aspects including community safety and crime, learning, skills and employment, housing improvement, health, social inclusion, regeneration and quality of life enhancement.

Other non-statutory urban regeneration bodies were set up with the purpose of tackling a complex regeneration manoeuvre. These comprise the *Hastings and Bexhill Economic Alliance*, the *Hastings and Bexhill Task Force* and *Sea Space*. The remit and objectives of these bodies reflect the regionalization of regeneration programmes and funding regimes as explained in detail in the next paragraphs. They are in charge of leading the comprehensive change of the disadvantaged stream of urbanized coast comprising Hastings and the nearby seaside town of Bexhill-on-Sea. They participated in the formulation and delivery of key regeneration plans and strategies which were analyzed for this research and include the *Five Point Plan/Regeneration Plan* (SeaSpace, 2003b) and the related *Business Plan for Coastal Regeneration* (BPCR)

(SeaSpace, 2003a), the *1066 Destination Management Strategy* (1066DMS) (1066Country, 2007) and the *Hastings and Bexhill Seafront Strategy* (HBSS) (GHK/Tibbalds/Halcrow, 2005).

The *Hastings and Bexhill Economic Alliance* (HBEA) is the regeneration partnership in the LSP. It works across Hastings and Bexhill and is a strategic body with the ability to lever in funding from a variety of mainstream and other sources to achieve economic prosperity and inclusion objectives. It coordinates work relative to the Regional Economic Strategy (RES) (SEEDA, 2006a) and other regional plans affecting Hastings and Bexhill in terms of economic issues. It is responsible for the distribution of the South East England Development Agency (SEEDA) devolved Area Investment Framework funding (AIF) believed to be an effective vehicle for coordinating local economic regeneration and inclusion activity (HBEA, 2006/07-2008/09). It also oversees the Local Enterprise Growth Initiative programme (LEGI) and the formulation of *Making Waves, the regeneration strategy for Hastings and St Leonards* (HRP, 2002). In order to deliver these tasks, the HBEA brought together nominated representatives from key stakeholder organizations across both Hastings and Bexhill that are able to foster economic growth and development according to annual objectives.

The rejection of what was known as the Hastings and Bexhill bypass in 2001 triggered the formation of the *Hastings and Bexhill Task Force* (HBTF). The bypass was believed to tackle the issues of peripherality and connectivity deemed to restrain the development of the towns. The HBTF was established as a partnership in July 2001 when the Department of Transport tasked the South East England Development Agency (SEEDA) to bring together a regeneration strategy that could be turned into a decisive plan of action for the Hastings and Bexhill area. The HBTF was then rendered responsible for the development of a shared vision comprising five interlinked initiatives: the *5 Point Plan*. The partnership (HBTF) comprises representatives from the Hastings Borough Council, Rother District Council, East Sussex County Council, SEEDA, the Government Office for the South East and English Partnerships (SeaSpace, 2003a).

The Task Force also produced the *Business Plan for Coastal Regeneration in Hastings and Bexhill* (BPCR) (SeaSpace, 2003a) that establishes, and sets the criteria for, a government *quango* namely: the *Hastings and Bexhill Renaissance Limited*

trading as *Sea Space*. As a regeneration company, Sea Space retains the broad characteristics of an Urban Development Company and performs as an Executive Delivery Vehicle with the remit of taking the regeneration plan, the Five Point Plan, to completion. Although part of central/regional government, it is a non-elected body working in partnership with other statutory organizations and set out to be a key actor of a funding mechanism influencing the regeneration of the town. It has powers of land assembly and disposes of major resources for redevelopment purposes which give Sea Space the power to influence and lead the regeneration agenda. As a Development Company and ancillary organization to the Task Force, Sea Space is appointed with certain powers to lead certain elements of the regeneration of Hastings as the BPCR (SeaSpace, 2003a: 18) explained:

‘the Memorandum contains 32 specific powers, including a general “sweeper-up” power to do all such things as are incidental or conducive to the attainment of the company’s objects’.

Sea Space is also set out to pursue a process of change that is based on urban renaissance projects. They entail physical redevelopment projects acting as catalysts for wider regeneration. The catalytic planning approach of this body was established in the BPCR (SeaSpace, 2003a). While setting the guidelines for Sea Space’s action plan, the Business Plan (SeaSpace, 2003a) introduces the catalytic model of urban intervention pursued by Sea Space and its focus on *pre-development, early win* projects. It states that the Development Company utilises a:

‘classic model whereby the public sector finance of SEEDA acts as a catalyst for the process through funding land acquisition, infrastructure and enabling works, “early win projects” and pre-development activity’ (SeaSpace, 2003a: 3).

In relation to catalytic planning, these ‘early win projects’ are believed to:

‘act as a catalyst and an exemplar that will begin to underpin the longer term changes that the Business Plan will secure’ (SeaSpace, 2003a: 43).

Accordingly, the BPCR (SeaSpace, 2003a) establishes that among the purposes of the executive delivery vehicle there is that to ‘concentrate on a small number of large projects’. This is to:

‘market Hastings and Bexhill as a destination for inward investment, especially in the developed portfolio of the Hastings and Bexhill Regeneration Limited as the largest commercial property provider in the area’ (SeaSpace, 2003a: 20).

In the following sections, a range of civil/informal actors, as non-statutory and voluntary-based organizations, are also discussed due to their contribution to the formation of the regeneration discourse under scrutiny.

The Coastal Users Group was established by the HBC to safeguard the use of the coast. It involves a variety of actors such as the fisherman museum, the shipwreck heritage centre, the Hastings visitor attractions, the Hastings Adventure Golf, and those on the west side of the town that use the beach for power boating, yachting and seafront traders. The Hastings Fisherman Protection Society (HFPS) was established in 1947 to protect the *Stade* area (the prime land donated by Queen Elizabeth the 1st in 1553 to the fisherman of Hastings) from opportunistic developments alongside the rights of professional fisherman in Hastings. The Hastings Old Town Preservation Society (OHPS) is a voluntary pressure group established in the 1990s for the preservation and safeguard of the history of the town. The Hastings Pier and White Rock Trust was established in 2007 after the Hastings Pier was closed by the Council in June 2006. It aims at providing community ownership of the Pier through conservation and other economic initiatives. The Hastings and St Leonards Hotel and Tourism Association is a private sector-led marketing organization that groups together the tourist accommodation supply in town. Thirty-Six Hours Ltd. is a social enterprise set up in 2005 specialized in community-based festivals management. Among other festivals, it manages the Coastal Current Contemporary Arts Festival and the St Leonards Festival. The Arts Forum was founded in 2003 as a third sector, networking organization dedicated to the promotion and development of an arts infrastructure for the town. With the objective of promoting Hastings as a major arts centre, it counts over 500 members (2007) and takes active part in the Local Strategic Partnership to ensure that cultural development remains high on the formal regeneration agenda.

9.2.2 Strategies and Plans.

This section introduces the strategies and plans formally required for the regeneration of the town. The description of strategies and plans in this section follows a mapping exercise (figure 9) set out in the local regeneration strategy namely *Making Waves: a Regeneration Strategy for Hastings and St Leonards (HRP, 2002)*. The strategic scenario for Hastings and St Leonards is composed of a number of policies and plans addressing a variety of aspects of the community life. For the purpose of

examining this crowded strategic arrangement, identify and analyze the emerging discursive statements relative to tourism and regeneration, the overarching strategy for the town's development (i.e. the Community Strategy), its structure and goals, is discussed before going onto to consider related supporting strategies and plans.

The *Community Strategy* (CS) (HBC, 2003a) is an umbrella policy that sets up a 10 years vision for Hastings and St Leonards and envisages the 'renaissance of Hastings through social, economic, cultural and environmental regeneration' (HBC, 2007c). As the outcome of the LSP, the CS is set to have a very economic-oriented profile.

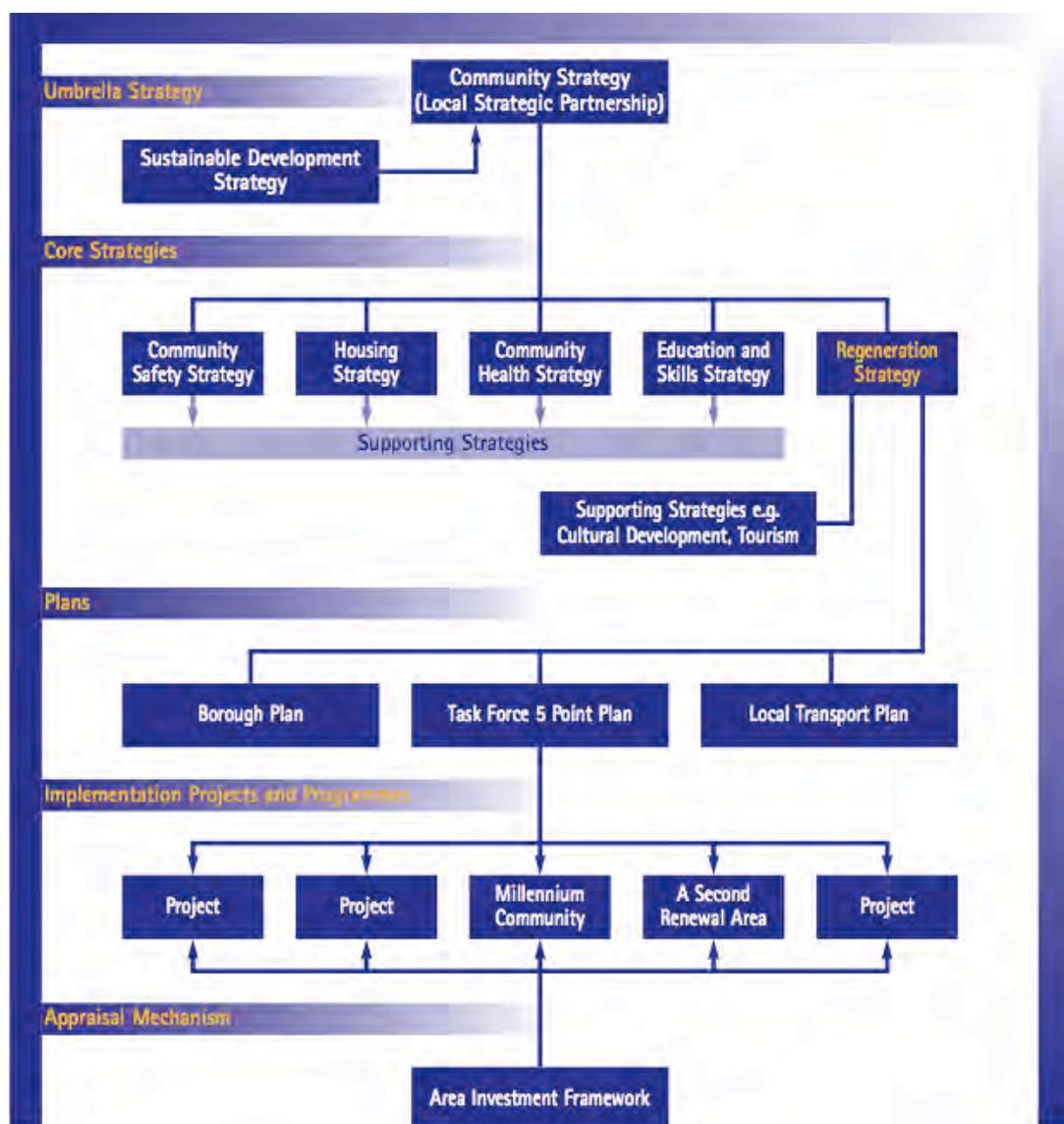


Figure 9. Visual representation of the strategic scenario for Hastings and St Leonards (Source: Making Waves: a Regeneration Strategy for Hastings and St Leonards HRP, 2002: 33) .

Within this prospect, the promotion of the knowledge economy is at the highest on this economic-led regeneration agenda with education, the development of the creative industries, advanced engineering, construction, and tourism at the forefront for economic diversification and regeneration. The CS (HBC, 2003a: 7) in fact sets out core strategies such as those of Community Safety, Housing, Community Health, Education and Skills, and Regeneration. For ease of identifying the role of tourism in regeneration reference to the first four of these core strategies will be omitted to concentrate, instead, on the regeneration strategies featuring an expressed regenerative referent. The CS sets the priorities for the town to shift towards a ‘safer, economically successful, learning, inclusive, healthier’ town, a ‘town with a decent home for everyone’ and one where it is ‘good to live in’ (HBC, 2003a: 15). The initiatives and partnership arrangements set to achieve this vision are revealing of the main issues identified at local level to be solved. Accordingly, the CS Partnerships, Hastings Borough Council and East Sussex County Council have the remit to tackle safety, education, health, participation, housing provision, quality of life and for the resident community and regeneration. The priority task of making Hastings an ‘economically successful town’ (HBC, 2003a; 18) is a key goal of the Hastings Regeneration Partnership⁵ that is in charge of the Regeneration Strategy for Hastings and St Leonards (HRP, 2002). Supporting the Community Strategy, there is the formally required planning system that produced some other strategies and plans.

Making Waves, a Regeneration Strategy for Hastings and St Leonards (HRP, 2002), is the core strategy for regeneration. It is a coordination tool looking towards the social, physical and economic revitalisation of Hastings and St Leonards. It provides a broader framework within which the 5 Point Plan can be evaluated while promoting the integration of key initiatives into a wider strategic programme, hereby providing the context within which the co-ordination of regeneration efforts can be improved. It tackles aspects concerning quality of life enhancement, community and environmental related issues, and enterprise culture development.

⁵ Members of this partnership are: East Sussex County Council Hastings Borough Council, Hastings College of Arts and Technology, Hastings Regeneration Community Group, Hastings and St Leonards Primary Care Trust, Hastings Trust, Sussex Police, 1066 Enterprise, 1066 Housing Association.

Figure 9 positions the tourism (1066Country, 2007) and cultural development strategies (HBC, 2002b) as ancillary to Making Waves. The formulation of a local tourism strategy for coastal resorts is encouraged at regional policy level in the South East. The connection between the planned development of the local tourism product and urban regeneration initiatives is established in the South East Plan (SEERA, 2006) that states:

‘LSPs and marketing partnerships covering coastal resorts are encouraged to establish a vision and strategy for the future of tourism in their area and its contribution to wider regeneration objectives’ (SEERA, 2006: 206).

Accordingly, the HBEA, Sea Space and the 1066 Country Marketing Partnership commissioned the formulation of a Visitor Management Strategy (figure 10).

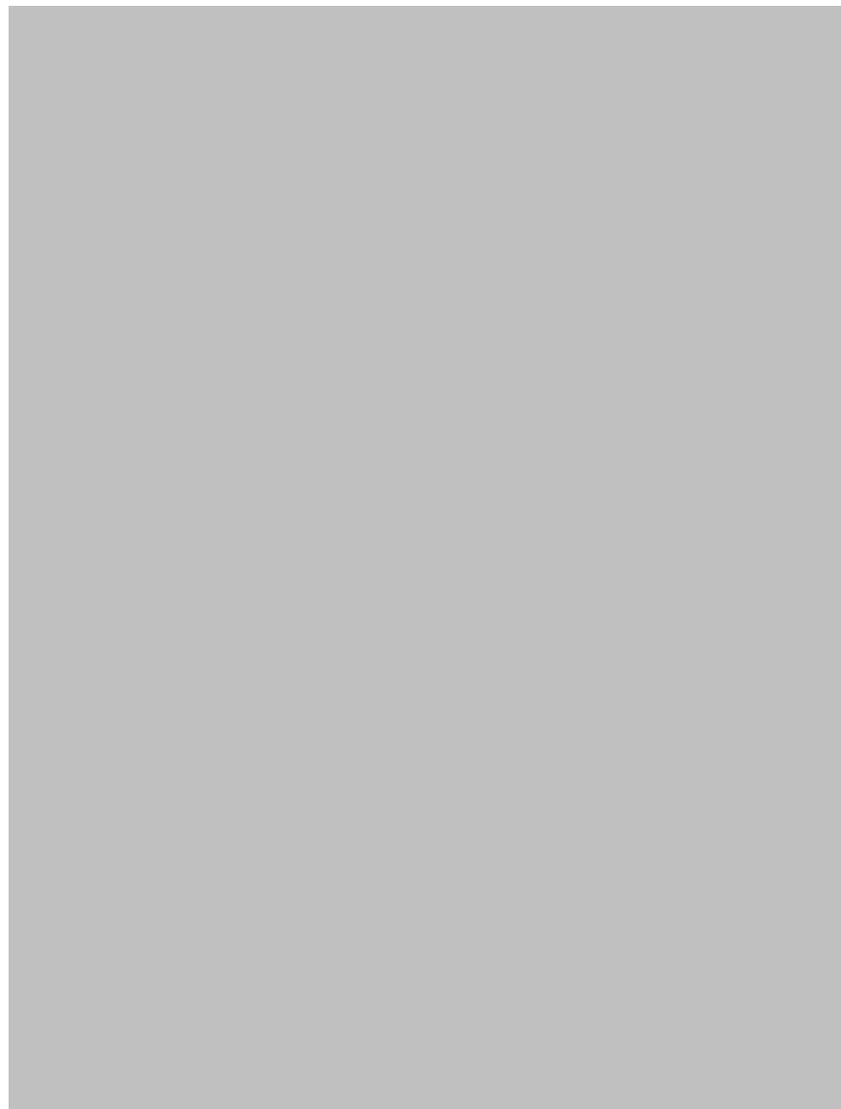


Figure 10: 1066 Destination Management Strategy (front cover).

The resulting 1066 Destination Management Strategy (1066DMS) (1066Country, 2007) represents the tourism strategy and puts tourism development at the heart of growth, economic diversification and economic regeneration objectives incorporated at regional and local level in the regeneration strategies and plans. The strategy was formulated in a way to reflect these objectives and then it pursues the maximization of ‘visitor spend to support the economic regeneration process and encourage private sector investment’ (1066Country, 2007: 4). It goes along with education, housing and regeneration core strategies and it is intended to regulate product diversification practices by adopting a thematic approach set to spur the development of the tourism product at sub-regional level as map 5 shows. At base, it supports the growth, diversification and rejuvenation, in Butler’s (1980) terms, of the tourism sector:

‘support value added growth of the tourism sector, rather than more of the same’ (Hastings&Bexhill, 2006/2007-2008/09: 10).

The BPCR establishes in fact that the strategy has to address:

‘leisure tourism, business tourism, heritage tourism, cultural tourism, and sport tourism’ (SeaSpace, 2003a: 40).

It also supports a thematic and sub-regional/sub-destination based approach to tourism development reflecting the adoption of a business clustering approach. It identifies the Coast, Food and Drink, Arts and Creativity, Exploring and Landscape, Heritage & 1066 Legacy, Living and Learning and Doing Business as the thematic arrangement for a *destination* that exceeds the locality boundaries and comprises not just Hastings and St Leonards, but also Bexhill-on-Sea, Battle, Herstmonceux and Pevensey, and Rye (see map 5).



Map 5: The 1066 Country. Source: 1066 Destination Management Strategy (Source: 1066Country, 2007: 7).

This replaced the Tourism and Visitor Strategy for Hastings and St Leonards (HBC, 1999). Although no longer utilized in Hastings, it was also analyzed to understand how the discourse of tourism and regeneration had formed. The remit of the 1066DMS aligns with the regeneration objectives pursued through the establishment of a regional hub approach to growth discussed in section 8.3.1 as the same strategy explains:

‘The focus of this Strategy is on effective destination management to underpin and enhance the economic regeneration of Hastings and Bexhill-on-Sea in particular and the wider 1066 Country area in general’ (1066Country, 2007: 4).

‘This Destination Management Strategy is to set out a reasoned approach to ensure that 1066 Country, as a destination, has the opportunity to realize its economic growth potential with Hastings & Bexhill as regional hub’ (1066Country, 2007: 4).

The rhetoric behind the strategy stresses the key relationship between practices that foster the enhancement of place attractiveness and the tourism product. It stems from the belief that successful tourism destinations are desirable places where to live and work as the 1066DMS states:

‘Successful visitor destinations have many other spin-off benefits. Desirable places to visit are also desirable places in which to live and work. The external perception of a destination can help attract new residents, as well as support inward investment

activity. Effective destination management can contribute significantly to broader economic regeneration goals' (1066Country, 2007: 4).

The instrumentality of the 1066DMS is in enhancing the local tourism product and, at same time, creating a destination for a new resident and business community. The 1066DMS (1066Country, 2007) states:

'This strategy is aimed at helping to transform the whole of 1066 Country into a better place to live but more particularly to visit' (1066Country, 2007: 12).

The Department of Culture Media and Sport tasked all local authorities with developing and adopting a cultural strategy. The Hastings and St Leonards Cultural Strategy (HBC, 2002b) like the 1066DMS supports the regeneration strategy. It was formulated by the HBC with the aim of ensuring that culture plays an effective part in regeneration by making Hastings a better place to live and improving the quality of life for all:

'This strategy is an important element of our overall planning for the social, physical and economic regeneration of our town' (HBC, 2002b: 4).

Alongside aiming at quality of life improvement, the cultural strategy pursues the growth of the local cultural economy and the enhancement of cultural inclusion. The regeneration supporting strategies are thematically intertwined especially when aiming at increasing the attractiveness of place for residents and visitors. Hence, the cultural strategy attunes with the remits of the 1066DMS and encourages the attraction of people and investments to Hastings.

Alongside these supporting strategies, the HBC, HBTF and HBEA formulated plans that support the core strategies (see figure 9) namely: the 5 Point Plan, the *Hastings and Bexhill Seafront Strategy* (HBSS) (GHK/Tibbalds/Halcrow, 2005) and the Hastings Local Plan (HBC, 2002a). The *5 Point Plan* (SeaSpace, 2003a: 7) is, in effect, the regeneration plan. As a shared vision among the HBTF, it fosters 'the area's economic regeneration' (HBC, 2003b) and 'gives an impetus to the regeneration' (SeaSpace, 2003a: 6) of the unified area of Hastings and Bexhill. It promotes urban renaissance, business innovation, enterprise, creativity and technology transfer, excellence in higher and further education, broadband, ICT infrastructure and applications and transport improvements. A central feature of the ten-year, 5 Point Regeneration Plan is an holistic approach to regeneration aiming at improving the four

points of built environment, education, jobs and homes, which will create an upwards spiral of success to ensure the achievement of the fifth point that is a vibrant, self-sustaining economy. The aim is to deliver (RDC, 2007):

- 7,450 new and 2,800 refurbished homes
- 6,450 skills and learning opportunities by 2009
- 150 new businesses
- 3,970 jobs created or safeguarded
- 27 hectares of brown-field land regenerated.

The 5 Point Plan is supported by certain place specific plans and strategies. Of key significance for tourism is the Seafront Strategy formulated by the HBTF which recognizes the seafront areas as a distinctive element and asset of Hastings and Bexhill. It aims to attract investment by re-positioning existing seafront assets and create a series of linked destinations. By aligning directly with the supporting tourism and cultural strategies in particular, it pursues the transformation of an unattractive seafront area into a newly inviting urban seafront for the attraction of investment and new employment opportunities as well as the advancement of economic and social development. It proposes a zoning approach by identifying six zones of change that correspond, in effect, to the areas experiencing the aftermaths of the decline of the traditional seaside tourism economy. They are the Bexhill Town Centre Seafront, Glyne Gap, the Bulverhythe Waterfront, The St Leonards Seafront, and Hastings Town Centre Seafront.

Following down the hierarchy in figure 9, other statutory plans that are taken into account are the Hastings Local Plan (HBC, 2002a), the Local Development Framework (HBC, 2007a) and the strategy to develop public art in Hastings (HBC, 2005). Although the latter does not relate to regeneration projects directly it features a strong link with cultural development projects promoted in the supporting strategies. The former is the statutory local plan for the Hastings Borough and sets out a framework of policies to guide and encourage development in Hastings. It has two main functions: to set out the Council's policies for the control of development in the Borough, and make proposals for the development and use of land, whilst allocating land for specific purposes. The Local Development Framework is instead a masterplan for the development of a new HLP. The core strategies, the supporting strategies and the

statutory plans have been supported by place and sector specific plans and strategies that are also important contributors to the discourse of regeneration and tourism. These focus on sections and locations that are key to tourism in Hastings and the regeneration process. The key place specific strategy is the Hastings and Bexhill Seafront Strategy whereas the key sector strategy is the *Public Art in Hastings* (HBC, 2005) that aims at guiding the HBC throughout the implementation of public art capital projects. Other documents also exist, the importance of which was expressed during key interviews: they set out material that supports the objectives of the regeneration strategy and were therefore analysed. These include the Hastings Fisheries Study (NC, 2004), the Keeping Afloat Programme (CSR, 2006), and the Hastings and Bexhill Regeneration Story (SeaSpace, 2007). The former set out a programme for the protection of the local traditional fishing industry; the second is the outcome of a partnership between local and regional formal actors (HBC and SEEDA) and part of the AIF regeneration programme and consists on an evaluation of the related initiatives on the two sectors affected (i.e. fishing and tourism). The latter is instead an annual exercise carried out by Sea Space to highlight the progress made relative to the 5 Point Plan. These were analyzed as interviewees stressed their relevance as influential documents in relation to tourism and regeneration.

This opening section presented the complex institutional arrangements and strategic scenario relative to the regeneration of Hastings. The purpose was to highlight the characteristics and remits of each body alongside related plans and strategies. They are taken into account in the following sections to contextualize and analyze the discursive statements and related practices that form the discourse concerning the role of tourism in the regeneration of Hastings and St Leonards.

9.3 Discursive statements and practices.

A range of discursive *statements* and *practices* compete in the formation of the discourse under scrutiny. The discourse analysis of the wider regeneration scenario distinguishes two groups of statements and discursive practices engaging in a *power-struggle* that is discernable at a number of levels. The first group positions tourism at the heart of the regeneration agenda, programmes and projects, hence, a key regeneration device and objective. The second, instead, corroborates the marginality and marginalization of tourism development to the regeneration and transformation of

the town whilst substantiating an emerging argument concerning the disengagement and transition away from tourism as leading socio-economic and cultural driver. Accordingly, this section is divided in four sub-sections. Their structure reflects the discourse analysis framework that aims at putting in a power relation the range of statements and practices that compete in the formation of the discourse of tourism and regeneration. Hence, the four sub-sections feature the continuous juxtaposition of the two groups of discursive statements and practices. A rhetorical mismatch is first introduced then progressively pulled apart through the unrolling of factual evidence substantiating the instrumentality but also the marginality of tourism in the regeneration of Hastings.

9.3.1 A rhetorical mismatch.

At superficial level, the rhetoric regarding the regeneration of Hastings is by no means uniform. Indeed, there is an apparent mismatch with regard to tourism development, as a regeneration possibility, objective, solution, catalyst or priority between discursive statements emerging from the analysis of the policy and planning literature and interviews with representatives of formally conceived bodies. This mismatch is revealed with the analyses of the discourse over the role of tourism in economic regeneration and regeneration more broadly and indicates that there is not a clear and shared understanding of the role that tourism plays in the regeneration of the town.

9.3.1.1 Tourism: key ingredient in economic regeneration.

The differing primary sources attune to the discussion in section 8.2.1 and recognize the downturn in the most traditional forms of seaside tourism for the Hastings urban region. Nevertheless, they also recognize the town's tourism potential as well as the key role that tourism, and the visitor economy, can play for the regeneration of Hastings and St Leonards as the material presented in the rest of this section suggests.

Making Waves (*HRP, 2002*) the Hastings Regeneration Strategy, for example, recognizes that sectors such as environmental sciences, architecture, civil engineering, construction research and management are on top of the list as far as triggering economic growth is concerned. As part of a diverse economy however, this strategy

reinforces the need to strengthen the tourism industry as it ‘continues to be a major employment sector’ (HRP, 2002: 26).

Accordingly, the supporting tourism and cultural strategies (1066DMS and *Hastings and St Leonards Cultural Strategy*) also recognize the current economic impact of tourism on the area and reports that:

‘Visitor related expenditure in 1066 Country is significant and helps to support thousands of jobs across the area. Each year, visitors spend some £400 million, with more than 10,000 part-time or full-time jobs of local people relying to some extent on the visitor economy’ (1066Country, 2007: 7).

‘After manufacturing and engineering, tourism is the second largest employment sector. The town's tourism industry has a turnover of £110 million providing employment for 3,100 attracting business all year round’ (HBC, 2002b: 24).

The HBEA (HBEA, 2006/07-2008/09), the regeneration partnership in the LSP identified tourism as a growing sector:

‘Certain key sectors have been identified as having good potential for growth and employment – advanced engineering, creative industries, construction, tourism and healthcare. (Hastings and Bexhill, 2006/2007 - 2008/09: 10).

The Hastings Local Plan (HBC, 2002a: 39) (HLP) in fact states that:

‘Hastings has lost much of its traditional longer stay domestic holiday market [...], it remains attractive for day trips, shorter breaks, long weekends and second or third holidays’.

Together with the other regeneration related strategies however the HLP (2002a) and the *Hastings Local Development Framework* (2007a) add:

‘Tourism is a key element in the local economy’ (HBC, 2002a: 39).

‘Tourism is our strength’ (HBC, 2007a: 23).

Some interviews with representatives of institutional organizations also concurred with the assertions above and discussed the role of tourism in the local economy stating:

‘Tourism is the bread and butter for the town’ (HBC4).

‘There is a whole range of activities that can be related to tourism and in fact tourism is very important to the community’ (HBC1).

‘The reason why the Hastings Borough Council does tourism is because it has a great impact on the local economy’ (HBC1).

‘Tourism has always been important: tourism in Hastings alone account 4000 full time equivalent jobs and generate around 150m pounds in the local economy and in the 1066

Country it generates 330m pounds worth of employment and contribute to 8000 jobs. So tourism is very much big business and the paradox is that tourism has always remained important although it has declined in respect of absolute numbers of beds' (HBC1).

'[Hastings] has massive potentials in terms of attracting people to come and visit' (SS1)

'Tourism is very important for the town because of the poor infrastructural links with the surrounding. I do not think kind of jobs will change that much for this connections issues and therefore tourism remains a very appealing sector for the town. Connections are not going to improve that much [...] The links to London will be very slow to be improved, so the strategies that have been developed are looking at tourism as one of the major factors in regeneration' (HBC1).

Alongside the evidence above relative to the current role played by tourism in the local economy, the regeneration-related strategies and plans recognize the economic regeneration potential of tourism development. Drawing on the descriptive section above (9.2), it is clear that tourism related strategies, programmes and initiatives are subsumed under the Community Strategy (HBC, 2003a). In this context tourism is only mentioned in relation to regeneration and deemed instrumental in tackling unemployment and promoting economic diversification. The Community Strategy in fact positions tourism within an economic diversification perspective and among the major employment sectors to be strengthened for the purpose of making the town economically successful as the following substantiates:

'We want to retain and promote our diverse economy. We will support the growth of existing companies but particularly strengthen major employment sectors such as tourism, the creative industries, advanced engineering and construction' (HBC, 2003a: 19).

The 1066DMS also reinforces the economic regeneration potential of tourism development and states:

'The Hastings and St Leonards Community Strategy and Regeneration Strategy, along with the Rother Culture and Leisure strategy, focus on tourism's potential to underpin broader economic regeneration as articulated in the 5 Point Plan' (1066Country, 2007: 5).

Evidence from interviews with representatives of the Hastings Borough Council and Sea Space also support this rhetoric. SS1 for example reinforced the instrumentality of transforming Hastings and St Leonards in a successful tourism destination while stressing the argument of spin-off benefits and stated:

‘A successful tourism destination brings lots of benefits to the local residents in terms of economic impacts, employment and quality of life and give them a sense of pride and sense of place; and I think if we can attract more visitors that also helps to change the external perception of a place like Hastings that again helps to attract more and more investments, new residents’ (SS1).

Similarly, HBC1 commented on the strategic relevance given to tourism in the 1066DMS and reinforced the symbiotic relationship between place attractiveness, visitor and resident community:

‘I actually think [tourism] is important within the regeneration context because Hastings sees tourism as an important element in regeneration. Tourism is not the only requirement in regeneration but is a very important one. Because of the transport problems that Hastings has it is not easy to create lots more jobs, so the strategy is to encourage investments in tourism so we can continue to provide employment’ (HBC1).

‘Enhancing quality of life for the resident community and improving the place for visitors go in parallel’ (HBC1).

‘A town that is attractive to visitors is one that is attractive to people to live here’ (HBC1).

Local plans and strategies echo the regional planning literature and propose a clear narrative of regeneration with tourism development as a key practice. For this to happen however, they envisage diversification and repositioning exercises that endorse a process to move Hastings “upmarket” by fostering a shift to “new” and “green tourism”.

The *Regeneration Strategy for Hastings and St Leonards* (HRP, 2002) for instance reflects this objective. It establishes that:

‘we will be seeking to position Hastings and St Leonards nationally and internationally as a destination for cultural tourism and for week end breaks and other short stay visits from people with high disposable incomes’ (HRP, 2002: 19).

The *Local Development Framework* (HBC, 2007a: 28) proposes to encourage ‘up-market tourism particularly from Europe’ by developing a new tourism infrastructure. Despite recognition of the key role of tourism in the local economy, the contribution of tourism to regeneration is not discussed at any length in the HLP (HBC, 2002a). Nevertheless, it sets up a few guidelines for its further development reflecting on the latest market shifts and recommends the promotion of product diversification initiatives that extend the tourism season and attract the high spender:

‘The Council is seeking to move the tourism product into the new and growing markets’ (HBC, 2002a: 39).

‘emphasis in the future will be on encouraging the higher spending staying visitor’ (HBC, 2002a: 44)

‘It expects to significantly extend the visitor season by a movement into new tourism’ (HBC, 2002a: 39) [and] increase tourism revenues by extending the season with new attractions, leisure facilities and events and encouraging investment in all year round facilities’ (HBC, 2002a: 41).

And underlines that:

‘This will help to create full time jobs instead of seasonal employment, assist the local economy and promote social inclusion’ (HBC, 2002a: 39).

Along with these assertions, the formulation and adoption of the 1066DMS (1066Country, 2007) are considered, in this context, as discursive practices indicating that tourism is a regeneration device and objective. The relative regeneration projects, programmes and initiatives analyzed in following sections will support this position. In previous sections, the 1066DMS was argued to be a supporting regeneration strategy positioning tourism development at the heart of growth, economic diversification and economic regeneration objectives for Hastings and the wider 1066 Country as a unique destination. By guiding the modernization of a dated 1066 brand through a *theming and sub-regional* approach to tourism development, the strategy encourages a rejuvenation manoeuvre that contemporize the tourism product. Overall, the adoption of the 1066DMS makes indeed a clear discursive statement with regard to the key role that tourism development play in the regeneration of Hastings while formalizing the rhetorical consensus above in a tourism development strategy. Due to the constitution and remits of this destination management strategy discussed in section 9.2.2, it also reinforces the assertion of a new regionalist approach to regeneration commented on in section 8.3.1 alongside the emphasis on *performance* and *regional growth*, and provides some evidence that indicate a power struggle between regional and local priorities, objectives and related plans that will be discussed further in the following sections.

The quotes above indicate the central role that tourism plays in the local economy and, also, how the existing tourism product needs to change in order for tourism to have a role to play in the economic restructuring of the town. A resisting

narrative of regeneration priorities, catalysts and objectives, however, confronts the rhetorical consensus discussed in this section. It emerges from the discourse analysis of policy documents and the findings from the interviews and focus groups with the wider spectrum of actors selected. It is discussed in the following section to suggest the marginality of tourism rejuvenation in the regeneration of the town.

9.3.1.2 Tourism: a potential outcome of broader regeneration initiatives.

A first range of discursive statements performing resistance to those highlighted above indicate a socio-economic change that is pursued through the implementation of regeneration projects and initiatives aiming at tackling the extreme levels of deprivation described in section 8.2. They align with the statements highlighted in section 8.4 and propose the enhancement of the local quality of life, the attraction of the affluent and investor class as well as the creative individual and industries for the development, locally, of the knowledge economy that results as a key regeneration priority. The amelioration of leisure facilities and amenities, and the expansion of the cultural offer, appears to be key strategy adopted to pursue these goals. Tourism development is overshadowed as a regeneration priority and finally defined as a potential a regeneration outcome only.

At the core of the regeneration strategies is the ultimate goal of tackling the disadvantaged conditions of the town as Making Waves (HRP, 2002), and some interviews with representatives of the HBC, substantiate:

‘We want to use regeneration to address problems of deprivation, social exclusion and poor health’ (HRP, 2002: 19).

HBC6 and HBC3 also highlighted deprivation as the challenge that regeneration programmes are tackling and, with it, the issue of skills development and health while responding to the call for a comprehensive kind of regeneration. At base the challenge is:

‘People who have no skills, who have poor social skills, often with poor physical and mental health and abuse of heroine alcohol. At the family level, the same have lack of role models, it is called intergenerational unemployment: grand father unemployed as much as father, children likely to be, nobody in the family works or has ever worked’ (HBC6).

‘It is difficult when you are dealing with such a high level of deprivation and if you deal only with one aspect than you risk to miss out the others’ (HBC3).

‘Low education level and unemployment are the issues’ (HBC3).

The strategic scenario proposes a vision for the town where tourism and the visitor economy is only one among the many issues addressed. Together with the Community Strategy (HBC, 2003a) Making Waves (HRP, 2002: 18) also confirms this narrative:

‘The objective of the regeneration is to enhance local quality of life across the community’.

The vision proposed in Making Waves entails the transformation of the Hastings urban region into a ‘great place to live, work, visit, and play’: it aims at ‘improving the town for the people who live here’ (HRP, 2002: 19).

‘Our vision for Hastings and St Leonards is of a place where people chose to live and work as well as visit because the town can offer a high quality of life’ (HRP, 2002: 18-19)

‘Whatever ideas are developed, they need to improve the town for the people who live here’ (HRP, 2002: 19).

‘build national and international recognition of Hastings and St Leonards as a great places to live offering a unique combination of an attractive urban environment, access to the countryside, seaside, heritage, arts, culture, leisure, learning and of course work’ (HRP, 2002: 18).

The Cultural Strategy (HBC, 2002b) also attunes to this rhetoric and put emphasis on the resident quality of life:

‘This strategy is about ensuring that more of us have easier access to better quality things to do with our leisure time and about finding ways to help us all enjoy a broader range of cultural activities. [...] Planning strategically for culture in this way will help ensure that through the regeneration programme we improve our overall quality of life, change the image and reputation of the town for the better and together, make Hastings ‘A town that’s good to live in’ (HBC, 2002b).

HAG1 also noticed that the formal regeneration narrative prioritized the enhancement of leisure facilities available for the community while overlooking those available for the visitor economy and stated:

‘the political bias has gone now from tourism to leisure, and there is stronger emphasis on providing for children’s playgrounds, not necessarily in the tourists area, but inland in the town. Better facilities for the resident community, community centres.. at the moment it seems emphasis has gone that way and less emphasis on the tourism side [...] They tend to forget that a significant number of people in this town rely for their employment on tourism directly or indirectly. If you neglect that there is this reliance

and you do not push tourism forward, then the knock on effects are tremendous' (HAG1).

Alongside this rhetoric is the regeneration remit of making Hastings attractive to a new resident and business community especially positioned within the knowledge economy sector. The Community Strategy (HBC, 2003a) establishes priority areas of intervention as far as the Hastings Regeneration Partnership and the relative regeneration strategy is concerned. Major emphasis in this context is given to tackling unemployment reduction by promoting education and skills development, and strengthening key employment sectors in Hastings as a means to support a renewed and diverse economic base and participate more actively in the knowledge economy. By echoing the regional policy literature, the Community Strategy (HBC, 2003a: 18-19) states:

'We want to build a working and learning community, making sure that local people have skills the changing local economy needs. We need to generate both new job opportunities and to retrain workers displaced from old jobs'.

And in relation to the knowledge economy it adds:

'If our town is to participate more actively in the 'knowledge economy' it will need to expand its higher education capacity with a major new facility. It will need to invest in better buildings and new courses to meet the needs of tomorrow's companies' (HBC, 2003a: 20).

HBC3 reinforced education as a strategic regeneration priority, and stated:

'the priority is to educate local people so as they become employable locally and therefore local business can rely on local workforce without bringing in outsiders; this strategy in turn prevents social displacement to happen' (HBC3).

Moreover, a strong and dynamic cultural offer is also believed to be a major promotional tool to attract new and high spending visitors. The Regeneration Strategy (HRP, 2002: 33) expresses clear commitment to the attraction of new businesses and individual to relocate:

'by making Hastings and St Leonards an attracting and exciting place to be [...] it should be possible to increase employment by attracting firms and individuals to move to the area' (HRP, 2002: 26)

The Cultural Strategy (HBC, 2002b) clarified that it also acts as a magnet for firms and a new resident community:

‘It also helps in acting as a core value for quality of life issues when companies and their staff are considering relocating to the town, or as a retention factor for our existing companies (HBC, 2002b: 24).

Tackling deprivation, enhancing the local quality of life and, as a result, attracting a new resident and business community are the key regeneration objectives that emerged from the document analysis in this section. This rhetoric is also supported by the findings from the analysis of interviews with representatives of formally constituted bodies. The above assertions are further validated by a series of other discursive statements that diminish tourism from being a regeneration catalyst, solution, key priority or objective. They describe tourism as a potential regeneration outcome and support the argument concerning the marginalization of tourism to an ancillary strategic device for the regeneration of Hastings as the following quotes indicate.

SS1 claimed that:

‘Although recognized as an important sector is not seen as the solution for the regeneration of Hastings and Bexhill’ (SS1).

HBC7 also contributed by saying:

‘tourism although important, it is not a major priority’ (HBC7).

HBC1 also commented on the marginality given to tourism while making reference to the Pelham Place project discussed in section 9.3.2 within which a 4 star Hotel was envisaged to be part of:

‘officially speaking tourism is seen as important for Hastings because of what SeaSpace is doing. Unofficially however I do not think it has given to it the importance it deserves. I think they could have progressed with the hotel at the seafront. They now say the economic conditions are so bad that you cannot have a 4 star iconic hotel at the seafront (HBC1).

HBC1 also clarified that regeneration in Hastings is not *tourism-led* as it is instead for other contexts:

‘you can have tourism-led regeneration; there are parts of the country which have reinvented themselves to such an extent that tourism has changed the visitor’s perception and has encouraged many people to go there. For Hastings, it is certainly not a case of tourism-led regeneration. Tourism is an integral part of the jigsaw; tourism alone would not do it’ (HBC1).

In this respect, HBC3 explained the reason why tourism cannot be a catalyst in the regeneration of Hastings and draws again on the deprivation aspect:

‘tourism will never be able to be a catalyst in regeneration because the tourism offer will always be tarnished by the social deprivation problems that come out of it. You do not want to go to the beach or walk around town and feel under threat. And that is part of the problem, and that is the product of deprivation, low quality education system, no job opportunities. Hastings has 90,000 residents, big town and it does not make things easier’ (HBC3).

Accordingly, together with HBC3 and SS1, HBC1 further explained that tourism is only one feature of the regeneration for Hastings:

‘the regeneration of Hastings is not just about tourism, it is absolutely not about tourism. there are many facets of regeneration in Hastings: it is about creating better jobs, better housing, transport and communication facilities and provide the whole infrastructure and education, education is absolutely central’ (HBC1).

‘tourism is just one of the sectors we are working with, we are also working with the creative industries, obviously there is quite a strong synergy between creative industry and tourism [...] with manufacturing, engineering, high tech added value’ (SS1).

‘Tourism is important in the visitor economy because a great place to visit tends to be good places in which to live and do business and learn and I think that’s really important, you do not do things just for tourism purpose. And this goes back to sustainable communities if you promote things that work on all those levels regeneration is going to be more sustainable than just build the visitors attractions’ (SS1).

‘Tourism is perceived as one of the components but because of high deprivation regeneration cannot rely totally on tourism’ (HBC3).

Tourism was also presented as a regeneration outcome. SS1 claimed that Hastings is not fit for the purpose of attracting the quality tourist (i.e. middle class) who demands high quality standards and calls for the need of conspicuous capital investments as the way forward:

‘in terms of tourism infrastructure (the product) Hastings is not fit for purpose so till you get the investments really tourism can not grow in the way it should be growing [...] the product is really not what people that are traveling expect [...]tourists today, the majority are middle class and when they go away they want to have an experience at least in part of what they have at home and unfortunately the majority of product in a place like Hastings does not deliver that (SS1).

‘The new destination management strategy is obviously about tourism and how tourism works, can work and benefits from the overall regeneration programme for Hastings and Bexhill [...] (SS1)

‘I am not sure if across the board everybody understand that yet. The newcomers understand that tourism will be the result of regeneration’. (SS1).

Another argument employed to marginalize tourism as a regeneration solution concerns the low quality jobs that the tourism industry is believed to generate. Tourism is not seen as an industry capable of offering quality jobs as the following contributions state:

‘Tourism has a very bad reputation, low level low skill ... some jobs are but can be good entry level [...] tourism has a bad name but it is the type of tourism that is on offer on a coastal town is not in tune with what tourism is in the twenty first century context’ (SS1).

‘As a professional marketing person working in tourism I can say that tourism is underrated as a regeneration tool. Tourism is most often seen by politicians and policymakers as soft and *fluffy* and not economically viable. People do not perceive jobs in tourism as proper jobs. Politicians, senior members of the council and leaders do not recognize that tourism can genuinely add to the economic activity of the town. At the front line they see people being paid poor wages in the ice cream kiosks or in the arcades or in the hotels’ (HBC1).

‘People making policies sometimes try to move the economic activity away from tourism as they are more interested in other jobs [...] there is therefore the danger that some regeneration bodies do not value tourism correctly’ (HBC1).

‘Tourism is going to be big priority in the regeneration of the town, the problem is that the tourism sector tends to be low paid, low skills, part time, seasonal that is not really where we are going to try to be in terms of economic development, but jobs that are paid decent money and year around’ (HBC6).

‘According to the Council tourism does not provide real jobs the same as the Innovation Centre in an industrial estate does’ (OHPS focus group 1).

The above is a first glance at the discursive statements performing resistance to those defining tourism a core regeneration strategy, solution, catalyst and objective in section 9.3.1.1. Despite the emphasis on tourism as a key strategic element in the regeneration and transformation of Hastings in previous sections, evidence from the same strategic and institutional scenario positioned tourism as an ancillary strategic device, an outcome of regeneration, and a marginal aspect in the transformation of the town. The tourism strategy itself appears in figure 9 as a supporting strategy to regeneration policy and plans only. For the remit of this research, there are clearly discursive practices resistant to a rhetoric that prioritized tourism in the transformation of the town. As such they make a clear statement about the marginalization of tourism in the regeneration of Hastings.

Among them, there is a semantic shift in policy documents and institutional arrangements that regards the substitution of the term *tourism* and *visitor economy* with *destination management*. A *Tourism and Visitor Strategy for Hastings and St Leonards* (HBC, 1999) was produced by the Hastings Borough Council in 1999. This is prior the start of the regeneration moment that this research focuses on marked by the formation of the Hastings and Bexhill Task Force in 2001 and the consequent formulation of the Five Point Plan. The substitution of the *Tourism and Visitor Strategy* (HBC, 1999) with the 1066DMS (1066Country, 2007) is another discursive practice stating disengagement from *tourism* as a dominant socio-economic driver for the town. HBC1 problematized this shift in focus by commenting on *Tourism and Visitor Strategy* (HBC, 1999) whereas HAG1 also commented on the lack of a director of tourism:

‘The 1999 strategy is actually more relevant than the one that followed (i.e. the 1066DMS). The latter was managed by a consortium that wanted to bring outside expertise and it is much more generic. The former is much more focused on tourism in Hastings’ (HBC1).

‘In the past we had a tourism department: there was a director of tourism and a director of marketing; they had clear policies and budgets and a clear vision for tourism and they used to push policies through, at the end there was a department pushing everything in one direction. That department was disbanded completely, there is no longer a director of tourism’ (HAG1)

By putting emphasis on *destination* rather than on *tourism* and *visitor economy*, the 1066DMS entails a more complex approach to place making and, therefore, to the quality of spatial transformation envisaged. The rhetoric behind the strategy stresses the relationship between practices that foster the enhancement of place attractiveness and, at same time, the tourism product. It stems from the belief that successful tourism destinations are desirable places where to live and work as the 1066DMS states:

‘Successful visitor destinations have many other spin-off benefits. Desirable places to visit are also desirable places in which to live and work. The external perception of a destination can help attract new residents, as well as support inward investment activity. Effective destination management can contribute significantly to broader economic regeneration goals’ (1066Country, 2007: 4).

‘Successful destination management involves delivering improvements outside of tourism and the visitor economy. These themes focus on local residents and businesses’ (1066Country, 2007: 16).

‘Forward looking and dynamic destinations tend to capitalise on their appeal to both visitors, potential residents and businesses as good places to live, work and invest’ (1066Country, 2007: 17).

The contribution from interviews with representatives of the authorities also support these statements and reinforce the notion of destination management whereby tourism continues to be further marginalized even at policy vocabulary level:

‘we shouldn’t be just talking about tourism, we need to talk about destination. And therefore we have just finalised a destination management strategy rather than a tourism strategy because it is about promoting the quality of life, it’s not only about visitors’ (SS1).

‘There is a major difference between tourism development and destination management. The latter is comprehensive, is about providing a destination for residents and businesses, schools, and helping them to define what kind of community it wants to be. And this is an important element in the regeneration programme. Tourism assists obviously’ (HBC7).

The discourse analysis of the wider regeneration policy and planning scenario so far conducted has brought to the fore a range of discursive statements and practices. Put in a *discursivity* perspective, entailing relations of power between subjugating and subjugated statements, the practices of tourism development appear ancillary to regeneration and, at same time, marginal in relation to regeneration priorities. Although tourism development is, within an economic diversification perspective, an element of economic regeneration measures, it is not, at least at rhetorical level, a regeneration priority. It emerges, instead, that tourism is a possible regeneration outcome as stated in the regional policy literature above. Alongside the most evident power struggle between the statements above, there is also an emerging struggle between discursive statements stemming from representative of regional and local actors that validates further the affirmation of a new-regionalist approach to change. The 1066DMS envisages a sub-regional approach to tourism development that, in the light of the arguments in section 8.3.1 and 9.2.2 and the substitution of the locally conceived Tourism and Visitor Strategy for Hastings and St Leonards (HBC, 1999) reflects regional policy guidelines and growth objectives.

Moreover, there is also an apparent struggle between statements made by representatives of regional bodies (Sea Space), the HBC and the local community in relation to the low profile of jobs in tourism, and the prioritization of the leisure industry to the visitor economy, with the consequent marginalization of tourism as a

leading industry and a regeneration priority or catalyst. The breadth analysis adopted to conduct this research allows, however, a more complex assessment of the dynamics of change at local level. The study of how space changes and is shaped, how it is reused and reintroduced into the urban socio-economic dynamics is revealing of this discursive dynamism and provides a much more grounded assessment of the competing statements that form the discourse under scrutiny. Alongside the rhetorical mismatch between competing discursive statements above, a range of projects, programmes and initiatives fostered at both formal and informal level are also analyzed in the next section. They form a narrative of exclusive schemes and resisting informal initiatives that are considered, in the following analysis, as discursive practices in a power struggle: they indicate both the centrality of tourism rejuvenation initiatives to the (physical) redevelopment of certain areas subject to regeneration interventions in Hastings, and the marginalization of tourism in the overall process of change of the town.

9.3.2. Zoning and *theming*: large capital projects and resisting informal affirmative actions.

The discourse analysis around the implementation of a large spectrum of capital projects highlights the degree that tourism and the visitor economy are embedded in the redevelopment process envisaged for Hastings. A range of high profile projects envisaged for the regeneration of key sites makes a clear statement about the role of tourism development in the regeneration of demarcated areas along the seafront. Despite entailing the development of mixed-use complexes in fact, these projects feature tourism and visitor related facilities as key components of a *zoning* and *thematic* approach to regeneration.

Both regeneration plans (HBC, 2002a; SeaSpace, 2003a; HBC, 2003b) and supporting strategies (HRP, 2002; HBC, 2002b; GHK/Tibbalds/Halcrow, 2005; 1066Country, 2007) promote the adoption of this clustering approach either directly or indirectly. It is believed to create a clear focus for investments and change and maximize the benefits from public and private resources. In relation to the zoning approach, the Seafront Strategy (GHK/Tibbalds/Halcrow, 2005: 13) reinforces this last point:

‘This approach to investment and development emphasizes a select number of nodes where the economic and social benefits of both public and private investments can be

maximized. It avoids dispersed or scattered developments which do not offer the same potential for creating a critical mass of development and activity and, therefore, change’.

This thematic approach to development is at the core of the 1066DMS. It promotes the development of a continuum of sub-destinations with clustered facilities and amenities. The 1066DMS in fact highlights that:

‘Destinations have a much greater chance of success if they have a cluster of well-known, quality products upon which to build the overall destination offer’ (1066Country, 2007: 13).

‘Analysis of the sub-destinations across the 1066 Country reveals a number of themes that offer strong potential for further development as the basis for attracting visitors as well as those who want to live and learn and do business in the area’ (1066Country, 2007)

SS1 drew on the arguments in the 1066DMS (1066Country, 2007: 21) and discussed the strategic profile of this thematic approach. It aims at adapting the existing tourism offer to the short break tourism market and, at the same time, contemporize a dated 1066 Country brand:

‘The strategy talk in terms of contemporizing and reinforcing the 1066 Country brand. [...] There is a short break market and so you need to be geared up for that’ [...] in the new destination management strategy we are trying to adopt much more a thematic approach to promotion [...] we know that the product is a constrain physically but by using themes we can attract people interested in the themes that are more cross-cut actors the area [...] so it is a kind of promoting things in a different way with the product we already have (SS1).

Drawing on the above, the following section presents details of large capital projects that concentrate on a limited number of areas among the many under the remit of regeneration programmes. These projects are analyzed in order to respond to the second research objective stated in section 6.3 which is to analyze the local regeneration scenario, relative projects, institutional arrangements and the regeneration model pursued, the role played by community actors in the process of change, how identifiable declined traditional seaside tourism spaces are reintroduced into the urban dynamics, the formation of new spaces of tourism flow, and the process behind their formation. It will continue with the discourse analysis based on the examination of official documents, interviews and focus groups; then, determine how declined traditional tourism spaces are reintroduced into the urban dynamics and how tourism rejuvenation efforts are promoted or, conversely, excluded, contrasted or rejected.

9.3.2.1 Large capital projects.

Insofar as the development of leisure, business, heritage, cultural and sport tourism is concerned, as defined in the regeneration plans and strategies, this zoning and thematic approach focuses on a few spaces along the coast. They match mainly with the declining traditional seaside tourism spaces highlighted in section 8.2.1 and, also, with a few nascent spaces of visitor flow on the eastern side of the town. They encompass some ‘zones of change’ as the Seafront Strategy (GHK/Tibbalds/Halcrow, 2005) indicates in map 6 where both capital projects and a series of cultural events are envisaged to take place.

The Seafront Strategy (GHK/Tibbalds/Halcrow, 2005: iv) aims at capitalizing on the seafront as the ‘primer’ asset of the town and an element of uniqueness and distinctiveness to spur broader regeneration with the visitor economy as key focus. It comments:

‘The seafront remains a unique asset with potential to be an economic driver. The challenge facing seaside towns is to re-assess their relationship with the seafront and take advantage of the opportunities that it affords’ (RDC, 1 August 2005: 1).

‘The seafront is fundamental to efforts to reposition Hastings and Bexhill to compete successfully as attractive places to live, invest, work and visit’ (GHK/Tibbalds/Halcrow, 2005: iv)



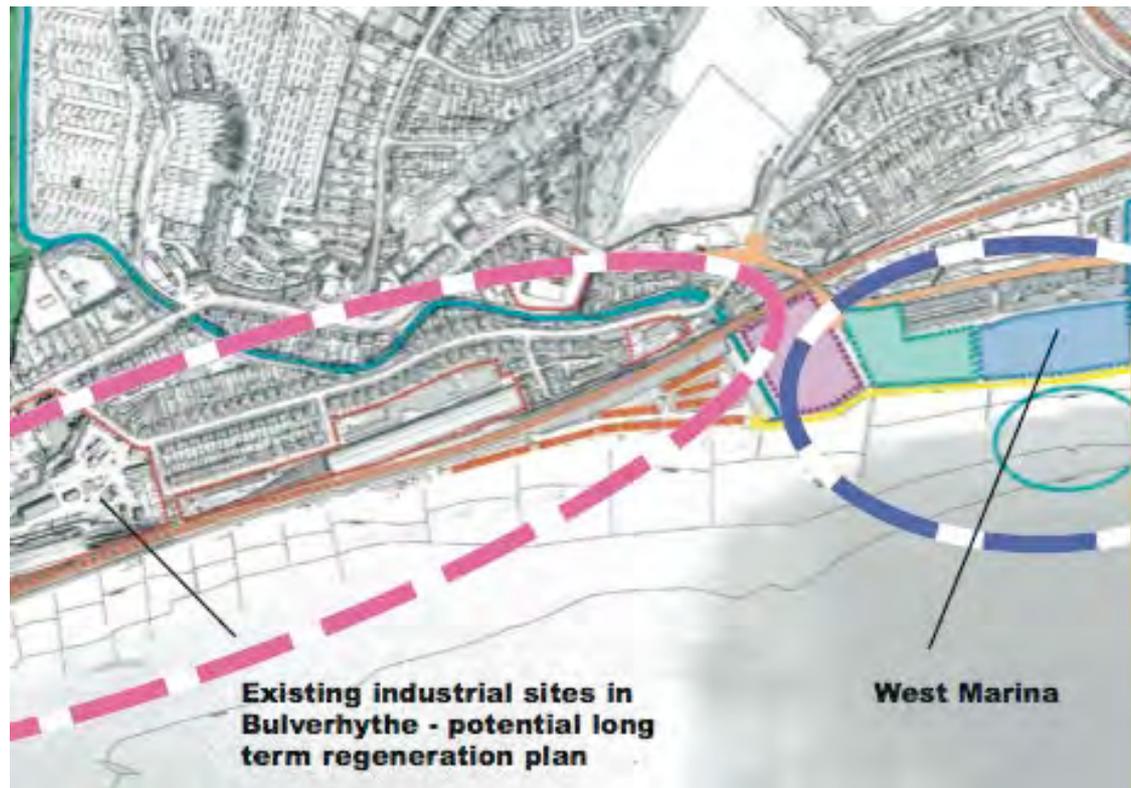
Map 6: Zones of Change. *Source:* The Seafront Strategy (GHK/Tibbalds/Halcrow, 2005: 13)

The planned capital projects envisaged for these areas are, overall, mixed use developments and, therefore, they do not entail the exclusive development of tourism-related facilities. Nevertheless, tourism remains a key ingredient in the regeneration plans. According to the Hastings Local Plan (HBC, 2002a: 233), the vision for the regeneration of the West area of St Leonards is:

‘one of enhanced prosperity developed within an improved environment leading to a better quality of life for residents and visitors alike’ (HBC, 2002a: 233).

West St Leonards comprising the West Marina, Bulverhythe Waterfront, Cinque Ports Way and the Seaside Road is a declined traditional seaside tourism and leisure area (Plate 10, 11) and also industrial site. Once home of the bathing pool (Plate 12, 13), it is a brownfield site located between Seaside Road and the seafront in the area known as the old Bathing Pool site. As one of the 3 sites of the Millennium Community programme, the West Marina scheme would include up to 175 homes, business premises and visitor amenities designed to create a lively seafront community’ (SeaSpace, 2003f).

A mixed-use development is envisaged for the this area (map 7) as the Hastings Local Plan (HBC, 2002a), the Business Plan for Coastal Regeneration (SeaSpace, 2003a) and the Seafront Strategy (GHK/Tibbalds/Halcrow, 2005) explain:



Map 7: Regeneration Plan for West Marina / Bulverhythe Waterfront. Source: (GHK/Tibbalds/Halcrow, 2005: 19).

‘the site provides a unique opportunity to extend and enhance the attractions of the Borough as a tourist and visitor destination. A high quality comprehensive mixed-use development is required centered on water and beach related commercial tourism and leisure facilities, together with associated services, recreational activities including a public slipway and housing’ (HBC, 2002a: 235).

‘[the site] is envisaged as a new mixed-use area offering a range of contemporary uses that together would create an attractive destination on the seafront. Building on the Millennium Communities designation of the former bathing pool site, a combination of residential, retail, educational, leisure and recreational activities would position the zone as a focal point on the seafront in the short and medium-term’ (GHK/Tibbalds/Halcrow, 2005: 18).



Plate 10: West Marina / old Bathing Pool site. Author's own collection.



Plate 11: West Marina old Bathing Pool site. Author's own collection.

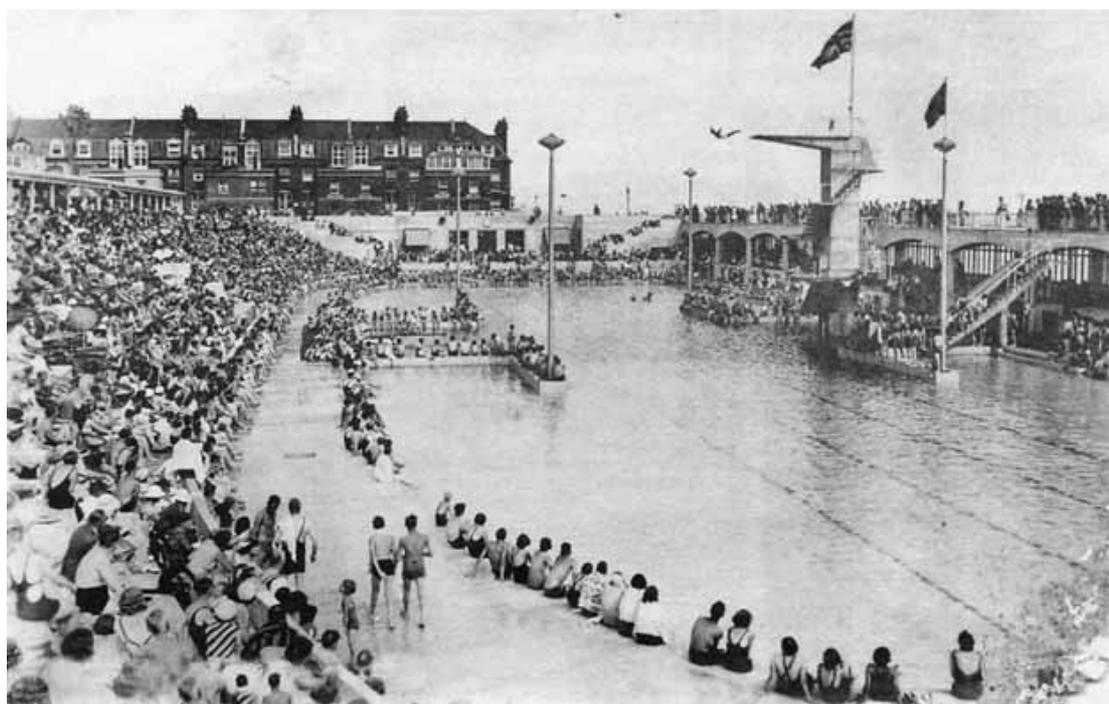


Plate 12: Bathing Pool circa 1948. *Source:* 1066 online (1999).



Plate 13: 1960's Panoramic Holiday Camp View: the "Bathing pool holiday camp St Leonards - Sussex". *Source:* Postcardnostalgia (2007).

The St Leonards Seafront area comprises the 1930s seafront and the Burton's St Leonards Seafront. Together, they demarcate a declined traditional seaside tourism area. St Leonards developed since the 1820s as a regency seaside town and 'purpose-built resort for the well to do' (Hastingspress, 2008) (figure 11) and was further enriched with a seafront built in Art Deco style (figure 12) in the 1930s as a luxury dwelling by the sea. The area is now home to a transient community with a high concentration of Houses in Multiple Occupation (HMOs) as explained in section 8.2 and shown in map 3. In relation to the development of the visitor economy, plans and strategies for this area envisage the reuse of the Marina Pavilion (plate 14). It is planned to act as an early win project and as a catalyst for further regeneration taking place at locality level as the following expose:

'renovating the 1930s Marina Pavilion in St Leonards to become a quality, year-round seafront entertainment and conference venue. [The] new plans include conference and function facilities, a beach café, a bar and entertainment venue' (HBC, 2003c).

The Seafront Strategy (GHK/Tibbalds/Halcrow, 2005: 20) also establishes that:

'the redevelopment of the Marina Pavilion as a destination restaurant, beach, café and multi-purpose function space is expected to kick-start the regeneration of the St Leonards seafront' (GHK/Tibbalds/Halcrow, 2005: 20).

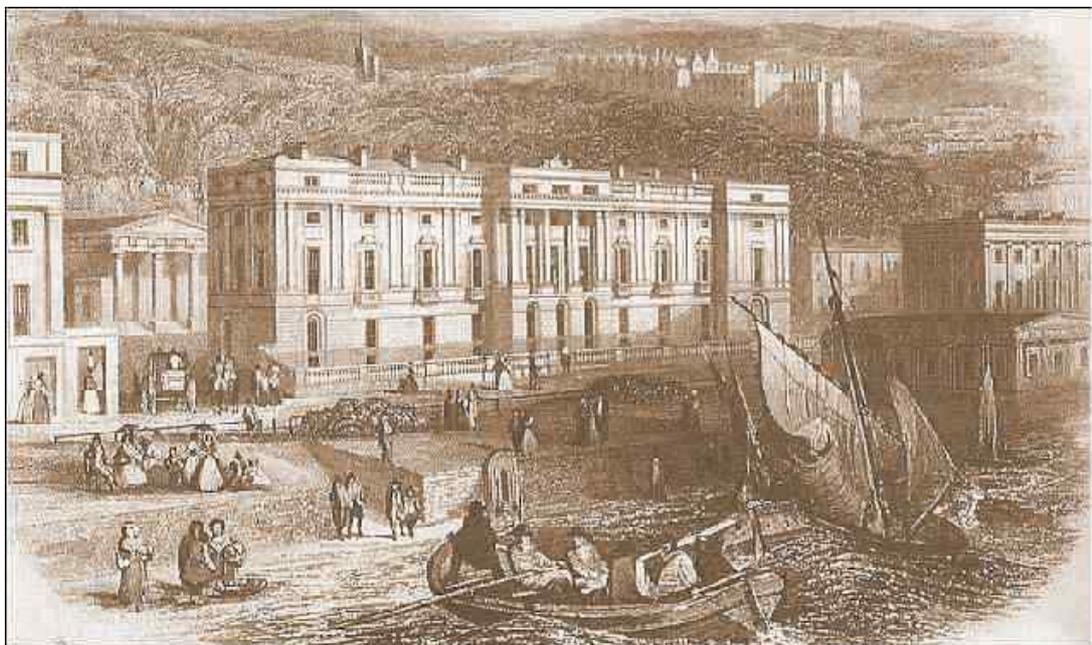


Figure 11: Burton's St Leonards Subscription Gardens. The purpose-built resort in the Hastings area by James Burton (1761-1837) for the Londoners. *Source:* Hastingspress (2006).



Figure 12: the 1930s seafront; St Leonards on sea. On the right: the Marine Court built in Art Deco style in the 1937 it is known as ‘the liner’ as based on the Queen Mary liner; on the left is the lower promenade with the original Marina Pavilion. *Sources:* Briggs (1996).

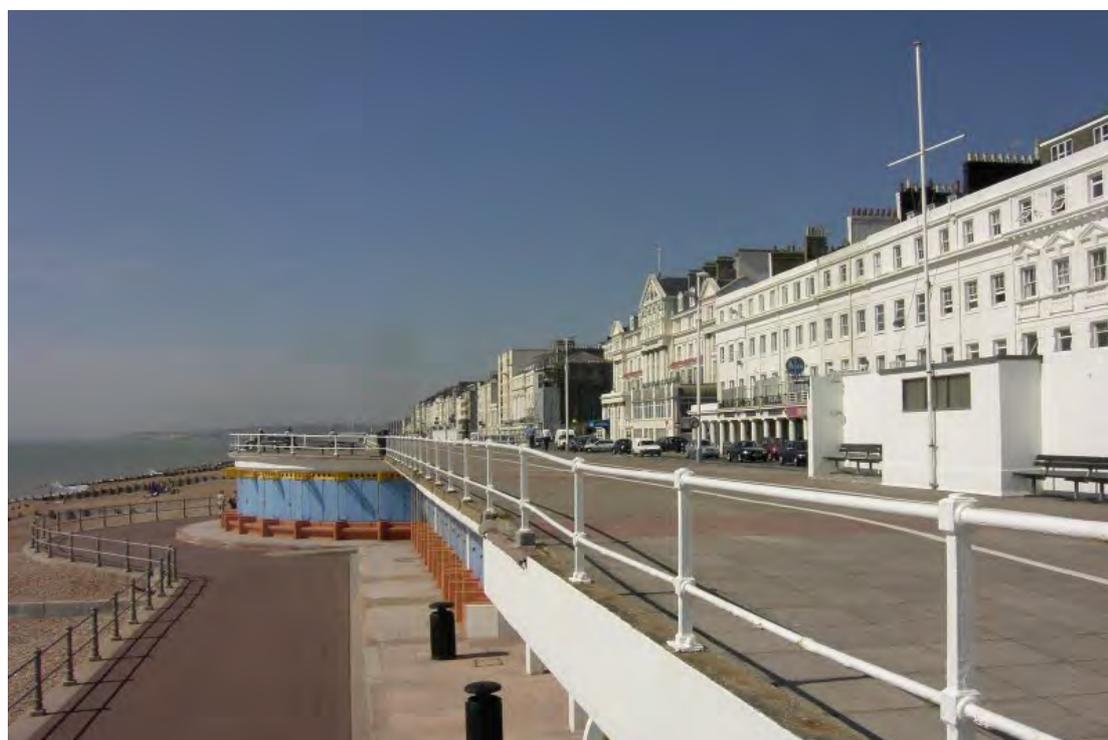


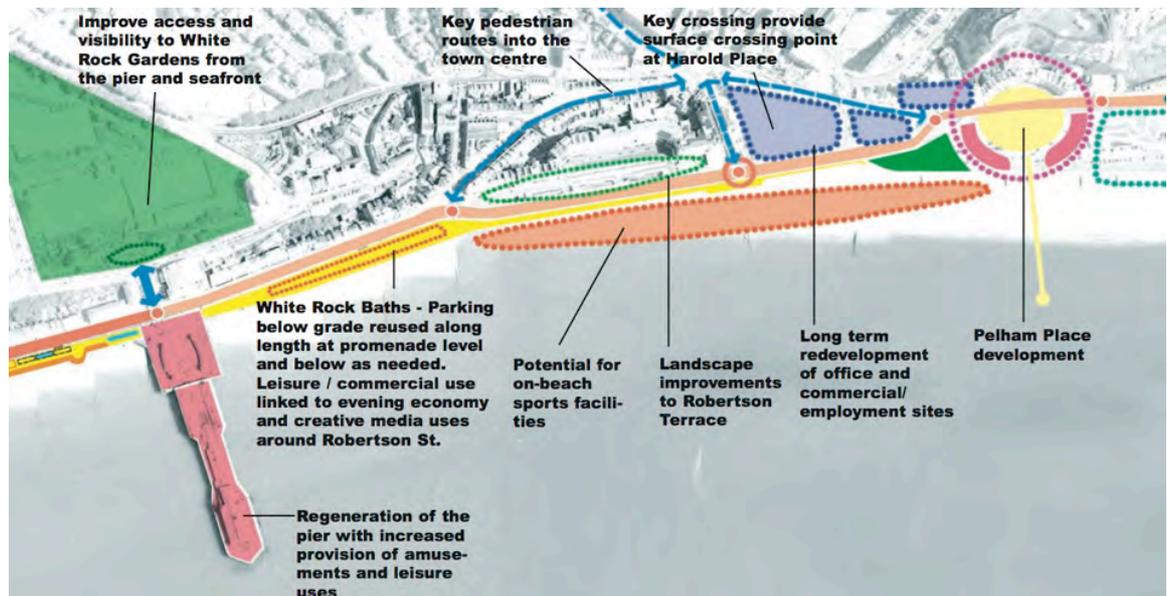
Plate 14: Marina Pavilion, St Leonards Seafront (17 Septembre 2004). Author’s own collection.

For the Hastings town centre and adjoining seafront, the Hastings Local Plan (HBC, 2002a) establishes the development of a destination for business tourism and the visitor economy by encouraging the development of the evening economy:

‘maintaining and enhancing its role as a sub-regional shopping centre and focus of leisure and business activities’ (HBC, 2002a: 210).

‘increasing its attraction as a place to visit, including development of the visitor economy, development of business tourism, promotion and the provision of a wide range of events and activities’ (HBC, 2002a: 210).

Along the seafront (map 8), the Pier, the White Rock Baths’ site and Pelham Crescent are under the spotlight for redevelopment through large capital projects entailing reuse measures for the development of the leisure and tourism infrastructure.



Map 8: The pier, the White Rock Baths’ site, and Pelham Crescent. Source: (Source: GHK/Tibbalds/Halcrow, 2005: 23)

For the traditional declined seaside tourism icons of Hastings, the Pier and the White Rock Baths area, the Seaside Strategy (GHK/Tibbalds/Halcrow, 2005: 22) recommends the reuse of the pier and the improvement of the access and character of the surrounding environment. The Hastings Local Plan (HBC, 2002a: 52) reinforces on the need to enhance the attractiveness of this area to serve the visitor economy.

In relation to the Pelham Crescent (figure 13) area instead, the Seafront Strategy (GHK/Tibbalds/Halcrow, 2005: 22) proposes to:

‘extend and reconnect Hastings town centre to include the seafront in order to capitalize on the distinctive seafront assets and promote commercial expansion of the town centre’.

The Seafront Strategy reinforces also the need to secure the development of Pelham Place as a flagship project comprising:

‘offices, hotel, residential, retail and leisure space, and a major new civic place on the seafront’ (GHK/Tibbalds/Halcrow, 2005: 22).

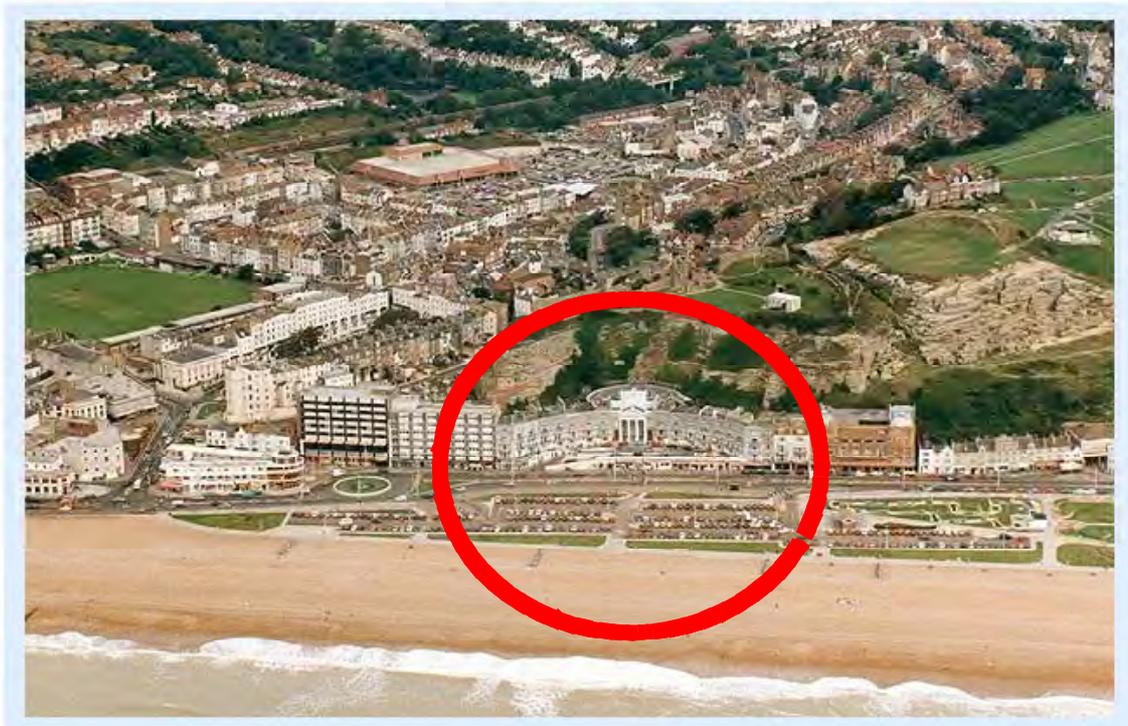


Figure 13: Aerial view of the Pelham Crescent area. At the centre is listed St Mary in the Castle building in Regency style. Source: 1066Online (Source: 1066Online, 1999).

The regeneration plan proposed in the Sea Space website (SeaSpace, 2003c) also describes the mix-use development character of the project envisaged for this area by emphasizing its high profile and showcasing rationale (figure 14):

‘World-renowned architects Foster & Partners drew up initial proposals in 2003 for the future transformation of the Pelham Place site on Hastings seafront. The scheme is a striking contemporary development that would complement the existing Regency architecture, incorporating a civic space, hotel, offices, shops, homes, cafes and restaurants. As a bustling public area, this showcase development would be a powerful draw for locals, visitors, businesses, jobs and growth’ (SeaSpace, 2003c).



Figure 14: Artist projection of the Pelham Place (Source: SeaSpace, 2003c).

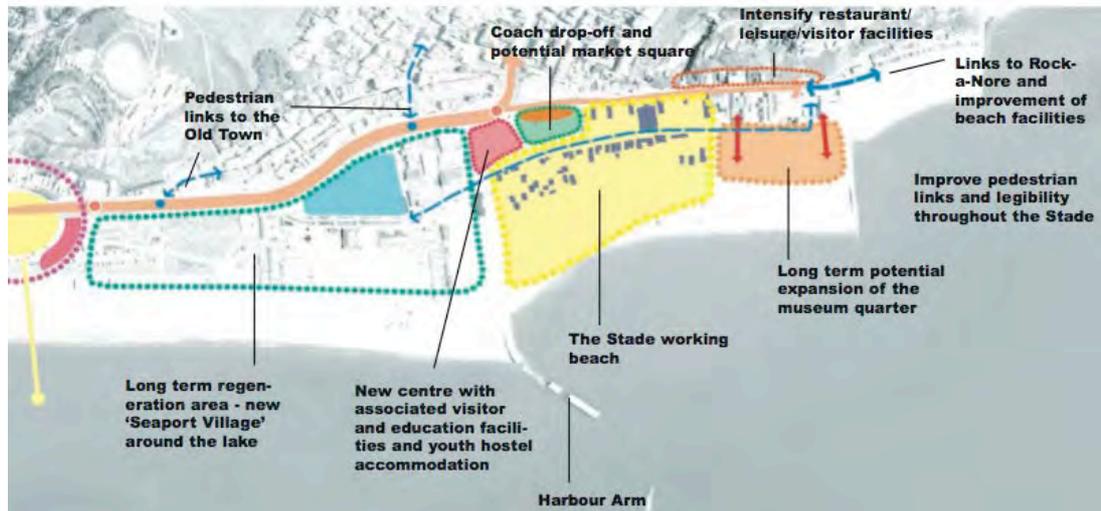
The Business Plan for Coastal Regeneration (SeaSpace, 2003a) describes this project as a space for conferencing, as well as business and events tourism:

‘A new major civic space providing an appropriate setting for St Mary in the Castle. The scheme comprises 80 bedroom 4 star hotel, conference facilities and major public event space, and commercial space’ (SeaSpace, 2003a: 32).

SS1 described this project and defined it as an epitome of what a tourism space should look like in the XXI century:

‘Pelham Place is a mixed use development with a 80 bedroom boutique hotel that also has office space, it has a ground floor leisure related retail and food and beverage that will serve the hotel but will also be a new event space. It could be a new setting and that I think is an example of what a tourism type of project should be like in the XXI century rather than d... seaside hotel which do not really work (SS1).

To the east of these flagship developments, in a way related to the enhancement of the tourist and visitor infrastructure, regeneration strategies and plans identify the Stade and Rock-a-Nore areas in Hastings Old Town as the spaces with the greatest potential for the development of the new and green tourism (map 9).



Map 9: Hastings Old Town and the Stade area (Source: GHK/Tibbalds/Halcrow, 2005: 25)

The Seafront Strategy in fact recognizes the Stade/Rock-a-Nore areas as zones of change with the greatest potential to become the principal quality visitor and heritage destination in Hastings in the short-term:

‘The approach focuses on strengthening the fishing and visitor economy of the Stade using learning and education measures to support existing facilities’ (GHK/Tibbalds/Halcrow, 2005: 24).

The Hastings Local Plan (HBC, 2002a: 227) also states that:

‘tourist activities is at its greatest in the Old Town, particularly on the seafront, the Stade, George St and the High Street. The quality of the conservation area is central to the Old Town’s attraction for residents and visitors alike’.

In relation to tourism and the leisure economy the Seafront Strategy (GHK/Tibbalds/Halcrow, 2005) also emphasizes a possible shift away from, and substitution of, the existing traditional seaside leisure/tourism amenities (plate 15, 16, 17) with the raising of the areas’ profile:

‘in the long term as the regeneration or development of Pelham Place and the Stade increases economic activity and uplifts property market values in the area, some of the existing amusement facilities in the area may no longer be appropriate or financially

sustainable [...] This area may be transformed into a Seaport Village [and] a Stade Fishing Heritage Quarter' (GHK/Tibbalds/Halcrow, 2005: 24).

This policy statement is backed up by the comments from a representative of the HBC declaring a move away from the traditional seaside tourism, reflected in the existing amenities and facilities along the seafront, towards the new tourism target:

'There are two areas that clash with the new vision for the town. The amusements arcades is one of them as they are not appropriate to our current audience. Some argue that they encourage people to gamble: the slots machines on the seafront are a throw back to the 1970s as I do not think they have any place now' (HBC1).



Plate 15: The Swan Lake, original site of the Elizabethan harbour, Hastings Old Town seafront (January 2008). Author's own collection.



Plate 16: The arcades; Hastings Old Town seafront (January 2008). Author's own collection.



Plate 17: Amusements arcade; Hastings Old Town (January 2008). Author's own collection.

Neighboring the seafront is Hastings Old Town. This is a medieval settlement grown since Victorian times thanks to a traditional shore-based fishing fleet and further developed throughout the last thirty years as a popular tourist destination. The strategy for Hastings Old Town is to maintain momentum for the tourism and visitor economy by supporting shopping and tourism related facilities:

‘the role of the Old Town Shopping area (George Street, High Street, Courthouse Street) as a speciality/local centre serving the needs of both tourists/visitors and local residents and promoting progressive improvement of the visitor attractions and the working beach in The Stade and the wider old town area, and its co-ordinated management as a primary tourist destination’ (HBC, 2002a: 228).

A renovated visitor centre (plate 18) is also envisaged to substitute the existing one at the Stade to:

‘serve as a focus and gateway for tourists visiting the various heritage attractions in the Stade/Old Town area’ (HBC, 2002a: 231).



Plate 18: The old tourist information centre, Hastings Old Town (January 2008). Author’s own collection.

The spectrum of large schemes hitherto examined consists of a number of mixed-use developments. Despite the range of uses they entail, they feature a high degree of symbiosis with the tourism and visitor economy. Taken as other discursive practices, they challenge the foundations of the rhetorical mismatch discussed in

section 9.3.1. The discourse analysis of these schemes position the construction of the tourism and visitor infrastructure as a key component of the socio-economic revitalization of obsolete traditional seaside tourism sites such as the old bathing pool, the Marina Pavilion in St Leonards, the Pier and the White Rock Baths. The planned formation of new spaces of tourism flow also reinforces the institutional commitment to contemporize the tourism profile of Hastings. The eastern part of Hastings in particular, the site of Old Town and the Stade, a traditional fishing village, becomes the focus of large developments (e.g. Pelham Place and a new Tourist Information Centre) that attune to the growing tourism markets (cultural and green tourism) and cater for the high spending visitor. At a superficial level, the discourse analysis of the regeneration plans, strategies and interviews in this section reveal discursive statements that position tourism rejuvenation high on the institutional regeneration agenda. Other discursive statements however emerged that compete in the formation of the discourse under scrutiny. Above all, drawing on the assertions made in chapters 3 and 4, those of catalytic planning and market-led regeneration are evident. They stem from the choice, at planning and strategic level, of exclusive schemes as catalysts for further, private-led, regeneration.

As discussed in section 9.2.1 *urban renaissance* was rendered a regeneration priority in the 5 Point Plan. It entails urban redevelopment practices and was indicated as a key regeneration practice led by Sea Space and the HBTF. As anticipated, Sea Space is the urban regeneration company in charge of taking the regeneration plan (the 5 Point Plan) to completion. Urban renaissance is scheduled around the implementation of early win projects and exclusive, large schemes acting as exemplars for further change as showed above. With the choice of urban renaissance as discursive practice, catalytic planning can be seen as a discursive statement competing in the formation of the discourse under scrutiny within which tourism development results to be among the key elements of this regeneration approach.

This catalytic planning model of urban intervention was criticized, in literature reviewed in chapters 3 and 4, as a mainstream model adopted to deliver formal regeneration programmes since the late 1960s in the advanced capitalist world. It was discussed in combination with the construction of the tourism infrastructure and criticized for entailing a market orientation to change, fostering ‘anti urban tendencies’ (Bianchini, 1993b: 204) such as gentrification, privatopia, social exclusion and

polarization (i.e. Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993; Tiesdell et al, 1996; Nobre, 2002; Seo, 2002; Garcia, 2004; Miles, 2005), ‘erosion of urbanity’ and control (Bianchini, 1993: 204) and, at more cultural level, consumerism and a ‘unidimensional logic of commodification’ (Groth and Corijn, 2005:503) cultural ‘standardization/homogeneization’ (Hoffman, 2000:218) and monofunctionalism. Authors such as Page and Hall (2003), Smith (2003) and Ploger (2001) suggested discursive planning as a way to bypass the quick fix/catalytic planning approach and proposed gradual, small-scale, and adaptive process of change supported by the inclusion of a large number of stakeholders.

Against this scenario, some discursive practices that pose resistance to the dominance of catalytic regeneration planning were however identified. In the next section, the discourse analysis of the wider regeneration scenario charts the emergence of affirmative actions put in place by informal/civic actors. They concern the rejection, at community level, of two new tourism and visitor landmarks planned for the revitalization of the Hastings Town Centre and Old Town seafront, and the formulation of a Trust to safeguard the future of the Pier and the White Rock area. These initiatives undermine, to a certain extent, the implementation of the catalytic planning model discussed above and, in turn, the planned development of the related tourism and visitor infrastructure. Together with the statements identified in section 9.3.1, the analysis of these initiatives suggests the formation of a discourse that features the disengagement of Hastings from tourism as regeneration catalyst, socio-economic driver and imperative.

9.3.2.2 Resisting informal affirmative actions.

The development of a new tourist information office and visitor centre is one of the flagship developments envisaged for the regeneration of the seafront at the Stade (Hastings Old Town). It would have substituted the old one showed in plate 18 to develop the visitor economy. The *Stade Maritime Landmark* (Findlay, 2007) designed by the architect Ushida Findlay was proposed in 2002 as a new tourist gateway to the Stade Maritime area. The visionary project, better known as *The Slug*, was tuned down in 2003 due to the strong dissent from the OHPS and the HFPS.

A representative of the HFPS reminded about the society’s rejection of the Findlay project:

‘It was planned to put a huge tourism related structure where the bus park is; the society rejected the plan. It was supposed to be a landmark building designed by Ushida Findlay. The lady who was in charge for the project embraced what the fisherman were saying: it was too tall and they could not see the lights when they come in port. They did not like the shape of it so they managed to have the projects rejected [...] Certainly, the fisherman would not want their land to be transformed in some kind of dysneyesk space’ (HFPS).

The *Save Our Beaches* campaign (SOB, 2007) followed the proposal for the development of the Pelham Place project, described above as an “early-win” project with a substantial visitor profile. It was turned down and put on hold after a public campaign supported by the Coastal Users Group, the OHPS and the wider community. Reaction to the Pelham Place project was commented by the OHPS, HW2 and HAG1 who highlighted preservation and privatization issues and expressed dissent for the *fast growth* and *quick-fix* catalytic planning approach undertaken by Sea Space to regenerate the town as the following comments substantiate:

‘The Norman Foster: offices and a posh hotel, not sure how these could be helpful for the town’ (HW2).

‘The purpose of the regeneration was to use public funding to raise the profile of the town and attract private investments: it never happened. Nobody was ready to run the Pelham Place complex [...]. The issue with the Foster Hotel was that nobody was up to run it, and the bottom line was “ah, well we can always turn it into apartments” [and] in that position you have got the finest Regency townscape in England, the value of an open beach cannot be rated too highly – after all, why do residents and visitors like to be there? Once it is gone it is gone’ (OHPS, focus group 1).

‘Sea Space and the Council promote grandious fix schemes whereas most people would not subscribe to, one of which would be to demolish the car park in front of St Mary in the Castle, and build a 6 storey hotel and offices, right here, on the beach. The car park is not very attractive, but building the hotel there would be an awful thing to do’ (HAG1).

‘Those who are leading regeneration do not understand the concept of place but only that of big schemes, big money, big names and quick returns. They do not understand that the whole is greater than the sum of all the little parts and makes a sense of place. If you keep taking all these bits away there will be no point in coming here any more. All the little bits that make the difference for Hastings are going with this demolishing and rebuilding practice’ (OHPS, focus group 1).

People who work and trade here would much prefer to see a gradual improvement starting with the public realm; insisting that people that are not trading at quality standards are pushed away and gradually improve the ambience of the town. But we do not need huge projects (HAG1).

The formation of the Hastings Pier and White Rock Trust in 2007 (HPWRT, 2007) also indicates a resisting discursive practice to the narrative of large projects above. As anticipated above, the pier and the wider White Rock Baths area are the iconic spaces of the traditional English seaside tourism. In the Seafront Strategy (GHK/Tibbalds/Halcrow, 2005), these spaces are under the spotlight for redevelopment and reuse for leisure and tourism activities and a means to revitalize the declining seafront. According to the evidence gathered, the formation of a community led Trust was necessary to take control of its use and future and avoid demolition as the areas remained, in reality, marginalized from the regeneration practices underway. As a member of the HPWRT focus group commented:

‘The Pier has been marginalized; central to regeneration now is rather transport, education and office space, and part of the creative industries’ (HPWRT, focus group 2).

The group also provided explanations about the funding mechanism that, in this case, marginalized the refurbishment of the Pier, and surrounding areas, while prioritizing the projects in Hastings Town Centre that are analyzed in section 9.3.4:

‘There is a regeneration vehicle and money behind the town centre through Sea Space. There is no vehicle and money to make the seafront strategy to happen. Sea Space are not interested in most of the stuff that there is in the seafront strategy, so they have not pushed it. The council is too weak to be a leader in regeneration partly because SEEDA puts all its money through Sea Space and not through the council. So there is not leadership on the seafront strategy’ (HPWRT, focus group 2).

And concluded by emphasizing again a regeneration narrative based on catalytic planning:

‘The actual strategy is in the town centre, you can actually see it day after day, buildings are bought, demolished, and new buildings are created. And that is where you see the real strategy happening’ (HPWRT, focus group 2).

It is in reaction to this condition that the HPWRT was formed with the objective of proposing a plan for the revitalization of the area into a leisure space for the local community:

‘Without the pier there is a missing link, a missing means for people to move around the urban area [...] the Pier is for the people of Hastings’ (HPWRT, focus group 2).

Taken as discursive practices, the informally driven initiatives examined in this section determine a number of discursive statements. Firstly, they entail the rise of informal actors and an insurgent urbanism. Drawing on the contribution by Groth and

Corijn (2005) discussed in section 4.3.1, this regards spontaneous, non-planned and community based regeneration initiatives. In the case of Hastings, it also implies the reassertion of citizenship in the community building process and a clash between institutional regeneration visions and plans featuring a catalytic planning based regeneration model, and those of the wider local community. These informally driven initiatives pose resistance to a catalytic planning model of regeneration on which the tourism rejuvenation practices are based on, as seen in the previous section. The discourse analysis of these informally driven initiatives support the emerging argument concerning the marginalization of tourism in the regeneration of Hastings and indicate the disengagement of the town from tourism as a leading socio-economic driver and regeneration feature.

Alongside this spectrum of large capital projects and resisting informal affirmative actions offering a range of competing discursive practices, the further analysis of the wider urban regeneration scenario in the section that follows highlights a range of small capital projects and a programme of cultural events. They are examined in the next section to show how tourism rejuvenation is rendered a key regeneration feature but at the same time, only a means to achieve other regeneration objectives.

9.3.3 Zoning and *theming*: small capital projects, community festivals and special events.

The discourse analysis of the wider regeneration scenario, comprising a variety of policy, planning documents, emerging projects and interviews with representatives of both formal and informal/civil organizations is also revealing of other discursive practices competing in the formation of the discourse under scrutiny. Alongside the narrative of planned exclusive schemes and resisting informal affirmative actions above, is also one of smaller capital projects and regeneration programmes. They entail the implementation of some small capital projects (i.e. the *Space to Stay* initiative, the *Coastal Treasures Interreg Project* and the *GreenWay*) on one side, and a programme of community festivals and special events on the other. They expressively align with the vision pursuing the rejuvenation of the local tourism product, hence the development of upmarket ‘new’ and ‘green’ tourism established in some regeneration plans and strategies, and reflecting the theming approach established in the 1066DMS.

Despite their evident tourism referents and apparent relationship with the formally conceived tourism rejuvenation strategies, an informed analysis of the cultural programme reveals regeneration objectives that evade the mere tourism rationale. As discursive practices, they compete in supporting the key argument of this thesis concerning the marginalization of tourism in the regeneration of Hastings.

9.3.3.1 Small capital projects.

The *Space to Stay* initiative and the *Coastal Treasures Interreg Project* are part of the Objective2 funding programme (Objective2, 2007). They capitalize on a combination of supranational (i.e. the European Regional Development Fund) and regional/local (i.e. HBC, SEEDA, Seaspace and Rother District Council) funding regimes administered, in partnership, at local level. Interviews with the representatives of this partnership highlighted the key role that these projects played in triggering the enhancement of a dated tourist accommodation infrastructure and, also, an uncelebrated cultural capital.

In relation to Space to Stay (figure 15), HBC1 explained that the existing tourist accommodation infrastructure is among the blights of the local tourism offer and that the Objective2 programme triggered a positive response from the private sector:

‘There are two areas that clash with the new vision for the town one of which is the very poor quality visitor accommodation. This is the reason for which the Space to Stay scheme was promoted for £1.2m. We have no 4-5 star Hotels; the infrastructure is older than 100 years. It is the combination of poor quality and quantity of visitor accommodation that holds back, because we have good attractions, public realm, seafront, natural environments. The bed spot in town for visitors is poor quality accommodation (HBC1)’.

‘A Space to Stay was a project that gave the chance to tourist accommodations to improve their structure’ (HBC1).

The prospect for the programme (Objective2, 2007) also explains that:

‘Initially, hotels in Hastings and St Leonards sought Objective 2 funding to provide ensuite facilities for their hotel rooms, and to update their businesses for this different, competitive market’.

Interviews with members of the Hastings Hotel Association (HHA) confirmed the success of this programme:

‘The original structure dates back to 1846, when we bought the hotel it really needed lots of work. Objective 2 funding has enabled us to refurbish half of the hotel and a 50

meters stretch of Hastings seafront that in a way is our contribution to regeneration' (HHA2).

'We launched the Zanzibar one year ago, we saw a gap in the market [...]. There has plenty of this sort of things in Brighton but really within 50 miles radius there is nothing quite like this. We did this as a direct result of objective 2 funding: people talk about it as a boutique style hotel but really we restored the building to its original victorian spec and than we added some luxury items. I think the customers we are getting are people who traditionally stay in Brighton and maybe further afields for their weekends, they are not see Hastings as a viable alternative and this is partly because of us and because of other initiatives Objective 2 has involved in (HHA1).



Figure 15: Space to Stay Project (Source: Objective2 (2007)).

The *Coastal Treasures Project* instead aimed at promoting cultural (architectural) tourism by capitalizing on the tourism and heritage qualities of Hastings and St Leonards as Frank Rallings (Head of Planning – Rother District Council) explained at the English Heritage Conference (EH, 2007b):

‘the purpose of the project was to stimulate an awareness of coastal architecture both in terms of stimulating tourism and promoting an education resource. 30000 bilingual leaflets have been produced to promote the project and a dedicated website www.coastaltreasures.eu is now operational and provides details of the project and a growing resource for architectural, education and tourism information’ (EH, 2007b).

Among other sub-projects it entailed decorative lighting illumination of iconic buildings and seafront lighting called ‘Wanderlight’ (figure 16).

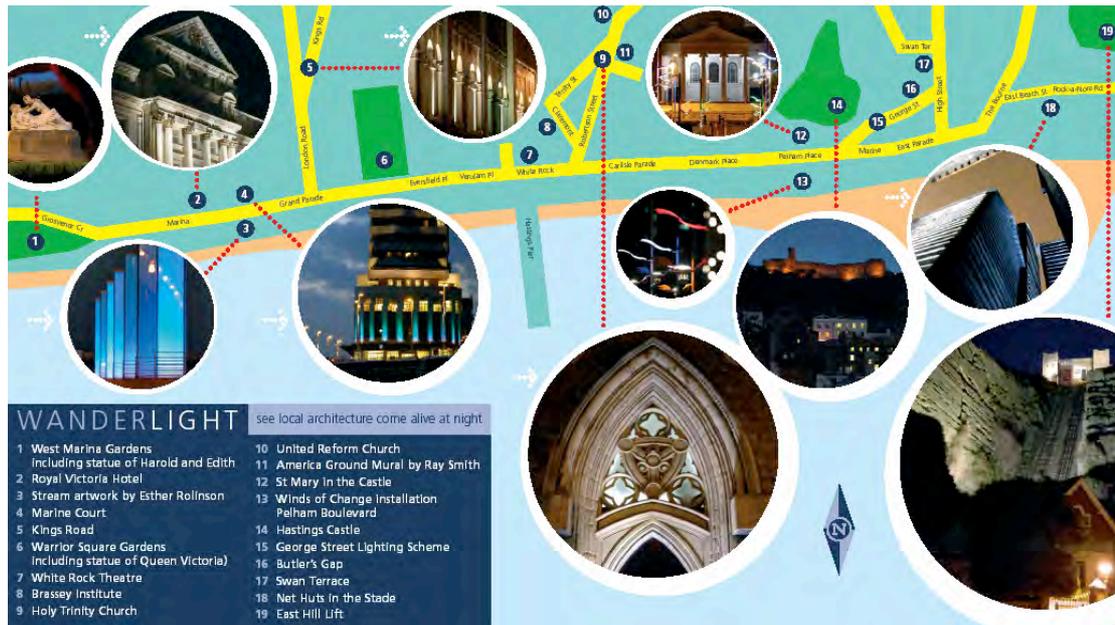


Figure 16: The *Wanderlight* Project, part of the Coastal Treasure Objective 2 European Fund (Source: official leaflet).

The *GreenWay* is a project developed and implemented at local level with the involvement of local landscape artists Joc Hare and Leigh Dyer in collaboration with Greenspace Project and the Hastings Borough Council. The *GreenWay* is part of a public art development strategy (HBC, 2005) for the town. As anticipated, this strategy (HBC, 2005) does not come under the regeneration supporting strategies umbrella. Nevertheless, the *GreenWay* entails a quality change that is worth taking into account due to the connection with green and new tourism expressed in the interviews with representatives of the local authorities. Both SS1 and HBC3 discussed this project as part of the initiatives that trigger a move of the town towards green tourism. In essence it is an example of local artists involvement in the design and implementation phases of public art projects and, accordingly, connects with principles of cultural planning exposed in chapter 4. It entails the construction of a pedestrian connection (plate 19,

20, 21) within the town and links the seafront to the otherwise inaccessible Bohemia Ward inland, as HBC3 explained:

‘At bases of Green Way there is the promotion of modes of alternative transport across the town that appeal to the tourism market as well. With the Green Way there was the idea to create walkable paths by capitalizing on the town’s green areas that were for the most inaccessible. It incorporates the idea of legible city. It works on the basis of maps that show you where you are and how long it takes to move around, so it encourages people to walk. Using the idea of ‘legibility’ we got an artist designing these installations. We were hoping to put these installations all over Hastings but it did not happen. The idea of the Green Way however does not necessarily entail that you have to use only the green spaces, it is the mode of transport at the core of the model that is “green”.



Plate 19: The Green Way at Handly Pond (24-11-2007). Author’s own collection.



Plate 20: The Green Way at Handy Pond entrance showing the map system at base of 'legibility' principle (24-11-2007). Author's own collection.



Plate 21: The Green Way at Handy Pond entrance showing the installation's design. Author's own collection.

In addition, the discourse analysis of interviews with representatives of local institutions also highlighted even smaller capital projects sponsored by the HBC with both residents and visitors as final beneficiaries. HBC1 stated:

‘We invested in parks and gardens: the refurbishment of the St Leonards Gardens and Alexandra Park (£4000 helped by national lottery fund): the rationale behind that is partly because it is a place for residents but makes Hastings a nice place to visit. Hastings Country Park has been now accessible to a wider audience, people on a wheel chair to enjoy the countryside. We continue to spend money on the seafront and the town centre as lovely open space’ (HBC1).

The analysis of the small capital projects above indicates that the rejuvenation of the local tourism product, envisaging a move upmarket, is a key objective for the regeneration of the town. This aspect emerged earlier in section 9.3.1.1 where tourism was discussed as a key ingredient for the economic restructuring of the town. As anticipated, there is also a programme of special events and community festivals that, alongside these small capital projects, position the enhancement of the local tourism product at the forefront of the local regeneration objectives. Considered as discursive practices they make, together, another statement in relation to the centrality of tourism to the regeneration of the town and the institutional commitment to enhancing the tourist profile of Hastings. Nevertheless, the analysis of the cultural programme also reinforces that, for some, the discourse over tourism rejuvenation is not about catalytic planning and place marketing approaches to regeneration, as triggered by regional regeneration plans. Instead, it is also about meeting local needs and achieving broader regeneration goals such as those of cultural development, inclusion in the arts, and quality of life enhancement as discussed in the next section.

9.3.3.2 Community festivals and special events.

This programme comprises an array of community festivals (i.e. Hastings Traditional Jack in the Green, Hastings Old Town Week and Carnival Festival, Hastings Week) and visitor special events (i.e. Coastal Currents and Seafood and Wine Festival). It reflects the thematic approach and regeneration guidelines established in the 1066DMS and the Cultural Strategy (HBC, 2002b) (section 9.2.2) highlighting themes such the Coast, Food and Drink (Seafood and Wine Festival), Arts and Creativity (Coastal Currents), Landscape (Coastal Treasures), ‘Heritage & 1066

Legacy’ and, also, undertaken the zoning approach to regeneration established in the Seafront Strategy (GHK/Tibbalds/Halcrow, 2005).

At the surface, the relationship between this programme, tourism rejuvenation and regeneration is established in policy documents and interviews with representatives of the HBC. This programme, and related regeneration projects, capitalizes on two sequential national regeneration fund programmes (the Area Investment Framework – AIF, and the Local Enterprise Growth Initiative – LEGI) administered, at local level, by the HBEA. Together, they fund the positive change, as HBC5 and HBC4 confirmed in particular for LEGI, of the most disadvantaged areas in Hastings.

‘LEGI funding forces to support the most needy areas in Hastings’ (HBC5).

‘LEGI stimulates entrepreneurialism in community and tackle disadvantaged parts of the community’ (HBC4).

The Seafront Strategy also establishes the importance of events and festivals for the revitalization of the seafront through tourism-related activities:

‘programming and events will be central to the success of the seafront as a vibrant and lively place [...] they will also bring significant tourism and economic spin-offs for the area. The opportunity to participate in a variety of activities on a year-round basis will be key to attracting a greater number of people to the seafront at all times of the year and in all seasons’ (GHK/Tibbalds/Halcrow, 2005: 37).

The Hastings and St Leonards Cultural Strategy (HBC, 2002b) also emphasised the potential of developing the local cultural offer to the purpose of tackling tourism seasonality:

‘The local tourism industry has suffered from problems of seasonality, high peak business in the summer and variable business levels in the winter. Enhancing the cultural offer can assist in attracting visitors throughout the year’ (HBC, 2002b: 25).

HBC1 and HBC8 also added some insights about the tourism focus of this programme and highlighted its instrumentality in regeneration that is to: foster disengagement from traditional seaside tourism forms, develop cultural tourism, extend the tourism season and combating seasonality with the creation of permanent jobs.

‘We do not market Hastings as a family seaside destination. We are now marketing Hastings as a all year around short break destination. This is really important for several reasons particularly in terms of economic regeneration. If you market a town which pick is in the summer you only employ a large number of people for a short period of time; so you have casual part-time labor, earning quite low money with no long-term prospect for the job. If you market the town as a year round destination you are providing jobs all year around’ (HBC1).

‘So the Council has a strategy of encouraging out of season events to encourage people to come when it is quieter. So we promote all year around resort, we market the 1066 Country to people who are interested in history, heritage and culture, who are dinkies or empty nesters’ (HBC1).

‘Coastal Currents and Seafood and Wine Festival are totally organized by the council and are intended to promote cultural tourism that is believed to apply to the high spender visitor’ (HBC8).

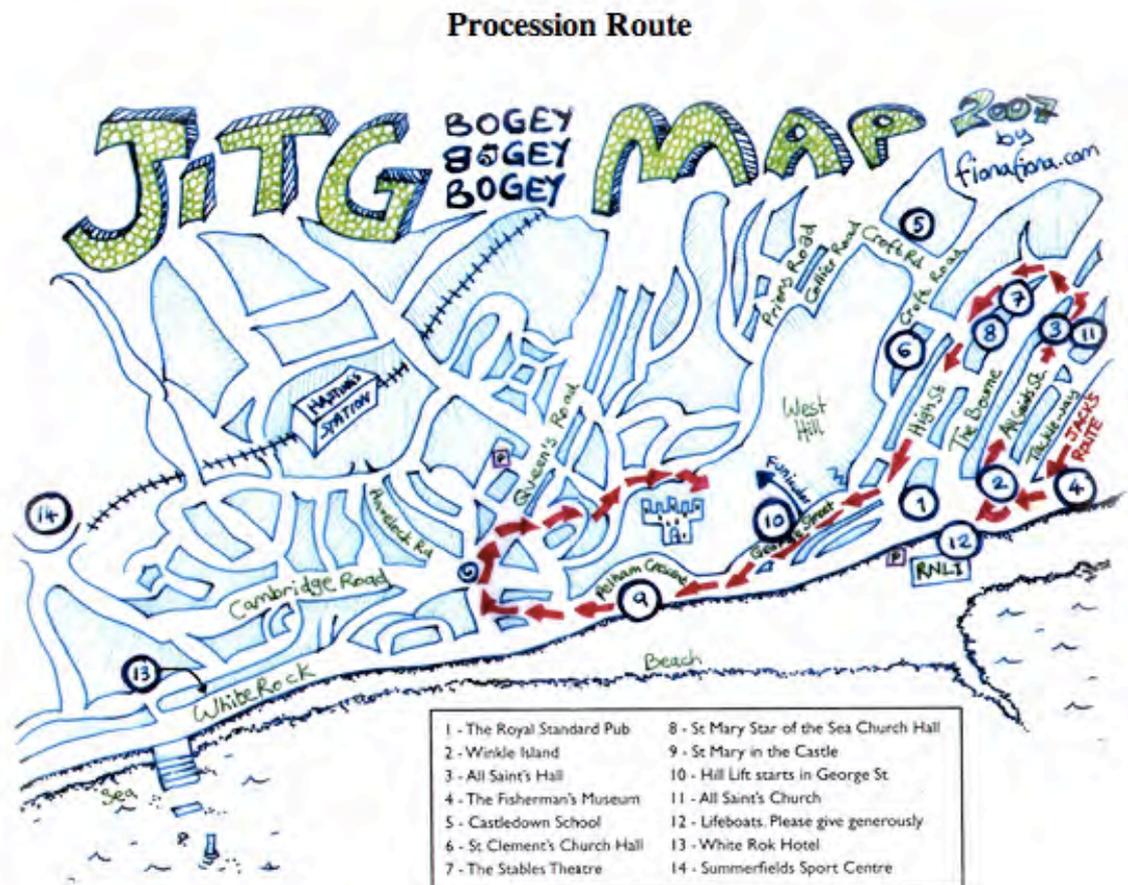
The rest of this section provides a descriptive account and analysis of this programme, its objectives, supporters and dedicated spaces. Overall, it entails a marketing manoeuvre that aims at repositioning Hastings in the tourism market through the rejuvenation of the local tourism offer. Then, it also highlights the complexity of the discourse over tourism and regeneration in Hastings.

The *Hastings Traditional Jack in the Green* (figure 17) is a community-based festival that celebrates the opening of the Spring season with a May Day procession. In 2008 it reached its 25th anniversary: it starts the first week-end of May and envisages three days of pagan celebrations.



Figure 17: Jack in the Green leaflet front picture (Source: Simon Costin cover photograph of advert leaflet).

It is traditionally held around the streets of Hastings Old Town (map 10) and is one of the events being promoted in the 1066 Country online pages of the 1066 Country Marketing Partnership (1066CountryMarketing, 2007a), in the marketing literature for Hastings and 1066 Country (1066CountryMarketing, 2007b) and strongly supported by the HBC.



Map 10: Jack in the Green Progression Route in Hastings Old Town (Source: JITG, 2007).

The *Hastings Old Town Week and Carnival Festival* (figure 18) is the second community festival acknowledged in the Hastings visitor marketing literature (1066CountryMarketing, 2007b).

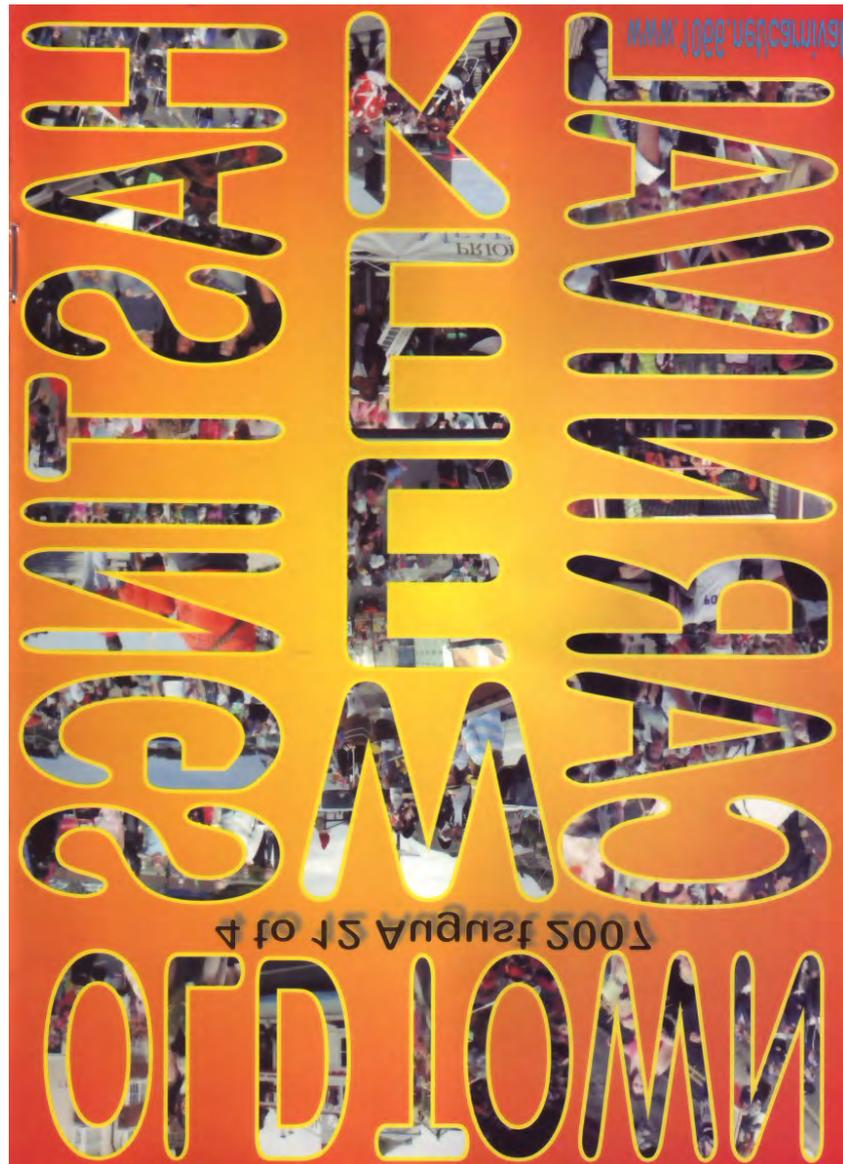
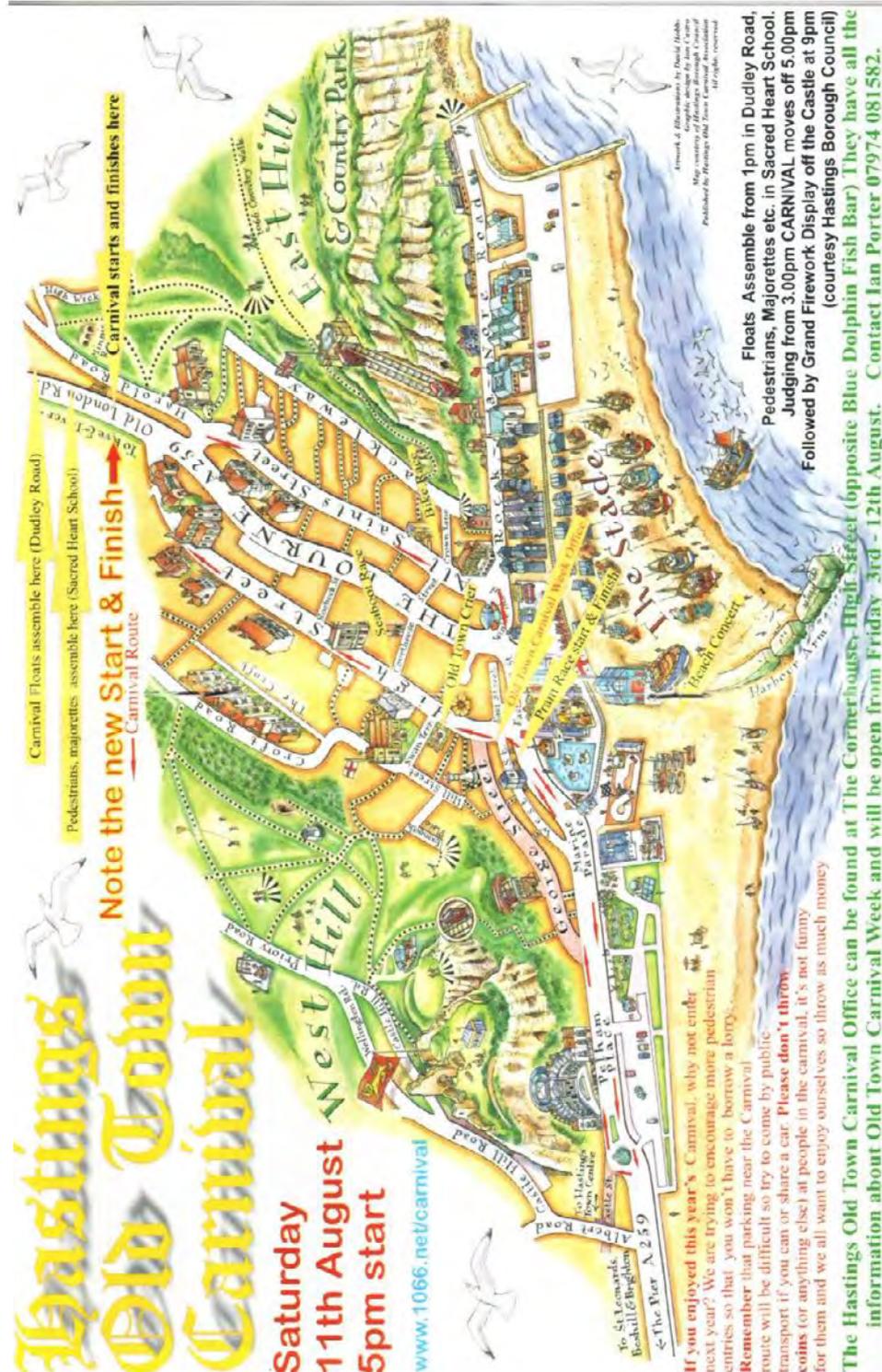


Figure 18: Hastings Old Town Week and Carnival Festival, front cover brochure.

It features a fortnight of cultural events and festivities celebrating the traditions and myths of the historic Old Town. It opens at the beginning of August and is set to take place in the streets and public space of Hastings Old Town (map 11) and receives support from the Hastings Borough Council.



Map 11: Hastings Old Town Week and Carnival Festival map of procession and activities (Source: official leaflet, 2007).

The third and last community festival acknowledged in the Hastings visitor marketing literature (1066CountryMarketing, 2007b) is the end of the season *Hastings Week* (figure 19). It starts at the beginning of October featuring one week of cultural events held around the Hastings Old Town area. Despite the uncertainty about the support that the Hastings Borough Council could give to the Hastings Borough Bonfire Society in 2007 (Hastings and St Leonards Observer, Septembre 2007: 3) the week culminated with a traditional bonfire night procession and the Lighting of the Hastings Beacon in Hastings Old Town (map 12).



Figure 19: Hastings Week front cover brochure.

SATURDAY 13th OCTOBER 2007

Lighting of Hastings Beacon 7pm At Top of East Hill, Old Town.
 Hastings Runners will carry flaming torches from Pelham Place to the East Hill beacon to start the procession. The Torchlight Procession by Hastings Borough Bonfire Society starts at 7.15pm with a spectacular traditional Sussex Bonfire procession with representatives of Bonfire Societies from across Sussex marking the anniversary of the discovery and felling of the Gunpowder Plot in 1605.
 It starts from The Stade, up All Saints Street and down the High Street to the promenade, turning right at Albert Road, into Queens Road turning at the junction of South Terrace back to The Town Hall to be joined by the Mayor, other officials and Town Criers.
 At this point the Hastings Town Crier will read the declaration of the America Ground, the procession continues across the America Ground to the promenade and finishes at Pelham Place car park.
 Pre event entertainment provided by Arrow FM.

Lighting of Hastings Beacon

Start of Procession

Bonfire & Fireworks

Reception of Town Criers

Safety Notice
 Please respect the safety barriers and do not pick up discarded torches or bring your own fireworks. Keep your children with you at all times and ear protection is recommended if you or your children are frightened of loud bangs. Please do not bring pets and dispose of all litter correctly.

Fireworks & Bonfire 9pm Pelham Beach By Hastings Borough Bonfire Society and Renegade Pyrotechnics. Bonfire on the beach with our famous effigy. One of the UK's largest, loudest & most extraordinary firework displays and one of the UK's largest Bonfires. Collections for local charities. Please give generously as all money collected goes to charity.

Map 12: A traditional bonfire night procession in Hastings Old Town (Source: official booklet).

The support provided by local formal and informal actors to these festivals is indicative of two facts namely: the commitment to keeping certain community-based initiatives and traditions alive in Hastings and allowing the local community to express their sense of belonging. In chapter 4, the debate on cultural planning, the arts and festivals was considered to discuss the relationship between cultural strategies and urban regeneration. The cultural tourism literature, in particular, discussed the positive contribution of the arts and festivals in urban regeneration. They are deemed to spur cultural inclusion and the democratization of culture, and, also, the celebration of diversity alongside animating and empowering the local community (Smith, 2003, 2007b) while bringing life and variety into the local scene. These are also seen as being a trigger to the attraction of the affluent middle class, new industries and companies along with tourists alike.

Despite these arguments, the formal support to these festivals results from part of wider place marketing and destination management plans already discussed in section 9.3.1.2. Accordingly, their aim is to put Hastings on the map of urban destinations for the cultural tourist as well as for a new resident community and potential new investors. The spatial referents of these festivals are, as shown in Map 10, 11 and 12, spaces around the Old Town. They are considered, in the regeneration plans discussed in section 9.3.2.1, zones of change with the greatest potential to become the principal quality visitor and heritage destination in Hastings for the development of the new and green tourism in the short-term. As such they are fit for the purpose of hosting these festivals which, although community-based, have a strong tourism profile. This can be considered, already, as an indicator of the place marketing and showcasing objectives these festivals cover. Other areas, in fact, where deprivation is still at critical levels and a community spirit is allegedly not yet consolidated, are considered unfit for the purpose of hosting these events and, in turn, kept at the margin of these place marketing endeavours. These aspects will be discussed further in this same section after examining the two special events that go alongside this programme of community festivals as the analysis that follows helps to validate further the comments above.

Coastal Currents (CC) and the Seafood and Wine Festival (SWF) are supported financially by the AIF and LEGI regeneration funding programmes. CC is a free contemporary visual and performance arts festival running throughout September

(figure 20) and bringing together a mix of local and national exhibitions and events. It is a cultural initiative promoted by Hastings Borough Council; managed, on its behalf, by a local social enterprise specialized in community events and festivals (i.e. Thirty-Six Hours Ltd.) and capitalizing on the presence of a prominent community of artists as explained in section 8.2.



Figure 20: Coastal Currents. Brochure front page.

It comprises a programme of *Open Studios* (figure 21), *Featured Events*, and smaller *Exhibitions and Events*. Whereas for the former local artists open their studios to the public to showcase they work, a few key sites in Hastings and St Leonards are occupied to host the Featured Events. Unlike the community festivals, traditionally

located in the areas around Hastings Old Town, the spatial focus of the key CC events, the Featured Events in 2007, was scattered around town and located in newly refurbished spaces, centres of much regeneration initiatives such as Alexandra Park in Central Hastings, Hastings Town Centre and the Warrior Square Gardens in St Leonards (figure 22, 23, 24).

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susanwatts1@tiscali.co.uk

Tony Allen - Painter / Ceramicist
tallen@eggconnect.net

Catherine Smart - Mixed Media Artist
catherinesmart@onetel.net

Jean Lofts - Painter
jeanlofts@hotmail.co.uk

Natalia Watts - Mixed Media Artist
lais1982@hotmail.com

Nigel Watts - Painter
nigelwatts1@tiscali.co.uk

Guest Artists:

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Shirley Leslyn Sheppard - Ceramicist
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Anthony McIntosh - Painter / Video Artist
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Rod Harman - Painter

Paula Thittichai - Jeweller
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Lucy Sedgewick - Ceramicist
loobyu84@yahoo.com

Heather Hookey - Painter
s.hookey@btopenworld.com

Matthew Grant - Sculptor
matthewgrant27@hotmail.com

Wheelchair and disabled access

Hastings Studios open September 9-10 and 16-17

10am - 5pm unless otherwise indicated

Figure 21: Sample page of the Open Studios Program. *Source:* Official Coastal Current – Open Studios brochure.

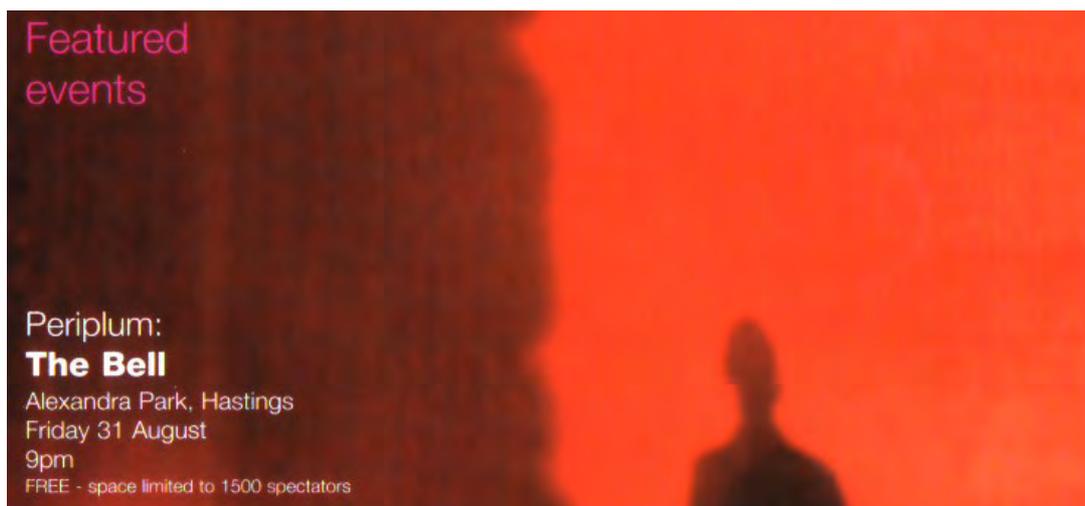


Figure 22: The Bell in newly renovated Alexandra Park (Source: Official Coastal Current brochure).



Figure 23: Shall We Dance? In newly renovated Warrior Square Gardens, St Leonards (Source: Official Coastal Current brochure).



Figure 24: Fresh at Coastal Currents; Late and Live Street Arts; The Caravan Gallery in Hastings Town Centre spaces target of ongoing regeneration initiatives. *Source:* Official Coastal Current brochure.

The role of this event in the rejuvenation of the local tourism profile is corroborated in both the event’s documentation and by the evidence gathered through interviews conducted with the actors involved in the design and delivery of the event.

Increasing out of season tourism and attracting the high spender to the area through investments in cultural activities is among the key objectives of Coastal Currents 2007 as the *Coastal Currents 2007 – Arts Council South East Application*, available at Thirty-Six-Hours Ltd. states:

‘This year’s festival [is] a three week event which we believe will aid the selling of the festival especially to out of season tourists’ (Coastal Currents 2007 – Arts Council South East Application).

36H1 also added on the objective of catering for, and attract, the high-spender:

‘Coastal Currents was originally established as an Arts Development project for Hastings Borough Council and was historically linked to the development of out of season tourism for the area and it has thus always been programmed in September [...] Our target audience has traditionally been the ‘Cultural Explorers’ who are both more discerning about the events that they attend, but who also expect to have other offers available good bars, restaurants and hotels’ (36H1).

HBC8 instead explained that the economic footprint generated by CC as a tourist attraction justifies public spending on this festival as matching with regeneration objectives. According to HBC8, tourism is the means by which the Council can

consider local arts and cultural development as a statutory matter alongside public lightening, collecting garbage, street cleaning etc. and explained:

‘Coastal Currents fits in regeneration because of its economic footprint through tourism. All of my strategies are about audience development’ (HBC8).

‘10 years ago when I come into the town there was a huge arts community and nobody was using it and had no profile, so I thought about organizing an arts festival to raise the profile of the arts community. I initiated this arts festival and I asked the tourism department to have some financial support on the basis that it would add to the tourism offer’ (HBC8).

The second special event featuring high on the local institutional agenda is the *Seafood and Wine Festival* running at the end of September (figure 25). The tourism rationale is at the core of the financial support that this festival, and related development projects, has received through the LEGI regeneration funding regime.

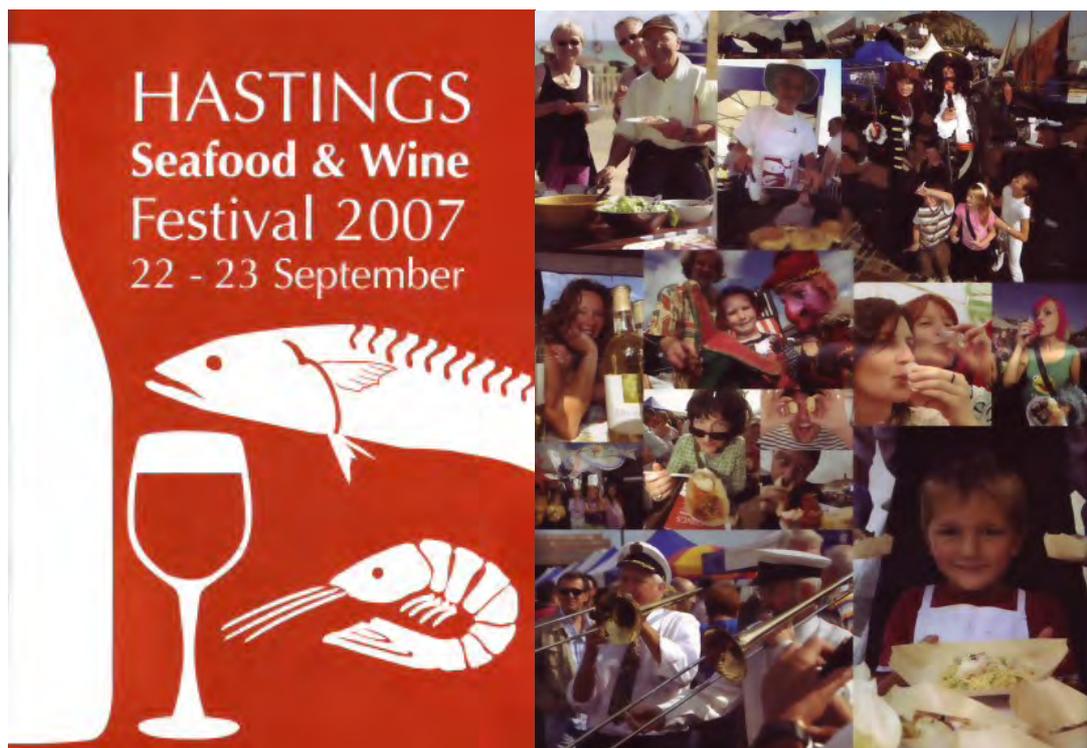


Figure 25: Seafood and Wine Festival 2007; official brochure front cover.

Overall, the festival capitalizes on the uniqueness of local cultural heritage, in this case the traditional fisheries, in combination with the mounting public awareness of, and interest in, sustainability issues, locale-specific food culture, and related food

tourism practices as HBC5 and a representative of the Hastings Fisherman's Protection Society explained:

'Most important to Hastings' famous heritage is our historic fishing fleet. For more than a thousands years the fisherman of Hastings have been casting their nets for the day catch, and the methods have remained largely unchanged to this day' (HFPS).

'the festival is on the back of our sustainable fishery that is the biggest selling point for Hastings because there is no other fishing industry like Hastings anywhere else in Europe arguably with the same artisanal way of fishing' (HBC5).

'Food tourism is becoming increasingly popular. People are watching Jamie Oliver and are becoming increasingly conscious of what they eat: they like to know where their food comes from' (HBC5).

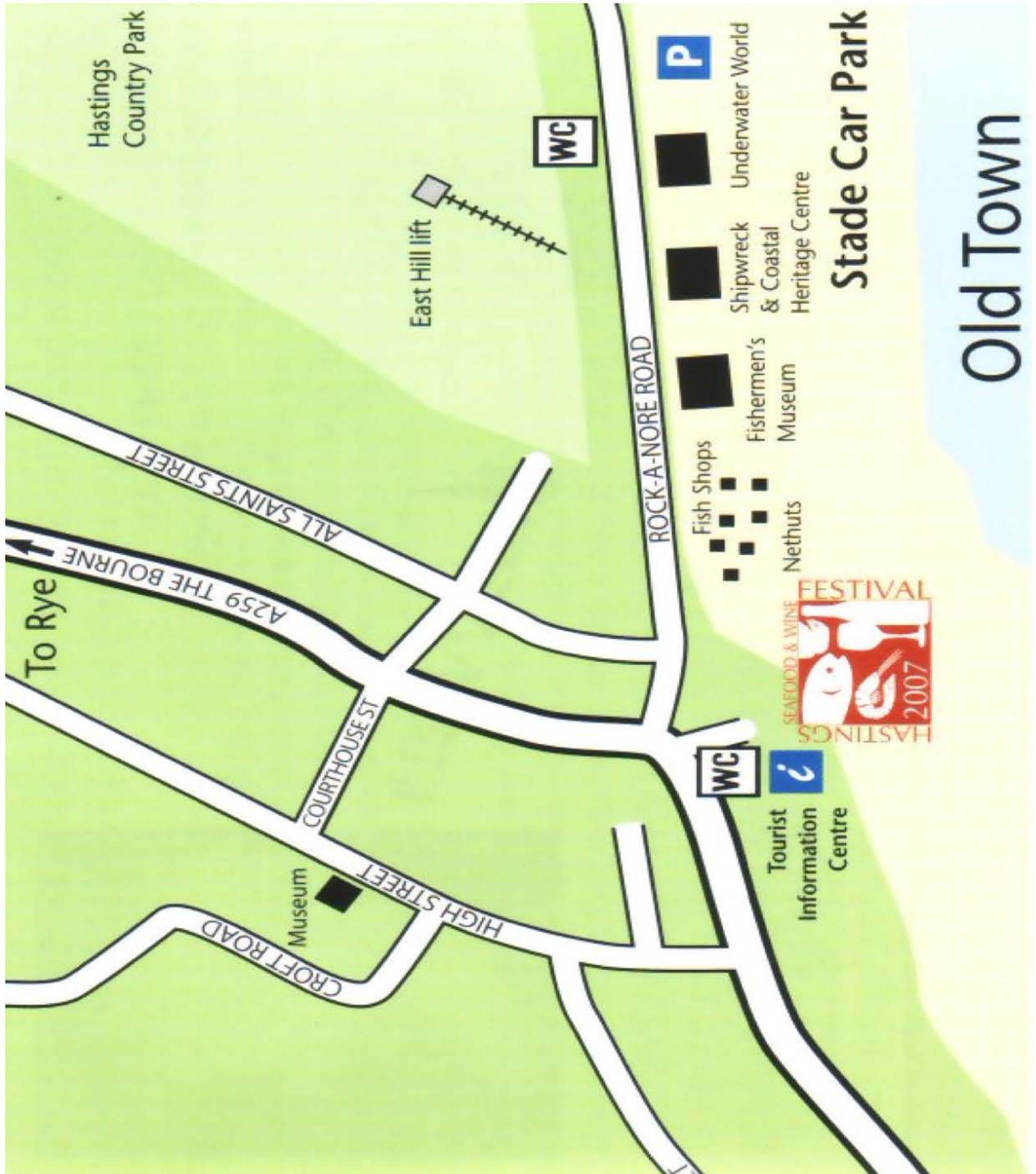
The choice of the festival's site was established by the relationship between the location of the fishing industry in Hastings. Although drawing local seafood caterers together from a 25 miles radius, it is held around the *Stade* area in Hastings Old Town (map 13):

'on the back of the fishing industry it had to be in the fishing village' (HBC5).

'The festival is held on the Stade, Hastings' unique fishing beach full of local character, surrounding by fishing boats, traditional net huts, fishing shops and the Old Town. There's no better place for a Seafood Festival' (HBC5).

In essence, the main objective of this event is to support protection and conservation of the local cultural capital, partly for the purpose of sustaining and developing the cultural tourism flow. The symbiotic relationship between protection initiatives, supported by regeneration funding streams, and tourism, emerged with the analysis of two official reports, namely: the Hastings Fishery Study (HFS) (NC, 2004), and the Keeping Afloat Programme (CSR, 2006). This analysis helps to unravel the subtle relationship between the formulation of the festival, tourism, and the protection of the fishing industry.

The HFS (NC, 2004), establishes the intrinsic relationship between tourism, the local fishing industry and the socio-economic benefits that they spur locally. Encouraging the protection and exploitation of the local fishing industry, its unique activities, spaces and facilities, was among the purposes of this report.



Map 13: Seafood and Wine Festival site; the Stade (Source: official brochure page 9).

This is seen as a win-win case where the idea of capitalizing on artisanship for tourism purposes acts as a catalyst for the protection of the same assets, the fishing fleet, its spaces and historic presence in the town as the HFS (NC, 2004: 21) reports:

‘The Tourism and Visitor Strategy for Hastings and St. Leonard’s (1999) reports that over 3,000 jobs in Hastings are directly related to tourism, which is worth £110m to the town’s economy and attracts in the region 2.5 million visitors each year. The Fishing Industry in Hastings is prominent in the local tourism promotion and adds to the attraction of the town. Undoubtedly, therefore, the Hastings fishing industry is responsible for a local socio-economic contribution, over and above fleet earnings and downstream activities, as a result of tourism. The Fishing Industry in Hastings is [...] responsible for £2.2 million of visitor spend in the town. These estimates suggest that the fishing industry is worth more to the local economy from revenue derived from tourism, than as a direct result of its fishing activity’.

HBC5 also commented on this relationship and, more importantly, on tourism as justifying criteria for supporting, financially, the local fisheries:

‘Tourism and the fishing industry go hand in hand’ (HBC5).

‘The fishing industry is very good for Hastings Old Town as a magnet for tourists; tourists go down to the beach to experience a non industrial - artisan setting, you can go close and they do not mind and that is a good attractor for tourism which is only part of the reason why the Council supports so heavily the fishing community’ (HBC5).

The Keeping Afloat Programme (CSR, 2006) is the outcome of a partnership between local and regional formal actors (HBC and SEEDA) and part of the AIF regeneration programme. It ran for two years to March 2004, and over £500,000 were allocated for the project that aimed at capitalizing on the symbiotic relationship between the fishing industry and the development of cultural tourism:

‘improve the quality of the environment, and promote the visitor potential of the Stade’ (CSR, 2006: 6) as the NFS (NC, 2004: 34) states ‘The Stade, which could be described as a cultural centre and containing a number of food businesses, clearly fits within the aspirations of Hastings Borough Council to attract high-spending, short-stay visitors. These visitors are described as being interested in culture, appreciative of good food. At present the tourism product offered by the Stade as a whole appears to fall short in some regards’

The Hastings Seafood and Wine Festival sits on this backdrop of protection and development projects. It aims at attracting the high spending visitors likely to take a week end break and interested in food and culture, the *empty nesters* as well as the ethical consumers as green and new tourism remain the target of the Council for the

town. The attraction of visitors is however instrumental, as HBC5 explained, for the longevity of the event as well as its intricate backdrop:

‘With decreasing financial support from HBC sponsorship becomes critical. At the end this is a project that has to become self-sustaining. This year (2008) we expect 40,000 people with more French to come over because of the recent Interreg projects. [We] are looking at developing partnerships, they have been tuned with cultural events for longer than they have here, arguably, developing these partnerships through festivals is a good way to develop the festival itself with the repercussions that it can have’ (HBC5).

From small capital projects, to the programme of community festivals and special events, the discourse analysis of the sources above forwards a discursive statement (tourism rejuvenation) that positions tourism development high on the institutional regeneration agenda. As discursive practices competing in the formation of the discourse under scrutiny, these formally conceived interventions pursue, directly, tourism rejuvenation objectives. They pose resistance, once again, to the assertions made in previous sections concerning the marginality and marginalization of tourism development in the change of Hastings and, also, concur in undermining the forwarded *disengagement* argument. A wider and more informed approach to the local cultural programme however, reveals that these practices, in effect, are only a means to achieve broader regeneration goals.

The analysis of the cultural programme reflects the rationale supporting the culture, tourism and regeneration (CTR) formula employed to transform post-industrial centres into urban resorts as discussed in chapter 4. Chapter 4 positioned culture policy at the heart of the symbiotic relationship between tourism and urban regeneration and discussed economic revitalization, place marketing and spectacularization objectives as the theoretical backdrop of this symbiosis. This theorization qualified the CTR formula as a consumerist-promotional approach to regeneration (Booth and Boyle, 1993; Bianchini, 1993a; Bianchini, 1993b): it responds to the capitalist imperative to consume while fostering the commodification of local cultural capital (Boyer, 1992; Walsh, 1992; Hannigan, 1998) (e.g. privatization, conservation and heritagization) and creating a patchwork of fabricated tourist enclaves. Overall, however, it acts as a promotional tool that fosters visibility, signals a quality change, and projects high

standards of life for the executive and the professional employee, but, also, for the investor class and new business to relocate.

In relation to the cultural programme above, a similar narrative to the one proposed in relation to the CTR formula can be noticed for Hastings. Tourism, as a commodity (Ashworth and Voogd, 1990; Britton, 1991; Watson and Kapachevsky, 1994; Meethan, 2001), results a justifying criteria for capital expenditure in the arts and cultural development hereby securing economic viability of local cultural resources (e.g. the arts community, the fishing industry, related spaces and refurbished areas). The tourism development profile of this cultural programme also triggers protection and spectacularization measures through community festivals and, above all, performs as a promotional tool: a showcase for potential new residents and the investor class. The discourse analysis of the sources taken into account above, and in section 9.3.1 in particular, substantiates these assertions and *showcasing change* emerges as dominant objective of the cultural programme. Section 9.3.1 featured a rhetorical clash between regeneration priorities, triggers and objectives. In fact, tackling deprivation and enhancing quality of life was rendered the overarching objective in regeneration plans and policies. The supporting strategies, in particular, established a strategic turn to destination management where the provision of a complex cultural offer is set to make Hastings attractive to a new resident community, the investor class as well as the creative individual and industries. Also, the assumption that the cultural programme brings and keeps visitors to some sections of the town only (the Old Town and newly refurbished high profile areas), by limiting their experience of the town's disadvantaged conditions, is debatable and needs careful assessment. The analysis of some interviews proves this theory is not groundless. HBC1 for example commented on the promotion of local culture for tourism purposes and identified the Old Town and the fishing village as *the culture* of Hastings whereby marginalizing surrounding areas:

'I was filmed with the *Hotel Inspector* telling him a bit about how good Hastings was with the fishing boats in the background the east hill the net huts the fishing beach the old town: pure Hastings. The Seafront and St Leonards can be anywhere. Hastings is uniquely the Old Town and the culture of the Old Town is unique to Hastings. So what defines a place is its culture, we do not want to be a bland typical seaside resort: there are 73 piers in England there are 200 seaside resorts and there is only one Hastings. What defines Hastings is its culture and therefore if you take a very broad sense of culture, we have fantastic events here. All these things arguably are culture. These events uniquely define Hastings' (HBC1).

HBC1 and HBC5 also gave credit to the showcasing theory by discussing festivals and events:

‘It is definitely my view, they change people’s perception of the place that is not any more a traditional seaside resort but has a new cultural profile’ (HBC1).

‘The purpose is to give the wow factor: “I did not know Hastings was like that”. It is to change people’s consolidated idea and perception of Hastings as a place epitomizing decline and deprivation’ (HBC5).

Other interviews with members of the HBC and the local business community also support the *showcasing* theory. HBC1 and JB1 commented on an increasing Visiting Friends and Relatives (VFRs) flow generated by this programme of events with a gentrification effect that, although marginalizing tourism *per se*, establishes a transition stage for the town from a place of traditional seaside tourism, to a VFR flow:

‘Hastings is very popular with people who move from London who buy big houses because properties are relatively cheap. So what happens is people move into the area, buy big properties and then in the summer and for the events encourage their friends to come and their houses’ (HBC1).

‘Increasingly people are coming down here from big cities, as we did. There is a progression from visiting a place once while visiting friends, to visit the same place for a week-end and then for a week attracted also by the festivals and events, then rent a house, and then buy a house where ultimately you retire or you change lifestyle completely’ (JB1).

The analysis of another community festival, the St Leonards Festival, helps to discuss further the rise of the aforementioned insurgent urbanism, and the formation of tourist enclaves that supports the showcasing theory discussed above relative to tourism and formal regeneration initiatives. It indicates that the showcasing process only involves specific locations that keep the visitor within certain areas, cosseted from those of fierce deprivation.

The *St Leonards Festival* (STF) (figure 26) is a community festival commissioned to Thirty-Six Hours Ltd. by Gensing and Central St Leonards Community Forum, and at its second year in July 2007 (plate 22).



Figure 26: St Leonards Festival. *Official* Leaflet front cover.

36H2 explained that, at base, the Festival pursues social cohesion, local culture promotion, training and economic inclusion, participation and inclusion in the arts for

the creation of a sense of community and place in an area of Hastings where the deprivation indices are among the highest within the town and the South East region:

‘the festival is aimed at the most economically deprived population within the town and will remain free to encourage participation across the community’ (36H2).

‘Reaching new audiences especially members from communities considered hard to reach [...] bring together the largest diverse community and provide a means to create a vibrant community and a sense of pride in St Leonards’ (36H2).



Plate 22: Multicultural parades are part of the events programmed for the Festival. (St Leonards Festival: from right second and third edition, July 2007, July 2008). Author’s own collection.

According to the interview with 36H2, the SLF festival is a deliberate response to the dominant spatial narrative of the formal cultural programme taking place within the Hastings urban region (i.e. Hastings Town Centre and Hastings Old Town) and explained:

‘whilst many quality events take place in the town, activities are all too often Hastings based’ (36H2).

Kings Road (plate 23), and the St Leonards Warrior Square Gardens (plate 24) (part of Burton St Leonards area) (map 14), were then deliberately chosen as the location for the festival. Accordingly, 36H2 stated:

‘Local community organizations, groups and individuals will come together working in St Leonards, the often forgotten area of Hastings’ (36H2).



Plate 23: Kings Road, second edition of the St Leonards Festival (2007). Author's own collection.



Plate 24: A view of the St Leonards Warrior Square Gardens during the third year of the St Leonards Festival (July 2008). Author's own collection.

Contrary to the tourism rejuvenation rationale supporting the formal cultural programme discussed above, the SLF evades, deliberately, the tourism imperative. Although appearing in the online marketing pages of the 1066 Country Partnership for the 2008 edition (1066Country, 2008), it received very limited support from the authorities at its inception, as 36H2 remarked:

‘The promotion of the visitor economy is not among the aims and objectives of the festival. It is a community, grassroots-led event coordinated by a social enterprise organization for the promotion of community building, sense of place and belonging and the consolidation of local identity. It is not an attempt to attract visitors or to use the festival as a means to promote this part of the town to outsider/visitors. The event was deliberately kept local and it was not promoted to the outside world’ (36H2).

‘Hastings Borough Council gave very little support to this event. Mainly marketing, it allowed us to stitch our advertising posters along the seafront’ (36H2).

As a discursive practice, the SLF substantiates the marginalization of the tourism imperative from the festival's rationale.



Map 14: Kings Road and Warrior Square Gardens were designated to become the sites for the festival's cultural events to take place (Source: Official Leaflet).

Instead, it makes a clear statement about the role of informal actors in resisting a formally conceived regeneration narrative that generates fragmentation and intra-community rivalry while attuning to showcasing objectives.

Overall, although the discursive practices highlighted in this section make a statement concerning tourism rejuvenation as a regeneration catalyst, a more informed approach to the cultural programme reveals that some of these practices, but not all as the St Leonards Festival shows, are in effect, only a means to achieve broader regeneration goals. In turn, tourism is further marginalized, as regeneration priority and trigger, in the process of change of the town. Alongside the place promotion rationale (showcasing change), and an insurgent urbanism that evades the tourism development imperative while promoting spontaneous, community-based regeneration, the discourse

analysis of some interviews substantiates further the marginality of tourism development to the cultural programme rationale.

Since 2003 the Arts Forum has operated in a way to ensure that cultural development remained a key driver for the change of the town by participating in the LSP. Besides promoting and developing an arts infrastructure and reclaiming an underused space in the highly deprived area of St Leonards (i.e. the Marine Court building), the Arts Forum managed to keep Coastal Currents high on the institutional agenda for the progression of local cultural development as a regeneration driver. Coastal Currents was discussed, above, with a strong tourism and regeneration referent. In reality, the core remit of the Contemporary Arts Festival evades the mere economic revitalization and “showcasing” rationale where tourism is key agent. It pursues, instead, the objective of developing a *creative ecology* by promoting cultural inclusion and cultural development. As HBC8 explained the strategic profile of CC is to trigger cultural development:

‘You need a festival in order to create marketing situations, and the festival helps artists to raise money to invest in their own development. The festival create the creative ecology because within that festival you have outreach work, young people, international artists that provide quality work that inspire the lower level artists [...] And so you need the Hastings arts forum with their shows. All these people need to go through that exercise to get to the next step (HBC8).

Similarly, the Seafood and Wine Festival also overrides the mere tourism objective. Tourism development is in fact only a small part of a broader project (i.e. *FoodLocal Hastings*) that, according to HBC5, aims at supporting local small and medium food businesses, stimulating entrepreneurship, and developing links between local producers and food outlets in and around Hastings. HBC5 also explained that this project is to enhance the quality of the local *food scene* and make Hastings and St Leonards “fit” to host an incoming economically active community, especially, in the depressed resort of St Leonards. HBC5, in turn, stressed further the regeneration objective of making Hastings attractive for a new and economically stable incoming community while, also, putting the “visitor factor” as a secondary regeneration goal:

‘more economically active people needs moving in but a certain environment for them needs to be provided (i.e. cafes, pleasant environment etc..) they need the quality food, shops and so on. With the provision of this infrastructure it will become a nice place to move to live to and then a place for visiting as well’ (HBC5).

This section has highlighted a large number of competing discursive practices namely: small capital projects and a cultural programme of community festivals and formally promoted special events. The analysis of these permanent and temporary projects has revealed a power struggle between discursive statements. They substantiate the key role of tourism in the process of change of Hastings (tourism rejuvenation) but, also, often a promotion and showcasing rationale that marginalize tourism to an ancillary tool for regeneration. It can therefore be argued that, rather than being a regeneration priority and objective for the revival of Hastings, tourism is only a means by which Hastings endeavours to escape from a consolidated reputation of deprived seaside town, and declined traditional coastal resort as figure 8 substantiates, through reimagining practices. At the outset of this section (9.3) a rhetorical mismatch was brought to attention that juxtaposed statements that corroborated the centrality of tourism in the regeneration of the town with those that established the prioritization of economic diversification measures, the enhancement of the local quality of life and, above all, the development of the knowledge economy. The study of spatial change above has given the chance to make some key assertions about the dominance of some statements over others and overcome the limits brought about by the rhetoric behind the discursive practices analyzed. The forthcoming section proposes the discourse analysis of regeneration policies and plans to substantiate, again, the marginalization of tourism in the regeneration of Hastings and the argument concerning the disengagement of Hastings from its traditional tourism profile and as a space of significant tourism flow.

9.3.4 Large capital projects and the development of the knowledge economy.

In keeping with the discussion so far developed the assertions about tourism above need to be put in power relations with other discursive practices emerging, once again, from the analysis of regeneration plans and official reports. As in accordance with regional plans and policy guidance discussed in section 8.3, a number of large capital projects, that do not have the objective of tourism development, prioritize the development of the knowledge economy as a spur for regional innovation and growth. These large capital projects some completed and others underway at the time this research was conducted, compete in the formation of the discourse under scrutiny.

They are confronted with the small projects above for ease of analysis but, indeed, add the *development of the knowledge economy* as another discursive statement competing in the formation of the discourse of tourism and regeneration in Hastings.

Among the priorities highlighted under the *urban renaissance* programme set in the 5 Point Plan (SeaSpace, 2003a, 2003b) major support is given to: physical and skill development for the development of ‘high growth businesses in high tech sectors’ (SeaSpace, 2003a: 7); higher education to raise ‘the higher level skill base’ (SeaSpace, 2003a: 8); broadband, ICT infrastructure and applications development to make Hastings the first ‘e-Town’ (SeaSpace, 2003a: 8) and overcome the issue that local businesses have with isolation; and public and private transport improvements for better connectivity with London and the surrounding areas. These objectives are reflected in the regeneration projects for key sites.

As established in the 5 Point Plan and Business Plan for Coastal Regeneration (see SeaSpace, 2003a: 27) both long and short-term projects are envisaged. The latter were described as ‘early win projects’ (SeaSpace, 2003a: 27) the funding and completion of which is believed to ‘act as a catalyst and exemplar’ (SeaSpace, 2003a: 43) bolstering the longer term changes, hence the catalytic profile already problematized in previous paragraphs. The original short-term projects include 5 development areas in the Business Plan (SeaSpace, 2003a) at Churchfields (Innovation Centre), West Queensway (Enviro 21 Innovation Parks), Campus Core (Media Centre and University Centre Hastings), Marina Pavillion, and others in Bexhill (see SeaSpace, 2003a: 27). Among them, as already explained, only the project concerning the refurbishment of the 1930s Marina Pavilion in Central St Leonards and Pelham Place have a distinctive tourism or visitor economy objective.

In relation to the town centre renaissance, the formulation of a business, education and leisure quarter envisages the refurbishment and reuse of Station Plaza and the Priory Quarter. The projects shown in map 16 comprise University Centre Hastings (figure 27), Hastings College, Creative Media Centre (figure 28) and Lacuna Place (plate 25, 26). The regeneration plan (SeaSpace, 2003d) establishes mixed-use developments for the Hastings Town Centre Station Plaza and Priory Quarter:

‘Sea Space is working to turn the Priory Quarter into a bustling leisure and business district, creating jobs and making it a far better place to spend time - by day and by night’ (SeaSpace, 2003d).



Map 15: Regeneration Plan for the Town Centre business district.



Figure 27: University Centre Hastings (UCH) (Source: UCH, 2007).



Figure 28: The Creative Media Centre (Source: Seaspace, 2003g).



Plate 25: Lacuna Place. Author's own collection.



Plate 26: Lacuna Place. Author's own collection.

The projects for the Station Plaza area have a clear education focus. Although the regeneration plan (SeaSpace, 2003e) determines that Station Plaza is designed as an inspiring gateway to the town for business visitors, tourists and residents alike, at the core of the scheme is a further education college showed in figures 29-30. The *Hastings Local Development Framework* had already stressed the education and business profile of the overall regeneration promoted by the HBTF in the 5 Point Plan and states:

‘Education and office development will be the main drivers for change in Hastings Town Centre over the next few years with the development of Station Plaza and Priory Quarter in particular’ (HBC, 2007a: 48).

The same BPCR (SeaSpace, 2003a) emphasizes the business and education-led approach to growth and states:

‘The addition of 100,000m² of commercial, business and education space will give the opportunity to create a significant growth area in the South East’ (SeaSpace, 2003a: 10).

A recent official report by the University of Brighton (Church and Gilchrist, 2007) also acknowledges the narrative above. It identifies the knowledge economy as the regeneration driver for the Hastings urban region and the University Centre Hastings as a driver for innovation. It claims:

‘at the core of the [Five Point Plan and Hastings and Bexhill Economic Alliance Annual Performance Plan] is a desire to develop a knowledge-driven economy in which the emergent cultural and creative offer will play a key role in stimulating economic regeneration more generally. [...] The University Centre Hastings plays a significant part in this vision, as a driver of innovation required to catalyze the creative and cultural sectors in the emergent local economy’ (Church and Gilchrist, 2007: 3).

As SS1 confirmed while echoing the evidence proposed in an annual report on the regeneration progress in Hastings (SeaSpace, 2007), regeneration round one was matched, in 2007, with the completion of the University Centre, the Creative Media Centre, the Innovation Centre, and the EnviroEnterprise, and with the remaining projects near to completion. The completion of these projects forward a clear statement about the prioritization of the development of the knowledge-based economy in town.



Figure 29: Hastings College (*Source:* Hastings and St Leonards Observer, Friday 17 August 2007, p 24).



Figure 30: Hastings College (*Source:* Hastings and St Leonards Observer, Friday 17 August 2007, p. 25).

As a discursive practice, the implementation of these projects positions the 5 Point Plan, together with catalytic planning and the regeneration initiatives led by Sea Space, as the leading regeneration plan, dominant model and actor in the change of the town. Certainly, in relation to the marginalization of tourism, the introduction of Sea Space in the formal regeneration agenda, with its power of land assembly and redevelopment, has played a major role in changing the power dynamics among the actors involved in the process of change of the town. The discursive statements that are considered in this chapter need to be understood in relation to these shifting power relations.

As a result, the hierarchy offered in figure 9 needs reformulating if the dynamic flow of dominating and subjugated discursive statement and practices highlighted in this chapter is to be taken into serious account. In fact, also in the light of the discursive statements highlighted in section 8.3 (economic diversification, the creation of a complex tourism product, regional growth and performance, culture and creative sector development and innovation), the implementation of these large projects, and the practices that triggered the formulation of a showcasing theory in section 9.3.3, suggest a turn to a new-regionalist approach to change and growth. As a result, despite rhetorical nuances, the tourism imperative, in a seaside town like Hastings is kept at the margins of a broader regeneration discourse while losing momentum as a socio-economic driver and motor for change.

9.4 Chapter summary and conclusion.

Discourse analysis was adopted, in this chapter, as a methodological research tool to analyze the regeneration scenario in Hastings. The core aim was to explore the formation of the discourse concerning the role of tourism in the regeneration of the town. The discourse analysis of the wider spectrum of planning, policy documents and official reports, interviews and focus groups with local actors both formally and informally involved in the delivery of regeneration projects, programmes and initiatives, has revealed relations of power among a spectrum of *discursive statements* and *practices*. As a result, the analysis conducted highlighted an emerging argument: it concerns the marginality and marginalization of tourism in the later wave of structured regeneration programmes in Hastings, and, in turn, the disengagement of the town from tourism as a dominant cultural feature and leading socio-economic development agent.

Despite the limits of figure 9 in representing a hierarchy of regeneration priorities, objectives and visions, as remarked in section 9.3.4, the figure defined clearly the tourism strategy as a supporting tool to a wider spectrum of regeneration policies and plans. What that mapping exercise has not shown, however, is *how* tourism has become an ancillary tool to a more complex process of change featuring both formally and informally driven regeneration initiatives. As proposed in section 7.2.2.3, the study of *how* discourses gets formed is, in essence, the objective of a discourse analysis research practice that draws on the Foucauldian *theory of discourse* (i.e. discursivity). It entails a power relation game between discursive statements that are

either dominating in the formation of a discourse or, on the contrary, subjugated and marginalized from the same. Hence, in this and the previous chapter, discourse analysis was used to analyze how tourism, in strategic guise and practice, performed as a force of change.

Sections 9.2.1 and 9.2.2 offered a descriptive overview of the strategic and policy scenario and the formal and informal organizations involved in the regeneration of the town. It served the purpose of clarifying the position, constitution, remits and contribution of a complex spectrum of strategies, plans and actors formally and informally involved in the regeneration of the town. Section 9.3 featured the discourse analysis of this scenario. It first distinguished a rhetorical mismatch (section 9.3.1) between discursive statements that define tourism as a key element of the socio-economic life of the town and an economic regeneration ingredient, and those that marginalize tourism to a regeneration outcome while undermining its catalytic role and prioritizing, instead, quality of life enhancement and the attraction of a new residents and business community. Similarly, sections 9.3.2 and 9.3.3 analyzed a range of capital projects and programmes and highlighted the power struggle between two groups of discursive statements.

On one side there is *catalytic planning* and *market-led regeneration* that put urban renaissance and economic revitalization at the forefront of regeneration and entail tourism rejuvenation strategies including the contemporization of the local tourism infrastructure and the overall *product/destination*. On the other side, instead, there is *place marketing* and *destination management* entailing showcasing and promotion activities spurring the attraction of a new resident community. There is, however, also a discourse based on *arts and cultural development* and, also, the *reassertion of citizenship, spontaneous, community-led regeneration* and *community building* through an insurgent urbanism that entail resistance to an imposed catalytic planning model and the marginalization of tourism as an imperative for change and development. Finally, section 9.3.4 concluded the discourse analysis of the primary sources taken into account in this chapter and highlighted *knowledge-economy development* as a dominant discursive statement stemming from the completion of a number of large, non-tourism related, capital projects.

The last section consolidated also the power relation between new-regionalism and new-localism, spotted already in chapter 8, as divergent approaches to growth and

governance. This power struggle results in an overarching feature to the discursive statements and practices analyzed in this chapter. Section 9.3.4, however, added further evidence in relation to the dominance of a new-regionalist approach to change and growth. It is featured at both strategic and practical level with the establishment of a regeneration agenda led by Sea Space, with the resulting marginalization of tourism stakeholders and the development of the creative, high-tech and education industry as new leading motors of regional growth and innovation, as already stressed in the regional policy literature (section 8.3.2).

Put in a *discursivity* perspective, the discursive statements highlighted compete in the formation of the discourse concerning the role of tourism in the regeneration of Hastings. In the light of the evidence above, it would be inaccurate to state that tourism was utterly dismissed from the regeneration moment that this research has explored. Drawing on the assertions made in chapter 5 in relation to the demise of seaside towns as significant spaces of tourism flow, and the narrative of urban tourism development in chapters 3 and 4 however, a final consideration can be made. It is possible to assert that, despite the rhetoric, tourism in Hastings was rendered a marginal regeneration feature to a wider discourse of change. The latter signed the town's disengagement from tourism as a socio-economic driver and cultural imperative. In relation to the urban tourism discourse instead, the discourse explored above expresses divergence between regeneration practices adopted in post-industrial cities, where the construction of the urban tourism infrastructure has played a key role in the physical and cultural change of many cities in the late-capitalist world, and those adopted in Hastings as a regenerating English seaside town.

Chapter 10 – Conclusion.

10.1 Introduction: Research findings and contribution to knowledge.

This thesis set out to explore the relationship between urban regeneration and tourism and, in particular, the role that the latter has played in the transformation of certain urban environments in the advanced capitalist world. The research in this thesis built on the assertion that urban tourism development has played a determinant role in transforming non-traditional tourism spaces (the inner city and the urban waterfront) in large post-industrial cities, into urban tourism destinations (Law, 1992; Tiesdell et al, 1996; Judd and Fainstein, 1999; Law, 2000; Hoffman et al, 2003; Smith, 2005b). Exploration of the role of tourism in urban regeneration was therefore extended to declining resorts that are, contrary to the above, urban areas traditionally associated with significant tourism flows. This led to the investigation of the role of tourism in the regeneration of Hastings, an English seaside town that was selected as an exemplar of urban regeneration in a declining resort. The aim of the research was to explore the formation of the discourse concerning the role of tourism in the regeneration of a seaside town under structured regeneration programmes and, then, to assess how tourism was rendered a dominant or, conversely, a marginal regeneration feature in the change the town. The discourse analysis conducted (chapters 8 and 9) revealed the marginality and marginalization of tourism development in the regeneration of Hastings. It was found that tourism is a marginal feature in the regeneration of this seaside town, hence, neither a regeneration solution nor a priority objective. Instead, it was considered as a possible result of broader regeneration programmes and, also, only a secondary instrument for the achievement of other urban regeneration goals.

These findings gather particular significance especially when considered in relation to the broader urban tourism (Law, 1991b, 1992; Bramwell, 1993; Law, 1993; Craig-Smith and Fagence, 1995; Page, 1995; Tyler, 2000; Garcia, 2004) and seaside towns' regeneration (Beatty and Fothergill, 2003; Smith, 2004; Agarwal and Shaw, 2007; Shaw and Coles, 2007; Walton and Wood, 2007; HC, 2008) debates. This thesis contributes to these debates by proposing the argument that the marginalization of tourism in seaside town's regeneration and the transition of declining traditional seaside towns in the UK away from tourism have coincided with the rise of the culture and creative sector as the new focus of regeneration in seaside towns.

What follows expands on these assertions and discusses the implications of these considerations by drawing on key assertions highlighted in chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5 in relation to the urban tourism and seaside town regeneration debates. The chapter concludes with section 10.4 making some final remarks and recommendations for further research.

10.2 Tourism marginalization and the urban tourism discourse.

The aim of the research in this thesis was to explore the discourse concerning the role of tourism in the regeneration of a declining traditional seaside town. This research responded to this aim by revealing the marginality and marginalization of tourism rejuvenation in the regeneration of the selected urban context. Accordingly, it identified a theoretical rupture with the urban tourism discourse, and the related narrative of change observed in large postindustrial cities that describes tourism as a key force of spatial formation and a key agent of material and symbolic urban change (Hayuth, 1988; Mullins, 1991; Brotchie et al, 1995; Burgers, 1995; Fainstein and Gladstone, 1997; Judd, 1999; Fainstein and Judd, 1999a; Perry, 2003; van den Berg et al, 2003; Judd, 2003a).

Despite the aspect of marginality and the proposed theoretical rupture, the discourse analysis conducted in this thesis highlighted key commonalities between the urban tourism discourse and the objectives of urban tourism strategies, and the tourism strategies and related programmes undertaken, as part of urban regeneration initiatives, in Hastings. These include the commodification of local cultural capital for promotional purposes and a catalytic planning approach triggering the politicization of the regeneration process in Hastings. Together, they suggest an element of policy model replication.

The commodification of local culture emerged with the analysis of the programme of community festivals and visitor special events hosted in Hastings (section 9.3.3.2). It was indicated that this programme capitalized on the local cultural capital that includes community traditional celebrations, the local traditional fisheries and the arts scene. Alongside enhancing the town's vibrancy, increasing the local cultural offer and tackling the issue of tourism seasonality, showcasing a changing town was argued to be a key objective of this cultural programme. The place marketing

rationale (showcasing) backing the strategic tourism rejuvenation objectives (diversification) was discussed as matching regional regeneration objectives among which changing the town's image for the attraction of financial investment, middle-income and high-income residents was defined as a key priority. The discussion of the two visitor events and festivals (i.e. Coastal Currents and Seafood and Wine Festival), indicated that the local food-related retail market, the arts community and a related cosmopolitan creative sector become the selling asset for a changing town that needs showcasing to the affluent as well as the creative community, to secure the continuity of the regeneration process. These comments provide a clear indication of the consumerist and promotional processes backing the tourism related strategies in Hastings. They offer the chance to observe a first commonality between the tourism related programmes implemented in the regeneration moment studied in Hastings and the urban tourism discourse stressing consumerism and promotion orientated processes (Boyer, 1992; Booth and Boyle, 1993; Griffiths, 1995; Robertson and Guerrier, 1998; Caffyn and Lutz, 1999; Dovey and Sandercocock, 2002; Smith, 2003; Watkins and Herbert, 2003; Smith, 2005a).

Alongside the showcasing process, the construction of tourism bubbles, which can occur through urban tourism (Judd, 1999; Maitland, 2007), is also an outcome of tourism development in the regeneration of Hastings. Together with the cultural programme, the spatial theming approach to regeneration (section 9.3.3) undertaken at formal level, gave also credit to an argument concerning the formation of a geography of tourism hotspots. According to the evidence in section 9.3.3, only a few key spaces of the town hosted cultural events. The Hastings Old Town, and a few other newly refurbished spaces fit for the showcasing purpose, has become the displaying stage for a changing town. Others, instead, such as the highly deprived areas of Hastings (e.g. Gensing and Central St Leonards), remain hidden and at the margins of this programme. Drawing on the vocabulary adopted by the American poststructuralist literature (Judd and Fainstein, 1999; Hoffman et al, 2003; Judd, 2003a), these *tourist bubbles* are a key expression of the urban tourism model of urbanization and trace, once more, a common line with the Hastings tourism and regeneration discourse.

The implementation of tourism related projects for the regeneration of Hastings has also resulted in a specific political process with similarities to those found in major cities where the urban tourism strategy was implemented. The urban renaissance model

pursued alongside a theming and zoning approach to regeneration in Hastings (sections 9.3.2 and 9.3.4) expressed a regeneration narrative based on *urban renaissance*, hence early win projects, catalytic planning, zoning and theming that has similarities with the model of urban regeneration adopted in large cities. The adoption of this catalytic regeneration planning approach triggered the politicization of the regeneration process in Hastings. Colliding visions and interests led to an insurgent urbanism fostered by informal actors who performed resistance to the implementation of formal urban regeneration projects. They resisted to some tourism related flagship development, reclaimed spaces of public significance that were marginalized by formal regeneration programmes whilst undermining the development of tourism as it was framed at formal regeneration policy level. In turn, however, they promoted an informally driven regeneration narrative by fostering community building, protection, preservation, place making and slow growth activities as well as indicating the marginalization of tourism in the regeneration of Hastings. This formal and informal divide draws similarities between Hastings' regeneration and the political debates embedded in the urban tourism discourse (Hall, 1994; Doorne, 1998; Perry, 2003; Groth and Corijn, 2005; Smith, 2007). This helps, again, to indicate the theoretical continuity between the tourism and regeneration discourse in Hastings with the urban tourism discourse.

The observations above offer the possibility of extending the urban tourism theorizations to the regeneration of Hastings. The critical literature (Bianchini, 1990; Boyer, 1992; Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993; Griffiths, 1993; Hall, 1994; Griffiths, 1995; Fainstein and Gladstone, 1999) in chapters 3 and 4 discussed urban tourism as a consumerist and promotional approach to regeneration and, also, as being about the political management of urban change. Both leftist (Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993) and poststructuralist (Judd and Fainstein, 1999) perspectives adopted by urban and tourism analysts (chapters 3 and 4) problematized the consumerist nature of urban tourism as regeneration strategy and urbanization model. From different theoretical perspectives, this model was discussed being at the forefront of commodification measures, epitome of a market-oriented turn to urban planning (Law, 1988; Tiesdell et al, 1996; Bianchini, 2001). It responds to a unidimensional logic of capitalism with permanent and temporary flagship projects, *zoning* and *theming* urbanization processes as expression of a catalytic approach to urban planning privileging a *quick fix*, fast

growth, civic boosterism-based and redevelopment-oriented narrative of urban change delivered through the regeneration mechanisms.

The strategic use of tourism as an ancillary measure for the regeneration of Hastings (sections 9.3.2; 9.3.3) substantiates the arguments that the urban tourism model has been in fact replicated in Hastings. This is on the basis of the reproduction of an allegedly successful regeneration model *borne and bred* in post-industrial cities as the result of the Neoliberal growth agenda. The problematic consequences of the replication of successful regeneration models were considered in chapters 3 and 4. It was believed to erode the idiosyncrasies of place (Rojek, 1995; Shaw and Williams, 2002; Smith, 2007b) and foster the formation of a universal cultural space whilst reducing the case for local uniqueness and distinctiveness that was argued to be a key quality for the evolving tourism market. The evidence from this research in Hastings shows, however, that informally driven resisting actions managed to limit these outcomes but it still remains the fact that the regeneration planning process formulated at formal level for Hastings retained a catalytic planning profile. More importantly, the approach in Hastings shows that the Neoliberal agenda is in fact still dominating the urban regeneration scene. Its growth-focused development agenda leading a new-regional oriented regeneration approach that, through tourism development, fosters cultural commodification, consumption processes and privatization.

Despite these similarities to processes found in urban regeneration of major cities, the research in Hastings revealed certain distinctive elements of the role of tourism in regeneration that involved a clear move away from tourism as a leading socio-economic factor of change and growth. The nature of this aspect of seaside town regeneration is discussed below.

10.3 Seaside towns in transition.

The seaside town in the UK is undeniably undergoing another step change in its evolution. This is especially true for those towns that have suffered from high levels of deprivation in recent decades and, like Hastings, are currently under structured urban regeneration programmes. Indeed, the argument concerning the transition of seaside towns is not a novelty in either scholastic or non-scholastic circuits as shown in chapter 5. Both, in effect, have recently contributed to the seaside towns' debate by commenting on the transition occurring in these spaces.

The research in this thesis, however, added other insights that are key to taking the debate further over the transition process in seaside towns. With the disengagement of Hastings from tourism as, historically/traditionally, the local motor of socio-economic change and growth, the findings emerging from this research concur in reinforcing the argument of transition identified by some other writers (Agarwal, 1999; Shaw and Coles, 2007). It indicates that the British seaside town is experiencing a shift in its role but, at the same time, raises uncertainty about the future of these towns as significant spaces of tourism flow. In these discussions, however, there was no clear indication of the extent to which tourism would have a significant role to play in seaside towns where the transformation process is bolstered by ongoing structured urban regeneration programmes.

The study conducted in this thesis provided evidence that extends the debate about the future of seaside towns by indicating that the development of the knowledge economy, culture and creative sectors, become a dominant feature in the urban regeneration and socio-economic change scenario at seaside town level. The discourse analysis of plans and policy documents conducted in chapter 8 revealed that the development of the knowledge economy, hence the culture sector and the creative industries is, compared to tourism, higher on the national and regional agenda as a policy priority and a catalyst for regional and urban innovation, growth and regeneration. The analysis that followed (chapter 9) concerned the wider local level regeneration scenario. It gave further credit to these assertions and revealed tourism as a potential regeneration outcome whilst highlighting its marginalization to having a key role in regeneration strategies and plans. It was noticed that tourism related policies often aimed to raise the quality of life for the resident community. They also endeavoured to align to middle class values and increase Hastings' appeal for the attraction of a new and economically stable resident and business community explicitly positioned within the knowledge economy spectrum. Apart from a few small capital projects and a programme of community-based festivals and special events pursuing tourism rejuvenation objectives (section 9.3.3), the narrative of spatial change discussed in section 9.3.4 gave clear indication of how the development of the knowledge-economy through large capital projects dominated the regeneration of Hastings and how they promoted the establishment of the creative, high-tech and education industries in town. The evidence in section 9.3.3.1 then clarified that

Hastings, like other medium size resorts in Britain, has become a space for day trippers and short staying visitors often interested in the local cultural attractions or visiting friends and relatives. In the light of these assertions, it is clear that Hastings has turned into a seaside town where tourism and the visitor economy are just one among a widening range of urban functions, with tourism no longer a leading cultural agent and motor of growth.

Drawing on these assertions, it can be said that production-oriented regeneration strategies have broadly dominated the Hastings' regeneration scenario. Production and consumption culture-led urban regeneration strategies were discussed in chapter 4 where, the long-term effects of the consumption strategies, promoting primarily tourism development, were juxtaposed with the more sustainable counterparts including the creative industries (Bianchini, 1993b). The regeneration model pursued in Hastings promoted the establishment of the culture and creative industries and the affirmation of an urban culture based on new production-oriented practices whilst signaling a move away from a resort culture of consumption based on traditional forms of seaside tourism. This is a significant shift especially when these considerations are showed alongside the assertions made in section 8.2 over the history of Hastings. In that context, tourism was repeatedly identified as historically the main industry in town with Hastings as one among the most fashionable seaside resorts in the UK at the beginning of the twentieth century. The tourism and regeneration discourse analyzed in Hastings sees the town as attuning to global urban trends while turning, from a traditional space of escapism, hedonism and consumption, into a space of production despite its isolation, high levels of deprivation and a history of decline in the tourism sector.

Reflecting on these comments, this thesis argues that the dominance of a production oriented regeneration model aiming to develop the knowledge economy, whilst marginalizing the tourism imperative in regeneration is not distinctive to Hastings. Hence, the quality of change occurring in Hastings can be aligned to national and regional urban change trajectories in general and seaside towns' regeneration in particular. In this way, the arguments over the *transition* and *marginalization* of tourism highlighted in this chapter become extendable to the national urban regeneration and seaside towns regeneration scenario as the following suggests.

The literature reviewed in section 5.3.2 commented on four phases of government regeneration policy for the English seaside town. In that context, a steady reduction in public financial support for the tourism industry in coastal resorts since the 1980s was noticed and related to the priorities of the Single Regeneration Budget programme and, more recently, to the priorities expressed in the Coastal Towns report (CLG, 2006-2007). This policy turn away from tourism as a regeneration catalyst, priority and objective, sits alongside an increasing acceptance in regeneration policies of the creative class as a motor of innovation and regional economic growth as proposed by Florida (2002; 2004, 2005) and Landry (2000) in their works on *creative class* and *creative city*. Their arguments are reflected at both supranational (EU) and national (UK) strategic level: in the formulation of the Lisbon Strategy (EC, 2008), related national and regional policies, such as *Creative Britain: New Trends for the New Economy* (DCMS, 2008) *Sea Change* (CABE, 2008) promoting, nationally, culture-led regeneration programmes at resort level, and the Regional Economic Strategy (SEEDA, 2006a). Altogether they form a palette of policy and programmes core of which is the enhancement of communities' quality of life and economic growth through creative innovation.

The dominance of a regeneration agenda defined by regional designs and carried out by Sea Space, and the marginalization of tourism and tourism stakeholders in a place like Hastings, is indicative of a step change in the power dynamics at resort/seaside town. The findings in this thesis are certainly supportive of the argument of transition but are clearly a means to address the issue of categorization discussed in chapter 5. The categorization of coastal towns was discussed as a key issue in a wider debate over central government involvement in seaside towns' regeneration. It was said that the diversity of the existing spectrum of coastal towns could be reflected only partially no matter what categorization is undertaken. Hence, other typologies were considered necessary to enhance understanding of the characteristics of coastal towns, and formulate more coherent categorizations for new meaningful research to be conducted and effective policies adopted.

Hence, with shifting power dynamics triggering the marginalization of tourism rejuvenation and tourism stakeholders in the regeneration of Hastings, a speculative typology can be identified as emerging from the analysis in chapters 8 and 9. It suggests a typology that considers the approach to tourism in socio-economic

development policies, and the relative position of tourism stakeholders within the local power dynamics, in towns that are under structured urban regeneration programmes. Hence, categories can be identified that distinguish those towns that consider tourism as either a *strong* sector, or a *marginal* sector, or *one of the several economic sectors* shaping the local socio-economic development agenda. As shown in this thesis, Hastings is an example of the second category but other towns, such as St Ives and Newquay still see tourism as a key socio-economic driver whereas places like Brighton, Margate, Great Yarmouth or Whitby have already established a diversified economic base and see tourism as one of several key sectors.

A number of seaside towns in the UK are indeed in transition with form and function changing, partly, as a result of urban regeneration mechanisms that trigger the establishment, at local level, of new socio-economic urban orders. By responding to economic diversification parameters established at national and regional level, these towns are pushed to become what regeneration polities view as stable and sustainable communities with a tourism economy that integrates into a thickening web of productive creative and culture industries. There is, at the moment, only one piece of research specifically highlighting the role of tourism in the latter wave of seaside towns regeneration programmes and this considered the role of tourism in the regeneration of Southend-on-Sea, reference to which was made in section 5.4.3 (Smith, 2004). Once again, these are significant changes given the observations of social historians describing them, not long ago, as constituting the most complex system of coastal resorts in the world at the beginning of the twentieth century (Walton, 2000). Hence, there is the need to ask, for example, what is the future for the national tourism product still relying, at least at strategic level as shown in section 8.3, on seaside towns as spaces of major tourism flow?

Alongside contributing to the urban tourism and seaside towns' regeneration debates, this research has also identified some research issues in both areas of investigation that merit further research.

10.4 Final remarks and recommendations for further research.

At a theoretical level, this research has tackled three research issues emerging from the discussions in chapter 2. These include the *double neglect* proposed by

Ashworth (1989; 1992), the issues of *descriptivism* featured in much of case study research conducted in the field of urban tourism, and the related problem of *complexity* in investigating the relationship between tourism and urban regeneration (Burtenshaw et al, 1991; Page, 1995; Tyler, 2000; Pearce, 2001; Selby, 2004a). They were considered again at the end of section 6.3 and shown to guide the choice of both research strategy and paradigm of inquiry. The use of a critical process involving post-structural inquiry and qualitative methods (section 7.2) aimed at responding to the issues of descriptivism in case study research and to that of complexity embedded in the study of the relationship between tourism and regeneration. Together, they also tackled the epistemological issue of contextuality, supporting the need of research to be conducted at locality level that would render the external validity research principle a marginal issue.

Drawing generalizations in this thesis was not an explicit research objective. Nevertheless, the overall research aim required, implicitly, a contribution to discussions to both urban tourism and seaside town's regeneration. The poststructuralist theoretical perspective adopted privileges a breadth analysis featuring criticality, complexity and contextuality. The *reality* that is represented through the resulting research process was believed to reflect the complexity of the phenomena studied and, in turn, overcome the generalizability principle.

Reflecting on these arguments the conclusion of this thesis suggests that the *knowledge* required to foster the late-modern debate on the relationship between tourism and regeneration at seaside town level had to be drawn from outside the immediate reaches of tourism scholarship. This assertion reflects the evidence of the literature review where the discourse of urban tourism was presented. Although post-structuralist assertions feature in both urban tourism (chapter 3) and tourism literature (chapter 4) contributing to the tourism and regeneration debate, it is the urban literature that led mostly the direction of the debate. This research, however, is an attempt to rebalance the *imbalance in attention* identified by Ashworth (1992) in section 2.2 as it considers tourism, as a force of spatial formation and the wider urban context together. This thesis also challenges the theoretical backdrop hitherto adopted to study the dynamics of change at seaside town level by employing a post-modern urban geographical approach while, also, tackling an area of scrutiny, the changing seaside

town, that is still neglected in the urban literature. Consequently, this research opened up a few avenues for further research that move beyond tourism as the main focus.

In section 10.2 it was argued that, despite the marginality of tourism in the regeneration of Hastings, the tourism strategy adopted in Hastings displayed the Neoliberal cultural referents of the urban tourism model. The impacts of informal affirmative actions on the revitalization of a sense of place and community in a highly deprived area of England prove the need for an enabling urban governance culture that encourages *spontaneous change* to happen. Groth and Corijn's (2005: 521) already commented on the need for 'free zones [...] uncontrolled, non-commodified places that are socially sustainable' and recalled the notion of 'differential space'. These assertions bring attention back to the *non-plan* debate proposed by Barker (1999), Worpole and Greenhalgh (1999) and Evans (2001). The *Non-Plan Manifesto* believes that 'growth that happens without too much prescription is best and that innovations are what determine the growth of cities, not planners' decisions' (Evans, 2001: 270).

Despite these assertions, and in the light of the arguments discussed in this thesis the urban regeneration model has not changed since the late 1970s. It is still dominated by a Neoliberal political culture pursuing the capitalist imperatives despite a political rhetoric featuring inclusion and participation and mounting academic emphasis on discursive planning practices. Moreover, the issue of tackling stagnant urban conditions of deprivation without formal regeneration programmes may result problematic where local population resents any positive informally driven change. So research needs to examine how cities and towns escape the loop by which planners continue to perform a corrective approach to urban change, while, also, limiting a spontaneous culture of change. Such assertions clash with the establishment of a culture of urban change that is shaped by supranational (i.e. European) and regional policy guidelines and impact, through the urban regeneration machinery as demonstrated in this thesis, at local level. Research of this type might open up new options for urban regeneration.

Also, with seaside towns in transition towards an alleged production-oriented culture and tourism in continuous evolution throughout unfolding trends (Hall and Weiler, 1992; Douglas et al, 2001; Novelli, 2005) the case of Hastings demonstrates that the role of urban tourism planners and managers becomes increasingly problematic. How can tourism planners and managers respond to these trends while

including tourism in the local process of change (e.g. regeneration) overcome anti-urban tendencies (e.g. conspicuous consumption and commodification) whilst promoting a culture of urbanity? And again, in the light of the many comments on tourism and place distinctiveness, urban change and the production of a universal cultural space, the changing profile of traditional tourism spaces (the seaside town) and the strengthening of a supranational regulatory system needs also scrutinized as a force spurring the standardization of urban change as has happened in the USA (section 3.4.1).

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