

**VALUING CULTURE :  
A MIXED-METHODS APPROACH TO THE COMPARATIVE  
INVESTIGATION OF THE ROLES AND IMPORTANCE OF  
CULTURAL RESOURCES IN EDINBURGH AND DUNDEE**

**Lorenzo Pergola**

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD  
at the  
University of St Andrews**



**2016**

**Full metadata for this item is available in  
St Andrews Research Repository  
at:**

**<http://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/>**

**Please use this identifier to cite or link to this item:**

**<http://hdl.handle.net/10023/9446>**

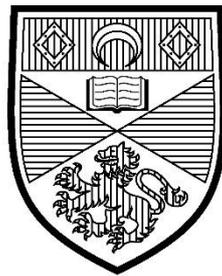
**This item is protected by original copyright**

# Valuing Culture

---

a mixed-methods approach to the comparative  
investigation of the roles and importance of cultural  
resources in Edinburgh and Dundee

Lorenzo Pergola



University of  
St Andrews

This thesis is submitted as an integral part of the PhD in Geography at  
the

University of St Andrews

17<sup>th</sup> December 2015

# **Declarations**

## **1. Candidate's declarations:**

I, Lorenzo Pergola, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 65,000 words in length, has been written by me, and that it is the record of work carried out by me, or principally by myself in collaboration with others as acknowledged, and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

I was admitted as a research student in September, 2011 and as a candidate for the degree of PhD in September, 2011; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 2011 and 2015.

Date: 17<sup>th</sup> December 2015      Signature of candidate:

## **2. Supervisor's declaration:**

I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of PhD in the University of St Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

Date: 17<sup>th</sup> December 2015      Signature of supervisor:

### **3. Permission for publication:**

*(to be signed by both candidate and supervisor)*

In submitting this thesis to the University of St Andrews I understand that I am giving permission for it to be made available for use in accordance with the regulations of the University Library for the time being in force, subject to any copyright vested in the work not being affected thereby. I also understand that the title and the abstract will be published, and that a copy of the work may be made and supplied to any bona fide library or research worker, that my thesis will be electronically accessible for personal or research use unless exempt by award of an embargo as requested below, and that the library has the right to migrate my thesis into new electronic forms as required to ensure continued access to the thesis. I have obtained any third-party copyright permissions that may be required in order to allow such access and migration, or have requested the appropriate embargo below.

The following is an agreed request by candidate and supervisor regarding the publication of this thesis:

#### PRINTED COPY

a) No embargo on print copy

#### ELECTRONIC COPY

b) No embargo on electronic copy

Date: 17<sup>th</sup> December 2015      Signature of candidate:

Signature of supervisor:

## Acknowledgements:

Writing the acknowledgement section of a thesis, I am told, is one of those things that must be done, for reasons of etiquette if for nothing else. However, in sitting here confronted by the blank page, I feel an almost uncontrollable *need* to do this. It is, of course, a channel to thank all the people who helped and supported me in so many ways along this task, but it is also an effective means of catharsis, of renewing my mind after so long spent on one, single, enormous project.

In thanking all my supervisors, therefore, I also mean to trace back all the difficult moments in the past years. There were instances in which I felt inadequate and perhaps a bit despondent, and I wanted to just let go of the whole thing. Prof. Donal Houston first, then Dr. Kim McKee and Dr Tim Stojanovich, showed me the way forward each time, sometimes with practical advice, others by simply offering reassurance and colossal, apparently inexhaustible patience. I would also use this occasion to thank Prof. Elpeth Graham for her late, yet invaluable contribution to my work.

Many of the challenges of this study stemmed from its collaborative nature and from the sponsoring agreement with the two local authorities that also represent its geographical focus. Negotiating all the parts' expectations while retaining the necessary academic independence was a fine art that had to be learned during the process. However, the collaboration with Dundee and Edinburgh City councils also represented an invaluable source of information and inspiration. I would therefore like to thank Stewart Murdoch for initiating this project and providing the initial vital spark. I would also like to offer my thanks to Rebecca Peppiette and Billy Gartley, both always prodigal with access to information, but also to thoughts and opinions; and to Prof. Barbara Townley and Mindy Grewar for contributing ever new occasions to showcase the study and gather new ideas.

No process of catharsis would be complete without recalling all the tribulations I have inflicted to my family and friends over the past four years. To the people of CHR: to Ciaran, Alice, Keith, Norm and all the others, thank you for providing such a stimulating and welcoming place of work, for acting as a sounding board for my – at times preposterous – thoughts and ideas, and sometimes even sitting down and working things out with me. More often than not, Alice, it was you.

Last, but not least, I would like to extend a titanic thank you to my family. To my wife Cassandra, for showing me how far human patience can actually go. To my children Rory and Finn, for reminding me daily that all is relative, and very few things are actually important: this being a study of Value, it was no mean feat. To my Parents and my Sister, for encouraging and supporting me with their enduring trust, and to Pat and Nancy for helping out with all the little, practical things that could have been boulders in my way and were instead revealed to be crumbs.

## **Abstract**

In Scotland, as the UK and internationally, publicly funded cultural organisations face a precarious future, characterised by funding cuts and a growing need to justify investments. This practical need to understand and articulate the importance of cultural resources has underpinned an intense debate in the field of cultural studies, about the nature of cultural value and the best methodological tools to explore it. The appropriateness of relying upon cultural strategies to pursue urban development and regeneration has also been subject to extensive discussions in the field of urban studies. This study approaches these problems through mixed-methods, comparative case studies set in Edinburgh and Dundee.

This research employs Contingent Valuation (CV) in combination with focus groups. It provides a contextualised understanding of the diverging notions of culture emerging in the two cities. A higher valuation for culture was registered in Edinburgh, with stronger preference for museums and performing arts. In Dundee, higher importance was placed on community-based activities. These patterns are linked to the mix of demographic and socio-economic backgrounds characterising each city. Therefore, this study highlights a need for a tailored approach to cultural valuation and cultural policy, in contrast with the tendency for these to be implemented on a one-size-fit-all basis.

The study also concludes that greater consideration is needed for the intangible and non-use related elements of cultural value, reinforcing a dominant critique in the literature. In addition, it highlights potential for negative sides to the impacts of cultural activities. Examples include issues of gentrification and displacement. Their inclusion is shown to be neglected in the typologies of value predominantly associated with culture, pointing at the need for their amendment.

Finally, this study shows the use of CV alongside qualitative methods to be particularly advantageous in overcoming the dichotomous approach characterising this debate. The study avoided the single monetary valuation strongly rejected within the cultural sector, while still managing to yield grounded insight that is potentially valuable for policy-makers.

# Contents

<b>Declarations</b> .....	I
<b>Acknowledgements:</b> .....	III
<b>Abstract</b> .....	V
<b>Contents</b> .....	VI
<b>List of Figures XXX</b> .....	IX
<b>List of Tables XXX</b> .....	XI
<b>1. Introduction</b> .....	1
<b>2 Literature Review</b> .....	9
<b>2.1 Introduction</b> .....	9
<b>2.2 A historical overview of the evolution of the notion of culture</b> .....	10
<b>2.2.1 Cultural policy at the urban level</b> .....	12
<b>2.3 Culture as a term in the field of Urban Studies</b> .....	21
<b>2.4 Defining and exploring “value”</b> .....	24
<b>2.4.1 Existing notions of cultural value</b> .....	27
<b>2.4.2 Cultural Valuation</b> .....	30
<b>2.5 Contingent Valuation</b> .....	36
<b>2.5.1 Existing applications of Contingent Valuation in the cultural sector</b> .....	40
<b>2.6 Conclusions</b> .....	45
<b>3 Methodology</b> .....	47
<b>3.1 Introduction</b> .....	47
<b>3.2 Case Study approach</b> .....	48
<b>3.2.1 Dundee and Edinburgh</b> .....	50
<b>3.3 Mixed Methods</b> .....	60
<b>3.3.1 Integration, critical realism and generalisation</b> .....	60
<b>3.4 Practical set-up</b> .....	64
<b>3.4.1 Stage 1: Exploring Concepts and Context: Interviews and Focus Groups</b> .....	65
<b>3.4.2 Stage 2: Cultural Valuation: Choice Experiment Survey Questionnaire</b> .....	69
<b>3.4.3 The Survey Questionnaire</b> .....	82
<b>3.5 Ethics</b> .....	84
<b>3.5.1 Procedures used with participants</b> .....	85
<b>3.5.2 Confidentiality and Data Protection</b> .....	86

3.5.3 Young People, Vulnerable Groups and Incentives .....	86
3.6 Conclusions .....	87
4 Valuation of culture in Residential choice .....	90
4.1 Introduction .....	90
4.2 Residential Location Attributes Ranking and Scoring .....	91
4.2.1 Pair Comparison .....	92
4.2.2 Token Allocation .....	102
4.3 Socio-Economic and Demographic Background .....	113
4.4 Conclusions .....	120
5 Valuation of Various Aspects of Culture & Leisure.....	122
5.1 Introduction .....	122
5.2 Token Allocation Exercise on Cultural Preferences: Results .....	123
5.2.1 Dundee .....	124
5.2.2 Edinburgh.....	133
5.3 Communalities and differences between the two case studies .....	138
6 Different Types of Value .....	142
6.1 Introduction .....	142
6.2 Frequency of Use and Valuation .....	143
6.2.1 Socio-economic background .....	149
6.3 Negative Value.....	151
6.3.1 Access.....	152
6.3.2 Self-exclusion .....	154
6.4 Conclusion.....	159
7 Discussion .....	160
7.1 Introduction .....	160
7.2 Differences in the Conceptualisation and Valuation of Culture .....	161
7.2.1 Dissimilar preference patterns.....	162
7.2.2 Notions of culture in Edinburgh and Dundee .....	168
7.2.3 Socio-economic and demographic background .....	173
7.2.4 Importance of context in studies of cultural value .....	174
7.3 Negative value .....	175
7.4 Non-Use Value .....	179
7.5 Contingent Valuation.....	181
8 Conclusions .....	184

<b>8.1 Introduction .....</b>	<b>184</b>
<b>8.2 Research aims and questions .....</b>	<b>184</b>
<b>8.3 Key findings.....</b>	<b>186</b>
<b>8.3.1 Valuation of cultural resources .....</b>	<b>186</b>
<b>8.3.2 Different Types of Value.....</b>	<b>190</b>
<b>8.3.3 Contingent Valuation .....</b>	<b>192</b>
<b>8.4 Research implications and future directions .....</b>	<b>193</b>
<b>8.4.1 Academic implications and future avenues of enquiry.....</b>	<b>194</b>
<b>8.4.2 Insights for policy .....</b>	<b>197</b>
<b>Appendices .....</b>	<b>200</b>
<b>Appendix A: Ethics Approval Form .....</b>	<b>201</b>
<b>Appendix B: Data Collection Documents .....</b>	<b>202</b>
<b>References .....</b>	<b>223</b>

## List of Figures

<b>Chapter 1</b>	<b>p.</b>
Fig 1.1 Research aim and questions	4
<b>Chapter 3</b>	
Fig 3.1: Work in progress on the new V&A	55
Fig 3.2: Work in progress on the new V&A, beside the RRS Discovery	56
Fig 3.3: A view of what the new Museum of Design will look like	56
Fig 3.4: A statutory celebration of Dundee’s past and present role in publishing	57
Fig 3.5: Research Set-Up	64
Fig.3.6: Questionnaire Distribution Location – Dundee	77
Fig.3.7: Questionnaire Distribution Location – Dundee	77
Fig. 3.8: Questionnaire Distribution Location – Dundee	78
Fig. 3.9: Questionnaire Distribution Location – Edinburgh	78
Fig. 3.10: Questionnaire Distribution Location – Edinburgh	79
Fig 3.11: Questionnaire Distribution Location – Edinburgh	79
<b>Chapter 4</b>	
Fig. 4.1: Mean token Distribution, Residential Choice – Dundee	106
Fig. 4.2: Mean token Distribution, Residential Choice – Edinburgh	106
<b>Chapter 5</b>	
Fig.5.1: Mean Token Distribution for 5 types of cultural Resources – Dundee	126
Fig. 5.2: Mean Token Distribution for 5 types of cultural Resources – Edinburgh	133
<b>Chapter 6</b>	
Fig. 6.1: Frequency of Use of Community Activities – Edinburgh and Dundee	148
Fig. 6.2: Frequency of Use Museums, Galleries & Performing Arts – Edinburgh and Dundee	148
Fig. 6.3: Frequency of Use Public libraries – Edinburgh and Dundee	148
Fig. 6.4: Frequency of Use of Food & Drink Facilities – Edinburgh and Dundee	148
Fig. 6.5: Frequency of Use of Local, Independent Shops – Edinburgh and Dundee	148

164

**Appendix B**

Fig. AB.1: Flier for Web-Based Participant Recruitment	202
Fig. AB.2: Pilot Paper-Based Questionnaire:	203
Fig. AB.3: Final Paper-Based Questionnaire:	212

## List of Tables

<b>Chapter 2</b>	<b>p.</b>
Table 2.1: Different types of Value	26
<b>Chapter 3</b>	
Table 3.1 Descriptive Statistics for Dundee and Edinburgh	52
Table 3.2: Comparison between Survey sample and 2011 Census Data - Dundee	80
Table 3.3: Comparison between Survey sample and 2011 Census Data - Edinburgh	81
<b>Chapter 4</b>	
Table 4.1: Paired comparison Exercise – Dundee	94
Table 4.2: Paired comparison Exercise –Edinburgh	95
Table 4.3: Attribute Ranking – Dundee	96
Table 4.4: Attribute Ranking – Edinburgh	97
Table 4.5: Measures of Central Tendency for the five Location attributes – Dundee	103
Table 4.6: Measures of Central Tendency for the five Location attributes – Edinburgh	104
Table 4.7: Mean distribution Without “All 20s”	105
Table 4.8: Negative Binomial Regression for Safety & School Catchment	110
Table 4.9: Logistic Regression: Culture & Leisure – o vs “some tokens”	115
Table 4.10: Negative Binomial Regression for Culture & Leisure	117
<b>Chapter 5</b>	
Tab. 5.1: Negative Binomial Regression: 5 Cultural Resources and Background Variables: Dundee	127
Tab. 5.2: Negative Binomial Regression: 5 Cultural Resources and Background Variables: Edinburgh	134
<b>Chapter 6</b>	
Tab. 6.1: Negative Binomial Regression linking cultural Valuation and Frequency of Use	143
Tab. 6.2: Correlation coefficients: Cultural Valuation and Frequency of Use	144
Tab. 6.3: % of Respondents Using the 5 cultural Resources at least Once a Month - Edinburgh	148
Tab. 6.4: % of Respondents Using the 5 cultural Resources at least Once a Month – Dundee	148
<b>Chapter 7</b>	
Table 7.1: Choumert and Salanie’s forms of value, including potential negative aspects.	178

# 1. Introduction

In May 2004, Tessa Jowell, then British Culture Secretary, published a personal essay on the value of cultural resources, in which she asked:

*“How, in going beyond targets, can we best find a language to capture the value of culture?”*

The pamphlet described and criticised the progressive move, since the 1980s, to an instrumental approach to cultural policy. Echoing the deep frustration expressed by numerous voices in the academic and cultural sector (Tusa, 1999; Merli, 2004; Holden, 2004), Jowell condemned the way in which the arts and culture appeared to be valued by policy-makers only in view of their potential for positive economic and social impacts.

Further north, the same concerns led the cultural sector to a very vocal expression of its concerns and discontent with the way in which Creative Scotland, the public body dealing with funding and supporting the arts and creative industries ran its business and communicated it to the local organisations it was meant to support. Only two years after being founded, in 2012 the organisation needed a deep restructuring, after being accused in an open letter by one hundred leading artists – including John Byrne, Alasdair Gray and Ian Rankin - of having a reductionist, business-focussed philosophy and an approach that tended to side-line those areas of the cultural sector with less potential for the creation of revenue. A different approach was being vociferously advocated, one that valued cultural resources for the multiplicity of benefits and impacts they provide, but also for the simple aesthetic and recreational pleasure they can bring, or simply for the intrinsic importance of their existence.

Far from being confined to the British context, this issue has been the object of academic attention at the international scale. Geir Vestheim (1994, p. 65), for example, has defined “instrumental cultural policy” as the tendency “to use cultural ventures and cultural investments as a means or instrument to attain goals in other than cultural areas”. These goals were initially identified with job and wealth creation, following numerous studies demonstrating the economic potential of the cultural sector (Myerscough, 1988). They were later broadened to include positive social outcomes, such as social inclusion and community development, and gradually extended to see cultural resources as actively influential in urban regeneration processes and success in inter-urban competition for talent and investment (Florida, 2002).

However, according to Vestheim, it is not the aims themselves that determine whether a cultural policy is “instrumental”, rather the fact that “cultural venture is seen as a means, not an end in itself” (Vestheim 1994, p. 65).

Eleven years after Dame Tessa Jowell’s remarks, and despite a strong and lively debate, this approach remains the dominant ethos. At some scales, for example at the European level, progress has been made in recognising the key role of culture in shaping identity and citizenship before its potential to foster economic development (European Agenda for Culture, 2007). However, the United Kingdom’s cultural policy is still firmly centred on the capacity of the cultural sector to generate revenue, growth, jobs, and to facilitate positive social outcomes. Examining the cultural policy of Scotland, where this study is based, one cannot fail to notice how the first aim listed for such policy is to: “promote and develop the crucial role of culture and creativity in making the strongest contribution that we can to sustainable economic development” (The Scottish Government, 2015).

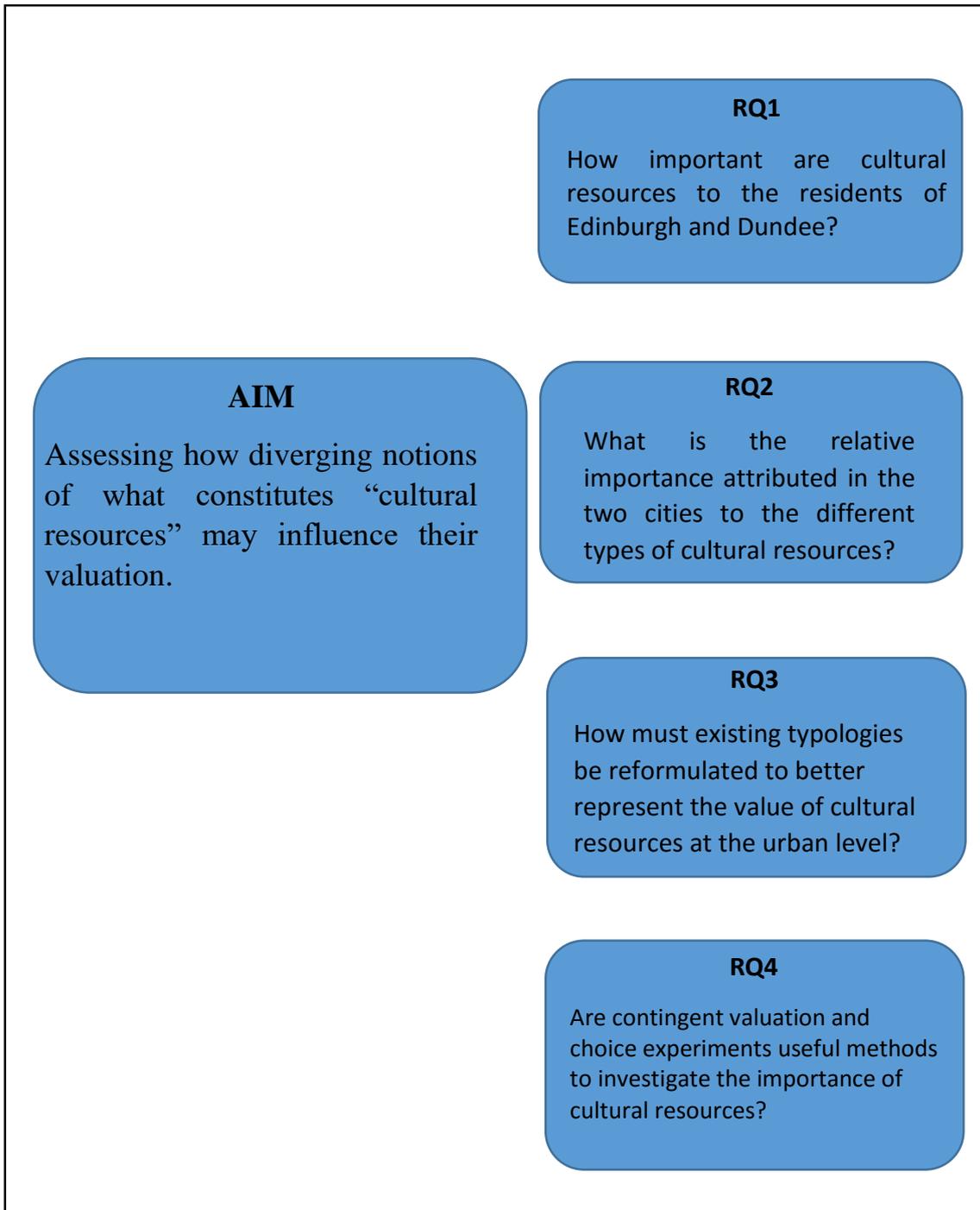
This instrumental view of cultural resources can in part be attributed to the imperatives of “evidence-based policy making”, which has become the dominant disposition in governments at all scales over the past three decades. As Chris Smith - another former Secretary of State for Culture - has said of arts funding, “this is not something for nothing; we want to see measurable outcomes for the investment which is being made” (Department for Culture, Media and Sport 1998). This tendency could only be exacerbated by the more stringent nature of public resources allocation that followed the 2008 financial crisis. Yet, the need for a more meaningful and comprehensive approach to the valuation of cultural resources remains pressing, just as still topical is the search for a language to convey and describe their worth in a way that can be received and operationalised by policy-makers while capturing the multi-dimensional and largely intangible nature of cultural value. On the one hand, the tendency to attribute value to culture solely in virtue of its potential to generate material and measurable impacts has been met with strong resistance within the cultural sector itself. On the other hand, the very structure of policy and decision-making requires the importance of a resource to be expressed and conveyed in a way that allows for comparisons and trade-offs to be operated. For this reason, the intangible and hard-to-measure facets that authors such as Merli (2004), Holden (2004) and Tusa (1999) see as constituting a large component of cultural value, need to be articulated and framed in a manner that is compatible with the language of policy making, rather than hostile to it.

One way of making such change possible is to interpret “value” not as “impact” or “price”, rather as the importance attributed to a resource by a given individual or community. This in turn opens the possibility for cultural resources to be attributed value regardless of the positive outcomes they are linked to. Capturing such intangible facets of value is more complex than relying solely on observable impacts. However, within the discipline of Environmental Economics, a similar need for a broader conceptualisation and assessment of the value of environmental goods led to the development of a range of valuation techniques that aim to determine the importance attributed to a resource through the use of specially designed surveys and choice exercises. This thesis will attempt to apply this methodology, named Contingent Valuation (CV) to the study of cultural resources.

Nevertheless, the interpretation of “value” as the importance placed on a resource by an individual or a community highlights the pivotal importance of definitional and contextual issues. The formulaic reliance on investment in culture in order to foster development and urban regeneration does not take into consideration the deep influence that spatial context can have in determining the appropriateness and success of such strategies. Indeed, the very meaning of the word “culture”, what it entails, and what role it is seen to have in societal dynamics, can be radically different depending on geography, socio-economic or demographic background.

The overall aim of this research is to investigate such variability, to assess whether diverging notions of what constitutes “culture” are found in different geographical contexts, and the extent to which this in turns influences the value attached to cultural resources. In order to tackle this aim, a number of research questions (RQs) were formulated. These are presented in Figure 1.1.

Figure 1.1: Research aim and questions



In order to explore the aim and questions presented in Figure 1.1, two Scottish cities were chosen as case studies for the research, and a mix of qualitative and quantitative data on residents' cultural preferences was gathered. Such mixed methodological approach was adopted in view of its potential to reduce some of the weaknesses associated with the exclusive reliance on qualitative or quantitative approaches (Johnson *et al.*, 2000; Robson, 2002).

Furthermore, the debate on the valuation of cultural resources briefly described above has polarised around the methodologies adopted in such studies. On the one hand, the proponents of a type of valuation largely or exclusively based upon economic value limit their outlook to quantitative methodologies. These methods have been criticised as being incapable of accounting for the intangible aspects of cultural value (Tusa, 2011). Indeed, any attempt to "measure" the value of culture has been subjected to extensive criticism, as exemplified by Missell's comment (1983) reported by Hewison (2002:85): "The concept of the arts itself is indefinable, and any attempt to measure it cannot begin to represent its essential quality".

On the other hand, the findings produced by studies adopting exclusively qualitative methods of analysis have been seen as unconstructive in the policy-making setting (O'Brien, 2010). The focus on aesthetics suggested by Tusa (2011) and Missel (1983) makes it difficult to connect the cultural sector with decision-making frameworks of central government, grounded in economic theory and monetary valuations (HMT 2003).

In this research, the data gathered during the focus groups and interviews in the early stages of the research was pivotal in informing the design of the questionnaire and determining the definitions and categorisations adopted in the following stages. Moreover, the qualitative evidence played an important part in grounding the quantitative results, providing a greater depth of analysis.

The research was structured in six main phases:

1. a study of the relevant body of literature;
2. the design of research strategy and of the qualitative data gathering instruments;
3. qualitative data gathering and design of the research survey;
4. quantitative data gathering;
5. data analysis;
6. Synthesis and review of implications of findings.

Chapter 2 presents a review of the body of literature surrounding the value of cultural resources, providing a context to the rationale for this thesis' research questions and for its methodological approach. Section 2.2 reviews the developments in cultural policy over the past six decades, and shows how this has led to the current instrumental view of cultural resources described at the beginning of this chapter. Furthermore, this section traces a parallel between these developments and the gradual shaping of the definitions of "culture" predominantly adopted in the academic and policy contexts, showing the importance of historical and spatial contextualisation and contributing to RQs 1 and 2.

Section 2.3 narrows the scale to the urban level, presenting the body of literature relative to the conceptualisation of culture and the operationalisation of urban cultural strategies and policies.

Moving the focus to the diverse conceptions of "value" in general and "cultural value" in particular, section 2.4 describes the various approaches to the understanding of these complex ideas. In highlighting the progressive move to a widely accepted interchangeable use of "value", "price" and "impact" – at least within the policy setting – this section presents the need for a wider framing of cultural value, with more attention needing to be paid to the less tangible, and less use-related facets of worth. This section contributes towards research question 3.

Section 2.5 analyses the use of contingent valuation techniques, starting with their initial development and adoption in the attempt to capture non-market and intangible forms of value. Contributing to RQ 4, this section also describes the previous attempts to adopt this methodology within the cultural sector, presenting the advantages offered by such approach alongside the criticism it has received.

Chapter 3 sets out the methodological approach adopted in the thesis, discussing each element of it in turn. Section 3.2 describes the rationale behind the adoption of a case studies approach, and the choice of the two cities of Dundee and Edinburgh. Section 3.3 discusses the decision to rely on mixed methodologies, the ontological and epistemological implications of such choice and the advantages that this approach is expected to offer. Finally, section 3.4 describes the practical set-up of the study, explaining how the two strands of data, qualitative and quantitative, are first collected and then woven together.

The results of this study are presented in chapters 4, 5 and 6. Chapter 4 describes the importance attributed in the two cities to the Culture & Leisure label as a whole. In order to assess this, a

hypothetical choice set was constructed, asking respondents to rank and score the importance of five key attributes in their ideal neighbourhood. The results of these choice-exercises, integrated and interpreted through the use of the qualitative data gathered during the interviews and focus groups, contribute to RQ1, and shows different patterns of cultural valuation in the two case studies.

In chapter 5, the Culture & Leisure label analysed in the previous section is deconstructed into its main components. The same ranking and scoring process used in chapter 4 is applied to the different type of cultural resource, in order to grasp which aspect of the local cultural scene are considered more important in the two cities. Once again, the qualitative information is used to ground and deepen the analysis of the questionnaire results, highlighting the emergence of two different notions of what constitutes culture in the two case studies. This chapter addresses RQ2 and provides key insight contributing to the overall thesis aim.

Chapter 6 demonstrates the need for a broader conceptualisation of cultural value, with greater attention required for its less tangible and non-use related facets and for the potential for negative outcomes to be linked with cultural resources. A mix of qualitative and quantitative insights is used to show the relevance of such under-investigated aspects of cultural value in sections 6.2 and 6.3, respectively, addressing RQ3.

The results from the three preceding chapters are brought together in chapter 7, which discusses these within the context of the wider literature, exploring the contribution of this study to knowledge. Section 7.2 points to the necessity of a profound understanding of the context in which cultural valuation studies are set in order to obtain meaningful insights. This section therefore argues that the instrumentally driven, super-imposed definition of culture at the base of most studies in the field represents a barrier to any attempt to understand the value attributed to cultural resources. In section 7.3, insights from both the qualitative and quantitative components of this research are utilised to highlight the potential importance of non-use elements of value, in contrast with the marginal level of attention reserved to them in the wider literature. Furthermore, the dominance of positive facets of value implicitly accepted in the field is cast into doubt, and evidence derived from the focus groups conducted as part of this research is presented to suggest the inclusion of negative aspects in future categorisations of cultural value. Drawing on the experience gathered in this research and the review of other studies in this field using similar methods, section 7.4 considers how useful contingent valuation

techniques can be in the investigation of cultural value. Contributing to RQ 4, this section suggests that such methodology has the potential to yield important insights, provided it is used as part of a broader, mixed-methods approach.

Finally, chapter 8 assesses the extent to which the aim and research questions of this study were met, and situates the findings discussed in the previous section within the wider academic and policy context. The limitations of the study are presented, along with future avenues of research. In this respect, the methodological approach of the thesis is offered as a possible way to move the debate on cultural valuation forward.

## 2 Literature Review

### 2.1 Introduction

As highlighted in chapter 1, cultural resources, as part of the publicly funded sector, are facing an increasingly difficult economic climate. In the UK, with projected cuts of over 65% to local authority discretionary funding (Local Government Association, 2012:2), the need to understand the full range of values necessary to underpin policy decisions is ever more pressing. Although the Scottish Government has offered some degree of protection (Hastings *et al.*, 2013), it is clear that the need to fully articulate the importance of cultural resources is as topical in the Scottish context as it is in the rest of the country. However, the multi-faceted and complex nature of cultural value has so far impeded an adequate solution to this problem.

Drawing on a diverse and interdisciplinary body of work, this chapter interrogates available evidence on the valuation of cultural resources. Firstly, in exploring how the very notion of culture has evolved within a policy setting through an instrumental and impact-based approach, section 2.2 presents the need to understand the relationships between the functions that “culture” is expected to fulfil in social life, its conceptualisation and, in turn, its valuation. The focus is gradually narrowed to the urban policy scale, introducing the need for a more contextualised approach to the understanding of the importance of cultural resources.

Secondly, a knowledge gap is delineated in the way that cultural value is currently framed within the policy and academic literature. Specifically, the lack of studies able to capture non-use, subjective and intrinsic types of value is highlighted, representing a substantial shortcoming when dealing with a complex and highly emotive subject such as culture. The combination and integration of qualitative and quantitative methods of analysis is offered as a possible means overcoming such hurdle, or at least to move forward a debate that has been trapped by rigid epistemological stances.

Section 2.5 describes Contingent Valuation (CV) techniques, their potential advantages and the problems linked with their adoption. Examples of the use of these techniques and of choice experiments for the analysis of cultural value are then presented, showing how, despite wide criticism and clear issues of reliability and generalisation, such methodologies have the potential

to make a substantial contribution to the understanding of the importance attached to cultural resources.

Finally, a brief overview of the literature concerning residential choice is introduced, providing a backdrop for the methodological choices and the questionnaire design presented in the following chapter.

## 2.2 A historical overview of the evolution of the notion of culture

The notion of what constitutes “culture”, what resources are to be considered cultural and what are not, is far from universally agreed, and perhaps one of the most challenging knots for academic thinking to unravel. However, the difficulty in defining and demarcating culture and its role in society is not limited to the academic arena. In policy settings, the term has come to take on radically different meanings since the post-war period, in a gradual evolution that will be described in more depth in the following section. Likewise, the roles attributed to the cultural sector and the outcomes that policy-makers came to expect from investments in it changed and developed over time, in a move towards an instrumental approach to cultural policy. Moving away from both policy and academia and into the “real”, everyday world, getting a clear grasp of what the word culture means to people does not get any easier. To some, it immediately connotes associations with heritage, history and tradition: “their culture” being the way in which their country’s, region’s or community’s past informs the way they think and act. To others, culture means just “the arts”, and others still see it as “lifestyle”.

The history of the term “culture” is possibly as ancient as human civilization itself – and one of the meanings attached to it is, indeed, synonymous of civilization. Modern debate over what exactly is culture, what it includes and what role it has within human life can be traced back to the German idea of self-growth and human development. Indeed, the very word “culture” derives from an agricultural metaphor utilised by Cicero over two millennia ago, and signifying the managed growth of the human soul from its earthly, barbarian nature through the bettering influence of philosophy. In this sense, the German idea of *bildung* implied a self-developing process through study and the arts, in order to acquire a more aware, complete and balanced self. In this view culture, seen as “the disinterested endeavour after man's perfection” (Arnold, 1869), was limited to the arts and philosophy, with debates over whether the new, developing

scientific knowledge was to be included or not. Culture was seen as a force for moral good, and largely limited to restricted, educated elites.

The work of T.S. Eliot in 1948 contributed to the recognition of the existence of different “types” of culture. Eliot saw the existence of both “high” and “low”, popular, mass culture. However, although he maintained that the two were interlinked and mutually necessary, this classification still maintained an elitist and exclusive view of the arts as a more worthwhile form of cultural endeavour.

Since then, the meaning attached to culture has gradually expanded to include aspects of both Eliot’s high and popular culture, together with other aspects, such as sports or food, that were previously not included in the definition. This progressive widening of the notion has accompanied – and in many cases has been directly influenced by – the changing approach to cultural policy at various scales. In the case of large, international organisations such as the United Nations or the European Union, the adoption of a broader and more inclusive definition of “culture” reflected the attempt to foster integration and “dialogue among civilizations, cultures and peoples” (UNESCO, 2009, P. 51). Narrowing the scale, the way national and local governments modified their conceptualisation of the cultural sector resulted largely from a progressive shift towards an instrumental approach to cultural policy. As explained in more depth below, cultural resources were gradually seen as key to the attainment of social and economic development outcomes, and the demarcation of what was to be included in their definition changed accordingly (Bianchini, 1993).

This process is particularly evident when examining cultural policy at the urban level. As maintained by Harvey (foreword to Zukin, 1982, pp. xi–xii), cities have always been arenas of cultural production and innovation, influencing fashion and the creation of ‘taste’. Cultural facilities are concentrated in cities, making these the natural centres around which the cultural sector is developed and organised. Cultural resources have also long been important factors in the way cities grow, live, see themselves and project their image outward. Cultural events such as the World Fairs of the nineteenth century or the Olympic Games had deep and lasting impacts on the physical development of host cities like Paris, Barcelona or Milan, just as they informed their image both internally and externally (Chalkley and Essex, 1999).

This important role played by the cultural sector in the life and development of urban centres has gradually become even more pivotal in the past four decades. As argued by Garcia in her review of the cultural strategies of several European cities,

“although cities have always had cultural functions, the evolution of a global, service-oriented economy has placed culture at the very centre of urban development, and has shifted traditional notions of culture as art and heritage to a view of culture as an economic asset, a commodity with market value and, as such, a valuable producer of marketable city spaces” (Garcia, 2004, p. 313).

This view is shared by David Harvey, who presents the increasing reliance upon cultural strategies in the urban policy setting as a consequence of the progressive disintegration of the urban industrial infrastructure. In place of a development strategy built around manufacturing, post-industrial cities had to shift their efforts towards re-branding themselves as “places of culture” (Harvey, 1989).

Another factor that makes the city the ideal scale for the investigation of the conceptualisation of culture and its value is the fact that most research on cultural resources over the past 50 years has been based on the urban level. Consequently, ideas of the nature and importance of culture and its relationship with social and economic life developed around the urban scale, in academia as well as in the policy setting. This was often due to the fact that studies were directly funded by local authorities, but also because potential impacts and benefits of cultural activities, which represented the focus of most such studies, are more easily registered at the city and neighbourhood level. To better understand the evolution of the current literature on cultural resources, it is therefore necessary to investigate the evolution of urban cultural policies from the 1950s to the modern day.

### 2.2.1 Cultural policy at the urban level

As mentioned above, the role of culture in urban policies in Western Europe has changed dramatically over the past six decades, and with it changed the notion and definition of culture adopted by national and local governments and in academia. During the 1950s and 60s, culture was a relatively unimportant and non-political area of local policy-making, restricted to the potential, limited impact that the exploitation of local cultural resources could have on the local economy and image, particularly in terms of tourism. (Bianchini, 1993, Garcia, 2004). As such, the definition of culture was itself usually narrow, mainly limited to the so-called “arts”. These

included theatre, music, graphic arts, and a division between “high” and “low” arts was generally accepted, thus reinforcing the already elitist nature of the definition.

### *2.2.1 The 1970s and a new political function*

However, starting in the early 1970s, the emergence of the political left as a strong factor in governance, especially at the local level, resulted in a paradigmatic change in the western European cultural policy scenario. The post-1968 social movements brought with them a new, politically charged and increasingly impactful dimension to the definition of “culture”. Firstly, the new movements saw cultural developments as key components of the wider social and political life. They rejected the dominance of economic priorities over cultural issues, and maintained that these represented an integral part of the political agenda. Furthermore, due to their ties to popular music, alternative theatre and radical newspapers and magazines, the emerging movements contributed to the gradual overcoming of the traditional division between high and low arts. As a consequence, a wider definition of culture was progressively adopted in policy at various scales. By the mid to late 1970s, many politicians within the European left had been strongly influenced by the new movements, and numerous cities saw the introduction of new, radical cultural strategies. Now, cultural activities were seen as instrumental to the achievement of different political and social objectives (Zukin, 1995). They were seen as a way to facilitate and widen access to public life and empower all citizens, rather than just a privileged few. As a result, cultural policy was considered a key to counter the increasing socio-economic inequalities that were emerging in the urban lifestyles of that period. Self-expression, face to face interaction and community cohesion were also seen to be directly benefitting from the implementation of targeted cultural policies, and this in turn was meant to respond to the perceived progressive social atomisation. Examples of such targeted cultural policies were seen in Rome, Bologna and Hamburg. Here, the organisation of festivals and other forms of cultural animation were used to facilitate inter-generational integration, to re-engage the elderly and unemployed into public life, and to re-qualify unused space, such as redundant industrial buildings. This use of cultural activities to mitigate and counter the effects of the rapid economic and social changes taking place between the 1960s and 70s has been criticised and branded as an attempt to conceal social tensions and to appease emerging conflicts (Harvey, 1989).

However, one direct consequence of this wave of investment and attention to local cultural life was the gradual recognition of the potential it has for economic life and development. By the end of the decade, the idea of “quality of life” and the competition between cities to attract mobile human capital were strongly emerging as key factor in determining the economic success of urban areas. Cultural resources and leisure amenities were by now integral parts of what made a city a desirable place to be, and high profile festivals and events were organised to enhance metropolitan image and appeal. Sectors such as tourism, media, sports and recreation grew to become important components of local and national economies, and this paved the way for yet another shift in the perception and use of cultural policy in the 1980s.

### *2.2.2 Urban regeneration and economic development*

Gradually, the focus of investments in the cultural sector moved from widening access and reducing social inequality and atomization, to goals of city marketing and inter-urban competition (Kong, 2000, 387). The work of Francois Matarasso (1987) showed the direct link between participation in cultural activities and positive social outcomes at different scales, from the individual to the community and the whole-city level. This association being confirmed in an academic setting encouraged the further adoption of cultural strategies as a means of urban regeneration. Cities that struggled with economic change and post-industrial legacies, such as Glasgow and Sheffield, developed new cultural strategies in order to encourage local feelings of confidence, foster regeneration and project these changes outward to attract investment (Barber, 2007). Other cities, like Paris, used their cultural policies to re-affirm their status and image and to keep attracting the mix of skills and resources that guaranteed their leadership. As a result of this shift in the use and the perceived potential impact of cultural strategies, the dominant definition of “culture” evolved once more. It now came to include the arts, intended as both “high” and “low”, tourism, media and in most cases sports and leisure amenities (Bianchini, 1993).

This trend of cultural resources being viewed as instrumental to achieve economic and social development continued during the 1990s, seeing more and more cities developing innovative cultural strategies in order to foster regeneration, or simply re-brand themselves (Evans, 2003, 420). The process saw the emergence of the so-called “creative Industries”, which included fashion, media, advertising, architecture and design, film, publishing and other activities “which originate from individual creativity and have the potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property” (DCMS, 2001, p04). The increasingly

recognised economic potential of these industries and their ability to attract and develop talent led to the focus of cultural policy being moved more and more towards the instrumental use of cultural resources. During the mid-1990s, with the further move towards neo-liberalism across most of the political spectrum in Western Europe, cultural policy gradually became a way to achieve economic growth and development, in the belief that social outcomes and wider urban regeneration would necessarily follow (Barber, 2008).

The seminal work of John Myerscough in 1988 had demonstrated the direct economic importance of the arts and wider cultural industries, and sparked a succession of academic and policy-driven research on the direct and indirect economic returns on cultural investments. In turn, this work confirmed and reinforced the direction taken by cultural strategies in pursuing large-scale, flagship projects in the hope of an ensuing harvest of economic and social beneficial impacts. An example of such focus was the Guggenheim Museum being built in Bilbao, Spain, in 1997. Although largely a successful story, this represents an instance in which cultural investment in a large, infrastructure-based project was used in order to attract tourism, further external capital and, ultimately, making the formerly depressed, post-industrial Basque city a more appealing and desirable place to live. In turn, this process was thought to be the gateway to the attraction of productive, talented in-comers and to retaining the city's own valuable minds (Plaza, 2006).

Also representative of this approach were the numerous attempts to utilise the nomination as European city of Culture as a springboard towards regeneration and development. Authors such as Mooney (2004) analysed these attempts and the degree of success they brought, concluding that, in many cases, this strategy was not sufficient to address the underlying social and economic problems characterising many post-industrial cities. In the case of Glasgow, in particular, Mooney (2004) describes how the benefits of culture-led urban renewal largely bypassed the more income and employment-deprived segments of the population. Furthermore, this strategy effectively exacerbated inequality and in many cases contributed to the gentrification of residential areas and the displacement of the original population (Paton *et al.*, 2012).

### 2.2.3 The "Creative City"

Strategies of this kind represented a prelude to the more thoroughly framed and theorised work from Richard Florida, who in 2002 brought the concepts of the "creative class" to the forefront

of the urban policy debate. According to Florida, the best - if not the only - way for cities to compete and to ensure a thriving and successful economic and social environment for themselves was to attract talent. More specifically, talent was seen as the capacity to bring a creative and innovative mind set and new skills to the city. Crucially, Florida saw the creation of a thriving cultural scene and the presence of first class leisure amenities as a key factor in attracting this highly desirable set of incomers. As such, public investment in cultural resources was encouraged as an overarching strategy for urban success.

Florida's theories were descended from the work of Charles Landry. In his 1995 book, 'The Creative City', Landry suggested that the only way for a city to ensure the necessary resilience to cope with the changing economic and social landscape of the 1980s and 90s, was to ensure that culture and creativity were embedded into all of its organisations and structures at all levels. With appropriate investments in cultural resources and education, citizens and policy-makers alike would be able to constantly re-discuss and evolve metropolitan structures and processes, and this would make cities more adaptive and successful, but also more distinctive and attractive. Other positive products of this "creative turn" in all levels of city life would be enhanced social cohesion, a reduction of marginalisation and social segregation and an enhanced sense of place and belonging.

Critically, what was absorbed and then developed of Landry's suggestions was the fruitful nature of cultural investment and the need for cities to be unique and attract talent and investment from the outside, while the necessity for the whole system, including the organisational and hierarchical structure, to be less rigid and more open to creativity and innovation was largely ignored. In other words, what had become as a new method for strategic urban planning and a vision of a city in which people feel free to use their imagination and to use innovation to tackle social problems (Atkinson and Esthope, 2007) was developed into an instrumental toolkit for inter-city competition and re-branding.

By the early 2000s, the role of the cultural sector in the generation of income and employment, the delivery of positive social outcomes and as a key factor in shaping a distinctive local image and attract talent and investment was firmly established in policy-making at all levels (Barber, 2008). Nevertheless, numerous critiques have since been moved to this instrumental approach to cultural investment, and to Florida's theories in particular. Some authors focussed on the methodology of Florida's research, reviewing the data he presented and challenging his results (Clark *et al*, 2002; Glaeser, 2005). While the basic correlation between the presence of highly

creative and productive clusters and urban development was generally accepted, the necessity to create “bohemian” neighbourhoods in order to attract more educated residents was cast into doubt. The “creative city” ideology was also criticised in a more fundamental manner by authors such as Krätke (2010) for its basic assumption that the potential for innovation and development rests solely or mainly in the process of gentrification and the attraction of a “higher class” of people. Krätke pointed out that, while new idea and innovative processes are key factors in urban and regional development, so too are the presence of skilled labourers and the city’s human resources as a whole. Other authors recognised the validity of Florida’s approach, but pointed towards the highly unique nature of cultural settings as a key aspect to be taken into consideration. Studying the distribution and clustering of productive economies in Italy and Spain, Lazzaretti *et al.* (2010) observed how Florida’s theory appeared to be confirmed in the Spanish case studies, but not in the Italian one. The authors attributed this distinction to the different historical, social and cultural backgrounds in the two countries, thus concluding that the adoption and application of policies inspired by the “creative city” should be discretionary and dependant on the local characteristics. The same recommendations are echoed in the work of Dave O’Brien on the regeneration strategy adopted in Liverpool. All these authors recognised the importance of the local cultural and creative environment and welcomed investments in this field, but they criticised Florida’s call for an “overall urban restructuring in favour of certain functional elites of the neoliberal model of society (i.e. the creative professionals in Florida’s conception)” (Krätke, 2010, p. 16).

This brief historical overview has shown how the approach to cultural policy in the urban setting developed from a view of culture as a tool for philosophical self-improvement largely reserved to an educated elite to a more encompassing definition, taking on political and economic functions and a more socially inclusive viewpoint. Correspondingly, the approach to urban cultural policy became gradually more instrumental. Cultural strategies were proposed as a panacea, able to foster urban regeneration and spur economic development. The possible drawbacks of such policies, such as issues of gentrification, displacement and segregation were ignored (Long, 2010), and the “creative city” approach was uncritically applied to numerous cities irrespective of their unique and distinctive characteristics. Such one-size-fits-all did not take into consideration the complex and composite nature of urban spaces, described in the following section.

#### 2.2.4 *Cities as complex and diverse spaces*

The previous section has highlighted the tendency, in policy-making and academic settings alike, to consider cities as a homogeneous group characterised by a series of distinctive traits that, in separating them from “rural” locations, makes them all the same. As pointed out by Barber (2007), the numerous attempts to employ local cultural strategies for urban regeneration, for example, stem from the assumption that, if certain approaches were successful in one instance, they must be good for “cities” in general. Such attitude does not take into consideration the vital differences that separate many cities, their individual social, cultural economic or infrastructural distinctiveness (Pratt, 2011).

This thesis investigates this distinctiveness by studying the role played by cultural resources in two distinct and deeply dissimilar Scottish cities, such as Edinburgh and Dundee. The socio-economic and demographic backgrounds of the two cities, together with their dissimilar cultural environments, are shown to produce different patterns of cultural preference and unique notions of what culture actually is.

However, just as cities can be unique environments, dissimilar from other urban settings, so too the same space can be viewed and experienced differently by distinct people and groups of people. Cities bring together heterogeneous groups of people in densely compacted proximity. Indeed, this has been offered as one of the key aspects defining what a city is (Pile, 1999, p.48). Nevertheless, the fact that people live in the same, limited geographical space does not imply that they experience it the same way. The mere fact that some people may transit a street predominantly during the night time rather than the day will give them a wholly different experience of it. John Allen (1999) describes how a city’s rhythm can radically change across the various times of the day. The noises and smells, the business and congestion, the atmosphere and the very safety of the place vary from day to night, rush hour to off-peak. Consequently, the experiences of a commuter, who only lives in the city during the daytime, will be very different from those of a permanent resident who lives through all the times and phases of the day. Moreover, cities are not spatially homogeneous entities, but exhibit great variations depending on their specific areas and neighbourhoods. The experience of life in London will not be the same for a financial analyst working in the City, a tourist spending a few days there or a migrant subsisting on temporary occupations and living in sub-standard accommodation and unsafe neighbourhoods (Massey, 2005). Therefore, any city will be imagined, viewed and lived

in many different ways, depending on socio-economic background, occupation, gender, ethnicity and many other characteristics of the observer.

The stratified nature of urban life is portrayed by David Harvey in his description of how urbanisation is, from its very beginning, a product of class phenomena: urban centres originate from the accumulation of surplus product, and since surpluses have been extracted from somewhere and from somebody (usually an oppressed peasantry) while the control over the disbursement of the surplus typically lies in a few hands (Harvey, 2008, p. 2). The results are impressed into the spatial forms of cities, divided as they are into different areas and neighbourhoods, some of which are economically affluent and rich in amenities and facilities of all sorts, while others may present high indexes of multiple deprivation and be characterised as “problematic” (Johnstone and Mooney, 2005).

Similarly, diverging views of what constitutes “culture”, its role in society and how important it is can be found not only across distinct cities, but also in different neighbourhoods within the same city. The definition of culture presented at the beginning of section 2.2 as the “learned system of meanings and symbols that are shared by a group” does not give any indication of scale. Terms such as “western culture” for example, bind together Western European, North American and Australasian societies in the understanding that, however marginally dissimilar, they share more communalities amongst them than they do with the “other” world cultures. Yet, European cultures can themselves be individually characterised, and even within the United Kingdom, a distinct Scottish culture can be set apart, and Edinburgh itself is often described as having its own sub-culture.

Therefore, any study of cultural resources in an urban setting has to take into consideration the fundamental dissimilarities that may arise between different cities not only in the importance that is attributed to them, but also – and most importantly – in the very idea of what “culture” is in the first place. The two cities representing the geographical focus of this research are characterised by markedly different socio-economic and historical backgrounds (see section 3.2.1). Such diverging contexts can be expected to produce different sets of cultural preferences, in a process documented and described, amongst others, by Sharon Zukin in New York (1996) and Tally Katz-Gerro in Europe, Israel and the United States (2002). The higher concentration of museums, galleries and other cultural resources in Edinburgh, combined to the presence of job opportunities, attracts affluent and professionally qualified residents to the city, who are more likely to enjoy and value those types of cultural resources. This could in time be seen to alter the

city's cultural environment and the preferences of its residents, and encourage the emergence of yet more culture and leisure facilities. This could be seen to lead not only to a much more rich cultural scene than in Dundee, but also to different perceptions of what culture is and what is for, and how important it is.

However, similarly to what said above for the subjective and multi-dimensional nature of urban space and how it is experienced, the notion of culture and its importance is also likely to vary greatly within the same city (Zukin, 2001). Therefore, while it could be expected that the two cities will present diverging patterns of cultural preferences, and that the prevailing notions of what culture is will differ, it can also be expected that significant variations will be highlighted between participants with different socio-economic and demographic backgrounds. In her book "The Culture of Cities" (1995), Sharon Zukin describes the process through which the progressive gentrification of neighbourhoods changes the local culture. In some cases, this process can result in new cultural preferences and identities emerging for the city as a whole. However, the old residents and "their" culture have not disappeared. They have likely been driven out of neighbourhoods by the increase in rent levels and the cost of life in general, and may be concentrated in certain areas of the city. The "new culture" brought in by the influx of educated and affluent residents may have become the dominant one, and will also, in time, affect the "old culture" and change aspects of it, but it can and should not be considered as representative of the entire city's population. Taking again Mooney's work on Glasgow's culture-led renewal into consideration, he points out how the city itself cannot and should not be considered as an agent, a homogeneous entity that "wins" or "loses" out of certain strategies. It is only particular groups of its citizens living in particular parts of the that benefit from such processes, and even fewer elites that determine and direct them (Mooney, 2004).

Accordingly, this thesis may refer to the "dominant notion of culture in Edinburgh", or in Dundee, but this will only refer to what will have emerged as the most commonly held view amongst participants in those cities, with the clear understanding that every respondents will likely have his or her own individual ideas concerning culture and its role in society. Data on the socio-economic and demographic background of participants is used to highlight the many perceptions and valuations of cultural resources present in the two cities, adding to the body of literature in the field and emphasising the need for a more nuanced and tailored approach than the one currently prevalent in urban cultural policy.

### 2.3 Culture as a term in the field of Urban Studies

As explained in section 2.2, the past two decades have seen a growing tendency to attribute instrumental and strategic functions to the cultural sector. Cultural resources have been increasingly relied upon in order to spur local regeneration, aid economic development, promote a city's image and provide the edge in inter-urban competition, regardless of the specific context characterising different cities.

Concurrently, the definition of what constituted "culture" evolved and expanded and, from the United Nations down to the local authority level, it seemed to follow the broad and inclusive meaning assigned to it by Raymond Williams (1976, p. 90). According to Williams, "culture represents all the knowledge, ideas and processes that define one community as different from others, together with the symbols used to encode this knowledge and transmit it within the community and across generations". This definition therefore came to potentially include lifestyle, sports and leisure or retail and food.

The distinction between the "cultural" and the "creative" industries was also formalised. The term "culture industry" had appeared in the post-war period as a radical critique of mass entertainment led by Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer (1947). At that time, "culture industry" was a concept intended to shock, as culture and industry were seen to be dichotomous and the term was used in a critical way against the paucity and meaninglessness of modern cultural life. Gradually, the term was accepted to intend culture *as* an industry, recognising its potential to generate income and services. According to the UN (2010, p. 5), the cultural industries are defined as "combining the creation, production and commercialization of contents which are intangible and cultural in nature. These contents are typically protected by copyright and they can take the form of goods or services". An important aspect of the cultural industries is that they are seen to be "central in promoting and maintaining cultural diversity and in ensuring democratic access to culture".

The 'creative industries', on the other hand, are defined as "any economic activity producing symbolic products with a heavy reliance on intellectual property and for as wide a market as possible" (UN, 2010, p. 6). It appears clear that, according to these definitions, both cultural and creative industries are part of the wider concept of culture, but the creative industries are seen as having a wider scope and encompassing activities with a more commercial and economic

focus. These descriptions and classifications have been widely maintained at the official level until the present day in Scotland, the United Kingdom and in Europe in general. However, while policy documents and statements are generally adopting these definition, the issue of what exactly is to be considered part of the cultural sector is far from settled, both in terms of academic research and of practical policy-making.

In academia, the interchangeable use of “culture” and “the arts” persists, with numerous studies proposing to analyse the cultural sector as a whole but ending up limiting their scope, more or less implicitly, to performing arts and museums or the creative industries. Examples of this are studies from Selwood (2002), Donovan (2013) and the latest report of the Warwick commission on the future of cultural value (2015). The latter is a clear instance in which a high profile and ambitious project that set out with the whole cultural sector in its scope, effectively limited its reach to those components of the cultural industries capable of generating revenue, plus museums and libraries.

Similar, narrow scopes are used in most studies at the urban level. These include, for example, work on the impacts of the cultural sector on cities’ economic development (Bille and Shulze, 2006), on the process of cultural clustering (Mommaas, 2001) or on the specialisation of certain cities in the production of cultural products (Scott, 2002). In all these cases, investigations that could have adopted a much wider focus restricted their analysis to the arts and the creative industries. At the opposite end of the spectrum, authors such as Essex and Chalkley (2007) and Richards and Wilson (2004) adopt a broader reach, considering major sporting events alongside international expos and cultural fairs in their impacts on urban development. Zukin (1995) also includes cafes, restaurants and retail facilities in her consideration of what contributes to the “local culture”.

The same dichotomous approach is evident in the policy arena. Within its cultural policy document (1999, p.4), for example, Edinburgh City Council describes culture by adopting the UNESCO definition as “all distinctive spiritual and material, intellectual and emotional features that characterise a society or a social group”. However, when proceeding to mention the actual main areas of activity included within this definition, the document restricts the list to performing and visual arts, museums, design, architecture, multi-media and literature. The same confusion appears when the UKs DCMS states in its own evidence toolkit that when it comes to culture: “There are no shared definitions, systems and methodologies” (2004, p.1).

Yet in practice definitions *are* used by policy-makers. As described above, these notions flow from administrative convenience, and do not necessarily match people's everyday understanding or experience of culture (Barber, 2007). Thus, by super-imposing their own, ever-changing and often utilitarian notion of what constitutes culture, local governments reinforce and widen the gap that exists between politics and the public when it comes to culture (Holden, 2004). These concerns echo the calls for a more democratic and inclusive formulation of urban cultural policies made by authors such as Garcia (2004), Mooney (2004) and Harvey (2008). All these authors point to the necessity to develop policies that carefully consider and acknowledge *whose* culture is being supported at any given time and for what purpose.

These considerations are exemplified even more directly in Mooney's work on Glasgow and the legacy of its nomination as European City of Culture (ECOC) in 1990. Crucially, although he recognises the positive impacts of the year-long programme and of the substantial investments that accompanied it, Mooney presents the matter of the city's image and identity as the central issue. He describes how the City of Culture programme was offered as a way to shake off the legacy of post-industrial depression and to foster a new, vibrant era in the city's development. However, according to the concerns and protests of the critics to ECOC, the programme was more an exercise of "sanitisation" of the city's image rather than a genuine celebration of it. Glasgow's troubled but fertile past as a place of social – and socialist – struggle was being covered with a veneer of more inviting and "safe" cultural events. In order to attract tourism and investment, old, troubled Glasgow was being left behind in favour of a new city. As a result, those citizens who firmly belonged to the old working class reality felt alienated and excluded from the new sense of identity that was being cited as one of the main successes of the programme. Furthermore, while property speculation and enterprise enjoyed the positive effects of this rebranding, the chronic problems that affected a large proportion of the city remained untouched. The disconnect between policy and population, therefore, appears two-fold. On the one hand, it relates to which and *whose* meanings of culture should inform policy. On the other hand, to what kind of "development" is to be pursued and what outcomes should be the focus of the city's strategy. However, as Harvey (2008) points out, the two questions are deeply connected: as cultural strategies have been and continue to be used as a key catalyst for urban renewal and development, the notion of "culture" informing those goes beyond mere matters of semantics. Indeed, it relates to who has access to the right to participate in steering and shaping the whole process of urbanisation.

It becomes clear, then, that any successful attempt to define and describe what is meant with the term “culture” needs to take into consideration the scale that the analysis refers to, the particular context, both social and geographical, that constantly produces the local cultural background, and the values, norms and held beliefs of the individuals that, by being part of it, are formed and inform their own culture. This thesis addresses this knowledge gap directly, by analysing the diverging notions of “culture” emerging from fieldwork in the two cities of Dundee and Edinburgh. By studying how various components of the cultural sector are dissimilarly valued in the two settings, the way in which the different socio-economic and demographic backgrounds inform upheld notions of culture and its valuations will become clear, and yield a more meaningful assessment of cultural value.

## 2.4 Defining and exploring “value”

The progressive shift towards an instrumental and outcome-based approach to cultural policy outlined in the previous section culminated in the early 2000s with Florida’s explicit mention of cultural investment as a key to economic development. Before then, another process had started gradually eroding the unconventional and independent status that the cultural sector had traditionally occupied within the public funding realm. While artistic and cultural activities had previously been subsidised by the public sector in the name of their intrinsic “goodness”, of some form of elitist patronage or, from the 1970s onwards, because of perceived social benefits that they fostered, during the 1980s this tendency changed sharply. In a general political climate in which public funding had to be based on “economy, efficiency and effectiveness”, cultural organisations found themselves having to prove how and why they were useful to society (Holden, 2004), be it in terms of economic or social benefits. The following decade saw the managerial structuring of public spending being reinforced, and the framing of the rationale for investment into targets, outputs and outcomes became the norm at all levels of governance.

In this new climate, capturing the value of a project or of a whole sector became a priority, as this was seen as a key factor in applying for funding or justifying its grants. The impacts and returns on investment that a given project was expected to have had to be listed and quantified; outcomes and specific targets were set and checked.

While this new agenda suited a rapid and straightforward decision making process, it proved to be particularly problematic for those sectors of economic and social life that did not fit into this

economic and market-oriented logic. By quantifying worth mainly or solely in terms of observable benefits and impacts, it failed to engage with the complex nature of value, both as an abstract concept and in practical terms. Cultural or environmental resources, for example, despite being clearly valuable to society, largely escape monetary valuation, and have impacts which are not immediately observed or quantified. The complex and multi-faceted nature of value can be exemplified by a sign that, according to Saxon (2005), used to be in Albert Einstein's office, and read:

*"Not everything that counts can be counted; and not everything that can be counted, counts"*

Unravelling this complex notion is made even more difficult by the fact that, as Miller (2008) notes, the word "value" itself seems to have become "as ubiquitous as email". Both in academia and in society more generally, this extensive use has encouraged a proliferation of different meanings. Amongst them the Oxford English Dictionary (2008), reports: "the regard that something is held to deserve", "importance or worth", "principles or standards of behaviour" and "material or monetary worth". Yet, the last meaning is predominantly considered in discussions of value, with scarce or no attention being paid to its other possible connotations. In modern economics, for example, there is the implicit assumption that the concepts of "value" and "price" are somehow interchangeable (Miller, 2008). This mono-dimensional interpretation has its roots in the utility theory which emerged in the nineteenth century. This theory used consumer preference and the willingness to pay for a good, together with its production cost, to determine market price. This type of cost-demand function proved to be so effective in setting market prices throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century, that a blind reliance on it became the norm, with no attention being paid to the reasons behind the demand for a certain good or the potential value that could escape the market price (Throsby, 2005).

Likewise, the efforts made in the policy arena to capture the value of a given resource, or to evaluate a project or a sector, often limit their analysis to the mere potential for direct and indirect economic returns. This process fails to consider, for example, the possible emotive, intangible and intrinsic value that could be attached to a good or resource, and which would be very hard to empirically detect and arguably impossible to quantify. Other forms of value, more material but still hard to capture, are also ignored by a merely instrumental approach to valuation.

One potentially helpful classification of different types of value is offered by Choumert and Salanié in their work on urban environmental resources (2008), dividing value into use and non-use components. This categorisation is presented in table 2.1.

**Table 2.1 Different types of value - (Choumert and Salanié, 2008, p. 336)**

<b>Value</b>	<b>Use Values</b>	<b>Direct Use Values</b> – observable benefits of a resource
		<b>Indirect Use Values</b> – benefits derived from the functions of a resource, but removed in terms of time or space
		<b>Option Value</b> – value derived from the potential for future use
	<b>Non- Use Values</b>	<b>Bequest Value</b> – preservation of a resource for future generations
		<b>Existence Value</b> –the benefit of simply know a resource exists, irrespective of potential use
		<b>Nostalgic Value</b> – value derived from past use and indirect association with the past
		<b>Philantropy Value</b> – the importance of a resource being there for others and/or wider society

The classification proposed by Choumert and Salanié highlights the presence of two main types of value for a given resource: value that is more or less directly associated to the use or the consumption of the good, and value that exists independently and is intimately linked to the

existence of the resource, and to the emotive and moral connection with the subject who values it. The latter can include elements such as the importance of preserving a certain resource for other members of society or for future generations, or even the simple fact that a good could be valued for its mere existence (Krutilla, 1967). This multi-faceted nature of value becomes even more complex when applied to a largely intangible concept like culture. However, this also makes attempting to understand those components of worth which are not immediately obvious or directly quantifiable even more important, as they are likely to represent a large portion of the total. In answer to this need of clarity on the nature of cultural value, what constitutes it and the importance it has in wider society, numerous studies and theories have been presented in the past few decades.

#### **2.4.1 Existing notions of cultural value**

One such example was work of David Throsby (2002), who analysed cultural value through its categorisation into social, symbolic, aesthetic, spiritual and historic value. Attempting to devise a framework of cultural value that could be operationalised in a policy framework, Throsby attempted to break down the otherwise vague realm of non-use and non-economic value associated with culture. Throsby sees cultural value as a whole as different - but not unrelated to - its economic value. He uses the example of a heritage building, which represents an economic asset. In comparison to another building in the same area and of similar size, the heritage building has an added value, represented by its cultural significance, which in turn contributes to increase its economic value. Similarly, a painting or a sculpture is normally valued beyond and above its mere material worth. The added value is due to the work of art being a vehicle for symbolic, aesthetic or spiritual information and represents its cultural value.

What would happen, then, if a work of art was locked away and nobody knew of its existence? It would still have economic value, if only for the materials used in its creation. However, the work of art would not be able to convey its symbolic meaning, nor would its aesthetic qualities be appreciated by an audience. Moreover, people would not even be able to place a value on the knowledge that the work of art exists, or on the memory of it. The piece would effectively be stripped of its cultural value. It appears clear, then, that culture gains value through communication and interaction between human beings. Extending this concept to society as a whole, Throsby proposed the introduction of cultural capital alongside the accepted physical, human and natural capitals. Cultural capital is defined as the set of ideas, practices, beliefs and

values which serve to identify and bind together a given group of people, together with the stock of tangible cultural assets, such as buildings or artworks, and intangible assets like music and literature. Just like physical or human capital, cultural capital is subject to degrade and depreciation and needs investment to be maintained and developed. According to Throsby, “It is becoming clearer that cultural “ecosystems” underpin the operations of the real economy, affecting the way people behave and the choices they make. Neglect of cultural capital, for example by allowing heritage to deteriorate, by failing to sustain the cultural values that provide people with a sense of identity, or by not undertaking the investment needed to maintain and increase our stock of intangible cultural capital, will cause cultural systems to break down, with consequent loss of both welfare and economic output” (Throsby, 1999, p. 9).

In this sense, any economic or social activity that takes place in a given area is subject to the effects of the local ‘culture’. For example, the beliefs and practices shared by the majority of residents in a given area will affect whether or not they will organise a neighbourhood watch, or how intense the community life will be in a village. Similarly, economic activity will be influenced by the regional culture. An interesting study that started to investigate the dynamics of this relationship was published in 2005 by Al James. In his paper, James demonstrates how there is a direct relationship between the economic performance of a firm and the dominant cultural characteristics of the company itself and of the region where it is based. Although the study had a limited scope, both in terms of the geographical area and the type of economic activity it took into consideration, the same relationship could potentially be extended to economic productivity in general.

James’ suggestion of the crucial role of cultural capital in economic productivity and Throsby’s wider idea of its importance in the thriving and well-being of society as a whole derive from the thinking of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu who, in the 1970s, investigated the concept of culture, its value and the role it plays in individual and social dynamics. According to Bourdieu (1977), society moves around three types of capital: economic, social and cultural. Economic capital represents the control of resources such as properties or money. Social capital includes resources available to an individual through his relationships, networks of support and through group membership. Finally, cultural capital consists of any knowledge, experience or connections to which an individual has been exposed throughout his lifetime. Control over different amounts of the three capitals determines class and social dynamics both at the individual and wider societal level. Crucially, Bourdieu saw cultural capital as the key asset, able

to determine access to the other two. As such, cultural capital is seen as a crucial factor in shaping not only the lives of individuals, but the structures and dynamics of society as a whole. In a world, such as seen by the French sociologist, in which inequalities and class stratification characterise the distribution and governing of economic capital, control over culture, its encoding and its transmission becomes the key to social (im)mobility and to power.

Another potentially useful classification is proposed by John Holden (2004), according to whom the main problem in measuring cultural value stems from the fact that different stakeholders tend to prioritise different types of value. Holden proposes three types of value as being generated by culture: intrinsic, instrumental and institutional. Intrinsic values are the set of values that relate to the subjective experience of culture intellectually, emotionally and spiritually. Instrumental values relate to the ancillary effects of culture, where culture is used to achieve a social or economic purpose. Institutional value is generated from the interaction between a cultural organisation, such as a museum, and the public. For example, it could be expressed with the feedback from the public on the experience of an event. When asked to evaluate a particular cultural event, a member of the public will mainly consider its intrinsic and institutional value. A funding body, for example a city council, will be interested mainly in the instrumental value, while an artist will regard the intrinsic value as the most important. The overall importance of culture is, according to Holden, far higher in the twenty-first century than it had been in the previous decades. More diverse and multi-ethnic environments and constantly shifting working lives mean that individuals find it harder to have a clear and well-marked sense of self and of their place in society. They therefore need culture to make sense of their identity.

The ideas and framings by Throsby, Holden and Bourdieu presented above share the central belief that the value of cultural resources goes beyond its directly observable benefits. Their interpretations put cultural value at the centre of social dynamics and assign it a critical role in determining the production of and access to all other types of resources. Seen as the set of shared meanings and norms that hold society together, but also lock social relations in a self-propagating system of fixed power roles, culture would represent the most valuable resource available.

## 2.4.2 Cultural Valuation

A classification of cultural value following the scheme given in Table 2.1, such as those suggested by both Throsby and Holden, would see culture as having essentially two types of value: one that can be captured with a quantitative approach and the adoption of various forms of monetisation, and one, corresponding to the 'intrinsic value' described by Holden, which cannot be measured in economic terms. Broadly speaking, these could be assigned respectively to the use and non-use values sections of the table. The debate over cultural valuation rests primarily over the acceptance of this dichotomy and the importance that each type of value contributes. Authors such as Tusa (1999) and Merli (2002) see the aesthetic, intrinsic value of culture as the main component to be considered, and discard quantitative methods of analysis as incapable of capturing the real worth of cultural activities.

Conversely, the work of Eftec (2005) and of scholars like Pinnock (2009) and Mason (2002) theorises that intrinsic value is contained, represented and measured within the economic value of culture. In other words, whatever spiritual enrichment or recreational value people receive from culture, it will be reflected in mechanisms the markets adopt to regulate themselves, such as prices. Following this model, an evaluation of the impact of a given cultural facility could merely include the economic consequences of investment in the sector in a given city. An example of this connotation would be a Cost-Benefit Analysis (CBA) including on the one hand the monetary investments made to build a new museum and, on the other, the yearly income generated by the museum plus all the measurable positive spill overs, such as job creation, increase in tourism etc. Examples of this approach can be found in Myerscough (1988), Noonan (2002), Jones (2004) and Plaza (2006).

Interestingly, most of these authors, although focussing on financial returns and impacts, report the detection of a series of positive spill-overs of investments in culture. These "additional benefits" include urban renewal, lower population turnover, crime rate reductions and more diversity in local businesses.

These results follow and confirm the long-held association between cultural resources and positive social outcomes. Such links have been studied and documented by authors such as Landry (1996), Williams (1997) and Lowe (2000), and show how a range of positive outcomes can be attributed to cultural participation, both at the individual and wider community level.

These outcomes have been grouped by Matarasso (1997), into six categories:

- **Personal development**, dealing with change at an individual level, for example education, transferable skills, improved self-confidence, social networks etc.
- **Social cohesion**: representing the connections between people and groups, intercultural and intergenerational understanding and fear of crime.
- **Community empowerment and self-determination**: addressing organisational capacity building, involvement in democratic processes and support for community-led initiatives.
- **Local image and identity** dealing with sense of place, belonging to a community, and the image that groups of people have of themselves and/or of public bodies.
- **Imagination and vision** concerning creativity, professional practice, positive risk-taking and touching on expectations and symbols.
- **Health and well-being** related to health benefits and education through the arts, and at people's enjoyment of life.

However, despite attempting to move the focus away from merely financial and economic benefits and towards outcomes related to the well-being of individuals and communities, all these studies maintained the outcome and target-based approach that characterises public policy in the sector, seeking to value culture in virtue of its observable impacts. Indeed, in a final note clearly directed to policymakers and local authorities, Matarasso states that participatory cultural activities “cost very little in the context of spending on social goals. They represent an insignificant financial risk to public services, but can produce impacts (social *and* economic) out of proportion to their cost” (1997, p.75). This comment clearly exemplifies how, even while aiming at improvements in welfare and quality of life, the focus of most of the work done on cultural valuation ultimately remained on encapsulating the instrumental worth of cultural resources.

Considering again Table 2.1 and the classification of the different types of value proposed by Choumert and Salanié (2008), most of the benefits listed in the studies presented above, and indeed in most of the literature reviewed for this thesis, would fall within the “use value” side. Economic outcomes, direct and indirect, are clear examples of this, but also social cohesion, individual development and health and well-being are all seen as deriving from direct engagement in cultural activities.

However, value could be placed on the fact that cultural resources are preserved for future generations, or on memories associated with them, or simply to the fact that culture is “what makes us, us”. None of these types of value can be captured or observed in terms of its impacts, but only by looking at individual experiences and opinions on the matter. Cultural value could indeed be seen as being *predominantly* constituted of intangible, unstable and multi-dimensional components belonging to the non-use sphere. Therefore, an analysis of whether the “use” component represents the main constituent of the value attributed to cultural goods and resources – as is implicitly suggested by the proliferation of studies assessing this type of value - becomes important.

This study will attempt to clarify this issue, by comparing information on frequency of use of different types of cultural resources with data on their valuation. This should clarify whether the valuations registered in the two cities included in the study is predominantly linked to their use, or if non-use value represents a relevant proportion of the total worth.

Nevertheless, the axiom that sees potential returns as the main rational for investment in public services is what should ultimately be challenged in order to be able to proceed to a wider and more comprehensive analysis of cultural value. As John Holden maintains: “the answer to the question ‘why fund culture?’ should be ‘because the public wants it’ (2006, p.25). In other words, as culture is socially constructed and exists only within our experience of it, capturing its value essentially means understanding how important it is to the society that creates it, and ultimately to people. While no public body could possibly be expected to refrain from a structured and rational approach when funding public services and a careful analysis of costs and impacts would always be needed when evaluating projects or whole sectors, this cannot be seen as an exhaustive way to understand the value of cultural resources.

#### *2.4.2.i Culture, Place and Identity*

A crucial dimension in the understanding of cultural valuation is represented by its relationship with identity and place. The potential for links between cultural participation and positive outcomes in terms of social cohesion, community empowerment and local identity previously mentioned in this section represents a mono-directional view of this relationship. For example, what identity is being forged or re-enforced, and to which extent is this a spontaneous process? What is the role of factors such as class or inequality in shaping what culture is being produced, accessed and valued? Numerous studies across different academic fields have approached these issues. Miles and Sullivan, 2010 described how socio-economic differences derived from

conditions such as income and employment play an important role in perpetuating cycles of transmission in cultural engagement and disengagement. These findings echo the work of numerous authors presenting social inequalities amongst the main factors influencing cultural consumption and valuation (Goldthorpe, 2007, Bennett et al, 2009).

Taking Part, the regular survey of cultural and sports engagement led by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport, tells us that the proportion of adults in the upper socioeconomic group who had attended or participated in the arts in the previous year was 82 per cent, compared with 67 per cent for the lower socio-economic group, with similar patterns for heritage (79 per cent and 63 per cent), museums and galleries (60 per cent and 39 per cent) and digital participation (43 per cent and 34 per cent), with libraries showing the smallest difference (36 per cent and 31 per cent). Other background variables were also found to influence cultural participation: women had higher levels of engagement than men with the arts and visiting libraries, but much less so in areas such as heritage and museums. Black and minority ethnic groups were underrepresented in all cultural activities apart from visiting a library, where they significantly exceeded white respondents (DCMS, 2015, pp.46-50). In a recent study of three waves of Taking Part surveys, Reeves (2015) suggests that the real driver of arts participation (in contrast to more passive consumption) is not so much class or status, but education. Education is not, of course, divorced from class and status but nor is it simply determined by them.

However, much debate about inequalities, social class and cultural participation and valuation is built upon a narrow definition of what constitutes “arts and culture”, seeing it through hierarchies of taste, adds a further complication. Widening the definition to embrace more informal activities often described as “leisure” rather than arts and culture, and including commercial and amateur activities, television and other forms of home consumption, may capture a different reality. Rather than being seen as “not engaged” or associated to a lower valuation of cultural resources, lower socio-economic classes could emerge as being engaged in “different” cultures (O’Brien and Oakley, 2015). It is therefore important not to impose simplistic conceptions such as ‘barriers to access’, implying that those on the wrong side of the barrier are not culturally engaged rather than often being differently culturally engaged.

Issues of class, inequality and socio-economic background are important not only in terms of participation and consumption of culture, but also in relation to its production. Both employment and leadership in the cultural sector have been found to be influenced by these variables (Banks, 2007; Oakley et al, 2013). At the same time, the impact of inequalities is also

felt through representation, and the fact that how certain social groups are portrayed in the media or in hierarchies of taste, and how some groups self-identify, can serve to entrench or undermine existing inequalities (Sayer, 2002; Lawler, 2005). In other words, the very local and social identity that policy aims to strengthen through cultural participation, and the social cohesion that stems from it, can be seen to be influenced – and to an extent created – by culture.

Thus, culture assumes an element of social agency: on the one hand, it emerges and is shaped by the society of which it is an expression; on

Tyler (2008), for example, provides useful insights into what has been called the ‘demonisation’ of the working class in the British media and in popular culture in recent years (Jones, 2011). She describes, as an example, the portrayal of young working class people on British television as ‘feral’ youth. She argues that, whereas outright racism, sexism and homophobia are less common on TV than 30 years ago, mockery and resentment based on social class is perhaps more acceptable than in the recent past. Crucially, these portrayals contribute not only to the view that middle class people hold of working class youths. In a self-perpetuating cycle, they also shape working class identity and the view that young working class people have of themselves. Clearly, there is no simple, mono-directional link between representation, portrayal, and consumption. Newspapers like the Sun for example, which feature frequent attacks on ‘chavs,’ or ‘the underclass’ have a large working-class readership. (Osborne, 2011).

Theorists such as Appadurai (1998) and Miller (2010), see cultural consumption as a relational social and active process. As a result, it is part of the making and unmaking of social categories, such as gender, ethnicity or class, around which identity is organised. For example, in the work of Pitcher (2014:2), thinking about categories of race depends on ‘the books we read, the food we eat, the TV we watch, the toys we play with, the clothes we wear’. Wilk (1999) offers an interesting example of the process through which local identity at different scales is influenced by cultural provision and consumption. He looks at the use of culinary heritage to aid and showcase the [re]creation of a Belizean national and cultural identity in the post-colonialist era. Another example is found in Gupta and Ferguson (1997), where the religious pilgrimage to the Virgin Del Rocio in Andalucía, Spain, is viewed as a nostalgic point of reference in a new regional and national narrative of identity-making. No longer a strictly local event, the festival today attracts tourists, media broadcasters and an international audience. Faced with the transformation of “their pilgrimage” by these national and international inferences, some locals reacted by identifying themselves with the “Indians” of Hollywood movies, and referring to the

tourists and other incomers as the “cowboys”. To be a local in the pilgrimage is thus to possess a true Andalusian identity, in contrast with the artificial efforts at the national and international levels to recreate a sense of heritage and locality. These are two excellent examples of how local identity and community are far from being static, self-determined entities, but are influenced and shaped by the surrounding environment, of which culture, its consumption and production, is an integral part.

It appears clear, then, that the relationship between local identity, heritage, belonging, and cultural participation and valuation is a complex and multi-directional one. On the one hand, any study of the importance of cultural resources has to take into consideration the context in which it is set: the socio-economic and demographic background of different areas, even within the same city and in close geographic proximity, would influence not only the way culture is valued, but also – and perhaps more crucially – the very meaning attached to the word “culture”.

On the other hand, culture in its many shapes and vehicles is a pivotal element in shaping the very idea of a local identity, of community and of social class. Thus, the idea of a local cultural policy as being based upon and reflecting the background and ambitions of a community becomes considerably more problematic. At the Local Authority level, which is where such policies are normally designed, one would find a number of “communities”, not necessarily aligned geographically within clear and neat neighbourhoods. Local identity would not be a univocal and easily captured entity. On the contrary, numerous identities would coexist on the same territory, reflecting the complex socio-economic and demographic mix of the population. Whose background, then, would the local cultural policy be a reflection of? And – more importantly – whose ambitions?

These questions will be of pivotal importance throughout this research, as its main aim is to analyse the importance that residents of the cities of Edinburgh and Dundee invest in culture, in a way both useful to the local authorities and meaningful in reflecting an array of values that is as comprehensive as possible. The following section will present the body of knowledge relative to a family of techniques developed in the attempt to capture the value of environmental resources and articulate it in a way that could be included in the policy-making process, while allowing for the nuances linked to local perceptions and preferences to still be captured and considered. These techniques, collectively called Contingent Valuation (CV), have been successfully employed in the past three decades to include externalities and non-market values in funding and policy considerations in the environmental sector, and could represent a way

forward in solving the problems characterising the study of cultural value. The usefulness of this family of techniques in addressing the subject matter of this thesis is the subject of RQ4, and the available evidence on the previous attempts to apply these methods in the cultural sector are presented below.

## **2.5 Contingent Valuation**

As mentioned in the previous section, similar problems to the ones facing scholars and policy-makers attempting to capture and articulate cultural value were met by their counterparts in the environmental sector. During the 1960s and early 70s, mounting evidence of environmental degradation and resource scarcity gradually forced governments at all levels to acknowledge that the full range of values and benefits of the ecosystem was not being spontaneously captured by economic activity. In other words, because the full worth of environmental resources was not captured by the markets, they were being either over-used or under-valued during policy and economic decision-making. The problem seemed to stem from an inability to translate full environmental values into a language that was compatible with economics and policy. For example, the market price of timber did not reflect the role played by forests in supporting biodiversity, or the value people place on being able to visit them. Furthermore, people might value the existence of a forest even if they live far away from it and never visit it. While the solution for some of these types of value that initially escaped the markets was a more rigorous and scientific analysis of the full range of impacts of a proposed activity, including all benefits and damages, there was still a portion of the worth of these resources that could not be captured. Considering again the framing of value represented in 2.1 (Choumert and Salanié, 2008), the non-use values that people attach to goods and resources for emotional, moral and subjective reasons could not be captured with the existing array of quantitative and statistical techniques.

The answer came in the form of a range of methodologies originally designed in the field of psychology and behavioural economics. These techniques are divided into the two broad families of revealed and stated preference. Revealed preference techniques aim at deriving the value people attach to a resource by observing the trade-offs they operate in actual, real life transactions. So, for example, the importance of a forest park can be derived by observing how far visitors travel to visit, which indirectly reveals how much money they spend (Hanley, Shogren

and White, 1997). Another, alternative method is hedonic pricing. In essence, this technique works under the assumption that individuals express the value they attach to a resource in their purchase of a house, and thus looks to assess this added premium, controlling for other dwelling and neighbourhood characteristics (Hanley et al., 2001).

Arguably, the same approach could be utilised in the attempt to capture the value attached by people to cultural resources. For example, hedonic pricing or travelling cost could be used in relation to a museum or heritage site. Indeed, examples of this can be found in Sheppard (2010), Poor and Smith (2004) or in Lazrak *et al.* (2014). However, both techniques discussed above only enable the measurement of part of the overall importance of a given resource. In addition to this, by focussing their analysis on actual, observed transactions in real markets, revealed preference techniques limit their scope to the values expressed by those people who are able to take part to the market. So, in the case of hedonic pricing, the analysis will only capture the preferences of those in a fortunate enough position to be able to buy a home, while travelling cost analysis will be selectively looking at those individuals that: a) can afford to travel to the site and visit it, and b) have chosen to do so, and therefore already implicitly value the resource more than the general population.

Another, cousin family of techniques, named "stated preference", has been argued to pose fewer problems and to offer higher analytical powers (Hanley, Mourato and Wright, 2001). Contingent valuation (CV) is the most-used stated preference method and a raft of work has been published that has employed this family of techniques in valuing environmental resources and other public goods. One way of applying CV sees a valuation being obtained by presenting individuals with a hypothetical scenario and asking how much they would be willing to pay (WTP) to preserve the existence of a resource or willing to accept (WTA) to compensate for its loss (Hanley et al., 2001). Critics of CV hold that both measures should yield similar results in order to demonstrate their reliability and accurateness. The fact that most practical CV surveys show a substantial divergence between WTP and WTA is brought as evidence that CV "is a flawed measuring instrument" (Diamond, 1996a, p. 65). However, other authors, such as Ahlheim and Buchholz (2000) and Throsby (2003) defended these techniques and their potential to shed light on preference patterns and the valuation of non-market resources. Nevertheless, WTP and WTA techniques do not offer the possibility to glean the relative importance of different aspects of value, and some have questioned the usefulness of obtaining a singular quantified value at all (Diamond and Hausman, 1994).

The idea of the relative importance is more readily incorporated in choice experiments, another group of techniques belonging to the CV family which has emerged in non-market goods valuation. Here, participants are asked to trade-off different attributes of a good (Hanley, Mourato and Wright, 2001) in a hypothetically set choice bundle. This method has also been the subject of critique because, as Bullock (2008) has noted, there is great uncertainty as to how representative these trade-offs are of actual decision-making and whether individuals truly assign value to a resource in a cumulative sense, attributing importance to individual aspects. Nevertheless, the use of a hypothetical setting and of artificially formulated trade-offs offers the possibility to investigate the preferences and values of those who, through material or societal constraints, are not actually able to operate a given choice in the real market.

The application of stated preference techniques to the valuation of cultural resources is a relatively recent and under-explored field. While Professor Nicholas Hanley - one of the main experts in the use of such methods in the environmental sector - publicly encouraged such usage in a presentation to the Scottish Government, doubts still persist about the extent to which these techniques could explore a multi-faceted and complex notion such as cultural value. Noonan (2003) presents a clear argument of how, although sharing many similarities with environmental goods, cultural resources present unique challenges in their valuation, including a higher sensitivity to contextual factors, the difficulty to aptly capture their multifaceted nature in the succinct language of a questionnaire, and the tendency of CV studies to assign a final monetary valuation, which is unsuitable to the complexity of cultural value. Throsby (2003) also recognises these difficulties, and suggests that CV and choice experiments cannot be expected to capture the full range of instrumental and subjective, emotional values attached to cultural goods. Nevertheless, he states that these techniques have the potential to improve on the partial and mono-dimensional valuation yielded by the methodologies utilised in the past.

It is, however, the very notion of rational choice, or indeed of choice itself, that has been hotly contested within the wider academic literature. While a strong tradition in the fields of economics, psychology and political science considers individual actions as resulting from a set of rational choices, operated on the basic principles of maximising personal utility, alternative views, particularly within sociological studies, consider structures and pressures external to the agent as primary determinants of action.

The seminal work of Pierre Bourdieu (1977) on the matter of *habitus* and *doxa* challenges the idea that individuals choose freely based on internally held, rational dialectic processes.

According to Bourdieu, individuals absorb during the course of their lives the set of social norms and structures that characterise the field in which they live and operate. These in turn create a system of internal dispositions which affects the way agents perceive the world around them and respond to it. In this respect, what could externally appear as deliberate decisions are nothing else than pre-determined reactive practices. This could be described as a sort of “muscle memory” transposed to behaviour. Following this theory, the very notion of choice loses significance, as actions and decisions are the result of the meanings, norms and roles imposed on individuals by the wider society, rather than individual rationality. Scaling this process upwards, Bourdieu sees socialization as creating wider norms of what is obvious and accepted without challenge, or *doxa*. This ultimately reinforces the effect of habitus in promoting pre-determined decisions and behaviours, and contributes to social immobility.

Conversely, the rational choice theory is based on the early concept of *Homo Economicus*, and informed the very core of the development of neo-classical economics. This idea implies that, in order to frame and organize their actions, subjects rationally evaluate and rank a set of choice alternatives, then choose the most advantageous and operate as a consequence. More complex decisions are “broken down” into smaller sets of choices and recombined to determine the optimal course of action. The ultimate goal of this process is to “get more rather than less of a good”.

The rational choice theory has come under strong criticism, and gradually developed to allow for external influences and uncertainties in choice (Hollis and Nell, 1975). Tversky and Thaler (1990) suggested that in some instances individuals tend to behave irrationally. For example, incomplete knowledge can lead to irrational choices. More crucially still, Kahneman and Tversky (1979) organised experiments in which they offered subjects a choice between the potential for great gains and the risk of small losses. The results offered empirical evidence that, while participants may consciously believe to be attempting to maximize their gains, hard-wired, evolutionary mechanisms pushed them to actually minimize their losses, even when the odds were obviously suggesting the opposite course of action to be the rational one.

These authors’ contributions suggest that, while choices operated by individuals are based on a set of internally held trade-off and discounting operations and can glean insight about their system of values, this type of analysis needs to be conducted with extreme care, and cannot be seen as sufficient to derive an exhaustive and fully reliable picture. Such approach appears to also account for the potential factors influencing individual choice theorized by Bourdieu. In

other words, individuals do make choices, but these are based on instinctive, external and cultural influences as much as they are borne off rational deliberation. Therefore, while individual choice and preference patterns can be studied in order to understand systems of value, due attention should be paid to the way studies are structured and framed and to the context in which participants act and respond.

### 2.5.1 Existing applications of Contingent Valuation in the cultural sector

In the past twenty years, there have been numerous examples of studies aiming at deriving a measure of the value attributed to cultural resources through the use of stated preference techniques. The vast majority of such studies utilised a very narrow scope, considering the public's willingness to pay for the maintenance of, for example, a single museum or theatre or heritage building. One of the first examples of this approach can be found in the work of Throsby (1980), analyzing residents' attitudes to a variation in public funding for a local arts centre. Crucially, Throsby's sample comprised both rural and urban residents, and data analysis clearly highlighted the importance of demographic determinants in the accurate application of CV methods. However, this early advice was rarely followed in the numerous studies published in the field during the following two decades. Scarpa *et al* (1998) looked at the value attributed to a local heritage site, but limited their enquiry to visitors leaving the site, thus obtaining only the opinion of people who had already chosen to go and see the castle. In cases in which users and non-users of the site alike were interviewed, such as in Evans (1999), Santagata *et al* (2000) and Thompson (2002), the contextual and personal characteristics of participants were not included in the subsequent data analysis. The latter study also exposed another potential problem in the application of CV to cultural resources, namely the size of the samples involved. While this potential shortcoming was by no means unique to the cultural sector, numerous studies in this field were characterized by a very small number of respondents (see Thompson, 2002, but also Morrison *et al.*, 1986; Pollicino *et al.* 2001). The sensitivity of CV to the size of participants' samples appeared even more problematic given the tendency to aim for a final, single monetary valuation as the result of the analysis. In this process, the generalisation of findings was particularly problematic, as the hypothetical opinions expressed by a small number of – often biased – respondents could not be easily extended to the whole population.

Both issues of sample size and composition have been addressed in the study by Hansen and Trine, focused on the willingness to pay to maintain the Royal Theatre in Copenhagen (1997). The authors surveyed a sample of over eighteen hundred randomly selected Danish citizens aged over 16. In their paper, the Hansen and Trine present the sampling strategy as one of the advantages of stated preference techniques over revealed preference methods. They explain that, by interviewing both users and non-users, stated preference techniques are able to capture a wider array of values expressed by a wider section of the population, while by interviewing only users, revealed preference limits the scope of its analysis. The study submitted a questionnaire to respondents, asking for the maximum amount they were prepared to pay for the Theatre to continue its activities at the present level, and the minimum level of compensation they were willing to accept for it to be closed down. Respondents were found to be willing to pay, on average, more than the projected cost for the Theatre's maintenance, thus justifying the expenditure of public money. Moreover, contingent valuation was helpful in highlighting which characteristics of the Theatre were the most appreciated by the public, and which areas needed to be improved.

This ability of CV and choice experiments to investigate the individual attributes or components of a resource, treating it as a "bundle" rather than a unitary good, is revealed also in the work of Navrud and Strand (1992). In a study based in Trondheim, Norway, they investigated residents and visitors' WTP to preserve the local cathedral and to renovate it. Besides the important findings in terms of the value attached to the monument and the opportunity to take action to preserve it, the study also yielded key insights on the aspects of the cathedral that were valued by the public. During the interviews, respondents were presented with three potential scenarios. One that saw the cathedral preserved in its present state for future generations, avoiding further deterioration but keeping its original parts. The second option saw the cathedral being extensively renovated and the original parts and materials being replaced with new ones. Finally, the third possibility was to maintain the status quo, with no renovation and no preservation action taking place. Interestingly, while a significant WTP was observed for both the preservation and the renovation of the church, there was no relevant difference between the two. This indicated that, in general, the originality and antiquity of the church was not the main concern in its valuation.

In another study on the preservation of cultural heritage sited in the developing world Navrud utilized various techniques in order to verify the validity of CV's findings (Tuan and Navrud, 2007).

In this research, contingent valuation techniques were used to estimate the benefits of preserving a Vietnamese cultural heritage site. Alongside the simpler CV, choice exercises were also organized. These represent a sub-family of contingent valuation techniques, in which a series of hypothetical trade-offs are submitted to respondents, in order to elicit information on their preference. Both local residents and foreign visitors were interviewed, and the results resulted to be very similar and consistent across both methodologies. However, while this study represents a clear example of how contingent valuation can be used in the cultural sector with reliable results, it limited its scope to the economic valuation of the site, thus limiting the innovative power of the techniques it adopted.

The studies described above show the potential usefulness of CV techniques in revealing the systems of preferences underpinning the valuation of specific cultural resources. For example, CV can be useful in the investigation of how important the original features of a heritage building are to the visiting public. These techniques can also be effectively used to assess whether the funding of a specific project is justified and supported by public preferences. Finally, the examples presented above show how CV offers the possibility to gather the opinions of a variety of participants, including non-users of the resource and people who are materially unable to express their preferences through revealed choices.

However, despite the vast majority of studies applying CV to the cultural sector being characterized by a narrow scope and local scale, this family of techniques also has the potential to shed light on far broader issues. Indeed, in her paper studying the National Museum in Copenhagen (1997), Hansen explains that, although the application of this technique was instrumental in shedding light on this particular issue, its application would not be suited to day-to-day policy making and small-scale projects being too expensive, time consuming and relatively inaccurate. The author suggests that this type of methodology is more appropriate for addressing what they call “big questions” (p. 22), such as the opportunity for State grants or overall funding of culture. One example of this approach is the paper by Lockwood *et al.* (1996), which looked at traditional grazing in the Australian Alps. The long-held practice was considered to be part of the local cultural heritage, and seen as instrumental in the shaping and upholding of traditions and social norms. On the other hand, this practice was recognized to be harmful for the local environment. By assessing the attitude towards grazing of a wide and composite sample of respondents, the authors found that there was a strong preference for maintaining the local heritage over environmental concerns.

In line with this broader and less monetarily concerned approach to valuation, this thesis will attempt to verify whether contingent valuation is indeed useful in attempting to answer “big questions” relative to cultural value. In doing so, it will not try to quantify the value of cultural resources or to capture it within a single, restrictive monetary value. Instead, this research will attempt to use the exploratory power of stated preference techniques and their potential to capture a wider array of use and non-use values to gain a deeper understanding of the way people understand culture, what they think it is and what importance they attach to it.

Specifically, cultural resources will be included amongst a number of other attributes characterizing residential location, and participants will be asked to “trade-off” these characteristics in order to operate an imaginary choice of neighborhood. Thus, residential preferences will be used as a “host”, providing the hypothetical scenario in which the assessment of cultural valuation in the two cities will be nested. However, the processes and factors underpinning individuals and households’ choices of domiciliary areas are themselves complex. As the next section describes, numerous elements have been observed to influence the choice of residential locations, the presence of cultural facilities being one of them (Van Duijn and Rouwendal, 2013).

#### *2.5.1.i Residential preferences*

Despite the key importance of neighbourhood choice in urban planning and its significance in a number of academic literatures, our understanding of the factors and mechanisms underpinning such process is still limited.

The view that reigned during the 1970s and 1980s associated residential choice to the broader spectrum of individual economic behaviour, limiting the considerations influencing householders’ choices to mere economic convenience. Specifically, the choice of a residential area was seen to be characterised by three elements: benefits at the current location, costs of moving and benefits obtainable at the potential new location (Goodman, 1981; DaVanzo, 1981). Exemplifying this viewpoint is the study of trade-offs between housing and commuting costs (examples in Alonso, 1964; Mills and Hamilton, 1989): the closer the residential location to work (i.e., the lower the commuting costs), the higher the probability that the agents will choose this location for residence. However, this approach has failed to survive further empirical tests. For instance, the trade-off between housing and commuting costs was subsequently found to be

either not true at all, or so weak that it could be ascertained only after the effects of housing and neighbourhood characteristics were eliminated (Herrin and Kern 1992, van Ommeren, Rietveld and Nijkamp, 1996).

Following a new wave of studies, residential choice was gradually understood to be much more complicated than the early, basic conceptualisation described above allowed (Bergström and Van Ham, 2011), with numerous location attributes contributing to make residential areas more or less desirable alongside - or even in spite of – economic advantage.

For example, most households were seen to tend to move to areas where inhabitants' characteristics resemble their own (Schelling, 1969; 1971), whether by preference or due to limitations related to resources, discrimination, or the structure of the housing market. This tendency was later associated to issues of ethnic and socio-economic segregation (Crowder, 2000; Ellen, 2000; Clark, 1992), but it also revealed the tendency to consider socio-economic and demographic characteristics alongside the mere convenience of a location.

Other neighbourhood factors have been explored to a smaller extent, but there is still evidence that factors such as the area's perceived safety, its physical structure and aesthetic beauty, access to public services and transport, and location within the city affect destination choices of moving household (Van Ham and Feijten, 2008). Clark (2006), explored the close relationships and trade-offs between neighbourhood and housing qualities, while Hedman (2013) focussed on the proximity of social and familial ties as a determinant of area desirability. All these studies exemplify how the choice of residential areas is a complex and multi-factor process in which numerous elements are traded-off against each other, resulting in a vast array of preference patterns.

However, both the early "rational economic behaviour" idea and the more modern models allowing for multiple location attributes came under a fundamental criticism, relative to the very idea of households or individuals being necessarily able to *choose* their neighbourhood or housing tenure. As described above in section 2.5, the ideas of Pierre Bourdieu (1977; 1990) pointed towards a limited ability to make choices and decisions free from contextual, societal and cultural influences. Thus, in practice people's choices are partly pre-determined (*habitus*). Therefore, the factors attracting certain individuals or families to particular neighbourhood would be partly dictated by the system of notions, expectations and innate preferences that their family, social circle and society as a whole have instilled in them. However, the fact that preferences can be partially determined by external influences and that an unconstrained, "free"

choice may be impossible, does not make a study of how these decisions are made and what they reveal any less relevant or significant.

Choice has also been seen to be restricted or impeded altogether by other, more practical factors. As the housing market is limited, prices will rise in the areas deemed to be more attractive, excluding households that cannot afford them. In operating their residential choices, such households will automatically exclude the unaffordable areas (or those perceived as such) and consider only those locations that are in their price range. As income decreases, so does the range of possibilities available, to the point that, in many instances, the choice is taken away altogether (Alle, 2008; Glynn, 2009). This fact, however, does not imply that preferences or dislikes themselves are precluded, although the physical possibility to enact them might be. For example, living near family and friends has been shown to be one of the factors motivating residential choice (Hedman, 2013). The fact that a particular individual may not be able to move in order to fulfil this preference does not mean that she would not like to. In this instance, the ability of contingent valuation techniques to create hypothetical choices and let participants act within an imaginary scenario can provide a way to observe and analyse preferences and values even in the instances in which they cannot be physically enacted.

## **2.6 Conclusions**

This chapter has sought to explore how the component parts of this thesis' aim would contribute to the bodies of existing literature on urban cultural policy, cultural value and its definitions and the valuation of non-market resources.

In seeking to provide a link between the notion of "culture" held and operationalized by a given social group and the value attached to cultural resources, this study hopes to address the disconnect registered between the historically instrumental, and super-imposed nature of, cultural policies and the subjective and multi-dimensional character of cultural value. The use of a mixed methods approach and of choice experiments is intended to allow the creation of a more holistic approach to cultural valuation, thus capturing a wider array of values than in the impact-based valuation studies that are predominant in the literature.

The importance of the non-use, subjective and intrinsic components of cultural value was presented in section 2.4, and the limited scope of previous attempts to the valuation of cultural

resources was linked to the rigid epistemological and methodological contraposition between proponents of the aesthetic, intrinsic value as the main component of cultural worth and those who see economic value as an all-encompassing framework.

Finally, the appropriateness and meaningfulness of applying contingent valuation techniques to the field of cultural valuation will be explored, contributing to a growing, yet still scarce body of academic knowledge on the matter.

## 3 Methodology

### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter illustrates the research approach utilised in this thesis, considering advantages and possible issues linked to the adoption of mixed-methods, describing the two cities selected as case studies and detailing the methodological set-up of the study. Section 3.2 introduces the choice to adopt a case study approach, presenting the rationale behind this decision and the advantages that this particular research design offers in the investigation of this thesis' aim and questions. The selection of the municipal level, and in particular of the two Scottish cities of Dundee and Edinburgh as the locations in which to set the investigation is presented in section 3.2.1, together with a description of their socio-economic and demographic make-ups and the key differences in the two Local Authorities' approaches to cultural policy.

The discussion then moves to the adoption of a mixed methodological approach and the factors that lead to this choice. As highlighted in section 2.4, value is a multi-faceted and a complex notion to describe and analyse. While market value is generally efficiently conveyed by price and use-related elements of value can be derived through a number of statistical techniques, a complete investigation of a resource's importance cannot omit other less direct forms of worth, such as bequest, option or intrinsic value. Furthermore, Cultural Value represents a particularly thorny notion to investigate, as it consists largely of non-manifested, intrinsic and indirect components. In an attempt to provide a more comprehensive exploration, quantitative methods, particularly contingent valuation techniques, were used to expose the valuation patterns emerging in the two cities, and qualitative analysis of individual and group interviews was utilised to deepen the inquiry and study the possible reasons for differing results and the impact that contextual issues can have on the matter. Philosophical and practical issues linked to the use of mixed methods will be explored in section 3.3, with the introduction of critical realism as a potential solution to the conflation between the positivist and interpretivist paradigm. Together with this, questions of generalisation and external validity will be presented and analysed.

Section 3.4 describes the practical set up of the research, explaining how the qualitative and quantitative phases of data collection and analysis were sequentially organised and integrated. Practical issues relative to sampling, and research design are presented, together with a

description of the Interview and focus group structures and of the statistical techniques adopted in the analysis of the questionnaire data. Finally, section 3.5 will present the ethical considerations and relative procedures followed during the course of this research.

### 3.2 Case Study approach

In attempting to capture and study a phenomenon, meaningful research in the social sciences cannot omit to consider the spatial and social context in which this takes place. When considering value, context becomes even more fundamental, as it has the potential to affect questions of access, use, habit, and need; all intimately linked to the importance attributed to a certain resource. For example, an assessment of the importance placed on car ownership would be a very different exercise if undertaken in a metropolitan rather than rural context. Likewise, socio-economic and spatial contexts have to be considered as key factors in a study aiming to investigate ideas of - and attitudes towards - cultural resources. Therefore, while a broader scope utilising a survey at the national level could potentially provide information on the prevailing views and preferences relative to culture and its value, it would not allow for a deeper analysis and understanding of the factors and processes underpinning the results. By contrast, case study research aims to develop “detailed, intensive knowledge about a single ‘case’ or of a small number of related ‘cases’” (Robson, 2002, p.89), producing contextualised knowledge. Furthermore, Yin (2009, p.22) points to the potentially fruitful combination of the statistical analysis of extensive data, collected for example through the use of social surveys, and the more focussed examination of carefully selected case studies. While broad relationships and correlations can be highlighted through the use of statistical techniques and wide samples, a more targeted approach can be useful in understanding the underlying processes that might explain such correlations.

However, Yin also warns of the necessity to choose the “case” carefully, both in terms of its scale and of what it actually is. For example, a study could focus on the individual, community, metropolitan or national scale. Likewise, the case could be an organisation, a programme or a specific event. In narrowing and refining this choice, Yin points to the use of the research aims and questions (p.32). This thesis set out to investigate how culture is valued and conceptualised, and whether different notions and preference patterns emerge in different contexts. Therefore, a broad scope looking at the United Kingdom or Scotland would not have allowed for a deep understanding of these differences.

Conversely, the adoption of a much narrower focus, with the choice of neighbourhoods or even individuals as the “case”, would allow a deep and contextualised investigation into the dynamics and processes shaping different ideas and valuations of cultural resources. However, too narrow a scale would compromise the ability to detect and study statistical patterns of correlation between background variables and preference patterns.

Therefore, the choice fell on the urban level, as this was considered to be the best fit for the research’s aims and questions. Cities offer numerous types of cultural resources, ranging from theatres and museums to cinemas and music venues, to local community activities, to the availability of diverse foods and retail facilities. This range and availability facilitates the exploration of which types of resources are more highly valued and more readily associated with culture. Furthermore, a city is composed by people from different demographic, socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds, allowing the investigation of how these variables influence attitudes towards culture. Yet, despite its composite nature, a city is still a place able to generate feelings of belonging and identity. Although, as pointed out in the previous chapter (Section 2.2.4), cities are complex spaces and can be viewed and lived in a different way by virtually every one of their citizens, Berliners still see themselves as fundamentally distinct from Parisians or New Yorkers (Bell and De-Shalit, 2011). Thus, residents’ ideas and values, can be expected to be at least partly shaped by their collective, shared identity, in a process that can be seen as more or less spontaneous (Zukin, 2005; Colomb, 2012). The adoption of the urban dimension in the selection of the cases also responds to the scale at which cultural policy predominantly operates. Within the United Kingdom policy framework, culture is a devolved matter, and as such is competence of the Scottish Government. However, each local authority develops and implements its own cultural strategy, simultaneously shaping, and responding to, the views and attitudes of the local population.

All the elements described above concur in the emergence of a “dominant” view of culture, its role and its value unique to a city. Therefore, it is the complex and unique mix of these factors that represents the “case study” in this research, rather than the city itself intended as a physical boundary. Moreover, considering two metropolitan localities, both highly involved in the cultural sector but with deep divergences in demographic make-up, socio-economic background, self-image and outward reputation, and with different approaches to cultural policy, could offer further opportunities to highlight commonalities and dissimilarities, and increase the analytical power of the research. In this context, a case studies approach can offer the opportunity to

deepen the investigation on the potential for different policy and socio-economic environments to influence the public's opinion and valuation of cultural resources. Furthermore, this approach allows the possibility to highlight and explain similarities across substantially different contexts (Baxter, 2010, p.92). This thesis, however, does not represent a strictly comparative piece of research: divergences and commonalities across the two cities will constitute a theme which will be weaved through the fabric of the whole thesis to increase the explanatory power of the study, rather than constituting its main focus.

### **3.2.1 Dundee and Edinburgh**

The research is geographically focussed on the two cities of Dundee and Edinburgh. As explained in the previous section, one of the aims for this dual case-study approach is to identify possible differences in the perception and valuation of cultural resources in the two urban contexts. Furthermore, the different cultural offers, internal and external image and socio-economic mix in the two cities have the potential to provide a useful means of contrast for the findings.

Another key factor that contributed to the two cities being utilised as case studies for this research was the will and availability of Dundee and Edinburgh City Councils to participate in the study in quality of co-sponsors. This role did not result in the two Local Authorities determining or influencing research design or aims. The cities' involvement stemmed from a genuine interest in independent academic research into new and more comprehensive forms of valuation of cultural resources, aimed at overcoming the dominant position of economic-based assessments in policy making in the sector. Both councils contributed economically and in equal measure to the financing of the research. They also offered enhanced admittance to key personnel and strategy meetings, ease of access to data and documents and assistance in the sampling and data collection stage.

As mentioned above, the two cities of Edinburgh and Dundee present numerous differences in terms of geographical and population size, socio-economic make-up and cultural resources. They are also characterised by very different external perception and self-image. Table 3.1 presents some key figures illustrating these differences. Crucially, however, the two Local Authorities differ in their approach to cultural policy, and have – in the past decades – based their cultural strategies on profoundly dissimilar aims and notions. This can be seen as due in part to the unique sets of resources available in the two cities, with Edinburgh Council planning

its own strategies starting from a bedrock of available cultural facilities that is rich, diverse and economically very productive.

The following two sections provide descriptions of the two cities and the cultural environment that characterizes them.

**Table 3.1: Descriptive statistics for Dundee and Edinburgh**

	<b>Dundee</b>	<b>Edinburgh</b>	<b>Scotland</b>
Area Size (square miles)	23	100	
Total Population: 2011	145,570	495,360	5,254,800
Population – Working Age (%)	63.25	68.68	62.79
Population – Pensionable Age (%)	20.21	16.45	19.83
Income Deprived (%)	18	10	13
Employment Deprived (working age, %)	17	10	13
People with Degree (%)	26.9	42.0	25
People with Low or No Qualifications (%)	15.5	6.7	12.6
Average Tariff Score of S4 pupils: 2012-13	167	193	193
Teenage pregnancies (rate per 1000 women under 20)	64.3	43.4	44.7
% of Households in Owned Property	53.62	68.57	62.59
% of Households in Private Rented Property	11.70	13.53	8.00
% of Households in Social Rented Property	34.68	17.91	29.41
% of dwellings in Council Tax bands A – C (2011)	74.43	47.96	61.47

Sources: Area size from *Office for National Statistics (2012, webpage)*.

Rest of data adapted from *Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics (2012, webpage)*.

### 3.2.1.i Dundee

Dundee is the fourth-largest city in Scotland, with a population of around 144,000<sup>1</sup>. Despite being a large settlement at the Scottish scale, Dundee is a relative small city if seen within the overall British or European context. It lies on the north bank of the River Tay, which feeds into the North Sea. This strategic location has been a key factor for the city's industrial development in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The textile industry represented the main economic activity, although Dundee was also one of the world's main whaling centres. Jute rapidly became the primary product of the city. This, along with its other major industries made Dundee known as the city of "jute, jam and journalism".

The collapse of the jute and whaling industries first, followed by ship-building and of other key industrial sectors in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century caused employment rates in the city to fall drastically and Dundee became known for high crime rates, chronic unemployment and social deprivation. To these days, Dundee suffers from chronic and enduring deprivation, affecting the lives of one third of its citizens, in a pattern sadly common in many post-industrial cities.

The situation, however, has significantly changed in the past two decades, with new economic development coming from the biomedical and technological industries, the city's two universities and a revived retail sector. Nonetheless, the city's unemployment rates are still above the Scottish average and the average per-capita income is well below the figures for the other major cities in Scotland. Another significant feature is the distribution of household income, with nearly 40% of households earning less than £20,000 a year against a Scottish average of around 30%<sup>2</sup>.

Today, Dundee is promoted as 'One City, Many Discoveries', reflecting the shift in its economic activities from industrial production to scientific and cultural activities. The epithet also refers to the RRS *Discovery* Antarctic exploration vessel, which was built in Dundee and is still moored in the city harbour.

However, what makes the city an interesting subject for this research is the strong and explicit reliance of its regeneration strategy on the cultural sector. Over the past twenty years, The Local

---

<sup>1</sup> National Records of Scotland 2011

<sup>2</sup> Information & Research Team, Dundee City Council, 2010

Authority has consistently endeavoured to tap into the city's cultural roots in order to create a livelier and more engaging environment in which to live. In time, this has contributed to gradually shift the internal and external perception of the city, encouraging the retention and attraction of talent and investment.

Another significant feature of the city's cultural strategy is that community provision and urban regeneration have been pursued within a largely community-led approach. In a paper to be presented at the UNESCO Creative cities conference, Stewart Murdoch, the Director of Leisure & Culture Dundee, states that "for the last 50 years, the local authority has invested in communities and supporting community voices to be heard. This stands out in a Scottish context" (Murdoch, 2016, p.2).

Within this framework, several milestones have seen the city's cultural offerings grow in quality and variety, and the development is only now entering its most intense phase. Since 1996, the local cultural strategy has achieved:

- The Creation of Dundee Contemporary Arts (1996)
- The Establishment of the Dundee Dance Partnership (1996)
- The Creation of The Space (home of the Scottish School of Contemporary Dance) (2000)
- A vibrant and diverse programme of mini festivals
- The renovation of The McManus: Dundee's Art Gallery and Museum (2006)
- The submission of the Dundee's UK City of Culture Bid (2013)
- The securing of UNESCO City of Design status (2014)
- The ongoing construction of the V& A Museum of Design Dundee – opening 2018

Dundee has developed a rich and comprehensive cultural offer, ranging from Theatre to Cinema, from galleries and museums to dance and orchestra. As mentioned above, Dundee is home to two Universities and one College, which draw a large number of students from around the United Kingdom and abroad. Students account for 14.2% of the population, the highest proportion of the four largest Scottish cities. All this has contributed to create a new image for Dundee, helping to make it known as a multicultural and inspiring city rather than for its post-industrial past and challenging socio-economic environment.

As mentioned, it is this renewed image and confidence that appears to be the main driver behind the Local authority's interest in a sustained support to the local cultural sector, rather than the

potential for economic development or the attraction of talent. Nevertheless, these considerations still figure highly in the Council's list of priority, with examples found in the substantial 1.3 billion pounds investment in the regeneration of the riverfront area in conjunction with the most ambitious development of all for the locality: the construction of the new Victoria and Albert Museum, designed by Japanese architect Kengo Kuma, which will house the Scottish Museum of Design. This development is seen as an opportunity to make a statement about the renewed confidence and vitality of the local cultural sector, but also as a potential spark for economic development and a way to retain some of the talent that, after being nurtured and encouraged in the local further and higher education system, seems to invariably leave to find better employment opportunities abroad, in England or in the three major Scottish cities of Glasgow, Aberdeen and Edinburgh.

**Fig. 3.1: Work in progress on the new V&A Dundee**



Source: own photo

T

**Fig. 3.2: Work in progress on the new V&A Dundee, beside the RRS Discovery**



Source: own photo

**Fig. 3.3: A vision of what the new V&A museum of Design will look like**

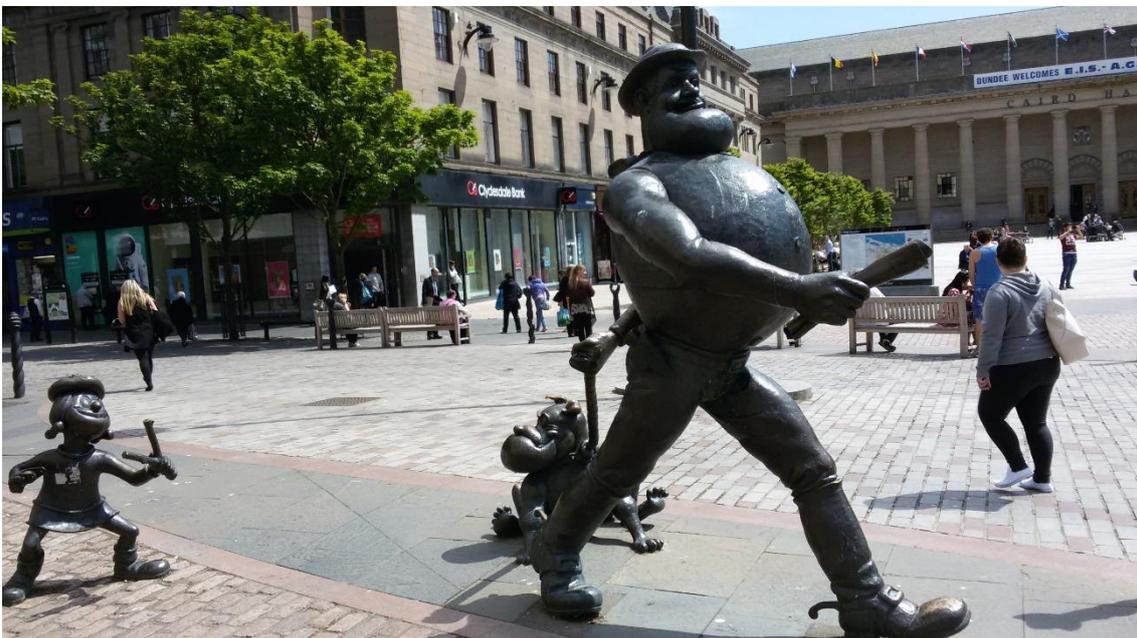


Source: Dundee City Council

The progress of Dundee on the road to urban regeneration and the key role that the local cultural sector plays in this process resulted in the city reaching the final stages in the selection of the UK city of culture 2017 and, crucially, being named the UK's first City of Design by the United Nations.

The award came in recognition of Dundee's diverse and innovative contributions to fields including medical research, comics and video games, and adds it to the UNESCO grouping of "creative cities" alongside European cities Turin, Helsinki and Bilbao.

**Fig. 3.4: A statutory celebration of Dundee's past and present role in publishing**



Source: own photo

### 3.2.1.ii Edinburgh

Edinburgh is the capital of Scotland and its second largest city. It is also the seventh most populous centre in the United Kingdom, with a population of around 495,000. The city is situated on the river Forth's estuary, at the Eastern end of the central belt of Scotland.

The local economy is largely based on the services sector, with the main fields being banking, financial services, further and higher education, and tourism. As the centre of Scotland's government, the public sector plays a central role in the local job market, with many departments of the Scottish Government located in the city. Unemployment is relatively low and remains consistently below the Scottish average, despite having followed the upwards general trend in the past few years.

However, despite its successful economy and positive internal and external image, Edinburgh also has areas of economic and social deprivation. In such pockets, outcomes in terms of employment, income deprivation, educational attainment and health issues sit well below the Scottish average (Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics), while for the city as a whole – as can be seen in Table 7.1 – they are above the national average in all these categories. This paints a picture of a city in which, despite the overall affluent and attractive image, poverty and socio-economic deprivation are still an issue, and they are potentially exacerbated by disparity and inequality. By contrast, while Dundee as a whole tends to perform below the Scottish average in most of the indicators presented in Table 7.1, the differences between neighbourhoods are less marked than in Edinburgh, presenting a more uniform picture (Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics).

Historically, Edinburgh has been one of the main cultural centres in Europe since the time of the Enlightenment. Despite being overtaken by Glasgow as the largest city in Scotland during the Industrial revolution, Edinburgh remained the cultural heart of the nation. Today, the capital boasts an intense and vibrant cultural life, with the highest concentration of museums and art galleries in Scotland. Numerous theatres cover an extensive range of works, from large-scale shows to small, independent projects. A wide variety of cinemas and a lively music scene, going from classical to pop to folk, complete the city's cultural offer. The city also hosts the annual Edinburgh Festivals, a group of official and independent events, including the International

Festival and the Fringe, which attract millions of visitors from all over the world (Edinburgh Culture and Sport Committee, 2014).

In 2004, Edinburgh was named UNESCO City of Literature in recognition of its past and present outstanding contributions to the world's literary heritage. There are four universities and four colleges in Edinburgh, resulting in a large student population, which in turn contributes to the young and multicultural image of the city. However, despite the prominent role occupied by the cultural sector in the city's life and economy, the most recent strategy document for cultural policy dates back to 1999. As explained in more detail in section 2:2 (Literature Review, Cultural Value), this reflects the central role assigned to economic impact in the Local Authority's interpretation of cultural value: as a sizeable component of what the cultural sector is expected to do is attract tourism, investment, talent and promote economic development, and as the cultural sector in Edinburgh has been successful in this sense for the past fifteen years, there is no real need to change or update the strategy. This is not to state that the non-economic components of cultural value are ignored or not recognised by the Local Authority. The importance of culture in shaping society, supporting lifelong learning and reducing social exclusion are openly cited in the Council's documents. Indeed, the Council's involvement in sponsoring this very study is testament to the will to overcome economic-based assessments and to find more inclusive and multi-dimensional forms of valuation. Nor it can be said that economic development is the sole aim of the city's cultural strategy, as improved quality of life and enhanced opportunities for its citizens are presented first and referred to throughout the document. Nevertheless, an overall higher importance appears to be attributed in Edinburgh's cultural policy to the economic potential of the cultural sector in comparison with Dundee, and this confirms what noticed during meetings and conversations with Council officials in both cities.

The two cities' unique approaches to cultural strategy, their demographic and socio-economic make-ups and their cultural environments represent useful contextual backdrops for the investigation of how notions and attitudes towards culture are shaped. However, a meaningful exploration of these relationship requires a broad and diversified methodological approach. Indeed, a key element of the use of case studies is the use of multiple methods to research a specific issue (Robson, 2002). Although this has traditionally implied the use of several different qualitative methods, the identification of the case study with qualitative inquiry is largely a relic of prior practice, rather than a key part of its definition. As such, many authors have pointed

towards the potential advantages of the use mixed methods within a case study setting (Gerring, 2007; Baxter, 2010; Swanborn, 2010).

However, the increasing flexibility with which the case study research approach has been utilised, especially in relation to the employment of multiple methods of analysis (Swanborn, 2010), has sparked a vigorous debate over its merits and validity. In particular, it has been suggested that case study work offers “a licence to do whatever a researcher wishes with a given topic” (Gerring, 2007, p.6). These concerns arguably stem from an epistemological stance typical of traditional quantitative research, which tends to seek for universal patterns and dynamics in the social world (Bryman, 2008). In contrast to this approach, authors who advocate the adoption of a case study approach maintain that “universals cannot be found in the study of human affairs” (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p.224), and aim for a deeper understanding the specific, rather than the generic. While this could appear to contradict the standard notions of external validity and generalisation, it could be seen as a difference of opinion as to how these should be interpreted. According to Robson (2002) case study research works on the basis of analytical or theoretical generalisation, rather than statistical generalisation. The principle of falsification, or the constant drive to disprove working theories in order to develop more accurate analytical framework, has been highlighted as the foundation of the drive for theoretical generalisation (Flyvbjerg, 2006). A multiple, comparative case study design is suggested to increase the potential advantages of this process, offering “opportunities to generate and modify concepts and theory so that they explain commonalities across cases despite contingencies and context” (Baxter, 2010, p.92). The next section will explore in more depth the philosophical and practical implication deriving from the integration of different methods of research.

### **3.3 Mixed Methods**

#### **3.3.1 Integration, critical realism and generalisation**

The use of mixed methods of analysis has become more widely accepted and advocated in the social sciences, particularly in the fields of health and sociology (McEvoy and Richardds, 2006; Elwood, 2010). However, the combination of quantitative and qualitative methods remains

controversial, and such strategy can represent a methodological and theoretical challenge for those researchers who choose to adopt it.

The main reason for the complexity of this approach is the persistence, in the field of social sciences, of a sharp philosophical divergence between positivist and interpretivist views. In turn, these fundamental ontological and epistemological disagreements translate in more practical complications in terms of sampling strategies, data collection and integration and analysis.

Broadly speaking, researchers adopting a positivist view accept a tangible, observable reality, and rely on empirical observations in order to identify the underlying laws and mechanisms determining this reality. Fundamental to this process is the detection of constant, statistically provable and generalizable causal relationships that go beyond contingent, individual experiences and preconceptions.

Conversely, interpretivist researchers maintain an agnostic stance upon the existence of a tangible reality, and places much greater emphasis on the way in which the world is socially constructed and understood (Blaikie, 2000). Typically, these research approaches are based on qualitative, small scale but very deep and intense studies, relying on non-numerical narratives in order to explore the participants' views and experiences of phenomena. Also, while quantitative research normally adopts sampling strategies aimed at obtaining representative samples of a wider population, qualitative, interpretivist research will seek participants on the basis of their usefulness to the overall study, and sometimes participants will be chosen specifically for their not being representative of the wider population (Goering and Streiner, 1996).

These different sampling strategies underpin one of the essential differences between the two epistemological stances: the claim to generalisation of their findings. Aiming at uncovering the fixed laws and mechanisms underpinning a tangible reality, positivist researchers will seek results that can be extended to a wider population, possibly universally generalised. Interpretivists, on the other hand, dispute the very claim of generalisation and seek the deepest possible investigation of the small sample they chose to consider, as they do not accept that the explanation of a phenomenon in one context would necessarily fit elsewhere.

Initially, the question of whether qualitative and quantitative methods could, and should be combined resulted in the formation of two distinct standpoints: the purist perspective maintaining that the two methodological choices are mutually exclusive on an ontological and

epistemological basis, and that therefore the adoption of a positivist view presupposes the use of quantitative methods alone, while an interpretivist epistemological stance requires the exclusive use of qualitative methods of analysis.

In response to this rigid view, the “methodological pragmatist” maintained that this rigid paradigmatic division should be overcome by the researcher in order to obtain the best possible results in a study. However, the way they proposed to do this was to simply “switch” between one paradigm to the other, according to which methodology was best suited to tackle a certain problem (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Creswell et al., 2004). While this pragmatist outlook had the merit to open the way to the combination and complementary use of qualitative and quantitative methods of analysis, it did not address the philosophical tension at the base of the question, it simply chose to ignore it. As such, pragmatism did not represent the optimal stance to justify the adoption of mixed methods.

Conversely, a critical realist philosophical perspective represents a bridge between two paradigms and allows the researcher to adopt both qualitative and quantitative methods without the need to “discard” one of the two. Originating from the writings of British philosopher Roy Bhaskar – more precisely with his first book, *A Realist Theory of Science*, in 1975 - critical realism is a philosophy of science standing somewhere in between a positivist and interpretivist perspective: it proposes a stratified view of reality, composed of **real** sphere (the structures, relationships and mechanisms that generate the actual events as they are), an **actual** sphere (the observable phenomena deriving from these underlying structures) and an **empirical** sphere (the observer’s perception of the actual).

Therefore, while it recognises the existence of enduring structures, processes and mechanisms, Bhaskar puts a full knowledge and comprehension of this dimension of reality out with the powers of science. This is because human knowledge of the world is filtered and mediated through individual perspectives, our research interests and resources. Critical realism thus introduces the concept of the fallibility of the social scientist. However, what researchers can do is to observe the tangible aspects of reality and the phenomena that result from the underlying processes and mechanisms, and then develop theories as to what these enduring structures may be. This process is called “retroduction”, and it involves moving backwards through the three spheres of reality, starting from the perception of a phenomenon, isolating the event for what it is, shedding as much of the individual and social interpretations as possible, and then

attempting to reconstruct the enduring processes that caused the phenomenon in the first place, in the “real” sphere.

This view reconciles a positivist belief in a “real” world with the shaping power of subjective perspective typical of an interpretivist stance. As such, critical realism lends itself to the claim that quantitative data can be utilised to study reality at the actual, observable level, while qualitative methods can be used to access the empirical level. By reconciling the two, the researcher may manage to reconstruct the underlying mechanisms generating these events.

In this particular research a critical realist stance is adopted, with respect to the fact that it is deemed impossible and possibly detrimental to attempt a “general valuation of culture”. Cultural resources are intimately linked to the local geographical and social context in which they are observed (Archer, 1996), and it is hardly possible to find a concept with a more personal and variable connotation that “value”. A purely positivist approach would ignore these cognitive limitations and seek to highlight universal, generalizable “rules” underpinning “people’s valuation of culture”. Instead, a critical realist approach allows the use of quantitative methods of research to investigate patterns and relationships between geographical, demographic and socio-economic variables and the importance attributed to cultural resources, and of qualitative analysis to make sense of the definitions of concepts such as “culture” and “value” in the context of the two case studies, but also to provide a deeper analysis of the patterns and relationships highlighted through the social survey, and attempt to reconstruct the processes underpinning them.

Consequently, the ultimate aim for the academic contribution of this thesis is not to provide an absolute, generalisable valuation of culture. Instead, this study aims at the delivery of a deeper understanding of the importance attributed to cultural resources in the cities of Dundee and Edinburgh and of the possible influence that socio-economic and demographic variables have on this. In doing this, the applicability to the cultural sector of a mixed research methodology based on contingent valuation will also be tested. This would provide the two co-sponsoring Local Authorities with specific information on their two cities, and other governing bodies with a new evaluation methodology able to involve non-market values in policy-making.

The next section explains how the study was set up, and how qualitative and quantitative sources of data are integrated. In this respect, it is important to note that one particular criticism that has been moved to mixed methods approaches in the past, is that the different types of information are not properly integrated, rather presented side by side, in a sequence of

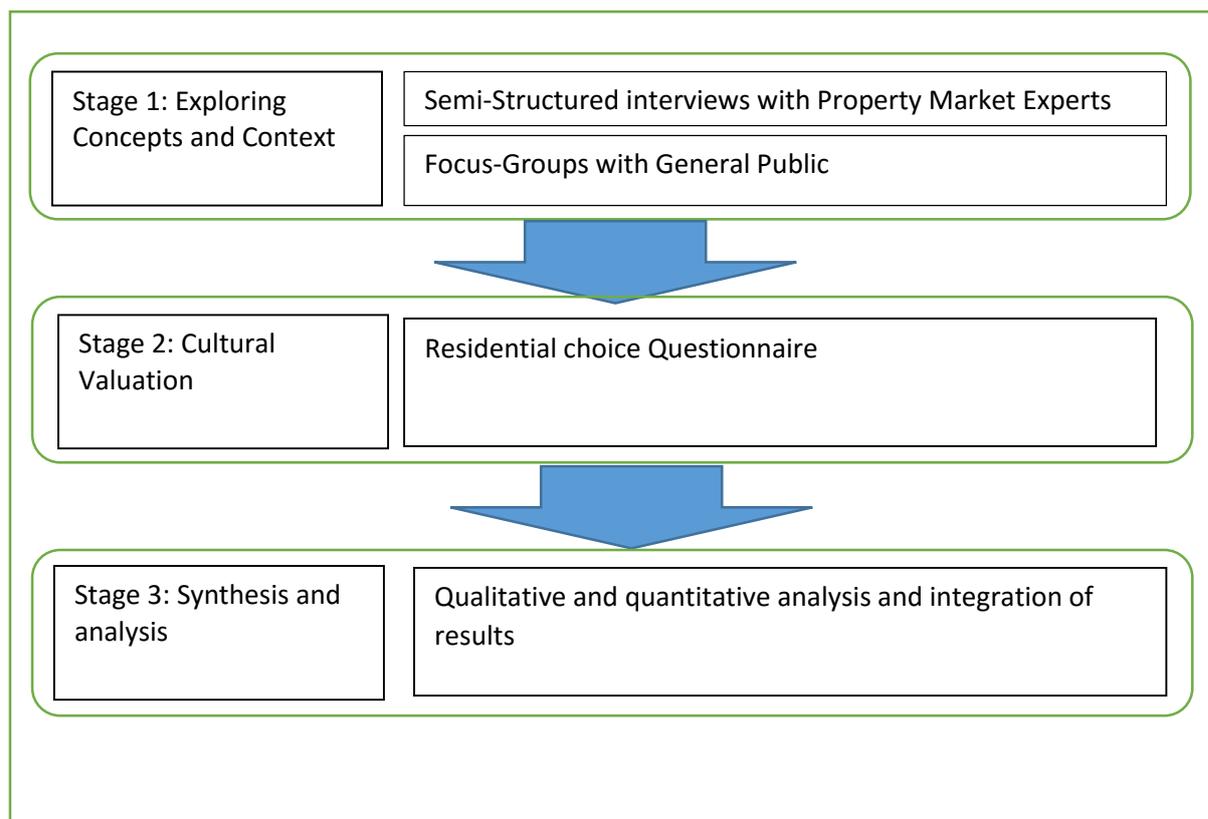
heterogeneous sections of the same research (Yin, 2006:41). True integration presupposes a study in which the insight gained through a particular source of data or a given piece of analysis is enhanced and deepened with the addition of a different source. In other words, the explanatory potential of the overall study results greater than the sum of its qualitative and quantitative components.

In terms of this particular research, data from the qualitative interviews and focus groups is not simply used to design and inform the choice questionnaire; it also helps to clarify and deepen the analysis of those patterns and relationships that are highlighted through the quantitative analysis.

### 3.4 Practical set-up

This thesis makes use of a sequential research design, with each stage preceding and informing later ones. Thus, different methods are weaved together, with qualitative analysis producing information which feeds into the design and analysis of the quantitative survey. In turn, the preliminary results of the quantitative investigation of the survey data are considered in a deeper analysis, which makes use of insights and themes coming from the interviews in Stage 1.

**Figure 3.5: Research set-up**



The following sections will present each stage of the study in more depth, with particular attention being paid to the methodological issues encountered during the study and the strategies adopted to overcome them.

#### **3.4.1 Stage 1: Exploring Concepts and Context: Interviews and Focus Groups**

The first component of this stage of data collection was represented by the one-to-one semi-structured interviews, which were conducted with estate agents and property market experts in the two cities. The main reason for this choice of participants was the need for informed knowledge about the boundaries of the two property markets, the observed behaviour of potential buyers and tenants in Dundee and Edinburgh and the various attributes that characterise residential locations. This information supplemented the knowledge gathered through a preliminary review of residential choice literature.

The combination of one-to-one interviews and of focus groups – also used in this research – with questionnaires in order to provide deeper perspectives and shed light on social processes and context has been advocated, amongst others, by McGuirk and O’Neill (2010). Individual and group interviews have been considered useful in the investigation of “how meanings differ among people” (Dunn, 2010, p.102), which is directly relevant to the main aim and research questions of this thesis. These forms of enquiry are able to provide greater insight and greater depth due to their fluid structure (Dunn, 2010), in contrast with the restrictive nature of questionnaires. Interviewees can often contribute to shaping an interview themselves, influencing the questions asked and the framing of issues depending on the interests and views they express (Valentine, 2005; Dunn, 2010).

In order to hone and optimise the structure and content of the interviews, the first two meetings were used as pilots, with adjustments being made to the subsequent wording and order of the questions. The preliminary version of the interview schedule is available for consultation in Appendix B.

The interviews were conducted in the participants’ place of work, both for their convenience and because, as noted by Valentine (2005, p.118), “talking to people in their own ‘territory’... can facilitate a more relaxed conversation” promoting greater depth in data and aiding the analytical process. Each interview was scheduled to last for a maximum of 60 minutes, and in most cases the actual duration reflected this agenda. A number of points were covered during the interviews, with participants often moving from one subject to the next

independently, through the flow of conversation. Where this did not happen spontaneously, prompts and questions were used in order to direct the discussion. The interview plan included six main questions, explained in more detail below. A complete schedule of the interviews, including main topics and prompt questions is available in the Appendix B section.

Firstly, it was important to define the physical boundaries of the two cities' property markets, in order to determine the geographical areas to be taken into consideration in the further stages of the study. Subsequently, a question was normally asked in the attempt to disentangle residential location into its basic components. This particular question often spontaneously developed into an explanation of the main features that potential buyers or renters take into consideration when choosing a neighbourhood, as opposed to the main characteristics that property market analysts use for describing a location. Where this dichotomy emerged without prompts, participants were asked to elaborate and explain the difference between the two sets of attributes.

Another section of material that often stemmed from the conversation without the need for a prompt or question was the difference between the locational features considered in their choice by incomers (from out with the city) and internal movers. This contrast was utilised during the following focus groups to investigate issues of reputation and self-image. Closely related to these issues was an overlook of the socio-economic background of the two cities and their various areas, how this, in the participants' experience, influences residential choice, how aware potential buyers/renters are of it and what information they normally rely upon in order to investigate this feature. Finally, the interviews covered the cultural offer in the two cities, the importance of a neighbourhood's proximity to cultural facilities and how this impacts an area's desirability.

In this respects, one idea that seemed to consistently emerge during the interviews was the presence of a "feel of the area" factor, which was seen as encompassing what was initially defined as "cultural facilities" and included other resources less immediately associated with cultural offer, such as restaurants and cafes. This argument was introduced in the following focus groups in order to determine what definition of culture would be the most appropriate for this study.

This phase saw the completion of twelve one-to-one semi-structured interviews. The data drawn from the interviews with the market experts resulted highly homogeneous, with shared opinions regarding market boundaries, property and neighbourhood attributes and the

importance of the 'location feel' factor. For this reason, this number of interviews was deemed sufficient, as theoretical saturation soon set in. The information gathered during these preliminary interviews helped to design the residential choice survey in Stage 2 of the research, but also to structure the focus groups which completed Stage 1.

#### *3.4.1.i Focus Groups*

The group interviews were undertaken with members of the general public in various areas of both cities, with the aim of a deeper investigation of the definition of "culture" and "cultural offer", the importance attributed to it, its role in issues of identity and self-image, and the geographical and cultural context of Edinburgh and Dundee. Furthermore, themes already investigated during the one-to-one interviews were examined again, in order to acquire a different and, possibly, deeper perspective.

Similarly to the individual interviews, focus groups were chosen as a data collection tool because of their flexibility, which represents a key component to be able to ensure the collection of deeper and more relevant information. In accordance with this, the first two groups conducted for each case study were considered pilot interviews, allowing the researcher to get a feel for the themes that were emerging and nuance aspects of the interview schedule on the basis of answers provided (pilot and final interview schedules are included in Appendix I).

Contrary to what happened in the individual interviews and for obvious reasons, it was not possible to interview participants in their own homes or places of work. Instead, collective convenience was considered in the choice of a space that was well known and easily reached by most interviewees, such as local community centres, public libraries, Local Authority buildings and, in two instances, local schools.

The rationale behind the choice to interview members of the general public was that, if the study was to investigate concepts such as culture and value, it was paramount to utilise definitions that were as meaningful and widely shared as possible. In this instance, a sector-specific, professional opinion was not needed. Instead, people from various demographic and socio-economic backgrounds were interviewed. In order to get as broad and inclusive a picture as possible, it was important to ensure the inclusion of a diverse range of participants. A number of factors were deemed to be significant in influencing cultural attitudes and preferences: age, household composition, income, employment are but a few. The importance of capturing as

much of the richness in perspectives deriving from different demographic and socio-economic circumstances cannot be overstated. Consequently, the first three groups of interviewees in each city were selected to be deliberately heterogeneous in terms of gender, age, employment status and type of occupation (used also as a rough indicator for income).

However, these groups proved to be extremely complex to lead, as participants tended to be less involved in the presence of individuals from backgrounds too dissimilar from their own. This was particularly true with regard to age and economic-employment issues. This difficulty in maintaining the flow of conversation and the engagement of all participants led to the selection of more homogeneous groups for the following interviews. Therefore, specific focus groups were organised in the two cities with people with young children, out of employment, people currently in retirement and residents of areas with high indexes of multiple deprivation. This last category, in particular, was selected in order to gain the perspective of residents who might not 'have a choice' when it comes to residential location.

Other possible background variables were considered for the organisation of specific focus groups. For example, the residential location choice literature (Straszheim, 1975) points at a possible variation in the attitude towards residential location choice amongst different ethnic groups. More specifically, the study points at dissimilar preferences in terms of recreational and cultural facilities. However, both studies are relative to differences between black and white American residents. The relevance of such issues in the Scottish context, and particularly in the case of Edinburgh and Dundee, was not deemed such as to justify the organisation of separate groups of interviewees, especially since ethnicity did not appear as a limiting factor in the engagement and active participation of the interviewees in the "composite" focus groups.

As a consequence of these considerations, six groups were run in each of the two cities. Three groups in each city were "mixed groups", one was organised with participants with children, one with retired residents and one in areas with high levels of multiple deprivation. More specifically, these last two groups were run in the areas of Muirhouse in Edinburgh and Kirkton in Dundee. The final number of focus groups was twelve, for a total of 59 participants.

Each group was intended to last around sixty minutes, although in one occasion in one of the pilot groups in Dundee, the duration was considerably shorter, due to the issues detailed above. While the focus groups tended to rely on the free flow of conversation amongst participants, a schedule was used to ensure that the discussion was kept around the main topics, using prompt

questions and supporting materials, such as photographs. The inclusion of visual prompts in interviews has suggested by Harper (2002) to elicit different kind of information than the sole use of words. As images evoke memories and feelings that verbal stimuli alone cannot conjure, their employment is particularly suited to the study of a highly intangible and emotively charged subject such as culture.

The group conversation started around how each city was viewed, both by participants and in general. The views expressed around the cities' image and reputation was then used to move the conversation along themes of residential choice and what motivated participants to move to a given city or area of the city, whether they were satisfied with it or would have wanted to change it and, if so, how they would have changed it. The conversation was then moved to cultural resources and the role they played in shaping the opinions expressed beforehand in relation to the perception and enjoyment of the city. The definition of what culture actually is was discussed: which types of resources are considered part of it and which are not, what makes certain facilities and activities "cultural" and what role culture plays within the city and society as a whole.

Further depth was enabled through constant comparison by the researcher (Valentine, 2005; Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Throughout the exchange, participant responses were analysed, asking clarifications, pointing out contradictions and deepening the investigation of broad statements that were made. Balancing this with the necessity to maintain neutrality and allow the free flow of conversation as much as possible represented a key difficulty. However, having access to data collected through the individual interviews facilitated this process, allowing the researcher to anticipate some of the key topical issues and be prepared to stir the discussion accordingly.

#### 3.4.2 Stage 2: Cultural Valuation: Choice Experiment Survey Questionnaire

The principal method used in the second phase of the study was contingent valuation, and more specifically a series of choice exercises. This is a survey-based methodology aimed at capturing preferences for non-market goods that was developed in the environmental sector in order to include in policy making resources that are apparently external to the monetary market, or that are not fully captured by it (Morrison & Bennett 2004; Hanley *et al.* 1998). For example, the market price of timber does not reflect the role played by forests in supporting biodiversity, or

the value people place on being able to visit them. Furthermore, people might value the existence of a forest even if they live far away from it and never visit it.

The same can be true for cultural goods. A museum or a heritage site could be valued by the local population irrespective of whether they visit it or not. Culture itself can be seen as an asset that needs to be preserved for the benefit of future generations.

The method involves the development of a survey in which participants are presented with a choice between various hypothetical options. The attributes composing the different options are what is really being investigated. The survey is designed in such a way that, by choosing between the various options, participants are forced to “trade-off” one attribute for another, thus revealing patterns of preference and, ultimately, a ranking of relative values for each attribute (Hanley *et al.* 2001).

Furthermore, this technique allows the researcher to identify the preferences of people who, due to their socio-economic circumstances, are not able to move and exercise their choices in real life. This would not be possible using a revealed preference technique, as data on actual purchases made by people unable to buy would not be available. Choice exercises present participants with hypothetical questions and scenarios, which can be answered regardless of one’s socio-economic background or financial circumstances. The resulting data will be meaningful as long as the scenarios are realistic and based on solid investigations and groundwork prior to the development of the questionnaire. Simpler and more direct stated preference techniques, which ask participants ‘how much is this resource worth to you?’ or ‘how much would you be prepared to pay for...?’ have been seen to be open to various forms of bias (Bishop and Heberlein, 1979). By approaching the subject less directly and ‘hiding’ the real object of the questionnaire behind a series of binary choices, choice experiments have been proven to be less exposed to bias, although the right balance needs to be struck in order to avoid placing too high a cognitive burden on participants (M. Van Bueren *et al.*, 2004).

Contingent valuation studies, and choice modelling in particular, tend to rely on the collection of primary data through a purposefully designed survey. This research was no exception. Alternative approaches to data collection relying on secondary data could also have been considered. Amongst the numerous on-going survey platforms which include strands relative to culture and attitudes towards it, two were identified as the most suitable to this study. However, one of them, Taking Part, only gathers information relative to England, and was therefore discarded. The Scottish Household Survey also included a module relative to culture. The data

available through this survey would have covered people's rates of participation in and attendance of cultural events; daily and weekly habits for cultural activities such as reading, watching films or visiting libraries; reasons for taking part in cultural activities and possible barriers preventing engagement. However, use of data from this particular survey was discarded for a number of reasons. Firstly, the dataset did not allow for a comparison of participants' attitudes towards different types of cultural resources. As the main aim of the study was to investigate how different ideas of what constitutes culture affect its valuation, the inability to assess the relative importance attributed to the various possible component of culture would have represented a serious limitation. Moreover, the latest release of data from the culture module of this survey dated to 2007-8, with the collection phase having taken place in 2006. Although this would not have been enough to consider it as "old data", the decision was made to proceed with a primary data collection, which would have provided more up-to-date information, and could be designed as to allow the type of analysis needed for this research.

In hindsight, although the decision to rely on primary data implied a longer time frame and considerable effort, it did allow more freedom in the design and data analysis stages. Furthermore, on a more personal level, it did provide the researcher with an opportunity to design, implement, distribute and analyse a relatively large survey, providing invaluable research skills and expertise.

#### *3.4.2.i Sampling and Design Issues*

In designing the questionnaire, a number of key issues had to be considered, such as which definitions to adopt for concepts such a "culture" or "cultural offer", what attributes to divide residential location and cultural resources into, the overall length of the survey and the cognitive burden each exercise would place on respondents, and issues of sampling and distribution.

In terms of definitions, it was decided to adopt a wide and inclusive definition of culture, inspired by Raymond Williams' description of culture as:

“All the knowledge, ideas and processes that define one community as different from others, together with the symbols used to encode this knowledge and transmit it within the community and across generations”.

This definition would include, alongside the more obvious museums, galleries and music venues, local libraries, restaurants and cafes, retail facilities and community activities.

A few clarifications are necessary in this context: firstly, the inclusion of these resources in under the definition of culture emerged from the stage one focus groups and interviews. In particular, food and drink and retail facilities transpired as extremely important in determining the “feel” of the area, which was also repeatedly referred to as the “local culture”. One important exception had to be made for the retail facilities, for which a distinction was often made in terms of “mainstream” retailers, such as supermarkets and shopping centres, and independent shops, selling unusual items often with exotic ethnic origins.

Another type of resources which emerged as being seen as “cultural” were local community activities. These often take place in the local community centre, although they are not necessarily organised and provided by the Local Authority. They include dance, arts and crafts classes, children classes and groups, bingo, youth sport courses etc.

Another important exception that surfaced during the focus groups had to do with sports. These were seen as part of culture at the non-professional and youth level, while they were more often classed as “business” or “enterprise” at the professional level. This was particularly true in the case of football, although the case was made that supporters of different clubs can see themselves as belonging to specific “local cultures”. For the purposes of this study, professional sports were excluded from the list of components of culture, while local, non-professional and youth sports activities were included.

The final list of components of Culture & Leisure included: Community Activities, Proximity to Museums, Galleries and Performing Arts Venues, Local Libraries, Restaurants, Pubs and Cafes, and Independent, “non-High Street” Shops.

This list was the result of the aggregation of a longer list of components, which was necessary in order to reduce the number of options available for choice, thus limiting the sample size necessary in order to obtain statistically significant results. Another important reason for

reducing the number of available options was that, for the exercise in which the list of components was involved, participants would have to distribute 100 tokens across the list. In order to limit the mathematical calculations necessary for the task, and consequently reduce the cognitive burden placed on respondents, the number of options needed to be either 5 or 10.

Similarly to the list of sub-components of Culture & Leisure, the list of attributes describing residential location emerged from the interviews and focus groups in stage 1. The location characteristics were first suggested by the property market experts, as the features that they looked at when analyzing residential areas and those that potential buyers and renters tended to enquire about. The list was subsequently refined during the focus groups, and came to include aesthetic appearance, green space, culture and leisure, community safety and crime rates, school catchment, commuting time, transport links and proximity to family and friends.

Once again, the various elements on the list had to be aggregated in order to reduce sample size and cognitive burden, and a list of five “thematic attributes” was reached. This was done by going back to the focus groups data and analysing which attributes were mentioned together and in relation to each other. Finally, respondents were presented with five attributes describing residential location: Appearance & Green Space, Culture & Leisure, Community Safety & School Catchment, Transport Links & Commuting Time and Proximity to Family & Friends.

Previous to the distribution of the questionnaire, two piloting exercises were conducted. The first one relied on academic and non-academic colleagues in the department, while the second piloting wave saw 40 questionnaires being distributed to members of the general public.

This was done in order to make sure that the definition utilised in the document made sense to the recipients, that the design minimised cognitive burden and time of completion, and that the overall structure of the survey was optimised to deliver the desired data. The results of the two piloting waves are presented in Appendix B, in the form of the original and final versions of the questionnaire.

The distribution strategy adopted for the survey relied on a number of approaches. A section of the questionnaires was distributed by the Local Authorities of Edinburgh and Dundee to their employees via a web link included in an internal email. This technique ensured a high number of responses, but it produced a highly skewed sample as almost all participants resulted to be of working age, employed and working for the local Council. There were exceptions, as some employees distributed the survey to friends and family, but the contribution to the overall

sample was negligible. Furthermore, the two Local Authorities were not able to provide access to their mailing systems, which resulted in the inability to reach a high number of participants.

In order to provide a wider sample, questionnaires were also distributed face to face to members of the general public in both cities, and through leaflets carrying the web link to the electronic survey and the Quick Response Code (QR) for use with smartphones.

Although this distribution strategy was highly time consuming, it ensured that enough surveys were completed to provide a sample able to support the planned statistical tests, and allowed for a closer control over the sample composition and its reflection off the socio-economic and demographic make-up of the two cities. Initially, questionnaires were distributed through a form of convenience sampling, approaching people within case study spaces. Initial intentions were to systematically sample the accessible population, approaching every third person, in order to improve rigour. The low numbers of people willing to take part in the survey, however, made this sampling strategy too time-consuming, especially given the large sample size necessary to support the planned statistical tests. Poor weather during data collection also diminished users and made people reluctant to stop. Purposive sampling was therefore employed in order to maximise the number of responses and variety of perspectives obtained.

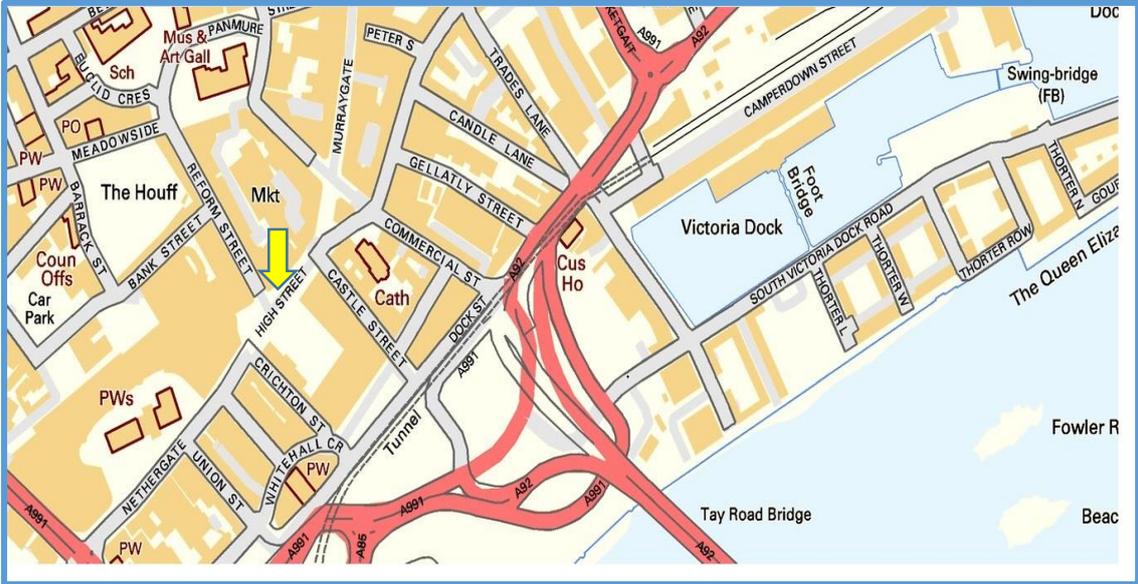
On this basis, everyone who walked by was approached and a running tally kept of respondents' demographic and socio-economic backgrounds. Where there was a need to choose between people, the most underrepresented group was chosen to ensure as broad a spectrum of perspectives as possible.

In order to do this, it was important to consider carefully the location in which to attempt to stop passers-by. For example, choosing a location immediately adjacent to a block of offices would again have produced a sample of largely employed participants.

After careful consideration, a location was chosen in Dundee, in front of the City Square, at the junction between Reform Street and High Street. This was considered a convenient location as it was in the vicinity of a number of retail facilities, with diverse offerings and price ranges. Nearby were also a number of bars, pubs and cafes. The area also sees a good number of offices, and is one of the focal points of the city's public transport, with numerous bus stops leading to all different parts of town.

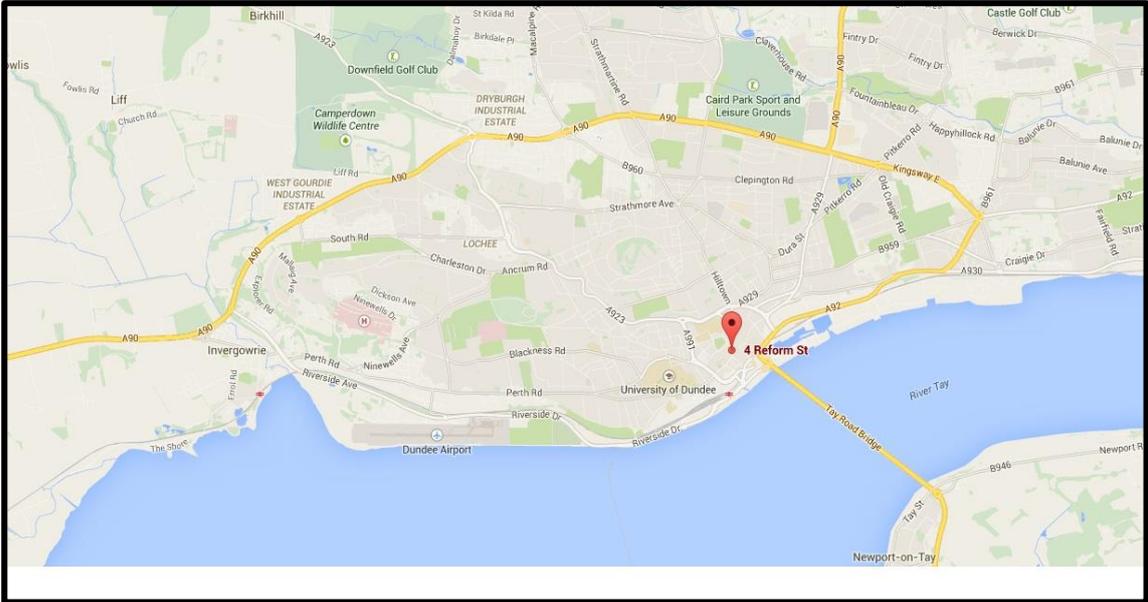


Figure 3.6: Questionnaire distribution location in Dundee



Source: Dundee City Council

Figure 3.7: Questionnaire distribution location in Dundee



Source: googlemaps.co.uk

Figure 3.8: Questionnaire distribution location in Dundee



Source : Own Photo

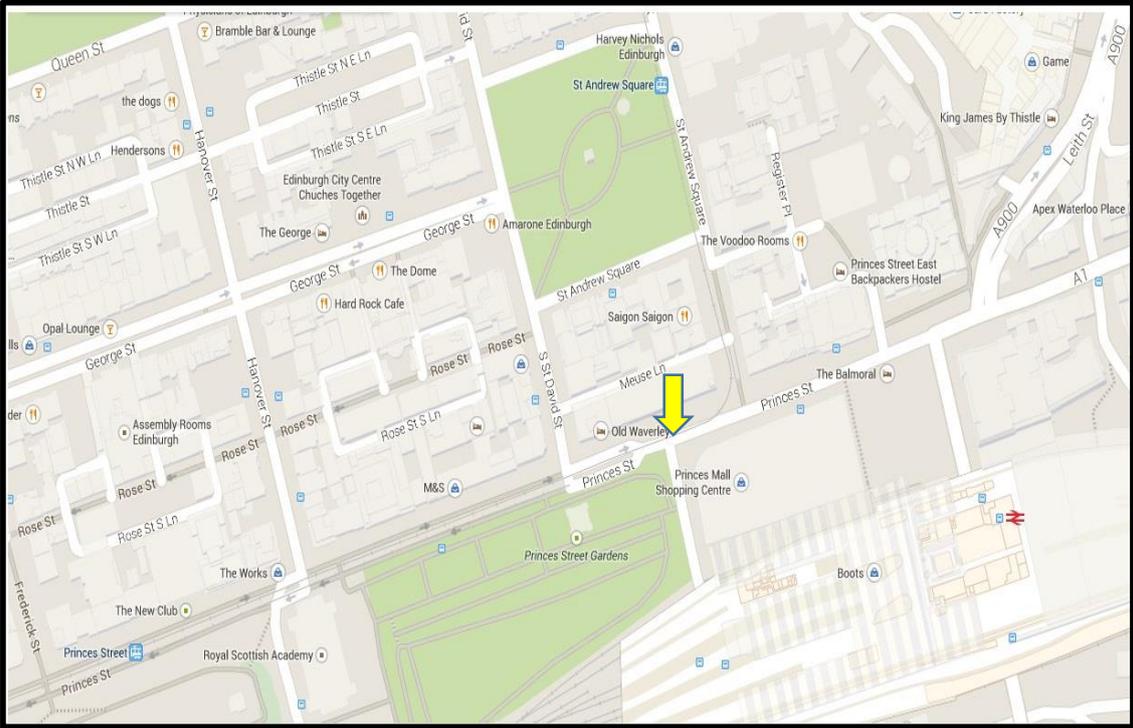
In Edinburgh, the chosen location was at the Waverley end of Princes Street:

Figure 3.5: Questionnaire distribution location in Edinburgh



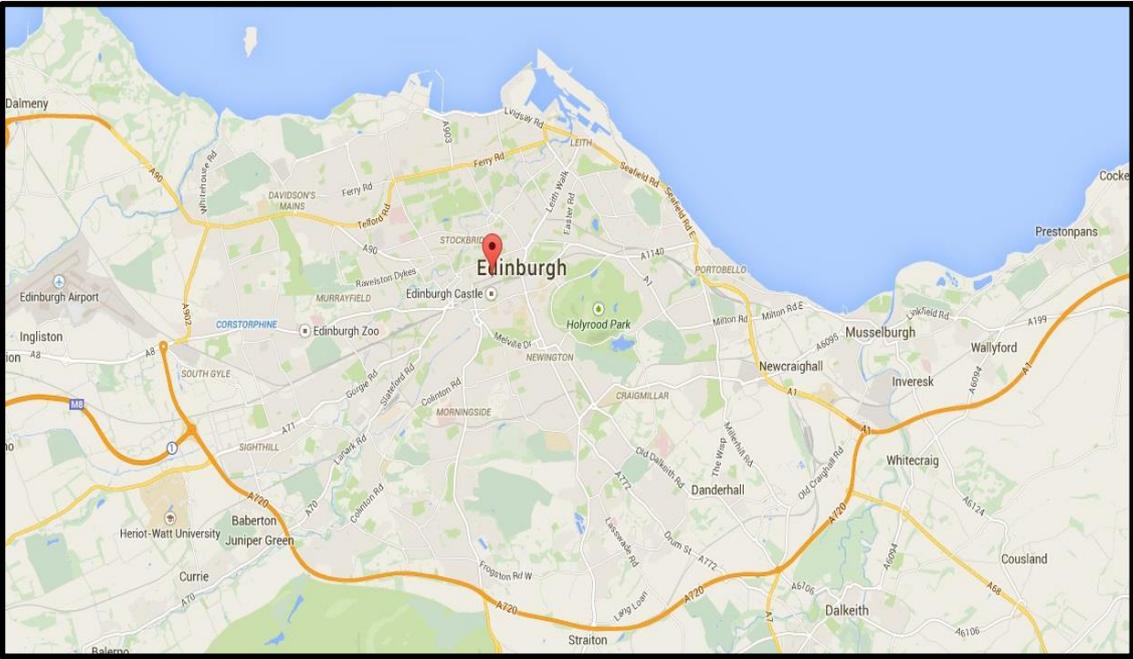
Source : Personal Photo

Figure 3.6: Questionnaire distribution location in Edinburgh



Source: googlemaps.co.uk

Figure 3.7: Questionnaire distribution location in Edinburgh



Source: googlemaps.co.uk

This location was in front of the exit of Princes Mall, near numerous retail facilities and commuting nodes. One negative aspect of the location was the vicinity of Waverley train station, which meant that a high number of people stopped were not actual residents of the city. This was exacerbated by the high volume of tourists in the area, and caused a considerable waste of time in stopping people who would not qualify as participants to the study. However, the train station is also used as an internal commuting node for the city, and a good numbers of people coming out of it were residents of Edinburgh.

Although this strategy represented an improvement over the Local Authority employee option, it still presented margins for biased selection. Indeed, even in choosing to stop people on the street a researcher can become an active participant. This is because, more or less voluntarily, he or she could choose to stop certain passers-by rather than others. For example, those who look less threatening may be selected, or those who look less busy and therefore more likely to agree to complete the survey. Another possible involuntary bias would be to select participants who seem most like the researcher's self. Nevertheless, this strategy was deemed to be the most convenient given the time and means constraints, and the most likely to yield a sample of sufficient size and as close as possible to the two cities' demographic and socio-economic make-ups.

Once the overall sample in Dundee reached 500, however, it became evident that, compared to the Census statistics on demographic and socio-economic composition of the population, there was a definite lack of participants over the age of 60, unemployed and with no or little qualifications. The same problem was detected in the Edinburgh sample. The attempt was made to correct this potential bias by targeting the specific categories which were underrepresented. As such, questionnaires were distributed to retired and unemployed people outside a number of community centres in the cities. The help of the local community facilities was sought in identifying and contacting potential participants. The final result was a more balanced sample, although some categories remain underrepresented, as can be seen in Table 3.3.

In particular, the proportions of participants employed full time and with qualifications above level 3 were still significantly higher than in the census while over 65s, people with disabilities and people with no qualifications were under-represented. In some cases, as with disabled participants, it was impossible, or ethically complicated, to directly target subjects with certain characteristics. In the case of the balance within the 'employment' variable, the number of qualified and full-time employed subjects provided via the council was so overwhelming that it

would have been too time consuming to balance it completely. The same strategy was adopted for the sample in Edinburgh. The resulting distributions and a comparison with the actual census data for both cities are presented in Tables 3.2 and 3.3 below.

**Table 3.2: Comparison between survey and 2011 Census Data for the City of Dundee**

	Survey		Census	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
<b>Gender</b>				
Female	351	52.9	63570	52.7
Male	312	47.1	56950	47.3
<b>Age</b>				
18-24	74	11.2	21421	17.9
25-34	108	16.3	20610	17.2
35-44	128	19.3	17297	14.6
45-64	263	39.7	35071	30.1
65-74	56	8.4	11342	9.6
75-84	23	3.5	9019	7.5
85+	11	1.7	3226	2.6
<b>Education</b>	Over 18		Over 16	
No Qual.	30	4.5	33208	26.9
Level 1	97	14.7	28185	22.8
Level 2	60	9.1	19238	15.6
Level 3	220	33.1	12278	9.9
Level 4+	253	38.5	30655	24.8
<b>Employment</b>	Over 18		16 to 74	
Full-Time	380	57.3	38595	31.2
Part-Time	93	14.0	13971	11.3
Self-Employed	27	4.1	5405	4.4
Retired	91	13.7	15874	12.8
Student	35	5.3	11232	9.0
Homemaker	8	1.2	3543	2.8
Unemployed	24	3.6	6384	5.1
Long-term sick	5	0.8	6732	5.4

Table 3.3: Comparison between survey and 2011 Census Data for the City of Edinburgh

	Survey		Census	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
<b>Gender</b>				
Female	322	52.5	244,262	51.3
Male	291	47.5	232,364	48.7
<b>Age</b>				
18-24	81	13.2	21421	13.6
25-34	145	23.7	20610	17.6
35-44	140	22.8	17297	14.0
45-64	174	28.4	35071	23.8
65-74	32	6.2	11342	7.1
75-84	22	3.6	9019	5.1
85+	13	2.1	3226	2.0
<b>Education</b>	Over 18		Over 16	
No Qual.	42	6.9	33208	14.5
Level 1	43	7.0	28185	15.7
Level 2	93	15.2	19238	13.0
Level 3	127	20.6	12278	6.4
Level 4+	308	50.3	30655	35.2
<b>Employment</b>	Over 18		16 to 74	
Full-Time	347	56.6	38595	31.3
Part-Time	55	9.0	13971	8.9
Self-Employed	66	10.8	5405	6.1
Retired	66	10.8	15874	9.0
Student	26	4.2	11232	8.0
Homemaker	6	1.0	3543	2.7
Unemployed	41	6.7	6384	3.0
Long-term sick	6	1.0	6732	2.8

In retrospect, avoiding the initial sampling strategy involving the two councils would have guaranteed more control over the overall final composition of the sample, although the time and effort involved in gathering the totality of questionnaires directly would have been even more impactful on the research time-frame.

Other distribution strategies such as mail, were considered. However, self-completion often yields lower rates of response (Bryman, 2008), particularly when the post is used as a distribution strategy. One possible alternative to the chosen strategy would have been the enrolment of one or two assistants during the distribution phase, which would have maintained

the overall control over the quality of the sample while reducing the time necessary for the completion of the task.

### **3.4.3 The Survey Questionnaire**

In this research, choice exercises were used to look at what role the cultural offer of an area plays in determining people's residential preferences. In other words, how important a neighbourhood's cultural and leisure offer is compared to other characteristics, such as good transport connections, environmental/scenic value or access to retail facilities. This was done through a specifically designed questionnaire in which participants were asked to 'create' their ideal residential location.

In order to do this, one of the survey questions provided them with a list of five main attributes qualifying the location and 100 tokens to spend. The exercise consisted of using the tokens to 'buy' more or less of each attribute depending on how important it was to the participant. This process was used to reveal which locational characteristics people were prepared to 'trade-in' for others, and to what extent. The result was a ranking of locational attributes and their 'relative value' obtained through the analysis of the average distribution of tokens across the five choice bundles.

A second exercise involved the grouping of the five main attributes of residential location into couples. In order to pair up each attribute with all the others, 10 couples were created. Participants then had to choose one attribute over the other within each couple. Once again, statistical analysis, more specifically a Wilcoxon Signed Ranks Test, provided a relative ranking of the five attributes. This was particularly useful, as it provided results on the same specific question of the first exercise, but through a different tool, thus allowing checking the significance and reliability of both questions.

The third survey question presented a similar task to the first one, with five attributes to score and 100 tokens to "spend" across them. However, in this case it was the Culture & Leisure bundle to be divided up into its main components, and the result of the exercise was a ranking and scoring of the various components of culture in the two cities. This was particularly important and meaningful given the wide and inclusive definition adopted for "culture". Knowing how highly cultural resources are considered would be of relative significance when these include diverse components such as museum and galleries and pubs and restaurants. Therefore, being able to look "into" the bundle and determine the importance attached to the

individual components becomes paramount. Once again, analysing the average distribution of tokens across the various types of cultural resources allowed for a preliminary ranking and an idea of their relative valuation to be formed.

The results from the three main parts of the questionnaire were then utilised for a deeper statistical analysis aimed at highlighting relationships between higher or lower valuations given to the cultural sector as a whole or to its individual components, and demographic and socio-economic characteristics of respondents. This was made possible by the section of the questionnaire that collected information relative to gender, age, household composition, employment, qualifications and income of all participants.

As described in Chapter 2 (section 2.4.2.i), varying levels of cultural engagement have been linked to a number of demographic and socio-economic variables (DCMS, 2015), in particular employment, income levels, age and gender. Data relative to these characteristics was therefore gathered in the questionnaire, with the two-fold aim to verify whether there was an element of valuation independent from engagement and consumption, and to investigate the possibility of certain sections of the population having a different notion of what culture actually is, and therefore being “differently engaged”, rather than unengaged. Levels of educational attainment were also included in the survey questionnaire, as they have been highlighted in the cultural valuation literature as one of the main factors influencing the likelihood of cultural participation (Reeves, 2015). Finally, the presence and age of children in the household was considered an important factor in determining participants’ cultural preferences, with some cultural facilities and resources – such as libraries and youth sports clubs – being specifically targeted to children.

The collection of this background information on the survey participants contributed to the study’s main aim, as it helped in the investigation of the links between geographical and socio-economic differences, diverging notions of what constitutes culture and different patterns of cultural valuation.

All statistical calculations and analyses were performed using the SPSS package. Logistic regression analyses were conducted to explore patterns of correlation between each background variable and the results in the scoring exercises. Specifically, negative binomial regression was chosen as the preferred statistical technique for this analysis. This choice was dictated by the non-normal distribution of the data relative to the allocation of tokens, which constituted the dependent variable in the model. In particular, as the conditional variance was

consistently greater than the conditional mean, Poisson regression was excluded and negative binomial regression was identified as a preferable option.

In terms of the goodness of fit of the chosen models, a number of statistical tests were selected and implemented. The Omnibus test indicates the degree to which the selected model represents a statistically significant improvement in fit compared with the null hypothesis model. The results of this test are reported at the bottom of each table as “chi-square likelihood ratio”, with the relative level of statistical significance. Other indications of the overall goodness of fit of the model are the level of deviance, and the Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC). A deviance level approaching the value of 1 indicates an overall goodness of fit of the model. Lower BIC values also contribute to determine the goodness of fit. Throughout this thesis, the values for both deviance and BIC were compared between the previously run Poisson regression models and the negative binomial, and the improvements in model fit are reported at the bottom of each table.

Initially, the intention was to also conduct a detailed statistical analysis of the possible relationships between area of residence within the city and patterns of cultural valuation. To this end, data on respondents’ postcode of residence was collected. However, many participants decided not to include this information, and the majority of those who provided it did so incompletely. Therefore, the dataset relative to the geographical distribution of respondents was too limited and too “dirty” to conduct any meaningful and reliable statistical test.

Finally, information relative to the frequency of use of the various components of Culture & Leisure was gathered in the last question of the survey. Frequency of use was coded in an ordinal scale of six, descending from “at least once a week” to “never”. This information was linked to the token exercise in question 3 of the questionnaire through its inclusion in the negative binomial regression model, as one of the independent variables. This way, it was possible to explore the relationship between the frequency with which a given resource is used and the importance attributed to it.

### 3.5 Ethics

Ethical considerations were an important aspect of the research process. Accordingly, the appropriate approval was sought and awarded by the University of St Andrews' Geography and Geosciences School Ethics Committee. Furthermore, the ESRC's Research Ethics Framework (REF) was utilised in the consideration of the ethical implications of the study. These applied to both the researcher and the participants. Issues considered during this process included the procedure used for gaining the consent of participants, whether young or vulnerable people would be included in the study, the procedures used with participants during and after the data collection phase, the use of incentives to enrol participants, modalities of data recording, storage and dissemination, and issues of confidentiality. These issues and the measures taken in order to address concerns and avoid ethical conflicts are detailed in the following sections.

### **3.5.1 Procedures used with participants**

This section of the ethical approval process dealt with the protocol used throughout the participants' involvement in the study. In the case of the survey questionnaire, the distribution took place in several ways. Part of the sample was recruited through face-to-face interaction, and consent was obtained verbally and through the appropriate Participant Information Sheet. This form detailed the relevant information relative to the study's nature, purpose and addressed possible concerns relative to anonymity and data protection. Copy of the form can be found in Appendix III. Participants were also recruited through the mediation of the two Local Authorities co-sponsoring the study. In this case, flyers and postcards directing participants towards an online link to the survey were distributed throughout Council- related facilities. The link also included the aforementioned Information and consent sheet. The flyers were also distributed independently in retail and food and drink venues.

In the case of the individual interviews, consent to participation was sought either via telephone or email, an appointment was made and the relevant form was delivered on the date of the interview. Participants to the focus group were recruited either through the mediation of the two Local Authorities, through face-to-face interaction or through the use of flyers and postcards.

At the end of the interviews or the questionnaire all participants received a Debriefing form, reiterating information on anonymity and data security and providing relevant contacts for possible questions or complaints.

### **3.5.2 Confidentiality and Data Protection**

In line with the recommendations of the ESRC REF, the anonymity of participants and the full confidentiality of the information they provided was guaranteed at all times. In terms of their anonymity, participants to the interviews and focus groups were informed that their real names would not be used. Instead, they would be referred to through the use of pseudonyms. In case of direct quotation, their personal information would be included in a generalised manner, detailing only gender, age bracket and which case study they belonged to. This was particularly important in the case of estate agents and property solicitors, as their identification within their professional circle would have been easier.

Respondents to the survey questionnaire were informed that their name would not be asked, and that any personal information they released regarding their demographic and socio-economic background and postcode of residence would only be used and published in aggregate form for statistical purposes, thus guaranteeing full anonymity. In terms of the storage and protection of confidential data, the University of St Andrews guidelines relative to the 1998 Data Protection Act were, and continue to be followed.

### **3.5.3 Young People, Vulnerable Groups and Incentives**

As the study would recruit and focus solely on participants over the age of 18, there were deemed to be no concerns relative to the involvement of young people. Similarly, vulnerable adults, people with learning or communicative difficulties and care home residents were not specifically recruited for either phase of data collection, and no specific ethical concern was raised in this respect. No form of incentive or inducement was introduced in order to encourage participation, and therefore no ethical considerations were necessary on this matter.

### 3.6 Conclusions

This chapter has presented the operational set-up of this research, describing the epistemological and methodological issues faced in its design and explaining the rationale behind the choices that have been made.

To start with, the reasons leading to the adoption of a mixed-methodology were illustrated. This type of approach was seen to offer the possibility for richer and more contextualised understanding than the employment of solely quantitative methods. Furthermore, the critical realist epistemological view was seen as a productive avenue for the overcoming of the unproductive contraposition between the positivist and interpretivist paradigm.

The decision to adopt a case study design was then explained through its ability to yield important contextual information, and to ground and strengthen findings. Moreover, the implementation of a comparative study between the two cities of Dundee and Edinburgh was presented as a valid and productive way to highlight divergences and communalities between two different geographical areas. In this respect, the two cities' demographic and socio-economic backgrounds and their local cultural strategies were introduced as an advantageous platform from which to investigate the dissimilar patterns of cultural valuation.

Following this, the practical set-up of the research was described as divided into three main stages, namely:

1. the gathering of qualitative insight through interviews and focus groups;
2. The collection of quantitative data through the design and distribution of a questionnaire;
3. The integration of the two strands of insights derived from the deductive, thematic analysis of the qualitative data and the statistical results from the analysis of the questionnaire data.

The procedures used to select and recruit participants to each of the data collection phases were described, alongside possible shortcomings and problematic aspects of the choices made. Sub-section 3.4.1 presented the structure and content of the individual interviews and of the focus groups. The various parts of the survey questionnaire used to gather quantitative data and the statistical techniques chosen to analyse it were introduced in section 3.4.2 and 3.4.3, together with the rationale underpinning these choices.

Finally, the ethical considerations arising from this research and the relevant procedures undergone to receive clearance from the University are detailed in section 3.5.

In retrospect, a number of things could have been done differently during the course of this research and, in future research, the lessons learned in this study will represent an invaluable wealth of knowledge. One of the main factors that made data collection and sampling of participants particularly complicated was the initial participation of the two co-sponsoring Local Authorities in providing respondents to the survey. Independent distribution of the questionnaires from the beginning would have avoided unnecessary complications in several ways. Firstly, it would have avoided loss of time in waiting for the necessary bureaucratic authorisations to be released. As these consents never materialised, and the overall sample contributed by both Councils was insufficient, the face to face distribution could have started well in advance, minimising the loss of valuable time. Secondly, the prospect of a large sample being available in a very short time overshadowed the potential for it to be skewed towards employed, relatively affluent and professionally qualified participants. Minimising this initial bias implied further loss of time further down the line, which could have been avoided had all questionnaires been distributed through the same vehicle from the start.

Another moment in which a different course of action may have produced better results was once it appeared clear that the expected contributions to sampling from the two co-sponsors would not be available. The preferred action in that circumstance was to proceed to distribute the questionnaires manually until a sufficient sample size was reached to support the statistical models included in the research design. This commitment, once made, implied a considerable delay in the overall study's schedule. One possible alternative course of action would have been to adapt the research design, switching the focus onto different statistical techniques, less demanding in terms of sample size. Once again, a lesser delay at this stage could have resulted in diminished pressures in further stages of the research.

In particular, the qualitative strand of the study could have been expanded and improved with lesser time restraints. Having more time in the data analysis stage would have allowed for more and better training in handling and analysing qualitative data. This in turn would have permitted for deeper, more extensive and more detailed work on the information collected through the interviews and focus groups. In part, the reason for this relative lack of attention was the initial remit contained in the research design of the CASE studentship. This particular piece of research was intended to rely on quantitative sources, and was to be complemented by a qualitative study of the same two cities. Consequently, the interviews and focus groups were initially intended as the necessary early stages of questionnaire design. Once the richness and wealth of

information gathered, particularly during the group interviews, became evident, the study naturally and gradually changed into a mixed-methods piece of research. A more systematic approach and a more efficient quantitative data collection stage would have provided more scope for a through utilisation of the wealth of qualitative data gathered.

Finally, the organisation of follow-up focus groups with some of the participants to the first stage of the research could have improved the study in two ways. Firstly, it would have provided more depth in the qualitative data. Secondly, by discussing the findings of the quantitative analysis with the same sample of people who helped design the questionnaire, the integration between the two strands of data would have improved.

Another issue that had to be constantly maintained in clear focus throughout the duration of this study was the researcher's own positionality. In particular, the factors that made this a delicate issue were two-fold. Firstly, being based near one of the two case study locations and having lived in or around it for several years, caused not only a certain level of attachment, but also the risk of a more practical, organisational preference: distributing and collecting questionnaires in Dundee was always easier, as it was easier taking part to executive Council meetings and other events compared to doing the same in Edinburgh. Perhaps more importantly, once the first insights on the specific views around culture in the two cities began to emerge, it was inevitable to feel more sympathetic towards one or the other.

Likewise, the two local authorities' approaches to cultural policy and the strategic roles they attributed to it diverged deeply. It was therefore necessary to remain aware of one's own opinions and of the extent to which they overlapped with one approach or the other. This was attempted throughout the research, in order to avoid the researcher's

The following chapters of the thesis will present the results of the quantitative and qualitative analyses outlined in this chapter, starting with the general valuation of Culture and Leisure relative to the other four neighbourhood attributes included in the first task of the questionnaire.

## 4 Valuation of culture in Residential choice

### 4.1 Introduction

As outlined in chapter 1, the overall aim of this thesis is to investigate how “culture” can be viewed and interpreted in different ways depending on spatial and socio-economic contexts, and how the value attached to cultural resources can vary accordingly. In order to do this, this research collected primary qualitative and quantitative data on the importance attributed to cultural resources in the two case study cities of Edinburgh and Dundee, and analysed communalities and differences in the way “culture” is understood and valued. Addressing Research Questions 1 and 3, this chapter explores the importance attributed to cultural resources by a sample of residents in the two case studies, in the context of a hypothetical choice of a residential neighbourhood. As explained in Chapter 3, participants were asked to rank and score the Culture & Leisure label in relation to four other attributes that characterise a residential area. The aim was to create a hypothetical situation in which respondents had to operate a series of trade-offs between the various attributes, thus revealing the relative importance attached to culture and leisure resources. The data presented in this chapter is derived from the first two sections of the research survey and from the interviews and focus groups conducted in the early stages of the research. The results will be presented and analysed, and possible relationships with demographic and socio-economic variables will be explored.

Firstly, section 4.2.1 will look at a preliminary ranking of the five attributes of location, as emerging from the paired comparison segment of the questionnaire. In this task, the five location attributes were paired up in all their ten possible combinations, and participants had to choose one attribute out of each pair. An average of how many times each attribute has been selected offers a first glimpse of the importance attributed to it by participants.

Furthermore, because each characteristic was “pitched” against each of the other four, it is possible to look at specific patterns of preference, for example whether culture and leisure is often chosen when paired with one particular other option, while it tends to not be selected against others. Finally, a preliminary ranking is obtained of all five location attributes.

The following question in the survey was the token exercise. This represented a different task, in which participants were given 100 imaginary tokens and asked to “spend” them across the five location attributes, so as to create their ideal neighbourhood. Using more tokens on one

characteristic meant having more of that resource in the neighbourhood, but it also implied having less to invest on other attributes.

Data from this section of the questionnaire will be presented in section 4.2.2, and will be used to provide not only a general ranking of the five attributes of residential location, but also a scoring, which allows deeper understanding of the extent to which one resources was valued more or less than the others.

As both these exercises aimed to provide a ranking of the same five attributes, it was also possible to cross-check the results in order to verify the reliability of the techniques.

Finally, relationship between socio-economic and demographic variables and the preference patterns expressed in both cities will be analysed in section 4.3, in which a series of binomial logistic regressions will be used to investigate whether certain variables made participants more or less likely to assign higher than average scores to a resource.

## **4.2 Residential Location Attributes Ranking and Scoring**

As explained above, the focus of this section is to present the results of the first two tasks submitted to respondents in the research survey. Despite sharing general aims and conceptual design, the two exercises diverged in the techniques employed to elicit participants' preferences, and provided different levels of insight.

The paired comparison exercise allowed only a raw ranking of the five attributes based on the total number of selections obtained, as the trade-off was made in a one-versus-one basis. As such, participants had to decide which characteristic they would choose out of each pair. This process offered little information on the degree to which one attribute was preferred to another one.

Moreover, after each selection, the exercise moved on to a new pair, effectively "clearing the board" of previously expressed preferences. This process was useful and necessary to maintain a relatively low cognitive burden, as asking participants to move through ten subsequent sets of choices while remembering and considering previous selections would have resulted in an extremely complex, not to mention tedious, task. Nevertheless, this particular procedure also limited the extent to which each set of selections could be related to the other sets.

In comparison, the token allocation exercise offers a more nuanced view of the choices operated by participants, as one attribute is ranked higher than the other by a certain margin of tokens, effectively indicating the “strength” of the preference.

Furthermore, all the attributes are scored at once, out of the same “pot” of tokens, and this guarantees that the trade-off is a five-way one, with the importance of the five location characteristics considered and discounted in the same context.

#### **4.2.1 Pair Comparison**

As discussed in chapter 3, the use of paired comparison analysis as a way to assess preferences and establish a relative valuation of non-market resources has been cyclically implemented, debated and criticised in a number of fields since the early 1920s. Examples of this come from the sectors of health (Thurstone, 1927), policy studies (Peterson and Brown, 1998) and behavioural economics (Loomis, Peterson et al., 1998). One of the main drawbacks attributed to this technique is the fact that it provides a ranking of the resources considered, without much information about the strength or the extent of the relationships between them.

In the context of this research, however, paired comparison is utilised as a preliminary ranking tool. As such, the analysis of the results of this section of the survey is expected to yield an initial idea of the participants’ preferences and of where they tend to place cultural resources in relation to the other attributes. This information will then be deepened and integrated with the results of the token exercise and insight derived from the interview and focus groups conducted in the early stages of the study.

In the survey exercise, attributes were paired together, then participants were asked to choose one out of each pair in terms of what would be more valuable to them in a hypothetical residential neighbourhood. It is important to note, at this stage, that the definition and scale of the term “neighbourhood” was not pre-defined in the survey questionnaire. Therefore, each participant was able to operate choices based on his or her own idea of how wide or small the geographic area involved was. This allowed for a considerable limitation of the cognitive burden involved in the exercise. However, it also resulted in a more problematic interpretation of the results, as some participants might have been operating trade-offs relative to which

characteristics they valued more in the immediate vicinity of their homes, whereas others' notion of "their neighbourhood" may have comprised the almost totality of the city. While this factor does not result particularly problematic for this section of the data, it is more so for the results presented in the following chapter, where the importance attributed to different types of cultural resources is analysed.

Tables 4.1 and 4.2 show the results of this process in the two case study cities of Dundee and Edinburgh, respectively. Tables 4.3 and 4.4 show a ranking of the five attributes in both case studies as derived from these results.

Table 4.1: Results of the paired comparison exercise: Dundee sample (n=663). Showing preferred attribute out of each pair, total frequency and percentage of votes received.

n.=663	Appearance & Green Space	Culture & Leisure	Transport Links & Commuting Time	Community Safety & School Catchment	Proximity to Family & Friends
Appearance & Green Space		<b>A &amp; G</b> 548-115 %: 82-18	<b>A &amp; G</b> 411-252 %: 62-38	<b>A &amp; G</b> 400-263 %: 60-40	<b>A &amp; G</b> 391-272 %: 45-55
Culture & Leisure	<b>A &amp; G</b> 548-115 %: 82-18		<b>T &amp; C</b> 439-224 %: 66-34	<b>S &amp; S</b> 361-301 %: 55-45	<b>F &amp; F</b> 372-291 %: 56-44
Transport Links & Commuting Time	<b>A &amp; G</b> 411-252 %: 62-38	<b>T &amp; C</b> 439-224 %: 66-34		<b>T &amp; C</b> 348-315 %: 53-47	<b>F &amp; F</b> 362-300 %: 55-45
Community Safety & School Catchment	<b>A &amp; G</b> 400-263 %: 60-40	<b>S &amp; S</b> 361-301 %: 55-45	<b>T &amp; C</b> 348-315 %: 53-47		<b>S &amp; S</b> 340-323 %: 51-49
Proximity to Family & Friends	<b>A &amp; G</b> 391-272 %: 45-55	<b>F &amp; F</b> 372-291 %: 56-44	<b>F &amp; F</b> 362-300 %: 55-45	<b>S &amp; S</b> 340-323 %: 51-49	

Table 4.2: Results of the paired comparison exercise: Edinburgh sample (n=613). Showing preferred attribute out of each pair, total frequency and percentage of votes received.

<b>n=613</b>	<b>Appearance &amp; Green Space</b>	<b>Culture &amp; Leisure</b>	<b>Transport Links &amp; Commuting Time</b>	<b>Community Safety &amp; School Catchment</b>	<b>Proximity to Family &amp; Friends</b>
<b>Appearance &amp; Green Space</b>		<b>A &amp; G</b> 357-256 %: 58-41	<b>A &amp; G</b> 338-275 %: 55-45	<b>A &amp; G</b> 351-262 %: 57-43	<b>A &amp; G</b> 388-225 %: 64-36
<b>Culture &amp; Leisure</b>	<b>A &amp; G</b> 357-256 %: 58-41		<b>T &amp; C</b> 379-234 %: 62-38	<b>Culture</b> 313-300 %: 51-49	<b>Culture</b> 369-244 %: 60-40
<b>Transport Links &amp; Commuting Time</b>	<b>A &amp; G</b> 338-275 %: 55-45	<b>T &amp; C</b> 379-234 %: 62-38		<b>T &amp; C</b> 341-272 %: 56-44	<b>T &amp; C</b> 372-241 %: 60-40
<b>Community Safety &amp; School Catchment</b>	<b>A &amp; G</b> 351-262 %: 57-43	<b>Culture</b> 313-300 %: 51-49	<b>T &amp; C</b> 341-272 %: 56-44		<b>S &amp; S</b> 369-244 %: 60-40
<b>Proximity to Family &amp; Friends</b>	<b>A &amp; G</b> 388-225 %: 64-36	<b>Culture</b> 369-244 %: 60-40	<b>T &amp; C</b> 372-241 %: 60-40	<b>S &amp; S</b> 369-244 %: 60-40	

Table 4.3: Attribute ranking derived from the paired comparison exercise: Dundee sample

Rank (n=663)		Preference over other attributes	Total number of Votes (Frequency)	Average % over other 4 Attributes
<b>1</b>	<b>Appearance &amp; Green Space</b>	4	1750	65.7
<b>2</b>	<b>Transport Links &amp; Commuting Time</b>	2	1339	50.5
<b>3</b>	<b>Proximity to Family &amp; Friends</b>	2	1329	50
<b>4</b>	<b>Community Safety &amp; School Catchment</b>	2	1279	48
<b>5</b>	<b>Culture &amp; Leisure</b>	0	931	35

Table 4.4: Attribute ranking derived from the paired comparison exercise: Edinburgh sample

Rank (n=613)		Preference over other attributes	Total number of Votes (Frequency)	Average % over other 4 Attributes
<b>1</b>	<b>Appearance &amp; Green Space</b>	4	1434	58.5
<b>2</b>	<b>Transport Links &amp; Commuting Time</b>	3	1367	55.7
<b>3</b>	<b>Culture &amp; Leisure</b>	2	1216	49.5
<b>4</b>	<b>Community Safety &amp; School Catchment</b>	1	1159	47
<b>5</b>	<b>Proximity to Family &amp; Friends</b>	0	954	39

As the tables show, by simply counting how many times each attribute has been chosen over each of the others, a preliminary idea can be derived of which resource was valued more in the context of this exercise.

It is immediately noticeable, for example, that in both cities Appearance & Green Space is selected over every other attribute, resulting the most valued out of the 5. This high importance resonates with frequent answers and spontaneous comments collected during the focus groups and interviews, exemplified by excerpt 4.1:

*Excerpt 4.1*

The look of the area is definitely the deciding factor. The way it looks, how well kept it is, if there are nice buildings... people may say that they think strategically about these things, but you can't deny that the first thing that appeals to you is how nice the area looks and feels.

Margaret, 45-64, mixed group 1, Dundee

It is, however, important to note that divergences were noticed across focus groups and between participants within the same group. While Appearance & Green Space consistently emerged as a key factor for interviewees, demographic and socio-economic characteristics were observed to influence their preferences and the relevance of the various components of this attribute.

For example, specific focus groups were organised in both cities with participants from areas of high multiple deprivation. Here, green space was often mentioned as an important factor determining the desirability of a neighbourhood, while the aesthetic component of this attribute was not mentioned as much. The particular relevance of this resource was often associated with dog walking, leisure activities and the possibility for children to play outside, all aspects related to the direct use of green space. The same tendency to underline functional facets of value in relation to green space was observed in the groups organised with parents.

Conversely, in the "mixed" focus groups and the ones including only participants over 65 years of age, the aesthetic component of the bundle seemed to be prevalent, participants appeared to pay more attention to what was described as the "feel" of a neighbourhood, attributing value to less tangible and use-related aspects.

Moreover, when prompted to describe what the “feel” of an area meant for them, some interviewees referred to the presence of bars, cafes or shops, its vibrancy or “buzz”, as it was recurrently termed.

In this respect, some of the attributes included in the culture & leisure label of the survey exercise could be seen to offer a better embodiment of the quality referred to. Although every effort was made in the design of the questionnaire to limit these overlaps as much as possible, some such instances, such as the one described here, still appeared.

Similarly to what was observed for Appearance & Green Space, transport & commuting time and community Transport Links & Commuting Time were valued consistently across the two case studies.

Transport Links & Commuting Time was ranked as the second most important feature in both samples, and also tended to be highlighted as very important during the interviews and focus groups. However, participants in Dundee repeatedly observed that the size and structure of the city result in fairly easy access to most of its key facilities, thus making transport links less important than other resources for a residential area. A similar “discounting” process was also observed in Edinburgh, where some participants seemed to consider transport as less of a key factor in choosing where to live, as the city offers very good and efficient public transport, making moving around it and accessing different areas relatively easy. Once asked to imagine what would happen if the transport system was not there or not nearly as efficient, these participants conveyed that they would then consider it as an extremely important feature for a neighbourhood.

“Community safety and school catchment” was ranked fourth out of five in both cities, with similar levels of preference over the other attributes. This location characteristic emerged, as intuitively would seem obvious, as a highly important particularly during the “parents” focus groups, and seemed to be mentioned more readily in Edinburgh than in Dundee.

Once again, the insight gained during the qualitative stages of this research highlighted possible overlaps between “safety” and other attributes included in the choice exercise. In particular, numerous participants explained how the aesthetic quality of a neighbourhood is often used as an indicator of the area’s safety. Also, the presence cafes and restaurants, local shops and other cultural resources was frequently reported to give a location a “safer” feel. Colin, an estate agent interviewed in Edinburgh, reported how several of his clients drove around various areas of the

city prior to choosing a target neighbourhood for their search. During these tours, they specifically looked for the presence of shops, cafes and restaurants. Colin went on to describe how his clients tended to associate the presence of such facilities with a lively atmosphere and a safe neighbourhood.

The two most notable discrepancies between the pair comparison results in the two case studies relate to the importance attached to Culture & Leisure and to “proximity to family and friends”. While in Edinburgh cultural resources were ranked third out of the five location attributes, participants in Dundee appeared to consider them the least important characteristic. The opposite pattern was observed for “proximity to family and friends”, ranked third in Dundee and last in Edinburgh.

This different pattern of valuation could be explained with the different demographic make-up of the two case studies. Edinburgh presents a higher proportion of residents who moved into the city from elsewhere, following better employment opportunities or attracted by the city’s size, image and reputation. These people could be seen as less likely to value proximity to family very highly in their residential preferences, as their families already live elsewhere. On the other hand, they could be expected to value culture and leisure resources more highly, as these represent part of the reason why they moved to the city in the first place.

This explanation seems to be supported by numerous comments collected during the interviews, when opinions on the subject were sought out with direct questions. One such example is reported in excerpt 4.2, in which Catherine, a mother-of-two originally from the United States, reported how the “proximity to family” attribute would be irrelevant to her family:

*Excerpt 4.2*

I’d love to live close to my mum and dad, especially so the kids could have a bit more of a relationship with them. But they live in Florida, and there’s no way they’re moving to “sunny Scotland”, so that ship’s kind of sailed...

Catherine, 34-44, parents group, Edinburgh

Conversely, Dundee has a higher proportion of people who are native of the city, and who would value the possibility to live close to their relatives. The convenience aspect of proximity to family surfaced repeatedly during the focus groups in Dundee, particularly when participants had children, and valued the possibility to rely on immediate family for childcare. Interestingly, this was only mentioned spontaneously once in Edinburgh, during the focus group specifically organised with participants with children.

Tables 4.3 and 4.4 show that Culture & Leisure was also ranked differently across the two case studies. In Edinburgh, cultural resources were ranked third out of the five location attributes included in the questionnaire. This result resonated with what emerged during the focus groups, with the local cultural scene being often described as one of the key factors shaping the city's character, attracting its cosmopolitan population and determining its desirability and success.

On the other hand, the ranking of Culture & Leisure obtained in Dundee appears in sharp contrast with the high importance reported for it during the focus groups. Here, participants reported how they saw the local cultural sector as the main factor shaping feelings of identity and belonging, and one of the key elements that determined the perceived progress of the city in terms of development and regeneration from its post-industrial recent past.

As mentioned above, one recurrent theme across the two cities was that of the "feel" of the area, of which culture and leisure facilities were seen as being integral part of, together with aesthetic quality and green space. This "area feel" bundle was often mentioned as the most decisive factor in neighbourhood desirability.

*Excerpt 4.3*

In my experience, what people look for in an area is not just the bus lines or the schools [...] what people always mention is the "feel" of the place. That is "how nice it looks" and whether there is some life in it, a local culture. Lots of quirky shops and nice cafes are not culture per se, but they create a "cultured feel", and that's what people are after. The bus, they can find it elsewhere, too.

Gary, 45-64, estate agent, Edinburgh.

For Dundee, the low ranking highlighted in this exercise for Culture and Leisure, coupled with the prominent position achieved by appearance and green space, suggests that, despite the high importance seemingly ascribed to the “feel of the area”, a large proportion of this may be actually attached to the aesthetic quality and the presence of green areas.

#### 4.2.2 Token Allocation

The structure and aims of this section of the questionnaire were presented in chapter 3 and in section 4.1. In this segment of the chapter, the results of the token allocation exercise will be presented and compared with the insight gained through the analysis of the paired comparison data. As the two sections attempted to answer the same question through different techniques, part of the focus in this chapter will be to verify to what extent the results presented in the previous sub-section are confirmed.

Patterns of preference highlighted through the two exercises will be analysed in more detail by looking at themes and ideas that emerged during the interviews and focus groups in Stage 1 of the research, and similarities and discrepancies in the data from the two case studies will be looked at more closely.

Firstly, the data derived from this section of the questionnaire was aggregated and organised, counting the total number of tokens allocated by the two samples of participants to each of the 5 attributes. The results of this preliminary, descriptive statistical process are presented in table 4.5 and 4.6.

Table 4.5: Measures of central tendency of valuation of 5 location attributes: Dundee sample (n=637)

<b>N= 637</b>	<b>Appearance &amp; Green Space</b>	<b>Culture &amp; Leisure</b>	<b>Community Transport Links &amp; Commuting Time</b>	<b>Transport &amp; Commuting Time</b>	<b>Proximity to Family &amp; Friends</b>
<b>Mean</b>	25.0	16.5	17.5	18.2	22.7
<b>Median</b>	20	20	20	20	20
<b>Mode</b>	20	20	20	20	20
<b>Std. Deviation</b>	13.7	11.2	13.5	11.9	17.5
<b>Range</b>	80	60	60	100	100
<b>Min. Value</b>	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Max. Value</b>	80	60	60	100	100

**Table 4.6: Measures of central tendency of valuation of 5 location attributes: Edinburgh sample (n=613)**

<b>N= 613</b>	<b>Appearance &amp; Green Space</b>	<b>Culture &amp; Leisure</b>	<b>Community Transport Links &amp; Commuting Time</b>	<b>Transport &amp; Commuting Time</b>	<b>Proximity to Family &amp; Friends</b>
<b>Mean</b>	22.7	22.2	19.9	20.7	14.5
<b>Median</b>	20	20	20	20	10
<b>Mode</b>	20	30	30	20	10
<b>Std. Deviation</b>	11.1	14.5	13.2	12.2	12.6
<b>Range</b>	60	100	60	75	70
<b>Min. Value</b>	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Max. Value</b>	60	100	60	75	70

The first feature that appears immediately evident is how all measures of central tendency are flattened around the value of 20. This seems to be the case particularly in the Dundee sample, as median and mode for all attributes are actually on that specific value. One possible explanation for this flattening of the average measures could be the high cognitive demand associated to the combination of a potentially complex arithmetical operation and a more abstract task such as imagining a hypothetical neighbourhood and operating trade-offs between location attributes that may not have been immediately understood.

As a result, some of the participants could have automatically “adjusted” the level of difficulty of the task by applying the easiest mathematical process, dividing 100 by the five attributes and assigning 20 tokens to each. A high enough portion of the sample adopting this strategy would explain the central tendency measures clustering around these values.

In order to control for this eventuality, such cases were filtered out of the frequency analysis. As can be seen in Table 7, the mean distribution of tokens across the five attributes remained virtually unchanged in both samples.

**Table 4.7: Mean distribution of tokens across the five attributes with “all 20s” cases filtered out.**

	<b>Appearance &amp; Green Space</b>	<b>Culture &amp; Leisure</b>	<b>Community Transport Links &amp; Commuting Time</b>	<b>Transport &amp; Commuting Time</b>	<b>Proximity to Family &amp; Friends</b>
<b>Dundee (n=663)</b>	25	16.5	17.5	18.2	22.7
<b>with filter (n=609)</b>	25.5	16	17	18.5	23
<b>Edinburgh (n=613)</b>	22.7	22.2	19.9	20.7	14.5
<b>with filter (n=609)</b>	22.7	22.2	19.9	20.7	14.5

On the other hand, a more simple and straight-forward explanation could be that the values reported by participants simply were not very dissimilar across the five attributes. In other words, the valuation of each characteristic was not significantly higher or lower enough from that of the others to move the averages one way or the other.

The mean amounts of tokens assigned to each of the attributes can then be utilised to form an idea of the relative importance attributed to each attribute by participants. This can be made more evident through a visual representation of the results for both cities, displayed in Figures 4.1 and 4.2.

Fig.4.1: Mean token distribution across the five location attributes: Dundee (n=663)

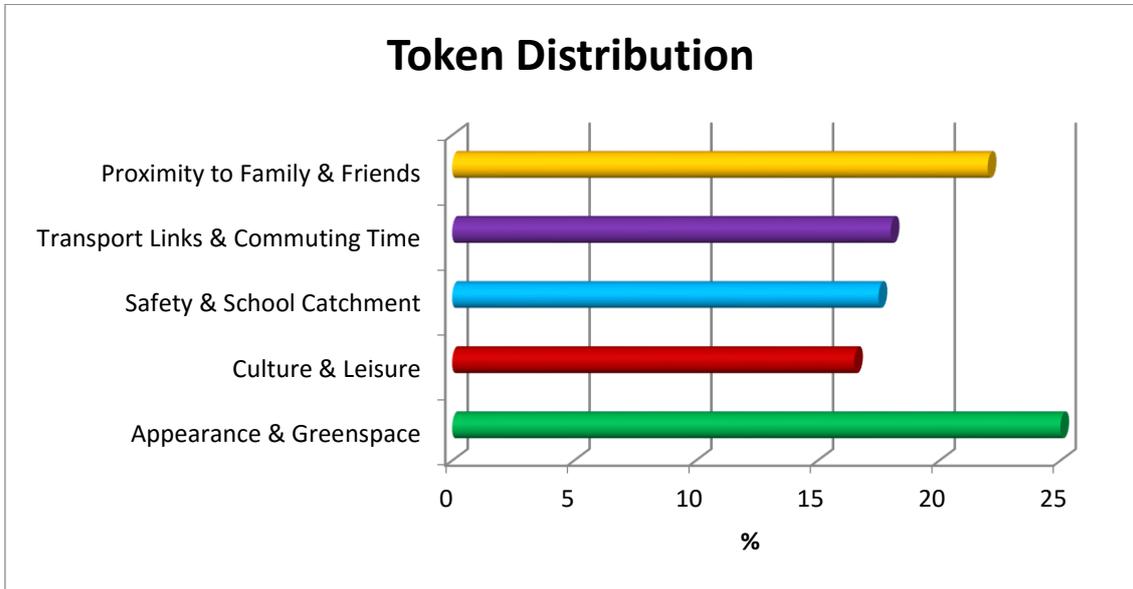
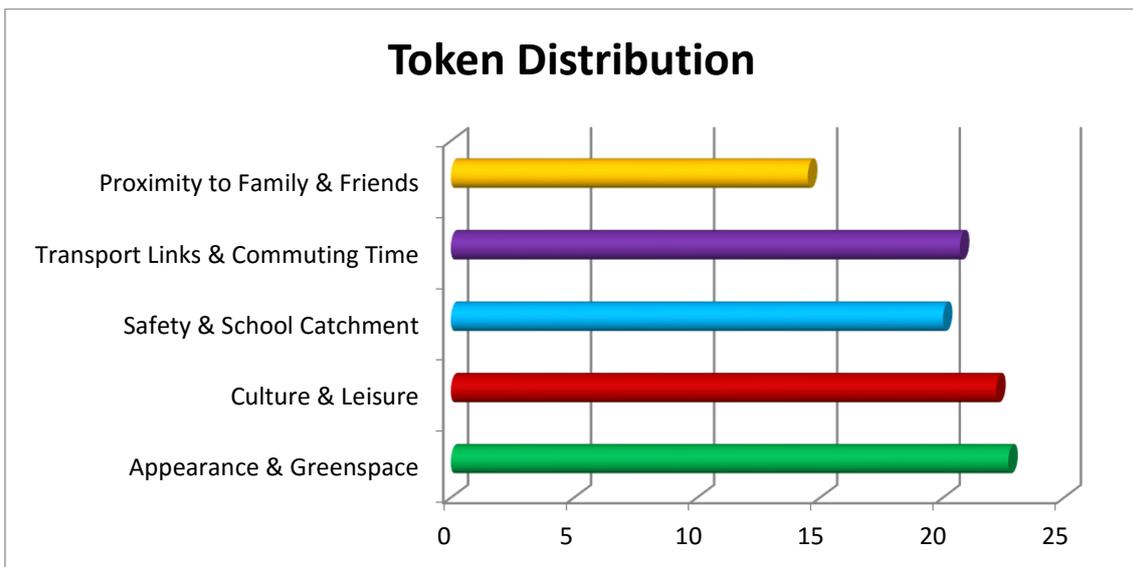


Fig.4.2: Mean token distribution across the five location attributes: Edinburgh (n=613)



One feature that becomes evident through this process is the high importance reserved for Appearance & Green Space (A&G). In both cities, this attribute received the highest amount of tokens, although in Dundee the margin between it and the second most valued characteristic is greater than it is in Edinburgh.

This represents a first confirmation that results overlap between the pair comparison and the token allocation sections of the survey. Similarly to what is observed here, in the previous exercise “Appearance and Green Space” received the highest preference, being chosen over all the other attributes.

Also similar is the fact that, by counting the total votes, the margin between this attribute and the one ranked next was significantly higher in Dundee than in Edinburgh. Specifically, in Dundee Appearance & Green Space was chosen 1750 times, while Transport Links & Commuting Time came next with over 400 votes less. In contrast, in Edinburgh the margin between first and second rank (also transport), was only 67 votes. In the token allocation exercise, the Dundee sample scored A&G 3% higher than the second attribute, while in Edinburgh the difference was only 0.5%.

However, the predominant importance assigned to “appearance and green space” remains a significant result across the two sets of results and the two case studies. As mentioned in section 4.2, this reinforces a theme that had emerged during the interviews and focus groups, which had highlighted this attribute as one of key importance in residential preferences.

Another common feature between the results in the two cities was the importance assigned to Transport Links and Commuting Time and Safety and School Catchment. In both Dundee and Edinburgh T&C ranked third and S&S fourth. Extremely similar was also the marginal difference in mean tokens received, with a 0.5 and a 0.7 percentage difference respectively. Once again, the valuation of these location attributes appears similar to that obtained through the pair comparison exercise.

Proximity to family and friends also confirmed the results obtained in the pair comparison exercise. This was the case both in terms of its valuation in Edinburgh, where it received the least amount of tokens, and in Dundee, where it ranked second in the tokens task and third in the previous one. The possible meaning and reasons behind this difference between the two case studies have been examined in the previous section.

The data relative to culture and leisure showed a marked difference across the two case studies. In Dundee, the results of the first task were confirmed, with C&L reporting the lowest amount of tokens. In the Edinburgh sample, however, culture and leisure received a higher average tally than was the case in the previous section of the questionnaire, emerging as the second most valued attribute after Appearance & Green Space.

In order to shed more light on these results, the actual scores obtained can be analysed in more detail. Taking Dundee into consideration first, it becomes evident that the average amount of tokens allocated to Culture & Leisure (16.5%) was not far from that obtained by Transport & Commuting Times (18%) or Safety & School Catchment (17.5%). This could lead to the conclusion that the three attributes were similarly valued by participants in the context of their residential choices. The data derived from the first task in the questionnaire provided useful information in order to further explore this issue. Indeed, just as the token exercise was useful in capturing the whole choice context and delivering more detail than the raw ranking obtained through the pair comparison, the latter can be utilised in this instance to clarify the scores obtained with the tokens. While a 1.5% divergence in average score may seem a limited gap, Transport & Commuting time was preferred by over 65% of participants when directly paired with Culture & Leisure in a dichotomous choice. As such, the difference between the two attributes appears more significant.

Safety & School Catchment, on the other hand, was only chosen over culture & Leisure by 55% of participants in the first task, reducing the gap between the two to 60 respondents in a sample of over 600. This, coupled with a 1% difference in average allocation of tokens, shows that the two attributes were indeed valued similarly in Dundee in the context of residential choice.

It is important to consider, however, that the valuation of Safety & School Catchment is likely to be strongly dependent on life-stage and circumstances of the individual participant. Particularly, because of the “school catchment” element of this bundle, individuals with children could be seen as more likely to attach high importance to it, while respondents without children would plausibly be less likely to do so. In order to test this hypothesis, a negative binomial regression model was created, relating several background variables to the likelihood of participants attributing higher scores to Safety & School Catchment. The choice of binomial over multinomial regression was due to the overall sample size in both cities, relative to the number of categories that had to be included in the analysis.

Using binomial regression ensured that a sufficient number of cases was present in each category of the dependent variable to have a stable model once all the explanatory variables were introduced. Using multinomial regression would have likely resulted in very high standard errors being observed for each category. Negative binomial regression was preferred in this instance to logistic regression in view of the non-normal distribution of the token allocation data. In particular, as the conditional variance was consistently greater than the conditional mean, Poisson regression was excluded and negative binomial regression was identified as a preferable option. As explained in section 3.4.3, the selection of this particular statistical model was maintained throughout the study.

The independent variables included in the model are gender, age, income, educational qualifications, employment status and the presence of dependent children. Due to the low number of cases in some of the categories, some of the variables had to be recoded. Specifically, the age of participants was recoded into five categories from the seven originally contained in the questionnaire, with the upper three age brackets being condensed into "65+". Similarly, the eight levels of educational qualifications included in the questionnaire were recoded into the four categories of Highest, High, Medium and Low. Originally, the list of qualifications was derived from the Scottish Census. The highest category included qualifications above the Bachelor's Degree level and including professional qualifications such as nursing, teaching or accountancy. The high bracket included further education qualifications and "other". The Medium category corresponded to the Higher Grade and A level qualifications, while Standard Grade, Access and GCSE were grouped together with "no qualifications in the Low bracket. Employment was also recoded to reflect economic activity, simplifying the coding originally derived from the Scottish Census.

Table 4.8 shows the results of the model. As the table illustrates, a number of factors appear to influence the value attached to safety and school catchment by respondent (dependant variable). However, the relationships between higher scores and participants' income and qualifications only approach the confidence level conventionally considered as the minimum acceptable for statistical significance ( $p < 0.5$ ). Moreover, the relationships are not observed across all the categories within the variable. In the case of age, only the age bracket between forty-five and sixty-four appears to make respondents more likely to score Safety and School Catchment highly. However, this effect is only observed in Dundee and the difference in terms of odds ratio is marginal (0.47). Being economically active is shown to result in a five-fold

increase in the likelihood of assigning higher value to this neighbourhood attribute in Edinburgh (OR=5.01;  $p < 0.001$ ). However, a similar pattern is not observed in Dundee. Conversely, the presence of children appears to make participants five times more likely to score Safety and School catchment highly in Dundee (OR=5.51) and nearly ten times more likely in Edinburgh (OR=9.78). This strong statistical relationship confirms the postulated connection between this particular locational characteristic and the presence of dependent children.

**Table 4.8: Results of Negative Binomial Regression analyses exploring factors that made respondents more likely to attribute higher scores Safety and School Catchment.**

Variable		Dundee (n=663)		Edinburgh (n=613)	
		OR	Sig	OR	Sig.
Gender (ref. Female)	Male	0.96	0.820	1.10	0.602
Children (ref. No)	Yes	5.51***	< 0.001	9.78***	<0.001
Age (ref. 18-24)	25-34	1.22	0.551	0.88	0.718
	35-44	0.71	0.320	0.89	0.748
	45-64	0.47***	0.011	0.68	0.263
	65+	0.65	0.265	1.23	0.650
Income (ref. < £20,000)	£20,000 - 40,000	1.24	0.360	0.91	0.774
	£40,000 – 60,000	1.68 <sup>^</sup>	0.064	0.79	0.503
	£60,000+	0.97	0.921	1.53	0.286
Qualifications* (ref. Highest)	Low	1.13	0.636	0.58	0.148
	Medium	0.54 <sup>^</sup>	0.068	0.75	0.403
	High	0.90	0.653	0.61 <sup>^</sup>	0.068
Employment (ref. Inactive)	Economically Active	0.60	0.157	5.01***	<0.001
Model Fit	Omnibus Test Deviance BIC	83.940, Sig: .000 1.307, Poisson: 1.502 5113.712, Poisson: 5432.014		300.705, Sig: .000 0.793, Poisson: 0.857 4128.688, Poisson: 5002.156	

OR=Odds Ratio; \* $p < 0.5$ ; \*\* $p < 0.1$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.001$ ; <sup>^</sup> $p$ =approaching significance

These results make the similarities between the preference levels attributed to Safety and School Catchment and Culture and Leisure in Dundee appear less discernible. Overall, however, the low ranking observed in the pair comparison exercise for Culture & Leisure in the Dundee sample is confirmed in the second task of the questionnaire. These results stand in sharp contrast with both the high importance that it seemed to be assigned during the focus groups and with the valuation that the same attribute received in Edinburgh.

Here, as can be seen in Fig. 4.2, the mean score for Culture & Leisure was 22.2%. This was the second highest in the choice set and very close to the average number of tokens received by Appearance & Green Space (22.7%). This result does not merely represent a marginally higher proportion of tokens spent on culture in comparison with the Dundee sample. Instead, it indicates a different overall valuation of this resource in the context of residential choice.

Several factors could be seen to contribute to this dissimilarity. One possible explanation follows the hypothesis previously formulated with regard to the different demographic make-up of the two case studies. Similarly to how a higher proportion of in-comers could be seen to affect the importance invested in an immediate familial network of support, it could also explain the higher value invested in cultural resources.

Study participants who moved to Edinburgh from elsewhere were attracted by one or more of several factors. When asked during the focus groups about the characteristics that made Edinburgh a good place to live, participants often named the good employment opportunities and the convenience deriving from its size and position. However, the factors that were most frequently reported to have attracted participants to the city, or that made them appreciate it, were its cultural life, its cosmopolitan character and what was often described as its unique atmosphere, or “feel”. Specifically, Edinburgh’s festivals, its music and theatre scene, the wide availability of diverse foods and its nightlife were often reported to make it a good place to live.

If people who moved to Edinburgh did so partly because of its cultural resources, it would be a reasonable assumption that they value these resources quite highly in the first place. This, given the high number of in-comers that characterises Edinburgh, would result in the high average valuation of culture observed in this study.

However, while this explanation would account for the dissimilar results registered in the two case studies, it does not shed light on the significant differences observed in Dundee between the qualitative and quantitative elements of the data. As described above, participants to the

focus groups often reported how the city's cultural sector plays a vital part in their sense of identity and belonging, and how they considered the local cultural life as one of the main factors in their choice of where to live. Furthermore, numerous interviewees explained how they felt that the investment in the local cultural sector operated by the local authority over the past three decades was one of the main drivers of Dundee's progress both economically and in terms of quality of life. Such reports appear in strong contrast with the low ranking and scores obtained in both stages of the survey.

Another possible explanation is that the definition of "culture" adopted by participants during the focus groups did not match the one included in the questionnaire. During the interviews, the notion of what cultural resources were, what was to be included in the definition and what role that culture occupies in wider society all tended to be gradually clarified and, to some extent, agreed within the group. Consequently, although there were differences amongst participants in the way they understood these concepts, possible misunderstandings were easily spotted and clarified. For example, in one of the groups organised in Dundee, most participants agreed upon a wide definition of "culture" including aspects such as sport, food and drink and local crafts. The only exception within the group was Emma, a 37 year old bank employee native of the city, who explicitly identified culture with museums, heritage and performing arts. Conscious of this different interpretation, she kept specifying which definition she was referring to throughout the interview.

*Excerpt 4.4*

I wouldn't say that culture is that important to me; I mean, **what I mean by culture** isn't. [...] I don't really go to museums, and I haven't been to a gig in ages, so it doesn't really matter if they're near me or not...

Emma, 35-44, mixed group 3, Dundee

This process of constant clarification allowed participants to make specific statements of value that were meaningful to them while ensuring that the other participants understood which components of culture they were referring to.

On the other hand, although the definition of "culture" adopted in the questionnaire was explicitly described in the introductory page of the survey, respondents may have not kept it in

mind or they may have been misled by the ordering of the choice sets. As a result, when asked to score five location attributes including Culture & Leisure, they could have assumed that a narrow definition, similar to the one held by Emma in excerpt 4.3, was being used. This would have resulted in some respondents allocating tokens to “museums and performing arts”, rather than to the wider array of cultural resources that were included in this study.

As mentioned above and exemplified in excerpt 4.2, the atmosphere, or “feel” of a neighbourhood emerged from the qualitative stage of this research as a highly important factor in residential choice in both cities. Appearance & Green Space was widely seen as a crucial component of this, as was culture & leisure. Those respondents who implied a much narrower definition of culture, limited to museums, galleries, theatre and performing arts could have “diverted” some of the tokens to other bundles that were part of the “atmosphere” factor, such as appearance or safety. This would have in turn resulted in a lower score for culture and leisure.

The fact that the Culture & Leisure bundle received high scoring and ranking in Edinburgh, with the same questionnaire being presented to respondents, points to a different notion of what culture includes being predominantly adopted in the two cities. In other words, those types of resources more readily identified with culture, such as museums, galleries or performing art venues, appear to be more valued in Edinburgh, partly due to the demographic make-up of the city, and partly because they are much more numerous and readily available in the Scottish capital. On the other hand, the lower score registered in Dundee could be interpreted as a lesser importance being attached to these particular types of resources, rather than to culture as a whole.

### **4.3 Socio-Economic and Demographic Background**

The different socio-economic make-up of the two cities could also be seen to influence their valuation patterns. The two cities are characterised by dissimilar levels of income, employment and education (see Table 3.1), all of which could influence the extent to which cultural resources are considered important. Furthermore, socio-economic and demographic background varies within cities as well as between them. It was therefore necessary to explore what variables associated with the demographic and socio-economic background of respondents explained a higher or lower valuation of cultural resources. Similarly to what explained in relation to the

model presented in Table 4.8, Negative Binomial Regression was chosen as the preferred statistical technique for this investigation.

However, Logistic Regression was also used for a preliminary exploration of what factors made respondents more likely to assign “some” value to culture and Leisure, as opposed to none. Therefore, the scores assigned to the Culture & Leisure bundle were initially recoded into a binary variable of 0 and 1. Explanatory variables included age, gender, income, education qualifications, the presence of children in the household and employment. In the case of the latter, the original variable was recoded to reflect the amount of free time participants have, in order to assess whether this had any influence on preferences for cultural resources. Free time was coded as low, moderate and high, depending on whether participants were, for example, in full time employment, part-time or retired/unemployed. While the recoding into three categories was far from ideal, and a differentiation between, for example, retired and unemployed individuals would have been desirable, the low frequencies in each sub-category when considered individually would have made any analysis impossible. The coding for all other variables was maintained as described for Table 4.8. The results of this initial investigation are reported in Table 4.9.

Table 4.9: Results of logistic regression analyses exploring factors that made respondents more likely to score Culture & Leisure some as opposed to zero tokens.

Variable		Dundee (n=663)		Edinburgh (n=613)	
		OR	Sig	OR	Sig.
Gender (ref. Female)	Male	1.09	0.412	0.93	0.825
Children (ref. No)	Yes	1.82*	0.036	1.56 <sup>^</sup>	0.058
Age (ref. 18-24)	25-34	2.27	0.656	0.98	0.915
	35-44	0.71	0.320	0.49	0.248
	45-64	0.57	0.561	0.88	0.263
	65+	0.78	0.365	1.28	0.750
Income (ref. < £20,000)	£20,000 - 40,000	0.89	0.717	1.42	0.416
	£40,000 – 60,000	0.92	0.829	1.51	0.425
	£60,000+	1.88	0.195	0.79	0.680
Qualifications* (ref. Highest)	Low	0.53*	0.044	0.68*	0.013
	Medium	0.92**	0.009	0.65**	0.009
	High	0.40**	0.002	0.41 <sup>^</sup>	0.066
Free Time (ref. Low)	Moderate	0.86	0.656	1.08	0.872
	High	1.12	0.804	0.78	0.636
Model Fit	Omnibus Test	15.525, Sig: .001		22.748, Sig: .000	

OR=Odds Ratio; \*p<0.5; \*\*p<0.1; \*\*\*p<0.001; <sup>^</sup>p=approaching significance

As can be seen in the table, the presence of children in the household appears to be linked to the participants' likelihood to allocate some value to culture and leisure, rather than zero, in both cities. This result was statistically significant across both case studies, and can be interpreted as the result of the inclusion in the culture and leisure bundle of some resources that are typically directly important to parents, such as sports and other extra-curricular classes for children and public libraries. The other variable that was found to be significant in both cities was the level of educational qualifications. More specifically, participants with qualifications from an undergraduate degree upwards appeared to be more likely to attribute some tokens to culture and leisure than respondents with lower qualifications. The results were found to be consistently significant for all the three observed categories, and demonstrated a link between education levels and a higher value being attached to culture and leisure. Therefore, this could provide an initial explanation for the higher overall score obtained by Culture & Leisure in Edinburgh, as the average levels of educational attainment are higher than those in Dundee.

In order to widen and deepen the analysis, negative binomial regression was again utilised, this time to identify what factors made respondents more or less likely to assign a higher value to culture & leisure. The results of this analysis are presented in table 4.10.

Table 4.10: Results of negative binomial regression analyses exploring factors that made respondents more likely to score Culture & Leisure more highly.

Variable		Dundee (n=663)		Edinburgh (n=613)	
		OR	Sig	OR	Sig.
Gender (ref. Female)	Male	1.14	0.412	1.30	0.152
Children (ref. No)	Yes	0.57***	0.001	0.39***	0.001
Income (ref. < £20,000)	£20,000 – 40,000	1.65	0.155	3.34***	0.001
	£40,000 – 60,000	0.74	0.251	3.23***	0.001
	£60,000+	0.93	0.799	2.37**	0.010
Age (ref. 18-24)	25-34	0.98	0.963	1.28	0.457
	35-44	0.75	0.915	1.12	0.739
	45-64	0.96	0.444	1.32	0.387
	65+	0.80	0.499	9.62**	0.001
Qualifications* (ref. Highest)	No Qual. & 1	0.66	0.253	0.64^	0.062
	2	1.58	0.156	0.60^	0.054
	3,4,8	0.85	0.412	0.75	0.249
Free Time (ref. Low)	Moderate	1.29	0.228	1.67^	0.064
	High	1.76	0.216	1.93*	0.045
Economic Activity (ref. active)	Inactive	1.13	0.253	2.81**	0.008
Model Fit	Omnibus Test Deviance BIC	11.994, Sig: .052 1.037, Poisson: 1.221 5114.839, Poisson: 5732.982		300.705, Sig: .000 0.643, Poisson: 0.437 5318.384, Poisson: 5377.214	

OR=Odds Ratio; \*p<0.5; \*\*p<0.1; \*\*\*p<0.001; ^p=approaching significance



The first feature to be immediately evident from the table above is how background variables appear to be more able to explain higher scores in Edinburgh than in Dundee. In the latter case, only the presence of children resulted to be significantly linked to the score obtained in the questionnaire. However, while having children in the household seemed to make respondents more likely to assign some value to culture and leisure rather than zero, it also resulted to reduce the likelihood of higher scores. The interpretation of this apparent contradiction could be that some features of culture and leisure represent a resource for parents (for example libraries and community classes for children), which explain their reduced propensity to score Culture & Leisure a zero. At the same time, however, they prefer to “save some tokens” for resources of more immediate importance to them, such as school catchment or, in the case of Dundee in particular, proximity to family for childcare reasons. The result is a likely score above zero, but below average. This initially counter-intuitive relationship was also observed in the Edinburgh sample.

For Edinburgh, the valuation of cultural resources was found to be linked to numerous background variables. The importance of education observed in the previous regression was confirmed here, with lower qualifications being statistically linked to lower than average scores. In addition, all three income brackets included in the analysis were observed to be significantly associated with higher scores when compared with the lowest bracket (< 20,000). The strength of the relationship can be seen to lessen with growing income, the strongest effect being observed with incomes between twenty and forty thousand pounds per annum. One possible explanation for this non-linear relationship is that an income above twenty thousand arguably offers a better possibility to have some disposable income for leisure activities, compared with those from the lower income bracket. However, above a certain threshold the effect of the extra disposable income diminishes, and households with an income of around forty thousand pounds per annum have similar opportunities to wealthier ones to engage with cultural and leisure activities. Another possible interpretation would be that the wealthiest participants do not rely on the ‘local’ provision of cultural resources and are able to participate in cultural activities elsewhere in the city, or in other cities such as Glasgow and London.

The availability of free time was also found to be strongly related to higher than average scores. In this instance, the employment status variable was recoded to reflect economic activity, and the economically inactive category was observed to be more likely to assign higher scores. However, the previous regression found no significant link between free time and the chance of

a zero score. This seems to suggest that participants invested some value in cultural resources regardless of the amount of free time they had to enjoy them. In other words, while direct use emerged as an important determinant of how highly cultural resources were valued, the desire for their availability in a residential location cannot be explained without taking non-use elements of valuation into consideration. These observations will be reflected upon further in chapter 6, and will contribute towards answering RQ 4.

Finally, respondents over the age of sixty-five in Edinburgh emerged as more likely to score culture and leisure highly than younger participants. This association was verified even after accounting for the amount of free time respondents had. This finding is important, as an issue of collinearity may arise in terms of the possible correlation between retirement age and a higher availability of free time.

#### **4.4 Conclusions**

Drawing from the results of the first two exercises in the questionnaire and on insight from the focus groups, this chapter has investigated the importance assigned to cultural resources in the two case studies. Addressing research question 1, the relative value attributed by participants to the Culture & Leisure bundle compared to four other residential location attributes was assessed, and the results were presented in the context of the qualitative data gathered during the earlier stage of this research. As a result, the two case studies were observed to differ in a number of ways.

The most notable difference was the high valuation given to culture and leisure in Edinburgh, in contrast with Dundee, where cultural resources were ranked and scored last out of the five location attributes. Another key dissimilarity was that, while in Edinburgh the insights derived from the quantitative data confirm what emerged in the focus groups, the results from the Dundee sample appear to be decidedly dissonant. The major role in the city's life attributed to the local cultural sector by participants to the interviews and focus groups was not matched by the quantitative valuation that emerged from the survey.

Two possibly inter-related explanations have been suggested for these diverging results. The different demographic make-up of the two cities could explain the higher valuation of culture in Edinburgh, as one of the main features attracting the more cosmopolitan population of this city

is its vibrant cultural life. As a result, a larger proportion of residents will be people who value and appreciate cultural resources in the first place, thus leading to a high valuation. Secondly, the possibility that the two cities might have two different dominant notions of what culture is and what its functions are was presented. This possibility in particular was related to the observation that respondents in Dundee may have assumed a narrower definition of culture, and as a result they may have only considered museums, heritage resources and performing arts in their scoring process. In order to verify the correctness of this hypothesis, the Culture & Leisure bundle has to be disaggregated, to investigate how cultural preferences are distributed across its main components and what notions of culture are dominant in the two cities. This process will contribute towards research question 2 and the main aim of the research, and the results are presented in the following chapter.

Finally, the relationship between demographic and socio-economic variables and the valuation patterns in both cities was investigated. Once again, the two case studies were found to differ. In Dundee, background variables were found to have no significant influence over the importance attributed to cultural resources, with the exception of the presence of children in the household and, to a limited extent, the respondent's level of education. Conversely, in Edinburgh higher income and education, age over sixty-five and the availability of free time were all found to be significantly correlated with higher score being attributed to culture and leisure

## 5 Valuation of Various Aspects of Culture & Leisure

### 5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter focussed on the valuation of cultural resources in relation to the other main attributes of residential location. Some similarities emerged across the two case studies in terms of which neighbourhood characteristics were prioritised by participants, with the aesthetic quality of the area and the presence of green space appearing to be the most valued. However, the role of cultural facilities and resources in respondents' residential choices was significantly different in the two case studies. While Culture & Leisure was ranked last out of the five attributes in Dundee, in Edinburgh it appeared to be assigned more value, obtaining the second highest score.

Two possible explanations for this discrepancy were offered in the previous chapter, seeing it either as a result of the different demographic and socio-economic make-up of the two cities, or as a consequence of a different notion of what constitutes culture being operationalised in the two cities.

Contributing towards research questions 2 and 3, this chapter attempts to investigate these two hypotheses in more depth, by analysing the results of the token allocation section of the questionnaire focussed on which types of cultural resources are valued most in the two case studies.

In particular, the higher preference registered in Edinburgh for those components that are traditionally more immediately associated with culture, such as museums, galleries and performing arts venues, is seen as both a result of the city's population make-up and a key factor in shaping its general valuation of culture.

Conversely, evidence of a wider notion of what constitutes culture in Dundee, with higher importance attached to community level activities and food and drink facilities - seen as places of social aggregation- is used to suggest that a portion of the preference for cultural resources may have been "absorbed" by other labels, resulting in lower value assigned to culture.

This explanation is seen as consistent with insight drawn during the focus groups conducted in the two cities, and will be instrumental in the further discussion of a number of key research

questions in this thesis, relative to the influence of socio-economic, demographic and geographical variables on cultural valuation (chapter 7).

Furthermore, results emerging in this chapter will inform, in chapter 8, the analysis of the possible limitations of the research methods adopted in this thesis, as the pre-imposed, partly arbitrary definitions necessary for the design of the research questionnaire are also seen to intrinsically harbour the potential for theoretical inconsistency.

In terms of the chapter's structure, the rankings derived in both case studies are initially presented and compared, to highlight the relative valuation associated with each set of resources and identify similarities and differences between the two cities. These discrepancies are then analysed in more depth with the aid of binomial logistic regression, utilised to ascertain the influence of any background variables, and of knowledge gained during the interviews and focus group stage of the study.

Finally, the results and their implications for the points raised above are discussed in section 5.3.

## **5.2 Token Allocation Exercise on Cultural Preferences: Results**

This section of the chapter presents the results of the token allocation exercise for cultural preferences in Dundee and in Edinburgh. A relative ranking of the five components of Culture & Leisure is obtained by analysing the distribution of tokens and the average scores obtained by each cultural resource. This process is similar to what was done in the previous chapter with the five attributes of residential location.

Firstly, the Culture & Leisure bundle included in the previous exercises is disaggregated into its main components. These were identified during the initial stage of the study, by the analysis of the relevant literature and cultural policy documents, and the subsequent submission of the preliminary list to the focus groups participants.

The five components of Culture & Leisure included in the questionnaire were: Independent, "non high-street" shops; restaurants, pubs & cafes; public libraries; museums, galleries and performing arts venues; and community based activities. A more detailed discussion of the individual rationale for the inclusion of each component and a description of its meaning and role within the questionnaire can be found in chapter 3.

In the survey exercise, respondents were asked to “spend” a hypothetical one hundred tokens across the five types of resources, in order to reflect the relative importance that the presence each one of them would have in an “ideal” neighbourhood. The relative ranking and scoring derived through this type of exercise will on the one hand yield information on the importance attached to certain cultural resources in each city, but also help to clarify the different views of what constitutes “culture” observed during the focus groups.

### 5.2.1 Dundee

As explained in the previous chapter, the pattern of valuation of Culture & Leisure that emerged from the analysis of the first two sections of the questionnaire was characterised by the lowest ranking out of the five location attributes included in the choice sets. Although this would suggest a low importance being attached to cultural resources by respondents in Dundee, these results were in sharp contrast with what emerged during the qualitative stages of this research. During the interviews and focus groups, many participants described the local cultural sector as having a key role both in the city’s life and in their own individual experiences. Some reported how they thought that the improvements observed in Dundee in the past twenty years, both in terms of socio-economic development and of the city’s image and quality of life, were to be primarily ascribed to the investments made in the cultural sector. This type of report is exemplified by Dave’s comment below.

#### Excerpt 5.1

After the Timex went, there were no jobs in Dundee, that was the last blow. But now at least there’s the technology park, and the gaming design, and the V&A. [...] Jobs are coming back, it seems like there’s been a plan, instead of just throwing money at the banks.

Dave, 65+, over 65s group, Dundee

Asked to elaborate on his point, Dave went on to explain that, after the decline in the manufacturing sector and the ship building, he felt that the Council decided to invest more on creating a vibrant and productive environment in the city, with a long term plan to attract jobs and capital through the cultural sector. The rest of the group appeared to agree with this, and, questioned upon it, they listed the publishing sector, the biotechnology and digital media

industries and the further and higher education sector as examples of cultural enterprises being pivotal in the city's recent development.

The presence of the Dundee Repertory Theatre (REP) and the Contemporary Arts venue (DCA) were often cited as reasons for local pride and as symbols of the city's re-birth, and the increasing availability and variety of food, drink and retail facilities was offered as an important motivator for the choice to live here.

Excerpt 5.2

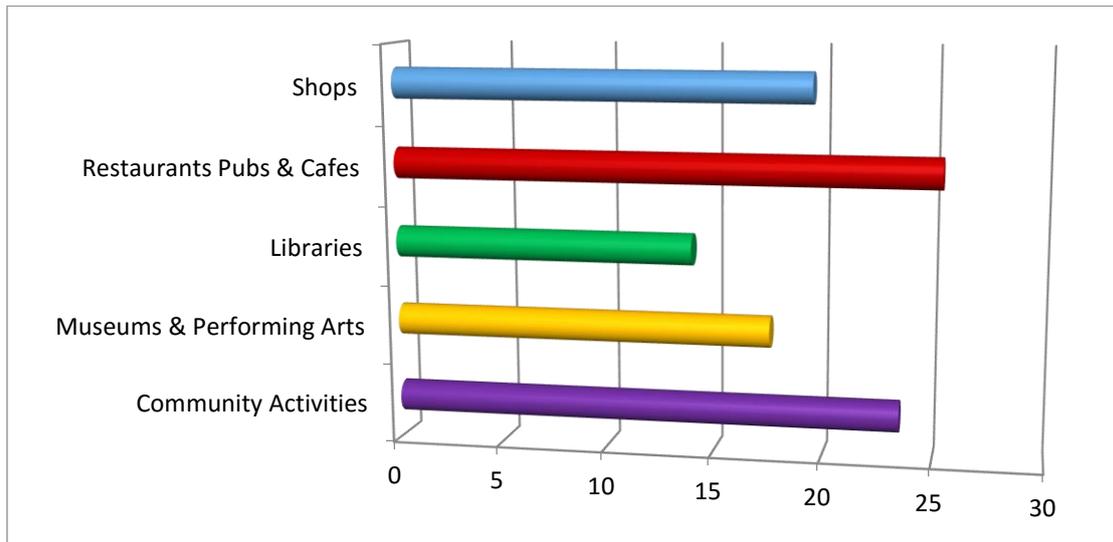
Having two good Universities is great for Dundee: students want to come here, because now it's a fun place to be, and when they finish some decide to stay and it brings new blood to the city [...] young Dundonians [also] stay more instead of going away to Glasgow or Edinburgh because there's more jobs than before, and more stuff to do, especially around the Perth Road, and with the new V&A and all...

Lauren, 25-34, mixed group 3, Dundee

By far the most recurrent reports of the importance of cultural resources, though, were those regarding the pivotal role of community-based activities in bringing communities together and creating a sense of safety and belonging. Examples included parents describing how their children's lives were enriched by participation in local sports, older participants mentioning the Bingo hall as their main point of social interaction or residents mentioning dance, crafts or foreign language classes at the local community centre as a source of intellectual stimulation. One father in particular explained how he felt that his two sons were brought in contact with children from different areas and backgrounds through the local community football club. He then maintained that this interaction would not have normally happened, as his own children went to a different school and had different interests from the other kids, who came from a more disadvantaged background. The father felt that, in time, a barrier would have emerged between the children, with mutual distrust slowly creating two separate community, whereas the local sport club represented a chance for the children to get to know each other as people, regardless of whether they were from Fintry or Broughty Ferry.

In order to verify whether these accounts are confirmed in the quantitative survey, the mean scores obtained by the five components of culture and leisure included in the survey were collated and are presented in Figure 5.1.

**Fig.5.1: Mean token distribution across the five components of “Culture & Leisure”: Dundee**



As can be seen in the figure above, there are clear differences in the way the different components of the Culture & Leisure bundle are valued by respondents in Dundee, with a gap of over 10% in the average number of tokens received between the most and the least valued attribute. The results for each type of cultural resource will be presented below, before the overall results are compared with the insight that emerged from the Edinburgh sample.

Food and drink establishments were amongst the resources most often associated with the vibrancy and desirability of a residential neighbourhood during the interviews and focus group stage. In most cases, and in both cities, restaurants and cafes were spontaneously listed by participants as important components of a city’s or a neighbourhood’s cultural life, or included in it when a direct question was asked. Furthermore, this type of facility was often described as a key factor in determining a neighbourhood’s local “cultural vibe” and, in the case of Edinburgh, that of the city as a whole. Food and drink establishments were often cited as places where local and international produce can be sampled. Food was mentioned by many participants as an integral part of a people’s culture, and whisky was almost invariably brought up as an example of a product representative of the local culture.

Besides widening the knowledge and appreciation of different cuisines and produce, this type of facility was also seen to offer the opportunity for social interaction, with people coming together in a café or a pub and exchanging thoughts and experiences. This suggested their inclusion in this section of the questionnaire.

Figure 5.1 shows how the label Restaurants, Pubs and Cafes obtained the highest amount of tokens in Dundee with an average of over 25%, confirming what learned during the qualitative stages of the study. This score appears even more significant if seen in the context of the whole scoring exercise: In actual fact, only two types of cultural resources received a total above the average of 20%.

Negative binomial regression was used in order to ascertain whether background variables influenced respondents' valuation of all the types of resources included in this research, and the results can be seen in table 5.1. In these models, the dependant variables were the scores assigned to each type of cultural resources included in the study. These ranged from a low of 0 to a high of 100. As the table reports the aggregated results of five different models, the outcomes of the model fitness tests are not reported within it. Instead, a separate table with the values for deviance, Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC) and the Log Likelihood results of the Omnibus test relative to each model can be found in Appendix C.

As the table shows, a number of factors influence the likelihood of respondents assigning a higher than average amount of tokens to food and drink facilities. Unsurprisingly, having children resulted in a lower propensity to score this resource above 20%. This could be explained as a result of the fact that parents tend to have comparatively fewer opportunities to visit restaurants or other such facilities, due to a reduction in free time and disposable income. Knowing this, participants with children may be deciding to spend their tokens on resources they can make more use of.

Chapter 5: Valuation of Various Aspects of Culture & Leisure

Table 5.1: Results of negative binomial regression exploring factors linked to higher valuations for the various types of cultural resources - Dundee

<b>n = 656</b>		<b>Museums, Galleries and Performing Arts Venues</b>		<b>Restaurants, Pubs and Cafes</b>		<b>Public Libraries</b>		<b>Independent, "non-High Street Shops"</b>		<b>Community Based Activities</b>	
		<b>OR</b>	<b>95% CI</b>	<b>OR</b>	<b>95% CI</b>	<b>OR</b>	<b>95% CI</b>	<b>OR</b>	<b>95% CI</b>	<b>OR</b>	<b>95% CI</b>
<b>Gender</b>	Female (Ref.)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	Male	0.95	[0.80,1.11]	1.12	[0.89,0.84]	1.01	0.85,1.19]	0.65**	[0.55,0.90]	0.83	[0.634,1.25]
<b>Children</b>	No (Ref.)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	Yes	0.99	0.83,1.19]	0.76***	[0.64,0.94]	1.69**	[0.98,1.43]	0.64**	[0.48,0.91]	4.27***	[1.63,11.95]
<b>Age</b>	18-24	1.01	[0.71,1.44]	1.44**	[1.15,1.83]	0.91	[0.63,1.32]				
	25-34	0.94	[0.67,1.33]	1.34**	[1.02,1.74]	0.95	[0.67,1.35]	1.31	[0.92,1.93]	1.10	[0.90,1.35]
	35-44	0.92	[0.64,1.32]	1.25**	[0.91,1.53]	0.93	[0.64,1.35]	1.44	[0.46,6.89]	0.71	[0.60,1.27]
	45-64	0.95	[0.69,1.32]	1.02***	[0.85,1.16]	0.93	[0.67,1.30]	1.76^	[1.15,2.25]	0.95	0.65,1.27]
	65+ (Ref.)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<b>Income</b>	<£20,000 (Ref.)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	£20,000-40,000	0.91	[0.79,1.13]	1.68*	[0.60,2.95]	1.06	[0.79,1.41]	0.81	[0.69,1.36]	1.32	[0.94,1.52]
	£40,000-60,000	0.65	[0.54,0.95]	3.06***	[1.32,8.32]	1.21	[0.94,1.55]	1.4	[0.17,7.26]	0.94	[0.66,1.36]
	£60,000+	0.62	[0.47,0.98]	3.21**	[1.46,8.67]	1.20	[0.91,1.58]	1.59	[1.20,2.25]	0.62	[0.59,0.83]
<b>Qualifications</b>	Low	0.37***	[0.14,0.50]	1.45	[0.87,1.84]	1.05	[0.81,1.35]	1.71*	[1.15,2.47]	1.20	[0.88,1.84]
	Medium	0.66	[0.47,0.93]	1.45	[0.65,1.91]	1.07	[0.78,1.46]	1.59	[0.17,9.53]	1.37	[1.02,1.77]
	High	1.02	[0.82,1.23]	1.35	0.62,1.02]	1.04	[0.85,1.27]	1.8**	[1.28,2.55]	1.36	[1.00,1.73]
	Highest (ref.)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<b>Economically Active</b>	(Ref.)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	Inactive	0.64	[0.59,1.11]	1.044	[0.76,1.30]	1.02	[0.79,1.31]	1.25	[0.98,1.46]	1.08	[0.86,1.29]

OR=Odds Ratio; \*p<.05; \*\*p<.01; \*\*\*p<.001; ^p=approaching significance

The likelihood of participants scoring food and drinks facilities above average also decreased with their age, and this relationship proved to be statistically significant across all the age brackets in the questionnaire. This particular pattern can be partly explained for the 25-34 and 35-44 age brackets. Respondents in these two categories are more likely to be in stable jobs and careers than those in the reference age bracket (18-24). While this would provide higher levels of disposable income, it would also correspond to a reduction in the availability of free time in which to enjoy food and drink facilities. Participants in the 25-44 age brackets are also more likely to have children, thus incurring in the limitations previously described in relation to parenthood.

With a further increase in age to the over 65 bracket, retirement could, on the one hand, be seen to grant more free time, but it could also determine lower levels of disposable income as participants in this group have to rely on their savings and pension.

This potential explanation of the preference patterns observed for age and parenthood seems to be corroborated by the results of the binomial regression analysis relative to income. As shown in table 5.1, while the likelihood of food and drink facilities being assigned a higher value is observed to consistently increase relative to the reference category as the level of income increases, this effect is much stronger above the £40,000 per year mark. This suggests that a marginal increase in income - from under £20,000 to between £20,000 and 40,000 – positively impacts the ability of respondents to frequently enjoy food and drink facilities, and therefore they value them highly.

Finally, neither participants' gender nor their level of education appear to make them more or less likely to attach high importance to restaurants, pubs and cafes in Dundee, with none of the categories in these two variables showing statistically significant results.

The second type of cultural resource to be most highly valued in Dundee was Community-Based Activities. These obtained an average score above the measure of central tendency of 20 tokens (23.5%). Such activities included dance or arts & crafts classes taking place in community centres, children's classes, local sports clubs and social pastimes such as bingo halls.

Once again, the inclusion of these resources within the wider culture and leisure category emerged during the initial focus groups. It is worthy of notice that the prominent role of community-based activities in shaping and maintaining the cultural life of neighbourhoods emerged as a significant theme particularly in the groups organised in Dundee.

In Edinburgh, participants appeared less prone to mention these activities as important components of local culture, and they were only spontaneously described as “key” or “fundamental” in two instances. Once prompted, however, participants in Edinburgh generally tended to place community based activities amongst cultural resources, and this encouraged their inclusion within the questionnaire as one of the five components of culture and leisure.

The relatively high valuation of this type of resource in Dundee, therefore, appears to confirm what emerged during the early qualitative investigation, and also reinforces the impression of a wider, more inclusive notion of culture being held in this city compared to Edinburgh. Interestingly, the valuation of community based activities in Dundee does not appear to be strongly influenced by demographic or socio-economic variables, with the exception of the presence of children in the household. Table 5.1 shows how having children was associated with participants being over four times more likely to assign higher than average scores to this resource (OR=4.27,  $p=0.001$ ), while no relationship with other background variables appears to be statistically significant. This pattern in the data, together with the insight gathered during the focus groups, suggests that community based activities are not only considered as a main component of Dundee’s local cultural life, but also that they are widely across the socio-economic and demographic spectrum.

Another type of resource that was readily identified as part of the local cultural offering during the focus groups was the presence in the neighbourhood of independent, unique retail facilities. These were often described as “quirky”, “one-off” shops, not part of High-Street chains and offering a selection of unusual merchandise.

The feature most often mentioned as determining the cultural quality of these shops was their uniqueness, the fact that they make available objects and merchandise that cannot normally be easily found elsewhere. Moreover, this type of retail facility was often referred to as a place where local crafts, such as knitting or wood work, can be displayed and showcased. These were in turn considered to be part of the local heritage, making the shops where they can be known and appreciated “places of culture”. Another example was shops where ethnic good can be purchased, even food shops. These are seen as windows on other cultures, and as such capable of enriching the lives of local residents.

Participants in both Edinburgh and Dundee and across all the focus groups organised in the early stages of this research commented on how the presence of a good number of shops contributed to making a given neighbourhood feel “alive” and “interesting”. Confirming this impression,

numerous comments identified the lack of such retail features as one of the main traits characterising an area as depressed, uninspiring or even unsafe.

Interestingly, the otherwise widely accepted separation between independent shops and High-Street chains, or even supermarkets, was only questioned twice, and both times in the focus groups organised in the areas of the two cities with high index of multiple deprivation. In one instance, in Dundee, a participant observed:

I don't see why, if you see the shops on the Perth road as "culture", you can't see Asda as the same. You still buy things there. I think it's a middle class thing of thinking that you're going to buy something, but not where everybody else buys it: you're going to go to a "special place" for it".

Geoff, 35-44, Kirkton group, Dundee

In line with the relevance attributed to this resource by the focus groups participants, the results of the questionnaire exercise saw local shops being ranked third in Dundee, with a score just below 20% of the tokens.

Particular demographic and socio-economic characteristics were found to be associated with a higher likelihood of assigning high values to this type of resource. In particular qualifications lower than a University degree, female gender and older age were observed to follow such a pattern, as can be seen in Table 5.1. Respondents over the age of 45 appear to be more likely to attach a higher than average value to independent shops. The strength of the relationship further increases in the upper age bracket, with participants over the 65 being twice as likely than those under 24 to give high scores to this type of facility (OR=2.05,  $p=0.053$ ).

Another variable that associated with the likelihood of assigning more tokens to local shops is gender, with females more inclined to value this resource than men. One possible explanation for this pattern in the data is that retail facilities in general, and the type of shops described here in particular, tend to cater their marketing and merchandise more towards women, thus attracting more interest from them. Having children is shown to be linked to a lower valuation, presumably for the same reasons described with regard to food and drink facilities: a reduction in disposable income and free time could make parents less prone to recognise the worth of

facilities that they are not able to use as frequently, while they may be more likely to “save” tokens for resources that they feel are of more immediate need or relevance to them.

Finally, while income and economic activity did not emerge as influencing the valuation of this type of facilities, the level of educational qualifications did. Specifically, respondents with a University degree or higher qualifications were less likely to score local shops highly. One possible explanation is that these participants could be spending more of their tokens on those components more readily associated with the cultural sector, such as museums or performing arts venues.

The implications of such an interpretation and its links to the wider hypothesis presented in the previous chapter, according to which the apparent different valuation of culture and leisure across the case studies is due to the interaction between the socio-economic make-ups of the two cities and diverging notions of what constitutes “culture”, will be further discussed in section 5.3.

Despite being, out of the five types of resources included in the choice set, the most readily associated with the cultural sector, museums, galleries and performing arts venues received the second lowest score in Dundee. Moreover, the gap between the average number of tokens allocated by respondents to this type of resource and that of food and drink facilities or community activities is of over 7% and nearly 6%, respectively. Although, during the focus groups, museums and galleries were immediately cited by participants as important elements of the local cultural sector, their overall importance was often confined to issues of local pride and attractiveness of the city, while other types of resources, such as community activities, were described as more directly important for individuals and communities.

The presence of the Dundee Contemporary arts (DCA), the Dundee Repertory Theatre (REP) and the coming of the new Victoria and Albert Museum of Design were repeatedly mentioned as positive achievements and important factors in attracting new talent and investment to Dundee, which in turn results in more jobs. Many participants, especially younger ones, also remarked on the vibrancy of the local musical scene, with good venues and frequent shows, and offered that these resources can be seen as very important in retaining young talent, as many young people study in Dundee and decide to stay partly because of the richness of the local cultural life.

As was done with the other types of cultural resources, negative binomial regression was used to investigate whether there were factors making respondents more or less likely to assign high scores to museums, galleries and performing arts. As can be seen in Table 5.1, the valuation of this type of resource did not appear to be strongly influenced by socio-economic and demographic background. Indeed, the only variable that appeared to be related to a higher score was education, with respondents in the lowest category being considerably less likely to assign more than 20 tokens to this attribute (OR=0.379,  $p=0.001$ ). These results suggest that the relatively low valuation given to this type of resource is shared across most of the socio-economic and demographic segments of the sample.

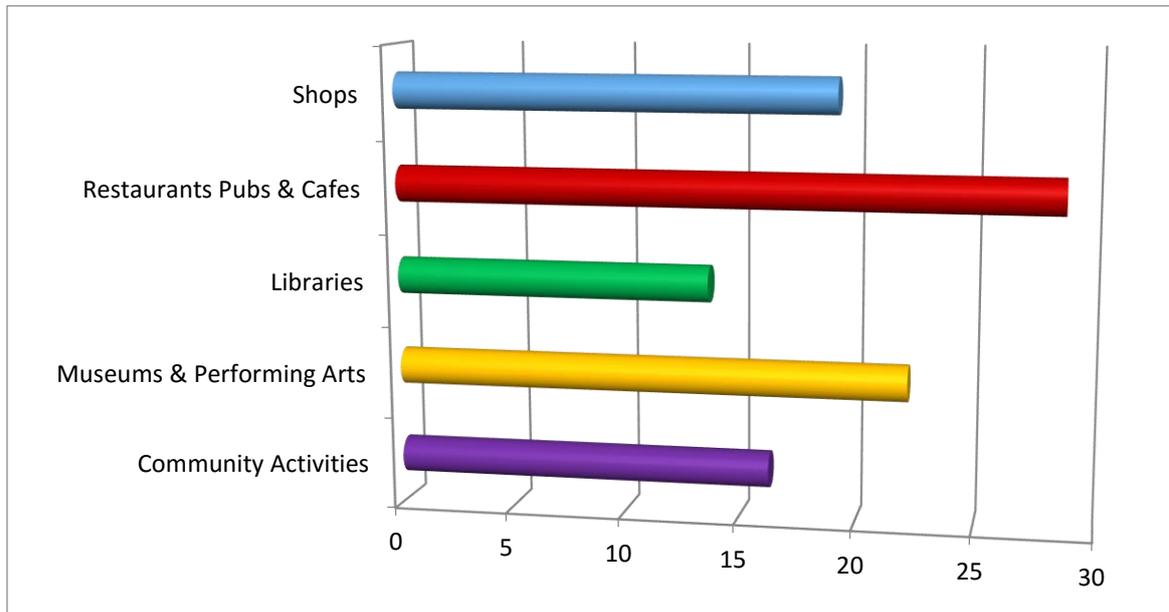
Similarly to museums and performing arts, public libraries were often immediately listed amongst the main components of the local cultural sector. Participants in the focus groups largely concurred that libraries represent an important resource for the local community, especially for children. Libraries were also described as serving functions beyond their immediately intended use. Examples were reports of older residents using the local library as a place for social interaction, or for hosting initiatives and self-organised clubs. Many older participants also explained how local libraries represent an important resource for them, as they often take their grand-children there. Unsurprisingly, the presence of children in the household resulted to be the only background variable linked to a higher likelihood to score libraries highly (OR=1.69,  $p=0.015$ ). However, despite the frequent mention of libraries as an important part of the local cultural life during the qualitative stages of this research, they obtained the lowest score out of the five in both Dundee and Edinburgh, signifying that, although their importance and usefulness is recognised in principle, most respondents were prepared to trade off this resource for others of more immediate interest.

### **5.2.2 Edinburgh**

The results of the token exercise in the Edinburgh case study are presented in this section, and a comparison with the Dundee sample is carried out to expose similarities and differences, which will then be analysed in more depth in the remainder of the chapter.

As with the data from the Dundee sample, a graphic representation of the token distribution across the five types of cultural resources is presented in the figure below.

Fig.5.2: Mean token distribution across the five components of “Culture & Leisure”: Edinburgh



Looking at Figure 5.2, it is immediately obvious how, similarly to what observed in Dundee, restaurants, pubs and cafes were the most valued out of the five components of culture and leisure included in the questionnaire. In Edinburgh, participants assigned an even higher score to this type of facility, approaching an average of 30 tokens out of the 100 available to them. However, the most notable difference between the two cities with regard to this particular bundle was that, while in Dundee age, the presence of children and higher income were observed to affect the likelihood of respondents scoring food and drink establishments highly, in Edinburgh no visible relationship was observed with any of the background variables. This lack of statistical association is shown in Table 5.2 below, and appears to resonate with the key role allotted to this type of resource during the focus groups organised in the Capital.

While in Dundee restaurants and cafes were seen as an added value to the city or to a particular neighbourhood, participants in Edinburgh seemed to consider them as an integral element in defining and shaping the city’s image and quality of life. Thus, a more widespread and universal appreciation of this resource could be expected also in the quantitative results.

Similarly to the previous section, Table 5.2 presents the results of the negative binomial regression models investigating the influence of background variables over the likelihood of participants assigning higher scores to the various types of cultural resources.

In these models, the dependant variables were the scores assigned to each type of cultural resources included in the study. These ranged from a low of 0 to a high of 100. As the table reports the aggregated results of five different models, the outcomes of the model fitness tests are not reported within it. Instead, a separate table with the values for deviance, Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC) and the Log Likelihood results of the Omnibus test relative to each model can be found in Appendix C.

Chapter 5: Valuation of Various Aspects of Culture & Leisure

Table 5.2: Results of negative binomial regression exploring factors linked to higher valuations for the various types of cultural resources - Edinburgh

<b>n=613</b>		<b>Museums, Galleries and Performing Arts Venues</b>		<b>Restaurants, Pubs and Cafes</b>		<b>Public Libraries</b>		<b>Independent, "non-High Street Shops</b>		<b>Community Based Activities</b>	
		<b>OR</b>	<b>95% CI</b>	<b>OR</b>	<b>95% CI</b>	<b>OR</b>	<b>95% CI</b>	<b>OR</b>	<b>95% CI</b>	<b>OR</b>	<b>95% CI</b>
<b>Gender</b>	Female (Ref.)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	Male	0.98	[0.73,1.35]	0.95	[0.80,1.14]	0.90	[0.73,1.11]	0.65**	[0.55,0.90]	0.62**	[0.42,1.15]
<b>Children</b>	No (Ref.)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	Yes	0.76^	[0.43,1.19]	0.86	[0.70,1.04]	1.13	[0.95,1.35]	0.64**	[0.48,0.91]	3.18***	[1.13,9.25]
<b>Age</b>	18-24	1.78*	[0.81,3.24]	1.46	[0.96,2.21]	1.728	[1.10,2.69]			1.27	[0.91,1.60]
	25-34	1.44*	[0.67,1.93]	1.26	[0.82,1.92]	1.30	[0.83,2.03]	1.31	[0.92,1.93]	0.93	[0.62,1.35]
	35-44	0.97**	[0.64,1.32]	1.22	[0.79,1.88]	1.35	[0.86,1.95]	1.44	[0.46,6.89]	0.71	[0.64,1.31]
	45-64	0.95^	[0.69,1.37]	1.20	[0.79,1.80]	0.93	[0.67,1.30]	1.76^	[1.15,2.25]	0.95	0.55,1.67]
	65+ (Ref.)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<b>Income</b>	<£20,000 (Ref.)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	£20,000-40,000	2.24**	[0.79,4.13]	0.850	[0.60,1.19]	0.91	[0.62,1.32]	0.81	[0.69,1.36]	0.65**	[0.44,1.52]
	£40,000-60,000	1.76*	[0.94,2.95]	0.911	[0.69,1.19]	1.12	[0.82,1.48]	1.4	[0.17,7.26]	0.52**	[0.41,0.69]
	£60,000+	1.25*	[0.47,2.48]	1.01	[0.75,1.32]	0.92	[0.69,1.21]	1.59	[1.20,2.25]	0.27*	[0.22,0.53]
<b>Qualifications</b>	Low	0.35**	[0.14,0.50]	1.41	[1.02,1.96]	0.82	[0.61,1.11]	1.71*	[1.15,2.47]	1.90***	[0.88,3.84]
	Medium	0.76*	[0.47,1.33]	1.28	[0.96,1.72]	1.35	[1.05,1.70]	1.59	[0.17,9.53]	1.37**	[1.02,2.77]
	High	0.95*	[0.62,1.63]	0.95	[0.75,1.20]	1.04	[0.85,1.27]	1.8**	[1.28,2.55]	1.26***	[0.98,2.43]
	Highest (ref.)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<b>Economically Active</b>	(Ref.)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	Inactive	1.64	[0.59,3.11]	1.19	[0.85,1.66]	1.02	[0.79,1.31]	1.25	[0.98,1.46]	2.225^	[0.86,5.29]

OR=Odds Ratio; \*p<.05; \*\*p<.01; \*\*\*p<.001; ^p=approaching significance

The second most valued resource in Edinburgh was museums and performing arts venues, which also obtained an average score of over 20%. This marks an important dissimilarity with the Dundee dataset, where this resource was ranked fourth out of five and well below the average of 20 tokens. Once again, while this type of resource was described by Dundee participants as one of the many elements contributing to the city's regeneration and its attractiveness, in Edinburgh the focus groups discussions yielded the impression of a pivotal role being attributed to them in making the city what it is and defining its image worldwide. Performing arts, and the festivals in particular, were pointed to by many interviewees as the reason why many people move to Edinburgh, this in turn being seen as crucial in bringing new talent and capital to the city. However, when regression was used to investigate to what extent background variables made respondents more or less likely to spend more tokens on this resource, a clear split appeared, with higher scores more likely to come from more affluent and highly educated respondents (Table 5.2). Having children was observed to make respondents less likely to assign high value to this type of facilities, while the lowest age bracket was the most likely to give higher scores.

Local independent shops were valued similarly across the two case studies, being ranked third out of five and receiving an average of around 19% of the tokens. However, contrary to what was observed in Dundee, no significant relationship was found between a preference for this type of resource and any of the background variables included in the analysis (see Table 5.2).

Community based cultural activities represented another key difference between the two case studies, obtaining only 16.3% of the tokens and being ranked fourth out of five in Edinburgh, while being highly valued in Dundee (over 23%). Also different across the two case studies was the distribution of preferences across the socio-economic and demographic spectrum. While in Dundee, as explained above, the only variable affecting participants' valuation of community based cultural activities was the presence of children, in Edinburgh a number of factors were observed to have influence (Table 5.2).

Gender was observed to play a part, with males being less likely to invest a higher amounts of tokens in this type of resource than females. Having children, similarly to what was observed in Dundee, was also associated with higher scores. In a clear reversal of what was observed with museums and performing arts, more affluent and highly educated respondents were less likely to score this resource above average, as were those who were economically active.

This preference pattern is opposite to what was observed for museums and performing arts, suggesting a split of preferences following the lines of socio-economic class.

Finally, local libraries confirmed the rank observed in Dundee, also with a very similar score (13.7% vs 14%). One notable difference between the two case studies in this respect is that this resource was not mentioned nearly as much or as promptly during the Edinburgh focus groups, making the results of the scoring exercise more aligned with the qualitative insight.

### **5.3 Communalities and differences between the two case studies**

The most immediately striking feature emerging from the analysis of the data presented in this chapter is the prominent importance attributed to food and drink in both case studies in the context of cultural resources. The fact that, when asked to rank the various components of culture and leisure, respondents assigned the highest value to this type of facility represents a first and important indication that the cultural sector is perceived to be more than just museums, performing arts and the so-called creative industries. This represents an important factor to consider in any study of the value of culture, as the dominant tendency in the academic and policy literature in the sector seems to be to limit the scope of investigation to the arts and creative industries. This point will be expanded and elaborated further in chapter 7, where the possible origins and implications of this definitional mismatch will be presented.

Food was often mentioned during the interviews and focus groups as a very important component of local culture and a defining factor of national and local cultural identity. Restaurants were therefore described as places where this can be presented, showcased, discovered and enjoyed. Similarly, ethnic restaurants were seen as offering the opportunity to discover and appreciate facets of different nations' cultures, facilitating integration and interaction and widening cultural horizons.

Cafes were also often mentioned as quiet places in which to sit and enjoy a hot drink, relax and exchange experiences and opinions, which in turn was described as cultural interaction. Specific reference was made to the fact that people sit in cafes, as opposed to standing, and that the background music, when present, is normally kept at a low volume, facilitating conversation.

The cultural quality of pubs was somewhat more contested, some participants describing them as merely "places where alcohol is dispensed", referring to the noisy and often crowded

atmosphere as an obstacle to meaningful conversation, differently to what happens in cafes. This view, however, was challenged by numerous other participants (particularly in deprived areas and by older respondents), according to whom pubs are places where traditionally social interaction happens, people coming together at the end of the day and exchanging thoughts and experiences, with alcohol being a mere side factor in customer's choice of leisure facility, not the main reason for being there.

*Excerpt 5.3:*

It would be much cheaper to drink a can of beer in your own living room, sitting on a comfy sofa than at the pub, maybe standing. And you need to get there and back. But it's the people you go there for: some are your friends, some you know maybe a little bit, but you strike up a conversation, argue, laugh. You don't do that sitting on your sofa.

Graham, 65+, over 65 group,

Edinburgh

The fact that in both cities food and drink establishments appeared to be highly valued, and in particular the fact that in Edinburgh this seemed to happen regardless of demographic or socio-economic background variables confirms that they represent an important component of local cultural life and provision.

Another prominent feature emerging from the data is the different importance attributed to museums, art galleries and performing art venues across the two case studies. While in Edinburgh this type of facility was ranked second in order of importance with a score above average, in Dundee it only came fourth. Also different between the two cities were the background variables that appeared to influence participants' valuation of these resources, with lower income, qualifications and unemployment being associated with lower scores in Edinburgh, while in Dundee only a marginal increase in education levels seemed to make a difference.

While museums, galleries and performing arts were always mentioned first when respondents were asked to define culture and leisure, a clear difference emerged between the two cities in terms of their role within the wider cultural sector. In Edinburgh, these resources were often seen as the main, although not sole, components of a city's cultural life, while in Dundee it was more common for them to be seen as the most readily mentioned, but not the most important.

The combination of all these factors presents a picture of museums, galleries and performing art venues being readily and universally identified as important elements of the local cultural scene, but with a clear split in Edinburgh where more affluent and highly educated respondents are more likely see them as fundamental and as relatively more important than other resources. In Dundee, conversely, these resources are more widely considered as only a part of the wider cultural sector, with other types of resources being more relevant and important to the life of individuals and communities. Specifically, these “other resources” seemed to be community level cultural activities and the presence of diverse food, drink and shopping facilities. These were presented as more crucial in defining the city’s self-image and quality of life.

Community based cultural activities, however, presented important differences across the two cities. While in Dundee there appeared to be no background variable influencing their valuation, in Edinburgh low income, low qualifications and economic inactivity were observed to be linked to higher value being placed on these resources. This clear pattern suggests that, while in Dundee there seems to be a more homogeneous idea of what constitutes culture and leisure and, to a lesser extent, of how important the single components are, in Edinburgh both the definition of culture and the valuation of its components seem to vary more depending on social and economic class.

Specifically, more affluent and highly qualified respondents appear to assign relatively more importance to museums and performing arts, and to identify more readily these components as the predominant part of cultural life. Conversely, respondents with lower income and qualifications or who are economically inactive seem more prone to consider community level cultural activities important in defining a city or neighbourhood’s cultural identity and offering. This particular distinction between the two case studies could help to deepen the understanding of the diverging patterns of residential preferences presented in chapter 4, with comparatively higher value being assigned to culture and leisure in Edinburgh than in Dundee. If, as seems to transpire from the data presented in this chapter, the very notion of culture is more closely linked to museums and performing arts in Edinburgh than it is Dundee, and more affluent residents tend to assign more value to this facet of culture and leisure, then the different socio-economic and demographic make-up of the two cities may explain at least part of the difference in cultural valuation.

The next chapter will depart from the attempt to understand how important cultural resources are considered to be, and will look at the various facet of value that may be associated with – or that may arise from – the cultural sector.

## 6 Different Types of Value

### 6.1 Introduction

As described in chapter 2, the predominant role of direct and indirect use in determining the overall importance attributed to cultural resources is assumed by most studies in the cultural valuation literature, and is implicit in the choice to consider impacts and outcomes as proxies of value. Where mentioned, non-use types of value are often seen as being already captured and included in the economic valuation process (Eftec, 2005; Pinnock, 2009; Mason, 2002). Alternatively, non-use values are assigned a marginal role and acknowledged as part of the ill-defined, intangible and problematic quality that characterises culture. This chapter presents data assessing the correlation between the frequency with which cultural facilities are used and the valuation they received in the survey questionnaire. In so doing, the predominant role of use-related elements of value in determining the overall importance attributed to cultural resources will be seen as dependent on contextual variables: while frequency of use and high valuations are shown to be significantly related in both cities, the strength of these correlations is higher in Edinburgh than in Dundee. The importance of socio-economic variables in shaping this relationship is presented and linked to the idea that the definition of culture held and operationalised in a community lies at the heart of its use and valuation of cultural resources.

Furthermore, it is argued that the attention of the existing literature is focussed excessively on positive outcomes and positive effects of cultural activities. This is because a large proportion of existing studies are driven by policy, with the intention, more or less explicit and conscious, of demonstrating the viability and potential returns of cultural investments. Alternatively, research in this field has been permeated by the will to disprove the return-on-investment based reports, and to demonstrate how the value of culture goes beyond its measurable economic impacts. In both cases, the positive nature of cultural value is assumed *a priori*.

However, negative aspects of value emerged during the qualitative stages of this work as being associated with certain cultural activities and, more strongly, with specific typologies of investment by governments and local authorities. This potential for negative facets of cultural value remains a neglected and unexplored area of the literature, and as such represents an important and unique contribution of this thesis.

## 6.2 Frequency of Use and Valuation

The incidence of direct use as a determinant of overall valuation was explored through the analysis of data derived from the statistical model used in the previous chapter. Specifically, this section will present the coefficients relative to the relationship between frequency of use and valuation of various cultural resources. As explained in chapter 3, negative binomial regression was chosen as the preferred statistical technique for this analysis. This choice was dictated by the non-normal distribution of the data relative to the allocation of tokens, which constituted the dependent variable in the model. In particular, as the conditional variance was consistently greater than the conditional mean, Poisson regression was excluded and negative binomial regression was identified as a preferable option. For ease of presentation, Table 6.1 presents the coefficients relative to the relationship between frequency of use and valuation of each resource, without the other independent variables, which were presented and discussed in the previous chapters. The results of the model fit tests can be found in the two tables relative to the Dundee and Edinburgh analyses, in Appendix C.

In order to explore more fully the relationship between frequency of use and valuation of each type of cultural resource, and to test the statistical significance of the results obtained through the regression model, non-parametric correlation coefficients were calculated. The results are presented in Table 6.2, reporting both Spearman's rho and Kendall's tau values. While the Exp(B) values calculated through the binomial regression model and reported in Table 6.1 express the likelihood of respondents assigning higher values to resources in relation to the frequency of their use, the coefficients reported in Table 6.2 show the statistical significance and strength of these correlations. The latter is expressed on a scale between -1 and 1, with 0 corresponding to no correlation while 1 and -1 indicate perfect positive and negative monotone functions, respectively.

As can be seen in Table 6.2, the relationship between frequency of use and overall valuation appears to be strong and consistent across all cultural resources and in both cities. These significance tests corroborate what emerged from the regression analysis. The results presented in Table 6.1 show how, in Edinburgh in particular, higher levels of use are significantly related to the likelihood of a higher value being assigned to community-based activities, museums, galleries and performing arts and public libraries. For all these variables, and across most categories, confidence levels are above 99%. The analysis of the information relative to food and

drink facilities required a manipulation of the data, as there were far too few observations in the “never” and “once a year or less” categories. Consequently, the variable was re-coded, making “once every six months or less” the lowest category for frequency of use, and therefore the reference for the model. However, the relationship highlighted above was confirmed for this variable as well.

In the binomial regression model, the only type of facilities that was found to be valued independently of the frequency of its use was local, independent shops. Although in Edinburgh, weekly use of this resource was linked to an improved likelihood of a higher value being placed on it (confidence >90%), the relationship was not confirmed across the other categories of use and there was no evidence of the connection in Dundee. However, when the significance tests were conducted, correlations were found to be statistically significant in both cities, with confidence levels over 99%. Although the strength of the relationships is lesser than for all other variables, this still represents an apparent contradiction of the two sets of results. However, it is important to firstly consider that detecting correlation is not synonymous of proving causation. In other words, the results presented in Table 6.2 do not point to a higher frequency of use resulting in higher valuation. Furthermore, while the correlation coefficients were obtained through a bivariate analysis, the results in Table 6.1 emerged from a more complex model. It is therefore possible that significance levels in the wider model were “disturbed” by the interaction with one or more of the other variables. Overall, the patterns observed in the data from the Edinburgh sample appear to confirm the strong connection between frequency of use and valuation.

However, a comparison between the results from the two cities casts the strength of this relationship into doubt. Similarly to what described for the Edinburgh sample, the likelihood of respondents in Dundee assigning a higher valuation to the various types of cultural facilities and resources appeared to be strongly related to the frequency of their use (Table 6.1). Also similar was the apparent lack of a connection between use and the valuation of local, independent shops. Nevertheless, once again a statistically significant relationship was observed through the Kendall and Spearman coefficients for all types of resources, including retail facilities.

Although the general trend observed in Edinburgh is confirmed, the coefficients registered in Dundee are consistently lower (Tables 6.1 and 6.2), indicating a less predominant role of use across all variables.

Table 6.1: Results of negative binomial regression analyses exploring how readily frequency of use explains valuation (token allocation 0 – 100)

Variable (ref. Never)		Dundee (n=656)		Edinburgh (n=613)	
		Sig	OR	Sig	OR
<b>Community Activities</b>	At least once a week	0.001	1.940	0.001	3.973
	Once a fortnight	0.001	1.753	0.001	2.911
	Once a month	0.001	1.583	0.001	3.266
	Once every 6 months	0.048	1.319	0.001	2.557
	Once a Year or Less	0.148	1.210	0.001	1.934
<b>Museums, Art Galleries and Performing Arts Venues</b>	At least once a week	0.018	1.905	0.001	3.711
	Once a fortnight	0.018	1.662	0.001	2.816
	Once a month	0.005	1.538	0.001	2.334
	Once every 6 months	0.052	1.328	0.001	1.844
	Once a Year or Less	0.349	1.150	0.050	1.457
<b>Public Libraries</b>	At least once a week	0.001	3.355	0.001	4.062
	Once a fortnight	0.001	2.319	0.001	4.656
	Once a month	0.001	2.330	0.001	3.651
	Once every 6 months	0.001	1.838	0.001	3.226
	Once a Year or Less	0.001	1.458	0.001	2.166
<b>Restaurants, Pubs and Cafes*</b>	At least once a week	0.001	1.856	0.001	2.190
	Once a fortnight	0.001	1.628	0.044	1.600
	Once a month	0.004	1.524	0.227	1.329
<b>Independent, “non-High Street” shops</b>	At least once a week	0.492	2.072	0.083	2.903
	Once a fortnight	0.581	1.796	0.143	2.468
	Once a month	0.732	1.439	0.316	1.862
	Once every 6 months	0.619	1.699	0.724	1.251
	Once a Year or Less	0.522	0.496	0.796	0.845

\*Due to the insufficient number of responses in the lowest two categories, this variable was recoded and the reference is “once every six months or less”.

**Table 6.2: Kendall's tau and Spearman's rho correlation coefficients exploring relationships between frequency of use and levels of valuation of the various types of cultural resources**

		<b>Dundee (n=656)</b>	<b>Edinburgh (n=613)</b>
<b>Community Activities</b>	Kendall's tau	0.337**	0.475**
	Spearman's rho	0.410**	0.575**
<b>Museums, Art Galleries and Perf. Arts</b>	Kendall's tau	0.233**	0.463**
	Spearman's rho	0.280**	0.552**
<b>Public Libraries</b>	Kendall's tau	0.343**	0.453**
	Spearman's rho	0.415**	0.566**
<b>Restaurants, Pubs and Cafes*</b>	Kendall's tau	0.376**	0.417**
	Spearman's rho	0.381**	0.500**
<b>Independent, "non-High Street" shops</b>	Kendall's tau	0.133**	0.259**
	Spearman's rho	0.182**	0.279**

Note: \*\* = Sig < 0.001; \* = Sig < 0.005

The lower coefficients observed in Dundee suggest that the less tangible, non-use types of value presented in the classification in Table 2.1 have a more significant role here than in the other case study. This, in turn, could be linked to the different socio-economic make-up of the two cities and to diverging patterns of cultural consumption. As explained in the previous chapter, Edinburgh has a more cosmopolitan and affluent population, in part attracted to the city by its unique and diverse cultural resources. During the focus groups, different notions of what constitutes "culture" emerged in the two cities. Participants in the Scottish capital largely identified it with museums, galleries, performing arts and the availability of diverse and stimulating food and drink facilities, while respondents in Dundee appeared to have a view of culture as more linked to social aggregation, local identity and community-based resources.

Socio-economic differences and diverging attitudes towards culture could be seen to explain, at least in part, the unequal importance of the use-related elements of value observed in the two case studies. With a dominant notion of "culture" such as the one observed in Edinburgh, based on museums, galleries and performing arts as its key components, direct experience becomes

the determining factor in assigning cultural value and the importance of use-related value grows accordingly. In Dundee, conversely, a different concept of what culture is and what it is for could be linked to a less pivotal role of use in the valuation process.

If this dissimilar approach to the definition and valuation of culture between the two case studies was to be confirmed, a matching pattern of use of the various types of cultural resources would be expected. In other words, the stronger importance attributed in Edinburgh to museums, galleries and performing arts would need to be matched by their more frequent use, while community-based resources would be expected to be used more regularly in Dundee. A comparison of the relevant data collected in the two cities was utilised in order to verify this pattern. However, a contrast across all types of resources would not have been meaningful, as what qualifies as “very frequent” use in the case of a café would not do so in relation to a museum. As such, frequency of use of each type of resource was compared individually across the two case studies. The results are presented in Figures 6.1 to 6.5.

Fig.6.1: Frequency of use - Community Activities

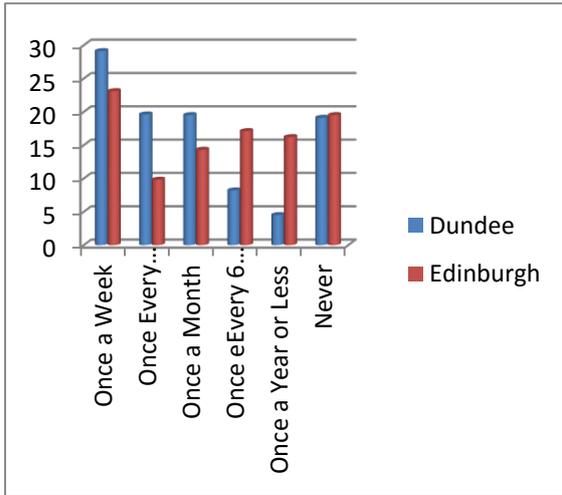


Fig.6.2: Frequency of use – Museums (% respondents)...

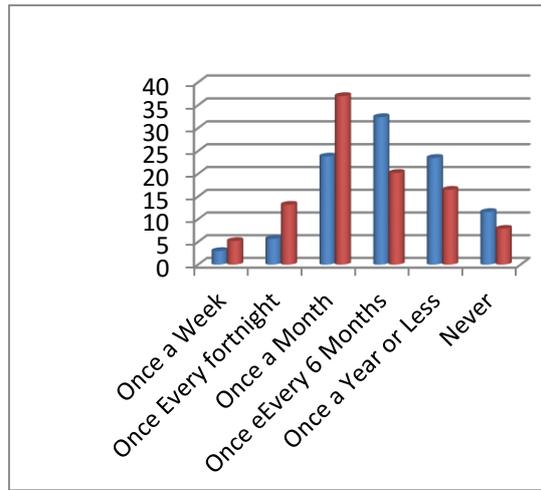


Fig.6.3: Frequency of use – Libraries (% respondents)

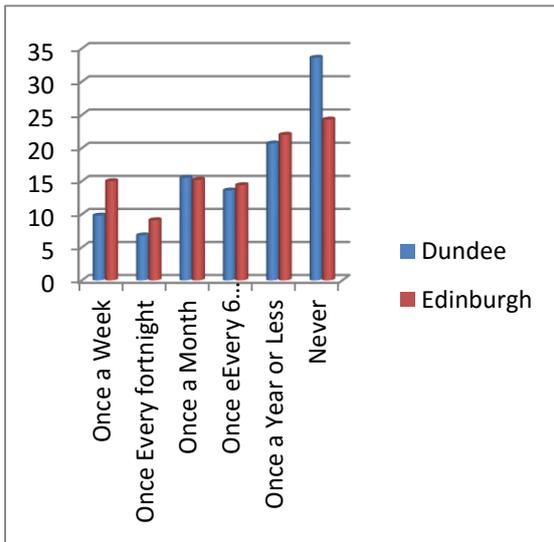


Fig.6.4: Frequency of use – Food & drink (% respondents)

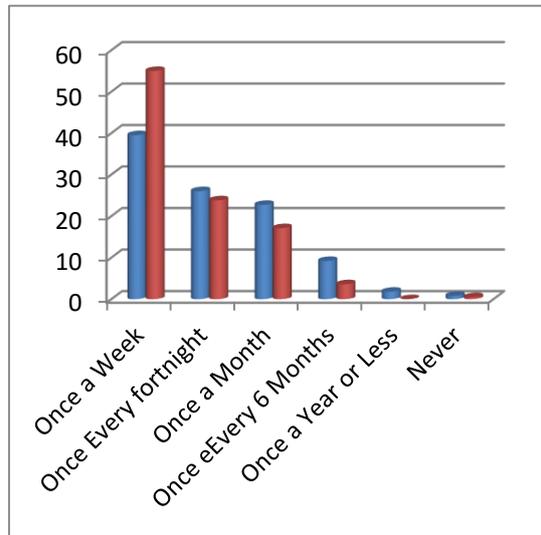
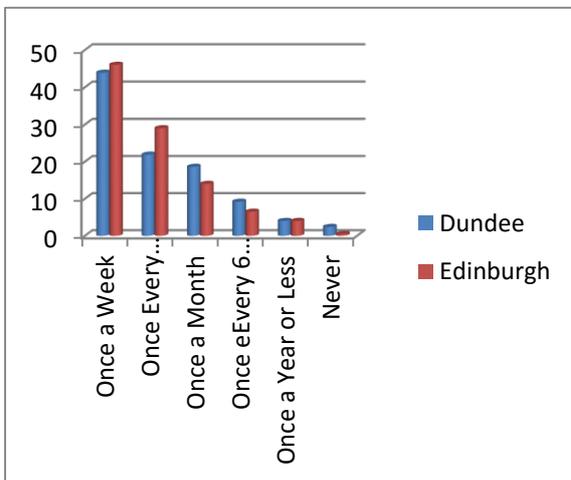


Fig.6.5: Frequency of use – Shops (% respondents)



As can be seen in the figures above, there seems to be a remarkably similar distribution in the frequency of use of all types of facilities across the two cities. However, it is also immediately evident that levels of use of most resources are higher in Edinburgh than in Dundee.

Museums, galleries and performing arts venues, in particular, show a marked difference in levels of use between the two cities. In Edinburgh, nearly 60% of respondents use this type of facilities at least once a month, while in Dundee this is true for just over 40% of the sample. The data for libraries, food and drink facilities and shops also shows marginally higher frequency of use in Edinburgh.

Conversely, community-based resources appear to be used significantly more frequently in Dundee, with nearly 70% of respondents making use of them at least once a month, against 45% in Edinburgh. This is in line with what would be expected given the hypothesis presented above and confirms how the different attitudes towards culture described above and in the previous chapter correspond to a matching pattern of use of different cultural resources.

### **6.2.1 Socio-economic background**

The previous section of this chapter has highlighted how the different importance attributed to various components of culture in the two case studies is matched by diverging frequency of use patterns. This, in turn, was linked to a less determinant role played by use-related elements of value in the overall importance attributed to cultural resources in Dundee.

However, the one variable that would be able to connect all these trends together is the socio-economic background of the two cities. In the previous section, it was suggested that the more cosmopolitan and affluent population of Edinburgh would be naturally attracted to the city by its vibrant cultural scene, its museums, galleries and festivals. In turn, this would shape the pattern of use of the various types of cultural resources and the dominant notion of culture held in the city. Evidence of a link between a more affluent and highly educated population and specific patterns of use would strengthen this argument. In order to verify whether such connection can be observed, the data on frequency of use was disaggregated and participants on the lowest level of income and educational qualifications were isolated. The frequency of use in these categories was then compared to that of the total sample in order to highlight possible variations.

However, the number of responses in the bottom category for educational qualifications was insufficient in both cities to provide significant results. The bottom two qualification categories

were therefore aggregated, as it was deemed that they still offered a meaningful contrast with participants in possession of qualifications of college level and above.

**Table 6.3: Percentage of Edinburgh participants using the five components of “culture & leisure” at least once a month.**

<b>Edinburgh (n=613)</b>	<b>General</b>	<b>Income &lt; £20,000</b>	<b>Qualifications &lt;3</b>
<b>Community Activities</b>	47	70.5	74
<b>Museums &amp; Performing Arts*</b>	75	58	54
<b>Public Libraries</b>	41	39	40.5
<b>Restaurants, Pubs &amp; Cafes</b>	96	89.5	94.5
<b>Shops</b>	95	90	94

\* Frequency of use for this variable was calculated as “once every 6 months or more”

**Table 6.4: Percentage of Dundee participants using the five components of “culture & leisure” at least once a month.**

<b>Dundee (n=663)</b>	<b>General</b>	<b>Income &lt; £20,000</b>	<b>Qualifications &lt;3</b>
<b>Community Activities</b>	68	65	63
<b>Museums &amp; Performing Arts*</b>	63	42	49
<b>Public Libraries</b>	35	43	38
<b>Restaurants, Pubs &amp; Cafes</b>	88	84	85
<b>Shops</b>	85	87	86

\* Frequency of use for this variable was calculated as “once every 6 months or more”

The data presented in Tables 6.3 and 6.4 offers a clear confirmation of the pivotal role of income and education in determining frequency of use of museums, galleries and performing arts venues. Both in Dundee and In Edinburgh, participants on low income and qualifications used these resources significantly less regularly, while levels of use for most of the other variables remained relatively stable.

Conversely, in Edinburgh community based activities appear to be used more frequently by participants with low levels of income and qualifications. In Dundee, this connection is not observed, and levels of regular use of community resources remain stable between the isolated categories and the overall sample. It is important to note, however, that the frequency of use of community-based activities in the Dundee total sample was remarkably high in comparison with Edinburgh, and is actually similar to the rates of use of people with low income and qualifications of this city.

On the whole, data presented in this section appears to confirm the connection suggested above, and contributes to the overall hypothesis that sees the socio-economic and demographic make-up of the two cities as the key element determining firstly their citizens' use of cultural resources, and subsequently their notion of what constitutes culture and their valuation of it.

In the next section of this chapter, some of the possible factors determining the reduction in engagement with certain types of cultural resources described above will be introduced. These include various issues of access, social identity and stigmatisation that were highlighted during the qualitative stages of this research. These dynamics represent not only a contingent obstacle to the frequent enjoyment of cultural resources by all strata of society, but also a possible new dimension of cultural value not previously considered in studies in this field.

### 6.3 Negative Value

As mentioned in Section 2.4, the potential for a negative element to be part of the overall value of cultural resources has so far been neglected in the existing literature. This lack of attention can be partly explained by taking into consideration the two main drivers of most of the studies in this field, namely the need to capture the importance of cultural activities in order to justify funding decisions, and the aspiration to demonstrate how the value of culture goes beyond its observable and quantifiable impacts.

In both cases, the focus has been on the positive outcomes deriving from culture. In the first instance, the tendency for quantitative valuation studies to utilise direct and indirect impacts as proxies for value has been implicitly converted into an exclusive focus on *positive* impacts. Similarly, the attempts to demonstrate a broader and less tangible scope for cultural value have taken into consideration a wider array of reasons why culture is important and of its role in positively shaping and contributing to society.

There are, however, exceptions to this mono-dimensional interpretation of cultural value. In Bennett *et al's* (2009) major survey of British cultural consumption, engagement or disengagement is related very strongly to social class. In turn, O'Brien and Oakley (2015) relate these connections to the creation of positive *and negative* forms of value. Defining negative cultural value in a succinct,

yet powerful phrase, O'Brien points to the "potential for art and culture to have negative consequences, as it excludes and divides as much as it unifies and uplifts". In other words, while culture has traditionally been seen as a positive force, while participation in cultural activities has been shown, as described in chapter 2, to result in positive individual and social outcomes, and despite the undoubted potential for the cultural sector to make a substantial contribution to economic development, the potential also exists for detrimental impacts to result from the consumption of, and investment in cultural resources. The analysis of the focus groups organised during the early stages of this research highlighted a number of instances in which the mono-dimensional, exclusively positive character of cultural value can be cast into doubt. In groups run in areas of high multiple deprivation, in particular, certain types of cultural resources have been seen to be linked to issues of lack of access, inadequacy and social stigma, thus exacerbating the perception of inequality and social stratification.

This section of the chapter interrogates this idea of a possible negative dimension of cultural value and suggests that any consideration of the importance of cultural activities at the individual or wider societal level would not be complete without its inclusion.

### **6.3.1 Access**

The most recurrent way in which negative aspects were associated with cultural resources during the focus groups was through lack of access. Numerous participants highlighted how, despite their willingness to make use of certain facilities, they felt that this was in effect unlikely in practice. Although this was identified as a theme across all groups in both cities, in the mixed groups it remained a minority view. However, reports of lack of access were more frequent in the groups run in areas of multiple deprivation and within the over 65 groups, where most participants to the interview tended to agree and confirm such comment.

In the case of older participants, distance and availability of transport links was often identified as a key factor for engagement, and mostly in association with issues of limited mobility and very old age. When specifically questioned, however, these participants tended to identify their own circumstances as the main limiting factor, rather than a lack of provision or infrastructure.

A different perception emerged from the analysis of the contributions by participants with lower levels of qualifications and income and out of employment. Here, limited access was perceived more as a result of a lack of attention and funding from the governing bodies, and as a mirror of social inequality on a wider scale. The direct link between lower income and qualifications and reduced engagement with certain cultural resources has been shown in Tables 6.2 and 6.3. Levels of use of museums, galleries and performing arts venues were shown to be significantly lower in both cities for participants with low levels of qualifications and income than those of the complete samples.

One key factor limiting access to this type of cultural resources was identified with distance. This was particularly evident in Edinburgh, where the larger geographical size and the concentration in the city centre of most facilities of this type made it difficult for people living in more marginal areas to access them. However, distance did not appear to represent a limitation in itself, rather it was identified as a limiting factor for its implications in terms of cost, time and the lack of infrastructure.

*Excerpt 6.1*

[If] you live in Morningside, you can afford to pay for a cab and be anywhere in 10 minutes. If you're going into town on the bus from here [Muirhouse, Edinburgh], you wait for the bus, then you get there, then walk to wherever you're going, then the same to come back... it becomes an expedition.

Malcolm, 45-64, Muirhouse group, Edinburgh

Cost was often described as an impassable barrier to accessing facilities. This specific limitation appeared to foster feelings of resentment and injustice. One example of this was recorded in Dundee where, at the time the focus group was run, the new public swimming pool had just been made available. One participant, in particular, was clear on his inability to enjoy this resource:

*Excerpt 6.2*

So they give us the new Olympia, good... say I want to take my kids there: four people on a bus there and back, plus a tenner to get in... that's my money for the week! So it's there, looks nice, but we cannae go in...

Tom, 35-44, mixed group 2, Dundee

The issue of cost and affordability appeared to become an even more serious barrier when considering galleries and performing arts venues. The cost of theatre performances, in particular, was often referred to as a clear example of how the enjoyment of certain cultural events was practically impossible for people on lower incomes. Exceptions were sometimes offered in relation to the Festivals in Edinburgh, which normally provide low cost and free performances, and the REP theatre in Dundee. Overall, however, the cost of accessing museums, galleries and performing arts venues was reported as one of the main limiting factors to their frequent use.

Interestingly, numerous instances were observed in which, after one participant lamented the lack of transport links or the excessive cost of certain venues, other contributors offered possible alternatives and solutions, such as convenient buses, reduced price performances or museums and galleries that are cost free. This shows how, in certain cases, lack of information, rather than physical barriers, can be a limit to the use of cultural resources.

In most cases, however, the lack of access and the perception that some resources were effectively placed out of reach emerged as a key contributor to feelings of disengagement, exclusion and resentment. Nevertheless, another component of the process of exclusion from the use of certain cultural resources was identified during the focus groups. Specifically, while issues of accessibility are normally attributed to factors external to the individual, such as excessive cost or distance, the following section describes potential internal psychological and social dynamics which can also prevent engagement with specific resources.

### **6.3.2 Self-exclusion**

While the system of external limitations to access described in the previous section can be seen to account for part of the reduction in use and engagement observed in tables 6.2 and 6.3, it can by no means be seen as a sufficient or complete explanation.

The qualitative stage of this research highlighted the fact that, in some cases, the lack of participation in specific types of cultural activities derives from a process of conscious self-exclusion. This in turn can be seen as the result of a set of pressures coming from within individuals and from their wider social sphere.

Clear examples of this process were reports by participants of how their perception of their own inadequacy was preventing them from engaging with theatre or art galleries. This “type of culture” was seen as above and beyond their level of understanding, and the attempt to participate was described as futile. Comments of this kind are exemplified by Alison’s statement below, and show how the perception of the inability to understand something was eventually transformed in indifference

*Excerpt 6.3*

I don’t really go to the DCA, it’s too much for me. I tried going once with my sister, and we didn’t get what they were on about. Some people may like it and that’s fine... I didn’t go to university...

Alison, 25-34, mixed group 1, Dundee

The final remark on her own level of education was markedly aimed at myself, and, besides creating an uncomfortable and charged atmosphere for the remainder of the interview, it underlined how Alison read wider society as a contraposition between those who did go to university and those who did not, those who understand independent and alternative films and those who don’t. This facet will be explored in further detail later in this chapter.

Other types of cultural facilities that were repeatedly associated with a sense of inadequacy and lack of understanding were art galleries, museums and ballet. In Edinburgh, a clear distinction emerged between “theatre” as a genre, seen as sometimes obscure and difficult to enjoy, and the theatrical performances offered as part of the summer festival. The latter were normally associated with comedy and considered more accessible.

This form of personal disassociation from specific types of cultural resources can also result from them being perceived as irrelevant to an individual’s daily life and interests. Once again, theatres, museums and art galleries were often described as offering experiences too far removed from some of the participants’ reality, and were seen as belonging to a different domain.

*Excerpt 6.4*

I'll go to the REP, I like it, if there's something on that I can see myself into, but some of the stuff's... you can tell is not written for people from here [Ardler, Dundee]. Then I'd rather watch River City or East Enders, at home.

Kate, 65-74, over 65 group, Dundee

Such perception, of some of the material presented in museums or theatres being deliberately “targeted” or designed for a specific segment of the population, introduces a key element of the process of self-exclusion from certain cultural activities, namely a binary conception and classification of society into “us” and “them”. This process, reminiscing of De Saussure’s theory of binary opposition, sees reality being perceived as a series of contrapositions of opposite but mutually defining entities: “hot” can not be understood without the accompanying notion of “cold”, nor does the idea of “male” can be defined without a corresponding “female” or “good” without “evil”. Likewise, Hegel saw personal and social identities as being created and shaped though the definition of what is different from us (Grier, 2012). Thus, common features, values or behaviours identify the members of a shared group as “same”, and this can only be seen in relation to what is different, or “other”. As such, the two groups become inter-dependent, as no identity group could exist without the validating presence of an external difference. This binary view can generate an interpretation of society as an ever-changing contraposition of “us” and “them”, the difference shifting from working-class versus middle-class to native versus immigrants, to different football teams.

In this light, comments such as that in excerpt 6.4 point to a perception that a specific type of cultural resources are intended and purposefully designed for people of a different background from the participant’s. Kate’s use of the phrase “people from here” adds a geographic dimension to the otherwise class-based distinction between the “typical” theatre audience – or what she perceives to be typical - and the intended audience of more popular television dramas. This was a consistent theme across both cities, particularly in the groups organised in the more deprived areas. In the mixed socio-economic background groups, although some comments by participants could be interpreted in view of what described above, the identification of such theme was less prominent. This could be caused by the fact that participants in these groups would have felt less comfortable mentioning factors such as income or class then they would have in more homogeneous groups, where they could assume most people shared their views and concerns.

In Edinburgh, during the group run in the area of Muirhouse, characterised by high indexes of multiple deprivation, art galleries were repeatedly referred to as “for middle-class people”, and three out of the six participants concurred that they felt that the very provision and funding of these resources by the local authority was directly targeted at certain socio-economic backgrounds. When directly questioned, these participants described feelings of resentment, as they felt that there were much more pressing needs in “their own” communities, but most of the money was spent on “recreation” for more affluent, middle-class people.

*Excerpt 6.5*

...of course, where does most of the money go? See how many golf courses are around...

Malcolm, 45-64, Muirhouse group, Edinburgh

These comments exemplifies an instance in which investment on the part of National or local government, when seen through the lens of resentment and self-exclusion, can deepen marginalisation and social segmentation, thus generating what could be defined as “negative value”.

In Dundee, participants were asked for their opinion on the coming Victoria & Albert museum. During most of the groups organised in the city, positive opinions were offered on the project, suggesting that it would boost tourism, encourage investment and contribute to renewing and improving Dundee’s image. Many participants also stated that they were looking forward to visit the museum, and that they thought they would continue to do so periodically. Comments were also made about the visual impact the building would have on the surrounding area, and almost all opinions were positive. When the issue was submitted to the group organised in a more deprived area, however, contrasting opinions started to emerge. Comments often highlighted how the upcoming museum was not seen as an investment directly relevant to the participants. Nevertheless, feelings of resentment were not apparently associated with this particular development, as it was seen as benefitting the city as a whole.

*Excerpt 6.6*

I think it's a good thing, if it brings in money and tourists. It's good for Dundee, so it's not called "scum-dee" anymore. I'll probably go in to have a look, if it's not too dear... see what it's like inside.

[Questioned about the museum's content]

No, I don't know what the exhibitions will be... I doubt it'll be for me, though, I'm not normally for that kind of thing... I'd just stand there like a lump!

Duncan, 35-44, Kirkton group, Dundee

**6.3.2.i Stigma**

Closely related to the binary interpretation of the social world described above is the notion of stigma. Social groups create rules and norms of behaviour that identify individuals as belonging to them. Behaviour that deviates from the norm is labelled as deviant (Becker, 1963) and condemned by the wider societal circle. Individuals respond to this by altering their behaviour in accordance with the norm (Lamert, 1967). Deviance brings with itself stigma, as a perceived mark of an individual's condemnation by the wider social circle. Comments such as the "I'd stand there like a lump" in excerpt 6.6, can be interpreted as the concern of being identified as an outsider and frowned upon by the people that the museum is *really* intended for.

Moreover, the attempt to engage with cultural activities that are seen as "above one's status" could carry with it the fear of being singled out and judged by one's own social circle. The fear of being seen as pretentious, as someone who is trying to get above his or her station, could act as a limiting factor and foster feelings of indifference, or even rejection, for resources such as art galleries or museums. Craig (2011) suggests that this process is particularly strong within Scottish society, due to a mix of a rigidly prescriptive Calvinist past and values of social equality developed through the Labour movement. These two seemingly contrasting forces actually act to reinforce the idea of an appropriate set of behaviours and interests befitting one's social status. Thus, the traditional resistance to social mobility is compounded by the notion that engagement with activities normally associated with higher social status correspond to the implicit repudiation one's own class.

In light of all this, people could self-exclude from certain types of cultural activities in fear of stepping out of their social circle and incurring in isolation and stigmatisation, either at the hand of the “other”, upper strata of society, or of the “same”, the other members of their own social circle.

#### **6.4 Conclusion**

This chapter has presented a clear case to question the scarce importance attributed to non-use elements of value in most studies on cultural valuation. The above discussion has highlighted how, while frequency of use played a major part in determining the importance attributed to cultural resources across both case studies, the strength of this relationship was considerably lesser in Dundee. This in turn was used to argue that, in this city, non-use types of value have a more significant role.

The relationship between frequency of use and socio-economic background was then analysed, leading to highlighting the influence of income and educational qualifications levels in shaping firstly the two cities’ patterns of use of cultural resources, and subsequently their notions of what constitutes culture and their valuation of it.

Another aspect which was highlighted as being neglected in this field’s literature is the importance of negative facets of value in relation to cultural resources. Drawing from the qualitative insight gathered during the focus group stage of this research, evidence of the potential for a negative interpretation of investment in the cultural sector by certain individuals or communities was presented and linked to issues of lack of access, self-exclusion and social stigma.

## 7 Discussion

### 7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the contributions of this study to knowledge in three key areas in relation to the research questions and objectives outlined in chapter 1. This is done by drawing together results presented in the previous three chapters and situating them within the wider existing literature. The chapter is divided in three sections, corresponding to the three contributions mentioned above.

Section 7.2 discusses the diverging results obtained in the two case studies in terms of the general valuation of culture and leisure and of specific types of cultural resources. These contradictory outcomes can be interpreted as stemming from two different notions of what constitutes “culture” being operationalised in Dundee and Edinburgh, and point to the necessity of a deeper understanding of the context in which a research is set in order to obtain meaningful insight. This section therefore argues that the instrumentally driven, super-imposed definition of culture at the base of most studies in the field represents a barrier to any attempt to understand the value attributed to cultural resources.

In section 7.3, the dominance of positive facets of cultural value implicitly accepted in the field is cast into doubt, and evidence derived from the focus groups and interviews conducted as part of this research is presented to suggest the inclusion of negative aspects in future categorisations of cultural value. The potential for such negative facets to emerge at the urban level is seen to be closely linked to the adoption of one-size-fits-all cultural policies, and the necessity for a careful connection between espoused strategies and individual urban contexts is reinforced.

Section 7.4 collects insights from both the qualitative and quantitative components of this research and highlights the potential importance of non-use elements of value in the cultural sector, in contrast with the marginal level of attention reserved to them in the wider literature. A possible integrated typology of cultural value is then graphically presented, allowing for the inclusion of negative elements and for the exemplification of the potential relevance of less manifest and non-use related aspects of the importance of cultural resources.

Finally, section 7.6 considers how appropriate contingent valuation techniques are in the investigation of cultural value. Drawing on the experience gathered in this research and the

review of other studies using similar methods in this field, this section suggests that contingent valuation and choice experiments offer the potential to shed light on non-market demand for cultural resources. However, the need for a more varied methodological approach in order to provide a fuller account is highlighted. In particular, given the complex and multi-faceted nature of cultural value, the use of mixed-methods of analysis is suggested as an effective and meaningful approach.

## 7.2 Differences in the Conceptualisation and Valuation of Culture

The main aim of this research was to understand the importance attributed to cultural resources by residents of the two cities of Edinburgh and Dundee. Given the differences in size, demographic composition and socio-economic make-up of the two case studies, the findings of both the qualitative and quantitative components of the study were compared in order to highlight possible divergences. As expected, the preference patterns that emerged from the questionnaires were significantly different in the two cities, both in terms of the general importance attributed to Culture & Leisure compared to other location characteristics, and of the relative value assigned to the various types of cultural resources.

While in Edinburgh cultural resources emerged as the second most valued attribute in the general residential choice exercise of the questionnaire, participants in Dundee allocated the least value attached to the various types of cultural activities and facilities. However, the differences between the insights surfacing in the two cities resulted to run deeper than it initially appeared. Rather than simply diverging on the relative importance placed on cultural resources, the two case studies were revealed to differ in the very notion of “culture” prevalently held by their residents. This insight counters the approach predominantly adopted in the cultural valuation literature and in cultural policy as a whole, whereby the demarcation of what is to be included in the idea of “culture” is normally determined a-priori, with little or no consideration for the idiosyncratic way in which such notion is conceptualised by each community and, indeed, each individual. Examples of such attitude can be seen in the academic work of authors such as Matarasso (1987), Myerscough (1988), Newman and McLean (1998) and Hannigan (2003). In the cultural policy arena, attempts to capture the importance of cultural resources, such as the DCMS’ 2013 report on a “holistic approach to valuing culture”, the Warwick Commission report (2015) or the Scottish Government’s 2013 report on the links between participation in culture and sports and improvements in well-being, all suffer from the same type of short-coming. All these studies set a predetermined definition of culture - in the DCMS and Scottish case as

libraries, built heritage, museums and performing arts, while the later research includes the so-called creative industries as well – before proceeding to evaluate the impacts and advantages of the chosen resources. In fairness, the inclusion of sporting activities in the Scottish report does show a step towards a more inclusive attitude, and the extremely wide geographical scope of all these pieces of research would have made the development of a definition sensitive to local attitudes impossible. However, the complete absence in the methodological sections of the reports of any consultation with the public about what is intended by culture and what should be included in its description points to another case in which this process has been guided either by convenience or by the implicit conviction that the notion of what is “culture” held and operationalised in Glasgow is identical to that of London, Edinburgh or rural Inverness Shire.

The following two sections will discuss the considerable differences emerged from the analysis of the data from the two case studies of this research, focussing firstly on the diverging patterns of valuation and then on how these can be partly explained with the questionnaire being “read” differently in the two cities, due to the dissimilar ideas on culture and its roles predominantly held by their residents. These results are in sharp contrast not only with the studies mentioned above. These are but examples of a tendency and an overall approach that characterises most of the literature on cultural valuation.

### **7.2.1 Dissimilar preference patterns**

The detailed analysis of the data on the valuation of “culture & leisure” and of its various components is presented in Chapters 4 and 5 of this thesis. In both cases, significant differences are observed in the results from the two cities chosen as case studies. The most immediately striking dissimilarity is that while in Edinburgh cultural resources emerged as the second most valued attribute in the general residential choice exercise of the questionnaire, participants in Dundee allocated the least amount of tokens to this characteristic. However, it is important to note that the high importance assigned to the Culture & Leisure bundle in Edinburgh confirmed the insight gathered during the focus groups and interviews, whereas in Dundee the results of the qualitative and quantitative stages of research were strongly dissonant.

Interviewees in the Scottish capital consistently described the vibrant and diverse cultural life of their city as one of the things they valued most about it. Several participants reported how they had moved to the city from elsewhere, and cited local cultural resources, together with job

opportunities, as the main factors in motivating the move. The choice of particular areas and neighbourhoods of the city was also reported to be highly influenced by the presence of – or ease of access to – cultural facilities, food and drink establishments and independent shops. However, when describing the factors influencing their choice of neighbourhood, participants tended to group various types of resources together. For example, rather than referring to the above mentioned facilities specifically, they tended to mention the “feel” of the area, and only pointed to specific resources when prompted. In this process, cultural resources were often grouped together with the aesthetic quality of the area.

Interviewees explained how this “feel of the area” bundle was often used as a proxy to form an idea of the levels of safety or social issues in a given location. Numerous estate agents, interviewed in the early stages of the research, reported how the presence of a particular type of shop or restaurants and cafes was often described by potential movers as giving the area a “cultured atmosphere”, and this was subsequently translated into an idea of relative affluence and safety. Conversely, the absence of shops, cafes and restaurants gave the neighbourhood a “deserted feel”, and this was often interpreted as a less positive sign. This pattern was confirmed by several focus group participants, some of them describing how they drove around the city before deciding where to move, and using the process described above to shortlist the potentially interesting locations. These reports, together with the high valuation registered in the questionnaire exercise in Edinburgh, are consistent with numerous studies investigating the importance of cultural resources in shaping residential preferences. For example, Lazrak (2014) found that properties in a Dutch urban neighbourhood were paid up to 26% more if they were in a conservation area or close to heritage buildings and cultural facilities. Poor and Smith (2004) found similar results in their research in Maryland, USA.

However, all these investigations focussed on cultural resources in terms of heritage buildings, the aesthetic quality of the area, its architectural characteristics and the presence of monuments and museums. Such narrow focus limits the extent to which statements of importance can be extended to cultural resources as a whole. Kryvobokov (2007) and Kauko (2010) utilised a wider definition of culture, including attributes comparable to what is described above as the “cultured atmosphere” of a neighbourhood, in two studies aimed at assessing the importance of various location characteristics in determining desirability. Both reported how “cultural” factors were ranked at the top by participants, together with the aesthetic appearance and safety of the area. Both studies are specifically set in post-communist cities in Eastern Europe,

namely Donesk and Budapest, but their findings confirm what observed in this research in the Edinburgh sample.

Another important facet of the results presented in chapter 4 was that the propensity to value culture more highly in Edinburgh resulted to be statistically linked to participants' socio-economic background. In particular, higher income and higher qualifications were consistently and significantly associated with a higher valuation for cultural resources. This statistical relationship confirmed what observed during the qualitative stages of the research: in the focus groups held in Muirhouse, an area with a high index of multiple deprivation, the importance of cultural resources did not emerge as spontaneously or as strongly, and other factors, such as proximity to family or transport links, were highlighted as key characteristics in the desirability of a neighbourhood. This insight supports what reported by Van Duijn and Rouwendal in their 2013 paper on residential location choice of Dutch households. These authors also found a higher valuation of proximity to cultural resources to be linked to higher levels of income and educational qualifications.

The results presented above appear to describe a scenario in which affluent, highly educated individuals consider cultural resources to be a key element in determining the desirability of a residential area. As such, they are attracted to a city, like Edinburgh, with a lively and stimulating cultural life, and specifically to those areas within the city that display the more vibrant cultural environment. Such process, reminiscent of what Richard Florida theorised in his "rise of the creative class", would then result in economic development and further employment opportunities, attracting more talented citizens and investment, in a self-perpetuating cycle. This close relationship between Edinburgh's distinctive and vibrant cultural life and the higher averages of income and education registered here compared to the rest of Scotland (SNS, 2014), could in turn explain the high importance attached to cultural resources in the questionnaire exercise, as the overall sample would include a strong component of people who live in the city *because of its cultural offer*.

It is important to note that, as pointed out repeatedly in this thesis, the generalisation of these results and the depiction of either of the two cities hosting the study as a homogeneous entity would be misleading. The views, notions and attitudes towards culture described here as "dominant" in Edinburgh are not to be seen as typifying the approach of all its residents. Likewise, the mention of levels of affluence or educational attainment "above the national average" does not stand to deny that the city includes areas of high socio-economic deprivation.

What is presented here and throughout this study are the observed dominant views, those that emerged more frequently and strongly during the interviews and focus groups or showed the most significant and robust statistical links in the quantitative analysis.

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, the results obtained in Edinburgh were significantly different from the ones from Dundee, where cultural resources were assigned the lowest score out of the five location attributes. In light of what described above, this divergence could be explained in a relatively straight-forward way with the different socio-economic and demographic background of the two cities: as the population in Dundee is characterised by significantly lower levels of both income and educational qualifications (SNS, 2014), and these variables appear to be directly linked to a higher valuation of cultural resources, it would make sense to expect these lower scores.

Insight gathered during the focus groups in this city, however, casts this simplistic explanation into doubt. Although the functions attributed to cultural resources and the motivations reported for their high importance were vastly different in the two cities, participants in Dundee repeatedly and spontaneously mentioned cultural activities and “local culture” amongst the main factors shaping their city and neighbourhoods and making them desirable places to live in.

In particular, the city of Dundee as a whole was often described as having its own distinctive culture, and this was often cited as a reason for individual and collective identity and pride. Interviewees in this city appeared to be very aware of the strategic importance attributed to the cultural sector in the local regeneration strategy, and readily associated this to the city’s reputation for excellence in numerous fields, such as medical research, software design and higher education.

One of the main themes emerging from the interviews was the detected significant improvements that the city had undergone in the last two decades. The local cultural scene was often presented as the single most important factor responsible for this, and facilities such as the Dundee Repertory Theatre (REP) and the centre for contemporary arts (DCA) were mentioned as examples of what made young, talented people more likely to want to stay in Dundee or to move in from elsewhere.

One important element that local cultural resources were often associated with was the perceived competition with other Scottish cities. Interestingly, while Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen were normally seen as impossible to compete with in terms of attracting talent and

capital, participants felt that nevertheless Dundee had nothing to envy when it came to quality of life, in particular the local cultural scene.

Another difference between the two case studies was that, in Dundee, the focus group organised with participants from areas of high multiple deprivation (Kirkton, Fintry, Ardlar), saw a confirmation of the pivotal role reserved to cultural resources in shaping local identity and community life. In more than one occasion, participants in these areas explained how, being offered the chance, they would not want to move to neighbourhoods that are normally considered more desirable, or even safer. They justified this with the fact that they felt part of the local community, that they shared a common “culture” with the other residents, while they would feel out of place and isolated somewhere else. When questioned about it, participants detailed how the local pubs or the activities organised at the local community centre functioned as a catalyst, bringing people together from various families and across different age groups, helping to create the feeling of local identity mentioned above.

In one occasion, this function was even offered as a counter-balance to the perceived lack of safety in these areas:

*Excerpt 7.1:*

“If you’re from here, if you belong here, you’re more than safe. People know you from the pub, or because your sons play football together. So people look out for each other, and you’ve nothing to fear.”

Alex, 35-44, FG-DUN 5

This supports results from numerous studies linking participation in local cultural activities to the formation of a collective identity and feelings of belonging and community cohesion (Matarasso, 1997; Lowe, 2000).

From what described above, it appears clear that the core of the difference between the results from the two case studies does not lay so much in how important culture is seen to be, rather in what it is considered to be for, what it contributes to the life of the city and its individuals.

The different quantitative valuation of the various components of the wider “culture & leisure” label presented in chapter 5 can help to clarify this issue. Out of the five components of local cultural resources included in the questionnaire, three were ranked similarly by respondents across both cities. Specifically, food and drink facilities were scored the highest amount of

tokens and ranked first with a margin of over 5% over the second in both cases. This high valuation could be in part due to the frequency and widespread use of these facilities, which would make their usefulness more immediately obvious and lead respondents to instinctively “spend” a high amount of tokens on them.

Conversely, public libraries obtained the lowest valuation across both samples. However, these public facilities were amongst the first to be mentioned in relation to culture during the focus groups. This fact suggests a ready recognition of public libraries as integral part of cultural provision, but a tendency to discount their importance in favour of other resources. Once again, the importance attributed to libraries appears to be strictly linked to the frequency of their use, with participants over the age of 65 more likely to utilise and value them. This marginally higher valuation was linked, during the focus groups, to the groups and activities taking place there – providing a partial overlap with the “community activities” label, and as a resource for their grandchildren.

Independent, non-High-Street shops were relatively highly and similarly valued, being ranked third in both case studies. The data relative to the correlation between frequency of use and higher valuation of these facilities presented some inconsistencies, with the tests of statistical correlation highlighting a relationship that had not been picked up by the binomial regression model. This link was partly explained with the possibility that the presence in the wider model of other, possibly correlated variables could have confused the results. However, the numerous reports collected during the one-to-one interviews and the focus groups, associating the presence of independent retail facilities to a more positive and inviting neighbourhood atmosphere suggest that residents may be in many cases valuing their presence regardless of whether they use them or not.

Nevertheless, the high importance registered in both cities for food and drink and retail facilities, together with their prompt inclusion under the “cultural resources” umbrella by participants to the focus groups, points to the need to reconsider their exclusion from the definition of culture adopted by most studies and policy documents in the field.

The most striking feature of the results from this section of the data, however, was the radically different valuations received across the two samples by museums, galleries & performing arts on the one hand and community-based activities on the other. In Edinburgh, museums, galleries and performing arts venues received the second highest score, reflecting the abundance and variety of this type of facilities in the city which, as mentioned above, is also part of what attracts

residents in the first place. Participants to the focus groups also highlighted the importance of these resources, and often identified those with culture as a whole, seeing little else as part of the local cultural sector. Conversely, community based cultural activities obtained the second lowest score, again mirroring the limited relevance that they appeared to be attributed during the interviews.

Also in keeping with what reported above regarding the results of the focus groups, in Dundee the order was reversed, with community activities - such as the various courses or youth sports clubs organised in the local community centres, local arts and craft projects and even the bingo - being considered the second most important cultural resource. In a reversed order from what observed in Edinburgh, museums and performing art venues were ranked as penultimate. Crucially, the tendency to immediately identify culture mainly with museums, galleries and performing arts did not emerge as strongly during the group interviews in Dundee.

One obvious factor that needs to be considered in attempting to explain these fundamental differences between the two case studies is the range of cultural resources actually available in the two cities. The fact that respondents Edinburgh have access to a wide variety of cultural facilities – although, as seen in Chapter 6, access itself should not be assumed on a simply geographical basis – could itself be seen as determine, at least partly, their stronger propensity to value them highly.

Overall, the diverging results on the valuation of “culture & leisure” as a whole and of its components points at a different interpretation of what culture ultimately is and what it adds to the lives of individuals and communities.

### **7.2.2 Notions of culture in Edinburgh and Dundee**

As explained in chapter 2, the wealth of studies attempting to capture the impacts and importance of culture and the cultural sector are largely characterised by a pre-established definition of culture, which in most cases is derived by an instrumental view of cultural resources (examples in Mason, 2002; Pinnock, 2009; Donovan, 2013 and the Warwick Commission Report, 2015). This is particularly the case when research is either directly commissioned or otherwise driven by urban policy or other governmental bodies (Barber, 2007, Selwood, 2002). This research attempts to highlight the importance of working from a definition of culture that is meaningful and shared by the community in the studied location.

By submitting the same questionnaire to samples in two different cities, and analysing the data with the aid of deeper, qualitative insight gathered during the focus groups, this study shows how the same questions and lists of attributes can produce deeply diverging results according to the meanings attached to them by respondents. The definition of culture underpinning the questionnaire was derived by including as many types of facilities and resources as had emerged during the interviews and focus groups in both cities, with the aim of observing which resources would be valued across both case studies, and which were strongly dependent on the idea of culture prevalent in each city.

As explained in the previous section, while libraries, food and drink facilities and independent shops received similar valuations, the importance attached to museums, galleries, performing arts venues and community-based cultural activities varied significantly across the two samples. These types of resources were the ones that appeared to be seen as most representative of cultural resources in the two cities, but they also exemplify two radically different ways of interpreting culture, its meanings and functions. The strong significance ascribed to museums, galleries and performing arts venues in Edinburgh, for example, reflects a dominant view of culture based on recreation and individual enrichment. Cultural resources contribute to personal and collective development if directly enjoyed, and their availability is key to a fulfilling urban environment for individuals and communities. The presence of a diverse and stimulating selection of food, drink and retail facilities, also very highly valued, creates a lively and distinctive atmosphere and offers the possibility for communication and social interaction. This mix of resources is described as an integral part of what makes Edinburgh an appealing place to live and work in, and contributes to attract the mix of talent and creativity that feeds its thriving cultural and creative sector.

By contrast, in Dundee the predominant notion of what constitutes culture and what its function is in society is less linked to active participation and more centred around shaping social relations and local identity. Participants to the focus groups in Dundee also described how taking part in activities such as local sports, dance or foreign language classes, or even Bingo was an invaluable part of urban life. The presence of pubs, cafes and restaurants, in which to gather and socialise, discussing life and topical issues, was described as the “soul” of a neighbourhood similarly to what reported in Edinburgh. However, the stress here was less on the recreational aspect or the attractiveness of a location and more on the opportunity for individuals to come together and create bonds and relationships ultimately contributing to the formation of a community.

Furthermore, In Dundee the role of cultural resources appeared to go beyond facilitating the formation of a local identity. “Culture” was repeatedly and specifically identified as the pivotal factor responsible for shaping society in its very nature. Participants in Dundee tended to see their city’s “culture” as fundamentally different from that of Edinburgh and, even more strongly, Aberdeen. While these cities were regarded and openly accepted as economically successful, interviewees in Dundee recurrently reported the perception of social life there being in some way “colder” and relationships being more regulated by rational self-interest. By contrast, Dundee was seen as a more open and friendly city, informal ties of friendship and neighbourhood characterising social relationship within the community. In sociological terms, Edinburgh and Aberdeen were identified by participants in Dundee with Tönnies’ (1887) model of *gesellshaft*, places in which social ties and relationships between people are impersonal and indirect, being rationally constructed in the interest of efficiency or other economic and political considerations. Thus, the two more modern, cosmopolitan and economically successful Scottish cities were seen to have lost something of the more spontaneous and genuine social structure still present in Dundee. Glasgow was often treated and described as an exception, still sharing many characteristics with Dundee despite its size and economic environment. During the interviews, the descriptions and characterisations of Dundee given by its own residents were more often reminiscing of Tönnies’ *gemeinschaft*, with stronger and more locally rooted community ties and simple, direct face-to-face societal relations. Crucially, the main factor associated with this perceived difference in social dynamics was the “local culture”, at the municipal level and even more within single neighbourhoods. In this view, comments such as the one exemplified in Excerpt 7.1 suggest a “mapping” of the city and the wider context in a series of “us and them” divisions. Specific areas within the city appear to be seen as individual communities, in turn grouped together with other areas sharing similar characteristics, and the identity of the city itself is informed predominantly by its being different from other cities. The role of local culture, in this view, seems to be in shaping these individualities at various levels, in the making of the “Dundonian” or of the Ardler resident.

This different function attributed to cultural resources could be seen to partly explain the discrepancy around which types of resources are more readily identified with culture. In a city, like Dundee, in which the dominant role assigned to culture is to bring people together and to shape and inform societal ties and interactions, facilities and activities centred at the neighbourhood scale can be expected to be of paramount importance. This is the level at which personal interactions take place, creating a sense of community and shared identity. By contrast,

larger scale facilities such as museums can be seen to be more important at the individual level, providing opportunities for personal enjoyment and enrichment, but not necessarily contributing to the creation of a shared sense of community and belonging. Such types of cultural resources can more easily be expected to represent the focus of a city like Edinburgh, characterised by high levels of incoming residents attracted by what the city has to offer in this sector. This is not to suggest that the local cultural scene does not contribute to the image and identity of Edinburgh and its residents, on the contrary. However, the insights emerged during the course of this study suggest that, in the case of the Scottish capital, this process has more to do with the inward and outward projection of the image of a successful, attractive and cosmopolitan city with plenty to offer to its citizens in terms of recreation and intellectual development.

It therefore appears clear that the functions and importance attributed to culture in both cities, despite with the pivotal differences delineated in this section and in chapter 5, are equally pivotal to the lives and well-being of their residents. However, while providing a meaningful explanation for the discrepancies observed in the valuation of different types of cultural resources, the fact that the two case studies present their own unique dominant view of culture does not account for the remarkably lower score assigned to the “culture & leisure” label in the Dundee sample during the quantitative phase of the study. On the contrary, the fact that respondents in this city described cultural resources and facilities as having a key role in informing and shaping their societal dynamics and making their city a unique and desirable place to live appears in open contradiction with the fact that they ranked Culture & Leisure as the least important attribute in the residential choice questionnaire. One possible explanation would see the low ranking obtained by cultural resources in Dundee could as at least partly determined by a questionnaire design issue: when asked to rank and score the various attributes, respondents had to perform a cognitively demanding task. Indeed, chapter 3 described how the list of attributes in both scoring exercises had to be reduced to 5, in order to simplify the mathematic calculations necessary to allocate the 100 tokens. In having to consider complex trade-offs between several attributes and the calculations required, respondents could have looked through the questionnaire in order to clarify the meaning of some unclear labels. In the case of “culture & leisure”, the question immediately following offered a list of the components included under the label, with Museums, galleries and performing arts venues listed as first. It is therefore possible that respondents immediately identified the “culture & leisure” label with museums and performing arts. In Dundee, this would have resulted in cultural resources as a

whole being ranked and scored similarly to museums and performing arts in the following exercise. This potential design issue would explain the strong discrepancy between the low valuation emerging from the questionnaire and the accounts of the central role of culture in social dynamics transpiring in the focus groups.

The possibility that the low valuation in the Dundee sample was the result of asking the wrong questions - or of asking them in the wrong way - resonates with the subjective perception of cultural value discussed by numerous authors in the field of cultural value (McCarthy *et al*, 2004; Throsby, 2005; Brown, 2006; Holden, 2010) and too often forgotten when dealing with cultural *valuation*. For example, in a study looking at how different stakeholders perceive and interact with heritage sites, Gibson and Pendlebury (2009) showed how the reception of a site like Stonehenge has 'a long history of being interpreted in multiple and conflicting ways' that 'fit within a wider ideological and political discourse' (2009, p.4). So, while to some the monument was a national treasure and evoked feelings of pride and belonging, others disregarded it as unimportant and not relevant to modern "culture". This is not to say that culture in itself is without value, but rather that its value is always value *for* an individual or a group, rather than timeless and objective value valid regardless of context (ACE 2009:11, Pinnock 2006, Rumbold 2010).

This is why detailed consideration of definitional issues and contextual grounding are of paramount importance to any investigation of cultural value. Reliance on a pre-determined notion of culture, or failing to consider the social and spatial characteristics hosting the study could easily result in asking meaningless questions or miss-interpreting the answers. Indeed, the contraposition portrayed above between the notions and valuations of culture in the two case studies represents a simplified description of the research findings. While a clear distinction was observed between the ways cultural resources were *predominantly* interpreted, lived and valued in Edinburgh and Dundee, the two cities did by no means yield homogeneous, mono-dimensional reports and insights. As is to be expected in the study of large and diverse urban environments, a number of discording viewpoints emerged during the focus groups, and different preference patterns were observed within each city's sample during the analysis of the quantitative data. Largely, these differences were observed to be grouped along the lines of the participants' background variables.

### 7.2.3 Socio-economic and demographic background

One of the themes that emerged from the data presented in chapters 4, 5 and 6 was the importance of demographic and socio-economic variables in respondents' attitudes towards cultural resources. The tendency to place high importance on the Culture & Leisure bundle as a whole and the likelihood to favour certain types of cultural activities over others were observed to be significantly linked to the participants' background. For example, the sample in Edinburgh showed a clear split along the lines of income and education levels, with more affluent and educated participants more likely to assign high scores to culture and leisure, particularly to museums, galleries and performing arts venues. These findings resonate with the ample body of work linking an individual's educational attainment, social class, and household income to the likelihood he or she will visit museums, art galleries, and historical sites more frequently (Schuster 1991, Hooper-Greenhill 1994; Davies 2005). According to Frey and Meier (2006), well-educated individuals have the necessary skills and motivation to fully enjoy and benefit from museums, art galleries, and historical and archaeological sites, and Katz-Gerro (2002) points out how most upper-class occupations actually come with expectations of a certain cultural lifestyle, and how the availability of more disposable income enables more cultural consumption (2011). The authors mentioned above conducted extensive work in the United States and across several Western countries. In a recently published paper, Falk and Katz-Gerro (2015) also tested these relationships in a cross-country study of 24 European countries, largely confirming them and showing how the theory of cultural stratification along socio-economic class lines is applicable on an international scale within the Western context.

The results described above as emerging from this research align with this body of work, and corroborate the complex association between social class and cultural consumption first argued by Bourdieu (1984, 1987). The French sociologist theorised how different social classes use their choice of cultural tastes and practices to distinguish themselves from each other, recognize peers, and reproduce their cultural, economic, and political privileges. In the case of Edinburgh, the higher averages of income and educational qualifications compared to Dundee and to the rest of Scotland contribute to determine a particular view of what culture is and what its role is in society. In turn, this has in time fostered the development of a local cultural scene that is particularly rich in those types of resources more often appreciated by the higher socio-economic classes. In a self-perpetuating cycle, the plentiful availability of what Katz-Gerro defines as "highbrow" cultural resources attracts an ever increasingly educated and affluent

population. In this sense, the fact that the dominant notion of culture in Edinburgh aligns with what can be expected to be the idea held by the higher classes can be seen as a confirmation of the process described by Bourdieu, by which cultural practices contribute to the reinforcement of the social and economic class system.

On the opposite side of this process, many participants to this study reported views and expressed valuations that contradicted the “dominant” ones. Largely, in the case of the focus groups, these respondents lived in areas with high indexes of multiple deprivation, such as Muirhouse. In the quantitative component of the study, the dominant role assigned to museums, galleries and performing art venues in the local cultural scene became significantly reduced in the opinions of less affluent and less educated respondents. Indeed, the views and attitudes of many participants from Edinburgh mirrored the notions and preference patterns observed to be dominant in Dundee. However, the demographic and socio-economic composition of the city’s population and the unequal ability of different classes to shape and influence the direction taken by urban policy and development, result in these alternative viewpoints being drowned as expressions of a minority, while the dominant discourse remains firmly set upon a “creative city”, Florida-like scenario (Zukin, 2005).

Conversely, attitudes and opinions in Dundee emerges as more homogeneous and less sensitive to the participants’ background. Community-based activities, for example, were highly valued across the demographic and socio-economic spectrum, and the differences in the opinions expressed during the interviews and focus groups were less stark than those observed in Edinburgh. Partly, this could be explained with the less marked inequalities that characterise the city in comparison with the Scottish Capital. Whilst income deprivation and social issues are present in at least equal measure to what found in Edinburgh the gap in affluence and prosperity between different areas of the city and between the lowest and highest income percentiles is significantly lesser. It follows that, if socio-economic variables influence attitudes towards culture – as shown in the course of this thesis - a relatively more uniform urban make-up would result in more homogeneous cultural preferences amongst residents.

#### 7.2.4 Importance of context in studies of cultural value

The results presented above align to generate one of the main themes of this research: the pivotal importance of a thorough consideration and understanding of the context in which a

valuation project is undertaken. This was revealed to be particularly relevant in the case of studies of cultural value. As the previous sections have shown, different socio-economic and demographic make-ups, historical backgrounds, images, reputations and levels of cultural provision and availability determined radically dissimilar conceptualisation of culture in Dundee and Edinburgh. This, in turn, was reflected in the divergent patterns of valuation of culture as whole and of the individual types of cultural resources included in the study. This represented a clear example of how the same questionnaire and the same methodological approach could yield diametrically different insights depending on the context in which it is employed. For this reason, this research aligns itself with the work of scholars such as Holden (2006), Barber (2007), Belfiore (2009) and Selwood (2010) in advocating a more nuanced and tailored approach to the valuation of cultural resources, and in pointing out the detrimental and unhelpful nature of the attempt to develop a standardised approach applicable to all contexts.

Indeed, the potential consequences of policy and funding decisions developed on the premise of information derived from such typology of studies point towards another main theme emerged from the findings of this thesis, which is the subject of the next section.

### 7.3 Negative value

Chapter 6, section 3 presented a number of individual and societal issues having the potential to be linked to negative facets of cultural value. This possibility has so far been overlooked in the literature in this field, and this is likely due to two fundamental reasons. The first and perhaps more simple is of a semantic nature, with the instinctive linguistic association between the words “value” and “culture”, and positive connotations. In the case of the first, as described in chapter 2, this is partly the result of the modern interchangeable use of “value” and “price” or “worth”. In this sense, investigations aiming at analysing the value of cultural resources have focussed on the benefits or the utility that derive from them. Similarly, the very Latin root of the word culture is based around the idea of growth and self-cultivation, developed in the German idea of *Bildung*. Consistently, at the base of the notion of culture was the principle of improvement, be it of the self or of society as a whole. This perception was not unchallenged, with a rich philosophical tradition traceable through over two millennia and pointing to the potential pernicious results of “cultural engagement”. These ideas can be followed back to Plato and his *Republica* (Burnyeat, 1997; Due', 2003), and characterised much of medieval and, indeed, modern Cristian philosophy (Barish, 1981). However, the potential pitfalls associated with culture and cultural participation cease to be considered after the Second World War (Bianchini,

1993). There are, of course, important exceptions. In Sociology and Psychology, a considerable body of work has been produced over the past thirty years to investigate the so-called “copycat behaviour”, or the replication of violence witnesses in films and the popular media (Bokey and Walter, 2002). Yet, the focus of the attention has gradually moved towards the more romantic notions of culture, typical of the ideas of *Bildung* and of the French Enlightenment (Belfiore, 2007). Crucially, this vision of the role of culture in individual and social advancement is also particularly significant in the theoretical elaboration of the main rationales for state involvement in the arts and contemporary cultural policy.

Thus, the first, perhaps more unintended semantic misconception has been compounded by a more deliberate choice to focus on positive connotations of value in order to advance specific interests. The vast majority of studies in the field of cultural valuation stemmed either from the attempt on the part of policy-makers to obtain a clearer and more applicable valuation of the cultural sector for funding purposes, or as a result of the resistance to this effort. On the one hand, policy-oriented studies ventured in search of as many observable and measurable benefits stemming from cultural activities in order to justify investment, while other research aimed at demonstrating how the value of culture goes above and beyond its measurable impacts. In both cases, the positive connotation of value in relation to cultural resources was assumed and accepted *a priori*.

Conversely, an investigation on the value of culture, interpreted as its *importance*, should be open to consider potential negative facets as well as positive ones. This thesis presented a few instances emerged during the focus groups in both cities in which specific cultural resources or the perceived lack of access to them were seen to have a negative impact on individuals and communities.

Examples of this were given in chapter 6, and included issues of accessibility through excessive cost and distance or through lack of information, problems of self-exclusion and social stigma. One interviewee explained how, despite wanting to bring his children to the newly opened swimming pool, he could not afford to do so. He also mentioned that, even with lower ticket prices, he still could not have afforded the cost of transport for himself and his children. Significantly, this participant reported how, given this situation, the continuous health campaigns promoting exercise and fitness, especially for children, made him feel excluded and angry, as they reinforced how certain resources were placed out with his grasp. Although these

obstacles were directly reported during the focus groups in both cities, the potential exists for numerous other forms of negative value in relation to cultural resources.

Crucially, negative facets of value are not simply a marginal and negligible appendage. The more frequent emergence of these accounts in the focus groups organised in areas characterised by high indexes of multiple deprivation shows how negative value has the potential to counteract the benefits associated with cultural activity. The issues described above could indeed be considered as the main factors determining the relatively lower engagement with culture in deprived communities.

These findings resonate with a growing body of work investigating links between inequality and culture, whether in terms of access and consumption (Chan and Goldthorpe 2007, Bennett et al 2009, Miles and Sullivan 2012, Friedman 2012), in terms of status and the reinforcement of class positions (Essex and Chalkey, 2003, p.12, Savage et al 2005; Goldthorpe 2007; Bennett et al 2009), or in issues of control and indirect influence (DuGay *et al*, 1996). Other contributions to the growing body of knowledge on the possible negative connotations of cultural value include the work of Zukin (2005) and Selwood (2002) and Belfiore (2007) on the gradual substitution of the “genuine”, “real” culture in municipal localities with a globalised and “synthetic” version.

As such, the inclusion of negative forms of worth in a widely accepted typology of cultural value appears of crucial importance for further progress in the field. As mentioned previously in this chapter and earlier still in chapter 2, the graphic representation of the different types of value presented in figure 2.1 is by no means universally accepted in the cultural valuation literature. However, its graphic simplicity and the fact that, having been developed in relation to green space, it includes a wide array of less tangible and non-use related facets of value, suggested its adoption and adaptation to the cultural sector. Following the insight presented in chapter 6 and in this section, a further adaptation of the typology to include negative aspects would make it an even better tool to conceptualise and operationalise cultural value.

**Table 7.1: The forms of value identified by Choumert and Salanie’, adapted to the cultural sector and including potential negative aspects.**

<b>Value</b>	<b>Use Values</b>	<b>Direct Use Values</b> – observable direct impacts of a resource	<b>Positive:</b> benefits on cultural investment <b>Negative:</b> forgone benefits of other investments
		<b>Indirect Use Values</b> – impacts derived from the functions of a resource, but removed in terms of time or space	<b>Positive:</b> urban regeneration <b>Negative:</b> gentrification, displacement
		<b>Option Value</b> – value derived from the potential for future use	<b>Positive:</b> potential for future enjoyment <b>Negative:</b> feelings of lack of access
	<b>Non- Use Values</b>	<b>Bequest Value</b> – preservation of a resource for future generations	<b>Positive:</b> culture as a vehicle for transmitting morals and values <b>Negative:</b> globalisation and disappearance of local culture
		<b>Existence Value</b> –the value of simply know a resource exists, irrespective of potential use	<b>Positive:</b> awareness diversity and of the multi-cultural nature of modern society <b>Negative:</b> resentment for the perceived gradual loss of the original native heritage
		<b>Nostalgic Value</b> – value derived from past use and indirect association with the past	<b>Positive:</b> nostalgia and positive associations <b>Negative:</b> negative associations with feelings of exclusion and lack of access in the past
		<b>Philanthropy</b> – the importance of a resource being there for others and/or wider society	<b>Positive:</b> awareness of the important role that local cultural activities play in deprived communities <b>Negative:</b> feelings of injustice and resentment stemming from other’s access to resources that are precluded to us
	<b>Intrinsic value</b>	---	<b>Positive:</b> culture underpins the very existence of human civilisation <b>Negative:</b> “cultures” are responsible for injustice, or even atrocities

As graphically evidenced in table 7.1, there is theoretical scope for the association of negative aspects to all elements of cultural value. This does not mean that culture should be seen as a force for evil, or as a dangerous resource. What this thesis advocates is a more balanced and open approach to the valuation of cultural resources. In such approach, the potential pernicious impacts of a given cultural investment or programme should be taken into consideration as much as the now ubiquitous “multipliers”, used to inflate the positive economic spill overs of large infrastructural projects like the Bilbao Guggenheim (Barber, 2008).

#### 7.4 Non-Use Value

As highlighted in chapter 2, most of the existing studies on the importance of cultural resources either ignore or marginalise the role of non-use elements of value. Examples of this can be seen in Myerscough (1988), but also in the recently released Warwick Commission Report (2015). Figure 2.1 presented a visual framing of different types of value which, despite being originally developed around the importance of green space, was considered to fit with the valuation of cultural resources. This graphic conceptualisation included both use and non-use typologies of value, reflecting a distinction discussed and largely accepted in the wider cultural valuation literature. In particular, Ridge *et al* (2007:21) considers non-use value to be an important feature in the cultural sector, as it includes some of the unique benefits generated by culture.

Both Throsby (2006) and Klamer (2002, 2004) describe how intrinsic forms of worth are particularly relevant to culture, with the latter suggesting that any attempt to capture the importance of cultural resources that does not engage with them would not be complete or indeed meaningful.

However, despite these recognitions and the lively debate that preceded and followed them, most existing work in this field focuses almost exclusively on the utility or benefits that individuals or wider society derive from cultural resources. Thus, although studies attempting to capture the economic and social benefits of investments in culture have proliferated, they ultimately failed to capture factors such as the pride people feel towards a local cultural organisation or the importance people attach to the existence of heritage buildings.

Ultimately, this lack of attention derives from the complex, often intangible nature of non-use values. As mentioned in chapter 2, section 1, the main driver of existing attempts to capture the importance of cultural resources has been the need of policy makers in local and national governments to make informed funding decisions. This adds a further level of complication, as the complexity in capturing and measuring these types of value is exacerbated by the difficulty in reporting them in a language that can be utilised in policy-making (O'Brien, 2010).

The results presented in chapter 6 of this thesis showed how the use and non-use elements of value embraced different aspects of the importance attributed to cultural resources in the two case studies. Statistical analyses presented in Table 6.1 showed that frequency of use was directly linked to how every type of cultural resource was valued in both cities, with the only exception of local shops. This consistent link, together with the statistical significance and strength of the observed relationship, could be seen to show that use-related value represents the main component of the total valuation, thus endorsing the economic-driven approach of Myerscough (1988), Plaza (2006) or Noonan (2002).

However, a significant difference also emerged both in the levels of use of all types of resources and in the strength of the relationship between frequency of use and valuation across the two case studies. Specifically, all resources were more frequently used in Edinburgh, with the exception of community activities, and the coefficients linking use to value were also consistently and significantly higher in the capital. This points to a lesser incidence of use-related values in the total valuation of cultural resources in Dundee, which in turn suggests that the less tangible, non-use values play a larger role in this city.

This lesser incidence of frequency of use on the overall valuation of cultural resources in Dundee resonates with what argued in section 7.2.1: as the dominant notion of what constitutes culture and what its role is in society appears to be less linked to personal enjoyment and more related to the shaping of community identity and social relations, it makes sense that cultural resources were valued regardless of their use. Conversely, the more central role attributed in Edinburgh to museums and performing arts in defining local culture entails a higher importance of use-related value, as personal participation and enjoyment is seen as the dominant facet of cultural value.

Therefore, although investigations (such as those mentioned in Chapter 2 by Myerscough 1988; Matarasso, 1996a; or the Warwick Report, 2015) have managed to produce valuable insights on the immediate tangible benefits linked to cultural resources, they cannot be considered to have

produced a complete or satisfactory account of the importance of such resources. Furthermore, this research has shown how an investigation limited to direct and indirect use value, which could be suited to a context similar to one case study, namely Edinburgh, would yield insufficient and potentially misleading insights in the other.

In actual fact, such partial investigation in Dundee would have reported a lower valuation of cultural resources and lower frequency of use of all but one type of facilities. This could have led to the simplistic conclusion that cultural resources were held to a limited importance, while a deeper and more contextualised analysis have shown how this is not necessarily the case. The low value assigned to the “culture & leisure” label is potentially the result of a specific issue in the design of the questionnaire interacting with the particular notion of culture held in this city, while the lower attendance of cultural facilities is not a reliable index of the importance assigned to them, as non-use facets of value hold more importance here than in other contexts.

## 7.5 Contingent Valuation

Despite being hotly contested, contingent valuation techniques in the have seen a steady increase in the number of their applications in the cultural sector (Diamond and Hausman, 1994). Examples of studies attempting to use such methodologies to capture the value of cultural goods and resources were presented in section 2.5.1. The focus of this section will be to evaluate how these techniques performed in this study and, critically, whether their integration with qualitative methods of investigation has been beneficial.

Key to the understanding of these issues is the framing of the limitations that contingent valuation studies normally have. Firstly, stated preference techniques are predicated on a model of a society comprised of individual decision makers who behave rationally, striving to maximise their own utility in the face of known constraints (Throsby, 2003). This first constraint hides a deeper basic assumption underpinning most CV studies: that the study of value consists of the study of economic choices, transactions and behaviours. As such, studies applying contingent valuation to the cultural sector normally attempt to capture a final, single monetary valuation

of the studied resource. This tendency was openly refuted at the start of this thesis, and identified as itself one of the main barriers to a more productive discussion of cultural value. Consequently, this study attempted to use contingent valuation to highlight patterns of preference and relative value, deliberately avoiding the monetisation of results. In this respect, the use of these techniques proved extremely fruitful, allowing the study of several components of the same family of resources, and the investigation of which were more or less important to the residents of the two cities.

Furthermore, the patterns of relative valuation derived from the application of CV were instrumental in the examination of the way that culture is conceptualised in the two case studies. Being able to observe and analyse the way in which respondents trade off one attribute for the others revealed important information on which elements of culture are considered pivotal, and which are less important. In this sense, the lack of a final, monetary value was of no detriment to the explanatory power of the chosen methodology. Indeed, it responded both to the general concerns relative to the appropriateness of attempting such single-value characterisations (Holden, 2006, Throsby, 2003) and to the more specific points raised by Diamond and Housman (2004) in connection with the methodological fine-tuning and reliability of the technique.

In connection with this, another way in which the selected techniques revealed fruitful was in the possibility to test their reliability against each other. Using two different techniques, namely paired comparison and scoring by token allocation, to encourage the same sample of participants to value the same choice set, this study was able to triangulate the results and test their validity.

However, the two principal characteristics that rendered this research unique in comparison with the other attempts to apply CV in the cultural sector were its adoption of a mixed methodological approach and the fact that, rather than attempting the investigation of a single museum or heritage site, it focused on culture as a whole and the way it is understood and valued.

In terms of the integration of qualitative and quantitative methods of analysis, this research has shown how, despite the implicit problematic ontological and epistemological negotiations, this approach opened numerous investigatory alleys and allowed for far deeper insights to be generated than would have been possible with the sole adoption of contingent valuation. By deliberately halting the quantitative side of data analysis before it reached the monetary stage, the analytical space was created for the interpretation of the observed preference patterns

through the deeper and richer qualitative insight. The result has been the production of a more meaningful and contextualised piece of research than would have been the case with the adoption of the sole quantitative analysis, providing a “sum greater than the two parts” indicated by Greene as the aim of a “more significant research challenge” (2008, p. 14).

## 8 Conclusions

### 8.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the key findings of this research, assessing the extent to which the thesis' aim and related research questions were met and the contributions made to the wider body of knowledge on cultural valuation. The chapter is divided into three sections: the first reiterates the aim and research questions addressed in this thesis, the second presents the key insights of the study and the third considers the implications for academic knowledge and policy-making, including possible avenues for future research.

### 8.2 Research aims and questions

The focus of this thesis was to explore the value attributed to cultural resources in different geographical contexts. Specifically, the overall aim of this research was to investigate how different notions and definitions of what constitutes “culture” could be held and operationalised in different communities and what influence this could in turn have on the value attached to cultural resources. The need for such exploration stemmed from the increasing pressure on local and national governments on the one hand, and on organisation in the cultural sector on the other, to find new and meaningful ways to capture and express cultural value in a manner that could be included in the policy-making process (Throsby, 2003).

While numerous studies have emerged attempting to quantify the economic impacts of cultural resources or to describe the positive social outcomes associated with cultural activities, the need remains for the development of a more comprehensive approach, able to go beyond observable, measurable impacts and to analyse *value* in its broader sense, as the importance attached to a resource. As such, this thesis has made frequent use of the term “valuation”, intended as the attempt to capture and understand value, rather than the narrower - although more prevalent in the literature – meaning of “estimating economic worth”.

However, the intention of this research was not to provide a comprehensive and final valuation of the contributions that cultural resources make to the economic and social life of the two cities. Nor was a single, monetary valuation ever the objective of the study. Rather, this thesis attempted an assessment of how different geographical contexts and consequent diverging notions and interpretations of “culture” are intimately linked to its valuation by local residents,

and explored the use of contingent valuation techniques within a mixed-methods approach as a more grounded and meaningful tool for this type of study.

Accordingly, four research questions were identified and presented in chapter 1:

- How important are cultural resources to the residents of Edinburgh and Dundee?
- What is the relative importance attributed in the two cities to the different types of cultural resources?
- How must existing typologies be reformulated to better represent the value of cultural resources at the urban level?
- Are contingent valuation and choice experiments useful methods to investigate the importance of cultural resources?

In order to address these questions, a questionnaire was designed and distributed to 1500 respondents in two case study cities. As described in more detail in chapter 3, the survey contained questions relative to the respondents' socio-economic and demographic background, several choice exercises aimed at assessing cultural preference through a series of trade-offs nested in hypothetical residential choices, and a section on frequency of use of cultural resources.

In addition, ten focus groups were organised with members of the general public in both cities, in order to aid the design of the questionnaire and to provide more in depth, grounded insight in the patterns eventually highlighted through the analysis of the quantitative data. The discussion in the focus groups focussed on the definition and components of culture and leisure, the role that cultural resources have in society in general and in the two cities in particular, views of local identity and the importance of cultural resources in shaping feelings of community and belonging.

As chapter 3 outlines, the cities of Edinburgh and Dundee were chosen as case studies. This choice reflected in part the funding arrangements of this research, with the two local authorities participating as co-sponsors. However, both cities presented individual traits and contexts that made them particularly interesting for this study. Firstly, the diverging socio-economic and demographic backgrounds of the two cities presented the opportunity for the investigation of the influence of geographic variables on cultural preferences. Secondly, the two local authorities have different approaches to cultural policy, and their cultural strategies have developed in fundamentally dissimilar ways over past three decades. Dundee City Council has placed cultural resources at the centre of the city's regeneration strategy since the 1980's and has a strong view

of community-based, grass-root cultural activities as a means of strengthening social cohesion and local identity (Dundee City Council, 2014). On the other hand, the rich cultural scene of Edinburgh is seen by the Local Authority as a well-established asset, capable of generating considerable economic benefits and to improve the quality of life of its residents, attracting people and contributing to the city's cosmopolitan and vibrant image. As a result, the local cultural strategy places more emphasis on performing arts, museums and galleries and the creative industries (Edinburgh City Council, 1999).

The following section presents the key findings of this research, and assess how they contributed to the research aim and questions listed above.

### 8.3 Key findings

The findings emerging from this research can be broadly divided into three main strands:

- Insights relative to cultural valuation in the two cities, differences and similarities, and diverging notions of "culture", contributing to RQs 1 and 2;
- Emergence of different types of value: use, non-use and negative; addressing RQ 3
- Contributions and limitations of contingent valuation to the investigation of the value of cultural resources, answering RQ4.

Correspondingly, the following three sections address each thread, briefly summarising the research results and their contribution to the wider literature.

#### 8.3.1 Valuation of cultural resources

As outlined in chapters 4 and 5, considerable differences were found in the patterns of valuation of cultural resources in the two cities. To begin with, the relative importance attached to Culture & Leisure in relation to other location attributes, such as transport links or green space, was found to vary greatly between the two case studies. Contributing to answering RQ1, the findings from the first section of the survey questionnaire showed that cultural resources were more highly valued in Edinburgh, where they were ranked second amongst the attributes that made a hypothetical residential area more desirable. This confirmed the insights emerged from the focus groups organised in this city, in which the local cultural scene was often described as one,

if not the main factor attracting residents to the Scottish capital and the principal element that made the city a special place to live in. Such prevalent role of the cultural sector in determining the success and distinctive character of the city appears in line with the function it is seen to have in the Local Authority's cultural strategy and echoes the pivotal role of cultural resources in inter-city competition and the attraction of talent and investment described by Landry (1995) and Florida (2004).

The fit between the general valuation exercise and the qualitative data emerging from the focus groups, however, appeared considerably more problematic in Dundee. Here, Culture & Leisure was ranked last out of the five location attributes, in sharp contrast with the highly important role this type of resources were described to have during the group interviews. The local cultural scene emerged as one of the main features determining the city's perceived progress on the road to development and regeneration in the past two decades. Local cultural facilities and community-based cultural projects were also described as a crucial factor in shaping feelings of local identity and of belonging to certain specific areas and communities within the city. This emerged as a particularly recurrent theme during the interviews organised in the more deprived areas of the city.

A deeper and more detailed analysis of what types of cultural resources were valued more highly in each city helped to clarify this apparent contradiction between the qualitative and quantitative elements of the study in the Dundee sample. The findings from the second part of the choice questionnaire, paired with the insights derived from the group interviews, addressed RQ2, and revealed some fundamental differences in the patterns of relative valuation of the various components of Culture & Leisure.

As mentioned above, the relatively low valuation of Culture & Leisure registered in the first choice exercise in Dundee was not corroborated by similar evidence in the focus groups. What did emerge from the interviews was not so much a lower importance being attributed to cultural resources compared to the Edinburgh sample, rather a different idea of what constitutes "culture" in the first place, and what role it has in the two cities' social and economic lives.

The results of the ranking and scoring exercises revealed food and drink facilities and community-based activities as the most valued cultural resources in Dundee. Museums, galleries and performing arts venues were considered significantly less important, being ranked second from last. This echoed what emerged during the focus groups, with the majority of participants immediately identifying museums, theatres and galleries as integral parts of the overall cultural

scene, but downplaying their importance and significance in comparison with more locally based and grass-root activities.

Dance classes organised in community centres, children's sports clubs, even the local Bingo hall were often described as having a central role in "keeping the community together", offering opportunities for social interaction and the formation of a common identity.

These findings suggest a predominant notion of the definition and function of cultural resources in line with what described by Matarasso (1987) and numerous other authors associating the participation in local cultural activities to positive social outcomes and wider urban regeneration (see also Galloway, 1995; Williams, 1997 and Lowie, 2000). Crucially, this interpretation also appears closely linked to that operationalised within the local cultural strategy, which confirms the aptness of Dundee Council's approach over the past decades.

In Edinburgh, the predominant definition of culture transpiring from the focus groups saw performing arts - the Edinburgh Festivals in particular – museums and galleries as the primary components. These types of resources were seen as being the key factors in determining the image and identity of the city, in improving the quality of life of its residents and attracting new people from all over the world. Food and drinks facilities were also mentioned as very important by the majority of participants in this city, as adding to the "cultured character" of an area and representing places where people can come together and share thoughts and experiences. Local shops were seen to have a similar function and to also be relatively important in determining the "feel" of an area and offering a possible connection with both local crafts and diverse cultures.

This view was confirmed in the findings from the questionnaire. Similarly to what observed in Dundee, food and drinks facilities were ranked first. However, the relative valuation of "museums, galleries and performing art venues" and of "community-based activities" was reversed, with the latter type of resources being seen as far less important than the former.

The discrepancies between findings in the two case studies presented above highlight the key weight of the spatial dimension in the cultural valuation process. RQ3 interrogates precisely the extent to which geographical variables are seen to be associated with different attitudes towards the conceptualisation and valuation of cultural resources. However, any meaningful contribution towards an answer to this question has to go beyond the merely physical element of spatiality. Since the 1970s, a cardinal argument within the social sciences has proposed a

more composite and complex nature of space (Lefebvre, 1974; Massey, 1992), as intimately and intricately interwoven with temporal and social dynamics. Instead of a static and sterile plan “hosting” events and interactions, space is increasingly seen as being socially constructed. For example, the idea of a “global South” represents a socially constructed notion entwined with and developed within the spatial dimension. As such, the different findings presented above are physically situated within the two case studies, but the factors that make the two cities different spaces are to be sought within their social and demographic characteristics as much as in their geographical location.

Chapters 4 and 5 present a detailed analysis of the findings relative to the influence of socio-economic and demographic variables on the valuation of culture and leisure as a whole and of the various types of cultural resources. Some of the relationships found to be statistically significant were of a practical character, such as the comparatively higher valuation of local schools being associated with respondents having children or belonging to a younger age bracket (in turn linked to having children or planning to have them).

However, other less specific and more overarching preference patterns suggest a clear picture of how different socio-economic backgrounds affect cultural preferences. Kats-Gerro (2002) found that social class – seen as occupational status, education qualifications and income level – affects cultural preferences in different ways in different countries. For example, the dividing line for engagement in “highbrow culture” is located at the top of the class structure in the US, Sweden and Israel, while it is at the bottom of the class structure in Italy and Germany, suggesting a more widely distributed engagement. In line with these findings, this research showed that socio-economic variables affected the valuation of cultural resources differently in the two case studies.

In terms of the valuation of Culture & Leisure as a whole, while in Edinburgh higher income and education levels were found to be associated with a higher importance attached to this bundle, in Dundee there was no significant relationship. In Edinburgh, levels of income and education were also found to have a strong influence on the valuation of individual cultural resources, with more affluent and highly educated respondents valuing museums, galleries and performing art venues more highly and attaching less importance to community-based activities. Conversely, Dundee presented more homogeneous patterns of cultural preferences. Here, although higher income and education were found to be statistically linked to a higher valuation of museums and galleries, the strength of the relationship was significantly lesser than in Edinburgh.

Community-based activities, on the other hand, were valued highly by most participants across the socio-economic board.

These findings present a clear picture of the importance of the spatial context in studies of cultural valuation. Yet, they also suggest that the scale of such contextualisation could be set at the intra-urban level as well as between cities. As explained above, the preferences expressed by respondents in Edinburgh emerged as being significantly linked to their socio-economic background. Although the predominant definitions and functions attributed to cultural resources in this city appeared to be aligned with those expressed by the more affluent and highly educated respondents, certain geographical areas or communities within the city were seen to hold significantly different views. This is also the case in Dundee, despite the more homogeneous findings in this research and the relatively less diverse population structure (Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics).

### **8.3.2 Different Types of Value**

Research question 4 related to the multi-faceted and complex nature of cultural value, and whether the predominant approach in the cultural valuation literature, focussing on the use-related and positive elements of value, is justified. As explained in more detail in chapter 2, the fact that the large majority of studies in this field have been and are the result of policy-driven needs and expectations has determined an over-simplified interpretation of “value” as either “impact” or “instrumental benefits”. Such approach has been openly criticised by numerous authors, such as Holden (2004) and Throsby (2005), advocating greater recognition for less tangible and intrinsic elements within framings of cultural value. This thesis made use of the framing of value developed by Choumert and Salanié for the importance of public spaces in order to highlight the possible manifestations of non-use and intrinsic value in relation to cultural resources.

The findings of this research show that, although use-related aspects of value emerge as the most significant component in accounting for the importance attributed to cultural resources, they by no means represent the full picture. The qualitative insights transpiring from the focus groups in both cities suggest that participants considered cultural resources important for reasons beyond their direct use of the positive outcomes they were seen to have. These included the desire of preserving cultural heritage in order to transmit it to future generations, the fact

that culture was seen to be underpinning and shaping society as a whole and keeping communities together, and that some participants saw their very ethics and thoughts being moulded around their cultural environment. Referring back to the Choumert and Salanié typology of value presented in Table 2.1, these findings can be seen as demonstrating the importance of bequest, philanthropic and existence values in relation to cultural resources.

The quantitative findings of the analysis of the incidence of frequency of use on cultural preferences presented in chapter 6 confirmed the relevance of non-use types of value. With the exception of local, independent shops, the valuation of all types of cultural resources emerged as significantly linked to the frequency of their use. However, frequency of use explained only part of the total variation in the importance attributed to resources.

Moreover, there was once again a clear differentiation between the two case studies, with the relationship between frequency of use and valuation being significantly less strong in Dundee. In reiterating the importance of the spatial dimension for the understanding of cultural value, these findings show how, depending on the context and the type of cultural resource that is being studied, the intangible elements of worth, categorised by both Holden and Throsby as “intrinsic”, can become indispensable to the full understanding of cultural value.

Another important facet that is all too often ignored in studies of cultural value is the possibility for it to assume negative connotations. In her 2006 paper “the unacknowledged legacy”, Belfiore stresses how the assumption that cultural value is by its very nature positive is a relatively recent one. Starting with Plato’s Republic, Belfiore shows how the possible negative influences of cultural activities on society and individuals has been at the centre of the debate on cultural value for over two thousand years, and only for the past six decades they have been selectively ignored in the literature. This study found evidence that the same cultural facilities that are appreciated and linked to positive outcomes in some contexts, can elsewhere be associated to issues of self-exclusion, lack of access and social stigma. In this respect, the most obvious example that emerged during the focus groups was the soon to-be-completed V&A museum in Dundee, hailed as a symbol of urban regeneration and bearer of economic development by some, and seen with resentment as yet another example of inconsequential and frivolous expenditure by participants in the more deprived areas of the city.

From this point of view, the very idea of a “cultural offer”, of cultural resources being provided by government at different scales with the intention of fostering positive social outcomes, can be seen as fraught with potential negative consequences. In light of this argument, the warnings

of Barber (2006) about the possible negative effects of culture-led regeneration in terms of gentrification and potential displacement seem both valid and topical.

Pushing the point even further, some of the views that emerged during the focus groups in both cities echo the outlook presented by Merli (2002) of the possibility for the very same positive outcomes sought by policy makers to actually have negative facets. One example of this could be the often referred-to enhancements in social cohesion and community integration associated with the provision of cultural facilities (DCMS, 2010, Williams, 1997). Merli presents a view of these seemingly desirable outcomes as an attempt to use cultural resources to stifle social activism and “nudge” individuals and communities towards blind consensus.

### **8.3.3 Contingent Valuation**

Research question 4 examined whether contingent valuation techniques represent a viable methodology for the investigation of the value of cultural resources. The use of this type of techniques in the cultural sector has been the subject of extensive debate over the past three decades. Some authors have criticised the unreliability of single monetary values resulting from these types of studies and the incompatibility between the necessity to design clear and meaningful choice sets and the subjective and intangible nature of cultural resources (Diamond and Houseman, 1994). Others, like Lindeborg and Lindkvist (2013) have defended the use of these techniques and shown how results can be reliable across a variety of studies and locations. A third outlook presented contingent valuation as a possibly problematic fit for the cultural sector but one that offered the potential for a new and fruitful approach to the problem. Both Throsby (2003) and Noonan (2003) caution against the numerous possible pitfalls of a careless application of contingent valuation techniques and show how a carefully contextualised approach is necessary in order to obtain meaningful results. Throsby also shows wariness towards seeking a single monetary valuation in relation to cultural resources. In line with this third approach, this thesis has shown that, on balance, contingent valuation techniques proved successful in identifying patterns of cultural preferences and revealing important information on which types of resources are seen to be more important different contexts.

The results of the two choice exercises on the general valuation of culture were found to be extremely similar, despite using two different techniques: the rankings of the five location attributes were obtained first through a paired comparison exercise, and then through a token

allocation task. The choice attributes were the same, and both sections of the questionnaire were submitted to the same sample of respondents. The fact that the rankings derived from both techniques resulted almost identical was further compounded by the fact that the quantitative and qualitative findings were also largely aligned.

However, the potential unreliability of these techniques was highlighted in the extreme sensitivity to definitional issues and in the difficulty to construct choice bundles that would be meaningful and easily understood by most participants. As such, Throsby's warning that a single monetary value obtained through these techniques would be highly inaccurate and undependable is confirmed by this research, and the use of contingent valuation techniques is suggested only as part of a broader and diverse methodological approach.

#### 8.4 Research implications and future directions

The insights discussed above present clear contributions to knowledge in the field of cultural valuation. This section will focus on the broader academic and policy-related implications deriving from these contributions. As outlined in the discussion in chapter 7, this research has identified three key challenges to the existing literature in the field.

- Firstly, the lack of attention to definitional issues in most studies in the field, and the importance that socio-economic and demographic variables have in influencing both the notion of cultural resources and, in turn, their valuation by a given community.
- Secondly, the inadequate nature of current value framings in the cultural sector was also brought to light, in relation to the under-representation of non-use elements of value and to the lack of recognition of the possibility for negative facets of cultural value to emerge.
- Thirdly, the potential for contingent valuation techniques to make a meaningful contribution in the cultural valuation field was presented as conditional on their combination with more in-depth, qualitative insight within a mixed-methods approach.

All these points have implications in both the academic and policy arena which are discussed in detail below.

#### 8.4.1 Academic implications and future avenues of enquiry

The crucial significance of contextual variables highlighted by the findings presented above suggests the need for a more grounded and tailored approach to cultural valuation. In contrast with the prevalent tendency in the field to employ a pre-determined definition of “culture” and pursue its valuation within a given community (Walesh 2001; Goss, 2000), this thesis has shown how any definitional issues need to be addressed at the design stage. For example, the wording and graphic design of this study’s questionnaire, together with the order of the choice exercises, could have given participants the impression that what was being valued in the residential choice questions was a narrow notion of culture, intended as predominantly museums performing arts and galleries. Although the wide and comprehensive definition of culture adopted in the survey was specified at the start, some respondents could have overlooked it and responded by stating their valuation of the narrower notion of culture, similar to what emerged as predominant in Edinburgh. The result was a tendency to under-value Culture & Leisure. On the contrary, being able to develop and explain the full meaning they attached to cultural resources, participants to the focus groups gave a clear picture of how important such resources were to them. Thus, a research approach relying on a pre-imposed definition of culture has the potential for a significant misinterpretation of its results.

Moreover, the deep differences in the way cultural resources were defined, understood and, ultimately, valued by participants in various areas and from different contexts within the same city points to the importance of scale as an essential dimension for future research. While this study investigated the variation of valuation patterns between two cities in Scotland, there is scope for a different type of comparison, in which cultural preferences are assessed across various neighbourhoods within the same urban area, rather than across two cities. While data relative to participants’ postcode of residence was initially collected through the questionnaire, it resulted to be fragmentary and incomplete in a large number of cases. As such, a meaningful spatial analysis of the differences within each city was not possible as part of this study. As the choice of the two case studies was already implicit in the research’s funding arrangements, setting the comparison between the two cities appeared as the most natural and convenient choice. However, a more localised study, focussing on different communities within the same urban space, could better isolate the role of socio-economic variables in shaping cultural preferences and the profound relationship between spatial context and diverging notions of culture and its role in society.

Another important dimension that could not be included in this research was time. Views and attitudes towards cultural resources and their role in place making were registered and analysed at one particular moment in time. However, the constant, sometimes dramatic changes in the social and demographic make-up of modern cities could represent an extremely fruitful backdrop in which to conduct a longitudinal study.

Processes of urban regeneration and economic development have been observed to be in some cases followed by issues of gentrification and displacement (Porter and Shaw, 2013; Barber and Hall, 2008). Improvements in the attractiveness of the area cause property prices to gradually rise, attracting more affluent residents and, more or less deliberately, driving previous inhabitants out, effectively. In time, this process results in a drastic modification of the socio-economic and demographic profile of the area.

One possible interesting avenue of research would be to assess whether such transformation of the area's context corresponds to a change in the local patterns of cultural preferences. The evidence presented in this thesis of a differentiation in the importance attributed to different types of cultural resources being deeply related to the socio-economic background of a community would suggest that this would be the case. With the progressive increase in level of income and educational qualification of residents, the prevailing notion of what constitutes "culture", its functions and meanings would move towards views similar to those observed as prevalent in Edinburgh.

Such time-sensitive research structure would also be suitable for shedding more light on the negative facets of cultural value highlighted as an important and too often neglected element of the importance of cultural resources. As explained in chapter 6 and summarised above, this study found evidence of issues such as resentment, self-exclusion, community isolation and stigma potentially resulting from the mismatch between the cultural preferences and conceptions held by a community and the provision of certain cultural resources. A longitudinal approach could study the effects of gentrification and the accompanying progressive change in the local cultural scene on the original residents still present in the area. The coming V&A museum in Dundee could represent an interesting case study for such investigation, as this research has shown how, despite representing a possible resource for fostering local development and attracting visitors, such large-scale infrastructural investment is deeply divorced from the prevailing ideas and priorities held by the city's population in terms of cultural

resources. Some participants to the focus groups went as far as suggesting that the efforts of the local council to pursue such project can be read as an ill-disguised attempt to make the city more similar to Edinburgh. In this respect, a longitudinal investigation of the patterns of cultural preference could be used to feed-back to policy makers in terms of the attitudes and response to investments in the cultural sector.

In terms of the methodological implications of this research, the successful employment of contingent valuation in the cultural sector offers a productive future avenue of enquiry. The questionnaire proved to be an effective means to gather data relative to cultural preferences alongside crucial background information, despite the difficulties in gathering a sample of appropriate size. With more time and means, a wider section of the population could be included in the study, improving the analytical scope of the research and its potential for generalisation of the findings.

The choice experiments could also potentially be refined, with other choice sets, perhaps better suited to cultural resources than residential preferences, framing the exercise. Furthermore, alternative and further sensory stimulation could be incorporated in the questionnaire. For example, the inclusion of photographs in interviews has been seen to elicit different kind of information than the sole use of words (Harper, 2002). As photographs evoke memories and feelings that verbal stimuli alone cannot prompt, their employment would be particularly suited to the study of a highly intangible and emotively charged subject such as culture.

However, despite the successful application of contingent valuation to the cultural sector, the most important implications for future research stem from the recognition of its limitations. Despite the proliferation of studies applying contingent valuation techniques to the cultural sector (Noonan, 2003), the principal critique presented to them remains the same. Namely, that placing a single, all-encompassing monetary value onto a complex and largely intangible resource such as culture is a meaningless exercise (Tusa, 2011) and that such valuation would be unreliable at best (Diamond and Hausman, 1994; Throsby, 2003). In recognition of these observations, this research limited its scope to attaining a relative valuation for cultural resources, and used such information as a springboard for further analysis rather than as the final aim of the study.

Secondly, the use of contingent valuation techniques presupposes a super-imposed definition of the objects studied to be included in the questionnaire. While careful survey planning can

limit the incidence of misunderstandings and design-induced biases, the potential for unacceptable margins of error and inconsistencies would still make the use of these techniques unsuited to the cultural sector.

However, this research has shown how the combination and integration of contingent valuation techniques with a strong component of qualitative enquiry has the potential to overcome such limitations.

#### **8.4.2 Insights for policy**

As highlighted in chapters 1 and 2, the current policy context is characterised by a progressive reduction in the amount of funding available, resulting in austerity policies and cuts to public spending at various scales of government (BBC, 2015; Fiscal Affairs Scotland, 2014). This, in turn, has resulted in increasing attention being paid to more meaningful and comprehensive ways to understand the value of resources, in order to better adjust and motivate funding streams (O'Brien, 2010; Smith, 2010).

The cultural sector has not been immune to this process (The Guardian, 2015). Indeed, the reliance of many organisations in the field on public financial backing and the difficulty in immediately quantifying their profitability in monetary terms have made questions of cultural valuation even more pressing. In actual fact, this need for better conceptual and methodological tools to understand the importance of cultural resources lay at the bottom of the decision taken by Edinburgh and Dundee city councils to co-sponsor this research. The insights gleaned in preceding chapters offer important lessons for this endeavour, stressing the important role of the local socio-economic and demographic context in evaluation methodologies, and the necessity to expand the commonly adopted framing of cultural value.

The significance of local context and background in the evaluation process is highlighted by the marked differences between the two case studies identified in chapters 4 and 5. In particular, clear contrasts appeared not only in terms of how important cultural resources were deemed to be, but also regarding the very meaning of the word "culture", what it included and its function within society. These differences were found to be statistically linked to the dissimilar socio-economic and demographic backgrounds in the two cities. Consequently, this study advocates that a full and careful consideration of a community's characteristics and of the dominant notions of what constitutes culture and what it is for has to lie at the base of any cultural policy initiative, and any cultural strategy before that.

This elucidation is not, in itself, new, and the cultural strategy documents of both cities appear to match the dominant definitions of culture as emerged from this study. Participants in Dundee were seen to have a view of local culture as being at the heart of the city's identity and regeneration, shaping local life and facilitating social interaction. Correspondingly, the city's strategy document focuses on these roles and on resources such as community-based activities and on smaller scale projects. However, the ongoing development of the new Victoria and Albert museum of design appears to be in sharp contrast with this approach. While such large-scale and capital-intensive landmark projects have, as explained in chapter 2, been linked to economic development and urban regeneration, it nevertheless appears as a problematic fit within the local cultural strategy, almost "imported" from a different context, and more suited to an environment similar to that of Edinburgh. The potential result of such incongruity could be that, while the new museum could prove a popular attraction for tourists and visitors, it could remain largely ignored by the local population, or only result of any interest for a brief period of initial curiosity. A more negative and pessimistic outlook could envisage the emergence of the negative facets of value described in chapter 6, with issues of self-exclusion, lack of access and even open resentment. Even where the adoption of these conflicting strategies was successful in sparking economic development and attracting new investment and talent to the city, issues of gentrification and consequent potential displacement could arise (Barber, 2008).

Another implication arising from this study relates to the framing of value commonly adopted in policy settings and the importance attributed to less immediately observable facets of worth. In this respect, the review of the relevant literature presented in chapter 2 showed how the success of cultural facilities and resources, such as museums, public libraries or performing arts venues is generally explored in functional terms, with users' numbers or financial revenue being used as indicators of attainment.

However, the findings presented in this research recommend a broader conceptualisation of cultural value. While use-related aspects of worth were found to be a crucial component of the overall importance attached to cultural resources in the two case studies, non-use elements such as bequest or existence value have been shown to also play an important role. Limiting any investigation to the observable impacts and benefits deriving from cultural resources would yield a gravely incomplete picture. The importance that a resident might place on the local library because he used to go there with his grandparents would be lost; the value of transmitting customs, knowledge and symbols to the next generation would not be captured;

the central role that the jute industry heritage has in shaping the Dundonian identity may be overlooked. It is therefore necessary for policy makers to adopt more comprehensive methods of valuation, capable of capturing the complex and multi-faceted nature of the cultural sector.

The approach adopted in this thesis could represent a starting point in the development of such new methodology. The adoption of contingent valuation techniques allows the inclusion of indirect and less tangible facets of cultural value in the policy discourse, while qualitative research methods offer deeper understanding of the processes and dynamics underpinning preferences. This thesis does not claim that such combination would capture the value of cultural resources in its entirety. Nevertheless, it would represent an improvement on the current impact-driven valuation process, and would possibly bridge the gap that currently divides policy-makers and professionals in the cultural sector, allowing a more productive dialogue to start and further improvements to be achieved.

# **Appendices**

## Appendix A: Ethics Approval Form



University of St Andrews

 University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee  
 School Of Geography And Geosciences

 2 August 2012  
 Lorenzo Pergola  
 Geography and Geosciences

<b>Ethics Reference No:</b> <i>Please quote this ref on all correspondence</i>	GG9039
<b>Project Title:</b>	Capturing the value of culture as revealed through residential preferences
<b>Researchers Name(s):</b>	Lorenzo Pergola
<b>Supervisor(s):</b>	Donald Houston / Kim McKee

Thank you for submitting your application which was considered by the Geography and Geosciences School Ethics Committee on the date specified below. The following documents were reviewed:

- |  |               |
|--|---------------|
| 1. Ethical Application Form                      | 1 August 2012 |
| 2. Participant Information Sheet- Anonymous Data | 1 August 2012 |
| 3. Participant Debriefing Form                   | 1 August 2012 |

The University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee (UTREC) approves this study from an ethical point of view. Please note that where approval is given by a School Ethics Committee that committee is part of UTREC and is delegated to act for UTREC.

Approval is given for three years. Projects, which have not commenced within two years of original approval, must be re-submitted to your School Ethics Committee.

You must inform your School Ethics Committee when the research has been completed. If you are unable to complete your research within the 3 three year validation period, you will be required to write to your School Ethics Committee and to UTREC (where approval was given by UTREC) to request an extension or you will need to re-apply.

Any serious adverse events or significant change which occurs in connection with this study and/or which may alter its ethical consideration, must be reported immediately to the School Ethics Committee, and an Ethical Amendment Form submitted where appropriate.

Approval is given on the understanding that the 'Guidelines for Ethical Research Practice' (<http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/media/UTRECguidelines%20Feb%2008.pdf>) are adhered to.

Yours sincerely,

Dr. Matt Southern  
 Convenor of the School Ethics Committee

---

UTREC School of Geography and Geosciences Convenor, Irvine Building, North Street, St Andrews, KY16 9AL  
 Email: [ggethics@st-andrews.ac.uk](mailto:ggethics@st-andrews.ac.uk) Tel: 01334 463897  
 The University of St Andrews is a charity registered in Scotland: No SC013532

## Appendix B: Data Collection Documents

This appendix provides all documents utilised in data collection. Figure AB.1 provides a sample of the flyers used to recruit participants to the online version of the survey questionnaire.

Figure AB.2 provides the pilot version of the paper-based survey questionnaire, while figures AB.3 and 4 show the final versions for each of the two case studies.

Finally, the Interview and Focus Group Schedules are provided.

**Figure AB.1: Flier for web-based participant recruitment**

The flyer is titled "WHY DO YOU LIVE WHERE YOU LIVE?" in a large, blue, serif font. Below the title, it says "Tell us now!" and "Complete our survey at: <http://tinyurl.com/q2pev8e>". In the top right corner, there is the University of St Andrews logo and a "600 YEARS" anniversary banner. The central image shows two identical three-story brick houses with white window frames and red doors. In the foreground, there is a black silhouette of a person with their hands on their hips, looking at the houses. At the bottom left, it says "Or, if you have a smartphone:" next to a QR code. At the bottom right, there are logos for "E·S·R·C ECONOMIC & SOCIAL RESEARCH COUNCIL", "Dundee 2019-2021 CHANGING FOR THE FUTURE", and "EDINBURGH THE CITY OF EDINBURGH COUNCIL".

Figure AB.2: Pilot Questionnaire:

Dear Participant,

Thank you for taking the time to complete this survey.

My name is Lorenzo Pergola, and this questionnaire is part of my PhD research at the University of St. Andrews. The aim of my research is to investigate what aspects of location people in Dundee value most when choosing where to live.

Completing this questionnaire should take very little of your time.

Participation to this study is voluntary, and you can leave unanswered any question that you would prefer not to answer.

The information you provide will be completely anonymous. It will be securely stored and will only be used for academic statistical research purposes.

And now, have fun!



University of  
St Andrews

600  
YEARS

## Choosing where to live

### 1. About yourself

**NOTE:** Please be assured that all information given in this section is anonymous and will be treated confidentially.

**1.1** Please indicate your gender

Female     Male

**1.2** Please indicate your age

18-24	25-34	35-44	45-64	65-74	75-84	85+

**1.3** What is your marital status? Please Tick the Appropriate box.

Single	
Married/Cohabiting	
Divorced/Separated	
Widowed	
Other (please specify)	

**1.4.i** In your household, are there any children under the age of 18?

Yes     No

**1.4.ii** If there are children in your household, what age are they?

0-5	6-12	13+

**1.5** What is your employment status?

<b>Employed full-time</b>	
<b>Employed part-time</b>	
<b>Self-employed</b>	
<b>Unemployed</b>	
<b>Retired</b>	
<b>Homemaker</b>	
<b>Long term Sick</b>	
<b>Student</b>	
<b>Other (please state):</b> _____	

**1.6** What is your job/occupation? (if applicable)

--

**1.7** What is your highest level of education qualification?

<b>O Grade, Standard Grade, Access 3 Cluster, Intermediate 1 or 2, GCSE, CSE, Senior Certificate or equivalent</b>	
<b>SCE Higher Grade, Higher, Advanced Higher, CSYS, A Level, AS Level, Advanced Senior Certificate or equivalent</b>	

College Qualifications, e.g. SVQ level 1 2 or 3, City and Guilds or equivalent, ONC, OND	
HNC, HND, SVQ level 4 or equivalent	
Bachelor's Degree, e.g. BA, BSc, BEng	
Postgraduate qualifications, Masters, PhD	
Professional qualifications (for example, teaching, nursing, accountancy)	
Other qualifications not already mentioned (including foreign qualifications)	

**1.8** What is your household income before tax?

Less than £20,000	
£20,000 – £40,000	
£40,000 - £60,000	
£60,000 - £80,000	
£80,000 - £100,000	
More than £100,000	

**2. Choosing a place to live**

**2.1** What is your current postcode?

--	--

**2.2** How long have you lived in your current home?

Less than 1 year	1-5 years	5-10 years	10 years +

**2.3** On a scale 1 to 5 where 5 is “not satisfied at all” and 1 is “extremely satisfied”, how satisfied are you with the neighbourhood you live in now?

1	2	3	4	5

**2.4** Imagine you are choosing an area to move to. Please select which characteristic would be more important to you out of each of the 10 pairs in the tables below. Please **circle** the appropriate response..

**NOTE:** for the purpose of this survey a wide, comprehensive definition of ‘Culture and Leisure’ has been adopted. This includes museums, galleries and performing art venues, local libraries, restaurants, pubs and cafes, community activities and local, ‘non High-Street’ shops.

**Example:**

<b>Appearance &amp; Green Space</b>	<b>Transport Links &amp; Commuting Time</b>	<i>or</i>	<b>Appearance &amp; Green Space</b>	<b>Transport Links &amp; Commuting Time</b>
-------------------------------------	---	-----------	-------------------------------------	---

Which one would **you** choose?

<b>Appearance &amp; Green Space</b>	<b>Culture &amp; Leisure</b>
-------------------------------------	------------------------------

<b>Culture &amp; Leisure</b>	<b>Transport Links &amp; Commuting Time</b>
------------------------------	---

<b>Proximity To Family</b>	<b>Transport Links &amp; Commuting Time</b>
----------------------------	---

<b>Appearance &amp; Green Space</b>	<b>Proximity To Family</b>
-------------------------------------	----------------------------

<b>Culture &amp; Leisure</b>	<b>Community Safety &amp; School Catchment</b>
------------------------------	--

<b>Appearance &amp; Green Space</b>	<b>Transport Links &amp; Commuting Time</b>
-------------------------------------	---

<b>Community Safety &amp; School Catchment</b>	<b>Proximity To Family</b>
--	----------------------------

<b>Culture &amp; Leisure</b>	<b>Proximity To Family</b>
------------------------------	----------------------------

<b>Appearance &amp; Green Space</b>	<b>Community Safety &amp; School Catchment</b>
-------------------------------------	--

<b>Community Safety &amp; School Catchment</b>	<b>Transport Links &amp; Commuting Time</b>
--	---

**2.5** Imagine you could create your ideal residential area to live in. You have 100 tokens to 'spend' across the characteristics in the table below. **How would you spend your tokens?**

Spending more on one characteristic will get you more of it. Please give the first answer that comes to your mind and don't worry about adding up the tokens exactly.

**Examples:**

<b>tokens?</b>		<b>Example A</b>		<b>Example B</b>	
Appearance & Green Space	0	Appearance & Green Space	20	Appearance & Green Space	20
Culture & Leisure	0	Culture & Leisure	20	Culture & Leisure	20
Community Safety & School Catchment	0	Community Safety & School Catchment	20	Community Safety & School Catchment	20
Transport Links & Commuting Time	0	Transport Links & Commuting Time	20	Transport Links & Commuting Time	20
Proximity to Family	100	Proximity to Family	20	Proximity to Family	20
	<b>Total 100</b>		<b>Total 100</b>		<b>Total 100</b>

How would **YOU** spend your

Appearance & Green Space	....
Culture & Leisure	....
Community Safety & School Catchment	....
Transport Links & Commuting Time	....
Proximity to Family	....
	<b>Total 100</b>

### 3 Leisure and Cultural Offer

**3.1** Now imagine distributing your 100 tokens across the cultural facilities in the table below. What would you want more of in your neighbourhood, and what is not so important?

<b>Proximity to Museums, Galleries &amp; Performing Arts Venues</b> (Music, Cinemas, Dance etc.)	.....
<b>Restaurants, Pubs &amp; Cafes</b>	.....
<b>Local Libraries</b>	.....
<b>Community Activities</b> (Dance, Arts & Crafts Classes, Children Classes, Bingo etc.)	.....
<b>Independent, “non-High Street” Shops</b>	.....
	<b>Total 100</b>

**3.2** Please indicate approximately how often you use/visit each of these facilities.  
Please tick the appropriate box.

Regularly 

Never

	At least once a Week	Once a Fortnight	Once a Month	Once every Six Months	Once a Year or Less	Never
<b>Community Activities</b>						
<b>Museums, Galleries &amp; Performing Arts Venues</b>						
<b>Local Libraries</b>						
<b>Restaurants, Pubs &amp; Cafes</b>						
<b>Independent, "non-High Street" Shops</b>						

## 4 Further Comments

If you have any additional comments, please leave them in the space below

---



---



---



---



---



---

Figure AB.3: Final paper-based questionnaire

Dear Participant,

Thank you for taking the time to complete this survey.

My name is Lorenzo Pergola, and this questionnaire is part of my PhD research at the University of St. Andrews. The aim of my research is to investigate what aspects of location people in Edinburgh value most when choosing where to live.

Completing this questionnaire should take no more than 10 minutes of your time.

Participation to this study is voluntary, and you can leave blank any question that you would prefer not to answer.

All the information you provide will be completely anonymous. It will be securely stored and will only be used for academic research purposes.

Finally, please note that throughout this questionnaire a wide, comprehensive definition of 'Culture and Leisure' has been adopted. This includes museums, galleries and performing art venues, local libraries, restaurants, pubs and cafes, community activities and local, 'non High-Street' shops.



University of  
St Andrews

600  
YEARS

And now, have fun!

## Choosing where to live

### 3. About yourself

**NOTE:** Please be assured that all information given in this section is anonymous and will be treated confidentially.

#### 1.1 Please indicate your gender

Female     Male

**1.2** Please indicate your age

18-24	25-34	35-44	45-64	65-74	75-84	85+

**1.3** What is your marital status? Please Tick the Appropriate box.

<b>Single</b>	
<b>Married/Cohabiting</b>	
<b>Divorced/Separated</b>	
<b>Other (please specify)</b>	

**1.4.i** In your household, are there any children under the age of 18?

Yes  No

**1.4.ii** If there are children in your household, what age are they? (Tick as many boxes as apply)

0-5	6-12	13+

**1.5** What is your employment status?

<b>Employed full-time</b>	
<b>Employed part-time</b>	
<b>Self-employed</b>	
<b>Unemployed</b>	
<b>Retired</b>	
<b>Homemaker</b>	

<b>Long term Sick</b>	
<b>Student</b>	
<b>Other (please state):</b> _____	

**1.6** What is your job/occupation? (if applicable)

--

**1.7** What is your highest level of education qualification?

<b>O Grade, Standard Grade, Access 3 Cluster, Intermediate 1 or 2, GCSE, CSE, Senior Certificate or equivalent</b>	
<b>SCE Higher Grade, Higher, Advanced Higher, CSYS, A Level, AS Level, Advanced Senior Certificate or equivalent</b>	
<b>College Qualifications, e.g. SVQ level 1 2 or 3, City and Guilds or equivalent, ONC, OND</b>	
<b>HNC, HND, SVQ level 4 or equivalent</b>	
<b>Bachelor's Degree, e.g. BA, BSc, BEng</b>	
<b>Postgraduate qualifications, Masters, PhD</b>	
<b>Professional qualifications (for example, teaching, nursing, accountancy)</b>	
<b>Other qualifications not already mentioned (including foreign qualifications)</b>	

**1.8** What is your household income before tax?

Less than £20,000	
£20,000 – £40,000	
£40,000 - £60,000	
£60,000 - £80,000	
£80,000 - £100,000	
More than £100,000	

**4. Choosing a place to live**

**2.1** What is your current postcode?

**NOTE:** This information will be used exclusively for the purposes of this research.

--	--

**2.2** How long have you lived in your current neighbourhood?

Less than 1 year	1-5 years	5-10 years	10 years +

**2.3** On a scale 1 to 5 where 1 is “not satisfied at all” and 5 is “extremely satisfied”, how satisfied are you with the neighbourhood you live in now? Please tick the appropriate box.

1	2	3	4	5

**2.4** Imagine you are choosing a neighbourhood to move to. Please select which characteristic would be more important to you out of each of the 10 pairs in the tables below. Please **circle** the appropriate response, as in the examples below.

**NOTE:** for the purpose of this survey a wide, comprehensive definition of ‘Culture and Leisure’ has been adopted. This includes museums, galleries and performing art venues, local libraries, restaurants, pubs and cafes, community activities and local, ‘non High-Street’ shops.

**Example:**

<b>Appearance &amp; Green Space</b>	<b>Transport Links &amp; Commuting Time</b>	<i>or</i>	<b>Appearance &amp; Green Space</b>	<b>Transport Links &amp; Commuting Time</b>
---	---	-----------	---	---

Which one would **you** choose within each pair?

<b>Appearance &amp; Green Space</b>	<b>Culture &amp; Leisure</b>
---	------------------------------

<b>Culture &amp; Leisure</b>	<b>Transport Links &amp; Commuting Time</b>
------------------------------	---

<b>Proximity To Family</b>	<b>Transport Links &amp; Commuting Time</b>
----------------------------	---

<b>Appearance &amp; Green Space</b>	<b>Proximity To Family</b>
---	----------------------------

<b>Culture &amp; Leisure</b>	<b>Community Safety &amp; School Catchment</b>
------------------------------	--

<b>Appearance &amp; Green Space</b>	<b>Transport Links &amp; Commuting Time</b>
---	---

<b>Community Safety &amp; School Catchment</b>	<b>Proximity To Family</b>
--	----------------------------

<b>Culture &amp; Leisure</b>	<b>Proximity To Family</b>
------------------------------	----------------------------

<b>Appearance &amp; Green Space</b>	<b>Community Safety &amp; School Catchment</b>
---	--

<b>Community Safety &amp; School Catchment</b>	<b>Transport Links &amp; Commuting Time</b>
--	---

**2.5** Imagine you could create your ideal neighbourhood to live in. You have 100 tokens to ‘spend’ across the characteristics in the table below. **How would you spend your tokens?** Spending more on one characteristic will get you more of it. For example, you could use a lot of tokens to live close to your family, as in *Example A*, and have less to spend on leisure or being close to work, if that is not so important to you. Please give the first answer that comes to your mind and don’t worry about adding up the tokens exactly.

**Examples:**

<i>Example A</i>		<i>Example B</i>	
Appearance & Green Space	0	Appearance & Green Space	20
Culture & Leisure	0	Culture & Leisure	20
Community Safety & School Catchment	0	Community Safety & School Catchment	20
Transport Links & Commuting Time	0	Transport Links & Commuting Time	20
Proximity to Family	100	Proximity to Family	20
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>

How would **YOU** spend your tokens?

Appearance & Green Space	.....
Culture & Leisure	.....
Community Safety & School Catchment	.....
Transport Links & Commuting Time	.....
Proximity to Family	.....
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>

### 3 Leisure and Cultural Offer

**3.1** Now imagine distributing your 100 tokens across the cultural facilities in the table below. What would you want more of in your neighbourhood, and what is not so important?

<b>Proximity to Museums, Galleries &amp; Performing Arts Venues</b> (Music, Cinemas, Dance etc.)	.....
<b>Restaurants, Pubs &amp; Cafes</b>	.....
<b>Local Libraries</b>	.....
<b>Community Activities</b> (Dance, Arts & Crafts Classes, Children Classes, Bingo etc.)	.....
<b>Independent, “non-High Street” Shops</b>	.....
	<b>Total 100</b>

**3.2** Please indicate approximately how often you use/visit each of these facilities. Please tick the appropriate box.

Regularly  Never

	At least once a Week	Once a Fortnight	Once a Month	Once every Six Months	Once a Year or Less	Never
<b>Community Activities</b>						
<b>Museums, Galleries &amp; Performing Arts Venues</b>						
<b>Local Libraries</b>						
<b>Restaurants, Pubs &amp; Cafes</b>						
<b>Independent, "non-High Street" Shops</b>						

## 4 Further Comments

If you have any additional comments, please leave them in the space below

---



---



---



---



---



---

**Individual Interview Schedule:**

One-to- one interview, lasting approximately 60minutes.

List of Questions and prompts:

- 1) In your experience, what are the boundaries of the Dundee/Edinburgh residential market?
- 2) How important, in your experience, is location in people's choice of a residence?
- 3) What are the main components of the "location" factor?
- 4) Could you trace an ideal "map" of the various areas of the city, and their socio-economic backgrounds?
- 5) In your experience, what are the main factors that buyers and renters tend to consider in their move to a new neighbourhood?
- 6) How important is the local cultural offering in people's choice of a neighbourhood?

Prompt: What would you include in it?

Prompt: What roles does it play in the local and city life?

**Focus Group Schedule:**

Questions and prompts for focus groups with the general public. Each group to be composed by a minimum of three and a maximum of six participants, excluding the researcher and eventual assistant. Each group to last a maximum of 60 minutes.

- 1) What is your perception of your city, its life and identity?  
Prompt: are there particular areas that you like/dislike? Why?
- 2) Would you move to a different city or area of your city? What would motivate your move?
- 3) What role does the local culture/cultural offering play in the life of your city and neighbourhood, and what do you think of it?
- 4) What do you think “culture” means, what does it include and what is not part of it?

Appendix C: Tests of Statistical Model Fit for Tables 5.1 and 5.2

**Results of model fit tests for negative binomial regressions exploring factors linked to higher valuations for the various types of cultural resources - Dundee**

<b>Dependant Variable in the Model</b>	<b>Museums, Galleries and Performing Arts Venues</b>	<b>Restaurants, Pubs and Cafes</b>	<b>Public Libraries</b>	<b>Independent, "non-High Street Shops</b>	<b>Community Based Activities</b>
<b>Omnibus Test</b>	24.287, Sig .014	40.112, Sig .002	107.660, Sig .000	39.179 Sig .004	61.245 Sig .000
<b>Deviance</b>	0.804 Poisson 0.650	0.542 Poisson 0.321	1.301 Poisson 1.552	0.693 Poisson 0.546	0.635 Poisson 0.621
<b>BIC</b>	5361.331, Poi*. 6012.589	5688.912 Poi*. 5998.013	4852.252 Poi*. 5003.547	5409.739 Poi*. 6022.059	5670.381 Poi*. 5661.587

\*Bayesian Information Criterion obtained with Poisson Regression Model

**Results of model fit tests for negative binomial regressions exploring factors linked to higher valuations for the various types of cultural resources - Dundee**

<b>Dependant Variable in the Model</b>	<b>Museums, Galleries and Performing Arts Venues</b>	<b>Restaurants, Pubs and Cafes</b>	<b>Public Libraries</b>	<b>Independent, "non-High Street Shops</b>	<b>Community Based Activities</b>
<b>Omnibus Test</b>	72.958, Sig .001	56.872, Sig .000	151.165, Sig .002	66.248, Sig .000	44.232, Sig .001
<b>Deviance</b>	0.692 Poisson 0.324	0.577 Poisson 0.229	0.604 Poisson 0.601	0.589 Poisson 0.352	0.595 Poisson 0.492
<b>BIC</b>	5154.455 Poi*. 5542.369	5315.098 Poi*. 5402.214	4534.436 Poi*. 4533.582	4997.337 Poi*. 5012.367	4736.046 Poi*. 4952.567

\*Bayesian Information Criterion obtained with Poisson Regression Model

## References

- Adorno, T. W., & Horkheimer, M. (1947). *Dialectic of enlightenment*, Amsterdam, Querido.
- Allen C (2008) *Housing Market Renewal and social class*. Abingdon, Routledge.
- Allen, J., Massey, D., & Pile, S. (2005). *City worlds*. Routledge.
- Alonso W. (1964) 'Location and Land Use' Harvard University Press, Cambridge
- Appadurai, A. (1988) *The social life of things: commodities in cultural perspective*. Cambridge: CUP
- Archer, M. (1996), *Culture and Agency, The Place of Culture in Social Theory*, Cambridge University Press
- Area Size, *Office for National Statistics* (2012, webpage).
- Arnold M., Culture and Anarchy, 1869 at: <http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/4212>, accessed on 11/10/2013.
- Atkinson, R. and Easthope, H. (2008), The creative class *in utero?* The role of students and higher education in Australia's urban creative economy, *Built Environment*, 34, 3, pp. 307-318.
- Atkinson, R. and Easthope, H. (2009) The Consequences of the Creative Class: The pursuit of creativity strategies in Australia's cities, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 33, (1), pp. 64-79.
- Banks, M. (2007), *The politics of cultural work*, Palgrave.
- Barber, A. and Porter, L., (2007). Planning the cultural quarter in Birmingham's Eastside. *European planning studies*, 15(10).
- Barber, A. and Hall, S. (2008) Birmingham: Whose urban renaissance? Regeneration as a response to economic restructuring. *Policy Studies*, 29 (3). pp. 281-292. ISSN 0144-2872
- Barish, J. (1981) *The Antitheatrical Prejudice*, University of California Press, Berkeley and London.
- Batram, A. and Segal, C. (1987) *Arts and Unemployment*, a collection of articles and case studies. Newcastle upon Tyne, Community Arts Support Agency.
- Baxter, J. (2010) Case Studies in Qualitative Research In: Hay, I. *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography*, Oxford University Press Ontario pp81-97.
- Belfiore, E. (2002), Art as a means towards alleviating social exclusion: does it really work? – A critique of instrumental cultural policies and social impact, *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 8(1).
- Belfiore, E. (2009), On bullshit in cultural policy practice and research: notes from the British case, *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 15 (3),p. 343–359

- Bell D. and De-Shalit A., (2011), *The Spirit of Cities: Why the Identity of a City Matters in a Global Age*, Princeton University Press.
- Benenson, I., (2004), Chapter 4. Agent-Based Modelling: From Individual Residential Choice to Urban Residential Dynamics, In M. F. Goodchild, D. G. Janelle (eds.) *Spatially Integrated Social Science: Examples in Best Practice*, Oxford University Press, 67-95
- Bennett, T., (2009). *Culture, class, distinction*. Routledge.
- Bennett, T., Savage, M., Silva, E.B., Warde, A., Gayo-Cal, M., Wright, D (2009) *Culture, Class, Distinction*, London, Routledge
- Bhaskar, R (1979) *The Possibility of Naturalism*, Brighton: Harvester Press.
- Bhaskar, R. (1975) *A Realist Theory of Science*, Leeds: Leeds Books.
- Bianchini F., Parkinson, M., 1993 *Cultural Policy and Urban Regeneration: The West European Experience*, Manchester university Press.
- Bishop, R. and Heberlein, T., 1979, Measuring values of extra-market goods: are indirect measures biased? *American Journal of Agriculture Economics*, 61(5), p. 926-30.
- Bishop, R. C., Heberlein, T.A. (1979) Measuring Values of Extramarket Goods: Are Indirect Measures Biased? *American Journal of Agricultural Economics* 61(5): 926-930.
- Blaikie, N. (1991) A critique of the use of triangulation on social research. *Quality and quantity* 25: 115-136.
- Bokey, K. and Walter, G. (2002) 'Literature and psychiatry: The case for a close liaison', *Australasian*
- Bourdieu, P. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge University Press
- Bourdieu, P., The forms of capital. In: *John G. Richardson (ed.): Handbook of*
- Bourdieu, Pierre (1984). *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste*. London: Routledge
- Burnyeat, M. F., (1997), *Culture and Society in Plato's Republic; The Tanner Lectures on Human Values*, Harvard University Press
- Caulkins P. et al, 1986, The travel cost model for lake recreation: a comparison of two methods for incorporating site quality and substitution effects, *American Journal of Agriculture Economics*, May, 291-7.
- Chalkley B. and Essex S. (1999), Urban Development through Hosting International Events: A History of the Olympic Games, *Planning Perspectives*, 14 (4), p. 369-394.
- Chan, T. and Goldthorpe, J. (2007), a Social stratification and cultural consumption: the visual arts in England *Poetics*, 35 168--190.
- Chan, T. and Goldthorpe, J. (2007b) The social stratification of cultural consumption: Some policy implications of a research project, *Cultural Trends*, 16, p. 373--384

- Choumert, J. and Salanié, J. (2008) Provision of urban green space: some insights from economics, *Landscape Research*, 3, p.331-345
- Clark, AE and AJ Oswald, (2002), a simple statistical method for measuring how life events affect happiness, *International Journal of Epidemiology*, 31, p.1139-1144.
- Clark, T. N., *et al*, (2002) Amenities drive urban growth. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 24, p. 493–515.
- Colomb C., (2012), staging the new Berlin, Place Marketing and the Politics of Urban Reinvention Post-1989, Routledge.
- Cox, T., O'Brien, D. (2012), The “scouse wedding” and other myths: reflections on the evolution of a “Liverpool model” for culture-led urban regeneration, *Cultural Trends*, 21 (2)
- Creative Dundee: The City’s Cultural Strategy, 2009-2014. (2010)
- Creswell, J.W., Fetters M.D., Ivankova, N.V. (2004) Designing a mixed methods study in primary care. *Annals of Family Medicine* 2 (1), p.7–12.
- Crowder K. (2000). The racial context of white mobility: an individual-level assessment of the white flight hypothesis. *Social Science Research* 29: 223–257.
- Dartmouth College, USA, [www.dartmouth.edu/~blnchflr/papers/wellbeingnew.pdf](http://www.dartmouth.edu/~blnchflr/papers/wellbeingnew.pdf)
- DaVanzo J. (1981). “Repeat Migration, Information Cost, and Location-Specific Capital” *Population and Environment* 4(1), p. 45-73
- DG Blanchflower, AJ Oswald, 1999, Well Being over time in Britain and the USA, unpublished paper,
- Due’, C. (2003) *Poetry and the Demos: State Regulation of a Civic Possession*, [Online] The Stoa: A
- DuGay, P., Hall, S., Janes, L., Madsen, A., Mackay, H. and Negus, K. (1996) *Doing Cultural Studies: The story of the Sony Walkman* London: Sage
- Dundee Partnership, (2009), “Creative Dundee – The city’s cultural strategy 2009-2014”
- Dunn, K. (2010) Interviewing, In: Hay, I. *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography*, Oxford University Press Ontario pp101-138
- Edinburgh City Council, (1999), ‘Towards the New Enlightenment: a Cultural Policy for the City of Edinburgh’.
- Edinburgh Culture and Sport Committee; 2014; Summer Festivals 2014, Report)
- Eftec, (2005), “Valuation of the Historic Environment: The scope for using results of valuation studies in the appraisal and assessment of heritage-related projects and programmes: Executive summary”.
- Eliot, T.S., *Notes towards a Definition of Culture*, 1948.
- Ellen I. (2000), *Sharing America’s Neighborhoods*. Harvard University Press: Cambridge.

- Elwood, S. (2010) *Mixed Methods: Thinking, Doing and Asking in Multiple Ways*, In: DeLyser, D., Herbert, S., Aitken, S., Crang, M and McDowell, L. (eds.) (2010) *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Geography*, SAGE: London.
- EPPI Centre, (2010), "Understanding the drivers, impact and value of engagement in culture and sport".
- Essex S. and Chalkley B. (2004), *Mega-sporting Events in Urban and Regional Policy: A History of the Winter Olympics*, in "Planning Perspectives", 19 (2), pp. 201-232.
- Essex, Stephen and Brian Chalkley (2003): *Urban transformation from hosting the Olympic Games: university lecture on the Olympics* [online article]. Barcelona : Centre d'Estudis Olímpics (UAB). International Chair in Olympism (IOC-UAB). [Date of consulted: dd/mm/yy]<<http://olympicstudies.uab.es/lectures/web/pdf/essex.pdf>>
- Essex, S. and Chalkley, B. (2007) *Mega-events as a strategy for urban regeneration*, *Dialoghi Internazionali – Città nel Mondo*, No. 5, pp. 18-29.
- Evans, G. (2003), "Hard-branding the Cultural City. From Prado to Prada", *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 27(2), pp. 417–440.
- Field, A. (2009) *Discovering Statistics Using SPSS*. Third Edition. London: SAGE.
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2006) *Five Misunderstandings About Case-Study Research*, *Qualitative Inquiry* 12 (2): 219-245.
- Friedman, S. (2012). 'Cultural Omnivores or Culturally Homeless? Exploring the Shifting Cultural Identities of the Socially Mobile', *Poetics*, 40 (3)
- Galloway, S. (1995) *Changing lives – the social impact of the arts*. Edinburgh, Scottish Arts Council.
- Garcia, B., (2004), *Cultural Policy and Urban Regeneration in Western European Cities: Lessons from Experience, Prospects for the Future*, *Local Economy*, vol. 19, no. 4, pp.312–326.
- Gerring, J. (2007) *Case Study Research: Principles and Practices*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Ghilardi, L., (2008), 'Cultural planning and the creative city', NOEMA
- Glaeser, E. L. (2005b), *Review of Richard Florida's the rise of the creative class*. *Regional Science and Urban Economics*, 35, p. 593–596
- Glaser, B.G. and Strauss, A.L. (1967) *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies of Qualitative Research*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson
- Glynn S (2009) *Where the other half lives: lower income housing in a neoliberal world*, London, Pluto Press
- Goering, P.N., Streiner, D.L. (1996) *Reconcilable differences: the marriage of qualitative and quantitative methods*. *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry* 41: 491–497.
- Goldthorpe, J. (2007) "Cultural Capital": Some Critical Observations *Sociologica* 2007/2

- Goldthorpe, J. H. and Chan, T. W., (2007). Social stratification and cultural consumption: The visual arts in England. *Poetics*, 35(2), 168-190.
- Goodman J. L. (1981) "Information, Uncertainty, and the Microeconomic Model of Migration Decision Making" in: G. F. DeJong and R.W. Gardner "Migration Decision Making: Multidisciplinary Approaches to Microlevel Studies in Developed and Developing Countries" Pergamon Press, NY, 13-58.
- Greene, J.C. (2008) Is Mixed Methods Social Inquiry a Distinctive Methodology? *Journal of Mixed Methods Research* 2(1): 7-22
- Grier, P. T., (2012), Identity and Difference, Studies in Hegel's Logic, Philosophy of Spirit, and Politics;
- Gus Geursen and Ruth Rentschler, (2003), "Unravelling Cultural Value", *Journal of arts management, law and society*, vol. 33, no. 3, pp. 196-210.
- Hanley N. and Spash C., 1993, Cost-Benefit Analysis and the Environment, Aldershot, Edward Elgar.
- Hanley, N., Shogren, J.F. and White, B. (1997) Environmental Economics: In Theory and Practice, Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd.
- Hanley, N., Shogren, J.F. and White, B. (2001) Introduction to Environmental Economics, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hansen, T. B. (1997). The willingness-to-pay for the Royal Theatre in Copenhagen as a public good. *Journal of cultural economics*, 21(1), p.1-28.
- Harvey D. (1989), The Urban Experience, Blackwell, Oxford.
- Harvey, D. (2008). The right to the city, New Left Review.
- Hastings, A. *et al*, (2013), Coping With The Cuts? Local Government and Poorer Communities, report, University of Glasgow and Heriot Watt University.
- Hedman L., (2013) Moving Near Family? The Influence of Extended Family on Neighbourhood Choice in an Intra-urban Context Population, *Space and Place*, 19, (1), p. 32-45.
- Hewison, R. (2002) 'Commentary 1: Looking in the wrong place' *Cultural Trends* 12 47-89
- Hof J. and D.King, 1982, On the necessity of simultaneous recreation demand equation estimation, *Land Economics*, 58, p. 547-52.
- Holden J., (2004), 'Capturing cultural value: how culture has become a tool of government policy', London, DEMOS.
- Holden J., (2006), 'Cultural value and the crisis of legitimacy', London, DEMOS.
- Home Office, Research and Planning Unit, London, 1990
- Horkheimer, M., Adorno, T. W., (1947), Dialectic of Enlightenment, Continuum, New York

- Hutter M. and Throsby D., (2010), "Beyond Price: Value in Culture, Economics, and the Arts". *The British Journal of Sociology* Vol. 61, Issue 1, p. 202–203.
- Information & Research Team, Dundee City Council, 2010
- James, A., (2005), Demystifying the role of culture in innovative regional economies, *Regional Studies*, 39:9, 1197-1216
- Johnson, R.B., Onwuegbuzie, A.J. (2004) Mixed methods research: a research paradigm whose time has come. *Educational Researcher* 33:7, 14-26.
- Johnstone, C., & Mooney, G. (2005). Locales of 'disorder' and 'disorganisation'? Exploring new labour's approach to council estates. In *Securing the Urban Renaissance: Policing, Community and Disorder Conference, Glasgow, June* (pp. 16-17).
- Jones, K. *et al*, (2004), Spill-over Effects of Investments in Cultural Facilities, Centre for the Study of Commercial Activity, Ryerson Polytechnic University.
- Jones, O. (2011) *Chavs. The Demonisation of the Working Class*. London: Verso
- Jowell, T., *Government and the Value of Culture* (London: DCMS, 2004).
- K McCarthy *et al* (, 2004), 'Gifts of the Muse: Reframing the debate about the benefits of the arts', RAN.D Corporation
- Kay, A. (2000) Art and community development: the role the arts have in regenerating communities, *Community Development Journal*, 35 (4), 414-424.
- Kay, A. and Watt, G. (2000) "The role of the arts in regeneration, Research Findings 96", Edinburgh, Scottish Executive Central Research.
- Kong, L. (2000) "Culture, Economy, Policy: Trends and Developments", *Geoforum, Special issue on Cultural Industries and Cultural Policies*, 31(4), pp. 385–390.
- Krätke, S., (2010), 'Creative Cities' and the Rise of the Dealer Class: A Critique of Richard Florida's Approach to Urban Theory, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 34, (4), p. 835–853.
- Landry, C. and Bianchini, F., (1995), *the creative City*, London, Demos.
- Landry, C. and Matarasso, F. (1996) The art of regeneration: urban renewal through cultural activity, *Social Policy Summary* 8, March, <http://www.jrf.org.uk>.
- Lawler, S. (2005). Disgusted subjects: The making of middle-class identities, *The Sociological Review*, 53, (3), p. 429–446
- Lazzeretti, L., (2010). The geography of creative industries in Europe: comparing France, Great Britain, Italy and Spain. In *50th Anniversary European Congress of The Regional Science Association International, Sustainable Regional Growth and Development in the Creative Knowledge Economy* (pp. 19-23).
- Lockwood, M. (1996). Non-Compensatory Preference Structures In Non-Market Valuation Of Natural Area Policy. *Australian Journal of Agricultural Economics*, 40(2), p.85-101.

- Long, J. (2010). *Weird city: Sense of place and creative resistance in Austin, Texas*. University of Texas Press.
- Loomis, J., G. Peterson, P. Champ, T. Brown and B. Lucero (1998). "Paired comparison estimates of willingness to accept versus contingent valuation estimates of willingness to pay." *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization* 35(4), p. 501-515.
- Lowe, S. (2000) Creating community: art for community development, *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 29 (3), 357-86.
- Mason, R. (2002) "Assessing values in conservation planning' in *de la Torre, (2002), Assessing the value of cultural heritage*, pp 5-31.
- Massey, D. B., Allen, J., & Pile, S. (1999). *City worlds*. Psychology Press.
- Matarasso, F. (1996a) Defining values: evaluating arts programmes, *Social Impact of the Arts*
- Matarasso, F. (1996b) Northern Lights: The Social Impact of The Fèisean (Gaelic Festivals), Stroud, Comedia.
- Matarasso, F. (1997) *Use or ornament: the social impact of participation in the arts*, Stroud, Comedia.
- McEvoy, P. and Richards, D. (2006) A critical realist rationale for using a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods, *Journal of Research in Nursing* 11(1): 66-78.
- McGuirk, P.M. and O'Neill, P. (2010) Using Questionnaires in Qualitative Human Geography, In: Hay, I. *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography*, Oxford University Press Ontario 191-216
- Merli P., (2002) "Evaluating the social impact of participation in arts activities: a critical review of François Matarasso's 'Use or Ornament?'" *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 8(1), 107-118.
- Miles, A. and Sullivan, A. (2012) Understanding participation in culture and sport: Mixing methods, reordering knowledges *Cultural Trends* 21(4) 311-324
- Miles, A., & Sullivan, A. (2010). *Understanding the relationship between taste and value in culture and sport*. Department for culture, media and sport.
- Miller, D. (2010) *Stuff*. Cambridge: Polity
- Mitchell R. and Carson, R. 1989, 'Using surveys to value public goods, The Contingent Valuation Method', Washington, D.C., Resources for the Future.
- Mitchell, D. (2000), "Cultural Geography: a critical introduction".
- Mooney, G. (2004). Cultural policy as urban transformation? Critical reflections on Glasgow, European City of Culture 1990. *Local Economy*, 19(4) pp. 327–340.
- Morrison, M. and Bennett, J. (2004), Valuing New South Wales rivers for use in benefit transfer, *Australian Journal of Agricultural and Resource Economics*, 48, pp. 591–611.

- Murdoch, S. (2016), Culture-led regeneration in Dundee, paper to be presented at the UNESCO Creative Cities Conference, Mittuniversitetet, Sweden.
- Myerscough, J. (1988) *'The economic importance of the arts in Britain'*, London, Policy Studies Institute.
- Navrud, S., & Ready, R. C. (Eds.). (2002). 'Valuing cultural heritage: applying environmental valuation techniques to historic buildings, monuments and artifacts'. Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Noonan, D. (2002). 'Contingent valuation studies in the arts and culture: an annotated bibliography'. Cultural policy center at the University of Chicago.
- O'Brien, D. (2010) No cultural policy to speak of – Liverpool 2008, *Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events*, 2 (2)
- O'Brien, D. (2010), "Measuring the value of culture: a report to the Department for Culture Media and Sport", DCMS.
- O'Brien, D. (2011), who is in charge? Liverpool, European Capital of Culture 2008 and the governance of cultural planning, *Town Planning Review*, 82 (1),p.45-49
- Oakley, K. (2013). Making workers: Higher education and the cultural industries workplace. In *Cultural work and higher education* (pp. 25-44). Palgrave Macmillan UK.
- Oakley, K., & O'Brien, D. (2015). Cultural Value and Inequality: A Critical Literature Review.
- Osborne, P. (2011), The moral decay of our society is as bad at the top as the bottom. *Daily Telegraph Online*, August 10th, 2011.
- Oswald, AJ, (1997), Happiness and Economic Performance, *Economic Journal*, 107:1815-31
- Paton, K., Mooney, J and McKee, K (2012), Class, Citizenship and Regeneration: Glasgow and the Commonwealth Games 2014, *Antipodes*, 44 (4).
- Peaker, A., & Vincent, J. (1990). 'Arts in prisons: Towards a Sense of Achievement'. Information Section, Home Office Research and Planning Unit.
- Peterson, G. L. and T. C. Brown (1998). "Economic valuation by the method of paired comparison, with emphasis on evaluation of the transitivity axiom." *Land Economics*: p.240-261.
- Pile, S. (1999). What is a city?. *City worlds*, 3-52.
- Pinnock, (2009), "The scope and purpose of cultural economics: A view and some suggestions from the policy fringe" *Cultural Trends* 18(4) 353-366.
- Pitcher, B. (2014) *Consuming Race*. London: Routledge
- Plaza B. (2006), The return on investment of the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 30,.2, 452-467.
- Pollicino, M., & Maddison, D. (2001). Valuing the benefits of cleaning Lincoln Cathedral. *Journal of cultural economics*, 25(2), p.131-148.

- Pratt, A. C. (2011). The cultural contradictions of the creative city. *City, culture and society*, 2(3), 123-130.
- Reeves, A. (2014), Cultural engagement across the life course: Examining age–period–cohort effects, *Cultural Trends* 23(4), p.273-289
- Robson, C. (2002) *Real World Research* 2nd Edition Blackwell Oxford
- Santagata, W., & Signorello, G. (2000). Contingent valuation of a cultural public good and policy design: The case of "Napoli musei aperti". *Journal of cultural economics*, 24(3), p.181-204.
- Savage, M., Devine, F. Cunningham, N. Taylor, M., Li, Y., Hjellbrekke, J., Le Roux, B., Friedman, S. and Miles, A. (2013) A new model of social class? Findings from the BBC's Great British Class Survey Experiment *Sociology* 47 (2) 219-250
- Savage, M., Warde, A., and Devine, F. (2005). Capitals, Assets, and Resources: Some Critical Issues. *British Journal of Sociology*, 56, 31-47
- Saxon, R. (2005) *Be valuable: A guide to creating value in the built environment*, London: Constructing Excellence, Available at: <http://www.saxoncbe.com/be-valuable.pdf>
- Sayer, A. (2002). What are you worth? Why class is an embarrassing subject, *Sociological Research Online*, 7, (3).
- Schelling, T. (1971) "Dynamic models of segregation" *Journal of Mathematical Sociology* 1: 143-186
- Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics* (2012, webpage).
- Selwood, S. (2002), The politics of data collection: Gathering, analysing and using data about the subsidised cultural sector in England, *Cultural Trends*, Volume 12, Issue 47, 2002
- Shaw, P. (1999) The role of the arts in combating social exclusion: A paper for the Arts Council of England. [unpublished]
- Smith, P., & Riley, A. (2011). 'Cultural theory: An introduction'. John Wiley & Sons.
- Stern M. & Seifert S., (2011), Cultural Clusters: The Implications of Cultural Assets Agglomeration for Neighbourhood Revitalization, *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 31, N.1, 74-85.
- Swanborn, P. G.(2010) *Case Study Research: why, what and how?* London: SAGE
- Taking Part*, (2015), DCMS, pp.46-50
- The 2015 Report by the Warwick Commission on the Future of Cultural Value
- Thompson, E. *et al*, (2002). Valuing the arts: a contingent valuation approach. *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 26(2), p.87-113.
- Throsby, D. (1999), Cultural Capital, *Journal of Cultural Economics*, Vol. 23, n. 1-2
- Throsby, D. (2001), *Economics and Culture*, Cambridge University Press.

- Thurstone, L. L. (1927). "The method of paired comparisons for social values." *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 21(4), p. 384-400.
- Tusa, J. (2000). *Art matters: Reflecting on culture*. Methuen Pub Limited.
- Tyler, I. (2008), Chav Mum Chav Scum, *Feminist Media Studies*, 8 (1), p.17-34
- UNCTAD (2004), "Creative Industries and Development".
- UNCTAD (2010), "Creative Economy Report 2010"
- UNESCO (2009), "Investing in Cultural Diversity and Intercultural Dialogue", World Report Series, UNESCO Publishing.
- Valentine, G. (2005) Tell me about...: using interviews as a research methodology, In: Flowerdew, R. and Martin, D. (2005) *Methods in Human Geography: A guide for students doing a research project*, 2nd Edition, Harlow, Essex: Pearson
- Van Bueren M. et al, 2004, Estimating Society's Willingness to Pay to Maintain Viable Rural Communities', *Australian Journal of Agricultural and Resource Economics*, 48(3), p. 487-512.
- Van der Borg, J., Tuijl, E. V., & Costa, A. (2010). Designing the Dragon or does the Dragon Design? An Analysis of the Impact of the Creative Industry on the Process of Urban Development of Beijing, China. *University Ca'Foscari of Venice, Dept. of Economics Research Paper No, 3*.
- Van Ham M, Feijten P. (2008). ' Who wants to leave the neighbourhood? The effect of being different', *Population Space Place* 19, 32–45 (2013);
- Wav C., Deurloo M, Dieleman F. (2006), Residential mobility and neighbourhood outcomes, *Housing Studies* 21, p.232–342.
- Wav, C., (1992). Residential preferences and residential choices in a multi-ethnic context, *Demography* 29, p.451–466.
- Wilk, R. (1999), "Real Belizean Food": Building Local Identity in the Transnational Caribbean, *American Anthropologist*, 101 (2), p. 244-255
- Williams, D. (1997), How the arts measure up - Australian research into the social impact of the arts, Social Impact of the Arts Working Paper 8, Comedia.
- Wood S. and Trice, A., (1958), "Measurement of Recreation Benefits" *Land Economics*, 34, p.195-207.
- Yin, R. K. (2006) Mixed Methods Research: Are the Methods Genuinely Integrated or Merely Parallel? *Research in Schools* 13(1): p.41-47.
- Zukin, S. (1995) 'The Cultures of Cities', Oxford, Blackwell.