

## **Recession, Recovery, Regeneration and Resilience: Newport and the creation of movement cultures**

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This article aligns theories of city imaging and physical cultural studies to probe the city of Newport. This 'new' city shares many cultural and economic characteristics with the rest of Wales, but also reveals some significant differences. We focus on and probe the movement policies and cultures in the city, understanding the relationship between bodies and economics, cities and health. Through this discussion, we weave analyses of resilience through the paper, recognising that regeneration focuses on constructing and renovating buildings. We investigate how regeneration and resilience disconnect, with particular consequences for health. Part of this challenge emerges because of the inability to align sport and event tourism with the promotion of walking programmes for residents. Regeneration and resilience disconnect once more. Creating movement cultures is difficult. The ambivalent success of Newport's policies and initiatives offers both insights and warnings to other small cities.

**Key Words:** *Newport, regional development, city imaging, physical cultural studies.*

**Article Info:** Received: *May 10, 2017*; Revised: *September 14, 2017*; Accepted: *November 5, 2017*; Online: *November 25, 2017*.

### **Introduction**

The post-industrial economic and social landscape rebounds with cracks and ruptures. The industrial revolution was – as the noun suggests – a propulsive, dense change. Yet Fordism and post-Fordism, industrialisation and post-industrialisation, have left scars on the landscape. The Global Financial Crisis – and its waves of aftershocks – disempowered the already disempowered

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(Lapavitsas, 2013). For Welsh cities and towns, still managing the impact of Margaret Thatcher's vicissitudes, the loss of manufacturing jobs and the recession of the 1980s, subsequent economic and social shifts through Brexit will only intensify the deep impact (Williams, 2016). This is not a stable economy or social structure. Welsh nationalism swerves, jolts and agitates through this volatile international system. For cities managing old injustices in a 'new' economy, the cycles of recession, recovery, regeneration and resilience are volatile, accelerated and unstable.

Through the crashes of recession and the hopes of recovery, two new tropes have entered the regional development and city imaging literature: resilience and sustainability (Sensier and Artis, 2016). In formerly colonised nations, managing the debris of formerly successful industries, the capacity to create and imagine new reasons for their existence is limited. For Wales, a nation more dependent on manufacturing and the public sector than other regions of the United Kingdom, economic development is more difficult to create and sustain. When regions confront obstacles in configuring new reasons for their existence, a cascade of troubled policy documents follow. With a softening labour market, housing, education and health facilities also crumble.

This article explores the city of Newport. This 'new' city shares many cultural and economic characteristics with the rest of Wales, but also reveals some significant differences. We focus on and probe the movement policies and cultures in the city, understanding the relationship between bodies and economics, cities and health. This discussion is part of the wider project of physical cultural studies. Through this discussion, we weave analyses of resilience through the paper, recognising that regeneration focuses on constructing and renovating buildings. Resilience explores a strengthening of the body politic. We investigate how regeneration and resilience disconnect, with particular consequences for health. Newport demonstrates the difficulty in building economic development and movement cultures. Part of this challenge emerges because of the inability to align sport and event tourism with the promotion of walking programmes for residents. Regeneration and resilience disconnect once more. Creating movement cultures is difficult. The ambivalent success of Newport's policies and initiatives offers both insights and warnings to other small cities.

As with the wider city imaging literature, this is a theoretical piece. Deploying already existing data sets from layers of government, theorisations of space, urbanity and development align. This is not a work of empiricism. Indeed, as Simon Winlow stated, 'now is the time to dispense with dour empiricism and recommit to creative, ambitious and imaginative intellectualism' (Redhead, 2017, cover). This article shows the strength of interrogative and ambitious theoretical work, operating against simplistic and reified 'scientific methods'.

### **Welsh nationalism and the challenges of Cardiff**

Welsh nation building has created momentum for Cardiff's urbanity, forging a capital city (Johnes, 2012). Wales is composed of an array of diverse regions: the North West, North East (Border and Coast), Central Wales, the South East,

Swansea Bay and Pembrokeshire (Winter, 2008). Such new national and urban imaginings are unstable. Bonn in West Germany and Canberra in Australia were and are two other examples of flawed, invented urbanities. They are, as Martin Johnes realised, 'often contested or the subject of resentment elsewhere' (2012, 509). Historically, the residents of Cardiff did not speak Welsh in the numbers seen in the rest of the country. For Cardiff, sport filled the representative breach. Cardiff - as the 'home of rugby' - conferred, configured, promoted and promulgated Welshness through sport rather than language. Yet the focus on the service industries in Cardiff - cafes, restaurants and the Millennium Stadium - only increased the gulf and distinction from the rest of the country. Cardiff is oddly positioned in both the British and European landscape. Michael Parkinson and Jay Karecha asked the key question: is Cardiff, 'A competitive European City?' (2006). Any answer to this question is ambivalently constituted.

Cardiff is a distinctive city that also reveals similarities with cities around the world. Half the Welsh population live in Cardiff, with 1.4 million people resident within 20 miles of the city (Barry, 2011, 20). This circumference includes Newport, the Vale of Glamorgan, Bridgend and the Valley. Cardiff provides one-third of the employment for these authorities (Barry, 2011, 10). Yet the challenges of rail governance in Wales results in fragmentation and conflicting responsibilities (Barry, 2011, 7). Wales captures the problematic trajectory of regeneration. More money has been spent on economic regeneration in Wales than any other part of the United Kingdom (Barry, 2011, 8). Yet the 'success' of this funding is difficult to ascertain - particularly beyond Cardiff - because of the scale of the decline confronted by the Welsh economy.

City imaging is often city competition. Dual cities are often duelling cities - Brighton and Hove, Bathurst and Orange, Minneapolis and Minnesota. The relationship between Cardiff and Newport is different: a capital city and an emerging city within proximity. This relationship remains the key to understanding the emerging and sustainable urbanity of Wales. Newport holds many geographical advantages, including proximity to England. But the economic sustainability of Newport remains ambivalently constituted. Residents must have the opportunity to work. When employment is uncertain, the option is either to move or commute. This choice and decision are intensified if transportation infrastructure is also problematic.

The competition between cities often involves branding and marketing to attract businesses and corporate headquarters. Increasingly some attention focuses on liveability, where cities are ranked for their family friendliness, health and wellbeing. A key characteristic of this liveability is individual mobility, the capacity to enjoy a city with a functional public transportation system. Walking and cycling also play a key role (Brabazon, McRae & Redhead, 2015). Therefore to create space and separation - in terms of branding, marketing and liveability - Newport must produce and disseminate difference and distinction.

### **Why Newport?**

Noting Cardiff's dominance and the challenging regeneration politics of the capital city, the question is what else could be done to develop Welsh economic

and social policy, while addressing health concerns in the region. Newport's status as a 'gateway city' recognises its positioning between England and Wales, but also the complex and interesting relationship between the urban and rural in Newport policy-making. By the 2011 census, Newport was the third largest city in Wales with a population just under 150,000 people. Its closeness to Cardiff – 19 kilometres – means that the two cities, as an urban conurbation, encompass just over one million people. Newport was granted city status in 2001.

It has many characteristics that make it historically, economically and culturally unusual. It is a port city, built on – and out of – the Roman town of *Cærleon*. As with much of Great Britain, the industrial revolution was the period of economic growth, social change and pummelling health concerns. The port was used for coal exports from the South Wales valleys. Up until the 1850s, more coal passed through Newport's port than Cardiff. With the decline of coal throughout the twentieth century, Newport continued to maintain engineering and manufacturing services. Therefore, compared with many Welsh towns, Newport has a broader economic base, including foundries, a cattle market and a retail sector that serviced and serves Monmouthshire. While the steelworks declined through the 1980s, public sector employment increased, and the Inmos microprocessor factory laid the foundation for technology-based industries. A music industry also emerged, with journalistic clichés of the 'new Seattle' following it (Walton, 2009).

Private investment is making a difference, with £3 billion provided for the service and digital industries. Commuters now flow into Newport, rather than simply leaving each day to work in Cardiff-based industries. But post-industrialisation and depopulation have left their fingerprints on Newport, compressing the economy and economic development with profound consequences for health and wellbeing. By the 2001 Census, Newport's residents were managing limiting long-term illnesses at a greater number than the national average.

Geographical determinants frame economic, social and health success, failure and stagnation. Newport is positioned between England and Wales, Cardiff and Bristol. The borough is dominated by countryside (Newport City Council, 2005). Therefore, policy initiatives must manage rural and urban populations and the specific and distinctive challenges in both environments, with regard to health facilities, transportation, communication infrastructure, employment and unemployment.

Recognizing this social and economic landscape, research complexity is added when attempting to align economic injustices and health. There is a correlation between class and health, economic resilience and physical resilience. Therefore, from the challenges confronting Newport and Wales more generally, how can policy frame and enable health and wellbeing? How can residents be encouraged to walk, share, participate and collaborate? Policy and policy instruments like publicly-distributed walking maps are important, but their capacity to generate social change is debatable and is revealing minimal impact in Newport. It is a test case city for strong and incisive policy interventions from the local council, but with little social transformation in the lives and health of residents.

Newport City Council in their policy development focuses on four key areas:

- Helping more people into jobs
- Improving Health
- Developing strong and safe communities
- Creating better jobs and skills (Newport City Council, 2005, 9).

Two of the four initiatives are focused on work, one on health and one on community development. Movement cultures – exercise – is not addressed by name, but buried in the word ‘health’. That lack of visibility is important to note. Also, the social and health consequences of automobiles must also be lodged. Walking, cycling and public transport all provide alternatives to the car. Newport, like Manchester, offers great potential for the use of waterways and canals. However the challenges in the city centre – derelict shops, pubs and clubs with few wider opportunities for retailing or cultural facilities (Newport City Council, 2005, 20) - are not only issues of branding for tourists, but liveability for residents. If public spaces are not configured as safe, then walking and cycling are not possible. Further, provision of community spaces and sporting facilities are also crucial. Newport City Council, in response to these goals, has created a Health, Social Care and Wellbeing Strategy, to integrate health and social care. Once more, exercise and movement are overlooked amid discussions of ‘health’ and ‘wellbeing’. However, this strategy is important to note and discuss because it moves the focus from acute care to primary and preventative health care.

This policy recognises that organised sport is not the answer to health concerns in a non-school age population. Also, sport – particularly organised sport – remains classed. For example, Daryl Leeworthy researched the relationship between unemployment, working class culture and greyhound racing in South Wales (2012). While the industry showed few profits in the conventional sense, the popularity of the industry was clear: an ‘entertainment rather than employment’ (2012, 64). It was also entertainment rather than a movement culture. Sport remains important to Wales socially and economically, and it also holds a differentiating function. This functionality is also revealed in the focus city of this article, with concerns emerging in both the tourist branding through sport and the physical cultures of residents.

Newport was the host of the 2010 Ryder Cup, resulting in what John Harris and Andrew Lepp refer to as ‘the commodification of particular aspects of place’ (2011, 58). Such an event captures the significance of Newport, and the way in which movement cultures are being used to reimagine an urban, modern Wales that is outside of Cardiff’s pull. Golf tourism is a small part of a minor component of sport tourism. Yet the use of golf was important, providing a way for Newport to move outside of the ‘long-lived ... shadow of Cardiff, particularly in the post-devolution age’ (2011, 62).

Sport matters for Newport, but without the nationalist focus on rugby – intensified through the Millennium Stadium – other options were and are explored for residents and tourists. Organized sport, including rugby, football, golf, cycling and tennis, are all present in Newport. Annual sporting events, including the Wales Open European Tour tournament, a half marathon, the

Welsh Open snooker tournament and the Elemis Invitational trophy tennis tournament are all held within the city.

Such alternative sports and event tourism are important initiatives. Cardiff became the focus of the Welsh Development Agency, using the Millennium Stadium to align sport and culture and – so the narrative progresses – regeneration. Yet outside of Cardiff, regeneration is more unevenly distributed, revealing differing economic, social and cultural capacities. Too often the focus is on the regeneration of buildings, disconnected from health, exercise and movement. Any analysis of physical, cultural studies or movement cultures must acknowledge how and why the devolution of power to Wales has resulted in a focus on health (or in effect ill-health) policy. Mark Drakeford described this project for the Welsh Assembly: ‘making a difference in conditions of difficulty’ (2006, 543). The challenges emerge because the overwhelming majority of the funding provided from Whitehall for Wales is spent on health or the consequences of poor health. The health budget dominates all other economic areas and social functions (Drakeford, 2006, 544).

Tourism is – too frequently - the industry and the easy solution offered for regional regeneration, unemployment and underemployment (Richards and Wilson, 2007). When aligned with sport, sports tourism seems an ideal propulsion for economic development. Yet the ambivalent economic record of mega sporting events – such as the Olympics, World Cup and Commonwealth Games (Cox, McGillivray & McPherson, 2014) – means that the local and minoritarian sports tend to be understudied. Similarly, the wider investigation of movement cultures as part of leisure is complex to research, because it is difficult to unpick it from everyday life and consumerism. Significant new tropes are emerging to enable such studies, including deviant leisure and extreme anthropology.

With capital cities claiming national and international mega-events, minoritarian events, at best with international media coverage, are available for second and third tier cities. Golf and tennis events are particularly well nested in these smaller cities. The warm up to Wimbledon in London is in Eastbourne, held the week before the globalised and televised event. Similarly Newport claimed the 2010 Ryder Cup, the biennial golf competition between Europe and the United States. Held by the Celtic Manor Resort, it ran with practice sessions from September 28, with matches starting on October 1. The event had to be extended to October 4 because of inclement weather. Golf tourism is a specialist but affluent leisure event, with golfers attracted to play the course. The advantage of Newport as a location is that day trips from England were possible, but this proximity also reduced the tourist revenue, particularly hotel accommodation. As shown by the Ryder Cup, the pull of the M4 corridor around Newport is an integral connective tissue to the city, enabling access to sport, work, leisure and accommodation. Increasingly, the status of a city is determined by the success of what Mark Barry has described as ‘intra- and inter-regional public transport systems’ (Barry, 2011, 3). Newport possesses this advantage.

Significantly after the success of the Ryder Cup in 2010, major events did not flock to the city. A NATO summit for 2014 was held in Newport. But the challenge of events and event tourism is that infrastructure and planning are required, yet the events are transitory and ephemeral. Without regular sporting

events – such as Bathurst's 'Great Race' and Eastbourne's tennis – smaller cities must continue to bid for events, yet the medium and long-term sustainability is doubtful. Newport is an archetype of this problem.

### **Beyond the event: health and regional policy**

While the Ryder Cup was configured as 'successful', with the criteria through which we assess event success still ambivalently constituted, structural concerns remained in any consideration of health and wellbeing of Newport's population. The disconnection between event management and health management is clear. Elite sporting success does influence the movement culture of a population beyond the ambivalently constituted 'inspiration' in watching elite athletes. It is much more difficult to move an inactive individual to activity in the long term than to project manage an event. Similarly, the interests of residents and tourists are distinct. 'Areas of concern' for the residents that were addressed in Newport's *Health, Social Care & Wellbeing Strategy 2011-14*, included six variables:

- Overweight or obese adults
- Overweight or obese children and young people
- Smoking
- Alcohol misuse
- Poor mental health
- Promoting independence (2011, 7-8).

The capacity of a council – or any organisation - to manage these frequently conflating challenges are variable, but proposed solutions included increasing the level of physical activity, self-management health strategies and care for high risk patients (Healthy Newport, 2011).

These challenges for health policy dominate Welsh economics. Through decades of investment in Wales, it remains, as Brand, Hill, Munday and Roberts described as 'the poorest region of the UK mainland in terms of key indicators of personal economic well-being' (1997, 219). The nation is still managing the consequences of deindustrialisation and the cost of single-industry cities losing that industry. The service sector – including health, education, hospitality and tourism – requires risk management and commitment from small to medium-sized enterprises to create a business and employ staff. This entrepreneurial culture is difficult to develop, continue and sustain when health and wellbeing are also residing at low levels.

Newport has geographical advantages that others cities and towns do not possess. Because of its mixed urban and rural landscape, Newport City Council has promoted an array of policies to encourage their population to move into the proxemic countryside. The 'Let's Walk Newport' policy and the programme has created, mapped and promoted walks around Newport that vary in length and difficulty. 'Let's Walk: Small Feet' is a child-friendly and family-oriented pro-gramme. Each programme includes a map, instructions about what to bring on the walk, length of time, and sites. The framing legislation for this initiative is *The Countryside and Rights of Way Act 2000*, enabling residents to walk unencum-

bered through public as well as private country spaces. Therefore the next section of this article addresses mobility for individuals and how strategies and policies for community movement cultures and city imaging can be created and aligned.

### **The pretence of distinctiveness**

While an array of cities attempt to be ‘world-class’ or ‘world-leading’, this distinctiveness (Lee, 2007, 3) must be based on a strong economic foundation. This brand distinctiveness can be created through selling and mobilising a particular version of a moment of history and/or the built environment. Regional development is an unusual arm of policy development and research. The relationship between theory and application, universities and communities, is much tighter and more obvious. Philip Boland described this as ‘the theory-policy interface of local economic development’ (2007, 1019). The theories of cities, including city imaging and city modelling, alongside the complex configurations of regional development, means that practice is always praxis. Increasingly, there is a regional development industry, with a knowledge industry to underpin it (Lagendijk and Cornford, 2000). It is an intricate interface where the word ‘stakeholder’ holds some content.

Regional development dances in and around globalization and localism. Cities operate in competition with other cities for e-events, businesses and people. City regions require the activation of complex and specialised knowledge detailing transportation networks, education, retail and diverse employment opportunities. There must also be attention to branding, marketing and design. Cities are frames, spaces and places for consumption.

While the goal is the development of distinctiveness, globalization – and globalized city imaging policies – deploys the same levers and strategies, creating what Boland described as ‘sameness in both policy and practice’ (2007, 1028). City modelling is based on an assumption – a foundational belief – that cities share more characteristics than differentiates them. City branding imagines, creates and confirms distinctiveness. Yet these contrapuntal forces are also framed by xenophobia and racism, a desire to confirm a hierarchy in the value of human life. As families, work and leisure transform, the accountability structures and social stabilities fracture (Sassen, 2015, xxii).

City imaging and creative industries policies, particularly as they have travelled around the world, have developed a ‘find and replace’ technique in policy and academic briefing documents. This means that – no matter what the city or town – a template or checklist that was often derived from Charles Landry or Richard Florida is imposed on distinct locations with distinctive needs. Neil Lee's work on Knowledge City-Regions confirms this tendency (2007). Invariably there is a mention of flexible working, mobility of the ‘creative’ workforce, the availability of technology, the educational attainment level of workers in the city, and urban branding to attract corporate headquarters. The very specific social and economic structure of Wales and its regions demands a more considered and reflexive approach.

Newport has advantages and disadvantages when configuring distinctiveness. The challenges have been listed in the One Newport's *Casnewydd Single Integrated Plan*.

The six priority themes are:

- Skills and Work
- Economic Opportunity
- Health and Wellbeing
- Safe and Cohesive Communities
- City Centre
- Alcohol and Substance Misuse (2014, 2).

Economic stability and opportunities for growth, health, safety, urban development and the prevention of addictive behaviours are key goals. But it is clear that 'quality of life' – however it is defined – remains the pivotal concern. Health undergirds many of these challenges, with the necessity to create integrated models of care to continue the independence of residents and reduce hospital admissions (One Newport, 2014, 7). Preventative care, through exercise, is also stressed, with WALK Newport the clearest example. Newport's population is (moderately) increasing, but so is the age of the population. However, such policies – although incredibly important to residents – work against innovative branding strategies for the city and region.

The distinctive trajectory being managed by Wales, and particularly Newport, is how to reverse the trends for obesity, physical inactivity and poor health, while also promoting outdoor recreation for residents, and perhaps visitors. The Countryside Council for Wales (CCW), alongside the Forestry Commission Wales and the Welsh Government commissioned a Wales Outdoor Recreation Survey (2011), with the goal of increasing the place of 'the countryside' for residents and visitors. What the survey revealed is that 95% of the Welsh adult population had ventured outdoors in the previous 12 months (2011, 16). This high average was mitigated by a range of social factors. The higher the academic qualifications, the more likely they were to have participated in outdoor activities. The widest differential in any social variable enabling activities in the outdoors was with regard to disability (2011, 16). For all groups, walking was the most frequent activity undertaken while outdoors (2011, 16). The reasons for this movement were also probed. One quarter confirmed health and exercise. Another 25% walked their dog. Just under twenty percent in each category walked to enjoy the weather or for pleasure (2011, 34).

The other key challenge in the configuration of regional policy is the management of digitization and deterritorialization. Both are a characteristic of digital economies. Products can be purchased online and delivered anywhere in the world. For a local economy to function, reintermediation and reterritorialization strategies must be in place. Gerald Raunig has defined reterritorialization as 'assembly, condensation, intensification, but not as a recourse to familiar territory, a stable community, an originary protection' (2013, 15). Raunig used the factory not only as a metaphor, trope and image to reconnect place with industry, but also to understand 'factories of knowledge'. He wanted to understand how institutions of learning – particularly universities – facilitated what he described as, 'a complex space of the overlapping of the

most diverse forms of cognitive, affective, subservient labor' (2013, 15). While such statements are generalised and perhaps of value, the intent is clear. How are analogue environments granted meaning in and through proliferating digitisation?

Branding and city imaging are based on claims – real or imagined – of distinctiveness. Neil Lee confirmed that the most successful cities, 'tend to be distinctive, with unique identities, niche economic sectors and individual characters' (2007, 3). Importantly, Lee logged the intense relevance of economic distinctiveness, enabled through an industrial base.

If an industry can be tethered to a locally-specific industry, then branding and economic development can conflate. The best examples of this tendency include the food-related industries, like Cheddar, Stilton or King Island Cheese, Aberdeen Angus or Champagne. These foods are in place, and in a place, and gastronomic tourism can result from such a connection. Similarly, the environment is a key determinant for walking or cycling holidays or, in the case of Bathurst's Mount Panorama in Australia, a car race. Activity and leisure are nested in a location. If this distinctiveness is real, owned and authentic, then functional and effective strategies can be created to align the needs of residents and the goals of tourists. But in Newport, such tissues of connectedness between residents and visitors, health and movement cultures, events and exercise, have not yet been found.

### **From Event Cultures to Movement Cultures**

Participation in movement cultures – whether organised sport, recreation or engaging with open spaces – is transformative to individuals and communities. Wales is punctuated by National Parks, walking trails and cycling tracks. If movement cultures can be aligned with the shifts in the political economy, then sustainable and productive relationships can be created between the landscape, social and economic development. An increase in walking and cycling enhances the use of the environment for physical activity, and builds conscious links between health, sport and recreational activities. Outdoor facilities are enabling structures. These can include cycle routes, footpaths and playing fields. The key is to allow and encourage a diversity of movements. 'Organized' use of equipment and space in organized sports is only a very small part of how movement can be summoned throughout the environment. Universal design enables all people – regardless of ability or impairment – to move, play, communicate and socialize through spaces in a way that is safe and productive.

Too often, this complex series of debates about leisure, recreation and movement is distilled into an ugly, awkward and unfortunate word: lifestyle. Jen Beaumont defined lifestyle as 'a way of living: the things that a particular person or group of people usually do. Lifestyles are based on individual choices, characteristics, personal preferences and circumstances' (2011, 1). Actually, as shown by Maycroft, 'lifestyle' is a word with a recent etymology (2004). As consumerism started to infiltrate and replace leisure and recreation, the word 'lifestyle' – first as two words and then collapsed into one – started to be used. Enjoyment and pleasure was tethered to the purchase of goods.

The reasons for not participating in organised sport have been studied: lack of time, disability, the expense, a dislike of competition, lack of infrastructure and an absence of social context and network to share the experience (Beaumont, 2011, 21). Infrastructure matters, but too often movement cultures are collapsed into an inventory of the built environment: gyms, tracks and fields. Yet water-based recreation, particularly for Wales, is crucial to thinking about physical cultures (Church, Hughes and Taylor, 2008). Attention to water requires a careful and considered theorisation of regionality. But it also necessary for an expansive understanding of movement. As Church, Hughes and Taylor confirmed, Physical activity is one of the most undervalued interventions in improving public health. It is closely associated with better physical and mental health, reduced mortality and weight control (2008, 3).

Aerobic capacity, balance, endurance and coordination are all developed through moving our body through space. So much of movement culture focuses on indoor activity. Exercise videos and applications, alongside an array of telemarketed equipment, are designed and sold to be used in the home. Yet outdoor recreation, particularly walking, is a literal and metaphorical first step in reimagining movement, fitness and health. In the Wales Outdoor Recreation Survey, conducted in 2011 for the Countryside Council for Wales, Welsh Government and Forestry Commission, 6,393 telephone interviews were conducted between January 2011 and January 2012. The Report confirmed the key role of walking in any consideration of Welsh recreation. The intertwining of a desire to see the outdoors and to walk created a motivation to move.

'Nature' is never natural. The construction and preservation of a sustainable environment, including waterways, requires careful community planning and development, alongside an aligned strategy from local, Welsh and Westminster governments. The challenges are complex: managing environmental and population change, the shifts in the workplace and the economic base, the relationship between the public and private sector, balancing urban and rural life, sustainability and environmental protection, and the economic development through leisure, Wales is confronting an array of deprivations. Indeed, Louisa Nolan offered a 'Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation' (2011). She argued that understanding deprivation is a much more effective and complex concept than poverty. These markers of deprivation include income, housing, health, physical environment, employment, education, community safety and geographical access to services. The availability of housing stock remains a key challenge in Newport. Without stable housing, other social facilities and provisions are rarely successful. One key answer to managing multiple deprivations is integrated economic, social and environmental planning. This planning must triangulate transportation and communications, enlivening city centres while also diversifying rural economies (Department of Communities and Local Government). Experiences of a place are configured through multi-sensory input. That is why the verb 'walking' is often connected to wider questions of life. We walk through (the ruins) of our life. Popular music, in particular, deploys walking as a metaphor for diverse emotions, including Fats Domino's 'Walking to New Orleans', and Helen Schapiro's 'Walking back to Happiness'.

Walking remains a key and powerful movement culture. Requiring no equipment and accommodating a myriad of fitness levels, it is a particularly

important activity when assessing strategies to enable health and leisure-based industries for Newport. Tim Ingold & Jo Lee Vergunst published a powerful ethnography, which they subtitled, 'the practice of the foot' (2008). They recognise that walking is a movement of the entire body, but that walking is also a metaphor for life. Importantly, and appropriately following in the footsteps of de Certeau (1993), they confirm that 'movement ... is not adjunct to knowledge, as it is in the educational theory that underwrites classroom practice. Rather the movement of walking is itself a way of knowing' (2008, 5). Movement in the body creates movement in ideas. Ingold & Vergunst described these as 'stories on foot' (2008, 9).

Understanding walking is both a theory and method to study public life and policy. There are also arrays of public structures, patterns and systems that can be evaluated through unobtrusive research methods. Jan Gehl & Birgitte Svarre probed *How to study public life* (2013). They showed the insights derived from reading and using architecture and observing people's behaviour in public space. For example, they showed the value in assessing how public benches are used. They are the punctuation for public movement cultures and provide information about how city spaces are mapped, used and discovered. Human movement engages with and shapes the built environment. Walking enables spaces to be discovered in different ways and modes.

Newport offers particular challenges when rebranding a place for a new economy, particularly when 'old economy' challenges of housing, education, health and employment remain. The advantages and benefits are clear. Newport is a 'gateway city' linking England and Wales. It also provides a port, tourism, internet broadband and a developing university. The mix between rural and urban environments means that tourism and heritage management is viable as is an array of walking and cycling cultures. Educational opportunities and attainments are also mixed, as are healthy behaviours. Newport residents consume less fruit and vegetables than the rest of Wales, with physical activity also declining in comparison with the rest of the nation. Mental illness and obesity rates have also increased (One Newport, 2014, 28-31). Through the branding strategies of the new economy, the legacy infrastructure of economic and social injustice weighs down weightless commodification (Leadbeater, 2000). Cities like Newport are managing population changes, particularly through ageing. Depopulation results in a range of problems including the closure of schools, the retraction of social life and interactions, the loss of community centres and shrinking opportunities for community sport (Hospers & Reverda, 2015, 1-7). By July 2013, a programme was developed to intervene in this decline, titled *Feeling Good about Newport* (One Newport, 2013). This brand and logo provide insight into the problems confronting the city. The selection of words is significant: 'good' rather than 'excited'. It was also necessary to address 'feelings'.

While Newport has lost its core industries, it is available and open to the opportunities for new knowledge-focused industries based on the natural landscape, heritage and the redevelopment of the city centre. The population of just under 150,000 people is rising, which is rare in the depopulating environments of many of Wales's regions. But the problems are profound. Health and wellbeing remain key issues. It is an ageing population: 21.6% of the Newport

population are living with a life-limiting illness or impairment (One Newport, 2010, 4). Creating movement cultures and activity in the landscape is a key to the social and cultural life of residents. Particularly, a considered use of the Old Town Dock on the River Usk is increasingly important, requiring a regeneration strategy.

Movement matters, as mobility is a marker of class, but also of social justice. The alignment of movement of the body and movement through a city are key indicators of wellbeing and wider social mobility. The connectivity between variable housing stock, public transport availability and work opportunities offer an array of health benefits. Yet besides these analogue structures, digital interventions are both possible and required. The physicality of a city is undergirded by digital infrastructure. Self-monitored fitness is a digital intervention in individual behaviour thorough the Fitbit and iWatch. Analogue movement is digitised (Brabazon, 2016). Olivier Coutard and Jonathan Rutherford probed the 'networked city', noting that this was a 'supply-oriented' model (2016, 5). Citizen networking tends to focus on the use of collective services. Spaces are inhabited rather than planned.

There are many more models for movement than can be predicted through consumption practices or local government policies, but the key issue remains: how digital and analogue lives are balanced to enable civic organization, connection and commitment. While assumptions about 'young people' and digitisation have been unfounded in the longitudinal research, it is important to incorporate digital materials – particularly geosocially networked materials – into analogue experiences. This means that geosocial networking – such as Facebook Check-ins or RunKeeper – can align analogue experiences in the landscape with a digital community. Such a realisation raises a series of question, particularly how to align the access, quality and engagement with rich digital sources in the lived and living landscape. This landscape enables family and working life, but also a catalogue of opportunities for wellbeing and health. Newport has created a policy and a series of paper-based analogue walking maps, but digital movement cultures have not accompanied or hooked into such strategies.

Walking matters to any discussion of public health. It is a key policy intervention that can move the inactive to activity with minimal equipment and infrastructure. The 'Let's Walk Cymru' Pedometer Challenge (2017) is a clear example of an interventionist strategy. Derived from a Change4Life Wales campaign, 500 'health packs' were distributed, including a pedometer, to encourage movement. Movement cultures must work with the diversity of bodies, abilities and disabilities. A sub-strategy of Let's Walk Cymru is the Let's Walk Newport programme. This brochure answers key questions about frequency, speed and equipment (2015). Maps are also provided in a way that captures multiple entry points into movement. Walking is often the entry point to fitness. The key question is how movement can be embedded and connected with urban and regional development, so that social and economic policies may align.

City imaging and regional development summons multiple modes and forms of 'the public'. This public can refer to public organisations and institutions, like education or health (Michael, 2008), or a commodification of identity that transforms 'the public' into 'consumers'. Public health discussions matter in

Wales, because of the volatile economic and social conditions that have tempered the nation's industrial and post-industrial 'development'. The movement from agriculture to industrialisation and then post-industrialisation has punctuated and fractured the small nation. This movement through two hundred and fifty years has radically transformed diet, movement cultures, housing, family life, education and leisure. Devolved power from Westminster through the late 20th century meant that local governments and the new Welsh Assembly managed the detritus of industrial decay. There is little money for innovative development. Therefore, radical, complex and deep questions are required to understand the past and to recut it in a way that summons a productive and sustainable future.

The problem is that the policies, strategies and documents are not working. Obesity in Wales generally, and Newport specifically, is increasing in its proportion in the population. The National Public Health Service for Wales has developed strategies for 'prevention' and 'treatment' (Ward & Aitken, 2007). These include local physical activity action plans, movement cultures for older people, a diversification of sports including free swimming and GP Referral schemes. The challenge is that obesity is not a minoritarian state of living. Instead, the majority of the Newport population are obese. Therefore this issue is not about individual people and their choices. An environment – including a sedentary, office-based workplace – has meant that obesity in the UK has tripled since 1980. Three trends have been revealed since 2001: obesity increases with age, lower socio-economic status increases obesity, and some ethnic groups show higher obesity rates than others (Ward & Aitken, 2007).

By June 2016, Newport's Single Integrated Plan delivered its Annual Report for 2015-2016. 'Physical Activity / Active Travel' was a priority. The report recognises that 'in recent years Wales has become a nation where overweight is the norm' (One Newport, 2016, 2). Their focus remains on cycling and walking, while creating an outdoor life. Described as the 'Come Outside Project', it did not reach its target for resident activity. Newport was the only city that did not reach its target. Policies may be in place but event tourism – particularly sport-based event tourism – has not drawn more residents into physical activity.

### **Resilience versus the Happiness Industry**

Regional resilience is based on a complex intertwining of economics, social, cultural and intellectual cultures. Resilience is also sustainable. Martin configured four characteristics of regional resilience:

- Resistance – how sensitive the region is to change in relation to the nation
- Speed and extent of recovery
- The impact of jobs and income in response to structural reorientation
- The degree of renewal of the region after the shock of industrial loss (Martin, 2012).

Therefore, it seems appropriate and useful to conclude this article investigating the resilience of a region as it aligns urban regeneration and individual

movement cultures. However, it is complex to translate regional resilience to people. This is the challenge of any policies that focus on wellbeing or lifestyle. The con-tradictions, injustice, discrimination and ruthlessness of international capitalism are individualised to a person's capacity to manage redundancy, stress and worry. William Davis has produced one of the most powerful critiques of what he termed 'The Happiness Industry'. He argued that – particularly after the Global Financial Crisis – 'resistance to work no longer manifests itself in organised voices or outright refusal, but in diffuse forms of apathy and chronic health problems' (2015, 106). The social problems are atomised. Digitization, which should have rendered the workplace more efficient through the management of asynchronous communication media such as emails, has created a 24/7 'always on' workplace. This has resulted in a split in the population between the overworked and the underworked.

One of the best analyses of how the analogue landscape impacts on the efficiency of the digitized, capitalist workplace is from David Harvey. He argues that time is a currency and when a long commute is required, it is costly to the individual, the organization and the industry (2014, 147). The analogue landscape determines the distance to work and to leisure. These time and space determinates are debilitating for disempowered communities, who are often locked to the perimeter of the second tier and global cities. Luton and London, Newport and Cardiff are examples. Third tier cities (Brabazon, 2014), with their smaller size and more moderate housing market, can mitigate and manage expenses, but the expenses of transportation, particularly when public transportation infrastructure is non-existent or declining, is clear. However, outdoor leisure does present opportunities for a city like Newport, where proximity to rural landscapes offers potential for movement cultures. The challenge is one of infrastructure. A smaller population, and therefore a reduced tax base for public services, means that community centres, pathways and cycleways are more difficult to create. Therefore, 'the outdoors' and the 'natural environment' become important in housing movement cultures. Barbara Degenhardt and Matthias Buchecker described this as 'everyday near-to-home outdoor recreation behaviour' (2012, 450). While designs and pathways can create the punctuation for movement and fresh opportunities to reconsider the environment in a new way, proximity remains a key determinant. *The Countryside and Rights of Way Act 2000* was a strategy to promote open-air recreation, with the right of access to land for activities like walking, running, birdwatching, climbing and social events like picnics. This is crucial for Wales and Newport in particular, as Handley et al. confirmed that, 'generally people will not go far from home to enjoy the outdoors' (ND, 1).

Regional cities in England, let alone Great Britain, confront challenges. Managing the pull of London – a global city – remains difficult. Manchester and Edinburgh are developing city imaging and branding strategies. Glasgow's city imaging strategies are more ambivalently constituted. Cardiff confronts even greater problems, managing economic and social competition with English cities, yet also needing to be a driver and enabler of the Welsh regional economy. Cardiff is fighting for purpose and place. Benedict Anderson offered a powerful rendering of invented nationalisms in *Imagined Communities* (2006). His focus was how national differences were created through print. He did not

specify that imagined communities are also imagined urbanities. Cardiff is still inventing itself as a space and place, attempting to create alignments of cultural identity and community development (Parkinson & Karecha, 2006). A key problem is with regard to the airport. London Airports absorbed 58.5% of the air traffic. Manchester – with its rail enabled airport – attracts 9.7% of air traffic. Glasgow is just under 5% of the traffic (Parkinson & Karecha, 2006). Cardiff is not competitive in such a market.

With Cardiff not competitive as a transportation hub, what role and place can cities such as Newport assume? Clearly, an investment in the local environment is the best option. Active (local) tourism is a clear strategy. The branding phrase that is being deployed is ‘Active Newport’ (2013). For residents, this phrase provides an umbrella to consider and promote an array of processes to enable activity. Newport is managing the old and new economy. Still revealing its industrial past in its landscape and identity, the issue is how the city creates the space and momentum for regeneration and economic diversification. Geographically, Newport has great advantages.

City imaging and regional development are prescient and evocative strategies. But these phrases can be policy wallpaper that does not connect with deep, historically injustices. Health and its proxies persist in Wales after years of neglect and injustice. The problems are structural and complex. The population that remains is ageing, living longer and therefore requiring greater health support. Newport is also pulled between the old and new economy. Inequalities in education preface injustices in employment. Further, these injustices manifest in health challenges. One key intervention is through education, creating an education or learning city. Through a commitment to schools, further education and higher education, the unskilled and low skilled workers can be reconnected to new sources of work in the new economy.

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