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Young People in a City of Culture: 'Ultimate Beneficiaries' or 'Economic Migrants'?

Abstract
There is burgeoning literature on cities that host major cultural events. However, there is surprisingly very little empirical research focusing specifically on young people and cities of culture, so we have limited knowledge in terms of how young people actually experience and interpret cultural events. Given this, we offer an important and timely contribution to such debates. Our spatial focus is Derry/Londonderry (D/L) in Northern Ireland. During 2013 D/L was the UK's inaugural City of Culture (CoC). The bid document and legacy plans for CoC stated that young people would be 'cultural assets' during 2013 and the 'ultimate beneficiaries' of the CoC legacy (Derry City Council, 2010, 2013a, b). This paper unpacks and analyses the extent to which young people in D/L related to and engaged with CoC and, arguably more importantly, how CoC affected their plans and aspirations for the future. Our research problematizes the claim that young people were the 'ultimate beneficiaries' of CoC; most strikingly, it shows that young people, despite offering very positive views, both expect and desire to live in cities other than D/L. As such, the debilitating long-standing trend of *economic migration* of young people will continue raising important issues for local stakeholders.

Keywords
Identity, youth culture, attitudes

Introduction

On 1st January 2013 Derry/Londonderry (D/L) in Northern Ireland became the inaugural UK City of Culture (CoC). This represented a year long series of arts and cultural events that fed a new narrative for the city's historically turbulent social, political and economic fortunes. Recent research on CoC has focused on particular events and the broader narrative of success (Boland, Murtagh and Shirlow, 2016; McDermott, Nic Craith and Strani, 2016), whereas this paper examines the experiences and attitudes of young people. Young people were chosen as the lens through which to interrogate CoC for three reasons. Firstly, with 36% of the population under the age of 25, D/L is the youngest city of the island of Ireland (Derry City Council, 2010) meaning that it will experience many of the opportunities and constraints that accompany a youthful population, particularly in reference to employment and economic progress. Secondly, aspiring cities of culture focus on involving young people (Garcia and Cox, 2013). In this context, the bid document and legacy plans for D/L stated that young people would be 'cultural assets' during 2013 and the 'ultimate beneficiaries' of the CoC legacy (Derry City Council, 2010, 2013a, b). Thirdly, a gap exists in the literature as there is surprisingly little empirical research focusing specifically on young people and cities of culture (e.g. Pope, 2007), so we have limited knowledge of how young people experience and interpret cultural events. Given this, we offer an important and timely contribution to such debates. This paper analyses the extent to which young people in D/L related to and engaged with CoC and, more importantly, how it affected their plans and ambitions for the future. Our research problematizes the claim that young people were the 'ultimate beneficiaries' of CoC; we show that young people, despite offering positive views, both expect and desire to live in cities other than D/L. As such, the debilitating long-standing trend of *economic migration* will continue raising important issues for local stakeholders. The structure of the paper is as follows. The next section explains the research context; that is followed by the literature review; next is the research method; we then present our detailed empirical analysis; finally, the conclusions articulate the key findings and contribution to knowledge.

Research context

Northern Ireland comprises two competing identity communities in Protestant Unionists (48%) and Catholic Nationalists (45%); D/L is distinctive as it is overwhelmingly Catholic (75%) with a smaller Protestant (22%) demographic (NISRA, 2014). In a divided society toponyms are important signifiers. Regarding D/L, or 'stroke city', most people use the Irish name Derry (Anglicised from Doire); however, the Unionist political class and a sizeable number of Protestants prefer Londonderry[1] to capture their Britishness (Murtagh, Graham and Shirlow, 2008). These contestations over religion, culture and sovereignty led to 'the Troubles' (1968-1998) during which 3,600 people died as violence raged between Republican and Loyalist paramilitaries; Republicans strived for a united Ireland (partitioned in 1921 following colonial rule by the British), while Loyalists defended Northern Ireland's status within the UK. The genesis of 'the Troubles' actually began in D/L, then spread across the country, following the Civil Rights Movement as Catholics demonstrated against discrimination in housing, jobs and politics (Byrne, 2015). Importantly, D/L was severely impacted by the trauma of 'the Troubles' notably Bloody Sunday (January 30th 1972) when 14 unarmed civilians were murdered by British Paratroopers (Dawson, 2005; Ó Dochartaigh, 2010). According to Boland, Murtagh and Shirlow (2016, p. 5) "this controversial incident hung like a dark cloud over the city for decades" until 2010 when the Saville Report exonerated the victims of any wrongdoing.

The effects of Bloody Sunday and mass intra-city movement of the city's minority Protestant population created vivid political geographies in D/L, most strikingly the River Foyle marked the physical separation between the Catholic Cityside and Protestant Waterside[2]. More recent amicable relations between Nationalist and Unionist representatives produced a 'reciprocity of trust' (Nolan, 2014) enabling D/L to make progress on peace and reconciliation. This led to both communities supporting the application to host CoC. Significantly, Sinn Féin, an Irish Republican political party, formally endorsed the bid to become 'UK' CoC. Notwithstanding this broad consensus, and the fact that CoC documentation used both toponyms to mollify the two traditions, old tensions resurfaced. 'Dissident' Republicans opposed to Sinn Féin, the peace process and any links to the UK placed unexploded bombs at city locations; while Unionist politicians protested at the absence of 'UK' in some literature and official speeches. Other than that, historically contentious naming was not an issue for ordinary locals and especially young people who embraced the neutral moniker of *LegenDerry* (Boland, Murtagh and Shirlow, 2016; McDermott, Nic Craith and Strani, 2016).

Literature review: cities of culture and young people

In June 2009 the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) announced the introduction of a national cultural event; once every four years a city would be designated UK CoC. The Labour Government's flagship initiative was 'inspired' by the 'success' of Liverpool 2008 European Capital of Culture (ECoC) (DCMS, 2009). As with other sporting and cultural events a place-based competition was the favoured selection method. The aims of CoC are to stimulate media coverage, attract tourism, bring communities together, and generate artistic collaboration on creative projects. As with ECoC the belief was that culture would act as a 'catalyst for change' delivering 'step changes' for the host city (DCMS, 2009, 2013, 2015). Wilson and O'Brien's (2012) study of applicants for CoC 2013 notes an unambiguous economic logic to the bidding process. This chimes with the prioritisation of culture in public policy (British Council, 2014; UNESCO/UNDP 2013; World Cities Culture Forum, 2013) and elevation of targets for tourism, investment, employment and growth (Warwick Commission, 2015). This leads commentators to reference the purported 'curing qualities' (Boland, Murtagh and Shirlow, 2016) and 'transformative powers' (Belfiore, 2015) of culture that feature heavily in ECoC and CoC guidance and bid documents.

[1] In 1613 following the Plantation of Ulster by Scottish and English settlers the city was renamed Londonderry because guilds and liveries from the City of London financed the construction of the city's historic walls.

[2] Following migration from the other side of the river the Waterside has a Protestant majority of 52% compared to 44% Catholic, whereas the Cityside is exclusively Catholic with 80% in almost every electoral ward (NISRA, 2014).

From a theoretical perspective, this trend evidences the 'neoliberalisation of culture' (McGuigan, 2005) as it is 'marketised' for 'instrumental economic ends' (Hesmondhalgh et al., 2015; Newsinger, 2015). More critically, however, questions emerge over whether cultural events achieve the legacy targets, especially those with an economic bent ('on bullshit' cultural policy see Belfiore, 2009; on Liverpool 2008 ECoC see Boland, 2013; on Cork 2005 ECoC see O'Callaghan, 2012; on Glasgow 1990 ECoC see Mooney, 2004). The underlying issue is the competition to secure ECoC and CoC conditions applicants to out-bid rival cities thereby inflating the anticipated impacts (Garcia and Cox, 2013; Lähdesmäki, 2014; Wilson and O'Brien, 2012). Crucially, in their analysis of the cities of culture literature Boland, Murtagh and Shirlow (2016, p. 4) conclude there is "a disconnect between the 'myth/rhetoric' of success and 'ambivalent legacies' and 'authentic lived realities' revealed in concentrations of unemployment, poverty and multiple deprivation". This observation provides a key contextual framing to our study.

Garcia and Cox's (2013, p. 90) report for the European Parliament on successive ECoC identifies that "programming for young people has become a common pursuit". Evidence of this demographic targeting was identified in, amongst others, Rotterdam 2001, Essen 2010, Istanbul 2010, Tallinn 2011 and Marseille-Provence 2013. Cities seeking to be ECoC are encouraged to stimulate "the involvement of young people and organise specific cultural projects designed to increase social cohesion"; moreover, over time the engagement of young people is "expected to contribute to the development of economic activity" (Garcia and Cox, 2013, p. 43). The reason for prioritising young people is they personify specific qualities that cultural cities seek to nurture, such as creative, talented and future economic drivers (Allen and Hollingworth, 2013) - a mindset undoubtedly influenced by the 'global obsession' (Peck, 2005) with Florida's (2003) *creative class* discourse. Given this, images of young people are a staple of publicity materials and place marketing as they are seen to embody and contribute to the vibrant, energetic atmosphere that cultural cities strive to create. Thus, young people represent the future of the city and are integral to creating and sustaining a vibrant economy (Bauman, 2011; Giroux, 2009; Miles, 2015). In a UK context, Griffiths (2006) reveals that when Bristol, Cardiff and Liverpool competed for ECoC 2008 all three identified themselves as a 'young city', and proclaimed that securing ECoC status would facilitate economic growth and social cohesion. Understandably, given the perceived merits of the 'Liverpool model' (Cox and O'Brien, 2012; for an alternative view see Boland, 2010, 2013) the focus on young people has become a prominent feature in the UK CoC initiative (DCMS, 2009, 2013, 2015, 2017; Wilson and O'Brien, 2012). For example, in the latest guidance for CoC 2021 the Government are "seeking bids that…engage a wide range of audiences and participants, especially children and young people" (DCMS, 2017, p. 4).

Epistemological and ontological debates concerning young people are well established (e.g. Arnett, 2014; Bynner, Cohen and Ainley, 2000; Crockett and Crouter, 2014; Furlong and Cartmel, 2007; Harris, 2014; Newman and Newman, 2014; Woodman and Wyn, 2013; Wyn and Woodman, 2013). We need not rehearse them here. What is pertinent to our study is how schooling and participation in a formal learning environment play an important role in the social development, or socialisation, of young people (Allen and Hollingworth, 2013; Pratt 2008; Robinson 2001; Shapiro and Margolin, 2014; Shim, Serido and Barber, 2011). Socialisation refers to the process that young people go through as they learn skills like peer engagement, codes of conduct, acceptable modes of behaviour and how to make informed consumer choices (Belk, 2014; Benn, 2004; Treadwell et al., 2011). Another facet of socialisation is engaging in cultural activities, developing social relations, and recognising and interacting with the world around them. This process allows young people to both consume and produce cultural content which influences the development of personality, preference and worldview as they mature (Brake, 2013; Buckingham and Willett, 2013; Chisholm and Hurrelmann, 1995; Massey, 2003). Schools are an important platform for cultural engagement, through both curriculum based learning and extra-curricular activities, giving young people

opportunities to participate in cultural events they may not otherwise have been exposed to (Benn, 2004). As we shall see schools performed a key role in the cultural engagement of young people (on Liverpool see Pope, 2007).

It is important to state that while there is research on young people in post-conflict cities such as Belfast in Northern Ireland (e.g. Murtagh and Murphy, 2011) and young people and cultural engagement worldwide (e.g. Guilianotti, Armstrong and Hales, 2015; Richards, Brito and Wilks 2013), D/L offers an opportunity to analyse young people in a city engaged in a major cultural event predicated on bringing contested communities closer together (Derry City Council, 2010). As we noted earlier, academic studies focusing exclusively on young people during a major cultural event are almost non-existent. Therefore, we offer an important and timely contribution to filling this gap in the literature on how young people experience and interpret cultural events.

Research method

Our methodological approach involved quantitative and qualitative research design techniques. The main bulk of the empiricism for this paper draws upon an extensive schools based survey. We approached all the second level schools in the (then) Derry City Council area[3] and seven agreed to participate: 4 schools were Catholic, 2 Protestant and 1 Integrated (i.e. mixed religion); 3 schools were girls only, 1 boys only and 3 mixed; 3 were grammar schools and 4 non-selective (see Table 1). We used teachers to distribute questionnaires amongst pupils during classroom time, and these were collected a week later. A total of 743 surveys were completed between September 2014 and February 2015. Whilst the sample had an even spread across the age range of 13-18, it was skewed in favour of Catholics and female participants. This resulted from the demographics of the city, which is dominated by Catholics, and the schools that took part. For the survey 72% of respondents were female and 28% male; 70% were Catholic, 15% Protestant and 15% were either none or other (see Figure 1). To account for the skew in the data it was weighted prior to analysis so that it would be more representative: the standard error rate (p: 20%) is +/- 2.9% at 95% confidence level.

Insert Table 1

Insert Figure 1

As researchers we were interested in analysing two key themes. The first was the extent of young people's engagement with CoC – i.e. connecting to claims of 'cultural assets'. The second was focused on their future aspirations and ambitions – i.e. linked to an assertion that they would be the 'ultimate beneficiaries' of CoC. In the survey we questioned students on their levels of participation and attendance at cultural events; their overall impressions of CoC; and the impact it had on their relationships towards the city. Given the divisions that exist within the city and that young people are perceived as offering a positive future, the survey asked them to reflect upon their experiences of how CoC had affected cross-community relations. Finally, we were intrigued as to whether CoC caused young people to view their city differently and how it had, or had not, affected perceptions of their own futures and that of D/L. We devised a questionnaire around these themes, using a mixture of multiple choice, agree/disagree and written answer questions. There was also a section on participants' background, so we could relate their answers to social indicators. During conversations with teachers we were able to pilot the questionnaire with them and a handful of pupils across the age range. This enabled us to ensure that, with some editing, the questions were appropriate and the survey was workable within a classroom environment. Supplementing the survey, between March 2014 and May 2016 we conducted ten interviews and

[3] Reform of local government in Northern Ireland (1 April 2015) saw the introduction of 11 'super councils', one of which was the creation of a new Derry City and Strabane District Council.

four focus groups. We interviewed professionals involved in the delivery of CoC who had responsibility for engaging young people, for example school teachers and youth group leaders who possessed valuable insights. Given the socio-spatial divisions in D/L we wanted to tease out the views of young people in the two constituent communities. Given this, we undertook focus groups in two working class housing estates in the city: Rosemount is Catholic/Nationalist, Nelson Drive is Protestant/Unionist. Through this mixed methods approach we unearthed a range of interesting empirical evidence in relation to young people in a city of culture.

Young people and CoC in D/L

It is important to set the socio-economic realities of D/L at the time of CoC: child poverty at 25.6%, 22.3% of young people aged 18-24 were unemployed, 30% of the total unemployed were aged 18-24, and a long-standing trend of emigration among young people (Derry City and Strabane District Council, 2015; Derry Journal, 2014; Trew, 2014). Given this, young people were positioned very strongly in the bid document and during the cultural year: "Our city and region have a diverse range of cultural assets none more important than our children and young people" (Derry City Council, 2010, p. 6). The city would be "shaped by a young, energetic and dynamic population" and therefore it was crucial to retain this demographic post-2013 to deliver the legacy targets[4] (Derry City Council, 2010, p. 5, 2013a, b). In addition to being the drivers of change, young people were also to be the key beneficiaries of CoC in terms of reducing high rates of unemployment. CoC was underpinned by five 'step changes'[5] and to achieve these involved "unleashing talent to build a proud ambitious, creative connected community" (Derry City Council, 2010, p. 18). Here, the 'talent' and 'natural creativity' of young people was crucial. Young people were culturally engaged by events such as Music Promise[6], Radio 1's One Big Weekend[7], Academy Master Classes[8] and the STEM to STEAM initiative[9]. The Nerve Centre[10] was an important provider of training and events during 2013; in addition, schools became strategic conduits for cultural engagement. During 2013 specific attention was placed on developing young people's involvement in "the creative capacities of digital technologies" (Derry City Council, 2010, p. 18). Here, once again, the Nerve Centre played an important role. This kind of cultural engagement lends itself to cultural production that can be shared with others via the internet, and importantly in a divided city young people are not unnecessarily bound by entrenched physical geographies. More long-term, this aligns with ambitions for young people to improve their skillset with a view to becoming future drivers of a dynamic creative industry sector in the city (Derry City Council, 2010, 2013a, b). On this, Allen and Hollingworth's (2013) analysis of the creative

[4] Long-term objectives for 2020 are £98 million in additional wages and profits, 2,800 net additional workplace jobs and 25% growth in creative industries (Derry City Council 2010, 2013b).

[5] These are driving economic prosperity and job creation; improving life chances; instilling confidence; enhancing good relations; and facilitating peace and reconciliation.

[6] An initiative seeking to develop musical talent by "putting children and young people's music making at the heart of Derry-Londonderry, UKCoC 2013" (www.musicpromise.org/). Aimed at primary school children through to school leavers the project offered musical tuition in all areas from beat-boxing to folk; the SYNC element of the project saw young people develop showcase performances in community spaces using on-stage and backstage skills.

[7] Live music event featuring high profile rock and pop performers.

[8] Offered to 16-19 year old's Radio 1's Academy was a week of masterclasses, question and answer sessions, and practical demonstrations with leaders in the radio industry, business world, and music business. The Academy engaged young people in the technical element of radio production often unseen and unheard by listeners, allowing them special insight into the breadth of careers involved in the radio industry.

[9] This took the traditional approach of the core four subjects (science, engineering, technology and maths) and integrated the arts into the curriculum to add a creative dimension to traditional academic subjects. The initiative, supported by industry, saw a wealth of school projects throughout CoC.

[10] One of Northern Ireland's leading creative media arts centre. It offers wide-ranging programme of arts events, cutting edge projects, creative learning centres, training opportunities, and state-of-the-art production facilities (http://nervecentre.org/).

economy in England is instructive in revealing how 'class and place' strongly affect variable levels of aspiration and uptake amongst young people (more on this later).

The twin roles attributed to young people was reflected in many of our interviews, when respondents talked about the creativity and participation of young people, and the importance of improving their prospects for the future. For example, a teacher offered these words: "My hope is that they flourish. I want that for all of my pupils, for every young person. But can they do it here? I don't know. I had such high hopes for something meaningful" (Interview, 2015). Several respondents revealed that in the lead up to 2013 they had been extremely hopeful that CoC would offer a bright future for young people. However, as the discussion shifted to the actual year and legacy period the tone of conversation turned to disappointment as their hopes had not materialised. Many expressed genuine sadness for young people when it became clear that CoC had not generated anywhere near sufficient jobs as had been anticipated; it is estimated that only 300-400 jobs had been created during 2013 (Boland, Murtagh and Shirlow, 2016). They were also critical of the transient nature of employment that had been created. Also, as schools had been heavily involved in various events there had been a collective optimism among teachers across the city that CoC would help reduce the number of young people leaving D/L. However, they feared the absence of sustainable employment meant the ongoing problem of 'brain drain' would continue. According to another teacher: "I don't think the legacy is what anyone was expecting it to be, assuming that is, they thought the legacy would be an all singing all dancing economy" (Interview, 2015).

Pride in the city

The aim of the schools survey was to examine young people's attendance and participation in cultural events, more specifically their overall impressions of CoC, whether it changed the way they related to their own city, whether it had any impact on their hopes and plans for the future, and how they felt about community relations post-2013. Our first set of questions asked young people 'Did City of Culture make you feel more proud of being from the city?' This elicited a very positive response with 84% of respondents stating that it had made them either very much or a bit more proud of their city; only 3.5% of pupils reported that CoC had not at all made them proud (see Table 2). This correlates with other academic research and policy evaluation that argues CoC cultivated strong support amongst local people and that it had been extremely well received amongst different demographic cohorts in the city (Boland, Murtagh and Shirlow, 2016; Derry City and Strabane District Council, 2016).

Insert Table 2

Within this, a higher percentage from those who attended a Catholic school were more likely to answer that CoC had made them very much or a bit more proud of the city (88.8%), with lower scores from those at the Integrated school (78.5%) and Protestant schools (73.5%) (see Figure 2). The most popular response among those from Catholic schools was very much (51.9%) whereas Protestant school respondents were most likely to select the a bit option (40.2%). This indicates that while CoC inspired pride across all categories, this effect was stronger in Catholic young people than those from a Protestant background.

Insert Figure 2

Attendance and participation in CoC

Our survey showed high levels of attendance at CoC events among young people, with some variation between religions. Of those surveyed 84.5% stated that they had attended an event during 2013 (see Table 3). Echoing the high levels of city pride, Catholic schools reported the highest

levels of attendance at 87.9%; Protestant schools reported 79.8% with the Integrated school reporting the lowest levels at 75.8%. Of those that did attend events, the majority of respondents (37%) reported attending 1-2 with 3-5 (33.9%) being the next most popular answer (see Table 4).

Insert Table 3

Insert Table 4

Insert Table 5

In addition to asking the pupils if they had attended a CoC event we also asked them if they had taken part in any events. Replies indicated that of our sample 20.9% of pupils took part in events whilst 79.1% did not (see Table 5). Reflecting the answers given for attendance levels, those from Catholic schools were more likely to have taken part in an event during 2013 (23.9%); lower numbers participated in events at Protestant and Integrated schools, both reporting similar response rates of 16% and 15.4% respectively (see Figure 3). In our view this 20.9% represents a decent level of participation and shows some, admittedly tentative, evidence of young people as 'cultural assets'. In one sense, this can be attributed to the role of teachers as key interlocutors in facilitating the formal engagement of young people. This was confirmed during our interviews. When asked if they thought that pupils would have attended events without the encouragement through schools all of the teachers were in agreement that many pupils would not, and thus schools had been a key conduit for participation. Two teachers explained:

> "Pupils did go to things they probably otherwise wouldn't have because we took them or pointed them in that direction. When we took them to the Turner Prize[11] some of them had never heard of it or the Tate before" (Interview, 2015).

> "We took them to as much as time would allow like, you know? But they were generally very good at going and finding out about events themselves and going to events about things they were already interested in…We'd taken some of them to the Tate on a field trip so they were excited to see the Turner Prize" (Interview, 2015).

Insert Figure 3

Respondents also reported high levels of excitement about events that happened during 2013. When surveyed as to whether 'City of Culture made you feel excited about events happening in the city' 81% of respondents answered affirmatively. Broken down by religious background this amounted to 76.7% of Protestants answering very much or a bit with Integrated pupils responding similarly with 76.3%. Consistent with levels of both pride and participation, Catholic pupils showed a greater degree of enthusiasm for 2013 with 83.4% of the respondents answering that they were either very much or a bit excited (see Figure 4). This suggests that enthusiasm for CoC was stronger among Catholic than Protestant young people, while there was a high degree of approval for CoC across all religious groups.

Insert Figure 4

Legacy after 2013

Responses to this section of the survey were strikingly positive. When asked whether they agreed or disagreed that 'The city is a much better place after 2013', 72.6% of the young people replied

[11] This is one of the best-known visual arts prizes organised by the Tate Gallery (www.tate.org.uk/turner-prize/about). In 2013 it was the first time it had been held outside of England.

that they either strongly agreed or agreed; only 6.3% disagreed or strongly disagreed (see Table 6). This demonstrates the high degree of enthusiasm for CoC among young people, and connects to other research showing strong belief that CoC helped make D/L a much improved city to live (Boland, Murtagh and Shirlow, 2016). Grammar and non-selective school students were likely to either strongly agree or agree that the city was a much better place after 2013 (73.2% and 72% respectively), although those from selective schools were slightly (7.7%) more likely to strongly agree. Catholic pupils were more likely to either strongly agree or agree with this statement at 74.9% (see Figure 6), whereas the same response amongst Protestants was lower at 65.8% (see Figure 5). This suggests that Catholic grammar school students perceive the largest degree of positive change in the city after 2013, while those who attend Protestant and non-selective schools are less enthusiastic about the effects of CoC on the city.

Insert Table 6

Insert Figure 5

Insert Figure 6

With reference to cross-community activity, 37.4% of respondents strongly agreed or agreed that they had met new people as a result of CoC with 34.7% disagreeing or strongly disagreeing with this statement (see Figure 7). While responses were almost evenly divided on this issue, 37.4% represents a significant number of young people making new social connections due to CoC. The difference between Catholic pupils (14.8%) and Protestant pupils (11.2%) strongly agreeing with this statement was minimal, showing that CoC had social benefits for both groups. The Integrated school was lower at 9.2%; by definition such schools offer more social mixing. Regarding spending time with people from a different religious community, one third (33.8%) of respondents either strongly agreed or agreed that they had spent time with people from another community due to CoC. This disaggregates to 33.7% of those from Catholic schools, 29% from Protestant school and 37.5% of those from the Integrated School strongly agreeing or agreeing that they had spent time with people from another community. This suggests that CoC created opportunities for significant numbers of young people to make links beyond their own traditions. Respondents were also asked for their opinion on how CoC had affected community relations between Protestants and Catholics. The most common answer, both overall and within each religious category of school, was that it had had no effect (41.9%); however, the next most common answer was that it had made community relations better (32.3%), only 1.9% thought it had made things worse while 23.9% did not know. The belief that CoC has made community relations better was highest among respondents from Catholic schools (33.5%), and lowest among those from Protestant schools (29.1%). There was little variation in responses from grammar and non-selective schools. The key point here is that these results show that nearly a third of young people thought CoC had enhanced community relations, over a third said that they had met new people, and a third had spent time with people from another community. We regard this as genuinely transformative in helping to break down sectarian barriers and encouraging young people to navigate across historically territorialised community boundaries. More theoretically, this validates claims regarding the 'curative powers' of culture as a resource for peace and reconciliation (Boland, Murtagh and Shirlow, 2016).

Insert Figure 7

We then asked respondents to agree or disagree with the statement 'City of Culture is of no interest to me at all'. Some 71.6% of respondents either disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement, showing high levels of interest in CoC among young people. This statement was strongly rejected by pupils across all schools. However, grammar school pupils were 13.1% more likely to strongly

disagree with the statement (37.7%) than those at non-selective schools (24.6%). This demonstrates that interest in CoC was higher amongst pupils from grammar schools, a phenomenon that reflects class differences in engagement with CoC. Typically, it is the more middle class, educated and wealthy people who engage with culture (on the problem of working class engagement in England see Allen and Hollingworth, 2013); however, initiatives such as ECoC and CoC are predicated on broadening class interest and engagement (DCMS, 2015; Garcia and Cox, 2012).

Insert Table 7

Pupils were then asked to agree or disagree with the statement 'The main point of City of Culture was to bring jobs to the city'. We found 17.5% strongly agreed or agreed that this had been the aim of CoC with a third choosing neither agree nor disagree (see Table 7). This shows that young people did not see jobs as the foremost objective of CoC despite it being a strategic priority for those designing and delivering CoC (Derry City Council, 2010, 2013a, b). Of those surveyed, pupils from non-selective schools were more likely to strongly agree or agree with the statement above (20.1%) than pupils who attended a grammar school whose response rate in this category was 14.2%. This greater concern about local employment among pupils of non-selective schools possibly reflects their greater prioritisation of jobs, rather than grammar school pupils whose immediate concern would be university. Also, 4.8% more from Catholic schools selected disagree or strongly disagree that the main point of CoC was to bring jobs to the city than those from Protestant schools (see Figure 8), suggesting marginally more concern about local employment among Protestant young people.

Insert Figure 8

In probing further we asked respondents to agree or disagree as to whether or not they thought CoC had brought jobs for young people. In total 52.2% of respondents agreed that CoC had done so; this shows a strong belief that CoC improved local employment prospects for young people suggesting they would be the 'ultimate beneficiaries' of CoC. In addition, smaller proportions selected neither agree nor disagree (21.6%) and either disagree or strongly disagree (15.7%) (see Table 8). Within this there was a 6.4% difference between the grammar and non-selective schools strongly agreeing or agreeing that CoC had brought jobs for young people, with 56% of grammar schools responding positively compared with 49.6% of non-selective school pupils. Those in Catholic education were 7.3% more likely to strongly agree or agree that CoC brought jobs for young people than their Protestant counterparts, reflecting the generally higher enthusiasm for CoC reported by Catholic school pupils throughout our survey (see Figure 9).

Insert Table 8

Insert Figure 9

Interestingly, the strong agreement (52.2%) that CoC brought jobs for young people was not reflected in their beliefs about their own individual employment prospects. When asked to respond to the statement 'City of Culture made me confident about getting a job in the city' only 17.1% agreed or strongly agreed, while the most common answer was neither agree nor disagree at 36.8% (see Table 9). This suggests that while young people had the general impression that CoC was good for young people's employment prospects, perhaps due to the prominence of this goal in the bid process and marketing materials, in their view they were unlikely to experience this hypothesised benefit. The difference between Catholic and Protestant pupils strongly agreeing or agreeing with this statement was minimal at 3.8%, with respondents across all groups most likely

to neither agree nor disagree with the statement (see Figure 10). Comparing Table 9 and Figure 10 with Table 8 and Figure 9 is very perplexing in that young people see CoC as creating jobs but not for themselves, indicating they do not in fact see themselves as the 'ultimate beneficiaries' of CoC.

Insert Table 9

Insert Figure 10

We then asked the respondents to agree or disagree with the statement 'City of Culture made me want to stay and work/study in Derry/Londonderry'. Only 22.4% of the pupils strongly agreed or agreed that CoC convinced them to remain in their home city and continue studying or secure employment; more strikingly, greater proportions neither agreed nor disagreed (35.5%) and disagreed or strongly disagreed (33.8%) with this statement (see Table 10). There was little difference between grammar and non-selective schools for this statement, with grammar school students only 1% more likely to strongly agree that CoC made them want to stay, study or work in the city. However, there were differences in terms of religion (see Figure 11). Catholic pupils were more likely to disagree or strongly disagree (34%) compared to Protestant pupils (23%) while those in the Integrated school reported the highest score of 45%. Once again, personal experiences did not bear out the belief in the general efficacy of CoC in changing young people's opportunities and plans; thus raising serious questions as to whether young people see themselves as the 'ultimate beneficiaries' of CoC.

Insert Table 10

Insert Figure 11

Our survey found that 56.7% of respondents agreed that 'City of Culture has made the city a better place for young people to live' with only 9.7% disagreeing or strongly disagreeing, there was minimal difference in the responses between the grammar and non-selective school responses. Protestants were 5.2% less likely (52.8%) to strongly agree or agree with this statement compared with 58% of Catholic pupils, reflecting the slightly higher approval shown by Catholic school pupils towards many aspects of CoC across our survey. Moreover, we also found that over half of respondents (53.5%) strongly agreed or agreed that CoC had given young people a voice, with only 14.9% disagreeing or strongly disagreeing. This demonstrates that most young people did feel that CoC had offered their age group a platform to express themselves during 2013. Again, there is another anomaly in these findings in that a widespread belief that CoC had improved the city for young people contrasts markedly with their relative lack of enthusiasm for staying in D/L.

Young people and the future

When asked to agree or disagree with the statement 'City of Culture has increased my hopes for the future', the most common response given was neither agree nor disagree (32%) (see Figure 12). However, respondents were more than twice as likely to strongly agree or agree (42.9%) than they were to disagree or strongly disagree (19%), suggesting strong support for the statement. The responses showed minimal variation between grammar and non-selective schools. The responses varied slightly more between those in Catholic education and those from Protestant schools, with Protestant pupils 4.2% less likely to strongly agree or agree and 5.1% more likely to disagree or strongly disagree. This reflects the general pattern across our survey of Catholic pupils reporting slightly more positive effects of CoC.

Insert Figure 12

We also asked the pupils to tell us both where they would like to live when they are 25[12] and where they expect to live at the same age. The replies were *overwhelmingly in favour of expecting and wanting to live away from the city* (see Figures 13 and 14). Before analysing the statistics our qualitative fieldwork helps set the context. In the focus groups conducted in working class housing estates many young people criticised the lack of employment opportunities emanating from CoC. They suggested that the hope they felt post-2013 involved relocating to a city that could fulfil on a *permanent basis* the job prospects that were currently not available in D/L. On this one of our focus group respondents opined on the ephemeral nature of employment: "There was nothing for young people, nothing. Even jobs, it was all casual work, bar work. How is that going to improve my future?" (Interview, 2015). Making a similar point, a youth worker explained:

> "During 2013 there was definitely a buzz about the young people. An excitement. Not to romanticise it too much but there was definitely a feeling that anything was possible, so there was. And then as 2014 rolled around that petered out. If we could have that energy and that feel good factor back it would do Derry all the good in the world" (Interview, 2015).

Figure 13 shows that when asked where they thought they would live at 25, the most common answer was in a different part of the UK or Ireland (33.7%), second was in another country (26.2%), only 6.6% expecting to live elsewhere in Northern Ireland, but a sizeable minority expecting to live either in the same part of D/L (15.5%) or elsewhere in the city (18.1%). Those attending a grammar school were 8.5% less likely to expect to live in the same part of the city (12.7%) than those who went to a non-selective school who reported a 21.2% expectation of living in the same part of D/L at age 25. Those who were in Protestant schools were twice as likely as Catholic pupils to expect to be living in the same area at 25.2% compared to 12.6%; while Catholic school students were 17.1% more likely to expect to be living in a different part of the UK or Ireland than those from Protestant schools. Overall, in both grammar and non-selective schools more pupils thought they would be living away from the city. Those from Protestant schools, however, were slightly more likely to want to live in another country (29.1%) than those from Catholic schools (24.3%), though this figure was highest for the Integrated school (30.2%). Catholic participants were considerably more likely to expect to live in a different part of the UK or Ireland than Protestant respondents, at 37.5% compared to 20.4%. Comparing Figures 13 and 14 young people were more likely to want to live in another country than to believe that they would, at 40.2% and 26.2% respectively, suggesting that the high youth migration from D/L is not just due to lack of opportunity in the region, but also reflects a desire of young people to leave in search of new life experiences elsewhere.

Insert Figure 13

Insert Figure 14

Given the general positivity of this survey the results from Figures 13 and 14 are quite remarkable in showing that *66.5% of young people expect that they will be living somewhere other than D/L and 68.7% want to live elsewhere*. This is a revelatory finding. In contradistinction to claims that young people would be the 'ultimate beneficiaries' of CoC we have revealed they are in fact continuing to act as *economic migrants* – reinforcing an established trend of out migration in search of work and life opportunities beyond the city. This runs contrary to the entire ethos of CoC in pledging to halt the 'brain drain' and retain young people (Derry City Council, 2010, 2013a, b). Overall, our survey suggests that *grammar school students and those attending Catholic schools assume they will experience a greater*

[12] Age 25 was selected in response to the initial piloting of the questionnaire with young people. They suggested that was an appropriate point in the future when they could imagine what they expected to be doing.

degree of mobility than those attending Protestant and non-selective schools, such that religion, class and academic attainment are relevant factors in young people's expectations of residence and migration. In D/L those from non-selective schools were only 3.3% more likely than grammar school pupils to report that they would most like to live in the same area as they do currently (17.9% vs 14.6%), but 8.5% (21.2% vs 12.7%) more likely to say they expected to live in the same area. Further, the higher numbers of Protestant pupils who would both like and expect to live in the same area of D/L is in line with previous studies of Protestant alienation and residualisation within the city (see Murtagh, Graham and Shirlow, 2008). Our focus group participants from Nelson Drive (Protestant area) were less inclined to want to move away from D/L. In citing reasons such as family ties, commitments to the flute band and an emotional attachment to home, they were not as motivated as the young people from Rosemount (Catholic area) to leave the city. These findings dovetail with Allen and Hollingworth's (2013) study of working class locales in three English cities (Stoke, Nottingham and Greater London). In crude terms, the Catholic middle class fit the 'mobile, aspirational and flexible' young persons championed by the creative economy discourse; while the Protestant working class reflect the mentality of 'defeat, fixity and failure' and the role of 'habitus'. However, we agree with Allen and Hollingworth (2013) that such a dichotomy is pejorative and misses out the impact of 'class and place' in shaping young people's attitudes towards mobility and migration.

Interestingly, one young person proffered an insightful comment on the migration drive; in so doing arguing blame cannot necessarily be laid at the door of CoC:

> "Well you wouldn't want to live here anyway because there's not much, it is a small city like too, at the end of the day it's a small city, if you want to go and see the world, you know what I mean. Even compared to Liverpool it's a whole different world like. *It's not like the city has done anything wrong, people just want to leave. You just want to get out and see the world, get a job somewhere else, make a different life. I don't think that's to do with the City of Culture, like*" (Interview, 2015, our emphasis).

A teacher made a similar observation on the city's economic and emigration situation:

> "But then our expectations of young people have to be aligned in reality, which means people moving to where the opportunity is. They [our expectations] also have to be feasible and realistic. Is it realistic that Derry can currently support all of its young people? No" (Interview, 2015).

Insert Figure 15

Insert Figure 16

We then asked pupils what they thought they would be doing when aged 25 and what they would most like to be doing at age 25. On both counts working full time was the most common answer, with 45.8% of pupils thinking they would be working full time and 46.4% hoping that would be in full time employment (see Figures 15 and 16). This underlines the importance of employment to young people's life trajectories. However, academic research (Boland, Murtagh and Shirlow, 2016) and official evaluation (Derry City and Strabane District Council, 2016) notes that one of the key failings of CoC was the inability to stimulate investment and jobs. As noted earlier the evidence shows that the employment targets attached to CoC did not materialise, and in this sense it has not met the needs of young people. We can therefore legitimately argue that in terms of jobs young people are evidently not the 'ultimate beneficiaries' of CoC. More grammar school respondents (21.7%) expected that they would be at college or university full time than those who

attended a non-selective school (11.5%) (see Figure 15). Similarly, grammar school pupils were also more likely to want to be at college or university full time as opposed to non-selective school students at 26% and 12.3% respectively (see Figure 16). Some 59.5% of those from non-selective schools expected to be working full time at the age of 25 compared with 39.6% of grammar school pupils, reflecting an expectation that grammar school students spend longer in higher education. However, only a minimal difference of 1.2% existed between grammar and non-grammar school pupils when it came to whether they would most like to be working full time (46.9% and 45.7%).

Some 42% of those from Protestant schools expected to be in full time employment whilst the figure for Catholic school students was 46.1% and 49.2% for Integrated school students. Even given this, those in Catholic education were still most likely to expect to be at college or university, with 42.3% of respondents selecting either college or university full time or college or university and working part time as their answer, compared to 39.7% of Integrated school pupils and 37% of Protestant students (see Figures 17 and 18). This tells us that those attending Catholic schools are more likely to expect to obtain both higher education and full time employment than those attending Protestant schools. These findings reflect the 'role of class' (Allen and Hollingworth, 2013) in relation to mobility and aspiration - the grammar school, wealthy and middle class students (largely Catholic) appear to be more mobile and migratory than the more homely and residualised poorer working class young people (mostly Protestant).

Insert Figure 17

Insert Figure 18

Conclusions

This paper presents the first definitive research focusing specifically on young people in a city of culture. In so doing, we have helped to plug an important gap in the literature and offer a significant contribution to extant knowledge on understanding exactly how young people experience and interpret a major cultural event. To date, no research offers a systematic study of this kind. In the proceeding paragraphs we summarise the key findings. The first point to make is that the results from the schools survey were extremely encouraging with young people reporting that CoC was a positive experience not only for themselves but for the city more generally. Despite variations in response rates from pupils of different school and community backgrounds there was a consensus among respondents that CoC was an enjoyable event with long-term impacts for the city. For example, 73% felt that D/L was a much better place after CoC, 81% were excited and proud of CoC and the events it offered, and 85% had attended an event during 2013. These, and other, figures show that CoC had a considerable affect upon the young people of D/L, and there was evidence that they were indeed 'cultural assets' during 2013. However, notwithstanding this, the fact that a significant majority of respondents from across all backgrounds both want and expect to leave the city for work, education or life experiences must be a major cause for concern for local stakeholders. Some of the findings regarding this were linked to religion, such as aspiration and mobility which appeared to be higher on both counts for Catholics, with Protestant respondents (particularly those from non-grammar schools) more inclined to both want and expect to stay, not only in D/L, but in the same area of the city. Also, issues emerged regarding grammar and non-grammar pupils, in particular the desire for and expectation of university attendance. This was higher for both grammar school pupils and Catholics, indicating that the middle class Catholic cohort of the city are considerably more upwardly mobile than working class Protestants. This is reflective of structurally embedded Protestant alienation and residualisation within D/L.

This paper has unpacked and analysed the extent to which young people in D/L related to and engaged with CoC, and how it affected their plans and aspirations for the future. We have problematized the claim that young people were the 'ultimate beneficiaries' of CoC; we show that young people, despite offering very positive views of 2013, see their future beyond the city of D/L. As such, the debilitating long-standing trend of *economic migration* will continue raising important issues for local politicians, planners and policy makers. This leads us to our contribution to knowledge. In the literature review we argued that cities of culture highlight the potential of young people for future economic success. However, drawing upon our research, we argue that without achievable, deliverable plans in place, focused on the retention of young people and their associated talent, the progressive effects of major cultural events may not be fully mobilised in the long term. Legacy plans need to address issues of emigration and unemployment as they are fundamental to how cities will grow and transform in years to come. Linking to broader studies, in this sense "raising young people's aspirations without providing labour market opportunities…is dangerous" (Allen and Hollingworth, 2013, p. 514). The access to and engagement with culture during the year in question unquestionably benefit young people (e.g. in terms of pride and social connections), but this must impact upon their career prospects to bring tangible benefits for cities' futures. Thus, our policy recommendation for cities around the world is to urge caution in identifying young people as the engines of socio-economic change. We say this because in today's globalised society, where the option of mobility is increasingly afforded to young people, using them as both the tool and legatees of change is precarious at best.

In terms of our contribution to academic scholarship we make the following points. This study reinforces the work of Allen and Hollingworth (2013) on the importance of 'class and place' in differentially shaping the attitudes and ambitions of young people; moreover, it terms of the wider objective of cities of culture it shows that "nurturing the local creative industries…is often an aspiration rather than reality" (p. 501). It is clear that young people are assigned significance in cultural events as potential future drivers of local economies. For us, it is noticeable that the concept of young people is not unpacked in the bid guidance or applicants' documents; they are largely interpreted as a coherent category. This paper has shown that young people is a more complex ontology, a demographic that cannot be neatly read off as one unified entity. Further, we reveal that, not limited to a divided city such as D/L, there are important differences across class, religion, gender and education that must be factored into analyses of cities of culture. This is because young people (plural) have different experiences and views, so it is not possible to make sweeping statements about how 'they' engaged with, participated in or perceived the culture on offer – empirical and conceptual nuance is required. This leads to our second point, we should therefore avoid uncritically reifying young people as the savours of the city, particularly in a policy environment where culture is neoliberalised and instrumentalised for economic ends. Another contribution is that analysts need to be careful when considering the success of a cultural event. If it is measured on criteria such as increasing involvement amongst different groups of young people with various cultural activities, as in D/L, then this is a legitimate measure of success. However, should we examine if the same people remain in the city after the event with a proportion becoming cultural entrepreneurs driving the 'creative economy', which has not happened in D/L, then that constitutes a very different slant on success. Relatedly, in an era of neoliberal-inspired *impact inflation* propelled by the 'transformative/curative' powers of culture there is a danger of elevated expectations quickly dissipating into deflation when economic targets are not met, especially on employment. Finally, this paper provides a robust conceptual unpacking of young people, and offers a more informed and insightful epistemic of young people in a city of culture; we welcome further contributions on this largely under-researched topic.

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Table 1

School name	Surveys completed	Enrolment (2013-4)	Sector	Description
Foyle College	103	854	Voluntary - Other Managed	Protestant co-ed grammar
Lisneal College	56	770	Controlled	Protestant co-ed secondary
Oakgrove Integrated College	139	871	Grant Maintained Integrated	Integrated co-ed
St Mary's College	162	887	Catholic Maintained	Catholic girls' secondary
St Cecilia's College	29	856	Catholic Maintained	Catholic girls' secondary
St Columb's College	103	1514	Voluntary-Catholic Managed	Catholic boys' grammar
Thornhill College	157	1400	Voluntary - Catholic Managed	Catholic girls' grammar

Figure 1

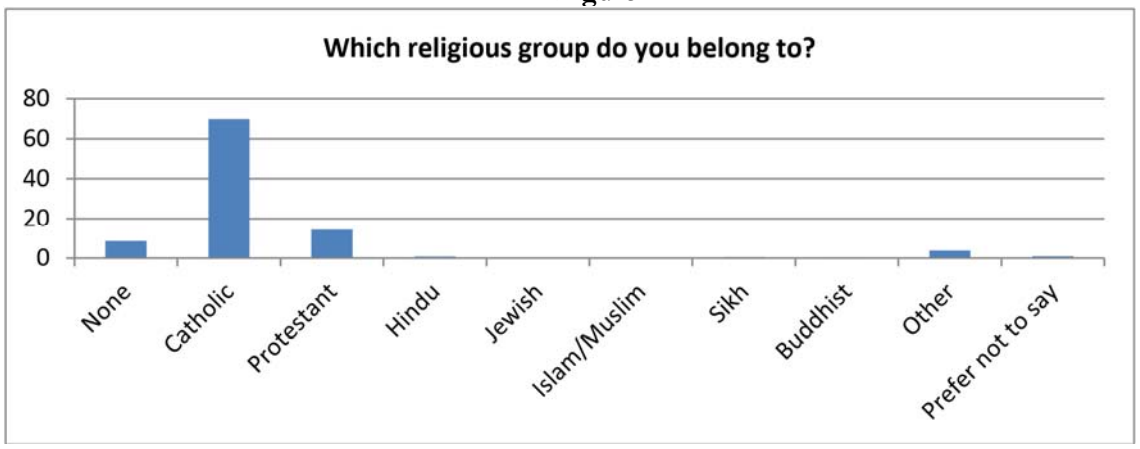

Table 2: Did City of Culture make you feel more proud of being from the city?	
Very Much	45.5%
A Bit	38.5%
Not Really	10.4%
Not At All	3.5%
Don't Know	2.1%

Figure 2: Did City of Culture make you feel more proud of being from the city?

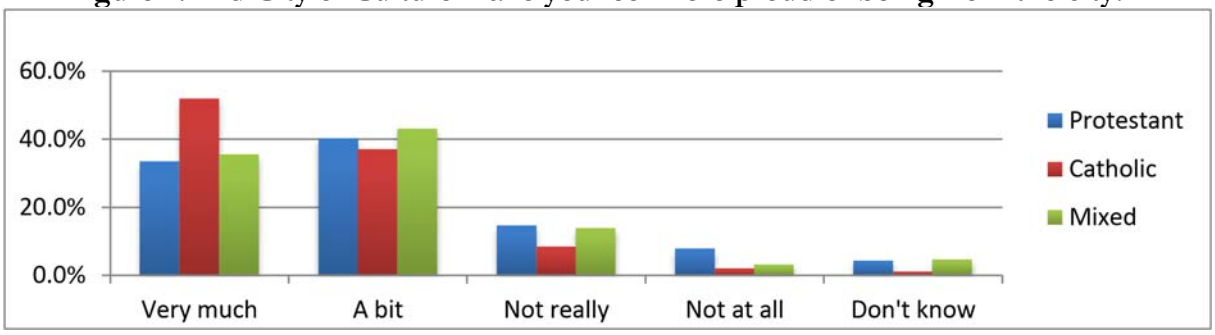

Table 3

Did you attend any City of Culture events as part of an audience?	
Yes	84.5%
No	15.5%

Table 4

If yes, how many?	
1-2	37.0%
3-5	33.9%
6-10	11.4%
11+	2.5%
Not Applicable	15.3%

Table 5

Did you take part in any City of Culture events?	
Yes	20.9%
No	79.1%

Figure 3

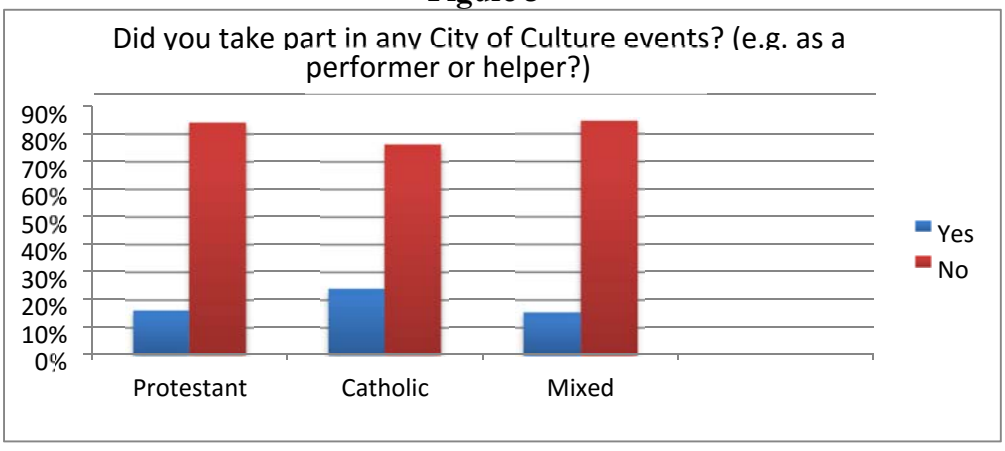

Figure 4

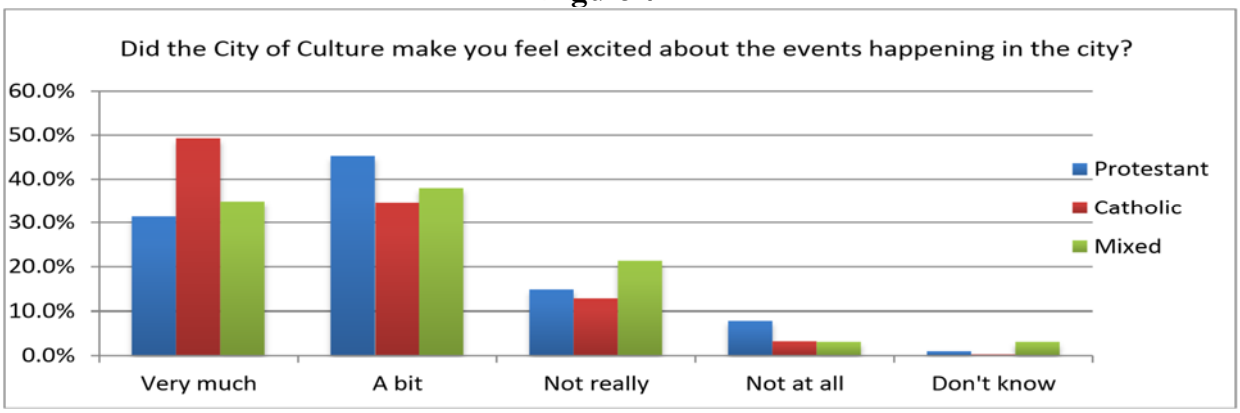

Table 6

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know/Refuse
The city is a much better place after 2013	21.3%	51.3%	17.9%	5.1%	1.2%	3.3%

Figure 5: Protestant pupils' views

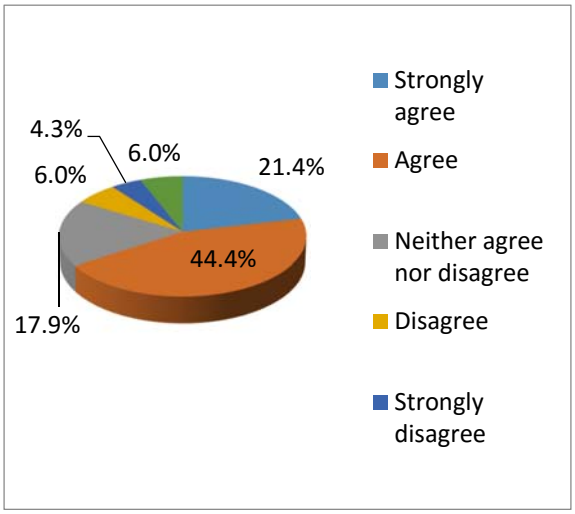

Figure 6: Catholic pupils' views

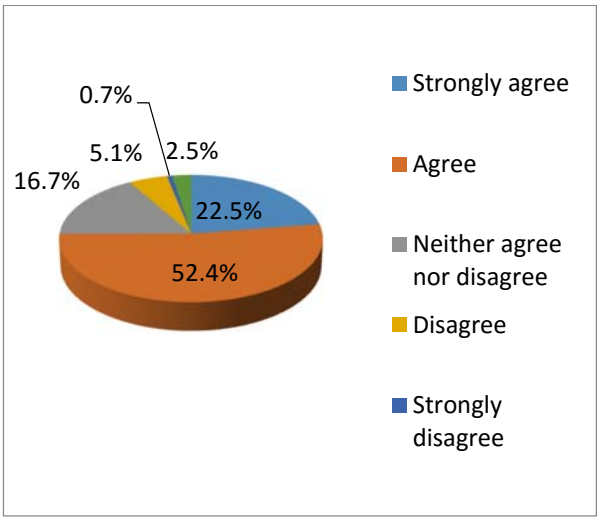

Figure 7: I met new people because of City of Culture

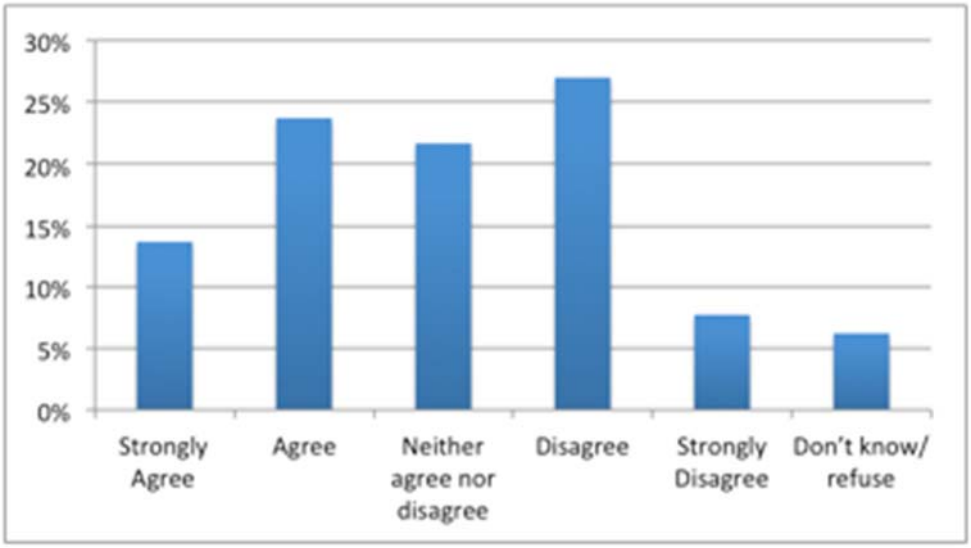

Table 7

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know/Refuse
The main point of City of Culture was to bring jobs to the city	2.1%	15.4%	33.3%	27.5%	8.0%	15.5%

Figure 8

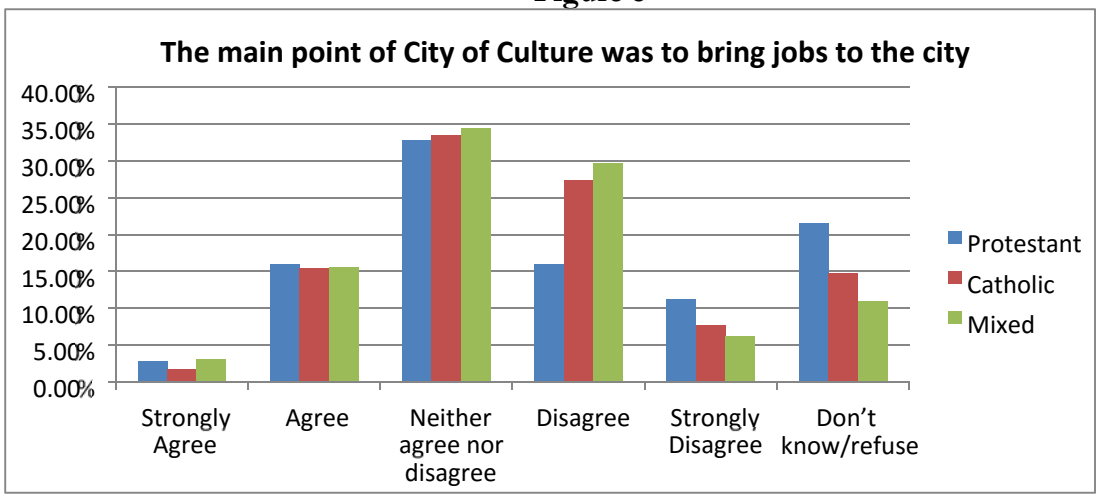

Table 8

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know/Refuse
City of Culture brought jobs for young people	5.8%	46.7%	21.6%	12.3%	3.4%	10.2%

Figure 9

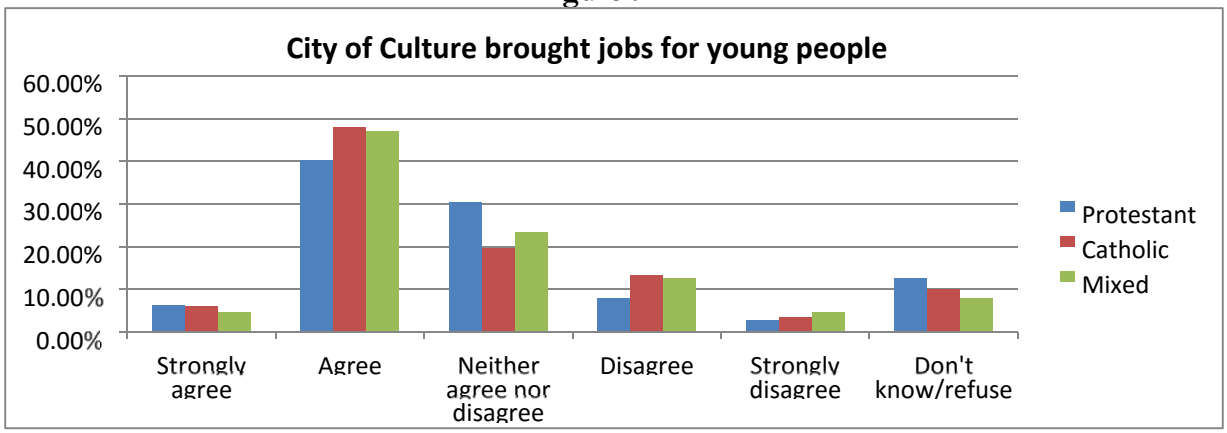

Table 9

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know/Refuse
City of Culture made me confident about getting a job in the city	3.3%	13.8%	36.8%	25.8%	10.5%	9.7%

Figure 10

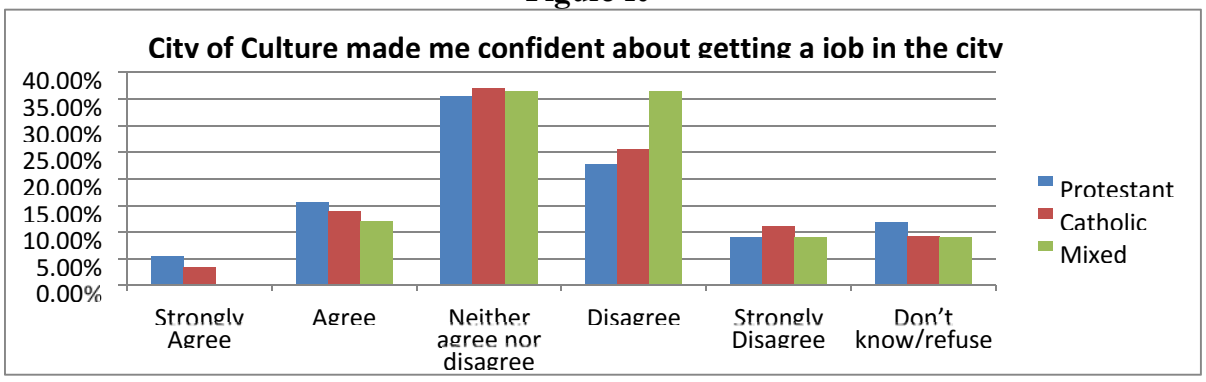

Table 10

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know/Refuse
City of Culture made me want to stay and work/study in Derry/Londonderry	5.2%	17.2%	35.5%	22.0%	11.8%	8.3%

Figure 11

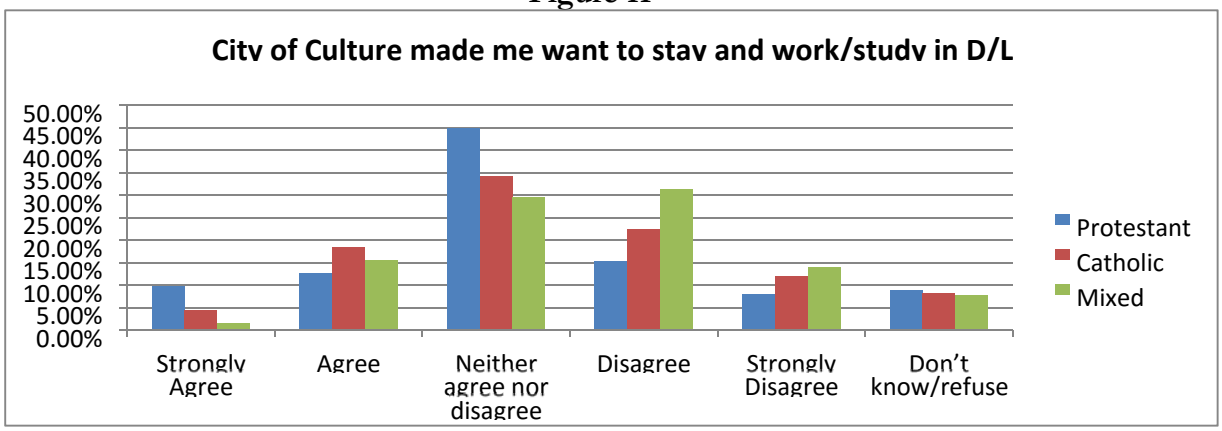

Figure 12

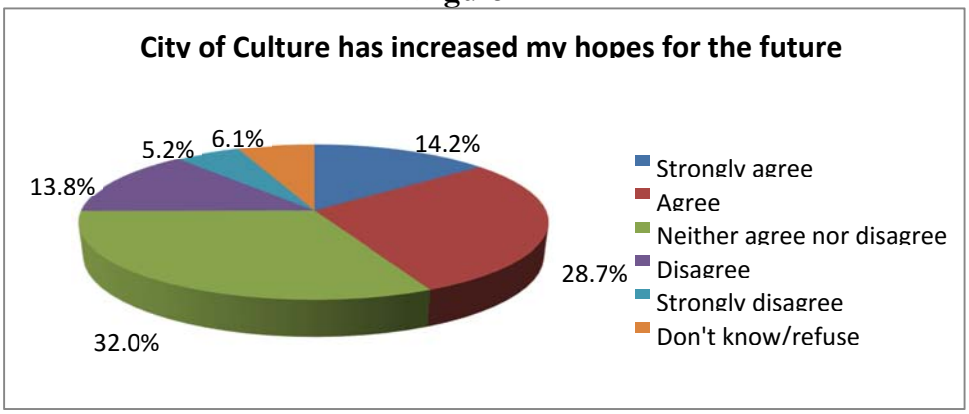

Figure 13

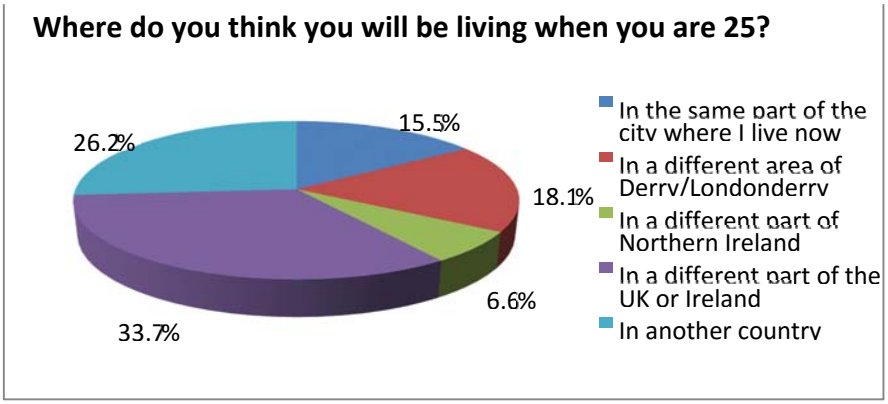

Figure 14

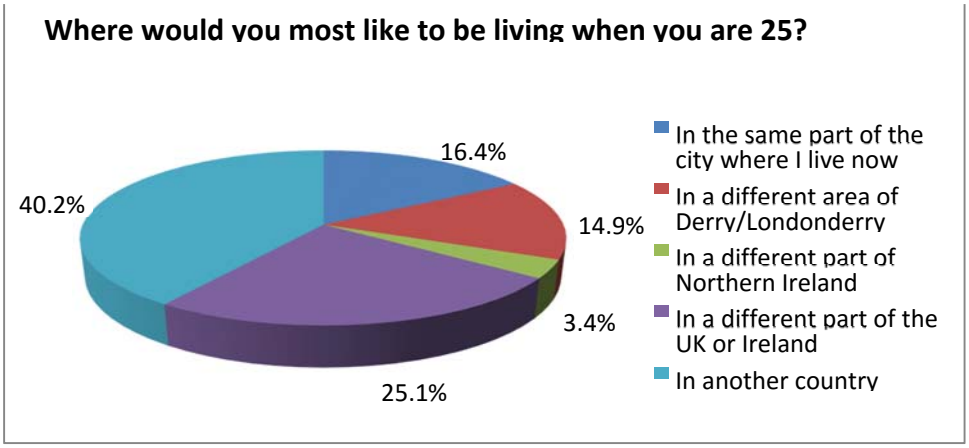

Figure 15

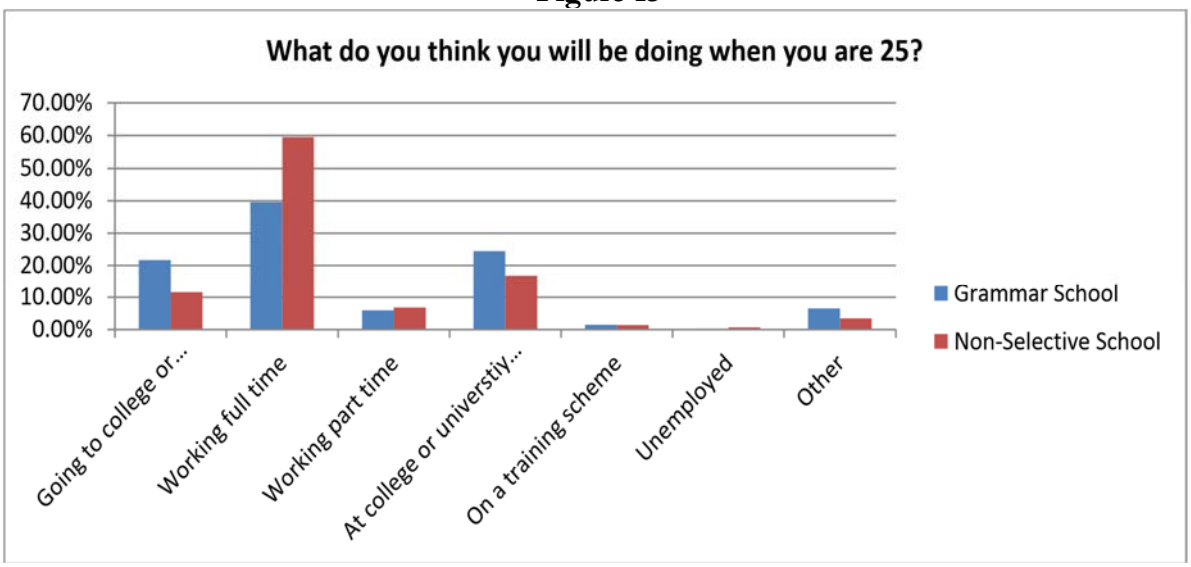

Figure 16

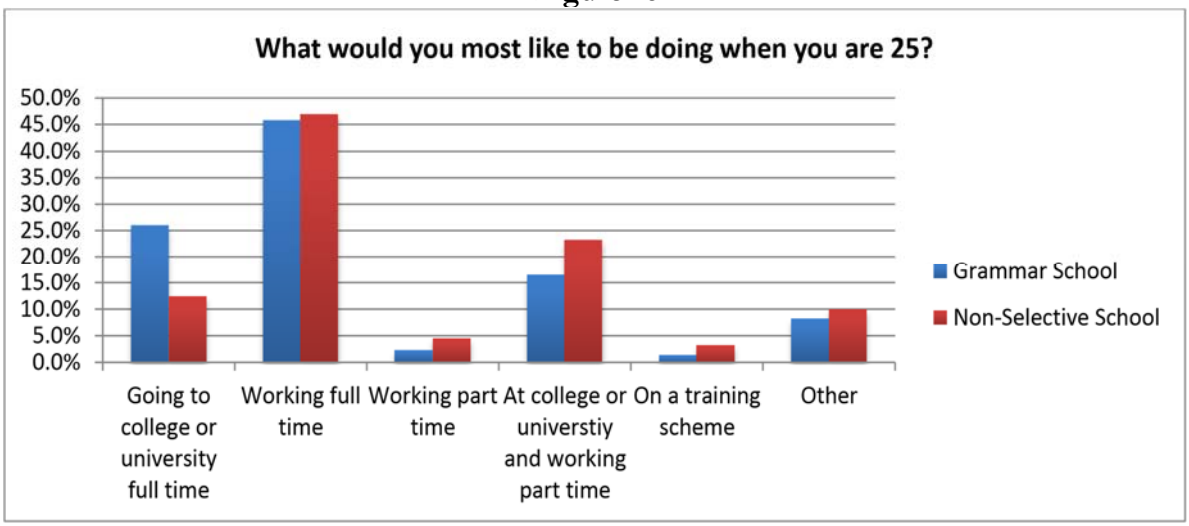

Figure 17

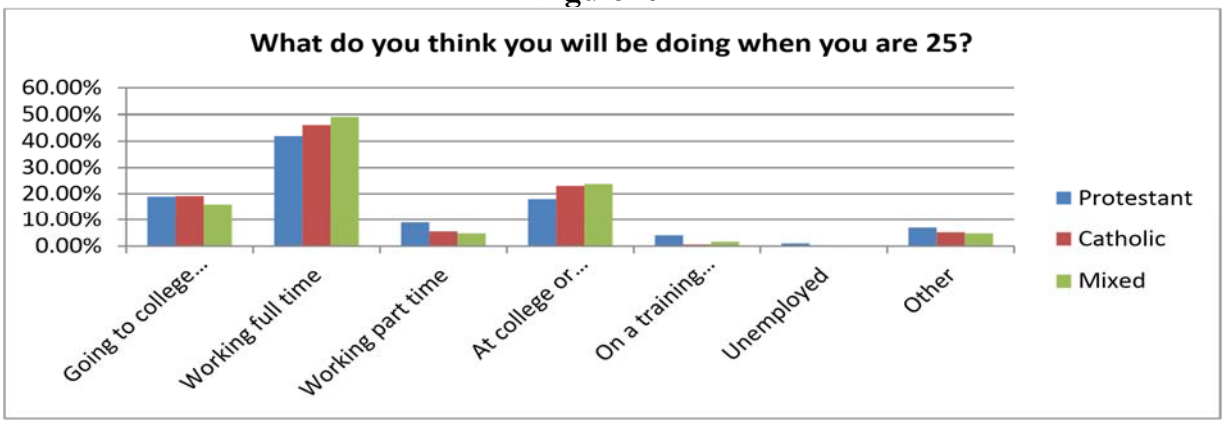
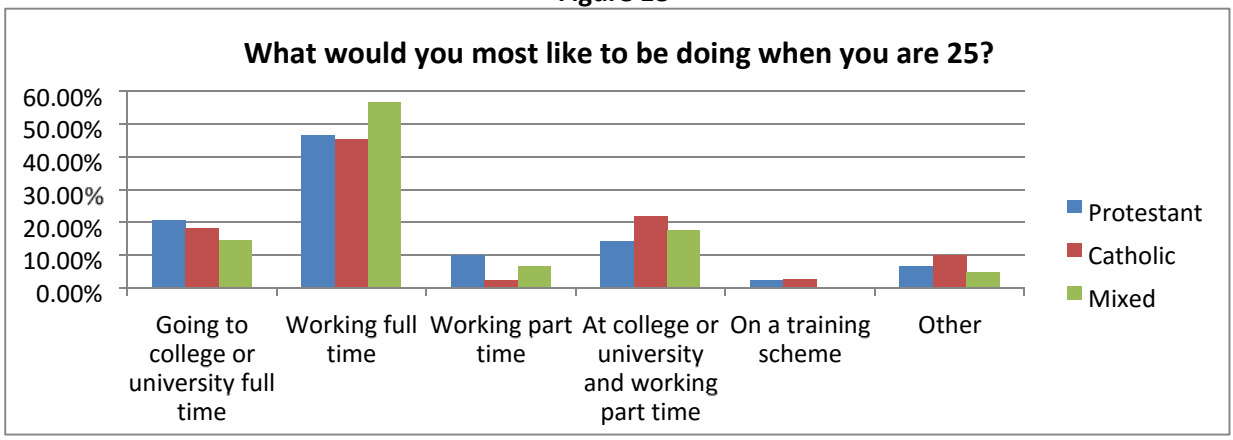
Figure 18